MENNONITE

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In This Issue

This issue of *Mennonite Life* explores the Mennonite story through the experiences of three very different persons—two men with distinguished academic careers, and one woman with a humble story which is distinguished in its own very different way.

Keith Sprunger, professor of history at Bethel College, has written a number of articles for *Mennonite Life* on scholars who have taught history at Bethel College. This series began in December 1981 with an article on Cornelius H. Wedel and Oswald H. Wedel. Sprunger's article in this issue on Mennonite historian C. Henry Smith was presented originally at a conference at Goshen College in October 1994, "Anabaptist Vision(s) in the 20th Century, Ideas & Outcomes." Sprunger sees Smith as a "master historian" and a successful pioneer in the professionalization of Mennonite historiography.

Martin Schrag, retired from a productive teaching career at Messiah College in Grantham, Pennsylvania, writes in this issue the story of his uncle, Andrew D. Schrag. Andrew Schrag was a Mennonite scholar of as great potential as C. Henry Smith. But Schrag was drawn out of Mennonite circles through increasing accommodation to secular modernity, and then out of academia through the virulent American patriotic anti-Germanism of World War I. For both Smith and Schrag, twentieth century history took some dramatic turns which they had not expected in their idealistic youthful years before the Great War.

The brief autobiographical narrative of Rachel Goertz Ratzlaff offers a striking contrast to the impressive stories of prominent public men. Here we learn of a painfully shy woman who "fell through the cracks," but whose humble quest for salvation can move us more powerfully in a few paragraphs than can scholarly analysis of hundreds of pages. We are indebted to Suzanne Lawrence, a poet, homemaker, and sensitive listener from rural Marion County, Kansas, for this piece. Suzanne visited Rachel at the Bethesda Home in Goessel and discovered natural poetry in the personal stories of a plain and unassuming senior citizen.

James C. Juhnke

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Bethel College class of 1899. Back row, left to right: David H. Richert, Peter J. Friesen, Andrew D. Schrag, John F. Kroeker. Middle row, left to right: Bertha Krehbiel, Jacob Banman, Selman Eymann. Front, seated: John J. Becker.

Back Cover
Peter J. Schmidt family, Goessel, Kansas, area, ca. 1919. Back row, left to right: Selma Schmidt, Albert Schmidt, Pauline Schmidt, John Koehn, Louise Schmidt, Anna Koehn. Front row, left to right: Arthur Goertz (baby), Martha Schmidt Goertz, Rachel Goertz, Maria Unruh Schmidt, Peter J. Schmidt, Bertha Goertz, Henry F. Goertz.

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C. Henry Smith's Vision of Mennonite History

by Keith L. Sprunger

C. Henry Smith (1875-1948), dean of Mennonite historians in the first half of this century, set the standard for the writing of Mennonite history in America. He produced a series of comprehensive Mennonite histories. These included: *The Mennonites of America* (1909), *The Mennonites: A Brief History of Their Origin and Later Development in Both Europe and America* (1920), *The Story of the Mennonites* (1941), *Smith's Story of the Mennonites* (1950, ed. Cornelius Krahn, called the 3rd ed. revised), and *Smith's Story of the Mennonites* (1981, ed. Cornelius Krahn, the 5th ed. revised). The publication history and the numbering of editions is rather complex. The 1981 5th ed. is the one still in print and sold by Faith and Life Press of Newton, Kansas.

Two of Smith's more specialized monographs, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (1927) and *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (1929), also helped to make his reputation.

Among Mennonite historical works, Smith's history of the Mennonites stood out as a best seller. The author sold 2000 copies of his self-published *Mennonites of America* (1909) by 1925.[1] Since 1941 Faith and Life Press has sold 8300 copies of the expanded version, *The Story of the Mennonites*; over 10,000 were printed. This Smith book still sells at a steady rate of several hundred copies a year. "Heavy" orders come in for classroom use in Canada. Customers still send in orders for the German version, now out of print.[2]

In recent years, the Smith book has been somewhat eclipsed by newer works, especially by Cornelius Dyck's *Introduction to Mennonite History*. Nevertheless, through the years, in its 10,000 and more copies, Smith's history of Mennonites became the standard work, found in many Mennonite homes and in libraries. It still may be the book encountered when a library reader requests "a book about Mennonites." There is discussion at the Faith and Life Press about revising and printing a new edition.[3]

Smith's Teaching Career

Smith was born near Metamora, Illinois in 1875, into an Amish-Mennonite family. His father was Bishop John Smith and his mother was Magdalena Schertz Smith. The Smith family church was the Partridge Creek congregation, which became part of the Western District Amish Mennonite Conference during C. Henry's youth. He began going up the educational "trail" and his record was impressive: Metamora High School, Illinois State Normal School at Normal (two years), the University of Illinois (B. A. 1903, membership in Phi Beta Kappa), and the University of Chicago (M.A. 1903; Ph. D. 1907). Earning this Ph. D. in history was a groundbreaking Mennonite event; Smith was one of the first American Mennonites to secure the Ph.D. degree and "continue in the church."[4] During and after this graduate study he had a distinguished teaching career in Mennonite institutions. His teaching included Elkhart Institute, Goshen College, serving as dean 1909-1913, and Bluffton College, until his retirement in 1946. During a leave of absence from Bluffton, he served as visiting professor of history at Bethel College for one year, 1922-1923.[5]

Smith's teaching career at Bethel College, although short, gave him many ties with the Mennonites of Kansas. In 1922, prior to teaching at Bethel, he gave a series of lectures on Mennonite history in Newton; these "have not been forgotten."[6] His teaching in 1922-23 brought some fresh, up-to-date approaches to history teaching to Bethel College, especially Mennonite history, which heretofore had been rooted in traditionalist German church history. His Mennonite history was the story of pioneers and heroic path makers ("Die Mennoniten als Bahnbrecher").[7] Smith used his extra time in Kansas to research for a new book, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* which appeared in 1927. His Bethel year was "well worth while" for his scholarly career and "his teaching has been highly appreciated here."[8]

Smith and the Professionalization of Mennonite Historiography

Smith's goal to become a competent professional historian with the Ph. D. degree from an outstanding graduate school was an ambitious program for any young scholar of the time, and especially for a young Amish-Mennonite. The year 1904 was a milestone for him, because in that year he began a correspondence with J. Franklin Jameson (1859-1937), history professor at Chicago. At this very early point

of his career, as revealed in this set of four letters, Smith had the clear goal of becoming a *professional Mennonite historian.* Smith was 29 years old, with his M.A. from Chicago; he had a teaching position at Goshen, a location where "library facilities ... are meager." He aimed to become a historian of sixteenth-century Mennonite history, but he confessed to an almost non-existent background in 16th-century European history. He had no courses in the Reformation to his credit, except for what he had gleaned from one general course "on the general field of modern history" at Normal.[9]

The Smith letters are a part of the Jameson Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and have so far not been published in their entirety. The four letters fall in the period of October 26, 1904 to January 27, 1905. Jameson, a powerful figure in the historical profession, in 1904 was chairman of the history department at the University of Chicago, editor of the *American Historical Review*, and in due time became president of the American Historical Association. Before coming to Chicago, he had taught at Johns Hopkins, where one of his students was Woodrow Wilson. In 1905 he left Chicago for Washington to join the Carnegie Endowment, eventually moving on to head the Manuscript Division of the Library Congress. In the 1930s he was a major figure in the movement to create the National Archives.[10] Smith turned to Jameson for expert advice.[11]

The chief motivation for Smith's letters to Jameson was money. He needed a "fellowship or some other financial aid" to be able to return to the university to work on the Ph.D. He stressed this request heavily in letters to Chairman Jameson. In scholarly terms Smith already had a clear concept about his future scholarly career and how to achieve it. His dissertation topic would be on 16th-century Mennonite history and he desired to begin writing the dissertation immediately, skipping all the usual preliminary courses and doing them "later on" after the dissertation—a plan which the Chicago faculty did not approve.[12]

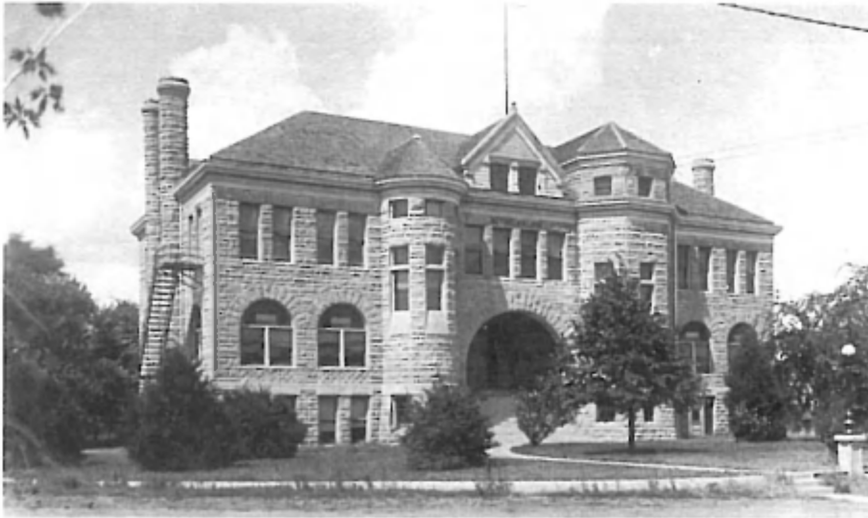
C. Henry Smith at Bethel College. Photo from the 1923 Graymaroon, the Bethel yearbook.

How was the writing of a history of Mennonites to proceed? Smith already had his approach and methodology worked out. First, it would be based on authentic and original sources. No public Mennonite libraries existed, so Smith told about how he was trekking from house to house in search of Mennonite books:

> I have already done some work in the field. I have read a number of rare foreign books from the private library of Bishop J. F. Funk [of Elkhart] and am now reading and also learning the Dutch language. Next summer I expect to go to Pennsylvania and think by the end of the summer will have examined all the available books on the subject in this country. I send you today under separate cover a list of the books to be found in the library of J. F. Funk both to show you what I am doing and also in the hope that you might find among the number some books in which you might be personally interested. This library is the most rare and complete one on the subject in this country west of Pennsylvania.[13]

In subsequent years Smith made the trip eastward, using many private libraries and also going to public repositories to do manuscript research. He was prepared to do original research in the original Mennonite languages. "I have a fair command of German and am getting the Dutch and will have that advantage in my work."[14]

In the letters Smith stated that his life



Bethel College in 1922-1923. Photo from 1923 Graymaroon.

goal would be Mennonite history, "to cover the entire field of history down to the present," but for now, " for my Doctor's thesis and for my work for the first year or two I should confine myself to the origin of the Mennonites."[15] History, of course, is more than facts and needs an interpretative framework. Smith had formulated the factual and interpretative questions he needed to study:

1. The relation between the Mennonites and the Anabaptists.
2. The relation between the Mennonites and the Waldenses.
3. The relation between the Anabaptists and the Waldenses.
4. The relation between the Swiss Anabaptists and the German Anabaptists: The relation of both of these to the Münsterites and the Mennonites.
5. The relation of the Mennonites to other sects of the time, as Baptists, Quakers, English Independents, etc.[16]

This Mennonite historical work. Smith assured, will be "profitable and in my estimation in many respects a new one." Moreover, the Mennonite church at large "is interested in the work."[17]

In addition to Smith's search for primary sources and his framing of interpretative questions—essential themes for scholarly twentieth-century historical work, there was the germ of some other later Smithian concepts of Mennonite history. For example, he declared his intention of tying Mennonite history into the flow of culture and civilization (relating Mennonites to Baptist, Quaker, and Congregationalist history) and he promised that he would be an objective historian.

