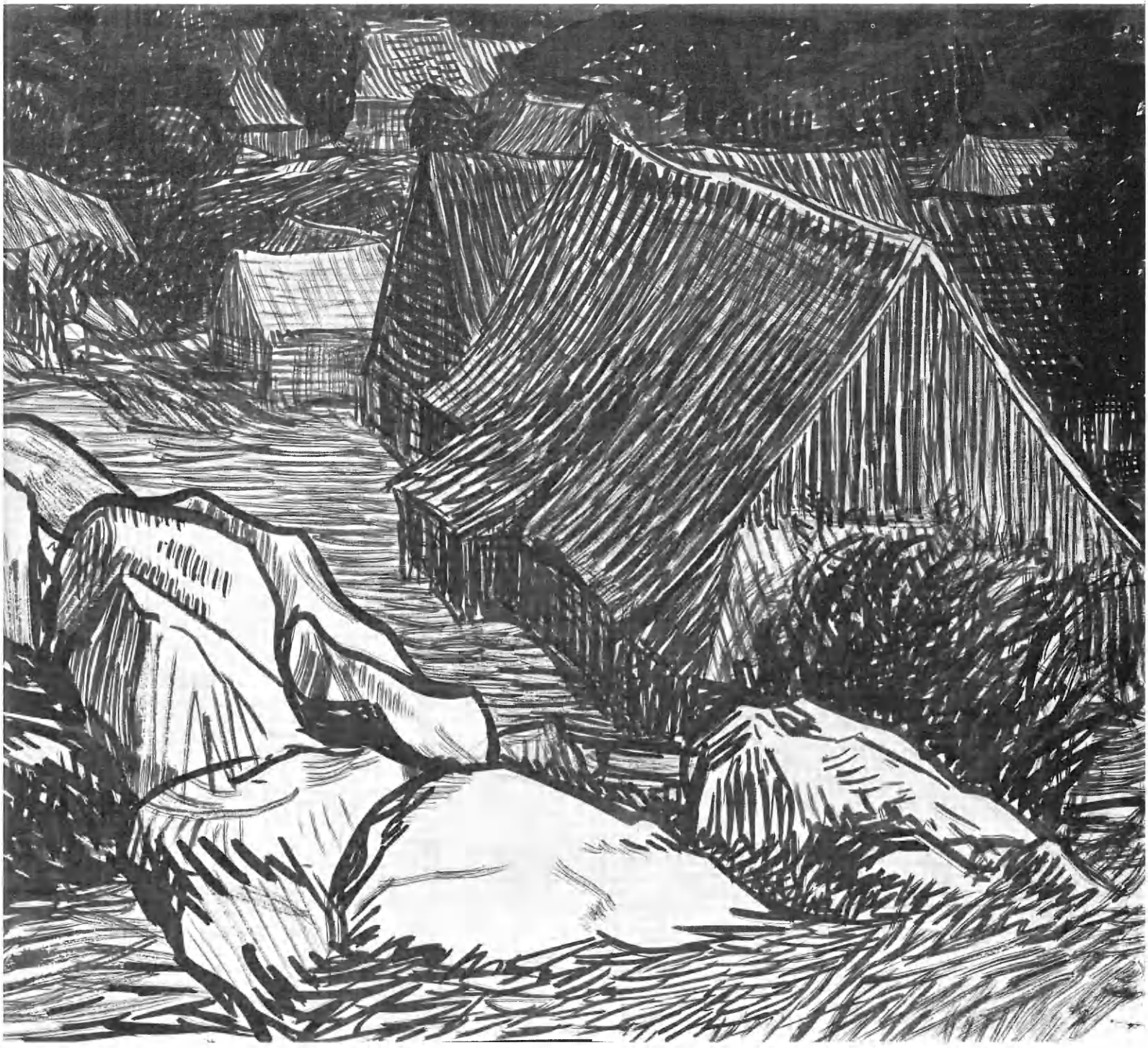
MENNONITE LIFE

JANUARY, 1969



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MENNONITE LIFE

January, 1969 *Volume XXIV* *Number 1*

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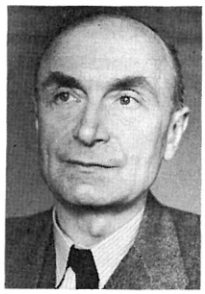

KURT KAUENHOVEN, educator, scholar, and genealogist of Goettingen, Germany, has been a regular contributor to *Mennonite Life* for many years. The Editors congratulate him at the occasion of his 80th birthday which took place on December 15, 1968.

COVER

Mennonite homes on the Dnieper River (Ukraine) by Daniel Wohlgemuth, 1908.

CREDITS AND SOURCES

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IN THIS ISSUE

The illustrations on the cover and page 16 are works of art pertaining to the Mennonite settlement on the Dnieper River produced by Daniel Wohlgemuth during his visit in Russia in 1908. This is a memorial to his life work (1876-1867) featured in previous issues of *Mennonite Life* (January, 1954, April, 1957). The artist was well qualified to portray the ruggedness of the early years of Mennonite settlement on the Dnieper River presented in the article by David G. Rempel. ¶ Arnold Dyck, one of the best known and most beloved Mennonite authors in both High and Low German languages, commemorated his 80th birthday in all quietness on January 19. Elisabeth Peters, who has recently written a M.A. thesis devoted to the work of Dyck presents a brief article in his honor. Elmer F. Suderman translated one of the unique stories of Dyck from the Low German into the English. A more detailed account of Dyck's work was presented 10 years ago in the April issue of *Mennonite Life* (1959). ¶ David G. Rempel who wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia", Stanford University, has continued his research in the Archives in America as well as in Russia and presents herewith a detailed account on the beginning of Mennonite settlements in Russia. Gerhard Lohrenz relates how the monument dedicated to Johann Bartsch, one of the two delegates to Russia, was erected in Russia and transplanted a year ago from the USSR to Manitoba by the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society. Additional articles on the Mennonites in Russia will be presented in the next issue. ¶ John Waltner has made a study on Gerald B. Winrod's influence on the Kansas Mennonites in the days when the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy had reached a high point. His article is a brief summary of his findings. ¶ Kurt Kauenhoven, a scholar and genealogist presents some types of family trees of German-Russian Mennonite background. ¶ Hugh S. Hostetler presents a challenging and stimulating review of the book by Harvey Cox, *The Secular City*, by making use of his work as counsellor in New York and the *Report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders.*

The Dutch Mennonites sent a "Missive" dated July 31, 1788, to the Mennonites who were leaving Danzig for settlement in the Ukraine. They urged the Flemish and the Frisian Mennonites to unite so they would face the pioneer hardships as one group. The Johann Bartsch monument near Chortitza before it was moved to Manitoba (see p. 29). (Bottom) A part of the village Rosenthal seen from the hill next to the village school.

M I S S I V E

VAN DE

S O C I E T E I T

DER

DOOPSGEZINDE GEMEENTEN

IN

FRIESLAND EN GRONINGEN;

GESCHREEVEN

Aan de DOOPSGEZINDE CHRISTENEN, *welke zich uit Dantzig hebben nedergezet, in de Staaten van Haare Majesteit,*

CATHARINA DE GROOTE,

Keizerin aller Rusſen.

A Tribute to Arnold Dyck

By Elisabeth Peters

THE DEAD LEAVES rustle under their footsteps as they enter the street, the old man with his white hair flying in the wind, and Bella, our spaniel. They are great friends, these two, the writer and the little black dog. I watch them strolling down the path, thickly carpeted with the red and gold of autumn leaves, until they reach the corner. "*So, Bella, jetzt musst du nach Hause gehn*," I can see the old gentleman say as he nods his head in the direction of home. Bella looks up at him mournfully with her liquid eyes, and reluctantly obedient, trots sadly back.

"Is the gentleman living at your house a poet?" asks our gregarious neighbor who loves life and people, and always "happens" along when anything of interest is going on. "He is a writer," I answer, "but how could you guess?" "Not hard to guess that!" laughs the neighbor. "Look at the profile, the white hair receding from the temples, the dignity of his bearing as he walks, in spite of his slight limp, briskly down the street, flourishing his cane. He looks like a poet under those tall old trees, and fits into the scenery as though he belonged to it."

I explain to her that the wanderer under the elms is Arnold Dyck, the best-known writer among the Mennonites in Canada. As we watch the vanishing figure, I too agree that he belongs in this rich autumnal setting.

That was in Winnipeg. This fall, a year later, my husband and I see him in Germany, and again I cannot help but feel that somehow he belongs in this setting, too. It is a bleak Sunday afternoon in late November as we hurry on our way to visit Arnold Dyck in his daughter's home on the moors south of Bremen. The road winds through avenues of tall trees, their bare branches silhouetted against a sky of mottled brown and grey and amber, rich as the colors of old Dutch masters. Occasionally we pass a rambling, somewhat heavy, *Niedersachsenhaus,* or a windmill drooping its useless wings, while a hunting dog points out his quarry to the *Sonntagsjäger* crossing the ploughed fields or walking through distant purpling moors and peatfields.

At last we reach the secluded homestead where a fine large home completely hidden from the road by tall pines, opens its friendly doors to us. From the rustic windows opposite the fireplace in the big living-room we have a fine view of a bit of heath, framed by tall firs and shading a small cottage, Arnold Dyck's Yeatsian cabin. Perhaps the most outstanding impression one has, besides the hospitality of our charming hostess, is the atmosphere of sincerity which pervades the room. There are books lining a whole wall, greenery in a planter constructed of raw birch logs, a huge open fireplace, a white piano and a large heavy dining table and chairs of solid oak. Everything here is genuine, free from pretence and ostentation, just as the willowy mistress of the house, who displays a warm naturalness in her smile and in her Low German, which comes readily to her, although she has had little occasion to use it for a score of years.

Yet as one thinks of Dyck's works, one has a vague feeling that he is not truly at home either on the tree-lined streets of Winnipeg or in the *Heide* of Lower Saxony. His world revolved around life in the Menno-

The scene in South Russia described in Arnold Dyck's "Verloren in der Steppe." (Drawing by Arnold Dyck.)

nite villages of the Russian steppes, up to their agonizing dissolution, and although he took root again on the Canadian prairies, the good years of his life were his young years, to which he turns almost tenderly in his narative *Verloren in der Steppe*. In this story of his childhood he has recaptured the Mennonite world for future generations with warm affection and artistic skill. It is only appropriate that on the occasion of his eightieth birthday we touch in gratitude, even though briefly, on this most engaging account of life in a Mennonite village.

Verloren in der Steppe is a reflective narrative, and may well be assigned to the genre of the *Bildungsroman* in German literature, since it concerns itself entirely with the physical, mental and emotional development of Hänschen Toews, the little *Bauernbub* from Hochfeld. One might rename the story *Die Menschwerdung von Hänschen Toews,* for in it Dyck depicts the joys and the agonies that accompany the process of development from childhood to manhood. With great skill the author weaves the fabric of his narrative into a series of vivid pictures which provide the background for the story, blending into it all the brightness of loving childhood memories. Yet the reliable, informative, exact description of the ways and customs of the Mennonites in Russia makes *Verloren in der Steppe* a documentary source for the student of Mennonite history and Mennonite ways.

Since *Verloren in der Steppe* is Dyck's only major High German work, mention must be made of the simple yet singularly effective language. He has created his own "Mennonite High German", enriched by the additional Russian loan words, and colored by translations from his Low German. At times Dyck's prose has rich lyrical qualities, as in the passage describing *Abenddämmerung* on the steppes. Through the use of two and three syllable words which slow down the movement and create an atmosphere of rest, Dyck effects the quiet tonal nuances befitting the gray hours hovering between day and evening:

Die Erde war warm. Im Grase zirpten die Grillen, Schwalben strichen über den Graben hin, und vom nahen Ackerfeld brachte ein leiser Wind den Duft reifender Saaten.

Als Hans aufwachte, war die Sonne bereits verschwunden, und die Abenddämmerung hatte die einschlummernde Steppe leise zugedeckt.

Verloren in der Steppe ends at the point where Hans Toews has reached the threshold of his dreams and is about to leave the village.

When the Mennonite world in Russia collapsed Dyck found a home in Canada, and the Mennonite settlements of Manitoba provided the setting for Dyck's further themes. Because these were his later years, the events have not receded and the nostalgia of *Verloren in der Steppe* is replaced by a refreshing

humor which makes his *Koop enn Bua* series perhaps generally the most popular reading.[1] Dyck's humor is never dull or stilted because he uses a variety of devices in producing it, either by direct description, comic situations, satire, wanton gayety or delightfully frolicsome nonsense. Since most of the Low German works have a Mennonite ethnic background, there is a certain abandon of expression which achieves a sense of reality and colorful variety as Dyck in turn displays a mild earthiness, pathos, depth of feeling and innocent piety in kaleidoscopic sequence. Almost any passage illustrates this, as for instance, the scene from *Koop enn Bua faore no Toronto,* in which the bush-farmers attend the annual Mennonite conference in Ontario. The topic under discussion is nonresistance, and the garrulous Bua is moved to voice his opinion on the subject. He begins with "Ladies and Jentelmen", then, realizing that this secular form of address is not suitable at a church conference, he changes to "*Liebe Brieder!*":

Weils mich daus so vorkommen tüt, dauss hier mit der Wehrlosigkeit waus los ist . . . dauss es nicht wieder so jeht wie im letzten Tjriejh, dauss unsre Junges erst lange im Busch im Verborjenen sitzen müssen, wo die Polis sie nicht finden kann, und wenn der Tiriih dann ieber ist dann kraufen sie hervor an die Offenbarlichtjeit und werden dann in den Jails jestjetit, meist bis ein neier Welttjriejh aunfangen tüt.

A tribute to Arnold Dyck would, however, be incomplete without reference to some of his *Bühnenstücke*. His play *Dee Fria,* and a small collection of miscellania under the title *Onsi Lied,* is a boon for the Mennonite amateur theatre. Perhaps the most significant is a short Intermezzo, *De Schwoatbroak enn de Nachtigaul.* In the dialogue between the sensitive, aesthetic Marie and the down-to-earth practical young farmer, Hein, to whom she is engaged, Dyck has portrayed in microcosm the loneliness of the artist, the idealist, the dreamer, in the practical, honest, realistic society of the Mennonite world. During her conversation with Hein, Marie suddenly knows that she must leave him, that she will become emotionally stunted if she stays with him, that she, in order to live fully and abundantly, must remain in her world of moonlight and nightingales and the rippling Dnieper.

Dyck's destiny is identical with that of the sensitive Marie. Because his people, whom he loves and whose way of life he endorses, do not understand the calling of the artist, he too has to renounce the material security of the mediocre; like Marie, he pays the high price for artistic fulfillment with his loneliness. It is significant that this last Intermezzo is placed at the very end of the sequence in the simple unassuming *Onse Lied.*

FOOTNOTES

1. By request Dr. Victor Peters is again weaving readings from *Koop enn Bua* into his weekly broadcasts over the two Manitoba radio stations CFAM (Altona) and CHSM (Steinbach).

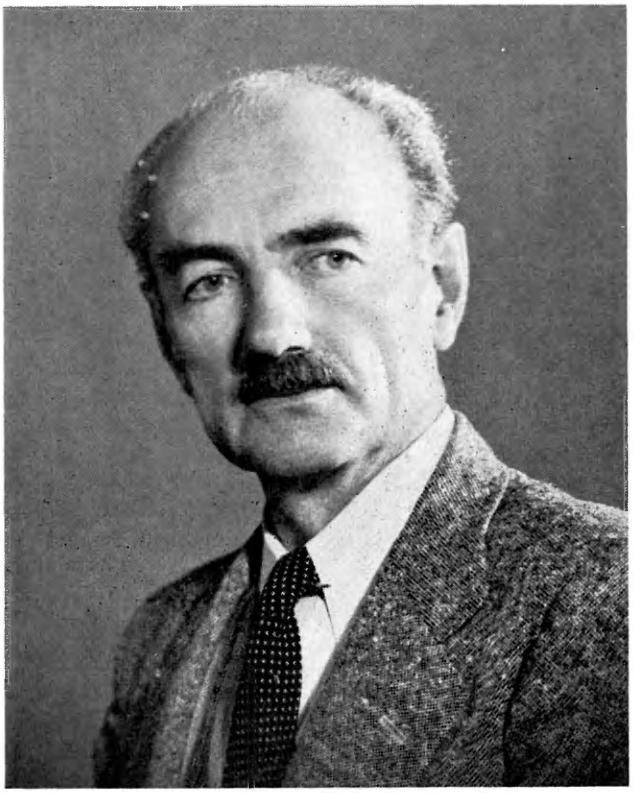
Arnold Dyck Explains the Origin of Low German

By Elmer F. Suderman

IF THERE WERE EVER any question about it, Arnold Dyck dispelled any doubt we might have had about Low German as a language admirably suited for humor. We knew it all the time, of course—those of us who had grown up with it—for we had unconsciously made use of its colloquial richness for humor many times. But it took Arnold Dyck to show us just how effective it could be not only to amuse us in ordinary situations but to convince us that it would do artistically as well. That the artistry seems so effortless should not blind us to its greatness. After the publication of Dyck's stories, sketches and plays —*Onse Lied, Wellkaom op'e Forstei!, De Opnoam, Dee Millionäa von Kosefeld, Dee Fria,* and the *Koop enn Bua* series—we became much more conscious of the excellence and richness of Low German humor.

What is intriguing about Dyck's sketches is that the humor depends upon the language, not on the plot. We laugh not primarily at what the characters are doing, though we laugh at that, too, but at what they are saying. It is not what happens, not what the characters do, that delights us but the way in which they manipulate and take delight in the language. We laugh with the characters more than at them.

Convinced that what Arnold Dyck has to say is important enough that those who cannot understand the Low German need to have an English translation even at considerable loss of the the original impact,



Arnold Dyck

I have tried to translate a section of his play *De Opnaom* in which he has one of the characters explain the origin of Low German. It is not easy to translate this section into English because the effect depends upon connotation rather than denotation. The importance of Dyck's words are not primarily that they point to a specific object or idea for which they stand. The primary effect is in the feelings and tone which can not be translated, certainly not literally. Take a sentence like the narrator's in which he describes the ground on which the Tower of Babel is being built: *Hia haude se namlijh kort verhäa de Sintflut jehaut enn aules wea noch naut enn schmautzig.* That sentence in the Low German conveys a feeling, a certain quiet humor which is based upon the sound of the words, the pattern of the rhythm, and the word order. It is reasonably accurate, I think, to translate it: "It wasn't long after Noah's flood, and the ground was still pretty wet and sloppy." In translation much of the original humor is lost. Even a word like *Sintflut,* where the denotation is very clear and the translation almost has to be Noah's flood, does not carry the feeling or have the same tone as the Low German word. And "wet and sloppy" simply does not have the same emotional tone as "naut enn schmautzig." And I find such aesthetically satisfying words as *'Nopjetost, Toakel, jerackad, truhoatig, ruckst* with all of their many acquired implications and suggestions of meaning and feeling, with all the responses they elicit in those who have heard them, without equivalents in English. And, of course, the difficulty is compounded when we face words that are unique to the Low German Mennonite culture like *Schnettje enn Orbusezirop,* words which defy translation.

Arnold Dyck should be heard not only because he is a skilled craftsman and stylist, a master of colloquial language, but also because of his ability to invent legends and to tell them with grace and imagination. The plot of *De Opnaom* concerns the successful effort of a group of Russian Mennonite boys in the forest service (the Russian equivalent to our alternative service) to convince Krahn, a proud, haughty, presumptuous recruit whose father owns a factory and has failed to teach him Low German, that he ought to accept his service with good grace and do his part of the work even though he is not accustomed to hard work, and to learn to speak Low German which he calls a rude uncouth, boorish peasant speech (*plumpe, ungehobelte Bauernsprache*). He finally accepts their change of name from Waszilij (no good Low German ever had such a name, the boys insist) to William (*Wellm* in Low German) and their advice to speak Low German even though it is unnatural and difficult for him. At one point in the play, *Winta,* a quiet, deliberate, soft spoken individual, takes it upon himself to explain to Krahn the origin of the Low German language and, incidentally, the importance of maintaining it as a significant part of their tradition. The translation of this delightful (at least in the original) legend follows.

The Origin of Low German

I want to tell you a story, and you Krahn, to you especially. After I'd been in the forest service so long that I knew I would never finish, no matter how long I lived, I said to myself: Enough is enough; I'm going to get out of here. And the next night I took off. I really wanted to run off to America—I had some sort of a cousin on my mother's side there. But America hadn't been discovered yet. They said Columbus was hung up in Spain. So I said to myself: Okay, then go to India. Stick to the dry route, and let's see who gets there first, me or Columbus. So I went.

When I got to Mesopotamia, I noticed they were building something. I got curious, and went closer. Just as I thought, they were building the Tower of Babel. Well, Dick, I said to myself, you ought to check this out a little more closely. So there I stood and looked it over from close up. When they saw me standing there, a guy with a black beard comes up to me, wipes the sweat off his nose, and says in Babylonian: "Here, Winta," he says, "these stones are heavier than hell, and it's a long way to heaven." And he pointed with his hand, and it did look to me like they had quite a ways to go. "How about giving me

a hand?" he says, and I told him—in Babylonian, naturally "No, that's exactly what I don't want to do; I've not taken a fancy to work for a long time."

"Really," he said.

"No," I said, "that's the reason I resigned from the forest service."

"So that's why," he said. "Okay, then don't."

And he scraped some of the muck off his bare feet, and jammed himself behind the stone again. It wasn't long after Noah's flood, and the ground was still pretty slick and sloppy. So I just kept standing there watching, and all at once—what was that? Everything froze; nobody budged. Well, I thought, what's the story? And I just about broke my neck straining to see. But I couldn't see much, because I was standing behind an outhouse. Anyways, it was only quiet for a minute, then pandemonium broke loose.

Everybody started talking at once. And, you know, nobody could understand anybody else. The contractor yelled at the foreman, the foreman yelled at the workers, and the workers yelled at each other. But nobody could tell one yell from another. Well, Dick, I said to myself, you're in a great fix now. You know why? I couldn't even understand myself.

But then, a second later—you're not going to believe this—somebody behind me was saying, "So—now I'm going to go home." I looked around and guess who it was? Old Janzen with his boots from Pordenau, the one who lives up at the corner by the highway intersection. There he was, just like always: in his shirtsleeves, sandals on his bare feet, a watch-chain over his belly, and a fur cap on his head.

"What in the world?" I said to old Janzen, "what brings you here? And what's the story?"

"Boy," he says to me peevishly, "where were you when you were in school? This is the confusion of tongues. The Tower of Babel, see? Now let's get along home."

"But the tower—it's not even close to heaven yet."

"Hang the tower; it's been erased from the program. Stupid notion anyway. We've had it on account of that contraption. Now nobody can understand anybody. Let me tell you, boy, it's enough to give a man a belly ache, to hear the crazy talk of all these people. That one," he says, "the one with the dark hair, he's a Frenchman—talks through his nose. That one, the highhanded one is Polish—talks through his teeth so he sounds like somebody pouring dishwater on dry leaves. The one with the black eyes over there is Spanish. He doesn't even talk, just rattles his teeth with his tongue so he sounds like a castenet factory. And the others sound even crazier.

"I'm the only one who's got a decent language out of this whole boondoggle. I got the best: Low German. But then, I was the one that dragged up the heaviest rocks to the top of that darned hill. Everytime there was a boulder to be moved, everybody said, 'Leave that one for old Janzen.' And I hustled. If I were going to do anything, I might as well do it up right. If all these clod-hoppers would've humped like I did, who knows, we might have finished that hill. Not that it makes any difference now; at least I've got the most elegant language, the only one in which a good idea ever felt at home in. Now let's get along home."

"How come you got such a good language so quickly?" I asked him.

"How come? I'll tell you. When the man came with his sack of languages and dumped them out in the mud where we could see them, everybody ran over and started grabbing. 'No, you don't,' the man said, 'you just hold your horses. When you guys came to a big rock, you just said, "Let Janzen do it," and old Janzen was kind hearted enough to do it without griping. So he ought to have first pick of the languages. Which one do you want, Janzen?' "

"So I said: 'That one, the Low German, if I may.' "

"It's yours,' he said, 'take it.' I took it and the man grinned a little."

Old Janzen grinned a little too while he was telling me. "What about the guy?" I said, and I pointed to a tall, dry-looking fellow with high-water pants and a scarf around his neck and a pipe in his mouth. "What kind of man is he?"

"I couldn't say," old Janzen said. "He never says anything, never gets his hands dirty or takes them out of his pocket long enough to lift a pebble and he came to the language-heap too late. But he acts as if he couldn't care less. He scraped together all the leftover shreds of language and put them in his pocket. How he expects to talk with that mess, I'll never know. But let's get along home, now."

