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Christian Funk's *Spiegel für alle Menschen*: An Interpretative Introduction

The German version of Christian Funk's "große Schreiben," published in part in 1785, and in full in 1813, is difficult to access.¹ It is therefore offered here in transcription, with the page numbers of the original given in brackets to facilitate citation or comparison with the original. The document is valuable from several perspectives. It reveals how the early events of the American Revolution affected a "wehrlose," that is a defenseless German-speaking immigrant group of Pennsylvania. It highlights, furthermore, the theological issues arising from the demands of competing political authorities during a revolution whose victory or defeat was still uncertain. The *Spiegel* also reflects aspects of eighteenth-century organizational forms and practices of the "Swiss" Brethren and Sisters, known in the United States as "Swiss" Mennonites, especially in the context of conflict resolution. The pamphlet's German is also of linguistic interest since it reflects a High German shaped by "Swiss" Mennonite liturgical texts such as the *Ausbund* as well as by Alemannic Middle High German and the surrounding English-speaking environment.² Finally the account details the hopeless mixture of issues of doctrine and policy with personal hostilities and petty accusations, an experience from which no human group appears to be immune. The following introduction aims to offer some data that illuminate the text's meaning in order to make it more accessible to scholars engaged in German-American studies.

The Text and Its Interpreters

The core of the *Spiegel* as published in 1813 was written in 1783 with the title *Ein Aufsatz oder Vertheidigung* and covered events between 1778 and 1783. It has a brief introductory summary called "Vorbericht" and two appendices by Christian Funk; these are followed by a brief note by John and Jacob Dättweiler announcing the publication of the *Aufsatz* in case the opponents should fail properly to deal with the issues and reach a resolution of the conflict. The little book or "Büchlein," as Christian Funk calls this part of the *Spiegel*, was published in Germantown in 1785.

In the *Spiegel* the "Aufsaz" is preceded by a sketch of events that occurred from 1775 to 1778 and is followed by the account of three attempts at reconciliation made in the years 1783, 1805, and 1806-7. A schematic outline of the pamphlet shows the following parts:

1. Title Page (p. 1)
2. "Vorrede" (signed by nine Funkite Ministers): 1813 (pp. 3-4)
3. [Emergence of the Conflict to 1778] (by C. Funk): written 1809, published 1813 (pp. 5-19)
4. "Ein Aufsaz" about Events of 1778 to 1783 (by C. Funk): written in 1783, published in 1785 (pp. 19-35), divided into six sub-parts:
 - (1) "Vorbericht" (pp. 19-21)
 - (2) "Ein kurzer Aufsaz" (pp. 21-31)
 - (3) "Einige Anmerkungen" (pp. 31-33)
 - (4) "Noch ein Zusaz" (pp. 33-34)
 - (5) [Defense of Propriety of Publicizing the Events] (by C. Funk?), written 1783 (p. 34)
 - (6) [Announcement of publication, if no accommodation reached] (by John and Jacob Dättweiler), written 1785 (p. 35)
5. [Three Attempts at Reconciliation] (by C. Funk): written 1809, published 1813:
 - [First Investigations, 1783-84, 1804] (pp. 35-41)
 - "Zweyte Untersuchung," 1805 (pp. 41-44)
 - "Dritte Untersuchung," 1806-7 (pp. 44-54)

Christian Funk's *Spiegel* has received some limited attention. In 1937 John C. Wenger featured the "Funkite Schism" in a detailed study of the history of the Mennonites of the Franconia, that is Funk's "Indian Field" Conference.³ He viewed the conflict as having been most "regrettable" and observed "that Christian Funk was a strong figure [also] in the [secular] community,—perhaps too much involved in politics to please his brethren." Although Wenger sketches the events with remarkable fairness, he does not find theological issues at stake. In his well-annotated new translation of the *Spiegel* he raised only the pragmatic problem of who had been taking the proper side in the revolutionary struggle. "As it turned out, . . ." he commented, "Funk was right, and the other overseers had to 'eat crow' when the king was defeated."⁴ The editors of *Conscience in Crisis*, a well-introduced documentary on the "Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739-1789," view Funk's *Spiegel* as a "crucial document on Mennonite payment of war taxes," yet also as written "from a highly partisan viewpoint."⁵ In a 1981 article, Edward Shannon viewed Funk as a "Mennonite Patriot" who deserved to be remembered for his valiant stand.⁶ Robert B. Graber, analyzing Mennonite dissent in Pennsylvania, similarly concluded that Funk and his group were "advocating patriotism" and thus

