

The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision

Edited by Guy F. Hershberger

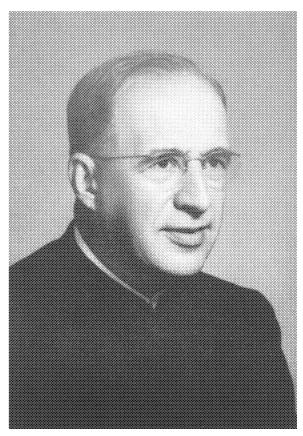


Non dilexerunt animam suam usque ad mortem.

The Latin, *Non dilexerunt animam suam usque ad mortem*, translates, "... they loved not their lives unto the death." Revelation 12:11

On The Cover: Massacres at Salzburg took place in 1528 when Prince-Archbishop Cardinal Matthaus Lang of Salzburg issued mandates sending police in search of Anabaptists. Many were captured and killed. This engraving illustrates the sufferings and sacrifices these Dissenters endured when their government, in conjunction with established religion, attempted to coerce and impose uniformity of religious belief. Hence, this picture is a reminder of the cost of religious liberty and the ever-present need to maintain the separation of church and state. We use this art to represent our Dissent and Nonconformity Series.

The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision



HAROLD S. BENDER 1897-1962

THE RECOVERY of the ANABAPTIST VISION

A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute
To Harold S. Bender

Edited by Guy F. Hershberger

HERALD PRESS SCOTTDALE, PENNSYLVANIA 1957



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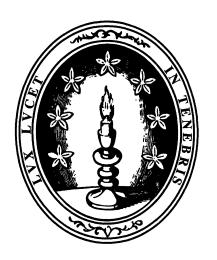
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Thou hast given a standard to them that fear thee; that it may be displayed because of the truth.
-- Psalm 60:4

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THE BAPTIST STANDARD BEARER, INC.

No. 1 Iron Oaks Drive Paris, Arkansas 72855 (501) 963-3831



THE WALDENSIAN EMBLEM lux lucet in tenebris

"The Light Shineth in the Darkness"

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Preface

This volume of essays is published in recognition of nearly thirty-five years of service to Anabaptist-Mennonite historiography. Several of the younger scholars whose essays appear in the group first suggested the project as an expression of appreciation for their mentor whose labors have made a significant contribution to an understanding of Anabaptism, its origins, its character, its history, and its meaning.

In planning the project the most promising design seemed to be a series of essays co-ordinated in such a way as to summarize succinctly in one volume the more significant findings of recent scholarship concerning the rise of Anabaptism, its theological concepts, and its course in history. Since many scholars, both European and American, some members of churches within the Anabaptist tradition and some not, have made their contribution to this chapter in historiography, it was felt that these varied contributions should in some way be represented in the summary volume. Inasmuch as what is here presented was so dramatically epitomized in The Anabaptist Vision, Harold S. Bender's own incisive presidential address before the American Society of Church History, it seemed altogether fitting that this address should be included and that the entire volume should be entitled The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision.

The project was planned chiefly by Paul Peachey, John C. Wenger, John H. Yoder, and the editor. Robert Friedmann read a number of the manuscripts. Elizabeth Bender and John C. Wenger read all of them. The latter also prepared the index. The first copy of the book was presented to Harold S. Bender on July 19, 1957, the sixtieth anniversary of his birth.

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₩ GUY F. HERSHBERGER ₩

Introduction

Anabaptist historiography¹ was formerly the prerogative of its enemies, typified by Christoph Andreas Fischer's polemic, Von der Wiedertauffer verfluchtem Ursprung, gottlosen Lehre und derselben gründliche Widerlegung, published in 1603. For a long time indictments such as these were generally accepted by historians, who failed to consult Anabaptist confessional writings and other sources, so that until well into the nineteenth century Anabaptism was uncritically identified with the Peasants' War of 1525 and the Münster incident of 1534-35.

