

Mennonite Life



S E P T E M B E R 1 9 9 7

V O L . 5 2 / N O . 3

In this issue, led off by our Current Issues section, Gerald Biesecker-Mast describes the polarization of our world society towards consumerism, on one side, and fundamentalism on the other, and offers the possibility that our Anabaptist heritage might help transcend this polarization. Biesecker-Mast

is assistant professor of communication at Bluffton College in Ohio.

David P. Sudermann,

an independent scholar from Northfield, Minnesota, tells the story of Amy Greaves Sudermann Enss, an English-woman who married into the Russian Mennonite community. He analyzes what is and is not recounted in her autobiographical writings.

Rhoda Janzen is a new poet to Mennonite Life. She is the current California Poet Laureate and teaches at UCLA.

In *this* issue

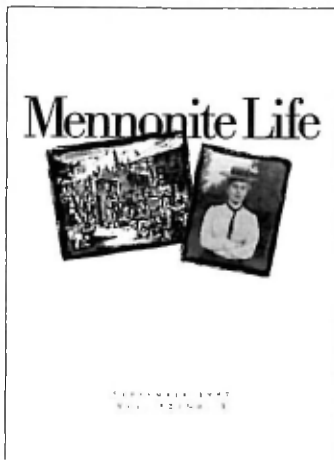


Photo credits: Mennonite Library and Archives, P. 8; Photodisc, p. 7; Rich Preheim, p. 11; David P. Sudermann, p. 17, 19, 20, 22, 27.

Contents

Current Issues

- Jihad, McWorld, and Anabaptist Transcendence
Gerald J. Biesecker-Mast 4

History

- Sound and Silence: The Autobiographical
Writings of Amy Sudermann Enss
David P. Sudermann 16

Arts

- Reading Jacob
Rhoda Janzen 32

- Book Reviews 35

Jihad, McWorld, and Anabaptist Transcendence

Gerald J.

Biesecker - Mast

Transcendence and Idolatrous Violence¹

This spring, while most Americans applauded, Timothy McVeigh was sentenced to death for his role in the Oklahoma City bombing, a terrible explosion that killed 168 people and injured over 500 others. The bombing has been described as the deadliest terrorist attack on American soil, a crime for which McVeigh's prosecutor proclaimed the death penalty was designed. As many Americans vented their rage at McVeigh and declared their sympathies with the bombing victims, a few cautionary voices were heard—a quote from a victim's father here, a Catholic bishop there—suggesting that even this most destructive and ugly crime was not worthy of another death.

While the usual arguments about the death penalty reappeared in secular and church media outlets around the country, most Americans neglected the broader significance of the crime committed by Timothy McVeigh: by most accounts an act of retaliatory violence against the United States federal government for its involvement in the tragic deaths of 87 members of the Branch Davidian community at Mt. Carmel near Waco, Texas, exactly two years prior to the Oklahoma City bombing.² The fire at Mt. Carmel was only the most destructive of a series of tense and sometimes violent encounters between federal law enforcement officers and armed separatist

communities who had rejected the legitimacy of the American federal government, encounters in which both separatists and federal agents had been tragically killed. A year before the Mt. Carmel tragedy, for example, thirteen year old Sam Weaver and his mother Vicki Weaver were shot to death during a gun battle at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, between federal authorities and the Weaver family. Hence, the execution of Timothy McVeigh, if it occurs, can be interpreted as one more casualty of an increasingly violent struggle between disillusioned American separatists and those identified with federal authority and power. Among those separatists, many of whom have spent the last several years organizing themselves into armed militias, the tragic stories of Ruby Ridge and Mt. Carmel have been recast within the religious-apocalyptic dramas that constitute the identity of the American separatist movements: an emerging New World Order that threatens to destroy the religious and civil liberties of ordinary Americans, an order named variously as the mark of the beast, the antichrist system, the Zionist Occupation Government, the communists, the secret government, and a host of other nomenclatures drawn from biblical and far right sources.³ While these separatist communities are often noted for being virulently racist and anti-semitic, their apocalyptic expectations place them paradoxically on common ground with non-Christian fundamentalist and nationalist

movements such as the Nation of Islam that, under the leadership of Louis Farrakhan, proclaims an apocalypse in which "the black Nation will be redeemed, and Babylon utterly destroyed."⁴ For Mennonites, the potential connections between our own ambiguous heritage of separation and today's angry religious separatists become painfully visible as news commentators compare the federal raid on the Mt. Carmel Branch Davidians with the Bishop of Waldeck's siege of 16th-century Münster Anabaptists and as a right-wing church in Pennsylvania called the Bible Anabaptist Fellowship attacks a gay bar near Johnstown with hate slogans and sexist slurs.⁵

In pondering the meaning of the Oklahoma City bombing and the death sentence against Timothy McVeigh, we would do well to consider whether our Anabaptist commitments can offer a Christian response to contemporary practices of violence that goes beyond opposition to the death penalty and seeks regeneration and reconciliation. Such a response, if we can muster it, must also find a way to go beyond the political and religious antagonisms that make bombings and executions possible. This response must assume the capacity of a transcendent God to meet us at the place where we have reached the limit of our resources and our reasons, where we are prepared to give up the security of a sectarian faith as well as the self-sufficiency of a rationalist life without faith, both of which are tempting idolatries for us who live at the end of the twentieth century.⁶

I am convinced that we must pursue this transcendent God

especially at this moment in history, when the grand but tired Enlightenment stories of humanistic triumph and scientific progress have lost their power to inspire and orient us, on the one hand, and the fearful drumbeats of tribalism and fundamentalism have signaled a cultural and political war against the limited but significant modern achievements of equality, freedom, democracy, and human solidarity on the other hand. The question of transcendence is urgent because of the unacceptable social-political alternatives that are presented to us in the wake of the Cold War's end and (classical) liberalism's supposed triumph. Overtaking the old Enlightenment narratives of freedom and democracy is the juggernaut of a global capitalist market that erases the last vestiges of local tradition and religious commitment by transforming citizens into consumers and replacing values with profits. Marching against this juggernaut and in time with the even older drumbeats of the world's great religious traditions are reactionary movements of many contemporary Jewish, Muslim, and Christian fundamentalists who seek havens of rest from the anxieties and pleasures of the marketplace and who desire the certainties associated with similarity over the ambiguities presented by difference.

Furthermore, as political scientist Benjamin Barber has argued in his book *Jihad vs. McWorld*, the battle between the tribalistic communities of religious and/or nationalistic fundamentalism and the secular world of the global marketplace has been joined at the expense of the civic ideals and responsibilities

For
Mennonites,
the potential
connections between
our own ambiguous
heritage of
separation and
today's angry
religious separatists
become painfully
visible as news
commentators
compare the federal
raid on the Mt.
Carmel Branch
Davidians with the
siege of 16th century
Münster
Anabaptists.

God has been
conformed to
human expectations
rather than
exceeding and
challenging them.

associated with democracy: namely a sense of obligation to one's neighbor that exceeds tribal loyalty or customer service. Global markets demand freedom from the regulatory constraints imposed by nation-states and seek "an unobstructed set of exchange relationships among individual consumers and individual producers that is allowed to take its course" despite public interest in such social justice concerns as environmental protection, decent working conditions, and full employment.⁷ Religious and nationalistic fundamentalists hope to recover communities of safety and certainty free from the contingencies and compromises associated with democratic negotiations amongst multiple publics.⁸ And these two competing forces of McWorld and Jihad build one another up in their mutual antagonism, each appearing as the proper answer to the problems engendered by the other and with each making use of the other's possibilities: Jihad employing McWorld's technologies to strengthen its boundaries and McWorld exploiting Jihad as a marketing niche.

I suggest that the symptoms of these idolatrous systems are signified not only by the explosions in Sarajevo, Waco, and Oklahoma City, but also by the rifts in Lancaster, Goshen, and North Newton. In the space of only about a half-century, the largest bodies of North American Mennonites have become assimilated almost completely into the cultural and economic dependencies of McWorld while a growing number of their more conservative sisters and brothers have sought to escape such

assimilation, often using the languages and strategies of fundamentalism to maintain rigidly defined boundaries against the encroachment of McWorld.⁹ Furthermore, the peculiarities and traditions of Amish and Mennonite peoples are now being sold in the marketplace as cookbooks, novels, dolls, quilts, movies, buggy rides, calendars, tee shirts, and, at least in my former hometown of Walnut Creek, Ohio, as a kind of neo-Victorian material culture of frilly pillows, fancy blankets, and ornamented woodwork. This kind of McMennonitism has the potential to eat away at the souls of our people by turning their deepest convictions into marketable commodities and transforming their communities into late capitalist tourist traps. The understandable reaction of some Mennonites and Amish is to build safer tribes in more isolated places far from the incessant commercialism eating away at the larger Mennonite communities of North America.

Thus, the question of a transcendent God is relevant not only to neo-pagan North Americans who are caught between the mergers and the militias but also to Anabaptist Christians who travel between the mall and the meetinghouse. For North American Anabaptist Christians, many of whom have passed through the fires of modernity, with its valorization of scientific reason and humanistic individualism, the transcendent has too often been dangerously domesticated. God is either something one invests in by giving of one's time and resources to churchly ventures in which projected outcomes

are dependent on calculated inputs, or God functions as the guarantor of a group identity by providing a mirror reflection of a sectarian subjectivity fearful of difference. Either way, God has been conformed to human expectations rather than exceeding and challenging them. In other words, we too often mistake a deadly idol for the living God. Stories from the Bible tell us of a God that resists rather than reinforces our idolatries and thus brings us terror before confidence, who requires repentance before regeneration.

In the book of Genesis, for example, we find the story of Moses who, when confronted with the God of his ancestors in a burning bush, removed his sandals and was afraid to look at God. The prophet Isaiah, surrounded by seraphim and smoke, had his tongue burned with a live coal before he could hear God's holy voice and answer: "Here am I, send me." Saul before he became the Apostle Paul was struck down and blinded on the road to Damascus before he was able to hear the voice of Christ whom he had been persecuting.

To the extent that we seek in our religious commitments to go beyond the impossible dilemmas of the postmodern condition, to refuse unacceptable choices between individualism and totalitarianism, relativism and universalism, globalism and sectarianism, McWorld and Jihad, I think we are obliged to seek that transcendent God who makes us tremble, sears our tongues, and blinds our eyes. We must pursue the transcendent God as that which appears at the limit, not the culmination, of our thinking; as that which is often manifested when our

best efforts fail, when our world is falling apart; and as that which, at least initially, terrifies rather than comforts us. Furthermore, we must not expect that we can only encounter the transcendent by journeying to a far country or by consulting with strange texts, although such journeys are surely necessary. As German philosopher Martin Heidegger reminds us, "We are too quick to believe that the mystery of what is to be thought always lies distant and deeply hidden under a hardly penetrable layer of strangeness."¹⁰ I suggest that the strangeness of the radically Other can often confront us in texts and traditions that may seem only too drearily familiar to us. It is for this reason that I return to an old book full of stories about people who sought to separate idolatry from worship and to find a new way that went beyond the unacceptable alternatives of their time. We find these stories in that terrifying and triumphant Mennonite storybook called the *Martyrs Mirror*.

Transcendence and Defenseless Separation

One way to read the *Martyrs Mirror* is as a book about the critique of idolatry. Perhaps few stories capture this theme as powerfully as the account of Simon the Shopkeeper and the attendant engraving by Jan Luyken. While Simon was selling his wares in the marketplace, a communion procession led by the local religious leaders passed through the town. The *Martyrs Mirror* describes what happened:

When the priests passed him with their idol, this Simon did not





dare give divine honor to this idol made by human hands, but, according to the testimony of God presented in the Holy Scriptures, would worship and serve only the Lord his God. He was therefore apprehended by the maintainers of the Roman antichrist, and examined in the faith, which he freely confessed, rejecting their self-invented infant baptism together with all human commandments, and holding fast only to the testimony of the Word of God; hence he was sentenced to death by the enemies of the truth, and was thus led without the city, and burnt for the testimony of Jesus.¹¹

In Jan Luyken's pictorial tribute to Simon the Shopkeeper, we are privileged to witness not the moment of Simon's execution, but the instant of his resistance. As the religious

procession approaches, complete with crucifixes and consecrated host, we see Simon standing serenely with his arms crossed and hat on, while all around him people have dropped to their knees and bowed their heads in deference to the authority of the church. On either side of Simon are two customers or vendors who entreat him to bow. The face of the woman to Simon's right exhibits horror at witnessing this impiety, this irreverence. This is a holy moment, a moment of terror. The living God is being acknowledged and the counterfeit gods are being blasphemed.

This engraving captures powerfully the dramatic challenge to the social, religious, and political order presented by the Anabaptist movements of the sixteenth century. Simon's stubborn refusal to bow—to make himself subject to

Christendom—ought to help us understand why the Anabaptists were hated so passionately by the authorities and feared by many of their neighbors. The scholarship of the past several decades has demonstrated clearly that the Anabaptists were not merely passive victims of the Catholic and Reformation establishment, but that in fact their refusals of the oath, infant baptism, and the sword represented a fundamental threat to the social fabric of early modern Europe. Anabaptism was a resistance movement that undermined the authority structures that had given meaning and order to European Christendom for centuries.¹²

But I think that the story of Simon the Shopkeeper as found in the *Martyrs Mirror* and illustrated by Jan Luyken suggests to us that Anabaptism was not merely a resistance movement against the tyranny of Christendom. The Anabaptists sought to encounter the living God who exceeded human commandments and religious traditions. They sought, as did Simon, to worship and serve only God. Their resistance to tyranny was sustained and shaped by this passion for God alone.

Such desire to encounter the divine God beyond human gods is a common theme in Anabaptist stories and writings. The famous Dirk Willems, who rescued his persecutor from an icy death only to be captured and executed, is said by the *Martyrs Mirror* account to have “founded his faith not upon the drifting sand of human commandments, but upon the firm foundation stone, Christ Jesus.”¹³ Anna of Rotterdam wrote to her son

before she was executed to “flee the shadow of this world; become united with God; fear him alone.”¹⁴ A Dutch Anabaptist named Eelken, when questioned by the authorities as to his views on the sacraments, responded boldly: “I know nothing of your baked God.”¹⁵ Asked what she thought of holy oil, the widow Weynken Claes answered that “Oil is good for salad, or to oil your shoes with”; urged to kiss the crucifix, she refused, saying “This is not my God; the cross by which I have been redeemed is a different one. This is a wooden god; throw him into the fire, and warm yourselves with him.”¹⁶ Hans Denck wrote, “I hold the Holy Scripture above all human treasures but not as high as the Word of God, which is living, powerful, and eternal, which is free and not burdened by worldly things.”¹⁷ Hans de Ries, an early Dutch Mennonite elder, insisted: “We . . . are completely satisfied with the crucified Christ, seeking our salvation, food, and drink in him and in nothing else, whatever it may be. If you seek it elsewhere, in the letter of the Scriptures, the written Word, or in the sacraments, in the water, bread, or wine, you are misled and your work will be in vain.”¹⁸ Menno concluded: “The true evangelical faith sees and considers only the doctrine, ceremonies, commands, prohibitions, and the perfect example of Christ, and strives to conform thereto with all its power.”¹⁹ These are just a few examples of the Anabaptist passion for God (in Christ) alone.

