MENNONITE LIFE

SEPTEMBER 1991

In this Issue

In this issue *Mennonite Life* continues its fiftieth anniversary remembrance of World War II and the American Mennonite participation in Civilian Public Service.

The roles played by Mennonite women during World War II and specifically in Civilian Public Service have not received adequate historical attention. Rachel Waltner Goossen, PhD candidate at Kansas University, is presently at work on a dissertation which will go far to recover the stories of women. Elizabeth Sieber Hernley is one of Goossen's key informants. Hernley's reminiscences in this issue are sensitive to events and perceptions often missing in male accounts.

Since her years in CPS, Hernley has lived in Scottdale, Pennsylvania, where she has been actively involved in many aspects of church and community life. She has retired from teaching Special Education in the county school system. She and her husband of fifty years have three children and three grandchildren.

Robert Kreider's article highlights some of the tensions between Mennonites and government representatives in Camp Number 5 at Colorado Springs. This article is a reminder that significant interpretive issues about the Mennonite CPS experience remain unresolved. The CPS story, as other chapters of Mennonite history, will be subject to revisionism and counter-revisionism. This past June a major conference on CPS was held at Goshen College. Kreider's article is a recasting of part of his presentation at that meeting.

The theme of nonresistance informs the reflections of Mennonite theologians as surely as it guides Mennonite behavior in war and peace. Gordon Kaufman, professor of theology at Harvard Divinity School, is among the creative and influential voices in contemporary theological dialogue. Alain Epp Weaver, author of this review and assessment of Kaufman's theology, graduated from Bethel College in 1991 and is a student at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries in Elkhart, Indiana.

James Urry, Professor of Anthropology at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand, is a leading interpreter of the Mennonite experience in Russia and author of *None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia 1789-1889* (1989). In his research at Mennonite Library and Archives, Urry discovered a number of letters written by Johann Cornies, leader of Mennonites in Russia until 1848. The letters shed light upon Cornies rise to power and critical issues in Mennonite colony development.

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Front Cover

Looking over Civilian Public Service camp #5, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Back Cover

Col. Lewis Kosch of Selective Service on an inspection visit to CPS camp #22 at Henry, Illinois.

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The "Good Boys of CPS"

by Robert S. Kreider

"Mennonites were truly the 'good boys' of the CPS system. . . . Mennonite CPS'ers engaged in no walkouts, work slowdowns, strikes, or acts of noncooperation to protest the nature of CPS as a Selective Service program."[1] Thus does Perry Bush describe Mennonite men who constituted 38 percent of the 11,996 men in Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps during World War II. Mennonites were the largest denominational block in CPS, outnumbering the Brethren (12 percent) and Friends (8 percent).[2]

The "good boy" label is apt but, perhaps, a bit too facile. Mennonite CPS men, a majority of farm background, were accustomed to arduous hand labor. Their productivity on the project drew more praise than wrath from their work supervisors. Mennonite men, nurtured in more communitarian environments, could accept vexatious government regulations and posturings with less discomfort than COs of more individualistic temperament. Mennonites might be chided for their docility or lauded for their endurance. Our experience at CPS Camp No. 5, Colorado Springs, Colorado, suggests that Mennonite CPS men did resist the authorities. In their encounters with the powers, they probably were less vocal than some of their CPS comrades in publicizing their frustrations and acts of resistance. This may have helped to create the image of the "truly good boys of CPS." An examination of the records of work projects in each MCC-administered CPS camp and unit would probably reveal confrontations similar to the ones experienced at Colorado Springs. Certainly in the 26 MCC-administered hospital and training school units, MCC staff members were occasionally compelled to refuse and to resist the authorities.

This article reviews the relation between the COs of the Colorado Springs CPS camp and the "powers and principalities," that is, Selective Service and the Soil Conservation Service. The study is confined to the first fifteen months of Camp No. 5 that opened June 5, 1941, one of fourteen CPS camps launched in May and June 1941.[3] During the first year of CPS, drafted COs were confined almost exclusively to base camps where they were engaged in pick and shovel work in soil conservation, forestry, and land reclamation. Not until late 1942 did substantial numbers of men have opportunity to transfer out of base camps into mental hospitals, dairy projects, public health and other programs.

This study is extracted from a paper presented at the Conference on Mennonites and Alternative Service in World War II, May 30-June 1, 1991, held at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. That paper described the emergence of the CO community at CPS Camp No. 5 where I was assigned as a CO from August 15, 1941 to September 20, 1942. Beginning in mid-September 1941, I was appointed Educational and Assistant Director, one of the first drafted men to be selected for a staff position. Albert Gaeddert, a 34-year-old pastor and former high school teacher and coach, served as Director. As the year progressed and the program expanded, Gaeddert was called by Henry A. Fast, General Director of MCC-CPS, to go on special assignments, leaving the assignee Assistant Director responsible for liaison with the project authorities.

The Colorado Springs camp, built in September 1934 for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), was located two and a half miles northeast of the city limits of Colorado Springs at Templeton Gap, a broad pass along State Route 189. The drab, sun-drenched camp consisted of ten wooden barracks: a long combination structure combining MCC office, three apartments, library, and infirmary; a kitchen-dining hall; five 120-foot dormitories—one combined with offices for the Soil Conservation Service, another combined with classroom and lounge; a chapel and woodworking shop; a storeroom and laundry; and a bathhouse. All buildings were 20 feet wide, most 120 feet long. The thinly insulated board-and-batten barracks were heated with furnaces fired with coal purchased at a nearby mine. To the south of the central area were clustered assorted garages, a blacksmith shop, and warehouses for the Soil Conservation Service.[4]

In early 1941 a company of 118 CCC men evacuated the camp at Templeton Gap. Albert Gaeddert and John Gaeddert, the latter on temporary assignment as business manager, with some volunteers from Colorado Springs churches launched into repairing, painting, and outfitting the facilities. Albert Gaeddert, reflecting a depression-nurtured frugality, accounted for each purchase, including four sheets of wallboard, two pounds of nails, and a toilet stool costing $9.50.[5] He corresponded with Selective Service, Washington, D.C., and a variety of Army Quartermaster Corps headquarters to obtain needed equipment: 595 blankets and 175 steel cots from Chicago; 175 pillows from Atlanta; 600 items from the Presidio of San Francisco; 175 mattresses from Omaha; kitchen equipment from Fort Sam Houston and much more.[6] Gaeddert pursued an elusive task of seeking a permit of occupancy for the buildings owned by the Colorado Springs Company, a firm that had disagreed on lease understandings with the departing

Diversion ditch construction at CPS #5

CCC.[7] In the flurry of final arrangements, the MCC staff found itself funding start-up costs that should have been borne by Selective Service or Soil Conservation Service.[8]

The first drafted COs who arrived on the morning of June 6, 1941, yielded to a closely scheduled life prescribed for the recently evacuated CCC company. A daily routine was established: 5:30 rising bell; 6:00 breakfast, followed by group devotions; 7:00 leave for project work; 30 minute break in the field for lunch; 4:30 to 5:00 return to camp; 6:00 supper, followed by sports and evening meetings and classes; 9:30 lights out.[9] On Sundays, the rising bell was a half hour later with worship at 8:45, a truck leaving for worship services in town at 9:45 and camp Sunday School at 10:00; Christian Endeavor or worship service at 7:30 p.m. On Saturdays work ended at noon unless makeup time was required for bad weather earlier in the week. On Saturdays one-third of the crews remained in camp for camp maintenance duties.

Eighty-five percent of the men were to be engaged in project work, fifteen percent permitted for camp administration services. Camp jobs came to be allocated as follows: eleven in the kitchen including three cooks; five in the laundry; and a dozen on "special detail"—night watchman, infirmary assistant, janitors, gardeners, carpenters and office clerks.[10] Men could apply for positions in camp based on interests, skills (typing, cooking, carpentry), and health factors. The camp director, in consultation with others, assigned jobs in camp. The MCC salaried staff consisted of the director, matron and dietitian, and, for the first six months, a business manager.

All absences from camp required written permission. A *liberty* was granted for absence from camp during non-working hours on one day, to be terminated by 10:30 p.m. A *leave* covered an absence on holidays or a weekend, beginning at the end of work on Saturday noon (unless there was Saturday afternoon makeup work) and ending at midnight Sunday. A *furlough* was accumulated at the rate of two and a half days a month for a total of 30 days per year. No more than 15 percent of the men could be on furlough at one time. In emergencies declared by the Soil Conservation Service or Selective Service, all furloughs could be banned.[11]

Once a month, the MCC camp office submitted to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO) triplicate copies giving daily account of the activity of each man in the conscripted society. A copy of these reports was transmitted to Selective Service.

Every day some men remained in camp, excused by the camp physician and confined to the infirmary or recuperating in the dormitories or assigned light work about camp. The percentage of men listed as sick leaped from three percent in November 1941 and six percent in December 1941 to almost 17 percent in January 1942 and almost 21 percent in February 1942. Those on sick leave dropped off to 10 percent in June, 6.5 percent in July and 4 percent in August.[12] Those on sick leave often had to endure the taunts of "goldbricking" from the men who went to the field in disagreeable weather.

The most precious bit of freedom enjoyed by the men was furlough time—saved and counted with care, applied for months in advance, particularly sought after for holidays and harvest time. The percentage on furlough rose from seven percent in May 1942 to 15 percent in June and 12 percent in July—the harvest months in Oklahoma,

Lining of ditches to prevent soil erosion at CPS #5

Kansas, and Nebraska.[13]

Regulations prohibited the men from living with their wives in town. Other Selective Service restrictions were more advisory than mandatory. For example the possession of personal automobiles was discouraged and the deposit of keys with the camp director required.

Although the men as conscripts were expected to account for each day, the editor of the camp paper affirmed that this cooperation was voluntary, not forced:

> [W]e have recognized the government's right to expect sacrificial service from its citizens. . . . We will give the cooperation needed to operate a camp.... Even though we are not forced to abide by any regulations, are we not obligated to put forth our best efforts to fulfill the requests of our leaders?[14]

Walter L. Makens headed an eight-member Soil Conservation Service staff with offices at the end of Dormitory 1. The camp SCS staff was responsible to SCS officials in Colorado Springs, which had a research section. Selba Young, District Soil Conservationist and local rancher, actively engaged in all camp project decisions. During 1941 on every workday morning at seven, approximately 50 men left on open trucks to go to SCS projects on ranches within 50 miles in El Paso County: Fountain Valley to the south and Monument Valley to the north. The men were divided into four crews, each with an assignee crew foreman and truck driver. An SCS technical foreman supervised the four crews. In addition, six men served on a research crew gathering rainfall and drainage data, three surveyors, a team of mechanics in the maintenance shops, others in the SCS office. Periodically the SCS staff conducted mandatory safety meetings, "the driest meetings I've ever attended" commented one crew foreman.[15]

Some of the men, many who had managed farm enterprises, winced at the patronizing commands of SCS staff accustomed to talking down to 18-year-old CCC boys from the city. The men remember tongue lashings, such as an occasion when a SCS supervisor assembled a group of men and berated them in sergeant style.[16] One recalled how a CO failed to show proper interest and was startled to hear the SCS supervisor bark at him, "And yes sir, Mr. Idiot, I'm talking to you."[17] Beginning on June 1, 1942, the men endured the ordeal of "breaking in" a new SCS director who was transfered from a CCC camp.[18]

Despite the lingering image that CPS men were naive CCC boys, the SCS staff often spoke to visitors praising the cooperativeness and productivity of the COs. In February 1942 on an inspection visit, Victor Olsen of Selective Service congratulated the men as having a "production record second to none" in CPS.[19] On several occasions SCS staff entertained their CO assistants, once at a picnic for twenty in Cheyenne Canyon.[20]

During the summer and fall of 1941, the work consisted of "constructing diversion ditches, check dams, terraces, reservoirs and stock ponds, fences and irrigation systems . . . sometimes . . . the development of wells and springs, the planting of perennial grasses and trees, the treatment of eroded gullies, the protection of stream banks.[21]

In 1941 the men worked with pick and shovel; no power equipment was available. On one 680-acre ranch in the Monument Valley, they constructed 1,230 linear feet of diversion ditches, devoted 100 man hours to building fences, 700 hours to developing three springs, and 176 hours to digging water-spreading ditches in a 10-acre field.[22]

During those first months, the men grumbled but accepted with no serious complaint the primitive hand work. After all, their "one year of service" would soon pass. With Pearl Harbor, the declaration of war, and conscription stretching out into an uncertain future, pick and shovel work seemed to some a less adequate alternative to military service. In January crews went to the field even when temperatures dropped to ten and twenty degrees below zero. The men remember picking away at the frozen ground and moving little more than "a bushel of icy clods a day."[23] This menial labor yielded varieties of dark humor: "Is this really 'work of national importance'?"

In a summary of all Soil Conservation Service work completed from June 12, 1941 to December 1, 1942, in 40 types of projects, the men had contributed a total of 31,061 man days of service. Added to this were 3,210 man days of work for the U. S. Forest Service. The value of the labor was estimated at $2.50 per man day (26 cents an hour) for a total 18-month contribution of $85,677.50.[24]

CPS men were of that last generation to know American agriculture before the pick and shovel was replaced by the bulldozer and backhoe. In April 1942 SCS acquired four caterpillar tractors, a bulldozer, and a carry-all. This acquisition liberated nine men from handwork to the operation of power equipment—for the nine a morale boost.[25]

In February 1942, the U. S. Forest Service opened work for a crew of fifteen on the scenic Gold Camp Road to Cripple Creek.[26] Two months later two crews—one led by an Old Order Amishman and the other by a Hutterite—

began planting trees in the Pike National Forest. The Forest Service planned to plant several million trees in the area.[27]

In July, four men were assigned to a forest research project.[28] In September the camp paper reported "the most lofty CPS work project in the nations": an eight-man crew living at an elevation of 11,000 feet and, among other projects, shingling the roof of the Summit House of Pikes Peak at an elevation of 14,100 feet.[29]

The early 1940s was a generation before the upsurge of national concern for the environment. The Soil Conservation Service and the Forest Service made little or no effort to link this "work of national importance" with national environmental policy. The lectures by the SCS staff are not remembered for their ecological sensitivity and vision. As a matter of fact, pacifists then had much to learn about the bonding between war, peace, and environment.

In August 1942 Paul Comly French asked Kreider and Gaeddert for their evaluation of the work program at Camp No. 5, posing for them a dozen questions. "Was it made work?" he asked. He explained that this request was prompted by concerns from CPS men and conversations with Col. Kosch of Selective Service.[30] Kreider responded with a report incorporating comments from the CPS crew foremen.[31] He listed a number of good projects: reclaiming a tract of fertile swamp land, the repairing of the Mountain Mutual Irrigation System (well-planned, properly supervised, materials always at hand), tree planting—although tedious and hard work, crews using power-equipment feel "they are getting things accomplished," even pick and shovel work building diversion ditches "when crews are sufficiently large that daily progress is apparent."

Kreider identified a number of criticisms: crews out of work by mid-day for lack of planning; SCS lacking tools and equipment for the job, leading, for example, to the continuous use of camp carpentry tools; failure to give the men adequate training for fighting forest fires; summer work for the Forest Service largely consisting of road repair in recreational areas; lack of adequate staff supervision—leaving management of fencing crews to the ranchers. The most severe criticism was the favoritism shown to the big ranchers. One of the equipment operators observed that his work was done almost exclusively on the "tremendously large ranches." Only once did he work for a man "who really needed help and was poor." Work on the big ranches was largely fencing, "a far cry from soil conservation." The men were asked to help with ranch work: "dehorn, brand and castrate cattle." Kreider reported that, "The SCS men seem to wish to do everything they can to please these big ranchers." He observed that camp morale "hit its lowest level" when the men were assigned to thinning and blocking sugar beets and were asked to transport scrap rubber and scrap iron and engage in "semi-defense" projects. He wrote to French, "As a result of these requests, the campers lose all the more confidence in the technical agency."

