MENNONITE LIFE

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MENNONITE LIFE

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FRONT COVER:

Topeka Railroad Station, courtesy Santa Fe Railway, Topeka, Kansas.

BACK COVER:

Map of Kansas, 1875. This is a part of a map which shows the sections, townships, and ranges in which the Santa Fe Railroad land was located and sold. Mennonite Library and Archives.

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C. B. SCHMIDT

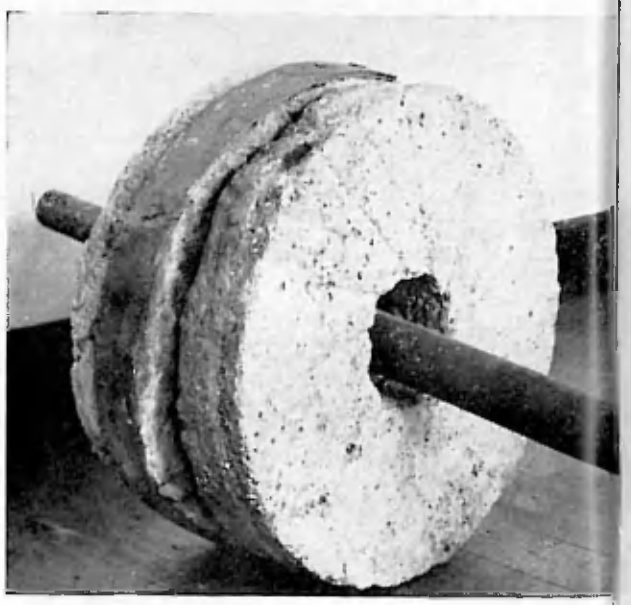
C. B. Schmidt was born in Dippoldiswalde, Saxony, Germany, in 1843, where his father was an architect. He attended a commercial school at Dresden and then obtained a position as a foreign correspondent in Hamburg. The following year he went to St. Louis, Missouri. In 1866, he married Mattie Fraim and in 1868, he came to Lawrence, Kansas, where he established a grocery business. He also functioned as a correspondent for newspapers in Germany, which led to his appointment as Commissioner of Immigration for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad Company in Topeka. In 1880, he established a Santa Fe office in London, and in 1895, he became the manager of the Suburban Land and Investment Company in Pueblo, Colorado. He crossed the Atlantic thirty-seven times, mostly in the interests of railroad land settlements.

C. B. Schmidt influenced many Mennonites to settle on the Santa Fe land, starting in 1874. The files of the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College contain much correspondence which C. B. Schmidt had with David Goerz, Christian Krehbiel, and Bernard Warkentin, who were the main leaders of the Russian migration to Kansas. Later Schmidt became Commissioner of Immigration for the Rock Island Railroad and also an agent of the Wyoming Development Company (1914-1916). At this time he had an extensive correspondence with H. P. Krehbiel in an endeavor to sell land in Wyoming to the Mennonites. ("Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas" by C. B. Schmidt, *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906*, Vol. 9, Topeka, 1906.)

IN THIS ISSUE

two major topics are treated. The first deals with early settlements on the railroad lands in Kansas. The second is an annual report pertaining to Anabaptist-Mennonite research and publications. ¶ C. B. Schmidt wrote a pamphlet in 1878 for the purpose of inducing German settlers from Russia and Germany to come and settle on the newly acquired land of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad Company. Needless to say, this is today an extremely significant account because it gives a firsthand observation and narration of a well-informed observer of the early German settlements, some of which were two to three years old and others were just being established. C. B. Schmidt had an unusually keen sense of observation and a pleasant way of relating his findings. Naturally, it is apparent that a land salesman gives the account in the hope of inducing others to join the westward trek. His reports about yields will, in general, be accurate. ¶ An unquestionable exaggeration occurs when Schmidt writes on how many Mennonites he was able to persuade to come to Kansas. In 1905 he stated that by "the year 1883 about 15,000 Mennonites had settled on the lands of the Santa Fe road, and since then they have increased to at least 60,000." We are now in a position to compare his figures with those of other sources of information. We know that the total number of Mennonites that went to the United States and Canada was about 18,000. Approximately half of them settled in Kansas. They could not have increased to 60,000 by 1905. ("Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas" by C. B. Schmidt, *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906*, Vol. 9, Topeka, 1906, p. 495.) ¶ The pamphlet by C. B. Schmidt appeared in 1878 and was published by the Western Publishing Company, Halstead, Kansas, of which David Goerz was editor and manager. The German title of the pamphlet was *Die Deutschen Ansiedlungen in Süd West Kansas auf den Ländereien der Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Eisenbahngesellschaft.* Goerz himself had written a pamphlet of thirty pages in 1874, on the same subject, entitled *Die Mennoniten Niederlassung auf den Ländereien der Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft in Harvey and Marion Co., Kansas.* This is the first time that the account by C. B. Schmidt is being published in the English language. It appears in an abbreviated form with some added editorial comments. It was fortunate that Schmidt had an artist with him who drew numerous sketches of places which they visited. The center section of the magazine features most of these sketches. Additional illustrations were taken from Frank Leslie's *Illustrirte Zeitung,* published in 1875 in New York. ¶ "As Others Saw Them" contains topically arranged observations featured by Noble L. Prentis in *The Commonwealth* and in *Kansas Miscellanies.* They were reprinted in *From the Steppes to the Prairies* (1949). The articles by Joyce Gaeddert and Arnold Regier feature the background of the West Prussian Mennonites that settled east of Newton in the early days of Kansas, including a report about a recent visit of the Danzig homeland of these Mennonites. ¶ The annual research reports and bibliographies increase in length from year to year, which is an evidence that the Anabaptist, or Left-Wing Reformers are continuing to get considerable attention by an increasing number of scholars and writers in Europe as well as North America.

Threshing of Wheat in Pioneer Days.



Stones of the Gnadenau Windmill now located in the Hillsboro Museum. *(See p. 69).*

Kansas Mennonite Settlements, 1877

By C. B. Schmidt

DURING OUR TRIP from Topeka, Kansas, to the next station west we want to share with you the following information. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company was begun in 1872. Similar to the other railroad companies of the West the A. T. & S. F. received a land grant of 3,200,000 acres from the U. S. government under the condition that the company would build a railroad of a definite length within a definite time period. Due to the vision, energy, and financial acumen of the founders, all conditions were met and the railroad assumed ownership of the land. During the last eight months of the year 1872, more than 360 miles of the railroad were completed and put to use. The total stretch of the main line and the two branches—from Florence to El Dorado and from Newton to Wichita—was nearly 800 miles in 1876.

In order to sell the acquired land, the railroad established land offices which had the task of selling the land and promoting its settlement. Within five years almost one million acres of land were sold and under cultivation. The company recognized the advantages of inviting German settlers, and consequently appointed a German General Agent to be in charge of the German Department of the Land Office in Topeka. Thus nearly 300,000 acres of land were sold to German settlers coming from various parts of America as well as from Europe. The interest of European Germans made it necessary to establish a general agency of the Land Office in Hamburg with branch agencies in a number of other large cities in Germany and Austria. Such agencies had already been established in America so that the inquiries and the sale of land could be handled more efficiently.

On our trip from Topeka westward we have arrived in Florence, passing up Emporia. The stone quarries of Florence serve the settlers with valuable construction materials. From here a thirty mile branch track goes to El Dorado in Butler County. We spent the night in Florence in order to continue our trip next morning into the beautiful Cottonwood Valley.

A fast running team took us to Marion County in a few hours. Our road followed the Cottonwood River through a fruitful and scenic valley. When the German immigrants from Russia came to this place four years ago they said, "It is good to linger here. Let us build homes." And here they began during the same year to establish a number of blooming Mennonite settlements which we now want to visit. The following information is based on the reports of the settlers who will now be introduced to the reader. We now leave Marion Center in order to visit the first Mennonite settlement on the lands of the A. T. & S. F. Railroad in the Cottonwood Valley.

