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THE 'SWORD'

An Example of Anabaptist Diversity

Much mainstream theological comment on Anabaptism characteristically assumes both that the essence of Anabaptism is commonly understood and that it is to be rejected as naïve and irresponsible. But Anabaptism is a much more complex movement than is often allowed and very different from the image of sectarian withdrawal which has become fixed in both the popular and theological imaginations. The movement's complexity is indicated by the modern quest for the 'essence' of Anabaptism and can be illustrated precisely at the point where the movement is often taken to be at its most monolithic, its attitude to state coercion or 'the sword'.

ANABAPTIST ROOTS

The tangled roots of Anabaptism have yet to be successfully unravelled.¹ Long subject to its detractors' interpretations, the renaissance in Anabaptist historiography which has taken place this century has at last offered more positive appraisals.² The identification by Mennonite historians of a type of 'evangelical Anabaptism' in the Swiss Brethren, who emerged from the circle around Zwingli in Zürich and were clearly distinguished from him after 1525, came to function as normative for the whole movement.³ This allowed denominational historians to practise 'a sort of posthumous excommunication' to exclude unacceptable elements from their own history, most especially the Münster insurrectionists.⁴

The diversity of the Reformation's radical wing is clear from George Williams' landmark survey and included, in his analysis, three main thrusts: Spiritualists, Anabaptists and Evangelical Rationalists.⁵ Within this broad typology Williams further identified seven specifically Anabaptist regional groupings:

- (1) The Swiss Brethren
- (2) South German and Austrian Anabaptists
- (3) The communitarian Hutterites of Moravia
- (4) The anti-Chalcedonian Melchiorites of Lower Germany, the Netherlands, England and Prussia, in line with Melchior Hofmann's and Menno Simons' pacifism
- (5) The revolutionary Münsterites in line with Melchior Hofmann's apocalypticism and the violence of Jan Mathys
- (6) The predestinarian and psychopannychist, anti-Nicene North Italian Anabaptists and
- (7) The anti-Nicene Lithuanian and Polish Brethren.

He then resolved these groups into three 'morphological types'⁶, the distribution between them being uneven: Evangelical Anabaptists or 'suffering servants' (groups

1-4), Maccabean Anabaptists, or 'militant heralds' (group 5), and Spiritualizing Anabaptists or 'watchful brooders' (drawn from various groups).

The early debate over Anabaptist roots isolated one of two places as the point of origin, Saxony or Switzerland, Zwickau or Zürich, and drew parallel value judgments about the ensuing movements. By locating Anabaptist origins in Luther's confrontation with the Wittenberg radicals (1521-1522),⁷ Karl Holl successfully associated the movement with the Zwickau Prophets and Müntzer and so tarred them with the same supposedly anarchistic brush. The Münster débâcle (1535) was thus Anabaptism's logical extension. This association has been vigorously contested, with Zürich providing the credible and much more 'respectable' alternative, accrediting Anabaptism as an extension of the Protestant impetus,⁸ and appraising it more sympathetically. Troeltsch, opposing Holl, was the primary advocate of the view that Anabaptism had its origins in Zürich and concluded that Anabaptism was mainly pacifist. Münster was therefore an extreme and uncharacteristic consequence of persecution.⁹ Anabaptism, it may perhaps be agreed, was more a refuge for ex-revolutionaries than a violent organisation.¹⁰ Some recent scholarship, now seeking to reconcile Mennonite and Marxist schools of interpretation,¹¹ recognizes revolutionary concern for the reconstruction of property ownership in Anabaptism,¹² while at the same time heightening the non-violent elements in the so-called 'German Peasants' War'.¹³ Anabaptism may credibly be held therefore both to be a movement for social change and to favour non-violent means of advancing this.

In the 1960s a historiographical shift rejected the search for normative Anabaptism as a confessional device for dismissing embarrassing incidents. Anabaptism was, rather, both diverse and polygenetic¹⁴ or at least trigenetic,¹⁵ centred upon the Zwinglian-humanist Swiss Brethren, the mystical-humanist South Germans and the sacramentarian-apocalyptic Dutch.¹⁶ 'Evangelical Anabaptism' was identified as an abstraction of limited utility, the consequence of a denominational 'high ideology'.¹⁷ Instead, Anabaptism was to be conceived as a series of interacting groups embodying distinct sectarian traditions and oscillating uneasily between the poles of revolution and pacifism provided by Zwickau and Zürich.¹⁸ In like manner, 'the Reformation' can be held to be a misnomer: there was instead a series of reformations of plural origins and theologies, none of them 'purely religious' but parts of the larger social and political revolution through which Europe was passing.¹⁹ The polygenetic approach to Anabaptist origins is, of course, itself not unideological: it legitimates a growing Mennonite pluralism and the increased interest in radical politics and public theology, with the varied judgments to which this inevitably leads, which Mennonite thinkers are embracing.

The diversity and complexity of early Anabaptism is further attested by ways of accounting for the rise of the movement, its moral, spiritual and theological energy. Williams' 'Radical Reformation' and Bainton's 'Left Wing of the Reformation'²⁰ defined Anabaptists as radical Protestants, more courageous than Luther and Zwingli

in applying Reformation principles. Differences between Reformers and Radicals were quantitative. Others identified a debt to medieval dissenting movements and so a qualitative distinction from Protestants and Catholics,²¹ since the focus here is on evangelical resistance to totalitarianism. A further alternative finds traces of medieval asceticism mediated through the monastic orders (several Anabaptist leaders were former monks), the influence of Erasmus and the *Devotia Moderna* or the *Theologia Germanica*.²² For Marxists the movement resulted from social forces, the search for religious motives being a bourgeois illusion.²³ Still others located its origins in the ability of the revolutionary strains of the biblical canon, already being suppressed within the canon itself, to reassert themselves throughout history.²⁴ As none of these interpretations has achieved dominance in the contest of ideas it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Anabaptism itself is the product of complex and varied forces.

ANABAPTIST IDENTITY

Given the varieties of Anabaptism, is it meaningful to use the name at all? The nominalist use of the description corresponds to its literal meaning: Anabaptists were united by an outward sign, the baptism of believers. It is necessary however to go beyond this and to seek to identify a common body of ideas.

The quest for the essence of Anabaptism and its related traditions is almost as extensive as that for the essence of Christianity.²⁵ Amidst the plurality, Weaver finds the regulative principles in discipleship, community, non-violence and separation from the world.²⁶ Similarly, McClendon finds among the wider "heirs of the Radicals":

(1) **Biblicism**, understood not as one or another theory of inspiration, but as a humble acceptance of the authority of Scripture for both faith and practice. (Related themes are restitution and restoration.)