I believe it was this godly passion that led the Anabaptists to live out a radical alternative to the major religious and political options of their time. In an era when the

I think we
are obliged to seek
that transcendent
God who makes us
tremble, sears our
tongues, and blinds
our eyes.

great battle was between the universal hegemony of Roman Christendom and the reactionary regimes of the evangelical Reformers, the Anabaptists found a third way. Refusing in the final instance either to passively accept the authority of Rome or to forcefully impose the evangelical Christianity of the Reformation, the Anabaptists formed defenseless communities that sought to live the reign of God in the present, "without commandments and without being forced," as Conrad Grebel wrote to Thomas Müntzer in 1524.²⁰

It is within this context of the Anabaptist encounter with transcendence, the resulting disdain for idolatry, and the concomitant acceptance of defenselessness, that we can best read the Schleithem *Brotherly Union*, called by one historian "the most important event in the whole history of Anabaptism."²¹ After the German Peasants' War had failed to bring about social justice through the use of force and evangelical reformers had refused to accept the liberation of the church from the civic sphere, the Swiss Anabaptists sought a way to live in the reign of God without reforming the world "according to a utopian pattern."²² Hammered out by a motley assembly of Anabaptists largely from among the Swiss Brethren, the *Brotherly Union* provided a strategic framework for resisting idolatry without imposing religiosity. While the *Brotherly Union* can be critiqued for its emphatic dualism and puritanical naivete, I want to focus on some of the innovative rhetorical flourishes that helped Anabaptist believers invent a new relationship to their society and the future.

1. *The Brotherly Union constructed unity from diversity on the basis of a common passion for God.* The document was addressed to "all who love God and all children of light, who are scattered everywhere," including brothers and sisters who were divided from the Schleithem believers but who, it was hoped, would "be again united with us in the power of a godly Christian spirit and zeal for God."²³ Such godly passion or holiness was not promoted as an alternative to struggling with difficult issues. Indeed, throughout the *Union* there are repeated references to the strife and division among Anabaptist believers which the *Union* sought to overcome. But the strategy of the *Brotherly Union* is to address the controversies directly through a concrete unity of spirit that bound believers to one another and God. In other words, unity came first from God, not the articles themselves.

2. *The Brotherly Union constituted separation from the world as identification with God.* The introductory salutation proclaims that the Schleithem assembly has "been united to stand fast in the Lord as obedient children of God, sons and daughters, who have been and shall be separated from the world in all that we do and leave undone."²⁴ Coming to God is the same as leaving the world, according to this understanding: "Thus all who follow the devil and the world have no part with those who have been called out of the world unto God."²⁵ Lest we misunderstand the assembly at Schleithem to have despised God's good creation in its renunciation of the world, it is important to note that the *Brotherly Union* used the term

"world" to signify respectable human practices and institutions that were "regarded highly" by society but which had become ungodly and oppressive: attending church services, drinking at winehouses, participating in the magistracy, swearing oaths, baptizing infants, and other iniquitous practices.²⁶ In other words, the Schleithem assembly's encounter with a transcendent God led it to reject rather than embrace the common sense of the status quo, to withdraw from corrupted civil and ecclesiastical structures rather than to go along with them. This separation unto God was qualified by a third commitment that distinguishes godly separation from the violent separation practiced by, for example, the militant Anabaptists in the city of Münster or the contemporary American militia movement: defenselessness.

3. *The Brotherly Union established the defenselessness of Christ as*

exceeding the governance by sword. As the Union put it with great delicacy, "The sword is an ordering of God (or ordained of God) outside the perfection of Christ." Let's place this statement in context. For centuries Christendom had said: "The civil order signified and maintained by the sword should be subject to the Church." Now came the evangelical reformers who essentially said: "The Church ought to be subject to the civil order signified by the sword." Neither of these were acceptable options for the Anabaptists. So when Zwingli wanted to slow down the pace of reform in Zurich in deference to the will of the city council, Simon Stumpf made his bold statement: "You have no authority to place the decision in Milords' hands, for the decision is already made: the Spirit of God decides."²⁷ But neither did the Schleithem assembly seek to enforce the decision of the Spirit of God with the sword. The



The
Schleitheim
assembly sought to
eclipse the merely
respectable civic
order supported by
the sword and to live
in the world as
citizens of heaven, to
accept the authority
and protection of
God alone.

Schleitheim *Brotherly Union* sought neither to overthrow the civil order (by, say, forming a militia) nor to submit to it in the final instance (by, say, attending sanctioned church services). As article six acknowledged, "In the law the sword is established over the wicked for punishment and for death, and the secular rulers are established to wield the same."²⁸ But, the article continued, "within the perfection of Christ only the ban is used for the admonition and exclusion of the one who has sinned, without the death of the flesh, simply the warning and the command to sin no more."²⁹

With this formulation it seems to me that the *Union* clearly refused a simplistic division between the world and God that it can be interpreted as promoting elsewhere. For here it acknowledged the extent to which the worldly sword could promote the good. The sword "punishes and kills the wicked, and guards and protects the good," it pointed out.³⁰ But the Anabaptists who accepted the *Union* sought to surpass even this "ordering" or "ordination" of God and live within the greater goodness of Christ. The sword does some good, but the Christian will do without it, nevertheless, for the Christian follows the way of Christ. "Now many," the *Union* acknowledged, "who do not understand Christ's will for us, will ask: whether a Christian may or should use the sword against the wicked for the protection and defense of the good, or for the sake of love."³¹ This is a reasonable question, the *Union* seems to have implied. No one's talking about using the sword for evil, here, for murder or even

revenge. It's using the sword for the greater good that is in question. "The answer is unanimously revealed," announced the *Union*; "Christ teaches and commands us to learn from him, for He is meek and lowly of heart and thus we shall find rest for our souls."³² Just as Christ showed mercy and forgiveness to the adulterous woman instead of calling for her stoning, "exactly thus should we also proceed, according to the rule of the ban."³³

By insisting on mercy and defenselessness, and relying only on the ban, the Schleitheim assembly sought to eclipse the merely respectable civic order supported by the sword and to live in the world as citizens of heaven, to accept the authority and protection of God alone. Defenselessness was the Anabaptist way of acknowledging the exclusive sovereignty of God.

Unity, separation, defenselessness. Each of these practices advocated by the *Union* signified and supported the stubborn refusal of Anabaptists to embrace the historical options presented to them in their time. Neither universal Christendom nor reactionary Reformation was acceptable. The only way forward was defenseless separation from the idolatry of both. Their legacy of resistance at the dawning of modernity calls us to consider what it means to refuse idolatrous options nearly five hundred years later when night seems to have fallen.

Anabaptist Transcendence Today

To my thinking, contemporary Christianity (as well as Judaism and

Islam) has largely accepted the terms of the battle between global capitalism and religious or nationalistic fundamentalism described by Benjamin Barber. It has done this because it has been unable to imagine a third way in any number of the cultural and political debates that currently divide the broader North American society. In what follows, I identify three such antagonisms and suggest briefly what an Anabaptist commitment to God alone might mean.

1. *Relativism vs. Absolutism.* It is frequently assumed that with the arrival of postmodernity and the loss of broadly accepted master narratives to orient us, that we are then left with a world in which there is no longer any basis for judgment. In fact, an acknowledgment of the postmodern condition is assumed by many to mean an acceptance of nihilism. Against such a relativism, some religious thinkers want to posit a set of absolutes that they believe can anchor life during this time when orienting narratives are widely doubted. Christians are thus forced to choose between a dismissal of their convictions as merely personal preferences and an imposition of so-called Christian principles as uncontested truths.

Within an Anabaptist Christianity, as we have seen, the only uncontested truth is the sovereignty of God alone. Thus, an Anabaptist sensibility will be suspicious of all human claims that are elevated to Absolute status. It is in the name of Absolutes that armies are launched, bombs are exploded, and blood is spilled. At the same time, Anabaptist Christianity accepts

God's revelation in the Scriptures as they are interpreted by the body of believers under the influence of the Holy Spirit, just as the Schleithem assembly came to a Spirit-guided unity of biblical interpretation that was enforced only by the ban. This model of struggling collectively to discern the revelation of God for our time in the assembly of believers can serve us today.³¹ It suggests that in seeking the will of God as revealed in Scriptures we should give priority to Sunday School discussions, bible study groups, and confessions of faith over our own personal, devotional reading of the Bible. In this way we can avoid both the idolatry of bloody absolutes and the nihilism of relativized preferences.

2. *Citizenship vs. Consumerism.* In a late capitalist world of multinational corporations with little accountability to any community except the markets, it is sometimes believed that the only way to recover any human agency that exceeds buying power or capital accumulation is to encourage people to think of themselves as citizens, not merely consumers. Other enthusiasts of the new global village with its information highway and mobile capital celebrate the advent of the consumer as the end of history. While I taught in a public university my response to these options was to advocate citizenship over consumerism, and to argue that civic responsibility should exceed profit motive. This is a good and respectable approach to the problem.

However, Christian believers are challenged to do more than this when we recall the Schleithem *Brotherly Union's* refusal of civic

**Our religious
loyalties supercede
our national and
civic commitments
and discipline our
consuming passions.**

oaths, of participation in the magistracy, and of taking up the sword of governance. Christian believers are in the final instance neither democratic citizens nor capitalist consumers, but pilgrims and strangers with citizenship in heaven. Our religious loyalties supersede our national and civic commitments and discipline our consuming passions. The political assembly and the global marketplace are for Christians ultimately superseded by the sovereignty of God. Instead of valorizing either one we should rather be vigilant that neither the nation nor the market compromises our loyalty to God alone.³⁵

3. *Christian Triumphalism vs. Multiculturalism.* One response to the apparent decay of modern meta-narratives is to sigh with relief that Christianity will no longer be hampered by the difficult demands of Reason and Science and to hope for the return of a new religious synthesis that would supersede the confusions of postmodern pluralism.³⁶ By contrast, the advocates of multiculturalism see the decline of meta-narratives as an occasion to promote the proliferation of cultural identities that have for centuries been suppressed in the West by the hegemony of Christianity. These views often battle it out with one another, with Christians viewing the multiculturalists as concerned for every culture except Christianity and multiculturalists attacking Christianity as a religion of domination and oppression.

Anabaptist Christians are suspicious of both Christian triumphalism and multicultural

ideology. They have little interest in promoting Christianity as a movement of political or cultural power, recalling the violent suppression of Anabaptism by early modern Christendom. Furthermore, they suspect that multiculturalism has a way of defusing the radical possibilities of intercultural exchange by simply relativizing cultural practices. Christians aren't interested in cultures simply to admire the rainbow of human inventiveness and cultural habit. They seek through intercultural exchange to be transformed by the other, and to be themselves transforming of the other. They seek in all such exchanges the revelation of the God who transcends human inventions and commandments.

In our world, when humanity seems to have been divided up into either tribes or markets, the defenseless Christian is called to acknowledge in the face of the Other the traces of the transcendent, the likeness of God.³⁷ Such a recognition will lead us beyond mere refusals to make war on the other or to execute our enemies. It will lead us to risk our personal comfort and sometimes our safety for the well being of the other. It will cause us to practice a radical hospitality that undermines tribal identities and market stabilities. Such a life has its difficulties and uncertainties. As we know from the Anabaptist story, indeed from many human stories, the Other may not always return our defenselessness. But, we who follow Christ give of ourselves not merely so that we can receive. Rather, we give because in giving to the Other we are giving to Christ, and in so

doing are able to escape the economies of exchange that in our day lead to separatist violence and capitalist imperialism.

Notes

- ¹ This essay is revised from a lecture given at Goshen College on February 27, 1996, entitled "The Anabaptist Vision and the Postmodern Condition."
- ² Kenneth Stearn, *A Force upon the Plain* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 58-64.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 42-57.
- ⁴ Malise Ruthven, "Made in the U. S. A.," *Times Literary Supplement* (May 30, 1997), 3.
- ⁵ Paul Boyer, "A Brief History of the End of Time," *The New Republic* (May 17, 1993), 30-33.
- ⁶ Gordon Kaufman, "Mystery and God," *Mennonite Life* 52 (March 1997), 5-8.
- ⁷ Benjamin Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld* (New York: Times Books, 1995), 28-29.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 222.
- ⁹ Stephen Scott, *An Introduction to Old Order and Conservative Mennonite Groups* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1996), 159-232.
- ¹⁰ Quoted in Mark Taylor, *Tears* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 111.
- ¹¹ Thieleman J. van Braght, *Martyrs Mirror* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985), 741. The story is also told and illustrated by Jan Luyken's engraving in John S. Oyer and Robert Kreider, *Mirror of the Martyrs* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990), 22-23.
- ¹² Edmund Pries, "Oath Refusal in Zurich from 1525 to 1527: The Erratic Emergence of Anabaptist Practice," in Walter Klaassen, ed., *Anabaptism Revisited* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1992), 65-84.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 741.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 454.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 484.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 422-423.
- ¹⁷ Cornelius J. Dyck, *Spiritual Life in Anabaptism* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1995), 72-73.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.
- ¹⁹ *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1956), 343.
- ²⁰ Michael Baylor, ed., *The Radical Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 42.
- ²¹ John H. Yoder, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1973), 47.
- ²² C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology* (Kitchener, Ont.: Pandora Press, 1995), 61.
- ²³ Yoder, *Legacy*, 34-35.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 38-42.
- ²⁷ Leland Harder, ed., *The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985), 242.
- ²⁸ Yoder, *Legacy*, 39.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Ibid.*, 39-40.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 40.
- ³⁴ For a more specific outline of this process of communal discernment, see John Howard Yoder, *The Priestly Kingdom* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 15-45.
- ³⁵ This is not to say that Christian believers should always shun public witness of any kind. Scott Holland has suggested a useful paradigm for contemporary Anabaptist public witness. His approach assumes a more complex understanding of human subjectivity than does the *Brotherly Union*, without giving up the negotiated distinction between the good of the public and the perfection of Christ that we find in the *Union*. Scott Holland, "God in Public: A Modest Proposal for a Quest for a Contemporary North American Anabaptist Paradigm," *Conrad Grebel Review* 4 (1986): 43-55. Also John Howard Yoder has argued, not inconsistently with the *Union*, in my view, for a limited witness to the state on grounds of "middle axioms" that are outside Christ's perfection but nevertheless "a step in the right direction." John Howard Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State* (Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1964), 39.
- ³⁶ Diogenes Allen, "The End of the Modern World," *Christian Scholar's Review* 22 (1993): 339-347.
- ³⁷ David Tracy, "The Hidden God: The Divine Other of Liberation," *Cross Currents* 46 (spring 1996): 5-6.

Sound and Silence: The Autobiographical Writings of Amy Sudermann Enss

David P.
Sudermann

Most Mennonite women, when they choose to write, prefer letters, diaries, or journals as their medium. Few write retrospectively and at length about their own lives. Amy Sudermann Enss (1878-1975) offers the rare exception, a novel-like account of her life among the Mennonites in South Russia at the turn of the century. Written mainly in the 1950s—Amy Enss was then over seventy—*Winding Trails* was meant as the first installment of a full autobiography to be completed later. The story breaks off in 1915, just as the Enss family settles in Kansas. No sequel followed, though Amy wrote several more fragments. My intention here is to describe the entire autobiographical corpus with view to answering the question of why *Winding Trails* never reached completion, despite the author's large store of memories and evident pleasure in writing.¹

Neither German nor Mennonite by birth but English and Anglican, Amy Evelyn Greaves grew up in Sheffield, England, in the waning years of Queen Victoria's reign. Her father had inherited a small cutlery-cabinet factory, Greaves & Son, and the family lived in modest middle-class circumstances. Amy's mother, Annie Youle Greaves, died in 1887 when Amy was only nine years old. At fifteen she enrolled in Mrs. Shrubsole's School, a boarding school for women, "one of many," she writes, "which shaped English womanhood before war turned everything upside down and conceptions of true womanhood came into partial eclipse" (3).