Bruderthal in Marion County

Following a tributary of the Cottonwood River we arrive at the farm of Jakob Funk. The large stone building with large sheds, sheep pens, machine sheds, and other buildings give the visitors the impression that we are on a large estate. We are warmly received and the lady of the house offers us a "cup of genuine German coffee." We learn the following from the Funks.

Mr. Funk belongs to the pioneers from Russia who came to America in 1874 in search of a new home. With others he visited Kansas and was convinced that the soil of the Cottonwood Valley was fertile and, consequently, bought some land. Funk favorably compares this valley with that of the fertile Molotschna Valley and expects one-third more in terms of crop production. In 1876, he received up to 39 bushels of wheat per acre, averaging 22 bushels. In 1877, the crop was not as large because of the locusts. He received only 12 bushels of wheat but raised 40 to 60 bushels of corn per acre. According to Funk, Kansas

bluestem grass was not quite as good for the sheep as the hay he had produced in Russia. Funk's neighbor, Johann Rempel, fed corn to his 600 sheep in addition to hay. He spends from 50 to 60 cents per sheep for feed during the winter. He averaged 4 pounds of wool per sheep, receiving 20 to 30 cents per pound for wool and $1.50 to $2.00 per lamb on the market.

Jakob Funk is farming one section of land. In addition, fourteen families are each renting eighty acres of his land. The latter belong to the Volga German group from Russia who came here without financial resources. Funk helped furnish them with lumber for eight houses which constitute a nice looking little village and helped them obtain horses and wagons. The houses consist of mud walls and straw roofs, but happiness is as abundant in these homes as it is in the palaces of the money kings of New York and other large cities.

After having seen Funk's estate and what capital and labor can accomplish, we bid him farewell in order to visit Wilhelm Ewert who is located a few miles northwest. He is the elder of the congregation known as the Bruderthal Mennonite Church.

The settlement consists of eighteen families who own 7,000 acres of land including that of Jakob Funk. Wilhelm Ewert comes from Thorn in West Prussia where he left behind a farm with rich soil. Ewert considers the valley of the Cottonwood River just as fertile, with the added advantage that it does not suffer from periodic floods. In 1876, his wheat yield averaged from 15 to 25 bushels per acre, and he received 50 bushels of corn. He was especially successful in raising sugar cane of which he received 100 bushels per acre. The seed was used to feed the pigs. He sold 150 gallons of molasses for 40 to 60 cents per gallon. (See Illustrations: Bruderthal settlement and the Wilhelm Ewert farm.)

Johannesthal

Our trip from Bruderthal takes us to a new settlement on French Creek consisting of about thirty families from Russian Poland known as the Johannesthal Mennonite Church and settlement. Most of the settlers came here under the leadership of Benjamin Unruh during the years 1875 to 1876. Mr. Unruh told us that in Poland they had primarily raised beets for the sugar factories. He further stated that the land on French Creek was just as fertile as the marsh land they had lived on in Poland. Since the farmers had just broken the prairie, they were not yet able to give a full report on the fertility of the soil. In 1877, they averaged from 8 to 17 bushels of wheat per acre while the yield of corn was from 40 to 65 bushels. The new settlement has already organized a school district, built a school, and employed a German teacher.

From the Johannesthal Mennonite settlement we continue our trip southeast passing Bruderthal once more. Here we arrive at a "Canadian" Mennonite settlement consisting of fifteen families who are expecting additional settlers to join them from Canada. The leader of this group is Samuel Burkholder who arrived here in Marion County in 1874. When asked why they had chosen to come from Ontario to Kansas, the response was that the land here is less expensive and the climate milder. The yields in 1875-1876 were approximately 25 bushels of wheat and 35 bushels of corn per acre.

Four to five miles west of the "Canadian" Mennonite settlement we approach an extention of the large Alexanderwohl settlement consisting of the villages of Rosenort and Alexanderfeld. More will be related about this settlement after a visit to the Gnadenau village.

Gnadenau Settlement

South of Alexanderfeld and Rosenort is the village of Gnadenau consisting of about 40 families who have come from the Crimea in South Russia. This group arrived here under the leadership of Elder Jakob Wiebe in 1874. They belong to the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren group which was founded in Russia. The group stopped in Elkhart, Indiana, from where a delegation was sent to inspect the land in Nebraska and Kansas. After four weeks of travel they chose this place located on the South Cottonwood River for settlement and established a village named Gnadenau on the central section of the five sections of land acquired from the Santa Fe Railroad. The settlers were determined to retain the village tradition and pattern of land distribution they had had in Russia. This resulted in a deviation from the America practice that the farmer lives on the land he farms. All the Gnadenau farmers live adjacent to each other on a village street and have to go to their distant fields which are parceled out to them around the village. Thus, several must drive from one and a half to two miles out to their land. Some have already given up this practice by exchanging land with each other, making it possible for them to establish their homes on the land they farm. The writer, therefore, warns the late comers to avoid this costly experience.

The inspecting group find the Gnadenau farmers satisfied with their land. They need only three horses to plow the prairie while in the Crimea they had needed six. When they put a twig of a tree in the ground it grows immediately. The rainfall is more favorable in Kansas than in the Crimea. Their yield of wheat in 1875 was between 15 to 25 bushels per acre, while corn was 40 to 80 and oats 25 to 55. Fertilizer proved to increase the yield as did careful plowing and harrowing. During the third year the settlers experienced a grass-

hopper plague but this did not discourage them.

From here we proceed to the east side of the village to inspect the simple church building. All Mennonite churches are plain but when surrounded by trees they make a friendly and inviting impression on the passer-by. From the church building we have an interesting and beautiful view of the village. The houses are clean and the yards and gardens are well kept, which tells us that these people have an eye for beauty, comfort, and order. The building material of the houses consists of lumber and adobe, and straw roofs are common. In spite of the modesty of the homes, the big straw stacks and granaries behind the village and the green and prosperous gardens and orchards around the houses indicate what human industry can achieve in a short period of time. Naturally this is possible only because of the fertility of the soil and the favorable climate. A characteristic landmark of the village is a windmill for grinding flour and feed. (See Illustrations: Gnadenau village, church and windmill.)

Near Gnadenau is another village named Hoffnungsthal which consists of thirteen families and 1,280 acres. Soon families began to settle on their own land. (*Note*: See the illustrations on this page of one of the houses of Hoffnungsthal which was moved to Hillsboro and is now a museum.)

Adjacent to the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren is a so-called Eckert settlement made up of some thirty families and located six miles west of Gnadenau. Twenty families of this group live on part of Jakob Funk's estate as renters. These German settlers came from the Volga River in Russia. (*Note*: Some of these settlers became Baptists; others joined the Mennonite Brethren.)

Weidefeld is a small settlement of Mennonites that was established in 1874 on the South Cottonwood River. We visited the farm of Peter Harms which made a good impression. Among the trees on the South Cottonwood River we saw the big elm tree under which the delegates of 1874 rested and ate their meal while on a land inspection tour. Rosenort is another village that is part of the large Alexanderwohl settlement. (See Illustration: Weidefeld.)