(2) **Mission (or evangelism)**, understood not as an attempt to control history for the ends we believe to be good, but as responsibility to witness to Christ - and accept the suffering that witness entails.

(3) **Liberty**, or soul competency, understood not as the overthrow of all oppressive authority, but as the God-given freedom to respond to God without the intervention of the state or other powers. (Related themes are intentional community, voluntarism, separation of church and state.)

(4) **Discipleship**, understood neither as a vocation for the few nor an esoteric discipline for adepts, but as life transformed into service by the lordship of Jesus Christ. (Signified by believer's baptism; a related theme is the regenerate or believers' church.)

(5) Community, understood not as privileged access to God or to sacred status, but as sharing together in a storied life of obedient service to and with Christ. (Signified by the Lord's Supper.)²⁷

Various themes have been applied as organising centres for this total vision and are reviewed by McClendon. For Smucker²⁸ biblicism has priority; but this is shared with other Christians. Mullins advanced liberty and 'soul-competency',²⁹ although in a way which cannot escape the suspicion of being overly conditioned by his North American context and political culture. Troeltsch attributed separation of church and state, religious toleration, voluntarism and development of the liberal society to the Anabaptist legacy³⁰ but reduced these themes from theology to political theories. 'Discipleship' emerged from Bender's seminal essay, 'The Anabaptist Vision', with its christocentric stress on *Nachfolge Christi* as the meaning of baptism and its combination of the themes of discipleship, the church as brotherhood, and non-resistance.³¹ But by itself the theme of discipleship does not express the vision. Community was stressed by Littell in his working definition: '(T)he Anabaptists proper were those in the radical Reformation who gathered and disciplined a "true church" (*rechte Kirche*) upon the apostolic pattern as they understood it'.³² He expounded this definition within a primitivist view of church history involving a fall from apostolic purity, variously dated by Anabaptist writers³³ but clearly associated with Constantine, and the subsequent Anabaptist restitution of the true church.³⁴ This McClendon believes to come closest to the mark because it joins the themes of history and community. To a degree, all parties of the Reformation were restitutionists; but the Reformers gloried in a restoration of the gospel while the Anabaptists gloried in that of the church.³⁵ Unlike the Spiritualists, they looked for a restitution of the *visible* community.³⁶

McClendon's own 'hermeneutical motto' finds the essence of the Anabaptist (or, as he prefers, the 'baptist') vision in:

shared awareness of the *present Christian community as the primitive community and the eschatological community*. In other words, the church now is the primitive church and the church on the day of judgment is the church now; the obedience and liberty of the followers of Jesus of Nazareth is our liberty, our obedience.³⁷

This captures the sense of immediacy before the biblical testimony: the church now is the apostolic church, often fallen and often restored. So McClendon existentializes the themes of fall and restoration while avoiding the detailed interpretations of history and the unselfcritical attitudes that have accompanied this motif. The church of the present stands under divine judgment and receives divine mercy, is fallen but also experiences restoration. Helpful though this definition is as an attempt to state the 'essence' of Anabaptism, it clearly leaves the field open for discussion and debate as to how, in continuity with the primitive church and conscious of the judgment of God, the church is to express its obedience to God.

ANABAPTISTS AND THE 'SWORD'

Anabaptist variety is illustrated, and easy generalizations questioned, by examining how the church's relation to society and government was conceived. James Stayer's significant work on this topic illustrates the degree of disagreement. By the word 'sword' is meant the ethics of coercion, the use of force by the authorities.³⁸ In the sixteenth century coercion was the largest part of the state's activities. The Lutheran Reformers moved from the Two-Sword theory of medieval papalism, according to the church the right and duty to coerce, to a One-Sword view confining the legitimate use of the sword to the *Obrigkeit*, the civil authority. Luther intended here not to divide between secular and sacred but rather to illuminate the twofold nature of God's rule through governments on the one hand and through his Word on the other.³⁹ The Anabaptists generally followed this, but not exclusively as we shall see, sharing Luther's presuppositions but few of his conclusions. All *Obrigkeit* is, for them, of God and under God but is radically qualified by the Fall. It was established as a sign of God's mercy and an instrument of his wrath in punishing wrongdoers, not always being excluded on principle as a place of service for the faithful disciple but often in practice being held to conflict with the demands of redemptive love.⁴⁰ It is crucial in understanding this stance to grasp that the primary setting for their discussion of the bearing of arms was not the war of the nation-state envisaged in the present century but holy war in defence of the faith or against fellow Christians in the supposed exercise of church discipline.⁴¹ The only governments the Anabaptists knew, therefore, were those who persecuted them and their like today or might well persecute them tomorrow.⁴²

Stayer uncovers the variety of Anabaptist responses to the sword, identifying four points on a compass as positions between which the varying groups oscillated.⁴³ This typology clarifies the raw stuff of Anabaptist teachings for the modern reader and elaborates Bainton's prior, and classic, classification of crusade, just war and pacifist positions.⁴⁴

The *crusading stand-point* embraced coercion as legitimate and effective. At Münster Anabaptists became the civil government and practised a reign of terror. Hofmann's apocalyptic visions were interpreted violently. Rothmann, the Münsterite theoretician, located Münster within the temporal unfolding of Providence by reading the signs of the times.⁴⁵ Vengeance was the prelude to Christ's coming and found expression in mass executions and a general Anabaptist uprising. Violence was by no means confined to Münster: revolutionary Melchiorism died a lingering, festering death.⁴⁶ Disillusioned apocalypticism incited Anabaptist terrorism in many parts of Germany and the Netherlands.⁴⁷ Violence often resulted from desperate social conditions and persecution. But Anabaptism became identifiable with violent revolution even though, as Stayer indicates, the balance of its membership was peaceful.⁴⁸ Elton's judgment that it was 'a violent phenomenon born out of irrational and psychologically unbalanced dreams. . . ' is not uninformed.⁴⁹

