MENNONITE LIFE

SEPTEMBER 1995

In This Issue

Two themes that have been pursued in previous issues again are the focus this September: the 50th anniversary of World War II and the 75th anniversary of Mennonite Central Committee.

Gerlof Homan, recently retired history professor from Illinois State University, Normal, tells us about the experience of one Mennonite congregation in the Netherlands, opening a window into the little-known Dutch Mennonite ordeal in World War II.

James C. Juhnke, former editor of *Mennonite Life*, history professor at Bethel College, and currently on sabbatical at the Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups, Elizabethtown College, Pennsylvania, delves into the social and cultural origins of Mennonite Central Committee. This article was originally presented as a talk in the "Sunday Afternoon at the Museum" series at Kauffman Museum, Bethel College, in connection with the museum's special exhibit on MCC.

We also include in this issue some of our backlog of book reviews, including a special review essay by Alain Epp Weaver, MCC worker in the West Bank and avid student of Mennonite theology, on John Howard Yoder's influential book *The Politics of Jesus* which recently appeared in a second, revised edition.

John D. Thiesen

MENNONITE LIFE

September 1995 Vol. 50 No. 3

Managing Editor and Book Review Editor
John D. Thiesen

Editorial Assistant
Barbara Thiesen

Front Cover
Villagers of Westkapelle on Walcheren Island, Netherlands, 1945, repairing part of the sea dyke destroyed by the Nazis in retreat.

Back Cover
American Relief Administration church representatives. Levi Mumaw of MCC, bottom row, 2nd from right. From the book Feeding the Hungry, 1929.

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MENNONITE LIFE (ISSN 0025-9365) is an illustrated quarterly magazine published in March, June, September, and December by Bethel College, 300 East 27th, North Newton, Kansas 67117-0531. Second Class postage paid at North Newton, Kansas 67117. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to MENNONITE LIFE, Bethel College, 300 East 27th, North Newton, Kansas 67117-0531.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. one year, $15.00; two years, $22.00. Foreign one year, $18.00; two years $25.00 (U.S. funds).

Indexed with abstracts in *Religion Index One: Periodicals*, American Theological Library Association, Chicago, Illinois; *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*, ABC-Clio, Santa Barbara, California; and available online through BRS (Bibliographic Retrieval Services), Latham, New York, and DIALOG, Palo Alto, California.

We Go on Our Path with God's Guidance:

The Exile of the Arnhem Mennonite Congregation, 1944-1945

by Gerlof D. Homan

On Sunday morning September 17, 1944, at about 10:30, the worship service in the Dutch Mennonite congregation of Arnhem, the Netherlands, was suddenly interrupted by violent sounds of war when Allied planes bombed various military objects in the city and German anti-aircraft guns furiously spewed their deadly shells. The noise "literally silenced the word."[1] Shortly after, there was no more electricity, and the organ could only continue by relying on human power. Nearby in the famous St. Eusebius or Great Reformed Church, the organ continued the same way while the organist played and the large congregation of about twelve hundred sang the "Wilhelmus," the Dutch national anthem.[2] At this time no one realized that this day was the beginning of a long ordeal of suffering and exile that would last until the end of the war in the summer of 1945.

Not much has been written about the Dutch Mennonite World War II experience. This article discusses only the experience of one congregation during those terrible days; it is part of a larger, soon to be completed, study of the Dutch Mennonites in those fateful days. It has been rather difficult to gather evidence for this article or any other aspect of Dutch Mennonitism during World War II. Congregations did not keep records during those days, and little if anything was recorded soon after the war. Furthermore, many who lived during that period are no longer alive. Finally, several Dutch Mennonites prefer not to talk about the war. They do not want to embarrass members or their descendants who supported the enemy during the German occupation or to be reminded of this terrible period in their lives. Without the invaluable assistance of many, this article on various aspects of Dutch Mennonite history during World War II could not have been written. I owe them much more than I can express in words.[3]

Like most Dutch citizens during World War II, Mennonites suffered acutely because of the heavy burden and the innumerable hardships inflicted on the population by the German occupation. Many lost their lives. Others were imprisoned, forced to perform compulsory labor in Germany, or suffered because of a lack of the basic necessities of life.[4] Thus on that fateful Sunday morning of September 17, most of those in attendance in the Arnhem Mennonite church were older people because threats of round-ups kept younger men at home or in hiding.[5] Some Dutch Mennonites suffered more than others. A few congregations lost their houses of worship because of aerial bombardments or other acts of war. Others were forced to evacuate and could not return until the termination of hostilities. Among the latter were the Mennonites of IJmuiden, Den Helder, and Arnhem. The Arnhem congregation experienced the most dramatic evacuation when in late September 1944 the entire population was suddenly ordered to leave the city and was not able to return until many months later.

Arnhem is located in the southern part of the scenic and wooded Province of Gelderland, the Netherlands, about fifteen miles northwest from the point where the Rhine enters Dutch territory. A branch of the river, the so-called Lower Rhine, flows near Arnhem, where in the 1930s its banks were connected by a large and modern steel and concrete road bridge. Arnhem gained city rights in 1233 and became the residence of the dukes of Gelderland and imperial stadholders. Because of its political importance, Arnhem became the provincial capital and also prospered as a Hanseatic city. In 1944 Arnhem had a population of about 97,000 and boasted many beautiful historic buildings. Among them were the Palace of Justice, City Hall, the 15th century St. Eusebius Church with its 305-foot spire, and the slightly older Roman Catholic St. Walburgis Church. Arnhem also had excellent private residences, many of which were confiscated by the German occupation authorities who preferred to live in nice homes located in scenic surroundings.[6]

In the latter part of the 16th century, Mennonites established a congregation in this city, but in the 18th century, like many other Dutch Mennonite churches, it ceased to exist. In 1852 a new congregation was formed which in 1889 built its current meeting place on the Weverstraat located in the heart of the city not far from the St. Eusebius Church and the bridge across the Rhine. In 1944 the Arnhem Mennonite congregation had about nine hundred members, but many of those were no longer residents.[7]

The congregation's pastor since 1939 was Johannes Eelke Tuininga. He was born in 1908 and before coming to

Arnhem served Mennonite congregations on the island of Terschelling and in Drachten, located in the Province of Friesland. He was married to Johanna Blauw. In September 1944 they had three children: Johannes, age ten, Andries, who was nine, and Eelke Jan, three months old.[8]

As is typical of the Dutch Mennonite World War II experience in general, not much is known about the Arnhem congregation during this period. Church attendance during the war was very good; it reflected a spiritual hunger and longing for security in the midst of so much brutality. Some members of the congregation contributed enthusiastically to the gathering of food parcels for P.O.W.'s, an activity that was not dangerous.[9] Other members participated in the Dutch resistance. Among them was Jan ter Horst, a lawyer, who lived in nearby Oosterbeek.[10] Tuininga was also involved with local resistance and often spoke from the pulpit against Nazi occupation policies. Because of his outspokenness, he found it occasionally necessary to go in to hiding for a few days. He and his spouse also for some time sheltered in their home a half-Jewish girl.[11]

Another person who did much for Jewish citizens was G. R. Veendorp. He was, according to Tuininga, the "inspiring center" of assistance to Jewish citizens. It was Veendorp who called many times early in the morning to provide him with new names of Jewish citizens seeking shelter.[12] Unfortunately, we do not know additional details about Veendorp's work. He was killed or died during the evacuation period. Let us hope some day we will be able to learn more about his efforts to save many.

In June 1944 Allied forces landed in Normandy and in September of that year liberated some parts of the southern Netherlands. It seemed the Third Reich was nearing its demise. In order to hasten the end of the war, the Allies seized upon a daring gamble: Forces along the Dutch-Belgian border would try to break through the German defenses in the southern Netherlands in an attempt to reach Arnhem. There they would link up with Allied airborne forces dropped near that city whose main task was to seize the strategic Arnhem bridge across the Rhine. Once a firm bridgehead had been established, it was felt the Allies would be able to advance in the northern part of the Netherlands and Germany and quickly end the war.

The whole operation, called Market-Garden, was a daring gamble that failed. It was an Allied military blunder and folly that resulted in tremendous loss of life and destruction. September 17, the first day of Market-Garden, was a beautiful autumn Sunday. The Allied landing at 1:30 p.m. that day was preceded by heavy bombing of various military objects in Arnhem. The first air raid alarm was sounded at 9:00 in the morning, but nothing happened. The second alarm came one-half hour later and the third at 10:45 a.m. This time bombs were dropped. Especially in the early afternoon the inner city and one of the barracks were hit. At that time, no one in Arnhem realized the aerial bombardments were a prelude to a much larger operation. It was generally assumed these attacks were not much different from previous bombardments, such as the "accidental" Allied bombing of February 22, 1944, in which many civilians were killed.[13]

In the Mennonite meeting house that morning, Tuininga paused a few times during his sermon when he was interrupted by cannon fire and exploding bombs. During the singing of one of the hymns, the electricity went off, and as indicated above, the organ had to rely on human power. At the end of the service, when it was still too dangerous to go home, Tuininga did some Bible interpretations and the congregation sang a few hymns. Finally a phone call informed Tuininga that the congregation had to leave the building. They left with a blessing at about 1:30 in the afternoon. Many of them would not reach their homes until 4:00 that same afternoon. Some members were injured in the bombing. On his way to the parsonage, located in the northern part of the city, Tuininga had to get off his bicycle a few times to seek shelter on the side of the road.[14] Some members would never see their church again; they were killed or died during the evacuation period.

Rev. Johannes E. Tuininga

For various reasons, Allied troops were not dropped near the Arnhem Rhine bridge, but several miles west of the city, and only a small number were able to reach its northern approach by 8:00 that evening, about seven hours after they began their march. Although they seized the northern end of the bridge, British forces failed to secure the southern approach and were soon isolated and unable to receive assistance either from other airborne troops nearby or Allied forces approaching from the south who failed to effect a quick breakthrough. After several days of fierce combat in and around Arnhem, Allied forces either surrendered or withdrew across the Rhine on or before September 26.

The civilian population of Arnhem and many surrounding communities suffered considerably during hostilities. In particular, those living close to the Rhine bridge were subjected to harrowing experiences. Soon many fled to "safer" parts of the city. Among them were the five members of the Mennonite Molenaar family who lived very close to the bridge and the church. After the service on September 17, Tuininga offered them the parsonage

Gerrit Rense Veendorp

as a refuge, but they decided to stay in their home, hoping that English soldiers near the bridge would soon liberate them. On September 19, German soldiers sought refuge in their music store. That same day a fireman warned them to leave because the fires could no longer be contained; there was no more water. At 4:00 on the morning of September 20, they left and found shelter with friends, the Van der Wiel family, in a less dangerous part of the city. That evening the Molenaars and the Van der Wiels gathered around the table and sang the well-known Dutch hymn of hope, "Wat de toekomst brengen moge, Mij geleidt des Heeren hand" [Whatever the future may bring, the Lord's hand will lead me]. When on September 25 the order came to evacuate the city, they went to the Mennonite parsonage.[15]

Many people were too old or ill to move on their own. Among them was an elderly female member of the church who was transported by Tuininga on a handcart to a safer place. In spite of the discomfort and danger during the trip, the lady derived some pleasure from the fact that her minister provided her transportation![16]

Perhaps some two hundred citizens of Arnhem lost their lives during this phase of the hostilities. It included at least one Mennonite, the medical doctor J. Zwolle. On September 19 he and twelve others were arrested by the Germans. Some of them were soon released, but five, including Dr. Zwolle, were executed. Because Dutch authorities after the war never saw fit to investigate this incident, we do not know why the Germans executed these men. It is possible that they suspected Zwolle of hostile acts while he was ministering to wounded Allied soldiers.[17]

Also ministering to Allied soldiers was Kate ter Horst. She and her husband, Jan, and their five children, lived in a large parsonage near the Lower Rhine in Oosterbeek, a scenic community located a few miles west of Arnhem. During the battle, Kate ministered untiringly to many wounded Allied soldiers by providing them with whatever little food and drink she could find and by reading them the 91st Psalm. Many of the wounded died in her home and joined other dead soldiers lying near the house. In the meantime, her husband provided the Allies with very good military advice, all of which was ignored.[18]

Another ordeal awaited all Arnhem inhabitants near the end of the battle when on September 23 the German authorities ordered the evacuation of the entire city within two days. The Germans expected a long and bloody battle for Arnhem and preferred to have the civilian population out of the way. To the citizens of Arnhem, the evacuation seemed to be German punishment for their pro-Allied sympathy during the battle. Thus on September 25 began "the largest evacuation that has ever occurred in Dutch history"[19] when thousands left their homes to seek refuge in neighboring communities and later even in the northern provinces of the Netherlands.

In addition to the physical and mental agony, the Arnhem population also suffered extensive material losses. During the fighting, many homes and buildings in the inner city were damaged or destroyed, especially by fires often deliberately set by the Germans. Among the buildings destroyed in September 1944 were the St. Eusebius and St. Walburgis churches which were almost totally demolished. The Mennonite meeting place, located very close to the St. Eusebius church, was spared and received only minor damage. Many more buildings were destroyed in April 1945 during the Allied liberation. In addition, during the exile, the Germans and some Dutch citizens ransacked every home in Arnhem. Special so-called German *Bergungskommandos*, or salvage crews, systematically and thoroughly searched every home and stole or destroyed almost everything. Most of the loot, which included every imaginable household article, was loaded on special trains and trucks and transported to Germany. In the summer of 1945 when Arnhem's population returned, they found empty homes except for piles of debris consisting of broken furniture, torn bedding, etc.[20] "No city at the time of liberation was so ransacked as Arnhem."[21]

Among the thousands of evacuees were members of the Mennonite congregation who fled to various towns and villages in the Province of Gelderland and beyond. We do not know much about the Mennonite evacuees' experiences. However, the evacuation accounts of a few individuals who have related their experiences are typical of those of others who fled. Among them were the Tuiningas. They lived in the parsonage located on the Diepenbrocklaan in the northern part of the city called Alteveer. On September 25 when Mrs. Tuininga was just preparing a meal, her husband told her to quit her work because they had to leave. They left around 12 noon with three heavily-laden bicycles and a baby buggy containing some belongings and the youngest child, Eelke Jan, who, in spite of all the frenzy of the moment, looked at his mother with "radiant eyes." With them went the four members of the Molenaar family. They and many others went in the direction of Apeldoorn, located about twenty miles north of Arnhem. A few miles south of Apeldoorn, Tuininga, according to Mrs. Molenaar, made the "splendid proposal" to request the Mennonite church in Apeldoorn to provide them with shelter. Mrs. Molenaar and the two Tuininga boys were sent ahead to make inquiries in the city. They were

most fortunate because two families living next to the church, one of which was the *koster*, or custodian, immediately offered shelter. By nine that evening, everyone had arrived; Mrs. Tuininga and Eelke Jan did the last leg of the trip on a horse-drawn wagon.

