Briefe und Schriften oberdeutscher Täufer 1527-1555. Das 'Kunstbuch' des Jörg Probst Rotenfelder gen. Maler. Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 78. Edited by Heinold Fast and Martin Rothkegel. [Gütersloh]: Gütersloher Verlagshaus. 2007. Pp. 776. 128 Euro.

It is now almost fifty years since, in July of 1958, I held in my hands the leather-bound *Kunstbuch.* It had been found three years earlier by Heinold Fast and Gerhard Goeters in the Burgerbibliothek in Berne, Switzerland, with the shelf number Cod. 464. The title page revealed that there were two original volumes, but the second has not been found.

Now the critical edition of the *Kunstbuch*, so long promised, has finally appeared. Heinold Fast had begun the work over three decades ago and by 2000 had completed the transcription of the whole. When he was unable to continue because of illness, the project was turned over to Gottfried Seebaß in Heidelberg, who in turn engaged the gifted young scholar Martin Rothkegel, then in Prague, to prepare the work for publication.

Rothkegel's is a stellar achievement. In the space of one year he completed the massive work, meticulously editing a book of nearly 800 pages. He worked with great care according to the rules of editing that are included in the book on pages 88-89. He included a five-page technical description of the codex, an exhaustive bibliography of related literature, and a brief history of the ownership of the volume based on entries by later hands on several pages at the end. The publishers have produced a durable and attractive book that is easy to handle and use despite its size.

The *Kunstbuch* collection consists of writings of Anabaptists and others in the sixteenth-century community of religious dissent. Jörg Maler most likely copied these documents in Augsburg. He added his preface on September 26, 1561, after he had carried the book to Zürich for binding (98), and to a destination that is not disclosed but which was certainly the Anabaptist community in the uplands of Berne.

This edition is graced with two essays by Heinold Fast. The first, "Pilgram Marpeck und das oberdeutsche Täufertum," appeared originally in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 47 (1956), and the second, "Auf den Spuren Jörg Malers," is from the 1997 Festschrift for Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *Außenseiter zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Their inclusion is a tribute to the groundbreaking work of Fast on the *Kunstbuch*. Many details of the chronology of Pilgram Marpeck's movements described in the first essay have been superseded by new studies, but its summary of Marpeck's teaching remains required reading. The second essay, being much more recent, is the most important study available on the compiler of the *Kunstbuch*, Jörg Maler.

Rothkegel has given each document a brief but careful introduction, identifying the writer(s) and, whenever possible, the recipients. The core of the collection is sixteen letters from Pilgram Marpeck to Anabaptist groups and individuals spanning the years 1542-1555; most of the letters were written from

Marpeck's residence in Augsburg. These letters have been available in English translation since 1978 in the Classics of the Radical Reformation volume *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*. These letters first gave Pilgram Marpeck "a local habitation and a name" and proved him to be an important, if minor, figure in the Reformation spectrum of reformers. Five items are by Marpeck's closest associate, Leupold Scharnschlager. Five others come from the early years of the Anabaptist movement, among them pieces by Hans Hut and the martyrs Lienhart Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, all of whom profoundly influenced Marpeck. Another six are letters and statements of members of the Marpeck fellowships. Six more are by other dissenters of the period, such as the "Comfort of Christians in Persecution" by the early Protestant martyr Hans Has, and Valentin Ickelsamer's long poem "Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten" ("The More Education, the More Fabrication"), which introduces the whole collection. Two items one might not expect to find in the *Kunstbuch* are the Athanasian Creed and an apocalyptic prophecy from the year 1372. A long poem about biblical and contemporary idolatry by Maler's cousin Lienhart Schienherr concludes the collection. Finally, scattered throughout, are six contributions by the compiler himself, among them two confessions of faith and a personal record of an interrogation by one Catholic and three Protestant clerics in 1551 in Augsburg.

The letters of Pilgram Marpeck reveal Marpeck's theological orthodoxy and his attempt to reform the church along a path between a meritorious works approach to Christian life, associated with the papal church and some Anabaptists, and the "fleshly freedom" of minimal concern for obedient discipleship, which Marpeck detected among Lutherans and some Anabaptists. To accomplish this, Marpeck tirelessly argued for the inseparability of the inner and outer, the spiritual and material. God, he taught, invariably uses external means—bread, wine, water, preaching and the process of mutual discipline—to achieve the spiritual end of divine blessedness (*Gottseligkeit*) for the believer. Jesus in his humanity is the revelation of this working of God. The church, Marpeck reiterated over the years, may never employ violence to secure the triumph of the Gospel. Nonetheless, there has to be noncoercive church discipline to help Christians on the steep ascent of discipleship. In the introduction to Marpeck's encyclical letter "The Love of God and the Cross of Christ," Rothkegel sees Marpeck teaching that the Incarnation is the definition of time. Time will end when the last person is saved (372).

Added to the collection are the archival materials relating to Maler from the city archives in Augsburg. These are the sources for what we know about the compiler. Also added are the sources for Anabaptism in Ulm for the years 1554-1561. All these were gathered and transcribed by Heinold Fast.

There is the usual index of sixteenth-century persons and places, as well as of biblical places and names. This index reveals, among other things, the great dependence of the writers, and that means primarily Marpeck, on Paul (117 page references, but many, many more actual citations). The index of biblical passages cites five pages of references to the Old Testament, one to the Apocrypha, seven pages to the Gospels and ten to the epistles and Revelation.