The *realpolitik stand-point* is associated with Balthasar Hübmaier. Although identified with the Swiss Brethren, Hübmaier was not 'in the middle of the Anabaptist movement'.⁵⁰ In J. H. Yoder's judgment, he failed to see that the state which claims to reform the church can also claim to halt its progress.⁵¹ He is accurately described both as a Reformed Anabaptist, standing half-way between Anabaptism and Zwinglianism,⁵² and as a Catholic Anabaptist.⁵³ As the reforming priest in Waldshut when the village was resisting the Habsburgs,⁵⁴ Hübmaier was baptized in 1525 and led the majority of the town to be baptized, so constituting the first Anabaptist city, with the consequent requirement of embracing political realities. He aimed, like Zwingli, at a general reformation of the church, believed in establishing a Christian society and shared Zwingli's real-political teaching on the sword.⁵⁵ By this Stayer means the recognition that values enforced by the sword are tarnished, but this is better than making no attempt to realize those values.⁵⁶

Between his baptism and his martyrdom in 1528, Hübmaier spent time in Zürich, where he briefly recanted, and then migrated to Nikolsburg in Moravia. His temporary recantation affirmed that a Christian may govern: 'Ever and always I have said that a Christian can be in government, and that the more Christian he is the more honourably he would rule'.⁵⁷ Nikolsburg became a refuge for Anabaptists of all shades⁵⁸ and an experiment in Anabaptist civil government in which Hübmaier was influential as theologian and Reformer. The arrival of Hans Hut in 1527 occasioned a dispute which divided the town's Anabaptists into *Schwertler*, like Hübmaier adopting a positive attitude to civil government, and *Stäbler*, rejecting any identification with the sword. Hut himself taught an apocalyptic doctrine of the vengeance of the elect against the rulers after the second coming: meanwhile Christians were to be non-violent.⁵⁹

The reconstruction of the Nikolsburg dispute and the articles there discussed is complex.⁶⁰ Bergsten has clarified the contradictory positions of Hübmaier and Hut at the time.⁶¹ Hübmaier's position is stated in his pamphlet 'On the Sword', produced immediately after the dispute. It expounds the texts cited to deny that the Christian should sit in authority and wield the sword.⁶² The sword, he argues, belongs to the divine order to watch over orphans, protect widows and the righteous and to free those who are threatened. Killing belongs necessarily to this order. Subjects are obligated to help their superiors root out the evil ones; yet they are also to test whether governments act from other motives than love of peace and the common good. If not, migration is the solution.⁶³ Christians may bear the sword and punish evil-doers provided they are duly appointed to 'wield' the sword and do not 'take' the sword to themselves.⁶⁴ What a Christian government does in wielding the sword is not motivated by hatred of enemies. The sword is exercised as a mandate of God.⁶⁵ Next to the preaching task, the office of temporal ruler is the most dangerous on earth because of the temptations of power. But it can be exercised in servant fashion and this requires 'that we should not quarrel, fight and

strive about it, nor conquer land and people with the sword and with force. It is against God'.⁶⁶ Ironically, Hübmaier was arrested shortly after this statement with the acquiescence of his protector, the Anabaptist ruler, Leopold von Liechtenstein, as a prelude to trial and martyrdom.⁶⁷

Hut's position is less easily determined. In Nikolsburg he maintained Christians should participate neither in violence nor in government. He and Hübmaier thus occupied different positions, Hut being the 'typical' Anabaptist and Hübmaier remaining, in this respect, a Protestant Reformer⁶⁸ advocating a 'Reformed Anabaptism'.⁶⁹ The most considerable theologian⁷⁰ produced by Anabaptism, certainly its only trained theologian and its most prolific author, was therefore 'atypical' on the sword, rendering it more difficult to pronounce on what, indeed, it might mean to be 'typical'. The more Reformed and militant Baptists have embraced Hübmaier as a forerunner.⁷¹ Stayer makes a strong case that although unique as a real-political *theorist*, Hübmaier was far from unique as a real-political *practitioner*, even among the Swiss Brethren.⁷²

Stayer identifies as *apolitical moderates* those who agree that force is necessary to the life of society but deny that it can achieve the highest values. Force maintains the order within which the higher values are pursued but remains ethically neutral. Moderates accept the benefits of the maintenance of order by coercion.⁷³ This position distances itself from the sword without denying it. It might also be described as 'moderate non-resistance' and is found in Denck, Marpeck and Menno Simons.⁷⁴

Hans Denck belonged to the Anabaptism influenced by Müntzer, especially by his mysticism, yet avoided his crusading attitude. He moved from an early position of ambiguity concerning whether a Christian could use the civil sword to non-resistance. But even here was paradox. Openness to dialogue with the world and belief in the ethic of true love as universal demand led him to agree that coercive authority might be exercised in a spirit of love, as might do the head of a household, the foundation and model for social authority. Yet the difficulty of achieving such love in government meant government should be avoided.⁷⁵ Killing and ruling might be Christian if performed, as did God, without vengeance and egoism.⁷⁶ Although a separatist, Denck held his position with subtlety and denied participation in civil government on pragmatic moral grounds rather than in principle. His characterization as the 'founder of undogmatic Christianity' is widely accepted.⁷⁷

Pilgram Marpeck ranks with Hübmaier for intellect in the early movement and occupied civil positions out of sheer ability.⁷⁸ As town engineer in Strasbourg (1528-31) and Augsburg (1544-56) he was practically in government.⁷⁹ He was no separatist⁸⁰ nor friendly with Hutterites and Swiss Brethren who were. He renounced self-defence and denied the government any ecclesiastical function; the government should neither dispense with power nor use it in the church.⁸¹ This would blaspheme against the Spirit and reject Christ's rule. Force is not even to be used against false teaching; the Word and the Spirit are enough. The sword belongs

in the world but not the church. His primary objection to force was its use under the pretext of faith in Christ.⁸² Yet the civil sword was also dangerous: 'It is difficult for a Christian to be a worldly ruler. . . since no one can serve two masters, that is the king or emperor in the worldly magistracy, and Christ in the spiritual, heavenly kingdom'.⁸³ 'Christ's wisdom is merciful and will not serve [the magistrate] in his office because he is not merciful in his office but rather an avenger'.⁸⁴ Stayer has followed previous arguments in claiming that Marpeck was fitting himself into South German traditions reaching back to Denck. Doubt about serving as a ruler does not absolutely rule it out. Stayer cites Marpeck's close association with Georg Rothenfelder who argued that if a Christian could be the ruler of a household he could also be the ruler of a country. Other South German Anabaptists manifested a less-than-hard-line position in this regard.⁸⁵