The reception at Apeldoorn was "uncommonly cordial" and the Tuiningas and many other Arnhem refugees "continually" experienced what the brotherhood could really mean. Some time later, the Tuininga family found a permanent shelter in Wiesel located a few miles northwest of Apeldoorn and the Molenaars in another village nearby. Later, in February 1945, the Molenaars decided to move--by bicycle--to Leeuwarden, the capital of the northern Province of Friesland, where they lived until the end of the war.[22]

Also fleeing to Apeldoorn were Kate ter Horst and her family. On September 26 she and her children rejoined her husband, from whom she became separated during the battle. Later the family moved to Friesland. Here Jan resumed his resistance work and in mid-April 1945 assisted in the liberation of Wijmbritseradeel, a county located in the southeastern part of the province.[23]

The Mennonite family of Arie Verzijden originally came from Rotterdam where they experienced and survived the terrible German bombardment of May 1940. Shortly after, they moved to Arnhem. Father Verzijden was disabled by rheumatism and had only limited mobility in his wheelchair. On September 25 he and his wheelchair were loaded onto a handcart and transported to Apeldoorn. Like many other refugees, they did not feel comfortable in the home of their first host family and later moved to Nunspeet, several miles north of Apeldoorn.[24]

For some reason, Mrs. Eyssen, her husband and son of four and-one-half did not attend the worship service in the Mennonite meeting place that fateful morning of September 17. Before they fled Arnhem, their neighbors gave them an address in Klarenbeek, a village located a few miles southeast of Apeldoorn. Here they arrived safely, but shortly after Mr. Eyssen was arrested by the Germans who were rounding up men for compulsory labor service. However, after two days he succeeded in escaping and rejoining his family. Later the Eyssens found shelter with a loving farm family until the end of the war.[25]

The Mennonite Wensink family fled to Harskamp, a small village about thirty miles northwest of Arnhem. Here they lived with some thirty-seven Catholic monks, a priest, and others. It took the conservative Calvinist, Reformed, local inhabitants some time to adjust to their guests, but they did their best. When their choir director had to go into hiding, they even asked the Roman Catholic priest, who had musical talent, to take his place.[26]

Most refugees left with a minimum of belongings. The Tuiningas took mostly children's clothes. Therefore, shortly after September 17 when Tuininga conducted a worship service for some members of his scattered flock, he had to borrow a cut-away from a doctor, a shirt from a baron, a collar from a public notary, and shoes from a retired colonel.[27] Understandably, following their hasty exit, many refugees tried to return to Arnhem to retrieve some additional possessions and also to inspect the condition of their homes. Although German authorities strictly forbade such "visits", some citizens managed to slip through. Tuininga visited the parsonage on many occasions. During his first visit in late October, he noticed that all of his suits and coats had been stolen. Every time during subsequent visits, he saw how thieves had taken additional belongings. However, he noticed they showed no interest in his books.[28]

During the winter of 1944-45, Mrs. Alie Verzijden went with a friend to Arnhem where two "good" young Germans allowed them to go to their homes. They found Arnhem to be a "ghost town." However they were not allowed to enter their homes; at that moment the Germans were busy in the neighborhood "collecting" bedding. When the two peeked inside their homes, they saw floors strewn with household articles, whereupon Alie's friend burst into tears. Apparently a German soldier was moved by this scene and promised to mark their homes to indicate they had been emptied.[29] In late March 1945 Tineke Lamsvelt was able to return to Arnhem by persuading a German soldier to let her go to her parental home. Here she found an "indescribable mess," empty closets, the sofa in the garden, and the neighbor's piano standing in the street.[30]

For several decades Dutch Mennonite congregational life revolved around the minister. It was the minister's task to provide leadership and to nurture the members' spiritual and other wellbeing. During the war this task became even more demanding. A minister now had to console grieving families and somehow convince the parishioners that in spite of all the misery and suffering, God's will and not National Socialism would ultimately prevail. During the exile of the Arnhem congregation, Tuininga's task became especially difficult. He had to locate the members of his congregation, communicate with them, and, if possible, gather them in small groups for worship and sharing. It was not easy to determine to where his church members had dashed off and scattered. In many instances, he did not succeed in locating them or learned they had moved elsewhere because many refugees were unhappy with their hosts. However, quite often they were forced to move elsewhere by the authorities because of the local food or housing situation. As a result, Tuininga could only render spiritual care to his parishioners in certain communities. Fortunately, many members, about one-fifth of the congregation, lived in Velp, located a few miles east of Arnhem. However Arnhem Mennonites were not allowed to join them there because no refugees were allowed to settle in this community. In Velp, Tuininga was able to conduct services in "Avondzon," a retirement home partly owned and run by Mennonites. Attendance at these services was large, and at these meetings Tuininga felt a sense of union never experienced before. He made the trip to Velp so often he knew the exact number of hills between his home and

Avondzon. Later his assistant pastor, Hildegonda A. Leijns, assumed this responsibility, allowing him to concentrate more on other communities.[31]

Tuininga communicated with members of his congregation by bicycle and newsletter, the *Brief uit de Verstrooing*, "Letter from the Dispersion."[32] In those days, most bicycles no longer rode on air but had solid rubber or no tires. Tuininga's bicycle had one solid and one bad air tire, yet this vehicle enabled him to see many members, to conduct funerals, and even to perform one wedding. During his trips he was frequently stopped by the Germans who demanded to see his identification papers. Fortunately the *Algemene Doopsgezinde Societeit*, the General Mennonite Conference, the national organization of Dutch Mennonites, provided ministers with a special letter which described the nature of their work. This "pass" enabled Tuininga to travel freely to various communities and even, at one time, to leave Arnhem, where he illegally visited his home, with a heavily-laden bicycle. Generally German soldiers who stopped Tuininga were courteous and respectful of his work. Because they did not know who Mennonites were the Germans often asked if they were evangelical. To this question Tuininga usually answered in the affirmative because it required too much time to explain theological differences.[33] Maintaining contact with his widely-scattered flock and ministering to so many needs was no easy task, and by early 1945 exhaustion forced Tuininga to take a few weeks rest to recuperate.[34]

In the midst of so much suffering, Tuininga hoped he could pass on the good news of the Gospel and to talk about higher values in life. He tried to tell his parishioners that only God knew the "holy mystery" of all suffering and every cross. All humans could do, he reminded them, was to remain silent, to not ask questions, to accept the burden, and to "go on our path with God's guidance in Christ."[35] In general, Tuininga found the members of his congregation to be in good spirits. They were full of ambition to start anew, eager to be allowed to work again, and to be able to leave behind this abnormal life. Such commitment and enthusiasm, he concluded, would enable them to rebuild their community upon their return. Yet many of the elderly and sick would never return. Almost every week Tuininga received obituary notices about members who died of hunger, sickness or misery.[36]

It is difficult to determine how many parishioners died during the exile. The total number of Arnhem inhabitants who died during this time might have been about 2,000. Fifteen Arnhem refugees died in German concentration camps. In September they fled to the village of Putten where in November 1944 the entire male population was rounded up and transported to German concentration camps in retaliation for an attack on a Nazi automobile.[37]

In the meantime, the congregation encountered financial difficulties. With the scattering of most of its members, who had lost nearly everything, at least temporarily, it became very difficult to meet financial obligations such as the payment of ministerial salaries. Although the bookkeeper reduced Tuininga's salary by one-third, he predicted the treasury would be empty by June 1945. Members of the church board who sought refuge in Apeldoorn decided to appeal to the *Algemene Doopsgezinde Societeit* to grant Arnhem a loan to enable the congregation to pay at least the ministers' salaries. Apparently the *Societeit* did not reply. In March 1945, the congregation repeated its request, this time asking for f5,000 loan to pay for repairs. Basing its hopes on the *Soceiteit's* previous assurances to extend help to brothers and sisters in need, the congregation expected a favorable response. They were not disappointed, because one week later the *Societeit* granted the loan.[38]

The return to Arnhem did not come until after the German surrender in May 1945. Upon their return, Arnhem's inhabitants found even more destruction than they left behind in September 1944. The famous Rhine bridge was damaged by an Allied bombardment in October 1944 and finally blown up by the Germans in February 1945. Allied bombing of Arnhem on February 10, 1945, and accidental dropping of German V-1 and V-2 rockets also caused damage. Finally, the Allied liberation on April 15, preceded by an enormous artillery barrage, did more damage than the savage fighting of September 1944.[39] Dutch authorities allowed the population slowly to return. By the end of June some 60,000 had come back and in September most inhabitants were home.[40]

Members of the Mennonite congregation were glad their meeting place had survived all the hostilities, but there was considerable damage and it would take some time before the building could be used again. Arnhem's inhabitants who suffered so much during the war received a large amount of assistance from many at home and abroad, including assistance from Mennonite Central Committee.[41] Finally the meeting place was sufficiently repaired and a cache of German hand grenades removed to permit the first worship service on August 31, 1945.[42] The exile was finally over.

The exile of the Arnhem Mennonite Congregation is a story of faithfulness. During World War II, few Dutch Mennonite congregations were tested so severely. American Mennonites often decried their Dutch brothers' and sisters' embrace of liberalism and modernism. However, the war experience showed they could be faithful. In spite of much pain, suffering, and agony Arnhem Mennonites rebuilt their community of hope.

ENDNOTES

[1]Johannes E. Tuininga to H. Craandijk, November 2, 1944. Archief, Algemene Doopsgezinde Societeit, Gemeente Archief Amsterdam, 843:81. Hereafter cited as AADS.

[2]Ibid.; Cornelius Ryan, *A Bridge Too Far* (New York: Popular Library, 1977), 174.

[3]For this article I owe many special thanks to Mrs. Rickey Greep who kindly and untiringly provided me with much valuable material and who contacted various members of the Arnhem congregation with the request to relate their experiences of 1944-45. In addition, I would like to thank Mrs. Alie Verzijden, Mrs. M. Eyssen, Mrs. F. P. H. Molenaar, Mrs. J. Tuininga, Mr. C. J. Wensink, Mr. R. Fennema, and Mr. J. ter Horst, all of whom took the effort to write me. Finally, I would like to thank Miss Saskia Janssen, doctoral

candidate at the University of Amsterdam, who rendered me much valuable assistance by locating documentary materials in the archives of the Algemene Doopsgezinde Societeit in Amsterdam.

[4]The most complete account of the Netherlands during World War II is L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog*. 13 vols. (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1969-1988). A much older, shorter but still valuable work is Werner Warmbrunn, *The Dutch Under German Occupation, 1940-1945*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1963).

[5]Tuininga to Craandijk, November 2, 1944. AADS, 843:81.

[6]*Nijhoffe Geschiedenis-Lexicon*., 1981 ed., s.v. "Arnhem."

[7]*Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 1955 ed., s.v. "Arnhem." T. van der Veer, et al., *Een eeuw Doopsgezinde Gemeente: Herdenkingsgeschrift uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 100 jarige bestaan der Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Arnhem op 8 juni 1952* (Velp: D. G. Meijer, 1952), 12ff.

[8]*Doopsgezind Jaarboekje 1982* (Kollum: Banda, n.d.), 14-15.

[9]Van der Veer, *Eeuw Doopsgezinde Gemeente*, 42.

[10]Van der Veer, *Eeuw Doopsgezinde Gemeente*, 42.

[11]Ibid.; Mrs. J. Tuininga to author, June 19, 1993.

[12]Van der Veer, *Eeuw Doopsgezinde Gemeente*, 42; Mrs. Tuininga to author, June 19, 1993.

[13]The literature on the Battle of Arnhem is very extensive. The best account in English is still Ryan's *A Bridge Too Far*. Good Dutch accounts of the battle and on the events after the battle can be found in Louis Frequin, et al., *Arnhems kruisweg* (Amsterdam: Promoter, [1946]), and P. R. A. van Iddekinge, *Arnhem 44/45: Evacuatie, verwoesting, plundering, bevrijding, terugkeer* (Arnhem: Gelderse Boekhandel, 1981).

[14]Tuininga to Craandijk, November 2, 1994. AADS, 843:81.

[15]Mrs. Foke P. H. Molenaar to author, [October 1993].

[16]Mrs. Tuininga to author, June 19, 1993.

[17]Mr. P. R. A. van Iddekinge, Arnhem Gemeente archivist, to author, July 8, 1993; Van Iddekinge, *Arnhem 44/45*, 34.

[18]Ryan, *Bridge Too Far*, 469-471; Kate ter Horst, *Cloud over Arnhem, September 17th-26th, 1944* (London: Allan Wingate, 1959), 50ff.; Mr. Jan ter Horst to author, October 22, 1993.

[19]Frequin, *Arnhems kruisweg*, 92.

[20]Van Iddekinge, *Arnhem*, 1900ff.; Frequin, *Arnhems kruisweg*, 101ff.

[21]De Jong, *Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, 10:82.

[22]Mrs. Molenaar to author, [October 1993].

[23]Mr. J. ter Horst to author, October 22, 1993.

[24]Mrs. Alie Verzijden to author, [October 1993].

[25]Mrs. M. Eyssen to author, [October 1993].

[26]Mr. Carel Wensink to author, March 24, 1993.