Even in so prestigious a work as this one, the copy editors did not catch all errors and misprints. These are found on pages 19,35; 130,5; 298,9; 526,18; 588,15;

and 644,15. An error of date appears on page 22,6, but this was Heinold Fast's error, since his source citation does not support the date of May 21.

Many questions remain about the *Kunstbuch***.** For example, what were Maler's motives for compiling the collection? The fact that there was originally another volume raises the tantalizing questions about the accuracy of our judgments about the surviving volume. In the following, I address a few other questions.

Both Heinold Fast and Martin Rothkegel have implied that the delivery of the *Kunstbuch* to the Swiss marks the end of the Marpeck legacy (Fast, 70; Rothkegel, "Randglossen zum Kunstbuch," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, 2004). At the end of his essay "Auf den Spuren Jörg Malers" (42-70), Fast concluded that the post-1550 Marpeck communities saw themselves as no longer critiquing the established Catholic and Protestant confessions, and that Maler had given up the struggle. This conclusion, Fast implied, was reflected in the eclectic nature of the *Kunstbuch* collection. It had become, he wrote, *Erbauungsliteratur* (devotional literature) (70). If he meant by this that especially Marpeck's letters no longer serviced a particular view of the Christian life and that the Marpeck churches had no continuing historical role, I have to disagree. For the vision articulated in the *Kunstbuch* together with surviving members of the Marpeck circle—we don't know how many—continued strong among the Swiss Brethren to whom Maler had committed his work. Arnold Snyder's research into Swiss Anabaptism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries demonstrate that the Marpeck legacy continued alive and well and helped to "reform" the Swiss Brethren for their continuing life.

Although the editor did meticulous and important work on the manuscript traditions of a number of the non-Marpeck items, he did not venture an explanation as to how the Anabaptist materials for the *Kunstbuch* came into the compiler's hands. Since Maler was a member of the Augsburg group, he no doubt used locally available copies of the letters of Pilgram Marpeck and other members of the Marpeck circle. Questions arise with some of the other items.

There appear to be good reasons to suppose that Marpeck himself had copies of the writings of Lienhart Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, which he took with him when he left Rattenberg early in 1528. That these writings first turn up in the possession of the Anabaptist Julius Lober in 1531 is no barrier to this view. Lober had spent time in Strasbourg, where he was baptized in 1531, during the time Marpeck lived there. The copies, which he was carrying to Moravia, could have come from Marpeck. Lober also had in his possession, at the time of his arrest in April 1531, a letter from Reublin to Pilgram Marpeck, which also establishes a link to Marpeck. It is true that these considerations are conjectures based on circumstantial evidence, and the editor did not indulge in conjectures.

One conclusion of the editor is open to question. There has been ongoing debate about the meaning of the term *Hündt* (dogs) (515,12) used in the confession of Helena von Freyberg (512-517). Fast and Rothkegel both take it to be a reference to literal dogs, whereas Linda Hecht has argued that the term is metaphorical and means a local government official. Another Austrian linguist has come to her support, after Rothkegel dismissed her argument (513). The forthcoming biography of Pilgram Marpeck by this reviewer and William Klassen explains why they accept Hecht's interpretation.

It is with deep appreciation for the work of Heinold Fast, Gottfried Seebass and Martin Rothkegel that I commend this volume to the next generation of researchers into Anabaptism. The sources gathered here are an important part of the sixteenth-century Reformation.

Saskatoon, Sask. WALTER KLAASSEN

The Way Is Made by Walking: A Pilgrimage Along the Camino de Santiago. By Arthur Paul Boers. Downers Grove, Ill: InterVarsity Press. 2007. Pp. 219. $15.

In the twelfth century, between one half and two million European pilgrims arrived each year in the city of Santiago de Compostella, in what is now northwestern Spain. They took immense personal risks and endured physical hardship to walk to Santiago Cathedral and pray in the purported presence of the apostle James's bones. Some were motivated by the promise of the remission of sins, others by having the pilgrimage imposed as a condition of penance. They journeyed to fulfill a vow, offer thanksgiving, pray for healing or seek an adventure, perhaps their singular "international" experience in otherwise localized lives.

Though the pilgrimage to Santiago was rarely made during most of the twentieth century, there has been renewed interest in the Camino de Santiago (*camino* is Spanish for "way") in recent decades. The path has been marked with signposts and a network of pilgrim hostels, though it remains relatively uncommercialized. Fifty thousand pilgrims a year walk part of the path, four times as many in holy years. When I walked the Camino with my wife and two friends, we encountered pilgrims who were motivated by the physical challenge and the natural beauty of the trails, the opportunity to reflect on a transition in their lives, to meet some spiritual yearning or simply because they had always wanted to do it.

In *The Way is Made by Walking*, Arthur Paul Boers, associate professor of pastoral theology at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, connects these two worlds: the traditional Christian practice of pilgrimage and his own modern experience of walking 500 miles from the French Pyrenees to Santiago. This book is neither a travelogue nor a guide to walking the Camino (though appendices provide practical points of reference for those interested in making this or other pilgrimages), but rather a spiritual reflection, which may be enriching even for those who will never walk the Camino.