Impartiality and objectivity were an important link in his emerging professionalization. Here he was in the spirit of Leopold Von Ranke—history *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, not just as the writer would wish it to be, but as it really was. Heretofore, Smith believed, both the enemies and friends of the church have been "prejudiced." "For instance our enemies trace us to the Münsterites, our friends end in their search for the origins with Grebel, Manz and Blaurock the Swiss Anabaptists. Neither of these views in my estimation is true."[18] Smith proposed that more attention needed to be given to the role of Thomas Müntzer.[19] He promised to follow a "middle of the road" view on such controversial questions as Münsterite connections to Anabaptism. Overall, he spoke in the language of the disinterested professional:

> I am not prejudiced either way. I am a Mennonite and have had good training in historical research both at the University of Chicago and the University of Illinois to get at the facts and present them in an unprejudiced manner.[20]

Smith's first period of study at the University of Chicago had already left its mark. As he prepared to return to graduate study, he already imagined himself writing the University-of-Chicago version of Mennonite history. It would be progressive, open-minded, libertarian, and intellectual. Smith granted that he could read and study on his own but "of course that will not take the place of the work done under competent instruction."[21]

Smith eventually got the university fellowship, but not until he had returned to classes on the campus and proved himself in person.[22] He produced a dissertation on Mennonite history; but instead of the sixteenth-century origins he chose to write on the Mennonites of America. His first love, the sixteenth century, was still the beginning point, however, and he prefaced his book with a substantial essay on the origins of the Anabaptists.

For a long time Smith of Goshen (and then Bluffton) was the only Mennonite college history professor with the Ph.D. degree. His books were the scholarly Mennonite histories in the libraries of American colleges and universities. Among the changes that he wrought in the writing of Mennonite history was the dropping of the old Waldensian-Mennonite theory. It had been the orthodox interpretation since the 17th-century *Martyrs Mirror*. Smith eliminated the Waldensians from the chain of Mennonite history because he could not find them in the documentary sources. He had no room for unsubstantiated folklore and traditions. To pursue that line of enquiry any further "is merely a waste of time." Instead, Smith found the origin of the Anabaptists in the Zwinglian Protestant movement.[23]

Not all fellow Mennonites appreciated this self-appointed reviser of their Mennonite history—revision simply because documentary evidence was lacking. One of these unappreciative Mennonites was Rodolphe Petter (1865-1947), the esteemed Mennonite missionary to the Cheyenne Indians. In 1938 Petter and his wife questioned why Smith always dropped the Waldensian connection. "Missionary Petter," who was a native of Switzerland, had inherited the belief that the Waldensians were the direct forerunners of the Anabaptists. It was the "oral tradition" that because the two groups

had some similar beliefs, the earlier had surely given rise to the later group.[24]

Petter emphasized that many truths are passed along from generation to generation. "Just so it was with the old Waldensians, as I know from my grandmother who insisted to tell the history of her people exactly as she heard it from her grand parents, and just as the latter had heard it before. The same custom obtained among the Huguenots (my grandfather was one)." "Well, it seems, all pivots around 'Tradition' and 'Documental or recorded Evidence.' Shall the second alone be adhered to and the first be entirely set aside? Is recorded evidence so absolutely surer than ancient tradition?" Petter did not approve of the new Smithite theory of Zwinglian origins of Anabaptism: "I remember well that 50 years ago all the old Taufgesinnten, men and women, called non-Mennonites "the Protestants" and told me on my asking that their Mennonite ancestors "from the oldest time" had been neither Catholics nor Protestants." Everybody used to say that the Taufgesinnten as groups were "closely allied to the Waldensians in centuries before the Reformation."[25]

Petter had set forth the issue very well: "Tradition" vs. "Documental or recorded Evidence." Smith was the model among early Mennonite scholars for upholding the canons of University-of-Chicago Ph.D. scientific professionalism—history via documents.

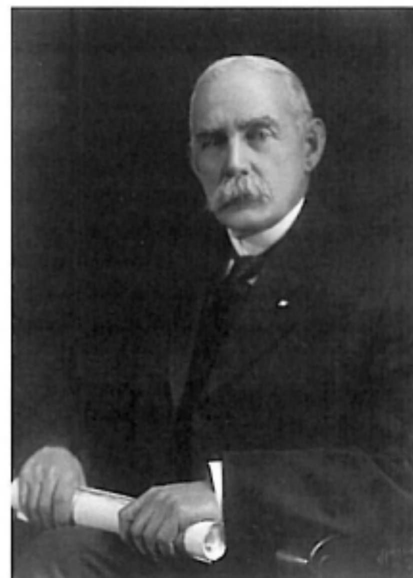
Nevertheless, in spite of his reverence for strict documentary work, Smith himself was rather skimpy in providing footnotes and bibliography in his own writings. His general books on the Mennonites had only the sketchiest acknowledgment of books and manuscripts used; the exception to this is *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania*, which is well footnoted. His reasoning for omitting the footnotes and bibliography in his general writings (especially the 1941 edition of *Mennonites*) was that he aimed to communicate with the general Mennonite reader rather than with the specialist. He pleaded with the Reader to trust and believe that he was indeed devoted to "careful research in all the available source material."[26] Those critics who chided him for this regrettable lack of documentation made a valid point.[27]

Smith's Vision of Mennonite History and his Manifesto for the Future

Nearly all of Smith's books began with a chapter on the origin and beliefs of the Anabaptists, distilled into some sort of essence or fundamentals. Next followed the account of their descendants, the Mennonites. The conclusion of the books had a challenge to present-day Mennonites, in fact a manifesto for future action. In two of his books this final chapter was called "Keeping the Faith."

Smith's Anabaptists were the party of change and liberation, the progressives of the Reformation. They were the people of voluntary action, forming organizations in which all the members were individually responsible for their own religious beliefs. No outside authority "has the right to force any religious system upon the people" (1909).[28] In the next edition, "Mennonitism" became even more synonymous with individualism; "Mennonitism is the essence of individualism"(1920).[29] In the next edition, "Anabaptism was the essence of individualism" and Anabaptists were the prophets of liberty and individual conscience (1941).[30] For Smith "religion is a matter of individual conscience," and the heart of Anabaptist religion was individualism.[31]

The liberal, individualistic reading of Anabaptist history coincided with Smith's own convictions, and he effectively made that history into a usable tool for his own program of twentieth-century Mennonite liberation. James Juhnke has referred to Smith as one of the early American Mennonite "progressive prophets of liberation." As a fresh, outspoken teacher at Elkhart Institute in 1899 Smith proclaimed that "the whole object of education is to break up old habits of thought." Speaking in chapel, he promised to destroy "the ruts into which we have fallen" and he promoted the kind of education that would free minds from all influences which tended "to lead in a prescribed channel."[32]



Rodolphe Petter, defender of the Waldensian theory of Anabaptist origins

In his often reworked "first chapter" summary of Anabaptism" (used in all of his books in one form or another), he gave a section about essentials of Anabaptism. In the 1920 edition, these were called "certain common fundamental propositions" and consisted of a list of nine propositions, beginning with, "The Church is an independent, voluntary group of believers banded together for the purpose of worship." This 9-point vision was reworked in the 1941 edition into "essentials of Anabaptism" but without a clear set of numbered points; as a result the "essentials" section lacks sharpness and clarity.[33]

Smith showed that Anabaptists and Mennonites had a message for the world, not just a religious one, but also a cultural and social message. In America the Mennonites stood for two precious ideals "which have been characteristic of American religious and political life, namely—complete separation of state and church, and universal peace."[34] Smith integrated Mennonite history into American history and showed a merging of the essential beliefs and values of the two streams, the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement and the American movement. God had blessed the Anabaptists of old and God

blessed America.[35] These conjoint streams of history added up to "progress."

An associated theme in Smith's picture was how Mennonites could embrace the best of western civilization—or as Smith preferred to call it, "culture." Chapter XVI of the definitive 1941 book is called "Culture and Progress." Here he discussed such topics as church government, literature, education, missions, farming, and Mennonite moral virtues. Admittedly, Anabaptists and Mennonites often withdrew from culture as much as humanly possible; but they had much to offer. When they did venture into the larger world, they were capable of making enormous contributions.

At the 1936 Mennonite World Conference at Elspeet, Netherlands, Smith had expounded upon this very topic in a major address, "Mennonites and Culture." He proposed a political paradigm, that every movement has a right wing, a center, and a left wing, and during the Reformation the Anabaptists or Mennonites were the "liberal left." This "left wing concept" was similar to Roland Bainton's "Left Wing of the Reformation" interpretation developed in various of his writings about this same time.[36] The great liberal contribution of Anabaptists was religious toleration and civil liberty, admirable concepts that were far ahead of their times. Thus, their pioneering contribution was in the same league as other famous liberating movements, such as Baptists, Congregationalists, the Pilgrim Fathers, and the Quakers. When Mennonites leave their isolation and join the life of the cities, "they have been able here to exert a larger influence upon the general cultural and political life of their times than have their agricultural brethren in other lands." He cited Mennonite examples of great contributions to industry, government, the arts, and education. And as Mennonite young people get education and seize the opportunities, "Mennonites are beginning to exert a much greater influence upon the general cultural and civic life of the day than formerly." He ended his world conference address with the question: Mennonites have great virtues. Have Mennonites "always done their full duty in teaching them to the world? Perhaps not."[37]

In the 1941 book, Smith concluded his chapter on "Culture and Progress" with many examples of how Mennonites had worked hard and succeeded in the world (applying the Mennonite virtues of freedom, frugality, honesty, simplicity, and industry): "Of course while Mennonites in the main remained on the farm, yet there were always young men here and there a bit more ambitious than their fellows, who found their way into the cities, and entering business or professional life, made good."[38] Smith relished telling these Mennonite success stories of doctors, lawyers, captains of industry, and college professors. He summarized these achievements with the story of Mrs. Otelia Augspurger Compton of Wooster, Ohio, named the 1939 Outstanding American Mother by the Golden Rule Foundation. "Upon being asked her recipe for raising famous sons, replied that she always held up before her children high standards of two values which she had been taught by her pious parents, members of the little Mennonite church at Trenton, Ohio—work and religion."[39]

Smith himself was a model of the cultured, progressive Mennonite who had made good. While at the University of Chicago, Smith sampled the high culture of the city, developing a "passion" for opera and theater. By day he did his research on Mennonite history and at night he was off to the theater, at least "two or three evening each week."[40] Robert Kreider in his essay on Smith (a neighbor in his boyhood years at Bluffton, Ohio) made special comment about his cultured demeanor, the "distinguished man." "He wore a Phi Beta Kappa key, often carried a cane, read the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and chatted in a friendly, easy manner with passersby." Smith was president of two banks.[41] Who else but Smith would have been so eminently qualified to make the case for a liberal, cultural Anabaptist-Mennonite vision and to place it so comfortably within the context of American history?

Nevertheless, urbanity and exquisite civility, as well as the business preoccupation, eventually detracted from Smith's scholarly endeavors, which, after about 1930, dropped off considerably. In the later years, he produced little new creative research, except for revising previous books. The economic depression of the 1930s, no doubt, took its toll on this professor-bank president. He produced fewer books but succeeded in saving the central economic institutions of the Bluffton-Pandora community.

There was an urgency—at least in the young Smith—in his version of Anabaptist-Mennonite history: Mennonites, get moving! As much as a vision of the past, he incorporated a manifesto for future Mennonite action. In 1909, fresh out of his Ph. D. program, he called on Mennonites to be progressive; "the two questions of most vital importance to the future of the church are its relation to the unification movement, and to the question of a more liberal education for its young people."[42] The Mennonite future belonged to its young people, not to the old fogies. At various times he showed his impatience with "superannuated ministers" and "outworn church workers."[43] Likewise the future belonged to Mennonite liberals. He characterized Mennonites as divided into three main groupings, liberals, moderates, and conservatives. The General Conference spoke for the majority of the liberals—they had the "spirit of progress."[44] The Old Mennonites represented the moderates, and Smith couldn't think of anything exciting to say about moderates. As he later explained to fellow historian, Harold S. Bender of Goshen College, more space in writing is needed for the people of "new episodes and ventures" (Smith's people) than the moderate "main current which runs along the main groove with little unusual to record" (Bender's people).[45]

Smith's History versus Bender's History

Smith's Ph.D. of 1907 gave him the credentials to speak for Mennonite historians in the profession. In the next generation, his main competition as historical spokesman came from

DR. SMITH REPRESENTED BETHEL AT BAKER; THEN MADE HISTORICAL SEARCH

Dr. C. Henry Smith last week represented Bethel college at the inaugural ceremonies of Dr. Wallace Bruce Fleming as president of Baker university at Baldwin. Bethel was among the fifty-one colleges and universities, ranging from Harvard and Yale in the East to Denver U., in the West, to pay tribute to the newly acquired leader of our sister college. ...

especially interesting and vivid, and fairly accurate historical picture of local and state happenings for all but thirteen years of our commonwealth's existence.

