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The State

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CHAPTER 14

The State

SANDRA F. JOIREMAN

Anabaptist political theology is uncommon in its perspective on the state and appropriate Christian political behavior.[1] Anabaptism is both a movement and a tendency, with strains present in other Christian traditions. It has always been pluralistic. Varied forms of Anabaptism developed in different areas of Europe during the Reformation and theological descendants of the early Anabaptists have maintained that diversity. Thus, the theological beliefs and their political manifestations discussed here should be viewed as trends within Anabaptism rather than as a pronouncement about what all Anabaptists have believed. That said, as both a movement and a tendency, Anabaptists have rejected historic Christendom models of the state. In this chapter, I will address the formation of beliefs about the state in early Anabaptism. Since this is also addressed in other chapters in this volume, I will move on to discuss theological understandings of the state within Anabaptism and how these impact Anabaptist views of citizenship and nonresistance. The last section of the chapter addresses the shift of the church to the Global South and how early Anabaptist political theology is apparent in political practice and beliefs about the state among Anabaptism's descendants today.

EARLY YEARS

The first Swiss Anabaptists, Felix Manz and Conrad Grebel, were students of Huldrych Zwingli in Zurich. Although Manz and Grebel supported Zwingli's break with the Catholic Church and his push for reform, they were critical of

Zwingli on a number of issues, including his use of political power. Zwingli submitted to the power of the city council to bring reform to the canton and oversee the implementation of ecclesial changes undergirding the Reformation. Manz and Grebel maintained that religious change should be led by the churches without government interference or oversight.[2] They broke with Zwingli and the mainstream of the Swiss Reformation over issues of political authority, the state church, and the nature and timing of baptism, all of which were either explicitly about or indirectly related to the role of government and territorial religion. Swiss Anabaptists articulated a vision for a free church, patterned on what they saw in the congregations of the New Testament and composed of confessing believers, voluntarily baptized into the community of faith. The Swiss branch of the Anabaptist movement is traditionally marked as being founded on January 21, 1525, when Manz, Grebel and their followers acted on their differences with the magisterial Swiss reformers by rebaptizing adults. Until that point, baptism was considered the exclusive right of politically recognized churches. Rebaptism was both an expression of belief and a political act—a declaration of divergence from the other changes in religious organization at that time. The relationship of the church to political authority—a focal point of division between the trunk of the Protestant Reformation and that of its more radical branch—has remained as a distinctive of the Anabaptist tradition.

BELIEFS ABOUT THE STATE

The Schleitheim Confession of 1527 was one of the earliest foundational documents of the Anabaptist movement. It articulated the Swiss Anabaptist positions of adult baptism based on professed belief, refusal to take oaths, the free election of church leaders, and communion as an expression of Christian community. It additionally included the rejection of violence or the "diabolical weapons of violence—such as sword, armor, and the like, and all their use to protect friends or against enemies—by virtue of the word of Christ."[3] Members of the church were encouraged to reject any service to governing authorities, be it civic or military:

> [I]t does not befit a Christian to be a magistrate: the rule of the government is according to the flesh, that of the Christian according to the spirit. Their houses and dwelling remain in this world; that of the Christians is in heaven. Their citizenship is in this world; that of the Christians is in heaven. The weapons of their battle and warfare are carnal and only against the flesh, but the weapons of Christians are spiritual, against the fortifications of the devil. The worldly are armed with steel and iron, but Christians are armed with the armor of God, with truth, righteousness, peace, faith, salvation, and with the Word of God.[4]