"We sense," continued Kreider, "that the members of the technical agency lack interest in their jobs." One of the foremen commented that the CPS men "have more of the spirit of soil conservation than the technical men." A series of classes on soil conservation the previous winter "fell flat," deteriorating into a "repetition of the safety rules." Kreider stated that the men had been longing for an SCS staff who could "explain interestingly the fundamentals of soil conservation and the social and economic philosophy behind it." He added, "Some of us believe that the genius of the SCS is educational . . . to demonstrate model soil conservation practices on representative farms of the community." He concluded his grim assessment, "The SCS staff is not very inspiring. As a result men on the field crews do not have much of a feeling of accomplishment nor a love for their work. That which keeps them going is their conscience that any decent man must do at least a full day's work."

The camp suffered repeatedly from confusing, conflicting lines of command from the local Soil Conservation Service and from Selective Service in Washington—on the one hand, but not always in agreement—and NSBRO and MCC on the other. Selective Service commands were expected to be communicated via NSBRO to the camps. Camp No. 5 received conflicting signals, for example, on the length of the work day. Before the first camp had opened, Henry Fast had asked Paul Comly French for clarification. He declared, "I do not object to the eight hour work program . . . but I think the government needs to be reasonable on the transportation time. I am concerned that this does not degenerate into slave labor."[32] In a visit in February 1942, Victor Olsen of the Washington headquarters staff of Selective Service ordered men at Camp No. 5 "to work 44 hours a week and no transportation time was to be counted on government time." Gaeddert had received no communication from Selective Service or the NSBRO confirming this order, tantamount to a 60 hour week.[33]

In late May SCS Project Superintendent Makens declared an emergency in

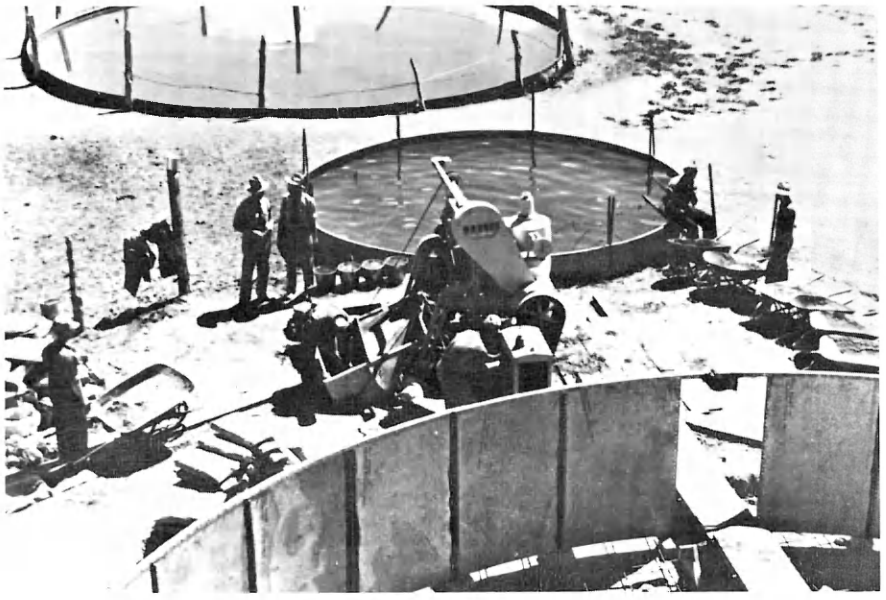
Checking rainfall and run-off on watersheds near Colorado Springs, CPS #5

the sugar beet fields and cancelled all furloughs—just on the eve of many long-awaited furloughs to return home to help in the Kansas and Oklahoma wheat harvest.[34] This action came without verification from Selective Service. Such issues—and there were many—invariably led the camp director to wire or write the NSBRO, always with a copy to MCC, asking for confirmation. Ambiguity in lines of command meant conflict.

Critical issues persistently arose: "What was 'civilian work of national importance'?" And "Who determines it?" The Soil Conservation Service staff, accustomed to work with CCC boys, saw these as their decisions. The camp director, backed by the NSBRO and MCC and propelled by the sensitivities of the men, saw these as joint decisions laced with concerns of conscience. COs, who had never thought much about what was appropriate work for a pacifist, were stimulated by dorm discussions to think about these issues.

In the winter of 1941-1942, a conflict occurred that could have been explosive. Sam Yoder, an Amishman, describes being sent out with a crew led by LeRoy Miller, another Amishman, to work on a ranch south of Colorado Springs. They were told to drain an earthen dam. Ranchers were present to catch the trapped fish. All around CPS crew members saw surveyor's stakes. The COs asked the purpose of the stakes. The ranchers replied, "Oh, they are planning to build an army camp here." At lunch Miller's crew discussed their misgivings: "We've taken a stand against the military. We could just as well be working in a defense factory making things for the military." They all walked off the job, got in the truck, and drove back to camp. On the way back to camp, they met two SCS men and were asked to explain their departure. The crew volunteered to make up time with other work on Saturday. Sam Yoder recalls that General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, visited the camp to reprimand the CPS men, but also to assure them that such an incident would not happen again.[35] No camp records have been found to document such a visit. Stories of 50 years ago have a way of drifting. This incident on the site of what soon became Camp Carson gives evidence that there may have been more spontaneous civil disobedience in MCC camps than was publically reported and heralded.

Stresses on the project came to head during the summer of 1942, the camp work force then at full strength. Few special service units had yet opened to relieve the feeling of entrapment in base camps. Issues over "work of national importance" erupted in late May and early June 1942 when the SCS took the crews off soil conservation and forestry work and assigned them to thinning sugar beets as a part of a war emergency. Men saw billboard advertisements praising beet raising as war work, beet sugar being used for making explosives. The crisis was intensified by the arrival on June 1 of a new SCS Project Superintendent, Tom Titman, who was schooled in giving orders to CCC boys and was new to COs.[36]



Construction of water tanks for water conservation at CPS #5

Vernon Karber, a CPS man working then in the SCS office, remembers an outburst from Titman soon after his arrival: "I wish this place would be bombed to hell." Karber responded, "Well, Mr. Titman, you are in this with us."[37]

Meanwhile, local rancher and district SCS official Selba Young had promised county war manpower officials and ranchers that inexpensive CPS labor would be available in the beet fields. Selective Service shifted the men from soil conservation and forestry work without authorization from Selective Service in Washington. Particularly critical was the fact that during this period, Camp Director Gaeddert was absent from camp travelling for MCC in the interests of a rapidly expanding program. Camp management was left in the hands of Assistant Director Kreider, a 23-year-old assignee. SCS Director Titman and Young were loath to be admonished by a CO conscript, even though he be the officially appointed Assistant Director.

A conflict soon burst forth that persisted for more than four months. Intimations of the conflict came as early as May 14, 1942, when Gaeddert reported to Fast that Selba Young had sought approval from Col. Lewis F. Kosch, Chief of the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service, for permission to shift crews into work in the beet fields. Gaeddert was open to the possibility but raised questions.[38] The beginnings of the conflict are summarized in a two-page letter the Assistant Director wrote on June 15, 1942, to Fast, which opened as follows:[39]

> I feel that our relations with the technical agency, the SCS, have grown more serious. . . . First, the SCS has given evidence of ignorance of our CPS convictions in their demands. . . . They interpret our stand as being solely that of opposition to the bearing of arms. . . . Second, the SCS, I believe, has been assuming more than its rightful prerogatives . . . telling us what to do rather than planning on a mutual basis. . . .
>
> First, the emergency farm program of beet thinning and blocking. Neither Albert nor I was here when the SCS said that our manpower was to be diverted into the beet fields, that furloughs were to be cancelled, etc. . . . Selba Young of SCS made commitments of our labor to the County War Board . . . in advance of our full authorization. . . . He proceeded with such speed that we found a *fait accompli* in our laps. Much of the blame for such a situation is ours, we must confess.

Second, Mr. Titman, the Project Superintendent, came into the office last week and asked whether some governmental construction group could use a crew of our truck drivers out at the army airport. I said no to that. Yesterday Selba Young called up and asked for a written statement on the reasons for our decision.

Third, yesterday again Mr. Titman came to me and inquired whether we would authorize men and trucks to be used for the collection of scrap rubber. Again I said no. He asked for a statement, which I prepared and which I enclose.

[A] further proof of their ignorance of our essential convictions is that they demand written statements from us on these matters. . . . I learn these written statements have irritated the SCS no end. What surprises me is that the SCS has lost faith in the importance of soil conservation and forestry work. . . . If our work simply becomes that of collecting scrap rubber, driving army trucks, thinning sugar beets, we then will have become little more than an auxiliary to the War Board and the Office of Civilian Defense.

The statements were brief, deferential but firm in their refusal.[40] In his letter of June 15, Kreider continued with a report of intensified misunderstanding and conflict:

Fourth, an unfortunate incident arose this morning between Selba Young and me. When I stepped out of the dormitory this morning I noticed a movie cameraman and a photographer with Graflex camera taking pictures of the men leaving for the fields. I approached both men and asked them what they were doing, where they received authorization. . . . One man said he was a Paramount Newsreel man. The other . . . with *Life Magazine*. . . . Authorization, they said, came from Selba Young. I then went to the SCS office to speak to Mr. Young. I asked the purpose of these photographers and stated that we preferred to have no publicity of our beet work. Mr. Young snapped back that this was government property and government work and that pictures would be taken here if they chose to do so. The newsreel cameraman approached us and listened in on the conversation. . . . Mr. Young concluded with a "Well, Kreider, this side of your program better be publicized if you want it to be continued." With that he strode off with the photographers. . . . Immediately after the brief talk I wrote a letter to Mr. Young.

I feel that the SCS has been taking some advantage of us during Albert's absence. . . . They find the protests of this "youngster" more irritating than would they find Albert's refusals. . . .[41]

Construction of water tank for water conservation at CPS #5

Kreider concluded his letter to Fast with the comment, "We are not in a panic about these events."[42] He sent a copy of the Fast letter to his parents explaining, "Perhaps this is a subject which should be kept inside the Kreider household and the letter destroyed. There is no need to fear that I am in a den of lions. . . . At any rate administering a CPS camp is a real educational experience, even though it be nerve-wracking at times."[43]

The situation grew worse. Word came back with the crews on the day of confrontation, that the photographers had pursued to the end of a field Amishmen in their distinctive dress and bearded Holdeman men who in their reluctance to have their pictures taken had fled from the cameramen. Men returned from the fields incensed but feeling captive to the need to maintain good community relations. Kreider wrote Young a letter explaining the MCC position. Young responded with a blistering letter.[44] Several days later Gaeddert returned, reviewed the situation, and wrote Fast supporting Kreider in his decisions, explaining that the Assistant Director was regarded by the SCS staff as "just another assignee" and reviewing the complications caused by unauthorized SCS commitments.[45]

The MCC staff negotiated an accommodation with the SCS staff. The order to cancel furloughs was lifted. Hours of work were lengthened. French granted permission for crews to work for several days in the beet fields to complete the thinning operation. Only volunteers were to be sent to the beet fields. The money earned thinning beets, $39.50 an acre, was to be set aside for a "relief and reconstruction fund to be used after the war."[46] An uneasy peace prevailed.

In early July peace in camp was broken by the arrival of Victor A. Olsen of Selective Service, Washington, who immediately heard from SCS staff their version of recent events. Olsen delivered Kreider a "sustained, vicious tongue-lashing." Kreider wrote his parents, "Olsen believed everything he heard from the SCS. What we said was only 'g-- da-- lies. . . .' He shouted at me that it could be heard outside the buildings. . . . If this symbolizes the current thinking of Selective Service, some of us will be choosing jail to camp one of these days. . . ."[47]

On Friday evening Olsen, who six months before had lauded the men for their "production record second to none," spoke to the assembled CPS men:

He barked at us; growled at us; snarled at us. . . . Olsen wants to see in our camps an A-1 work program characterized by maximum quality and quantity of work, accompanied by a dictatorial disciplinary system (no camp councils, no community contacts, no this or that), and above all a complacency about all controversial issues. We disagree with him on all points except his desires concerning the work program.[48]

On the following morning before the Saturday cleanup, Olsen took the Assis-

tant Director on a tour of inspection of the camp and dictated to him a long list of detailed comments on irregularities in camp maintenance.[49] This report apparently soon came to the attention of Colonel Kosch who wrote Paul Comly French reprimanding the church agencies for leaving camps in the hands of assignee assistant directors.[50] Within a year, however, most CPS camp directors and assistant directors were drawn from the ranks of CO assignees.

Several days after the Olsen flareup, Gaeddert returned for a brief visit. He wrote to French protesting the unfairness and inaccuracy of Olsen's inspection report.[51] Relations with SCS appeared to improve, but other conflicts over issues of work continued, even when a non-assignee, Emmanuel Hertzler, was loaned from the Fort Collins camp as an interim director.[52] Meanwhile, NSBRO and MCC officials quietly commended the men and camp leadership and acknowledged that it was urgent to fill the vacant directorship of Camp No. 5. None of this was reported in the *Pike View Peace News,* which Kreider helped edit. Despite these altercations with the Soil Conservation Service and Selective Service, the public image of the Colorado Springs camp continued to be tranquil, positive, and upbeat. Men in distant CPS camps might well have thought of the Mennonites of Colorado Springs as "good boys of the system."

"Good boys" though they might have been, the COs of Camp No. 5 unquestionably lost some institutional innocence as they were caught in the complexities and arbitrary machinations of government operations. The men who later transferred to huge custodial mental hospitals found reenforcement for their sense of entrapment and engagement in the struggles of "moral man in an immoral society."

Lining irrigation ditches with stone and cement at CPS #5

ENDNOTES

[1]Perry Bush, "We have Learned to Question Government," *Mennonite Life,* 45, (June 1990): 13-17.

[2]*Directory of Civilian Public Service, May 1941 to March 1947* (Washington, D.C.: National Service Board for Religious Objectors, [1947]), xviii, xix.

[3]Ibid., x.

[4]*Booklet of Information for the Men of Civilian Public Service Camp No. 5* (Colorado Springs: n.p., December 1942). 8/39, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana (hereafter abbreviated as AMC).

[5]Albert Gaeddert to Henry Fast, May 10, 1941, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 3, Director. AMC.

[6]Henry Fast to Paul Comly French, April 11, 1941, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 3. AMC.

[7]Assorted letters, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 3, 5 Misc. 1941, Director AMC.

[8]Henry Fast to Albert Gaeddert, June 18, 1941, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 3, Director. AMC.

[9]Albert Gaeddert to A. J. Dyck, June 11, 1941, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 3, Director. AMC.

[10]Gaeddert to Fast, October 7, 1941, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 3, Director. AMC.

[11]*Booklet of Information.*

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid.

[14]*Pike View Peace News* (hereafter abbreviated as PVPN), September 20, 1941. Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas (hereafter abbreviated as MLA).

[15]Robert Kreider, "CPS Camp Life at Colorado Springs Recalled," *Mennonite Weekly Review* (September 11, 1986): 6.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Interview with Edwin J. Schmidt, March 13, 1991.

[18]PVPN, May 30, 1942.

[19]Robert Kreider to parents, February 9, 1942. Robert Kreider Collection, CPS Folder 26. Private collection cataloged with MLA (hereafter abbreviated as RSK).

[20]PVPN, September 20, 1941.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Interview with J. Hobart Goering and Erwin Krehbiel, March 25, 1991.

[24]*Booklet of Information.*

[25]PVPN, April 18, 1942.