Alexanderwohl Settlement

Now we approach the largest Mennonite settlement, known as Neu-Alexanderwohl. Alexanderwohl was the name given to one of the villages and congregations established at the Molotschna settlement in the Ukraine by Mennonites who came in 1821 from the Vistula River in Germany. A large number of them, under the leadership of Elder Jakob Buller and Dietrich Gaeddert, migrated to Kansas and established the settlement and congregation we are approaching, which consists of 165 families with 858 people located on 22,500 acres. The settlers aimed to preserve their way of life and communities by building their home adjacent to each other in village clusters as was the general practice in Russia and Europe. Each village received a name, some of which were identical with the places from which they had come. These were Rosenort, Weidefeld, Hochfeld, Springfield, Gnadenthal, Gnadenfeld, Gruenfeld (Greenfield), Emmathal, and Blumenfeld. The plan of settlement is not uniform. Various groups have agreed on a land distribution of their own. Some live in villages similar to Gnadenau and have their land far away. Most, however, like to settle in clusters and have the land adjacent. In some instances, from two to eight families have established their homes on a section. The homes are located mostly on one side along the section road, which is practical for their social, church, and school activities. (See Illustrations: Hochfeld and Abraham Reimer farm.)

We have reached the elevated village of Hochfeld which permits us a panoramic view of the whole settlement and its land distribution. The owner of parcel number 1 of the land which runs from east to west and consists of one-half of the section, also owns parcel number 1 running from north to south on the other half of the section, etc. However, not all settlers have established villages. The more prosperous farmers who can purchase a whole section prefer living on their land like little estate owners. Such a farmer is Abraham Reimer.

Proceeding to the fourth village, Springfield, we notice the Americanization of the name. The villages of Gnadenthal and Gnadenfeld have typical and traditional Mennonite names, while Greenfield (Grünfeld) is wavering between this American spelling and the German form. Emmathal has derived its name from Emma Creek on which it is located. Here we meet the delegate and elder of the group, Jakob Buller. We call on him in order to obtain some statistical and general information about his settlement and congregation. In order to get our information from more than one source, we proceed with him to his ministerial colleague, Heinrich Richert, in the village of Blumenfeld, which constitutes the last one in this cluster of Alexanderwohl villages.

We notice that the inhabitants of Blumenfeld originally had distributed their land so that their houses would be adjacent to each other. The Mennonites from Russia are used to establishing semi-communal settlements. Here in Kansas they face the fact that American laws are based on private property. Consequently, problems arise when some prefer to move onto their own land. Another question arises when owners die and the land has to be distributed among the children. However, it must be stated that the inheritance laws of Kansas coincide closely with the traditional Mennonite inheritance regulations, so it has not been necessary to

have their own traditional rules confirmed through legal action.

The Coming of the Alexanderwohl Group

Joined by other Molotschna Mennonites, the Alexanderwohl group left Russia in 1874 under the leadership of Jakob Buller. Upon their arrival in New York they were confronted by many offers of places they could go in order to establish their homes and settlements. They accepted the offer of the Burlington-Missouri Railroad Co. and traveled to Lincoln, Nebraska. From here representatives investigated the land offered in Nebraska and Kansas. Ultimately, most of the group chose to move to Kansas and settle on the land of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company. The remaining settled at Henderson, Neb.

Those coming to Kansas found two large immigration houses erected by the Santa Fe for their temporary residence. At once the men went to work to erect their own homes so that they would be able to move into them as soon as possible. Ultimately, the two immigrant houses were made into one and thus became the first Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church building, located on the east side of Highway 15. (See Illustrations: Immigration Houses.)

The land occupied by the Alexanderwohl Mennonites covers parts of Marion, Harvey, and McPherson counties. This land is more level than that of the Bruderthal and Gnadenau settlements. However, it has all the good qualities of a fertile valley land and is superior to the steppes of Russia because the droughts in Kansas are less severe. The spring rains help the winter wheat mature and ripen before the heat of the summer comes. During the last years, the grain has suffered more from an overabundance of rain than from a lack of moisture. Consequently, it is obvious that the settlers in Kansas will not have to fear the threat of drought. Even the grasshoppers have not discouraged the Russian Mennonite settlers, as has been the case with other farmers who have moved on farther west to escape the marauding insects. Previous experience in Russia made the Mennonites confident that the grasshopper plagues were temporary conditions that only came periodically. According to Heinrich Richert, the crop yields in Alexanderwohl were as follows: wheat, between 12 and 15 bushels per acre; barley, between 15 and 40 bushels; oats, between 20 and 30 bushels; and corn, between 20 and 40 bushels. In 1877, the yield was somewhat lower than had been the case in 1875 and 1876.

The West Prussian Mennonites

The major center of business for the Mennonite settlements is Newton, which is the Harvey County seat and has the strategic A. T. & S. F. train station. The railroad connects Newton with the 30-mile-distant Wichita, the metropolis of Southwestern Kansas. The division agent of the Santa Fe has his office in Newton, and the locomotives and conductors change in Newton when trains come through. It is a lively town with good prospects for the future. Proceeding from Newton we turn southeast and arrive, after a three-mile trip, at Goldschar which is a Mennonite settlement of West Prussian immigrants. First we approach the farm of Hermann Sudermann, Sr., noticing also the farms in the background belonging to Wilhelm Quiring and Hermann Sudermann, Jr. They have only just recently established themselves here (1877). (See Illustration: Hermann Sudermann Farms.)

We continue from here in a southerly direction, and after a fifteen-mile trip we arrive at the newly established West Prussian Mennonite settlement in Butler County near Whitewater. It is noticeable that these immigrants had the capital necessary to build large and comfortable homes. We proceed to the home of the leader of the congregation, Elder Leonhard Sudermann, and his colleague and brother, Abraham Sudermann. The impressive dwelling we enter seems to imply "there is room also for you." (See Illustration: Abraham Sudermann Farm.) The trip and the fresh prairie air have created an appetite which is now being satisfied by a glass of milk and bread with Limburger cheese produced by their neighbor Gerhard Regier. It was indeed a practical plan which Regier realized by making use of the luscious pasture and establishing a dairy and cheese factory. Thus, the virgin prairie is put to use and the daughters of the home are not the kind of "ladies" who hesitate to join their mother in the tasks required by a dairy and cheese factory.

Here we discontinue the use of our rugged, springless wagon and mount an elegant spring buggy with an excellent team. Our gracious host has put this conveyance at our disposal, thus enabling us to make a few more calls. First we visit Dietrich Claassen, who has erected a two-story house already patterned after American architectural styles. (See Illustrations: Dietrich Claassen Farm.) We enter his home and find him willing to give us some desired information. The West Prussian settlement in Butler County consists of twenty-four families who have acquired 77,000 acres of land from the A. T. & S. F. Railroad Co. Although they come from the fertile Werder delta of the Vistula River in West Prussia, they find that the land of Butler County is just as productive. The settlers belonged to the Heubuden Mennonite Church of West Prussia. Their immigration was caused, in part, by the introduction of the Prussian Cabinet Order which made it obligatory for every citizen to do direct or indirect military service in Germany. The first group of these prosperous families arrived in America in 1876. Some went to Beatrice, Nebraska, and the others to Kansas.

Gerhard Penner, the elder of the Heubuden Mennonite Church, followed with additional families in 1877, and joined the Beatrice group. The settlers of Butler County consequently have chosen for their elder Leonhard Sudermann of Berdyansk, South Prussia, who originally came from West Prussia.

The prospects of the Prussian settlers in Butler County are good. They have chosen a favorable location and their financial resources and hired help will contribute considerably to their prosperity.

Gnadenberg (Grace Hill)

On our return to Newton we take the opportunity to visit the Gnadenberg Mennonites near Sheldon in Harvey County. They have come here numbering 33 families from a place called Michalin in Russian Poland. Twenty-seven families have already purchased land while six are still without. The total of their land holdings is over 3,500 acres. During their first summer (1875) they had a good crop. Even though the grasshoppers caused a decrease in yield during the last summer, they are hopeful and confident that the "farmers' efforts and work will be rewarded."