Grasshopper Year

These records were of particular service to Dr. Smith since they cover the year 1874, known as the famous "grasshopper" year which catastrophe put a sudden halt to the economic life

Bethel Collegian, 12 December 1922. Of his visit to the Kansas State Historical Society, Smith said, "Kansas may pride herself in possessing a most efficient historical organization and well equipped library."

Harold Bender of Goshen College (1897-1962). The younger Bender gained his Th. D. in 1935. After that they were on more equal academic footing.[46] The Old Mennonite historians at Goshen apparently chafed a bit with Smith's self-anointed status as the Mennonite historical spokesman. Bender in 1926 wrote to his father-in-law John Horsch that he must push on for the Ph.D., both for the knowledge to be gained and also to catch up with the liberal Mennonites in "advanced degrees and scholarship." "C. H. Smith is the only historian among us who has the degree and in the world at large the degree counts for something." It would never do for the Old Mennonites "to stay behind."[47]

Although Bender and Smith worked together profitably on major projects like the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, where they were co-editors, there was a long-running competition between the two. They did not see eye to eye on how to present and interpret Mennonite history.

On many points Smith had the support of E. G. Kaufman, president of Bethel College. As a student, Kaufman had studied under Smith at the Mennonite Seminary at Bluffton, Ohio.[48] Like Smith, Kaufman was also a University of Chicago Ph. D., in practical theology rather than history. The two liberal Mennonite intellectuals (the Bethel-Bluffton alliance) made a common front. Smith was much revered among the faculty of Bethel College.

The Smith-Kaufman correspondence of the 1930s and 1940s provides the main basis for this section of the article. The two men had some joint plans for founding a General Conference Mennonite historical society—perhaps to be a rival for the Mennonite society at Goshen?[49]—a theological seminary,[50] and a "Historical Quarterly of our own, the faculties of Bluffton and Bethel College contributing." Kaufman, a prophet of a lively, contemporary Mennonitism, was cool to the *MQR*. Well—"not bad, only it refuses to touch any present-day Mennonite problems and limits itself entirely to old and dusty subjects which, of course, are safe."[51] When Bender in 1938 invited Smith and Abraham Warkentin of Bethel to join the *MQR* as associate editors, at the very time that the General Conference people were working hard to start their own journal, Kaufman warned Smith that it might be a Goshen plot of some sort.[52] Smith readily agreed that Bender might have some kind of "scheme" in mind. But until Kaufman had warned him, Smith admitted to being oblivious to it. "But it is entirely possible." Smith was more concerned about another Goshen enterprise, namely a rumored project of Bender and Horsch to write a general history of Mennonites.[53] This would have competed directly with Smith's own *magnum opus* in process, the new edition of his own general history of Mennonites.

Smith's new edition, *Story of the Mennonites*, appeared in 1941. Harold Bender and Ernst Correll wrote the review for the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, published at Goshen College, and it was rather harsh, in spite of some laudatory compliments about the book as "splendid" and the "best story of the Mennonites through the centuries and around the world that has yet been made available." They congratulated "our good friend, Professor Smith" and hoped that sales of the book would soon be enough to require a "second and improved edition."[54] *Improved edition*?—Smith read—that barbed phraseology gave him something to ponder.

The *MQR* review by Bender and

Correll appeared in October of 1942, and it might be considered as a warm-up essay for Bender's 1943 American Society of Church History presidential address, "The Anabaptist Vision." The reviewers took issue with several aspects of Smith's presentation of Anabaptist-Mennonite history. The extensive five page review made it clear that the Benderites and the Smithites did not have a common vision of their history. Smith's Anabaptist vision was a praise of liberal individualism and Anabaptism as intellectual liberation. Bender and Correll made a major critique that Smith had no clear-cut statement of the "essence of Mennonitism."[55] Presumably, his nine-point summary was not powerful and penetrating enough.

On another point, Bender and Correll declared that Smith "overrated" the value of liberalism (the General Conference approach) and "underrated" the moderate approach (the Old Mennonite way). The future of Mennonitism, urged the reviewers, was not with Mennonite individualism but with strong group solidarity, great steadfastness under test, deep sense of historical tradition and strong resistance to "worldly" influences. Consequently, Bender and colleague rebuked Smith for making the Anabaptists into a movement of individualists, each choosing individually his own thought and pattern of living. Bender's vision submerged individual conscience into a commitment "to the new and holy life of brotherhood." The church and the brotherhood should have the central place for all Anabaptists and Mennonites, and this "certainly points toward a different understanding of the individual conscience than that of idealistic liberalism; the freeing of the conscience from the state and placing it under the sole sovereignty of God is the great emphasis of Anabaptism in regard to conscience."[56] The reviewers also critiqued Smith for favoring unorthodox Anabaptists like Hubmaier, Denk, and Hut. Quite a list of errors also received mention, such as misspellings, poor punctuation, and some errors of fact.

Reading the review was a deflating experience for Smith, no doubt, but the review could have been worse. The *MQR* circle charitably left some things unsaid publicly. John Wenger took a quick look, when the review copy came in: "No pictures, no footnotes, no bibliography. But 800 pages of smooth writing with Smith carelessness to boot!"[57]

Smith was thoroughly offended at the printed Bender-Correll review. He admitted to President Kaufman at Bethel—his steady ally—that "I was rather put out when I first read Benders review by his cock sureness and dogmatic finality." Further: "I have noticed that when they review a book written by a Goshenite or an Old Mennonite they speak of it in the highest praise, never even mentioning typographical errors or points of view, but they take special delight in pointing out all the flaws in any book by a non- Old Mennonite and minimizing what ever good points the book may have. Bender took special delight you may remember in tearing apart Dr Hartzlers book some years ago, taking a number of pages to do so."[58] Smith wrote a very detailed rebuttal to the critical Bender-Correll review (seven single spaced typed pages) and eventually it was published in the *MQR* in October of 1944.

Kaufman of Bethel supported Smith in this time of hurt feelings. Someone needed to stand up to Bender and his circle at Goshen. "I want to express my satisfaction on the way you answered him." "I hope he mends his ways." In fact, said Kaufman, Bender "seems to be getting worse with age."[59] Throughout, Kaufman was Smith's sturdiest defender "against all comers as the A No. 1 Mennonite historian of our times."[60]

On the surface and in public meetings, there was unity among the Mennonite historians. At Smith's funeral in 1948, Bender made some very nice comments about the departed brother; "as a historian, Dr. Smith was unquestionably the greatest of the historians produced by the Mennonites of America and the peer of any of the European Mennonite historians."[61] In looking through some of the correspondence of the day—which, by the way, Kaufman suggested be treated "in a confidential way"[62]—one finds a lot of personal competition and emotions on the two sides. However, it must be said, much of what Bender, Correll, and Wenger pointed out was true. Smith in later years became careless with his scholarship, and the omission of bibliography and footnotes is hard to justify. It would also be hard to disagree with the judgment that his interpretation, although cogent and well presented, was one-sided.

Not long after evaluating Smith's "splendid" book and finding it deficient, Bender stepped forward, as president of the American Society of Church History, to present the 1943 presidential address. He chose the topic "The Anabaptist Vision." It was an eloquent apologia for Anabaptist history. The recent encounter with Smith may have been an unmentioned factor in Bender's argument. From his review of Smith's book, *we know what he did not want to say about Anabaptism*. He would avoid anything resembling a diffuse nine-point summarization of Anabaptism (Smith's essence of Anabaptism), in favor of something sharper and crisper, and as it turned out, a vision far more memorable for readers. The individualistic theory of Anabaptism was thrown out in favor of a brotherhood, discipleship model.

Moreover, the Anabaptist-Mennonite encounter with culture, so desirable to Smith, also faded from the Bender vision in favor of a model of withdrawal. The Anabaptists "must withdraw from the worldly system and create a Christian social order within the fellowship of the church brotherhood." There was no need for an Anabaptist blueprint for Christianizing of the social order.[63] Bender expounded his topic of Anabaptism, barely acknowledging the pioneering work of Smith—that "greatest" of Mennonite historians—except in a footnote. Smith was also a member of the ASCH and would soon have opportunity for reading the presidential address, which appeared in both *MQR* and *Church History*. What were his thoughts as he read this alternative version of Anabaptist history?

Smith Today

Smith's Story of the Mennonites is in print today and still a standard work in many libraries and probably in a good many Mennonite homes. Moreover, his name appears as co-editor with Harold Bender on the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, and this helps to keep his name alive. The current edition of *Story of the Mennonites*, the fifth edition, revised and enlarged by Dr. Cornelius Krahn in 1981, is a hybrid, partly Smith, partly Krahn. Although Krahn accepted some of the basic Smithian interpretation of Anabaptism as human liberation, he had revisions. Whereas Smith in 1941 praised Anabaptism as "the essence of individualism," Krahn dropped this phraseology and substituted this sentence, "Bible study in groups was the source of their spiritual life and living."[64] Krahn also watered down Smith's Mennonite progressivism; for example, he reworked the chapter on "Culture and Progress," renaming it "Theological and Cultural Developments."

Smith's progressivism and liberal vision belongs particularly to the early twentieth-century. In an astute way, he discerned the direction of American Mennonitism, its move toward urbanization and individualism, and he presented this new American Mennonite as worthy and admirable. Bender's vision appealed to the church leadership, but Smith's concept of individualistic and democratic free choice was where many ordinary Mennonites reside. This is not to say that Mr. and Mrs. Ordinary Mennonite are regularly reading Smith, but perhaps if they would, they might well find it agreeable. In fact, maybe the differences between the two visions are not as deep as set forth here; very likely there are Mennonite members that at one and the same time like Bender's three slogans *and* Smithian doctrines of freedom and individualism.

Smith was a master historian. He knew how to paint a large historical canvas and gracefully tell the story. His historical work reads well, and his writing has an elegance to it not matched by any other twentieth-century Mennonite historian. He is the Mennonite Macaulay.[65] Smith's name and work deserve to be remembered for a long time.

NOTES

[1]C. Henry Smith, *Mennonite Country Boy: The Early Years of C. Henry Smith* (Newton: Faith and Life Press, 1962), 225. This memoir was written when Smith was fifty years of age, i.e. 1925, but not published in its entire form until after his death.

[2] Smith's history sold 319 copies in the first eight months of 1994; the German orders have to be returned. Interviews with Elsie Sheriff, director of marketing at Faith and Life Press, Aug. 18 and 19, 1994.

[3] Sheriff interview, Aug. 19, 1994.

[4]*Mennonite Encyclopedia* (hereafter *ME*), IV, 552, article by Harold S. Bender. At least two other American intellectuals, Noah C. Hirschy and Samuel K. Mosiman, also received doctoral degrees in 1907 but from European universities.

[5]For biographical information on Smith, see *ME* and Willard H. Smith, "C. Henry Smith: A Brief Biography," in *Mennonite Country Boy*.

[6]*Bethel College Monthly*, XXVIII (Jan. 1923), 2.

[7] Ibid. (April 15, 1922), 9.

[8] Ibid. (May 1923), 2.

[9] Letter of Nov. 2, 1904.

[10]On Jameson, see *Who Was Who in America*, vol. 1, 1897-1942 (Chicago: Marquis, 1968), 628. The Smith letters are in the J. Franklin Jameson papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, box 71, Chicago Univ.: Graduate Students, 1902-5.

[11] I wish to thank Allan Teichroew of the Library of Congress for calling these letters to my attention. Several years ago he provided me with copies of the four letters. He also shared with me his article on Smith and Jameson.

[12] Letter of Oct. 26, 1904.

[13] Smith to Jameson, Oct. 26, 1904.

[14] Smith to Jameson, Nov. 2, 1904.

[15] Oct. 26, 1904.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Oct. 26, 1904.

[18] Oct. 26, 1904.

[19] Jan. 27, 1905.

[20] Oct. 26, 1904.

[21] Nov. 2, 1904.

[22]*Mennonite Country Boy*, 212.

