

MENNONITE LIFE

JUNE 1979



In this Issue

We are in a time of reflection and reassessment of Mennonite missions work. The three major Mennonite denominations in North America (Mennonite Brethren, General Conference, and Mennonite Church MC) have recently sponsored writing and publication of historical studies of their denominational missionary efforts. Missionary consultations and reflective literature have never been more numerous among Mennonites.

In this issue *Mennonite Life* presents articles from three distinct periods in Mennonite missions history. The first piece was written by Samuel S. Haury in the 1870s when the movement was struggling to be born. Haury endeavored to stir up the missions interest in the congregations with a theological and Biblical rationale and with answers to the most common objectives to missionary work. The second article, a photographic essay of Mennonite mission work in China, shows the enterprise at its vigorous peak. These images of mission stations, growing congregations, medical work, and other aspects of missionary life in China are a reminder of what was achieved and what was lost in the movement. The third article, by missionary executive Howard Habegger, outlines the new challenges which arise in the relationship of North American Mennonites with the younger churches which resulted from a century of missions efforts.

Some Mennonites have been able to return in recent years to visit in Molotschna and Chortitza in South Russia the sites of a once thriving, but now totally lost, Mennonite culture and community. The mission and church community in China also became a victim of political revolution and of Communist rule. If China continues to open to the West, it may be possible soon for some Mennonites to return to Tsaohsien, Kai Chow and Taming Fu to assess the remnants of Christian communities portrayed in photographs on these pages.

This issue also includes an article by Ethel Abrahams on Mennonite fraktur, and an imaginative reconstruction by Rick Sturm of the thoughts of Conrad Grebel's father about his wayward son.

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Letters About the Spread of the Gospel in the Heathen World

by Samuel S. Haury

translated by Beatrice Rediger and James Juhnke

Samuel Haury in 1880 became the first conference-sponsored Mennonite missionary in North America with the beginning of mission work among the Arapaho Indians in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). His 110-page booklet, Briefe ueber die Ausbreitung des Evangeliums in der Heidenwelt, appeared serially in Der Mennonitische Friedensbote, beginning in February, 1876. The following year the seven chapters, or "letters," were published in booklet form by the Western Publications Company in Halstead, Kansas. Haury had prepared for mission work at Wadsworth Mennonite School in Ohio and at the missionary training center in Barmen, Germany. His writings, we can assume, reflect the missionary theology he learned at these schools. The first letter is translated here in entirety, with shorter excerpts from the third and sixth letters.

FIRST LETTER

Dear Friend!

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Mark 16-15.

You ask me to tell you my views, based upon the holy Scripture, about mission among the heathen. I would like to fulfill your wish, especially as it is my own requirement. Yes, I am obliged to thank you for your stimulus to talk about this impor-



S. S. Haury (1847-1929) and his wife, Susie Hirschler, and their children, Walter, Dora, and Elsa.

tant topic and to awaken and nurture missions consciousness in our churches. Whoever attentively follows contemporary religious movements cannot deny that there are generally more genuine Christian life and spiritual stirrings in the Christian world than has been the case for a long time. As a consequence the mission spirit, so long bound, is again awakening. Mission is no longer the despised hidden matter of a few small associations. It is a force which can no longer be ignored, a true *world* mission. One can treat it contemptibly. One can be its enemy. But one can no longer

ignore it.

In view of this world mission it is true that we live in an important period of time, in which one may indeed turn to the words, "Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: For I tell you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them." But it happens for many Christians, as it once did for many Jews, "They have eyes and see not, and ears and hear not." And it seems to me this is especially the case in our Mennonite

communities.

But I will come to the point. Permit me to answer in different letters the variety of questions and objections you have put to me.

Your first question is, "To what extent is mission among the heathen a Christian duty?" Permit me to answer this question in the first instance on the basis of the following truth: *Man is created in the image of God, and therefore belongs to God.*

In the parable of the Good Shepherd (John 10) Jesus says, "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring." Jesus Christ here calls the heathen *his sheep*. When we speak of the heathen we often think of ravenous wolves—which is true if we view them in their wildness and brutality. But the Savior sees them in a different perspective. So he says in regard to the lost and deceived people of Israel, "The harvest is plenteous," where one would rather have expected "the death field" or "the work is plenteous." Why can Jesus say of the heathen, "They are my sheep"? Because he sees with a view of love, mercy and hope, and not with our near-sighted, rational, skeptical human understanding which sees only the outward. He looks upon the heart and in every person sees a savable, although lost, however not yet hardened, sinner.

In close connection with this it is written that Jesus said, "And other sheep I have." Why does he *have* them even though they are far away from him? This real *having* of the heathen is based upon two sources. First, because man is God's offspring and Christ is the head of all humanity (Col. 1:15-), therefore all humanity must be considered as his own. Second, he acquired the entire sinful world as his own through his blood. Thus the heathen are also his belonging. The heathen and the whole non-Christian world do stand under the rule of the princes of darkness. But they do not belong to Satan. They belong to Jesus. He is the only owner of them. He reclaims them as his own. Therefore he must bring the heathen in. Therefore mission

is for him a work of inner *necessity*.

For us it should be no different. If God's love is poured out in our hearts, it must be our deepest essence and desire. And in this desire, God's love must be an inner necessity—to help in the spread of the gospel among the heathen. What Jesus had to do, we must also do. And if we do not yet feel the need to do mission work, we do not love with Jesus' love. Only in the awareness of his love are we able to trust people and to hope for their salvation. This alone can give us the joy to support mission work.

Whoever believes that "the field is already devastated, and mankind's heart already confounded" certainly can have no joy in helping to lead souls to the Lord Jesus. It is not proper, nor is it scriptural, to think of the heathen as people without need for the living God and without longing for salvation. Man was created by, through, in and because of God. That means he is called to come back to God. There is in every heathen something immortal, a divine kernel, that doesn't leave him alone, a hidden longing for the unknown God. "God has given mankind eternity in their hearts," said the wise preacher. Human nature longs and hungers for eternity. Neither man nor devil can take away this human drawing toward eternity. It makes itself known and justifies itself in all human strivings.

The idol worship of the heathen gives testimony to this unrefutable truth, deeply impressed in human nature. An unknown longing and searching for Christ for redemption from sin goes through the entire heathen world. The perverted form of their services of worship also lends proof that they are God's belonging. Until today not a single people or tribe has become known which is lacking in all religious consciousness, despite all the effort and all the watching of those who would destroy all religion from the world. This religious impulse has not been extinguished among the most depraved of the depraved people. It is just this that makes every person capable of salvation and legitimates him as a creature who—although

fallen through sin—has been created by God for eternity and salvation.

Do not all the heathen with their many sacrifices unknowingly look for the one who has accomplished eternity with one sacrifice for all who are saved through him? Truly the heathen throws himself down before the idols. He worships the work of his hands. However, does he not thereby testify to his dependence upon a higher being and his longing after salvation?

The brutal penances, chastisement and self-torment of the Hindus—what else do they tell us than that they need the Savior's reconciliation which is only in Christ? When among the Fakirs in India some hang themselves on hooks and volunteer to endure the horrible pain; when others look in the noonday sun without covering their eyes; when another among them buries himself in the earth up to his neck so the worms begin to eat him and when he afterwards lays on a sharp nail-board for 14 years until he dies; when a poor heathenish Hindu wife who bore twins and believes she has angered God because one of the children is blind, and in addition is a girl, insists that "God must be appeased whatever the cost," and drowns the son in the Ganges; and when the missionary's question, "If you had to sacrifice a child why didn't you sacrifice the girl about whose birth you complained and who was blind," is answered with, "That would have increased Gunga's anger. God must have the best;"—shall we just laugh about it like we laugh about senseless talking? Do we want to deny that in these penances and sacrifices the heathen, without being aware of it, are seeking that which alone can give peace and rest to their souls: Jesus the crucified?

But besides these hidden longings, the heathen have at least here and there some clearer and plainer signs of the truth of Christ. Perhaps these are the left-overs of God's revelation to man. Remarkable is that fact that missionaries found more or less distinct among the Otahaitiern the prophecy and expectation of a new God and worship

service and a helper. The Persians expect a redeemer called "Sosiosch," according to the Zendavesta, their holy books. The Hindus await one named "Callenkin." It is even reported of Confucius that he often told his students—even in his last hours—"The holy one will appear in the West."

However the most numerous and the clearest signs of Christ and the hope in him we find among the Karens of East India, who have been known only thirty years and more recently have come into contact with Christendom. Over the darkness of this people's life bright lights of hope are shining. Among other things, there is written in their scriptures: "Oh children and grandchildren, from olden times God loved the Karens' nation above all others. But they violated his commands and because of their violation we suffer now. Because God cursed us we are in such distress and have no books. But God will again have pity upon us and will again love us over all others. Because we listened to the language of Satan we suffer such things. At the appointed time God will come and the dead trees will bud and bloom."

In one of their songs they sing, "When God comes he will appear as one of the poorest people and will clothe himself in rags. Follow him, oh children and grandchildren! God will surely save us again. . . . Oh, Lord, we were distressed from generation to generation; have pity, have mercy upon us! . . . Let our King come, Oh Lord! You, Oh Lord, whom we honor, whom we praise; let us live in the big city, in the high citadel, in the golden palaces. . . . Have mercy upon us, oh great God!"

A story among the Karens held that their people originally were a family of seven brothers. The children of the youngest brother were white people. A song said of these white strangers:

"The sons of God, the white strangers, received the word of God;

"The white strangers, the children of God, received the words of God from olden times."

They were able to remain in fellowship with God, they said. Through them they hoped to get their lost books. Their scripture says, "Children and children's children, the Karens' books will yet come." For a long time they have looked longingly over the sea. For they received the prophecy from their ancestors: "Children and children's children, if it comes over land then weep! If it comes over water then laugh!" When the missionaries came with the message of peace, they were heartily welcomed and accepted. The Karens are now a Christian people. Does not all this longing and expectation demonstrate to us that all mankind is God's offspring and therefore God's belonging, and that however fallen in sin and death, is in need of the gospel and a redeemer?