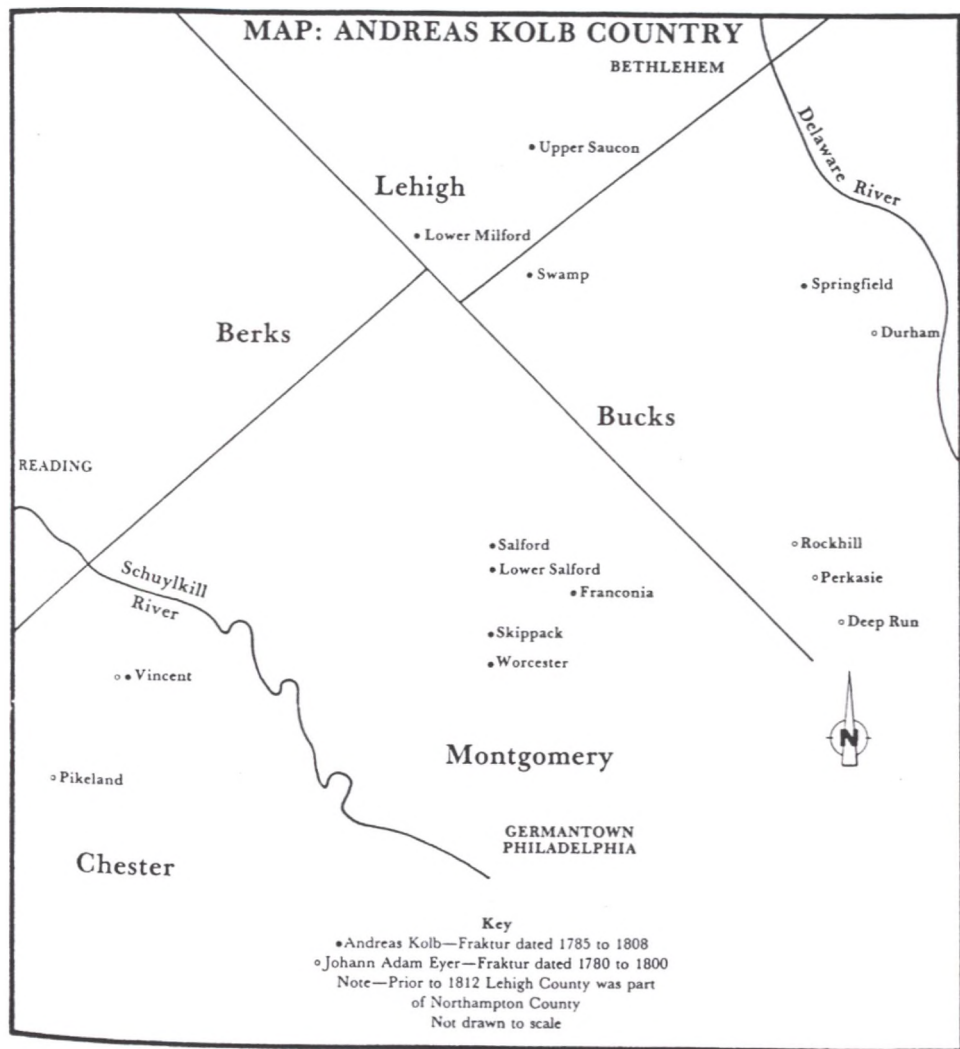
represented "an assimilative splinter group."⁷ Richard K. McMaster, in contrast, recognized the *Spiegel's* stress on the revolutionary issues and their concomitant challenge to a pacifist persuasion as the cause of Christian Funk's difficulties. Yet he viewed that claim as a subterfuge and accepted Funk's adversaries' claim that his conduct as overseer and preacher had probably been improper.⁸

John L. Ruth's study of the "oldest Mennonite community in North America" offers the most negative view of the controversy and of Christian Funk, "its aggressive central figure" (153).⁹ Ruth claims that he had an "abrasive personality," was a man who "exercises no self-criticism" (156) and, after 1783, was simply "galled . . . that his former co-ministers did not acknowledge the correctness of his political predictions in 1777" (163). The controversy had been "a fuss" (155) that had engendered "the worst ill-feeling in the community" (150). "Funk could think rationally rather than traditionally" (146), John L. Ruth asserts and criticizes the bishop for having failed to accept "the necessity of 'submitting to the council'" (155). Although aware that sources from Christian Funk's critics appear to be missing and cognizant of the principle "audiatur et altera pars—the other side needs to be heard also," the controversy may not be reduced to a defective personality. To the contrary, in my view the *Spiegel* reflects two quite different and, from the perspective of Anabaptist doctrine, two equally defensible theological responses to the events of 1776 as briefly shown below.¹⁰

The Author and His Denomination

Christian Funk was born in 1731 in Montgomery County at Indian Field, later called Franconia, as the son of Heinrich Funck (d. 1760) and of Anna, born Meyer. Located north of Philadelphia, Franconia became the center of a Swiss Mennonite district in which also Andreas Kolb (1749-1811), a Mennonite teacher and noted fraktur artist, was involved in denominational affairs, including dealings with members of the Funk family. Thus the "Andreas Kolb Country" of the adjoining map might also be called Christian Funk country.¹¹ Heinrich Funck, the father, had moved from Europe to Pennsylvania in 1719 and settled "at Indian Creek or Indian Field and had five miles to his next door neighbor."¹² As an Anabaptist community emerged, he was chosen preacher and overseer, and he also became the first "Swiss" Brethren author in British North America.¹³ The name Funk is attested before 1800 in communes of the Canton Zürich such as Mettmenstetten (since 1504), Maschwanden, Ottenbach, and Rifferswil and became prominent among Swiss Mennonites in the United States.¹⁴

In 1751 Christian Funk married Barbara Cassel, the daughter of the preacher Yilles Cassel of neighboring Skippack. In 1756 he was chosen preacher, in 1769 a "bestäter Diener," that is ordained overseer, and succeeded bishop Isaac Kolb after his death in 1776. His district included Indian Field (Franconia), Towamencin, Plains, Line Lexington, Clemense (Salford) and Rockhill, and he was assisted by eight "Mitdiener," that is deacons and preachers. Among them



Map of Andreas Kolb Country (*The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 61 [April 1987]: 135). Courtesy of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*.

were Christian Meyer (c. 1705-87), his cousin, a "bestäter Aeltester," i.e., confirmed deacon of the Indian Field and Clemense congregations; Jacob Oberholtzer (d. 1813), a circuit preacher at Indian Field; the deacon Heinrich Rosenberger (1725-1809); Abraham Gehman (d. 1792), a preacher at Rockhill; and Johannes Bürge, a preacher. With Andreas Ziegler (1707-97) and Isaac Kolb (1711-76) Christian Funk had become a leading overseer as attested by a long letter, probably written by him, in reply to inquiries of three Mennonite ministers in Europe about conditions in the Pennsylvania congregations. The opening paragraphs give some insight also into his religious outlook, especially the sentence: "And love is not the least, but the greatest command."¹⁵