[26]PVPN, February 21, 1942.

[27]PVPN, April 10, 1942.

[28]PVPN, July 11, 1942.

[29]PVPN, September 5, 1942.

[30]French to Kreider, August 31, 1942, Albert Gaeddert Collection, Correspondence, July-August, 1942, No. 4. MLA.

[31]Kreider, "Work Project at Camp No. 5," IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, 1940-45, File 5, AMC.

[32]Fast to French, July 3, 1941, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, NSBRO Executive. AMC.

[33]Gaeddert to French, February 9, 1942, NSBRO Collection, Document Group 25, Box C6, Colorado Springs, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania (hereafter abbreviated as SCPC).

[34]Kreider to parents, May 29, 1942. RSK.

[35]Kreider, "CPS Camp Life at Colorado Springs," 6; Interview with Sam Yoder, March 21, 1991.

[36]PVPN, May 30, 1942.

[37]Interview with Vernon Karber, September 4, 1991.

[38]Gaeddert to Fast, May 14, 1942, Albert Gaeddert Collection, Correspondence, May-June 1942, No. 3. MLA.

[39]Kreider to Fast, June 15, 1942, Albert Gaeddert Collection, Correspondence, May-June 1942. No. 3. MLA.

[40]Kreider to "whom it may concern," June 15, 16, 1942, Albert Gaeddert Collection, Correspondence, May-June 1942, No. 3. MLA.

[41]Kreider to Fast, June 15, 1942.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Kreider to parents, June 17, 1942. RSK.

[44]Kreider to Selba Young, June 16, 1942; Young to Kreider, June 16, 1942, Albert Gaeddert Collection, Correspondence, May-June 1942, No. 3. MLA.

[45]Gaeddert to Fast, June 20, 1942, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 3, Director. AMC.

[46]PVPN, June 13, 1942.

[47]Kreider to parents, July 14, 1942. RSK.

[48]Kreider to parents, July 13, 1942. RSK.

[49]"Recommendations of Victor Olsen . . . Upon Inspection of CPS Camp No. 5," July 11, 1942, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 5, Educational Director. AMC.

[50]Col. Lewis F. Kosch to French, July 25, 1942, NSBRO Collection, Document Group 25, Box C6, Colorado Springs, SCPC.

[51]Gaeddert to French, July 17, 1942, NSBRO Collection, Document Group 25, Box C6, Colorado Springs, SCPC.

[52]Emmanuel Hertzler to Fast, August 31, 1942, Albert Gaeddert Collection, Correspondence, July-August 1942, No. 4. MLA; Hertzler to Fast, September 21, 1942, IX-6-3-MCC-CPS, File 5, Director. AMC.

Diversion ditch construction at CPS #5

A Dietitian's Memoir

by Elizabeth Sieber Hernley

I am a Mennonite woman and a CPS alumna, born and nurtured in the obscure and rural town of Filer, Idaho.

My parents were charter members of the Mennonite congregation there and helped establish the church community. They had migrated by train from the Freeport, Illinois, area in 1912 with two small sons. Eight years after their trek west, my young father died of typhoid fever. Mother, widowed at age 35, was left with three boys and three younger girls, aged three months through eleven years and a world away from her family and close relatives in the east.

I do not recollect any Mennonite teachings on war and peace through my high school years. At home we were taught to "turn the other cheek," "love your enemies," and other basic principles of the Sermon on the Mount. I was too young to be aware of explicit peace teachings during World War I in our churches, though I'm sure they were present. After Father's early death, we were completely absorbed with the struggle to survive.

Mother had no formal vocational training; there was no widow's pension fund, as later. No unemployment or relief programs were in operation in 1920. The Mennonite Church at that time looked upon life insurance, or any other type of insurance, as a statement of a lack of faith in God. Mother's natural abilities together with her determination and her profound faith were all she had to keep her young family alive. Her outstanding gifts were in cooking and home nursing. She had a natural bedside manner and was often called upon by the local doctor to supply a substitute hospital room/bed in our tiny four-room bungalow. At times our living room was a delivery room; other times wheel chair or mental patients were sent to recuperate under Mother's gentle, loving care.

When the youngest of my sisters entered first grade, Mother's cooking skills took over, for then she could be away during the day while all six of us were in school. All of us children were pressed into service early: paper routes, babysitting, grocery store flunkies, janitor work, restaurant dishwashers. Sometimes we helped Mother or an older sibling in a job assignment. Sometimes we worked alone. Mrs. Sieber and her tribe of six were known as the family willing and eager to tackle ANY job.

I began working as Mother's helper when I was nine years old. During the school year she was in charge of the school cafeteria. In summer months the work was less predictable, dependent on crops and weather. We managed the cook shack of a local thresher, traveling from one farm to another during harvest time. By the time I was twelve years old I was able (or allowed) to take charge during breakfast for the seventeen-man threshing crew when Mother was whisked away during the night to help deliver a baby at one of the nearby farm homes.

Thus began my early training in food preparation under the tutelage of one who was expert at cutting costs without sacrificing tasty, attractive and well-balanced meals.

This early responsibility and experience in quantity cooking opened many doors for me. In 1932 we moved back to Illinois in order to give care to Mother's elderly father, J. S. Shoemaker. I found work as cook at a private school for boys. My wages helped provide a living for our family at that time. The opportunity for a college education also became reality because of my work experience with Mother. It was possible to complete my four college years borrowing only $250.00, interest free, from my oldest brother. I paid other expenses by my work in the Goshen College kitchen. During the regular semesters I was an assistant to the chef-dietitian. When enrollment for boarding students plummeted for the summer sessions, I was hired as chef-dietitian. This enabled me to be credited above what I could earn while carrying a full study schedule.

After graduation from Goshen College in 1939, I taught school near West Liberty, Ohio, until my fiance, Ralph Hernley, finished college two years later.

In early spring of 1941, after the draft had been initiated, Ralph registered as a conscientious objector with his local draft board at Scottdale, Pennsylvania. He was classified 4F and told he'd probably never be called up because of an eye condition. Already by graduation time a few of his classmates had received orders from Washington to report for active duty.

We married in June, knowing our plans for the immediate future would not be subject to orders from Washington.

During the homecoming weekend at Goshen College in November of 1941, Harold S. Bender, dean at the college, asked us to help staff a new camp which Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) planned to open at Henry, Illinois, in December. Ralph was asked to serve as Assistant and Educational Director. I would serve as Dietitian for the camp of approximately 150-160 men. The men assigned to Camp Henry would be doing Soil Conservation work under the direction of the Department of Agriculture.

Ralph arrived at Camp Henry on December 5, 1941. I had made a commitment to fill in for the chef-dietitian at Goshen College until the Christmas recess. I arrived at Henry on December 20.

Meanwhile, on December 7 the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. A few men had arrived from other established camps to help prepare for the assignees who arrived December 9. Ralph recalls meeting busloads of new campers and being spit at by local bystanders. It was unfortunate that the opening of the camp came almost immediately following the Pearl Harbor attack. Feelings of patriotism were high and the C.O.'s were viewed as yellow cowards. Henry was a small town. The people knew who we were. We eventually did all of our purchasing of supplies and food at Peoria, 40 miles away, where we could be anonymous.

On March 6, 1942, a tornado brought massive destruction to the town of Lacon just across the river from Henry. Our men responded quickly and gave long hours and weeks of work for aid and rebuilding. This helped change the town's attitude.

New campers arriving at bus stop in Henry, Illinois, for CPS #22, December 1941

The local newspaper in Henry was published by a Quaker who was sympathetic to our C.O. stance. Before Pearl Harbor he was aware who would be living in the old CCC Camp. The daily *Peoria Journal* gave our camp bad publicity. The weekly paper at Henry did not attack us. The local publisher was aware that Ralph was a printer/linotype operator and frequently hired him to set type at night. I'm sure the townspeople would have objected.

As camp dietitian, I was responsible for training the cooks and other personnel assigned to food services—table setters, waiters and storeroom clerks. Besides planning wholesome, well-balanced meals, I supervised and prepared the purchase orders for food, keeping within a strict budget. The staff women (dietitian, and the nurse and/or matron who was responsible for supervising laundry and dorm cleanliness) were emphatically told by MCC and government officials that our task was supervision only. The men were to be trained to do the actual work of cooking, cleaning and laundry.

The most difficult aspect for early dietitians was to keep costs within the MCC budget. Mennonite Central Committee was the sponsoring agency of our CPS camps and the churches were paying for running the camps, but there was no precedent to pattern after. We were pioneers in operating the CPS camps and kitchens!

Fifty years ago members of the "Peace Churches" were almost entirely a rural people. Some of the men had eighth grade education; most had not gone beyond high school. Few had ventured very far from home. Most were accustomed to having good, hefty farm meals two or three times a day. Their home kitchens abounded with meat, eggs, milk, cream, and fresh produce. It became a real challenge to train the men in quantity cooking so that they could produce a product that could satisfy the palates of their critics. Most men who were interested in learning to cook did a remarkably fine job. For a select few, it became their vocation upon discharge from the service.

We did try to be sensitive to the men's likes and dislikes and also the difference in their backgrounds and cultures. At Henry we had a large group of Russian Mennonites from Minnesota and Kansas. One man, Ted Franz, from Mountain Lake, Minnesota, told me how he longed for a meal that included zwieback and pluma moos, a regular Saturday night supper in his home. When his girlfriend Amanda came to visit him, she taught the kitchen crew to make the favorite foods. We did include them in the menus from then on. One of our government Soil Conservation Service men, a Mr. Turneas, told me how hungry he got for cornbread with navy beans. The whole camp learned to like this southern combination.

One of the highlights for me at the Henry camp was the excellent singing. I was privileged to serve as chorus director. The *Deep River Echo,* our twice monthly camp newspaper, of April 30, 1942, stated: "We now have a large music appreciation class aside from the nineteen men who have applied for instructions in piano, and the camp chorus is well on its way to becoming one of our greatest single assets here." The *Echo* also reported a schedule of Sunday evening programs during June and July of 1942, given by the camp chorus in most of the Illinois Mennonite churches. Leading that chorus was probably the most gratifying experience I had during the nearly five years in CPS camps.

Another side interest of the Henry dietitian's work was to help plan a camp garden. We had a plot of nearly four acres which yielded "over-abundantly" according to the reporter. The camp business manager, along with kitchen and office staff, felt that gardening would help cut costs. One record I have is that we estimated the value of our total harvest would be $450.00 and our total investment was $160.00.

At the same time our garden was producing so abundantly, the number of campers went down. The furor in town toward the C.O.'s caused Selective Service to add restrictive measures: any draftee within 100 miles of home was transferred to a more distant camp. Since the garden didn't reduce its abundance, we soon had a problem. One day, the gardener brought in 13 or 14 bushels of green beans. At that point we began a course in home canning/pre-

Camp garden at CPS #22

serving. This was before the era of freezing vegetables. I recall the men took on that challenge valiantly!

In August 1942 MCC asked Ralph and me to transfer to Howard, Pennsylvania. This had been a side camp of the Sideling Hill base camp, located on the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Howard was a small town near State College. It was the site of one of the two nurseries operated by the Soil Conservation Service in the Northwestern region. Workers had been supplied for two months by CPS camp #40 at Sideling Hill. Most of the work at the nursery had been devoted to weeding the 13 million seedlings being raised in various growing plots. These seedlings—one to four years old—were being developed for planting on farm land, farm forestry projects, land utilization projects, soil conservation districts or Army campgrounds. The campers kept busy weeding, constructing stone drains, collecting seeds, landscaping, developing sites for observational plantings and painting about the nursery and camp buildings.

The Howard camp was approximately 45 miles from the "Big Valley" churches in Belleville so we had frequent social and/or work days with church members there. Several of the Howard men who had transferred from Sideling Hill camp were from the Belleville area. That probably accounted for such a generous outpouring of "helping" projects. Several are outstanding in my mind: on a Saturday when most of the government work was recessed, the kitchen/maintenance crews still functioned. One week a Belleville group informed us that several carloads and vans of women (plus a few men to drive) would come to camp to spend the day. They would mend and clean or help in other ways. They also brought food and prepared a typical farm Amish/Mennonite meal so that none of the men had kitchen duty on that day. Even though most of the men had learned to sew on buttons and do small mending jobs, it boosted camp morale to have the crowd of women there. There were Saturdays or Sundays too, when groups would come for afternoon games and singing, or when some of the men would be invited to Belleville on weekend leaves.

In September after a month of getting acclimated to the men at Howard, the new kitchen force, and the smaller camp size (50-60 capacity), Ralph and I were asked to come to MCC headquarters in Akron. Now what? we wondered. Orie O. Miller invited me to come to his office while Ralph gave reports to other VIPs. There Miller reviewed with me his growing concern for the need to adequately staff camps with dietitians. The number of camps had grown more rapidly than anticipated, and although women were willing and ready to help out in various capacities, the majority had little or no experience in cooking, planning, and buying in large quantities. They had examined my records and were now requesting that I serve as a consulting dietitian for all the camps. The plan was that I would travel to each camp, spend three or four days with the dietitian, and return to home base at Howard for an occasional week. I informed Brother Miller that such an assignment might be an embarrasment to them and/or me, as I was not a graduate dietitian and I would be visiting camps that did have bona fide dietitians. His response was that there were many ways to learn, and one of the most lasting ways was by experience. He assured me the committee was satisfied with their decision to ask me to take this assignment. So began a new dimension of my CPS service. The fact that we were now in a smaller camp with experienced head cook, business manager and other personnel made it simpler for things to run smoothly with only an occasional visit from me.

In October of 1942 I began my new assignment. The purpose for my visits was twofold: I was to give assistance to the dietitian in recognizing specific problem areas that existed and work together to find a solution. My visit was to convey the message to the women on staff that MCC recognized their assignment as difficult and often lonely. I was asked to send an evaluation to Akron after each camp visit and find some way of sharing suggestions and recipes that each dietitian found helpful. This collection, at the end of my assignment, was then duplicated and sent to each camp dietitian.

There were few cases of serious problems, most due to lack of experience. In a few instances, food supplies were being purchased at a retail grocery store. Some camps had no long-term planning of menus. I made simple suggestions for checking out wholesale buying possibilities, menu planning for one to two weeks ahead, utilizing foods in season, time-saving methods and careful use of leftovers. Each of these helped with the ever present problem of keeping within the budget.

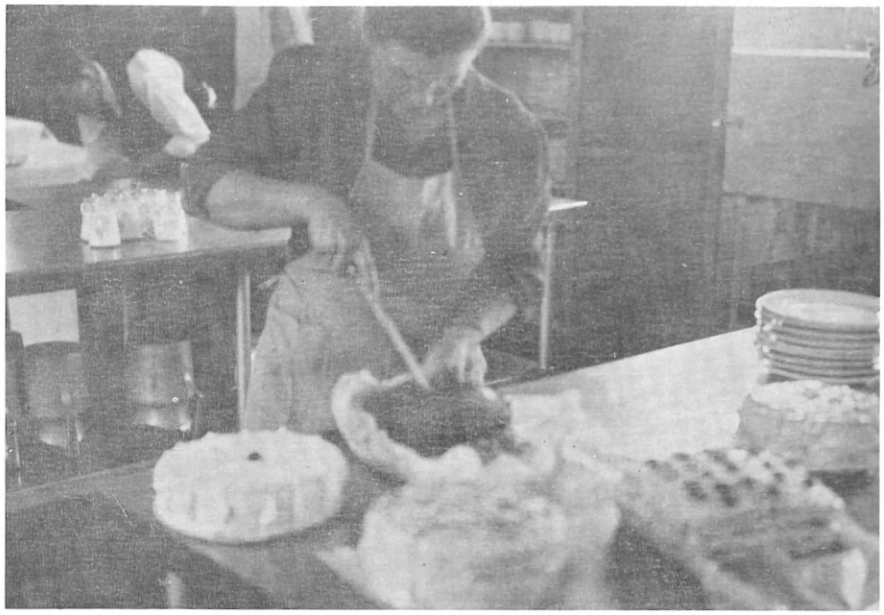
Food costs in the 1940s may seem incomprehensible at today's prices. A note from the Howard kitchen *before* my arrival is as follows:

Typical Noon Meal
Meatloaf/Potatoes
Gravy, Green Beans
Lettuce Salad
Bread/Butter
Peach Tapioca Dessert

Average Cost for August 1942:
per meal - $.1678 cents
per day - $.46 cents

The one unpleasant aspect of my new assignment was the travel complications. All trips were made by train and bus with few reservations ahead of time. It was not determined early on how much time might be needed for each visit. The time would vary with each camp. Also, this was during a war, when military personnel had preference for train travel. Munition factory workers were also commuting and, of course, anything related to peace was not a priority.