Menno Simons is particularly instructive, not least because Mennonites took their name from him. Menno, a priest, broke with Rome only in 1536 (after Münster) and shepherded the scattered flock of Melchiorites as one untainted by violence. He was closer to Zwingli than to the Swiss Brethren,⁸⁶ opposing the sword of war but not forbidding Christians to rule and so wield the sword. He distinguished between the sword of war and the sword of justice.⁸⁷ Christian rulers should protect widows and orphans, punish the immoral and criminal and even, surprisingly, aid true religion against deceivers, although by reasonable means of restraint and not by tyranny or bloodshed.⁸⁸ Menno followed this outline all his life with two alterations. He came to reject altogether the application of force in strictly religious matters.⁸⁹ This brought him into line with Marpeck. He came to reject capital punishment for more humane forms of punishment.⁹⁰ He never developed a political ethic separating Christians from maintaining the natural order of society but wavered between withdrawal from society and its transformation. The Old Testament ideal of the godly ruler is not lacking in his writings. He does not adhere to 'non-resistance' and is not doctrinaire concerning the sword.⁹¹

The fourth point of the compass, with which Stayer confesses himself to be unsympathetic,⁹² is *radical apoliticism*⁹³ or separatist non-resistance. To exercise force is to become corrupt. This is ethical absolutism with an unambiguous view of reality. It was represented by the Swiss Brethren, became codified in the Schleithem Brotherly Union drafted by Michael Sattler, and triumphed by virtue of its radicalism wherever Anabaptism survived.⁹⁴ Yoder describes Schleithem as the most important event in the history of Anabaptism. Here emerged the growing conviction that the sword was a pagan arrangement.⁹⁵ The first Anabaptist sect thus came to define thinking on the sword,⁹⁶ but the beginnings of Anabaptism generally need to be distinguished from the founding of the Swiss Brethren sect at Schleithem.⁹⁷ Snyder believes Schleithem to be decisive for the Swiss and Hutterites but less so for other streams of the movement.⁹⁸

The radical position was outlined in Grebel's letter of 1524 to Müntzer, expressing both admiration and unease over Müntzer's position, of which he was

only partially informed. The church is a suffering minority which has forsaken the sword and war.⁹⁹ This was developed by Michael Sattler at Schleithem. Sattler can thus be claimed as the real founder of the Swiss Brethren.¹⁰⁰ The sectarianism of this strand, uncharacteristic of most early Anabaptists, has been convincingly explained as having its intellectual tap roots in the Benedictine monasticism to which Sattler previously belonged and in which the theme of christocentric discipleship was dominant. Anabaptism is in part a Protestantization of monasticism.¹⁰¹

Schleithem advances extreme separation of church and world in its Article IV.¹⁰² Its pessimistic anthropology and sociology envisage the sword as the power which holds society together¹⁰³ without any neutral ground between God and Satan for God's preservation ordinances. The non-Christian is the anti-Christian. The world is devilish and only Romans 13 prevents radical apoliticism becoming anarchy.¹⁰⁴ Article VI, on the sword, contrasts the ban used for admonition and exclusion 'within the perfection of Christ', that is in the church, and the sword prevailing 'outside the perfection of Christ'.¹⁰⁵ The sword is a diabolical weapon,¹⁰⁶ yet also an *ordering of God* to punish the wicked and protect the good, to be wielded by secular rulers. Believers can have nothing to do with it, nor serve in civil government as magistrates, nor can they swear oaths (Article VII). Nonconformity is justified by the example of Jesus. The Christian life is adherence to his example. Zwingli interpreted this rejection of the sword as rejection of the state. His logic moved from rulers as servants of God, through the fact that Christians should serve God to the conclusion that therefore Christians should be rulers.¹⁰⁷

Schleithem was reaffirmed at disputations in Zoffingen (1532) and Bern (1538) but not all Swiss Brethren accepted it. Hans Bruback, a member of the first Anabaptist congregation in Zollikon, argued in 1530 that Christians could be rulers and that the government should imprison thieves and murderers but not execute them.¹⁰⁸ Yet Schleithem predominated because, Stayer suggests, radical ideas tend to survive. Moderate apolitical conciliation was not suited to the violence and extremism of the times.¹⁰⁹ More sympathetically, but perhaps inaccurately, Verduin finds the Confession an excellent statement which avoided making the *regnum* the devil's realm while establishing a clear, necessary and progressive distinction between the instruments of preserving and redeeming grace, that is, state and church.¹¹⁰

The arguments of the Confession were repeated in the writings of Peter Rideman of the Hutterites, the most doctrinaire of all Anabaptist groups in rejecting the established state.¹¹¹ While allowing that government is ordained by God and right and good within its own limits (when it does not presume to 'lay hands upon the conscience and to control the faith of man'¹¹²), he developed the logical outcome of the separatist position: 'But governmental authority was given in wrath, and so it can neither fit itself into nor belong to Christ. Thus no Christian is a ruler and no ruler is a Christian, for the child of blessing cannot be the servant of wrath'.

Governmental authority, itself a rejection of the rule of God's Spirit (Genesis 6:3), is no concern of the children of God. Because vengeance is God's alone it should be neither practised nor exercised by Christians.¹¹³ Likewise, taxes devoted to making war and the manufacture of armaments should be refused.¹¹⁴

By the 1560s radical apoliticism characterised all surviving branches of Anabaptism except the Dutch Waterlanders who maintained a more moderate position. According to Stayer, once the forty-year process of separating the Anabaptist congregations from the world and its natural maintenance was complete, the Waterlanders became the first labourers in the four hundred-year process of bringing them back into the world.¹¹⁵

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

Yoder criticises historians, including Stayer, for bringing to the discussion of Anabaptist history a 'definitional dualism' which is a product of Constantinianism. This systematic bias renders the nuances of the history difficult to grasp, imposing a consistency out of the mind of the analyst.¹¹⁶ Anabaptists accepted the non-resistant teaching of Jesus without concluding dogmatically that his disciples would always reject civil responsibility. Stayer's analysis shows this, yet is still, according to Yoder, committed to the dualist approach and so finds an undogmatic position inconsistent.¹¹⁷ This distorted reading assumes ideas which were impossible for the Anabaptists, including that of participative government. The governments with which Anabaptists interacted were closed authority structures not responsible even to those who were full citizens. A contextualized question to ask the Anabaptists would be: 'Is it the calling of the Christian to exercise unaccountable sovereignty, to oppress the poor, to brake the pace of the reformation of the church, and to punish with death those of another religious opinion?' That they said 'No' should not be taken as systematic separatism or an 'ideal type' of social stance.¹¹⁸ The majority of free church believers in the sixteenth century rejected both radical dualism and theocracy. Schleithem should be read as time-bound, calling for discernment as the meanings of actions and symbols change with the times.¹¹⁹ Sattler's Confession was against the backdrop of governments which denied his right to free religious expression and which shortly would take his life. It is unfair to project from this a vision of civil 'absenteeism' in contexts where public involvement without moral disobedience can be contemplated.¹²⁰ Despite persecution the Anabaptists consistently affirmed the legitimacy of the civil order. They prefigured a democratizing, pluralizing, disabsolutizing thrust in social thought for which the language of their century was not ready.¹²¹