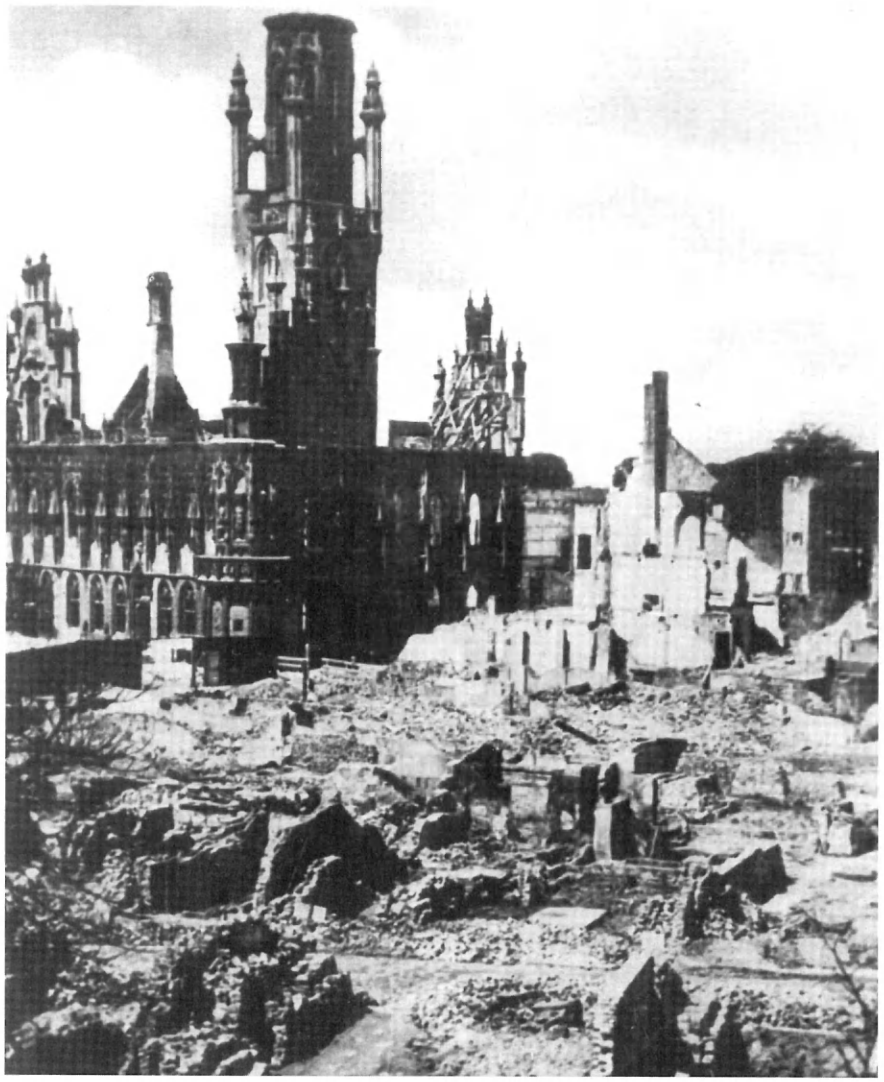
[27]Tuininga to Craandijk, November 4, 1944. AADS, 843:81.

[28]Ibid.; Tuininga to Craandijk, March 23, 1945. AADS, 843:81.

[29]Mrs. Alie Verzijden to author, [October 1993].

[30]Mrs. C. W. Th. Lamsvelt, "Oorlogsdagboek." Copy kindly given to the author.

[31]Tuininga to Craandijk, November 4, 1944 and March 23, 1945. AADS, 843:81.



Middelburg, Netherlands, city hall destroyed in the German invasion in May 1940.

[32]*Brief uit de Verstrooing*. End of November 1944. Copy given to author by Mrs. Tuininga.

[33]Tuininga to Craandijk, November 4, 1944. AADS, 843:81.

[34]Tuininga to Craandijk, March 23, 1945. AADS, 843:81.

[35]Tuininga to Craandijk, November 4, 1944. AADS, 843:81.

[36]Tuininga to Craandijk, March 23, 1945. AADS, 843:81.

[37]Van Iddekinge, *Arnhem*, 345.

[38]Annie G. C. Noorduyn, secretary, Arnhem Mennonite Congregation, to ADS, January 29, 1945. AADS, 843:81. C. J. Vos, treasurer, Arnhem Mennonite Congregation to ADS, March 19, 1945. AADS, 843:5657. ADS to Arnhem Mennonite Congregation, March 26, 1946. AADS, 843:5657.

[39]Van Iddekinge, *Arnhem*, 173-174. A. McKee, *The Race for the Rhine Bridge* (London: Stein and Day, 1971), 441-446.

[40]Van Iddekinge, *Arnhem*, 329-334.

[41]Ibid., 336. Van der Veer. *Eeuw Doopsgezinde Gemeente*, 44. Arnhem Mennonite Congregation, *Herdenking van het honderd-jarig bestaan van het kerkgebouw der Doopsgezinde Gemeente, Weverstraat, Arnhem op zondag 24 september 1989* (Doesburg: Halman, [1989]).

[42]Van der Veer, *Eeuw Doopsgezinde Gemeente*, 44.

The American Way of Giving

by James C. Juhnke

The museum exhibit, "Gift of Hope," tells the story of Mennonite Central Committee in the broadest possible context. At root it is a story of good Christian people, living in the light of Scriptures, becoming aware of urgent human needs and responding with compassion and with energy. One leaves this exhibit with a sense of awe. It is a moving tribute to all people who are privileged to give and receive in love.

The "Gift of Hope" exhibit invites social scientific analysis as well as peoplehood celebration. But what is the place of analysis? Dr. Hasia Diner, a leading historian of Jewish women's history and of Irish women's history has recently warned of the gulf between social science and ethnic celebration. Diner said she is often asked to speak at ethnic celebrations—both Jewish and Irish—and that the invitations can be a problem. She was professionally trained to be a historian, not a celebrator. She is trained to tell the objective truth, what really happened, and to put events into a wider context of historical meaning. What the ethnic celebrators want to hear is "something nice"—something that will validate their group and confirm that their experience is unique as well as noteworthy. The professional historian has an analysis of how the group history grew out of economic forces, how it reflected social class, how it arose from social-psychological needs. So there is tension, Diner said, between her calling and training as a professional historian, and the requirements of the ethnic-religious celebration.[1]

For a case of how this tension may arise, consider the way Margaret Morris Haviland, a feminist social historian, treats another outpouring of Christian benevolent activity earlier in American history. In the 1790s a group of young single Quaker women in Philadelphia created three new benevolent institutions for the poor—including new schools to educate poor white and black females. To support and justify their work, these young women quoted the same Bible verses from Matthew 25 that we see find quoted in the "Gift of Hope" exhibit about Mennonite benevolence: "For I was hungry, thirsty, naked, a stranger, in prison . . . and you helped me." Haviland, the social historian, does not challenge the biblical sincerity of these Philadelphia Quaker women. But she also notes that this benevolent activity filled a social-psychological void in the lives of young single women in the years between adolescence and marriage. The Quaker church at that time had no productive legitimate role for such women. Their active benevolence, which they modeled upon the Quaker organization monthly meeting system, enabled them to extend themselves into traditional male spheres of responsibility. They met their own social and psychological needs as surely as they met the needs of the poor folk to whom they ministered. When they were married and entered upon social roles which had long been legitimated in the community, they withdrew from the new charitable organizations they had created.[2]

The social historian is not primarily interested in celebrating the gift of hope in any heroic fashion that might make Quaker women feel proud. The Quaker women were not simply doing pure and disinterested spiritual benevolence. They rather were solving their own needs for social and psychological identity. Such analysis may tarnish some of the shine of their benevolence. The same may happen in social analysis of Mennonite benevolence.

Private philanthropy is as American as apple pie. Robert H. Bremner, a historian who has spent much of his productive career studying American philanthropy, has observed that "Americans seem never to tire of saying, or of hearing, that they are generous to a fault—the most compassionate, openhanded people the world has ever known."[3] To list the achievements of American philanthropy, Bremner says, would require several lengthy volumes. The story begins with generous Native Americans who welcomed Christopher Columbus with gifts. It includes the Quakers, the Puritans, the voluntary benevolent associations of the early republic, the millionaire philanthropists of the new industrial era, the international aid of churches and of the government in the twentieth century, an income tax policy which rewards private benevolence, programs for social security and poor relief as the United States became a welfare state, and much, much more.

American Mennonite benevolence has distant roots in the Puritan and Quaker experience of colonial America. Bremner lifts up especially the Puritan leader Cotton Mather, "one of the commanding figures in the history of American philanthropy."

Mather saw the performance of good works as an obligation owed to God, but also as a sound policy which might serve the purposes of social control. The Puritans, of course, were part of the magisterial Reformation. They were not inclined to separation of church and state for benevolence or for other purposes. Nevertheless, for his new method of philanthropic work, Mather drew upon the more voluntaristic ideas of German Pietists. Specifically, Mather proposed and developed the idea of voluntary charitable associations to do philanthropic work. This individualist and voluntary method was a new one, and, according to Bremner, it "was destined to characterize American philanthropy for many years to come." It was present in the prodigious philanthropic endeavors of Benjamin Franklin, who generously borrowed from and secularized Quaker and Puritan ideas. It was so widespread by the 1830s that Alexis de Tocqueville, a perceptive French nobleman who toured the America of Andrew Jackson's presidency, saw private benevolent associations as one of the most distinctive and characteristic elements in American democracy. Tocqueville observed,

> Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of disposition are forever forming associations . . . of a thousand different types—religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immensely large and very minute. Americans combine to give fetes, found seminaries, build churches, distribute books, and send missionaries to the antipodes. Hospitals, prisons, and schools take shape in that way. . . . In every case, at the head of any new undertaking, where in France you would find the government or in England some territorial magnate, in the United States you are sure to find an association.[4]

Tocqueville's observation is of surpassing significance for understanding what happened to Mennonites when they came from Europe to America. In Europe they had been despised sectarians on the margins of a political and social order dominated by established state churches. As a persecuted group of Anabaptist heritage they had had some experience in mutual aid within their own group. In America they had

MCC exhibit "The Gift of Hope" at Kauffman Museum, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, 1995

an opportunity to develop, and to engage in benevolent activity, as a legitimate voluntary association alongside other legitimate American voluntary associations. In its time, MCC emerged as one more voluntary association such as Tocqueville had observed.

The founding generation of Mennonite denominational organizations, including Mennonite Central Committee, were enthusiastic about their organizational achievements. Through organization they had achieved progress. We in our time, at the end of the twentieth century, tend to be more apologetic about organizations. We know that organizations beget bureaucracies which beget dead routine. John A. Lapp, current executive secretary of MCC, speaks for a current popular mood when he wrote that MCC's 75th anniversary celebrations "ought to emphasize the empowerment that comes from a compassionate, concerned peoplehood rather than organizational achievement."[5] This museum exhibit, "The Gift of Hope," also features peoplehood rather than social organizations.

Americans needed a new word to describe the new form of religious association which emerged from the separation of church and state and the resulting new social system.[6] The word was "denomination." The denominational system of religious organization was immensely beneficial to Mennonites because it offered them legitimate religious status alongside other groups. In the late nineteenth century, progressive Mennonite groups began to organize church-wide structures to carry out benevolent activity, especially missionary work.

The American religious system of denominations had much in common with the American economic system of capitalist free enterprise. Both systems are voluntaristic, individualistic, and competitive. Denominations in America must compete for members, to hold their own and to win outsiders. They cannot depend upon automatic state church membership, the baptism of an entire population within a given territory. A successful denomination in America must be known for something distinctive. It must have its own niche in the marketplace of American religion, or it will surely lose members and eventually fail. As Mennonites in the twentieth century have evolved into a modern denomination, they have developed a strong profile with two dominant themes. One is the peace witness, which grew out of conscientious ob-

jection to military service. The second is service or benevolence, which emerged as the positive side of the peace witness. The exhibit "The Gift of Hope," celebrates this second great theme which is so important in the confirmation of Mennonite denominational identity in a competitive religious social environment. Mennonites have thrived in America because they adapted to the denominational system of church organization. They applied and developed their ideas of peace and service to be socially functional in a denominational society.

Both common sense and Christian tradition tell us that murderous warfare and loving service are totally contradictory forms of action. In 1910 the famous American philosopher of pragmatism Henry James, who was also a physiologist and psychologist, published an influential essay which denied that common sense contradiction. Killing and service, apparent opposites, James argued, are both expressions of a universal impulse to heroic self-sacrifice. Warfare elicits heroism in behalf of others. Opponents of war, wrote James, will never succeed unless they offer alternative dramatic human activities which constitute an effective moral equivalent of war. Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd have recently written that James's essay is, next to Henry David Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience, "probably the most influential statement in the history of American nonviolence. The American Friends Service Committee, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Peace Corps all derive from the central thought of James' argument."[7]

James' psychological insight can be a crucial element in understanding why Mennonite benevolent activity suddenly flowered with such force during and after the Great War in 1917-18. The Mennonites, more than at any other point in their history in America, needed a moral equivalent for war. They needed it for their own social-psychological well being. And they found it in MCC.

Ethnic immigrant groups yearn for civic acceptance. Evelyn Wilcock, in her recent book, *Pacifism and the Jews*, wrote of the tremendous pressure upon Jewish pacifists to show their patriotism in World War I. "Then, as now," wrote Wilcock, "assimilated immigrant groups found themselves trapped by their insecure position in society into being more Roman than the Romans."[8] The pressure was especially intense for Jews and Mennonites of German-speaking background, because Germany was the enemy and America in 1917-18 became exceptionally intolerant of all things German. It proved quite impossible for Mennonite communities who opposed America's entry into war, whose sons refused to take up weapons, and whose family heads refused to buy their fair share of war bonds, to in any way be more American than the Americans.[9] How were a people whose bank accounts were filled by a war-induced agricultural boom to demonstrate to themselves and to their American neighbors that they were worthy of citizenship? The fact that President Woodrow Wilson turned the war into an idealistic holy crusade to make the world safe for democracy set a special context for heroic self-sacrifice, and Mennonites had no way to participate.