How do we want to answer all the many voices which actually go out from the heathen world to the Christian world and which must remind us of our neglected duty? "From an island in the Pacific it sounds over, "We waited long for a missionary, but his absence darkened our hearts. The white people come and buy our land; other nations come and kill us. What else can we do but sell everything and flee to the mountains and die?"—An old chief calls, "Hurry! Hurry! For my sun is setting fast."—From New Zealand a plaintive voice sounds, "Oh, if you only had come earlier I would still have my children. I had sixteen children and I murdered them all. Oh, if you had come earlier they would have lived and learned the word of God in school." Thus spoke one heathen under a flood of tears.

Adoniram Judson, the first American missionary in India, who lived for Burma's salvation as an apostle among the Burmese, wrote to America after thirty years of difficult work among the heathen, "We saw thousands around us die in misery. Our heart bleeds when we think of the poor Mergui and the Karens around us, and of the many who are ready to accept the gospel and lay hold of salvation. Of all the places around us, Kyhouk Phyu is crying loudest for help. But no, we

give ear anew to the shrill cry of distress of the 'golden Ava' which drowned out all others. Oh Ava! Ava! With your proud walls and golden towers you sit like princesses among the nations of the East. But our heart bleeds for you! No Christian congregation stands in your midst, no missionary of the cross! . . . Oh God of compassion, let not our faith sink, our courage weaken, our mortal dwellings break down under the influence of the climate and under the weight of the work! . . . Oh that the time would soon come that no congregation in **Christianity** enjoys worship and heavenly blessings without having at least one representative (missionary) from its midst on the field of the heathen world. Attire your beloved bride with bridal attire, so she may shine in unstained beauty and in heavenly light! Come, oh bridegroom! Come, oh Lord Jesus! Come soon! Amen, amen!"

I hope that when you prayerfully read this letter, it will not be without blessing for you.

In my next letter I plan to show that mission is a foundation idea of the gospel. Then your question will find its own answer.

Yours
S. S. II.

THIRD LETTER

Dear Friend!

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Mark 16:15

I am pleased that after earnest testing of my two previous letters you have come to the conviction that you must cooperate in the great work of our God and savior. You have again asked some questions which I would like to answer. You say you have received the following objections:

1. The will of God concerning mission was fulfilled long ago, because the gospel was proclaimed to the whole world already in the time of the apostle Paul.

2. Peoples who by now have not received the gospel have themselves to blame.

3. Missionaries go out with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other hand.

4. The heathen have their God whom they serve. There are not as many atrocities in the heathen world as in the Christian world.

5. Mission work should not be done if others are offended by it.

6. There is enough mission work to be done at home among Christians who have fallen away.

All these objections are so groundless and far-fetched that one would rather pay no attention to them and thus, so to speak "kill them with silence." But unfortunately we meet them so often that we have to reply. We would not want our silence to strengthen those who make these arguments in their illusion that such objections are in accord with the understanding of Christ and the holy Scriptures. . . .

SIXTH LETTER

Dear Friend!

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Mark 16:15

. . . But where in the Mennonite congregations are these impulses to mission work which spring from the love of Jesus? Now and then a weak little drop is felt, but where are "the streams of living water"

which should flow from the body of those who believe, according to the words of Jesus? Where are the mighty life movements which are shown to us in Acts and in the history of the first Christians? Where are the movements that took hold of the soul with irrepressible power, and out of whose witness to the truth were born convinced, strong and steadfast Christians? Why is there so little love, so little consciousness, so little willingness to suffer for the cause of mission among us? Why are there so few who are willing to give themselves to the service of the Lord for their whole life? We are lacking deep, powerful, effective awakenings which could bring life and movement in our congregations which are stiff, cold, and in many ways fallen into an empty, and bare form of existence. They are something else than the well-meaning, good-hearted affirmation of the witness of the Lord. They are ineffective and lifeless because regeneration is missing. . . .

. . . Whoever tries with open eyes to become acquainted with the history and the efforts of our Mennonite fellowship in our various groups cannot be deceived. Everyone is suf-

ficient unto himself, unconcerned with the spiritual welfare of others. One's horizon doesn't go further than the form of his own special denomination, yes perhaps even not beyond his own earthly possessions. One wants to cut oneself off from the rest of the world by building a wall and live to oneself, instead of being a "Light of the World" and "Salt of the Earth." One divides and separates with ever sharper lines. One fights, argues and excommunicates. One holds to empty, outward and spiritually dead forms and through all the fighting, arguing and excommunication, the life of God is not only lost, but one suppresses almost everything that could lead to an awakening of new life in the dead congregations. Non-essentials and insignificant things are emphasized and held fast, while the main thing, the foundation essence of Christianity—regeneration and the spread of the kingdom of God—are lost from attention and forgotten. Indeed, they are often even argued and struggled over. . . .

The church of Christ in which the life of Christ has permeated through word and spirit must expand and spread if it is not to die.



Chinese Christian School girls leading a neighborhood Sunday School class.

Mennonite Mission in China

A Photographic Essay

by James Juhnke

The first Mennonite mission station in China was founded by H. C. and Nellie Schmidt Bartel, who responded in 1901 to an appeal to replace Protestant missionaries in the interior who had been killed in the

Boxer rebellion. Two missionary families shown on this photograph of the "Bartel mission" at Tsaohsien in 1910—the Kuhlman and the Browns—left to form mission work of their own in adjacent areas. The

Brown mission at Kai Chow in southern Chihli province was taken over by the General Conference Mennonite Church in 1914. The photographs on these pages are of mission work in the GC mission area.

Back row: Ernest Kuhlman; H. J. Brown; H. C. Bartel; A. Weineke; John Schmidt. Third row: Mrs. John Schrag; Maria Miller (Mrs. H. J.) Brown; Miss Allen; Mrs. A. Weineke. Second row: Maria Dyck (Mrs. Ernst) Kuhlman; Anna Schmidt (Mrs. Peter) Kiehn; Miss Berg; Miss Maier; Mrs. Schmidt and Johnny; Nellie Schmidt (Mrs. H. C.) Bartel. Front row: John Schrag and Peter Kiehn.



Bricks and Mortar

Mission buildings, unlike the Chinese clothing worn by missionaries on the opposite page, made few concessions to oriental architectural style. Churches, schools and dwellings were large structures which established a significant Western presence in the China interior.

Top: Missionary home in Kai Chow. The foreground space was a tennis court.



Middle: Boys School Building in Kai Chow. The GC mission in 1922 had more children in school per church member than any other mission in North China (E. G. Kaufman, Mennonite Missionary Interest, 355)



Bottom: The Kai Chow East Suburb church, just opposite the school building shown above. The geographical environment was familiar to missionaries from the American great plains.



Styles of evangelism

Top: Tent and auto, designated by missionary P. J. Boehr as "two great evangelizing agencies."

Middle left and right: Village outdoor preaching.

Lower left: E. G. Kaufman with Christian students who went out to teach Bible stories and Christian songs to children.

Lower right: Girls and women study in crowded courtyard.



Modes of travel

The makeshift American flag was used for identification in famine relief work in 1922.

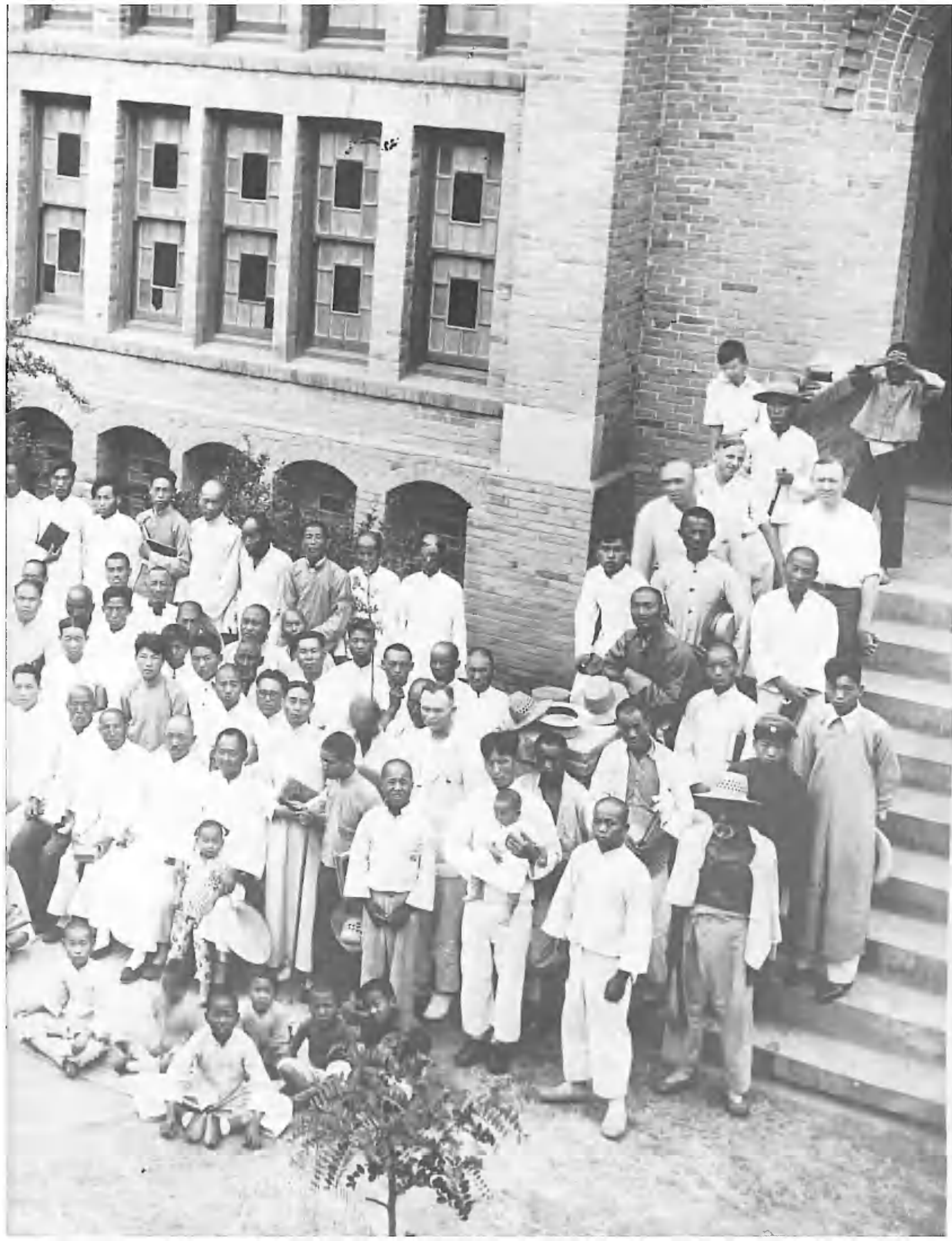
The large map depicts the General Conference mission area in southern Chihli province. Middle right: wagon with team.