So we went home. What in the world did I want to go to India for anyhow? Who knows how they'd talk there? On the way home, we plopped down next door to Mt. Ararat and had a snack of watermellon pickles and crullers. While we were there, old Janzen gave me a good talking-to. "Dick," he said, "now you know where Low German came from and how odious it was to learn it, and you know that it's the best language in a sackful, and that we've got to hang on to it. Anybody who forgets it or lets it go needs to be spanked. Memorize that, and tell it to your playmates in the forest service. He shook the sand out of his sandals and we went home." That's the story I wanted to tell you, and especially you, Krahn.

From Danzig to Russia
The First Mennonite Migration

By David G. Rempel

I. The Russian Invitation to the Mennonites

THE CONCLUSION OF peace with Turkey, the seizure in 1775 of the huge land holdings of the Zaporog Cossacks on both banks of the Dneiper (Dnepr) River, roughly from the later city of Ekaterinoslav in the north, to about Nikopol and Berislav in the south, the exile of these restless and forever plundering freebooters to other regions of the empire, and the annexation in 1783 of the Crimea, added enormous expanses of land between Bessarabia and the Kuban region in the Caucasus. Vast stretches of this territory along the northern littorol of the Black and Azov Seas were organized in 1774 into a new administrative division, called New Russia, under the Viceregency of Potemkin.

New Russia at this time possessed a sparse and motleyed population of Cossacks, run-away serfs, some military colonies, and a considerable number of nomadic tribes of Nogais.

Under the extremely imaginative and energetic leadership of Potemkin the government launched at once an extensive policy of enlisting foreign colonists, an enterprise based, in the main, on a new invitation issued by Catherine on July 14, 1785. In addition, scores of thousands of Russian settlers of varied social composition and economic level, including a goodly number of serfs, were almost at once transplanted by a wide assortment of recipients of huge grants of land.

Added to the above there came various sectarians, notably the Dukhobors, substantial numbers of "free" peasants, many "religious" persons (these were disguised escapees of one sort or another), and run-away serfs who had managed to escape from northern gubernias, often under the direct encouragement, or at least the connivance, of the viceroy or his subordinates. A widely-prevalent custom at the time was for these serfs and other "unfree" people to escape to Poland, where a residence of about two years made them "free," whereupon they could legally move to New Russia. Serf-owners did accuse Potemkin of complicity in this kind of "under-ground railway".[1]

The 1785 Manifesto furnished Potemkin with the legal basis to send numerous procurement agents to various European countries to recruit colonists. Beside the promotion of agriculture, it must be remembered, that the viceroy was also engaged in the general economic development of New Russia through the founding of new cities and ports, the promotion of various businesses and trades, and the defense of the region through the contruction of the Black Sea fleet and of naval facilities, especially at the newly founded port city of Kherson. All these projects necessitated the invitation of large numbers of foreigners of diversified specialties and skills.

Most of these efforts, as well as the areas of recruitment, are outside the scope of this discussion. We shall therefore touch only upon one of Potemkin's chief procurement agents, Georg Trappe, and the field of his primary activity among the Mennonites, the Free City of Danzig and its surrounding country areas, and the adjacent West Prussia which under the First Polish Partition in 1772 had fallen to Prussia.

The work of Trappe in the areas in question, the fate and fortunes of the Mennonites in them, are in their broadest outlines sufficiently well known to many readers through the books of several authors, especially those of David H. Epp[2], Peter Hildebrandt[3], and H. G. Mannhardt[4].

The three books mentioned, though valuable for their use of local source materials, and in the case of Hildebrandt's booklet for its recollections of events personally witnessed and experienced, are rather inadequate in their treatment of many of the aspects of the story, in part because of the narrow point of view, but mainly for their failure to consult the rich archival resources in Russia or those of the Mennonite churches in Danzig or Königsberg. These inadequacies, as far as the Russian archives are concerned, were remedied to a considerable extent by the excellent work of G. G. Pisarevskii[5]. Paul Karge did make extensive use of the Königsberg records.[6]

The account that follows is based in part upon these two sources, but in the main upon rather extensive researches by the writer in the archives of Leningrad, and to lesser extent in Moscow, during the summer of 1962.[7]

Limitations of space will permit only a very brief account of a few of the more important aspects of

this story, notably as concerns Mr. Trappe himself, and some political factors which at times adversely affected his recruiting efforts and impeded a more expeditious Mennonite exodus to New Russia.

The availability in Danzig and in West Prussia of a rich source of potential colonists of various qualifications, and information about their currently hard-pressed economic condition, came to Potemkin, in a larger sense, to the Russian government, through several sources in 1786. The first of these was the Russian Resident (minister) in Danzig, Mr. Peterson. In several of his communications to Chancellor Ostermann, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he informed his superior of the situation of the middle and the working classes in the Free City and of the eagerness with which many of their members besieged him with requests to help them to emigrate to Russia. This development, of course, was a direct result of the recently published texts of the Manifestos of July 14, 1785, and of the earlier one of July 22, 1763.

Ostermann at once relayed Peterson's information to Potemkin. It is not clear whether this information contained any reference to the Mennonites as a possible source of immigrants.

The excellent reputation of the Mennonites as farmers, businessmen, and high skills in various trades and crafts was known to many prominent Russian officials, military and civilian, since the Seven Years' War when Russian troops occupied for varying periods of time the areas in Danzig and the Vistula Valley. Among the military might be mentioned Prince Rumiantsev, one time commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the areas concerned, and a Baron Stahl. The latter at this time occupied an important military and administrative post on one of Potemkin's famous estates, Dubrovna, in the Mogilev gubernia, which for a number of years was to become the main staging place of foreign colonists en route from Riga to New Russia. Stahl, as we know from the accounts of our early immigrants, was particularly well-disposed to the Mennonites. Moreover, ever since the days of Peter the Great, Dutch Mennonites had held prominent posts of one sort or another in the Russian service.

However, the main source of information about the Mennonites, and the chief promoter and organizer of the Mennonite emigration to New Russia, was a certain Georg Trappe, recommended to Potemkin by the Grand Duchess, Maria Feodorovna, wife of the heir to the throne, Paul, in early May of 1786. The Grand Duchess, a former Wuerttemberg princess, despite the intense dislike for Potemkin at Paul's court in Gatchina, had already succeeded in placing a brother of hers on Potemkin's staff in Southern Russia. Apparently she knew Trappe from her former home and recommended him now to the viceroy as a man well qualified to assist him in the recruitment of foreign colonists.[8]

The available sources furnish little information about this potential "Caller of Colonists," who from June 1786 to 1791 enjoyed the confidence and the seemingly unlimited support of Potemkin, which enabled him to defy the Danzig Council of Magistrates, the Prussian Resident in Danzig, Lindenovskii, and other Prussian officials, to engage in prolonged battles with the Russian consul and later the Resident, S. Sokolovskii, over his recruiting activities, and who finally from February 1788 to 1792 was able to defy the determined efforts of the Russian Foreign Ministry to put a stop to his journeys all over Europe, all ostensibly on behalf of the viceroy, and to compel his return home.

It is not known when he came to Russia, how he came to know a number of prominently placed people, and how and on what grounds he was granted an estate near St. Petersburg, in the vicinity of Gatchina, the residence of Paul. In his letters to Potemkin he claimed to have spent some 23 years in or near the Danzig area, knew the Mennonites well, could speak their language, *Plattdeutsch,* knew all about their fame in farming and various other enterprises and of the current threats to their continued well-being because of the issuance in Danzig of a number of new restrictions against the acquisition of even the smallest pieces of property, and in Prussia of new limitations upon the extension of existing farm holdings, or the purchase of new lands except with severe limitations, imposition of new obligations to support religious institutions of the Lutheran and Catholic churches, etc. Later, after his departure from Danzig, in letters from 1788 to 1792 to various Russian officials, he claimed acquaintanceship with prominent Mennonites in Holland and influential persons in other countries, including England.

His extensive correspondence, in German with Count Ostermann and in French to Potemkin, reveals him as a well-educated and widely-travelled gentleman. The success of his recruitment work stamps him as an extraordinarily resourceful salesman, promoter and organizer. His activity also shows him to have possessed many of the attributes of the street-corner haranguer of the populace, the uninhibited pitch of the circus barker, and the fervor of the tent missionary who, when found expedient or deemed necessary, could quote persuasively from the Scriptures and very successfully settle serious conflicts among his Danzig (Lutheran) emigrants in Riga in 1786.[9]

After some preliminary correspondence with Potemkin, Trappe went to Southern Russia where a two-part contract was negotiated between the two. Potemkin's offers, obligations and certain promises, if the mission at hand turned out successfully, were dated June 5, 1786, while Trappe's part of the agreement was dated June 7. Space does not permit to discuss them, except to call attention to a few provisions and certain discrepancies in them, factors which apparently became

Denen werthgeschätzten und wohlachtbaren Mitgliedern derer beyden Mennonisten-Gemeinden in Danzig, vornemlich allen, denen daran gelegen seyn kann, und welche die Vollmacht für die nach Rußland gesandt gewesene Abgeordnete unterzeichnet haben, wird hiedurch bekannt gemacht, daß eben diese Abgeordnete, nachdem sie laut ihrer Instruktion sehr fruchtbare Ländereyen am Dnieper-Strom ausgewählet haben, gesund und glücklich zurückgekommen sind, und am 13. May dieses Jahres neuen Styls, das ist, am 2. May alten Styls, die hohe Gnade genossen haben, durch Se. Durchlaucht den Herrn Reichs-Fürsten v. Potemkin-Tavritscheskoi in der Stadt Krementschuk Ihro Kayserl. Majestät in Gegenwart des Kabinets-Ministers, Herrn Reichsgrafen v. Besborodko Erlaucht, des Römisch-Kaiserl. Ambassadeurs, derer Gesandten von England und Frankreich, und noch vieler andern hohen Standespersonen, vorgestellet zu werden, und aus der allerhuldreichsten Rußischen Monarchin eigenem Munde die Versicherung des allerhöchsten Kayserl. Schutzes und Gnade für sich und alle Mennonisten-Familien von Danzig, die nach Rußland ziehen wollen, auf die allergnädigste und leutseligste Weise zu erhalten. Weil nun auch Ihro Kayserl. Majestät allen Mennonisten, die von dem Danziger Gebiet Lust und Belieben finden möchten, nach Rußland zu ziehen, ausser 65 Dessaetinen, die ohngefehr 4 Hufen ausmachen, der schönsten Ländereyen für jede Familie, solche herrliche Gnadenwohlthaten, Geldvorschüsse und Vorrechte allergnadigst zu bewilligen geruhet haben, dergleichen während Allerhöchst Dero 25-jährigen ruhmvollen und ewigdenkwürdigen Regierung noch keinen Ausländern verliehen worden; als werden alle Mennonisten vom Danziger Gebiet, denen es noch gefällig seyn möchte, von dieser grossen Kayserlichen Huld und Gnade für sich und ihre Familien und Nachkommen Gebrauch zu machen, hiedurch eingeladen, sich am bevorstehenden 19. Januarii des von Gott zu erwartenden 1788sten Jahres Vormittags um 9 Uhr allhier in Danzig im Ruß. Kayss. Gesandschafts-Palais auf Langgarten, persönlich einzufinden, damit ihnen die Privilegia und allerhöchste Kayserliche Kabinets-Resolutiones in originalibus vorgeleget werden, und sie sich nach ihrem Gutdünken, und so wie es freyen Leuten, deren Vorfahren aus Holland hieryher gekommen sind, und die nun bey ihrem Abzuge præstanda præstiren werden, nicht gewehret werden darf, erklären können. Dantzig, den 29. Decemb. 1787.

Trappe Invites Mennonites. Georg von Trappe distributed this leaflet in Danzig (1787) inviting the Mennonites to settle in Russia.

the basis of Trappe's subsequent broad interpretations of his commission, and a source of much trouble for the Foreign Ministry from 1788 to 1792.

Succinctly stated, Potemkin directed Trappe to recruit "farm families in the environs of Danzig" to whom various privileges and certain kinds of financial assistance were to be granted, and promised, in case of a successful mission, to obtain from the empress the grant to Trappe of the title of Court Councillor, a financial reward in keeping with the dignity of the Court, and the appointment to a government post commensurate with the importance of his services rendered to the empire. In addition, Potemkin promised to immediately make appropriate financial arrangements with the court banker, Sutherland, and through him with institutions affiliated with him in Riga to advance all the requisite sums of moneys for this undertaking.

The chief and most important difference in Trappe's part of the contract is the provision which stated that Trappe was to "undertake journeys" (without any specification as to area or countries), and to "invite people, be they farmers or others".

An understanding was also reached that, while Potemkin was to supply Trappe with special letters of introduction to Resident Sokolovskii and the new Russian consul, Carl Fredstander, Trappe's mission was to be stated in very general terms, and that not a word was to be mentioned about it to Chancellor Ostermann and the Foreign Office. Consequently, in his letter to Sokolovskii Potemkin wrote about Trappe's assignment merely as a "certain secret mission".

Trappe, having obtained his passport in St. Petersburg on June 9, 1786, proceeded at once to Danzig. His activity there was so successful that by August 5 he had signed up 247 families, including 35 Mennonite families. The endless quarrels of his with the Danzig authorities, Prussian officials, and with Sokolovskii cannot be discussed here. Suffice it to point out that on November 1, 1786, he succeeded at last in shipping to Riga 141 persons, including among them the two Mennonite deputies, Jakob Höppner and Johann Bartsch.

Altogether during 1786 a total of 910 emigrants, 510 males and 400 females were dispatched to Riga. Of these 9 died en route, 73 deserted, and 73, including dependents, entered the military service. The remainder were settled in New Russia, and are officially known as the "Danzig colonists". Aside from the two Mennonite deputies, who from Riga were sent by separate courier to Kherson, the available records do not indicate the presence of any other Mennonites in this group.

Trappe's wooing of the Mennonites in and around Danzig is generally known. We shall, therefore, again touch only briefly upon several significant but less known incidents of his activity.

The historian cannot severely enough deplore the paucity of materials bearing on so many aspects of this undertaking, especially the utter failure of the lay and the church leadership of our forebears in either the making and keeping of adequate records, or even in the preservation of the materials once in existence, and their utilization by qualified lay historians. One surely would like to know, for example, how Trappe made the acquaintanceship of Höppner, whom he himself suggested to the Mennonites in Danzig as candidate for the prospective despatch of a delegation to spy out the land in New Russia (Ukraine) as well as to act as negotiator with the Russian government about the terms of an actual emigration.

While other would-be emigrants in Danzig (mostly Lutherans) were satisfied with the information concerning Catherine's invitation to foreign colonists and

Trappe's persuasive oratory about them, the Mennonites, as is their usual practice, were not content to accept the generous promises of the Russian invitation at their face value, nor to trust implicitly the honeyed words of a glib "Caller of Colonists". The decision of a number of Mennonites was to send a delegation to the domains under the absolute control of the famous Potemkin, to spy out the land carefully, to choose with deliberation a site for settlement to accommodate a potentially very considerable number of their brethren, and then to negotiate the detailed terms with the viceroy in New Russia and with the highest authorities in St. Petersburg.

The actual selection of the three deputies, one of whom was either unable or for some reasons not permitted to make the journey, need not be commented on here. It might, however, be interesting to point out that there are references in the Russian archives to the fact that Trappe had made his appeal to the Mennonites personally and "through his agents". Was Höppner one of these "agents"? Did "agents" also refer to at least one or several Mennonite preachers? It may be recalled that Trappe made some rather bitter charges against one Mennonite preacher, demanding public retraction of that minister's denial, upon pressure from Danzig authorities, of having had any dealings with the recruiting agent. Were gifts tendered and received? Unfortunately, the tragic conflict, which shook the colonies at Chortitza to their very foundations during the first two decades of their existence, gave rise to all sorts of absolutely irrational and unfounded charges by the malcontents "of having been sold to Potemkin".

The official agreement concluded by Jakob Höppner and Johann Bartsch with Trappe, dated September 22, 1786, and notarized, covers briefly the following: first, all expenses, including free lodging, en route to New Russia and back to Danzig, and of all trips of inspection incident to their mission, were to be defrayed by the Russian government; second, authorities were to be instructed to give the deputies, wherever their travels might take them on their inspection trips, every possible form of assistance to facilitate the achievement of their objectives; and third, if the efforts of the deputies should lead to the emigration of some 200 families in the spring of 1787 to New Russia, Potemkin would obtain for the two men a "generous reward" from the empress in recognition for their labors and efforts.

As pointed out above, the deputies left Danzig for Riga on November 1, 1786. Fifteen days later they arrived at Dubrovna where they received a very cordial reception from General Stahl. After a brief rest they were sent by courier to Potemkin's headquarters in Kherson. The viceroy placed at their disposal one of his officers, intimately familiar with the region, a Major Meier. Under his guidance they inspected during the winter months of 1786-1787 a large number of recommended sites on the left bank of the Dnieper and through a large part of the Crimea. They finally decided upon a choice tract near Berislav, not very far from Kherson. Their decision on site selection and the conditions upon which they offered to lead a large emigration to New Russia were submitted to Potemkin on April 22, 1787, at Kremenchug.

II. The Höppner - Bartsch Negotiations, 1786-1788

In all their dealings with the chief Russian representatives, whether in Danzig, Kremenchug, or St. Petersburg, between August 1786 and early 1788, Höppner and Bartsch showed themselves not only as skilled negotiators, but also as men of broad vision and of deep commitment to the successful accomplishment of the task entrusted to them by a large number of families living in Danzig or the city's territory. They proved themselves in every sense as real statesmen.

Unfortunately, the meager historical literature has failed to properly evaluate their work and to give them the recognition of outstanding merit they so richly deserve. The few books written by Mennonites prior to 1914 were almost invariably authored by preachers, likely as not, of limited formal education and little or no historical training, and their works are characterized mainly for their pronouncedly monarchist views and strongest protestations of the most abject kind of subservience to the Tsarist regime. Their treatment of the work of the two deputies, including the discussion of the tragic experiences and bitter conflicts of the formative years in the Chortitza colonies during which both men, but especially Höppner, were subjected to incredible personal calumny and loss of property, is unfortunately overlaid with exorbitant praises for the real or imagined solicitous concern of Trappe, Potemkin, Catherine, or Paul for the welfare of the Mennonites, their alleged love for them, and their "unmatched" benevolence toward the Mennonite brotherhood.

And like the restorer of a nice piece of furniture often has to remove endless coats of varnish or paint before uncovering the beauty and warmth of its wood, so the Mennonite historian has to labor diligently in what has hitherto passed for historical fact. We must test it on the basis of scholarly study of old and new documentary materials and then, where warranted, to point out that *So ist es (nicht) gewesen*! He must also stress that in regard to cause, motivation, and effect there may have been different "possibles" than those given. Where incontrovertible evidence is available, the historian must replace erroneous views and assumptions and worn-out cliches with new inter-

pretations of events and evaluations of the contributions of some of the great laymen of our past.

I should like to cite but a few examples pertinent to the events under consideration here. David H. Epp[10] states that Trappe, out of his solicitous concern for the safety of the deputies and his wishes to assist with the expeditious achievement of their mission, handed them a *Begleitschreiben* on September 22, 1786. He writes:

Auch Trappe hatte in fürsorgender Liebe dabei das Seinige gethan. Um die Reisenden für alle Fälle sicher zu stellen und ihnen nach Möglichkeit die Unbequemlichkeiten der Reise aus dem Wege zu helfen, händigte er ihnen ein Begleischreiben folgenden Inhalts bei. (Follows text of said document).

Now the fact of course is that this letter was a contract with Trappe, concluded upon the insistence of Höppner and Bartsch (one may assume that this was possibly done at the request of the Mennonites who deputized them), and at their request officially notarized as a legally-binding instrument. It was not at all a Trappe manifestation of his love for the welfare of the delegates.

Epp and Hildebrandt and other Mennonite writers after them ascribe so much significance to the use, or alleged frequent use, by Trappe, Sokolovskii, and other highly-placed Russian officials in reference to the Mennonites of the expression "My children" or "My dear children". And these authors vex almost lyrical in their appreciation of such manifestations of implied love and concern for their kin by the officials in question. The simple fact is that this kind of expression, or expressions, were the standard form of condescending address toward their exploited and oppressed subjects used by all enlightened (or unenlightened) autocrats of that age.

Let us now examine the Höppner-Bartsch list of requests and proposals, formulated in twenty points, in which they expressed their willingness and readiness to lead a large Mennonite immigration to Russia. These points, generally referred to as the "Mennonite Petition", were submitted to Potemkin on April 22, 1787, in Kremenchug.

The text of the petition, with the marginal notes of Potemkin's approval, acceptance with limitation, or his rejection, can be found in German in David H. Epp[11], Pisarevskii[12], or in S. D. Bondar[13].

A number of the points, specifically those listed as 3, 6, 9-14 and 19, dealing with subsistence allowances, years of tax exemptions, furnishing of seed grains for planting of the first crops, and extension of long-term loans, were generally based upon the privileges and grants offered in Catherine's Manifesto of July 22, 1763. They represented essentially the same things which had been offered to any foreign colonists. I shall therefore omit them from any discussion, except where the deputies' proposals differed markedly in some detail as, for example, in Point 6. This will be brought out below.

First, Höppner and Bartsch demanded the guarantee of complete freedom of religious belief and practice, the rendering of the act of allegiance through the usual Mennonite practice of simple affirmation, and the permanent exemption of themselves and their descendants from military service (Ponits 1, 7 and 8). These were granted.

Second, they requested the approval of a huge tract of unoccupied land near Berislav, on the left bank of the Lower Dnieper (Dnepr), in close proximity to the port and city of Kherson, then under construction, and near several of the major roads leading to the Crimea and eastward to the Don River and the Caucasus Mountains.

In addition to its size sufficient to accommodate possibly as many as ca. 1,000 families, at about 175 acres of arable land per family, its nearness to Kherson and other ports and towns, built or projected, the tract would offer the colonists convenient markets for the disposal of their grains and other agricultural and industrial products. Fisheries in the Dnieper and in the many arms of its delta would give lucrative occupations for many Mennonites who were highly skilled in this and related enterprises in their present homes along the Vistula River and its tributaries.

Since the Berislav tract had little or no wooded areas, the deputies asked that several islands in the Dnieper, heavily covered with shrubs and trees, be set aside for the exclusive use of the Mennonites. They also requested the entire Tavan Island because of its extensive and rich meadow and grazing lands (Point 2).

Generally speaking, the whole tract was almost an exact copy of the lowlands they presently inhabited in the vicinity of Danzig and its environs. Its location, topography, climate, etc., were ideally suited for the transplanting of their systems of crop-farming and stock-raising and continuation of their customary pursuits in various types of businesses, trades and industry. Except for a few important exceptions of specific areas in the tract and on certain islands, which Potemkin pointed out were already marked out for other purposes, the requests in this matter were approved.

The next petition, contained in Point 4, specified that after the expiration of the ten-year period of tax exemption, the Mennonite lands should never pay a land tax higher than 10 kopeks per dessiatin (2.7 acres). Further, it specified that the Mennonites be exempt from transport and quartering of troops and from the performance of government road works.

Potemkin agreed to these, except that the Mennonites would be fully responsible for the maintenance of roads and bridges within their areas, and that troops would be quartered in their villages only in case of their passage through them.

In expectation that not all Mennonites would be engaged in farming, it was requested (Point 5) that the Mennonites be given the right to establish factories and shops throughout New Russia and the Crimea, to engage in commerce, to be members of trade associations and craft-guilds, and the right to freely dispose of their manufactures and other articles in towns and villages without the payment of duties of any kind whatsoever. The requests were approved, except for the provision that these undertakings were allowed but subject to existing city regulations.

Next, to facilitate their speedy establishment at the place of settlement, the government, as soon as the colonists arrived in Riga, would obligate itself to deliver at Berislav a sufficient amount of oak timbers to permit each colonist to build himself a house "in the German manner". Furthermore, a quantity of oak timber for the construction of two flour mills and six millstones would also be on hand, so that the colonists, with the help of "some crown labor", could proceed forthwith with their construction (Point 9). The approval read: "One hundred and twenty planks, each 12 feet in length, will be supplied for each colonist. So will be the timber and the millstones for the two mills."

With reference to the extension of long-term loans—up to 500 rubles to needy families according to the July 22, 1763, Manifesto—the deputies insisted that the payment of such to those in need of them were to be specifically spelled out, namely: the first 100 rubles would be advanced upon the arrival of the colonists in Riga. The remainder was to be advanced in amounts of 100 rubles per month during the succeeding four months. That repayment, again in accord with the 1763 Manifesto, of the entire loan was to be without interest charges over a period of three years after the expiration of the exemption period (Point 6). This was approved.

Because Russia would eventually profit greatly from the Mennonite colonization in New Russia (Ukraine), the colonists should be exempted from repayment of the sums expended by the government on transporting and provisioning of the colonists en route to the place of settlement (Point 12). Potemkin's reply to this was that the exemption would have to be made by the empress herself. (This was eventually done by Catherine's grandson, Alexander.)