Through twelve thematic chapters, Boers probes the tradition of Christian pilgrimage, identifies numerous lessons of the Camino and suggests ways of integrating these into daily life. He shows how biblical language gives voice to his concrete experiences along the way but also how the conversations he had with fellow travelers and the Camino itself—often said by pilgrims to have its own personality—were occasions for new perspectives on discipleship. The book rang true to many aspects of my own very positive experience on the Camino, and its style models the spiritual discipline of journaling.

Aches, pains and, particularly, blisters are a regular topic of conversation among pilgrims. Such common experiences, rather than one's status or occupation "back home," become the basis of community among pilgrims. The service and humility of Jesus' footwashing are reenacted as pilgrims tend to one another's blisters. When the apostle James and his brother John asked Jesus if they could sit beside him in the kingdom, Jesus instructed them to seek instead mutual service (Mark 10:35-45). The Camino enables all who live their lives toward the same goal to relate to one another with a degree of mutuality rare in "real life." Thus, on the Camino, one addresses pilgrims by the familiar *tú*, *tu* or *du*, rather than the formal *usted*, *vous* or *Sie*. The Camino is not a formula for transformation, but is, as Boers argues, an occasion for recognizing and engaging many such "focal practices" that glimpse at "kingdom possibilities" (137).

Having defined a pilgrimage as "religiously motivated travel for the purpose of meeting and experiencing God with hopes of being shaped and changed by that encounter" (41), Boers himself is surprised to realize that the Camino has caused him to rethink his perspective on those who describe themselves as "spiritual but not religious"—perhaps the majority of contemporary pilgrims. While many were highly critical of the church's institutional self-preservation, they were nevertheless engaged in a practice made possible by the Christian tradition in which their restless hearts were seeking after God and meaningful lives. He wonders what it would mean for North American churches to become more hospitable to such people, to meet them not with answers but an opportunity to be heard.

The text is written at a brisk pace. At its best, Boers invites readers to meditate on the suggestions he makes and draw their own connections. However, I was occasionally frustrated by a provocative idea—the connection between pilgrimage and the experience of those who flee as refugees, for instance—that he does not develop further. This is not to criticize him for writing in the genre he does. Rather, this compelling invitation to the concreteness of Christian discipleship calls for further systematic historical and theological reflection on how Mennonites may retrieve practices more common to other Christian traditions, in this case Roman Catholic.

The Camino creates several tensions for the Mennonite pilgrim, some of which Boers touches on briefly. The path itself is a testimony to a history of Christendom that was underwritten by violence. Is it possible to identify with James the fellow pilgrim but not the "Moor-Slayer," even though the latter is deeply ingrained in the imagery and sheer territoriality of the Camino? As a popular practice, pilgrimage was not only co-opted in the interests of power but also variously subversive of religious convention. So does that mean its lessons can be learned without grappling with the darker elements of its history? The Christianity of the Camino was both mine and not mine. In many of the churches along the way, I felt both profoundly at home in Christian houses of prayer and also deeply disoriented by excessive Marian piety. The final dislocation came in Santiago Cathedral. Having walked 500 miles to go to church, to echo Boers's opening line, and having experienced along the way a deep connection with the communion of saints after whose steps I followed, I was pained much less by my swollen ankles than by being unwelcome to receive communion in the Body.

Nevertheless, the meaning of a practice is continually reconfigured beyond its original setting. This book is a noteworthy contribution to the reshaping of the Camino pilgrimage and the training of pilgrims to receive its unexpected moments of hospitality.

Emmanuel College, University of Toronto JEREMY M. BERGEN

The Stroessner Regime and Indigenous Resistance in Paraguay. By René D. Harder Horst. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. 224. $59.95.

The politics of indigenous movements have become one of the most important topics of the study of contemporary Latin America, with much of the attention going to eye-catching movements like the Mexican Zapatistas or the coca-growers in Bolivia who have placed one of their own, Evo Morales, in the presidency. The emergence of such movements rests on the longer histories of the recrafting of the roles of indigenous peoples in national, political and economic development processes. These histories are much less known, and so Horst's book fills an important gap in the historiography of the region by tracing the ways that indigenous groups became a major source of resistance to the authoritarian Stroessner regime in Paraguay after he assumed power there in 1954. Horst argues convincingly that this resistance was a process that left neither regime nor indigenous peoples intact, each achieving important goals while failing to reach others. With Stroessner and now even his Colorado Party gone from power, it is tempting to suggest that the indigenous resistance movements have won. But this is not straightforwardly the case since, as Horst reconstructs, the very act of engaging the state in an effort to return to their historic ways of life also changed the indigenous peoples in ways that made that return impossible.

As the story begins, indigenous peoples are still living that historic way of life, cultivating and hunting collectively on their historic lands. This changed with the introduction of Stroessner's authoritarian bargain: Paraguayans will have few political freedoms, but there will be economic gains, especially for the wealthy. In a largely agricultural society, economic gains rested on expanding market agriculture for both domestic consumption and especially export. Stroessner's regime moved to survey and sell land, paying scant attention to indigenous populations that were already there. The regime's policy toward these populations was officially one of integration, meaning that they would be encouraged to enter the national economy, mostly as wage labor for the new owners of their land. Since the regime had few resources and little attention to give to this policy, it was pleased to enlist the cooperation of religious missions—Catholic, Mennonite, Anglican and others—that would actually carry out the process of integration, both by employing indigenous farm labor and by further integrating them through religious education and conversion to established faiths. The interests of the missions and the government strongly converged in this first period, but there was less room for indigenous populations to define

their own interests. At least initially, the indigenous populations were pleased to have some access to the wage economy to supplement their subsistence farming. It is less clear what role religious conversion played for them, although Horst suggests that they thought of Mennonite religious traditions as a way of invoking the spirits of good harvests, given the Mennonites' agricultural success (61). The Mennonites initiated a practice of giving land to converted individuals, a practice later followed by some other missions.