[23]C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonites of America* (Goshen: Published by the Author, 1909), 17. This book was an expanded version of his Ph.D. dissertation.

[24] Rodolphe Petter to Smith, Feb. 17, 1938, Petter Papers, box 6, file 47, MLA, Bethel College). This file also contains other letters between the two.

[25] Ibid.

[26]*Story of the Mennonites* (1941), foreword.

[27]Bender and Correll were among these critics, *MQR*, XVI (Oct. 1942), 274.

[28]*Mennonites in America*, 18-19.

[29]*The Mennonites* (1920), 320.

[30]*Story of the Mennonites* (1941), 29.

[31] Ibid., 12.

[32]James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America 1890-1930*, vol. 3 of *The Mennonite Experience in America* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1989), 164.

[33]*The Mennonites* (1920), 38-40; *Story of the Mennonites* (1941), 27-35.

[34]*Mennonites in America*, 387.

[35]Juhnke, *Vision*, 175.

[36] See Roland H. Bainton, "The Left Wing of the Reformation," *Journal of Religion*, XXI (April 1941).

[37]C. Henry Smith, "Mennonites and Culture," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XII (April 1938), 71-84.

[38]*Story of the Mennonites* (1941), 785-786.

[39] Ibid.

[40]*Mennonite Country Boy*, 216-217.

[41]Kreider foreword in 1981 ed. of *Smith's Story of the Mennonites*, ix.

[42]*Mennonites of America*, 455.

[43]*Mennonite Country Boy*, 202, 211.

[44]*Story of the Mennonites* (1941), 748-751; *Mennonites of America* (1909), 403.

[45] Smith to Bender, April 10, 1943 (copy in Bethel Pres. Papers, Kaufman correspondence, box 55, file 384).

[46] Bender's important writings included his dissertation on Conrad Grebel, published in 1950, the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, which he edited for many years, the co-editorship of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, and, most famously, his essay, "The Anabaptist Vision" (1943).

[47]Bender to Horsch, Dec. 28, 1926 (Horsch Coll., corresp. 1926, A-B; Mennonite Archives, Goshen). My thanks to Al Keim for giving me this reference. On the Bender-Smith relationship, see Rodney J. Sawatsky, "History and Ideology: American Mennonite Identity Definition through History" (Ph. D.dissertation, Princeton University, 1977), 103-105, 269-278.

[48]James C. Juhnke, *Creative Crusader: Edmund G. Kaufman and Mennonite Community*, Cornelius H. Wedel Historical Series, no. 8 (North Newton, KS: Bethel College, 1994), 64-65.

[49] Smith to Kaufman, April 12, 1936; Kaufman to Smith, April 15, 1936.

[50] Kaufman to Smith, Feb. 18, 1935.

[51] Kaufman to Smith, Feb. 24, 1938.

[52] Kaufman to Smith, Feb. 24, 1938.

[53] Smith to Kaufman, Mar. 5, 1938.

[54]*MQR*, XVI (Oct. 1942), 270-275.

[55] Ibid., 272.

[56] Ibid., 272-73.

[57] Wenger to Bender, July 7, 1941 (Bender Coll. AMC 24/2). My thanks to Al Keim for this reference.

[58] Smith to Kaufman, Dec. 21, 1943.

[59] Kaufman to Smith, Dec. 16, 1943.

[60] Kaufman to Smith, Feb. 14, 1945.

[61]Bender, "C. Henry Smith: A Tribute," in *Mennonite Country Boy*, 232.

[62] Kaufman to Smith, Feb. 24, 1938.

[63]"The Anabaptist Vision," in Guy F. Hershberger, *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision*, 53-54.

[64] 1981 ed., p. 15.

[65]A comparison with Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), English historian and eloquent writer, a favorite of the author.

De Schtella Yeatza

by Rachel Goertz Ratzlaff,
as told to Suzanne Lawrence

That Far-Off Call

I was nice in church. I didn't generally play,
not even with a handkerchief.
But one evening, the Bethel College choir
came to sing, and they sang beautifully.
The girls had ivory-cream colored,
pleated shirt-dresses, long sleeves,
sort of sweater effect.
They sang this song—
I don't know if I ever heard it again—
something about a boat
wa-a-a-ay off in the distance.
One in the back row—
and I never could figure out which one—
was singing that far-off "Call, Call."
In the front row, the girls would sing the answer.
I scooted up and down
the back of the next pew
so that I could see
who was making that "Call"—
it sounded so far away.

Afterwards, while people were socializing,
one of the college girls began coming toward me.
I went behind the Round Oak stove.
When she started around one side
I scooted around to the other.

Well, I didn't know her.
Why did she want to talk to me?

It was my parent's custom to take us to church. It is the work of the church to reach children and other people for Christ. Yet, I fell through the cracks.

Maybe it was because I was so shy. In church, I stood behind Mom, holding on to her skirt. When someone talked to me, I would back around further. When I got a little older, I walked behind Bertha, my older sister.

Sometimes I would like to ask God, "Why did you make me thus?" Other people can be so friendly and forward. They make us enjoy the whole day. I wish my parents had taught me to be more outgoing, but they said, "She'll learn." "She'll grow out of it." "What she does is fine."

After we were married, Abe told me that my family had been known as "de schtella Yeatza"—the quiet Goertz's—somewhat like Mennonites as a whole are called "die Stille im Lande." Our family wouldn't talk unless spoken to. My parents never discussed gossip or serious subjects in the presence of us children, so we did not learn to speak up about things.

Falling Through the Cracks

If I had been more outgoing, I might have asked more questions. In our home, we spoke Plautdietsch-Low German, the Molotschna dialect. (Abe grew up with the Polish dialect.) I did not understand "church German," "commercial German," or English very well. On Sundays, we got what looked like stamps with serrated edges and just a three, five or ten word verse. We learned the longer ones when we were

older. When we memorized ten verses, we got a pamphlet with a story in it. Mom would read us the story on Sunday afternoon. I know that one she read in High German took her an hour or two, then she told it in Plautdietsch. I still didn't know what it meant. It had such unfamiliar names and words in it.

One time when I had gotten into a scrap with my brothers, my mother said, "Du musst busse tun." (You must repent.) I hadn't the slightest idea what "tu busse" meant. It didn't make a dent in me.

For many years, we said this prayer: "Lieber Heiland, mach mich fromm, daß ich in den Himmel komm'." (Loving Savior, make me righteous, that I will come to heaven.) I didn't understand "fromm." One time I asked what fromm meant. "Well, Abraham was fromm," Mom said. That didn't help because I didn't know that much about Abraham. Later, when I was grown and told my mother, she said, "Well, but surely your prayers did some good. We prayed that every night for years and years."

One time my Dad took about three of us to hear an evangelist preach under a big tent near a country schoolhouse. People from our church had said it was so good. But it was in English. I had the English of a grade-schooler, not the English of an evangelist. He talked about raising your hand. Some of the others did. "Is there anybody else?" he said. "All raise your hands." So, I raised mine, too.

As he dismissed the crowd, he said, "You that raised your hands come forward." I was almost to the front when my Dad said, "No. She doesn't know you and we're going home."

As a teenager, I went to catechism for two years, but still didn't understand. Nobody reached me on a one to one basis. When the pastor came to our house, he talked first to my parents and then to Bertha. After a while, Bertha came upstairs and said they wanted to talk to me. I was reading and kept reading until Mom called up, "Now Rachel, aren't you coming?" I tramped down the stairs and walked through the front room.

As I entered the kitchen, my feet shuffled on the sill as I turned to shut the door of the unheated room behind me. Years later, Mom said that in those moments she had asked, "Bist du selig?" (Are you saved?), but over the noise of my hard-soled shoes on the door sill, I hadn't heard it.

I went to sit on the Russian bench behind the table and looked at all three. Nobody said anything. Then, the pastor talked to Mom in undertones. He was waiting for her to talk to me. They wondered which language to use. Finally Dad, with a smug look, said, "Rachel is my good little girl." He had taken me to catechism on the most rainy, muddy days, but somebody else was supposed to do the talking.

When nobody else said anything, I got up, walked around the table and headed toward the door. Somebody said something, but when I turned around and looked at them, nobody said anything, so I went back upstairs. After a little while the pastor drove away. The lights went out and everybody went to bed.

And I slept easily. I didn't know that

Rachel Goertz, age 18 (1932)

Rachel, Arthur, and Bertha Goertz. The girls are wearing their "Thanksgiving dresses."

I had been so close to salvation.

Many, many years later it was revealed to me, since I kept asking the Lord, that Mom had said, "Gau doch nich wach" (Don't go away.) If I had heard that at that time, things might have been very different.

Baptism

When catechism was over, they had a "Prüfung," a meeting where you tell about your salvation. One girl said to me, "You live so far from here. You don't have to come." I didn't know what Prüfung was, so after dinner when my family asked, "How soon do we have to be there?" I said, "Well, someone said we didn't have to go to that." So, we didn't.

On the morning we were to be baptized, we stood near the front of the church. The pastor called on each of us to say something. I was at the end. The girl that stood next to me said, "He's talking to you." I said, "He is?"

I just stood there and looked at him and never said anything. The pastor didn't know what to do. From the stage, he said to the congregation, "Well, I didn't hear anything, but maybe you heard something."

Then my Mom said, "Sie liest die Bible" (She reads the Bible.) Somebody else made a remark in High German. I recognized her voice—it was my Aunt Eva—but I didn't know what she said. Then we all got baptized.

Belief

It took another four and a half years before the Lord reached me. I was married, had one child and was carrying another. One of the women in my sewing society group gave me a magazine called *Biola*, (Bible Institute of Los Angeles.) I read it again and again and again. I started listening to gospel programs on the radio.

I wrote to one of the programs, thinking, "Now they'll send me a page of 'what to do'." When the answer came back it was just a regular newsletter. On the back it said, "We have turned your request over to the prayer group." That turned me off.

I put the letter in my top dresser drawer, behind the baby's white stockings, cleanest tee-shirts and Sunday wear.

When the time came to clean out drawers, I saw that thing lying there. "Oh, now they have been praying for me for a year. What now, Lord?"

I looked through the door and saw a small bench in the living room. That's where I fell on my knees and cried, "God be merciful to me, a sinner. Lord, I believe."

After all those years, the Lord made me clean.

I waited for the third night when it was dark and we were in bed, then I told Abe, "I think I've been born again. I've been saved."

"Oh, I know that already," he said.

I asked him how he knew. He didn't say how, but "Well, I just knew."

I ordered myself a new Bible out of *Ward's* catalog. When it came I sat on the floor cross-legged and read here and read there. Abe came in the house and looked at the clock. "When are you going to make dinner?" I put it up and made something for dinner.

I kept up listening to the radio. Now they weren't just scattering seeds. They were feeding a real child of God.

Don't Forget

After I had been saved, the Lord talked to me—audibly—(although I know it happened, I just can't believe it sometimes), saying, "Now, don't forget that," and after a day or two, "Write it down." Still, I didn't. I had to finally figure out that it was the last part of March, and it was the first part of the week, and it was. . . . Finally, I decided that if I didn't know, then I should pick out a day and say that's it, that's the day, that's when I was born again. According to that method, my spiritual birthday is March 22, 1937.

Andrew D. Schrag

(1876-1956)

by Martin H. Schrag

Andrew D. Schrag was born in 1876 on the Kansas Mennonite frontier in southern McPherson County. In his youth he showed great promise for leadership in church and school among his people. He left his Mennonite heritage and decided to make his contribution in the arena of higher education. In his home community, Andrew became a symbol of the perils of advanced education. The evidence in hand points to his being challenged by the optimistic vision of an increasingly improved American way of life.

Three years after arriving in Kansas, the Mennonites from Russia organized themselves as the Kansas Conference of Mennonites. High on their agenda was a school to train teachers and preachers to further the Mennonite faith. Bethel College was the lasting fruit of that progressive effort. In 1892 the Kansas Conference of Mennonites became the Western District of the General Conference Mennonite Church. General Conference Mennonites were among the most progressive of Mennonites in North America.[1]

Beyond the Mennonite world was an American society which looked forward to a future full of promise. From the beginning of the American nation, the spirit of optimism pervaded the American mind as it envisioned the potential destiny of social perfectibility. Great strides were made in the nineteenth century (transportation, industrialization, communications, reform movements) so that by the end of the century, in the formative years of Andrew's life, there was great confidence that the keys to human existence had been discovered and humanity could look forward to a great future. The new future was the American dream.[2]

Andrew Schrag was born two years after his family and community settled in Kansas. In 1891, at age fifteen, he was baptized and became a member of the Hopefield (*Hoffnungsfeld*) Mennonite Church.[3] His father hoped that Andrew, or at least one of the sons of the family, would become a minister. For three school years, 1892-95, Andrew studied at the Mennonite Preparatory School in Halstead and the newly established Bethel College near Newton.