If the government approved the Berislav tract for their settlement, orders should immediately be issued prohibiting all wood-cutting, hay-making and stock-grazing on the lands in question (Point 15). This was approved.

In view of the fact that in the years to come many more Mennonites might decide to emigrate to Russia, they should be assured of permission to settle in the Crimea, on unoccupied lands near Feodosia, Bakhchi-Sarai, and other places, and on the same conditions as herewith presented and approved. Further, they should not be required to furnish a mutual guarantee of repayment of any government expenditures incident to their establishment, but they would arrange such a pledge amongst themselves (Point 16). Parenthetically, here is a good example of what subsequently became standard procedure or practice of what has generally become known as part of "On Mennonite terms". Potemkin's approval read: "Upon the arrival of deputies from them, similar arrangements can be made with them."

The close and intimate relationship which had been established between Trappe and the deputies in Danzig, the arrangements he had made with Potemkin for their reception at various places, and the viceroy's most generous provision of every kind of assistance to facilitate the achievement of their mission had created between the three men a feeling of trust and confidence in each other and had established bonds of strong friendship.

Trappe and deputies were, therefore, exceedingly desirous to continue this relationship for the future. Thus, Höppner and Bartsch requested of Potemkin that this recruiting agent be directed to accompany them to Danzig, not only because he had persuaded the Mennonites to send the deputies to Russia and that he possessed an intimate knowledge of their situation in Danzig and vicinity, but also because he was in the best position to overcome any obstacles that might conceivably be raised against a projected large Mennonite emigration to Russia.

Finally, the Mennonites had so great a trust in Trappe that he be appointed as Director and Curator of the Mennonite Colonies in Taurida, where he could advise them in their various undertakings and look after their peace and safety (Point 17). Potemkin's answer was that this could be done.

To assist the Mennonites in locating the exact position of the intended place of settlement, to determine its precise boundaries, to help with the surveying of the total landed area and the assignment to each colonist of his 65 dessiatins in a separate allotment, the request was made for the appointment to them of a qualified surveyor speaking the German language (Point 18). Agreed.

Finally, upon the arrival of the colonists at Berislav, the strictest orders should be issued and adequate measures be taken for the assurance of the safety of their persons and property against injury, theft and robbery (Point 20). This was promised.

In so far then as it was humanly possible, the deputies had provided for every possible contingency and for the immediate and future interests of what was expected eventually to become a large Mennonite exodus to New Russia (Ukraine).

It was not a "Petition" of desperate supplicants for a haven of refuge and short-range assistance or

selfish favors, but the carefully prepared offer of a proposal of the representatives of a people, or brotherhood, who were fully conscious of the achievements of those whom they represented, be that in farming, stock-breeding, in different types of businesses or in various trades, and fully cognizant of what a valuable asset these people would eventually be for a country which offered them a new home.

At the same time, it is hardly necessary to point out that the deputies were not only keenly aware of the extremely difficult situation in which many of their coreligionists, especially the poorer segment among them, found themselves in Danzig and its territory and in West Prussia, but also fully cognizant of the evidences all around them of the consequences of recently passed and pending restrictions upon their economic life and on the free exercise of their religious beliefs and practices.

Höppner and Bartsch had to wait a long time for a reply from Potemkin. The viceroy was currently completely preoccupied with preparations for the reception of Catherine on her celebrated journey to New Russia and the Crimea. Upon the arrival of the empress in Kremenchug, Potemkin, on May 13, 1787, presented the deputies to her in the presence of the entire diplomatic corps accompanying her on the trip. And after a most gracious reception, she invited the deputies to accompany her on the journey southward. Although they were most anxious to get on with their mission, the request being interpreted as an order, they did make the journey to the Crimea and stayed with it until its return to Kremenchug some seven weeks later. While in the Crimea, they availed themselves of the opportunity to investigate a number of new sites for possible future Mennonite settlements.

Upon their return to Kremenchug, Höppner and Bartsch implored ("tearfully" it says) Potemkin for a reaction to their comprehensive "Petition" of April 22, 1787. The approval finally came on July 5 in the form discussed above.

The deputies now requested Potemkin's permission to allow them to proceed to St. Petersburg to obtain the official approval of the highest authorities to the agreement concluded with him, including the petitioning of the empress for the issuance by her of a Charter of Privileges formally sanctioning the provisions of the agreement made with Potemkin. The viceroy, not used to the questioning of his authority or the validity of his word, was at first not only much adverse to such a journey, but also to a display of his annoyance and displeasure. However, after further pleading by the deputies, stressing in particular the fact that, while they trusted his word, he was a mortal person, and that the government was a permanent institution capable of assuring the permanence of rights and privileges granted, the request was approved. What was more, Potemkin now did render every form of assistance to expedite the trip to the capital.

Here further delays ensued, though under Trappe's guidance and through his intercession they were introduced to a number of influential personages, including Paul and his wife at their court in Gatchina. At last, on September 7, 1787, Catherine issued a special decree sanctioning the agreement of July 5, thus making it an official policy of state. The action of the empress was followed by instructions from the Foreign Ministry to Sokolovskii, in a letter of rather peremptory tone, directing the Resident to render every possible assistance to Trappe, and to remind the Danzig authorities in no uncertain manner that the Mennonite emigration to Russia was an official policy of the government, and that it was not to place any obstacles against its expeditious realization. In anticipation that a large number of Mennonite farmers would move to Russia, Trappe, through a special order of the Cabinet, was directed to travel to Mecklenburg in order to recruit farm and other types of labor for the Mennonite colonies.

In the meantime, Potemkin had taken a series of actions on behalf of the projected exodus of the Mennonites from Danzig and their arrival in Riga. A long letter of July 14 to the court banker, Sutherland, concerned the making available of the requisite moneys to cover all authorized expenditures of Trappe on behalf the colonists and to meet the initial loan sums promised them upon their arrival in Riga. In addition, the letter contained detailed instructions of how Sutherland and his representatives were to assist Trappe in other ways.

Mention might also be made of an interesting letter of Potemkin to Trappe directing him to "hire a pastor for the colonies in Taurida", at an annual salary of 400 rubles and a grant of 500 dessiatins of land, the latter to be the personal and hereditary property of the pastor. Since the Mennonites did not have "pastors", but *Kirchen-Diener* or *Lehrer,* the intent of this latter appears somewhat ambiguous. I may add that the position in question was eventually filled by Trappe by a Lutheran pastor whom he engaged in Amsterdam.

The question, which in recent years has caused considerable discussion and criticism in some Mennonite quarters in Canada (namely, whether the deputies or some other Mennonite leaders at the time of these negotiations gave a promise to the Russian authorities never to engage in any proselytizing activity among members of the Russian Orthodox Church), never appears to have been raised by either side throughout this or any other period.

There are several reasons for this. For centuries it had been the established doctrine and practice of the Russian Orthodox Church, enforced by the full powers of the state, that while any subject could embrace the Orthodox faith, no member could ever leave this church. Furthermore, any attempt at evangelizing

among members of this church by any other faith was an offense against both state and church, and therefore punishable by both. Nor could any missionary activity by any "foreign faith" be ever undertaken among the non-Christian subjects of the empire, since such activity was the monopoly of the Orthodox Church, except upon express permission of the state.

The Manifesto of July 22, 1763, the Colonization Law of March 19, 1764, and other acts, including the lengthy negotiations between 1763 and 1765 with the Moravian Brethren on this issue, reinforced these prerogatives of the state church. This was a closed matter and remained so, with very few minor modifications, until 1905.

On the other hand, the Mennonites in Danzig and surrounding areas, or anywhere else for that matter, were not impelled by any missionary purposes whatsoever. Their search for a new home was therefore not motivated or influenced by any desire to seek converts. At the risk of restating the obvious, the incontrovertible fact was and is that our forefathers were motivated by a search for a homeland where they could secure for themselves and their posterity the opportunity of a decent livelihood in agriculture and other pursuits, and a place where they could enjoy complete freedom of religion for themselves without the slightest intent of interfering with the beliefs of others. Trappe's assertion in one of his letters to Count Ostermann that "the Mennonites love nothing as much as to baptize", was simply the invention of an enterprising recruiter of colonists.

Shortly after Catherine's approval of the Potemkin agreement, Trappe, Höppner, and Bartsch embarked upon their return journey to Danzig via Riga and Warsaw. The detour to the Polish capital was designed to inform the Polish government, which still claimed a shadowy authority over the Free City, of the Mennonite intentions to emigrate to Russia and to enlist that government's support against any eventual opposition in that city.

They arrived in Danzig near the end of 1787. The jubilation which their safe return evoked, the enthusiasm which the approved terms of the Russian agreement engendered, and the firm resolve which so large a number of Mennonites (over 1,000 within a few weeks) made to avail themselves of the opportunity to emigrate are all parts of this chapter of our history which need not and cannot be retold here.

I would, however, like to call attention to two documents which Trappe presented to a huge assemblage of Mennonites on January 19, 1788, when after a showy display of a notarized copy of the Russian agreement and its grand eloquent reading, he dwelt at great length upon the advantages that awaited them in Russia, their rights as free citizens to make their own choices and decisions about emigration, and the hollowness, unfoundedness and sheer lies which the Danzig authorities and businessmen and Prussian officials were circulating in the city and adjacent territories.

The documents in question, both dated January 19, 1788, listed the special rights and privileges granted to each of the deputies, Höppner and Bartsch, in recognition for their services rendered in the matter of the pending Mennonite move. For reasons inexplicable to this writer, Mennonite histories seldom, if ever, mention the fact that these grants, in identical language but as separate documents, were made to both deputies, not merely to Höppner.

It is not clear whether the texts of these grants were prepared beforehand in Kremenchug or in St. Petersburg. They bear the date of January 19, i.e., the day they were presented by Trappe to this meeting. Both bear the signatures of Trappe and Sokolovskii, give their respective official titles, and are in the German language. Copies of them in the Russian archives are labeled as official translations from the German originals. The special grants were:

1. One of the two flour mills promised under Point 9 of the "Petition" was to be given to Höppner, and the other to Bartsch, with the condition that after the expiration of a 15-year exemption period the recipients were to reimburse the government for all expenditures involved in their construction, without charge of interest. Thereafter the mills were to become the personal and hereditary properties of the two deputies respectively.

2. In addition to the 65 dessiatin family allotments, Höppner and Bartsch were to receive in personal and hereditary possession 20 dessiatins of hayland on the Island of Tavan.

3. Each of them was to have the right to keep a store and a bakery, to bake "coarse and fine" breads, and to sell the same freely wherever they wished. Furthermore, since the Mennonite colonies would be located in closest proximity to main roads of travel, the availability of bread to travellers would be of great convenience and value to traveller and government alike. For these reasons they would advance to each of their proprietors a loan of 800 rubles, repayable in 15 years without interest.

4. Each of the deputies was to have the right to brew beer and vinegar and to sell these products without restrictions in towns and villages.

5. Finally, because both deputies had rendered valuable services to the country, neither was obligated to reimburse the government for its expenditures in travel and subsistence outlays for himself and members of his family.

What became of these special grants during the bitter disputes which raked the colonies during the 1790s, I shall point out below.

The concerted, extended and combined efforts of the Prussian government, which confidently expected

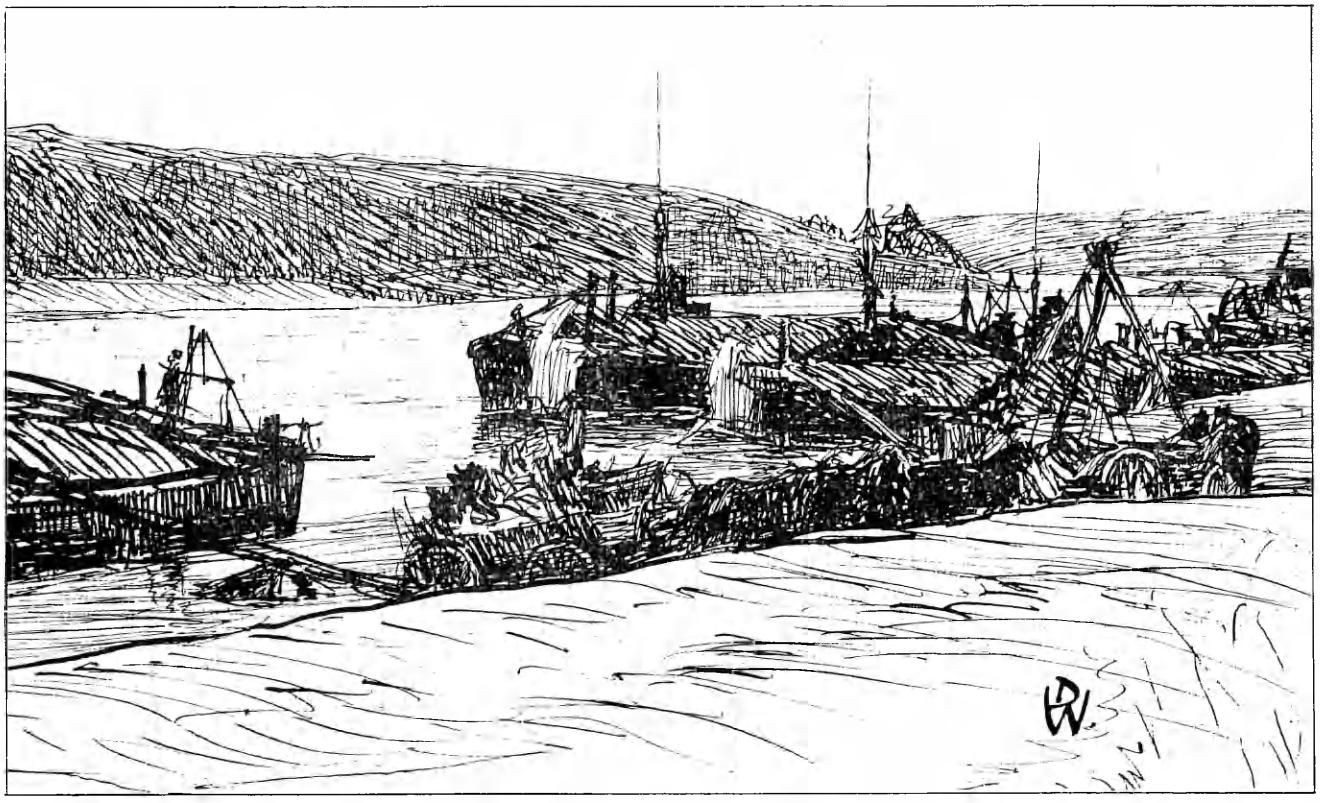
its annexation of the Free City and territory in the immediate future, its agents in Danzig, and of the Danzig magistrates through resort to every conceivable form of coercion and means of chicanery to thwart Trappe's and Sokolovskii's procurement work and to halt the departure of colonists already supplied with Russian visas, cannot be taken up here. Similarly, space does not permit a discussion of Russia's efforts to counter them, nor to detail the reasons for Count Ostermann's decision in January-February of 1788 to call off the entire recruiting program in and around Danzig, and to order Trappe's return to Russia.

It will suffice to point out that the renewal of hostilities with Turkey in 1788 and the broadening of the conflict into a war with Sweden apparently persuaded the Russian government not to risk either the chance of an embroglio with Prussia, or to commit large sums of money on recruitment of colonists whose actual departure from Danzig seemed quite dubious at that time.

As matters turned out, the emigration did get underway in March of that year. Trappe and Sokolovskii persisted in their efforts to persuade the Foreign Ministry to continue their project, especially with the despatch of a very considerable number of colonists who had already sold most of their belongings. Since with minor exceptions these would-be emigrants were not prosperous farmers, but mainly hard-pressed or unemployed trades- and craftsmen (Prussia's tariff war of trade restrictions and boycotts against Danzig products, and Danzig's exclusion of these people from membership in guilds and other trade associations affected them most adversely), the Danzig officials at last agreed to issue passports to these disadvantaged people. The "first Mennonite emigration" of 1788-1789, then, consisted of a poor and largely non-farming people.

How they fared en route to New Russia and their desperately hard first years in their new home we shall now take up.

Ferry and boats on Dnieper River near Chortitza settlement. Ink drawing by Daniel Wohlgemuth who visited here in 1908. (See also Cover).



III. Establishment of the Chortitza Settlement

Hildebrandt[14] and Epp [15] cover in their books in some detail the departure of the first groups from Danzig early in 1788, the gradual arrival in Riga of 228 families, the trials and tribulations of their prolonged stay in Dubrovna, the slow trek southward, and the bitter early years at Chortitza.

Space will not permit me to elaborate on their accounts of these trying years, and I shall, therefore, limit myself to a fill-in of several important aspects of the story based on archival research.[16]

The emigrants of 1788-1789 were, in the main, small tradesmen and craftsmen by occupation and, though possessed of varied skills, owned very limited amounts of worldly possessions. This factor alone was bound to have had an adverse effect upon the progress of the colonies during the founding years, even if conditions in their new home had been much more favorable than they turned out in practice.

There have been in our historical literature considerably varying estimates of the number of families involved in this first exodus (cf. the books by Unruh[17], Ehrt[18] and Quiring[19]). I shall forego at this place any attempt at reconciling these estimates.

According to an official report of Sokolovskii to the Foreign Ministry the total number of colonists despatched by sea, or making their way by own transport overland, between March and November 1788 was 1,333. The figure includes an unspecified number of Lutherans. Höppner is reported to have departed with a group of 47 people on March 23, and Bartsch with a company of 20 on November 12.

Other Russian records list, by name, 228 Mennonite and 90 Lutheran families as having reached Riga by the end of 1788, or during the first days of January 1789, thence sent via Dubrovna to *the Ukraine*, and been settled later that year in the "Ekaterinoslav *Gubernia* and the Territory of Tavrida". With few minor exceptions as to the number of "souls" (meaning taxable males between the ages of 16-60) and females among them, these records speak invariably of 228 Mennonite families having been originally settled on the *Khortitsa urochishche* ("Chortitza estate or homestead") or the *Khortitsa dachi* ("dacha" means summer home), and the 90 Lutheran families in the colony of Josephstal. Several reports of 1797 and 1798, which endeavored to find out about the conditions in the colonies and their indebtedness to the government, list the 228 families as having comprised 1,070 or 1,073 persons.

The journeys of these emigrants to Riga, whether by sea or on land, were beset by experiences common to any immigrant group of those days. According to available information they were well cared for in Riga. The promised first installment of 100 rubles on the 500 ruble loan was promptly advanced by Sutherland's agents to 224 families. I have found no explanation why the other four families received their portions of this installment only on March 19, 1793.

After a brief rest in this city the emigrants, by own or government transport. were sent to Dubrovna, located in the Mogilev *Gubernia*. This place belonged to Potemkin. It was situated on the Upper Dnieper within about 50 miles distance from the Western Dvina River. This estate, really a small town, was used by Potemkin for a number of years as a staging area for colonists, laborers, craftsmen, tree and plant nursery, and entire industries preparatory to their shipment to various places in New Russia.

The Mennonites spent approximately five months at Dubrovna. Generally well-housed, here is where their first important difficulties arose and their first disappointments with Russian promises took place. The religious conflicts among them were due primarily to the absence of preachers to serve their spiritual needs.

Unfortunately, our historians, although mentioning the fact that the government failed to meet its promises of various forms of assistance, usually do so in briefest words, and mostly in decidedly apologetic form toward the authorities. These failures are as a rule ascribed to the fact that Potemkin and subordinates were preoccupied with matters arising out of the new conflict with Turkey. This may account for some of the delays or failures. However, it is my considered judgment that the causes for the government's failure to have met every major financial provision, of supplies, and in regard to the place of settlement cannot be attributed to the war with Turkey.

I shall briefly touch upon each of these failures. First is the matter of the remaining installments of the loan. According to the 1787 agreement, these payments were to be made in equal installments during the succeeding four months after their arrival in Riga. They should then have been made during the months of January-April 1789 at Dubrovna, totalling an amount for the 228 families of 91.200 rubles.

Nothing of the sort materialized. The first advances took place in Chortitza during October-December 1789. and then only in the amount of 5,654 rubles and 16 kopeks. The remaining portions were received as follows:

1790	9,522 rubles and 32 1/2 kopeks
1791	22,897 rubles and 42 1/2 kopeks
1792	11,400 rubles
1793	24,063 rubles and 82 1/4 kopeks
1794	9,120 rubles
1795	2,352 rubles and 50 kopeks
1796	8,941 rubles and 76 1/2 kopeks
	88,297 rubles and 83 1/4 kopeks

The totals from October 1789 to December 2, 1796, date of last payment, is slightly in excess of the 91,200

rubles due, because it includes some payments on other accounts. It will be noticed, then, what should have been received in 5 months took fully 8 years to materialize. The loans contributed little to the promotion of the economy of the colonies. In view of the fact of the poor crops or total crop failures during these years, the moneys received had often to be used to supplement the government's handouts of food rations.

The promised travel and food allowances en route from Riga to New Russia, and the assistance grants until the first harvest, totalling the sum of some 44,000 rubles, were also paid out in small portions, and usually much overdue. In fact, by 1798 the sum of 11,566 rubles and 80 kopeks had still not been received.

Change of place of settlement must now be considered. In accordance with an agreement made by the emigrants prior to their departure from Danzig, Höppner and several other men were to leave Dubrovna in advance of the other colonists and to proceed to Berislav to receive the promised building timbers and to make various preparations for the arrival of the rest. Höppner and others left Dubrovna in late March. Upon reaching Kremenchug, Potemkin, having heard of their arrival, summoned them to his headquarters, told them of his changed plans in respect to place of settlement from Berislav to Chortitza, and ordered them to proceed immediately to the new site, inspect it and report their findings to him at Kremenchug as expeditiously as possible.

Chortitza was one of Potemkin's numerous estates in New Prussia. Comprising a portion of the land from which the Zaporog Cossacks were exiled in 1775, the estate was located on the right bank of the Dnieper, just below the rapids, and across from the frontier post of Alexandrovsk on the left bank of this river (Alexandrovsk is the present city of Zaporozhe).

It is not clear how Potemkin came into its possession. More than likely it was simply appropriated by him in or about 1775, as happened with innumerable other huge estates which military and civilian officials carved out for themselves from former Cossack lands. The estate, variously estimated at that time as comprising from 20,000 to 24,000 dessiatins, at first glance appeared to be a barren, treeless steppe, bisected and criss-crossed by many quite deep *balkas* (broad ravines or small valleys). Its soils were considerably inferior to those at Berislav. So was its geographic location.

On closer inspection, however—as those of us who lived there many years will recall—it was one of the most beautiful areas on the Dnieper's southern reaches. The deep *balkas*, especially the one called *Khortitskaia,* through which a small river of the same name meandered to the Dnieper, and the *Kantsirskaia* close by were fairly heavily wooded with magnificent oak trees. The southern end of the large Chortitza Island, which formed part of this estate, was also extensively covered with oak, poplar and other trees and various kinds of shrubs.