The result was an explosion of Mennonite benevolent giving. During the war they gave money to denominational agencies faster than the agencies could disperse it. They also gave generously to the Red Cross and to other Protestant relief agencies. The post-war explosion of benevolent giving to the newly formed Mennonite Central Committee in response to the crisis in the Ukraine revealed an unprecedented well-spring of Mennonite eagerness to be generous. There was clearly more behind this phenomenon than simple awareness of suffering overseas and a decision to do something about it. Peter C. Hiebert, the MCC chairman, confessed quite openly how the Mennonite need for status and reputation lay alongside other motives in the relief work in the Ukraine:

> To put it in plain words we might say, it is but natural and logical that as Mennonites, we should endeavor to make ourselves known as a people whose most conspicuous trait, next to piety, is benevolence. In order to acquire this reputation it is necessary that with all diligence "We work the works of Him that sent us."[10]

The rise of Mennonite Central Committee was a major event in the Americanization of the Mennonites. But it was not a crude adoption of American militaristic ways. Rather it was a creative substitute for military responsibilities, generated both by some measure of American intolerance of religious pacifists along with some measure of American freedom for conscientious objectors to engage in alternative non-military forms of service. A denominational society which fostered the growth of voluntary associations made it possible. The symbiosis of American militarist compulsion and Mennonite voluntarist benevolence was manifest both in the birth of MCC out of the World War I scene, and in its rebirth and drive to maturity during and after World War II.

In the Schowalter Oral History project at Bethel College we have conducted hundreds of interviews with Mennonites who were drafted in World War I and World War II. The interviews are full of evidence that Mennonite conscientious objectors in wartime felt special pressure to volunteer their work and their money for a great cause. The pressure was most intense during World War I when mob violence was used against Mennonites who refused to buy war bonds.[11] But the pressure was also great in World War II. J. Lawrence Burkholder, who worked in China and later became president of Goshen College, could have avoided alternative service. He was a pastor in upstate New York during the war. He wrote about this in his recently published memoirs,

> Eventually, the tension between pacifism to which Harriet and I were committed and the case for the military protection of innocent people and democratic values became unbearable. We simply could not live out World War II in the relative tranquility of the pastorate in northern New York. . . . The stakes were high, and we agreed that an honorable and reasonable Christian response to the immensity of the times would have to be of an extreme nature. What could we do as disciples of Jesus Christ which would constitute something of a "moral alternative" . . . to participation in armed struggle against the

evils of Nazism and Japanese expansionism.[12]

Burkholder worked as an MCC volunteer in China, seconded to Church World Service and later to a United Nations organization called the National Clearing Committee. To understand the origins and the dynamic of MCC, one might multiply Burkholder's testimony a thousandfold. MCC is a Mennonite benevolent moral alternative to participation in war. One needed to do something sacrificial to justify one's place in this social and political world.

An early celebration of MCC's legitimate place in the pantheon of American benevolent organizations can be found on an inset between pages 434 and 435 of MCC's first history book, *Feeding the Hungry* (1929) [see back cover]. It is a photo collage of church relief administrators surrounding Herbert Hoover, President of the United States. The headline said, "Many Faiths United in Greatest of Humanitarian Accomplishments." In 1920 Hoover had been the director of the American Relief Administration in Europe, and had brokered the system which allowed private relief agencies, including MCC, to carry out war and famine relief in Russia, even though the United States had not recognized the new Communist government there. In the collage, Levi Mumaw, secretary of MCC, appeared right along with leading Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. The Mennonites, so recently scorned and persecuted as unworthy citizens, arrived at a place of public acceptability and acclaim. Mennonite benevolence has continued to fulfill that social function until this day.

Is there, then, any serious tension between the observations of a professional historian and the celebrations of an ethnic religious group? What would Hasia Diner say at the opening of the "Gift of Hope" exhibit? Perhaps she would note that the exhibit does not really address the social-psychological questions which are fashionable among professional historians today. If American Mennonites sought and achieved national civic respectability through their voluntary benevolence, the exhibit does not address that issue or dynamic. This is a celebrative, even heroic, exhibition. The "Gift of Hope" reaches for higher ground, for signs of faithfulness to scripture, for multi-cultural celebration, and for universal values. We may acknowledge the success of this exhibit, even as we observe that there are other ways of telling the same story.

ENDNOTES

[1]Hasia Diner, "Insights and Blind Spots: Writing History from the Inside, Writing History from the Outside," paper presented at the conference "The Quiet in the Land? Women of Anabaptist Traditions in Historical Perspective," Millersville University, Millersville, PA, June 10, 1995.

[2]Margaret Morris Haviland, "Beyond Women's Sphere: Young Quaker Women and the Veil of Charity in Philadelphia, 1790-1810," *William and Mary Quarterly*, July 1994, 419-446.

[3]Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 1. See also Bremner, *Giving, Charity and Philanthropy in History* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1994).

[4]Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. by George Lawrence (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 513.

[5]John A. Lapp, "Foreword," in Howard Zehr and Charmayne Denlinger Brubaker, eds., *A Dry Roof and a Cow: Dreams and Portraits of Our Neighbors* (Akron, PA: Mennonite Central Committee, 1994), 7.

[6]Andrew M. Greeley, *The Denominational Society: A Sociological Approach to Religion in America* (Glenview, 1972).

[7]Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd, eds., *Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History*, rev. ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995), xxiii, 65. Henry James' essay is reprinted in the volume, pp. 66-75.

[8]Evelyn Wilcock, *Pacifism and the Jews* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Hawthorn Press, 1994), 6.

[9] Gerlof D. Homan, *American Mennonites and the Great War 1914-1918* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1994).

[10]P. C. Hiebert, *Feeding the Hungry: Russia Famine, 1919-1925: American Mennonite Relief Operations under the Auspices of Mennonite Central Committee* (Scottdale, PA: Mennonite Central Committee, 1929), 416.

[11]See the following writings by James C. Juhnke, "Mennonite Benevolence and Civic Identity: The Post-War Compromise," *Mennonite Life* (January 1970), 34-37; *A People of Two Kingdoms: The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites* (Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1975), 113-116; "Mennonite Benevolence and Revitalization in the Wake of World War I," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (January 1986), 15-30; *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America 1890-1930* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1989), 243-257.

[12]*The Limits of Perfection: Conversations with J. Lawrence Burkholder*, ed. by Rodney J. Sawatsky and Scott Holland (Waterloo, Ont.: Institute of Anabaptist-Mennonite Studies, 1993), 5.

World War I bond advertisement from the Hillsboro, Kansas, Vorwärts, *April 5, 1918*

Review Essay: *The Politics of Jesus*, 20 Years Later

by Alain Epp Weaver

Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since the first publication of John Howard Yoder's *The Politics of Jesus*.[1] On the surface, the book had a two-fold thrust. First, it constituted a rebuttal to neo-Orthodox theologians, like the brothers Niebuhr, who had confined the Christian ethic to the personal realm and had criticized Christian pacifist commitment as politically irresponsible. Yoder thus devoted the bulk of *Politics* to showing that Jesus had preached a social ethic, an ethic which was echoed in the apostolic writings.

With the proliferation of various theologies of liberation, the social character of the Christian ethic is no longer called into question as often as it was during the heyday of neo-Orthodoxy. But, already in 1972, when *Politics* first appeared, Yoder was concerned with critiquing liberation theologies which drew on non-Christological sources to justify the use of violence intended to move history in a desired direction. The social ethic Yoder outlined in *Politics* countered such theologies with a refusal to take control of history by violent means.

In addition to the dual thrust of demonstrating that the Messianic ethic is a social one, and that this ethic had a particularly pacifist character, *Politics* also represented in Yoder's words, "an exercise in fundamental philosophical hermeneutics" (x). Drawing inspiration from the "biblical realism" movement, Yoder sought to articulate the implications of the biblical worldview for ethics. As Yoder acknowledges in his new preface, biblical realism never became widely known. The general approach, however, be it in Christian ethics or theology, of drawing on Scripture and tradition for decision-making criteria, rather than on the "other lights" of creation, culture, and neutral reason, has gained prominence in the academic theology of the so-called "Yale School" and in the writings of ethicist Stanley Hauerwas. Whether or not this represents a new turn in theology, or is simply a continuation of Barth's repudiation of natural theology, is secondary to the point that Yoder's writings in general, and *Politics* in particular, have been instrumental in shaping one of the most prominent theological answers to the challenges of post-modernity.

This essay takes the occasion of the publication of a new, revised edition of *Politics* to examine some of the distinguishing features of Yoder's theological program, the repercussions it has had in the wider theological scene, and the Mennonite responses it has elicited.[2] Ironically, as will be seen, just as Yoder is being claimed by the larger academic community, Mennonite theologians are evincing increasing dissatisfaction with his approach.

Suspicion of "other lights"

The first chapter of *Politics* outlines the ways in which Jesus as moral model has been set aside in Christian social ethics. Jesus, some have claimed, was apolitical, or preached only an ethic for an interim, apocalyptic era; or, argue others, Jesus' mission wasn't to preach a new ethic, but to point to the transcendent God who relativizes all human values (H. R. Niebuhr and liberal

Protestantism) or to serve as a sacrificial atonement for humanity (Protestant Orthodoxy).

The bulk of *Politics*, through a review of New Testament scholarship, refutes the claim that Jesus didn't preach a social ethic. The revised edition shows that recent biblical studies continue to support Yoder's argument. In addition to marshaling Biblical support, Yoder also uses a logical argument against those who would set aside Jesus: if the Christian must draw on non-Christian sources for guidance in running society, why is it so important that *Christians* occupy such positions of power? What do they bring to the job that non-Christians don't?

Once ethicists have set Jesus aside as an ethical norm, they call upon "other lights" to guide their decision making.[3] These other lights are numerous: appeals to creation, common sense, and philosophical theory all claim to provide guidance.

Yoder's suspicion of "other lights" does not mean that he believes all ethical issues can be solved by merely looking to the Bible and seeing what Jesus did. For some issues, such as modern medical dilemmas, "insights from other sources" may be necessary (187). Such borrowing, however, must be subordinate to Jesus and consistent with the trajectory inaugurated by his example.

In the field of Christian ethics, Yoder's suspicion of other lights has been followed most consistently by his former Notre Dame colleague, Stanley Hauerwas.[4] Yoder's approach also has echoes in academic theology. The "post-liberal" theology of George Lindbeck and the Yale School asserts that Christian faith and language, much like a Wittgensteinian language-game, does not need to justify itself by appealing to the other lights of the Enlightenment, namely, the fictitious courts of universal reason or experience.[5] Rather, the criteria by which a Christian justifies her faith, according to the champions of this "unapologetic theology," are internal to the Christian language-game itself. Yoder, too, is wary of "theoretical prolegomena," fearing that they will distract from the task of allowing the Bible—in particular, the Jesus narrative—from forming the foundation of Christian decision-making (ix).

The post-liberal approach, while gaining currency among some Mennonite theologians, has been questioned by others, Some, like Gordon Kaufman, accuse post-liberals of retreating into a fideistic confessionalism.[6] While post-liberals are historicist enough to assert that all rationality is tradition-based and that universal reason is thus a myth, they behave in a pre-modern fashion by granting supreme authority to the church and her traditions.[7] In so doing, post-liberals evade the missionary responsibility of translating the Christian faith into the idiom of (post)modernity, on the one hand, and don't take seriously the relativizing implications pluralist, historicist consciousness has for the Christian faith, on the other.

Some criticize Yoder for his Barthian rejection of natural theology. Dismissing "creation" and "natural law" as other lights which distract from Jesus, Yoder proclaims that "the church precedes the world."[8] This theological appraisal of nature, according to Yoder's critics, contributes to the present ecological crisis. Rather than serving as a source of theological insight, nature is relegated to the status of an object to be managed.[9]

Not all of the other lights which concern Yoder are external to the Christian tradition, such as Enlightenment notions of universal reason or experience. Traditional doctrine, improperly understood, can also blind Christians to the ethical implications of Jesus' life and teachings.

Yoder's strongest critics are those who suspect him of deviating from Protestant Orthodoxy, particularly in his understanding of the atonement. At several points in *Politics*, Yoder warns that conceiving of Christ's mission as simply a substitutionary sacrifice for humanity serves to render "how he died, or the kind of life which led to the kind of death he died . . . ethically immaterial" (8). Yoder clearly states that he does not reject the notion of Christ as sacrifice, but wishes to complement that picture with that of Jesus as teacher and example (226).

Yoder's position has been questioned on at least two different grounds. A. James Reimer, for one, believes that Yoder's influential historicist reading of Jesus has contributed to a Mennonite neglect of the metaphysical-ontological—specifically, trinitarian—dimension of the Christian faith.[10] And Rodney Sawatsky has argued that Yoder's wariness of "outside" evangelical influences—in ecclesiology and dogma—constitutes a sectarian move; against this, Sawatsky champions making common cause with fellow orthodox Christians against the sea of secularism.[11]

In the revised edition of *Politics*, Yoder stresses that he does not reject the orthodox images of atonement. His balancing of the satisfaction-model with that of Jesus as teacher and exemplar, far from being sectarian, is, Yoder suggests, a missionary effort, a way of making the Gospel message intelligible to those not at home in the language of Christian Orthodoxy and piety (227).

The Politics of Jesus: Sectarian or Ecumenical?

The charge of sectarianism has been leveled more than once at Yoder, often by fellow Mennonites. Critics point to Yoder's emphasis, from his earliest to his most recent writings, on the church as a body which stands in opposition to the larger society. Those who criticize Yoder on this score invariably accuse him of shirking Christian responsibility for the world, a point which will be dealt with more fully in the last section of this essay. For now, we will address the question of the sectarian and ecumenical tendencies in Yoder's writings.

Like almost all in the Anabaptist-Mennonite family, Yoder rejects the violent exercise of power and consequently sees the exercise of state authority as outside the realm of Christian action. This attitude towards that state and the larger society has been analyzed as a "sect-type" (Troeltsch) and "Christ against culture" (H. R. Niebuhr).