These relationships became much more contentious as agricultural development increased, leading to more efforts—including some by the growing Mennonite colonies—to expel the indigenous populations. The populations in turn began to insist upon firmer control of their historic lands. In response, the Stroessner regime moved to more exclusive policies toward indigenous peoples, with the support of the rancher populations who were an important part of Stroessner's political base. Political bureaucracies that were meant to support the indigenous groups did so only very weakly or not at all, but the groups gained some protection from international pressure, which, while sometimes exaggerating the degree of abuse, helped to reveal real problems in the treatment of indigenous people. The Catholic Church's reorientation in the 1960s toward liberation theology made it an increasingly important ally for indigenous groups. In this context, the regime was careful to adopt policies that appeared to guarantee indigenous rights, while undermining them in practice. In a few isolated cases, primarily involving land purchased with private funds, indigenous rights were respected.

Nonetheless, land conflicts continued to flare during the 1970s, and the indigenous peoples began to develop new organizations, working in pan-indigenous groups for the first time. These took the indigenous land demands to the national capital, using the two official languages, Spanish and Guaraní, rather than their own languages. In the 1980s, the groups became part of the broader movement to remove Stroessner from power, with other opposition movements also taking up their land claims. When one of Stroessner's henchmen pushed him out in a coup in 1989, indigenous land and identity claims had still not been met. Through more indigenous resistance and lobbying, they were eventually included in the new 1992 constitution, with which the book ends. As Horst notes, this effort to have their different identity acknowledged had the countervailing effect of pulling them more thoroughly into the national political culture than ever before. The consolidation achieved by the new pan-indigenous efforts also contributes to the readability of Horst's final chapters. The many different and localized stories of the earlier chapters sometimes left me scrambling to track actors and locations, and those chapters' organization was not always clear.

Horst makes a number of important points about both the policies of the Stroessner regime and the ways in which indigenous peoples, the missions and international actors all helped to shape them. The book demonstrates that many of the elements that have become familiar in the region's indigenous politics first emerged in Paraguay. It generally seeks a balanced and source-supported interpretation of events, taking some care to place those events in their temporal and national context. Given the controversial nature of efforts to sort out claims

of genocide or the different interpretations that might be placed on, say, competing land claims between settlers and indigenous populations, many readers may still disagree with some of the conclusions.

University of New Mexico KATHRYN HOCHSTETLER

Stricken by God? Nonviolent Identification and the Victory of Christ. Edited by Brad Jersak and Michael Hardin. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2007. Pp. 527. $32.

Brad Jersak and Michael Hardin have edited a collection of twenty articles by a wide variety of authors, intended to reflect on and contribute to a paradigm shift in the understanding of atonement. They see the dominant paradigm of atonement, variously called penal satisfaction or substitutionary atonement, to be fatally flawed in its positing the violence of the cross as a redemptive necessity, thus implicating God in violence. A particular focus of criticism is Anselm and his Reformation and Evangelical offspring. The articles thus critique that "theory," favoring instead the Christus Victor theory, with several authors (Andrew Klager and Ronald Dart) drawing particularly on Irenaeus's "recapitulation" of humanity in Christ.

The editors each contribute an introductory chapter in which they outline the overall intentions of the volume, weaving together the diverse essays that follow. These are grouped around particular foci: historical Jesus (N. T. Wright, Marcus Borg), sacrifice (James Alison, Robert Ekblad, Richard Rohr), forgiveness (Rowan Williams, Sharon Baker, Brita Miko), justice (C. F. D. Moule, Miroslav Volf, Mark Baker), nonviolent victory (Denny Weaver, Wayne Northey, Nathan Rieger) and rebirth and deification (Anthony Bartlett, Klager, Kharalambos Anstall, Dart).

The various authors, mostly scholars, represent diverse traditions, from Anabaptist to Roman Catholic and Orthodox. It is not always clear what their full view of atonement might be, since some of the authors are enlisted for only a particular aspect of a larger agenda, the entirety of which they do not fit. For example, Wright and Volf have both recently written about atonement in way that would fall under the criticism of the overarching view of this volume: see, for exmaple, N. T. Wright, *Evil and the Justice of God* (Intervarsity Press, 2006), 92-95; Miroslav Volf, *Free of Charge: Giving and Forgiving in a Culture Stripped of Grace* (Zondervan, 2005), 134-145.

Given the volume's highlighting of the issue of violence, the work of René Girard represents for many of the authors the ideological and theological premise. Girard focuses on mimesis or rivalry as the root of violence. Human culture is born of this violence. Relevant to atonement is that he considers religion itself, most particularly the ubiquitous phenomenon of sacrifice, to fashion and sustain the myth that the suffering of a victim on the part of others (the scapegoat) solves the problem of violence. He views the cross as exposing the whole system of violence, victimage and sacrifice, thus bringing it to an end. Most explicitly Girardian are the contributions by Alison, S. Baker, Bartlett, Hardin, Northey and Weaver.