While sympathetic with aspects of Yoder's appraisal, Stayer denies that his framework of approach distorts the evidence.¹²² Yoder's analysis of Anabaptism, he claims, is itself determined by an ethical norm close to the Quaker principle of speaking truth to power for which radical apoliticism is an embarrassment.¹²³ He therefore obscures the position of the Schleithem majority, being reluctant to admit

to the predominance of a stance for which, like Stayer, he has distaste.¹²⁴ Yoder and Stayer agree upon the ideological nature of radical apoliticism. It emerged out of the concrete experience of a group under intense persecution.¹²⁵ Given the circumstances separatist non-resistance was entirely 'realistic' and allowed Anabaptism to survive.¹²⁶ Peachey finds here a movement which lost its early intellectuals and, forced to confine itself largely to artisans and farmers, became distanced from mainstream culture and so impoverished.¹²⁷

Granted these cautionary comments about the uses to which Anabaptist positions might be put, within the Anabaptist thought that came to predominate it is frequently agreed that there is a paradox,¹²⁸ a basic structural ambiguity,¹²⁹ a theological dilemma without solution.¹³⁰ The state is an ordering of God, necessary and legitimate, protecting the good and punishing evildoers. Yet, it is outside the perfection of Christ. Its means are in conflict with the teaching of the Christ whom the disciple follows.¹³¹ The magistrate's office is left to the non-Christian to administer. It will never lack occupants. The few who want to follow Christ should follow him wholeheartedly.¹³² This position, despite similarities with general Reformation thought, is unique.¹³³ The state is both an 'ordering' of God and outside the 'perfection of Christ'. The discussion permits a summary:

All Anabaptist groups acknowledged the necessity of coercion and saw this as the right and duty of civil government.¹³⁴ The state is an indication of God's wrath but expresses God's grace in bringing order and peace. Governmental power and authority are necessary in their own way.¹³⁵ Anabaptists were not anarchists seeing force as the source of all wrongs.¹³⁶ They were realistic about human wrongdoing. On the validity of the civil order they have been misrepresented, as if the claim that the sword has no place in the church meant that it has no place in society.¹³⁷ This must be attributed to the thought system of the magisterial reformers which so intertwined church and state that the first claim was heard to equal the second.¹³⁸

Anabaptists generally rejected force in the internal affairs of the church and against false teaching. This was true of all groups but the Münsterites, except that Menno excluded false teaching from the state's concern more slowly. For Yoder the turning point in the Zwinglian Reformation hinged around this rejection of state involvement.¹³⁹ Reformation thought allowed individuals private faith and believed that true faith could not be compelled. But when belief was held publicly it could conflict with the authority of the state to regulate external faith in its territory. The Reformers did not question this authority.¹⁴⁰ The Anabaptists did and this claim implies both religious pluralism and a de-sacralized state.

Anabaptists were suspicious of the sword because it was at the service of the sacral state. Some differentiated the sword in war and in the administration of justice, declaring the former illegitimate and the latter legitimate. The question of whether a country might engage in defensive armed conflict was not generally addressed.¹⁴¹ There were different opinions about the participation of the faithful

believer in the legitimate functions of the sword. Hillerbrand understands the prevailing answer to be negative, but notes 'the minority within the minority', including Hübmaier, which stood closer to the Reformation position.¹⁴² Yoder has argued for a large proportion of 'undogmatic non-resistants'. Some could conceive of the administration of the coercive functions of the state so as to avoid bloodshed and capital punishment. Some conceptualized the distinction between the state as an oppressive instrument and as the protector of the widow and the orphan.

A basic quandary of political reality, and the point of conflict between Anabaptists and Reformers, concerns the tension between the requirements of the whole of society and those of its parts, between 'holism' and 'elementarism': how to build a comprehensive order without destroying the autonomous integrity of the component units.¹⁴³ The Radicals were groping towards an arrangement which did not as yet exist.¹⁴⁴ The Schleithem statement that 'the sword is an ordering of God outside the perfection of Christ' replaced the concept of dual offices, *sacerdotium* and *regnum*, within a united Christendom by returning to the pre-Constantinian order of two distinct and coexisting conditions. It rejected anarchy and the pretensions of rulers. Yet Schleithem's dichotomy of good and evil and its rejection of participation in voluntary or civic associations, which are essential if pluralism and liberty are to be safeguarded, saws off the pluralist limb on which the radical claim rests.¹⁴⁵ It remains to be seen how a doctrine forged in a time of religious and political despotism¹⁴⁶ can be translated into present-day relevance.

NOTES

- 1 A. Snyder, "The Influence of the Schleithem Articles on the Anabaptist Movement: An Historical Evaluation", *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (hereafter *MQR*) Vol 63 No 4, 1989, p.323.
- 2 H. S. Bender, 'Historiography: I Anabaptist General', *Mennonite Encyclopaedia* Vol 2, p.754.
- 3 Pre-eminently J. Horsch, 'Is Dr Kuehler's Conception of Early Dutch Anabaptism Historically Sound?', *MQR* Vol 7 No 1, 1933, pp.48, 50-52. G. H. Williams identifies evangelical Anabaptism but suggests that the Swiss Brethren's chronological priority and eventual dominance should not be mistaken for normativeness: *The Radical Reformation*, Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1962.
- 4 J. R. Coggins, 'Toward a Definition of Sixteenth Century Anabaptism: Twentieth-Century Historiography of the Radical Reformation', *Journal of Mennonite Studies*, Vol 4, 1986, p.187.
- 5 Williams, *op.cit.*, p.846.
- 6 *ibid.*, pp.853-854.
- 7 K. Holl, "Luther und die Schwärmer" in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte I: Luther*, J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1932, pp.420-467. This follows the early lead of Heinrich Bullinger who was concerned to clear the Zwinglian Reformation of guilt by association: Williams, *op.cit.*, pp.851-852.
- 8 H. S. Bender, 'The Zwickau Prophets, Thomas Müntzer and the Peasants' War', in J. M. Stayer and W. O. Packull, eds, *The Anabaptists and Thomas Müntzer*, Kendall/Hunt Publishing, Dubuque and Toronto, 1980, pp.145-151.
- 9 E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* Vol 2, 1931, pp.703-705.
- 10 Coggins, *op.cit.*, p.197.
- 11 *ibid.*, p.196.
- 12 D. W. Brown, 'The Radical Reformation: Then and Now', *MQR* Vol 45 No 3, 1971, p.251; W. Klaassen, 'The Nature of the Anabaptist Protest', *MQR* Vol 45 No 4, 1971, pp.300-304.
- 13 J. M. Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1991, e.g. pp.35, 38, 57, 73, 77, 92, 99. This undermines