Eventually, however, historical scholarship was bound to correct these views. Once the voluntary church, the separation of church and state, and religious liberty—ideas for which the Anabaptists had striven so valiantly in the sixteenth century—came to be widely accepted, the despised movement began to draw the attention of scholars. The result has been a remarkable reversal of opinion within the world of scholarship regarding the nature and the goals of Anabaptism.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Anabaptists themselves produced valuable source materials for the study of their history. One of the first sources was the old hymnal, the *Ausbund*, begun in 1535 by the prisoners in the castle at Passau, the first edition of which appeared in 1564. Certain writings of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips were also

^{*} Guy F. Hershberger is Professor of History and Sociology at Goshen College, and author of War, Peace, and Nonresistance (Scottdale, 1944, revised, 1953), and The Mennonite Church in the Second World War (Scottdale, 1951).

¹ For an extended treatment of Anabaptist-Mennonite historiography see the comprehensive article "Historiography" by Harold S. Bender and Cornelius Krahn in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale, 1956) 2:751-69.

available, and in 1562 the Dutch martyrbook Het Offer des Heeren was published containing a collection of martyr testimonials. This was later expanded by Tieleman Jansz van Braght into his Martyrs' Mirror, printed at Dordrecht in 1660. The first historical treatise produced by the Mennonites appeared at Amsterdam in 1615 with the title, Het beginsel en voortganck der geschillen, scheuringen, en verdeeltheden onder de gene die Doopsgesinden genoemt worden.

The use of these and other sources, including German and Swiss productions, made it possible for Gottfried Arnold to emerge at the close of the seventeenth century as the first church historian to depart from the hitherto accepted interpretation of Anabaptism in his *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*,² in which he corrected a number of false assertions concerning the character of the movement, although obviously not removing its classification as heretical. During the eighteenth century further Anabaptist sources were made available, among the most important being a mass of historical notices, council protocols, orders, and provisions of the Swiss government concerning the earliest Anabaptists included in J. C. Füsslin's Swiss Reformation sources, *Beyträge zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformations-Geschichten des Schweitzerlandes*.³

A new chapter in Anabaptist historiography was opened in the mid-nineteenth century when Carl Adolf Cornelius published his Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs.⁴ Basing his work on careful research in original sources, Cornelius broke completely from the traditional state-church treatment of the subject. Although Walther Köhler as late as 1925 was able to say, "At the time when the older men of our generation were students we scarcely heard anything mentioned [about the Anabaptists], and if it did happen, a judgment was passed upon it in advance by the use of the word 'fanat-

² First published in Frankfurt, 1699; enlarged third edition (Schaffhausen, 1740-42).

³ Five volumes (Zürich and Leipzig, 1741-53).

⁴ Leipzig, 1855-60.

ics,' "5 it was C. A. Cornelius nevertheless who at long last had paved the way for an objective and trustworthy Anabaptist historiography, in which Köhler himself later played an important role. From Cornelius onward a succession of Dutch, German, and Swiss historians continued the work, eventually to be joined by their American colaborers.

Among the Mennonites themselves the Dutch were the first to develop a historiography of high quality. Even prior to the work of Cornelius the Mennonite Theological Seminary together with the library and archives of the Mennonite Church in Amsterdam had become a center of historical research. The outstanding nineteenth-century works on Dutch Mennonite history were Samuel Muller's Jaarboekje voor de Doopsgezinde Gemeenten in Nederland;6 A. M. Cramer's Het leven en de verrigtingen van Menno Simons,7 the first comprehensive biography of Menno; and S. Blaupot ten Cate's Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Friesland,8 Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Groningen, Overijssel en Oost-Friesland,9 and Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht en Gelderland.10 The Doopsgezinde Bijdragen, 11 a Dutch Mennonite yearbook, also published much historical material. From 1870 to 1893 it was edited by J. G. de Hoop Scheffer. In the twentieth century Dutch Mennonite historical scholarship was continued by Karel Vos, W. J. Kühler, A. F. Mellink, and N. van der Zijpp. Vos is the author of Menno Simons, 1496-1561, Zijn leven en zijne reformatorische denkbeelden. 12 In 1952 van der Zijpp wrote Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Nederland, 13 the first modern thorough history of the Dutch Mennonites.