The Swiss Anabaptist group was not the only movement of its kind. There were pockets of rebaptizers in other parts of Europe. C. Arnold Snyder observes that "the earliest baptizing movements in Switzerland, south Germany, and Austria were not of one mind in their interpretive approaches to Scripture, nor were they of one mind concerning the proper relationship of church to government."[5] Greater uniformity of Anabaptist beliefs developed later after the failed Münster rebellion (1534–5) and the experience of persecution.[6] Though the Schleitheim Confession was only one strand of Anabaptist belief about the state, its articulation of government as a manifestation of the world and the proper understanding of believers as citizens of heaven is paralleled in other Anabaptist confessions and theological works. Early Anabaptists, in general, rejected the role of political authority in determining religious beliefs and objected to forcible conversions of people from Catholicism to magisterial Protestantism during the Reformation, and to the determination of religion by geography, arguing that faith should be an individual choice, not a political decision made by others. The role of government was viewed to be appropriately limited to enforcing laws; the church should be separate and free to govern spiritual matters.

The Schleitheim Confession was written in 1527 preceding the establishment of the modern state in 1648. Indeed, the birth of Anabaptism was part of the religious upheaval that ignited war across Europe. The Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648 with an agreement on two principles: (1) the unification of territory and authority, and (2) the affirmation of the Augsburg Settlement that the religion of the ruler would be the religion of the people.[7] The Augsburg Settlement was objectionable to Anabaptists because of the role of political authority in forming or constraining an individual's belief. Opposition to political religion led both to the persecution of Anabaptists and to the strengthening of the Separatist position. Snyder notes the causal relationship between persecution and the robust Separatist tradition, which, while not consistently present at the beginning of the various Anabaptist movements, became more pervasive through the experience of persecution.[8]

Most Christian denominations and groups choose between two models of church and state originally articulated at the Council of Nicea in 325.[9] The first being the subservience of the church to the state, and the second being the two kingdoms conception of the church and the state occupying two separate and equal spheres of power.[10] Walter Klaassen observes that the Anabaptist understanding "in its basic ingredients . . . was virtually identical with Martin Luther's" view of the two kingdoms doctrine: "Government was given because of man's sin; it belonged to law, while the church, which was given out of sheer grace, belonged to the gospel." Regardless, the state still served a divine purpose: "to reward the good and punish the evil."[11] That said, in practice Lutheranism and Anabaptism significantly diverge, with Anabaptists giving primacy to the church. As James Leo Garrett once noted, "The Anabaptists were the first ones

to question in the whole concept that to be a citizen was to be a churchman and to be a churchman was to be a citizen."[12] The state, for Anabaptists, has a circumscribed role—it is present to provide order, and Christians living within a state have a primary loyalty to the church. The state is to order the social world, while the church is to be the visible witness of believers, the primary affiliation of Christians, and separate from the state. This position is most strongly articulated in English in the works of Mennonite theologian John H. Yoder.[13] Yoder argued that the necessity of government derives from its responsibility in providing a service to the church by creating order so that the church can thrive.[14] This belief is articulated in contemporary church doctrine:

> Governing authorities of the world have been instituted by God for maintaining order in societies. Such governments and other human institutions as servants of God are called to act justly and provide order. But like all such institutions, nations tend to demand total allegiance. They then become idolatrous and rebellious against the will of God. Even at its best, government cannot act completely according to the justice of God because no nation, except the church, confesses Christ's rule as its foundation.[15]

The belief in the order-providing role of the state derives from both historical experience and an interpretation of Romans 13 that assumes the state cannot legitimately command a Christian to do what God has forbidden. Romans 13:1-5 has been viewed by some Christian traditions as a call to obey the state in all matters, or as absolving the Christian of guilt when obeying the state. Anabaptists interpreted the same passage differently, through the lens of the life of Christ. This interpretation is embedded in an Anabaptist hermeneutic of interpreting the Old Testament through the lens of the New Testament.[16] The two testaments are not given equality as they are in other Protestant traditions, but are viewed progressively with the life of Christ informing the interpretation of all other Scripture.[17] Thus, New Testament verses on the role of the state are far more important than any understanding of political allegiance based on Old Testament Scriptures pertaining to the people of Israel and the monarchies. Yoder understood Romans 13 as follows:

> God is not said to create or institute or ordain the powers that be, but only to order them, to put them in order, sovereignly to tell them where they belong, what is their place. It is not as if there was a time when there was no government and then God made government through a new creative intervention; there has been hierarchy and authority and power since human society.[18]

The Anabaptist idea that the state has an appropriate and limited order-creating role has been applied in sometimes unusual ways. For example, in the

1600s Dutch Anabaptists were vocal in their opposition to government efforts to cede the authority of the state to the Dutch East Indies Company for law enforcement within territory controlled by the company. Dutch Anabaptists believed that the state, and no other, must wield the powers attributed to it in Romans 12 and 13. They thought it wrong for the state to delegate its order-creating responsibilities to a profit-focused, business venture.[19]

Anabaptist views of the role of the state are complemented by an understanding of the church as a visible witness to the world, distinct and different from it. This idea of church as witness makes strongly held and unpopular positions such as nonresistance much easier for the church to bear because the church is understood to be an alternative polis, or political community. While H. Richard Niebuhr[20] goes too far in suggesting that the Anabaptist vision is that of the church against "culture,"[21] Anabaptists do generally believe that the church should be recognizably different from the world. When the distinction between the church and world is no longer discernable, the church has lost its ability to bear witness to the good news of Christ.

CITIZENSHIP

Anabaptist understandings of the appropriate role of the state correspond with beliefs about citizenship—the rights, duties, and responsibilities of membership in a state. For Anabaptists, Christian citizenship is first in heaven and surpasses obligations of citizenship held by a Christian in the state on earth. Again, this belief is rooted in New Testament interpretations of the role of the state and the role of Christians. For example, the apostle Paul discusses his place as a citizen of heaven in Phil. 3:20, stating, "But our citizenship is in heaven. And we eagerly await a Savior from there, the Lord Jesus Christ" (Phil. 3:20 NIV). Paul understood the benefits of Roman citizenship. When he was attacked or vulnerable to the capriciousness of authority, Paul made use of the privileges of his Roman citizenship for his own protection, understanding quite well the superiority of his status under Roman law compared to others around him who were not Roman citizens. Yet, after claiming all the rights of Roman citizenship that could protect him against wrongful punishment and imprisonment, Paul invoked a heavenly citizenship. This model of heavenly citizenship was adopted by early Anabaptists and provides some of the justification for Anabaptist approaches to the state. It is not that Anabaptists rejected the rights, privileges, and responsibilities provided for them by citizenship in a state; rather, these rights and privileges were subsidiary to a Christian's membership in the church, citizenship in heaven, and one's responsibilities as commanded by God. As Menno Simons wrote in 1539:

> Do not usurp the judgment and kingdom of Christ, for he alone is the Ruler of the conscience, and besides him there is none other. Let him be your

> Emperor in this matter and his holy Word your edict, and you will soon have enough of storming and slaying. You must hearken to God above the emperor, and obey God's Word more than that of the emperor.[22]

From Anabaptist perspectives, then, it is insufficient to read Paul's discussion of his citizenship in heaven and understand it in a temporally limited way, exclusive to his relation to the Roman Empire at that time.[23]

Early Anabaptists differed in their views about what sort of obligations were owed to the state. At one end of the spectrum was Balthasar Hubmaier, who, though Anabaptist, maintained much of a magisterial Protestant position regarding the state, stipulating that not only were Christians obligated to obey the government, they could also be part of that government to do proper justice as both judges and magistrates:

> See, dear brothers, that council, court, and law are not wrong. That also the judge may and should be a Christian, although the quarreling parties are sinning because they do not prefer to be taken advantage of. Consequently, a Christian may also, according to God's order, carry the sword in God's place over the evildoer and punish him. Because of the evil ones it is ordered in this way by God for protection and shielding of the godly (Rom. 13:3).[24]

More typical was the restrictive view of Pilgram Marpeck and others that believers owed the government "all carnal honour, fear, obedience, tax, toll, and tribute,"[25] but were not to bear the sword or serve as judges. While there were differences in early Anabaptism as to the appropriate roles Christians could fulfill, the state's role in punishing people for civil misconduct was not contested. The state was responsible for civil misconduct and the church was responsible for spiritual misconduct, which it punished through its own means within the community of believers, sometimes through exclusion from that community.