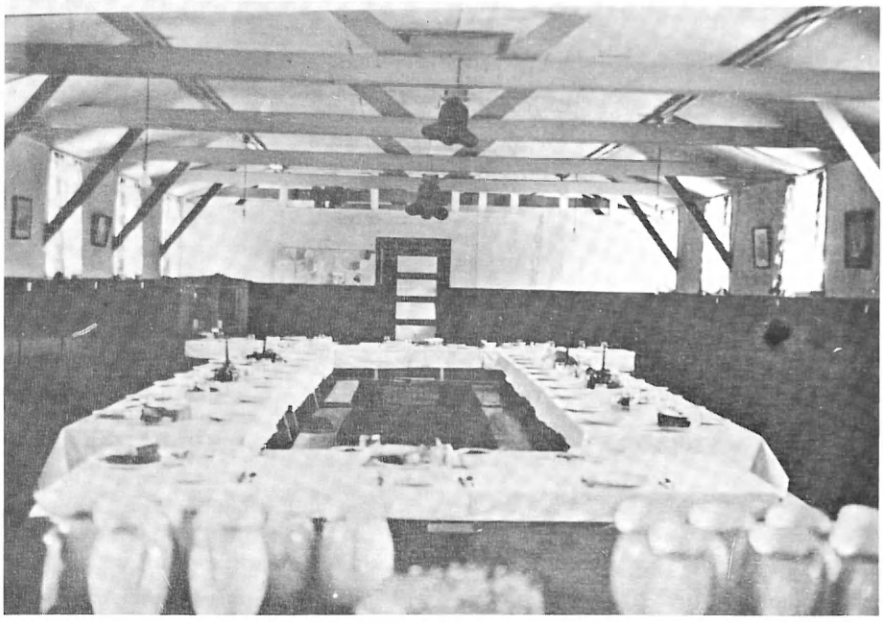
At one point enroute to Hill City, South Dakota, my train was late so I missed my connection to Rapid City. I was informed the next train would be 23 hours later! I trudged to a nearby restaurant to get something to eat, lugging my suitcase with me since there was no place to check it at the local railroad station. As I ate, the motherly-looking waitress hovered and asked questions. I inquired about local overnight facilities for a traveler stranded. Her face and voice registered alarm as she informed me that at sundown every respectable woman gets out of this town, and fast! The small country town sported two restaurants and seven bars, all of them new since the location of a military camp in one direction and a munitions factory in the other. At dusk, she explained, men converge on the tiny town from both directions. Bless her—that helpful waitress did find me a "respectable" ride that took me 30 miles toward my destination. She also gave the driver explicit directions to deliver me, *in person,* to the hotel where she'd called to make sure I could stay. Before my van driver left the hotel, he had also given the hotel manager instructions for my wake-up call and personal escort to the Greyhound bus at 4:00 a.m. the next morning. I have often thought of that waitress and van driver as two of God's angels sent to help me in a very difficult situation. Travel alone during a war was hazardous when patriotic fervor was a contagious fever.



Elizabeth S. Hernley cutting cakes at CPS #40, Howard, Pennsylvania

By mid-December 1942 we were aware that I was pregnant, so we notified MCC that the long trips should probably come to a halt by the end of January. By that time most camps except those in the Pacific Coast region had been visited, my reports had been summarized and the collection of suggestions and recipes contributed by each dietitian and/or camp staff member had been distributed to the various participants.

In mid-February MCC again informed us of an impending transfer. The director of the camp at Sideling Hill was returning to his schoolteaching pastorate position March 1 after a year's leave of absence. Ralph was to replace him as director of the Sideling Hill camp. At the same time Ralph and I decided it would be wise for me to spend most of my remaining pregnant time out of a camp setting. Many of the men at the Sideling Hill camp were from conservative areas. An obviously pregnant woman among so many men seemed somehow improper to them and quite uncomfortable for me. After a few weeks helping Ralph settle into the director's cabin at the camp, I went to Goshen to live with my mother, then Chef/Dietitian of Goshen College.



Dining room at CPS #40

Ralph and Elizabeth Hernley and their son Rodney, at CPS #20, Sideling Hill, Pennsylvania

Our first son was born in Goshen, just five days prior to Ralph's change of status from a staff volunteer to a conscripted C.O. Mennonite Central Committee had petitioned Selective Service that Ralph should be assigned to Sideling Hill in order that there be a continuation of assigned staff. The request was granted.

We had planned that the baby and I would return to camp soon, but physical problems connected with the baby's birth made it impossible. Rodney was born with a congenital deformity classified as arthrogryposis—multiple disabling conditions of the extremities. In our baby's case, the hips, legs and feet were affected. This called for early orthopedic surgery, so we began treatment at age two weeks at South Bend, Indiana. However, after another three months and considerably more knowledge, I did join Ralph at Sideling Hill and began taking Rodney to a Harrisburg, PA, orthopedic surgeon who worked out of Elizabethtown Hospital for Crippled Children.

For the next 14 or 15 months, my time was occupied primarily with care of our young child. He went from one cast to another during that time, with considerable therapy needed to keep tendons and muscles usable. I was given encouragement and pointers on each trip to the doctor or hospital.

I did keep contact with the men in camp at Sideling Hill by beginning an evening class in Music Appreciation at our cabin. I was also available to substitute for the dietitian when she vacationed or wanted my help. I helped with the camp chorus on occasion, though it was difficult for some of the conservative campers to be led by a woman. I tried to keep a low profile in any role that might smack of female "leadership."

On September 9, 1944, orders came from the Selective Service headquarters that Sideling Hill camp was to be closed and the men would be transferred to (mostly) western camps. The work on the Pennsylvania Turnpike was no longer considered to be of national importance.

We transferred to one of the two new units MCC was opening near Lincoln, Nebraska. One of the units was uniquely different in that it was administered by the Peace Problems Committee of the Mennonite Church through the Mennonite Central Committee. Unit #2 at Malcolm, Nebraska, where we were located, had government project work in Soil Conservation, but was also actively involved in an educational program to study Mennonite farming and community trends, past and present. Courses were given in Soils/Crops, Animal Husbandry, Welding, and Farm Mechanics, to get theoretical basis for improved farming methods. There also was an intentional emphasis on spiritual development of the individual and community. The main feature of this part of the program consisted of weekend conferences with outstanding church leaders as input persons, discussing church institutions, church practices, Bible doctrines, mission activities, relief work, and personal growth.

In late September our little family drove West to help prepare the new site for the 35 men that would assemble to work and study together for what turned out to be the remainder of their CPS days. We arrived at the site of our new assignment to find a single dwelling—a mammoth stone house of three floors set alone on a rolling hill and overlooking the countryside for miles around in all directions. No other buildings remained of the original farm, so it presented a stark, open view. A few men had preceded us there and construction had already begun on one of the additional buildings.

The dark, dingy basement in the old stone mansion became kitchen and dining area and the two floors upstairs became sleeping quarters for staff as well as campers. Cooking equipment was scarce—an ancient coal/wood range the only heating and cooking source available. I spent most of my time in planning and preparing meals in order to release all available man power for construction.

There was no running water, no indoor plumbing. The accommodations

were crowded. The old cookstove usually smoked up a storm, so we all were eager to get on a higher plane of living. Before additional quarters could be finished and while additional men were steadily coming in to the new unit, six men were crowded into rooms that measured a mere ten by twelve feet. Double-decker cots were the only possibility for each man's bed space. Our men were a most congenial and dedicated group, and in spite of the inconveniences, kept their sanity and good humor.

I recall one of the early planning visits by Guy Hershberger. All of us were living in the old stone house and I was doing most of the cooking. The men usually washed dishes in the evening. The men had all gone upstairs to their bunks and Ralph and Guy were going over plans for their courses of study once the place would get into full operation. The basement-kitchen-dining area was still smoky from the stubborn stove, and I was making some preparation for the morning meal, when Guy leaned back in his chair and gave his characteristic chuckle, "I wish every Goshen College student could see you two in this uncultured setting! This is *Culture for Service* in action!" (Fifty years ago *Culture for Service* was the Goshen College motto displayed boldly at various places on the campus).

Late in '44 the first building was completed. Circumstances eased when we could expand to a "regular" kitchen and dining hall and make more space in the old stone house. When the staff quarters were completed, Irene Britsch came to Malcolm to become Matron. With her was a young daughter Maretta. The Britsch family and the Hernley family each had a two-room apartment above the kitchen/dining hall area. Also on the second floor was the camp office. By March 1, 1945, the second new building was completed and half the 35 men moved out of the old stone house into the barracks on the second floor of that building. The first floor housed the library and chapel, with recreation room, furnace and coal bins in the basement. A final, smaller building was erected to house the laundry, barber shop, and shower room.

In this Nebraska setting we were not far from the Mennonite community of Milford where there were three or four Mennonite congregations. This was within fifteen miles of camp, so it was an added dimension of community and farm life for us to plan events with the Milford community. I don't recall actually "organizing" any women's groups, but Irene Britsch and I worked together to plan social occasions for the C.O. wives and girlfriends who worked in the community, as well as for the young people from Milford. Sometimes our camp facility was the setting for the socials; other times we were invited to be in the Milford churches and homes for meals. A number of different types of socials included: taffy pulls, talent shows, song-fests, lawn games, outdoor wiener roast/picnic, Halloween party, and hay rides. On some occasions we also invited our friends to join us at camp when special speakers were featured. Always in our planning was the awareness of the purpose of our unit to study and practice ways of being a more cohesive community.

The fact that there were small children in each staff family added a dimension that enhanced the atmosphere of family/community cohesiveness. Many of the men by this time had families of their own. As they watched the stages of development of our children, they could assume similar development in their children.

Having a physically disabled child in the camp also broadened the men's understanding. They never treated Rodney as other than a normal child. The men (kitchen crew in particular) often got involved with helping him to master certain skills. It was a triumph for the whole camp when our son graduated from casts and braces and learned to maneuver with crutches by the time he was three. They also taught him to "play games" while in his body casts. That made his prison seem like a special gift! Malcolm camp did much to mold his outgoing personality.

In late May 1945 I took a month's maternity leave, returning to camp from Goshen with our newborn daughter, Ellen, toward the end of June. In the early days at Malcolm, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to manage two young children and do justice to my assignments. But much had changed since those days of primitive living. The building program was completed, each dorm had bathrooms and running water, the kitchen/dining room was convenient and pleasant, and each person was happy in the scheduled routine and eager and enthusiastic about the opportunities for learning and growing. The hard times and inconveniences we'd survived together with lots of determination and hard work had made us stronger and better able to appreciate the changes.

Malcolm was a pleasant place to conclude our CPS years. When the end of fighting came, each person knew that the CPS experience gave greater capacity for happiness and service in one's own community.

Camp staff at CPS #20; back row, left to right: Elizabeth Hernley (matron), Olen Britsch (business manager), H. Ralph Hernley (director), Atlee Beechy (educational director), Mrs. Beechy?; front row (office staff), left to right: Clarence Rich, J. Richard Blosser, Richard Steiner, Lester Rich; child: Rodney Hernley

Immigration and Famine in Russia, 1833

Two letters of Johann Cornies

by James Urry

The following letters from Johann Cornies to the West Prussian congregational minister David Epp are deposited in the Small Archive Collection of the Mennonite Library and Archives (SA II-650). Cornies (1789-1848) was the famous reformer of the Russian Mennonite colonies and Epp (1779-1863) was a liberal minister in Heubuden, West Prussia, noted for his pietist teaching and philanthropic activities, support of missions and Bible distribution work. In 1862, shortly before his death, he emigrated to Russia.[1] Cornies' letters concern difficulties involved in arranging the emigration of further Mennonite settlers from Prussia to Russia and crop failure and famine in New Russia.

The Mennonites had originally begun to emigrate from Prussia to Russia in 1788 under provisions of a manifesto drawn up in 1763 by Catherine the Great to encourage foreigners to settle in Russia.[2] Although these provisions remained in force for some time, new rules in 1804 restricted the selection of immigrants to those with special skills, especially model farmers. These rules, however, favored Mennonite group-settlement and remained in force until 1819 when ostensibly a temporary ban was placed on further immigration.[3] The ban, however, did not apply to Mennonites "in view of the industriousness and excellent state of farming prevalent among all Mennonites."[4]

Cornies had long been concerned with the immigration of new, especially skilled, colonists. He was involved with the group-settlement of new immigrants, Mennonite and non-Mennonite, in the period 1817 to 1825.[5] In spite of the changes in official policy, in 1827 the government gave permission for 600 Mennonite families to emigrate from Prussia to Russia to settle the remaining land set aside in the Molotschna colony, if they deposited 400 Prussian gulden to cover settlement costs.[6] Presumably this is the equivalent of the 800 rubles mentioned in the letters. Some immigrants also had to deposit a bond, a security which was refunded upon their arrival in the colonies. But in 1833, as the letters indicate, the government in St. Petersburg suddenly decided that no more families would be admitted, although official notice of their decision apparently had not been received in the provinces. In spite of this change in policy, in 1834 twenty-six Mennonite families were permitted to immigrate and in 1835 forty families.[7] But the official announcement of an end to all foreign immigration so alarmed the colonists that in 1835 they asked the Emperor, Nicholas I, to reaffirm the rights enshrined in their Privilegium of 1800.[8] This he did, and it would appear that some kind of immigration continued throughout the 1830s. In 1835 and 1836 two group-settlements of Groningen Old Flemish Mennonites (affiliated with the Alexanderwohl group who had settled earlier in Molotschna) established the villages of Gnadenfeld and Waldheim in Molotschna and individuals continued to arrive in the colony up to 1839.[9]

In 1841 Cornies received permission from the Minister of State Domains, General P. D. Kiselev, to bring more settlers from Prussia, particularly skilled craftsmen intended for the new "industrial" artisan-settlement located at Neu Halbstadt.[10] Cornies' plans for further group-settlements of immigrants, however, were prevented by the outbreak in 1848 of revolutionary disturbances in many European urban centers, including Prussia.[11] Cornies also died in 1848 and many of his programs for reform were abandoned by his successors.[12] However, during the 1850s the Russian authorities allowed more Mennonites to emigrate to Russia from Prussia to form group-settlements in the Volga area of Samara.[13] This was to be the final large-scale Mennonite emigration from Prussia to Russia, although individuals and families continued to emigrate throughout the rest of the nineteenth century.