The "Swiss" Brethren and Sisters community of faith had emerged from the left or radical wing of the movement during the so-called Reformation, that is the break-up of the organizational unity of Western Christendom. It was labeled "Anabaptist" in that its diverse groups were united in rejecting infant baptism as sacrilegious and on insisting that the acceptance of baptism had to be a fully conscious and responsible act of adults, a step that included a turning away from the ways of the world. Thus they rejected the idea of the *corpus christianum*, that is the unity of the religious and secular society. Instead the various "Taufgesinnte," that is baptism-minded groups that emerged in parts of the Swiss Confederacy, in Germany, Holland, Tyrolia, and Moravia viewed the true Christian community as including only the elect, the converted, God's truly chosen people who formed Christ's mystical body.¹⁶

Several groups of Anabaptists—rebaptizers is, of course, a misnomer since for them infant baptism was invalid—emerged in central Europe. The so-called "Swiss" Brethren and Sisters were initially part of the Zwinglian reinterpretation of the meaning of true Christianity and formed semi-autonomous groups in areas of the Swiss Confederacy and the neighboring regions of southern Germany reaching towards Strasbourg.¹⁷ Their basic stance, which in some groups has survived to this day, was formulated at Schleithem in 1527 and was central also to bishop Christian Funk's outlook.¹⁸ The Dutch and North German Anabaptists, in contrast, followed Menno Simons (1496-1561) from whose name derives the term Mennonites. His followers tended towards social integration and assimilation and did not, as did the "Swiss" and Moravian groups after 1540, "ruralize" their creeds, that is elevate farming to the main form of God-ordained human activity. The Tyrolean Jacob Hutter (d. 1536), furthermore, united the Moravian Anabaptists in 1533 into a persuasion that to this day practices community of goods and became also wholly dedicated to agricultural pursuits.¹⁹

The Dilemma of Revolution

Although the revolutionary events of 1776 tested their faith most severely, Pennsylvania's pacifist groups had met crisis before. On 19 October 1745, for instance, leading "Swiss" Mennonite preachers—among them also Heinrich Funk, Christian's father, and his father-in-law Yilles Cassel—acknowledged their

"misstep in coming to so distant a land without sufficient assurance concerning freedom of conscience."²⁰ In 1755 new danger loomed. The struggle between France and England for control of portions of the northern Western Hemisphere entered its final stage and erupted into protracted war. On 15 May 1755, therefore, bishops of the "Swiss" Mennonite persuasion petitioned Pennsylvania's House of Representatives to exempt their people from military service. At the same time, however, they solemnly declared that they "with utmost fidelity acknowledge George on the British Throne to be our legitimate King and Sovereign,"²¹ a declaration that had for them as binding a force as a solemn oath; it had been made also individually since 1727 when they or their forebears had disembarked at Philadelphia.²²

In the mid-1770s danger became acute once more. "A new government was established . . . [and] (we weakly thought) our liberty was taken from us, defenseless Christians" or, stronger, in the German version: "wurde unsere vorige wehrlose Penns=Constitution weggethan und . . . alsbald eine neue Obrigkeit festgesetzt. . . . Dann war uns wehrlosen Christen unsere Freyheit entnommen."²³ On 7 November 1775, the revolutionaries declared that all nonassociators, that is males between the ages of fifteen and sixty-three refusing to serve in the military had to pay a tax of two pounds, ten shillings, on the same day that it had received "An Address or Declaration signed by divers Persons in Behalf of the Society of *Menonists* and *German Baptists* in this Province." The petitioners declared "that we are not at Liberty in Conscience to take up Arms" after they had also affirmed that "We are always ready, according to CHRIST'S command to *Peter*, to pay the Tribute, . . . and so we are willing to pay Taxes, and to render under Caesar those Things that are *Caesar's*, and to GOD those Things that are GOD'S. . . ." On 5 April 1776, the fine was increased: All non-associators were to pay annually three pounds, ten shillings.²⁴ At the same time the revolutionary authorities demanded that all inhabitants of Pennsylvania were to abjure allegiance to the British throne, declare allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and "to discover and make known . . . all treasons or traitorous conspiracies which I know or hereafter shall know. . . ."²⁵ This demand the "Swiss" Mennonites called "huldigen" and, like the tax, raised issues of fundamental importance.²⁶ The Franconia "Swiss" Mennonite leadership rejected both demands. In their view Congress was "rebellious" and illegitimate; the tax, furthermore, a form of active participation in war: "We find no freedom in giving or doing, or assisting in anything by which men's lives are destroyed or hurt." Numerous pacifists suffered confiscation of their property and imprisonment for accepting this stance.²⁷

Christian Funk's Dissenting Theological Response

Bishop Funk initially seems to have shared the majority view, but from the start opted for noninvolvement in the issues. At Indian Field a township meeting was held—it consisted two-thirds of Mennonites and one-third of church

people, as the *Spiegel* reports,—which in July 1776 considered the issue of independence from England necessitating armed revolution; on that occasion Christian Funk publicly declared that his people could not “mitteln,” that is could not become instrumental in deposing or installing a political authority. True to this principle, he subsequently began to plead for “keeping still” which included refraining from labeling Congress “rebellious.” He also thought that paying the tax put on nonassociators was not identical with participating in war and had known the declaration of Congress made on 18 July 1775, which followed the lead of Pennsylvania’s revolutionary government and read in part:

As there are some people, who, from religious principles, cannot bear arms in any case, this Congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly recommend it to them to contribute liberally in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed country, which they can consistently with their religious principles.²⁸

Even “huldigen” bishop Funk seems to have tolerated in his flock, although he steadfastly denied the rumor that he himself had taken that step.²⁹

How had he arrived at his position? As he explained in the *Spiegel*, Congress as well as Pennsylvania’s new government had reaffirmed liberty of conscience in line with William Penn’s promise made to the Mennonite forefathers. The money in circulation, furthermore, was now Congress money which everybody had to and did use. How the new authorities were using the money received from the tax imposed on nonassociators was, in his view, of no concern for the “Swiss” Brethren. Bishop Funk also considered the English and Americans now at war as “brothers and warriors,” as “Brüder und Krieger.” The meaning of this statement is puzzling, yet offers the key to Christian Funk’s theological understanding of the issues. “Brothers” refers to Luke, 12.13 which reads: “A man in the crowd said to him [Jesus], ‘Master, tell my brother to give me a share of our inheritance.’ He said to him, ‘My friend, who appointed me your judge, or the arbitrator of your claims?’” The English and the Americans were like the brothers in Jesus’ encounter and thus their disagreement was of no concern to Christ’s people. Both, furthermore, were used by God for his most wise, but to human knowledge hidden designs. Could it not be that as God earlier had allowed the English to take away America from the Spaniards he now might permit the Americans to take it from the English? Were there not already four republics, perhaps in God’s plan to be joined by America? Christian Funk did not know the answers to these questions, but he was convinced that God’s designs eventually would clarify and, also, that Christ’s people were not to take sides in the struggle.

This stance was wholly conform to the Schleitheim Confession of 1527, the basic charter of the “Swiss” Brethren and Sisters which stated that the “sword is

an order of God outside the perfection of Christ . . . and to use it are ordered the secular authorities: Das Schwert ist eine gottes ordnung ußerhalb der vollkommenheit Christi . . . und dasselbig zu brüchen sind geordnet die weltlichen oberkeiten." The Confession, furthermore, explicitly addressed the question "ob ein christ solle urteil sprechen in weltlichen (sachen) zang und spen, so die unglöubigen mit einanderen halten," that is whether Christians were to become involved in disputes between groups of the world. The answer of the Schleithem Confession is concise and unequivocal: Just as Christ had refused to enter the dispute about the inheritance between the two brothers, "thus we shall do also." "God's little host," the "hüfle gottes," should not become involved in the affairs of the world, but should "stille halten"³⁰ and quietly pursue its path of radical obedience to God; the faithful should let the affairs of the world play themselves out according to God's hidden designs. Thus Christian Funk was doctrinally not a schismatic, as has been claimed, nor was he meddling in politics. To the contrary, he repeated a fundamental doctrine of the Schleithem Confession and pleaded for "remaining still" until God's will had clarified in the world, that is in the realm which was outside of his people's concern. He appraised the revolutionary situation in which his people found themselves not from a worldly, but a *theological* viewpoint. With quiet insistence he maintained that Congress should not be called "rebellious" and "ungodly" since God's design had not yet become apparent to his people.

Christian Funk certainly had not taken the path of the opportunist, as has been asserted; it was rather his adversaries who had taken the side of the most probable winners in the revolutionary conflict.³¹ In the fall of 1777 and in early 1778 when Funk's opponents moved against him most aggressively, the King's, not the Congress' victory seemed assured, a view which the bishop's critics publicly proclaimed. The revolutionary forces had been defeated at Brandywine, Paoli, and Germantown. Also Fort Mercer, guarding the access to Philadelphia, as well as the revolutionary government's capital itself had fallen into English hands. Congress and the provincial revolutionary authorities had been forced to flee to Lancaster County, and former supporters of independence from Great Britain now openly pleaded for annulling the Declaration of Independence.³² On 17 November 1777, General Nathaniel Greene wrote to Henry Marchant: "I think I never saw the Army so nearly dissolving since I have belonged to it." George Washington himself observed on 1 May 1778, to Henry Laurens, president of the Continental Congress: "In short, our present situation . . . is beyond description, irksome and dangerous."³³ This nearly desperate situation of the revolutionary forces seems to have emboldened bishop Funk's critics who were not only conscious of repeated and explicit previous Mennonite declarations of allegiance to Great Britain, but also may have understandably feared the wrath of the English once they had vanquished the rebellion.

Dimensions of Organization and Praxis

Beyond featuring issues faced by "Swiss" Mennonites in the American Revolution, the *Spiegel* provides insight also into the particular order they followed after their eighteenth-century move to Pennsylvania and, later, beyond its confines.³⁴ Perhaps the most central organizational principle was the preeminence of the congregation, of the "Gemeinde." It was precisely because Christian Funk's opponents such as Heinrich Rosenberger or Christian Meyer could mobilize their religious communities that the third and most promising attempt at reconciliation made in 1806 eventually collapsed. Bishop David Ruth who had vigorously pursued the healing of the split acknowledged its failure in these words: "The congregation has made it so: Die Gemeinde hat es so gemacht."³⁵ The "Swiss" Brethren and Sisters had formed semi-autonomous districts composed of "Gemeinden" which were served by an overseer or bishop who in turn was assisted by preachers and deacons, all of whom had been chosen by lot (if there was more than one aspirant) after nomination by the assembled congregation.