Volumes II, V, VII, and X of the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, edited by Samuel Cramer and F. Pijper, contain much valuable Anabaptist source material, including

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5 Cf. ME, 2:753.
6 Amsterdam, 1837-50.
7 Amsterdam, 1837.
11 Amsterdam, Leeuwarden, and Leiden, 1861-1919.
12 Leiden, 1914.
13 Arnhem, 1952.
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martyr letters and hymns, records of disputations, and writings of Melchior Hofmann, Michael Sattler, Dirk Philips, and other sixteenth-century leaders.

Important Swiss publications appearing in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were Emil Egli's Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Züricher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1532,15 Die Züricher Wiedertäufer zur Reformationszeit,16 and Die St. Galler Taufer;17 Ernst Müller's Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer;18 and Paul Burckhardt's Die Basler Täufer.19 The first sociological treatment of the Swiss Mennonites was Ernst Correll's Das Schweizerische Täufermennonitentum, Ein soziologischer Bericht.20 Another twentiethcentury Swiss publication by a Swiss author is Samuel Geiser's Die Taufgesinnten-Gemeinden, a work not limited to the Swiss Mennonites.²¹ Brüder in Christo²² by Fritz Blanke of the University of Zürich tells the story of the first Anabaptist congregation at Zollikon. Swiss Anabaptist sources are now being published in the Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz, the first volume of which, edited by L. von Muralt and Walter Schmid, appeared in Zürich in 1952.

An outstanding nineteenth-century German contribution to Mennonite historiography was made by Max Goebel, whose Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinischwestfälischen evangelischen Kirche²³ is a sympathetic treatment and an important source for the study of Anabaptism in the Rhineland. Ludwig Keller, the author of Die Geschichte der Widertäufer und ihres Reichs zu Münster,24 of Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer,25 a biography of Hans Denk, and of Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien, 26 was a German historian who had a great influence on those who followed him, including John Horsch, the American Mennonite historian. Another outstanding contribution was that of Gustav Bossert, who concentrated on the history of the

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15 Zürich, 1879.
16 Zürich, 1878.
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¹⁷ Zürich, 1887.

¹⁸ Frauenfeld, 1895.

¹⁹ Basel, 1898.

²⁰ Tübingen, 1925. 21 Karlsruhe, 1931. 22 Zürich, 1955.

²³ Coblenz, 1849-60. 24 Münster, 1880. 25 Leipzig, 1885. 26 Leipzig, 1885.

Reformation in Württemberg. His Das Blutgericht in Rottenburg am Neckar27 is an account of the trial and death of Michael Sattler, the greatest leader of the South German Anabaptists. In his writings, all based on careful research, Bossert, even though a Lutheran, rejected completely the traditional state church interpretation of the Anabaptist movement. Many of his articles appeared in periodicals and encyclopedias. Perhaps his most valuable contribution was his work as editor of Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, I: Herzogtum Württemberg.28 This is the first of a series of three volumes, known as the Täufer-Akten, published prior to World War II by the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte. Since the war this publication project has been continued by a Täufer Akten-Kommission made up of representatives of the VRG and of the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, with support from American Mennonite historical societies. Several volumes of the Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, as the new series is called, have made their appearance. Eventually, it is hoped, all of the documents bearing on the history of the Anabaptist movement will be published.