- characterisations of the Anabaptists as 'withdrawn'.
- 14 J. M. Stayer, W. O. Packull and K. Deppermann, 'From Monogenesis to Polygenesis: The Historical Discussion of Anabaptist Origins', *MQR* Vol 49 No 2, 1975, pp.83-121.
 - 15 Coggins, *op.cit.*, p.201.
 - 16 W. Klaassen, 'Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism: A Vision Valid for the Twentieth Century?', *Conrad Grebel Review* Vol 7 No 3, Fall, 1989, p.242.
 - 17 J. M. Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword*, Coronado Press, Lawrence, Kansas, 1972, pp.14, 17.
 - 18 *ibid.*, pp. 1, 19-20.
 - 19 J. M. Stayer, 'Reublin and Brötli: The Revolutionary Beginnings of Swiss Anabaptism', in *The Origins and Characteristics of Anabaptism*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1977, pp.83, 89, 91, 96.
 - 20 'The Left Wing of the Reformation', *Journal of Religion*, Vol 21, 1941, pp.124-134.
 - 21 L. Verduin, *The Reformers and their Stepchildren*, Paternoster, Exeter, 1966, p.15.
 - 22 K. R. Davis, *Anabaptism and Asceticism: A Study in Intellectual Origins*, Herald Press, Scottdale, 1974, p.296.
 - 23 G. Tschäbitz, 'The Position of Anabaptism on the Continuum of the Early Bourgeois Revolution in Germany', in Stayer and Packull, eds., *Müntzer*, p.29.
 - 24 C. Rowland, *Radical Christianity: A Reading of Recovery*, Polity Press, Oxford, 1988, pp.45, 101-102.
 - 25 C. Redekop, 'The Community of Scholars and the Essence of Anabaptism', *MQR* Vol 67, No 4, 1993, pp.429-450.
 - 26 J. D. Weaver, 'Becoming Anabaptist-Mennonite: The Contemporary Relevance of Sixteenth Century Anabaptism', *Journal of Mennonite Studies* Vol 4, 1986, pp.167-168, 178-180. Cp. Troeltsch: 'The following were its main characteristics: emphasis on Believers' Baptism, a voluntary church, the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, the rejection of the oath, of war, law, and authority, and finally, the most far-reaching mutual material help and the equality of all Church members, the election of elders and preachers by the local congregations, and, to a large extent, the unpaid character of the pastoral office; these principles were in close agreement with the democratic tendencies of the masses': *The Social Teaching* Vol 2 p.703. As other traditions based infant baptism on *fides aliena* or *fides infusa*, it is arguably more accurate to describe the Anabaptist position as 'confessor baptism' rather than 'believers' baptism': J. H. Rainbow, "Confessor Baptism": The Baptismal Doctrine of the Early Anabaptists', *American Baptist Quarterly*, Vol 8 No 4, December, 1989, pp.286-297. The oath was used as a means of ensuring political loyalty. Strasbourg, for instance, held an annual Schwörtag when citizens pledged allegiance in front of the cathedral: A. L. Fitz-Gibbon 'A Study in Church-State Relations in the Writings and Teaching of the Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century', MLitt Dissertation, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1992, p.144.
 - 27 J. W. McClendon, ed., *Systematic Theology: Ethics*, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1986, p.28.
 - 28 D. Smucker, 'The Theological Triumph of the Early Anabaptist-Mennonites', *MQR* Vol 19 No 1, 1945, pp.5-26.
 - 29 E. Y. Mullins, *The Axioms of Religion: A New Interpretation of the Baptist Faith*, Judson Press, Philadelphia, 1908, pp.59-69.
 - 30 E. Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress: A Historical Study of the Relation of Protestantism to the Modern World*, Williams and Norgate, 1912, pp.123-126.
 - 31 H. S. Bender, 'The Anabaptist Vision' in G. F. Herschberger, ed., *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision*, Herald Press, Scottdale, 1957, pp.43 ff. Non-resistance embraces the rejection of violence, self-defence and coercion.
 - 32 F. H. Littell, *The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism: A Study of the Anabaptist View of the Church*, Macmillan, 1964, p.xvii. The Anabaptists believed in a 'gathered' rather than a 'pure' church. Church discipline aimed to purify the gathered church: J. E. Colwell, 'A Radical Church? A Reappraisal of Anabaptist Ecclesiology', *Tyndale Bulletin*, Vol 38, 1987, p.134.
 - 33 The Zwinglian party, and other Protestants, dated the fall in the sixth century and associated it with the papal hierarchy. This explains something of their distance from the Anabaptists: P. P. Peachey, *Die Soziale Herkunft der Schweizer Täufer in der Reformationszeit*, Buchdruckerei und Verlag Heinrich Schneider, Karlsruhe, 1954, p.98.
 - 34 Littell, *Origins* pp.46-108; F. Wray 'The Anabaptist Doctrine of the Restitution of the Church', *MQR* Vol 28 No 3, 1954, pp.189-196. W. Klaassen's summary of the Anabaptist