Yoder has objected to Niebuhr's categorization of Mennonites as embodying a Christ-against-culture model, claiming instead that Niebuhr's pre-

ferred category of Christ, the transformer of culture, would better describe the Mennonite approach.[12] But by the transformation of culture Yoder means "letting the church be the church," and thereby serving as a light unto the nations, an example to be copied. For the church to exist as a restored society is its primary task.[13]

When the church is true to its calling, Yoder believes, it will also have an impact on the wider society. In *Body Politics*, Yoder describes how central Christian practices, such as the Lord's Supper and the rule of Christ, can serve the society at large. Breaking bread together models economic solidarity. Confronting the sinner in private provides a model of reconciliation which can be applied outside the church, as is done in the Victim-Offender Reconciliation Program. Only if the church has integrity in its own life, if, for example, economic and racial differences are surmounted within it, will the church have a transforming impact on society and have a credible voice to issues of justice and peacemaking.[14]

Yoder also suggests that a refusal to exercise violent power is more in keeping with the pluralist context of contemporary peace theology; isn't it more sectarian, in a violent and arrogant manner, to assume that the church's main responsibility for a society composed of numerous religious and non-religious perspectives is to manage it (240)?[15]

Yoder's stress on the peace dimensions of the Christian faith, and his criticism of how Orthodoxy has overlooked the implications of Jesus' life and death for social ethics, have led some to accuse him of an unecumenical stance. Yoder is indeed critical of the way the word "ecumenical" has been used to shelve the peace witness. Too often, ecumenical conversations result in participants affirming certain "core" beliefs (the classical creeds usually serve this role), while acknowledging particular "gifts" each denomination brings to the conversation. The structure of this conversation thus encourages relegating Mennonite peace beliefs to secondary status. Attempts at including these beliefs in the "core," however, are assaulted as sectarian.[16]

But is the accusation fair? True, talking about atonement, for example, in other than sacrificial language, might strain relations with some evangelical groups, but isn't Protestant Orthodoxy's insistence on certain propositions as "parochial" as Yoder's, in that those who do not ascribe to the core propositions are excluded? By contrast, if one's starting point is following Jesus, then practically no one is excluded as a potential conversation partner, as Jesus not only cuts across denominational boundaries, but, as a symbol in secular culture, can also serve as a focal point for the non-religious.[17] And by beginning with following Jesus, inter-faith conversations are all drawn to discuss the realism with which all religions and ideologies deal, namely, the ethical.

Also, while Mennonite peace concerns might separate them from fellow evangelicals, even to the point that they accuse Mennonites of sectarianism, those concerns open up connections with others, both religious and secular, committed to peacemaking. But even among committed peace activists, Yoder believes, the true Christian pacifist will stand out from most fellow pacifists, who champion pacifism and non-violence for the results they bring. This is due to an eschatological understanding of history, a point to which we now turn.[18]

Eschatology and Responsibility

The watchword "responsibility" dominated Christian ethics in the forties and fifties. The Christian's task, it was assumed, was to be a responsible citizen, of country and/or world. Responsibility could even entail the use of lethal force, as in the battle against Hitler's Germany.

Entering into the discussion of Christian responsibility, Yoder and his peers in the Concern movement sounded a discordant note. The Christian, they argued, does not have a duty to support, reform, or preserve the governmental order: that is God's task. On the contrary, she is responsible for making sure that the church be the church, i.e. that it be faithful to the non-violent way of Jesus.[19]

In the ensuing decades, the use in Christian ethics of the word "responsibility" has declined. But Yoder's assertion that "Christians in our age are obsessed with the meaning and direction of history" (228) still characterizes Christian ethical thought, including most liberationist approaches. Social ethics remains, by and large, concerned with moving history in the right direction, even New Testament ideals such as non-violence must be abandoned as impractical and ineffective.

An understanding of historical irony, however, should make one wary of thinking that one can make history move the way one wishes (230). More fundamentally, one can ask with what the Christian should be concerned: results or faithfulness (238)? If one believes, as does Yoder, that God is in charge of history, and that through the Resurrection God has shown the way of love, even for enemies, to be the divine will for the world, then this juxtaposition dissolves. To be faithful to Jesus' way of enemy love is to be in line with God's will for history, and thus, in the long view, to be effective. But this effectiveness isn't that of pragmatic calculation. To sacrifice enemy-love (and the enemy!) for the sake of effectiveness is ineffective according to the divinely-revealed direction of history. The Christian thus leads her life in eschatological perspective: in the knowledge that God "has the whole world in his hands" (246-7), as evidenced by the Resurrection, the Christian is free to follow Jesus without concern for whether or not it will produce results.

Some Mennonites question whether or not it is possible to apply Jesus' non-resistant ethic today. J. Lawrence Burkholder, for one, was an early critic of what he saw as a Mennonite withdrawal from the world and abdication of moral responsibility for it. Burkholder's experience as a relief worker in World War II convinced him that it was at times impossible to apply a nonresistant ethic. Mennonites, according to Burkholder, are thus faced with the choice of an unconscionable abandonment of those in need or com-

promising their nonresistant ethic. To Burkholder, Yoder and the Concern group, with their emphasis on ecclesiology, seemed more concerned with sectarian purity than with those in suffering.[20] Gordon Kaufman also criticized Yoder's apparent sectarianism, insisting that true Christian love goes straight to the heart of sinful situations to act redemptively.[21]

The growing historicist consciousness among Mennonite theologians has also made Yoder's position problematic. Once truth-criteria are located within historical traditions alone, a pacifism based on the revelatory action (albeit within history) of an extra-historical transcendent God becomes difficult to sustain; historicist consciousness, some maintain, undermines the absolutist claims of all norms, including Jesus.[22] And a historicist approach, while not excluding an eschatological "end of history" by logical necessity, tends to tie God so closely to historical and natural processes, that it becomes hard to conceive of history being brought to a close by a transcendent God outside history. If it is possible to sustain pacifist commitment while adopting a radical historicizing approach in theology and ethics, remains to be seen.

ENDNOTES

[1]John Howard Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972; revised edition, 1994). All quotes are from the new, revised edition.

[2]It should be clear that this paper isn't intended as a comprehensive study of Yoder's theology, simply an examination of some of its more salient and controversial features.

[3]The term "other lights" is taken from John Howard Yoder, "Christ, the Light of the World," in *The Other Revolution* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1971), pp. 125-139.

[4]See, for example, Stanley Hauerwas, *After Christendom? How the Church Is to Behave If Freedom, Justice, and a Christian Nation are Bad Ideas* (Nashville, TN: Abindgon, 1991).

[5]George Lindbeck, *The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Post-Liberal Age* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984).

[6]Gordon Kaufman, "Foreword," in *Theology at the End of Modernity: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Kaufman*, Sheila Greeve Davaney, ed. (Philadelphia: Trinity Press, 1991), ix-xii.

[7]For two essays which both acknowledge the postmodern and premodern tendencies in Yoder, Lindbeck, Hauerwas, and others, see Scott Holland, "*Einbildungskraft*: 1. Imagination 2. The Power to Form into One," and Harry Huebner, "Imagination/Tradition: Conjunction or Disjunction," both in the forthcoming *Festschrift* by Mennonite theologians for Gordon Kaufman, edited by this author.

[8]John Howard Yoder, *The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), p. 11.

[9]This argument is advanced by Scott Holland, "Communal Hermeneutics as Body Politics or Dis-Embodied Theology? The Erotic and Ecological Failures and Possibilities of the Anabaptist Vision," paper presented at the Anabaptist Vision(s) in the 20th Century conference, held at Goshen College, October 13-15, 1994.

[10]A. James Reimer, "The Nature and Possibility of a Mennonite Theology," *The Conrad Grebel Review* 1 (winter 1983): 33-55.

[11]Rodney J. Sawatsky, "The Quest for a Mennonite Hermeneutic," *The Conrad Grebel Review* 11 (winter 1993): 1-20.

[12]John Howard Yoder, "Sacrament as Social Process: Christ the Transformer of Culture," *Theology Today* 48 (April 1991): 33-44.

[13]See "Let the Church be the Church," in *The Other Revolution*, pp. 107-124, and "The Anabaptist Dissent: The Logic and the Place of the Disciple in Society," *Concern: A Pamphlet Series for Christian Renewal*, pp. 45-68.

[14]John Howard Yoder, *Body Politics* (Nashville, TN: Discipleship Resources, 1992).

[15]See also John Howard Yoder, "The Disavowal of Constantine: An Alternative Perspective on Interfaith Dialogue," in *Aspects of Interfaith Dialogue*, Walter Wegner and Walter Harrelson, eds. (Tantur: Ecumenical Institute for Advanced Theological Studies, 1979).

[16]This argument surfaces repeatedly throughout *Priestly Kingdom*.

[17]For an early version of this argument, see John Howard Yoder, *The Ecumenical Movement and the Faithful Church* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1958). See also *Priestly Kingdom*, p. 57.

[18]The ecumenical and sectarian tendencies of a Biblically-based pacifism are most evident in Yoder's *Nevertheless: The Varieties of Religious Pacifism* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1992).

[19]The key statement of the Concern group's thinking is Yoder's "The Anabaptist Dissent," *op. cit.*

[20]See Burkholder's recently published dissertation, *The Problem of Social Responsibility from the Perspective of the Mennonite Church* (Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1989).

[21]Gordon D. Kaufman, "Nonresistance and Responsibility," *Concern: A Pamphlet Series for Christian Renewal* 6 (1958): 5-29.

[22]Gordon D. Kaufman, "Jesus as Absolute Norm? Some Questions," in *The Limits of Perfection: A Conversation with J. Lawrence Burkholder*, Scott Holland and Rodney J. Sawatsky, eds. (Waterloo, Ont.: Institute of Anabaptist-Mennonite Studies, 1993), pp. 118-121.

Book Reviews

Elaine Sommers Rich, ed. *Walking Together in Faith: The Central District Conference, 1957-1990*. Bluffton, Ohio: Central District Conference, 1993. Pp. 284

On April 26, 1957, the Central Conference and Middle District Conference united to form the Central District Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church. This book chronicles the development and activities of the resulting fellowship over the last three decades. Authorized by the Central District Historical Committee, the work contains contributions from a dozen authors with the overall editing and coordination reflecting the skilled guidance of Elaine Summers Rich. The production of a printed history well before the new district reached its fiftieth anniversary is a sign of the importance which the group places on its heritage. Each of the merging conferences had a long history with its own traditions and institutions, and this volume tells the important story of their union.

The Middle District had originally been part of a larger Western District of the General Conference Mennonite Church, but in 1888 the congregations from Iowa to Ohio formed their own conference. The Middle District exhibited considerable diversity among its members whose European origins went back to South Germany and Switzerland and who had links to both Pennsylvania Mennonites and to Amish Mennonites. The Central Conference grew out of the Amish split of 1872, when Joseph Stuckey and congregations from Pennsylvania to Nebraska formed their own fellowship. The Central Conference developed ties with other Mennonite groups, but remained independent until joining the General Conference in 1946.

The 1956 union brought together 41 congregations, primarily in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, with 8,239 members. 8,390 members in sixty congregations constituted the Central District in 1990. While the conference membership has not grown appreciably, the intervening thirty years have had a considerable impact on its people and institutions.

Walking Together in Faith looks at these changes in the conference's structure, the attitudes and beliefs of its members, and life within its congregations. Other chapters examine the planting of new congregations, congregations which have withdrawn or closed, educational institutions, caregiving institutions, overseas missions, Camp Friedenswald, and other activities and concerns of the conference.

J. Howard Kauffman, using data from his 1989 Church Member Profile II, compares members of the Central District primarily to others within the General Conference and to members of the Mennonite Church in the same region. Basically, Central District attitudes proved to be about average in all respects, with somewhat lower scores on "pacifism, ecumenism, in-group-attitudes, and race relations" and higher ratings on "political activity, occupational rank, and years of school completed" (p. 31).

William E. Keeney provides one of the most comprehensive views of congregational life found in any recent history of a Mennonite regional conference. He reviews changes in church buildings, parsonages, the order of worship services, and a whole series of issues ranging from pastoral roles to divorce and remarriage.

Another excellent chapter by Gary E. Martin provides an overview of the responses to the declining rural membership of the conference and the corresponding urban church planting efforts. Forty-nine church planting attempts resulted in 31 new congregations and a net growth of 22 congregations in the Central District. Martin's concise summary of historical events and strategies in promoting new congregations is insightful.

Other contributors not mentioned above, in addition to the editor who provided numerous unattributed essays throughout the volume, include Steven R. Estes, Mark Weidner, James H. Waltner, Cornelius J. Dyck, Donna Lehman, Howard D. Raid, Wally Kroeker, and James R. Mohr. Multiple authorship always results in some duplication and variation in style, but those flaws are not readily detectable.

One of the greatest strengths of *Walking Together in Faith* is its compilation of 15 appendices with a variety of data on the congregations of the district and its numerous ministers, officers, and committee members. Also included are several documents, such as a series of materials on the withdrawal of the Ebenezer Church near Bluffton, Ohio. Unlike many conference histories, this volume reviews failures as well as successes and recounts occasional controversies and disappointments, such as the closing of the Woodlawn Mennonite Church mission project in Chicago.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the volume is in its discussion of the organizational structure of the conference and the work of its various committees. The evolution of the field secretary into the district minister is described in great detail, but the meetings of the conference and the work of its many committees receive less attention. Institutions such as hospitals, homes, and schools receive thorough treatment, but ironically even the historical committee which authorized this book has none of its programs or projects mentioned.

The book has minimal footnotes for those seeking sources or references for future research, but a brief bibliography provides some assistance. The index provides good subject access to the volume. A few photographs are included, grouped primarily at the end of chapters, but more illustrations would have been welcome.

The tapestry of Mennonite history in the United States is covered with many rips and fewer mendings. The coming together of the Central Conference and Middle District is a good illustration that splitting asunder is not the only direction in which the church can go. The Central District has a special interest in the ongoing discussion of integration between the Mennonite Church and General Conference not only because of its own experience with merger, but also because of its numer-

ous dual-affiliated congregations and their support for integration. *Walking Together in Faith* illustrates the power of the broader identity of Mennonite peoplehood and the strengths of a vision for unity with diversity.

David A. Haury
Kansas State Historical Society
Topeka, Kansas

Gerald C. Studer, ed. *Christopher Dock, Colonial Schoolmaster: The Biography and Writings of Christopher Dock*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1993. Pp. 448 ($17.95 pbk.) ISBN 0-8361-3644-6

This reissue of Gerald C. Studer's biography of Christopher Dock (originally published in 1967) meets what the preface to the current edition describes as a continued demand for information on Dock's life and writings. In making the volume available again, the author and Herald Press have rendered a significant service.