Settlements near Wichita

Our next trip from Newton is a train ride to Wichita which is a significant business town because it is the end of the line for the A. T. & S. F. Railroad. Consequently, the town is the storage place for goods to be shipped east or to be distributed to farmers coming in by wagon. Much wheat is annually transported from here to the east. The city is located on the Arkansas River which gives it a charm and beauty.

W. Greiffenstein, the present mayor of Wichita, is also considered founder of the city since he laid out the plan for it. The German element is strongly represented in the city: five of the councilmen are German. In addition the city has a German bank, brewery, and various other German enterprises. Wichita was formerly known for the rough character of its population when almost everybody walking through the streets carried a pistol with him. However, presently the population is changing so that Albert Hess assured us that the pistol is being replaced by more friendly instruments. Where there was formerly the sound of explosions, you can now hear the sound of pianos and organs.

In order to convince oneself of the fertility of the soil of this area, one must take an eight-mile trip westward to the German Catholic settlement of Germania which is spread over 20 to 25 miles and consists of 100 families. They have come here from Minnesota. The reasons for their transfer were the milder climate and the longer summer, as well as the greater fertility of the soil. Most of them raise wheat, all the way from 100 to 400 acres. They have already erected one church and intend to build another. They are being joined by friends from Iowa and other states.

Nine miles south of Wichita is a German settlement, El Paso, consisting of 30 to 40 families who have come here from the east. A third German settlement is located six miles north of Wichita and consists of German Protestants. The first ten to twelve families came from Ohio, Indiana, and other eastern states.

Halstead

We take the train from Wichita and return to Newton in order to proceed from here to the next station westward. Halstead is located ten miles from Newton. We have heard about this place many times and are surprised to find it is not very large. However, we realize that four or five years ago it had only three houses. Now it has spread and grown. Formerly, few trains stopped here. Today there are two branch railroads, a depot with a telegraph office, and every train stops here. Of great significance is the flour mill of B. Warkentin and Company which draws many people to the town. In addition to this there are two successful business places and many smaller and larger stores and enterprises operated by English-speaking owners. Halstead has become a major center for the sale of wheat, drawing more and more farmers to the town. Prospective settlers, immigrants, and business people crowd the town which has two large hotels, one of which is German.

In closing our visit to Halstead, we proceed to the Western Publication Company. David Goerz is owner and manager of this busy enterprise. The print shop is so successful that even the Santa Fe Railroad publishes its brochures here, including this one. The large press prints 8,000 to 12,000 pages daily, using newsprint as well as the best quality of paper. In connection with the print shop there is a book bindery and a bookstore. In addition to various other jobs the Western Publication Company also publishes the semi-monthly Mennonite paper *Zur Heimath* and another small paper. Because of its central location Halstead is the logical place for this enterprise as well as for the establishment of a wool factory, a paper mill, and other industries. It has sufficient water in the Arkansas River.

The Mennonite settlers around Halstead have come primarily from Sommerfield, Illinois, and from Iowa. They, as well as some Mennonites from Russia, constitute the pioneers among the German Mennonites who began the purchase of land from the A. T. & S. F. Railroad. It was Christian Krehbiel and his group from Sommerfield, Illinois, who in the spring of 1874 purchased 18,000 acres and reserved an additional 30,000 acres. The settlers published a brochure about this Mennonite settlement. Ever since this purchase, the acquisition of land by Germans from the A.T. &

S. F. Railroad has continued uninterrupted to the present in the German Department of the Land Office in Topeka.

The choice of the land near Halstead for the establishment of a German settlement, as well as the other places mentioned, has proved to be a fortunate one. The land slopes sufficiently so that excess water will not kill the wheat. The Illinois farmers find that the winter wheat can more easily be raised in Kansas than in Illinois. The frost does not hurt the winter wheat as they experienced it in their home state.

Careful farmers such as John W. Ruth and Daniel Haury (three miles north of Halstead), who pay attention to the proper seeding season and the other chores of the farmer, find that the yields are as good as they were in southern Illinois. The same is said by the settlers from Iowa and Russia. The average yield in 1876 and 1877 was ten to twenty bushels of wheat per acre. In some cases, thirty bushels were harvested.

Some New York settlers, among whom was William Barkemeyer, established themselves on the land which originally had been reserved by the Halstead Mennonites. They were joined by other families from the state of New York and have organized the Methodist Church of Halstead.

The Mennonite settlement around Halstead stretches three miles to the south and twenty miles to the north where the border of the land grant of the A. T. & S. F. Railroad is reached. In our excursion ten miles to the northwest of Halstead, we reach the home of the elder of the Halstead Mennonite Church, Valentin Krehbiel. (See Illustration: Valentin Krehbiel Farm.) His house, near Turkey Creek and the Little Arkansas River, is elevated and makes a very good impression. From here we proceed to the north and after an eight mile trip, we arrive at the little Mennonite town of Christian, which derived its name from the first names of the founders—Christian Krehbiel, Christian Hirschler, and Christian Voran. Next we proceed to the Swiss settlement of Hoffnungsfeld.

Hoffnungsfeld (Hopefield), Moundridge

The settlement of the Swiss Volhynian Mennonites who have come from Russian Poland begins four miles from Christian. After their arrival in New York, one group went to South Dakota, while some sixty families under the leadership of Elder Jakob Stucky went to McPherson County, Kansas, by way of the Santa Fe Railroad. We are calling on Jakob Stucky to get some information about this settlement of 8,400 acres.

In Volhynia the Swiss Mennonites were used to sandy soil, while here in McPherson County they find the land producing larger yields than it had in Russia. However, they miss the Jewish merchants who came to buy their butter, eggs, and chickens for higher prices than they are getting here. Otherwise they are well pleased since they are modest and frugal in their way of life. Prosperity will soon reward them for all the effort expended in transferring from Russia to America. They have attained the following yields during their three years in Kansas: wheat, from 10 to 25 bushels per acre; barley 25 to 45 bushels; oats, 30 to 50 bushels. (From the Hoffnungsfeld settlement and congregation later emerged the Eden, West Zion, and McPherson congregations.)

East and northeast of the Swiss Hoffnungsfeld settlement is the Canton Mennonite settlement consisting of more than a hundred families who were immigrants from Polish Russia. They came without any financial means and were aided by Mennonite aid committees. Their morale was very low when they arrived. During the first winter they had to be helped by the Santa Fe Railroad which granted them living quarters free of charge. The Mennonite aid societies furnished food and clothing. In the spring when they were to move onto the land, the Santa Fe Railroad made some of the land reserved by the Halstead Mennonites available to them. The generous conditions of this agreement enabled each family to acquire forty or eighty acres of land. In addition, the railroad made possible the free transport of lumber, machinery, and cattle. Financial aid amounting to $20,000 was made available by the various Mennonite aid societies so that these settlers were able to purchase seed and food. Today it is a pleasure to make a trip through this community which is a monument to what can be achieved through mutual help. The settlement already has a school with 150 children. Some of the Polish Mennonites find work in the nearby Swedish settlement which produces broom corn that must be cut by hand. The raising of broom corn is also spreading into the neighboring settlements.

Hoffnungsau in Reno County

From here we proceed once again to the town of Christian. Traveling in a southeastern direction towards Turkey Creek, we reach the farms of Jakob and Heinrich Regier. (See Illustration: Heinrich and Jakob Regier Farms.) Seventeen stacks of wheat greet us as we arrive. The last harvest yielded 25 bushels per acre. Across the road they have fenced in a pasture and dug a watering hole for the cattle.

Going west from here we cross Turkey Creek and reach a large number of buildings which belong to the Hoffnungsau Mennonite settlement and church. Many of the settlers immigrated from the Franzthal village of the Molotschna settlement in Russia. Hence the name Franzthal. The illustration shows that an effort was made to establish a village as they had known it back in Russia, with a row of houses on both sides of the village street and with flower and vegetable gardens between the houses and the street. Back of the buildings are the fields and the grain stacks waiting

for the threshing machines. (See Illustration: Franzthal Village.)