The nearly five years spent in this school, under the tutelage of a "capable and energetic maiden lady" named Miss Reed and Mrs.

Shrubsole herself, shaped Amy through a monastic regimen of general studies, physical exercise, music, wholesome diet, Bible study, and training in proper social habits. She flourished. Her curriculum emphasized the arts and letters: piano practice began daily at 6:30 a.m.; she learned freehand drawing and started painting in water color and oils; Scripture lessons might be prepared in French; Psalms were memorized; writing assignments abounded. "By the time I was twenty-one, standing on the threshold of life itself, I had been well instructed and had quite a number of certificates, diplomas, and prizes to march into life with me." These included a certificate in education from Sheffield's College of Preceptors, a practical qualification for a middle-class woman of limited options (3-6).

In 1899 at the age of twenty-one, Amy Greaves crossed the "threshold of life": she accepted an uncle's invitation to travel to Berdiansk, South Russia. It was in Berdiansk on the Sea of Azov that engineer John E. Greaves, her uncle, had earlier founded a factory for the manufacture of Swallow farm implements. These were sold to Russian grain farmers, including many Mennonites. In fact, Emilie Victoria Greaves, Amy's cousin, was engaged to a Mennonite, Peter Isaac Sudermann, and Amy was to serve as her cousin's bridesmaid. During the marriage festivities, Amy met the older brother of the groom, Jacob Sudermann, thirty-two, blond, blue-eyed. Despite Jasha's dearth of English and Amy's minimal German—she knew only portions of Goethe's tragic poem *Der Erlkönig*—they soon reached an understanding.

"I have something to say to



you," said Jasha. "I want to say it very plainly. . . . Amy, I have learned to love you and I want you to be my wife. Do you understand what I am saying?"

"My thoughts ran rapidly. Here was a . . . mature man asking me to marry him. What should I do? . . . Could it be God's way for me? Yes, I believed it must be. So I answered very carefully, 'Yes, I understand now. It is all very new to me; I will learn to love you.'" (36)

Thus did Amy's path "wind" into the strange new world of the Russian Mennonites. As wife to a man she scarcely knew and partner in the management of the family's extensive land holdings, Amy needed to catch on rapidly. She knew little German and no Russian; she had no prior knowledge of

Mennonites; of livestock and grain farming she had little inkling; it took not a little patience to adapt to a country that was "fifty years behind" that of civilized England. But she was of an optimistic temperament and accepted her lot with fortitude and dignity. "I still felt a little too English in my stiff way, but I was learning. I was still a kind of a boarding-school person, but my mind was a good mind, and I think my heart was all right, but strictly my own still" (73).

Amy tells her story from the point of view of an outsider observing things for the first time. Her account of "ranch life" on a Mennonite *khutor*, or estate, includes memorable episodes of hog butchering, a snow storm on the steppe, the preservation of food, and

Amy Greaves
Sudermann,
Toretzkaya estate near
Konstantinovka, south
Russia, summer 1900

Amy Greaves
and Jacob Isaac
Sudermann,
engagement or wedding
photo, 1900

Soon after
1900
Amy faced
motherhood, one
experience for which
English boarding
school had not
in the least
prepared her.

a grain harvest. Getting to know the many Mennonite aunts, uncles, and cousins that became hers through Jasha Sudermann occupied much of the first two years of her marriage. Her memories of visits to the various family estates provides a rare glimpse of estate life at its height in South Russia.

These visits to relatives soon made it evident that her extended family was among the largest and wealthiest of *khutor*-Mennonite clans in Russia. That she felt accepted and loved, she sensed immediately, but of the family's history and significance for the Mennonite community, of its business, philanthropic, and religious activities, she became only gradually aware as she learned German and Russian. Her husband's grandfather, Jacob Sudermann I (1794-1874) had emigrated from Elbing, West Prussia, in the 1830s and had settled in the Berdiansk Mennonite community in the early 1840s. The Sudermanns were grain brokers, millers, wine merchants, estate owners, and ministers. Abraham I. Sudermann (1790-1865), a granduncle, served as the first Mennonite minister in Berdiansk.² Leonhard J. Sudermann, an uncle, some years later succeeded his better-known namesake, Elder Leonhard A. Sudermann, as minister (*Gemeindelehrer*) in Berdiansk, after the latter emigrated to Whitewater, Kansas, in 1874. Amy's father-in-law, Isaac Sudermann (1845-1918) followed in his father's footsteps as a grain trader in Berdiansk. About 1894, apparently after the grain business failed, Isaac Sudermann's wife Anna inherited a large *khutor* on the Krivoy Toretz River near Konstantinovka, and this is where Amy Greaves joined the Sudermann family in 1900.³

Through her mother-in-law Anna Dick Sudermann (1847-1920), Amy became part of the large Jacob and Anna Schmidt Dick family of the

Rosenhof (Brodski) estate, which lay east of the Molotschna and Melitopol. Grandmothers Anna Schmidt Dick (1828-1912) and Eva Unruh Sudermann (1821-1915) had grown up together on the Klaas Wiens-Peter Schmidt estate at Steinbach in the Molotschna. The Wiens-Schmidts were among the earliest of estate owners. The Dick children had in turn intermarried with the Schmidts. The Dicks, Sudermanns, and Schmidts were also interrelated with the Martens of Brodski (of which Rosenhof formed a part), the Schroeders of Taschtschenak, and the Willms families, to name the closest clans.⁴ Amy's visits to relatives included the neighboring estates, both called Apanlee, of Uncles David J. Dick and Jacob J. Sudermann. These *khutors* probably lay just south of the Molotschna village of Alexanderkrone on the Juschanlee River. Together with fellow estate owners Heinrich Guenther of Juschanlee and Peter and Nikolai Schmidt of Steinbach, these two uncles in particular gave philanthropic support as well as leadership to larger Mennonite causes—schools, hospitals, the forestry service, and religious reform, among them.⁵

Soon after 1900 Amy faced motherhood, one experience for which English boarding school had not in the least prepared her. Prevented by her Victorian reserve from asking questions directly about birthing, Amy explains how she nonetheless rather cleverly and indirectly acquired this crucial knowledge:

"A nurse was engaged a whole month beforehand. She waited with me. Anything could happen at any time—I had received no instruction in the matter; the doctor who was in Bachmut would have to be brought to me. . . . So we employed this trained nurse in case a sudden

Amy and Jacob
Sudermann with
children Mary, George,
and Joanna, ca.
Christmas 1904. Photo
sent to England as a gift
for Amy's father, George
T. Greaves.



Isaac Jacob
Sudermann and Anna
Dick Sudermann family,
children Emmy (seated
front), Marie
Sudermann Tscheretz,
Jacob (with hat), Peter
(seated in chair), Louise
(standing in white).
Probably in the garden
of the Dick estate,
Rosenhof, located east
of the Molotschnaya,
near Vesiloya, 1897.

emergency arose. We sat day after day, she knitting away and telling me about all the children she had helped into the world. From her I learned, sitting so quietly, all I ever needed to know, as she went from one case to another. Not sensing my ignorance, she enlarged on details until I had the whole picture before me. I needed to ask no questions. She was one of those people who delight in having a good listener". (75)

Amy's first child, a son, as she had expected, was born in 1901 when she was twenty-three. (Her tenth and last, a daughter, arrived in 1921, Amy's forty-third year and seven years after emigration to the United States.) Providing for children, a main motif in *Winding Trails*, posed no problems at first, for

the wealthy Sudermann family could employ Russian and German servants. But in 1904, through bank failure and the over-mortgaging of property, the Sudermann *khutor* Toretzkaya went bankrupt and was liquidated to pay creditors. Amy, Jasha, and their three children moved to a small home in a nearby settlement. The many servants gave way to two, the herds of livestock to two milk cows. "I learned in those days," relates Amy, "to cook all kinds of milk soups: potato soup with sour cream and butter (the butter we churned), milk soup with dumplings (tiny ones made of flour and water), milk soup with macaroni, milk soup with rice, potato soup with dumplings and fried onions for a change. Then we



had beans and a little bacon with fried onions and borscht when fresh meat could be procured, or from a ham bone—that is, if we could find cabbage.” Amy also knitted and sewed for the children: “I made everything from stockings and underwear to overcoats, bonnets, caps, and gaiters” (90). Soon John Greaves, Amy’s uncle, hired Jasha Sudermann to sell Swallow farm machinery, and the family once again had a steady, if smaller, income. “These next years,” reflects Amy, “were the happiest that I had experienced” (90).

Early in 1909, Jasha Sudermann contracted typhus and died suddenly. Providing for the children became difficult. Amy’s close friend Bertha Laise Lepp took Amy and the children to the Lepp estate at Berestovoye near the Ignatievo colony. There, not long after, Amy bore her fourth child, named Jacob for the father he never knew. With Bertha Lepp’s support, Amy slowly recovered strength and hope.⁶ Other Dick family relatives gave help. Uncle Nikolai and Tante Magdalene Dick generously offered the young widow and her children a home on their nearby estate, Lozovaya, where Jasha lay buried. There they lived until the spring of 1910.

With her share of English pride, the young widow found it difficult to accept the Dicks’ beneficence. Besides, she recalls, she had the children’s education to plan for, and the best Mennonite schools were in Halbstadt, Molotschna. To her dismay, her plan to move to Rosenhof, the main Dick estate, situated closer to Halbstadt, proved unacceptable to the Dicks (127). But this disappointment opened the way for Amy to accept a teaching position at the newly opened *Kommerzschule* in Halbstadt itself. Hired to teach art and English, she was the only woman on the staff in the years 1910-12.⁷ Amy’s degrees

and diplomas in education and art from Sheffield proved acceptable qualifications. Having relocated to Halbstadt, she quickly began managing her own household. Teaching provided an ideal outlet for her creative and social energies.

The death of Jasha Sudermann and the move to Halbstadt brings to a close “Book I” of the story. If Book I commemorates Jasha Sudermann’s life and the Schmidt-Dick-Sudermann family, it at the same time records the process of Amy’s own remarkable adaptation: to a new country with its strange languages and customs; to a new religious tradition and new relatives; to a husband she gradually comes to love; to the responsibilities of parenting in stringent economic circumstances; to death, loneliness, and uncertainty. Book I ends, nonetheless, on an upward trajectory. Buoyed by the love and help of relatives, especially the Nikolai Dick and the Peter and Helene Dick Willms families, Amy resettles in Halbstadt, finds peace of mind, and sets out on a professional career.

Book II tells the story of “unwinding” from Russia in the years 1910-1915. Thematically, this second movement becomes a story of exodus and deliverance, with unmistakable biblical overtones. Like Book I, it too centers on a love story, beginning with the unexpected appearance in Halbstadt of a student, Gustav Heinrich Enss, sent by Uncle David Dick to lodge at the Sudermann home. Curly-haired and handsome, articulate and passionate to learn, Enss from the start made a favorable impression. But the situation was undeniably awkward. Enss was seven years her junior, while Jasha Sudermann had been eleven years older. Amy wanted no complications in the self-sufficient course she had set for herself. The young scholar nevertheless

Buoyed by the
love and help of
relatives, Amy
resettles in
Halbstadt, finds
peace of mind, and
sets out on a
professional career.



Berlin 1913

Left back: George T. Sudermann, Dorothy Gertrude Greaves, Gustav H. Enss, Ethel Mary Greaves, Mary Evelyn Sudermann; front: Joanna Sudermann, Amy E. Greaves Sudermann Enss holding Justine Elise Enss, Jacob J. Sudermann, George Turton Greaves (Amy's father).

persisted, declared his love, and Amy finally "acquiesced."⁸ Still she had lingering doubts and sent Gustav off to Odessa for a year. Thus "exiled," Gustav prepared himself for examinations at the university and continued to plead his cause by letter. In early June of 1912 "there was a knock on the front door. I opened it myself and there stood Gustav. 'I have come,' he said, 'we shall be married at once'" (156). On 12 June 1912 they drove in Abram Wieler's new red automobile to the wedding ceremony in the Prishib Lutheran Church. To her former mother-in-law's dismay, Amy insisted on wearing a white dress adorned with white flowers.

Amy's first mother-in-law, Anna Dick Sudermann, a strong-willed woman, bitterly opposed Amy's match to a student of only twenty-seven, without family connections or

financial prospects.⁹ But other factors, not just family resistance, hastened Amy's disengagement from the Dick-Schmidt-Sudermann clan. Death made inroads into the older generation of relatives. Peter Schmidt III of Steinbach died in May 1910; in October 1911, even before Amy's remarriage, a much-loved aunt, Tante Marie Dick Schroeder died, followed in April of 1912 by the aged family matriarch, Anna Schmidt Dick. Amy attended Grandmother Dick's funeral at Rosenhof and remembers being overcome by a sense of separation and loss:

"As I gazed on that company, it was born into my heart that I should wander. All these dear faces would be for me lost faces, and their voices that I could just now distinguish so clearly one from another, I would not hear where I must shortly go. . . .

I was the only one to escape entirely all the horrors, tragedy, dangers, and sufferings that came upon those dear relatives of Jasha's some years later. . . . From now on, I was not to belong to Jasha's relatives. That chapter was closed with grandmother's death. For me a new life was opening up." (152-53)

Amy thus accepted the loss of these relatives as the price of her family's deliverance, through Gustav Enss, from the fate that befell the clan in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Hard though life in Bolshevik Russia certainly was after World War I, many of the Schmidt, Dick, Schroeder, Sudermann, and Willms relatives survived and escaped to Canada in the 1920s. Amy must have known this, yet never reestablished contact.

Amy's new life began with departure from Halbstadt.

"As I drove with Gustav and my four children through the village and up the incline away from it, I felt as though a great weight had fallen from my heart. . . . During this last year, I often felt something sinister was near me, some danger hovering near. . . . During the revolution, years afterward, in that village things occurred that were more than sinister. . . . Often I have thought that I was being warned to leave Halbstadt." (158)

The honeymoon trip up the Volga, with the four Sudermann children in tow, ended at the Enss family home in Old Samara. There in Alexandertal Amy was to meet her new parents-in-law, Heinrich and Justine Klassen Enss, and Gustav's ten siblings, along with assorted aunts, uncles, and cousins. "When anyone marries a Mennonite," she observes wryly, "many relatives are accumulated. I now had a second grand circle of people whose names and character I had to assimilate into my already crowded family chronicle." Gustav's mother

confided to Amy, "Gustav can do almost anything, if his mind is set on it. . . . You will make him happy, if you go about it wisely. He is rather difficult, you know, but with the right kind of wife, he will be all right" (163).

Encouraged by his older brothers Heinrich and Abraham Enss, successful leather merchants in Koshki, and with their financial backing, Gustav took his new family to Berlin, Germany, to continue his religious studies. There he enrolled in an evangelical Bible school, while at the same time hearing lectures at the Humboldt University.¹⁰ He planned to train in theology and German philology with a view to returning to the Mennonite villages in the Samara region. There he dreamed of organizing a Mennonite school comparable to those in Chortitza and Molotschna. The two years in Berlin, 1912-14, meant for Amy a welcome return to "a highly civilized land" and for Gustav the intellectual nourishment he craved (168). They were happy years. Two daughters were born. The immanent outbreak of war in August 1914, however, forced the Ensses to make hasty plans to return to Russia. But it was too late. Literally at the last minute before war erupted, Saturday, 1 August 1914, the family boarded a train for the Dutch border and made a dramatic exodus to England (181-88).