The 1833 famine mentioned by Cornies followed the worst period of crop failure in nineteenth century Russia before the disastrous famine of 1891-92.[14] It was certainly the worst crop failure and famine in southern Russia during the nineteenth century.[15] The period of poor crops began in 1830. In 1832 the crops failed completely and again in 1833 hot weather prevented proper crop growth.[16] The lack of fodder led to the slaughter of large numbers of livestock. By 1834 the number of cattle in Molotschna had fallen from 9,032 in 1833 to 5,611, the number of horses from 7,346 to 4,986 and the large sheep flocks, upon which the prosperity of the colony depended, also decreased, although not as badly. The price of foodstuffs, especially the staple bread, increased dramatically. The dry topsoil blew away, forming dune-like drifts against the sides of houses. While no Mennonites starved, in neighboring villages Little Russian (Ukrainian) peasants and Nogai Tatars suffered dreadfully and some died of hunger.

Although the Russian authorities provided aid, the Mennonites also organized relief assistance, contributing large sums of money to assist the needy, help that later was officially acknowledged by the Russian authorities.[17] The change in the District Mayor mentioned in Cornies' second letter may well reflect the need for a more skilled person to handle the relief aid which was

directed through the District Office. Cornies supported Regier as District Mayor, often against the opposition of conservative church leaders, and Regier helped Cornies in his reform of Mennonite agriculture, industry and educational institutions.[18]

The crop failure and famine hastened these reforms which Cornies had begun with government encouragement in the 1820s. Following the famine, the government introduced new regulations concerning the building of granaries and the payment of sums to insure against further crop failures.[19] Village granaries became a feature of Mennonite settlements until government regulations changed in 1870s and many were sold to Mennonite entrepreneurs for their timber or were relocated as outbuildings.

Following the famine, Cornies' powers increased especially after a new Ministry of State Domains was established in 1836 and took over control of foreign colonists in 1837. The new Ministry aimed to reform the state peasants, colonists and other groups under government control. In New Russia the Mennonites, and especially Cornies, were to play a major role in these plans for reform. Cornies' earlier achievements in agricultural development, his efforts to encourage the immigration of skilled settlers and his ability to organize such things as famine relief, received government recognition. By the 1840s Cornies was a powerful figure, not just in the Molotschna, but also throughout New Russia.[20]

Johann Cornies

The Letters[21]

Orhloff [Molotschna, Tavrida Province, New Russia]
September 26th 1833

To the Honorable David Epp in Heubuden [West Prussia]

Dear Friend,

Yesterday, the 25th of September, I finally received an answer to my enquiry of July 22nd concerning the denial of the right of Mennonites to immigrate to Russia. In fact, it was dated the 18th of August and came from Collegienrath von Fadeev in Penha under whose leadership the greater part of the south Russian colonies stand.[22] He writes to me that he is unaware of any denial from that part of Russia for the Mennonites of Prussia to emigrate to Russia. In fact it is quite the opposite. Permission has been granted specifically for 270 familes to immigrate—in accordance with the management of the normal [established] bond *(festgesetzten Caution)*—which here is the concern of District Offices *(Gebietsamte)*. So, if the requirements can be met by those eager to make this move, (namely, 800 rubles to be paid to the [Russian] Consulate [in Danzig]) they are free to immigrate. If the Consul still cannot find places for all the emigrants, let them arrange it with their families and their possessions according to the actual conditions—no more, no less—and send the correct number over here where any oversight can be worked out.

Every family has to declare its own assets and chattels *(Vermögen)* and not permit the goods of others to be brought with them—we have had enough difficulty with that type of thing here. Their possessions can be verified by signatures of the church elders over there [in Prussia].

This area [of New Russia] is a rather sad and depressing sight at present. Conditions are ruining the settlers in the worst way. Cattle by the thousands have been sold for ridiculously low prices. The cattle that are still available are in a miserable shape by now; some are barely alive and will have a hard time making it through the winter. There is no hay, just thorny weeds that will be barely sufficient for their subsistence. Several hundred horned sheep have succumbed to epidemic and pestilence *(Seuche und Pesten)*.[23] Worst of all is the lack of bread, although in parts of the District officials have made good arrangements for providing aid. The District Mayor [Johann] Claassen [Klassen] has left and his place taken by Johann Regehr [Regier], previously District

Secretary who is an excellent man.[24] Actually, there is practically no grain in this area. The price of grain is very high. If no grain were available where could it be obtained? Everything is going backwards. One fears a famine will occur and God knows how it will turn out. Even though there is already such a shortage of bread, I do not believe that a famine will actually occur especially as in our colony-community *(Gemeinde)*[25] the resources have been brought together in order to prevent it. With our [non-Mennonite] neighbors it would be a different matter. They would experience a famine. Whatever God does, is done well.
Farewell,
Johan[n] Cornies

Ekaterinoslav
[Ekaterinoslav Province, New Russia]
October 18th [1833]

My dear friend David Epp,

If there are those of our fellow believers out there in Prussia who wish to move here to Russia in order to settle permanently, they will not be accepted without providing a bond or paying 800 rubles in [paper] currency *(Banco)* at the Russian Consulate. However, since the Consul has received definite orders not to issue any passports, this has stopped the emigration process. So my advice to those who really wish to emigrate, but who cannot pay the 800 rubles again, is that they get together as a group around the New Year, draw up a list of families and provide an indication of their number. They should also keep an account of how much capital they can raise in ready-cash, not counting the 800 rubles, and record it against each family list. To prove this has been done in a proper manner four congregational elders should sign the list and affix the seal of the congregation to the document. This statement will then be a formal petition to the Molotschna Mennonite District Office. Each individual person must petition the Office stating in what village and in which territory they are applying [for settlement permits]. This procedure will make it easier for the Russian Consul in Danzig to issue passports, that is individual passes, once he receives the permission to accept the 800 rubles from registered Mennonites.

So far the shortage of bread in our colony-community has been alleviated so that famine may not actually occur. But unfortunately, how about the [other] Mennonite colonists? As far as we can foresee the shortage of foodstuffs could result in the worst!
Farewell, adieu.
Your true friend,
Johan[n] Cornies

Note particularly: It is risky *(Waagestück)* to issue travel passes to families merely hoping to come here and stay. I am advising against this as I fear that to do so could have serious repercussions for the individuals concerned and also could embarrass us.

ENDNOTES

[1]On Cornies see David H. Epp, *Johann Cornies, Züge aus seinem Leben und Wirken* (Berdiansk: Botschafter, 1909; Steinbach: Echo-Verlag, 1946); Harvey L. Dyck, "Russian servitor and Mennonite hero: light and shadow in images of Johann Cornies," *Journal of Mennonite Studies,* 2 (1984), 9-28; James Urry, *None but Saints: the Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia, 1789-1889* (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1989), Chapter 6. On Epp see Ernst Crous, "Vom Pietismus bei den altpreussischen Mennoniten im Rahmen ihrer Gesamtgeschichte," *Mennonitische Geschischtsblätter,* 11 (1954), 15,17; *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955), s.v. "Epp, David," by Gustav E. Reimer.

[2]David G. Rempel, "The emigration to New Russia, 1787-1870: Part I the colonization policy of Catherine II and Alexander I," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* 9 (1935), 71-91; "Part II the emigration to Russia," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* 9 (1935), 109-28; Roger P. Bartlett, *Human Capital: the Settlement of Foreigners in Russia 1762-1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[3]Roger P. Bartlett, "Foreign colonies and foreign rural settlement in the Russian Empire," *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History,* vol. 11, (Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1979), 212.

[4]Quoted in Rempel, "The emigration to New Russia . . . Part II the emigration to Russia," 125.

[5]Urry, *None but Saints,* 97-99, 111.

[6]S. D. Bondar, *Sekta mennonitov Rossii, v sviazi s istoriei nemestskoi kolonizatsii na iuge Rossii* (Petrograd: V. D. Smirnova, 1916), 34; Rempel, "The emigration to New Russia . . . Part II the emigration to Russia," 125.

[7]Rempel, "The emigration to New Russia . . . Part II the emigration to Russia," 125.

[8]Bondar, *Sekta mennonitov Rossii,* 35; see Franz Isaak, *Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte derselben* (Halbstadt: H. J. Braun, 1908), 21-22 for the 1838 official confirmation of the continuation of the privileges awarded in 1800.

[9]The Waldheimers came from Volhynia in Russian Poland and thus were not technically immigrants, but the Gnadenfelders came from Brandenburg Prussia, not from the Danzig area of West Prussia like the majority of Mennonite immigrants at this period, see Urry, *None but Saints,* 130-31. Walter Adrian published the diary of an emigrant who moved in 1839 in *Mennonite Life* ("A thrilling story from an old diary," 3 (1948), 23-24, 26-28, 39, 44).

[10]Bondar, *Sekta mennonitov,* 41; on the new settlement see Urry, *None but Saints,* 140-41. In 1845, 51 families (200 people) emigrated to Molotschna, *Ibid.,* 289.

[11]Bondar, *Sekta mennonitov,* 42.

[12]Urry, *None but Saints,* 148-49, 199 etc.

[13]Rempel, "The emigration to New Russia . . . Part II the emigration to Russia," 126-28.

[14]Richard G. Robbins Jr., *Famine in Russia 1891-1892: the Imperial Government Responds to a Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975).

[15]For a listing of the major crop failures and famine with particular reference to the 1832-33 famine see Arcadius Kahan, "The Tsar 'hunger' in the land of the Tsars," in his *Russian Economic History: the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Roger Weiss (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[16]A report on the crop failure and famine written in 1835 and attributed to Cornies was translated and published by John B. Toews in *Mennonite Life* (" 'The good old days': a Russian Mennonite document from 1835," 23 (1968), 31-34). Toews located the original text in the A. A. Friesen papers held in the Mennonite Library and Archives. It apparently had been discovered in 1923 in Soviet Russia and forwarded to Canada. In fact the account had previously been published, probably by David H. Epp, in the *Odessaer Zeitung* in 1904 ("Das Notjahr 1833 und die Molotschnaer Mennoniten (aus vergilbten Paperien)," 131-32, 133 (12/25 June-13-26 June; 17/30 June)). Epp later included almost the complete account in his "Historische Übersicht über den Zustand der Mennoniten-gemeinden an der Molotschna vom Jahre 1836," *Unser Blatt* (Moscow), 3 (February 1928), 139-43. I have corrected Toews' transcription of the numbers of livestock, using these earlier published accounts.

[17]As well as the 1835 account noted above, see also Isaak, *Molotschnaer Mennoniten,* 19-20.

[18]Urry, *None but Saints,* 127-28.

[19]Kahan, "The Tsar 'hunger'," 121-22.

[20]Urry, *None but Saints,* Chapters 6-8.

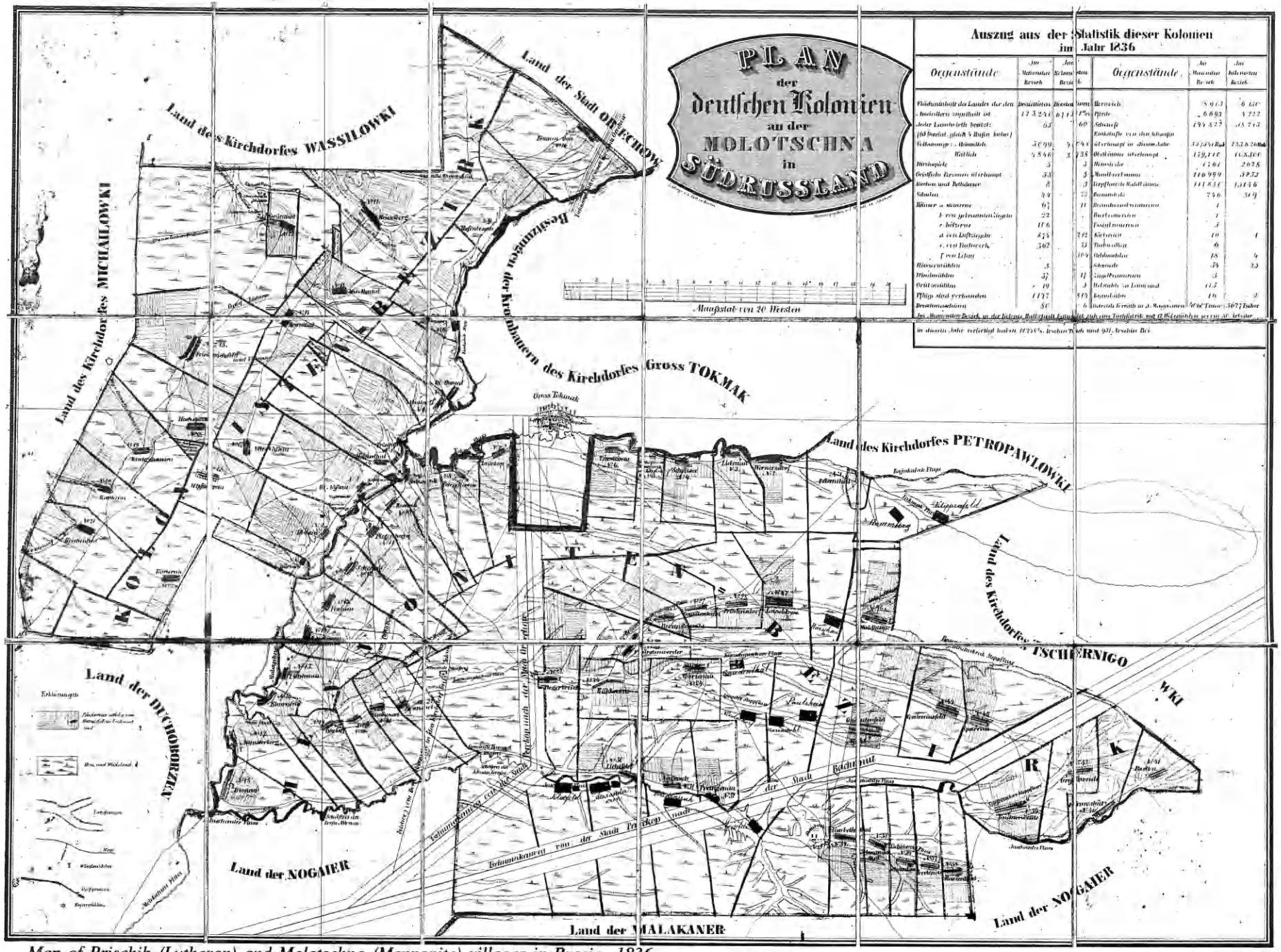
[21]The letters are contemporary copies of the correspondence. These translations are based on an anonymous translation filed with the copied letters in the Library and Archive. I have made minor changes to assist clarity, in places, after consulting the original letter-copies. It is a free translation as the original German is archaic. I am most grateful to the Archivist, John Thiesen, for his assistance with the text.

[22]Andrei Mikhaelovich Fadeev (1790-1867) was a major official in the Guardian's Committee which administered the colonists. The identification of Penha is problematic and may be a copyist's error. It might be Penza, a province near the Volga where Fadeev may have been sent, especially as the next sentence seems to indicate he is outside New Russia. In July 1833 the Guardian's Committee was in the process of reorganization with its main office being relocated in Odessa and Penha may be a misreading of Odessa.

[23]The original translation gave this as "smallpox"; In fact sheep did suffer from small-pox which was a major cause of epidemic and death.

[24]Johann Klassen of Tiegerweide (1785-1841; District Mayor 1827-1833) and Johann Regier of Schönsee (1802-42; District Mayor 1833-42) were brothers-in-law, see Delbert Plett, *Pioneers and Pilgrims: the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba, Nebraska and Kansas 1874-1882* (Steinbach: D. F. P. Publications, 1990), 306, 308, 325, n63. Regier succeeded Klassen on 19 September 1833 before he had completed his full term in office, see Isaak, *Molotschnaer Mennoniten,* 87.

[25]The use of the term *Gemeinde* is always problematic as it could refer to just the congregation, here the Flemish congregation of Ohrloff. But here, and in the next letter it is clear Cornies is refering to the colony of Molotschna.