The bottom photos show the mission auto (left) and cart (right) being loaded on ferries to cross the wide Yellow River which cut through the mission area.

Next pages: The church congregation at Taming Fu.









Medical work

Top left. Frieda Sprunger, C. L. Pannabecker and Chinese helper with a portable dispensary used for outstation clinic work.

Middle. Chinese Christian teachers with visual aids present the gospel to patients waiting for medical attention at Kai Chow.

Bottom. Kai Chow general hospital staff on "Hospital Day," May 12, 1931.



The New Mission Era

by Howard J. Habegger

Howard J. Habegger is the Executive Secretary of the General Conference Mennonite Commission on Overseas Mission. This article is the second part of a longer paper outlining current challenges in mission work. Howard and Marlene Short Habegger served as missionaries in Colombia from 1962 to 1968.



Howard Habegger

THE NEW MISSION ERA:

In less than a year we will stand on the threshold of a new decade. What will the 1980's mean for the world mission task of North American Mennonite churches? Will we be satisfied with the status quo or attempt to deal creatively with the contemporary missions agenda?

The agenda for the 80's is a result of success, not failure. Wade Coggins, mission executive for the Christian and Missionary Alliance, puts it this way:

The success of missionary efforts around the world is the basis of what is frequently called a missions 'problem'. If missions had not succeeded in winning converts and establishing churches, there would be no problem of relating to the national church. The joy of seeing a church form and develop does not change the necessary reality to relate to the church constructively as it matures.

The missions agenda for the 80's has to do with several key issues which are complex and challenging. There is a need to work on the problems and to set forth some new visions. Without missionary vision we perish! Where do we go from here? Mennonites must deal with

several key mission issues and at the same time, project new visions for the future.

I. KEY ISSUES WE FACE IN THE 80's

A. Mutuality/Interdependence

Two interrelated concepts which have emerged on the mission horizon in recent years are mutuality and interdependence. In missiological language, these terms can be used interchangeably. The problem simply is this: "How does a comparatively wealthy North American mission board who possesses major resources enter into mutuality with relatively poorer overseas churches with lesser financial resources?" David Bosch, a South African theo-

logian and missiologist, sets the problem in contrast to the situation that existed in the early church.

The New Testament picture of interchurch relationships is the exact opposite, where Paul and others used their energy to make the church all the more dependent upon each other. But, of course, the vital difference was that, in those days, mission was not moving from the 'haves' to the 'have-nots'—in fact, often it was the very opposite of that.

What Bosch describes continues to be a point of sensitivity and tension. It was one of the primary reasons that the call for 'moratorium' was issued by some third world leaders during the 70's.

Various solutions have been proposed to change the balance of resources (or balance of power) with the hope of creating mutuality. One such solution is to totally change our mission-church structures. Some think in terms of an international Mennonite mission board. Others have hinted that resources should flow through Mennonite World Conference instead of mission boards. There is always room for structural changes and adjustments to meet new realities, but in my judgment even radical organizational changes will not insure the interdependence we seek.

There are two areas in which I believe we must work toward mutuality/interdependence in missions, namely, attitudinal change and a complementarity concept.

Attitudinal Change. The attitudinal solution must flow two ways. We must cleanse ourselves of

the "donor" mentality and overseas Christians must cleanse themselves of the "receiver" mentality. Mutuality without attitudinal change will not happen. The motive and meaning behind giving and receiving are very important. Missionaries are especially susceptible to retaining the donor attitude which tends to put the overseas church in a position to take the line of least resistance and accept the generosity of mission boards. Changed attitudes begin to open new paths on the road to mutuality and interdependence.

Complementarity. Mutuality is not possessing or even sharing the same commodities. We must work on a concept of "complementarity." Complementarity allows for mutual giving and receiving but not necessarily the same gifts and resources. Bosch spells the idea out:

Naturally we must do all in our power to close the gap. And yet it is important to remember that closing the gap does not, in itself, guarantee reciprocity; in fact, such reciprocity is not dependent upon the closing (or not) of the gap, nor on the questions of who has the most to contribute in the area of finances, personnel or skills. Genuine reciprocity can only develop where two respective partners do *not* receive the same as they have given.

An example of mutuality vis-a-vis complementarity would be a North American mission board giving personnel, finances, technology while the third world churches give their witness of faith, their life in the Spirit, their different cultural expressions of the Gospel, their ecumenical spirit, etc. Through this type of exchange of different *gifts* which God has given to each there is the possibility of mutuality and

a new sense of interdependence. Ways must be found to create channels through which complementarity can become a reality. We should take greater initiative in providing the means for exchanges to take place between the North American churches and the overseas churches and also among churches within Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

B. New Models for Missions

Much thought in mission circles has been given to new models for carrying on global mission. A variety of new mission models emerged in the '70's. Among the two which have received widest attention are: the Seventh Day Adventist model and the Latin American Mission model. The Seventh Day Adventists operate their mission program with a unified worldwide structure—a SDA World Mis-



Chinese delegates to the Taming District 10th annual church Conference, May 1939.

sion Board. The Latin American Mission (an independent mission) restructured itself into a number of "Ministries", i.e., Evangelism-in-Depth, Radio-TV, Theological Education, etc. Each of these ministries have complete autonomy and separate policy making and program boards. These two particular mission models do not help us a great deal. As Wilbert Shenk points out, these models "present no problems theologically but require a style of organization which our polity renders almost impossible."

While mission structures do not guarantee mutuality, organizational channels do symbolize a theology and philosophy of missions. If the concept of "missions *to* and *from* six continents" has any meaning and if the call to joint mission action and planning is more than mere rhetoric then we must seriously explore new options for doing missions. Believing that Christ is not divided and that the church's mission is one, we must work toward a model or models which concretizes the new realities. Without outlining every model, I want to focus on one which holds the greatest possibility in the '80's.

The Multilateral Model. By and large the structural ties General Conference Commission on Overseas Mission (COM) has had with overseas churches up to the present have been bilateral in nature. For example, the Fellowship of Mennonite Churches in Taiwan (FOMCIT) basic ties are directly with COM. FOMCIT requests personnel and finances from COM. COM administrators and at times, Commission members visit the Taiwan church and missionaries. What has basically been established is a bilateral relationship of COM with FOMCIT—a mission board (representing GC) to an autonomous church.

What is needed today is to open the channels wider to encourage multilateral missions between churches, conferences, and mission agencies. This is done for the purpose of fellowship through the Mennonite World Conference and various continental conferences, i.e. Asia Mennonite Conference, Latin

American Mennonite Congress. These fellowship relationships need to move toward structures for mission which include mission boards and churches. Asia Mennonite Services (AMS) is an attempt to move in this direction. Unfortunately, AMS is weak, not because the concept is wrong, but for practical reasons. Distance, inadequate finances, lack of communication, and coordination make AMS ineffective. I do not think that AMS as *presently structured* is a good example of a multilateral mission model. What it lacks is proper linkage or what Charles Tabor called a "knowledgeable broker." Tabor's perspective is that,

Churches separated not only by thousands of miles but by enormous cultural gulfs very much need 'knowledgeable brokers' to establish and maintain sound communications. Granting the fact that churches are the fundamental reality, mission agencies can usefully serve this linking function if they are properly set up to do it.

Perhaps *one* North American mission board interested in doing Christian missions in a particular country should enter into direct relationships with two or three overseas churches and set up a multilateral mission structure. Each party can provide personnel, contribute to a financial pool, and form a mission board for mission to X, Y, or Z country or region. I feel the arrangement of the North American mission board (or two at the most) in collaboration with one or perhaps two overseas churches/conferences is more realistic than trying to link the entire Council of International Ministries (CIM), Asia Mennonite Conferences, or Mennonite World Conference (MWC) with such an effort. In this case one church or mission board must be assigned the responsibility to become the "knowledgeable broker" and to bring the proper linkage to the structure designed for the mission task.

There is a possibility that FOMCIT will open mission work in the Philippines. The multilateral mission effort would have at least three components: FOMCIT from Taiwan, Eastern Mennonite Board, al-

ready established in the Philippines, and COM. A board or missions committee could be established to set policy and give direction to a united Mennonite mission thrust in the Philippines. In light of the recent developments related to China, I could in time conceive of two Mennonite Conferences in Japan (Kyushu and Hokkaido) linked with MBM and/or COM sending Japanese missionaries to mainland China. COM and MBM would contribute that commodity which the Japanese churches lacked, possibly the financial backing needed.

The key to an effective multilateral mission model is *not* attempt to be all inclusive and to involve everyone, at least not initially. It should begin with two or three components *not* with an international organization such as CIM or MWC along with continental conferences. The multilateral model must be manageable in terms of geographic location, adequate communication, and simple structure geared for joint planning and action. There are other mission models which both North American agencies and overseas churches can attempt together but this one holds out the best possibility for mutuality in mission in the 1980's.