In Sheffield, the Greaves family welcomed their daughter and her family, now numbering nine including Varya, the little Russian maid. After a few weeks, Amy and Gustav felt compelled to seek a new course: war made return to Russia impossible; remaining in England meant burdening the Greaves family. Amy's father finally suggested: "Do you know anyone in America? I understand that there are many Mennonites over there in the States." Gustav recalled that his father's half-

The two years
in Berlin, 1912-14,
meant for Amy a
welcome return to
"a highly civilized
land" and for Gustav
the intellectual
nourishment he
craved.

**This nearly
fifty years of
movement would
have made rich
retelling. Why then
did Amy Enss draw
back from following
the trail to its end?**

brother had earlier emigrated from West Prussia to a place called "Beatrice." With a travel agent's help, Gustav scrutinized a large map of the U.S.A. Finally they found a town "Beatrice" far to the west. "That is situated in the 'Great Desert,' the agent said, "but there is such a place." A letter to "Uncle Wiebe, Beatrice, U.S.A." was dispatched. Weeks later came a reply from Gerhard Wiebe urging the family to come to the United States. In late October 1914 the Enss-Sudermann family sailed out of Liverpool on the *Hesperian* bound for Quebec City, Port Huron, Michigan, and Beatrice, Nebraska (193-201).

In the few remaining pages of *Winding Trails*, Amy briefly tells of yet another new beginning, this time in the "Great Desert" of Nebraska and Kansas. In 1915, Gustav accepted a position to teach German at Bethel College. Soon after moving to North Newton, a daughter, Frieda, was born under the watchful eye of Sister Frieda Kaufmann at Deaconess Hospital. As Gustav Enss assumes his calling as teacher, Amy's story breaks off. Book II closes on the Old World not really to reopen on the New.

Instinctively the reader desires more, for *Winding Trails* is above all a gripping story written by a woman of uncommon wit, keen memory, and a flair for dialogue. Between 1915 and 1947, when she began writing her story, Amy and Gustav raised ten children. She supported Gustav in his roles as professor and pastor, Mennonite, first, then Baptist and Congregational. In her own right she taught French at Bethel College and at Hesston, German and French at Goshen College. The long portion of her journey beginning in 1914 in Beatrice and ending with Gustav's death in Columbia, Missouri, in 1965 consisted of many windings—North Newton, Moundridge, and Hesston, Kansas,

Goshen, Indiana, Fort Worth, Texas, Ann Arbor, Plymouth, and Olivet, Michigan, Goshen again, and finally Bridgewater, Virginia. After that four more moves in retirement. This nearly fifty years of movement would have made rich retelling. Why then did Amy Enss draw back from following the trail to its end?

It was not for want of intention. Between 1956 and 1967, Amy wrote four additional short documents that belong to her full autobiographical corpus. These writings were meant to continue the thread left dangling in 1915. The 1956 document (MS 1956), titled "Part II of the *Winding Trail*," comprises only fourteen sheets, however, and instead of resuming the story in 1915, Amy began in the present, as though that needed to be the point of reference for looking back.¹² Her brief account of Gustav's activities in their three Florida retirement homes, 1956-64, concludes with his death, November 1965, in Columbia, Missouri. To MS 1956 Amy appends this note (dated 1 December 1965) addressed to her son: "As you see, Jake, this was never delivered to you. It was written mostly in hours when I could write. Often in the night or just when I was not likely to be interrupted. Hence the poor writing."

After her husband's death, Amy, now age eighty-eight, wrote a forty-page manuscript (MS 1965) that does cover the years 1928-56, though in sketchy, chronicle fashion. It bears the title "New Beginnings: From Hesston to Goshen 1938. For Jake S. my son."¹³ This was evidently meant as a continuation of the previous document and intended for Jacob Sudermann's use in the family story he planned to write. From 1928 to 1934 both Ensses taught at Goshen College—he, German and Bible, she, German and French. The late twenties and early thirties were critical times at Goshen, but Amy

passes over persons and events almost without comment, covering the six years at Goshen in two scant paragraphs (3). About the earlier years between 1915 and 1928 when the Ensses served at Bethel College, pastored the Hoffnungsfeld Church at Moundridge, and taught at Hesston College, Amy remains silent. The Depression and World War II come and go almost unnoticed. Gustav's nine years as a professor of philosophy and German at Bridgewater College receive scarcely more than a page, though they were among the happiest in Amy's life. Despite interesting glimpses of the Ensses' life together in various locations, Amy's writing lacks the detail, sparkle, and purpose of the earlier Russian story. MS 1965 was intended as the finale to Amy's story: "So now my story is told. I have told it rather spasmodically, going backwards like a crab from the Florida experience to join the first part to the middle and the last experiences also to the middle. But it was in the middle part that we brought up a real family. This is the thing about which I agonized all through the years . . ." (21).

After Gustav Enss's death in 1965, Amy made extended visits to the homes of most of her children. During these visits throughout 1966 and the summer of 1967, she jotted down forty-eight pages titled "Book III. On the Brink of the Twenty-first Century. Chapter I. Living in the Space Age at the Age of Eighty-Nine" (MS 1966).¹³ More a journal of personal reflections than a connected narrative, this document contains Amy's ironic reflections on the absurdity of a Victorian woman trying to come to terms with modern times. "I am trying to live in the 'Space Age,'" she writes, "and hope to slide into it as easily as I slipped back into the fifty-year backward time of Czarist Russia . . ." (4). The first six pages, in fact, review again

the Russian experience. "But now," she adds cryptically, "for those who do not know what my other two volumes have endeavored to tell, I must skip all that lies between 1914 and 1966" (4).

Though MS 1966 does not tell a story, it does offer a consistent theme, the gulf between the slower tempo of life in her youth and the frenetic pace of the late 1960s, the "Space Age," from which she feels, or pretends to feel, estranged. Coping with escalators, airports, autos, and the intensity of daily life in her daughters' homes presented a challenge, which she tackled with determination and a certain amusement. "Sliding into" the Space Age proved not so easy for the rather rotund octogenarian. As one among those whom she called her "vociferous" grandchildren, however, I can attest to the fact that she was a regal and graceful presence in our homes.

In 1967, living now with an unmarried daughter in St. Louis, Amy Enss condensed her life story into a manuscript of about forty pages (MS 1967). This time she organized the contents around the theme of personal faith and called her composition "My Thoughts and Beliefs and Experiences Regarding Religion after Eighty-seven Years of Living."¹⁴ Though lacking in the detail, dialogue, and drama that give life to *Winding Trails*, this summary contains much important personal information omitted in other documents. More than her other writings, MS 1967 reaches to the heart of her faith, and it alone touches on the period 1916-28, difficult years for the Enss family.

Comparing these four later documents with *Winding Trails* bears out their striking differences from the earlier story: *Winding Trails* contains a plot and is fashioned as a continuous narrative; the later documents function as chronicle or

Coping with
escalators, airports,
autos, and the
intensity of daily life
in her daughters'
homes presented a
challenge, which she
tackled with
determination and a
certain amusement.

The most plausible reason for the missing sequel may instead lie in Amy's difficulty in drawing the many fits and starts of her life between 1915 and 1965 into some coherent whole.

journal with few narrative links. Deft use of dialogue, detailed description, and episodic structure enhance the style of *Winding Trails*; these novelistic devices, which make *Winding Trails* so readable, are largely absent in the later manuscripts. Amy Enss's expression of both inner experience and outer observation in the later writings leave large areas of her life untouched. In MS 1965, for example, she could have written at length on the Goshen College experience during the Depression years, but regrettably does not.

Could it have been the diminished energy or mental powers of old age that prevented Amy Enss from continuing the story in the earlier vein? Perhaps. But MS 1967, written when she was nearly ninety, still shows clarity of thought and memory. Perhaps the missing sequel reflects the fact that Amy wrote the early account mainly for her children, for only the three oldest Sudermann children recalled Russia—Jacob Sudermann II was unborn when his father died in 1909; the six Enss daughters had never lived in Russia. But since they had all lived through the years after 1915 together, Amy would not have needed to retell that part of the story. This explanation, however, ignores Amy's own intention to write a sequel.

The most plausible reason for the missing sequel may instead lie in Amy's difficulty in drawing the many fits and starts of her life between 1915 and 1965 into some coherent whole. "With a husband like mine, life changed constantly," Amy notes with understatement in MS 1967 (18). The many dislocations and new beginnings of the years after 1915, in fact, stem directly from Gustav Enss's own temperament—volatile, critical, impatient, fragile. Add to these qualities Gustav's desire to become an authoritative

intellectual and religious leader among the Mennonites as well as his tendency to place religious vision ahead of personal relationships, and the picture emerges of a man destined for controversy. More than anything else, it was the contention Gustav generated, fully matched by his own inner struggle with faith and the abrupt changes in belief that accompanied it, that gave an intense and fragmented character to Enss family life following immigration to the United States. Amy Enss, I believe, could not bring herself openly to write about this stressful side to her life, could not find a way to make the pieces fit a positive pattern. Not only did she value loyalty, but she was stubbornly determined to acknowledge only what appeared to express God's benevolent design. Exploring what was unfulfilled, contradictory, tragic, and even heroic in her husband (and the effects on the family) did not come naturally for her.

In many respects, Amy Greaves and Gustav Enss could not have been more unlike. Amy's steady faith required no questioning; brilliant, but with inadequate academic training, Gustav strove throughout his life to harmonize faith and intellect. By nature Amy was tolerant, while Gustav was often sharply critical and dogmatic. Gustav's passion for truth, his impatience, and his creative energy (practical and intellectual) stood in contrast to her English self-repose, though she herself was modestly creative. She was fundamentally at peace with herself, he perennially caught in a war between open-minded searching and a fundamentalist's need for absolute certainty. Amy was not much given to evangelical fervor or eschatological speculation. But Gustav came from the colony of Old Samara, where the Mennonite Brethren Church had first taken root

in the late 1880s, and for him personal conversion was paramount. His spiritual roots sprouted in the same soil that nourished the chiliast-prophet Claas Epp. Like Epp, Enss, too, in younger years, was fervently premillennialist.¹⁵ Amy, on the other hand, might have had difficulty explaining "premillennialism."¹⁶ Amy was steady and loyal, Gustav a "rebel."¹⁷ That they could respect each other, as they did, is a small miracle. But their profound differences and Gustav's complexity no doubt made it difficult for Amy fully to account for his behavior.

MSS 1965 and 1967 together shed indirect light on the fragmented years 1915-65. Amy notes in MS 1967 about the Bethel years: "Modern biblical criticism clashed with Gustav's strong attachment to both fundamentalism and premillennialism, and he decided to leave the college [Bethel] to accept a country church's invitation to become their pastor" (13). But there was much more to the story. In October 1916, not long after Gustav Enss began teaching German at Bethel College, he rose in chapel publicly to rebuke a colleague, Dean Jacob Balzer, for Balzer's "modernist" interpretation of the Book of Daniel. Enss no doubt saw himself justified in defending what he understood to be the correct, literal, reading of the Scripture. If not forced out by Bethel's Board of Directors for this lapse of civility, Enss nonetheless found it expedient to resign and accept a call to the Hoffnungsfeld Mennonite Church near Moundridge.¹⁸ From the pulpit in the wheat fields near Moundridge, Enss hoped to keep up the pressure on Bethel modernists. Enss's chapel homily ignited what became known as the "Daniel Explosion," which also resulted in the departure from Bethel of Balzer and other progressive members of the faculty. Of these matters and of



Amy Greaves
Sudermann Enss
and Gustav H. Enss, ca.
1915-17.

their effect on the Enss family, Amy keeps silent.

The move to Moundridge, however, gave little relief, for Hoffnungsfeld was a church in conflict before Enss arrived. His nine years there as minister and elder were anything but tranquil. "Enss," according to historian James Juhnke, "submitted his resignation as Hoffnungsfeld pastor and elder on four different occasions in this stormy decade."¹⁹ Amy Enss remarks only (MS 1967) that "most of his [Gustav's] church members loved and respected him and supported us financially" (14). When Enss resigned in 1928 to accept a teaching position at Goshen College, the

In the later manuscripts, the lack of a central design and plot that so nicely animate *Winding Trails* makes it evident that the hand of Providence that guided the Sudermann-Enss family out of Russia in 1914 was much more difficult to discern in the years of stress, uprootings, and new starts following 1915.

women of the church presented Amy Enss with a handmade quilt as a gesture of appreciation.²⁰

As if these problems were not enough, Gustav Enss undertook in 1919 to open a German language school in Moundridge. In the wake of World War I nationalism and anti-German sentiment, this seemed an act of defiance. Certain members of the American Legion agitated against Enss, the school had to be closed, and the Enss home received a baptism in yellow paint.²¹ A lawsuit of some sort was filed against Enss in McPherson, and his petition for naturalization denied.²² This is but a sample of what the Enss family experienced in the 1920s and '30s. That the family also suffered Depression poverty goes without saying.

The familiar pattern of new beginning, controversy, resignation, and relocation also played itself out at Goshen College, 1928-34. Invited personally to Goshen College by Harold S. Bender, Gustav Enss accepted a position to teach German and Bible. Enss was known not only as an uncompromising biblical literalist but also as an effective teacher and speaker. He thus seemed a good fit for the "New Goshen," whose leaders were anxious to project a conservative image toward East Coast Old Mennonites. But little could they imagine that conservative Enss would balk at Old Mennonite dress codes. To what must have been H. S. Bender's chagrin, Enss resisted wearing the plain coat, and his wife and daughters refused the white covering. Outward dress in the Ensses' view was not considered essential to the Christian faith. The family did not join the Goshen College Mennonite Church and could not take communion, though Enss on occasion preached there. Of the difficulties at Goshen, Amy writes nothing in MS 1965; in MS 1967 she says only: "[The more

conservative Old Mennonites] still clung to simple clothing and the 'covering' in the form of a small white cap for baptized women. But they were slowly emerging from such symbols of simple living. For me these customs were quite superfluous, and I could not adapt myself to them. . . . Today I realize it was only English stubbornness that made me so determined to choose for myself. In Goshen I continued with the scarf head covering just to avoid controversy" (22).

The heart of Gustav Enss's problems at Goshen College, however, lay less in the family's intransigence about dress—Enss himself did eventually assume the plain coat—than in his creative effort to rethink Mennonite theology in terms of Barthian Neo-Orthodoxy. Scholarly essays Enss wrote for the July and October 1932 issues of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* ignited a dispute with conservative Virginia Mennonite leader George R. Brunk. With his articles, "Christianity and Religion" and "Christianity and Mysticism," Enss intended to define what was essential to Christian faith in distinction to what he regarded as nonessential religious practices, like dress codes, that were culturally determined. Though H. S. Bender initially defended Enss against Brunk's attacks, it was undoubtedly more important to Bender to prevent a rift between East Coast and Midwest Old Mennonites over even a hint of "modernism" at Goshen College. "Enss and Barthianism," in James Juhnke's terms, became "the sacrificial goats." The Ensses' problems at Goshen were compounded by the College's financial straits. In 1934, underpaid and under pressure, Gustav Enss left Goshen, moved with his family to Fort Worth, Texas, and became a Baptist minister.²³

Gustav Enss's internal spiritual struggle, compounded by overwork,

came to a head in 1937, when the Ensses were pastoring a German Baptist church in Detroit. Preaching at an evening service, Gustav suddenly was unable to give the invitation and left the pulpit. After locking himself into the vestry room, he collapsed (MS 1965, 7). It is unclear whether this collapse was entirely nervous or combined with a mild stroke. But "after a few months he resigned."²⁴ The grounds of Enss's religious belief were shifting, and he no longer felt comfortable with evangelical fundamentalism. Faith and health seemed linked. A family doctor, according to one family source, advised Gustav to drink one bottle of beer daily to relieve stress. The bottles were buried secretly in the backyard. Not long after his collapse, a "deconverted" Gustav Enss began a master's degree program in philosophy at the University of Michigan. Amy Enss does concede that the two years (1935-37) at Ebenezer Baptist in Detroit "were a turning point in the life of the family," and she briefly describes the pulpit episode. But the underlying conflicts remain veiled. Amy's role continued that of smoothing the trail for her husband, sheltering the family under wings of dignity and pride, and focusing on the positive.