Map of Prischib (Lutheran) and Molotschna (Mennonite) villages in Russia, 1836

Imaginative Construction
The Theology of Gordon Kaufman

by Alain Epp Weaver

Gordon Kaufman, professor of theology at Harvard Divinity School, has exercised a tremendous influence on the contemporary theological scene, Mennonite and non-Mennonite. There has, however, been little critical evaluation in Mennonite publications of his theological writing since the appearance of his monumental *Systematic Theology*[1] in 1968. This essay, I hope, will help to fill this critical lacuna. I will primarily be concerned with presenting Kaufman's understanding of theological method, for that is the central question with which Kaufman has been concerned. I will then examine and evaluate some of the objections that have been directed at Kaufman's current theological thinking.

Theology as Imaginative Construction

Beginning with his *Essay on Theological Method* (1975), Kaufman has come to conceive of theology as imaginative construction. To understand this conception of theology, one must appreciate Kaufman's radical historicism. All human beings, according to Kaufman, reason and experience within cultural and linguistic frameworks that have shaped reasoning and experiencing: "we are never able to get to a presuppositionless point from which we can freely and without bias choose our framework of interpretation. We are always already living in and operating out of one (or more) world-picture(s)."[2] Religious language and experience are always parts of particular world-pictures. Appeals to universal reason or experience are misguided in Kaufman's view for "there really is no such universally human position available to us; every religious (or secular) understanding and way of life we might uncover is a *particular* one."[3] The linguistic forms and the categories and concepts employed in a certain framework should not be understood as making metaphysical claims about ultimate reality or truth, says Kaufman, siding with the many contemporary philosophers who eschew such objectivism. They are, however, part of the imaginative constructions through which people seek to orient themselves in the world:

> Since the terms and images which articulate these world-conceptions or world-pictures are never simply representations gained in direct perception, they should not be understood as directly descriptive of objects (of experience). As products of and constitutive of a poetic or imaginative vision, they are properly understood as essentially elements within and functions of that overarching vision or conception.[4]

Kaufman's philosophical assumptions lead him to reject two different theological approaches: the neo-orthodox emphasis on revelation and the liberal appeal to universal experience. In addressing the neo-orthodox approaches, Kaufman warns that we "dare no longer simply assume that we know from authoritative tradition or past revelation the correct values and standards."[5] In response to theological liberals who wish to begin with universal experiences of the Ultimate or the Transcendent, Kaufman retorts that

> There is no such thing as a raw prelinguistic experience of "transcendence," say, as distinguished from the experience of "ultimacy" or the "infinite." Each of these "experiences" is shaped, delimited and informed by the linguistic symbols which also name it.[6]

Instead of beginning with revelation or "universal" experience, theologians should, Kaufman asserts, consciously conceive of their task as one of construction. Theology has always been imaginative construction, and the awareness of this fact should influence the way theologians conduct their work. The purpose of theology, says Kaufman, is "to produce concepts (and world-pictures and stories) which make possible adequate orientation in life and the world."[7] Imaginative construction, according to Kaufman, is always a "dialectic between received tradition and the creation of theological novelty."[8] The theologian's work is of necessity shaped by the cultural and linguistic framework that shaped her. Theological construction is

> in part the task of articulating and explicating a world already in certain respects defined in and by the culture in its religious traditions, its (conscious and unconscious) myths, its rituals and

taboos, its linguistic classifications; that is, it is always based on the prior human constructive activity which produced and shaped the culture.[9]

The theologian is always living within a particular world-view and cannot hope to escape it. The best the theologian can hope for "is to become sufficiently conscious of the stance" within which she is "living and acting so as to become critical of it to some degree."[10] The theologian thus has two tasks. The first is to explore the Christian symbol system as articulated in Scripture and tradition. "As theologians we necessarily dig ever deeper into our tradition that we might better grasp the God that is mediated through it," Kaufman observes. "The theologian must necessarily and continuously drink deeply from the Bible and the best of biblical scholarship."[11] The theologian's second task is to critique the previous development of the Christian symbols and then to reconstruct them. Kaufman believes that theologians

> must be prepared to enter into the most radical kind of deconstruction and reconstruction of the traditions they have inherited, including especially the most central and precious symbols of these traditions, *God* and *Jesus Christ.*[12]

For instance, Kaufman endorses the metaphorical theology of Sallie McFague, who deconstructs the patriarchal trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit and reconstructs the tradition with ecological and feminist metaphors.[13] The importance of deconstructing the traditional articulations of Christian symbols, Kaufman believes, is reinforced by the ability of humanity to destroy not only itself but creation as well through nuclear war. This destructive capability "shows that it is a mistake to regard our human world as grounded on any fixed or finished givens, whether values or facts."[14] The constructive enterprise, while limited by what has gone before, is, in Kaufman's theology, a radical undertaking that casts a suspicious eye on previous interpretations of Christian symbols.

The Truth of Imaginative Constructions

Given his understanding of theology as imaginative construction, Kaufman's primary methodological concern becomes "the development of criteria and procedures for carrying on" the construction of the concept of God and a Christian world-view.[15] Traditionally, one would say that a theology should be true, that is, that it should in some way correspond to Ultimate Reality. Kaufman's radical historicism, however, is incompatible with such a referential understanding of language; rather, it suits the Wittgensteinian dictum that the meaning of words and phrases consists in the ways they are used. Words, concepts, and their uses, are specific to particular world-views, as are the criteria for identifying truth. These truth-criteria vary from world-view to world-view, from culture to culture. Kaufman realizes that

> it is impossible to break out of an ultimate relativism of viewpoints so long as we continue simply to weigh one truth-claim against another, since each proceeds from different premises and is coherent and reasonable in terms of the overall world-view which it presupposes and expresses.[16]

Gordon Kaufman, ca. 1979

Not surprisingly, Kaufman is unwilling to accept that humans are condemned to an "ultimate relativism of viewpoints." As no universal truth-criteria are available, however, he tries to develop a pragmatic criterion of truth.

Kaufman believes that world-views can be judged on the basis of whether or not they are humanizing. "That which will further humanization as we move into the future is to be regarded as justifiable and good," he claims; "that which is dehumanizing . . . must be judged negatively."[17] This proposal is not as straightforward as it might initially sound, because the criteria for what is humanizing vary from world-view to world-view. Kaufman recognizes the difficulty of his task. He believes, however, that in the criterion of humanization he has found a criterion that can be used in evaluating the "truth" of all religions. Every religious tradition, Kaufman claims,

> implicitly invokes a human or humane criterion to justify its existence and its claims. My proposal that we make humanization our explicit criterion for evaluating the several religious traditions and their claims is thus based on a recognition of something implicit in them all.[18]

Although the human criteria invoked by different religions may be different, Kaufman believes that the question of humanization is the proper point for conversation concerning the truth of religious frameworks. Through a comparison of alternative world-views, the theologian can hope to arrive at a pragmatic evaluation of which are most humanizing. In such a conversation

> each disputant will have to show why his or her interpretation is most adequate to the actual realities of this life, and therefore can most properly lay claim to our allegiance in this life.[19]

Such theological work would obviously be highly exploratory, seeking to make pragmatic judgments about the humanizing potential of different world-views. Kaufman does not explictly specify many criteria for measuring such potential. The one criterion he does suggest is that of longevity. Kaufman asserts that "only the power to explain, interpret, and orient human life has enabled some positions and claims to survive and grow in intellectual and cultural power, whereas others, gradually or quickly, have died out."[20] From this statement one would have to assume that Kaufman would judge as pragmatically false all "primitive" religions that have failed to survive the encounter with the Western world. For a religious world-view to be pragmatically testable, Kaufman believes, it must be accepted by a significant number of people. He argues that

> only those metaphysical and theological claims, which successfully articulate and thus help to consolidate and extend what are in effect *religious positions* for large masses of people, can hold any hope of actually transforming human existence in some significant ways and are thus pragmatically testable.[21]

In other words, if one is to know whether or not a religion's claims to be humanizing are valid, that religion must be widespread enough so that the life it makes possible can be observed and evaluated.

The theologian's task is thus to construct humanizing world-views. A Christian theologian does work under some constraints; for instance, if her theology is to be Christian, it will continue to work with the two central symbols of Christianity, God and Christ.[22] That does not mean, however, that the Christian theologian should not take up a highly critical stance toward the Christian symbols. In fact, Kaufman believes that, should the Christian story prove inadequate guidance in today's world, it should be abandoned. He argues that if Christ's story

> provides significant insight and orientation into human life and today's problems, Christology can and should continue to have a place in our theological reflection and our religious devotion; if not, we should allow it to fall away so that we can come to terms with the issues with which the world today confronts us.[23]

Kaufman obviously does not believe that Christology should be abandoned, as he continues to reflect theologically on the Christ story. He does entertain the possibility, however, that it should be abandoned were it to fail the pragmatic test of humanization. This raises the question, which Kaufman himself poses, of whether or not the pragmatic test of humanization can "be justified as properly Christian, and not just humanistic."[24] Kaufman's willingness to continue to work within the Christian story, however, demonstrates his belief that Christianity is truly humanizing. Kaufman also defends his criterion of humanization as an outgrowth of his Mennonite upbringing. He asserts that the Mennonite emphasis on moral values and performance over truth-claims has showed up in his theological work "with its central claim that the 'truth' of our 'imaginative constructions' is finally to be tested in the quality of life that they bring forth."[25] The pragmatic test of humanization, therefore, although it may appear to be an extra-Christian criterion, has its roots in the religious community in which Kaufman grew up.

Perhaps the most unsettling element of Kaufman's theology to traditional Mennonitism is his assertion that theology should be a public, not a sectarian, affair. Theology, he writes, should be "a generally significant cultural enterprise with universal and public standards, not a parochial or idiosyncratic activity of interest only to special groups."[26] This claim stems from Kaufman's belief that the roots of theology are not in the church's tradition, Scripture, or "raw experience," but "in the ordinary language(s) of Western culture at large, i.e. in the living speech of people for whom the word 'God' has peculiar weight and significance."[27] Kaufman thus advocates that theology's locus of activity move away from particular denominational perspectives, perhaps away from the church, and into the broader cultural arena. In this larger forum would be many theologians, each approaching the constructive task from particular traditions that have shaped them. The theologian, Kaufman believes, must learn both to draw upon that tradition while seeking to become critical of it, to work within her own tradition while being open to the insights of other cultures. The result would be a public theology informed by a variety of world-views, both religious and secular:

> As the heteronomy and authoritarianism of tradition in theology are thus overcome, theologians will find themselves becoming open to insights and understandings, points of view and life orientations, symbols and values drawn from the many diverse traditions and cultures of humankind, both secular and religious, scientific and historical as well as theological.[28]

Ultimately, Kaufman calls on the theologian not to be bound by a particular tradition, but to enter into a conversation with members of other faiths and perspectives in the common quest for a humane world.

Kaufman's work has always been in the forefront of theological thinking and continues to influence those theologians extending the boundaries of their discipline. His conception of theology as imaginative construction, for instance, has been hailed as an important development by theological deconstructionists.[29] Kaufman's work has also influenced and been influenced by feminist theology. Feminist theologians such as Sallie McFague and Sheila Greeve Davaney have found methodological inspiration in Kaufman's concept of theological construction.[30] Kaufman himself recently acknowledged the influence of feminist thought on his theological method: "my growing convictions—stimulated by feminist critics —that our religious traditions were thoroughly corrupted by sexism, helped me to think of those traditions as entirely products of human creativity."[31]

Kaufman's current efforts promise to be both philosophically and politically up-to-date; he is working on a theology with an "emphasis on ecological and evolutionary metaphors" and an "explicit rejection of the metaphysical dualism fostered by the traditional understanding of God as creator."[32]

Kaufman and His Critics

The radical, provocative elements of Kaufman's theology have always engendered vigorous critical discussion, although many of Kaufman's critics have often failed to grasp the subtlety of his theology. In this section I will evaluate some of the objections raised by Kaufman's Mennonite and non-Mennonite critics.

In an article on the possibility of Mennonite systematic theology, Tom Finger argues that a Mennonite systematic theology would have kerygmatic and apologetic elements. A Mennonite theology would acknowledge the conflict between the way of Christ and other ways; "such theologies," Finger maintains, "could not begin as Gordon Kaufman does: by constructing a 'world' in metaphysical fashion."[33] Finger's criticism fails to address the radical elements of Kaufman's proposals on theological method. If Kaufman is right, then theology always has been imaginative construction; beginning with the "way of Christ" means, in Kaufman's terms, living in an interpretive framework built up through the imaginative work of previous generations. Kaufman does not advocate abandoning the way of Christ, but rather becoming aware of the constructed character of the Christian story and carrying out future theologizing in light of that awareness. Also, Finger does not seem to appreciate the fact that, although Kaufman is willing to undertake a radical reconstruction of the Christian symbols, he *does* begin with the Christian story and admits the epistemological necessity and the theological desirability of working with elements of the tradition that has shaped him.

A. James Reimer has accused Kaufman of developing too individualistic a view of the theologian. Kaufman's theology, Reimer claims, "is too individual and autonomous, freed from the *restraints of the revelatory tradition as passed on to us.*"[34] As we have seen, Kaufman indeed does advocate freeing the theologian from an uncritical acceptance of tradition and Scripture. That does not mean, however, that Kaufman has an individualistic understanding of the theologian. First of all, the theologian must draw upon what has preceded her. Secondly, the theologian's imaginative constructions must find acceptance in community life. Kaufman recognizes that the theological "work of art is to be *lived in*. . . . It must find a kind of public acceptance as a proper home in which to live."[35] If it fails to find such acceptance, then the theologian has failed in her task. The theological task of imaginative construction is thus held in check by the public that it is intended to serve. Reimer's point does have merit, however, insofar as Kaufman's analysis of theological method would benefit from an analysis of the way in which the theologian's imaginative constructions are influenced by her participation in a community of believers.

Perhaps the most potent criticisms of Kaufman's theology are those directed against his claim that theology should be a public, rather than a church-specific, affair. The post-liberal theologian George Lindbeck of Yale, for instance, rejects Kaufman's claim that the meaning of religious language is to be found in the everyday, public discourse of persons in Western society. Lindbeck argues instead that to find the meaning of religious terms one should look to the church traditions with which they are inextricably intertwined:

> Western culture is full of echoes of the understanding of God as relativizer and humanizer [the view of God Kaufman advances], but the primary locus of this understanding inevitably remains the religious use in worship and action of a certain set of narratives about creation, election, judgment and redemption.[36]

To buttress their positions both Kaufman and Lindbeck draw upon Ludwig Wittgenstein's philosophy of language according to which the meaning of words is their use. Kaufman seems to be in the unenviable position of claiming that most of the ordinary usage of religious language occurs in extra-church contexts. To a certain degree such a position would have validity, at least in the United States, where much religious usage is to be found in the public realm of American civil religion. However, it would also be hard to deny that some church communities do exist that, consciously or unconsciously, use religious language in ways other than civil religion. Kaufman, in my estimation, does not provide any convincing reasons why one should choose the religious uses of the "broader" public than of particular religious communities.

Another criticism that relates to Kaufman's conception of theology as a public affair is the charge that in trying to make theology public, Kaufman risks "selling out" the Christian agenda to secular ones. William Placher, for instance, sees the following danger:

> Revisionist theologians [Placher's designation for Kaufman, David Tracy, Schubert Ogden, and others] are trying to get Christian theology involved in the conversations of our culture. It is a laudable aim. Their strategies for accomplishing that end, however, risk cutting and trimming the gospel to fit it to the categories of a particular philosophical or cultural position.[37]

The fear that Kaufman is "trimming the gospel" centers around Kaufman's criterion of humanization, which, some fear, risks "an accommodation to whatever humanism comes down the pike."[38] Kaufman would undoubtedly object to this somewhat facile association of humanism with an attempt to consider the human impact of a worldview. If, as Kaufman argues, all religions at least implicitly call upon human criteria for their justification, then it is perfectly compatible with Christianity to consider the impact of different interpretations of its central symbols on human life. Kaufman is indeed willing and eager to cultivate insights from other traditions, religious and secular, in constructing his theology, but, as a Christian theologian, he continues to integrate those insights into an interpretive framework centered around the fundamental concepts of God and Christ.