Bethel College

A basic aim of Bethel College was to prepare teachers, fluent in both German and English, who could teach in Mennonite communities both in the English public elementary schools (running four to six months) and the German (Mennonite) schools (one to three months). C. H. Wedel, Bethel's first president, wrote that the ideal graduate would be able to "teach German school, teach English district school, and also be active in Sunday School."[4] The end was the fostering of the Mennonite community by bringing together the merits of their German culture and the merits of their new American culture.[5]

From 1895 to 1897 Andrew Schrag taught the English public school and the German school in his home community, fulfilling the goals projected by Bethel College. He was the first Mennonite to teach in his home public school.[6] Among his pupils were future leaders of the community, including Edmund G. Kaufman, who became a missionary to China (1917-25) and president of Bethel College (1932-52).[7]

Schrag's leadership apparently also impressed his fellow church members in the Hopefield congregation. The congregation, Amish in background, chose its ministers by a process of nominations by members and selection by lot. In 1895 congregation members gave Andrew Schrag the most votes in the nomination process. The lot, however, did not fall upon him. His life course would have been much different had he been chosen minister at that time.[8]

Following the two years of teaching, Schrag returned to Bethel for two more years (1897-98). He graduated from the Academy in the spring of 1899. The literary societies were a very important aspect of student life, not only because students took a very active role, but also because they were the only extra-curricular activity (apart from music) approved by the faculty and in the good graces of the constituency. In the literaries students learned American ways of speaking, thinking, and "group management" (elections, parliamentary procedure, constitutions, etc.). Schrag was in the midst of such activities especially so in his last year.[9]

Further Americanization was manifested in one topic Schrag debated, "Resolved that Negroes should be restricted in their political rights." In another talk he wrestled with the problem as to which was more important in shaping people, the inner commitment or the outer events one encountered. In another message, he examined in what ways the New Testament church at

Andrew D. Schrag as a Bethel College student, ca. 1899.

Antioch was a mission church. He not only mentioned the church being energized by the Holy Spirit, but also that the body had a discerning enthusiasm, and gifted people properly educated in the culture of the day.[10] Andrew was involved in a number of additional debates and delivered orations at different occasions. In all these activities implicitly or explicitly, Schrag dealt with the challenge to integrate the Christian revelation with discovered human knowledge.[11]

It apparently was at Bethel that Schrag met and became engaged to Margaret Richert, of the influential Mennonite Richert family. The engagement was broken, a serious breach in the Mennonite world. Apparently the separation took place after Schrag's years at Bethel.

Significant in Schrag's years at Bethel was the world view of the school. Bethel's first president, Cornelius H. Wedel (1860-1910), had a comprehensive world view which embraced all of reality. Wedel believed that significant truth was and is revealed and subsequently discovered by man in creation, re-creation, and history. Such a posture entailed a positive attitude toward all aspects of human culture: art, science, government, music and other works of human creativity. The liberal arts disciplines were seen as a part of the effort to discern and apply truth. With such a perspective, Wedel, as summarized by historian Dr. James Juhnke, saw Bethel College as a "place for vigorous engagement with culture and an eager embrace of issues posed by modern learning."[12]

Secondly, Wedel saw the church as an intentional community of believers modeled after the life and work of Jesus Christ and the New Testament Church. It represented God's intention for humanity and the corporate reality where God's truth was most fully revealed and expressed. Wedel's congregational Christendom (a society ordered over against state church Christendom) was to use the best in the arts and sciences (literature, science, music, art, etc.) to enrich its inner life and to aid in the spreading of the Gospel.

In Wedel's understanding, the Christian movement must be studied in the light of the whole of history. As for the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition, it was not to be viewed in some isolated and truncated manner but rather in a reading of church history that sees Anabaptism as part of a faithful or alternative Christian community that reached back to Christ. Throughout church history there have been faithful witnesses. In short, Mennonites were not to sharply separate themselves from the history of Christianity and not perceive themselves as a totally unique sect.

President Wedel believed that God's people are a distinctive community over against the sinful world. Aware of the tensions between Christ and culture, and seeing the true church as a counterculture or alternative society, he at the same time was critical of the rigidness and resultant withdrawal from the larger society of some Mennonites. The counter-community is to be aware of what is transpiring in the whole of society and to make discerning evaluations based on the Bible (centrally the New Testament) as to the merits and demerits of human knowledge. If there is ben-

eficial and life enhancing truth to be uncovered via the liberal arts and if Anabaptism is to be meaningfully related to the Christian movement, it follows that the very sharp divide between the church (Mennonites) and the world is to be modified. In his point of view regarding the larger society, Wedel emphasized the imperative of missionary work and the need of Christians to work for social reform.[13]

We do not know in any detail how Andrew Schrag responded to Bethel's progressive Mennonitism, but at the very least, his move to attend Haverford indicates he was not more conservative than Wedel, but rather moving in the same general direction. It appears Schrag left Bethel as a progressive Mennonite.

Haverford College (1899-1902)

During the next three years (1899-1902) Schrag was a student at a Quaker school, Haverford College (in suburban Philadelphia). He graduated in the spring of 1902 with a bachelor of arts degree. His reasons for choosing Haverford are not clear. There was a historic kinship between Friends and Mennonites given their common commitment to simple living, discipleship, and pacifism. Some Quakers were living in the Halstead, Kansas, area. Probably the most important element was H. J. Webster, a Haverford graduate teaching mathematics and natural science at Bethel from 1897 to 1900. Schrag received a Haverford scholarship, perhaps with the help of Webster's influence.[14]

Schrag stated that Haverford opened up to him a new world. True indeed. Geographically considered, in the class of 1900-1901 consisting of 121 students, only ten came from states west of Pennsylvania, and only three west of the Mississippi River. More important was the change in sociological context. Schrag moved from his rural German, Mennonite, fixed world view, and farm setting into a society that was very English, elitist, suburban, change-oriented, and Quakerishly sophisticated.[15]

Most significant was the beginnings of the liberalization of the Quaker world view among some Friends. Rufus Jones (1863-1948), very able and influential Quaker philosopher and Haverford faculty member (as of 1893) spearheaded the movement. Reacting against some conservative Quakers, Jones believed their posture was too static, worship services too fixed, and patterns of dress and speech overly rigid. The problem, Jones thought, was their making the furthering of a "peculiar people" an end itself when they should be concentrating on the universal principles of religion which are common to all sects and communions.[16]

More far reaching was his reaction to revivalistic evangelicalism and Wesley holiness, movements that influenced many Friends. Jones dismantled the dualistic world view that divided reality into two spheres, the supernatural with its very transcendent, supernatural and judgmental God on the one hand, and the natural consisting of a sinful world populated by sinful people on the other. The chasm between the two was unbridgeable, proclaimed the revivalists, but God miraculously bridged it in Christ in a once-for-all and finished special revelation. In that system, Jones continued critically, sinful humans have no light within but were given the "light" as a gift.[17]

In his view of God, Jones and other liberals emphasized God's love and immanence. That is, God was quietly working within the natural processes of life—the law of nature—moving humanity toward a harmonious future.[18]

Very central to Quakers, including Jones, was the light within—that of Christ (God) within every person. It is basic to the mystical experience in which the human spirit and the divine Spirit meet, find one another, and "are in mutual and reciprocal correspondence as spirit with Spirit."[20] That is to say, a first-hand fellowship and experience with God that issues in a sense of mission. Toward that end, Quakers practiced meditation, prayer, Bible/devotional reading, obeying the light, and interacting with others in the same quest. In experiencing God, one became aware of "a radiance from the central Light of the spiritual universe, penetrating the depths of every soul, which if... obeyed and accepted as a guiding star would lead into all truth and all kinds of truth."[21] The mission, as directed by the living Spirit would issue in a life lived in accordance with the example and teachings of Jesus Christ. That of Christ within points to world-wide possibilities and creates a favorable attitude toward possible truth in other religions. Emphasis was placed on latent potential of humans, over against the stressing of human sinfulness as seen in John Calvin's views of salvation. One of the ways to develop the latent possibilities was the right kind of education.[22]

Another tenet of Jones and liberal Quakerism was a critical approach to the Bible. The disciplines of philology, archaeology, and history have shown that the material in the Bible came from a variety of sources: Canaanite, Persian, and Greek ideas found their way into Scripture; human evolutionary progress meant that truth was gradually discerned; some biblical books are composite, and much editing was done in the gradual bringing together of the Bible.

Quakerism from its conception was dedicated to high moral living and social responsibility: honesty, simple living, integrity, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick. The Christ within will call his disciples to follow the Master in doing good. Both conservative and liberal Quakers were opposed to specific evils: slavery, child labor, mistreatment of Indians, drinking, etc. What was new with liberal Quakers was seeing the larger picture of societal structures and the end of bringing in the Kingdom of God in history. Jones declared (1895) that "the Spirit of God is in this world, shaping history . . . putting down evil, making righteousness, silently guiding the forces in the great battle of Armageddon."[24]

Schrag's forte at Haverford was academics. He was noted by his fellow students as one who spent his time studying. Although his entrance examination scores were not high, at his graduation he received "general honors," and was elected into the Phi Beta Kappa Society.[26]

We do not know in any detail how Schrag responded to the liberal orientation of Jones and others. The views of Rufus Jones had some continuities with the thought of Bethel's President Wedel. Given his intellectual abilities, Schrag surely would have seen such similarities. Worthy of note is that with liberal Quakerism one could be both deeply committed to the faith and be relevant to the optimistic coloration of modern life. He may have reasoned that a Quaker commitment would mean getting away from the traditional, uneducated ministry, historically frozen, and socially irrelevant Mennonitism of his home community. In addition, a controversy in his home community between the Hopefield and Eden congregations involved the kind of sectarianism that Jones believed was a gross distortion of true Christianity. Then, there was the selecting of minister by lot when the correct criteria were inner conviction and the needed education. Perhaps the communities' harsh and unforgiving attitude when Schrag broke his engagement with Richert alienated the young student. From another angle, Schrag's academic achievements and his adjusting to an English society told him that he could be an important player in the larger contemporary society. He had the "right stuff." Some of the "humble" Mennonites at home could have said, "Pride comes before the fall." Unfortunately we do not know if he reasoned as depicted above but we do know he went to Johns Hopkins University to earn a doctorate and was a successful professor at the University of Nebraska.