II. KEY ISSUES FOR THE OVERSEAS CHURCHES IN THE 80's

While the focus of this paper is primarily on North American issues and visions for the 1980's, it is impossible to project the future without giving serious attention to where and how the overseas churches intend to move in the same decade. The question might be raised, "What right has COM or its missionaries to think or suggest some new directions for the national churches overseas?" The answer is simple: "Mutuality and interdependence is a two-way street." It means dialogue, testing new ideas, challenging each other, joint planning, and mutual commitment. In my response at the Council of International Ministries to the Mennonite World Mission Consultation held in the summer of 1978, I made this statement:

Finally, when we speak of interdependence there is a tendency to think that the burden of it rests primarily with North American mission boards. I have come to realize that interdependence will never be accomplished without some changes of action and attitudes by the national overseas churches. They cannot continually cast themselves as the weaker brother, inferior, poor, and underdeveloped. That can become a very comfortable position. They will need to take positive and aggressive steps to call out their people and consolidate their resources in much greater way than in the past. The challenge of interdependence cuts both ways.

On the assumption that neither the North American nor the overseas churches accept "moratorium" as a mission strategy, a continuing missions program means a look at our partners in mission. What are several key issues facing our brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia, and Latin America?

A. Development of a Mission Outreach

North American missionaries were sent and supported by the home churches. That vision led missionaries to establish churches which have become autonomous. With some notable exceptions, it was the missionary, not the national church which continued to push into new mission frontiers in a given country. Thus, the missionaries became the "missionizers" and the nationals the "missionized." The churches were called "mission" churches and were the recipients of a great deal of caring from North American churches through their mission representatives.

The missionized mentality is still prevalent. This factor tends to keep the new churches from becoming missionizing churches. It should not surprise us that the temptation prevails for the national churches to rest content in their missionized mentality. This happens when the ultimate purpose of our mission efforts is to produce churches instead of seeing the church as the *means* and *channel* for mission outreach and not as an end in itself.

Thus, the "mission" churches become receivers of interchurch aid instead of seeing themselves as God's instrument for mission. There is an urgent need for the autonomous churches overseas to distinguish between participation in the world missionary task and being recipients of interchurch aid. In one sense it is true that we are living in "the era of the church." Nonetheless, the church everywhere must ask itself "for what purpose are we the church?"

There are approximately 200 third world mission agencies based in 46 countries of the world with a total missionary force of about 3,000. (Here I use the word "missionary" in terms of persons being sent across cultural or geographic frontiers.) This is an excellent beginning in "mission" to and from six continents. Many Mennonite churches and conferences overseas are engaged in a variety of mission programs within their cultural and geographic settings. A few have sent national workers beyond their immediate boundaries. I see the next important step as sending their apostles into completely different cross-cultural situations. There is a certain dynamic which becomes contagious and challenging when one of your own is commissioned and sent into "foreign" missionary service. The sending creates ownership along with calls for the moral and spiritual responsibility of the sending community. It is also an act of obedience to the Great Commission to go, and make disciples of all peoples and nations. The entire Mennonite World Conference of churches is under the missionary mandate of Jesus Christ.

While each national church conference is free to move into its own missionary outreach, it would seem appropriate and practical for them to enter into a joint effort with someone else. Paul Kraybill, in his working paper "Mutuality in Mission", delivered to the CIM in December makes this point, "No national church body should engage in new cross-cultural mission/service ventures without first considering the possibility of a joint venture."

Perhaps the two reasons most often given for overseas churches not launching cross-cultural mission ventures are: lack of personnel and financial resources. At precisely this point, mutuality in mission should become operative. It is true that for the most part, third world Mennonite churches are not able to undertake a new missionary venture unilaterally. How can a greater missionary vision move our sister churches to new types of mission outreach? First, by developing a missions consciousness among their people. Second, by exploring possibilities for outreach. Third, by entering into conversations with other church conferences and mission agencies within their respective country to plan for joint action. COM would welcome this kind of initiative.

The 1980's is the decade in which those interested in new mission outreach must dialogue about what joint mission means. One goal for the 1980's would be to encourage the national church to seriously consider beginning at least one new mission outreach outside their own cultural and geographic area and to offer them assistance. North Americans should be prepared to alter structure, all new structures, or change policies, to make such a venture possible.

B. Development of Mission Resources

A second key issue which overseas Mennonite churches will face is a program to develop mission resources. Overseas churches have been primarily concerned with strengthening their local congregations, and organizing conference structures and related committees. Basic leadership training involved the preparation of pastors for the established and emerging local churches. Strong pastors have emerged and given excellent leadership in the internal activities and affairs of the church. Concentrated efforts have also been made to train doctors, and nurses for mission hospitals and teachers for the schools. What seems to be lacking is the development and training of persons for missions and service.

A new call has come to develop leaders in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Hesston Consultation Statement echoes this felt need.

A strong plea was again expressed for greater efforts in leadership training. There should be some provision for Anabaptist-oriented leadership training in all of the cultural areas of our constituent churches, so that workers may be trained in the social and cultural environment in which they are to work.

The question is: "What kind of leadership training and for what purpose?" Should not serious efforts be made in the 1980's to establish several mission training centers overseas? If the focus of leadership training is exclusively for church work (pastoring, nurture, etc.) where and how will the human resources for missions be developed? Can an Overseas Missionary Training Center concept, culturally geared and adapted for overseas churches be a possible model of developing missionary leaders?

Maybe a number of North American missionaries should spend up to one-half of their time in training a small core of potential third world mission and service workers. This might be done inside or outside the present training institutions. If outside the institutions, such a program might be called MTE (Mission Training by Extension). If a national church decides that mission outreach is a priority then it will be necessary to develop a program in missions training.

Another obvious necessity for any type of mission outreach within or beyond ones own cultural or geographic borders is finances. Lack of adequate finances has dampened the vision of the overseas church leaders. We in North America often stumble into a mental trap by assuming that the overseas churches have little or no financial resources. This is not true. Wages and living standards have risen in most countries during the past twenty years. An aggressive missionary vision would inspire national Christians to contribute substantial sums of money to an outreach program.

One idea which might help to mutually stimulate money for mission outreach is to establish a "missions financial pool." Depending on their respective financial situation, each overseas church would contribute an agreed amount to be placed annually in the Missions Financial Pool (MFP). The North American agency would commit itself to give matching funds, again on a mutually agreed upon ratio. (Example overseas church \$1—North Americans \$3) The pool would be used exclusively for missions outreach—training, sending supporting. A beginning must be made somewhere in terms of committing finances. A missions financial pool should be tested with our overseas partners.

A final challenge comes from J. Verkuyl, prominent Dutch missiologist who has just completed a new book entitled, *Contemporary Missiology*. Commenting in interdependence in mission, he says:

But if these churches should simply rest content with enjoying these bilateral relationships, they would be at odds with the New Testament call for interdependence. It is so important that all the churches in a given region put their heads together to determine what they can do together in a whole country or region.

III. SOME VISIONS FOR THE 1980's

Some visions for the 80's find their roots within the key issues that we face together with the national churches. Other visions I want to suggest are related to our Conference and its institutions as a resource for world missions.

A. *Calling for Mutual Consultations*

While I strongly affirm that decision-making is best done locally by autonomous conference bodies, there are issues, problems, and new challenges that we should consider through mutual consultations. I think that country-by-country consultations involving the national church leaders and North American leaders is the best route to follow. The purpose of such consultations would be to determine ways we can change structures, alter relationships, test new ideas, share re-

sources, and sharpen our visions, in order to enter more fully into mutuality and interdependence in our total mission outreach. I suggest a four to five day intensive consultation which would include a North American Board member, one or two staff persons, missionaries and nationals. We must have some unhurried time to listen, talk, and plan together.

B. *Developing Mission Board to Mission Board Relationships*

Missiologists, mission administrators, and mission boards have been very preoccupied with "mission to church" relationships for the past decade. As foreign mission structures were dismantled and integration and fusion became the new reality, our concern was to develop good working relationships and understandings with the autonomous overseas churches.

I foresee a new development in the near future when our primary relationship will be with national "mission boards" and not national churches. This has already happened in Paraguay and Uruguay. COM does relate to the Paraguay Mennonite Church Conference, but to COMAESP (Comite Menonita de Accion Evangelica Y Social en el Paraguay). In Uruguay COM has no direct relationships with the Conference of Mennonite Churches, rather with the Evangelization Committee of Uruguay.

In most of the countries the church conferences look to COM as their relational link to the General Conference. In reality, COM is the overseas *mission arm* of the General Conference. As the national church seriously considers its mission outreach, mission boards and committees will be formed. When that happens, COM's new relationships should be with the mission arm of their church, not to the church or conference itself. I would envision this development to open even greater possibilities for joint planning than at the present time.

C. *Increasing North American World Mission Resources*

Will world missions remain a priority for North American Men-

nonites in the 1980's? It is crystal clear that today's world missions required greatly increased resources.

There are a number of ways in which financial resources can be increased: 1) more contributions from churches, 2) direct solicitation of persons for large sums of money, 3) greater financial involvement of overseas churches, 4) contributions from non-Conference sources, 5) creation of a special 'missions pool' for specific programs or projects.

The majority of COM missionary candidates come from within the General Conference constituent churches and institutions. If that is to continue, a concerted effort must be made to provide an orientation and training for young people which will enable them to seriously consider missions as a vocation. Of great importance for our college age persons is to develop an international mindset. Should at least one of our colleges be challenged to begin a program in *International Studies*? This would combine studies in international politics, development, missions, service, justice, peace, etc. Should mission boards and MCC consider an investment of resources for such a program at the college level?

D. Encouraging A Missionary Diaspora

As of January 1, 1979, twenty-nine (29) "Mission Partners" linked to COM, are scattered in thirteen (13) countries around the world. Most Mission Partners are in areas where there is a national Mennonite church. They represent a Mennonite *diaspora* giving witness to their faith and rendering a variety of services. Most are actively involved with our missionaries and the overseas churches as their time permits.

Mission Partners represent what could be termed as true "self-supporting" missionaries. COM should encourage business persons, farmers, professors, students, and others to seriously consider living and working overseas in or near mission/church territories to form part of a Mennonite missionary *diaspora*. Our missionaries ought to be alert

to possibilities in which Mennonites could live and work overseas. COM could channel this information to our GC churches.