The volume is a mine of information and argumentation, focused less on the New Testament than on placing substitutionary and sacrificial atonement associated with Anselm's position and its permutations in Christian theology and tradition under close critical scrutiny. The authors, particularly the editors, are more than aware that they are going up against cherished and deeply entrenched views of atonement. Jersak thus cautions,

> [W]hen we speak of the Cross of Christ, we are on holy ground. We stand in a place of mystery that requires humility. We ought not violate the very love that Christ demonstrated by firing cannon balls over Golgotha at one another. We do well to present our proposals with genuine meekness, with generosity for our rival theorists, renouncing contempt wherever it lurks. Let us not tread, through lack of charity, upon the very Cross we proclaim. (25)

This caution is too seldom heeded, however. Too many of the contributors are, ironically, engaged in a kind of mimetic rivalry with their "rival theorists," to use Jersak's telling designation. Little effort is made to listen sympathetically or respectfully to those "rivals." Instead, their views are often dismissed with oversimplifications, stereotyping or outright condemnation (this is especially egregious in Anstall's piece). It is never considered whether the metaphor of penal satisfaction or substitutionary atonement might have emerged not as an effort to inscribe violence into the fabric of Christian faith but as an attempt to articulate good news for those who view their estrangement from God as offending their Lord, or as an infraction of God's law or justice, and thus a word of hope within such a construct. By itself the Anselmian understanding of atonement does not represent an adequate assessment of the human plight, and thus of atonement, and it certainly does not capture the full array of biblical metaphors of atonement. That said, is it possible that countless believers have erroneously drunk grace from the chalice of poison, mistaking evil for unfathomable divine love?

Perhaps such an effort at hospitality is more than can be expected, since from a Girardian perspective any notion of sacrifice, any hint of implicating God in the death of Jesus, is not only a misunderstanding of God's reconciling initiative, but an instance of myth and culture, both of which are fundamentally violent (e.g., Anstall, Bartlett, Hardin, Weaver). Girard's scapegoating mechanism appears to be at work in the practice of the very theoreticians who would expose it in Anselmian atonement: if they could only get rid of sacrificial penal substitution and satisfaction, all would be well.

There are, of course, New Testament texts that do use sacrificial and substitutionary—or at least representative—ways of depicting Jesus' death on behalf of sinful humanity. And certainly divine judgment is plentifully present, not least in Jesus' own teaching as represented by the evangelists. But the themes of judgment and death "for others" in the gospel portraits of Jesus or in the epistolary writings in the New Testament receive little or no acknowledgement, or they are subjected to radical rereading: a God who judges and punishes, whether in the Old or New Testament, is not the true God, or not the God who saves but the false God of myth and unredeemed culture. The specter of Marcion lurks close by, as Hardin acknowledges, if only to reject the association (61-62).

This book is most clearly not, nor is it intended to be, an "easy read." Nevertheless, a careful reading will reward the reader with a great deal of new insight and many profound and vexing questions.[1] And I share the authors' sense that violence is a most urgent issue, not least in the way we read the Bible and understand the work of Christ. But I found myself wishing, in the interest of wider discernment among those much at odds with each other, that the irenic tone attempted by Jersak, and echoed by Dart in the final chapter, would have pervaded the book as a whole. I cannot say this better than Dart himself in the final paragraph of the book:

> We must be wary of trading in one reductionistic theory of the atonement for another. We might be bidding adieu to the ransom or juridical theory of the atonement as the *dominant* metaphors (gratefully so), but we must also shy away from reducing the atonement to either a Girardian read or a pacifist/nonviolent interpretation of the atonement. Our divinized life in Christ, the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church and the world is much more subtle and nuanced than any one-dimensional understanding of the atonement. Let us live with the mystery, and be gracious with those who miss the comprehensive epic vision that cannot be easily netted nor reduced to a simple formula and explanation. Fiat Lux. (518; emphasis added)

Conrad Grebel University College THOMAS R. YODER NEUFELD

Mennonites, Amish, and the American Civil War. By James O. Lehman and Steven M. Nolt. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. 353. $39.95.

In this well-written and researched volume, Lehman and Nolt offer a much-needed analysis of the Mennonite and Amish experience of the Civil War. They argue that these Anabaptist communities managed neither a unified position on their interaction with the state nor a uniform response to the challenges of forced conscription and widespread violence against civilians. Instead, the wartime experience of challenge and disagreement prompted Mennonites and Amish to reconstruct "their sense of peoplehood" as nonresistant believers and American citizens (15).

The authors document the various Mennonite and Amish responses to secession and war in chapters organized by geography. In eastern Pennsylvania, they focus on believers negotiating with politicians as a means of securing legal exemption from conscription. Members of these communities argued successfully that their consistent and orderly "civic participation" ought to result in the "privilege" of exemption for the sake of conscience (77). Turning to

1. Lapses in careful editing are occasionally distracting. N. T. Wright's chapter, for example, was taken as is from his *Jesus and the Victory of God*, without taking into account that the copious footnotes all assume access to an absent bibliography. Typographical errors are numerous, and Greek text is frequently faulty, both in Greek font and transliteration (e.g., 68, n. 14, 258-259, 491).