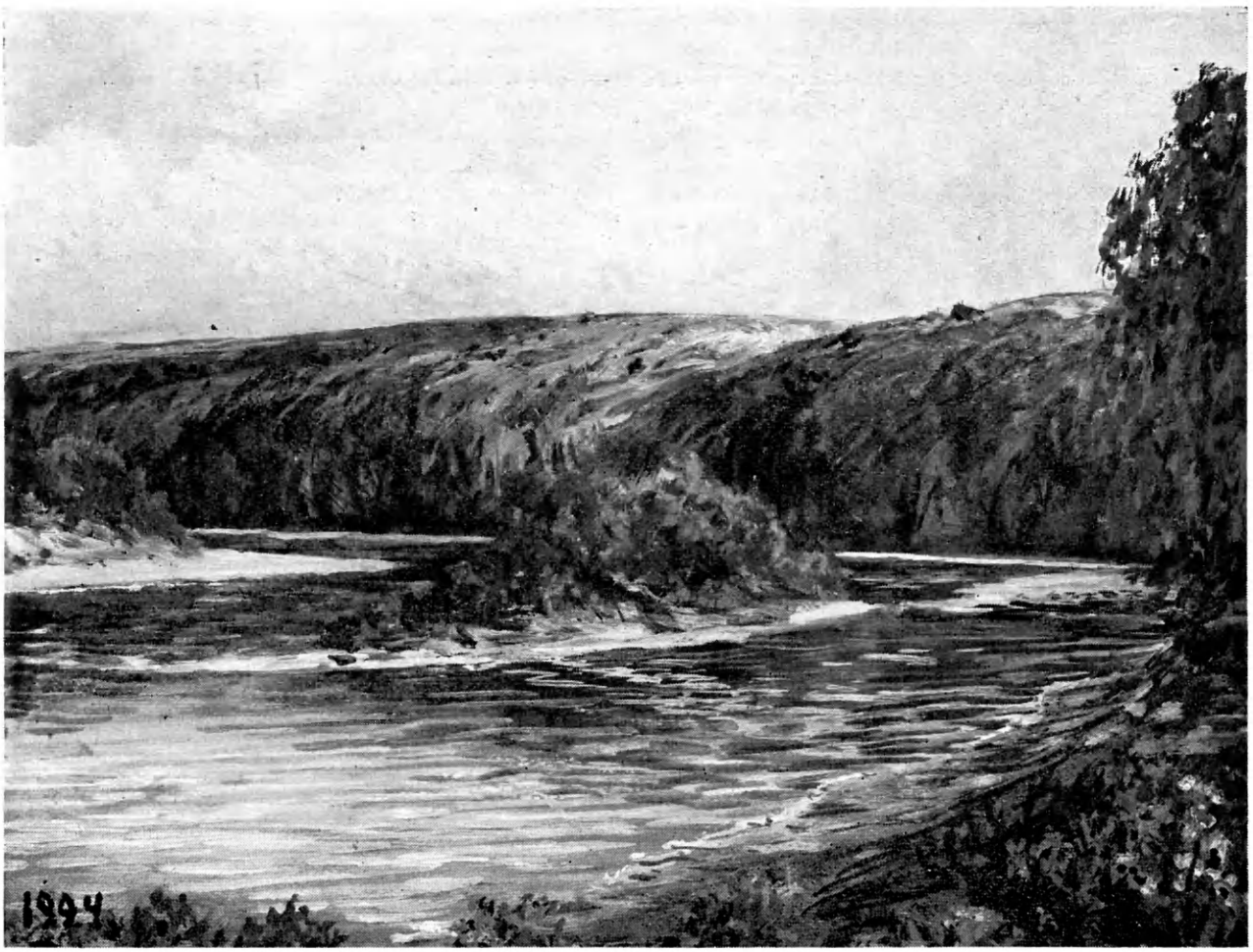
Whether Potemkin ever lived for any length of time on this holding of his or intended to make it one of his many homes in New Russia is not clear. The ambitious outlays for a large garden in the *Kantsirskaia* valley, which later formed the nucleus for the beautiful *Kolonies-Garten* of the Chortitza colonies, the "Potemkin Palace" on the heights of one of the valleys, which structure at the time of the arrival of the first colonists in 1789 was in the process of being dismantled, and the landing facilities on the Dnieper, called *Tsarskaia Pristanj* ("Tsar's Landing")—all these apparently were planned for temporary purposes. It was here where Potemkin royally entertained Catherine and her entourage for several days when en route to the Crimea. Höppner and Bartsch spent those festive days at Chortitza. Unfortunately, they have left us no record of either the famous event or their impressions of the area.

Höppner and his companions inspected Chortitza, as ordered. What were their impressions and reactions? According to Epp, they must have been greatly disappointed. The barren, treeless plains surrounding the estate, whose boundless monotony was broken only by a number of *Kurgany* (burial mounds of ancient dwellers of the steppes), the steep ravines on the estate itself, which seemed to break it up into "islands" and of heights that to the Mennonites from the flatlands of the Vistula must have seemed like high plateaus, the high river banks, and the very sandy soils at the bottom of the ravines—all these features were in such stark contrast to the Berislav site. Whatever the inspection team's protest was, we know that Potemkin remained adamant in his orders to settle at Chortitza.

What had prompted the viceroy to order this change? The usual explanation found in our Mennonite accounts is that Potemkin believed the Berislav area was in too close proximity to the theater of military operations and that he therefore feared for the safety of the projected settlements there. In a letter of February 11, 1790, to a friend in Danzig, Höppner writes that the change had been made "upon the demand and the wise concern of Potemkin".

It seems to me that these explanations deserve little, if any, credence. There was no military action at this time anywhere near Berislav. The feverish construction of the nearby port and city of Kherson proceeded apace, and hundreds of thousands of rubles were being spent at this very time on the construction of government buildings, "palaces", amusement facilities, etc. The work of the English landscape gardener, Moffett, whom Potemkin had brought to Kherson in 1783 to assist with the beautification of the city, appears not to have been halted at any time in 1789.

Moreover, in view of the fact that Potemkin shared the deputies' hopes and convictions that a large Men-



The banks of the Dnieper River where the Mennonites settled. Painting by Jacob Sudermann.

nonite migration to New Russia would take place, which the Chortitza site could not possibly accommodate, but which Berislav could, the viceroy's decision must have been dictated by other reasons than concern for the safety of the Mennonites.

During the last few years of his life, wastrel that he was, Potemkin's finances were usually in dire straits. At the moment (1789) he was spending inordinate sums of money on the construction of his palace ("in the Venetian style") in Ekaterinoslav, shipping numerous barge loads of trees and shrubs from his various estates, including Dubrovna, for the planting of an "orangerie" on the palace grounds and a host of other exotic projects. Nor did Potemkin ever draw a fine line of distinction between government moneys and his own. There is an interesting comment made shortly after Potemkin's death in 1791 by Prince Bezborodko in a letter to Count Zavadovskii: ". . . No one has any idea of the value of the deceased. He owes a great deal to the crown, but the government also owes him much."

I believe, then, that Potemkin had ulterior motives for the shift of place of settlement of the Mennonites to Chortitza. He had spent large sums on it for the brief entertainment of Catherine and her guests in 1787. The income from the land must have been minimal, for he had only one small village of poor peasants on it. The settlement of a large number of Mennonite families on it would therefore have greatly appreciated its value, as well as the lands of a number of the neighboring estates, all owned either by relatives of his (Countess Skavronskaia, his niece) or friends of his or Catherine's (Count Razumovskki, Privy Councillors Titov and Miklashevskii, and others).

The question might be raised that since the Mennonites were to have been settled gratis on government lands (which the ones at Berislav were), would he have been able to obtain compensation for it from the government? It does seem highly improbable that Potemkin would have encountered much difficulty in collecting "his dues". And there is also doubt whether he really possessed a "legal" title to the land. Many years later, when the government made a survey of all foreign colonies in New Russia in order to clarify the issue on what kinds of land they had been established, that is, whether on existing state lands or on lands specifically purchased for them, the notation on the Mennonite Chortitza settlement reads: "Settled on lands which passed to the government".

The colonists, who had remained at Dubrovna after the departure of Höppner and his group in March, gradually set out for Kremenchug during the months of April and May. Those who did not have their own means of transport were moved by teamsters or on barges supplied by the government. The heavier belongings of the colonists, as had been the case between Riga and Kremenchug, were also shipped from here by water transport. They arrived at Kremenchug prior to Höppner's return from his inspection trip. Those who had arrived by water were, after a brief rest, sent on to Ekaterinoslav along with their baggage. The remainder stayed until the deputies' return from Chortitza, and then had to wait some more pending the outcome of Höppner's new conference with the viceroy.

Höppner's gloomy communication of Potemkin's firm orders to proceed to Chortitza contributed nothing to bolster the spirits of the travel-weary immigrants. The resumed journey southward through limitless steppes, brown and desolate under the mid-summer sun, served only to enhance their disappointments. Toward the end of July they reached the designated place. Here they were awaited by their relatives and friends who had arrived by water a few days earlier.

The disappointments of the settlers soon gave way to bitterness. Where were the fertile plains and rich meadows which the deputies and Trappe had so alluringly dangled before them? Curses and the fiercest accusations were soon heaped upon Höppner and Bartsch. They had deceived them! They had sold them to Potemkin! And where was the promised lumber for the construction of houses to give them shelter from the broiling sun or torrential rains?

The story of the lumber was to be a repetition of the experiences they had had with other promises already discussed above. In accordance with the Potemkin agreement of July 1787, it will be recalled, the settlers were to find awaiting them at the chosen place of settlement 120 oaken boards per family, or a total of 27,360 boards for the 228 families. Here, in brief, is the story of the lumber deliveries:

1789	3,457 boards
1790	3,611 boards
1791	1,766 boards
1792	4,062 and 1/4 boards
1793	3,482 and 3/4 boards
1795	8,426 boards
1796	2,277 boards
	27,082 boards

There is a lengthy corespondence that lasted many years concerning the missing 278 boards and the promised lumber for the construction of the two mills. And in the end, the endlessly repetitious and involved bureaucratic language makes it impossible to arrive at a conclusion whether this building material was ever supplied, though the alleged expenditure for it appears on cost-accounts for a number of years into the 19th century.

To add real injury to the many disappointments, inconveniences, and privations already endured, when the barges with the baggage arrived, the owners of the belongings found that many of the boxes had been looted of their contents and filled with stones and other ballast. And what was left was often badly damaged.

Under the circumstances, is it any wonder that many settlers gave unrestrained expression to their distrust of the deputies and complete loss of confidence in the promises made by the government? What hope was there when the director who had been appointed over them, a certain von Essen, had tried at every opportunity to extract bribes from them, often withheld 5% for himself from such government moneys as reached them, and was either unwilling or incapable of protecting them from thieving brigands who often descended upon them?

True to form, the writers of our histories, and not only Hildebrandt and Epp, in discussing these events among the settlers, do point out the rascality of some of the colonial officials. But in the opinion of this writer they ascribe a too disproportionate share of the blame to real or alleged "black sheep" and other kinds of ungrateful elements among the colonists. Unfortunately, too, they overindulge in expressions of fulsome praise and sanctimonious gratitude to local and higher government officials for their efforts to alleviate the dire conditions in the colonies. To cite a typical example, Epp[20] writes: *Wie eine liebende Mutter Mitleid mit den Irrtümern ihres Kindes hat und es durch die Liebe und Sanftmut auf den Weg der Besserung zu bringen sucht, so nahm sich schon damals Russlands Obrigkeit unserer Voreltern in dieser kritischen Lage an. . . .*

I do not mean to suggest that there may not have been among these settlers elements who even under normal conditions would have been difficult to handle

or would have been satisfied with any kind of handouts. Nor do I wish to deny that the government did not make efforts to relieve the plight of the colonists and to remove some of the injustices to which they had been subjected. What I do wish to emphasize is the need for us to look at the record and to assess the situation from the actual experiences of those who were on the scene, and therefore not to glibly accept the judgment of an author who wrote during the times of an Alexander III, when deference to a policy of "Official Nationalism" too frequently influenced the views and guided the actions of many of our lay and church leaders.

However this may be, it is a fact that the government's threats to the discontented and intractable souls among the colonists (namely, that no other land would be placed at their disposal, and that if they persisted in their recalcitrance, they would be sent to jail) had a desired effect. This was all the more the case because of the statements of a number of influential people who pointed out that further inspections by them of the Chortitza lands, especially those at some distance from the Dnieper River, had convinced them of the fact that the soils in many places would produce good crops of certain grains and the lowlands were well suited for livestock raising.

Both of these arguments had a desired effect. The threats of the government convinced the opponents that Chortitza was *it,* and that they had better make the best of it. Others seemed to be persuaded that there was leadership among them which deserved greater trust than it had received up until that time. And so they proceeded to build homes as best as was possible under the circumstances.

Space will not permit me to detail the course of colony-building. I shall give only the dates and the names of the eighteen colonies which eventually made up this settlement, generally known as the "Old Colony" or Chortitza Settlement.

1790: Chortitza, Rosental, Einlage, Neuendorf, Neuenburg, Schönhorst, Alt-Kronsweide, and Kamp or Insel Chortitza from the name of the island on which it was located.

1797: Schönwiese and Kronsgarten, established on new government lands and founded by 32 of the 118 families who arrived here during 1793-1796.

1803: Nieder-Chortitza and Burwalde founded, in the main, by families of the 118 component, and settled on land purchased by the government in 1802 from Privy Councillor Miklashevskii, and located adjacent to the Chortitza land. Most of the purchase was formerly part of the estate *Nizhniaia Khortitsa* of Potemkin's niece, the Countess Skavronskaia.

1809: Kronstal and

1812: Neu Osterwick, both founded by recent arrivals from West Prussia and settled on land of the 1802 purchase.

1816: Schöneberg and

1824: Neuhorst, Rosengart and Blumengart. These colonists represented in the main arrivals of 1793-1796 who until this date had lived in several of the original colonies, and who were now settled on land of the 1802 purchase.

And so Chortitza, despite years of great difficulties and bitter conflicts and dire predictions about its chances of survival, did come through its trials and tribulations, did expand over a period of years, and eventually became one of the most prosperous settlements of all foreign colonies in Russia.

IV. A Decade of Hardships: Höppner and Bartsch

Aside from the post-revolutionary period of 1917, the first decade in Russia was in every respect the hardest one the Mennonites ever experienced in that country. Seldom has their mettle and ability to survive adversities been so severely put to a test as during those years.

In no other period, too, except for the years of the bitter disputes in the Molotschnaia colonies between the landowners and the landless during the 1860s, did the Mennonite propensity for inner-group quarreling, for personal vendettas between church and lay leaderships, and of dirty-linen washing in public, ever reach the proportions of those of 1790 to about 1801.

The issues at stake were enormous. I shall call attention to only a few of the most significant ones. The most immediate was the question of whether the colonists, after the inevitably difficult years which beset any frontier people, would manage to survive and to develop a degree of economic independence to justify the host country's heavy expenditures on their establishment. For the first 228 families during 1788-1797 they amounted to 232,085 rubles, and for the 118 families they totalled 115,865 rubles for the years 1793-1797.

Of far greater consequence was the issue of whether these Mennonites would eventually develop an economy of such proportions as to measure up to the expectations of the Potemkin-Höppner-Bartsch agreement of 1787, and with that to justify a continuation by Russia of not only keeping her doors open to further and ever larger Mennonite emigrations, but to do so on the basis of the grants of rights and privileges never before proferred to them anywhere else in the world.

Finally, there was an issue of peculiar concern to the Mennonites themselves. Would a people who had had no prior group experience, however successful

they had been in many other endeavors, in the administration of their own religious, economic, social and civic affairs, learn the very difficult tasks of governing themselves on the local and district levels?

That the Mennonite colonists would meet the issue of physical survival under very adverse conditions, I believe, could have been taken for granted. Members of a denomination who in Danzig and the Vistula areas had for over two hundred years succeeded against all kinds of religious and economic restrictions in the preservation of their faith and in the gaining for themselves of an enviable record in farming and other diverse enterprises, were bound to make a go of it in New Russia. And the record is clear on this, however dismal the prospects must at times have seemed to those involved.

The answer to the second is also conclusive. The thousands of Mennonite families who were invited by Russia from 1804 on to build the Molotschnaia colonies, or who were allowed to come between 1819 and 1850, when the gates to the influx of foreign colonists were all but tightly closed except to the Mennonites, show what a valuable asset Russia had found these colonists to be.

The achievements in the third field of challenge—would a group of strong individualists and nonconformists with little or no experience in self-government, be capable of learning the tasks of administering the complex affairs of what was to become a Mennonite commonwealth in an absolutists' monarchy?—were not at all as easily predictable. But as anyone conversant with the history of the Mennonites in Russia knows, they did eventually learn the art of administering their temporal affairs to a superb degree. Unfortunately, the extant Mennonite accounts generally extoll too much the end results achieved without giving proper consideration to the true nature of the church-state struggle encountered in this process. Nor do they disclose the vicious excesses which characterized this conflict during the early years in Chortitza.

The following brief commentary, based mainly upon documentary materials in the Russian archives,[21] might help to place the church-state struggle in Chortitza during the period under consideration in somewhat different light from those given in Hildebrandt and Epp.

The situation in Chortitza would undoubtedly have been more favorable from the very beginnings of the settlement had Trappe in 1789 assumed the office to which he had been appointed at the request of the deputies two years earlier, namely that of Director and Curator of the New Russian Colonies, and had Potemkin during the years 1789-1791 maintained an active interest in and given adequate attention to these colonies.

Trappe, as mentioned above, refused to obey the orders of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1788 to cease his recruiting activity and to return home. Why he did refuse and was able to get away with it cannot be taken up here.

Potemkin during these years was not only deeply involved in military activities, but was above all preoccupied with attempts to maintain his threatened position of power in certain national councils of government and with fantastically costly entertainment endeavors in St. Petersburg to dislodge Catherine's latest favorite, and thus to regain his former powerful influence with the empress.

The supervision of the Mennonite and other colonies and the administration of their local affairs was entrusted, first by Potemkin and then by the government of New Russia, to a succession of directors, usually representing foreign adventurers or soldiers of fortune. Jean von Essen, the first one, and his successor, a Baron von Brackel, were both utterly incompetent and grasping rascals bent primarily upon fleecing the colonists to line their own pockets. In conformity with general Russian governing practices, both of these adventurers were always ready to threaten to punish any infraction of rules or disobedience of their orders with corporal punishment. Brackel actually arrogated to himself the title "Commander-in-Chief of the Colonies". To anyone familiar with certain Mennonite characteristics of independence, obstinacy, and resentment to being pushed around, the bullying tactics of the directors could hardly have been conducive to allay the smoldering embers of discontent and even less to facilitate the maintenance of law and order.

The seat of government of these officials was usually located in the Lutheran colony of Josephstal, near Ekaterinoslav, a considerable distance from Chortitza. The directors therefore often found it convenient, and at times perhaps a bit safer, to thrust the execution of various administrative directives upon the two former deputies, Höppner and Bartsch. In issues of settling disputes between colonists the directors often called upon the services of the church ministers. Both expedients were bound to have unfortunate results. For reasons which can only be conjectured at this time, the directors called much more frequently upon Höppner for the execution of certain orders or instructions from higher headquarters. And Höppner's decisive character and brusque manners apparently disdained to spend much time in patient reasoning with obstinacy or obduracy. The generally incompetent staff of religious leaders served to complicate matters because it could not or would not understand the need for the separation of church and secular affairs. Both Hildebrandt and Epp testify to the weaknesses of the Mennonite ministry at this time, and its contributing role to some of the serious disorders in the colonies.

Resistance of the colonists to instructions and orders of the deputies was possibly heightened by the lingering

feelings of distrust which many bore against them for their continuing failures to receive the promised forms of assistance from the government. The deputies' protestations that they were in no way responsible for these infernal delays made little impression upon the discontented elements. Perhaps not unlike the common attitude of the Russian peasant that "God is in heaven, the tsar is far away, and the local official is a scoundrel, or does not give a hoot", so these Mennonites blamed the deputies because they were visibly there.

The widely prevalent opposition to the deputies was also fanned by envy of the special privileges which the government had accorded Höppner and Bartsch, especially the loan of 800 rubles advanced to each one of them for the construction and operation of a store and bakery. I should hasten to point out that neither of the deputies received the other considerations, for example, the special grant of twenty dessiatins of hayland promised them in the January 1788 documents.

To the best of my knowledge, there appears to be no divergence in our historical accounts over the fact that the colonists centered their chief, if not generally exclusive, dislike and hatred upon Höppner rather than Bartsch. This may possibly have been due to the differences in their characters. Bartsch appears to have been more peaceably inclined. The events surrounding the tragic decisions of 1797-1798, culminating in the expulsion of both from church membership with its attendant fateful consequences, show that Bartsch was much more inclined than Höppner to submit to decisions of church and lay authorities of the brotherhood.

Perhaps a more important and persistent reason for the prevailing dislike, or hatred in many cases, of Höppner was the fact that government officials at various levels continued to consult with Höppner on a variety of issues pertaining to old or newly arrived colonists, or that the latter instinctively turned to him for advice and assistance. An important case in point is the Mennonite immigrants who arrived during the years 1793-1796. Brackel had planned to settle them on the Bug River, but was temporarily stymied in carrying out his plans because of the alleged difficulty in despatching the promised building lumber to them. Höppner meanwhile endeavored to secure permission to settle them on portions of the old Berislav site originally selected by himself and Bartsch. Despite some earlier gestures of Höppner, in deference to Potemkin that the viceroy's selection of Chortitza in 1789 had been a good decision, Höppner still hoped very much that that site was not lost for good to a large Mennonite settlement. When turned down again, it was his achievement in persuading authorities to settle 32 families of the new immigrants at Schönwiese and Kronsgarten, and that the remaining 86 families were to be temporarily quartered in five of the original colonies, pending the location of a tract of land in closest proximity to Chortitza. As we know, this did happen with the purchase in 1802 of the Miklashevskii estate *Nizhniaia Khortitsa.*

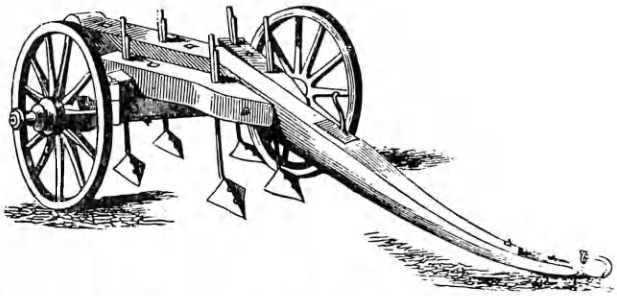
It is impossible to detail here the charges and counter charges of the conflict which so bitterly divided the Chortitza colonists into two factions. On one side were the deputies supported by a small number of settlers. On the other side were the clergy in intimate alliance with most of the lay officials in the several colonies. This faction claimed to represent the attitudes and the wishes of the majority of the settlers, or "the opinions of the best among them", as is claimed in some of the documents.

It is most unfortunate that Hildebrandt and Epp consciously and deliberately swept so much of the story of these conflicts under the rug—either because certain things might reflect adversely upon the memory or reputation of once prominent people, or because much of the controversy was embarrassing to the entire Mennonite brotherhood, or simply because the whole thing was too painful an episode in Mennonite history, and therefore was better left buried altogether.

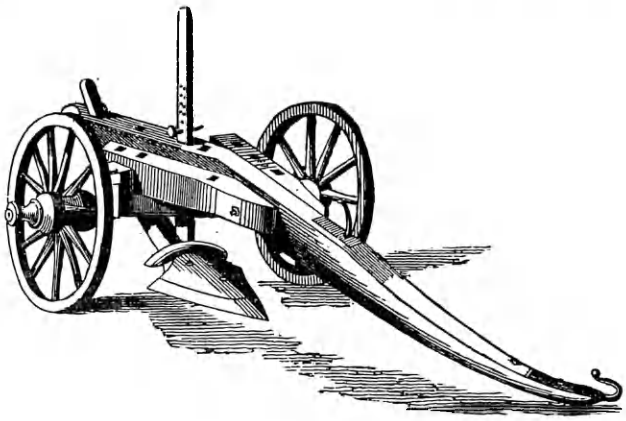
And yet charges or allegations are left to stand which are not substantiated or borne out by the official records in Russian archives. These materials are voluminous, consisting of numerous reports by local officials in response to requests for information from higher agencies of government, or upon direct orders from them, letters of transmittal, a veritable avalanche of memoranda from one official or agency to another, statistical tables, etc.