In the later manuscripts, the lack of a central design and plot that so nicely animate *Winding Trails* makes it evident that the hand of Providence that guided the Sudermann-Enss family out of Russia in 1914 was much more difficult to discern in the years of stress, uprootings, and new starts following 1915. Once the Sudermann-Enss family had reached the safety of American soil, the goal of preserving the family from revolution and war, which Amy in *Winding Trails* saw as the Divine purpose, was fulfilled. With Gustav Enss's help, God had led the family out of war-torn Europe, but what

followed was more a Wandering in the Desert than a new life in the Promised Land, as the Ensses pulled up stakes nine times before 1947 and four more in retirement.²⁵ The "trail" continued to "wind" but without an apparent *telos*. How could Amy Enss have cast these experiences positively and have seen in them a coherent expression of God's purpose? Instead, Amy seems almost by default to find purpose in the good marriages of her daughters and in the proliferation of descendants, whom she scarcely knew.²⁶

Both as a reader of *Winding Trails* and as a member of the Sudermann-Enss family, I greatly miss Amy Enss's sequel. The full account, written in her lively style, of the controversies, conflicts, and hardships she experienced, whether at Bethel, Hesston, or Goshen College, would have made fascinating reading. Twenty years after her death I wish more than ever to share her most private memories and judgments. To know Gustav Enss in all of his fascinating contradictions—his dogmatism and uncertainty, belief and disbelief, love and anger, dreams and disillusionments—will also remain an unfulfilled wish. In the end one must gratefully accept *Winding Trails* as a rare literary achievement, even as one respects Amy Enss's silence about the years after 1915. Hers was "a life that was lived in simple faith, in honesty, in acceptance of situations as they arrived, and in strength of a forward walk."²⁷ It was not for her to look back in judgment.

Notes

¹ Amy Evelyn Greaves Sudermann Enss, *Winding Trails: From Sheffield to the Steppes and Beyond, A Memoir 1899-1915*, ed. by David P. Sudermann and Mary Blocksma (Northfield, MN: Small World Press, 1993). Page references are to this edition. Copies are at the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana, the Mennonite Archives and Library, North Newton, Kansas, and the CMBC Library in Winnipeg, Manitoba. A revised edition with corrections, historical notes, and interpretive essays is under preparation. For select bibliography on Russian Mennonite women's autobiography see most recently: Mary A. Cisar, "Mennonite Women's Autobiography: An Interdisciplinary Feminist Approach," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 13 (1996).

² It was from the Abraham Sudermann family that the late Newton banker Herman Ediger Sudermann was descended. Abraham Sudermann's daughter Maria was married to Leonhard Sudermann of Berdiansk and later Whitewater, Kansas. See H.E. Sudermann, "Sixty Years in the Banking Business—From Janitor to President," *Mennonite Life* January 1948: 38-41.

³ The Sudermann estate "Toretzkaya" lay north of the Ignatievo and Borissovo Mennonite settlements.

⁴ For a genealogical survey of this extended clan see K. Peters, *Genealogy of Cornelius Willms, 1730-1972*, compiled for Ernest J. Klassen (Winnipeg, Privately Published, 1973).

⁵ The roles played by David Dick and Jacob Sudermann in the formation of the Alexanderkrone *Zentralschule* are documented in T. D. Regehr and J. I. Regehr, *For Everything a Season: A History of the Alexanderkrone Zentralschule* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: CMBC Publications, 1988).

⁶ Bertha Laise Lepp Wieler (1877-1965) was born in Galizien. She married Peter P. Lepp (1867-1924), heir to the manufacturing concern Lepp & Wallmann. Having sold his interest in the company around 1900, Peter Lepp lived with his family on a khutor near the Sudermanns. Bertha Lepp, widowed, escaped to Canada with two of her children in the 1920s. She later married Abram Wieler, about whom Amy Enss also writes. See WT 144, 156.

⁷ In all likelihood, Jacob Sudermann's uncles, David J. Dick and Jakob J. Sudermann of Apanlee, both members of the new institution's board of trustees, recommended Amy for her position.

⁸ The term "acquiesced" is hers: "His [Gustav's] quiet earnest life impressed me so deeply, that after two years when he asked me to share his life and help him in his service for the Lord, I acquiesced." From "A Statement of

Facts," unpublished MS, Hist. MSS 1-605, box 2, folder 1, p. 2, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana. "WT 153-54.

⁹ The school was the Evangelical Alliance Bible School, directed by Christoph Köhler. It had been founded in 1906 by the British and German branches of the Evangelical Alliance to train students for religious work in Russia. James C. Juhnke, "Gustav H. Enss, Mennonite Alien (1885-1965)," *Mennonite Life* December 1981: 10.

¹⁰ "I must now," she writes, "(like a crab) walk lumberingly back and forth trying to manage the many legs that have made themselves grow on our family trunk in order to come to the point in my "Winding Trails" where I left off. . . ." "Part II of the Winding Trail," Hist. MSS 1-605, box 1, folder 2, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana. Page references are to a transcription by David P. Sudermann, 1995.

¹¹ The Sudermann-Enss family actually left Hesston for Goshen in 1928. MS 1965 is Hist. MSS 1-605, box 1, folder 1 in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, transcription by David P. Sudermann, 1995. Page numbers refer to the transcription. This and the other three documents were written at the request of Amy's son Jacob Sudermann, who encouraged her to complete her story. He hoped eventually to shape the whole into an historical fiction and was at work on this task when he died in 1980.

¹² Archives of the Mennonite Church, Hist. MSS 1-605, box 1, folder 2, transcribed by D. Sudermann, 1996. Page references are those of the transcription.

¹³ Archives of the Mennonite Church, Hist. MSS 1-605, box 1, folder 3. The MS consists of nineteen typewritten pages. The autograph has not been preserved in the Archives. Nine pages from MS 1967, those covering the years 1915-1965, were included as an epilogue in the 1993 edition of *Winding Trails*. Page numbers here refer to a transcription of the MS by D. Sudermann, 1996. In 1967 Amy Enss was eighty-nine years old, not eighty-seven. It is possible, therefore, that she started this MS in 1965 and finished it in 1967.

¹⁴ See Peter. M. Friesen, *The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910)*, trans. J. B. Toews, Abraham Friesen, Peter J. Klassen, Harry Loewen, 2nd rev. ed. (Fresno, CA: Board of Christian Literature General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1980) 567-68.

¹⁵ In MS 1967, Amy writes: "Gustav's preaching was strongly toward 'pre-millennium.' This had happened through some of his experiences in Russia by evangelists who were persuasive in that direction" (original MS 11).

¹⁶ "Rebel" is Amy Enss's own term: "Only I perhaps guessed that he was by

nature a rebel but also that he was of a shy nature." MS 1965, 20.

¹⁶ J. W. Kliewer, then President of Bethel College, recalls that "the college board asked the German professor [i.e., Enss] to leave." According to Kliewer, who had recruited and hired Enss, Enss also came under criticism for his German nationalism and for his "pedagogic method." *Memoirs of J. W. Kliewer or From Herdboy to College President* (North Newton, Kansas: Bethel College Press, 1943) 106-107. On the Bible controversy see also James C. Juhnke, "The Daniel Explosion: Bethel's First Bible Crisis," *Mennonite Life* September 1989: 20-25; Juhnke, "Gustav Enss" 11.

¹⁹ The Hoffnungsfeld Church's centennial publication, *The Challenging Faith*, Menno S. Kaufman and Committee (Newton: Hopefield Mennonite Church, 1975) 54, makes clear that Enss's eldership 1918-1927 was fraught with conflict:

"Problems mounted during this period in the effort to reunite the Hopefield and Hopefield-Eden Congregation. People with good intentions and foresight were maligned, motives were mis-interpreted, much ill-feeling developed, some joined other churches, minority groups were excluded from the church, and various types of appeals were made by these excluded minority groups. . . . Some character defaming writings also appeared." See also Juhnke, "Gustav Enss" 11.

²⁰ A picture of this quilt is to be found in Judy Schroeder Tomlonson, *Mennonite Quilts and Pieces* (Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1985).

²¹ Enss's stepson Jacob Sudermann, my father, then a boy of ten, was threatened by bullies who told him they would hang him from the clothesline and shoot him full of holes.

²² Juhnke, "Gustav Enss" 12. It is not clear whether Amy Enss was also denied naturalization at this time. MS 1965, 30, indicates that both Ensses were naturalized only after 1942.

²³ Susan Fisher Miller writes: "The Goshen faculty and staff and their families made large sacrifices to Goshen College during the Depression. College salaries, profoundly modest in the late 1920s, shrank to a subsistence level in the economic desert of the early 1930s. For months at a time they evaporated altogether." *Culture for Service: A History of Goshen College 1894-1994*, (Goshen, Indiana: Goshen College, 1994), 213. On Enss's effort to introduce Barthian neo-orthodoxy into Mennonite theological discussion and the controversy that erupted over Enss and his views between Harold S. Bender and George R. Brunk see James C. Juhnke, "Mennonite Church Theological and Social Boundaries, 1920-1930—Loyalists, Liberals and Laxitarians," *Mennonite Life* June 1983: 18-24.

²⁴ MS 1967, 7. According to Enss family members, Gustav Enss's sister Elise suffered a similar breakdown on hearing of the death of her fiancé. It was years before she could function normally again. As a young man in the Forestry Service in Russia, Gustav's brother Abraham sank into a severe depression and recovered only after brother Heinrich Enss brought him home. There appears to have been some religious aspect to the depression. It seems likely that whatever his other health problems, Gustav Enss suffered from occasional depression.

²⁵ On the Exodus allusion see WT 194 and 200.

²⁶ See especially MSS 1965 and 1966.

²⁷ Joanna Sudermann Andres, in an unpublished synopsis of her mother's life, "Amy Evelyn Greaves: Led by the Spirit," 1984: 13, the author's collection.

This July I took a trip to the Ukraine to trace my heritage, and for this trip Professor Paul Toews, a friend and ex-colleague, asked me to prepare and present a poem for a memorial service honoring those Mennonites who disappeared during the Stalin atrocities. I have begun to explore my heritage with renewed interest and have incorporated many of the motifs of Mennonite historicity into my work.

Reading Jacob focuses on some of the events in the life of my maternal grandmother Helena Loewen. The poem is divided into three sections: the first when Helena is a little girl in 1908, the second when she is a young wife and mother in the 1921 famine, and the last when, in the 1950s, she is still in correspondence with a sister who remained in the Ukraine. In the poem *reading* functions as a central metaphor for the ability to understand and interpret life events and relationships, to make connections, and to challenge assumptions. I discovered papers and old letters that indicated my grandmother was once an avid bookworm, and her concomitant shift away from text lent itself nicely to the trope of *reading* as a metonym for *the construction of identity in a faith community*.

Reading Jacob

R h o d a J a n z e n

Reading Jacob

Father

As a child in Dolensk you richly embroidered drama,
when at the hated quilt you curled like a comma
over a page of stitches, the warm woolsey needling
your skin, and you with a hidden book, wheedling
to go and play. That day they brought your father in,
his severed arm in Heinrich's shirt, feather-white,

rosy ligaments blossoming on a little knob of skin.
They excluded you from that throbbing tight
tourniquet of men in which your father's thin-lipped
consciousness recalled the thumb-sized faces of martyrs
in the book on anabaptists whose tongues were snipped
for singing to Jesus, even the tongues of daughters.

How like a story—the wicked threshing machine
that tempted your father with a thistle, jumped
for your father's hand, and bit the arm off clean.
At night who could tell you were reading, humped
rabbit-like under the quilt, moonlight provoking dreams?
At sun-up, flanked by cows, you could slant streams

of milk to the ankle-curving cats while reading.
But it was at night that you bested your attempts
to imagine murdered Mennonites, gypsies and Jews,
and colorful Cossack camps. You bothered Jesus, pleading
eternal obedience in recompense for the thing you'd choose
above all else: a sinful pair of crimson Cossack pants.

Husband

Your husband, a medic at the front, doctored stories
 of yellow-tongued patients with typhus in cattle cars,
 fever rising in whorls, flies rising like worries.
 You wives tried to puzzle out this strangest of wars:
 you were fighting, or *not* fighting, so hard
 for *Heimatland*, the right to work and pray apart.
 Your third-grade education rusted in the yard
 like a stripped and stationary horseless cart,

the horses (with everything else) stolen by Bolsheviks,
 and no where to go for food. You shadow the street,
 splinter-thin, spying such leafy stems as one might eat,
 an apronful of grass and the more tender woody sticks
 shaken into green-smelling soup. One hears
 rumors of what men do for food: hunger fears
 neither barbarity nor pestilence. One tries a
 harness, boiled, chewed. *Segne Vater, diese Speise*

uns zur Kraft und dir zum Preise—the children twitch
 skinny rumps, obedient to the table grace while
 you wait for the thunder of hooves, the hour to match
 your fears, Makhno and the bandits, their vile
 importunities that make you pray that the footsteps
 on the walk are your husband's own. Safety fades also
 to memory, a daguerreotype over which your mother wept,
 thrust in a pocket for safekeeping, though there's no

keeping safe. With the daguerreotype, wrapped in cloth,
 your mother's brooch—like Sleeping Beauty's spindle,
 it pricks your thumb as if it might, with its little froth
 of magic, charm even the light from the last candle
 (now that they've taken the kerosene.) When asked
 where the brooch was from, Mutti cried her Prussian past;
 The brooch preserves the perfect oval of daughters who pass
 to young men's brides, the virgin rose inviolate under glass.

Your mother's dead and you're glad she's gone, glad
 the children can't explain the tension of your lips,
 tight as parentheses. In the night where once you read,
 the village strings are plucked by coarse fingertips,
 as on a mandolin, a tune unmusical and careless.
 You listen. Where your husband is, you couldn't guess.
 You sit bolt upright. It has come: Makhno and his men.
 Your lips are sealed. You'll never read again.

Jakob

Bled by a gunshot bark, a clot of calloused laughter,
 the bodies out of the way, the stiffening after,
 the deliquescence of corpses, the lucky ones buried
 under a modest crust of earth, their limbs quarried,
 contracting, sitting up slightly under all that dirt
 as if they can't quite bear the forgivable hurt
 of women leaving, big wheels turning against the shame
 to Canada, where the years offer a milder pain.