Midwestern communities, however, the authors describe groups that rejected the Pennsylvania strategy of forging a middle ground that engaged the state while remaining aloof from its violence. Rather, these Mennonites and Amish based their arguments for exemption from war service on their total separation from the nation's political life. Finally, with the Mennonites of the Shenandoah Valley, the authors highlight the experiences of nonslaveholding and nonresistant Southerners pressured by neighbors to support secession and war. Mennonites there wondered which political entity, North or South, demanded their allegiance. They later suffered greatly when the Union unleashed "hard war" tactics on the Valley, resulting in widespread destruction of Mennonite homes and farms. For each of the three areas, the authors reveal how Mennonites and Amish struggled to reconcile their history of nonresistance with their concomitant belief that they were to be law-abiding subjects within a God-ordained political order.

While Lehman and Nolt describe broad patterns within these varying geographies, they also note exceptions to the rule. One of the book's strengths is its careful documentation of Mennonites and Amish who supported the war effort, including those who took up arms for various reasons (although these young men tended to be on the margins of their communities and not baptized members). Along with highlighting these departures from nonresistance, the authors also show how Mennonite and Amish viewpoints about the war and larger questions of political engagement changed over time. Of great interest is their coverage of John F. Funk, best known as editor of *The Herald of Truth* (later *The Gospel Herald*), and his circuitous journey from Union Army supporter to articulator of what would come to be known as a classic statement of Mennonite nonresistance.

Studies such as this one, with painstaking documentation, identification of historical patterns, and attention to divergence from those patterns, are of value in and of themselves. This period of Mennonite and Amish history has not been examined in enough detail and the book provides research and analysis that is provocative and new. But Lehman and Nolt offer even more. They end their volume with a carefully reasoned and fascinating claim about what the Civil War experience ultimately meant for Mennonites and Amish. Namely, they argue that a post-Civil War quest for unity emerged precisely out of the recent patchwork of experiences. Further, this emerging unity had a specific vehicle and tone. The authors cite the blitz of periodical literature from expanding denominational bureaucracies as evidence of an effort to articulate a Mennonite and Amish approach to questions of war. In tone, these publications rehearsed the Midwestern position—that the Anabaptists were outsiders to the world and that democracy had no place for their minority voice—not the Pennsylvania commitment to engaged and nonresistant citizenship. In the years following the war, this separatist ethic dominated Mennonite and Amish considerations of state engagement and shaped their responses to the wars of the next century (230-232).

The conclusion's nod toward postwar American religious realities, along with the introduction's claim that the Amish and Mennonite Civil War experience has remained essentially untold, leads to questions about the book's contribution to

scholarship. The authors place the volume in three realms of historiography: Mennonite and Amish history; the study of pacifism in America; and the recent burst of scholarship on religion and the Civil War. In the first realm, the book makes an incredibly important contribution. The authors pick up where Theron Schlabach—quite understandably—left off in his telling of nineteenth-century American Mennonite history. Schlabach established the variety of Mennonite responses to the war but did not give extended attention to this topic in his book that surveyed an entire century. Lehman and Nolt provide impressive documentation, helpful geographical scope and astute analysis of this understudied history. Further, their analysis of Pennsylvania Mennonite politicking offers new ways to understand patterns of twentieth-century war resistance as described by authors such as Perry Bush.

The book also deserves attention among scholars of American pacifism. It provides an important corrective to unfortunate trends in scholarship that lump the various "peace traditions" together. Lehman and Nolt clearly describe how Amish and Mennonite reasoning about the war and political engagement differed significantly from that of the Quakers. They also differentiate Anabaptist nonresistance from other varieties of nineteenth-century perfectionism and restorationism in a way Thomas Curran did not in *Soldiers of Peace*. And finally, they correct less nuanced accounts of the way religious principle has driven Anabaptist response to American warfare. For example, James Juhnke and Carol Hunter's book, *The Missing Peace*—generalizing from the example of Christian Good, a Shenandoah Valley Mennonite drafted into the Confederate Army—suggests that Anabaptists consistently expressed a principled unwillingness to shoot their enemies. For Lehman and Nolt, however, Good serves as only one in a varied set of examples of Mennonite and Amish engagement with the war.

The book's place within the wider discussion of religion and the American Civil War is the most difficult to assess. Lehman and Nolt are exactly right when they say that this field of study has "shrouded" the role religion sometimes played in "resisting nationalist war machines" (6). On one level, the problem is obvious. The two most important recent books on the subject, by Harry Stout and Mark Noll, simply ignore religious groups with principled objections to violence.[2] They point, rather, to Christians who objected to the Civil War, in particular, for its specific motivations and its ethically questionable execution. Clearly, historians claiming to cover religion and the Civil War should correct such oversights.

But on another level, we must ask why and how historians such as Stout and Noll should integrate the Mennonite and Amish stories into their narratives. Their books stand in a tradition of Civil War literature that examines the conflict in order to make broader statements about American religious history. For Stout, the conflict produced an unprecedented—and idolatrous—version of civil religion. For Noll, it occasioned an exegetical crisis in which Protestants reading the same Bible came to fundamentally different conclusions about the institution

2. Harry S. Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War* (New York: Viking, 2006); Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

of slavery and God's providential workings in America. To make the Mennonite and Amish story part of these wider narratives, the authors would have had to consider similarly broad themes, and this is, admittedly, difficult. At the very least, Lehman and Nolt acknowledge briefly that Mennonite and Amish considerations of the conflict did not hinge on questions of slavery or race. But the authors might have taken up the civil religion and divine providence questions more directly. Namely, how were Mennonite and Amish reconsiderations of their civic participation and separatism affected by the emerging discourse of civil religion? As other denominations began to sing new songs, pray new prayers and preach new sermons about God's support of the Blue or the Grey, what happened to Mennonite and Amish songs, prayers and sermons? And if they did not change, how can we account for that in a country in which their neighbors' transformation was so dramatic?