Most significant for their treatment of Anabaptism were the standard religio-sociological works of Ernst Troeltsch, Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Neuzeit²⁹ and Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen,³⁰ and Max Weber's Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie I,³¹ and "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" in Grundriss der Sozialökonomie.³² With the publication of these works during the first quarter of the century the foundation for an objective Anabaptist historiography was finally complete. The next quarter century was now in a position to reap the fruits of generations of painstaking scholarship.

A noteworthy contribution to German Mennonite historiography was that of Christian Hege (1869-1943) and

²⁷ Barmen, 1892. 28 Leipzig, 1930. 29 Berlin, 1909.

³⁰ Third edition, 1923. Translated into English as The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (London, 1931).

³¹ Tübingen, 1920.

Christian Neff (1863-1946), who founded the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein in 1933 and its publication, the Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter.33 Their greatest work was the Mennonitisches Lexikon,34 whose first installment was published in 1913, and which had been published to the letter "O" in 1942 when the work was suspended because of the war. Publication was resumed in 1951 under the editorship of Ernst Crous and Harold S. Bender. Hege and Neff themselves wrote more than half of the material in the Lexikon, while outstanding contributions were made by Bossert of Württemberg, Vos of the Netherlands, and Johann Loserth of Graz.

In recent German Mennonite historiography, the more significant contributions have been made by Walther Köhler, whose "Die Zürcher Täufer" appeared in Gedenkschrift zum 400-jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten;35 by W. Wiswedel in Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum;36 by Ethelbert Stauffer's "Märtyrertheologie und Täuferbewegung";37 by Cornelius Krahn's Menno Simons (1496-1561), Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten;38 by Abraham Fast in Die Kulturleistungen der Mennoniten in Ostfriesland und Münsterland;39 by Horst Penner in Weltweite Bruderschaft;40 and by Ernst Crous, the present director of the Mennonitische Forschungsstelle, Göttingen, and the German editor both of the Mennonitisches Lexikon and of The Mennonite Encyclopedia.41

The Russian phase of Mennonite history has been told by a number of their own historians including P. M. Friesen, whose Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Brüderschaft in Russland 1789-191042 presents a valuable collection of source material. Among the more important studies treat-

³⁴ Frankfurt, Weierhof, and Karlsruhe, 1913 ff. 33 Karlsruhe, 1936 ff.

³⁵ Ludwigshafen, 1925.

³⁶ Three volumes (Kassel, 1928, 1930, 1952). 37 This appeared in the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Stuttgart, 1933) 15:545-98 and in English in the Mennonite Quarterly Review (Goshen, 1945) 19:179-214.

³⁹ Emden, 1947. 40 Karlsruhe, 1955. 38 Karlsruhe, 1936.

⁴¹ To be published in four volumes (Scottdale, 1955 ff.).

⁴² Halbstadt, 1911.

ing the Russian Mennonites who migrated to the United States and Canada are C. Henry Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites;⁴³ Cornelius Krahn, ed., From the Steppes to the Prairies;⁴⁴ Gustav E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar: Cornelius Jansen and the Great Mennonite Migration, 1874;⁴⁵ and E. K. Francis, who features the Mennonites of Manitoba in a sociological study, In Search of Utopia.⁴⁶ The emigration following the Russian revolution of 1917 stimulated numerous studies, one of the most significant being Adolf Ehrt, Das Mennonitentum in Russland.⁴⁷ J. W. Fretz, Pilgrims in Paraguay ⁴⁸ is a study of the pilgrims from Russia in their new home.