Baby-safe and withered by decades of calendars,
 you ask your daughter to read aloud your sister's letter.
 (Though you can make out letters, you can't read hers.)
 "I wanted to read what I write," begins your daughter,
 "but I cannot see. Do not take it badly if I write
 all jumbled up and make mistakes that you must guess . . .
 Where Jakob is, I do not know." It falls like blight
 upon a crop, this unread, uncultivated manlessness:

you'll never know where Jakob is, unmanned by grief.
 Sisters, survivors, you improvise a faith for old ideals
 that can widow your belief. Faith of our fathers feels
 like this—you wrapped in Jakob's handkerchief
 your antique brooches and photographs, and penned
 death on them in your shaky brown-fading hand

Selig sind die Todten die in dem Herrn sterben.
 Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord,

whose men lie underground, whose eyes under guard
 cannot read the war, but whose lives can write the word.

Jay W. Marshall, *The Ten Commandments and Christian Community*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1996. Pp. 128. (\$8.95—paperback) ISBN 0-8361-9027-0

Christians have a curious relationship with the Ten Commandments. On the one hand, we are enthusiastic to affirm that in Christ, God has inaugurated a new era of grace. Jesus has come as the fulfillment of God's law. We now respond to God through faith in Christ. We are freed from the demands of the law found in the pages of the Old Testament.

On the other hand, and in spite of the previous affirmation, we still find ourselves drawn to these powerful declarations. At a certain level of personal piety we may be attracted to the Ten Commandments because they appear to give us "a convenient measuring tool" for determining our "goodness"—our worthiness for salvation. "If [we] can claim not to worship little statues, not to use profanity, not to have killed anyone, and so forth, then [we] have successfully met the standard. [We] are moral and faithful people."

Though admittedly a common approach, Marshall suggests this misses the point and true relevance of the Ten Commandments for the Christian today. Indeed, using the commandments as a pietistic measuring rod may actually lead us into the very legalistic trap we claim to have been set free from by Jesus Christ! Marshall believes there is a more significant basis for our attraction to the Ten Commandments—an attraction, incidentally, not in conflict with our affirmation regarding God's grace.

The Ten Commandments speak of a covenant with God. This covenant—a relationship of loyalty and commitment—is introduced by God's *prior action* on behalf of the

Israelites: "I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt." Consequently, the commandments follow to motivate us and give shape to an appropriate *response* to God's deliverance. Further, this relationship is not merely personal. It places us into a community context which gives us an identity and helps shape the relationships we have with our family, our sisters and brothers in the faith, and the world. These are significant points Marshall makes for us in his Preface and Prologue.

The remainder of the book is divided up into eleven chapters—one chapter for each of the Ten Commandments, and a concluding chapter on Jesus' "new commandment" of love. Through the use of stories drawn from his own life experience, Marshall attempts to give us a present-day entry into the meaning of each commandment. A discussion of the significance of each commandment in its ancient Israelite context follows. Each chapter concludes with questions designed to provoke discussion in group study or meditation in personal study.

It is observed that most of the commandments are stated negatively: "You shall not." A unique feature of the book has Marshall offering a *positive* paraphrase of each commandment as a way to help us gain a new perspective and broader meaning. For example, Marshall renders "You shall have no other gods before me" as "The Lord your God shall be the Source of your life and the Center of your faith."

After having read Marshall's preface and prologue with a sense of anticipation, I confess that I found the remainder of the book a bit of a disappointment at points. I felt Marshall's stories took-up far too much space in each chapter, and they did not always connect pointedly with the thrust of his

Book Reviews

exposition. Although Marshall's bibliography suggests he had access to excellent resources, the depth of his personal research didn't always come across for me on the page. Thinking about it as a study book left me looking for more. Still, I give *The Ten Commandments and Christian Community* good marks for its readability and overall insight.

Gary F. Daught
Brandon, Manitoba

Steve Mosher, *God's Power, Jesus' Faith, and World Mission: A Study in Romans*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1986. Pp. 360. (\$19.95—paper) ISBN 0-8361-9031-9

It may be obvious to many that Paul's epistle to the Romans is a missions book, yet the idea never really occurred to me. In my childhood church and later in bible school, my pastors and teachers treated Romans as a theological treatise. Later in seminary, I learned to view it more as a pastoral letter, with church issues as its main focus. As the title indicates, Mosher presumes that Romans is a mission document, penned by a missionary.

On some levels, these distinctions may not make much difference. It does, however, greatly influence application. Mosher applies Romans to a wide range of mission issues creating a fairly unique commentary. While the book calls itself a study, "commentary" is probably a more accurate label. Mosher doesn't break much new exegetical ground but his comments on Romans, broken down into 33 sections, reflect a solid and practical understanding of the book.

Mosher's style is to explain/interpret a passage by summarizing Paul's reasoning while elaborating on the original context. At times, Mosher come close to paraphrasing the passage. I suspect that most of his Anabaptist readers won't quarrel with his interpretation.

After explaining a section of the text, Mosher launches into a wide ranging application to missions. This is where Mosher's book gets more interesting and controversial. His mostly negative examples of missions draw from all over the world, different centuries, Christian traditions, and religions. Mosher was a missionary in the Philippines so it, and the USA, get extra treatment.

Mosher greatly admires prophets and he

speaks with a prophetic voice against everyone from the Moonies to Billy Graham. His contention with most mission efforts is that they don't bring the pure gospel of Jesus Christ but instead mix it with culture. In the case of colonial and post-colonial missions (his most frequent targets) this usually includes mixing the gospel with nationalism, racism, and financial profit. He seems to have little regard for any institution larger than a bible study.

For example, Mosher cites David Livingstone who pioneered the way for financial exploitation of Africa in the mid-nineteenth century. Africans were given Christianity but lost their land and resources. Very few African missionaries spoke against slavery or colonial exploitation. In most cases they agreed with the prevailing cultural assumptions about Africans and often were financially dependent on the money of businessmen, effectively quelling any prophetic voice the missionary might have.

A more recent example he gives is Billy Graham who was a close friend to presidents and an apologist for the Vietnam war. Mosher indicts Graham for mixing his gospel with a nationalistic belief that God ordained America to be the protector of global profit-making. Mosher cites a 1977 Philippine crusade, where Graham lived in luxury, buddied up to Ferdinand Marcos, and ignored human rights abuses. The crusade was a "symbol of the church's unholy alliance with American influence and affluence," according to Mosher.

While Mosher focuses mostly on conservative forms of Christianity, he saves some criticism for liberals who don't take seriously the capacity of humans for evil.

Although Mosher's criticism of missions seems boundless, some workers receive his approval. He admires Jesuit missionary to India Robert de Nobili who wore the clothes and followed the laws of the Brahmin caste in order to bring them Jesus Christ. The more recent Sanctuary Movement, which harbored undocumented Central American refugees, also gets the nod of approval. Generally speaking, Mosher approves of missions that are grass-roots, culturally sensitive and socially progressive.

Mosher uses a light touch on Anabaptists which is unfortunate considering his likely readership. He doesn't exempt them but comes close. While many of his criticisms of institutions, cultural dominance and high finances could apply

to Mennonite mission efforts, Mosher doesn't name names like he does with other institutions and people. Anabaptist readers might add a hearty "amen" when he skewers the competition. But the recipients of his criticisms might accuse Mosher of lacking perspective about his own faith tradition.

I suspect that many missionaries will wish that Mosher had gone beyond prophetic voice and had provided concrete guidelines for doing mission. How does one live and preach outside of culture? How does one discern between pure gospel and a message that has been tainted by cultural bias and human frailty? In my work, I meet many missionaries and I'd say that most sincerely share Mosher's concern but struggle with the complexities of cross-cultural mission. Although not perfect, many missionaries have preached a gospel that could be heard, received and lived in another culture. I wish these stories of mission had been given more coverage.

God's Power, Jesus' Faith and World Mission is a must-read for mission candidates, workers and executives. It is an effective reminder about the seductiveness of power and the insidious effects of culture. Mosher rightly calls missionaries to reject wealth, respect other cultures, repent from racism, and practice the pure faith of Jesus.

Craig A. Hallman
Mennonite Brethren Missions/Services
Fresno, California

Donald B. Kraybill and Steven M. Nolt, *Amish Enterprise: From Plows to Profits*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. Pp. 301. (\$14.95—paperback) ISBN 0-8018-5063-0

The Old Order Amish Church is one of the most rapidly growing churches in the United States and Canada. Two-thirds of the Old Order congregations in the New World were located in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana. At first they grew slowly. In 1900 there were only six congregations in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, area but the Amish population there doubled every twenty years and by 1995 had reached 150,000 adults and children. This enormous growth in numbers was accompanied by striking changes in economic life. Kraybill and Nolt characterize this

change "from plows to profits" because it resulted in Amish economic activity changing from mainly subsistence farming to many other forms of small scale business enterprise.

Nineteenth century Amish farming was conducted with the use of a minimum amount of modern technology. The Amish church rules are contained in the *Ordnung* which for example does not allow the use of 110-volt electricity from public power lines. Much of the power comes from gasoline engines and hydraulic power. Horses are used for fieldwork. "The Ordnung prohibits the use of pneumatic tires on tractors" but if the pneumatic tires "are covered with steel wheels they fit within the boundaries of the church."

Kraybill and Nolt document an amazing growth of Amish small businesses. Few Amish-owned firms existed before 1970. Within twenty years nearly a thousand shops had sprung to life in Lancaster County. According to the authors, "The move toward small business ownership has been dramatic and sharp . . . larger shops may have as many as fifteen employees, but the norm hovers around five."

Amish enterprises have been financially successful. The reason for this is partly low overhead. The authors explain: "They do not have plush retirement plans for employees, and few offer health insurance. Within a church community committed to mutual aid, such benefits are seen as unnecessary and superfluous. . . . In 1965, the federal government exempted self-employed Amish farmers and business people from paying Social Security taxes. . . . Likewise, no carpeted, air-conditioned offices adorned with posh chairs and ornate furniture drain profits from Amish firms. The lack of computers and public utility bills also pushes overhead down. Few businesses have full-time clerical help."

The Amish do not cooperate with labor unions. Their small businesses have no trouble with strikes or work stoppages. Moreover, their noninvolvement in higher education and the professions frees their brightest and best to use their intellects to operate business enterprises. These enterprises are profitable and the resulting profits enable them to buy land even at the unusually high prices of land in Lancaster County.

Amish people do not want their pictures taken but they have no objection to photographing their business enterprises. This book, for example, has 40 photos, a number of which occupy a full page. This is a fascinating book. I strongly recommend it

for reading pleasure and for information about a people who show it is possible to be different and succeed.

Carl Kreider
Goshen, Indiana

Carl F. Bowman and Stephen L. Longenecker, eds., *Anabaptist Currents: History in Conversation with the Present*. Bridgewater, VA: Forum for Religious Studies, Bridgewater College, 1995. Pp. 322. (\$16.95—paperback) ISBN 0-89725-235-7

This anthology is indeed well named. It is a collection of the papers read at the "Anabaptism: A Heritage and its 21st Century Prospects" conference held at Bridgewater College in the fall of 1993. The conference was planned cooperatively by Brethren and Mennonite scholars, and the papers reflect this twin perspective on the Anabaptist tradition.

The papers cover a wide range of subjects including aspects of Brethren and Mennonite history, biblical interpretation, and theology, missions, worship, practical Christian life and church practice. These topics are discussed by pastors, teachers, editors, and scholars from a variety of disciplines. While the presenters were both old (some retired) and young, perhaps the most impressive feature of the conference was the dominance and enthusiasm of younger scholars. This is an anthology of leaders who will see the church into the twenty-first century.

In the space of a brief review one cannot, of course, call attention to all of the twenty-two essays which cover such a variety of subjects. The topics are set up as "conversations" between the tradition and current practice. For example, the "conversation on Anabaptist worship" features John L. Ruth, a veteran Mennonite historian and pastor, and Robert R. Miller, the current campus chaplain at Bridgewater College. The presenters include sociologists, language experts, pastors, Christian education leaders, graduate students and professors, as well as theologians and historians. What is it from the tradition as it survives or should be recovered that will be relevant for the church of the 21st century?

One or two samples from the rich variety will have to suffice.

In conversation 2, "Anabaptist Understandings of Salvation," Denny Weaver points out that for Mennonites and Amish of the nineteenth century the nonresistant life is the authenticating hallmark of salvation. Then Virginia Wiles, reflecting on the present, writes, "Love for enemies describes both the conditions and the consequences of salvation. We are saved because one who we thought was our enemy has loved us. And it is precisely that love that transforms us into 'lovers of our enemies' . . . If scholars and ministers are to understand Salvation for the twenty-first century, . . . they will need to retrain their eyes to see the many and manifold graces that empower the daily lives of their people [enabling them to live the nonresistant Christian life]" (p. 46).

Or from two different "conversations," but touching on the same issue, Ronald Arnett, a teacher of communications, acknowledged the importance of the Brethren and Mennonite emphasis on practice rather than verbalization. But, he reminded us that practice is not self-interpretive. If it is to be communicated to those outside the tradition and to ongoing generations within the tradition, it needs explanation both theological and historical.

Coming at the same issue from the perspective of worship, Nadine Pence Frantz noted the importance of "performative" as well as "scripted" understanding of our church life if we are to effectively communicate the biblical tradition. Pleading for an inclusive community-creating enactment of the Lord's Supper she writes, "To do it all—holy kiss, self-examination, washing of feet, meal, bread and cup, hymns, and prayers for the community and the world—with those that participants get along with only by God's grace, would embody a transformed kind of togetherness, a gracious kind of community, that would be a welcome word to this world divided against its own soul" (p. 159).

The essays are aimed at the intelligent lay reader as well as professionals. Certainly this kind of reflective scholarship bodes well for the tradition's transition into the twenty-first century.

C. Norman Kraus
Harrisonburg, Virginia

Paul Toews, ed., *Mennonite Idealism and Higher Education: The Story of the Fresno Pacific College Idea*. Fresno, California: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1995. Pp. 164. (\$11.95—paperback) ISBN 1-877941-05-0

A few years ago, our neighborhood elementary school principal posted a mission statement in the school lobby. He acknowledged that the statement announced no radical change in day-to-day operations, but, he shrugged wryly, "Everybody has to have a mission statement these days." In a decade whose mania for expressions of institutional mission has prompted universities, hospitals, and supermarkets alike to declare, *post facto*, their purpose for existing, the volume *Mennonite Idealism and Higher Education: The Story of the Fresno Pacific College Idea* presents the intriguing, inverse case of a visionary charter whose ideals have shaped and sustained a college's operations for over thirty years.

Editor Paul Toews' collection of essays *Mennonite Idealism and Higher Education* (1995) joins Joel A. Wiebe's general college history, *Remembering . . . Reaching: A Vision of Service* (1994) in commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Fresno Pacific College, a Mennonite Brethren-owned institution located in California's San Joaquin Valley. The school began as Pacific Bible Institute in 1944. *Mennonite Idealism* focuses on events from 1959 on, particularly the genesis by faculty and administration of the Pacific College Idea, a statement whose influence has remained at the core of college development.

In 1959, falling enrollment and waning financial resources at Pacific Bible required the West Area Committee of the Mennonite Brethren Board of Education to transform the institution or risk its demise. They sought a new president, Stanford University doctoral candidate Arthur J. Wiebe. Wiebe's leadership, in collaboration with a visionary regional board, ultimately led to Pacific's restructuring as a senior liberal arts college, its regional accreditation in 1965, and successful faculty recruitment among idealistic young Mennonite Brethren scholars. Enrollment increased, a building program ensued, and the college prospered through a heady 1960s growth spurt whose creative energy shared something with the times. Meanwhile, administration and faculty "engaged in intensive discussions to define the nature of the college," as Arthur Wiebe writes in *Mennonite Idealism*, ". . . seeds that sprouted into

a formal statement known by the mid-1960s as the 'Pacific College Idea.'"