NONRESISTANCE

If the role of the state is to provide order and Christian citizenship is in heaven, it is not surprising that one consistent behavioral manifestation of Anabaptist beliefs about the state is nonresistance, demonstrated in conscientious objection or pacifism. Rather than being foundational, nonresistance is epiphenomenal, emerging from the Anabaptist view of the appropriate roles of the state, church, and Christian citizenship. Though not present in all early strains of Anabaptism, nonresistance dates back to the Reformation era. During that time many Anabaptists rejected the idea that they should play any role at all in civil governance. The Schleitheim Confession urged Anabaptists to follow what

they saw was the model of Christ, who refused to be made an earthly king, reject any earthly office such as that of magistrate, and, instead, take up one's cross in submission to God's higher authority.[26] Even prior to the Schleitheim Confession, Conrad Grebel, the leader of the Swiss Anabaptists, wrote to Thomas Müntzer in 1524:

> True believing Christians are sheep among wolves, sheep for the slaughter. They must be baptized in anguish and tribulation, persecution, suffering, and death, tried in fire, and must reach the fatherland of eternal rest not by slaying the physical but the spiritual. They use neither worldly sword nor war, since killing has ceased with them entirely, unless indeed we are still under the old law, and even there (as far as we can know) war was only a plague after they had once conquered the Promised Land. No more of this.[27]

While not all early Anabaptists adhered to this principle (see Balthasar Hubmaier, discussed earlier, and especially the case of the Anabaptists at Münster), strong objections to military and even non-military government service persisted.

In the contemporary era, most North American descendants of the Anabaptists (Mennonites, Amish, Hutterites, and Brethren) articulate a belief in nonresistance. Some individuals are pacifists and reject all violence in times of war, while others believe it is within the role of the state to make war, but not the place of the Christian to participate in it. In either case, participation in the military is questionable as a legitimate vocation of the Christian. Many North American Anabaptists then are conscientious objectors and have negotiated with governments to either engage in alternative service during times of conscription or have been imprisoned for their refusal to serve in the military. A recent survey of denominations within the Mennonite World Conference queried Anabaptist respondents all over the world about how they would respond "if the government required you to serve in the military." Overall, 62 percent of members in both the northern and southern hemispheres reported that they would reject any kind of military service, 24 percent would choose non-combatant military service, and 14 percent would agree to serve. "When comparing responses from the different continents, 91 percent of European respondents would reject any form of military service, compared to 76 percent of Africans, 62 percent of Latin Americans, 55 percent of North Americans, and 52 percent of Asians."[28]

NORTH AMERICA

For decades the largest number of Anabaptists have been located in North America,[29] and North American issues and values have been instrumental in forming Anabaptist political theology and understandings of appropriate

political behavior. For example, North American Anabaptists have been concerned about what acceptable displays of nationalism might be, if in fact there are any. Nationalism can be harmless up to the point at which it leads people to favor their allegiance to the state or other sub-state group over that of the church and the gospel, at which juncture it becomes idolatry. John Roth discusses contemporary Mennonite/Anabaptist opinion on this issue.[30] For some North American Anabaptists, cheering for the United States or Canada in the Olympics would be fine, as might be standing for the national anthem, though certainly not pledging allegiance to the flag.

While many North American Anabaptists refuse any sort of government service (not just military), some Anabaptist communities, such as the Hutterites and Old Order Mennonites, refuse even to vote. However, there is no explicit church position and more North American Anabaptists are taking political action within the governing structures than ever before, even going so far as to run for political office. Indeed, there is a subaltern theological voice in the North American context, questioning whether Anabaptist ideas of the state have gone too far, or are incompatible with democratic societies.