All this paper activity stemmed principally from a series of inquiries in 1797 from the Senate, finance, and accounting offices and numerous other agencies in St. Petersburg. Their findings can be summarized in a few words: the whole governmental apparatus was a nightmarish mess. It was partly for this reason that a special department was created in the Senate in 1797 which had such salutary effects upon reforming the whole structure of "colonial" government. The title of the department was *Ekspeditsia Gosudarstvennago Khoziaistva, Opekunstva Inostrannykh i Selskago Domovodstva.* This rather formidable title is variously translated, of which the most appropriate would seem to be "Expedition of State Economy, Guardianship of Foreigners, and of Agricultural Economy".[22]

As far as the foreign colonists are concerned the most important immediate accomplishments were the sending of several investigative commissions to the colonies on the Volga and in New Russia. For the Mennonite colonies this concerns mainly the investigations on the spot of the famous Samuel Contenius, who during 1798-1800 made several inspections of their colonies, heard the Mennonite charges against Höppner and several other Mennonites, suggested various reforms for their settlements and the granting



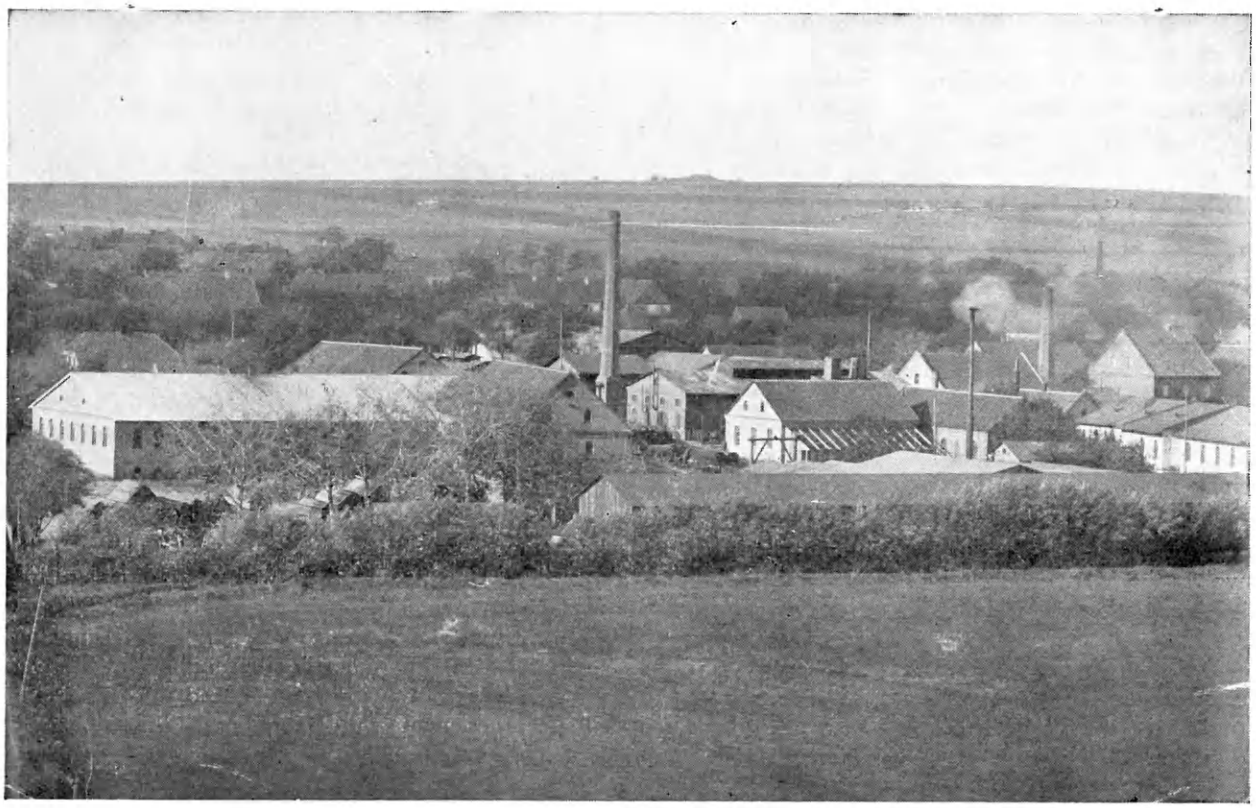
Pioneer plow (below) and cultivator (Bugger) used in Russia.

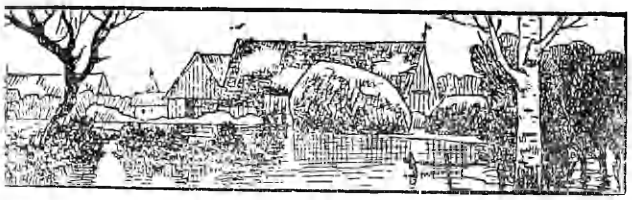


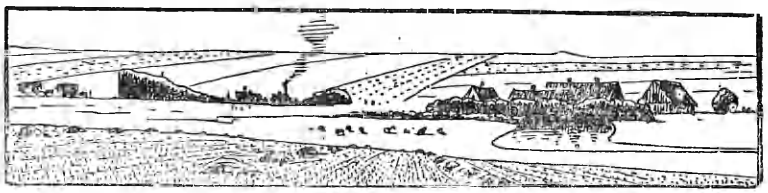
(Right) Lepp and Wallmann implement factory at Chortitza prior to World War I.

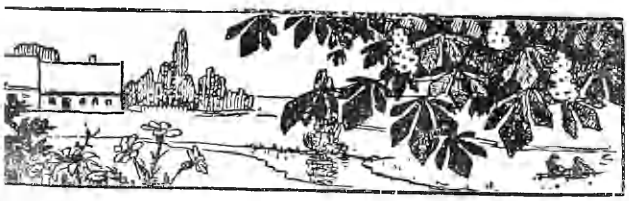
(Below, right) Sketches representing Mennonite life in the villages of Russia prior to World War I. Sketches by Johan H. Janzen.

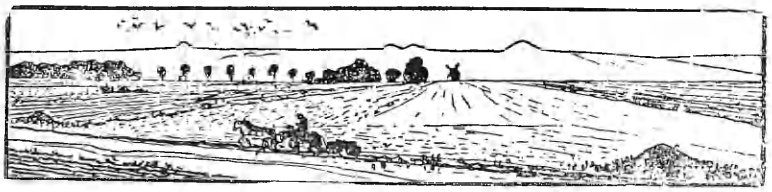
The typical Mennonite dwelling, barn and shed of early Rosenthal, Chortitza. Painting by Jacob Sudermann.

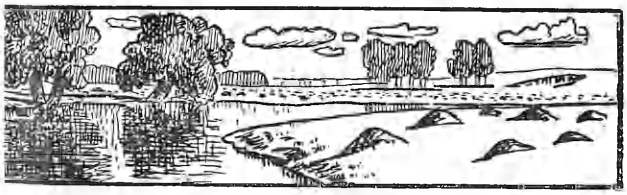


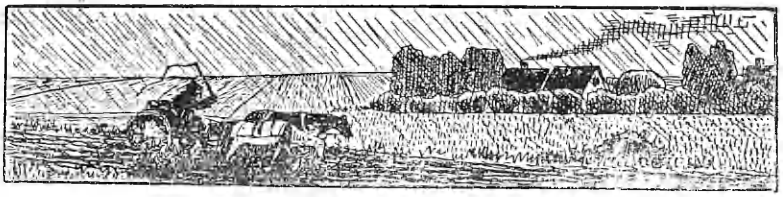












of a number of relief measures, lent considerable assistance to the Mennonite petitions for the issuance of the promised Charter of Privileges (which they finally did receive in September of 1800), and who for several decades was the "Chief Judge" (chairman) of the newly created "Guardianship Bureau of the Foreign Colonies in the South of Russia". Of much significance are also the various reports of Ivan Brigontsy, who replaced Brackel in 1796-1797 as Director of the New Russian Colonies.

Both Contenius and Brigontsy, in their official reports to the Senate for the consideration of the *Ekspeditsia,* generally speak very favorably of the Mennonites and their economy as a whole. However, their numerous memoranda, notes, letters, etc., present a very "messy" picture of the wranglings in Chortitza.

I shall mention only three of the most important issues of these controversies. The first has reference to the missing lumber in the colonies because this involves the Mennonite charges against Jacob Höppner and his brother Peter Höppner. These two men had been the two chief members of a committee to receive the building lumber at Chortitza. As with everything else, the boards never arrived on time. The government purchased them in northern *gubernias* and floated them down the Dnieper River to Chortitza. Some of the lumber was damaged in transit through the rapids. Goodly portions were unfit for use on construction of the houses. The contractors were either managers of the estates of large landowners, military officers, or just plain businessmen. Not all were honest, and so lengthy litigations ensued.

The specific issue involving the two Höppners was the charge by a group of Mennonites that these two had wrongly appropriated 287 boards for the construction of their own houses. The Höppners denied the charges, but the government eventually found them guilty and imposed upon them a fine of 574 rubles.

That there was considerable doubt about the veracity of the charges is evidenced by a report of Brigontsy. In his report to the Senate, dated July 5, 1801, he recommended that the fine be written off, since the Höppners could not pay the sum anyway, and since they had merely been "guilty of neglect" in the matter of the loss of the number of boards in question, and that to this day "it has been impossible to find out who has those boards".

The second charge against Jacob Höppner, pressed in particular by the clergy and the mayors of the colonies, was that during eight years in connection with various activities with which he had been connected he had continuously created trouble and disorders which had caused much harm and great disturbances. Furthermore, at a recent house construction "he had caused quarrels and resorted to beatings".

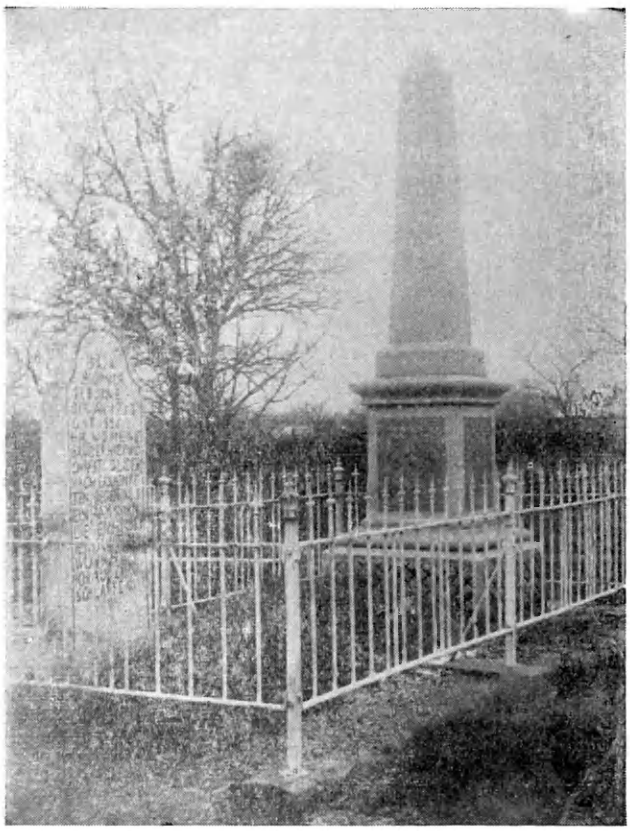
Another charge was that his years of service had been characterized by "cunning behaviour and naked self-interest". Moreover, his brother Peter had always supported him and been party to all of the misdeeds of the former deputy. In this connection there were also accusations of allegations of misuse of government funds.

Unfortunately, in the welter of material I found in the Leningrad archival records on this area of the controversy I did not come across a single document which specifically spelled out Höppner's misdeeds or alleged acts of misbehaviour. Nor were the records of the actual trial of the Höppners discovered. The official letter of the clergy and the lay officials of Chortitza, dated July 3, 1798, addressed to *An Seinen Hochwohlgebohrenen Insonders Hochzuerenden Herrn Ho. Rath Conthenius,* which was sent in response to an inquiry by Contenius as to why certain actions had been taken against Jacob Höppner and his brother, confines itself to a summary listing of their misguided behaviour, and with what heavy heart they had been forced to resort against them with the church's ultimate weapons, namely expulsion and application of the ban.

The available material does not permit making a definitive evaluation of the thoroughness with which either Brigontsy or Contenius looked into the Mennonite charges against the Höppners. What is very disturbing is that both officials during 1798-1799, i.e., two years before the actual trial of the Höppners, repeatedly use the expression "as already found completely guilty." Yet their recommendations to higher authorities concerning the punishment to be imposed upon them, and eventually accepted by the court in New Russia, and subsequently sanctioned by the Senate, invariably—at least in the documents I did come across—fail to specifically list or to discuss their "misdeeds".

However this may be, the eventual judgment of the court was that the Höppners were to be imprisoned and to be ordered to reimburse the government for the expenses incurred for them in travel and subsistence allowances and the loans advanced to them on the basis of the general agreement of July 1787 and the special loan granted to Jacob Höppner by the basis of the January 1788 document. For Jacob Höppner this amounted to 1,845 rubles and 35 3/4 kopeks, representing the 500 ruble general loan, 800 rubles of special loan, and the travel and subsistence costs for the period of March 1788 to about July 1789.

To satisfy these claims, the government in December of 1788 sold at public auction the livestock of the two Höppners. The sale of the deputies' livestock brought 1,758 rubles and 80 kopeks. The remaining amount of 86 rubles and 93 3/4 kopeks was realized from the public sale in January of 1801 of some of his other property. Attempts at collection of Peter Höppner's debts was more complicated because of smaller numbers of livestock, a house of poorer quality, and the sale of his windmill to a Greek Orthodox priest.



Jakob Höppner Monument on Insel Chortitza.

The Höppners did not remain long in prison. A general amnesty proclaimed in April 1801 on the occasion of the accession of the new emperor, Alexander I, was applied to them. But they were not permitted to return to their former homes at the specific request of the Mennonite authorities. Both refused to recant their "sins" or to admit of having committed any "crimes". Both also flatly refused to apologize and to beg for readmission to church membership.

Jacob Höppner and wife and small children found a temporary home on the nearby estate of Privy Councillor Miklashevskii where for several years Höppner operated a cheese factory. Eventually he asked and was given membership in the Frisian Mennonite Church in the colony of Insel Chortitza where he soon succeeded again in building up one of the finest farms in the entire settlement.

The other deputy, Bartsch, did not share the fate of his former colleague. Although also expelled from church membership, he immediately begged forgiveness for "wrong actions". This was accepted and he was restored to membership in the church. Later, however, he suffered the humiliation of being ordered to destroy several musical instruments possessed by his family. The guardians of the purity of the faith had found the possession and the playing of musical instruments as dangerous flirting with evil.

This whole tragic conflict of the 1790's included many other aspects which it is impossible to take up here.

The lay and church officials of the Flemish Mennonite congregations to which belonged the overwhelming majority of the Chortitza colonists at this time had had their vendetta. For a few years they had been able to shape, or even to turn the course of significant events. But they had not succeeded in bringing immediate peace to the colonies. Nor had they succeeded in bringing Höppner to his knees or in breaking his spirit.

Neither did their triumph last long. As a result of the discovery of the messy state of affairs in most of the colonies, including others beside the Mennonites and the utter chaos in the entire colonial system of government, the *Ekspeditsia* in 1801 revamped the whole machinery of government from top to bottom. The newly introduced systems of local government granted the colonists virtually complete autonomy in the administration of their local affairs. Though the new system endowed the village and volost officials with almost dictatorial powers and limited the right to vote and to hold office exclusively to landowning colonists, the possibilities were there to democratize the system, if they so desired. And this they did, though not without suffering occasional setbacks.

The words of a prominent member in Chortitza—"Thank God for the village *Schultze* (mayor) and the village council! Otherwise we might have had a pope!"—undoubtedly reflected the sentiments of most of the colonists.

The first Mennonite church of Chortitza, Russia. Painting by Jacob Sudermann.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf., e.g., E. I. Druzhinina, *Severnoe Prichornomore* ("The Northern Littoral of the Black Sea Region"), 1775-1800. Moscow, 1959; and Apollon Skalkovskii, *Kronologischeskoe Obozrenie Istorii Novorossiiskago Kraia* ("Chronological Survey of the History of the New Russian Region"), 1730-1823, Parts I and II, Odessa, 1836 and 1838.

2. David H. Epp, *Die Chortitzer Mennoniten,* Odessa, 1889.

3. Peter Hildebrandt, *Erste Auswanderung aus dem Danziger Gebiet nach Sued-Russland,* Halbstadt, 1888.

4. H. G. Mannhardt, *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde,* Danzig, 1919.

5. G. G. Pisarevskii, *Iz istorii inostrannoi kolonizatsii v Rossii v XVIII v.* ("Researches in the History of the Foreign Colonization in Russia in the XVIII Century"), Moscow, 1909.

6. Paul Karge, "Die Auswanderung west- und ostpreussischer Mennoniten nach Suedrussland", *Ebinger Jahrbuch,* Heft 3, 1923, pp. 65-98.

7. Particularly important for the period of 1789 to 1801 are the files labelled f. 383, d. 159, and f. 383, d. 162.

8. The only and somewhat extensive account about Trappe's activity among the Mennonites in Danzig and environs is to be found in Pisarevskii's work cited in Footnote 5.

9. Copies of documents pertaining to the relationships between Potemkin and Trappe, including contracts and correspondence between them, and Trappe's correspondence with Count Ostermann, and of some other relevant material on this subject are to be found in a special volume entitled *The Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,* "Acts pertaining to the Colonists, 1786-1792".

10. David H. Epp, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

11. *Ibid.,* pp. 16-23.

12. Pisarevskii, *op. cit.,* pp. 299-304.

13. S. D. Bondar, *Sekta Mennonitov v Rossii* ("The Mennonite Sect in Russia"), Petrograd, 1916, pp. 191-197.

14. Peter Hildebrandt, *op. cit.*

15. David H. Epp, *op. cit.*

16. Sources, in the main, as in footnote 7. Cf. also Hildebrandt, *Erste Auswanderung . . .* and Epp, *Die Chortitzer Mennoniten.*

17. Benjamin H. Unruh, *Die niederlaendisch-niederdeutschen Hintergruende der mennonitischen Ostwanderungen im 16., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,* Karlsruhe, 1955.

18. Adolf Ehrt, *Das Mennonintentum in Russland,* Berlin: Verlag von Julius Beltz, 1932.

19. Horst Quiring, "Die Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Preussen . . .", *Mennonite Life,* April, 1951, pp. 36-40; Jacob Quiring, *Die Mundart von Chortitza in Sued-Russland,* Muenchen, 1926.

20. David H. Epp, *op. cit.,* p. 51.

21. See footnotes 7 and 16.

22. An excellent discussion on the reasons for the establishment of the *Ekspeditsia,* the possible authors and chief personnel, and on some of its work is to be found in a series of articles by V. Veshniakov, "Ekspeditsia Gosudarstvennago Khoziaistva", in the magazine *Russkaia Starina,* 108 (1901) and 111 (1902).

The Johann Bartsch Monument: From Russia to Canada

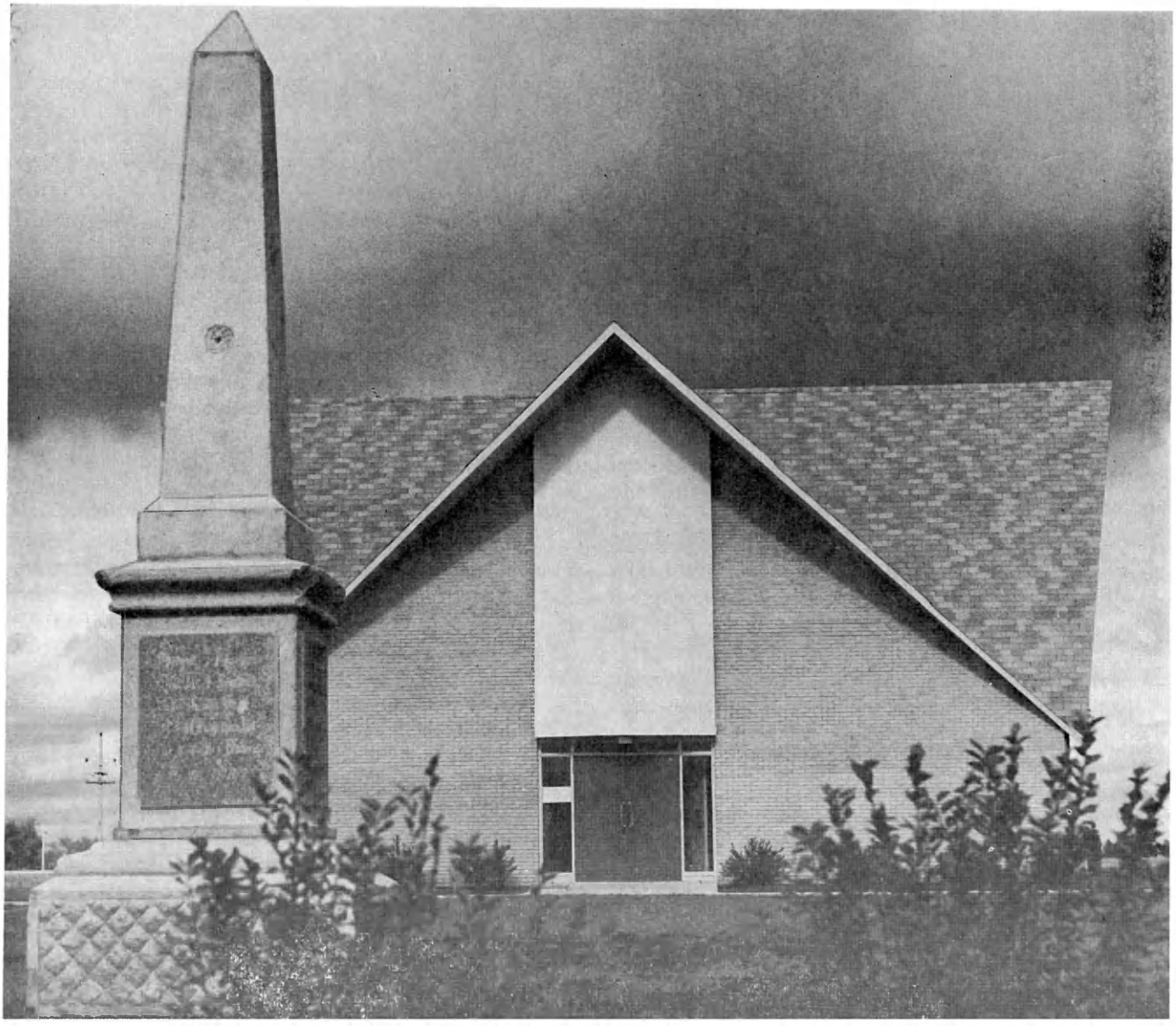
By Gerhard Lohrenz

THE AGE OF MIRACLES has not yet passed. In July of 1968 a monument, weighing 6.5 tons and set up seventy-eight years ago in Southern Russia arrived in the village of Steinbach, a Mennonite town in the province of Manitoba and 40 miles southeast of the city of Winnipeg. The monument was erected in honor of Johann Bartsch.

Johann Bartsch, who was born September 6, 1757, lived near the city of Danzig. He owned some property and made a modest living from a small dairy farm. In 1786 he and Jacob Höppner were elected as delegates to go to Southern Russia to determine whether that would be a suitable place for the Mennonites to move to, and if so, to select a place of settlement and make the necessary agreement with the Russian government.

On October 19(31), 1787, the two men left on their arduous trip to return one year and eleven days later. Höppner was to be the speaker and Bartsch the secretary. This explains why practically all reports available are written by Bartsch. (For a more detailed account, see D. G. Rempel's article "From Danzig to Russia", particularly section IV, "Höppner and Bartsch").

The Johann Bartsch Monument after the transfer from its original location (see p. 2) to the Manitoba Mennonite Village Museum at Steinbach. (Monument shows scars of World War II).



In fall of 1788 the first large group of settlers left for Russia. A very difficult journey lasting five weeks brought them to Dubrovna. In spring 1789, they continued their journey and in July they arrived at the place where the Chortitza River flows into the Dnepr, opposite the city of Alexandrovsk, now Zaparozhe.

In 1890, a century after the first Mennonite settlement was established, the Mennonites set a monument to each of the two delegates and publicly acknowledged that they had been treated unjustly by their contemporaries.

The monument to Johann Bartsch, a beautiful obelisk of gray granite, has survived the revolution. Chortitza, once a prosperous and large Mennonite settlement, changed not only its appearance but also its population. The Mennonites were removed and Russian people took their place. Tombs and monuments were used as building material. Somehow the Bartsch monument had been spared so far. It stood now near a large barn in a spot grown over with weeds. It had no significance for the new inhabitants of Chortitza and it was only a matter of time before this monument too would have disappeared and been used for a foundation of some public building.

It was this factor which prompted the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society to try to bring the monument to Canada where thousands of Mennonites from Chortitza have made their homes. The Soviet government permitted the export of the obelisk, provided the transportation expenses were met by the society.

Thus this monument now has found a new home. It stands on the ground of the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society near Steinbach. The traveller on highway No. 12, when passing the grounds, sees the 12 feet high monument and on closer inspection can read the German and the Russian inscription on it, reminding him of the services rendered by Johann Bartsch to his brethren.

The bringing of this monument to Canada is a great accomplishment by the Society. Recognition is particularly due to J. J. Reimer, its chairman, without whose energetic help this would likely not have happened; recognition is also due to all those who financially contributed to meet the very high cost.

The monument will render a valuable service. It will remind us of our past, of our achievements and failures, and it is hoped that from these we will learn in order to become better men and women for today.

Gerald B. Winrod: Deluded Defender of the Faith

By John Waltner

A UNIQUE KANSAS frontier climate across the years produced John Brown, the Populists in the 1890's and the colorful Carry Nation at the turn of the century. The Ku Klux Klan openly flourished in Kansas during the 1920's and the notorious goat gland, doctor demagogue, John R. Brinkley, spiced gubernatorial races in the 1930's. Kansas, fertile ground for eccentric personalities since its beginning, was also the home of Gerald B. Winrod, a controversial figure who rose to prominence during the "fundamentalist controversy" in the 1920's. Winrod's synthesis of fundamental Christianity and conservative politics won the hearts and pocketbooks of thousands of Kansans, including many Mennonites.

In November, 1925, Gerald B. Winrod, a revivalist preacher of established reputation, called a meeting of leading Kansas and neighboring fundamentalists to consider methods "for arousing people to a sense of impending danger" over wicked doctrines abounding in pulpit and classroom. Approximately fifty pastors and laymen met in a Salina, Kansas, hotel "upper room" and unanimously voted to lauch the Defender of the Christian Faith. The delegation chose "Back To The Bible" as its motto, "Faith Of Our Fathers" as its official hymn, and decided that a monthly magazine, *The Defender* (published ca. 1931-ca. 1944), be its official organ. Winrod was elected Executive Secretary and editor of *The Defender* in the battle to preserve Christianity.