Threshing Stones and Stoves

Speaking about threshing gives us an occasion to explain the cylinder-shaped stones which we see in most of the yards of the Mennonite settlements, but not found anywhere else. They are threshing stones that were used by the Mennonites in Russia by hitching horses to the stone and rolling it over the grain until the wheat was worked loose from the chaff. The settlers had these stones made after their arrival in Kansas. However, soon they found out that the American threshing machines operated by horses or steam engines were more advantageous. Consequently, the Russian threshing stones are lying in the yards unused and have become an agricultural antiquity.

What has been said about the threshing machines can also be said about the plows, hay racks, cultivators, drills, and most of the other machines, tools, and equipment. In many a corner of the yard we can see the idle plows and other equipment brought along from Russia. One should first examine the American machines before importing them from Europe. By doing so, you will soon find that America is fifty years ahead of Russia and several decades ahead of the rest of Europe.

However, it must be said that the Mennonites are practical, and have soon given up whatever prejudices they had. They are taking advantage of all improvements available. This progressive spirit and their expertise in agriculture make the Mennonites much desired settlers. The Santa Fe Railroad now has settled most of the Mennonites that have come on its land.

Many things have already been mentioned which the European settler finds to his advantage upon arrival in this country. On the other hand, the American must be ready to accept those advantages offered him by the European way of life. Let us refer to just one matter, namely the advantage of using brick or stone ovens instead of cast iron stoves. The latter must be heated with wood or coal. The coal can be obtained here for about four to six dollars per ton, the purchase of which usually requires a cash outlay. In this respect the American farmer can learn from the Russian Mennonite farmer.

The hearth is made of brick or stone on which the cooking is done. The big oven, also made of brick, is built into the partition wall between two rooms and, consequently, heats two, three, or even four rooms. This oven is stoked in the kitchen where the cooking hearth is located. The fuel consists of prairie hay or straw. Many American farmers consider it a joke when they hear that the Mennonite farmers are keeping warm and cooking their meals by the use of straw or prairie hay. Many make a trip for miles to satisfy their curiosity. The prejudice of the American can only be shattered when he is convinced of the practical advantages through a direct confrontation. It does not take him very long to figure out that straw and hay are cheaper than the imported coal and that stone and brick are not as expensive as the purchase of an iron stove. Consequently, the Mennonite oven has conquered many an American home. (See Illustrations.)

After this detour, we continue our journey through the Hoffnungsau settlement. From the village of Franzthal we proceed five miles to the west and drive into the well-kept yard of Elder Dietrich Gaeddert. He lives in a large stone house that is identical to the architectural style of the homes in the Mennonite villages back in Russia. Although he has a large family, we find plenty of room and enjoy the hospitality. (See Illustration: Dietrich Gaeddert Farm.)

Gaeddert's Hoffnungsau group originally migrated from Russia as part of the Alexanderwohl group. Upon their arrival in Kansas, a group under Jakob Buller established the Alexanderwohl settlement in Marion County, while the Hoffnungsau group under Dietrich Gaeddert settled in Reno County. The total settlement, including a smaller group led by Jakob Klassen, consists of nearly 200 families with over 25,000 acres of land. (*Editor's Note*: The Hoffnungsau and Franzthal settlers as well as the Alexanderwohl group, had come to Russia from Brankenhoffswalde-Franzthal, Brandenburg, Germany.)

Dietrich Gaeddert gives us the following orientation. The road which takes us from the farms of Jakob and Heinrich Regier (east of Turkey Creek) westward through Franzthal to Dietrich Gaeddert's farm is called "German Street" (*Deutsche Strasse,* later "Dutch Avenue"). It runs for twelve miles through the entire settlement and goes as far as the bridge across the Little Arkansas River. Along this road some forty Mennonite families live on land purchased from the Santa Fe Railroad or from homesteaders. Similarly, two roads run through the Hoffnungsau settlement from the south to the north, beginning at the Little Arkansas and stretching ten miles north. This eastern road is known as Schmidt's Line, named after C. B. Schmidt, the general agent of the Land Office of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. The Mennonites owe him much and consequently express their gratitude in this way. Schmidt's Line leads past Franzthal and is the main road between the towns of Burrton and McPherson. The former is a station of the A. T. & S.F. Railroad nine miles west of Halstead, and the latter is the county seat of McPherson County.

The second road running from the south to the north through the Hoffnungsau settlement is known as Johnson Street and is located three miles west of Schmidt's Line. It is named after another land agent for the A. T. & S. F. Railroad, A. S. Johnson.

Dietrich Gaeddert relates that the ground must be plowed somewhat deeper than they were used to in

South Russia, and is more sandy than the soil in Russia. The highest yield produced by Gaeddert was 27 bushels per acre, while others harvested up to 35. The average yield in 1877 was between 15 and 25 bushels with a maximum of 40 bushels of wheat per acre. The yield of oats averaged between 30 and 45 with a maximum of 75 bushels per acre. Barley was 20 to 40 bushels and rye, 15 to 25 bushels. Welsh corn produced 40 to 75 bushels per acre.

The largest city near the Hoffnungsau settlement is Hutchinson, located on the Santa Fe Line in Reno County. Next to Newton, Hutchinson is the largest city west of Emporia.

South of Hutchinson is an Amish Mennonite settlement in the making. These settlers are coming in from the state of Indiana. It is expected that, because of over population, Amish from Ohio and Pennsylvania will come westward to join them.

From Hutchinson, the Santa Fe moves eighteen miles westward towards Sterling, which is located on the Arkansas River. Another twenty-three miles westward is Ellinwood in Barton County near the Big Arkansas River. This large German settlement is the center of the Germania colony where 300 German families have settled. Between this settlement and Great Bend some German Baptists and Methodists have established themselves.

Gnadenthal

Following the Walnut Valley for eighteen to twenty-five miles, we encounter the most beautiful scenery along the Walnut River with the luscious buffalo grass of the endless prairie and the fields awaiting the farmer's plough. Here we run into the village of Elder A. Hahnhart who moved from Gnadenau, Marion County to Rush County where he settled with 30 families on the Walnut River. Although the homes consist of temporary dugouts, they contain satisfied inhabitants since no one reaped less than twenty bushels of wheat per acre in 1877. Some ten miles northeast of Gnadenthal, Lutherans from the Volga River have settled, and twenty miles northwest of Great Bend we visit a group of Moravians from Austria who had followed the invitation of C. B. Schmidt to settle in Kansas. They named their settlement Triebenz after the place from which they had come.

Pawnee Rock

Returning to Great Bend we ride nine miles on the Santa Fe train until we reach Pawnee Rock. Thirty-seven Mennonite families have established a settlement two to ten miles from the town. They came from Russian Poland three years ago. Their wheat harvest ranged between 28 and 35 bushels. In addition to the buffalo grass, plenty of bluestem grass can be found. Consequently, few farmers make hay since the cattle can remain out in pasture through most of the winter. Hay is made only for the few cold winter days.

After a visit to Nettleton, Kinsley, and Offerle to see German settlers from Saxony, Alsace, and other places, we arrive in Dodge City and find a strong representation of German settlers in this area.

Agriculture

A considerable amount of winter wheat has been sown since the coming of the Mennonites. In 1877, 857,125 acres were planted and the following year, the figure was 1,243,315 acres. Some apple trees are being planted as well as peach, cherry, and pear trees.

When a European farmer hears about a wheat field consisting of 4,000 acres, he imagines that an army of field workers, horses, and oxen are necessary to work it. Kansas farmers have wheat fields of 1,000 to 4,000 acres, and they hire others to plant and reap their crops.