John Redekop, a Canadian, has argued that the Schleitheim Confession has carried too much weight and is no longer useful in the North American context. He views the confession as overly strong for present-day theological guidance, originating as it did during a time in which Anabaptists were persecuted and governments did not serve a beneficial role for the population. For those living in democratic states with governments that are pursuing the welfare of their citizenry (albeit not always well), Redekop argues that the Schleitheim Confession leads contemporary Anabaptists in the wrong direction, toward sins of omission where the potential for the state to be used to pursue good is neglected.[31] James Reimer, also writing in and about the North American context, has argued that while Anabaptist theology has equipped believers with the tools to dissent, it has not effectively equipped believers to use democratic institutions for good.[32]

THE CHURCH MOVES SOUTH

As of 2020 there are more Christians in the Global South than the Global North,[33] fulfilling Philip Jenkins' earlier prediction about the changing geographic center of the church.[34] This is also true for Anabaptist churches, which have been growing in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and shrinking or holding steady in North America and Europe.[35] Success in missions and the attractiveness of the theological distinctiveness of Anabaptism fueled this growth, but such new growth is profoundly challenging to a tradition that looks backward on a centuries-old, Eurocentric experience of martyrdom and exclusion as its foundational narrative. While the Anabaptist *Martyr's Mirror*

is a totem of identity in many North American Anabaptist homes, narratives of martyrdom and persecution in Ethiopia, Vietnam, and Eritrea are witnessed in the lived experiences of congregations. What will this mean for Anabaptist approaches to the state in the future?

Comparative studies of Anabaptist churches around the world show substantial differentiation in political practices across the various churches and denominations, with voting standing out as the one political behavior most likely to be acceptable.[36] A 2018 study of twenty-four Anabaptist churches around the world demonstrated a great variety in the responses pertaining to political engagement in different countries, with a wide gap in responses among those churches in the Global North and those in the Global South. For example, it noted, "Europeans (78%) and North Americans (82%) are much more likely than respondents in Asia (55%), Africa (27%), and Latin America (33%) to endorse political engagement."[37] Direct questions regarding political behavior elicited similar responses. "North Americans (68%) and Europeans (70%) are much more likely than respondents from any other continent to support public protest movements—Asia (34%); Africa (24%), and Latin America (23%)." Within Africa the results are particularly interesting in their variation. In South Africa, a country known for its political protests both before and after Apartheid, not a single surveyed church member favored public protests.[38] By comparison in neighboring Zimbabwe 34 percent of surveyed Mennonites expressed support.[39]

The political experiences of these churches in the Global South are heterogeneous and profoundly different than those faced by Anabaptist churches in the Global North. Theologically, they are distinct in their attention to the movement of the Holy Spirit and the role of miracles in sustaining and growing the church. Indeed, the Anabaptist churches of the Global South are Pentecostal in nature. Kanagy et al. note that "Anabaptists in the Global South are closer to the sixteenth-century Radical Reformation than they are to Anabaptist expressions in North America or in contemporary Europe."[40] These churches are growing rapidly, while those in the Global North are shrinking. What might this mean for Anabaptist beliefs about the state? More than likely it will be a continued commitment to the allegiance to the church over that of the state. The traditional Anabaptist approach to the state has been contested in peaceful democratic countries in which the state can be effectively engaged for good. Where the government is either actively persecuting the church or has neglected the welfare of the people we are unlikely to see an overturning of historic Anabaptist political theology. While we might see changes to other theological beliefs, such as more emphasis on witness of the church or on the role of the Holy Spirit within the body of believers, there will likely be continued emphasis on the separation of church and state and the emphasis on the Christian's primary loyalty to the church.

