

Rich Mennonites in an Age of Mammon: Is a Messianic Political Economy Possible?

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In 1977 a Canadian teaching at Messiah College in the United States published a ground-breaking book, *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger*, in which he argued that North American Christians were failing to discern or attend to the offensive proclamation of the gospel on the dangers of wealth.¹ Ronald Sider, the author, bluntly asserted: “The ever more affluent standard of living is the god of 20th century North America and the adman is its prophet” (46). Affluent Christians, he went on to argue at the heart of the book – “A Biblical Perspective on the Poor and Possessions” – have allowed economic self-interest to distort their interpretation of Scripture (77). In contrast to certain liberation theologians who talked about God’s preferential option for the poor, Sider made the interesting argument that God is not partial; it only appears that way to those seduced by the God of affluence and success:

By contrast with the way you and I, as well as the comfortable and powerful of every age and society, always act toward the poor, God seems to have an overwhelming bias in favour

of the poor. But it is biased only in contrast with our sinful unconcern. It is only when we take our perverse preference for the successful and wealthy as natural and normative that God's concern appears biased. . . . The God of the Bible is on the side of the poor just because he is *not* biased, for he is a God of impartial justice. (84)

These striking words came from the pen of a Brethren in Christ farm boy from Stevensville, Ontario who after taking his first degree at the University of Waterloo went on to complete a Yale PhD in history, and whose book was declared by *Christianity Today* to be one of the one hundred most influential books on religion in the twentieth century,² going through five editions and selling more than 350,000 copies. (Sider is also the author of 22 more books and 100 articles, and founding president of "Evangelicals for Social Action," etc.). Do we think that only accountants and entrepreneurs measure success, influence, and productivity? Perhaps it is no surprise that in a 1997 interview with *Christianity Today*, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary edition of his famous book (April 28, 1997), Sider tried to set the record straight: he favours democratic politics and the market economy. He supports democratic capitalism because it is more compatible with human freedom and dignity and more efficient in the production of wealth.

I do not begin this way out of cynicism, but rather to point out some of the tensions endemic in a theological consideration of the theme "Mennonites and Money." North American Mennonites in the twentieth and twenty first centuries have lived and continue to live in a culture in no doubt about the god it worships and that shapes all manner of decisions and strategies, from personal lifestyle to household acquisitions to corporate mergers, university governance, church growth and political platforms: that god is Mammon. Where does this name, this theological term "Mammon," come from? From the lips of the Messiah Jesus, of course, who uses it in the Sermon on the Mount to indicate contrasting types of vision: "So, if your eye is sound, your whole body will be full of light; but if your eye is not sound, your whole body will be full of darkness. If then the light in you is darkness, how great is the darkness!" (Matthew 6:22-23) He goes on to make the famous pronouncement that "no one can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other," and of course these two masters are Yahweh and Mammon.

"Mammon" is no less mysterious sounding to our ears than is "Yahweh," and its origins are obscure. It is a Semitic word signifying money, wealth, property, possessions.³ Jesus here personifies it as a rival lord

or god and suggests that the devotion it demands is no less total than that demanded by Yahweh, which is why it has everything to do with vision, with what is brought into view and what is kept out of view. This is very hard to see, it seems, even for the disciples, Jesus' closest followers. After Jesus' encounter with the upstanding and very righteous rich young man who seems to lack nothing, and he tells his disciples that "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God," they say in astonishment, "Who can get in then?" (Matthew 19). The political economy of Yahweh is messianically opposed to the political economy of Mammon, it seems, and this apocalyptic opposition is something the early Anabaptists took with deadly seriousness, as they did the entire Sermon on the Mount (in contrast to the more compromising ethical theories of the magisterial reformers). Nowhere more radically, perhaps, than in the writings of the sixteenth century Tyrolian Peter Walpot, who became leader of the Moravian Hutterites after Peter Riedemann and who initiated the *Bruderhof* economic experiment that continues to this day. Writing in 1577 in his treatise "True Yieldedness and the Christian Community of Goods," Walpot says:

Humanity will hold a great Sabbath (Isa. 66). Yes, they will have a continual Sabbath and will lead a most holy life on earth, when they rid their nature of two words—"mine" and "yours." These words have been and are today the cause of many wars. From where comes war and bloodshed, quarrelling and fighting, envy and hatred, disunity and disruption, if not from private possessions and greed? For whoever deals in mine and yours, that is, with possessions, becomes a friend of avarice. . . . Whoever wants much feels the lack of much, and whoever covets much is left wanting much. That is actually the most poverty-stricken and dissatisfied kind of life on earth. And Christ, at home with those who walk in the true Sabbath, Pentecost and Easter, will have none of it.⁴

The rejection of the distinction between "mine" and "yours" has a long history in European messianic radicalism.⁵ Walpot's messianic political economy calls for a community of the "poor in spirit," the dispossessed and humble ones:

You cannot serve God and Mammon," Walpot avers, "For like a lock, the love of and concern for money occupies the heart. Therefore you should not strive for surplus and then seek to justify it. For Christ said that it is impossible to serve and nurture both of these two masters. So don't say that it is

possible! For one master commands you to deny yourself . . . the other says you should be selfish and possessive (145).

According to Walpot, the life of the Messianic community must be the narrow gate, the needle's eye, "an oven of yieldedness in which the person is tried like gold in the fire" (147). Only in the community of messianic discipleship can one attend to the needed conformity of inner and outer, spiritual and material life – precisely those things divided by Luther's two kingdoms.

Menno Simons, like Walpot, held to the singular and undivided conformity of Christians to the messianic body, internal and external, though he was less convinced than Walpot that private property in itself is contrary to nature and the shalom of Yahweh's creation (see Walpot, 191). Nevertheless, the sacraments of the messianic body must be practically enacted, which requires the messianic community to serve their neighbors "not only with money and goods, but also after the example of their Lord and Head, Jesus Christ, . . . with life and blood."⁶ He attacks the luxurious hypocrisy of those religious and political leaders who are persecuting the Anabaptists for, among other things, practicing the community of goods:

O preachers, dear preachers, where is the power of the Gospel you preach? Where is the thing signified in the Supper you administer?. . . Shame on you for the easygoing gospel and barren bread-breaking, you who have in so many years been unable to effect enough with your gospel and sacraments so as to remove your needy and distressed members from the streets (559).

The political economy of violence, undergirded by an easygoing and luxurious Christianity, is tied to the worship of Mammon, which renders the sacraments empty.⁷ Menno especially laments the existence of a paid clergy – ministers who are corrupted by salaries become hirelings of the rich, seduced by the profit motive, and the mainline churches, he suggests, are full of such avaricious, selfish and carnal leaders who aid and abet religious cynicism in the wider culture (440f.).

This same apocalyptic teaching pervades Ron Sider's *Rich Christians*, where he argues that Jesus established a visible messianic community characterized by an *oikonomia* of economic sharing which Sider describes as, "unlimited liability and total availability" grounded in Eucharistic sharing (103f.). Such a discernment of the lived and shared body of Christ can only conclude that "present economic relationships in the worldwide body of Christ are unbiblical, sinful, . . . a desecration of the body and blood of Jesus Christ" (110). The attempt

to replace communion with the Creator, for which human beings are made, with the desire to possess the creation leads to ever more frantic and desperate lifestyles of consumption rooted in *pleonexia*, an obsessive, anxious compulsion for more. This is the punitive end result of the idolatrous worship of Mammon: a constant intake and output that is not truly human at all. The only possible response is penitence, a radical turning away from the disordered desire of insatiable possessiveness toward my neighbor in messianic community.

There is a similar account of the politics of Jesus by John Howard Yoder, undoubtedly the most significant Mennonite theologian of the twentieth century. In his *Politics of Jesus*⁸ (ranked #5 in the *Christianity Today* list of the one hundred most influential Christian books of the twentieth century), Yoder suggests that the messianic mission of Jesus is the annunciation of the Jubilee as a visible socio-political and economic restructuring of all human relations. This is neither an impossible counsel of perfection nor a constitutional law for a utopian state: it is the communal establishment of a material, ordinary, everyday messianic practice rooted in servanthood that is completely revolutionary, that breaks the sovereignty of fallen idolatrous powers. Yoder's claim, in keeping with the apocalyptic messianic vision of the early Anabaptists, is that the primary social structure through which the gospel works to transform other structures is the messianic community that patterns itself after Christ. Such a community represents not a withdrawal from society but a cosmic challenge to the fallen powers by transforming life in the everyday from below in new practical forms of life. Like Sider and the early Anabaptists, Yoder reads the Eucharistic practice of the New Testament as a political economy, a communal sharing that extends the table fellowship of Jesus to the wider world.⁹ He points to the economic pattern of the *Bruderhof* as the display of messianic poverty: not the renunciation of all property but the renunciation of personal or private possessiveness. It is best understood not as a flight from the world, but as the messianic, monastic life of sharing and hospitality practiced in the everyday world.