Some Mennonite theologians have criticized Kaufman's theology on the grounds that it cannot adequately confront the nuclear and environmental catastrophes Kaufman hopes to avert. One such theologian, H. Victor Froese, argues that the moral sensibility Kaufman hopes to promote through his theology "can only be adequately fostered within a specific community already committed to a theological understanding of reality nurtured by some sort of tradition, ritual, practice, and reflection."[39] Froese feels that Kaufman's insistence that the theologian not leave the biblical narrative,

tradition, and church practice unscrutinized cuts the theologian off from the church community. That need not be the case. Instead, one could think of the theologian constructing religious worldviews which draw on church tradition and which are tested and subsequently accepted or rejected by the church community. In other words, a conception of theology as imaginative construction is not inherently incompatible with a conception of the theologian as a member participating in and regulated in part by a church community. Other theologians wonder if Kaufman's philosophically-based denial that the word "God" *refers* to a radically transcendent being will discourage action to prevent the disasters which face humanity. A. James Reimer, for instance, argues that "only the recovery of a more classical view of transcendence and the 'sovereignty of God' gives us any hope for averting the nuclear and environmental catastrophes which loom ahead of us."[40] Duane Friesen makes a similar point when he claims that it is

> crucial to be able to believe in a being called God (God is not just an imaginative human construct that will see "death" in a nuclear catastrophe) that is actively working in the universe to bring wholeness out of the chaos, and that we are not alone responsible for the fate of the earth. Only that kind of faith can sustain hope and action.[41]

Both Reimer and Friesen thus wish to retain a role for a transcendent subject in theology partly on the grounds that only the belief in a transcendent being can provide the impetus for social action. Indeed, in my view, Kaufman does not provide sufficient analysis of the positive potential of theological construction; he focuses rather on the importance of conceiving of theology as construction and the need for such self-conscious theologizing. Neither Reimer or Friesen, however, respond in their criticisms of Kaufman to the philosophical grounds on which Kaufman bases his rejection of an objectivist, referential understanding of God-talk.

Gordon Kaufman's theology of imaginative construction is marked by its unusual philosophical sophistication. His theological concerns also exhibit a sensitivity to pressing social issues, such as the nuclear and environmental catastrophes. While Kaufman's theology is not free of problems, all Mennonites (as well as non-Mennonites) would be well-advised to take it seriously, as his writing has the exceptional quality of stimulating reflection on such central issues as theological method and the truth of theological claims.

ENDNOTES

[1]Since his *Systematic Theology: A Historicist Perspective* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), Kaufman has published five books, the following three of which will be examined here: *An Essay on Theological Method* (Missoula, Montana: Scholar's Press, 1975); *The Theological Imagination: Constructing the Concept of God* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1981); and *Theology for a Nuclear Age* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1985). I will focus primarily on these three books, for it is in them that Kaufman explicitly conceives of theology as imaginative construction. The only systematic analysis of Kaufman's theology in a Mennonite publication is H. Victor Froese's article, "Gordon D. Kaufman's Theology 'Within the Limits of Reason Alone': A Review," *Conrad Grebel Review* 6 (Winter 1988), 1-26.

[2]Kaufman, *Theological Imagination,* 31.

[3]Gordon D. Kaufman, "Religious Diversity, Historical Consciousness, and Christian Theology," in *The Myth of Christian Uniqueness,* ed. John Hick and Paul Knitter (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987), 5.

[4]Kaufman, *Theological Imagination,* 28.

[5]Kaufman, *Theology for a Nuclear Age,* 13. Kaufman makes a similar point in *The Theological Imagination,* pp. 29-30, when he argues that traditional vocabulary should not be uncritically accepted as it was worked out on the assumption that God-talk was referential in character.

[6]Kaufman, *Essay,* 4.

[7]Ibid., 32.

[8]Kaufman, *Theology for a Nuclear Age,* 13.

[9]Kaufman, *Essay,* 33.

[10]Kaufman, *Theological Imagination,* 31.

[11]Gordon D. Kaufman, "Theology as a Public Vocation," in *The Vocation of the Theologian,* ed. Theodore Jennings, Jr. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 61-62.

[12]Kaufman, *Theology for a Nuclear Age,* 13.

[13]Gordon D. Kaufman, review of *Models of God: Theology for an Ecological, Nuclear Age,* by Sallie McFague, in *Theology Today* 45 (April 1988), 95-101.

[14]Kaufman, *Theology for a Nuclear Age,* 10.

[15]Kaufman, *Essay,* 43.

[16]Kaufman, *Theological Imagination,* 198.

[17]Ibid., 191.

[18]Ibid., 199.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Kaufman, "Religious Diversity," 14.

[21]Kaufman, *Theological Imagination,* 259.

[22]Kaufman, *Theology for a Nuclear Age,* 21.

[23]Ibid., 54.

[24]Kaufman, *Theological Imagination,* 201.

[25]Gordon D. Kaufman, "Apologia Pro Vita Sua" in *Why I am a Mennonite,* ed. Harry Loewen (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1988), 129.

[26]Kaufman, *Essay,* x.

[27]Ibid., 15-16.

[28]Kaufman, *Theology for a Nuclear Age,* 13.

[29]Charles E. Winquist, "Body, Text, and Imagination," in *Deconstruction and Theology,* ed. Thomas J. J. Alitzer (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 50-51, and Patrick Hartin, "Deconstruction and Theology," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* no. 54 (March 1986), 25-34, both draw parallels between Kaufman's conception of theological construction and the work of deconstructionists. S. Alan Ray, in *The Modern Soul: Michel Foucault and the Theological Discourse of Gordon Kaufman and David Tracy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), examines how Kaufman's thought is similar to that of the arch-postmodernist Michel Foucault, while showing that Kaufman does not carry the critique of the modern *episteme* as far as Foucault.

[30]See Sallie McFague, *Metaphorical Theology: Models of God in Religious Language* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982) and Sheila Greeve Davaney, "Options in Post-modern Theology," *dialog* 26 (Summer 1987), 196-200.

[31]Gordon D. Kaufman, "The Influence of Feminist Theory on My Theological Work," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 7 (Spring 1991), 114.

[32]Ibid., 115.

[33]Thomas Finger, "Is 'Systematic Theology' Possible from a Mennonite Perspective?" in *Explorations of Systematic Theology from Mennonite Perspectives,* ed. Willard Swartley (Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1984), 44.

[34]A. James Reimer, "Mennonite Systematic Theology and the Problem of Comprehensiveness," in *Explorations of Systematic Theology from Mennonite Perspectives,* ed. Willard Swartley (Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1984), 60.

[35]Kaufman, *Essay,* 33-34.

[36]George Lindbeck, review of *An Essay on Theological Method,* by Gordon D. Kaufman, in *Religious Studies Review* 5 (October 1979), 264.

[37]William C. Placher, *Unapologetic Theology: A Christian Voice in a Pluralistic Conversation* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989), 160.

[38]L. Shannon Jung, "Nuclear Eschatology," *Theology Today* 40 (July 1983): 190.

[39]Froese, "Gordon Kaufman's Theology," 25.

[40]Reimer, "Mennonite Systematic Theology," 61.

[41]Duane Friesen, review of *Theology for a Nuclear Age,* by Gordon Kaufman, in *Conrad Grebel Review* 3 (Fall 1985), 311.

Book Reviews

Robert S. Kreider and Rachel Waltner Goossen, *When Good People Quarrel: Studies of Conflict Resolution.* Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1989. Pp. 198. ($9.95).

This is a thoughtful book written by two thoughtful people who bring a much needed focus to those who claim a peace emphasis in their philosophy and life style. The book is primarily a series of case studies illustrating the kinds of events that are common to real people in the real world, Christian or non-Christian. The title is also helpful in illustrating that good people live in a world of conflicts that produce angry feelings as well as behaviors that are reflective of those feelings.

When Good People Quarrel is written primarily to and about Mennonites with mostly Mennonite cultural context illustrations. This is particularly significant since the Mennonite historic peace position has related primarily to foreign wars and international disputes. While the Mennonite position tends to be clear about international conflicts, it is considerably less clear about domestic conflicts. The observing world is quite aware of this inconsistency. To suggest in a graphic way that the philosophy and life style should significantly affect domestic disputes is a major contribution. More significantly the authors have not just theorized about dealing with domestic issues, but have illustrated all of this in a very readable manner.

The case studies cover a wide range of issues that are typical in any church related community. The groupings of case studies range from family and interpersonal issues, to congregational issues, and then to school and community issues. Anyone reading this book can find themselves in one or more of the case studies since they are so clearly written. The case studies help illustrate that conflict develops not because "bad people" wish bad things for each other, but because human beings who may also be "good people" simply are dealing with life which inevitably involves quarrels and conflicts. The case studies also remind the reader that solutions to problems today are frequently the seeds of conflicts tomorrow.

The authors help portray the reality that managing conflict is a major issue for Christians as well as non-Christians. This helps focus the issue on how to manage conflict rather than how to avoid it. The book might have emphasized a bit more clearly that conflict in itself is not necessarily bad, but may in fact help produce creativity and energy for more effective problem solving.

While the book is a very readable and helpful contribution, its significance could have been increased even more if it were written in a form to appeal to a wider audience. References to "conference programs" and other terms would only be understood within a Mennonite church context. To use less provincial language and to use case illustrations that may be more widely applicable would have broader appeal.

Additionally the authors make a significant effort to tie each case study to a scriptural text. This appears to be an effort to make a theological study as well as a social/psychological study. The scripture references are from both the Old Testament and the New Testament and in some ways seem to be stretched in the effort to give all the cases a scriptural context if not a scriptural solution. The case studies are, however, followed by discussion questions that easily lend themselves to group discussion. This would thus be an ideal book for Sunday school classes and other church related groups.

The book could be further strengthened with more attention to the emotional/psychological and organization behavioral factors contributing to the conflicts illustrated. More attention to the psychological and organization dynamics as well as the very real political processes that go on in churches and church communities could be helpful. On the other hand, the authors have helped significantly allay the assumption that Christians do not have conflicts and that somehow we have "failed" if conflict occurs in our lives. This is an important step in helping move us away from conflict avoidance to learning how to think of conflict management as a legitimate skill to be learned by Christians and non-Christians alike.

The book also serves as an excellent introduction to concepts of mediation and reconciliation. The last several chapters highlight various mediation skill processes and discuss theoretical constructs about understanding conflict and mediation.

All in all, at this particular time, this is a must book for anyone who is wanting to realistically look at conflicts that are likely to occur in the course of human events. For Christians to think through various approaches to dealing with conflicts is a helpful step. The book is an excellent resource for anyone interested in expanding their views of the meaning of peace in a day to day living situation as well as in the world of international conflicts.

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Harry R. Van Dyck, *Exercise of Conscience: A World War II Objector Remembers.* Buffalo; Prometheus Books, 1990. Pp. 250. (24.95). (24.95).

As Christian pacifists struggle with the implications of the Persian Gulf war, it is good to hear pacifist voices from other times and other wars. World War II, like the Gulf war, seemed like a good war to many people. One needed special and particular convictions to refuse participation. Harry Van Dyck was one of that heroic little band of 12,000 Civilian Public Service conscientious objectors who refused to join the mass killing we know as WWII.

His *Exercise of Conscience* is a wonderful window into what it was like to be a religious CO during the "good war." Van Dyck, who grew up in Henderson, Nebraska, began his first assignment as a conscientious objector at the Mennonite Civilian Public Service camp at Fort Collins, Colorado. A year later he transferred to the CPS unit at Hawthornden State Hospital near Cleveland, Ohio. There he worked as an orderly learning to cope with mental hospital patients.

Then, as the news of the German surrender came over the radio in May 1945, he was on a train to another CPS camp in Mulberry, Florida. There he worked at several public health projects for another year before finally being discharged.

The book is a wonderful medley of reminiscence, factual information, historical reconstruction, and commentary. *Exercise Of Conscience* helps fill out the story of CPS by offering us a sense of the ambience of life in the CPS camps and units.

Last year was a banner year for CPS memoirs. Four others are J. Henry Dasenbrock, *To the Beat of a Different*

Drummer (Northland Press of Winona); Thomas Waring, *Something for Peace* (Hanover, NH); and William Janzen and Francis Greaser, *Sam Martin Went to Prison: The Story of Conscienctious Objection and Canadian Military Service* (Winnipeg, 1990); and just out is Roy Wenger's *CPS Smokejumpers,* Vol. 1. This last one is a compilation of reminiscences of the men in the smoke jumper outfit. A second volume will be out soon.

The moral choices these memoirs represent must be put in perspective if we are to capture their unique relevance. It helps to remember that of an estimated 34 million Americans who registered for the draft only 72,000 applied for CO status. Of these, 25,000 accepted noncombatant service in the army. Another 27,000 were not drafted for a variety of reasons. Six thousand were imprisoned for refusal to do any service. Twelve thousand chose the only other alternative available: work of national importance under the Civilian Public Service program.

Van Dyck organized the book in an interesting way. He begins with his home-leaving and the sights and sounds of the trip to the CPS camp in Colorado, and introduces the reader to CPS and life at a CPS camp. He then does a flashback to his home community and family near Henderson, Nebraska, offering insight into the sources of his pacifism. The book concludes with his reminiscences about work as a mental hospital orderly in Cleveland, Ohio, and as a worker at the Mulberry CPS camp in Florida.

Van Dyck locates his latent pacifist convictions not so much in a specific religious experience as in the formative climate of his Mennonite community, which didn't articulate its pacifism very well. A brother went to war, as did some relatives. One gets the impression that Van Dyck, like many Mennonites, finds it hard to put his finger on just where the specific source of his decision against the war really came from. Perhaps it was his year of study at Bethel College just prior to the outset of the war. My guess is that it was more generalized, grounded in a community whose religious center had peace as a somewhat inadequately articulated, but central theme in its theology. The whole business has a kind of folk quality about it—a residue of convictional memory embedded in the mores of the community. Van Dyck, a sensitive youngster, picked up that somewhat inchoate attitude about peace and the convictional seed sprouted in response to the war.

Van Dyck helps us understand the milieu of the Mennonite CPS camp. He was better educated and more worldly than many of his fellows. Politically liberal, he found the Mennonite penchant for Republican politics frustrating. His hero was Franklin Roosevelt. Because he smoked, he found himself at odds with many of his Mennonite compatriots. Better read and more open to the world around him than most of the CPSers in his units, he was more sensitive to what his fellow countrymen were about than most. His musical ability opened doors for participation in the religious life of the communities where he served, which led to relationships of some importance to his life and the maturing of his convictions about peace and war. He writes about these things perceptively and candidly.

One of the best parts of the book is his effort to assess the value of CPS. He writes:

> At the time I entered CPS, I was hopeful of reforming the world and impatient to get on with the task. I believed in the perfectibility of man and in the possibility of a good and just society. My youthful idealism was shared with many of the men in CPS, but we also shared a skepticism about the value of our efforts, about whether what we were doing was truly work of national importance. Our positive contributions toward a better world seemed miniscule when viewed on the scale of the nation's massive, destructive war effort. My personal contributions were undramatic—a few cubic yards of dirt moved, a few rows of sugar beets topped, a few hospital patients attended to, a scattering of outdoor privies erected. I do not recall any sense of satisfaction in what I had done.