A general observation in regard to the price of the land needs to be made. The price of the land of the German settlements is rising rapidly because of the increase in population. Especially the Mennonites contribute to the increase in farm land prices because they like to settle next to their relatives and friends. This is understandable, but unfortunately, the landowners take advantage of this situation and raise their prices. The high land prices in "completed settlements" mislead some in their evaluation of land prices. The A. T. & S. F. Railroad still has 2,500,000 acres of the best land. Groups of ten to thirty families can still find land at reasonable prices some fifty to one hundred miles away from the large German settlements in Marion, Harvey, Butler, McPherson, and Reno counties.

(Translated by Cornelius Krahn)

Menno Simons Lectures Published

The January issue of *Mennonite Life* (1970) was devoted to the topic "Reformation and Revolution" presented by Alvin Beachy, James Juhnke, William Keeney, and Cornelius Krahn. Write for copies to *Mennonite Life*.

As Others Saw Them

By Noble L. Prentis and others

Arrival in Topeka

"The rallying-point of the Russsian immigrants in 1874 and 1875 was Topeka, and that town abounded with sheepskin coats, ample breeches, bulbous petticoats, iron teakettles, and other objects supposed to be distinctively Russian, for many months." (p. 19).

"All the Mennonite communities in this country are becoming interested in the settlement of their people in Kansas, and the movement is rapidly gaining in magnitude. Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Canada have already furnished large numbers of land purchasers and settlers. The party which has arrived in Topeka in the last thirty days, and who have now left for their future homes, numbers about two hundred and fifty families, the majority of whom have belonged to the celebrated Molotschna colony, in the governmental district of Taurida, of which the Crimea is a part. That colony comprises sixty-five villages, and is considered the wealthiest of the German settlements of South Russia." (p. 13f.).

Reasons for Coming

"Everything went well until the (Russian) Government, in 1871, announced its intention of enforcing a universal conscription. Against this the Mennonites protested. Ten years was given them to yield or to leave. Thousands left. In 1881, the Government revoked the "privilegium," compelled the remaining Mennonites to take lands in severalty, and began to introduce the Russian language into the Mennonite schools. Russia's loss is our gain." (p. 23).

"One of the most powerful inducements to bring the Mennonites to Kansas has been the passage of an act during last winter's session of the Legislature, amending the militia law of 1868 so that all persons who, on or before the 1st day of May, in each year, file with the clerk of their county an affidavit that they are members of a religious organization whose articles of faith prohibit the bearing of arms, shall be exempt from militia duty." (p. 14).

Immigrant Houses and Temporary Homes

"Next summer will show wonderful changes in the region between the Cottonwood and Little Arkansas rivers, till now almost devoid of habitations. Even now the busy hum has begun. Long lines of wagons with lumber, household goods and farm implements, are passing out from the railroad stations. The carpenters are busy putting up the first temporary shelter. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company is erecting five immense emigrant houses at covenient places for the reception of newcomers." (p. 14).

"The houses of Gnadenau present every variety of architecture, but each house is determined on one thing, to keep on the north side of the one street and face to the south. Some of the houses are shaped like a 'wedge' tent, the inclining sides consisting of a frame of wood, thatched with long prairie grass, the ends being sometimes of sod, at others of boards, and others of sun-dried brick. Other houses resemble a wall tent, the sides being of sod laid up as regularly as a mason lays brick, and the roof of grass. Some of these sod houses were in course of construction. Finally came substantial frame houses." (p. 17).

"The village of Gnadenau was the most pretentious of their villages. It was a long row of houses, mostly built of sod and thatched with long prairie grass. A few of the wealthier citizens had built frame houses." (p. 19)

"Mr. Wiebe has built a house more nearly on the Russian model. He took us over the structure, a maze of small rooms and passages, the stable being under the same roof with the people, and the granaries over all, the great wheat-stacks being located at the back door." (p. 17).

"Still there was an appearance of resolution and patience about them, taken with the fact that all, men, women and children, were at work, that augured well for the future. It was easy, if possessed of the slightest amount of imagination, to see these rude habitations transformed in time to the substantial brick houses surrounded by orchards, such as the people had owned when they lived on the banks of the Molotschna in far Russia." (p. 20).

Furniture and Dishes

"The interior of the house (of Abraham Reimer) consisted of two rooms, as yet unplastered, looking like the apartments of any thrifty settler who has not yet

had time to plaster his walls. The only 'foreign contrivance' to attract a stranger's notice was the bedstead and bedding, the latter piled up in a high stack when not in use, and covered over with a calico 'spread.' The top of the high, narrow pile resembled in shape a coffin, and conveyed the unpleasant impression to the visitor that he had arrived just in time for a funeral. In the 'best room' the meeting was in progress. The room was quite full, and the visages of all present were as immovable as the green-and-gold face of a Russian clock that ticked on the wall. These clocks are seen everywhere. They sport a long pendulum with a disk as big as a buckwheat cake, and only, heavy handing weights of brass. . . . In every kitchen there is a Russian teakettle—a large affair of copper, lined with tin; and at 'Bishop' Buller's we saw some wooden bowls, curiously painted and gilded. They are very common in Russia, and the smaller sizes sell for three cents each. The Mennonite in Russia beats the Yankee in the woodenware line." (p. 16f.).

"Heinrich Richert took us into a room, to show us some Tatar lambskin coats, which was a perfect copy of a room in Russia; with its sanded floor, its wooden settees painted red and green, its huge carved chest studded with great brass-headed bolts, and its brass lock-plate, all scoured to perfect brightness. In a little cupboard was a shining store of brass and silver tableware. It was like a visit to Molotschna." (p. 24).

To Shave or not to Shave

"We went next to the house of Peter Schmidt. Had I been an artist I should have sketched Peter Schmidt, of Emmathal, as the typical prosperous Mennonite. He was a big man, on the shady side of forty. His face, round as the moon, was sunburned to a walnut brown. He was very wide fore and aft; he wore a vest that buttoned to his throat, a sort of brown blouse, and a pair of very roomy and very short breeches, while his bare feet were thrust into a sort of sandals very popular with the Mennonites." (p. 21).

"We found Mr. Wiebe a tall, powerfully-built man, with a more martial appearance than his brethren. This may arise from the circumstance that the Mennonite church is divided on the question of shaving, and Mr. Wiebe adheres to the bearded persuasion." (p. 17).

Ovens and Fuel

"An immense pile of straw was intended, Mr. Wiebe said, for fuel this winter. The Mennonites are economists in the way of fuel, and at the houses are large piles of chopped straw mixed with barnyard manure stacked up for 'firewood.' This kind of fuel destroys one's ideas of the 'cheerful fireside' and 'blazing hearth.' There is not much 'yule-log' poetry about it. Straw sounds and smells better. In order to use it, however, the Mennonites discard stoves, and use a Russian oven built in the wall of the house, which, once thoroughly heated with light straw, will retain its warmth longer than young love itself." (p. 18).

"He showed with pride his mulberry hedges. The plants are set out in three rows, which are cut down alternately. Peter had already cut down one row, and had a great pile of brush for firewood. The Mennonites relied at first on straw, and a mixture of straw and barnyard manure, which was dried and used for fuel, but now the wood is increasing on their lands. . . . He exhibited his Russian oven, built in the partition walls so as to warm two or three rooms, and to which is attached also a sort of brick range for cooking purposes. This device cannot be explained without a diagram. It is perfectly efficient, and the smoke at last goes into a wide chimney which is used as the family smoke-house." (p. 22).

Gardens, Orchards and Watermelons

"That the Mennonite, the female Mennonite, is not destitute of an eye for the beautiful, was shown by a well-kept flower garden at the end of the house. It is true that the flowers were arranged in straight rows and were such floral old-times as pinks, marigolds and the like, but, after all, Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of these." (p. 16).