Immediately following World War I, America found itself in a religious conflict between fundamentalism and modernism. Fundamentalism has too often been oversimplified and merely equated with a belief in the famous "Five Points"—the infallibility of the Bible, Christ's virgin birth, his substitutionary atonement, his Resurrection, and the Second Coming.[1] But Ernest R. Sandeen in a recent study has pointed out that fundamentalism, as exhibited by some in the 1920's

was a complex combination of dispensationalism and the Princeton Theology[2] in answer to German higher biblical criticism and the Darwinian evolution theory. Dispensationalism primarily meant the dividing of history into periods of time according to Bible events and prophecy. In the last period, the millennium, only the true church would be saved to reign as the "bride of Christ" after the battle of Armageddon.[3] Thus the dispensationalist balanced a pessimistic view of the material world's future with a fervent hope for God's intervention in his own life with the Second Coming.

The Princeton Theology, born with its Seminary in 1812, was a leading force in American religious thought. A Princeton professor commented in 1874: "As natural science was a chaos until the principle of induction was admitted and faithfully carried out, so theology is a jumble of human speculations, not worth a straw hat, when men refuse to apply the same principle to the study of the Word of God".[4] If the Bible was to be proven the inspired Word of God, said the Princeton theologians, that proof must come from an evaluation of biblical prophecy, not inner convictions alone. Faced with the common enemy, modernism—the tendency to accept higher criticism and evolution and to question the literalness of the Bible—dispensationalism and the Princeton Theology loosely fused as the foundation of the fundamentalist movement.

The movement never solidified completely and displayed an array of personalities who varied in make-up from ignorant nativists to dedicated scholars in an earnest search for truth. But faced with spreading modernism in churches, evolution in schools, and a loosening of traditional morality in the "flapper" era, fundamentalism gained a huge following. Finally in 1925, H. L. Mencken could quip with a certain amount of truth: "Heave an egg out of a Pullman window, and you will hit a fundamentalist almost anywhere in the United States today".[5] Led by William J. Bryan, the fundamentalists began throwing back. Gerald B. Winrod, while less sophisticated than the Princeton theologians, embraced a fundamentalism which focused upon eschatology[6] and proof of biblical prophecy. He led the Kansas reaction.

The initial *Defender* masthead in June 1926 proclaimed that its purpose was "to withstand the powerful, destructive, anti-Christian forces which threaten to annihilate revealed religion, blast away the foundations of civilization, and introduce chaotic conditions".[7] To accomplish this the main thrust of the organization would be in holding local conferences to arouse people to a sense of urgency over the evolution theory and modernism. The magazine urged its readers to action, to break out of their spiritual lethargy, and to take part in God's work. The grass roots approach proved effective: by 1929 the Defenders operated nationally with Defender conventions in numerous states.

Winrod was particularly upset by the theory of evolution, which, he felt, was a godless, brutally savage, unproved guess. Despite the fact that this theory could not explain the mysteries concerning the origin of life, it "has been written in practically all textbooks as the foundation of modern science".[8] But Winrod opposed evolution not only in theory; it was a disease of the soul. He saw it linked to psychology (a science of "animalism"), modernism, war, crime, anarchy, companionate marriages, and mixed gym classes. Evolution also undermined certain basic religious beliefs. Christ endorsed Genesis as the Word of God, and for Christ to have lied would be an admission that he was not devine. "Hence", wrote Winrod, "evolution makes the Savior, in the minds of those who believe it, merely the illegitimate son of a fallen woman".[9]

To eradicate the teaching of evolution from Kansas public schools Winrod proposed that a five man committee on legislation study the possibilities of presenting a suitable bill to the state legislature. "Our only hope of correcting this evil in the schools is through legislation", he wrote.[10] Winrod also appointed a Textbook Committee to investigate and expose tainted school books, especially in grade schools and high schools.

Winrod also opposed modernism in the pulpit. By questioning fundamental doctrines modernism aided atheism. In a 1927 speech Winrod spelled out the conflict in clear terms: "A man is either a modernist or a fundamentalist; he cannot be both at the same time. A preacher believes the Bible to be the infallible word of God, or he doesn't; he believes Jesus was born of a Virgin, or he doesn't; . . . he believes Genesis to be an exact statement of creative powers, or he doesn't. There is no middle ground".[11]

Winrod's fundamentalism was nourished by an anticipation of Christ's second coming. That the Lord would return was certain; biblical prophecy held the key to determining the hour. Some scholars had devoted themselves to the task of unravelling the thread of interpretation of the complex prophecies in the books of Daniel and Revelation. First released in 1909, *The Scofield Reference Bible* was a product of such research.

Scofield traced prophetic references to future events. The prophet Daniel had foretold some of the events which would immediately precede the coming of the kingdom or Christ's second coming. In a dream Daniel had seen a beast, "dreadful and terrible" with "great iron teeth". It had ten horns, each representing a separate kingdom. Daniel looked at the horns, and "behold, there came upon them another little horn, before whom were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man and a mouth speaking great things" (Daniel 7:8).

The "little horn" Daniel saw was discovered to be

the "beast", the "man of sin", the earth's last and most horrible tyrant. The beast would accept the power which Satan had offered Jesus and establish himself within the boundaries of the old Roman Empire. Meanwhile, the Jews would return to Palestine. The beast would bring Palestine under his power and rule the Jews for a brief "time of tribulation" during which he would demand to be worshipped as God.[12] A majority of apostate Jews would covenant with him (Daniel 9:29) and accept him as their supreme civil leader.

The Antichrist (the "beast of the earth", Revelation 13:11-17; and the "false prophet", Revelation 16:13, 19:20, 20:10) would then appear during the "time of tribulation." He would cause all, "both small and great, rich and poor, bond and free, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads", and assure that no one "buy or sell, save he had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name" (Revelation 13:16-17). As the last ecclesiastical head on earth, the Antichrist would stand with the beast of Daniel's vision at the head of Satan's forces in the Battle of Armageddon.

Armageddon, the hill and valley of Megiddo west of the Jordan, was the appointed place for the beginning of the great battle which would commence when Christ descended the second time to end the "time of tribulation".[13] The forces of Zion would triumph at Megiddo. Revelation foretold the doom of the beast who would be "taken and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with whom he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshiped his image" (Revelation 19:19). A "lake of fire burning with brimstone" awaited the two champions of evil. Following the battle, the Millennium would begin, to be later ended by a purging of the heavens and earth by fire.

Armed with this prophecy, "history written in advance",[14] Winrod faced a world in which momentous events were taking place. The Zionist movement, Mussolini's dictatorship (within the boundaries of the old Roman Empire), and the financial chaos brought by the Depression made Winrod look for causes. "Powerful demon forces are at work behind the scenes in the present catastrophic period", he concluded. "Back of the crash of world finances there is superhuman intelligence. Strange, unseen forces are at work moving steadily toward the creation of a money system never before dreamed of in human history".[15] Winrod saw standardization, concentration of political and financial power, and the Antichrist close at hand.

"Is Armageddon near"? asked Winrod in March 1932. War had broken in Asia, materialistic science had invented war tools capable of untold horror, millions were starving in the world, and total moral decay threatened constantly. Winrod saw dark days ahead but he refused to bow to pessimism. "We are justly optimistic", he wrote, "having chart and compass, knowing the prophetic seas on which we are sailing. The storm is approaching, the black clouds of war and tribulation are gathering, but beyond the Antichrist, Armageddon, and Catastrophe, the harbor is in sight".[16] Before the final holocaust, the "rapture of the true church"[17] would save devout Christendom.

Because of his reliance on prophecy and his intense desire for certainty in a period when traditional values were under attack, Winrod developed a conspiracy view of history. In January, 1933, he wrote:

> There has been uncovered before my eyes, the inner workings of one of the most gigantic and diabolical plots ever perpetrated in any period of world history. For months I have been sifting reports, studying evidence, making observations, assembling facts, accumulating material; and step by step, fact upon fact, I have traced these destructive forces back, back, back to their hidden sources and now I am prepared to say that I firmly believe all of these horrible outbursts which we are now witnessing are simply the results of intelligent causes. Behind the scenes there is what I choose to call, "A Hidden Hand".[18]

It was a simple step from unseen, demon forces to human personalities. The next month, February, 1933, Winrod unmasked his "hidden hand". He looked at a world in revolution: governments, religion, and morals were threatened. Winrod believed it to be the work of a few men, some three hundred at most, determined to destroy the status quo. He identified the conspirators as wealthy Jews "who claim to hold the financial destiny of the world in their hands".[19] Jews, liberals, and Communists were merged in a plot to overthrow the Christian world.

Following his discovery of these "hellish agencies", Winrod's *Defender* focused solely upon the Jewish-Communist conspiracy. Winrod cautioned his readers to remember "that the present world movements can be understood only as the activities of Jewry can be traced among the nations". "The Jew is the gulf stream from which all of the world currents flow", he wrote. "The way to unravel the present tangled affairs is to find the Jewish thread and follow it through".[20] That was the task Winrod set for himself in the ensuing years, and he felt that the ease with which he could fit new developments to his system reinforced its validity.

Winrod saw conspiracy in Franklin Roosevelt's liberalism and bitterly fought the President's New Deal. He traced Roosevelt's ancestry back three centuries and satisfied himself that the President heralded from an old Dutch Jewish family—"Rosenvelt". Winrod discovered Jewish members of the Brain Trust, who he felt, were bent on sovietizing the United States. He was convinced that the National Recovery Administration symbol, the Blue Eagle, was actually the "mark of the beast", and he even detected "red" art on the

new three-cent stamp.

But Winrod became a prisoner of his system of thought. Earlier he had professed love for all Jews, patiently awaiting their conversion to Christianity. But the logic of his system forced him to change. If the Jews were going to covenant with the Antichrist to win back the Holy Land, then some of their ranks must be apostate. "Because of the strong delusion in which the Jew lives at the present time, it is dangerous for him to have too much power in his hands", Winrod warned.[21] Winrod had first denounced Hitler as a fascist dictator, but after watching him "purify" Germany Winrod stated, "The (American) newspapers are filled with reports of his (Hitler's) alleged Jewish persecutions". "However, judging his deeds from strictly a human point of view, it is evident that he is justified in his attitude toward the powerful Jews in Germany".[22] In a little over a decade Winrod had moved from the mainstream of fundamentalism with his crusade against evolution and modernism to an isolated irrational tangent. He had become a bigot, anti-Semitic, and hopelessly blinded by a conspiracy view of history.

In the 1920's and 30's Winrod played on the sympathies of conservative Christians. His stand against modernism, evolution, and communism had widespread appeal among Mennonites.[23] When fundamentalism and the Bible were under attack Winrod's defense of tradition appealed to them. Winrod's strong stand and fiery zeal impressed many Mennonites who heard him. "I think he did a lot of good; he was fighting sin", one recalled.[24] In return for Mennonite support, Winrod recommended Freeman Junior College and Tabor College to his readers as "safe" schools. He praised John Horsch's *Symposium on War,* graduated a son from Hesston College, and held a large business account with the Herald Publishing Company. He also spoke in numerous Mennonite churches in the Newton-Moundridge-McPherson area and drew solid financial support from those congregations. Today the Defender organization still fondly remembers its Mennonite constituency during those hard years.[25]

Winrod was a controversial figure, a product of his turbulent times and his driving personality. As a fundamentalist in the immediate post World War I years, Winrod was fearful that evolution and modernism would tumble his pyramid of Christian beliefs. Longing for security in the face of indeterminable change he found solace in a literalistic use of the Bible, and a second coming of Christ in the near future. His appeal to Mennonites was based on these issues. But the logic of Winrod's thought forced him into extremism. Seemingly, most of his Mennonite supporters were content with the religious issues he touched on and were little troubled by his Anti-Semitism. There were gaping inconsistencies between Winrod's professed Christian love for all men and his vehement denunciation of imagined conspirators; his Christianity lacked the essential factor of "balance" between words and deeds.[26] In the mid-30's Mennonites justified their allegiance to Winrod by saying that he was "fighting sin" while, in fact, the man they supported then had little common with Anabaptist-Mennonite Christianity.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 13 for an expression of this view of fundamentalism.
2. Ernest R. Sandeen, "Towards a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism," *Church History,* XXXVI (March 1967), p. 67.
3. C. I. Scofield (ed.), *The Scofield Reference Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1909), p. 1348 ff.
4. Sandeen, p. 69.
5. *American Mercury,* VI (1925), p. 160, in Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy,* p. 18.
6. See Bryan A. Wilson, "Millennialism in Comparative Perspective", *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* XI (October 1963), pp. 94-97 for a discussion of "this-worldly" and "other-worldly" emphases of religious movements.
7. *Defender,* I (June 1926), p. 2, in Ann Mari Buitrago, "A Study of the Political Ideas and Activities of Gerald B. Winrod: 1926-1938," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Kansas University, 1955), p. 21.
8. Gerald Winrod, "The Textbook Problem," *Defender,* I (June 1926), p. 5.
9. *Defender,* I (June 1926), p. 10, in Buitrago, p. 27.
10. Gerald Winrod, "Key-Note Address," *Defender,* II (December 1927), p. 11.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
12. *The Scofield Reference Bible,* p. 1337.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 1348-9.
14. Gerald Winrod, "World Problems", *Defender,* VI (September 1931), p. 4.
15. Gerald Winrod, "The Coming Financial Octopus", *Defender,* VI (October 1931), p. 1.
16. Gerald Winrod, "Is Armageddon Near?" *Defender,* VI (March 1932), p. 1.
17. *The Scofield Reference Bible,* p. 1349.
18. Gerald Winrod, "Facing the Ten Deadly Enemies at the Beginning of 1933," *Defender,* VII (January 1933), p. 3.
19. Gerald Winrod, "Unmasking The 'Hidden Hand,'" *Defender,* VIII (February 1933), p. 3.
20. Gerald Winrod, "Roosevelt, Hitler, and the Present Economic Collapse Considered in the Light of Prophecy", *Defender,* VIII (May 1933), p. 5.
21. Gerald Winrod, *Mussolini and the Second Coming of Christ* (Wichita, Kansas, ca. 1934), p. 24-5, in Buitrago, p. 48.
22. Gerald Winrod, "Roosevelt, Hitler, and the Present Economic Collapse Considered in the Light of Prophecy", *Defender,* VIII (May 1933), p. 5.
23. See James Schrag, "Gerald Burton Winrod: The Defender", (Unpublished Social Science Seminar Study, Bethel College, April 1966) for an interesting account of Winrod's relations to the Kansas Mennonites.
24. Interview with Helmut J. Wedel, July 24, 1967. Wedel heard Winrod speak in McPherson around 1935.
25. Interview with Mrs. M. L. Flowers, Winrod's secretary 1930-57, August 30, 1967. Mrs. Flowers is still with the Defender organization, now in Kansas City, Missouri, and remembered "their Mennonite friends" well.
26. Interview with Menno Schrag (August 19, 1967), editor of *Mennonite Weekly Review,* of the Herald Publishing Company.

Family Trees of North German Mennonites (Roosen, Dirksen, Fieguth, Entz, Dueck)

By Kurt Kauenhoven

THERE IS NO doubt that in reconstructing family history it is a great advantage to have at a glance the different ramifications stemming from the same ancestor. But how should they be presented? Should the oldest known forbear be put at the head of the chart and the generations of his descendants under him, or should the first common ancestor be put at the bottom, e.g., at the roots of a tree, and his descendants in ascending lines above him? No doubt the first form is the more correct and is therefore used in genealogical publications in the form of a table of descent. The other is more pictorial and artistic as it makes use of the form of a tree, thus giving the eye of the spectator the illusion of an organic unity and a more pleasing effect. The difficulty, however, is that the spreading of a family rarely follows the more or less regular lines of the growth of a tree (see Dueck, ill. 5) and that the often large number of descendants of one progenitor will obscure the clarity of the design. The latter disadvantage is chiefly overcome by restricting the number of descendants represented to those bearing the same family name as the first ancestor known, i.e., patrilineally. Thus most European family trees give the names of the male members of a family and of their wives only, adding the sisters of the male members, but leaving out the names of their husbands and children.

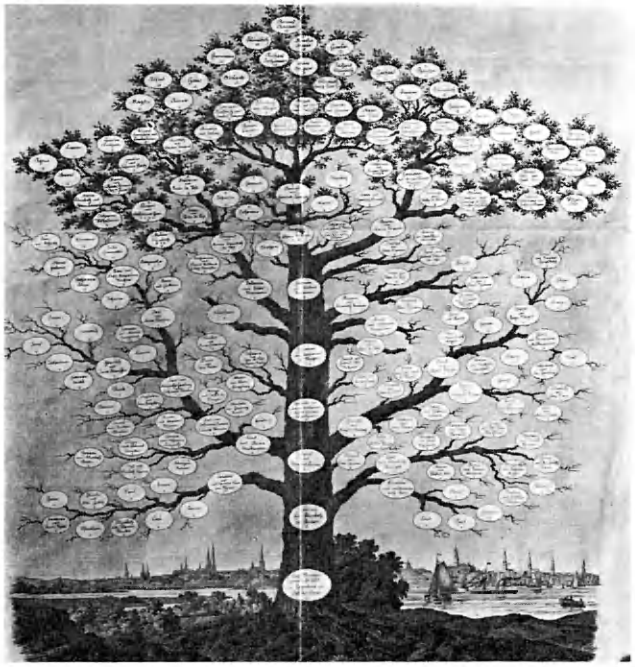
In America, on the other hand, it is common to unite in a family tree all the descendants (male and female) of the first known ancestor (i.e. bilineally), usually the one who emigrated from Europe to America. This generally leads to an overcrowded presentation, making it difficult to perceive the principal ramifications of a family at a glance. It is therefore important to distinguish carefully a family tree from a table of descendants and a table of ancestors.

The form a family tree may have differs greatly depending on the amount of genealogical data to be presented and the graphic skill used in its execution. The following five examples of Mennonite family trees of northern Germany, dating from 1875 to 1962, demonstrate the different possibilities in designing a family tree. The first (Roosen) is typical of a well-known Hamburg-Altona Mennonite family of merchants and ministers. The other four give a very good picture of Mennonite families which settled in the Vistula-Nogat Delta in former northeastern Germany. These early family trees also show that intelligent amateur genealogists are quite capable of producing family trees fulfilling all genealogical requirements (e.g., Fieguth, ill. 3). Of course an experienced lithographer, as in the case of the Roosen family (see ill. 1) or an experienced painter like Udo Dueck (ill. 5) and above all professional artists like Emil Doepler, Jr. (see Dirksen, ill. 2) and Hildegard Kohnert-Michaelis (see Entz, ill. 4) will produce a more outstanding and artistically satisfying work. It is not the object of the present article to give genealogical details about the families listed here. As it was necessary to reduce the scale of the originals for publication in this journal, the legibility of the names and dates contained in the accompanying illustrations had to suffer; thus they can scarcely be used as a source of information. However, complete family registers have been published on all these families and are listed in the bibliography at the end of this paper. It is in these works that the curious reader may find such material as might interest him for his own research.

Roosen Family

The oldest of the family trees presented here is that of the Hamburg-Altona Mennonite family *Roosen* which flourished in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries and distinguished itself by its successful merchants and ministers. According to G. Arthur Roosen (letter, April 13, 1955), this Roosen family tree was designed in 1840 by Berend Paulus Roosen (1792-1875), a Hamburg merchant. In 1875 it was supplemented by his son Otto Roosen (1832-1912), a Hamburg architect. Both father and son were deacons of the Hamburg-Altona Mennonite Church. Otto Roosen had the family tree printed by the Hamburg lithographic institute of Charles Fuchs in 1875 and privately distributed among the members of the Roosen family. It was reproduced and published by the *Hamburger Fremndenblatt* (February 10, 1934). A copy of this was used for the illustration in the present article.

A special feature of this drawing is that it clearly



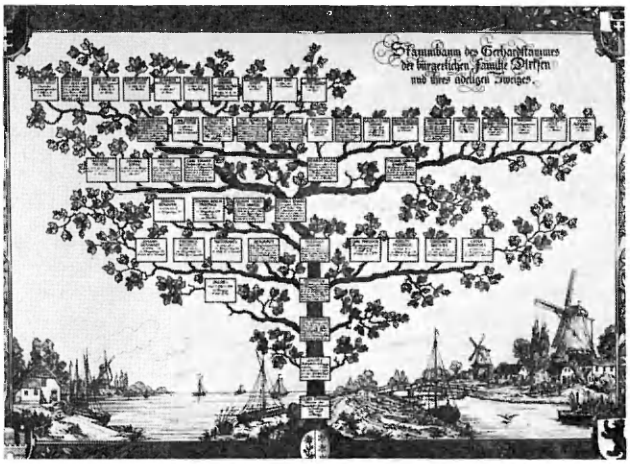
1. The Roosen Family Tree of Hamburg-Altona, Germany.

distinguishes the living members of the family from those who had already died at the date of publication (1875), by putting their name-tablets on leafless branches. Particularly well drawn are the two landscapes at the foot of the tree. At the right we see the river Elbe with the city of Hamburg in the background as it appeared before the great fire of 1842, indicating the residence of the family and its chief occupation which was that of ship owner. At the left we notice the city of Lübeck where the Roosen family settled first after its flight from Korschenbroich (Jülich, west of Cologne) in 1532. After the publication of the Roosen family tree, in 1893, Berend *Carl* Roosen (1820-1904), pastor of the Mennonite Church of Hamburg and Altona, wrote a Roosen family history *Geschichte unseres Hauses* (Hamburg, 1905). In 1910 G. Arthur Roosen, another member of the family, published a complete Roosen family register in the series *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch,* vol. 18, (*Hamburger Geschlechterbuch,* vol. 1). The Roosen family continues today, but they are no longer members of the Mennonite church.

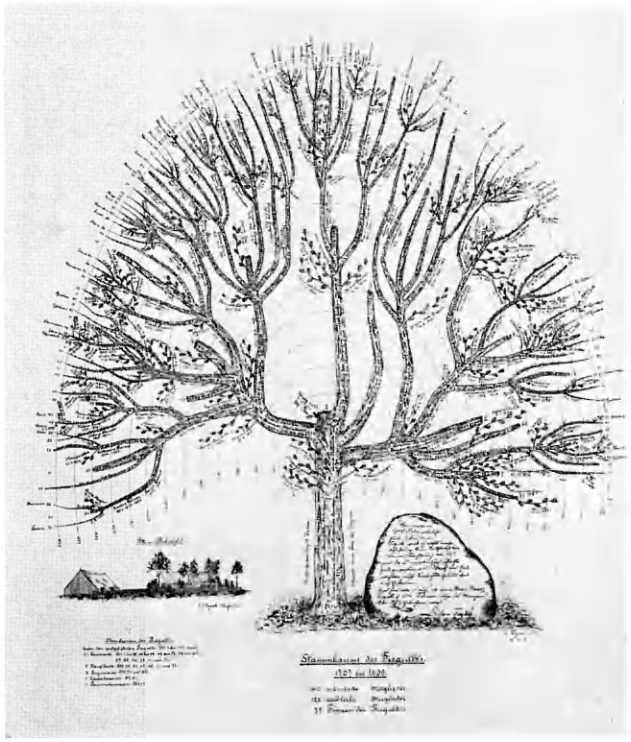
Dirksen, Doerksen, Duerksen

The remaining four family trees take us to northeastern Germany to the delta of the river Vistula where Mennonites settled and lived from ca. 1550 to 1945. Their chief settlements were the cities of Danzig and Elbing and the region between. The oldest of these family trees is the one dedicated to the *Dirksen* family. The name Dirksen, also in its variants Derksen, Doerksen, Duerksen, is still very frequent among Mennonites, not only in Europe, but also in Canada, U.S.A., Mexico, Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia. Of course, they do not all stem from one common ancestor, as the name Dirksen (son of Dirk) is very frequent in the Netherlands and in Northern Germany, also among non-Mennonites. There are two noteworthy studies on these families: the one by Georg Conrad refers to the Danzig Mennonite family Dirksen (Görlitz, 1905; see bibl. nr. 4); the other by Bernhard Doerksen describes the American branches of the Doerksens (Regina, 1960; see bibl. nr. 5). The Dirksen family tree reproduced here (ill. 2) is restricted to a Danzig family of that name. In the 19th century one branch of the family acquired a large landed estate in Silesia and Brandenburg and was ennobled. It was then that the family had its chronicle written by a jurist and its family tree designed on commission by the well-known artist Emil Doepler, Jr. (ill. 2), showing the graphic and heraldic skill of the artist at its best. Unlike as in the Roosen family tree, the artist here has arranged the different generations of the family in vertical rows without forcing the form of the tree too much into a geometrical pattern. The original homeland of the family is indicated by the windmills of Holland (right) and by a "Haff" landscape of Prussia. In addition the artist has adorned the frame of his work by coats of arms of the chief places where the family settled. In the bottom right-hand corner we notice the coat of arms of Berlin. It was there that members of the family distinguished themselves in the juridical and diplomatic services of Prussia and Germany. In the present century one of them, Herbert von Dirksen (1882-1955, see bibl. nr. 5),

2. The Dirksen Family Tree (Danzig) designed by Emil Doepler, Jr.



became German ambassador in Moskau, Tokyo, and London. In the introduction to his memoirs he says of his family, "The Dirksen of Dutch extraction and Mennonite denomination, had joined the stream of emigrants to the east about the middle of the 17th century. Like thousands of their coreligionists they left their home country to escape the religious persecutions in the Netherlands. They found a new home at Danzig and in the marshlands of the Vistula. My ancestors, too, lived for a hundred years in the Free City of Danzig where they were merchants. When Frederick William I of Prussia laid the foundations of a professional civil service, they began to enter the service of the state. They have devoted themselves to this service almost without exception for five generations, not allowing themselves to be diverted by the prosperous circumstances acquired through inheritance of valuable landed estates in the province of Brandenburg and near Berlin, more than a century ago." Other Dirksens (Derksens, Doerksens, Duerksens) emigrated to Russia and from there to America. A Doerksen branch now living in Canada and the U.S.A. has been carefully recorded by Bernhard Doerksen (see bibl.nr. 6). However, it is not a family tree proper as suggested by its title, but a comprehensive survey of all the descendants of the couple mentioned in its title.