He then comments on the important work CPS did accomplish, in many areas. He concludes:

> Nevertheless, I suspect now that our most significant contribution was probably not of a positive, good-works nature at all, but was essentially a negative one—an act of protest, an overt demonstration against the bestial enterprise of war.

At the end he asks "Would I do it again?" His answer is yes. But he is more skeptical about the moral purity of the conscientious objector in time of war than he was during CPS. He is still ready to say no to war, but he now realizes that decision does not clear away the fog of moral ambiguity which surrounds all principled action.

This book is a state-of-the-art memoir, mixing remembrances with commentary out of the passage of time. It should be read not as a history of CPS, but as the reasoned reflections of a thoughtful and honest participant in a unique and special undertaking. Henry Van Dyck, the CPSer, was caught at one of the great intersections of history, where his decision to say no to war ran counter to nearly all of his contemporaries. His reflections 45 years later are an important contribution to the growing literature about Civilian Public Service.

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Hope Kauffman Lind, *Apart & Together: Mennonites in Oregon and Neighboring States, 1876-1976.* Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 30. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1990. Pp. 413. ($26.95).

Hope Lind's centennial history of the Mennonites in Oregon highlights an important and often neglected chapter in the diffusion of Mennonites across North America. While thousands of Mennonites in a highly publicized and still celebrated migration crossed the Atlantic in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and settled on the continent's central prairies, smaller numbers simultaneously ventured to the more distant frontier of the west coast. Lind dramatically reveals the tensions faced by small communities responding to the challenges of fragmentation and individualism. Oregon Mennonites lived in isolation not only from strong leaders and larger concentrations of Mennonites in the east, but also from each other. Differing traditions melded together uneasily. Mutual beliefs and a sense of peoplehood formed a bond as they united to form congregations, conferences, and other institutions. Yet dissension often produced divisions as varying expectations and requirements for discipleship emerged.

Part I is entitled "Uprooting and Planting" and includes seven chapters which describe Oregon's Mennonite groups each from their arrival through 1976. Included are capsule histories of

congregations, even those now extinct. Sufficient detail is included for the reader to understand the role of personalities and feel the tensions when conflicts developed or communities split apart. The latter occurred following disputes and during economic changes which influenced all small frontier settlements.

The availability of land and climate brought the Mennonite diaspora to Oregon. Numbers at first were small as 135 members in three Mennonite Church (MC) congregations formed the Pacific Coast Conference in 1906. In 1921 three Amish Mennonite congregations with an additional 365 members joined the conference. Membership reached a peak of 2,435 in 1965, as ten new congregations were added in the 1950s and another seven in the 1960s. Many congregations came and went over the years, and a chart indicating each group's date of origin (and merger or extinction when relevant) and membership every few years would have been very useful.

Lind's discussion of the MC congregations and Pacific Coast Conference often examines tensions and divisions within congregations and the wider MC fellowship. As was the case further east, attire was often the outward focus when authority and discipline were debated. Dissension was high in the 1920s, but not until 1976 did some ministers and their congregations withdraw from the conference and form a new group, the Bible Mennonite Fellowship. Lind's analysis of the Oregon scene reveals the tensions and changing balances between individualism and authority within the Mennonite Church.

General Conference (GC) Mennonites had formed the Pacific District Conference in 1896, and around the turn of the century the GC's had four Oregon congregations. However, in 1931 only two of the conference's sixteen congregations were in Oregon. The Mennonite Brethren organized four congregations in Oregon, and in 1976 three survived. The Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, Old Order Amish, and Church of God in Christ Mennonite (Holdeman) also founded congregations in Oregon. In fact, with 507 members in 1976 the Dallas EMB congregation is the denomination's largest. While one lauds the inclusion of these groups in the study and would be more critical if they had been ignored, their experiences often seem merely tangential to the history of the Pacific Coast Conference.

The seventh chapter outlines "Related Mennonite Groups in Neighboring States" and should have been omitted from the narrative. It briefly sketches the date of origin, location, membership, and leadership of MC and GC congregations in the region and should have been an appendix to the text. While describing the conference ties and interactions of Mennonites in Oregon with those in neighboring states is a necessary part of this study, the title of the book is misleading. This is not by any means an account of Mennonites in Washington, Idaho, or California.

Part II of the study examines the "Larger Vision" or how the Oregon Mennonites practiced their faith. Included are chapters which discuss various ministries: programs such as Sunday schools, Christian endeavor, publications, revivals, and Bible conferences; institutions like Bible schools, retirement homes, and hospitals; and other service activities including both home and foreign missions. This part of the study does an excellent job setting the context for these ministries by looking at economic developments as Mennonites left farming for industry. Lind details cultural changes such as the transition to the English language and describes reactions to issues like lodge membership, insurance, and modern technology. The book also examines the influences of fundamentalism and premillenialism.

An entire chapter focuses on the wartime experiences of Oregon Mennonites. Although more MC Mennonites became conscientious objectors, it may not be fair to conclude that the GC's and MB's accepted noncombatant service because they were more concerned about "financial opportunities" than nonresistance (p. 288).

The final part of Lind's work is an overview of the "Ongoing Community of Faith." She examines the relationships between congregations of each Mennonite group and their conferences —not only national and regional conferences but also their institutions such as publications and colleges. During the last decade the Pacific Coast Conference and Pacific District Conference have moved closer together, holding their first joint sessions in 1986. Mutual endeavors and an emphasis on discipleship and service are bringing out the commonalities shared by Oregon Mennonites. Balancing individualism and community may continue to produce tension, but Lind sees movement toward a unified body of Mennonites in Oregon.

Authorized by the Pacific Coast Conference and the Pacific District Conference, this study of the Mennonites in Oregon appears as the thirtieth volume in the Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History series. Like six of the earlier volumes, it tells the story of Mennonites within a region or conference. Unlike most of these predecessors, the experiences of all of the state's various Amish and Mennonite groups are brought together. The numerical dominance of MC Mennonites in Oregon and withdrawal of a GC coauthor midstream complicated the task, but Lind succeeded reasonably well in the difficult assignment of integrating accounts of the various groups. The narrative combines the thematic and chronological chapters with minimal repetition, and only occasional confusion exists regarding whether a reference is to MC's, GC's or another group.

The book, written over more than a decade, reflects the 1980s transition between "old" Mennonite and Mennonite Church, using OM and MC interchangeably. While well-illustrated with about four dozen photographs, some will complain that many are photos of "old" men. More photos of activities would have enhanced the book. Endnotes provide thorough documentation (although frequent abbreviations require the reader often to consult a list in the front of the book), and the index gives access to every person mentioned and many useful topics.

Centennial histories of a region or conference are very difficult to organize and require thousands of hours to produce. The final product reflects a small part of the effort and struggles. Lind's account provides many insights into the heritage of the Mennonites in Oregon, and now, in and of itself, will become another part of their identity—both generating a new understanding of themselves and interpreting their experiences to the wider Mennonite fellowship.

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Joel A. Carpenter and Wilbert R. Shenk, editors, *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990. Pp. 350. ($15.95).

I read this book with much interest as I relived my own pilgrimage in mission since the mid 1950's. Here is told the story of a whole century of mission efforts, of conservative evangelical missions many of which are commonly referred to as non-denominational "faith missions."

The Christian churches of Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America often show signs of Western influence and reflect the culture of the "earthen vessels" that participated. Author Andrew Walls' essay on the Americanness of 20th century mission is both enlightening and disturbing. It is impossible, of course, to do cross-cultural mission without one's own viewpoint and heritage influencing one's work. But too often, these attempts show a transplantation of ways and products that override the essence of gospel incarnation and contextualization. Too often the Christian missionary advance has been comparable to the political and military advances that benefit the USA.

The fact remains, however, that in spite of certain hazards of thousands of North American "earthen vessels" witnessing during the 20th century in other lands, the church of Jesus Christ is today a global reality often as a result. God be praised!

But somewhere in the history of the world-wide church and its missionary endeavors, the effective participation of thousands of faithful national sisters and brothers must also be noted and added as part of this story. An essay by Orlando Costas on "Evangelical Theologies in the Two-Thirds World" corrects this on one aspect. A closing essay by Wilbert Shenk gives a survey of the books published since 1945 that provide further resources about this impressive evangelical missionary history.

As Mennonites, with our own foreign mission boards or Commission on Overseas Mission, whose work almost coincides with this same time period, we share many of the characteristics of this movement though we also carry distinctives that resemble mainline, ecumenical groups. In a sense, as can be noted in other documents, the Mennonite/Anabaptist missionary efforts are a "third way" that emphasizes that being Christian is to follow Jesus' life and not only to believe His message. As the people of God of whatever race or nation, we seek to be characterized by a holistic sharing and practicing of the Gospel of Christ. *Earthen Vessels* helps me to make many connections to the world mission enterprise and to learn from it.

I recommend this book to missioners and anyone interested in the history of evangelical missions and the results of going "to the regions beyond." In whatever regions of this world our mission takes us as Mennonites, we certainly benefit from the broader understanding of Christian missions available in this one volume. The editors have done us a favor in bringing together the story of the progression and impact of Canadian and USA missionary involvements in the evangelical worldwide movement of missions.

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Donald B. Kraybill, *The Puzzles of Amish Life.* Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990. Pp. 112. ($5.95)

Most of us resist the untidiness of paradox, and the Amish, an anomaly in a society that glorifies technological progress, upward mobility, and conformity, often defy clear explanation. Donald Kraybill, a sociologist who has written extensively about the Amish, in this attractive little volume discusses the apparent contradictions evident in the Lancaster County, Pennsylvania community. But these "puzzles" are shown to possess an inner logic when understood in terms of community values rather than individual egos. The author's fondness for paradox, evident in his earlier treatment of the "upside-down" kingdom, serves him admirably in explaining the contradictions among these quiet people.

The author divides the book into eighteen chapters, each dealing with a puzzling aspect of Amish life formulated as a question; non-Amish, for example, often cannot understand prohibitions against the automobile, electricity, telephones, and higher education by people who benefit from their use. Kraybill points out that the delicate balance of community integrity, not sophisticated theological argument, accounts for such practices.

Far from a static community, the Amish are shown to adapt constantly to ensure continued viability of the church. Kraybill reveals that many changes result from economic pressures—a notable example is the acceptance of bulk milk coolers for the sake of the Amish farmers who wish to continue milking cows. He provides useful background information on the Pennsylvania group's decisions concerning tractors, electricity, telephones, and personal computers. His accounting, of course, would vary if the discussion were to include Amish groups in other parts of America. An expanded discussion would affirm Kraybill's thesis that group coherence serves as the litmus test for accepting innovations. For example, Old Order groups in Kansas decided to accept tractors in the 1930s because of local farming and weather conditions. While decisions are most often made to ensure the survival of the agricultural way of life, in some instances they are made to maintain a distinctive identity, as was the case in relation to the Peachey faction which split from the main Amish group and immediately began utilizing electricity.

Kraybill's discussion of the Amish view of the individual is a paean to communal harmony, humility, and gentleness; the last chapter, a reflective essay, shows how community values predominate. He notes that with the early Anabaptist, "the heart of the individual and the gathered Christian community were the sacred ingredients of worship," and here he describes the ingredients of a people who seek to preserve these principles in the twilight of the twentieth century.

The author correctly highlights the importance of intuitive wisdom in the Amish decision-making process, where the quiet voice of generations speaks louder than the cacophony of contemporary sirens. Collective wisdom, grounded in a simple faith in God, intuitively senses the long-term consequences of actions. "The lunch pail is the greatest threat to our way of life," an Amish bishop is quoted as saying. He is probably correct, for this in-

nocuous challenge to family life can adversely affect community life in the next generation.

Kraybill judiciously avoids predictions for the future. Economic circumstances have forced the Lancaster Amish to adapt and to shift from farming to cottage industries. This reviewer questions the long-term viability of an Amish community if the people are forced to leave the soil, their family-oriented farming, and more importantly, perhaps, to rely less on the cadences of nature, the weather, and the animals. A competitive lifestyle with rigid schedules poses a more serious threat to Amish ways than do the less subtle threats such as automobiles and electricity. Even more than urban cowboys, urban Amish are misfits.

The Amish lifestyle, with its contradictions, poses interesting ethical questions for the larger Anabaptist family. Mennonites, with their turn to seminary-trained leaders, increasingly find the notion of a small group of called-out people "going against the grain" an argument that no longer suffices. And one must also wonder about Pathway Publishers (not mentioned by Kraybill), an Amish enterprise that fosters education and spiritual life through its considerable publication work. Significantly, in their magazines they have begun to address not only ethical and biblical issues, but also theological ones.

This amply illustrated little book is an excellent interpretive introduction to the Amish. For people desiring more information, one can recommend Kraybill's more scholarly companion volume, *The Riddle of Amish Culture.*

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Dave and Neta Jackson, *Glimpses of Glory: Thirty Years of Community, the Story of Reba Place Fellowship.* Elgin, IL; Brethren Press, 1987. Pp. 324.

This volume commemorates the thirtieth anniversary of Reba Place Fellowship in Evanston, Illinois. It is an unusual congregational history. Dave and Neta Jackson, members of Reba Place since 1973 and the authors of *Living Together in a World Falling Apart,* have turned a critical but loving eye toward this Mennonite/Brethren venture, which for more than twenty years has been the largest urban Christian communal group in North America.

In the mid 1950s, a group of Mennonites at Goshen, Indiana, led by seminary professor John Miller, began experimenting with forms of communal life and worship. In 1957, Miller's family and several friends moved to Evanston, a northern suburb of Chicago, to open a voluntary service unit sponsored by Mennonite Central Committee. But in 1959, MCC and Reba Place Fellowship parted amicably, and for the next fifteen years this intentional community maintained an independent identity.

The authors write: "Reba members were always on the lookout for ways to live the radical Christian life" (p. 134). As the community grew, this search took many forms, including economic accountability via the "common purse," peace activism, inner city evangelism, mental health counseling, openness to the charismatic movement, and celebration of the arts, particularly music and liturgical dance.

During the 1960s and early '70s, when counter-culture alternatives to secular and religious institutions enjoyed wide popularity, Reba Place Fellowship sought to keep at its core a vision of faith. Consultations with other Christian communities, such as the Society of Brothers and Koinonia Farms, enriched Reba Place Fellowship's understanding of its mission. But during the mid 1970s, a desire to formalize its commitment to Anabaptist tenets led the group to establish a "Shalom Covenant" with three other communities—Plow Creek Fellowship in Illinois, Fellowship of Hope in Indiana, and New Creation Fellowship in Kansas. In addition, Reba Place Fellowship joined the Church of the Brethren in 1975 and the Illinois Mennonite Conference in 1976. Significantly, the authors note, Reba Place Fellowship's decision to unite with two denominations was, in part, "a way to protest the way the church has been splintered" (p. 190). In more recent years, Reba Place Fellowship has aimed for an ecumenical spirit in a variety of ministries, ranging from advocacy for the homeless to an "overground railroad" network for Central American refugees.

Reba Place Fellowship underwent significant changes in 1979 during an intense review of community structures. Results of this difficult experience included both a "shakedown" in the number of participants and a new plan that allowed members to transfer from communal to congregational affiliation. A new structure of "clusters" within the larger church group enabled members to broaden their vision of Christian community and to address some festering concerns related to authoritarian power exercised by the church's elders.

Glimpses of Glory is about people who seek to apply Anabaptist principles to daily life in an urban, twentieth-century setting. The book's historical overview is spliced with personal testimonies and reminiscences, told by former and present members. The authors write in the preface that they envisioned this book primarily as an evangelical project, to "let our light shine" (p. 12). Yet in the telling of painful as well as joyful aspects of communal life, they raise a number of issues related to the theology of discipleship, including coercion and corporate identity. Mennonite readers of non-communitarian background will find this account of a continuing faith pilgrimage interesting indeed.

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