Despite a sustained effort on the part of the author to find information on his subject, the known details of Dock's life are relatively few in number. Thus the biography does not achieve the depth and roundness that characterize the best writing in the genre. Yet on the whole, Studer uses what facts he has to good advantage.

The essential parts of Dock's life may be quickly told. He arrived in Pennsylvania in 1718 (where he was born and whether he was a Mennonite before emigration from Europe are not known). He went immediately to Skippack near Philadelphia where he began to teach virtually on arrival, a career that he pursued for forty years, excluding a ten-year period when he worked on his farm at Skippack. On his return to teaching, he taught both at Skippack and Salford, giving three days a week to each of the two schools. He was married, had two daughters, and augmented his small teacher's income by writing deeds and wills. He died in 1771.

Much of what is known about Dock is found in his School Management Treatise, which he wrote in later years at the request of contemporaries Christopher Sauer and Dielman Kolb, and which was printed by the well-known publisher Christopher Sauer, Jr. Studer describes this treatise to good effect. He claims that Dock anticipated many of the modern developments in pedagogy; there is much in the treatise (reproduced in translation on pages 268-309) to support the claim. Dock's great concern is to describe those teaching methods that will best inspire a love of learning in students—the basic concern of all good teachers. Good teaching begins with a teacher's love of students. Dock sees children not as degenerate but as God's creation whose tender lives he has been given, *in locis parentis*, to shape into good Christians and worthy citizens (the purpose of education, Dock says, is to show a Christian how to grow and increase understanding according to Jesus). It follows that students do not learn well if the teacher rules with fear and harsh discipline (at his harshest, Dock suggests only a few whacks on the hand for the most recalcitrant students). Rewards should be used for work well done; he frequently rewarded students with his drawings and pieces of penmanship, and when a student reached a certain level, he suggested to parents that the father give a penny and the mother two eggs to the child. Dock insists that the children of poor families should have as much opportunity to receive schooling as the children of rich families, thus he included among his students children of parents who could afford to pay him little or nothing for his teaching.

Dock's approach to education in the treatise is to produce a well-rounded student. Thus in addition to teaching the traditional academic subjects, Dock taught good manners (some rules for good manners are reproduced in selections from his Spiritual Magazine). Hymn singing, Bible reading and recitation, and prayer were all part of a day's school activity. Dock himself prayed daily for each student; Studer suggests that this was the last act of his life (p. 199).

According to Studer, Dock's thoughts on pedagogy paralleled, perhaps were influenced by, such Anabaptist writers as Menno Simons, Peter Rideman, and Peter Walpot, as well as by Pietists, including August Hermann Franke. As the author shows in various places in the biography, a strong Pietist element is found in Dock's personal life, as well as in hymns that he wrote, several of which are included in this volume.

A commendable feature of the biography is the manner in which the author places Dock in the context of his time. Thus in discussing Dock's teaching methods, Studer describes the schools and teaching methods of the eighteenth century. When he describes Dock's penmanship and drawings (ch. 10), he introduces the reader to the history and art of the fraktur. While as in the latter he provides more detail than a close focus on Dock can well sustain, readers will come away from the book with their knowledge of life in Pennsylvania in the 1700s profitably increased.

While the book is generally very attractive in its graphics, including illustrations, the virtual lack of inside margins (a gutter) makes the handling and reading of the book more difficult than it should be.

In sum, while this volume because of limited information on its subject is less than what we have come to expect in a fully developed biography, the book is an essential part of the literature of our Anabaptist Mennonite heritage. We should be grateful that it is once again readily available.

E. Morris Sider
Messiah College

Loewen, Harry. *No Permanent City: Stories from Mennonite History and Life*. Waterloo, Ont.: Herald Press, 1993. Pp. 224 ISBN 0-8361-3612-8

Loewen's collection of stories range in time from 1525 to 1990 and in geography from Zurich, Switzerland to colonial Pennsylvania to czarist Russia to Germany after the fall of the Berlin wall. They also cover a wide range of Mennonites from early Dutch and

Swiss Anabaptists to Hutterites and Amish to Mennonite Brethren.

Readers expectations vary by genre. One expects a history to develop a theme by interpreting a time and place, historical fiction to present the characters' motives for their actions, or a Sunday school lesson to have a moral application at the end. The mixing of genres in *No Permanent City* forces the reader to work harder than necessary.

The stories, while rich in variety, lack unity and coherence. One wishes for a unifying principle beyond that of rough chronology. The title creates the expectation that Loewen will unify the book around the effects on a people who have no permanent home. In "The Church Took Her Children," Loewen shows what happens when owning land is an ultimate good: human rights are sacrificed. The landless widow in this story does not even have the right to keep her children. Owning land and possessing wealth sometimes were signs of favor in God's sight. The "poor were seen as those whom God had punished because they were lazy" (p. 159). The desire for land drove them to new settlements, even when that land was that of the Native Americans ("Whose Land?").

In the Preface, Loewen states that these stories are intended to help Mennonites foster a collective memory and to provide "a better understanding of the Mennonite people and reflection on their faith and practice" (p. 10). The point of "Gift from a Woman's Hand," a story of Anna Brons, the author of the first Mennonite history in German, is that Mennonites need to know the history specific to their spiritual ancestors. He implies that without the knowledge of these stories, one may be inclined to have views similar to the ones Anna had as she was growing up: God was a judge and the devil had horns, tail, and horses' hooves (p. 112).

Other stories tell how Mennonites have handled persecution: by leaving their homes and carrying a few earthly possessions in chests ("Exiles"); by struggling with the questions of their relationship to the government and the payment of war taxes ("The Story of Christian Funk"); by keeping their faith secret ("No Permanent City"); or by being aided by outside forces such as when Jacob Höppener was saved from being shot by "lawless elements" when the gunpowder got wet ("In the Face of Death").

Several stories depict cultural interactions. The community rationalized bowing to fashion in "Dispute about Wigs" by saying that wigs "protect our health" (p. 104). Uncle Hermann in "The First Train Ride," who does not understand the Russian system of buying train tickets, complains about "thievery" and "lousy officialdom."

All in all, we thank Loewen for collecting stories which provide a rich variety which will please many readers.

Sandra Zerger
Bethel College

Jody Miller Shearer, *Enter the River: Healing Steps From White Privilege Toward Racial Reconciliation*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1994. Pp. 216 ($11.95 paperback) ISBN 0-8361-3660-8

The aim of the author for us readers, who all have prejudices, is tutoring us in reconciling without piling on guilt. I believe he succeeds well.

The special contribution of this book is encouragement to not give up on cross-cultural efforts to live the reconciliation God gives us. Of course we will make humbling mistakes and seem arrogant or ignorant. But Miller Shearer gives encouragement by telling personal stories of his own and others' mistakes and what he, as a Euro-American, learned in relationships with African-American and other persons.

The author accepts his own and our anxiety about relating to other groups. We are anxious for good reason. It is painful to learn about our own subtle racism, the well-intentioned language that offends, and the unique privileges which we Euro-Americans are usually not aware of but which we expect. It is like entering a river, but Miller Shearer makes a good case for saying that it is a healing and enriching river, with bonuses of knowing people who can share from their heritage what can lift us up.

Many of his examples and stories have practical and informational value, such as the defining of racism and prejudice and what fuels it. If we wonder what to do when close friends make racial jokes or slurs, he has been there and understands being at a loss for words and the way to find solutions. He also has helpful viewpoints from people of color on affirmative action, quotas, military policies, treatment by store clerks, police, and banks. He shows how prejudices can be encoded in law, text books, and common language.

Miller Shearer does all this in a way that encourages rather than condemns and makes reconciliation seem impossible. He also points out the value of ethnic differences and isn't encouraging us to "melting pot" them away. Yet he doesn't let the white reader off the hook. Although prejudice is common in all ethnic groups, in the U.S. racism (not prejudice) is primarily a white problem and we need to be aware of the fears, misunderstandings, and the sources of the healing rather than expect people of color to tell us when they are offended and take on the job of teaching us what we need to know.

Enter the River may be unique in its coaching-encouragement approach and I would recommend it as a group study book. It could be used in interracial groups, but it is clear that it is Euro-Americans in North America who need this book.

Stanley Bohn
Shalom Mennonite Church
Newton, Kansas

Leo Driedger and Donald B. Kraybill. *Mennonite Peacemaking: From Quietism to Activism*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1994. Pp. 344 ($14.95 paperback) ISBN 0-8361-3648-9

Driedger and Kraybill in their book *Mennonite Peacemaking* set out to describe, illuminate, and explain the fundamental shift in Mennonite pacifist

beliefs and practices that has taken shape in the 20th century. Few topics could be more pertinent and important for Mennonite self-understanding and future planning. The centrality of its subject together with the illuminating way in which it is handled makes this a book that reflective Mennonites will overlook to their own loss.

Part I of the book describes in some historical detail the dynamics of the shift from nonresistance to active peacemaking as the preferred formulation of the Mennonite peace consciousness. No proof is needed that such a shift has taken place in the last 50 years. What is needed is a description of how and why this shift came about. The book provides a detailed and very illuminating account of how this shift came about. There is also a serious and generally clear effort to explain why it came about. This explanation, as will be shown, is open to objection. What is beyond doubt is the way the purported explanation serves to raise the important questions and to stimulate thought about fundamental issues of belief and practice.

Part II of the book uses the Church Member Profile data collected from five Mennonite and Brethren in Christ denominations in 1972 and 1989 to discover the way various social and theological factors relate to the change in peace understanding described in Part I.

Sociological Determinism: The authors are sociologists. They set out to examine their subject by way of sociological categories shaped by sociological theory. To their credit, they are clear and explicit about this.

> Beliefs are modified ... in the face of changing social conditions .... Esteemed leaders often play the role of *ideological brokers* ... [who] try to reconcile the legacy of historic beliefs with changing conditions. ... The ideological brokers often follow *change agents* who ... stepped over the old moral boundaries which had long preserved passive nonresistance. (pp. 44 & 136)

The changing social conditions are generally summarized under the heading of "modernization." Modernization is analyzed as consisting of differentiation, rationalization, and individuation. These are the forces that give the familiar cast of diversity, mobility, discontinuity, and specialization; planning, management, prediction, and control; privacy, rights, freedom, and individualism to our 20th century life.

The reader is often encouraged to think of the forces of modernization as the causes of "radical" actions by change agents. These actions are in turn interpreted by ideological brokers in such a way as to bring them into harmony with growing group understandings, and more importantly to interpret them in such a way as to make them believable. This latter is necessary since beliefs depend upon *plausibility structures*, which are the social circumstances that lend credibility to a particular belief (p. 43). This sociological model provides a way to organize and understand what has happened to our peace doctrines.

> The winds of modernization were already unraveling Mennonite plausibility structures.... Changes in North American society, growing theological challenges, and rising prosperity were revamping the Mennonite posture in the larger world. The forces of modernization were shaking rural Mennonite communities with greater intensity. (p. 83)

> This kaleidoscope of social conflict atop escalating modernization changed values, structures, and visions forever. Mennonites were no longer immune to change. ... Opportunities blended with aspirations and visions for drastic societal changes. The older Mennonite wineskins were no longer able to contain the ferment. (p. 109)

This particular sociological model has the virtue of familiarity and common sense. Nevertheless, as soon as one thinks about its explanatory power a host of questions arise. Could this same model seem as natural in explaining a conservative movement where the community rejects accommodation to modernization? Or is the sociologist in the position of denying that this can happen? In any given moment in time there will be many diverse actors who challenge the "moral boundaries." Are these all change agents? If so, why doesn't the group go in all of the directions at once? If not, then is a change agent only recognizable after history has chosen which actions were actually in the direction of the final result? Can we really explain and predict social movements on the basis of change agents and ideological brokers or are these notions only helpful in describing what has happened? Then too, what should we make of the idea that some beliefs, e.g., nonresistance, simply are not believable in certain social situations? Is it really likely that this idea was more believable in the 16th century than it is today?

Fortunately, the authors are too committed to the power of the actual evidence to let their theory overwhelm the facts. In Part II of the book there is remarkably little effort to maintain the theoretical model. In fact, the authors clearly recognize and highlight the overwhelming importance of beliefs and commitments. In the end they freely admit that the forces of modernization are not the whole story, perhaps not even the half.

> Modernizing forces such as urbanization, education, and occupational status impacted draft choices only slightly. ... Attitudes toward service preferences relate more strongly to theology, age, and national region. (p. 175)

> The denominational cultures of the various groups appear to exercise an inordinate impact on their members' views of peacemaking. (p. 216)

> The real menace to peacemaking, however, comes not from *structural* changes—urbanization and professionalization—but from *ideological* threats. (p. 225)

The clear, though not wholly explicit, message of all this is that religious belief and moral commitment are stronger than all the sociological factors of the modern world. This is good news for any nonconformist religious view. In fact, it is good news for any thinking person.

Authors' Viewpoint: Any author will have a set of preferences and values. In general, these can not and should not be hidden. In fact, such biases only become problematic when they are turned into subtle rhetorical twists that tend to bias the reader unawares. In the end our authors are fairly direct about cheering on the change in Mennonite peacemaking that has taken place in the past decades.

> God shook Mennonites out of their deep slumber in the forties and provided them with new service opportunities. But will they hear the contemporary call to a wholistic gospel of peace that the brokers of Mennonite peace theology are sounding in the nineties? (p. 262-63)

What is much more troubling is the steady use of derogatory adjectives to characterize conservative positions. The two world theology is characterized as having "bridled" its adherents (p. 13). Nonresistant Mennonites are called "timid" (p. 14). Those who wanted action are called "forward looking" or "visionary" (pp. 67 & 121). While those who called for caution are said to "drag their feet" and to be "content to pray" (p. 95 & 121). The idea of nonconformity and separation is called "simplistic" (p. 122). There are even rhetorical flourishes such as "Calls for forceful direct action ... which broke local laws and agitated authorities ... were quite different from passing virtuous resolutions at church conferences on pleasant summer days in the company of friends." (p. 126) All this is a blight on an otherwise very admirable effort.