Another aspect highlighted by the *Spiegel* concerns the safeguarding of proper faith and conduct by the faithful and their religious leaders. Before admission to baptism or the annual celebration of the Last Supper, a person had to be "in peace," "im Frieden" with the others, a status to be determined by a formal inquiry, the "Umfrage" or "Untersuch."³⁶ The religious leaders, furthermore, symbolized their being "im Frieden," or at least not being in "dissension" or "Unliebe," by the kiss of peace; its denial, for instance, by bishop Andreas Ziegler, who had gone to bishop Funk's house with the latter's "Mitdiener" to determine whether one could pay the tax, signaled that the situation was truly bad, that "[es] steht die Sache so übel."³⁷ Christian Funk's "Mitdiener" also showed their disapproval of his views and conduct by refusing to serve at liturgical functions such as baptism and the weekly service. Even the number of votes for or against a person seems to have mattered. In the third reconciliation effort, for instance, 118 members were supposedly "im Unfrieden" with bishop Funk, 45 "im Frieden" as well as the 30 religious leaders who had formally accepted him at their gathering. Funk then pointed out to bishop David Ruth that "the 30 and your 45 and our 50 make more who are in peace with me than your 118" who were not.³⁸ The theological basis of this practice was the view that God expressed his will through the community of the sanctified although, as Christian Funk's experience shows, members of a congregation could be manipulated by their leaders and the flames of dissension fanned on the basis of personal hostility as well as principle.

The *Aufsatz* written in 1783 claims that the ban, that is the expulsion and shunning of a member by a congregation, had not been practiced for some thirty years.³⁹ It was to be used "for the amendment, and not for the destruction" of offenders.⁴⁰ Describing the overseer's task, the Schleithem Confession stated that he should have "a good testimony from those who are of the faith. His

office shall be to read and exhort and teach, admonish, punish or ban." Yet if he himself "should do something . . . that was punishable" one should not without two or three witnesses go to him and, in case of being found guilty, he shall be punished "before all . . . so that God's little people and little host not be destroyed."⁴¹ Bishop Funk did not reject the institution of the ban, but constantly insisted that it had been put on him in an "unevangelical," that is invalid manner. No careful discussion had been held exploring the gospel's directives as how to deal with the revolutionary situation, especially whether "Caesar" should be understood as "the British King" or, as bishop Funk held, any actually constituted and operating civil authority, in this case Congress. At a decisive visit at which Andreas Ziegler, a fellow overseer, as well as those with him denied the peace to Christian Funk, no such evangelical counsel had been sought by the investigators: "Denn ohnmöglich konnten sie einen evangelischen Rath fragen wollen"; their view had been determined beforehand; they had come to "tempt" Funk just as Jesus had been tempted by the Pharisees; these, too, had not been interested in genuine inquiry when they asked him whether they could pay the tax to the Roman government.⁴² The banned bishop was relieved that in 1783 the first attempt at reconciliation at least seemed to have clarified that the ban imposed on him indeed had been "unevangelical," that is invalid, (although David Ruth initially believed that the issue should be left undetermined). Therefore Christian Funk and his followers could not return to the fold as a previously banned, but only as a wronged people who were willing to forgive the past and move forward.

The Personal Grievances of Christian Funk's Accusers

It seems that Funk's cousin, the preacher Christian Meyer had a contentious personality. According to the *Spiegel* he had made also "much trouble for the old Funk," that is Christian Funk's father, as bishop Isaac Kolb, Heinrich Funk's successor had claimed; Kolb even had threatened not to serve anymore if Meyer remained a "Mitdiener." Meyer also had tried to block the election of Christian Funk as "bestäter Diener" and consented only after the serious pleading of his own wife.⁴³ Also the preachers Jacob Oberholzer, Heinrich Rosenberger, and especially Johannes Bürge seem to have held a personal grudge against the overseer and had spread tales of his alleged misconduct which were dismissed as groundless at the conciliation attempt made in 1783. Bishop Funk, at least, claims that the investigating overseers "Jacob Groß and David Ruth uncovered the untruth of all the theft-items (Diebstücken)" that had been circulated about him.⁴⁴ The allegations included the following:

1. He had beaten an innocent man [in words in a sermon?].
2. He had falsely accused Jacob Oberholzer of being a liar [by implication].

3. [By acquiescing] he had allowed his children, who were supposedly filled with pride and arrogance, to ignore Jacob Oberholzer and Johannes Bürge, when addressed, and to make fun of their sermons.
4. Christian Meyer claimed that bishop Funk had cheated a man with flour [ground at his mill].
5. After 1783, when the question of "huldigen" and the tax had become moot, his opponents spread five more rumors about Christian Funk, perhaps to prevent a healing of the schism:
 - (1) that he had cheated the township out of 25 pounds [by selling a horse soon turned unfit?],
 - (2) that he had taken Jacob Berge's,
 - (3) then Christian Meyer's good flour and [after grinding] returned old and wormy flour to them;
 - (4) that he had secretly sold Christian Meyer's ram "against the law and the gospel";⁴⁵
 - (5) that he had tried to take a ram from Jacob Oberholzer.

It is impossible to assess the validity of these claims which all had been made by the same people. It is perhaps significant that Andreas Kolb, the fraktur artist, reported on 14 July 1792, that Christian Funk's cousin, the preacher Jacob Funk who had moved from Franconia to Germantown, accused Henry Rosenberger of "having moved landmarks" in order to expand his property.⁴⁶ At times members of the various congregations seem to have been embroiled in charges and countercharges that implied deep-seated personal hostilities; it is significant, however, that Christian Funk did not accuse his opponents of misdeeds similar to those he had been charged with. Bishop Andreas Ziegler, Funk's most relentless foe and perhaps cognizant of such tensions, in 1778 seems to have brushed personal accusations aside as irrelevant and found his fellow overseer at fault only (or at least mainly) because of his stand concerning the tax and "huldigen."⁴⁷ The post-1783 investigations, furthermore, seem to have exonerated the bishop of the personal wrong doing he had been charged with.