- critique of Christendom is that (i) infant baptism, the motor of Christendom and so the object of Anabaptist criticism, denied the liberty of the children of God; (ii) governments were established to restrain evil in matters relating to physical life whereas religious persecution created chaos; (iii) Christendom obliterates the distinction between church and world; (iv) it secularises the church without sanctifying the state, Christian magistrates being obliged to adopt the world's standards not Christ's; (v) it leaves no place for a truly mutual Christian community by placing spiritual leadership in the hands of rulers; (vi) it neglects ethics in favour of doctrine, incorporating the ethics of vengeance and neglecting the suffering or 'bitter' Christ: 'The Anabaptist Critique of Constantinian Christendom', *MQR* Vol 55 No 3, 1981, p.228.
- 35 H. J. Hillerbrand, 'Anabaptism and History', *MQR* Vol 45 No 2, 1971, pp.112-113, 119.
- 36 J. L. Garrett, 'The Nature of the Church According to the Radical Continental Reformation', *MQR* Vol 32 No 2, 1958, p.115.
- 37 McClendon, *Ethics*, p.31 (his emphasis).
- 38 Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword*, p.1. For summaries see also W. Klaassen, "'Of Divine and Human Justice": The Early Swiss Brethren and Government', *Conrad Grebel Review* Vol 10 No 2, Spring, 1992, pp.169-185 and H. J. Loewen, 'Church and State in the Anabaptist-Mennonite Tradition: Christ Versus Caesar?' in R. T. Bender and A. P. F. Sell, eds, *Baptism, Peace and the State in the Reformed and Mennonite Traditions*, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, 1991, pp.145-165.
- 39 R. J. Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1984 and 1988, p.174.
- 40 C. Bauman, 'The Theology of the "Two Kingdoms": A Comparison of Luther and the Anabaptists', *MQR* Vol 38 No 1, 1964, pp.44-47.
- 41 W. Klaassen, ed., *Anabaptism in Outline: Selected Primary Sources*, Herald Press, Scottsdale, 1981, p.265.
- 42 F. H. Littell, 'The New Shape of the Church-State Issue', *MQR* Vol 40 No 3, 1966, p.184. This leaves open the question of an Anabaptist response to a more representative government, p.185.
- 43 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.3.
- 44 J. M. Stayer, 'Reflections and Retractions on Anabaptism and the Sword', *MQR* Vol 51 No 3, 1977, p.200. Cp. R. H. Bainton *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace*, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1960 and 1986, p.14.
- 45 J. M. Stayer, 'The Münsterite Rationalization of Bernhard Rothmann', *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol 28 No 2, April-June, 1967, p.181.
- 46 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, pp.249, 297.
- 47 *ibid.*, pp.191, 196-197, 285 ff.
- 48 *ibid.*, p.336.
- 49 G. R. Elton, *Reformation Europe 1517-1559*, Collins, 1963, p.103.
- 50 H. W. Pipkin and J. H. Yoder, eds, *Balthasar Hübmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism*, Herald Press, Scottsdale, 1989, pp.13, 15. In Yoder's judgment, Hübmaier as a trained theologian approached baptism as a single issue in its own right. For the Swiss Brethren it was one expression of a new understanding of faith and the church: 'Balthasar Hübmaier and the Beginnings of Swiss Anabaptism', *MQR* Vol 33 No 1, 1959, pp.7, 17.
- 51 *ibid.* (*MQR*) p.17.
- 52 R. Friedmann, 'The Nicosburg Articles: A Problem of Early Anabaptist History', *Church History* Vol 36 No 4, December, 1967, p.404.
- 53 J. Wm. McClendon Jr, 'Balthasar Hübmaier, Catholic Anabaptist', *MQR* Vol 65 No 1, 1991, pp.20-33.
- 54 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.104.
- 55 *ibid.*, pp.104-5.
- 56 *ibid.*, p.3.
- 57 Hübmaier, 'Recantation at Zurich' in Pipkin and Yoder, eds, *Hübmaier*, p.132.
- 58 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.141.
- 59 *ibid.*, pp.151-152.
- 60 The research is summarised by Friedmann, 'The Nicosburg Articles:', pp.391-409. Attitudes to the state were not the only or primary issue at stake.
- 61 T. Bergsten, *Balthasar Hübmaier: Seine Stellung zur Reformation und Täuferium 1521-1528*, J. G. Oncken Verlag, Kassel, 1961, pp.464-467.
- 62 Hübmaier, 'On the Sword' in Pipkin and Yoder *Hübmaier*, pp.493-494.
- 63 *ibid.*, pp.519-521.
- 64 *ibid.*, p.503; 'Apologia', in Pipkin and Yoder *Hübmaier*, pp.558-561.
- 65 *ibid.*, p.511.
- 66 *ibid.*, p.517; Bergsten, *Hübmaier*, p.465. See also 'On the Christian Baptism of Believers', in Pipkin and Yoder, *Hübmaier*, p.98; 'Recantation at Zurich', p.152; "A Brief Apologia", p.304.
- 67 'On the Sword' in Pipkin and Yoder, *Hübmaier*, p.494.