On Being Relevant: One can not read this book, or for that matter many other formative Mennonite books of the last decades, without beginning to see that a major driving force in the change in Mennonite peace rhetoric and action, is the fear of irrelevance. One is led to hypothesize that the single most potent driving force in the change was the stinging rebuke of "Reinhold Niebuhr and his disciples, who castigated Mennonites as social parasites" (p. 73). It is almost as if the young, educated Mennonites could not respect themselves until they had clearly rebutted this charge and lifted this curse from their shoulders.

> "Peace" was becoming the code word of the period. Positive and active, it alleviated the anxiety of Mennonite leaders tormented by the passivity of nonresistance. (p. 68)

> Mennonites could discharge some of their social responsibilities by "witnessing to the state." No longer "irresponsible sectarians," they now began to call the state to the high standards of God's righteousness for the benefit of all. (p. 115)

> Mennonites ... were weary of explaining the meaning of nonresistance and defending its negative and irresponsible tone. (p. 158)

This feeling of guilt engendered by the charge of being irresponsible members of society, may well be the most potent force behind the changes in the last decades. It certainly seems like a better candidate for the demise of nonresistance than the idea that nonresistance has become unbelievable in the current "plausibility structures." Furthermore, this feeling of guilt goes a long way toward explaining the current fashion of pouring contempt on those who would keep their hands clean while worrying "little about the moral dirt in the larger world" (p. 88). This inclination to denigrate "the pure" deserves closer examination, after all purity is a New Testament category.

In any case, there is a curious dialectic to this driving need to rebut the charge of being irresponsible social parasites. The presupposition that lurks behind this charge is that the final shapers of social good or evil are the structures of society. Once this bait is swallowed, the logic is clear. If it is the structures of society that are ultimately determinative, then the only relevance is that which changes the structures. To change the structures requires the use of political means and the use of various sorts of force ("employing forceful tactics, albeit short of violence" p. 265). Thus the absolute renunciation of force and politics must be overcome. Given this logic the torment of the Mennonite mind over the last 50 years becomes clear.

What is fascinating about this, is that none of it is logically necessary. If one escapes the trap of thinking that God's saving social graces must be contained in the economic and political structures of the society at large, then it becomes possible to give a more direct and intuitive definition of relevance as doing one's part to alleviate suffering and mitigate evil. Given this definition of relevance, there is no reason why nonresistance and relevance are logically incompatible.

The stunning array of Mennonite social agencies and causes are almost all compatible with rather strict nonresistance. Just take one, the MCC, which our authors describe as "an annual $35 million outreach effort involving 1,000 workers in fifty countries" (p. 243) One is tempted to argue that since there are about a thousand North American citizens to every one Mennonite, this Mennonite effort to alleviate suffering and mitigate evil is equivalent to a governmental effort with a budget of $35 billion. This could hardly be dismissed as social parasitism.

There is no logical reason why an apolitical person who refuses force must necessarily be guilty of being irrelevant to the social ills. Unless, of course, one defines relevance in such a way as to make it require political involvement.

Another way to make this point, is to notice that the heart of the change in peace understanding, according to our authors, is the change from the rejection of forceful and political means, to the acceptance of such means. In particular peace activism would include, "forceful direct action, participation in boycotts, sit-ins, marches, lobbying, political action committees, civil disobedience, demonstrations and tax resistance" (pp. 213 & 260). What is striking about this list of means is that it is regularly coupled with lists of achievements which always include all the Mennonite social agencies and causes.

> The embers of wholistic Anabaptist theology have flamed into ... the Mennonite Central Committee.

> Expressions of the activist mode are embodied in such ventures as Mennonite Conciliation Services, Christian Peacemaker Teams, the Victim Offender Reconciliation Program and various programs of the Mennonite Central Committee .... (p. 213)

Why should one think that forceful direct action, boycotts, lobbying, etc. have been made the *modus operandi* of these social efforts? Why should one think that these social efforts are the fruit of such radical activism? Why should one believe that there is any logical connection between radical activism and this array of efforts to reach out to the neighbor? Could it not be ar-

gued that these are rather the direct fruit of finding ways to eschew the use of force and politics?

What is most ironic about all this is that the political action committees, demonstrations, and tax resistance do not seem to take away the sting of Niebuhr's rebuke. What does seem to be most helpful is the likes of MCC.

Conclusion: There are a few mechanical problems and errors in the text. Two would seem to bear notice. On pages 228 and 229 the correlation of "orthodoxy" and "peacemaking" is said to be positive whereas the Table 9.7 shows it to be negative. And on page 298, Table A.2 only accounts for the "Residence" of 89% of the 1989 respondents.

Overall I am highly enthusiastic about this book. As I have made clear I do not necessarily agree with all that it has to say, but this in no way detracts from its importance. It is clear and incisive, it takes on one of the most important changes ever in North American Mennonitism. It raises the right questions and makes it possible to think about them in new and deeper ways. It is a must read.

Marion Deckert
Bethel College

Leaders of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Russia 1812-1874. Edited by Delbert F. Plett. Vol. 6 of the Kleine Gemeinde Historical Series. Steinbach, Man., Crossway Publications, 1993. Pp. 932. ($30.00)

With the publication of this massive volume, the story of the Kleine Gemeinde becomes one of the best documented of any Russian Mennonite group. The mass preservation of nineteenth century KG materials has, until now, no parallel in the story of the Russian Mennonites. The study focuses on fifteen leaders active during the first six decades of the church's existence. Essays, biographical sketches and document translations illustrate the career and character of each individual. Over half the chapters in this volume are documentary in character. As such they provide insight into both the beliefs and inner dynamic of the KG. The material includes an autobiography, sermons, letters and poems which provide a broad ranging view of the cultural and religious soul of the KG. The reader has a unique privilege to enter into the "innermost" of this early dissenting movement.

Plett, in addition to his own essays, deploys a broad section of scholars to enrich and diversify the volumes content. Biographical sketches and document translations further illustrate the career and character of each individual. The resulting portraits are cohesive and for the most part objective. They allow the reader access into the faith and life of every type of KG leader.

In all his volumes on the KG Plett has argued that the movement, traditionally interpreted as reactionary and isolationist by Russian Mennonite historiography, was in fact progressive and corrective in the setting of its day. Certainly the preoccupation of some early KG leaders with Menno Simons and other Anabaptist writers suggests a refreshing perspective. Yet as I read through the extensive documents contained in this volume, I was troubled by nagging doubts. Were the documents themselves not contradicting Plett? The KG phenomenon was possibly more complex than we have supposed. Variant readings of the documents are possible and their para-messages are sometimes obscure. As my mentor, the distinguished medieval historian S. Harrison Thomson was wont to say, "In history the last word on any subject has never been spoken." I'm wondering whether a young revisionist may not soon confront an older revisionist by using the very documents Plett has so excellently and carefully translated.

John B. Toews
Regent College
Vancouver, B. C.

Susan Fisher Miller, *Culture for Service: A History of Goshen College, 1894-1994*. Goshen, Ind.: Goshen College, 1994. Pp. 377 ($24.95).

Last year Goshen College celebrated its centennial and selected Susan Fisher Miller to interpret its 100-year history. Fisher is a 1980 graduate and daughter of longtime English professor, John J. Fisher, and granddaughter of John J. Fisher, Sr., graduate and dean of Goshen when the college closed in 1923.

The college opened in 1894 in less than an auspicious manner as Elkhart Institute. Classes commenced in a few downtown buildings as a private operation of a physician, Dr. Henry Mumaw, when the idea of Mennonite higher education was still too advanced for conservative churchmen to entertain, much less support. The spiritual godfather of a Mennonite institute of higher learning in Indiana was John S. Coffman whose vision of what the Institute could become inspired an educational interest group not to abandon hope.

After the move to Goshen the college's first president, Noah E. Byers, coined the college motto, "Culture for Service," in his inaugural address. A thesis in Fisher's account is that these terms, culture and service, have been "suspended opposite each other in perpetual tension, in perpetual balance" ever since. This tension between "Jerusalem and Athens," between church and culture, dominates the first half of the book. In fact, the first five chapters—half the book—standing alone, would have been better titled "College and Church: Confrontation, Conflict, and Conversation."

In the early years surprising cultural freedom and intellectual curiosity marked the school until the heavy hand of conservative ministers forced President Byer's resignation in 1913. Goshen's loss was Bluffton's gain as Byers, C. Henry Smith and Boyd D. Smucker all accepted positions at the Ohio college. By 1913 the college was not only church-related, but clearly church owned and controlled. The prevailing conservative and fundamentalist voices in the church forced Presi-

dent Hartzler to resign in 1918 and four more presidents in the next five years.

Martin Marty, in his 1991 book, *Modern American Religion*, features the disruptive attack of the "Modernist-hunters," such as John Horsch, on Goshen and the church, but "they never completely took over and did not cause a schism" in the church. Fisher points out, quite accurately it seems, that deep down the churchmen's differences with Goshen faculty and graduates were based more on the danger of education for a non-literary people leery of culture than on the college's errant theology.

But these tensions produced a high price—the closing of the college in 1923-24. The reader can feel in these chapters the constant harassment of administrators and faculty by the church and their efforts to accommodate themselves to the outward forms of piety demanded. In turn, students returning to their communities were often threatening to an unlettered clergy with their clever speech and questioning of the way things were. The crucial question, observes Fisher, was disagreement on the purpose of education. To academics it was intellectual liberation. To most churchmen it was "thorough indoctrination in the principles of true Christianity" as Daniel Kauffman wrote.

Fisher tells well the pivotal role of S. C. Yoder as president from 1924-1940 and the resurrection of the college following its closing in 1923. Yoder provided healing, stability and patience that "simply saved the day." Three presidents come in for special admiration and recognition for their significance to the life of the college: Byers, Yoder, and Lawrence Burkholder (1971-1984).

In the second half of the book Fisher captures campus life successfully, an area virtually ignored in the first half. Appealing human vignettes on Harold S. Bender, Paul Mininger and Lawrence Burkholder hold the reader's interest. Alumni from other church colleges, such as Bethel, will have a sense of dèja vu in the accounts of the way the administration danced around the issue of dancing on campus to avoid placating students at the expense of alienating the church constituency. Goshen was able to delay the inevitable longer than most schools.

A centennial book, by definition, is expected to take a "first affirmative" more than a "first negative" approach to campus issues. Fisher overlooks several matters that would be on the negative side of the ledger, such as the Mennonite Board of Education rejecting the favored faculty candidate for the presidency in 1954, Carl Kreider, because he was not an ordained minister, choosing Paul Mininger instead. But she is also quite candid and very equitable in reporting on many areas of conflict. Good examples are the tension between the "Concern" group of young Mennonite intellectuals (including John W. Miller, John Howard Yoder, Calvin Redekop, Paul Peachey, and David Shank) and the church establishment. Again, in the 1960s and 1970s the cultural dissonance between students and the administration is well catalogued, from the underground alternative newspaper "Menno Pause" to alternative church services.

The book essentially concludes with the Burkholder administration with only a perfunctory coverage since 1984. It may well be too recent to permit the balanced perspective characterizing the other presidents.

The author turns many good phrases and is balanced and fair in her presentation. If the book seems to lack passion or intensity at times, it is, in part, because Fisher tries to be eminently fair and detached in her presentation.

If the college story is attractively and skillfully presented, the format, layout and book binding are not. The long chapters and paragraphs without subheadings and the unattractive print used requires a certain doggedness to stay with it, especially in the first half of the book. The book binding is as tight as a steel trap. Don't try to read it in a relaxed manner with one hand free to drink coffee or it will snap shut on you every time. It takes two hands firmly on the book at all times to keep the paperback open. The user-unfriendly format is compensated somewhat by helpful end notes and index.

Fisher writes a story that needs to be told by every church college. The importance of this kind of education for the individual students fortunate enough to experience a small, private, church college, as well as for the church itself, keeps registering on the reader again and again through anecdotes, analogies and insights. Any one who has experienced the contributions and seeming contradictions that make up the life and drama of our church colleges will identify with this story.

Harold J. Schultz
Saint Luke's Hospital Foundation
Kansas City, Missouri

John D. Roth, trans. and ed., *Letters of the Amish Division: A Sourcebook.* Goshen, IN: Mennonite Historical Society, 1993. Pp. 162.

Groups in the pacifist stream of church history seem especially embarrassed by church conflict. While researching my master's thesis—on an Amish-Mennonite community in north-central Iowa that disbanded after twenty years, partly due to internal dissension—I commented to my advisor that it would be difficult to locate information on the actual discord within the church. He looked at me in amazement and said, "That can't possibly be true." He had written his dissertation on Presbyterians and the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversies of the 1920s, and his problem had been the exact opposite of mine—how to read through the shelves of books and materials produced during the verbose sparring. Compared with other Christian traditions, documentation of peace church conflicts tends to be sparse.

The usual dearth of evidence makes the contemporary letters describing the Swiss Brethren division of the 1690s all the more visible and valuable. In turn, John Roth's new translation adds a welcome volume to the bookshelf of Amish history. Roth based his translation on a transcription of a manuscript collection of the letters in the Mennonite archives at Jeanguisboden, Switzer-

land. Isaac Zürcher published the transcription in the Swiss Mennonite Historical Society periodical, *Informationsblätter*, in 1987, making possible this translation from sources closer to the original Swiss dialect. Roth stated his goal as "preserving as much of the original style and content as possible." The result is a fresh and fascinating collection of voices from both sides of the polemic that swirled around the renewal movement led by Jakob Ammann.

Within controversies and in later analysis, communication quickly becomes contested. Key events grow encrusted with layers of interpretation and emotion. What happened at Niklaus Moser's barn, and what did the leaders intend? Did Hans Reist refer to Ammann as a "young fellow" who should not be taken too seriously? Reading these letters, the mutual suspicion becomes palpable, making the dispassionate "Just the facts, Ma'am" of Dragnet seem terribly distant. Allowing the contemporary voices to speak as transparently as possible is a particular achievement of Roth's translation and supporting apparatus. Roth's introductory list of six core issues, with shunning the most important, is a useful guide to reading the letters. Both sides referred to I Corinthians 5 to calibrate the severity of social avoidance of excommunicated members, ranging from exclusion from communion to avoidance in daily meals. The distinction between the social and political conditions in Alcase and Switzerland is also useful.