To sum up, the interpretation of the *Spiegel* offered above understands bishop Funk as a mild and moderate, yet principled man of faith. His account is free from invective and permeated by a willingness to forgive. His piety as well as his response to the American Revolution emerge as genuine and as rooted in the faith of the "Swiss" Brethren and Sisters which they had formulated at Schleithem in 1527. He did not vilify those who viewed the tax and the issue of "huldigen" differently and did not try to urge it on them, but offered his own stance in a spirit of tolerance and scriptural inquiry. He simply asked that also his view be understood as "evangelical," that is as deriving from the gospel as interpreted at Schleithem. Thus Christian Funk's experience provides an impressive example of the burden of decision making that is put on an individual within the context of a revolution the outcome of which is still in the balance.

It reveals, furthermore, that a creed or ideology allows for differing answers to a given situation, all of which, however, may be defensible on the basis of foundational texts or of traditional practice.

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Appendix

A chronology based on the *Spiegel*, with page numbers in parentheses

- 1719: Arrival of Heinrich Funk, Christian's father "from Europe" (5)
1731: Birth of Christian Funk (5)
1751: Marriage of Christian Funk (5)
1757: Chosen preacher (5)
1760: Death of Heinrich Funk (6)
1769: Chosen bishop (6)
1774: Onset of war with England (7)
1776: [Succeeds bishop Isaac Kolb]
Townhall meeting at Indian Field [Franconia] to select
representatives to decide Pennsylvania's joining the revolution (8)
Pennsylvania's revolutionary government elected (9)
C. Funk receives copy of Pennsylvania Constitution guaranteeing
liberty of conscience (9)
Tax of 3 pd., 10 s. levied on non-associators by Pennsylvania's new
government (10)
1777: First signs of criticism of bishop Funk's stance (10/11)
Mounting accusations (11-16)
1778: Trial meetings, led by Andreas Ziegler, bishop of Skippack resulting
in ban (22-31)
Separate congregation (33-34)
1783: Peace with England (36)
Further accusations, especially by Jacob Oberholzer (36)
1785: *Ein kurzer Aufsatz* published (19)
1804: First reconciliation attempt (41)
1805: Second reconciliation attempt (42)
1806: Third reconciliation attempt (45)
[1809: Death of Christian Funk]
1813: Publication of *Spiegel* (title page)
[1814: Publication of *Mirror*]

Notes

¹The booklet is printed in the older German font and for the uninitiated less than easy to read. Few hard copies of the *Spiegel* exist. Readex Microprint, Evans No. 19015, is *Ein Aufsatz oder Vertheidigung von Christian Funk gegen seine mitdiener Der Menonisten Gemeinde*. Gedruckt im Jahr 1785; the title page in the Microprint is handwritten; Harold S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature: A Bibliography of Mennonitica Americana 1727–1928* (Goshen, IN: The Mennonite Historical Society, 1929), p. 147 notes: Germantown, PA: Gedruckt bey Leibert und Billmeyer, 1785; the *Spiegel* uses "Aufsatz." Readex Microprint, Shoemaker S 28594, is *Spiegel für alle Menschen; oder Nuzanwendungen aus dem Leben und Wandel Christel Funks, eines in seinem Leben treu gewesenen Menonisten—Predigers des göttlichen Worts, durch und viele Jahre nach der americanischen Revolution*. Reading, gedruckt bey Johannes Ritter, und Comp. für die Verleger, 1813.—The English version is more easily accessible: *A Mirror for all Mankind or, Instructive Examples from the Life and Conduct of Christian Funk, a Faithful Minister of the Word of God, Among the Menonists; During and Many Years After, the American Revolution*. Translated from the German. Printed by J. Winnard, Norristown, for the Proprietors, 1814. Reprint: *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* 35, no. 1 (January 1974): 3-11. A new annotated English translation with brief introduction is offered by John C. Wenger, ed. and transl., "A Mirror for All People," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (henceforth cited as *MQR*) 59 (January 1985): 42-66.—Special thanks are due to Professor Stephen E. Wiberley, Jr., of the Library at the University of Illinois at Chicago, who kindly provided a hard copy of the German version via the University of Missouri at Columbia, and to Joseph Springer, Curator, Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, who generously provided valuable materials in English. David J. Rempel Smucker, editor of *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, and the anonymous readers for the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* kindly reviewed the "Introduction"; their comments and suggestions were most helpful.

²A linguistic analysis transcends my expertise which might also compare Christian Funk's German with that of his father's work (see below note 12); Wenger, "Mirror," p. 43, finds "the quality and idiom of the original German not very good," a view I do not share; Funk's German is vigorous and reflects his Alemannic origin.—A recent edition of the *Ausbund* is *Ausbund das ist: Etliche schöne Christliche Lieder, Wie sie in dem Gefängnis zu Passau in dem Schloß von den Schweizer—Brüdern und von anderen rechtgläubigen Christen hin und her gedichtet worden. . . .* 13. Auflage (Lancaster County, PA: Verlag von den Amischen Gemeinden, 1984).—The Amish, also referred to in the *Spiegel*, p. 43—"der ammische Bann," the ban on the Amish—are a conservative wing of the "Swiss" Mennonites who separated from the main body in the 1690s. See Leo Schelbert, "Pietism Rejected: A Reinterpretation of Amish Origins," in: *America and the Germans: An Assessment of Three Hundred Years*, edited by Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, vol. 1: *Immigration, Language, Ethnicity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 118-27, with basic bibliographical references; that essay, however, overstates the Schleithem Confession's dualism.