- 68 Bergsten, *Hübmaier*, pp.466-467. Bergsten's judgment that Hut was 'typical' is questionable in the light of his quasi-Müntzerite position: Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, pp.150-151.
- 69 Bergsten, *Hübmaier*, p.324.
- 70 Pipkin and Yoder, *Hübmaier*, p.15.
- 71 J. Loserth, 'Hübmaier, Balthasar', *Mennonite Encyclopaedia* Vol 2, Scottdale 1956, p.826; Friedmann, 'The Nicolsburg Articles:', p.399.
- 72 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.109.
- 73 *ibid.*, p.3.
- 74 *ibid.*, pp.22, 313.
- 75 Hans Denck, 'Concerning True Love', 1527, in Klaassen, ed., *Anabaptism in Outline: Selected Primary Sources*, Herald Press, Scottdale, 1981, p.249.
- 76 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, pp.147-149.
- 77 W. F. Neff, 'Denk, Hans', *Mennonite Encyclopaedia* Vol 2, p.32.
- 78 *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, Translated and edited by William Klaassen and Walter Klaassen, Herald Press, Scottdale, 1978, pp.15-18.
- 79 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.178.
- 80 Klaassen, "Of Divine and Human Justice":', p.181.
- 81 'Pilgram Marpeck's Confession of 1539', in *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, pp.113, 150-151.
- 82 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.181.
- 83 Marpeck, 'Defense' in Klaassen, *Anabaptism in Outline*, p.263.
- 84 'Explanation of the Testaments', in *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, pp.556-558.
- 85 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, pp.185-186.
- 86 Klaassen "Of Divine and Human Justice":', p.181.
- 87 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, pp.312-4: See e.g. Menno Simons, 'Brief Confession on the Incarnation', 1544, in J. C. Wenger, ed., *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons c. 1496-1561*, Herald Press, Scottdale, 1956, p.424 and 'Reply to False Accusations', 1552, *ibid.*, p.555.
- 88 Menno Simons, 'Foundation of Christian Doctrine', 1539, *Complete Writings*, p.193; 'Supplication to all Magistrates', 1552, p.526; 'Epistle to Micron', 1556, p.922.
- 89 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.315.
- 90 H. S. Bender, *Menno Simons' Life and Writings*, Gospel Publishers, Moundridge, Kansas, 1983, pp.93-94.
- 91 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.318.
- 92 *ibid.*, p.22.
- 93 *ibid.*, p.3.
- 94 *ibid.*, p.22; J. H. Yoder, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler*, Herald Press, Scottdale, 1973, p.33.
- 95 *Täuferium und Reformation in der Schweiz: 1. Die Gespräche zwischen Reformatoren in der Schweiz*, Buchdruckerei und Verlag H. Schneider, Karlsruhe, 1962, pp.99-100, 169.
- 96 *ibid.*, p.92.
- 97 Stayer et al., 'From Monogenesis to Polygenesis:' p.100.
- 98 Snyder, 'The Influence of the Schleithem Articles...', p.323.
- 99 'Letter to Thomas Müntzer by Conrad Grebel and Friends', in G. H. Williams and A. M. Mergal, eds, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1957, p.80.
- 100 Stayer, 'Reflections and Retractions...', p.207.
- 101 Snyder, 'The Monastic Origins of Swiss Anabaptist Sectarianism', pp.5, 9, 17, 26.
- 102 E. g.: '[E]verything which has not been united with our God in Christ is nothing but an abomination which we should shun': *The Schleithem Confession*, Translated and edited by John H. Yoder, Herald Press, Scottdale 1973, p.12.
- 103 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.119.
- 104 *ibid.*, p.122.
- 105 *The Schleithem Confession*, p.14.
- 106 Yoder, *Legacy of Michael Sattler*, p.38.
- 107 Yoder, *Täuferium und Reformation in der Schweiz*, pp.107, 116.
- 108 *ibid.*, pp.129-130.
- 109 *ibid.*, p.186.
- 110 L. Verduin, *The Anatomy of a Hybrid: A Study in Church-State Relationships*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1976, p.202.
- 111 J. M. Stayer, 'Anabaptists and the Sword', *MQR* Vol 44 No 4, 1970, p.373.
- 112 P. Rideman, 'Concerning Governmental Authority', in *Confession of Faith*, Hodder and Stoughton/Plough 1950, p.103.
- 113 Rideman, 'Whether Rulers Can Also Be Christians', *ibid.*, p.107.
- 114 *ibid.*, pp.108, 110-111.
- 115 Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, pp.325-326, 328.
- 116 Yoder, "Anabaptists and the Sword" Revisited: Systematic Historiography and Undogmatic Non-resistants', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* Vol 85, 1974, p.274.
- 117 *ibid.*, p.276; Stayer, *Anabaptism and the Sword*, p.22.
- 118 *ibid.*, p.278.
- 119 J. H. Yoder, 'The Limits of Obedience to Caesar: The Shape of the Problem'.

- (Unpublished address delivered to the Study Conference of the Commission on Home Ministries, June, 1978 and deposited in the library of the London Mennonite Centre), p.8.
- 120 Yoder 'The Believers' Church: Global Perspectives:', p.14.
- 121 Yoder, "'Anabaptists and the Sword" Revisited:', p.283; Fitz-Gibbon, 'A Study..', pp.42, 217.
- 122 J. M. Stayer, 'Anabaptist Non-resistance and the Rewriting of History: Or, is John Yoder's Conception of Anabaptist Non-resistance Historically Sound?' (Unpublished and undated paper deposited in the library of the London Mennonite Centre), p.3.
- 123 *ibid.*, p.2.
- 124 *ibid.*, p.9.
- 125 *ibid.*, p.11 and Yoder, "'Anabaptists and the Sword" Revisited:', p.283.
- 126 Stayer, 'Reflections and Retractions...', p.200.
- 127 Peachey, *op.cit.*, p.93.
- 128 Smucker, 'The Theological Triumph...', pp.7, 21-22.
- 129 Fitz-Gibbon, 'A Study..', p.218.
- 130 J. W. Miller, 'Schleithem Pacifism and Modernity: Notes Toward the Construction of a Contemporary Mennonite Pacifist Apologetic', *Conrad Grebel Review* Vol 3 No 2, Spring, 1985, pp.156-157.
- 131 H. J. Hillerbrand, 'The Anabaptist View of the State', *MQR* Vol 32 No 2, 1958, pp.100-101, see also p.95.
- 132 H. J. Hillerbrand 'An Early Anabaptist Treatise on the Christian and the State', *MQR* Vol 32 No 1, 1958, p.32.
- 133 Hillerbrand, 'The Anabaptist View of the State', p.83.
- 134 *ibid.*, pp.85-88.
- 135 *ibid.*, pp.85-87. The legitimacy of government is repeatedly and strikingly affirmed in subsequent Anabaptist-Mennonite confessions: e.g. H. J. Loewen, ed., *One Lord, One Church, One Hope: Mennonite Confessions of Faith*, Institute of Mennonite Studies, Elkhart, 1985, pp.67, 77, 78, 99, 123-124 etc.
- 136 Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword*, p.3.
- 137 J. Calvin, *Treatises Against the Anabaptists And Against the Libertines* ed. B. W. Farley, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1982, p.91.
- 138 Verduin, *Anatomy*, pp.203, 205, 226.
- 139 'The Turning Point in the Zwinglian Reformation', *MQR*, Vol 32 No 2, 1958, pp.137-140.
- 140 Hillerbrand, 'The Anabaptist View of the State', p.90.
- 141 *ibid.*, p.105.
- 142 *ibid.*, pp.101-103.
- 143 P. P. Peachey, 'The Radical Reformation, Political Pluralism, and the Corpus Christianum', in *The Origins and Characteristics of Anabaptism*, pp.10-11, 13.
- 144 *ibid.*, p.22.
- 145 *ibid.*, p.19, 24.
- 146 S. J. Holland, 'God in Public: A Modest Proposal for a Quest for a Contemporary North American Anabaptist Paradigm', *Conrad Grebel Review* Vol 4 No 1 Winter, 1986, p.44.

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Geoffrey Breed's *My Ancestors Were Baptists* has now appeared in a third edition (1995). Some additions have been made to the text but, more importantly, the appendices have been rewritten to take advantage of improved information available from the Public Record Office concerning the dating of registers, as also dates from registers which have been deposited there subsequent to the initial collection of registers in the 1830s. Three further appendices list Baptist registers/copies of the same held by the Libraries of the Society of Genealogists, the Gospel Standard Baptists, and the Strict Baptist Historical Society. The new edition, a tribute to Mr Breed's meticulous scholarship, now runs to just under 100 pages and is available from the Society of Genealogists, 14 Charterhouse Buildings, Goswell Road, London EC1M 7BA at £4-99, or £5-99 including postage and packing.