Still other considerations of broader themes are possible. For instance, Lehman and Nolt could have applied their thesis about Mennonite and Amish diversity during the conflict—one that later prompted the move toward denominational unity—to scholarly accounts of other American religious groups before, during and after the war. Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians experienced wrenching schisms, some of which took decades to heal and others that remain to this day. The Mennonite and Amish story of a conflict that prompted institutional unanimity has broader interpretative possibilities. It can shed new light on an American religious landscape littered with fractured religious bodies that mirrored the broken physical bodies left behind by the war.

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Radikalität der Reformation: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen. By Hans-Jürgen Goertz. Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Band 93. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2007. Pp. 378. 59.90 Euro.

This work presents a collection of recent papers by Germany's foremost historian of the Radical Reformation, Hans-Jürgen Goertz. Goertz, who recently became professor emeritus of social and economic history at the University of Hamburg, has enjoyed a long and distinguished career. His path-breaking study of inner and outer order in the thought of Thomas Müntzer (1967) began a series of major publications that continued with works on anticlericalism in the early Reformation, the life of Thomas Müntzer and the diversity of the Anabaptist movement, among other studies. The fifteen papers in this important collection range from articles originally published in 1989 and brought up to date through references to the latest literature, to Goertz's latest work, including previously unpublished papers. The topics in the collection present the reader with an impressive diversity of themes and arguments. Individual papers take up subjects that range from the character of the early Reformation as a whole to the more specific ones on the role of the common man; the influence of apocalypticism, dreams and visions; the interpretation of Scripture; brotherliness; iconoclasm; power relations and rebellion; and the relation of religious nonconformity to economic success. The overall trajectory of the work

moves from papers dealing with the character of the period as a whole, to ones which tend to focus more on Karlstadt, Müntzer and developments in Saxony and Thuringia, to those which deal more specifically with the origins and early evolution of Swiss Anabaptism. However, given the unusual range of the author's knowledge and interests—and the ways in which he successfully integrates overlapping phenomena in one geographic region with those in another—there is nothing rigid in the work's organization.

Reviewing a collection of diverse papers is always a daunting challenge; it is impossible to examine them all, and a detailed assessment of a few risks becoming lopsided. I will focus briefly on three dimensions of the collection that figure in many of the papers and which form part of Goertz's innovative and important contribution to the study of the Radical Reformation.

The first is periodization and Goertz's view of the Radical Reformation not in terms of theological typology but in terms of the whole Reformation's initial, explosive phase. The collection's title suggests this idea, so key to the Goertz's interpretive vision: the *Radikalität* of the Reformation. *Radikalität* permits no straightforward English translation: the connotations of "radicalism" tend to be too restricted to the realm of ideology and "radicality" is a neologism. Perhaps best is "radical character," which Goertz applies to the whole period of the early Reformation. That is, Goertz's work emphasizes an important point that recent stress on confessionalization is in danger of neglecting. His work reminds us forcefully and correctly that the early years of the Reformation (down to about 1530) were a uniquely radical epoch in religious history. Luther's challenge to Rome and the new anticlericalism it generated represented a sharp break with late medieval calls for reformation and inspired an amazingly wide variety of reformers and forms of action. Figures such as Karlstadt, Müntzer, Strauss, Hut, Reublin, Brötli, Stumpf, Grebel and Hubmaier—although marginalized in later theological typologies—stood within the mainstream of a series of remarkably diverse and radical developments. These reformers and their followers interrupted the old clergy's rituals and sermons, destroyed religious images and artifacts, rejected tithes and interest payments, and sought to reconstitute the church on the basis of their understanding of Scripture, Christian brotherhood and local congregational control (Peter Blickle's notion of *Gemeindereformation*). These radical changes outran the ability of any individual to control them. Goertz's view of the early sixteenth century has profound implications for the centrality of the Radical Reformation, and he supports the view of Tom Brady: "The radical reformation was not Protestantism radicalized. Protestantism was the reformation deradicalized" (121).

Second, Goertz draws on the social sciences for theoretical models and concepts to illuminate the contentious heterodoxy of the early Reformation. He uses Max Weber's notion of ideal types to delineate the meaning of radical movements in the Reformation and the Weberian concept of the "demystification of the world" to explain the sociocultural transformation that he, together with Bob Scribner, describes as the shift from a sacramental vision of reality to a moralizing conception of the world. He also uses Joachim Raschke's theory of social movements to analyze various developments of the early Reformation, such as the Knights' Rebellion, although whether this represented a genuine

social movement, may be doubted. More successful is Goertz's deployment of Michel Foucault's model of the way power works through discourse as a way of explaining the break between the "proto-Anabaptists" and Zwingli in Zurich in 1523-1524. Goertz sees the origins of the break not, as commonly, in the October 1523 disputation, but in the previous summer. Questions about the legitimacy of tithes and interest payments, first posed in the Zurich hinterland, raised a political challenge to the power of the Zurich council. This discourse, in turn, opened a gap between Zwingli and some of his followers when he sided with the council and they with the spokespersons representing the rural commoners. Language and power relations were braided together.