Johns Hopkins University (1902-1906)

In 1906 Schrag received a Ph. D. degree from Johns Hopkins University. The road between Haverford and Johns Hopkins was well traveled. During the years Andrew was at Haverford, three Haverford professors became professors at Johns Hopkins. A few of the Haverford faculty had earned their doctorates at Johns Hopkins, and the head of the Johns Hopkins German department was Henry Wood, a Haverford graduate.[27]

Johns Hopkins University (begun in 1876) was a pioneering and innovative institution. It was modeled after the German concept of a research university in which professors gave major attention to researching (as compared to teaching) at the cutting edge of their disciplines and guiding graduate students into new areas of study and research. It has been called the first university in America. It partook of the optimism that infused the American spirit at the turn of the century.[28]

Johns Hopkins University was not brought into being by any church body, had no churchpersons on the board of trustees, and had no academic program for the discipline of religion in the curriculum. The initial idea of creating a University was formed in the mind of John Hopkins a wealthy (from grocery store clerk to a millionaire) Baltimore merchant who was a Quaker. Six of the first twelve trustees also were Quakers. Of the remaining six, four were Episcopalians, one was a Presbyterian, and one was a Swedenborgian. None of the dozen were professional educators but rather men of affairs, lawyers, bankers, and business men.[29]

Given that the University had no religion department, the school was somewhat at a loss as to how to deal with religion. The trustees and school staff were not irreligious and wanted a religious dimension in the school, but they wanted to stay away from sectarianism, ecclesiasticism, and dogmatism. In the first years the president, Dr. Daniel Gilman, conducted a short devotional period each morning with attendance voluntary; students brought into being a YMCA chapter and it and the school invited outstanding churchpersons and scholars in religion to lecture and speak, at times, in special lectureships. One of their guidelines was that religion has nothing to fear from science and science has nothing to fear from religion. As the truth of that is conditioned by the definitions, the University had a public relations problem regarding evolution.[30]

Schrag's field of specialization was the German language. He also had two minor areas, one was philosophy and the other history. The core of Schrag's academic work at Johns Hopkins was a course entitled "German Seminary." The course, taken all four years (probably required) of his stay, had a seminar format with students, and at times faculty members, reading papers followed by discussion and interaction involving both faculty members and students. Working with German literature and writings, attention was given to literary criticism, societal relationships and structures, history of ideas, and psychological perceptions.[31]

Graduate student Schrag read papers on the writings of three of the four men covered in his dissertation. The title of his work was "Situation und Charaktere in der Dorfgeschichte bei Immermann, Auerbach, Rank und Gotthelf" (The Situation and Character of the Village Stories Written by Immermann, Auerbach, Rank and Gotthelf.) Schrag received his doctorate June 12, 1906, as well as his second Phi Beta Society key. It has been reported that his response was, "I already have such a key."[32]

As was true in evaluating the impact of Bethel and Haverford on Andrew Schrag, we do not have the needed primary sources to know his understanding of reality upon completing his studies at Johns Hopkins. The Schrag family (his wife and children) did not actively participate in organized religion. Possibly Johns Hopkins University influenced Schrag toward the view that religion is a private matter and is not essential in furthering the American dream. He may have concluded that organized church life really has no relevance in modern America. Earning a doctorate was one of the things to do in helping move society forward toward a better way of living.

In the next school year (1906-1907), Dr. Schrag filled in for a professor on leave as an Instructor in German at Adelbert College of Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio.[33] In 1907-1908 Schrag was a student at the University of Berlin, where his dissertation was published.[34]

The dissertation dealt with the village story genre of German literature as that genre developed in the eighteenth cen-

tury into the nineteenth century. Schrag chose four representative authors writing village stories (Immermann, Auerbach, Rank, and Gotthelf) at the time the writing of village stories reached its highest point. The objective was to describe, compare, and analyze the village stories of the four men in terms of situations in which the stories were set and to note the basic characteristics of the stories. Schrag gave scant attention to the religious aspect of village life but rather focused attention on the psychological and sociological dimensions of life.[35]

University of Nebraska

The high point in Dr. Schrag's professional life was the ten years he taught German at the University of Nebraska, 1908-1918. At Lincoln several facets of his life came together—his intelligence, teaching ability, and command in the classroom. He steadily moved up in rank from instructor to assistant professor to associate professor. From 1909 to 1913, he made summer trips to Germany giving him opportunities to learn more about German and Germany.[36] Schrag was living the American dream.

During his time at the University of Nebraska, Dr. Schrag and a colleague in the German department, Dr. Joseph E. A. Alexis, put together an introduction to German textbook, entitled *First Course in German* (R. G. Badger, Boston, 1920).[37] It was well received and widely used.

On July 9, 1914, Schrag married Harriet Graves of Lincoln, Nebraska. The two met as Andrew was boarding at the home of Harriet's sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Shattuck. The bride was a graduate of the University of Nebraska, earned a master's degree, and taught school for two years before the two married. She came from a prosperous Nebraska farm family, English in heritage. Two children were born to the couple, Gretchen and Harold.[38]

Schrag's teaching at the University of Nebraska came to an abrupt end because of the strong anti-German spirit generated by World War I. Following President Woodrow Wilson's commitment to neutrality when the war broke out in 1914, the University of Nebraska declared its neutrality. Gradually, however, anti-German sentiment increased. When the United States entered the war, emotions of patriotism and hostility against Germany and Germans became rampant. One professor declared that the war did not really begin in 1914 but in 1774 at Lexington and Concord. A new event in track meets was throwing the hand grenade. Schrag, having received his inheritance at the time, bought a new car only to learn that some anti-Germans saw the money as proof he was a German spy.[39]

In April 1915, before emotions had become so inflamed, Schrag had published an article entitled "German Versus English Aggression," in the University of Nebraska scholarly journal *The Mid-West Quarterly*. In the article, he sought to refute the perception that Germany was the aggressor nation. He said that England, in securing its vast empire, was much more aggressive than Germany. He detailed the German takeover of Alsace-Lorraine, arguing that the people in that territory were largely of German blood. The article, written early in the European war, reflected Professor Schrag's pro-German posture. At that time the faculty was divided on the matter of American participation in the war.[40]

The United States declared war against Germany on April 6, 1917. Newton D. Baker, the Secretary of Defense, directed every state to establish its own council of defense. The Nebraska Defense Council was especially vigilant; it "discerned" less than full support for the war on the part of some Lutheran Church leaders, some German-Americans, including Mennonites, and some professors at the University.[41]

The Nebraska Council began to gather data on those professors they thought were opposed to the war. The Council pressured the Regents of the University to hold hearings to expose the "hotbed of sedition" at the University. The Regents of the University decided to hold public hearings declaring that anyone who interfered with the prosecution of the war would be "summarily . . . dismissed." At the same time

Homer J. Webster, mathematics teacher at Bethel College 1897-1900

the Regents asked the Council to give them a list of persons the Council felt were guilty of improper behavior as well as the evidence that indicated their disloyalty.[42]

On May 28, 1918, the Council released to the public the names of the twelve faculty members against whom charges would be brought. Last on the list was Andrew D. Schrag. The variety of charges against the twelve included defending the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World), believing in "internationalism," wrong attitudes toward Liberty Bonds, being a pacifist, justifying the sinking of the *Lusitania*, etc.[43] The case against Schrag read:

> Prof. Andrew D. Schrag, teacher of German, before we entered the war, published articles and made addresses espousing Germany's side of the war. Since we entered the war, has expressed contempt for what America could do in coping with Germany. He has extolled German prowess and German science in his classes and in conversations with men of the faculty. Always has a hidden sneer for everything American. He leaves the impression with his students and others that he is

Bethel College campus in 1901

> still pro-German. Has never taken a virile stand for America. Has spent many summers in Germany.[44]

It is not known if the charges were read at the hearing or whether they were made public.

The hearings lasted for nine days, May 28 to June 11, 1918. The faculty members were examined one by one with opportunity for anyone to present evidence; the accused were free to express themselves. During Schrag's examination, no word was spoken against him.

The Regents concluded they found no overt evidence indicating any of the charged were guilty of disloyalty. Two faculty members were rebuked, three were asked to resign, two for being "indiscreet" in their "public criticism," and the other for being a pacifist. Six of the professors including A. D. Schrag were "declared to be as good as though no accusations have been brought." They were "fully exonerated and held as blameless." Schrag was declared a man in good standing.[45]

Although he had been fully cleared, Schrag resigned his position with the university. No doubt the basic reason was that the German Department was abolished and German was not taught during the war. Schrag's grandson, John C. Wiltse, presently Associate General Counsel at the University of Nebraska, has written, in an unpublished article on the trial of Schrag, that his grandfather "had been insulted by the students and victimized by adverse publicity." At the same time, according to oral tradition, the University offered him a job teaching philosophy, one of his minors at Johns Hopkins. After the war Andrew Schrag attempted to return to the University of Nebraska but was not rehired.[46]

Davenport Banker

Soon after resigning from his teaching post, Schrag became the owner and manager of the Farmer's State Bank in Davenport, Nebraska, located approximately seventy five miles southwest of Lincoln.

During the decade spent in Davenport, banker Schrag was one of the leading citizens of the Davenport community. Within a year he was placed on the advisory board of the Victory Liberty Loan campaign and shortly thereafter he was serving on the Davenport Village Board. His community service also included being a member of the local school board; in that capacity he spoke at parent-teacher meetings regarding civic responsibilities and the importance of physical education.

In 1927 Schrag passed the Nebraska state bar examination, doing so without attending law school or taking correspondence courses. Although he did not practice law, his law knowledge helped in discharging his banking responsibilities. The manner in which he passed the law examination is further evidence of his mental capacities.

In the closing of the bank, necessitated by the Depression, Schrag did not file for bankruptcy but rather assumed personal responsibility for the outstanding deposits. The act reflected his strong commitment to integrity, even though it placed the family in dire economic conditions for a number of years.[47]

Retirement

After selling the bank, the Schrags returned to Lincoln where they spent the rest of their days. Schrag entered into a number of jobs. For a time he sold life insurance (Pacific Mutual) and did well in the undertaking. During the height of the Depression, he was an administrator in the W.P.A. (Work Projects Administration) program. Since many of the people he worked with were of Hispanic background, he learned the Spanish language. Another undertaking was being the Nebraska State Inspector of Beehives. Something of his moral commitment was manifested when he, in response to the spread of a bee disease, rapidly moved against the blight by destroying infected beehives. That obviously was the required move but some of the bee-keepers saw to it that Schrag lost his job. For a time he was an instructor in a defense industry, located in Lincoln, during World War II.[48]

Schrag remained interested in politics. In at least one election, he voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt. At first he thought Hitler was good for Germany, but upon seeing the error of his evaluation, he was puzzled that he had not seen through Hitler sooner. On the lighter side Andrew Schrag was fond of certain radio programs, as listening to Jimmy Durante and Amos and Andy. Via the radio, Schrag never missed Nebraska football games.

Former Mennonite

Andrew Schrag's decision to leave the larger Mennonite communitywas a common one. In 1889 C. H. Wedel, the first president of Bethel College, when deciding whether to return from his graduate studies to teach among the Kansas Mennonites, had commented that nearly all Mennonites, upon earning advanced degrees. left the Mennonite fold.[39] The gap between the traditional Mennonite attitude toward higher education and the philosophical world view of advanced education was very wide. It appears that another factor in the void between Schrag and the Kansas Mennonites from Russia was the breaking of his engagement with Margaret Richert. When Edmund G. Kaufman was a senior at Bethel he convinced his fellow seniors that the class should request that Dr. Andrew Schrag be the commencement speaker. The faculty rejected the request, apparently in large part because of the broken engagement. Mennonite leaders and Andrew Schrag had little if any contacts with one another in the decades that followed.[49]

The pivotal point in Schrag's life was the crisis generated by the Great War. Up to that point, we see a very able young man moving upward on the educational ladder, making the needed cultural adjustments to earn a doctorate and establish himself in an American university. The American dream became a reality.

The Great War shattered the dream. German language and German culture played a large role in Schrag's life: family, community, church, Bethel College, doctorate, University of Berlin, summers spent in Germany, and University of Nebraska. The sequence implies an identification by Schrag to the German world view. As mentioned above Schrag wrote an article in 1915 reflecting a pro-German point of view. The article confirms Schrag's positive attitude to Germany.

Not only did the United States have a dream, so did Germany. Many German leaders, kings, and philosophers believed that Germany had a unique leadership genius to lead the world toward utopia.

During the war, Andrew Schrag was in an intense emotional crunch, given the highly charged and unrepressed rampant pro-American nationalism on the one hand and his pro-German sympathies which may have been colored by German ideals. Schrag's resigning his professorship, even though he was cleared in the hearings and offered an opportunity to teach philosophy, appear to reflect the emotional climate of the time.

In summary, we see that Andrew Schrag was caught in an international crisis not of his making, but which had a negative impact on his inner being. Those of us in a society that has experienced two World Wars, the Depression, the Cold War, and Vietnam find it difficult to enter into the confidence that reigned in the formative years of Andrew Schrag, but we do understand persons being caught in a web of irrational evil forces.[50]

Andrew Schrag died July 19, 1956, two months short of his eightieth birthday. John Wiltse, his grandson, saw it as ironic that his grandfather, whose greatest faculty was his mind, should die of brain cancer.[51]

NOTES

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[5]Ibid.