II

What has this got to do with political economy? This just confirms what we already know, that theology is abstract, pious theorizing about biblical ideas and does no real analysis of the material social and political conditions in which we live. Historians can do better by examining what actually happens in the lived world, to see just how these ideas are enacted and what happens when real people and communities live them out temporally and spatially. James Urry's excellent recent

book, *Mennonites, Politics and Peoplehood*, for example, can show us how apocalyptic Mennonite separation from the world in a context of religious persecution actually leads to a social strategy of seeking special political privileges and the protection of autocratic rulers for living a quiet life in the land. He can also show the tensions faced by ethnic Mennonite communities from the end of the eighteenth century on as they increasingly have to face new secular political forces that want to integrate Mennonites into secular nation-states as useful and productive citizens, calling for the subordination of Mennonite identity to those larger socio-political ones articulated in constitutional democracies: all citizens are equal under one law, which allows for religious commitment as a personal, emotional and private activity largely disconnected from social practice.¹⁰

I suggest that this is not the only possible account of Mennonite messianic political economy. Yoder and Sider are examples of a theological and also political-ethical resistance to understanding Mennonite or Anabaptist identity in terms of ethnicity. Yoder in particular would consider the “Mennonite commonwealth” established in nineteenth century Russia – the Johann Cornies model, we could call it – no less a Constantinian failure of the church than the mainline Christendom versions. Perhaps we could offer a theopolitical account of the “Corniesian fall” of the Anabaptist vision. Furthermore, what do historians who casually use terms such as “conservative” and “progressivist” to describe less and more conformist Mennonite communities do with the continued existence of radical Amish and old order Mennonites in North America who are neither “integrated” into the secular global economy (though certainly related to it) nor constitute a “Mennonite commonwealth”? I think of David Kline, for example, an Amish farmer friend of the radical agrarian social critic Wendell Berry,¹¹ who articulates an Anabaptist theology for living that cares for creation and witnesses to the wider culture by resisting the lures and blandishments of industrial capitalism and all its works.¹² For Kline the spirituality of this messianic political economy, this agrarian monasticism in the world, is articulated in the Amish evening prayer to be read daily, one line of which reads: “*und lasz uns deine Creaturen and Geschoepfnicht verderben sondern dasz wir zur ewigen Seligkeit moegen gebracht and erhalten warden,*” which he translates as, “and help us be gentle with your creatures and handiwork so that we may abide in your eternal salvation and continue to be held in the hollow of your hand.”¹³ David Kline certainly has not published twenty two books, nor are his publications considered to be in the top one hundred most influential on any consumerist Christian booklist, nor are the communities out of which he writes considered to be relevant. But what if they are in fact bearing witness to the messianic body politic and political economy in our time?

What if they are the two faithful witnesses, the two olive trees and lamp stands that bear cruciform witness in the midst of the destroyers of the earth? How would that be measured or even discerned?

I am aware that what I am saying embodies a tension between a non-ethnic Mennonite theology that cannot underwrite a politics of identity and that seems to entail a critique of the separatist agrarian, ethnic communities of the Amish and Old Mennonites, and a suggestion that these ethnic communities continue to bear an important messianic economic witness in our contemporary global context. So let me try to clarify in my conclusion what I am trying to say, and let me do so with reference to another excellent historical study that helps me make sense of my own life experience and the question of messianic political economy, namely, Royden Loewen's *Diaspora in the Countryside*.¹⁴ Loewen gives us a compelling, textured account of the capitalization of agriculture and urban migration of *Kleine Gemeinde* Mennonites in the mid- to late twentieth century, one of the last North American early ethnic immigrant groups to become integrated participants in the progressivist industrial vision of capitalist modernization. I am a living folklore fossil of this shift: born in 1957 in Steinbach, my mother tongue was *Plautdietsch* until the age of five, when my father moved us off the family farm to urban, multi-cultural Winnipeg for a construction company job, and I remember feeling like a complete alien. Indeed the experience of being an alien, neither at home in the city nor in Steinbach, led me to pursue the academic study of religion, and here I am a product of industrial high education, even though it is more of the University of Chicago humanist variation than the medical-engineering university at which I teach. The tensions abound – but my brief here today is not autobiographical; it is theological.