The Pacific College Idea, initially drafted in campus master-planning sessions held in 1966, became a touchstone for college identity. It has appeared in every college catalogue since 1972. The original 1966 Idea was revised in 1982 and 1994, but its text has retained in some dimension the seven characteristics it asserted about Pacific College in 1966: the college is Christian, a community, a liberal arts institution, experimental, Anabaptist-Mennonite, non-sectarian, and prophetic. In *Mennonite Idealism*, editor Toews has gathered eight chapters by Pacific faculty members that shed light on the Idea's background, revisions, and fundamental components. The book's appendix supplies texts of the Idea's three versions.

Interpreters of the American Mennonite experience will thank the authors of *Mennonite Idealism and Higher Education* for the promise of its title alone, since few published resources have tackled its subject as pointedly. There is much in this case study of the youngest U.S. Mennonite college to stimulate thinking about Mennonite higher education and Christian education generally. Though the volume shows Fresno Pacific to have operated within its particular Mennonite Brethren context, its authors also examine the major influence on the original 1966 Pacific College Idea of neo-Anabaptism and the institution's ongoing affiliation, sometimes problematic, with broader Mennonite tradition.

The volume fulfills its title's promise by grappling forthrightly with the tensions inherent in creating Mennonite higher education—not least Pacific's own attempts to weigh its habit of "ideation" against the actual business of survival and success. Among the universal Mennonite educational issues which recur in the volume's various essays are the relationship between Christ and culture; the question of whether Christian education should accommodate, or instead transform, the secular liberal arts; the threat to core ideals by pluralism; and, perhaps most compelling of all, the internal dynamic between faculty members who urge an explicit embrace of Anabaptist-Mennonite "distinctives," and constituents who advise a college makeover in the non-denominational, Evangelical mode.

Weaving through all of the issues is the perennial struggle between idealism and pragmatism. In the book's final chapter, Dean of

Graduate Studies John Yoder discusses the college's financially rewarding move into professional programs as early as the 1960s. Yoder relates how some "liberal arts purists" among the faculty viewed expansion into professional offerings as "selling out the institution's soul for the sake of expediency." Yoder concludes the essay by arguing thoughtfully for an exchange, in the name of Christian service to the world, between the secluded liberal arts "monastery" and the less rarefied but often needy "marketplace."

Four rich essays at the heart of the book take up conceptual questions fundamental to the Pacific College Idea and relevant to many Mennonite institutions. In "'Community' and the Pacific College Idea," Robert Enns examines the much-lamented phenomenon of secularization among church-sponsored colleges. He proposes that "the ideas of dilemma and ambiguity offer a more fruitful interpretative perspective" than does "secularization" for discussing community at Pacific. The college's mission does indeed contain divergent notions, Enns maintains, but all, paradoxically, contribute to the school's sense of community.

The chapter entitled "Singing the Christian College Song in a Mennonite Key" by Paul Toews is capable of standing on its own and deserves wider distribution. Toews has introduced the chapter with an inspired update of Anabaptist history, succinct yet complete—the kind of synopsis one rushes to photocopy and place in the hands of inquiring non-Mennonite friends. This section leads to Toews' central discussion of three academic qualities he singles out as authentically Anabaptist-Mennonite: a hermeneutic of suspicion, a transformationist ethic, and a reconciling curriculum. Toews critiques the apologetic, "neo-Constantinian" belief—certainly leaned upon for ages in many a Christian liberal arts college—in the possibility that the Christian scholar might smoothly accommodate modern, post-Enlightenment world views to one's faith. Instead of promising integration of Christian faith and high culture, Toews argues, colleges conceived in the radical Reformation tradition should teach transformation of culture, directing students to "utilize knowledge and commitment in the fashioning of alternative Christian communities."

Dalton Reimer's incisive chapter, "Fresno Pacific College is a Prophetic College," includes the reminder that "to be a prophetic college

requires that an institution first order its own house." A step in that process, Reimer notes, is for an institution to identify and renew its center, as in Fresno's long-running dialogue with its Idea. Also crucial in building commitment and unity among faculty, administration, and staff is their own continuing education in the institution's mission. At the same time, Reimer offers the useful caution that Mennonite academic communities that call too strenuously for prophecy can exhaust their distinctive ability simply to be prophetic. "A prophetic college unites word and deed," Reimer comments, "but in the end may witness most powerfully through demonstrations of what it proclaims." Reimer goes on to identify actual practices in daily college life through which Fresno Pacific College has attempted to embody its prophetic witness.

Most fascinating of these four central essays is Delbert Wiens' piece, "The 'Christian College' As Heresy." This essay may be the least readily accessible of the collection: Wiens employs a style more allusive than expository. Rather than plot a linear argument, he circles around his contrasting concepts of *heresy* (fragmentation) and *helig* (wholeness), illuminating them from various points of view. At times, his prose aims for daredevil effect, as when he declares, "The serpent was almost as much the institutional and intellectual father of Pacific Bible Institute as of the University of California and Tabor College [a Mennonite Brethren institution in Hillsboro, Kansas]. But in the end, Wiens supplies the most thought-provoking, original statement of the collection.

Wiens' essay opens with a meditation on the biblical Fall, in whose account of loss of innocence in the Garden he glimpses a lesson for Christian colleges: "In that story the serpent stands for the teaching power of our world." He asserts that "heresy," used here in the sense of abstracting oneself from the unity of one's world, is the painful, inevitable, and necessary consequence of studying anything—certainly a foregone result of establishing institutes of higher education, Mennonite or otherwise.

Wiens next locates Eden in his childhood Mennonite Brethren society, a unified world deemed "concrete" as opposed to abstract, a living organism thriving under "the sacred canopy" of community. (Here, readers from the other branches may take issue, since nostalgia for Golden Age childhoods seems a pervasive Mennonite condition.) Wiens' essay goes on to

build imaginative links among Eden, Fresno, St. Paul, and modernity. Wiens has fashioned a compelling image of the dynamics of innocence and experience in cultivating one Mennonite college. The essay ultimately recommends “a continuing, though chastened, eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.”

Any collection of writing by seven writers suffers at least some unevenness. Composing the history of a college’s institutionalized Idea allows to some essayists the plodding details of committee action or textual revision, and to others the freedom of philosophical flight. But overall, this collection is distinguished by consistently interesting writing and a likable tone, that blends pride in the existence of the Idea with frank modesty about fulfilling its demands. One curiosity: a group noticeably absent at Fresno Pacific, at least as represented by the contents *and* the table of contents of this volume of the two Fresno Pacific fiftieth anniversary books, has been anyone female—yet that cannot actually be the case, since the 1966 Idea proclaimed the school “a co-educational community.” Perhaps the subject of how women have figured in that community over the years requires, as they say, a whole other volume.

Meanwhile, this volume provides welcome new commentary on theory and practice in Mennonite education. *Mennonite Idealism and Higher Education* reveals an academic community that, far ahead of the days when virtually everybody has a mission statement, has created a guiding Idea and attended to its claims. According to the final sentence of the Pacific College Idea, the Idea “gives the college reason for existence, courage for growth, and stimulus for adventure.” The eloquence, commitment, and promise of that phrase have been echoed in this complex, relevant volume.

Susan Fisher Miller
Evanston, Illinois

Piet Visser and Mary S. Sprunger, *Menno Simons: Places, Portraits and Progeny*. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1996. Pp. 168. (\$45.00) ISBN 1-55056-462-5

This book has been compiled on the occasion of the fifth centennial of Menno Simons’ birthday in 1996 and published simultaneously in Canada, the United States of America, Germany, and the Netherlands, in English, Dutch, and German. It “attempts to trace back the footsteps of Menno’s life by text and image, to record his many faces iconographically, and to portray the changing image of his Dutch spiritual descendants to about 1740.”

Menno Simons: Places, Portraits and Progeny delivers what it promises on its elegantly designed dustcover in many beautifully reproduced images and text, in three distinct sections, each of which are deserving of a fuller, book-length development in their own right. The authors begin with a concise chronicle of the places through which Menno Simons passed during his life, tracing thus “the footsteps of Menno,” from Witmarsum where he was born in 1496, via Utrecht, Pingjum, Leeuwarden, Oldeklooster, Amsterdam, Groningen, Oldersum, Kimsward, the Zaan region, Leeuwarden, Emden, Bonn, Wesel, Roermon, Visschersweert, Lübeck, Emden, Goch, Friesland, Danzig, Wismar, and Oldesloe, where he died in 1561. Each place where a “footprint” has been documented is introduced with a pithy quote from Menno’s writings pertinent to that particular stage and development in his life, and with a short expository text. A contemporary photo of a characteristic landmark of each place is complemented with city views, details of maps, and other pertinent documents from the period closest to the time that Menno passed through. All texts and images, pp. 8-59, are superimposed over episode-relevant sections of 16th to 17th century maps, harbor and city views, which conveys a mood of Menno’s restless wanderings and of the chase he endured. Despite the occasional awkwardness of the text which seems to be a direct translation from the Dutch to English—apparently not by a native English speaker—and which includes some strange metaphors, idioms, and amusing typos (see for example pp. 20, 54, 56), Part I offers—in addition to graphic perfection—an excellent synopsis of the life of Menno Simons.

Part II presents “The Many Faces of Menno” with a brief introductory text by Daniel Horst,

explaining that portraits of Menno are rooted in the printed arts, not in painting, and that because of persecution it was obviously not opportune to create a portrait of Menno during his lifetime. These posthumous imaginary portraits are classified here according to eight distinct types, are arranged in chronological sequence and are named after the artist who created the image: the Van Sichem type of ca. 1607, Van de Velde type, De Cooge, Luyken type, Burghart type, De Hooghe, Chodowiecki type, ending with the 1940s Hendriks type. This fascinating and comprehensive section closes with a compilation of so-called "diverse portraits," mostly done in this century. A four-page appendix features a selection of alternative images, including drawings, medals, teaspoons, stained glass window, ceramic tile, cartoons, stamps, and stickers, from North America and from the Netherlands.

In this section the reader would wish for more fully developed interpretations of some of the key portrait types. For example, clarification is needed for two successive but contradictory sentences in which the Van Sichem portrait of Menno is first described as included and then as not included in the collection of portraits of arch-heretics (p. 62). One also wonders why the crutch is the only attribute that is discussed and not the other—in this writer's opinion—even more significant attribute, namely the open book in Menno's right hand with the clearly readable Scripture verse: "No other foundation can be laid than that which is Jesus Christ," Menno Simons' spiritual leitmotif. Why is the extensive text that is part of the engraved plate not reprinted in translation for the reader's benefit? Also, the complex Rococo apotheoses of Menno of 1792 and 1800 which employ the Burghart portrait type in larger compositions would be deserving of further analysis and interpretation. One is also made curious to know when and why Mennonites began to "need" images of Menno Simons in their meetinghouses. Is the ca. 1838 view of the plain interior of the Witmarsum meetinghouse which features a framed Menno portrait, but no other "icon," a singular incident or the first such "iconization" of Menno in Mennonite worship places?

The third part of the book focuses on "the changing image of Menno and the Mennonites in Dutch art," from about 1535 until 1740. The explanatory text accompanying the pictures in this section is well developed and offers a wealth of historical and cultural information. It is

noteworthy that the first depictions of Mennonites in art from 1535 are by outsiders who single out the sensational aspects of fringe groups: handcolored engravings by an unknown artist record the extreme actions of Anabaptists in Amsterdam in the year 1535, as well as the equally extreme ways in which many of them were publicly put to death. Blood sacrifices of the Aztecs pale in comparison. Look at fig. 2, p. 110.

In contrast, the last two images in this final chapter place the reader in the company of perfectly behaving upper middle-class Dutch families who display their wealth, their learning, their leisure pastimes, their worldly achievement of "peace" (at whose cost?) "and prosperity" (at whose cost?). We also see great warmth and even physical affection between husbands and wives and among families portrayed here, radiating both joy of life and commitment. These are now portraits of Menno's prosperous "progeny," painted in a way in which they wish to be perceived by the world. Here their wealth, influence, and art patronage control the images with which they immortalize themselves, and through which they leave a lasting impression of this period of Mennonite history.

Part III thus chronicles images of Mennonites as haunted minority; as caricatured for their morality—or absence thereof; as spiritual leaders of what had become soon after Menno's death—and as the authors point out, against the spirit of his message—a severely fragmented denomination; as poets, writers, painters, engravers, calligraphers, paper cutters, and as art collectors; as mechanics, mathematicians, and engineers; Mennonites as physicians, as wealthy businessmen, entrepreneurs, government officials, who also acted as benefactors, according to the demands of faith.

But why was 1740 chosen as the cut-off date for this compilation of splendid pictorial evidence of bourgeois assimilation on the one hand, and of satirical prints which chastise the folly of fights between religious groups or double standards of morality found among professedly pious Mennonites, on the other hand? And on what basis was this selection of images made in view of the authors' assertion that a great many more portraits of Mennonites were executed in the 17th century? A general introduction to Part III, which is missing, might have been helpful in addressing these questions.

The volume concludes with much

appreciated aids for the reader: a bibliography, a list of locations and origins of all illustrations, an index of names, as well as a dazzlingly extensive *tabula gratulatorum* to those who ordered advance copies, thereby financing the project. But this reader misses a conclusion or epilogue that would place this rich material into the 1996 Menno Simons anniversary perspective of Mennonite history. What happened to “progeny” after 1740 in the Netherlands? How would Menno Simons have looked at this “embarrassment of riches?” What happened to faith and to the primacy of Scripture? Where do the authors place a most necessary caveat, namely that the “portraits and progeny” presented here constitute perhaps only a small minority of Dutch Anabaptists—the text does allow that only the well-to-do could have their portraits done—that what is shown here is only representative of a short period and of the lifestyle of very few Anabaptists in the 500 years of Anabaptism that this volume purports to commemorate? Why is there no acknowledgment of the worldwide extent of Mennonite communities in 1996, most of whom share no cultural connection with the Netherlands? What about images of Menno in African, Asian, and Latin American Mennonite congregations? And if there are none, why not?

Memo Simons: Places, Portraits and Progeny as a picture book, as celebration of *image*, is, ironically perhaps, against the spirit of Menno Simons who said in his *Confessions*: “I do not want to be accused of an avaricious and affluent life.” (*Menno Simons: “Confession” and the New Birth*, 1996, p. 22, trans. and ed. Irvin Horst, also published to commemorate the 500th anniversary year of 1996) In this sense the book becomes a testimony to the difficulty we continue to have in living the simple life of discipleship that Christ modeled by example and that Menno Simons emulated and preached. Such acknowledgments on the part of the authors would have strengthened the significant contribution to Mennonite studies that it does represent. For the scholar as well as for the lay person, the ambitious scope of the book offers a rich and carefully researched resource of highly diverse and otherwise difficult to access materials, bringing these together in one volume for the first time. Not only is this beautiful book a monument to Mennonite art patronage, but it also holds up a very human mirror of Euro-American Mennonites, how they see themselves, how they wish to be

seen, and how they are seen by others, without sentimentality. That is its virtue.