E. Sensitizing Missionaries to Justice/Peace Issues

Mission boards and missionaries have not taken much initiative in justice and peace issues. COM has issued rather forceful statements on missionaries and the CIA, missionaries and kidnapping, and our Christian witness to repressive governments. These statements are a small beginning in sensitizing the commission, staff, and missionaries to the "powers" who are enemies of the gospel, the church, and the kingdom.

The issues of justice and peace are more relevant today than at any time in history. We need to provide missionaries with opportunities to study these areas of concern. Bob Ramseyer convinced many of us through his paper, *The Christian Peace Witness and Our Missionary Task*, that peace and justice are not peripheral to the gospel. Missionaries have gone to the Washington seminars in cooperation with Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries and Overseas Missionary Training Center in Elkhart. This type of orientation should be included for all new missionaries. One idea might be to ask Delton Franz to organize a justice/peace Washington seminar once a year during the 1980's exclusively for COM missionaries.

Verkuyil warns mission boards and their missionary representatives not to become so engrossed in justice and peace issues that they "end up with a kingdom without Jesus; they speak of peace without mentioning Him who Himself is peace. They quest for righteousness but in a way that completely skirts Him." Justice and peace must be centered in Jesus Christ.

As we face the challenge of the world missions agenda, let us not forget that Jesus Christ is the Lord of mission. The Holy Spirit is the power of mission. Above all else, let us keep the goal of missions crystal clear—to tell the story of *Jesus, the crucified and risen Lord!*

I can think of no Biblical passage which more aptly describes the motivation, message, means, and magnitude of missions than the Apostle Paul's words—

Rooted and ground in God's love in Christ, we shall then together with all the saints have the power to comprehend how vast is the breadth and length and height and depth and to know the love of Christ which surpasses all knowledge, that we may be filled with the fullness of God. Now to Him who by the power at work within us is able to do far more abundantly than all that we ask or think, to Him be glory in the church and in Jesus Christ to all generations. Amen. (Ephesians 3:17-21)

This is our theme and thrust for the next decade!

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Anna's Wuensche

by Ethel Abrahams

Ethel Ewert Abrahams of Hillsboro, Kansas, has been an active artist and promoter of the arts in central Kansas. Her 1975 thesis in the department of art education at Wichita State University was entitled, "The Art of Fraktur-Schriften among the Dutch-German Mennonites." She served as visual arts coordinator for the Mennonite World Conference in Wichita in the summer of 1978.

It was the year 1841. The air was filled with excitement in the Rosenort¹ village classroom, The *Schulehrer* (schoolmaster) had just announced to the students that the afternoon would be devoted to producing the annual Christmas/New Years Wish for their beloved parents. The children were delighted; for some the preparation for the school Christmas program would be their highlight. Others were filled with anticipation of the school holiday. Preparation for Christmas included the cutting of a pine tree from the forest a short distance from the village. Decorations would be made for the school room as well as for the tree which would also have glowing candles. The program, given by the students, would be very special for Anna. This was to include the *Weinacht und Neujahrs Wunsch* which they were to begin work on that afternoon. The beautiful illumination was to be her best work as it included the wish which she would recite to her parents before receiving the traditional sack of Christmas nuts and candies.



Figure 1 Collection of Helen Elizabeth Goertz

Anna enjoyed the class sessions of *Frakturmalen, Zeichen und Malen* (Fraktur drawing, sketching and drawing) as well as *Schönschreiben* (beautiful penmanship).²

Anna Dirksen³ was ten years old when she produced her *Fraktur Wunsch* ornamented with roses. Anna loved the rose design and used it frequently in her drawings.⁴ It is not known to what extent roses were cultivated in Mennonite gardens; climbing roses were popular and wild roses grew along the country roadside. It is interesting to note that her village, Rosenort, when translated from the German, means, the place of roses. The use of the graceful rose bud and the stylized rose was extremely popular in European *Fraktur*. These added a delightful charm as well as symmetry to Anna's 1841 illumination: (figure 1)

O let us sing joyfully to bring praise and thanks to the Creator of our life. May God grant us this.

The old year had its blessings. In all ways he gave us peace and rest in this earthly life.

In the future may God's grace lead us in this life here on earth. May he genuinely unite us in love and to the right path where we can find peace and rest.

What better can I really wish as that God will fill all people with such joy and that all unrest be healed.

May the distinguished sovereign of the land be a steady aid and counselor. That under his leadership we can lead a peaceful life.

May we continue in our belief that God may give us a joyful hope in love for eternal life.⁵

Rosenort, the first of January, 1841
Anna Dörksen

The following years, 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845 Anna also produced New Years wishes to her "liebste Eltern" (loving parents). These were illuminated in a variety of decorative designs bordering the narration. Each wish was different and was written as a classroom assignment. It is possible that the teacher, with suggestions from the students, wrote the recitation after which each pupil copied it into the completed framework of his/her illumination. This procedure made it possible for the less gifted student

to produce a wish for his parents as well. This uniformity and sameness was in harmony with the Mennonite pattern of life. The thought that the New Year is awakening, the middle is ripening/growth and the ending is death/rest⁶ is reflected in her *Wünsche*.

Anna scribed her 1842 wish with in a double wreath motif. She repeats the stylized rose but added a

yellow and orange tulip and a forget-me-not to the twisted blue ribbon pattern of the wreath. The words, "Wunsch zum Neuen Jahr 1842" appears in the center of the top wreath. The brown oval wreath frames the narration which appears to float above a field of green. (figure 2)

Again a year has fled away with multiplicities of blessings that God



Figure 2 Collection of Ethel Abrahams

gave us through his Son on our pilgrimage.

Because of duty, I wish my beloved parents blessings from above to continue eternally.

May He give prosperity in the coming year for fruits of the fields, in the gardens, homes and to the livestock in meadows and woodlands.

Because He has overflowing love, may you remember Him in gratitude that thither, the new year is begin-

ning, so I wish that for the future we may live in peace, in unity of true faith continuously.

According to God's word, a truly spiritual holy life is surrounded by love. And that after mortality we may join God's heavenly eternal joy where many souls shine that remained faithful and true, who daily bowed before God's throne in penitence and contrition and who gave Him the glory.

Rosenort, the first of January
Anna Dirksen

The 1843 New Year wish was written as a prayer for which Anna has added a setting of a deer in a vineyard. (figure 3) The text takes on a symbolic significance of piety and religious aspiration as taken from Psalm 42:1, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul for thee, O God."

Wunsch zum neuen Jahr
(Wish for the New Year)

God's grace be with you all. In this happy new year may God give to us who here yet dwell on this earth until we soar to a heavenly life of joy with other saints.

Without sorrow, without want where there will be no more death. Each season and every passing hour shows how God created anew.

For thus, too, was uttered by the prophet's mouth, "When the kingdom of death has been accomplished then will reality, the hero Immanuel, himself come to be a light to all the godly, and a consolation for Israel."

This blessing I wish for my parents this new year. May good news happen to you, unity in peace, and may God prevent war and famine, send us his gracious blessings, to have from morning till night—food, raiment, and whatever else, until this old being, resembling Kedar's huts, is consumed.

Then may we enter into a new life, into God's celestial kingdom of peace with the select host of saints who went before us many hundred years ago, rejoicing and hoping for eternal life. Amen.

Rosenort, the first of January, 1843
Anna Dirksen

The design for the 1844 *Fraktur* again includes a wreath but it is scarcely noticeable. This is Anna's finest illumination. The skill and control she uses in dealing with the water colors to achieve various gradations of color exemplify the work of a folk artist who enjoyed to explore her artistic abilities. It is no wonder that Anna's parents took pride in her work, carefully preserving these illuminations so that they would not be damaged or destroyed. A pride that was to someday continue through her children as they meticulously packaged her *Fraktur* for the long journey from Russia to America. Years later these



Figure 3 Collection of Ethel Abrahams

passed on to their children and grandchildren. As far as can be discerned, all existing *Fraktur* created by Anna Dirksen are in the possession of family members.⁷

Eagles are noted in the Old Testament: "as swift as the eagle flieth . . ." Deut. 28:49; "... they fly away as an eagle toward heaven. . ." Proverbs 23:5 and "... thy youth is renewed like the eagles" Psalm 103:5. The double-headed eagle was the imperial Russian coat-of-arms.⁸ This eagle appeared as a water-mark on important Russian documents such as the Russian-Mennonite Privilegium. It also appeared on the Russian coins, the kopek and rouble, of this period. It is possible that children, such as Anna, were fascinated by this motif and chose to reproduce it on their illuminations.⁹ This motif however, did not resemble Anna's eagle. The Russian coin eagle was a furious bird wearing a single crown; its beaks were open and its wings curved upward so as to conform to the shape of the coin. A sword was held in its claws. Anna's eagle appears very peaceful and symbolically as the Biblical eagle. Instead of a traditional olive or laurel branch, her double-headed eagle holds the wreath in its talons and floral vines from its beaks. The wide spread wings are in perfect symmetry with the branches and the border design of the manuscript writing: (figure 4)

1844

With wishes I come before you and I will give thanks and praise to the Lord with singing and in prayer. At the same time this wish shall give honor to my parents for their approval of my diligent application. Yes, furthermore, God the Father's graciousness carried on with patience, when now and then my bad conduct during childhood increased their heedfulness. O, could I now with tongues of angels, as once they did sing: peace, peace! Give pleasure to my beloved parents as they live on earth, only God knows how long. Likewise wishes for the new year. Fulfill at this time, peace, peace which the Son of God has brought from this throne as an act of gratuity. Not as it was at Noah's time when all men lived in security and feared no corruption. Thus spake Christ it would be at the end of the world and will be before my end, the time of all heavenly inheritance (*Himmels Erben*). Although peace sounds and peace resounds but not

dangerously; then will the end come very suddenly, yes, like a flash of lightning, the end like unto a disaster. Wherewith might I comfort my dear one, better than with a genuine wish for peace. Would God send his angels for protection to hover over us with hands of love in this time of grace that we may be really ready and be steadfast when we will witness here on earth the Christ of all humanity.