"Another source of pride was the apricots. The seed was brought from Russia, and the trees bore plentifully last year, and the Mennonites, taking them to Newton as a lunch, were agreeably surprised by an offer of $3 a bushel for them. Peter Schmidt, showed all his arboral treasures—apples, cherries, peaches, pears, all in bearing, where seven years ago the wind in passing found only the waving prairie grass." (p. 22).

"The Mennonites have a decided preference for watermelons over every other 'fruit.' They call the melon 'arboosen,' though we would not be willing to certify that this is the correct spelling. The last detachment happened to arrive at Atchison on Saturday —market-day, and among the first objects they saw were the big Kansas watermelons. They 'went for them then and thar,' and felt that they had reached the 'happy land of Canaan.' "

"Of course we visited the watermelon fields, which in the aggregate seemed about a quarter-section, and Mr. Wiebe insisted on donating a hundred pounds or so of the fruit—or is it vegetable?—fearing we might get hungry on the road. And so we slashed open a watermelon, and drank to the health of Gnadenau." (p. 18).

Mulberries and Silk Dresses

"The most surprising thing about these places is the growth of the trees. I left bare prairie; I returned to find a score of miniature forests in sight from any point of view. The wheat and corn fields were un-

fenced, of course, but several acres around every house were set in hedges, orchards, lanes and alleys of trees—trees in lines, trees in groups, and trees all alone. In many cases the houses were hardly visible from the road, and in a few years will be entirely hidden in the cool shade. . . . A very common shrub was imported from Russia and called the wild olive, the flowers being fragrant; but the all-prevailing growth was the mulberry, another Russian idea, which is used as a hedge, a fruit tree, for fuel and as food for the silk-worm.

"We wished to see a few specimen Mennonites and their homes, and called first on Jacob Schmidt, who showed us the silk-worms feeding in his best room. On tables and platforms a layer of mulberry twigs had been laid, and these were covered with thousands of worms, resembling the maple-worm. As fast as the leaves are eaten fresh twigs are added. As the worms grow, more room is provided for them, and they finally eat mulberry brush by the wagonload. Mr. Schmidt said the floor of his garret would soon be covered. It seemed strange that the gorgeous robes of beauty should begin with this blind, crawling green worm, gnawing ravenously at a leaf." (p. 21).

"At the humble dwelling of Johann Krause we witnessed the process of reeling raw silk. The work was done by Mrs. Krause, on a rude twister and reel of home construction. The cocoons were placed in a trough of boiling water, and the woman, with great dexterity, caught up the threads of light cocoons, twisting them into two threads and running these on the reel. The work required infinite patience, of which few Americans are possessed. The Mennonites carried on the silk-raising business in Russia with great success, and bid fair to make it a great interest here." (p. 24).

Wagons and Villages

"In 1875 the Mennonites were still a strange people. They retained the little green flaring wagons they had brought from Russia, and were attempting to live here under the same rule they followed in Russia." (p. 19).

"An object of interest to all except the Mennonites, was a Russian farm-wagon, noticeable for its short coupling, narrow 'track,' flaring bed painted green, and a profusion of blacksmith's work all over." (p. 16).

"The villages of Gnadenau and Hoffnungsthal own fourteen sections of land, yet all the farmers live in the two towns (villages), each of a single street. Near are the gardens, and all around are the wide fields. Near each house were immense stacks of grain raised on ground rented from men who were driven out last year by the grasshoppers." (p. 18).

"A great change had taken place in the country generally since my last visit. . . . The Mennonites had abandoned the village system, and now lived 'each man to himself.' They tried the villages three years, but some confusion arose in regard to paying taxes, and besides, it is in the air, this desire for absolute personal and family independence; and so they went on their lands, keeping, however, as close together as the lay of the country would admit. Sometimes there are four houses to the quarter-section; sometimes four to the section. The grand divisions of New Alexanderwohl, Hoffnungsthal and Gnadenau still exist, but each group of farms has a name of its own, revealing a poetical tendency somewhere, as Green Field, Flower Field, Field of Grace, Emma Vale, Vale of Hope, and so on. These are the German names freely translated. The old sod-houses (we believe the Mennonites never resorted to the dug-out) had given way to frame houses, sometimes painted white, with wooden window-shutters. The houses had no porches or other architectural adornments, and were uniform in appearance. I learned afterward, that the houses were built by contract, one builder at Halstead erecting sixty-five houses in one neighborhood." (p. 20f.).

ROLLKUCHEN, *Watermelon and Subversiveness*

"After the council had broken up, dinner followed, being neat and clean. The leading features were fried cakes, the English name of which appeared to be 'roll-cake' (*Rollkuchen*); then there was black rye bread—very good—and excellent butter. We should not omit to add that there was also watermelon. Everything indicated that the Mennonite is 'fixed'; he is a good liver, and hospitable in any event." (p. 17).

"It was a beautiful morning when we set out on a 'prairie yacht,' behind a pair of quick-stepping horses, to visit the Mennonite Reserve. Our road lay along the north bank of the Pembina River, skirting the edge of the timber, and occasionally cutting across a point of woods which ran out into the open prairie. We passed many thrifty-looking farms, where the men still were working at the remnant of the harvest. At Smuggler's Point there was a log tavern, and we stopped for a little dinner. The landlord was a frontiersman who had tried life in many territories. We asked him whether the Mennonites were good settlers, and how he liked them.

" 'Well,' he said, 'they're quiet enough; and some of 'em lives pretty white; but they ain't no good to the country. They live on black bread and melons, and raise their own tobacker; and when a crowd of 'em comes in here to drink, each man steps up and drinks, and *pays for his own liquor.*'

"Such conduct as this, of course, is subversive of the very first principle of American society, which recognizes 'treating' as the true medium of friendly intercourse. . . .

"A few miles farther on we found the farm village of Blumenort. . . . We sat on the steps of the mill, talking with some of the villagers, and eating a watermelon, which was passed around from man to man for each to cut off a slice with his pocket-knife."

(From Van Dyke, "The Red River of the North," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* No. CCCLX, Vol. LX, May, 1880, pp. 810-811.)

The Cellar Goes to the Prairie

"The fall of 1878 meant much hard work for my sister Katie, who lived with us, and me. We were to move to Kansas in March 1879. There was no fruit in the land to which we were going. We had an abundance of it in Summerfield (Illinois) and the art of canning had just become known to us. We must then manage to put up as much as possible to take with us. Any of my children who had a part in this will not have forgotten it. Every evening after school the children had to pick apples or other fruits. During the week, a wagonful would accumulate that had to be put up in some form on Saturday. Some apples went into vinegar, some were dried, others canned in tin—glass containers were then not known—still others were made into apple butter. We ended up with sixteen barrels of dried apples, three sugar-barrels of dried apples, three hundred quarts of canned apples, and one hundred gallons of apple butter. The grape crop that fall was good, and we put up seven barrels of wine and also a lot of sweet pickles. All this planning and strenuous work I prefer to write no more about."

(By Mrs. Christian Krehbiel from *Prairie Pioneer* by Christian Krehbiel. p. 85.)

All selections from Noble L. Prentis in *From the Steppes to the Prairies (Mennonite* Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, 1949), pp. 13-24, unless otherwise indicated.

From Danzig to Elbing

By Joyce Gaeddert

Immigration to America

Today we cannot imagine the momentous decision that faced our forefathers when they faced the question of leaving their homes and going to a foreign country. Leaving the country meant leaving their fertile farms and lovely homes in Danzig and West Prussia and venturing out into a land of which they knew very little and of which they had heard such conflicting reports. But most important, for many of them it meant leaving many loved ones behind.