Therefore I am charged with offering a normative rejoinder to Loewen's impressive descriptive account, though of course it is impossible to do so properly here. I am compelled to choose a representative anecdote and to offer a few suggestive comments. My critical rejoinder takes issue with using the socio-political term "conservative" to describe those who nurture a local, village-based agrarian culture by focusing on household-produced goods and selective participation in the wider democratic capitalist marketplace. I wonder, if we shifted the focus from protecting an ethno-religious identity to discerning this as a non-violent resistance of globalizing capitalism, would we be able to discern here the possibility of a radical messianic political economy, where technological innovation is not mindlessly adopted but subjected to a community rule? Will this particular technology or economic practice or innovation destroy or enhance our community of shared goods, the shared pursuit of the kingdom of God? It should also be noted that Menno Simons' exemplars of the messianic community

in *True Christian Faith* include the Centurion of Capernaum, the Malefactor on the cross, the Woman who was a sinner, the Syrophenician Woman, and other nameless penitents. None of these are great, heroic Christians whose names are remembered for their exceptional individual accomplishments. They are rather anonymous witnesses to the power of divine grace and they bear witness to this power through anonymous humility. Until the mid-twentieth century, as Loewen shows, this model of exemplarity was characteristic of both men and women in the largely rural Mennonite communities of Manitoba and Kansas, communities which were largely self-sufficient, skeptical of the consumer lifestyles and individualist ideals of urban capitalism, and committed to the pacifist communitarian Christianity of their forebears. This changed in the 1950s and 1960s as the authority of the farmer-bishop/preacher as community leader and an emphasis on humble community service in everyday life gave way to the community authority of ambitious individual achievers whose names were emblazoned on the profitable businesses they built through aggressive and shrewd commercial development.

There is a representative anecdote in Loewen's book displaying the shift from agrarian humility in the everyday world to the ambitious industrial capitalism of the dominant North American culture. It involves a mid-century Steinbach car dealer, entrepreneur and mayor, the poster-boy purveyor of the individualist values of conspicuous capitalist consumption and progressivist Mennonite masculinity: none other than A.D. Penner.¹⁵ Loewen's book includes an evocative photograph of the symbolic spanking of the entrepreneurial A.D. by his 84-year old mother dressed in traditional "conservative" Mennonite garb on the occasion of his bulldozing of the last traditional Steinbach house-barn in 1960 to pave the way for progress. Loewen paints the scene vividly:

When Steinbach had been founded as a farm village in 1874, the wooden framed house-barn built especially for easy access of women to livestock signaled pioneer success. By 1960 the town's only house-barn was an abandoned, sagging, unpainted, shingle-sided building located at the corner of Main Street and Victoria Avenue, the gateway to Steinbach's commercial center. Significantly, the rotting building sat just across the road from A.D. Penner's ultramodern Chrysler car dealership In May 1960 Penner, who also owned a road construction company, announced that one of his huge D9 Caterpillar bulldozers was in town and he intended to demolish the old house-barn. . . . With typical flare Penner . . . crossed the road with his elderly mother to offer a photo opportunity.

As cameras clicked, the huge D9 crushed the building and a grinning A.D. bent over to allow his mother to mock spank him. The message was clear: while the historical society might think him a reckless 'boy,' the massive, masculine D9 would do its work in the name of progress.¹⁶

Of course even asses and dominators may have a place in the kingdom of God, but only as humble penitents who give up their worship of Mammon and of making a name for themselves in Babel-like fashion, according to the New Testament gospels. If Mennonites are to work toward a messianic political economy today, when globalizing technological and economic forces and relations are conscripting people and places everywhere into the service of an abstract industrial economy, it will be necessary to seriously reconsider this question of worship.