[6]*Second Catalogue, Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, 1894-1895*; *Third Catalogue, Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, 1895-1896*; J. O. Schrag, "Pioneer" (Unpublished paper), pp. 1-7; J. O. Schrag, "The Black College" (Unpublished paper), pp. 1-2; J. O. Schrag, "Teachers at Pioneer" (Unpublished sheet).

[7]*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 5 (1990), s.v. "Kaufman, Edmund G.," by James C. Juhnke. To be cited hereafter as *ME*.

[8]Interview, J. O. Schrag, October 20, 1994.

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[13]Ibid., pp. 9-98.

[14]*ME*, vol. 4 (1959), s.v. "Society of Friends," by Harold S. Bender. Wedel, *Story of Bethel*, p. 109. Interview, Robert Kreider.

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[17]Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. 153, 155. Elbert Russell, *History of Quakerism* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), pp. 499-505.

[18]Hamm, *Transformation*, p. 150. Harry Emerson Fosdick, ed., *Rufus Jones Speaks to Our Time: An Anthology* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), pp. 7-17.

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[21]Jones, *Quakerism*, p. 16. David Hinshaw, *Rufus Jones, Master Quaker* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1951), pp. 210-231.

[22]Fosdick, p. 42.

[23]Hamm, *Transformation*, p. 149. Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 222-223.

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[25]Barbour and Frost, p. 225.

[26]*Haverfordian*, October 1902, p. 89. "Class Notes," *Haverfordian*, February 1903, p. 28.

[27]Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), pp. 3-6, 120-123, 145-146, 154, 162. Personal letter, Diana F. Peterson to author, December 11, 1991. Personal letter, Brian Harrington to author, December 27, 1991.

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[30]Ibid. Hawkins, pp. 68-72.

[31]"Minutes of the German Seminary," 1902-1906, pp. 68-132. The Ferdinand Hamburg, Jr., Archives, Johns Hopkins University.

[32]Copy in the Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University.

[33]Personal letter, Bob Psuik to author, January 23, 1989. *Western Reserve University Catalogue, 1906-1907*, pp. 60-61.

[34]*Matriculate Catalog*, Haverford College, 1833-1922. *Situation und Charaktere in der Dorfgeschichte bei Immermann, Auerbach, Rank und Gotthelf.*

[35]Andrew D. Schrag, *The Situation and Characteristics of the Village Story Written by Immermann, Auerbach, Rank, and Gotthelf*, trans. Hilda Voth (Berlin: Martin and Jonske, 1908), pp. 5-12, 93-95. I am very much indebted to Richard D. Schrag for reading and summarizing the content of the dissertation. "Summary statement," pp. 1-14.

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[38]Interview, Gretchen Hawk. *Lincoln Daily Star*, July 16, 1914, p. 9.

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[42]John C. Wiltse, "The Loyalty Trial of Andrew Dante Schrag" (Unpublished article, 1987), pp. 1-10.

[43]John Wiltse, pp. 6-7. Manley, pp. 207-208.

[44]Nebraska State Historical Society, State Council of Defense Records, box 16, folder 41.

[45]John Wiltse, p. 8. Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska, *Minutes*, pp. 18-19, June 18, 1918.

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[47]"The Victory Liberty Loan," *Journal*, April 11, 1919. "Village Board Proceedings," *Journal*, June 8, 1923. Interview, Gretchen Hawk. "News Item," *Journal*, January 20, 1925. "Banks Consolidate," *Journal*, April 6, 1928.

[48]Interview, Gretchen Hawk. Interview, Steven Wiltse, October 30, 1991.

[49]Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War*, p. 115.

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[50]Juhnke, "Foreword," p. 13-14.

[51]Interview, John Wiltse.

Book Reviews

James C. Juhnke, *Creative Crusader: Edmund G. Kaufman and Mennonite Community*. North Newton, KS: Bethel College. 1994. Cornelius H. Wedel Historical Series, 8. Pp. 298. ($30.00 hard cover, $15.00 paperback) ISBN 0-9630160-5-9

The long, productive life of Mennonite educational leader Edmund G. Kaufman (1891-1980) seems to contain at least two stories. One is the tale of Kaufman's prodigious personal experience, a story spanning Kansas immigrant farmland, China mission field, and the halls of American academe. But Kaufman also played a role in a larger drama. Like that of a number of contemporary Mennonite leaders born at the turn of the century, E.G. Kaufman's development reveals in microcosm the complicated, important interplay of Mennonite faith and twentieth-century modernity.

Perhaps the greatest strength of James C. Juhnke's solid new biography, *Creative Crusader: Edmund G. Kaufman and Mennonite Community*, is its author's success in weaving the story of Kaufman's times into the narrative of Kaufman's life, never failing all the while to keep E.G. Kaufman, the inimitable individual, properly at center stage. To this accomplishment Juhnke has added clear, vivid writing in an intelligently ordered volume.

Juhnke the historian-biographer restrains himself admirably from editorial asides—especially remarkable in light of the author's Preface statement that the "mystic" presence of "Dr. Kaufman...hovered about" as he wrote—yet invests the historical record itself with satisfying feeling, as when he relays the astonishing upshot of Professor Kaufman's "Borneo question," or conveys the simple but telling facts of how Kaufman "rode the three miles to school on a half-blind and unreliable mare his father had bought from some gypsies."

For the reader, who approaches Kaufman's story from outside the General Conference Mennonite sphere, Juhnke's carefully delineated profile of one man opens a vista on the Kansas Mennonite world. The book's opening chapter, "Origins," orients readers historically and lays a thematic foundation for Kaufman's lifelong interest in community dynamics and community preservation. Juhnke consistently makes the point that, for all of Ed Kaufman's wide experience and enlarged philosophical perspective, he always honored the religious and ethnic particularity of his people, the Swiss-Volhynian Mennonites, immigrants from eastern Europe to Kansas in 1874.

Giving due respect to "Origins" also establishes a rationale for this biography's considerable emphasis, sensitive yet frank, on Kaufman's childhood and adult family relationships—one fortunate result, it would seem, of encouragement and cooperation given the project by Kaufman's survivors. It is useful, for example, to read about and meet the gaze in photograph illustrations of the subject's Kaufman and Schrag grandparents, for these relatives enter the story at various stages of Kaufman's life, and their inclusion in the story of the young Kaufman anticipates a later discussion of Kaufman's relationship to his own grandchildren.

Ed Kaufman "planted one foot in his community religious tradition and another foot in modern America," Juhnke writes in his first chapter. "His commitments were a recipe for both controversy and creativity." To insist through this image that two distinct, often competing cultures might nonetheless be contained within a single, "planted" individual provides Juhnke a useful organizing image for the entire book. The history of American Mennonite acculturation, after all, seldom actually supplies purely Mennonite, or purely American, specimens.

Kaufman's experiences, in fact, led him frequently to alight on something more like Mennonite-American common ground than to straddle distinct, separate cultural territories. His piously devout yet culturally-attuned parents, John P. and Carolina Schrag Kaufman, at one time displayed a picture of President William McKinley in their living room. Kaufman's Bethel College professors between 1912 and 1916, to cite

another instance, belonged to the "first generation of an Americanized Mennonite intelligentsia" as Juhnke writes. They had returned to the Mennonite institution afire with progressive ideas sparked at Harvard, Chicago, Oberlin, and Columbia—but they had, nevertheless, returned to serve Bethel, as Kaufman would in 1931, bearing a Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago. In his 1928 doctoral thesis, furthermore, "The Development of the Missionary and Philanthropic Interest Among the Mennonites of North America," Kaufman again attempted to join his two cultures, bringing cutting-edge sociological theories and methods to bear on the familiar, in some cases intimately known, sectarian rural communities of his own denomination.

The General Conference Mennonite mission field in Puyang (then Kai Ch'ow), Chihili (Hebei) Province, China, to which newlyweds Ed and Hazel Dester Kaufman embarked late in 1917, constituted new cultural ground altogether. Juhnke draws an original comparison between the epic land and sea journey undertaken by Ed's Swiss-Volhynian grandparents out of Russia into America, and the young couple's ambitious foray, more than forty years later, "deep into China's vast interior." Ed and Hazel Kaufman remained in China until returning to the United States on furlough in April 1925.

The first half of the Kaufmans' China period brought much illness and grief, including in 1920 the death of their seven-month-old son, Kenneth, followed by Ed Kaufman's harrowing, three-month affliction with smallpox, through which Hazel persevered as nurse. Following 1922, "health and morale were stronger." Kaufman honed his "intrepid" leadership skills and improvised new strategies to fit the setting. His efforts to organize schools throughout the district bore impressive results, culminating in the construction of Hua Mei junior middle school at Puyang. In China he also conceived the then "radical" idea of bringing promising future Chinese Christian leaders to Bluffton and Bethel Colleges, a plan fulfilled in 1930 when James Liu and Stephen Wang arrived in the United States—the first such foreign church ambassadors among American Mennonites.

Though Ed and Hazel Kaufman had originally intended a lifelong career in Chinese mission, they ultimately decided during their furlough to remain in the United States. Juhnke stresses, however, the lasting importance of the China experience for Ed Kaufman. The biography reflects that emphasis, devoting as many pages to "China," the chapter covering Kaufman's seven and a half years on the mission field, as it does to "College Administrator," the chapter on Kaufman's twenty years as Bethel College's president. (Separate chapters deal with Kaufman's teaching and peace concerns during the Bethel years.) While more research remains to be done on the impact of international travel and residence on early Mennonite missionaries, Juhnke's chapter devoted to Ed and Hazel Kaufman's mission term contributes one detailed, significant corner of the mosaic.

Two middle chapters, "Furlough and Reorientation" and "Transition to Leadership," portray Kaufman striding through graduate study at Garrett Biblical Seminary and the University of Chicago, gaining status in the conference-wide activities of the church (albeit, as Juhnke puts it, as a "controversial celebrity"), and in 1929 launching at Bluffton College his college teaching and administrative career. In 1931 he accepted a position as Bethel College's vice-president and professor of sociology. After deliberating at length over an offer to serve as president in a projected revival of Bluffton's Witmarsum Seminary, Kaufman was named Bethel College president in 1932.

Readers expecting the administrative phase of Kaufman's career to lead his biographer into bureaucratic doldrums will instead discover the infectious relish Juhnke brings to the subject of Kaufman at Bethel College. To a deft analysis of college finances, policies, doctrinal difficulties, and changing church relations, the author adds enlivening sketches of restive faculty, pranking students, and, in the midst of everything, of the imposing "Prexy" himself.

Early in 1933, as Juhnke quotes him, Kaufman had written to his friend A.E. Kreider that Bethel needed a leader who would "[take] the bit in his mouth and in a more or less roughshod manner do what every one knows ought to be done." Kaufman's grasp of what ought to be done led to numerous good things for Bethel College, including a dramatic recovery, through masterful public relations and stringent campus economies, from its financial crisis of the early Depression years, North Central Association accreditation in 1938, and sponsorship of five prestigious, if eventually controversial, Kansas Peace Institutes between 1936 and 1940. Taken as a whole, Juhnke's treatment of Bethel's development throughout this volume calls to mind the parallel struggles of its sister schools across the twentieth century American Mennonite landscape, and the degree to which their instructive stories, then and now, remain regrettably obscure from one Mennonite branch to another.

Throughout the book, Juhnke gives significant attention to Kaufman's personality and style, availing himself repeatedly of both the complimentary adjective "progressive," and the less flattering "aggressive." Whatever one concludes on a personal level about Kaufman's legendary gruff approach—he once explained to a rebuffed colleague that he usually didn't "pass out flowers until the funeral"—the reader is given to ponder the nature of effective leadership and, in the current times, its frequent confusion with universal popularity.

Standing with feet planted in his Mennonite and American worlds, as Juhnke envisions him, Edmund G. Kaufman in this biography appears by turns in the guise of no-nonsense pragmatist, wise and visionary thinker, impatient reformer, even exasperating rascal. In these traits, he calls to mind some other forceful, complicated Mennonite leaders of this century. But in sum, James Juhnke concludes this rich biography persuasively, beyond E.G. Kaufman's lively, contradictory personae, he "had unshakable roots," a bedrock commitment to the church com-

munity he served, with energy and conviction, throughout a full, engaging life.