Before the end of the nineteenth century American Baptist historians were making their contribution to Anabaptist historiography. First was Henry S. Burrage's A History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland, 49 followed by A. H. Newman's History of Anti-Pedobaptism . . . to 160950 and Henry C. Vedder's Balthasar Hübmaier.51 Although they published little on Anabaptism as such, both August and Walter Rauschenbusch were students of the movement which definitely influenced their views and their writings. Walter Rauschenbusch's publication⁵² of an English translation of Conrad Grebel's letter of September 5, 1524, to Thomas Müntzer is an illustration of this interest. Excellent twentieth-century treatments by English Baptist authors are R. J. Smithson's The Anabaptists, Their Contributions to Our Heritage, 53 and Ernest A. Payne's The Anabaptists of the 16th Century and Their Influence in the Modern World.54

Henry E. Dosker's *The Dutch Anabaptists*⁵⁵ and A. J. F. Zieglschmid's edition of *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder*⁵⁶ are illustrations of a growing interest in Anabaptism

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43 Berne, Ind., 1927. 46 Glencoe, Ill., 1955. 49 Philadelphia, 1882.
44 Newton, 1939. 47 Langensalza, 1932. 50 Philadelphia, 1897.
45 Newton, 1956. 48 Scottdale, 1953. 51 New York, 1905.
52 In the American Journal of Theology (Chicago, January 1905).
53 London, 1935. 54 London, 1949. 55 Philadelphia, 1921.
56 Philadelphia, 1943. Also Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder
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on the part of American historians. Most significant of all is Roland H. Bainton's deep interest and objective treatment of the left wing of the Reformation as found in his David Joris, Wiedertäufer und Kämpfer für Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert,⁵⁷ The Travail of Religious Liberty,⁵⁸ and The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century,⁵⁹ the latter including the best treatment of the Anabaptists to be found in any general church history or history of the Reformation. The true character of Anabaptism is at last being reported by the best modern church historians, whose graduate students are continuing the work, an example being Franklin H. Littell's The Anabaptist View of the Church.⁶⁰

Although the early American Mennonites had little opportunity or training for historical scholarship, the Anabaptist tradition was kept alive among them, nevertheless, through continued republication of certain important sources. From 1727, the date of the first American Mennonite imprint, to 1890, the date of the first publication by John Horsch, the American Mennonites, who by now had a flourishing publication center at Elkhart, Indiana, had published no less than eight editions of the Dordrecht Confession of Faith, ten of the Ausbund, six of the Martyrs' Mirror, and two editions of the works of Menno Simons, besides at least nine editions of portions of Menno's writings. Portions of the writings of Dirk Philips appear in at least six imprints and of P. J. Twisck in two imprints. For a generation after its founding in 1864 the Herald of Truth was the principal organ for the expression of Anabaptist-Mennonite ideals in America. The very first issue set forth the doctrine of nonresistance, an emphasis which remained a permanent feature of this periodical.

The first American Mennonite historian was D. K. Cassel, whose *History of the Mennonites*⁶¹ and *Geschichte der*

Bücher der Wiedertäufer (Vienna, 1883) and Rudolf Wolkan's Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder (Vienna, 1923).

⁵⁷ Leipzig, 1937. 59 Boston, 1952.

⁵⁸ Philadelphia, 1951. 60 Philadelphia, 1952. 61 Philadelphia, 1888.

Mennoniten,62 although compilations more than histories, contained much valuable material gathered from primary sources. These works were followed by C. H. A. van der Smissen's Kurzgefasste Geschichte und Glaubenslehre der Altevangelischen Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten,63 based on secondary sources, and C. H. Wedel's Abriss der Geschichte der Mennoniten.64 The first and to date the only scholarly general history of the American Mennonites is C. Henry Smith's The Mennonites of America.65 This material in revised form was included in Smith's general histories (European and American), The Mennonites⁶⁶ and The Story of the Mennonites. 67 Another work by Smith is The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania.68 Smith's first work appeared while he was on the faculty of Goshen College, during which time the first beginnings of a Mennonite historical library at this place were made. It was only a beginning, however, when in 1913 Smith transferred to Bluffton College, where the remainder of his work was done.