By way of conclusion, I shall try to suggest briefly what this might mean. In his book *Home Economics*, Wendell Berry writes of a conversation he had with his friend Wes Jackson about the causes of the modern ruination of farmland, including the money economy, in which Berry suggested that "an economy based on energy would be more benign because it would be more comprehensive." Jackson didn't agree, suggesting that an energy economy wouldn't be comprehensive enough. "Well," said Berry, "then what kind of economy *would* be comprehensive enough?" Jackson hesitated, then said with a grin, "The Kingdom of God."¹⁷ This is of course the heart of the matter in a messianic political economy, rooted as it is in the teaching of Jesus: seek first the Kingdom of God means, among other things, seek and receive the shalom of Yahweh daily in all the gifts of creation which are always coming into being and passing away; this is what Berry calls the "Great Economy." If one lives in this way rather than being driven by the anxieties of human insecurity about the adequacy of one's own possessions, everything else will follow from it. If Jesus' teachings have nothing to do with worldly economics and our daily life in this world, then they are completely out of touch with reality. If his teachings are in fact true, then they also have tremendous practical implications for the real nature of worldly economies – including everything from households to neighbourhoods to cities, nations and global exchange. Wendell Berry's work on this holds great significance for those seeking a messianic political economy, including perhaps those Mennonites, whether urban or rural, ethnic or not, pietistic or secular, who turn in penitence from the destructive daily worship of Mammon in our culture and begin to seek another way.

Berry's essays provide a moral and political economic challenge to dominant cultural practices, but his novels display what is at stake

both historically and spiritually. Berry's novella *Remembering* tells the story of Andy Catlett, who has devoted his life to a rural community made up of small-scale family farms, but who, in the loss of his right hand to a corn-picking machine, finds he has lost his hold on his motivating vision of an alternative political economy. The novel begins in a state of profound disorientation that represents Andy's spiritual condition as he awakes from a disturbing technological nightmare in the strange San Francisco hotel room to which he has fled, a nightmare in which bulldozers are enrubbling farms and destroying farmland to build the great causeway of progress where industrial human artifice dominates all nature. Andy will find no liberation from his problems by escaping his community and reshaping his identity through the commodified procurements of industrial urban capitalism. Only by remembering who he is, the defining moments of the life history of his soul, the tangled pattern of embodied memories, will he recover his purpose, the true direction of his bodily and spiritual desire. Andy's movement of penitence and return is described as follows:

He is held, though he does not hold. He is caught up again in the old pattern of entrances: of minds into minds, minds into place, places into minds. The pattern limits and complicates him, singling him out in his own flesh. Out of the multitude of possible lives that have surrounded and beckoned to him like a crowd around a star, he returns now to himself, a mere meteorite, scorched, small, and fallen. He has met again his one life and one death, and he takes them back. It is as though, leaving, he has met himself already returning, pushing in front of him a barn seventy-five feet by forty, and a hundred acres of land, six generations of his own history, partly failed, and a few dead and living whose love has claimed him forever.¹⁸

What Andy recovers is the memory of why he chose to resist the siren voices of technological and economic "progress" in order to cultivate another way of life on the land. This other way has been given to him as a choice by the people of his community, who have fostered it through the disciplines of love. It is a radically traditional vision of agrarian life in which fidelity to family, farmland, community and God are richly woven in a demanding pattern of skill and trust that our dominant urban technological culture views with either sentimentality or disdain. When Andy, as a young aspiring agricultural journalist (thereby trading on his rural experience to advance his own individual career) dares to voice his preference for the Amish farm he visits over hi-tech agribusiness, he realizes this is more than an argument about agriculture—it is a cultural battle, a struggle over the meaning of a good

life and a bad one. Agribusiness, says Andy at an academic conference on “The Future of the American Food System,” is an abstract “agriculture of the mind” (23) that cannot think humanly and spiritually about what it does, and therefore lacks good judgment. It produces death, not life. In the Mennonite rush to join a “progressive” mainstream culture, eager to cash in our hard-earned countercultural identities for careerist success, have we become willing to lose our embodied Mennonite souls? This is not to say that moving from the village to the city is necessarily soul-destroying, but neither is it true that to be the humble, agrarian *Stillen im Lande* is somehow an abdication of human cultural, economic and political responsibility. It may be that such a life preserves a crucial set of cultural, social and spiritual disciplines rooted in a vision of existence that our culture desperately needs in order to bring it back from a headlong rush toward spiritual – and ecological, civil and economic – suicide. At the very least this means that assimilated urban Mennonites dare not cut off dialogue with our theological and political economic past and with those “backward” and “conservative” traditional communities who continue to give visible, embodied cultural testimony to a radically different way of life that judges our own simply by being what it is.