CONCLUSION

Early Anabaptists firmly rejected the role of political authority in constraining personal belief and church control over spiritual matters. These Separatist principles developed early and grew stronger and more coherent over time as Anabaptists experienced persecution. Beliefs in the order-creating role of the state and the church as a separate polis caused various expressions of political behavior such as nonresistance and the rejection of military service and other civic duties. Within North America, democracy has led to challenges to this traditional Anabaptist political theology. Yet, the largest Anabaptist populations are now located in the Global South, many in contexts where believers are actively persecuted or where governments have not provided basic public goods, such as safety and security. Anabaptism first developed in similar contexts, and the political ideas of separation remain resonant. Moreover, the fact that many Global South expressions of Anabaptism are more Pentecostal in nature also suggests a return to the past in which the witness of the church was evident in signs, wonders, and the public expression of faith rather than the quiet communal expressions that we see in North American Anabaptist traditions.

NOTES

1. My thanks go to Ryan Ahlgrim, Brian Brewer, Steve Offutt, and David Swartz for their assistance at different stages of writing this chapter. The faults are my own.
2. Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *The Anabaptists* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 11.
3. "The Schleitheim Confession," here via Michael Sattler, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler*, ed. John H. Yoder (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1973), 38.
4. "The Schleitheim Confession," via Sattler, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler*, 40–1.
5. C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Scottdale, PA: Pandora Press, 1995), 197.
6. A number of Dutch Anabaptists traveled to Münster and joined with believers there to take over the city. Inspired by an apocalyptic vision of Christ's imminent return to that city, those leading the rebellion initially attempted to model themselves on the New Testament church in Jerusalem, but they subsequently embraced violence and endorsed polygamy. For further development of this movement, see Ralf Klötzer, Chapter 7 of this volume, as well as his "The Melchiorites and Münster," in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521-1700*, eds. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 217–56.
7. Along with religious freedom only for a limited minority of religious groups.
8. Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 175.
9. Mark Noll, *Turning Points: Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000), 59–62.
10. See Abraham Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002) for a contemporary Reformed view and Timothy J. Lomperis, "Lutheranism and

Politics: Martin Luther as a Modernizer, but for the Devil," in *Church, State and Citizen*, ed. Sandra J. Joireman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 35–52, for a North American, Lutheran perspective. Neither of these positions adequately captures Anglican political theology in which the state and church have overlapping responsibilities. See Leah Seppanen Anderson, "The Anglican Tradition: Building the State, Critiquing the State," in Joireman (ed.), *Church, State and Citizen*, 93–114.

11. Walter Klassen, *Anabaptism in Outline: Selected Primary Sources* (Walden, NY: Plough Publishing House, 2019), 244.
12. Garrett here cited in Benjamin Hawkins, "Discipleship: The Anabaptist Vision for Life and Theology," *Southwestern News* (Fall 2012): 23.
13. John H. Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972); John H. Yoder, *The Christian Witness to the State* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2002). Yoder was writing in English. Clarence Bauman and Paul Peachey also contributed to the articulation of an Anabaptist understanding of the role of the state. See Clarence Bauman, *Gewaltlosigkeit Im Täufertum: Eine Untersuchung Zur Theologischen Ethik Des Oberdeutschen Täufertums Der Reformationszeit, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); Paul Peachey, *Die Soziale Herkunft Der Schweizer Täufer in Der Reformationszeit: Eine Religionssoziologische Untersuchung* (Zurich: H. Schneider, 1954).
14. While Yoder is the most influential contemporary Anabaptist theologian, he was also a deeply flawed human being who left behind a legacy of sexual abuse that has led some to repudiate his work. See Rachel Waltner Goossen, " 'Defanging the Beast': Mennonite Responses to John Howard Yoder's Sexual Abuse," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 89, no. 1 (January 2015).
15. Inter-Mennonite Confession of Faith Committee, *Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1995), 18. The Confession unhelpfully confuses the two terms "state" and "nation," using them interchangeably to refer to the state.
16. Ibid.
17. J. Denny Weaver, *Becoming Anabaptist*, 2nd ed. (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2005), 169–79.
18. Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus*, 203.
19. Peter Brock, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 165.
20. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951).
21. Niebuhr is almost forced into this extreme position by his encompassing definition of culture as everything from the arts, the state, and organizational life. The more mainstream Anabaptist position would be similar to that of most Christians: some elements of the culture are to be appreciated while others are to be rejected. John Howard Yoder and Richard Niebuhr engaged in a discussion of this issue in print summarized in Carter's *The Politics of the Cross* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2001), 215–23.
22. Menno Simons, "Foundation of Christian Doctrine," in *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons C. 1496-1561*, ed. J. C. Wenger (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1984), 204.