3. The Fieguth Family Tree prepared by Johannes Fieguth (West Prussia).

Fieguth

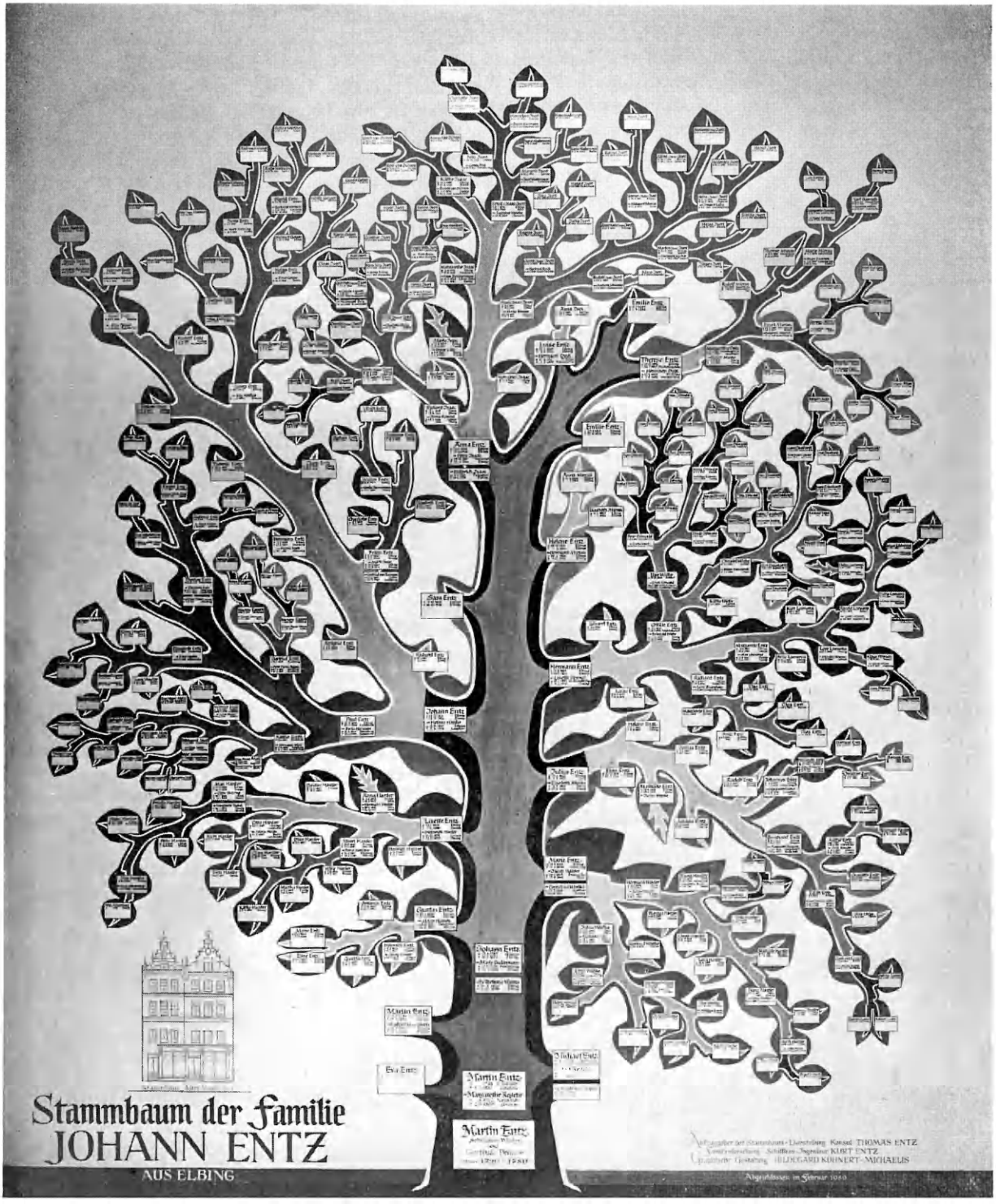
Dated not much later than the Dirksen family tree is that of the Prussian Mennonite family *Fieguth,* comprising the period from 1707 to 1909 and first published in blueprint in 1909. It is not the work of a professional artist, but of a skilled technician and an enthusiastic genealogist. Its author is Johannes Fieguth (b. 1866, perished together with his wife while fleeing from the east in 1945) who gave the genealogical material collected by Abraham Fieguth of Marienburg a graphic form of great originality. His son Hans-Otto Fieguth (b. 1899) not only published a complete Fieguth family record (see bibl. nr. 8), but also wrote a detailed explanation of the Fieguth family tree, pointing out its peculiarities so well that I can do no better than quote the principal part of his description(see bibl. nr. 9): "Our father (Johannes Fieguth, b. 1866) undertook the task of giving our family tree its definite form. For this purpose he developed a system of his own using annual circles consisting of concentrically arranged elipses, fourteen in number, each enclosing a decade from 1767 to 1907. Drawn over this system were the branches of the family tree. They represent the male Fieguths; the beginnings and ends of these branches are indicated by the annual circles giving the years of birth and death of the persons in question. The members of the family still alive in 1907 thus protrude beyond the outermost circle. The female members of the family have been drawn as twigs, the root of which also indicates the year of birth within the circles. Each life-span is indicated by the number of leaves, each leaf standing for ten years. Thus the whole family tree is a technical or technicized drawing of a tree. . .".

To the left of the tree there is a drawing which shows the Ladekopp (West Prussia) farm of Hans Fieguth (b. 1707), the oldest known ancestor of the family. To the right there is a block of stone bearing a facsimile inscription of the first sentences of the oldest hand-written family chronicle by Johann Fieguth (b. 1769). Of special interest are the notes given by the author of the family tree regarding the vocational status of the family members. Up to 1909 there were sixty-one farmers, eight businessmen, two engineers, one tax official, and one fireman. The merits of this family tree consist in its numerical and technical exactness; the drawbacks lie in the difficult legibility of the names, which are not given on tablets, as is generally the case, but on the branches of the tree. After the family tree had first been published in blueprint in 1909, Hans-Otto Fieguth (b. 1899) had it reproduced in print in his Fieguth family record in 1963 (bibl. nr. 8).

Entz

The *Entz* family tree shown in illustration 4 is dated fifty years later than the Fieguth family tree. At first sight a great difference between them is evident. The Fieguth tree is the work of a technician and mathematician who laid great stress on exactitude and wrote in the round-hand (Rundschrift) which was used in all technical drawings of this time. The Entz family tree is the work of Hildegard Kohnert-Michaelis, a professional graphic artist of Berlin. She has chosen a style which differs greatly from the traditional tree form. She does not aim at giving an illusionistic three dimensional picture, but absolutely restricts herself to a two dimensional drawing. Thus this family tree looks more like a tapestry and would therefore be an excellent wall decoration. It is a work of great graphic originality and of a convincing unity of style. This is also to be seen in the drawing of a house front at the left of the tree. No pretentions are made to

4. The Johann Entz Family Tree (Elbing) by the graphic artist Hildegard Kohnert-Michaelis on commission from Thomas Entz-von Zerssen.



create an architect's model of a house, but rather a symbol of it. The house in question was the residence of the Elbing draper Johann Entz (1787-1881), was situated at the market square of the city, and was one of its numerous fine old houses. Johann Entz was not the first known ancestor of this Entz family, although the family tree was named after him. The eldest ancestor known is Peter Entz (b. prior to 1700), farmer at Schönsee near Schöneberg on the Vistula.

The family tree was designed on a commission of Thomas Entz (b. 1899), Swedish Consul at Rendsburg, who thus showed much generosity in procuring for the Entz family such a remarkable embodiment of its history. The original of the family tree is in his possession; its size is 1.49 meters in length. It is based on the material collected by Kurt Entz (b. 1882) of Berlin and published by him in the well-known series *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch,* vol. 133, Limburg, 1964 (see bibl. nr. 10, no ill.). Members of this Entz family today live not only in Germany but also in Canada, U.S.A. and Uruguay. This family tree is published here for the first time.

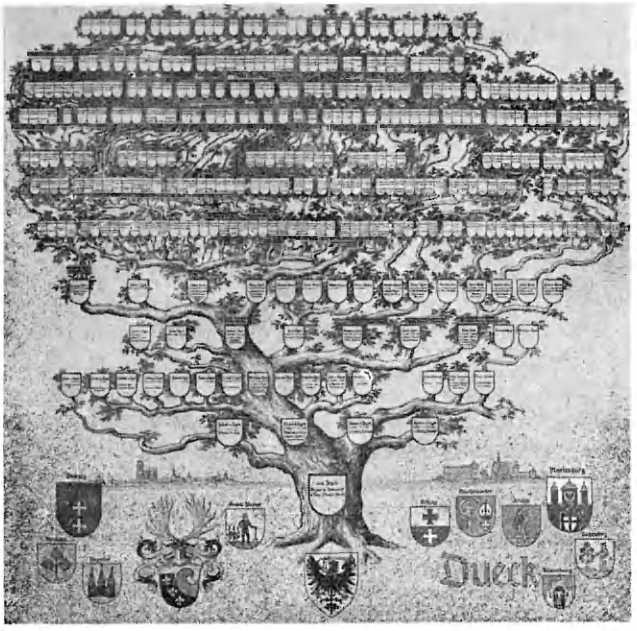
Dueck, Dyck

The last two family trees to be discussed here were both designed after World War II, although they cannot be compared in style. The family tree *Dueck* was executed in color and painted in oil by Udo Dyck, a professional draftsman and an experienced painter now residing in Frieburg (Baden). The material used was collected by Ulrich Dueck, a farmer and genealogist of high standing, formerly of Gunthen near Riesenburg (West-Prussia), now living at Gross-Himstedt near Hildesheim. The Duecks of this family belong to the many Mennonite families bearing the name of Dyck or van Dyck who emigrated from the Netherlands to the mouth of the Vistula. The places where they settled are indicated by their coats of arms, among them that of Danzig in the west and those of Marienburg and Elbing to the east. This district is also marked by the artist in the impressive silhouettes of the city of Danzig and the castle of Marienburg.

The generations are arranged in twelve rows, and the names are inscribed on shields placed on the branches of the tree. With the younger generations counting up to fifty-three individuals, the network of the branches becomes rather complicated and is not easy to follow. The genealogical material contained in this family tree was collected by Ulrich Dyck in two volumes of the *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch* (see bibl. nr. 11, 12). The family tree comprises the time from about 1722 to 1960. Members of this Dyck/Dueck family are to be found not only in Europe but in many of the Mennonite settlements in North and South America.

It has been my aim to give different examples of the forms in which family trees of Mennonite families have been produced. All of them have merits of their own and may therefore serve as models for those readers who would like to have a similar illustration of the spread and history of their own family.

5. The Dueck Family Tree (Danzig) by Udo Dyck.



Credits and Bibliography

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Mennonites and Urban Culture: An Opportunity in Non-Conformity

By Hugh S. Hostetler

FOR ANYONE TODAY who wishes to be concerned seriously with urban culture, familiarity with two books is important: Harvey Cox's *The Secular City,* and the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (the so-called "U.S. Riot Commission Report"). The Cox book represents an orderly account of the growth of secular society today with, on the whole, good and at times brilliant characterizations of secular man and his institutions. The "Riot Report," however, is in my judgment much needed to balance out Cox's account. It accomplishes this not so much through philosophical debate but primarily through presentation of important facts about the secular city which, it seems to me, Cox either could not account for and chooses to ignore or simply overlooked in the first place.

The Secular City

For those who have not read *The Secular City,* briefly the argument goes like this. Cox begins by characterizing the growth of human society as comprising sets of several transitional existences: from tribal to town to technopolitan. These sets can be correlated with religious types, called in turn mythological, ontological and secular.

Tribes lived in awe and wonder in a world inhabited by deities who functioned arbitrarily unless worshipped by the tribesman; even then there were no regular

ways of guaranteeing the goodness of the gods to function benignly with each other or with mankind.

In societies run by ontological outlooks, the gods retired behind the sun and stars; they existed away from the stress and strain of the immediacy of human conflict and growth. Yet their presence was all important to humans. Man and nature ran by order, God's order.

In our secular age, man has put away gods and godly order; in the ensuing freedom from these controls he is now for the first time free to work out his own destiny.

Where has the church come in? Speaking theologically, from the time of the great Constantinian resolution until very recently it has by and large focused on providing an ontological framework both for itself and for the society in which it dwelled. Along the way, of course, it has carried in its theological baggage some myths such as the creation stories, and I gather some miracles of Jesus would be included also. "Ontologically-derived man" knew that his place in life was to discover God's laws and God's purposes, and to implement them. Man only seemed to hold the reins of his destiny, though such phantasma took potent forms. Even non-deistic or anti-deistic systems and societies such as communism still basically function as ontological units, with historical inevitability in one form or another replacing a purposeful God as the energizing value.

According to Cox, what has happened in our times, the rumblings of what was to come being heard especially in the past century, is that man has finally created the kind of society in which it is possible for him to come of age, to be mature in himself. This is the secular age, for man has finally decided to cast off religious vestiges of his tribal and town life. He has shed tribal and town gods and systems with their arbitrariness and their control from a distance. Instead we have secular man, who looks to himself and to his fellow men for his own salvation. Destiny is in our hands. We never again need to worry about someone called God knocking us arbitrarily off the track. Nor do we need to spend time searching for a distant creator's faint or large tracings, put there because we knew God left such telltale signs of himself behind for our own good, to be ignored only at our own peril.

Today's secular man is aptly characterized by the pragmatism of John F. Kennedy and by the profanity of Albert Camus. Man's authentic choices are to ask: Will it work? Does it come from inside man alone? Secular man is liberated from both ancient oppressions and stultifying conventions. It is his job to remain free in vision and energy. He must avoid now the great danger in converting secularization into a new world view—secularism—for this would simply reimmerse him into a new bondage.

Where is the church in this contemporary change? Briefly, it has been caught zigging when it should be zagging. It still offers either a tribal god, or it speaks sonorously in purposive tones of ontological argumentation. It has been doing this at least up until the time of Harvey Cox and a number of other demythologizers who have preceded him (to be followed by a thundering herd of "new theologians" like them, if I read correctly what is going on in many seminaries these days).

Cox and others point out where they think the church has gone wrong. They look directly at the churches' interpretation of the Biblical message: The churches have missed the point all along. The rationalization for the rightness of the view that man and his culture should be secular has been in the Bible all the time. The Biblical view of history is an open-ended one; the closed systems have denied to Christians access to that interpretation. Furthermore, a close look at New Testament eschatology shows us that the term "Kingdom of God" is used referentially not to a hoped-

What About the "Relevant" Church?

for future, nor to a static past, but to a dynamic present. It means a kind of "becoming." Since our Secular City is a situation of "becoming" also, the Kingdom of God for us today *is* the secular city. (If you are uneasy about that—so am I. I do not believe I have misread Cox and others on this point; the logic and form of their arguments really are that confused).

Thus today's church needs to recognize the following:

1) It commits sin in not recognizing the "coming of age of secular man" as a fact and the presence of the secular city as an irreversible phenomenon. It is sinful because the New Testament speaks over and over again of the need for man to be responsible for himself.

2) Catharsis will come through the acceptance and use of power, in the exercise of which we never allow past experiences to be normative for the present and future. The power spoken of is political power.

The church needs to become the following:

1) God's *Avant-Garde,* with the following messages:

a) Kerygmatically, it is to believe that "man not only *should* but *can* have dominion over the earth." We are invited to make the whole universe over into a "human place."

b) Health and wholeness for the fractures of our urban society. This consists in knowing where the power lies in urban society, and rechanneling it along more just lines.

c) The church needs to be a kind of demonstration unit for the secular city, containing within it all elements of society.

2) The second major function of the church is that of cultural exorcist. After some talk about Biblical

sources, Cox points to the demons today. Practically all the fire is directed at the institutional church.

He ends with a variety of matters, but chiefly feels that we Christians ought to celebrate the coming of age of man and get on with the changes needed. One such change may apply to the word "God." If this word is more of a handicap than a help today and in the future, let us abandon it and invent a better name for "God."

There is so much that is good about this book, I trust that the criticism of it which follows will not blind us to its virtues.

Some Deficiencies

There are serious deficiencies in his account, however. For one thing, he wavers between a positive valuation of secular society and implications that he is trying to make the best of a bad situation. Again, having decided apparently to write in a "secular spirit" without an explicit metaphysical framework, his descriptive material is presumably meant to be factual and his interpretations, therefore, meant to be first and second order deductive propositions. It follows that the questions of *what* is included for discussion becomes as vital as *how* it is discussed. It is here that I feel he is vulnerable indeed.

First Cox provides a grossly deficient reticulum for assessing badness and sin, especially the kinds detailed in the "Riot Report." Cox would have us celebrate too much, weep too little. He offers profane benedictions, when in my judgment so much in our society deserves a divine curse. Why does he have this admiring fascination for what goes on around us?

ITEM: Studies of cultures and subcultures have turned up at least three reliable indices heralding breakdowns in a culture: sharp rises in juvenile delinquency, in divorces and homosexuality, and in the addictions including alcoholism. These indices have risen tremendously all over the Western world in recent years.

ITEM: The largest industrial corporation in the country recently destroyed a fine old New York City landmark in order to place its new headquarters building in an aesthetically most favorable position (rather than locating in an area that needed to be upgraded socially and economically). I submit that our culture is in deep trouble when its wealthiest producer feels its corporate image is so shaky that it needs to parasitize itself in that fashion.

ITEM: *The New York Times* reported both severe unrest in the ghettos in the aftermath of the Martin Luther King assassination, and action by Congress depriving cities of relatively small but badly needed funds to continue Head Start and youth employment programs.

ITEM: Few of us are the least charmed by the spectacle of a consuming-oriented society producing, almost by whim, more junk than it literally knows what to do with; and by the knowledge that cars are deliberately designed to fall apart in several years; or by the deliberate destruction of countrysides through strip mining with few if any meaningful checks on the operators.

What I am pointing to, of course, are a few samples of conduct all too representative in today's secular society. I simply do not share the implied optimistic notions of Cox that irrationality is on the run, its defeat to be guaranteed by judicious, insightful applications of a secular spirit. The last thirty-year era began with an unparalleled bloodbath of World War II, with its crowning theme of Hitler, Eichmann and their colleagues carrying out one of the most ruthless, sadistic acts in Western history—the murder of 6,700,000 Jews whose crime was that they were who they were. What astounds one the most on reflection is that the Germans got away with it. This thirty-year era closes with assassinations and riots; with the spectacle of a most powerful nation of 200 million people using most of its conventional arsenal against a poverty-stricken peasant land of under fifteen million—and getting beaten for reasons many in our "secular society" cannot comprehend. What baselines does Cox choose for his assumption (a kind of hidden metaphysical dogma insinuated throughout) that there is enough sanity around to guarantee an inevitable "rise to maturity" of our society and its people if only such things as gods and (other than his own kind of) metaphysical orientations were exercised? Show us, Dr. Cox, show us in ways that do not so blithely bypass the badness—the sin so grossly evident around us.

The "New Theology"

The "new theologians," with their breathless concern for contemporaneity, have lost or ignored meaningful historical perspectives. History contains other experiments in non-deistic and non-deterministic cultures. One useful act would be taking a good, long, hard look at earlier Chinese history and the place of Confucianism in developing what has been one of the sanest humanistic societies our world has ever known. I would recommend also an examination in detail and depth why culture repeatedly and in prolonged fashion failed the masses and often the elite as well, after shining brilliantly in such periods as the Tang dynasty.

Another new theologian, William Hamilton, in an article citing his sources of optimism for a bright secular world, went back all the way to the early 1950's for his historical references! Emil Brunner wrote correctly in *The Divine Imperative:* "The time-honored scandal of Protestantism is its desire to keep pace with the times"—"to be relevant to the culture," "to be where the action is," and so forth. Yet, somehow, some

important questions seem almost deliberately bypassed in such discussions: Relevant to what? And for whom? For what purposes? The phrases are offered as missionary, evangelical slogans appropriate for the day. Their use, however, seems to rationalize an adaptation to and to foment an identification with the culture in ways highly contradictory to their stated purposes (and one should add, contradictory to their own worthy personal active participation in many good works).

Another characteristic of "New Theology" is the thinness of its picture of man. As described by Cox, man is monochromatic. We see him well as an organism interacting with fellow humans. But what is inside of that organism? Contemporary theologians simply seem out of touch with certain basic biological and psychological aspects of human existence, let alone being aware of spiritual dimensions. Man is created a little lower than the angels. He is also the naked ape, according to the arresting theme of a recent book, and is unequaled among life on earth in his capacity to pillage and destroy. Nowhere, to my knowledge, is there adequate recognition of the immensity of the psychological task of growing up to the kind of maturity so facilely described by Cox.

How unidimensional is his notion of maturity. Psychologically speaking, it is almost completely bound up in what he terms "I-You" relationships. He seems to assume that growth to "I-Thou" relationship dimensions are a natural possibility, for he certainly gives no indication of what necessary steps, what given elements in the situation, are needed. What clinical experience he has had I do not know. My own experience in living, working, worshiping in, analyzing, and relating to the secular city informs me that I-You relationships are often about the best most people can come up with (and one is grateful for at least that). But the capacity to move on to deeper relationships, which St. Bonaventure and others have termed "alterocentric relationships," just is not there in any "natural" sense.

Modern urban man, the more educated one perhaps, does keep his cool—that is the style. Never get too involved—that, too, is the style. These styles tend to mask grave problems. Loneliness is probably the most common single, initial affective complaint in psychoanalysts' offices today, and the quest for identity the most common purpose. People do not want to be who they are; yet most secular models whom we are given to identify with do not satisfy either. Our secular man is adrift at sea, out of contact not only with God and the guiding stars, but with his innermost self. Indeed the problem of inner deadness and emptiness characterize so many people today. I would fill out the list with a host of difficulties, at the center of which are narcissistic claims on life.

The revolts on campuses today are often triggered by starvation diets offered by secular humanists. The humanities are taught as exercises in social engineering. Religion is often taught as an outmoded historical phenomenon which helps explain a past we have grown beyond. Churches have been subjected to their own revolts, too. But I submit that people who stay away do so not because the churches do not make sufficient relevant talk about social issues; people stay away when they are not fed internally.

Social action? Yes. What is needed is social action with a soul, with staying power. It is not accidental that Westerners wishing to protest the Vietnam war have had to borrow from Buddhism the technique of self-immolation, and from Gandhian Hinduism that of nonviolent resistance. For the Western Christian church has all but forgotten that its purpose in existing is to create saints, and that the goal in life for Christians is to select appropriate martyrdoms. We need to rediscover how to use up ourselves creatively, as Alfred North Whitehead puts it, how not merely to live and to live well, but to live better.

"Nonconformity" Today

With these matters in mind, what forms of relationships are possible and desirable for the Mennonite church confronting the secular culture? One thing seems clear: The self-isolating technique used in the past of seeking out a rural life is gone. The physical capacity to shut out the world through establishing large, quite self-sufficient communities is gone, too, probably forever. Another thing seems clear: The Mennonites' relationship to the culture either will be self-consciously determined by Mennonites on Mennonite terms, or the culture will do it for Mennonites on the culture's terms. This I believe to be true for all churches now. The basics of what I have to say to Mennonites I would say to a gathering of Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists or Episcopalians as well.