Roscnort, the first of January
Anna Dirksen

An urn filled with large clusters

of blue, yellow and red grapes overwhelms Anna's 1845 *Wunsch*. The grape, like the Eucharistic wine, is a symbol of the Blood of Christ. The representation of a vineyard signified the work of a good Christian in the vineyard of the Lord.¹⁰ Anna used the grape motif in two of her New Year *Fraktur*. The connotation is implied in this text and is undoubtedly a deliberate application of symbol. The spiritual pil-



Figure 4 Collection of Ethel Abrahams

grimage which she spoke of earlier is also expressed here: (figure 5)

Happy am I now above all, for the good new year. To please my parents, I bring a wish of gratitude, no gift can I give, so I will according to filial duty, wish success and peace in life, and whatever else is expedient. The Lord bestow his blessing hence forward, as he has indeed, supplied us with early and late rains last year. As he has freshened plowed meadows, field and forest with dew, made fruitful and has fulfilled the fertile plains. Today every devout Christian heart

exclaims with joyous sound. Thanks and praise to God for everything, for kindness, and for affection. With this new year we humble ourselves so that his will may come to pass, now and forever more. Also I wish that we may be blessed with a new life of pure love. With the power of humility and good cheerful temper, refresh every Christian heart. May the faithful Lord safeguard us from fire and water damage, as well as from war and pestilence. By the grace of God may he keep us unto death.

Rosenort for the first of January 1845
Anna Dyrksen

The basic supplies for these young penman/artists were simple indeed: paper (which was 100% rag), quill pen, brush (generally made of cat's hair), knife for sharpening the quill, ruler and compass. The ink and paints used were of their own concoctions and the school teacher generally provided these.¹¹ Lamp black was frequently used to produce the ink; paints were derived from berries and other plant sources. The binding agent was the gum taken from their fruit trees.

Not all students were adept in *Frakturmalen* but with the help of the schoolmaster and older students they too would have a *Wunsch* for their parents. For Anna it was truly the best gift she could give her parents.

Ethel Ewert Abrahams

FOOTNOTES

¹ A Dutch-German Mennonite village in the Molotchna colony of South Russia.

² Reference to *Schonschreiben: Frakturmalen, Zeichen und Malen* (Beautiful penmanship: Fraktur drawing, sketching and drawing) appears in the lesson plans of Jacob Brauel, 1830, in the Molotchna colony; these were extended to the making of *Bildchen und Wunschbogen* (for Christmas and New Years). P. M. Friesen, *Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland (1789-1910)*, Halbstadt, Taurien: Raduga, 1911, p. 633.

³ Anna Dirksen was born to Elizabeth (Rempel) and David Dirksen on March 13, 1831 and died July 13, 1887. She came to Kansas in 1877 with her husband, Gerhard Ewert and their six children. They were married in Rosenort in 1851.

⁴ To date, I have examined 33 *Fraktur* executed by Anna. She has signed her last name with a variety of spellings: Doerksen, Dirksen, and Dyrksen. There is substantial evidence to prove that these are all the same person. On her tombstone at the Rest Haven cemetery near Hillsboro, Kansas her name appears as Anna Dirks Ewert. This confusion of spelling occurs often in Mennonite names since derivations of Dutch, German (Low and High) or English are used.

⁵ The five wishes, written in German poetical style, have been translated by Elizabeth Nickel, Hillsboro, Kansas.

⁶ Leonard Froese, "Das Pädagogische Kultursystem der Mennonitischen Siedlungsgruppe in Russland," Dissertation zur Universität zu Göttingen, 1949. (Mimeo-graphed.), p. 41.

⁷ The 33 extant *Fraktur* include New Year wishes and *Vorschriften*. In addition there is a hand written grammar book dated 1845 and a bookplate in her *Gesangbuch* dated 1856.

⁸ Olin Pettingill, Jr. "The Eagle as a Standard," *The World Book Encyclopedia*, (Chicago: Field Enterprises Education Corp., 1966). Volume VI, p. 3.

⁹ In studying other Mennonite *Fraktur* of the South Russia and Polish-Russia (Michalin) villages, I have noted several other double-headed eagle designs.

¹⁰ George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 31.

¹¹ A. Neufeld, *Die Chortitzer Central-schule, 1842-1892* (Berdjansk: Druck von H. Edlger, 1893), p. 15.



Figure 5 Collection of Elizabeth Wollmann

My Son, Founder of the Swiss Brethren

by Rick Sturm

Rick Sturm wrote this article as a senior student at Bethel Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota. He was serving as an associate pastor of the Spring Lake Park Baptist Church. He is married and has three children.

My name is Jacob Grebel. The date is October 29, 1526, and I am the defendant on trial before the Council of Zurich. My accuser is Ulrich Zwingli, the leader of the Reformation in Zurich. I have served in the Senate of the city council for the last fifteen years, and twelve years before that I was a magistrate. I am old, tired and weary of political maneuvering. Although the official charge against me is that I received scholarships on behalf of my son Conrad, Zwingli is really trying to maneuver me out of the power I presently hold in the Senate. He is suspicious of me because my cousin Peter Grebel has opposed his reform attempts on the Catholic Church and I have not pushed hard enough for reform to suit him. My son Conrad is dead, but the radical movement he started lives on and plagues all of us. Raising Conrad was very difficult. I would like to share the story and maybe in the process I can sort out my predicament.

I come from a long line of politicians and businessmen. The name Grebel has been respected for many generations. I began to serve two

six year terms in 1499 as the magistrate of the township Gruningen. I had inherited an iron business from my father which added to my wealth and prestige.

My wife Dorothea gave birth to our son in 1499. His early years were spent in the castle. He received the best of everything. When Conrad was eight, I enrolled him in the finest Latin school in Zurich. From Latin school I sent him to Basel in 1514. He studied under Glarean, one of the most popular humanists of the time. Conrad stayed at Basel from October, 1514, to May of 1515. Glarean was leaving Basel and I secured a stipend from the emperor so that Conrad could study in Vienna. He made his journey to Vienna in June, 1515. Conrad studied in Vienna for three years under a humanist by the name of Vadian. I received reports and hints that he was involved in some brawls and other mischief. Then in July of 1518, Conrad came home and brought Vadian with him. He introduced Vadian to my daughter Martha. They were married in 1519 and moved to St. Gall where Vadian is still practicing medicine today.

Conrad had returned from Vienna in poor health, the result perhaps of riotous living, but in eager spirits to continue his education. He learned that Glarean had gone to Paris and wanted to study under him again. I was able to obtain a stipend from the king of France. So in September of 1518, Conrad left for

Paris with some other students from Zurich. I admonished him to live properly, spend his money wisely and study hard.

My iron business was going poorly because I had spent so much time on Zurich government business. The money from these stipends came in handy in my business. I gave Conrad enough to get started in Paris.

During January, 1519, I learned my son had gotten drunk, fought with Glarean and moved out. On top of that, in May of that year, I found out he had been involved in more brawls in Paris and two men had died. He wrote me something about being robbed, but both Vadian and I wrote him letters telling him to straighten up. I was enraged at the way he was disgracing the name of Grebel. Next I learned he was penniless and in poor health. He had not been studying and had been accused of selling his name and country for the stipend. It was true that he had to give up his Zurich citizenship to obtain the stipends and even I was getting some criticism for selling my son's citizenship. It was true that accepting foreign stipends was forbidden by law, but many were doing it and I needed the money. Finally, Conrad swallowed his pride and moved back to Glarean's on January 1, 1520.

I realized Conrad was not making any progress and rather than risk the family name further or waste more money, I sent transportation

fare to bring my son home. He arrived in June, in a dejected state, the picture of failure. Although I pitied him as my son, I despised him for what he had done to my reputation. He had all the earmarks of failure. Six years before he had left to conquer the world. He had abused the Grebel name and now he was returning home with broken health and a broken spirit.

Conrad's friend, Myconius, tried to patch up the relationship between us. However, Conrad and I were never really close because the money I had received for his education had not been given to him. I thought he had proved himself quite unworthy of it. So, in spite of Myconius's efforts, we tolerated each other at best. I was a very valuable man to the Council of Zurich and it seemed I was constantly travelling on special missions. I was glad Conrad was around to run the iron business when I was gone. He wasn't too interested, but it gave him a chance to learn some responsibility. I gave him very little money because he had not spent it wisely in the past.

Conrad and Zwingli

After Conrad had been home for a time, he became involved in some study groups with Ulrich Zwingli. They were studying Greek and Conrad seemed interested. However, he was not happy. He was still brooding about his experiences in Paris and nursing his poor health. I did not have the time to spend worrying about him; just so he kept the iron business going. Government business kept me busy and the iron business was slipping.

Conrad began to come home late at night and act very secretive. Dorothea and I could not understand it. She questioned him at length, but to no avail. Then one day she found out, quite by accident, that Conrad was seeing a girl named Barbara. That night we questioned him until he explained himself. We were shocked to learn that he was seeing a peasant girl and wanted to marry her. This was the last straw. The Grebel name could not bear such a marriage. Conrad became very rebellious. We forbade

him to marry and threatened to disown him if the relationship were made public.

In May of 1521, Dorothea and I became very ill. We were so ill that Martha and Vadian came from St. Gall to visit and help out. I begged Vadian to talk some sense into Conrad's head, but his efforts were to no avail. As soon as we recovered, Conrad began talking of going to Basel to work for a printer named Cartander. Dorothea and I flatly refused because we feared another repeat of Paris. However, Conrad was so determined, I finally gave in and gave him forty francs for transportation and living expenses. Later I was outraged to learn that Conrad had obtained a stipend from the papal commissar, but worse than that, he had sent his girlfriend to Basel ahead of him.

Evidently things did not go well financially for him. Dorothea and I encouraged him to come home to look after his health. He surprised us by coming home in October, 1521. Unfortunately, he brought his girlfriend back with him.

Near the end of January, 1522, I had to make a government trip. When I returned in the middle of February, I found Dorothea hysterical. On February 6, Conrad had married that peasant girl. I was certain that he had disgraced the family for good. After much debate, and over Dorothea's protest, they moved in with us. The tension in the house was unbearable, but I saw no other solution.