Notes

- ¹ Ronald Sider, *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1977). Page references to this text will follow in parentheses in the essay.
- ² *Christianity Today* (April 24, 2000).
- ³ W.D. Davies and Dale Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, volume I (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 643. The etymology of the term is uncertain, though usually explained as deriving from *mn*, “to trust/believe in” which renders it appropriate as a term of idolatry.
- ⁴ Peter Walpot, “True Yieldedness and the Christian Community of Goods,” *Early Anabaptist Spirituality: Selected Writings*, trans. D. Liechty, *Classics of Western Spirituality* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1994), 139.
- ⁵ See also Soren Kierkegaard on the “eternal forgetting” of this distinction in his *Works of Love*, trans. H. & E. Hong (Princeton University Press, 1995), 269f.
- ⁶ Menno Simons, “Reply to False Accusations,” *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons*, trans. L. Verduin (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1956), 558. In his confessional statement, “True Christian Faith,” Menno articulates his Christology as follows: “We teach and believe, and this is the thrust of the whole Scriptures, that the whole Christ is from head to foot, both inside and outside, visible and invisible, God’s first-born and only begotten Son; the incomprehensible, eternal Word, by whom all things were created, the first-born of every creature.” (335-6) See also his “Brief and Clear Confession” where he rejects any separation between the eternal Word of God and the incarnate Son of God: “He was not divided nor separated as being half heavenly and half earthly, half of the seed of man and half of God... but an unmixed, whole Christ, namely, spirit, soul, and body, of which, according to Paul, all men are constituted.” The fact that Christ took the “form of the servant” (Phil. 2), therefore, requires his followers to do the same in all

ways. Here, as throughout his writings, there are many pointed warnings against avarice—the worship of Mammon, external carnality, the profit motive.

- ⁷ See “Foundation of Christian Doctrine,” *Complete Writings*, p. 176f., 194f., 207f.
- ⁸ John Howard Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1972; second edition, 1994).
- ⁹ John Howard Yoder, *Body Politics: Five Practices of the Christian Community Before the Watching World* (Nashville, TN: Discipleship Resources, 1992), chapter 2.
- ¹⁰ James Urry, *Mennonites, Politics, and Peoplehood: Europe–Russia–Canada, 1825 to 1980* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2006).
- ¹¹ See his essay, hyperbolically entitled “How Wendell Berry Single-Handedly Preserved Three Hundred Years of Agrarian Wisdom,” in *Wendell Berry: Life and Work*, ed. Jason Peters (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2007), 60-65. Wendell Berry returns the compliment in many places, but no more evocatively than in his novella *Remembering* where the Amish as a community materially enact the agrarian messianic political economy.
- ¹² David Kline, “God’s Spirit and a Theology for Living,” *Creation and the Environment: An Anabaptist Perspective on a Sustainable World*, ed. Calvin Redekop (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 61-69.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-2.
- ¹⁴ Royden Loewen, *Diaspora in the Countryside: Two Mennonite Communities and Mid-Twentieth-Century Rural Disjuncture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
- ¹⁵ See Loewen, *Diaspora*, 156f.
- ¹⁶ Loewen, *Diaspora*, 157-8.
- ¹⁷ Wendell Berry, “Two Economies,” in *Home Economics* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1987), 54.
- ¹⁸ Wendell Berry, *Remembering* (New York: North Point Press, 1988), 57-58. I reflect on this novel in two essays: Travis Kroeker, “Anabaptists and Existential Theology,” *The Conrad Grebel Review* 17/2 (Spring 1999): 69-88; Kroeker, “Sexuality and the Sacramental Imagination: It All Turns on Affection,” *Wendell Berry: Life and Work*, ed. Jason Peters (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2007): 119-136.