³John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Telford, PA: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, 1937), pp. 345-51. Ernst Correll, "Funkleute," *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (1937), 2:19-21, is similarly balanced.

⁴*MQR* 49 (1985): 42.

⁵Richard K. MacMaster with Samuel L. Horst and Robert F. Ullé, *Conscience in Crisis* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979), p. 360; they acknowledge that Funk's opponents found Congress "rebellious and hostile to the king" (p. 361); the editors wonder why they opposed only the Non-Associator tax, but not the other taxes since they were supposed to have been levied by an illegitimate government.

⁶Edward Shannon, "Christian Funk, the Mennonite Patriot," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 115 (March 1981): 212-14, 279.

⁷Robert B. Graber, "Archival Data on Pennsylvania-German Mennonite Schisms 1778-1927," *MQR* 57 (1983): 60.

⁸Richard K. MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America 1683-1790* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985), p. 269: "Christian Funk's interpretation should be taken cautiously, if at all;" p. 274: ". . . the Test Act and tax issues were occasions, but not the sole or even prime reasons for Christian Funk's removal from the ministry."

⁹ John L. Ruth, *Maintaining the Right Fellowship: A narrative account of life in the oldest Mennonite community in North America* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1984); the author sketches the events concerning Christian Funk within the broader context of revolutionary developments in Eastern Pennsylvania, pp. 142-56.

¹⁰ See Leo Schelbert, "'Gebet dem Congress was dem Congress ist und Gott was Gottes ist': Des Taufgesinnten Christian Funk (1731-1811) eigenständige Antwort auf die amerikanische Revolution," in: *Querdenken und Toleranz im Wandel der Geschichte: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Hans R. Guggisberg*, edited by Michael Erbe et al. (Mannheim: Palatium Verlag im J&J Verlag, 1996), pp. 527-37; a revised and expanded version of this essay in English is "To continue in That Foundation of the Gospel Faith: A Theological Interpretation of the Answer of the Mennonite Bishop Christian Funk (1731-1811) to the American Revolution," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, forthcoming. Correll, "Funkleute," refers to "Christian Funk, an dessen wehrloser Gesinnung und Bestätigung nicht zu zweifeln ist"; in contrast, Henry D. Dyck, "Funk, Christian," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (1956), 2:421, makes the untenable claim that Christian Funk "urged the payment of the special war tax"; yet otherwise the entry is balanced. Peter Brock, *Freedom from Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 207, repeats Dyck's claim.

¹¹ See Mary Jane Lederach Hershey, "Andreas Kolb (1749-1811), Mennonite Schoolmaster and Fraktur Artist," *MQR* 61 (April 1987): 121-201, with numerous reproductions in color. Map on p. 135, reproduced by permission.

¹² *Spiegel*, p. 5. It is unclear why Heinrich occasionally spelled the family name with "ck."

¹³ Heinrich Funck, *Ein Spiegel der Taufe mit Geist, mit Wasser, mit Blut* (Germantown, PA: Christoph Saur, 1744); *Eine Restitution: Oder eine Erklärung einiger Hauptpunten des Gesetzes*. . . (Philadelphia: Anton Ambrüster, 1763). See Theron F. Schlabach, "Mennonites and Pietism in America, 1740-1780: Some Thoughts on the Friedmann Thesis," *MQR* 57 (July 1983): 222-40; comment on the writings of Funck (pp. 227-28) who "was caught in the main dilemma of Mennonites in America: trying to maintain a theology of suffering and of conflict with the world when the world was offering ever more comfort and toleration" (p. 228). Funck's works were also translated into English.

¹⁴ See *Swiss Surnames: A Complete Register* (Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1995), 1:609; also *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (1926), 3:360-61; Wenger, *Franconia Conference*, pp. 260-62, for a listing for that district.

¹⁵ See Wenger, *Franconia Conference*, pp. 395-404; quotation on p. 396; *ibid.*, pp. 8-9, a map of the location of all the meeting houses.

¹⁶ On the Radical Reformation see the in-depth overview by George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (London: Weidenfels and Nicholson, 1962), esp. pp. 181-203; 3d rev. ed., rev. and expanded (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992). A recent overview is also Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *Die Täufer: Geschichte und Deutung* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1980); see p. 98: "die geistlich-weltliche Einheitskultur des Mittelalters" as opposed to the "neue Reich."

¹⁷ See James Stayer et al., "From Monogenesis to Polygenesis: The Historical Discussion of Anabaptist Origins," *MQR* 49 (April 1975): 83-121; and "The Swiss Brethren: An Exercise in Historical Definition," *Church History* 47 (June 1978): 174-95. The term "Swiss" in this context simply differentiates these groups from their Dutch and North German as well as Hutterian counterparts, thus is not a national label; yet it is perhaps more than mere coincidence that these Brethren and Sisters viewed the "Gemeinde," that is the congregation, as central to their organizational pattern, a trait also of the Swiss secular polity. See also the suggestive work by Beulah Stauffer Hostetler, *American Mennonites and Protestant Movements: A Community Paradigm* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1987), esp. pp. 92-93. Journals such as *MQR*, *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, and *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* offer a wealth of outstanding scholarly work.

¹⁸ A critical edition is Beatrice Jenny, *Das Schleitheimer Täuferbekenntnis 1527* (Thayngen [Switzerland]: Karl Augustin, 1951); Stayer, "Swiss Brethren," p. 190 agrees with other scholars who view the Schleithem Confession as "the crystallization point" of the Swiss Brethren sect.

¹⁹ For an introduction see John A. Hostetler, *Hutterite Society* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); Karl A. Peter, *The Dynamics of Hutterite Society: An Analytical Approach* (Edmonton, Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 1987); Michael Holzach, *Das vergessene Volk:*

Ein Jahr bei den deutschen Hutterern in Kanada, mit 33 Fotos von Tim Rautert (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982), provides unusual insight.