The spring of 1522 was a definite turning point in Conrad's life. He was heavily involved with Zwingli. Even though the tensions at home were high, his health bad and his wife pregnant, he seemed to have become a new person. I noticed he was reading his Bible and attending Bible studies with Zwingli and others. He seemed to have a new found joy that bubbled out in spite of his troubles. I must confess I was pleased by his new attitude, but when he began to talk to me about faith in Jesus Christ and the Bible being the inspired Word of God, I backed off. Zwingli had been preaching about the beliefs of Martin Luther and creating quite a

stir. Now Conrad appeared caught up in this new fad. I had some misgivings about Catholic doctrines, but I was not sure where I stood at that point.

Conrad Before the Council

Imagine my shock when Conrad appeared before the city council on July 7, 1522. I was not aware of the extent of his zeal until he boldly stated that Satan was sitting on the council because we were suppressing the Gospel. This was almost more than I could bear. I was also very saddened that Vadian, my level headed son-in-law, was closely tied with Zwingli and Conrad to advance the Reformation in St. Gall. Zwingli's teaching against the Catholic church was making things very uneasy for the Zurich council. I had come to agree with the idea of the Reformation, but opposed radical changes. Conrad became a zealous follower of Zwingli and made things very uncomfortable for me. In August of 1522, Zwingli published a book which included a poem by Conrad in the appendix. Conrad was even receiving notoriety outside Zurich.

I realized during the summer of 1523 that I would have to make a move. I knew I owed Conrad quite a sum of money from his stipends, but I could not afford to pay him. He had ruined the family name anyway. Dorothea was nagging me so I made Conrad take his family and move out. I had no other choice. I had to save myself and the family name. In August they had another child, Joshua. I heard Conrad was making a little money teaching Greek. Maybe he would come to his senses if forced to make it on his own.

October, 1523, was the date of the second disputation between the Catholics and the Zwinglians. The first disputation had opened the way for the Gospel to be preached, but the reformers wanted to abolish the mass and use of sacred images. No positive decisions were made by the Senate. I was encouraged to see that Zwingli was not going to press the point, but it became obvious that Conrad was impatient. Conrad split with Zwingli because

he still tolerated the mass and wanted to work with the council. Zwingli chose to slow the reform movement and place the church under the authority of the civil state. I was glad to see Zwingli use sound judgment, but my son Conrad became more radical than ever. In December, 1523, he wrote a letter to Vadian saying that he believed Zwingli had betrayed his beliefs for the state. He wrote ". . . who thinks, believes or says that Zwingli is performing his duties as a shepherd, he thinks, believes and says ungodly things."

During the spring and summer of 1524, Conrad and his associates wrote to Zwingli in an attempt to change his mind. They also wrote to Luther, Muntzer and Carlstadt with negligible results. The summer was a time of consolidation and growth for the group. There were less than twenty of them, but they were denounced from the pulpits as rascals and Satans in angels' clothing. Some of the more prominent ones were Conrad, Felix Manz and Andreas Castelberger. Conrad was throwing himself into the work further alienating himself from me. I must confess, I felt bad about the poverty stricken conditions Conrad's family suffered, but it could not be helped.

In December of 1524, there were two debates over infant baptism. They solved nothing and only widened the gap between Zwingli and my son. After the debates, Zwingli began charging Conrad with sedition and revolution. Conrad replied with a written tract. He denied the charges and sought to prove that infant baptism is not scriptural. In another letter to Vadian, December, 1524, Conrad made it clear that the Brethren were now being attacked on political as well as religious grounds.

In the midst of all this turmoil, on January 6, 1525, Conrad and Barbara had a baby daughter. They named her Rachel, unfortunately she died in infancy. It was no wonder considering their poverty stricken conditions. My heart was torn between being a grandfather and preserving my reputation.

By this time Zwingli had taken a stand against the Brethren. He

continued with reform to abolish the mass and use of images. I was instrumental in expediting many of these reforms with my role on the city council. On January 17, 1525, the council called a disputation to settle the matter of infant baptism once and for all. The results of the disputation led to two strict mandates which forced the Brethren to make a decision. The council decided to retain infant baptism and served notice that anyone refusing to baptize their children would be given eight days. If they did not change their mind in eight days, they would be expelled from the canton.

The First Rebaptism

On January 21, the Brethren held a meeting at the home of Felix Manz. By this time they had been joined by George Blaurock. The group formally organized themselves and prepared to take a stand. Conrad was the recognized leader. Blaurock asked Conrad to baptize him, which he did "on confession of his faith." Blaurock then baptized most of those present. This became commonly known as rebaptizing. This meeting was another decisive point in the separation between the Brethren and Zwingli.

Conrad's movements following this meeting are not clear. He disappeared from Zurich in late January and spent the next two months in Shaffhausen. He was determined to carry his cause to other people since the response in Zurich was small. During Conrad's absence, Felix Manz was put in prison. At the end of March, Conrad returned to see his poverty-stricken wife and children. He stayed home a short while and then I heard he turned up in St. Gall. I hoped that Vadian would talk some sense into his head. However, Conrad got involved with Wolfgang Ullman. They preached against infant baptism and gained a large following. I heard through Vadian that hundreds of people lined the banks of the river on Palm Sunday to witness a baptismal service led by Conrad. An inevitable split developed between Vadian and Conrad over infant baptism. Vadian decided to remain in Zwingli's camp and was instru-

mental in suppressing the Brethren Anabaptist movement in St. Gall. Conrad appealed to Vadian to remain true to the Word of God without fear of persecution, but his efforts were in vain.

From April to the end of March, Conrad lived with his family in relative seclusion because his children were not baptized. His health was generally poor and he was so desperate for money he was trying to sell his books. I considered sending him some money but decided against it. I could not afford to be identified with his movement. Hopefully, this crisis would make him recant from his radical position. Unfortunately it did not.

In June, Conrad left for Waldshut to visit Hubmaier. He went from there to his boyhood area of Gruningen. He stayed there until October, preaching, rebaptizing and stirring up the people against Zwingli. In July of 1525, the Zurich Council sent a summons to Conrad and some of his followers to appear before them. Conrad did not come, but those that did were imprisoned. By the end of the summer Conrad was joined by George Blaurock and Felix Manz. They had been preaching in other parts of the country. On October 8, 1525, Conrad and his friends held a great outdoor service at Hinwil. One of my successors, Magistrate Berger, was confronted by a mob when he attempted to arrest Conrad and his followers. He finally arrested Conrad and George Blaurock but Felix Manz escaped. He was captured three weeks later. The arrest was made under tremendous opposition from the people.

On November 6-8, the city council decided to grant a disputation to appease the people. Zwingli chose the topics and dominated the disputation. Even though the Brethren defended their position on the basis of Scripture, no conclusions were drawn. On November 18, the three were brought to trial before the Zurich City Council and sentenced to prison for an undetermined amount of time. They spent the winter in prison and the report I received indicated they were holding services in prison.

Finally, on March 5 and 6, 1526,

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there was another trial and the Brethren were sentenced to life in prison. On March 7, a new mandate was passed. It made rebaptising punishable by drowning.

Zurich was shocked to learn that the Brethren had escaped through the window of their cell by a rope. In retrospect, it was not surprising since many felt life imprisonment was much too harsh. I was even more shocked that Felix Manz and George Blaurock continued baptising and preaching in St. Gall and Gruningen.

Conrad's last moves are not certain. There were reports that he baptised more people and ended up in Maienfeld where his sister Barbara is living. Right now I do not know if he ever got to her house or even headed there. He is reported to have died of the plague sometime in August of this year 1526.

As I have reviewed Conrad's past, I realize what an incredible life he lived. His life only lasted twenty-eight years, but in spite of his poor health, being a family outcast, poverty stricken and run down like a criminal by Zwingli, he never recanted. He has started a movement which appears unquenchable and difficult to explain. How could a band of less than twenty people overcome all the might and power of Zwingli? I remember Conrad kept telling me his power was in the blood of Jesus Christ. The true church is made up of those believers in Christ. Only now do I realize that Conrad's belief in the Scripture as the only authority and his faith in Christ were the driving factors in his life. Even though Conrad is dead, his followers are growing in numbers every day.

EPILOGUE

On October 30, 1526, Zwingli was successful in prosecuting Jacob Grebel and executing him at two o'clock before many realized what had happened. It was a politically motivated power play.

Felix Manz was caught and martyred by drowning on January 25, 1527. He was the first of many to be martyred as members of the Anabaptist movement which arose out of the small band of the Swiss Brethren.

George H. Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965, pp. 514; Ming-Min Peng, *A Taste of Freedom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, pp. 270.

Talk of the Taiwan problem reached a crescendo in the days and weeks following the announcement in December, 1978 that the United States would normalize relations with the Peoples Republic of China. This action, at the same time, also meant that the United States would de-recognize Taiwan, also known as the Republic of China. For most persons following the news and debates, the Taiwan problem was really a China problem—what to do about two Chinas each of which claimed that there really was only one China and that their respective governments were indeed the only legitimate government for the one China!

In the debates that swept the United States in the media and in Congress almost nothing was mentioned in regard to the *real* Taiwan problem. Both Kerr and Peng call attention to the fact there are two Taiwans. One is the official Taiwan which the ruling Nationalist Chinese party and government insist is the Republic of China. The other is an unofficial Taiwan which is the vast majority—about 85%—of the current 17 million people on the island. The two books are extremely important resources for a broader, more balanced understanding of the Taiwan problem. Unfortunately, both books are difficult to find except in larger libraries, but the rewards for the readers are worth all the search.

For clarity it should be noted that Formosa is the name generally used by westerners until the 1950s to designate the small island lying some 90 miles off the China mainland. Following the retreat of the defeated Nationalist government in China to Taiwan in 1949 the island

has become better known as Taiwan and also as the Republic of China. Further, in speaking of the Taiwanese people this does not necessarily refer to all persons living on Taiwan but denotes more specifically those people living in Taiwan prior to 1946 and to their descendants.