23. Even in the contemporary context among theological descendants of the Anabaptists, this principle remained. When the Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonite Church merged in 2001, a debate occurred over whether the new body could be referred to as the Mennonite Church USA or if this would be unacceptable because of the implication of citizenship in the United States. It was debated at length and decided that the title, which is Mennonite Church USA, stands as an oxymoron. "The Mennonite Church" acknowledges citizenship in heaven as followers of Jesus and "USA" notes merely where these followers of Jesus are located. This understanding of the title of the church neatly avoids ever declaring citizenship in a state and highlights the seriousness with which the idea of citizenship in heaven is held and the present nature of that understanding. My thanks to John Stoltzfus for this example.
24. Balthasar Hubmaier, "On the Sword," via *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism*, eds. H. Wayne Pipkin and John H. Yoder (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1989), 503.
25. Pilgram Marpeck, "Confessions," via *The Writings of Pilgram Marpeck*, eds. William Klassen and Walter Klaassen (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1978), 150.
26. "The Schleitheim Confession," via Sattler, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler*, esp. 40–1.
27. Conrad Grebel, "Grebel to Müntzer, Zurich, September 5, 1524," here via *The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism: The Grebel Letters and Related Documents*, ed. Leland Harder (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985), 284.
28. Conrad Kanagy, "Beliefs and Practices of MWC Churches" (hereafter "Beliefs and Practices"), in *Global Anabaptist Profile: Belief and Practice in 24 Mennonite World Conference Churches*, eds. Conrad Kanagy, Elizabeth Miller, and John D. Roth, vol. 2020 (Goshen, IN: Institute for the Study of Global Anabaptism, 2018), 23–4.
29. Harold S. Bender, Samuel J. Steiner, and Richard D. Thiessen, "World Mennonite Membership Distribution," Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. https://gameo.org/index.php?title=World_Mennonite_Membership_Distribution (accessed January 10, 2020).
30. See John D. Roth, *Beliefs: Mennonite Faith and Practice* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2005), 104–10, for a discussion of the variety of Mennonite beliefs on pacifism and the role of the state.
31. John H. Redekop, *Politics under God* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2007).
32. A. James Reimer, *Toward an Anabaptist Political Theology*, ed. Paul G. Doerksen (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014).
33. Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019).
34. Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Rise of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
35. Bender, Steiner, and Thiessen, "World Mennonite Membership Distribution." There are reasons to expect that the membership numbers for North America are lower now than they were at the time of the last update to the Global Mennonite Encyclopedia. Disputes within the church have led to a decline in the number of members of Mennonite Church USA to 67,000. See "Who We Are," Mennonite Church USA. http://mennoniteusa.org/who-we-are/ (accessed January 10, 2020).

36. Kanagy, Beyene, and Showalter, *Winds of the Spirit*, 122.
37. Kanagy, "Beliefs and Practices," 24.
38. The pool of respondents comprised members from specific churches in individual countries rather than a random sample, so the conclusions are not as robust as one might hope for, as they are more likely to reflect the bias of particular pastors and congregations rather than representing all Anabaptists in that country. That said, there is an absence of alternative statistical data.
39. Kanagy, "Beliefs and Practices," 24.
40. Kanagy, Beyene, and Showalter, *Winds of the Spirit*, 228.

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