²⁰ MacMaster et al., eds., *Conscience in Crisis*, p. 84.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

²² The declaration demand was decided upon by the Pennsylvania authorities on 14 September 1727; the declaration read in part: "We . . . Do solemnly promise & Engage, that We will be faithful & bear true Allegiance to his present MAJESTY KING GEORGE THE SECOND, and his Successors Kings of Great Britain, and will be faithful to the Proprietor of this Province . . ."; see *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* 3 (1852): 282-283.

²³ See reprint, *Menonite Historical Bulletin*, p. 4, col. 2; *Spiegel*, p. 9.

²⁴ See Wilbur J. Bender, "Pacifism Among the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites and Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania to 1783," *MQR* (October 1927): 25 and footnote 105 for further detail; the declaration is in *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 8 (1935), 8:7348-50; the increase of the fine in *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, 1682-1801* (Harrisburg, PA, 1902), 8:541, according to Bender. He shows that the issue was controversial among the lawmakers, some of whom detested the pacifist non-patriots.

²⁵ Quoted by Bender, *ibid.*, p. 46, note 126; he refers to *Statutes at Large*, 9:112, 113, 239, 241.

²⁶ James O. Lehmann, "The Mennonites of Maryland During the Revolutionary War," *MQR* 50 (July 1976): 219; the article describes similar developments in that state with rich documentation.

²⁷ Quotation from 7 November 1775 declaration.—See Lehmann, *ibid.*, pp. 200-29, for impressive examples of suffering; also Mark A. Noll, *Christians in the American Revolution* (Washington, DC: Christian University Press, 1977), pp. 123-47, for an overall sketch of "The Pacifist Response;" Noll rightly observes (p. 123) that pacifists were neither "loyalist" nor "patriot"; he also finds that the Mennonites were "not quite as 'hard-nosed' as the Quakers" (136). Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States, from the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 263-64, perhaps underrates their resistance and found them to have been relatively compliant as to indirect cooperation with the revolutionary movement.

²⁸ Noll, *ibid.*, p. 132; quoted here after Library of Congress, *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789* (Washington, [DC]: Government Printing Office, 1905), 2:189.

²⁹ Christian Funk's brother Henry, an ordained preacher since 1768 who served in the Swamp district explicitly stated in a letter dated 4 October 1781, of "having taken the test of the State." He, too, was put under the ban.

³⁰ Jenny, *Schleitheim Confession*, line 169-70, 172-73, 212.

³¹ Brock, *Freedom from Violence*, p. 207, observes: C. Funk "accused his fellow ministers, who opposed paying [the tax put on Non-Associators], of being swayed in their views by their feeling that the Revolutionary cause would be finally unsuccessful (an opinion in which he may well have been correct)."

³² See for instance the rich detail given in Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography*, vol. 4: *Leader of the Revolution* (Fairfield, CT: Augustus M. Kelly, 1981), pp. 490-611; this is a reprint edition (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1951).

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 633.

³⁴ See for the story of their migration Delbert L. Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1953); also Leo Schelbert, *Swiss Migration to America: The Swiss Mennonites* (New York: Arno Press, 1980). A general survey is John C. Wenger, *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1947). For relatively rare primary sources describing the migration of a "Swiss" Mennonites, see for instance, Neil Anne Stuckey Levine, Ursula Roy, and David J. Rempel Smucker, editors and translators, "Trans-Atlantic Advice: An 1822 Letter By Louis C. Jüngerich (1803-1833)," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 29, no. 3 (July 1996): 2-16; and *Mennonites in Transition. From Switzerland to America: Emigrant and Immigrant Experience: Anabaptist Documents*, transcribed, translated and edited by Andrea Boldt, Werner Enninger, and Delbert Gratz (Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1997), published with the support of the Swiss American Historical Society.

³⁵ *Spiegel*, p. 51.

³⁶ See "Four Letters of Andreas Kolb," introduction by John L. Ruth, translation and annotation by Isaac C. Kulp, Jr., *MQR* 61 (April 1987): 198, n. 21, for a description of the process: After a sermon "the ordained men would position themselves in the front of the meetinghouse,

and the brothers and sisters would pass before them. The ordained men would extend the right hand of fellowship to each person, If one was not at peace with the church or an individual member or members, he or she would refuse the 'peace.'" Then an inquiry about the cause of the "Unfriede" would ensue.

³⁷ *Spiegel*, *ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21: "Da haben sie die volle Meidung an uns vor offenbahrer Welt ausgeführt, die doch in 30 Jahren unter uns nicht ist gehalten worden."

⁴⁰ John F. Funk, assisted by J. S. Coffman, *Confession of Faith: Minister's Manual*, 2d ed. (Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Publishing Company, 1895), p. 26. Although from the Dordrecht Confession of Faith, dated 21 April 1632, to which the "Swiss" Brethren and Sisters did not subscribe, this provision was shared by them with their Dutch counterparts.

⁴¹ Jenny, *Schleitheim Confession*, lines 146-49, 158-59, 161, 165-66.

⁴² *Spiegel*, pp. 15-16.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 6-7. After a deacon or a preacher had served his probationary time, he would become confirmed, "bestätigt," that is a "bestäter" deacon, preacher, or overseer; see J. Loserth, "Diener am Wort," *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, (1913), 1:439.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁶ See "Four Letters of Andreas Kolb," p. 195, and footnote 5.

⁴⁷ See also *ibid.*, p. 30: "Das ist die Sache nicht [Funk's supposed wrong doing], du mußt gegen das Huldigen gehen."