George Kerr has had a long personal, scholarly interest on the Taiwanese people. He lived in Taiwan for three years prior to the Second World War, was a civilian "Formosa specialist" during the war years and then served again in Taiwan from 1945-47 with the Navy and the State Department. His unfolding of the betrayal of the Taiwanese (Formosan) people is based on eyewitness experiences, interviews with Taiwanese people and on his scholarly research on the period of time covered in his book.

The first sentence of chapter one in Kerr's book reads, "As far as Formosa was concerned Washington was sound asleep on December 6, 1941." As far as the true situation within Taiwan is concerned, a large part of the world is still sound asleep in 1979! Kerr's book is an expose of the shocking betrayal of the Taiwanese people by the Nationalist Chinese government, a betrayal paralleled by the action, or rather the inaction, of the United States.

Although some reference is made to the fact that Taiwan was under colonial rule of several nations since the early 1600s, the tragic story Kerr tells begins really with the Cairo Declaration issued by Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-Shek on December 1, 1943. This brief statement guaranteed the return of Taiwan, under Japanese control since 1895, to China.

The bulk of the book deals with the period from the surrender of Japan in 1945 to the fall of the Nationalist government on the main-

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land and its retreat to Taiwan in 1949. Approximately forty pages deal with the 1941-45 period and about one hundred pages are given to events and issues in the years from 1949-65.

The Chinese take-over of Taiwan by poorly-trained, poorly-disciplined and often corrupt troops and officials in 1945 resulted in large-scale abuses and mismanagement. The Taiwanese who first greeted their liberation and their reunion with mainland compatriots after a fifty-year separation were shocked and appalled by the treatment accorded them and the island economy and resources. The Taiwanese were treated as a vanquished, subjugated people rather than as liberated brothers and the island was thoroughly looted. Although the average Taiwanese was more literate and more acquainted with domestic and world affairs than his Chinese mainland counterpart, the Taiwanese were looked down on, discriminated against and even denied the basic citizens' rights when China instituted a new constitution in December, 1947. According to the government the people of Taiwan were too backward to enjoy those privileges and required several years of tutelage under Nationalist Chinese officials.

Taiwanese discontent with the treatment they received and with the deaf ear of government officials, including even President Chiang Kai-Shek, finally culminated in the February Incident in 1947. The unleashed discontent and frustration was brutally suppressed by Chinese Nationalist troops. A massacre followed in which many of Taiwan's most capable, educated and experienced leaders were killed without trial. Estimates of the dead range from the most conservative figure of 5,000 up to 15,000-20,000. This was freedom, liberation? The attitude of the Taiwanese people toward the ruling Nationalist Party government in Taiwan is still affected by the events leading up to the incident and massacre as well as the aftermath.

The present Nationalist government in Taiwan has achieved a kind of "economic miracle" to better the

physical existence of the people in Taiwan and raised the standard of living to one of the highest in Asia. The same government has made some efforts to heal the division between the mainland Chinese people in Taiwan and the Taiwanese, mainly through education and better living conditions. Still the Taiwanese still feel that they are discriminated against and are politically disenfranchised at the central government level and highest offices at the provincial government level. This is due to the continuing attitude and practices of the ruling party and government in the guise that it is operating as the government for the whole of China including the mainland. The Taiwanese, therefore, can have only a fair share or representation in the central government—the small fraction indicated by the Taiwan population of 17 million compared with the 900-plus million population on the mainland. The book by Kerr vividly presents the background and basis for the continuing present discontent of the Taiwanese people with the present government and a desire for an independent Taiwan as a true democracy and real representative government.

The betrayal of Formosa (Taiwan) and its people by the Chinese Nationalist government was aided and abetted by the United States government (and its churches). The United States government stood by with blind eye and deaf ear to the pleas by Taiwanese leaders for intervention and mediation during the 1947 incident and massacre. The United States accepted and supported the Chinese Nationalist government's position and practices that it was the rightful government of all of China and not just of Taiwan.

Following President Carter's announcement in December, 1978 and during the subsequent debates in the congress on the shape of future unofficial relations with Taiwan there were occasional articles and letters in newspapers which expressed the feelings of the Taiwanese people. It is impossible to understand these feelings or to understand the Taiwan problem without a book like *Formosa Betrayed*. No

person interested in Taiwan and its people can ignore Kerr's book, an "inside Taiwan" book ala John Gunther. Ignorance of these issues can only lead to acquiescence and complicity in further betrayal of Taiwan (Formosa).

What Kerr as an American saw happening to the Taiwanese was the personal experience of Peng Ming-Min. The subtitle of Dr. Peng's book is "Memoirs of a Formosan Independence Leader". *A Taste of Freedom* is the unfolding of events which took Dr. Peng from the tranquility of a Taiwanese farming village to study abroad and from academic interests and pursuits in a university to political confrontation and court martial as an articulate spokesman for the complaints and aspirations of the Taiwanese people.

Peng was born in 1923 in a prosperous Christian family, the son of a highly respected doctor. He received part of his high school and university training in Japan but was forced by WWII to halt his studies there. Following the surrender of Japan Peng returned to Taiwan and completed his university studies at Taiwan University during the first years of the turbulent Chinese take-over of Taiwan. His academic ability was recognized early and he was invited to stay on at the university as part of the faculty. A few years later he was able to study abroad in Canada and then in France where he earned a doctoral degree. He then returned to Taiwan University as a very popular, highly respected professor.

His ability in the academic world did not remain unnoticed by government officials. He was sought out by Chiang Ching-Kuo (currently president of Taiwan, Republic of China) and other high officials under the sanction of President Chiang Kai-Shek himself. He was appointed by the Nationalist government to attend international conferences abroad as an official representative of the Republic of China and even served for a short time with the government delegation to the United Nations.

Peng was an eyewitness to the inept Chinese take-over of Taiwan

and of the things which his father, a highly respected community leader, suffered as he tried to represent the Taiwanese people under corrupt Chinese officials. His studies abroad in Canada and France as well as visits to the United States gave Peng a taste of freedom and a taste for freedom. Although Peng could have enjoyed prestige and privilege by continuing to serve the government, his eyes were open to problems so rife in Taiwan under the Chinese Nationalist Party and government. He felt his government positions and opportunities were to "buy him off" and to prove to outside critics of the government that it did allow Taiwanese to participate in important government affairs.

Peng became an outspoken critic of the undemocratic practices of the Nationalist government and an articulate and very popular voice of the Taiwanese people in their call for needed reforms. This attitude and related actions led to his arrest, court martial, imprisonment and later "house-arrest". He was arrested in 1964 and convicted with two colleagues for printing and attempting to distribute 10,000 copies of a manifesto on Taiwan independence. It contained eight points of criticism of the current Nationalist government and called for three objectives.

1. To affirm that return to the mainland is absolutely impossible, and by unifying the island population, regardless of place of origin, to bring about the overthrow of the Chiang regime, establishing a new country and a new government.
2. To rewrite the constitution, guaranteeing basic human rights and obtaining true democracy by establishing an efficient administration responsible to the people.
3. To participate in the U.N. as a new member, establishing diplomatic relations with other countries striving together for world peace." (page 129)

After spending more than a year in prison under arrest, interroga-

tion, trial and sentence the government announced that Peng had confessed and that clemency was being given to him. He was released and "pardoned" but at home was virtually under house arrest with guards keeping him under constant 24-hour surveillance. His private life was restricted and any meaningful involvement in public life, including a return to the university professorship, was impossible. Peng finally began to make plans for his escape from Taiwan, plans that proved successful in 1970. He first went to Sweden and then was allowed to come to the United States. He served at the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan and now continues scholarly studies and writing.

Dr. Peng has tasted freedom and struggled for freedom, not just for himself but for the Taiwanese people as a whole. The book, *A Taste of Freedom*, is not just a personal biography of one man but also, at the same time, the story of the Taiwanese people who still are thirsting for greater democratic freedoms.

Dr. Peng's book is easy reading and highly interesting. It is also very enlightening and informative. It is most helpful when it is read after Kerr's *Formosa Betrayed*.

Author's name withheld.

J. B. Toews, *The Mennonite Brethren Church in Zaire*. Hillsboro: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1978, pp. 255.

This volume is the second of four in a series designed to update the history of Mennonite Brethren missions and church growth around the world. The introduction is straightforward in admitting that "the volume is written as a textbook." It is exactly that, a slimline text which lives up to most textbook standards, but only rarely rises above those same limitations. Its primary use is as a handbook and study guide for Mennonite Brethren congregations on the story of their church in Zaire.

At times the reader will think he is reading an encyclopedia article since Toews' style is analytical, almost terse, and there is a sense of

distance or detachment in the writing even though the author is very knowledgeable about, and sympathetic to, his topic and draws heavily on illustrations and quotations. Somehow the story-telling rarely moves readers to read on or be moved to the point of response or reflection.

There are significant exceptions to the above judgment. The human dimension is captured well in the account of Aaron and Ernestina Janzen's spiritual pilgrimage from Mountain Lake, Minnesota, to Zaire in 1912 and in their years of service under the newly-organized Congo Inland Mission. Their pioneer ministry helped lay the foundations of the Mennonite Church in the Congo. Following 1920 they served under the Board of Missions of the Mennonite Brethren Church.

The account highlights the tribulations and triumphs of Mennonite Brethren missions from 1920 to 1976 and interprets the metamorphosis from dependence to independence of the Mennonite missions in Zaire. In no way is it a selective account that only records triumphs. There is an evenhanded balance of sunshine and shadow, of triumph and testing.

The five appendices at the end are helpful. Appendix E is a useful annotated directory of the nationals and missionaries who helped to build the church in Zaire. Appendix A is a study guide by the General Editor, Paul G. Hiebert, that is illuminating and probing in its identification of issues that are universals confronting all missionary enterprises. It is of considerably more value than the elementary discussion questions found at the end of each chapter.

The volume closes with a series of reflections on the complex tensions and challenges confronting the Mennonite Brethren church in Zaire today and the reorientation now facing its members that will "test the faith and character of the fellowship of believers." And yet, throughout the kaleidoscope of change is the confidence that God is continuing to work out His purposes.

Harold J. Schultz