Third and more briefly, a consistent feature of Goetz's approach to Radical Reformation studies is to stress that more was at stake than simply theology or abstract religious ideas. Throughout this collection, as in his earlier work, the emphasis is on what religious ideas meant in the context of quotidian experience—what Goertz refers to as their *Sitz im Leben*. This approach brings two enormous benefits. The examination of religious ideas gains new clarity and precision through the inclusion of the existential reality that shaped them and gave them meaning. And making the social context basic to the treatment of religious ideas helps to overcome the limitations and prejudices of a confessional and partisan approach to history. This is no less important in the study of radical religion than it is in any other investigation of the past.

This collection of papers, as heterogeneous and penetrating as the developments that characterized the early years of the Reformation, is an important contribution to Radical Reformation studies. Given the complex interrelationships among the papers, an index would have made it more useful as a reference work. Nevertheless, the book simultaneously draws together major themes in the author's previous work and opens new perspectives and research agendas.

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BOOK NOTES

We Bear the Loss Together: A History of the Mennonite Aid Union. By Laureen Harder. Kitchener, Ont.: Pandora Press. 2007. Pp.125. $17.50.

Organized in 1866, the Mennonite Aid Union (M.A.U.) of Ontario was the first mutual aid society among North American Mennonites. Laureen Harder tells the story of the evolution of this institution in four chronologically arranged chapters. For much of its history the group operated on a stictly reciprocal basis, holding no surplus and, in its early years, collecting no premiums. Over time M.A.U. faced challenges on two fronts: from Ontario Mennonite Conference leaders concerned about M.A.U.'s gradual appropriation of risk, charging of fees and accumulation of surplus, and from Ontario Department of Insurance

regulators who were nervous about the legal status of the group and its less-than-conventional methods. Ironically, it was requests for extensive coverage from Mennonite institutions, such as schools and homes for the aged and orphans, that pushed M.A.U. increasingly to operate like an insurance company. Dramatic economic and regulatory changes forced an organizational transformation between 1999 and 2007, during which M.A.U. dissolved and was replaced by Mutual Aid eXchange (MAX) Canada.

Consider the Threshing Stone: Writings of Jacob J. Rempel, A Mennonite in Russia. David J. Rempel Smucker, ed. David J. Rempel Smucker and Eleanore Rempel Woollard, trans.. Kitchener, Ont.: Pandora Press. 2008. Pp. 179. $23.

In 1923 and 1924, as chairman of the Molotschna Emigation Committee, Jacob J. Rempel (1886-1980) was instrumental in the flight of thousands of Mennonites from the Soviet Union and their resettlement in Canada. For the rest of his life in Manitoba and later Ontario, Rempel remained a recognized leader in the Mennonite immigrant community. This book presents translations of autobiographical writings covering the period from Rempel's childhood through 1924. The first chapter, based on a typescript Rempel prepared late in life, describes his childhood. The second chapter details his alternative service during World War I as a medic aboard a Red Cross ship, the *Equator*, on the Black Sea; this essay is a composite translation of three documents, one of which Rempel had penned already in 1918. The third and longest section describes the Russian Revolution, its aftermath and the hazardous process of emigration. Editorial introductions and annotations, numerous captioned photos, maps, boxed inserts in the text that provide historical definitions, and seven appendices provide contexts for Rempel's narratives.

The Peace Church and the Ecumenical Community: Ecclesiology and the Ethics of Nonviolence. By Fernando Enns. Helmut Harder, trans. Kitchener, Ont.: Pandora Press. 2007. Pp. 360. $35.

This volume is an English translation of German Mennonite theologian Fernando Enns's 2003 work *Friedenskirche in der Ökumene: Mennonitische Wurzeln einer Ethik der Gewaltfreiheit*. Enns, who was instrumental in the World Council of Churches's Decade to Overcome Violence (2001-2010), argues that both Christian ethics and ecclesiology must be based on a trinitarian view of God as creator, incarnated in Christ and present in the Holy Spirit, and urges all churches to heed the call to peace. A nine-page review of the 2003 edition appears in the April 2005 number of *MQR*.

Heilung der Erinnerungen – befreit zur gemeinsamen Zukunft: Mennoniten im Dialog. Fernando Enns, ed. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Otto Lembeck. 2008. Pp. 317. 24 Euro.

Although Mennonites are not a large group, within the context of the broader Christian church they have emerged as valued conversation partners in ecumenical dialogue, both as representatives of the oldest Free Church tradition and as a peace church that has brought a theological ethic of nonviolence to numerous national and international settings. Fernando Enns, who holds the chair of Peace Church Theology at the University of Hamburg, has been at the forefront of these conversations, especially in his role as a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. In this volume (*Healing of Memories – Freed for a Shared Future: Mennonites in Dialogue*), Enns pulls together reports and official statements from recent ecumenical conversations. The book is divided into five sections, each offering the most important sources documenting the international exchanges between various dialogue partners: Mennonites and Catholics, Mennonites and Lutherans (including national dialogues in France, Germany and the United States), Mennonites and Reformed (including national dialogues in the Netherlands and Switzerland), Mennonites and Baptists, and a consultation at Prague that brought together representatives from churches of the first Reformation, the Radical Reformation and the magisterial Reformation.

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