In every age, including our own, serious living is, in the apt phrase of Walter Nigg, more like running a gauntlet than celebrating a festival. This is easily pointed to in the lives and work of the great saints of the several major religions who were nonconformist in the best sense of the word.

I submit that those of us who are relatively whole persons, leading a mixed life in the secular world of today, will be nonconformist simply by virtue of integrating our *actions* with *who we are.*

— Try opting, for example, for *being* good rather than merely *feeling* good; that will cut you off from over half the culture right there.

— Become a practicing psychoanalyst. Then advance the notion formally or informally with other analysts that the meaningful question is not whether a person has a philosophy and a religion as well as a psychology and a biology, but the question is *what kind* of philos-

ophy and religion he has—that is a conversation-stopper, I have found.

— Advocate open housing in your town, and live it. That will set you off from many of your neighbors in a hurry.

Today you need not seek out nonconformity. It will come to you. The problem is how to deepen our lives sufficiently to enable us to withstand internally the external pressures that will mount rather than diminish.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux once commented that too many Christians try to be like water pipes: What little comes in goes out immediately. Instead, he said, Christians need to learn to become like reservoirs: What they give is given as overflow from fullness. I agree with this description completely. I see little, if any, hope that the directions generally advocated for the church today will help Christians become reservoirs of strength of character and of spiritual power. The call is to a life of a high aescetic ideal and of a high level of psychological maturity and integration, but without telling us how to achieve it. It is implied that any such achievement is really an extrareligious activity anyway. The solutions pointed to are almost always *out there,* external to the individual. We are called to act responsibly to others without first learning *how* to become responsible for ourselves; we are to teach without first becoming teachers; we are asked to heal without first becoming doctors.

There is, however, a long history within the church of the cure of souls. Known as the interior life, it forms a large corpus of materials including methodologies and exemplar lives. This is not the time nor place to go into many details about it, but let it suffice to say that it is not Sunday school talk. The interior life may not be for everyone—no more than a relatively small percentage of a church population may be ready and willing to carry it out. I refer specifically to the practices of prayer, meditation and recollection. I refer to the practice of an interior life.

For those who would get on with their interior life systematically within this or any other denomination, it would be an act of nonconformity indeed. For Mennonites and other Protestants, too, there has been a bias against anything Roman Catholic for so long that it has seemed part of being a good Protestant to reject Catholicism out of hand. It would seem to me that hating the Catholic church for four hundred years is about long enough; in the process we have lost contact with a rich inheritance to our own impoverishment. I refer to the development of a systematic approach to the interior life through the church's esoteric tradition. It is a tradition that contributed above all to molding a picture of what Western man can be at his finest. At its finest this tradition urged each man to purge himself of his evil, to enter the dark night of the soul, to climb Mt. Carmel, to taste of union with God. At their worst the monastic communities often still were the nonconformists; they continued within themselves the seeds of their own cleansing regeneration, ready again to stand as a nonconforming *avant-garde* for the church and its culture.

I believe that Protestantism, Mennonites included, has run its course as a religious movement along the lines that it has been going for several centuries. But the reasons for this have little to do with the reasons offered by most contemporary theologians. Far from being out of touch with today's culture, the church has lost itself because it has been submerged in the culture in ways partly of its own deliberate making. The punch is gone because its capacity to speak to the internal condition of man is gone.

What is needed is a new—rather, a renewed—image of man. I say renewed, because we already know what it is. There is first of all the picture of man beset with his internal enemies: the flesh, the devil, and the world. Then there are the specific manifestations in pride, envy, anger, covetousness, gluttony, lust and sloth. From this man is called into a life of good character exhibiting justice, temperance, fortitude and prudence. We are called beyond this to grow in exercising ghostly gifts: Holy fear, Godliness, wisdom, understanding, knowledge, counsel, ghostly strength.

I have talked, communed if you will, with numbers of men and women who have "got going" in a variety of demanding disciplines. Somehow, in the nonreligious disciplines the guidelines seem relatively visible. For men or women who want to become excellent internists or surgeons, or professors of chemistry, or heads of industrial plants, or most useful things that our culture values and demands, the mode and nature of achievement is relatively clear.

I believe that as Protestants we can find equivalent overt, specific guidelines for those who wish to drive for spiritual competence and wholeness. (I am aware of *Taize'* and other groups and of their excellent starts in these directions.) In the past, for solid historically valid reasons, Protestants obliterated the distinctions between exoteric and esoteric religion. I believe that our secular times call for an elite that will exhibit, teach, and encourage with vigor the growth in the cardinal virtues and the ghostly gifts; neither Christianity nor our culture today can do without this. Such an elite will subscribe and live out the seldom-obeyed words of the writer of Exodus: "You shall not follow a multitude." My final word—do not follow a multitude.

Books in Review

H. J. Goertz, *Innere und äussere Ordnung in der Theologie Thomas Müntzers,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

It is a pleasure to announce a major work in Reformation scholarship by the young Mennonite pastor of the Mennonite Church in Hamburg-Altona. A mark of scholarly approbation is its inclusion in a series entitled *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, edited by Heiko Oberman from the University of Tübingen.

In view of the rapidity with which supposedly closed questions are reopened nowadays one has learned to be careful about making fulsome judgments. Nevertheless, this is one of those books that appear to round off a subject. It cannot be said that the question of Thomas Müntzer is closed, but it can be said that Dr. Goertz has produced a study which, in accomplished critical fashion, presents an interpretation of the thought of Thomas Müntzer which cannot be ignored by Reformation scholars. He has, in the reviewer's estimation, succeeded in showing how various parts of Müntzer's thought, such as his mysticism and his revolutionism, which appears to be contradictory, actually form a meaningful whole. All of his formulations, including his justification of violent revolution, are shown to be consistent with an essential medieval mysticism which at some points Müntzer has to recast to suit his needs and his understanding of the needs of his time.

It is an extremely compact and closely reasoned work with great economy of language. This makes careful reading necessary. In fact, this also constitutes one of its weak points: only those who have advanced theological training will be able to read this book. A simpler style would have made it much more widely accessible.

The book is solidly documented and takes into careful account Mennonite, Lutheran, and Marxist interpretations of Müntzer. It is written without the defensiveness and special pleading which has often characterized Mennonite writing on Müntzer and therefore marks a maturing in Mennonite scholarship. At the same time, the author rejects the use of categories such as faith and works and *Schwärmerei* to determine the shape of the study insisting that they do not fit the problem encountered in Müntzer's theology. In reply to the Marxists he says that Müntzer's theological stance led him to his revolutionary activity rather than the external conditions shaped his convictions. Müntzer "was a custodian of the past rather than a herald of a new time."

Conrad Grebel College *Walter Klaassen*

Robert Friedmann, ed., *Glaubenszengnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter II,* Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gerd Mohn, 1967, Pp. XVI, 318. $9.50.

Thirty years between volumes I and II of a set is a long time. Those of us who became acquainted with *Glaubenszengnisse I,* ed. by Lydia Müller have been waiting for volume II ever since. World War II and the death of Lydia Müller dislocated the plan drawn up in 1929 of publishing Austrian Anabaptist sources. Add to this change in editorship and publishing difficulties and the long delay is accounted for. Hopefully we will not have to wait again as long for volume III.

The present volume consists of two *Glaubenszengnisse* (testimonies of faith); the first is the first *Rechenschaft,* (justification) by Peter Rideman written between 1529 and 1532. It represents therefore an important witness of early Anabaptism. It comprises 44 pages and consists of a long introduction in which he discusses what it means to have faith.

Then follows a confession based on the tripartite division of the Apostles' Creed. Under the section on Jesus Christ is a lengthy discussion of the nature of the Lord's Supper in which the celebration of the unity of the Jesus community is emphasized. It includes the use of the parable from the *Didache,* 9, (p. 33) much loved by Anabaptists, and concludes with the contrast between Christ's intention about the Lord's Supper and anti-Christ's actual usage.

The article on the Holy Spirit makes the usual Anabaptist emphasis on the present working of the Spirit in the life of the individual and the church.

A section on the Anabaptist understanding of marriage is little more than a collation of relevant Scripture passages, and does not deal with the problems encountered when one member became an Anabaptist.

The work is concluded by an allegory entitled "Concerning the Seven Pillars of this House," referring to the building of the church, and based on Proverbs 9:1. The seven pillars are the fear of God, the wisdom of God, the understanding of God, the counsel of God, the might of God, the knowledge of God, and the friendship of God. This allegory has the marks of mysticism which are found especially in that segment of Anabaptism influenced by Hans Hut.

The second work is Peter Walpot, a notable Hutterite leader, written about 1577. This work is much longer than the Rideman defense, and reflects years of controversy between Anabaptists and other Christians. It centers, as does

the Schleitheim Confession, on those points at which controversy came. These are not the basic points of Christian faith as expressed in the Apostles' Creed (which Anabaptists often cited when asked about their faith), but on points of interpretation. The five articles dealt with are: baptism, Lord's supper, community of goods, the Christian and the magisterial office, and divorce between believers and unbelievers.

As was customary with Anabaptists the argumentation in this work is not an exercise in rational thought in the scholastic manner. It consists chiefly in an assembling of Scriptural evidence for their position and their understanding of it. Its main concern is not to convince the other party by force of logic but to lay upon him Christ's claims to obedience from those who bear his name.

It is important to notice how the last article dealing with divorce approaches that question from the position of freedom in faith. No one can be coerced in the faith. If therefore one partner in a marriage is not ready for obedience to Christ, he should be given the freedom to go his own way. Even here no coercion is to be applied by either partner.

Each of the articles is divided into numbered sections, presumably for easy reference. The treatment of the subjects is as thorough as one will find it in Anabaptism.

Robert Friedmann merits the gratitude of all who are concerned about the Anabaptist heritage and its place in the religious scene of the 16th century.

CONRAD GREBEL COLLEGE *Walter Klaassen*

J. C. Wenger, *They Met God.* Scottdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1964. Pp. 192. $3.75.

In this volume thirty-three Mennonites reflect upon and describe the beginning of their spiritual pilgrimage. The accounts are characterized by joy and openness, written simply and directly for the general reader. A number of the writers have been in leadership positions in the (Old) Mennonite Church for many years; others came to the church from secularism, one from Buddhism. It is a deep experience to be allowed thus to share in the intimate experience of faith, to "enter the heart without knocking" (G. K. Chesterton), as it were, in the space of one little book.

As biography of the life of the spirit these writings can claim a legitimate place among devotional writings, particularly in the absence of much significant contemporary Mennonite devotional literature for adult readers. Why this paucity persists is a matter of conjecture. Mennonite commitment to using the Bible itself as devotional reading, absence of the kind of church life which encourages meditation and reflective writing, traditional patterns of using non-Mennonite materials, or decline of interest in the practice of devotional disciplines among Mennonite people? It may be that biography is felicitous to a non-creedal, non-pietistic Free Church approach to the devotional life.

From a theological perspective many of the experiences described reflect the unresolved tension between Christian nurture and revivalism which is part of the agony of Mennonites seeking their identity as disciples and yet feeling close to contemporary American evangelicalism. The heavy hand of moralistic legalism is visible in the background traditions from which many of the writers came. A rather solid Augustinian understanding of sin and grace prevents many of the writers from characterizing their pilgrimage in terms of freedom and individuality discovered; one almost has the impression that they were deeply conscious of the church looking over their shoulder as they were writing—which is true, of course, as this review also demonstrates. In part this is the problem of writing things for publication (i.e. the diary of the soul), which can actually not even be described in words, much less made permanent in print ("Whatever truth your mind arrives at, I tell you flat, God is not that"). My personal acquaintance with many of the writers has helped me to see a quality of joy and freedom in their faith which the printed page cannot hope to communicate. The purpose of spiritual biography, in any case, is not theological analysis but motivating and inspiring others, showing them that the power of God is still among his people today. This purpose has been achieved indeed.

MENNONITE BIBLICAL SEMINARY *Cornelius J. Dyck*

J. C. Wenger, *The Mennonite Church in America,* Herald Press, Scottdale, Pa., 1966. Pp. 384. $7.95.

In 1946 the late Harold S. Bender began work on a history of the (Old) Mennonite Church in North America as a companion volume to John Horsch's *Mennonites in Europe,* published in 1942, but the pressures of many other activities kept him from completing more than four chapters before his death in 1962. After his passing the Mennonite Publication Office and the Historical and Research Committee of Mennonite Central Committee commissioned the present author to complete the manuscript, using the work already done by Bender as possible. The book which grew out of this assignment is a history, but it is more; it is the fruit of a real labor of love on the part of J. C. Wenger in memory of his late mentor and colleague who had begun it twenty years earlier.

The scope of the book is deliberately limited to the (Old) Mennonite Church, with the exception of two brief introductory chapters on European backgrounds, because of the Horsch volume already available and particularly also C. Henry Smith's *Story of the Mennonites* which has gone through numerous revisions and editions since it first appeared in 1941. Author Wenger has included the four chapters originally written by Harold S. Bender, under the titles "In Search of a City" (Chp. 1), "Causes of Emigration to America" (Chp. 4), "The Choice of Pennsylvania" (Chp. 5), and "New Life Through the Sunday School" (Chp. 10). Ten additional chapters were added. After rounding out the historical treatment with chapters on emigration, eighteenth century Mennonite life, church expansion, education, and other issues the author gives space to deliniating the major theological emphases of the Anabaptist-Mennonites and ventures a projection into the future in a chapter entitled "What of the Future"? Five appendices, including Harold S. Bender's

"The Anabaptist Vision", a general bibliography, and an index complete the volume. It is a comprehensive and encyclopedic, if not exhaustive, work written in an irenic and easy style, with optimism and a sense of humor.

In its open and descriptive approach the book becomes a significant tool towards inter-Mennonite understanding and offers non-Mennonites a broad canvas on which to see both the over-all and particular uniqueness of Mennonites as a religious and ethnic group. For example, the author's discussion of the origin of the term "Old" Mennonites is a simple, but necessary contribution to inter-Mennonite relationships. Similarly his discussion of the importance of nineteenth century Bible conferences in the (Old) Mennonite Church, together with the tensions and pressures brought by the Sunday school movement of that period adds significantly to our understanding of "how Mennonites got to be the way they are." From these accounts we gather that the (Old) Mennonite Church may not have been as isolated from their cultural environment as Harold S. Bender implied in the introduction he wrote for this book in 1946. In his own later introduction the author, in fact, lists the inevitable and necessary contemporary appeal of the American cultural environment as the biggest potential threat to Mennonite life and faith.

On reading this volume from a scholarly perspective the specialist might wish for more documentation, less names and other detail in favor of more attention to deep inner and contextual meaning of events described. But the book was not written primarily for scholars; it was written for lay readers to aid in a recovery of their Christian and Mennonite identity, and to encourage them to greater faithfulness. In his preface the author writes, "If this book (therefore) can be used of Christ to awaken Mennonites to a fresh appreciation of the Biblical character of the very essence of their heritage . . . I will feel richly repaid indeed." It can also become an instrument promoting church and inter-Mennonite unity. Mennonites owe it to each other today to take simple steps to get to know each other better—steps like reading a book about each other. It may be hoped that other Mennonite conferences will be encouraged to write their histories also to preserve the record and further brotherly love and understanding.

ELKHART, INDIANA — *Cornelius J. Dyck*

Melvin Gingerich. *The Christian and Revolution.* Scottdale: Herald Press, 1968. 229 pp. Notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $4.50.

Melvin Gingerich's latest book, initially presented as the 1967 Conrad Grebel Lectures, is a thoughtful and moderate view of our revolutionary world and the appropriate Christian response to radical change. The book is carefully reasoned, concerned, and unruffled in its analysis.

Most of the positions taken by Gingerich are informed by a cautious liberalism which may be a needed antidote where right-wing nationalism and fundamentalist fears have made inroads. The French, Russian, and Chinese revolutions, he says, were genuine responses to intolerable social and political injustices. The American Negroes have suffered grievously and do deserve a measure of black power. International Communism is now defensive in the face of competing nationalisms and creeping capitalism. The threat of right-wing extremism is more potent within the United States, and has had more influence among Mennonites, than has left-wing extremism. The social gospel contains nothing inherently anti-evangelical.

All of these viewpoints are carefully documented and persuasively presented. This book should surely be in every Mennonite church library because it speaks and communicates to a position where many Mennonites today find themselves.

By the same token, this book will probably, and unfortunately, fall victim to the communications gap between revolutionary young students and what they call "the establishment." The very mood of caution, restraint, and confidence, which will appeal to a generation concerned about tradition and stability, will repel some young people and others who are in the midst of the revolutions Gingerich acclaims. The youth who lead the peace clubs and student bodies on Mennonite college campuses today have little patience with discussions whether protest demonstrations are really Christian. Those who are reading Stokeley Carmichael, Regis Debray, and Vincent Harding do not need to be told that revolutions often have many positive results. And the alienated youth who is hypersensitive to middle class disingenuousness will be put off by the respectful caution which omits the names of prominent Mennonite leaders, such as John Horsch and P. H. Richert, who were duped in their time by the right wing anti-communism and anti-semitism of Gerald Winrod (pp. 133-4).

This book's virtue, then, is also its unavoidable weakness. Gingerich has a remarkable ability to speak of revolution in a manner which gets a sympathetic hearing from those who might fear change. Most Mennonites and conservative Christians can find here resources better to understand their revolutionary world in the light of the gospel. We also need an equally competent book to show the relevance of nonresistance to revolution in a style which communicates to the young radicalism which centers on our college campuses and is having a broader impact on society today.

BETHEL COLLEGE — *James C. Juhnke*

James Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies. A Study in the Life and Theology of Theodorus Jacobus Freyinghuysen.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967. ix + 203 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendix, bibliography, and index.

This study of the life and theology of a leading colonial pietist is written by James Tanis, University Librarian of Yale University (Ph.D., University of Utrecht, 1967). The volume is divided equally between Freylinghuysen's biography and his theology.

Tanis has great appreciation for the pietist tradition. He argues that Freylinghuysen's pietism was derived from Calvinism rather than from Lutheran pietism, as is generally supposed. He shows how Freylinghuysen's evangeli-

calism prepared the ground for the Great Awakening and thus contributed to the distinctive character of American religious thought and practice.

The book is clearly written and based upon thorough scholarly research.

BETHEL COLLEGE *James C. Juhnke*

Arlyn John Parish, *Kansas Mennonites During World War I*. Hays: Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1968. vii + 62 pp. Maps, notes, bibliography. $2.50.

The history of Mennonites in the First World War has been generally neglected by students of the Mennonite experience in America. Perhaps because the World War I involved an embarrassing crisis of citizenship, Mennonite scholars have directed their research to more satisfactory topics such as Mennonite relief efforts, the Civilian Public Service program, and official conference or regional histories.

The most recent publication on Mennonites in the First World War is by a non-Mennonite, Arlyn Parish, whose master's thesis has been printed in the Fort Hays Studies History Series. The heart of the thesis consists of three chapters which successively relate the wartime experience from the point of view of the Mennonite leaders, the Mennonite draftees, and the Mennonite communities in Kansas. In introductory chapters Parish traces the origins of Mennonite nonresistance and disentangles the eleven separate Mennonite groups (which he calls "sects") in Kansas in 1917. The emphasis throughout is on what actually happened rather than on what it meant or how the events are to be interpreted in a broader framework.

Parish's research was thorough but not exhaustive. He drew heavily upon the resources of the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College including manuscript collections, church conference records, private diaries, printed materials, and microfilm records of the Department of State, Bureau of Immigration, Attorney General, and Provost General. He also traveled to various Mennonite communities and interviewed Mennonite draftees and church leaders. He did almost no work, however, in Mennonite German newspapers or other German language sources. Several sources have been discovered or developed since Parish completed his research, including one set of three hundred letters received by a Mennonite draftee and the fifty interviews with draftees completed thus far in the Schowalter Oral History project.

Parish emphasizes that none of the alternatives open to Mennonites drafted into the army allowed for the noncompromising practice of nonresistance. In statements prior to the Conscription Law, Mennonites said they would not engage in military service. But some accepted combatant service; most took noncombatant military service; some took farm furloughs, during which they were "technically in the army." Even those court-martialed and sent to Leavenworth "worked as military personnel in prison." Most Mennonites at home contributed to the war effort through the Red Cross or Liberty Bonds. Parish largely overlooked the number of potential Mennonite draftees who escaped to Canada and thus took on the burden of nonresistant consistency and questionable citizenship.

The intention of the War Department at the outset of the war, Parish says, was to get the Mennonite draftees into military camp where they would be away from the influence of their ministers and might be convinced to take up military service. This plan was partially successful. When the War Department relaxed its position somewhat in the spring of 1918, it was due to the shortage of farm labor in the country and to the influence of Frederick P. Keppel, the Third Assistant Secretary of War in charge of conscientious objectors, rather than due to the uncompromising adherence of Mennonite draftees to their convictions.

Parish's study is confined to Kansas and his conclusions need to be tested against research on the experiences of Mennonites elsewhere. This thesis is the product of patient research and careful writing and can serve as a guide and model for other scholars.

BETHEL COLLEGE *James C. Juhnke*

Joseph C. Hough, Jr. *Black Power and White Protestants*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

The sub-title of this book, *A Christian Response to the New Negro Pluralism*, suggests its main thesis. Though many Christians have viewed integration as the only Christian answer to the present racial crisis, Hough endeavors to develop a valid Christian response to the political and social realities created by this new Negro pluralism. According to Hough, Black Power represents a new emphasis on pluralism as the answer which the Negro sees to his immediate plight. Hough says that "a pluralistic minority is one that seeks toleration for its distinctive characteristics from the majority . . ." (p. 15).

The author goes back to the earliest dissenters of white supremacy—the Turners, the Veseys, and the Gabriels. He discusses the place of early twentieth century Negroes, Booker T. Washington, W.E.G. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey in the development of Black consciousness. He gives an account of the differences between the Black Muslims and Malcolm X who broke with Elijah Muhammed, the Muslim leader, in 1963. He provides sketches of contemporary Black Power leaders—Stokely Carmichael, Ron Karenga, H. Rap Brown and Floyd McKissick. Finally, he comments on the contributions of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., Whitney Young, Jr., and others.

Hough uses concepts from Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Lehmann, Karl Barth, and Ernst Troeltsch to develop his theology of "God's humanizing action in the world" (p. 145). Not integration, but making life more human for the Negro is the measure of Christian ethical action. At this juncture of Negro history this can perhaps be done most effectively through the development of a pluralistic society in which the Negro can discover and express his distinctive culture.

The author relies heavily on Troeltsch to develop the implications of the gospel for political guidelines (p. 153). There are four characteristics of the gospel message which have socio-political significance—universalism, individualism, equality, and freedom. Non-Christians may subscribe to these norms but this can only mean that "God is active in the world outside the holy communion as well as inside

the holy communion" (p. 163). Since so much of life is conditioned by the political and economic context in which we live, the obligation of the church necessarily involves political questions. Hough warns, however, that political decisions cannot be the total response of the church.

Certain theological and sociological characteristics in white Protestantism place a limitation on Protestant response. Most glaring is the "continuing problem of segregation of the local churches" (p. 176, 177). Prejudice and dependence on the prevailing culture, theological individualism, undue emphasis on local autonomy and personal piety cause and exemplify the gap between denominational and ecumenical pronouncements, on the one hand, and local church action, on the other. Hough says that, even though interracial congregations may be a side issue at the moment, "the new Negro pluralism . . . in no way reduces our obligation to counter the inherent exclusiveness that is so much a part of our churches" (p. 190). He sees the churches as "conservative institutions in possession of a revolutionary gospel" (p. 191). While the author sees some signs of hope, he does not believe that most Christians and local churches will do any more than in the past.

The main target of Black Power will be the ghetto. Hough follows Robert Spike in seeing the church as a "third force" providing communication "between an alienated ghetto and a rapidly solidifying white power structure" (p. 207). Direct action can best take place through "parachurch agencies" which are relatively free from local church criticism. Among other things, direct grants can be given to non-church Negro direct action organizations.

Though the author does not see integration as a possibility in the near future, he does not end on a note of pessimism. ". . . the Chrisitan's hope" he says, "has never been hope in himself or any other man alone. His hope is in God . . ." (p. 228).

This book provides a concise and honest picture of past and present race relations in the United States. It portrays the new phase of race relationships and tries to suggest ways of relating to the new Negro pluralism. It seeks to maintain theological integrity, insisting on the primacy of love and the universalism of the Christian gospel.

The author does not speculate beyond pluralism. Integration can only come after Black Power has done its work. Whatever the meaning of Black Power, the church must respond to Negro pluralism positively. What happens after Black Power? A few comments from the author would be helpful on this subject, but, since Black Power is still an unknown quantity, perhaps no one can see that far ahead.

The author is Chairman of the Faculty of Religion and professor of Christian Ethics at Claremont Graduate School.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Ralph K. Weber*

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