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Haas, Craig, and Steve Nolt. *The Mennonite Starter Kit: A Handy Guide for the New Mennonite (Everything They Forgot to Tell You in Church Membership Class!)*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1993. Pp. 84. ($5.95 paperback) ISBN 1-56148-085-1

Reviews of *The Mennonite Starter Kit* have appeared already in several Mennonite publications, each reviewer commending its clever and gentle humor, but no one has yet commented on the sneaky way it promises something it cannot deliver. Despite its claim of providing "everything" a new Mennonite needs to know, *The Mennonite Starter Kit* does exactly the opposite, delivering a compendium of humor that only the most inveterate insiders will appreciate.

Organized around broad categories of "Peoplehood and Heritage," "Lifestyle," "Religious Activities," and "Institutions," the book packs into its 90 pages an amazing pastiche of cultural parody: mock multiple choice quizzes, Top 10 lists, fake advertisements, relabeled photos from church publications, and so forth.

Given this diversity of genre, it's hard to draw meaningful generalizations, but some motifs occur repeatedly. The cover illustration introduces a baseball theme. What at first glance appears to be the familiar engraving from the *Martyr's Mirror* of Dirk Willems on the ice now shows his outstretched hand bearing a softball glove as he stoops to field an incoming ball. The baseball motif is picked up at other points in the book by a section of trading cards of prominent figures in MC culture (complete with photos and career highlights) and a feature on "theological softball" that makes baseball comparisons to various denominations (e.g. "Calvinists believe the game is fixed ... Mormons are thrown out often," and so forth (16-17)).

Another recurrent focus is Mennonite frugality, expressed by "the timeless Mennonite creed: If it costs something, I don't want it; if it's free I'll take two" (49); jokes about reusing aluminum foil, gift wrapping paper, and tea bags; and references to making door mats by crocheting old bread sacks.

Of special interest is the wide assortment of visual gags. Some of my favorites were Where's Menno at the Relief Sale? (a parody of the "Where's Waldo" series); a comparison of the MCC dove logo to a map of Texas; recaptioned photos from church publications (e.g. dancers practicing "Liturgical Kick Boxing"); a peasant's war commemorative chess set in which one side is all pawns; and an ad for the fake movie *Hazel's People II*.

In their introduction, the authors ask that readers "don't take *us* too seriously" (4), but many of the humorous barbs do dig deep and show that the authors have a good sense of the tensions pulling at the modern Mennonite church. For instance, one gag suggests that when pastors lose touch with their congregations, they go off to AMBS rather than working to get back in synch with the members; another hints that Mennos under 30 donate more to National Public Radio than church causes; several sequences point to ways that Mennonites risk losing a unique theological identity and becoming mainstream protestants.

When the topics move beyond Mennonites in general, *The Mennonite Starter Kit* definitely reflects its origins in the eastern U.S. and the Mennonite Church. Thus, we find a few references to Hesston College, a mention of Moundridge, and an occasional reference to Newton. I suppose members of the General Conference may consider this imbalance a comfort! The humor is broad enough to appeal to members of all branches of Mennonites, and the satire is more gentle than that of, say, *Mennonot*.

In a significant essay in folklore studies, William High Jansen stresses the importance of the "esoteric-exoteric factor" in folklore. The esoteric quality would describe the way an insider to a group might react to something; exoteric, a response from outside. He argues that the folklore of a group shows both the group's perception of itself, its perception of other groups, and the ways it thinks other groups perceive it.[1] *Mennonite Starter Kit* illustrates this principle very well, for here we find all manner of jests that are funny because we tell them about ourselves; if these were exoteric barbs launched from outside the Mennonite community, many readers would no doubt be at least mildly insulted by portrayals of Mennonites as overly frugal, prudish, and eager to assimilate into mainstream culture.

One quiz question asks, "Mennonites seldom laugh at: a) dirty jokes, b) themselves, c) material in this book" (53). *The Mennonite Starter Kit* spares us the dirty jokes, but by laughing at material in this book, we do indeed laugh at ourselves and the way we think others see us, and I consider that a good thing.

[1]William Hugh Jansen, "The Esoteric-Exoteric Factor in Folklore," *Fabula: Journal of Folktale Studies* 2 (1959): 205-11; rpt. *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965) 43-51.

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John K. Sheriff, *Charles Peirce's Guess at the Riddle: Grounds for Human Significance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994. Pp. 100. ISBN 0-253-35204-5

Blurbs on the cover of this book state that its "purpose . . . is to expound Peirce's unified theory of the universe—from cosmology to semiotic—and to discuss its ramifications for how we should live"; and that it is "Aimed at non-specialists . . . [and] speaks to [the] fundamental question of the nature of human existence." The suggestion seems to be that the ordinary college-educated thoughtful reader will find here a book in philosophy that is non-technical and fairly easy to read, and might well be a helpful guide to reflection on some of the "big questions" with which life confronts us all. While John Sheriff's book undoubtedly

does deal with very important major philosophical problems, it is far from non-technical and is certainly not an easy read. And many readers attracted by this come-on would give up, I suspect, long before they got to the chapter or two toward the end that touch briefly on questions about how we ought to live our lives.

What we have here is a very useful and illuminating attempt to put together a sketch—imaginatively constructed on the basis of materials drawn astutely from the thousands of pages of Charles Sanders Peirce's (1839-1914) papers—of the "theory of everything" that Peirce had hoped sometime to write but never actually completed. Peirce is increasingly becoming recognized worldwide as the most original and possibly the most important American philosopher, a principal source of American pragmatism and one who early saw the revolutionary significance of evolutionary thinking for virtually all intellectual activity, one whose work is now being mined for all it has to say to contemporary issues of many sorts in logic, epistemology, the philosophy of science, and especially linguistics and semiology. John Sheriff, a Professor of English at Bethel College, shows convincingly that Peirce's analysis of signs in terms of Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness provided an entry-way for him into a comprehensive metaphysical vision of what he came to believe were the three fundamental principles at the root of all reality, principles that could, thus, be seen (on the one hand) to provide a speculative explanation of the origin of all that is, as well as (on the other hand) offering a grounding for ethics and aesthetics and thus the ordering of human life. Seen in this light Peirce turns out to be a philosopher in the grand style of Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Kant, Hegel, Whitehead, and a few others; and he will be best comprehended if he is studied as such.

I do not know Peirce well enough to judge the adequacy of Sheriff's vision of what Peirce was about, or, indeed, to understand every detail of Sheriff's quite difficult, and very compressed, argument. But this is clearly a work to be reckoned with in future Peirce studies, and by all who are interested, as many increasingly are again today—in face of strong nihilistic currents in much poststructural thinking—in a broad and comprehensive vision of the world and of what human life can be and mean in the world.

But it is not really clear to me from this book that Peirce, with his message of "the possibility of unlimited intellectual and moral growth and *of unlimited survival* for the human community" (xvi, Sheriff's emphasis), has an answer to today's nihilistic and cynical tendencies (as Professor Sheriff seems to believe). Peirce's reflections on the broad issues of human life appear to be lacking in attention to a major issue of which our twentieth century experience has made us all acutely conscious: our enormous human capacities for self-deception and corruption, and our utter destructiveness and inhumanity. The "masters of suspicion" (Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, and now Foucault, Derrida, and others), who have so deeply influenced the consciousness of twentieth century intellectuals, appear to have discerned flaws—of which Peirce was seemingly unaware, and to which he therefore did not address himself—in precisely our rational powers, the very capacities in which Peirce placed his deepest confidence. In many ways, therefore, he apparently shares the optimism about the future of humankind characteristic of many pre-World War I westerners; and it is not at all clear that he can convincingly counter the deep cynicism and despair so widespread among intellectuals today.

The answer that Peirce proposes to skepticism and cynicism—his celebrated future-oriented conception of reality and truth—seems to me to beg the crucial questions. According to Sheriff, it "made no sense to Peirce to define the real as 'incognizable' because that is to claim knowledge about what is defined as unknowable." Rather, we are to regard our experienced sense appearances as "signs of realities" that will become fully known in and through the "intellectual . . . conceptions to which the mind of man is, on the whole and in the long run, tending" (56-57)—that is, these matters will be known at the eschatological end of human history. But that, of course, helps us very little in deciding about what should be regarded as true and real in our present here and how: with regard to such matters, as Peirce acknowledges, "we never can be absolutely sure of anything" (58) because reasoning can be validated only in the future. It is not at all clear, then, that Peirce's conviction—that our reasoning "if duly persisted in, must, in the very nature of things, lead to a result *indefinitely approximating* to the truth *in the long run*" (58, emphasis mine)—can be regarded as dealing with the question at issue. For (a) this claim cannot itself be regarded as *certain*; and (b) even if it could be, it would actually be *empty*—for we can never either know *the extent* to which what we are affirming is true, nor have we any way of knowing when (if ever) the end of "the long run" of human history will be within human reach or sight. I may have misunderstood the point here somehow, but I fail to see how this eschatological notion of truth answers the questions of the cynic and the nihilist, which are precisely about the unavailability of truth and reality *here and now* in our actual lives.

It is not clear, either, that Peirce's program has any clear answers to—or that he is even in a position to address—the problems raised by our contemporary consciousness of cultural, religious, and moral pluralism. He appears to be unaware of the extent to which all our thinking (including our *logics*) may well be dependent on, and thus a function of, the (obviously historically relative) grammatical structures of the language(s) we use; and that for this reason (among others) so many quite different ways of thinking, experiencing, and valuing have emerged in the diverse linguistic and cultural settings of women and men around the globe. Peirce's own highly original and very provocative formulations of a pragmatistic, future-oriented logic and philosophy appear to involve rather straightforward developments of deep western (and Christian) cultural and religious

orientations and patterns of thinking, experiencing, and acting; and (at least as Sheriff interprets them) they betray virtually no consciousness of the possibility that they may actually be quite parochial in significant respects, when seen in the perspective of world history and the enormous cultural diversity of humankind. Peirce insisted that "Life can have but one end" (69). Sheriff interprets this as meaning that there must be a single "ultimate ideal" that is "immutable under all circumstances and... [that] the only ultimate aim that meets all these conditions is Reason" (76). This appears to be a quite typical expression of the "monotheistic logocentric" thinking that is so heavily under attack from many sides today—not only by poststructuralists but by feminist philosophers, neopragmatists (like Richard Rorty), Buddhist-oriented philosophers, liberation theologians, and many others; and it betrays little awareness of the issues posed by these critics. It is hard, then, to see how these basic convictions of Peirce can be taken seriously by many who are deeply involved in today's discussions of these matters.

This is not to say that Peirce (and his expositor, Sheriff) are wrong in these matters; nor to say that Sheriff's presentation in this book is totally irrelevant to these debates. It is to say that the argument in this book really does not directly address these exceedingly difficult issues in a persuasive way. It may be that there are profound resources in Peirce for addressing these sorts of questions, and that the best way to get at these resources is through (as Sheriff proposes) attempts to understand Peirce in a holistic way. But if that is the case, a much fuller and more elaborate argument on these issues than appears in this book will have to be presented. Peirce here appears as a fairly typical nineteenth or early twentieth century optimistic exponent of western notions of human historical and cultural progress—progress led, of course, by the West itself. If he is not such a figure, and can indeed provide arguments that deal effectively both with the issues posed by religious and cultural pluralism in today's world and with the despair, cynicism, and nihilism so prevalent in our world, that is a matter of great importance that should be pursued further by those engaged with Peirce's work. (Perhaps Sheriff's earlier work on Peirce, which I have not read, does indeed address some of these matters more fully.)

The comments just made should not be regarded as in any way derogating Professor Sheriff's significant achievement here, in showing the wide ramifications of Peirce's thought. He is quite convincing in his claim that Peirce's work may have much wider significance for some of the major questions with which the humanities deal, than many have thus far realized; and that more attention should be paid, therefore, to his broader philosophical (and theological) insights and reflections than has hitherto occurred. Moreover, he has had the courage to attempt a sketch of this broader comprehensive philosophical program that Peirce may have had in mind but which he never fully articulated. These are significant pioneering achievements. But at present, for the most part, they are achievements of importance—and this does not belittle them at all—mainly to the academic world. The blurbs on the cover (for which Professor Sheriff is himself probably not personally responsible) that suggest that this book is likely to engage the wider general public are, unfortunately, quite misleading.

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