Reinhild Kauenhoven Janzen
Washburn University
Topeka, Kansas

John Howard Yoder, *The Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical*. Michael G. Cartwright, ed. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1994. Pp. 388. (\$22.99—paperback) ISBN 0-8028-0707-0

Most readers of this journal will already be familiar with the writings of John Howard Yoder. Those who are not have missed an opportunity that they should take up: John Howard Yoder is arguably the most important Anabaptist theologian since Menno Simons. In a Christian tradition that, for a variety of reasons, is not long on theological inquiry, Yoder has spent his career articulating a vision of the free church model with a view to a number of central issues and problems raised by the ongoing concerns of our modern era. Yoder is a first-rate scholar and prolific writer who spans a variety of concerns and topics in his work.

Michael G. Cartwright has done us a service in gathering this set of essays into one accessible collection. Yoder’s scholarly output requires that one make choices: as the sub-title indicates, Cartwright has self-consciously chosen to focus on ecclesiological and ecumenical topics, leaving aside essays directed at missiological and other concerns. Readers familiar with Yoder will find here the closely reasoned, practically-oriented writing they have come to expect. Indeed, especially compared to some of the difficult prose that appears in *The Priestly Kingdom*, the essays in this volume are plainly written.

Professor Cartwright’s collection is divided into four parts: “Theological Perspectives,” “Ecumenical Perspectives,” “Ecumenical Responses,” and “Radical Catholicity.” The four essays in the second of these sections are all contained in Yoder’s *The Original Revolution*. Three of the essays in other sections have never before been published and others that have been published are difficult to obtain. Their dates of origin range from 1954 to 1990.

The most immediately striking characteristic

of this collection, which spans over thirty years of thought and writing is its untimely timeliness. The pieces are untimely, because the perspective they offer continues to confront a world and often a church that remains largely deaf to God's call to peace. They are timely, because even though some are thirty or more years old, they all remain lively provocations that raise questions that are still at the forefront of Christian ethical concerns in a way that does not seem at all dated. Indeed, as Professor Cartwright points out, Yoder's vision of the "free church" and the ecclesiological vistas it opens up is beginning to be replicated, albeit frequently in thinned-out form, in a number of theological traditions in America (p. 44).

Professor Cartwright's introductory essay provides a helpful entry-point to the collection. He sets Yoder's work off against other prominent theologians and ethicists of our century, and he provides a useful outline of the general shape of Yoder's vision of the church as this is expressed not only in his specific ecclesiology, but also in his ecumenicism and in his reading of the history of Christianity. The brief introductions at the beginning of each chapter are equally helpful in locating the pieces historically and thematically. Since these pieces were originally offered to a variety of audiences in quite different settings, we are given a snap-shot, as it were, of how Yoder goes about his theological tasks in diverse circumstances. The essays range from scholarly papers to formal addresses at conferences to a presentation for graduate students to a study guide intended for use in an adult Sunday School context.

I first encountered Yoder's work while a graduate student in an East Coast political science department. For someone who had been raised under a Lutheran just-war doctrine, who had been exposed to the finest that the Lutheran tradition has to offer theologically, artistically, and practically, and for whom Dietrich Bonhoeffer was the very best we could hope for in a Christian response to tyranny, Yoder's writings were both a shock and a delight. They were a shock, because his arguments showed immediately that the Magisterial Reformation was at its core a confusion of irreconcilable contradictions; for one who has been conservatively steeped in this tradition, such a realization is a jolt. On the other hand, it was a delight, because the alternative to the clouded vision of the Magisterial Reformers was a clear view of the meaning the "religionized"

Christian vocabulary of salvation, redemption, and community ("congregation") could have for the practical living out of Christian faith in the here-and-now. Yoder's practical concerns and his logician's gift for cleaning away underbrush to expose fundamental premises made for compelling reading. His writings led to a kind of conversion.

Perhaps reading Yoder as an "insider," as one who has been raised in the Anabaptist tradition of one form or another of the Mennonite church, is a less perturbing and heartening experience. A clear background message, for example, of Haas's and Nolt's *Mennonite Starter Kit* for both insiders and outsiders is that there is a distinct Mennonite culture, created by all of the normal sorts of forces that go into making up a culture (shared experiences, remembrance of the past from a specific, shared perspective, a common vocabulary that is supported by a particular set of symbols, etc.). It may be that for the inhabitants of that culture, its symbols and understandings have grown stale, perhaps calcified, perhaps even oppressive. Insofar as Yoder's work is a reminder to them of that background, he doesn't offer very exciting stuff. But those of us coming in out of the cold would remind those who may have sat round the fire overly-long that the form itself of Yoder's work offers a corrective to such a blasé reception. He speaks not with a Mennonite voice, but with the voice of a "baptist." Here, as he points out in several of the essays of *The Priestly Kingdom* and in the essays "Binding and Loosing" and "Sacrament as Social Process" in the present collection, there is both remembrance and corrective, both looking back and looking forward at the same time in the well-formed Christian community. A close consideration of "Binding and Loosing," for example, shows that Yoder challenges not only the magisterial churches to reconsider their vision of the church, but he also admonishes the "free churches" to remain true to theirs.

Richard Mouw's foreword to the book is instructive in this regard. Yoder's work, Mouw suggests, no longer permits Roman Catholic and Magisterial Reformation Christians to assume a stance of "condescending affection" toward the "necessary corrective" (but ultimately dismissable claims) that Anabaptists present to the Christian world. Yoder's theological project, writes Mouw, "is no mere set of theological 'reminders,' nor is it just a laudable witness to the importance of 'lifestyle' questions; rather, it is itself a full-fledged

and coherent perspective on the crucial issues of theology" (p. viii). For what one wit has called "recovering Mennonites," there is good news here. Yoder's vision of the church calls into question not only magisterial and other Constantinian forms of Christian thought and organization, but it also challenges the patriarchalism, hide-bound traditionalism, and legalism that too easily invade "free church" life. Yoder is not merely a scholar whom we members of "baptist" churches can either take for granted as a mainline spokesman for our tradition or excoriate as its inattentive apologist. In this collection, Yoder reminds us yet again from a variety of discussion perspectives that the task of Christians is to be the church, and he reminds us more clearly and compellingly than most writers what this task entails. The church of Christ is a distinct, autonomous society, created after God's own calling. It is a difficult and exhilarating work that includes forgiveness, reconciliation, proclamation, and sharing and that is always to be begun and yet—in this life, at least—never to be quite completed.

Thomas Heilke
Department of Political Science
University of Kansas

Reuben Epp, *The Story of Low German and Plautdietsch: Tracing a Language across the Globe*. Hillsboro, KS: Reader's Press, 1993. Pp. 133. (\$12.95—paperback) ISBN 0-9638494-0-9

Reuben Epp, *The Spelling of Low German and Plautdietsch: Towards an Official Plautdietsch Orthography*. Hillsboro, KS: Reader's Press, 1996. Pp. 167. (\$12.95—paperback) ISBN 1-9638494-1-7

Those interested in the varieties of West Prussian Low German spoken by thousands of Mennonites who emigrated from colonies in the southern Russian Empire to the Americas after 1870 will find these two volumes by Reuben Epp fascinating reading. But they are also of interest to the language specialist and especially those writing poetry and prose in *Plautdietsch*.

Epp's *Story of Low German and Plautdietsch* surveys the historical development of *Plautdietsch* within the context of Low German dialects spoken throughout the world. He establishes the legitimacy of *Plautdietsch* as one form of Low German and lays the foundation for more detailed grammatical and sociolinguistic studies of the

language. After an introduction in which terminology dealing with the numerous Low German dialects is explained, Epp devotes the first three chapters to the general historical development of that group of dialects which emerged from the pre-historic North Sea-Germanic branch of West Germanic. He thus sets the linguistic context for the later emergence of *Plautdietsch* as part of a process which includes the separation of the dialects which came to be Old, Middle, and Modern English, as well as the continental developments towards the linguistic entities known as Frisian, Dutch, and the Low German dialects of modern Northern Germany. Epp focuses particularly on the role of Low German as a language of diplomacy and commerce in the latter Middle Ages in the cities of the Hanseatic League.

In the three subsequent chapters, Epp traces the development of *Plautdietsch* from its origins among the dialects of the Netherlands and northern Belgium, especially Frisian and Flemish regions, and those of northwestern Germany. The transition from literary Dutch to High German during the Mennonites' period of settlement in West Prussia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century parallels the assimilation of their Netherlandic dialects to the spoken Low German of West Prussia. Epp discusses differences in the Low German dialects of the Molotschna and Chortiza colonies in southern Russia as reflected in the subsequent settlements on the Great Plains of North America. A final chapter chronicles the status of Low German dialects in Germany and throughout the world as well as providing a discussion of the use of *Plautdietsch* in literary texts. The inclusion of several sample texts, charts, and maps enhances this overview of the origins of Mennonite Low German.

For those especially interested in the history or current status of *Plautdietsch* in North America, Epp's book is somewhat disappointing. Despite scattered mention of some lexical and phonetic characteristics of the varieties of *Plautdietsch* spoken in Canada, Mexico, and the United States, the reader is not given much useful information about the speech communities or the use of the language. There is a very brief description of the three waves of Mennonite emigration from Russia to North America (1870s, 1920s, post-World War II), but we learn nothing regarding the location, size, or viability of the settlements (pp. 84-85). A set of maps indicating the settlement areas of at

least the 1870s immigrants would have been a most welcome addition for modern students of these dialects. Epp's bibliography should also have mentioned Marjorie Berg's Ph.D. dissertation, "Gnadenau Low German: A Dialect of Marion County, Kansas" (University of Chicago, 1960). In fairness to Epp, one must assume that his intention was to present an overview of the historical development of these dialects prior to the migration from south Russia to the Americas, and in that regard this reader-friendly volume is a success.

With his companion volume *The Spelling of Low German and Plautdietsch*, Epp argues that writers of *Plautdietsch* should harmonize their spelling with the general principles proposed for the spelling of modern Low German (Johannes Saß, *Kleines plattdeutsches Wörterbuch* [Hamburg, 1957]) and which today enjoy widespread acceptance (see *Plattdeutsches Wörterbuch* [Bremen, 1984], 7-8). In doing so, they will avoid the confusion of multiple, individual spelling systems now plaguing the readership of *Plautdietsch*. They will also be able to profit from the efforts already advanced for a standardization of Low German orthography and make written materials in *Plautdietsch* accessible to the larger Low German readership, and vice versa. He believes that such a harmonized Low German/*Plautdietsch* spelling system will lead to both a greater interest among speakers of *Plautdietsch* for reading matter as well as a greater literary exchange among Low German dialects.

German settlement dialects in the New World with a relatively large body of written materials such as Pennsylvania German and Mennonite Low German have long struggled with a generally accepted spelling of forms. The formulaic phonetic transcriptions of linguistic science are of little value for the larger audience of readers. Many writers have attempted to adhere to a pseudo-German orthography linking the dialect in some fashion to its original homeland (see, for example, C. Richard Beam's *Revised Pennsylvania German Dictionary* [Lancaster, PA, 1991] which follows the rule: "Whenever feasible, observe the spelling conventions of Standard German"). Others have tried to adapt an English-based orthography to the German dialect sounds, knowing that many readers will not be familiar with the sound system of standard German. In 1953, J. William Frey stated that he had come to the "sensible conclusion" that "the only practical way to spell

Pennsylvania Dutch is to employ English sound values" ("Pennsylvania Dutch Dictionary," *Pennsylvania Dutchman* [May 1953]: 13). Epp argues that Mennonite Low German should adhere to Low German spelling conventions rather than attempt to accommodate the spelling of *Plautdietsch* to the orthography of English.

Epp's *Plautdietsch* orthography treats in five chapters the historical relationship of the dialect to Low German, the adaptation of the Saß guidelines to the sounds and *Sprachgefühl* of Mennonite Low German—twice transplanted from the German homeland: first to the Russian Empire at the end of the eighteenth century and then to the Americas at the end of the nineteenth century, difficulties in rendering the vowels and consonants of *Plautdietsch*, and sample texts in the proposed orthography. Each chapter is summarized in *Plautdietsch*, German, and Spanish. The book concludes with an appendix containing approximately 30,000 forms in the proposed orthography.

Those familiar with varieties of *Plautdietsch* may find parts of Epp's proposal to criticize. For instance, following the principle of "harmony" with European Low German spelling conventions, he chooses to spell the palatalized *k* as *kj* in forms such as *Kjoakj* 'church' reflecting the spelling with *k* in European Low German *Kark/Kerk*. Based on the experience of this reviewer, many readers and writers of *Plautdietsch* feel more comfortable spelling this palatal consonant as *tj*. On the other hand, Epp elects to violate the principle of Low German orthographic "harmony" by spelling vocalized postvocalic *r* as a vowel, typically *a*, in forms such as *Dāa* 'door' or *Koma* 'room' (cf. Low German *Döör* and *Komer/Kamer*). Epp argues that the vocalization of postvocalic *r* sets *Plautdietsch* apart from European Low German. Actually, spoken Low German consistently replaces the historical *r* in such instances with a vowel, but "harmony" with the orthography of Standard German has probably influenced the retention of the *r* in European Low German spellings. Thus Epp and others who undertake the Herculean task of formulating an orthography for any of the dialects related to High or Low German will never be able to achieve total consistency. Yet, Epp has made that attempt and for that effort he deserves our serious attention and appreciation.

William D. Keel
University of Kansas

Mennonite Life

An Illustrated Quarterly Devoted to Mennonite History and Culture

ISSN 0025-9365

Founding editor

Cornelius Krahn 1946-1971

Managing editor

John D. Thiesen

Editorial assistant

Barbara A. Thiesen

Editors:

History: James C. Juhnke, Mary Sprunger

Theology and religion: Lois Barrett, Duane Friesen

Arts: Raylene Hutz-Penner, Carla Reimer

Current issues: Brad Born, Rich Preheim

Graphic Design:

Denise Brueggeman-Siemens, Mennonite Press, Newton, Kansas

Printing by Mennonite Press, Newton, Kansas

e-mail

mennonite-life@bethelks.edu

Mennonite Life

is a self-supporting, non-profit publication, and appears each March, June, September, and December.

Subscription rates:

1 year - \$20.00; 2 years - \$30.00. Foreign: 1 year - \$25.00; 2 years - \$35.00.

Single copies: 1990-present \$4.50, pre-1990 \$3.00.

Editorial Correspondence

should be directed to Mennonite Life, Bethel College, 300 East 27th Street, North Newton, KS 67117-0531 or to our e-mail address.

Change of address

Change of address notification should be sent to Mennonite Life, Bethel College, 300 East 27th Street, North Newton, KS 67117-0531.

Postmaster

Periodical postage paid at North Newton, Kansas 67117. Please send change of address to Mennonite Life, Bethel College, 300 East 27th Street, North Newton, KS 67117-0531.

Abstracted and indexed

in Religion Index One: Periodicals, Historical Abstracts, and America: History and Life.

Instructions for authors

Mennonite Life is aimed at a literate audience interested in Mennonite history and culture, not solely at the academic. Prospective authors should inquire as to the suitability of potential articles before submission. Articles must be original and offered exclusively to Mennonite Life. The author is responsible for obtaining written permissions needed for both quotations and illustrations used. Please attach to submitted articles a brief biographical sketch of the author. Photographs and illustrations for articles should be supplied as black and white glossies whenever possible, which the publisher will return. The author is responsible both for the cost of illustrations and for obtaining permission to publish, and for forwarding a copy of such authorization to Mennonite Life. In seeking permissions, the author should mention that Mennonite Life is not-for-profit.

BETHEL
COLLEGE

*300 East 27th Street
North Newton, KS 67114-0531*