The above provides the general background and setting for the chapter in Anabaptist-Mennonite historiography to which the present volume is dedicated. This chapter begins with the immigration in 1887 of a twenty-year-old youth named John Horsch⁶⁹ who had left his home in Germany in search of freedom to practice the nonresistant faith which was denied him in his native country, and who came with a sense of mission to revive within American Mennonitism the spirit of original Anabaptism. Beginning in 1885 when he was but eighteen years of age, and continuing for more than eight years, Horsch maintained a correspondence with Ludwig Keller, the Münster archivist, historian, and author of Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer. Urged by Keller to "arouse among

⁶² Philadelphia, 1890.63 Summerfield, III., 1895.

⁶⁴ Four volumes, total 756 pages (Newton, 1900-4).

⁶⁵ Goshen, 1909. 67 Berne, 1941; revised (Newton, 1950).

⁶⁶ Berne, Ind., 1920. 68 Norristown, Pa., 1929. 69 Cf. the John Horsch memorial number of the Mennonite Quarterly Review (July 1947) 21:129-232.

your brotherhoods the genius of the old Anabaptists," the twenty-year-old Horsch began his fifty-four years of historical and theological writing with an article, "Nachfolge Christi," in John F. Funk's *Herold der Wahrheit* (June, 1887), and indicated his intention to publish future articles based on the older writings and the history of the church.

Within three years 125 or more brief articles had been published. On Keller's advice these articles were used as the basis for Horsch's first book, Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten Gemeinden,70 which contains an excellent Anabaptist bibliography. The next book to appear was The Mennonites, Their History, Faith, and Practice, 71 followed by A Short History of Christianity. 72 During the eight years while he was associated with Funk's publishing work (1887-95), and again during the thirty-three years (1908-41) that he was with the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Horsch collected a most remarkable library, rich in Dutch, German, and Swiss Anabaptist sources which were the foundation for his lifelong scholarly work. Even the Funk library was largely a Horsch collection. Eventually the Funk and the Horsch collections were acquired by the Mennonite Publishing House, and after Horsch's death much of this library was transferred to the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College.

The fruits of Horsch's scholarly efforts are found today in the following works, besides numerous articles in the Mennonite Quarterly Review and other periodicals: Menno Simons;⁷³ Die Biblische Lehre von der Wehrlosigkeit;⁷⁴ Modern Religious Liberalism;⁷⁵ The Principle of Nonresistance as Held by the Mennonite Church, An Historical Survey;⁷⁶ The Hutterian Brethren; A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty, 1528-1931;⁷⁷ and Mennonites in Europe, published posthumously.⁷⁸

70 Elkhart, 1890.	73 Scottdale, 1916.	76 Scottdale, 1927.
71 Elkhart, 1893.	74 Scottdale, 1920.	77 Goshen, 1931.
72 Cleveland, 1903.	75 Scottdale, 1921.	78 Scottdale, 1942.

The coalition of church and state (corpus Christianum) has continually had outspoken opponents since its' inception in the 4th century under Constantine. All through the long medieval night of papal terror and up to the present day of accommodation and compromise, there has never been a time when the voice of dissent and nonconformity was not heard, protesting against established religion and coerced uniformity. The most prominent target of that protest has been the arrogant usurpation of Christ's Kingly Authority and Headship over His churches and the souls of men, whether that usurpation was Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, or any other. As it has been, so shall it ever be. This enduring testimony of dissent, this genuine Christian nonconformity arises as the inevitable response of the Christian soul to the internal witness of the Spirit toward the truth and supreme authority of God's Word. Consequently, the origin, nature and history of Christ's churches can never be adequately discerned or explained apart from some grasp of the Biblical Truths advocated and defended throughout the history of genuine Christian Dissent and Nonconformity. As Dr. J. S. Whale, former Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Mansfield College, Oxford University and President of Cheshunt College, Cambridge University, said, "Dissent, not only from the centralized absolutism of Rome, but also from the State establishments of Protestantism in the Old World is an historic fact of enduring influence. To account for the tradition of liberty in the 'free world' of today without reference to dissent would be to read modern history with one eye shut."

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