In evaluating this volume, one should differentiate the sources themselves from the overall introduction and the brief interpretive comments preceding each letter. The translation will be useful for a very long time, while the historical and religious contextualizing will likely be superseded by future research, as historians revising the past are wont to do. Hints of earlier beginnings of the Amish renewal movement, new treatments of the complex set of movements known as Pietism, and recent research on early modern European popular culture are just three possible bases for shifting interpretations of these letters.

The purist or the serious (obsessive) researcher might still wish for an edition of the letters combining German text and English translation. When in doubt, Roth included German words and phrases in footnotes, and these are often very helpful. For example, on p. 27, Roth translates *gemeine yünger* as "disciples in the church." In context, the contrast is with ministers, making it possible to translate the phrase as "common disciples" or, simply, church members. This would imply a hierarchical understanding of the church on Ammann's part, sharpening the distinction between ministry and laity. Indeed, members of the Ammann party later acknowledged that they may have acted without enough regard for the counsel of the whole church, not just the ministers. It is also difficult to maintain consistency in translating *Hausvater*, a term used in early modern Germany to indicate male household heads, but which seems to take on a coloration of religious leadership (ministers?) in certain usages in the letters. The *Hausvater* performed *Haus halten*, or "keeping house." In the larger society, "keeping house" meant maintaining discipline and order within the household; in the letters, it also meant keeping *Ordnung*, or religious discipline and well-being. Further exploration of the relationship between economic household and religious congregation, and how gender systems operated in both institutions, might affect our perception of these terms.

The volume itself is readable and well-produced, although there are a number of minor editing mistakes and typos. The appendices are helpful, including a lengthy prayer from Hans Reist, and the index helped me locate several phrases I recalled from an initial reading but could not find immediately. The index of scriptural references is a nice touch and a good indication of the debated texts.

Translation is a difficult and often thankless task. My appreciation and kudos to Dr. Roth for making these significant texts available to an English-speaking readership. The volume is valuable both as a collection of sources and as a dramatic story of bewildered leaders caught in a distressing conflict.

Steven D. Reschly
Northeast Missouri State University
Kirksville, Missouri

Royden K. Loewen. *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds, 1850-1930.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993. Pp. 370. ISBN 0-252-01980-6

Historians are, by definition, storytellers. (The English word "story" actually comes from the French and Latin root that means "history.") Out of myriad pieces of information the historian constructs a plot, characters and setting. And in histories, as in other stories, one of these elements generally predominates. Either the plot is the consequence of the actions of the central characters, or the characters' actions are determined by the setting in which they find themselves.

By and large, historians of our day prefer the latter approach. Their discipline is dominated by stories in which human subjects are defined by their social and economic milieu, and in this demanding field the Canadian historian Royden Loewen is a fast-rising star. *Family, Church, and Market*, only his second book, has been honored by the American Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Association with their Albert B. Corey Prize in Canadian-American history.

Social history is complex and difficult to research and write, and as a consequence it is often difficult to read as well. I am not a professional historian, and I know from experience that their professional judgment does not necessarily translate into my reading pleasure. Thus I approached Loewen's work a bit warily. Would there be a good story in it for the lay person?

The answer, I think, is yes—provided one brings to the experience some prior interest in Mennonites and their relationship to "the world" to which they are not to be conformed. Loewen's story chronicles the experiences of the 900-

member Mennonite group that called themselves the "Kleine Gemeinde" ("little congregation"). It is a story in four parts, each concerning the relationship of family, church and market among the Kleine Gemeinde at a particular period and through a specific series of events.

Part I, "Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites in New Russia, 1850-1874," examines the life of these German-speaking farmers in the Molotschna and Borosenko colonies near the Dnieper River in southern Russia, in present-day Ukraine. The Kleine Gemeinde were Prussian Mennonites who had followed the lead of a conservative reformer, Klaas Reimer, in 1812. Reimer stressed separation from the dominant culture, believing that Mennonites had been too accommodating to Russian demands in the wake of the Napoleonic wars.

The Kleine Gemeinde were not cultural isolationists, but Loewen shows that over time they evolved a keen sense of essential social boundaries. For instance, they were quite willing to sell their agricultural or manufacturing produce to non-Mennonites, or to employ non-Mennonites in these trades. But around 1860, when the group had grown too large to support themselves by these means alone, and some Kleine Gemeinde members had themselves to work for non-Mennonites, the group elected to move nearly 100 miles to the Borosenko region where land was more plentiful. In essence, Loewen argues that the Kleine Gemeinde pursued a Marxist economic strategy, convinced that they needed to control the means of production in order to preserve their social and ecclesiastical autonomy.

The move to the Borosenko colonies provided only a temporary respite for the Kleine Gemeinde's problems with Russian society, so in 1874 they, along with thousands of other Mennonites, elected to move to North America. Part II, "Immigration and Settlement: Transplanting the Community, 1874-79," looks at the strategies employed by the Kleine Gemeinde to recreate their communities in two North American settlements: one near Jansen, Nebraska, and the other near Steinbach, Manitoba. The maintenance of "social boundaries," argues Loewen, was more important to the Kleine Gemeinde than the physical replication of their Russian farms and communities. That effort was complicated by the differing economic conditions of the Old and New worlds. In Russia, labor was plentiful; the Kleine Gemeinde farms were circumscribed by governmental edict. In North America, without the help of non-Mennonite labor, Kleine Gemeinde enterprises were limited by the amount of work they could do themselves. This had the ironic effect of (economically) encouraging the Kleine Gemeinde to seek contact with non-Mennonites, rather than simply to control it.

Since the Kleine Gemeinde chose to settle in two different North American locations, with two distinct sets of social and economic realities, Parts III and IV of *Family, Church, and Market* function as the historical equivalent of twin studies in psychology. What was the impact of differing external conditions on fundamentally similar subjects? Loewen examines the Kleine Gemeinde experience in Jansen and Steinbach in "Strategies of Integration: The First Generation in North America, 1880-1905," and "The Diverging Worlds of Farm and Town: The Second Generation, 1905-30," with dexterity, yet respect for the complexity of the task.

In a nutshell, the difference between the settings was that Jansen was a railroad and elevator town established by American entrepreneurs. It was a manifestation of "the world" toward which the Kleine Gemeinde were theologically suspicious. Steinbach, on the other hand, was largely a creation of the Mennonite immigrants themselves. Over time, it became a manifestation of their agrarian values, translated to a town. (Loewen actually uses the phrase, "urban existence," which to my ears is a *bit* inflated in the context of 19th century Jansen and Steinbach.)

Ultimately, of course, Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites moved on to other North American settings as well, establishing congregations in over 30 sites from northern Canada to Southern California; and causing, inevitably, some narrative difficulties for the conclusion of this study. Loewen manages the matter effectively, however, along with some insightful analyses of the Kleine Gemeinde's attitudes toward public schools, and the role of American revivalism in their congregations. He writes also of "Town 'Ladies' and Farm Women," devoting a chapter here, as in every other section of the book, to the role of women in the Kleine Gemeinde. This is obviously a labor of conviction, when the sources are slim and the story somewhat bleak in this heavily patriarchal society.

In order to tell his complex story of family, church and market forces among the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites, Loewen has to refute some earlier, simpler versions of their lives. He argues quite persuasively that they (and other Mennonite groups) were not communitarian, cultural isolationists, who vainly sought to preserve their way of life by emigrating to North America, where they succumbed to (a) the lure of capitalistic opportunity, (b) American revivalism, (c) North American cultural norms, or (d) all of the above: i.e., the relentless advance of Western society.

This argument is the predominant weakness of *Family, Church, and Market*; not because it isn't true, but because the audience for whom the argument has meaning is minuscule, at best. One finds, for instance, scattered shots at the great Harvard historian Oscar Handlin, whose massive history of American emigration, *The Uprooted* (1951), contains an admittedly cursory treatment of groups like the Kleine Gemeinde. Inasmuch as this text is nearly half a century old I had to wonder whether its deficiencies were interesting or noteworthy any longer. They weren't to me, at any rate.

But the larger argument—the tale deconstructed as well as the one newly formed—is also a strength of *Family, Church, and Market*. It is particularly important, I think, for contemporary Mennonites who love to decry the inroads of "the secular world" on their once-pure way of life. Through this case study of the Kleine Gemeinde, Royden Loewen shows us that we are always

products of the worlds we inhabit. We need not feel bad about this. Rather we should heed this recognition and reminder, in order for our little congregation to continue to seek the path of discipleship in the future.

Wynn M. Goering
Bethel College

Dorcas Weaver Herr. *A Century of Education: Cross Roads School 1893-94 - 1993-94.* Ephrata, PA: Grace Press, 1994. Pp. 175.

In 1993, Isaac K. Sensenig looked at the cornerstone of the Cross Roads School in Earl Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He saw that the building that had once been a one-room school was 100 years old. Time, he thought, to gather the memories of teachers and students who had met in this special place near the Pike Mennonite Church on Route 322, six miles from Ephrata. Dorcas Weaver Herr, a former Cross Roads student, began to write an essay about the school. That article soon turned into a book.

Warm are the memories of a school with one teacher and eight grades. The teacher fired the furnace, swept the floor, made all the lesson plans, and taught all the classes. Often the teacher boarded nearby with a student's family.

Memories are many. Remember recess and playground games. Go to fetch water from a neighbor's pumphouse. Trudge to school in winter behind a horse-drawn snow plow. Smell potatoes roasting over the coals in the big iron stove.

Former students becoming parents wanted the same kind of school life for their children. As long as a local school board ran the affairs at Cross Roads, all was well.

Beginning in 1956, the one-room school for eight grades had to cope with change. A new joint school board sent Grades 7 and 8 to a middle school on the west side of New Holland, about four miles away. But Cross Roads parents worked to get their boys and girls back. They added a second room to their school. In 1958, all eight grades were once again under the same roof. Parents rented the new room to the joint board for the money set aside to bus their older children. In four years, the cost of the building had been repaid.

But more change was on the way. In 1966, all schools in the region came under the control of East Lancaster County Board. Cross Roads stayed open as a public school for two more years, but only as a middle school for Grades 7 and 8.

Patrons saw the new way of teaching in larger schools as an end to good education. "Thus, the death of teacher evaluation by County Superintendent and local Boards," says Herr, "helped spawn the embryo which has hatched into the monstrous ugly duckling of illiteracy" (p. 162). She offers no proof. She assumes that her readers understand and agree.

After standing vacant for one term, the Cross Roads property was sold in August 1969 to Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Church for $30,000. Since then, this conference of churches, which withdrew from the Lancaster Mennonite Conference a year earlier, has run a private school. Here, "boys and girls have again received useful instruction within the confines of the old walls at Cross Roads" (p. 166). The building has been enlarged and Grades 9 and 10 have been added.

Isaac K. Sensenig, an Eastern Pennsylvania bishop, in an epilogue sees such "church-sponsored approach for the elementary education" as good. It is a proper response to "humanistic views of education" (p. 175).

A Century of Education recalls the good times students, teachers, parents, and board members had in a special one-room public school. But the book covers only 1893 to 1968--25 years less than a century. The memories of students and teachers since 1969 are not recorded here. Why? Without saying so, the folks from the one-room public school see the church-run school as different. They are glad that their old school space continues to be used. Its teachers are doing a good work in a building now with five rooms. But it is now a school apart with a different voice.

Much remains to be told about Cross Roads before 1893. Ere the little red school house was built, there had been other buildings. This public school had once been a church school. Begun in the early 19th century (or even earlier), that school became public when state laws began calling for public schools for everyone. That was in 1834. Last century's passage from church school to public must have been painful. It hurts just as much as the change from small one-room schools to larger modern schools begun in the 1950s. The warnings were just as grim. For Mennonite communities in Pennsylvania, the coming of public schools in the 1800s meant moving from German to English. Much said here in this book about new forms of teaching must have been felt about the earlier break with their mother tongue.

The Cross Roads story is much like that of many other schools in eastern Pennsylvania. Most of them have gone this way as well.

Maynard Shelly
Newton, Kansas

Many Faiths United in Greatest of Humanitarian Accomplishments

Top row, left to right: Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, Executive Head of Papal Relief in Russia, representing National Catholic Welfare Council. Dr John A Morehead, Director for Europe; National Lutheran Council. C. V. Hibbard, Associate General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. Center row: John Barton Payne, Chairman American Red Cross. Herbert Hoover, Chairman American Relief Administration. Felix M. Warburg, Chairman American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Bottom row: Mrs. Elizabeth Boies Cotton, Secretary for European Interests, National Board Y. W. C. A. George Repp, General Secretary; American Volga Relief Society. Levi Mumaw, Secretary-Treasurer, Mennonite Central Committee. Hoyt E. Porter, Russian representative of American Baptists.

The American Relief Administration credits no small part of its success to the fact that it has had the full co-operation of other American philanthropic and religious organizations, representing many varying phases of religious belief but solidly united in their humanitarian purposes. Jews and Gentiles, Catholics andProtestants, all found a place in the non-sectarian, non-political, non-racial and purely American plan of operation adopted by the A. R. A., and all worked together in thorough harmony. By the united efforts of the A. R. A. and co-operating organizations which include the American Red Cross, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Baptists, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Council, the National Lutheran Council, the Mennonite Central Committee, the American Volga Relief Society, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, it is estimated that 11,000,000 Russian lives were saved. This is more than 90 per cent. of all foreign relief given to Russia.

Mr. Hoover stated in a recent letter to Mr. Hibbard of the Y. M. C. A. that: "The first phase of relief—the shipment of food—will, I hope, be over with the next harvest, although this depends upon the harvest itself. The other forms of relief—medical, poverty, reconstruction—will deservedly pull upon the heartstrings of charity for many years to come and offer an ample field for those who can devote themselves to such work, for the terrible suffering of a great people groping for freedom from centuries of wrong must enlist the sympathy of every well-thinking person. But one essential is critically necessary; in order that such American effort shall be in responsible hands and not exhausted in propaganda, it should be administered through some of the above religious bodies."