But yet, twenty-one families sold their properties for good prices and prepared to leave in the summer of 1876. A contract was made with the North German Lloyd Steamship Co. to travel to America in the ship, *Rhein,* on which the entire second-class cabin section was reserved.

Among the 106 persons immigrating in 1876 were my great-great-grandfather and grandmother, Reverend and Mrs. Peter Dyck; and my great-grandfather and grandmother, Reverend and Mrs. Jacob Regier, who had just been married a few weeks before.

The following is a description of the voyage to America written by Peter Dyck.

We left our home on June 15, 1876, at 7 a.m., on a very rainy day and as a result the farewell from the accompanying friends and relatives was somewhat uncomfortable. We realized that we might never see or meet one another again. And so parents and children; brothers and sisters; friends and acquaintances parted, many with hope in their hearts that they too would be able to immigrate, but many realized that this was a final farewell.

We, who in the name of God, and in the hope of regaining our religious freedom had sold our earthly belongings and were now leaving the country which had drafted so many of our youth into the military service, were given no choice. We had to leave our fatherland and search for a country where we could retain our religious beliefs; our freedom from military service; and be able to pursue our life's work as quiet citizens. In hope of all this, America was our choice, and now we were departing and venturing out onto the water and to a new land, with hope that God would go with us in this, our new undertaking.

Since the first full day on the sea was Sunday, the captain was asked by these immigrants if they could hold church services in the ship's dining room. Peter

Dyck describes his feelings as he led this service.

With very mixed feelings I had stood before the group. What a task had been placed into my hands—to lead them, and I so weak!

Twilight came and the young people assembled and gave thanks by means of song for this great experience. Our service drew the whole company into closer harmony.

Arrival in America

On July 1, after eleven days on the ocean, the *Rhein* landed in New York. About half of the group took a train directly for Halstead where they had friends and relatives. The others went to Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, where some rented homes through Cornelius Jansen, who had lived there since 1874.

The party arrived in Mt. Pleasant, on July 3, in a pouring rainstorm. The next morning the West Prussian Mennonites had their first opportunity to mingle with American people and to observe their first Fourth of July.

Originally all of the immigrants had planned to settle in one place. The Halstead party and those from Mt. Pleasant met and inspected the land together. Only eastern Kansas and Nebraska were considered. It was felt that farther north was too cold, farther south was too hot, and farther west was too dry.

It took a long time before a decision was reached, and Peter Dyck became tired of waiting and bought a farm six miles south of Peabody, Kansas. Finally, instead of settling in one group, the West Prussian Mennonites settled in different places, the largest group locating themselves near Beatrice, Nebraska. Some of the families bought farms near Newton (Goldschar), and six families settled near Whitewater, Kansas.

The Pioneering Years

Peter Dyck and his family were the only West Prussian Mennonites who settled at the place which later became known as Elbing. Peter Dcyk's family consisted of his wife, two sons, two daughters and two sons-in-law. Peter Dyck bought half a section for three thousand dollars. His two daughters and sons-in-law—Mr. and Mrs. Bernhard Regier, and Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Regier—settled near by.

Building up these farms, most of which had no buildings at all, was a tremendous job. It was made even more difficult by the fact that the nearest railroad stations were Newton and Peabody. Later the railroad reached El Dorado and much trading was done there. All hauling of course, was done by horse and wagon. There were no decent roads and no bridges except near towns.

In 1886, the Rock Island Railroad Company mapped out a train route from Topeka to the Gulf. The train route passed very close to the little West Prussian settlement in northern Butler County. It was decided that a town close to the settlement would make things much more convenient for these settlers. So Jacob Regier put up twenty acres of his land for the development of a town, Each of the Regier brothers (Abraham, Jacob, and Bernhard) furnished money to build one building in the town. The brothers then hired Americans to run their stores. When asked to name the newly organized town, Jacob Regier suggested the names of two West Prussian towns: Marienburg and Elbing. The railroad officials said that Marienburg was too long a name, so the name Elbing was decided upon. Elbing officially became a town on May 18, 1887.

But Elbing's largest boom was yet to come. After World War I, oil was struck about five miles east of the town, and Elbing became an important railroad center for this boom. It was quite a large boom and a little village was formed in the midst of the oil strike which was called Oil Valley. People from all over wanted to lease land near Elbing and Oil Valley. Land prices sky-rocketed.

Zion Mennonite Church Organized

In 1887, the Emmaus Mennonite Church about three miles north of Brainard was organized by the West Prussian Mennonites of Butler County. This group was served by Peter Dyck.

In 1883, four more Prussian Mennonites settled in the Elbing community. Now this group erected their own church building in the country about two miles north of what is now the town of Elbing. The church was dedicated in June, 1883.

This Zion Mennonite Church had fourteen members. These were: Reverend and Mrs. Peter Dyck; their daughters and sons-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Abe Regier, Sr., Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Regier, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernhard Regier; the Dyck's nephew and niece, Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Regier; the Dyck's grandson and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Abe Regier, Jr.; and Mr. and Mrs. Herman Janzen. The church joined the Western District Conference in 1883 and the General Conference in 1887.

Elbing depot near Whitewater, Kansas, around 1910.

My Visit in Danzig

By Arnold Regier

For some time it had been my desire to visit the homeland of my grandparents in the former West Prussia. The Vistula Delata area is now Polish so I had to apply for a Polish tourist visa. Menno Travel Service was able to procure the visa and make the necessary travel arrangements for August 1969.

While making the necessary arrangements, some of my friends warned me of travel restrictions, additional hotel costs, and other inconveniences which the Polish authorities would impose on me once I arrived in Danzig, now called Gdansk. I received more discouragements than encouragements to make the trip.

I am glad now that I did not listen to these friends. As I traveled from Berlin to Danzig by train I prepared myself for all kinds of frustrations and hindrances. I was almost afraid to meet the first border authorities. In contrast to my fears, I found the officials and police in Poland extremely helpful and courteous. Most of them could understand some English or German so that I could always go to them for information.

On my journey to Danzig I read the account of my great-grandfather, Peter Dyck, describing his trip from Tiegenhagen, West Prussia to Newton,[1] Kansas, when they left the Vistula Delta to establish new homes on the open prairies in Kansas. As I read some of his descriptions of his own feelings, tears came to my eyes. There were times when I was deeply moved by the struggles which they had in making these adjustments.

I spent my first day in Danzig walking through the old section of the city which was destroyed during World War II and now has been restored. The Polish people did not only restore the historic buildings but used the old stones to rebuild the churches and the more important historical structures. One could see that a great deal of hard labor went into the planning and the restoration process. Some of the less important buildings were removed and replaced by beautiful flower gardens, water fountains, and walks along the way. I also walked in areas that had not been fully restored. I saw children playing in this rubble. However, they were dressed well and did not seem undernourished. They played vigorously with each other and related to their elders in a wholesome manner.

My impression of the city of Danzig was that it will be a very beautiful city when it has been completely restored. Though it serves as a seaport for Poland it is not an industrial city in our Western sense. It appeals more to the finer aesthetic values in life than to the harsh business values of the commerical world.

When I arrived in Danzig I did not know anyone in the city. The hotel manager, however, took a great deal of interest in my effort to find the homes of my forefathers. She contacted a librarian, Dr. Marion Pelegar in the historical library. On the second day he offered to take me by car to the old town of Tiegenhagen, the home of Grandfather Regier. There a

(Continued on page 81)

Elblag (Elbing), Sad Powiatowy (the old part of the city).

Elblag (Elbing), Aleja Tysiaclecia (the new part of the city).

Kansas Mennonite Settlements, 1877

Part II—Illustrations

The German Settlement in Southwest Kansas on the Land of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad Company is the translated title of the 48-page booklet by C. B. Schmidt, which is presented in abbreviated form in the article "Kansas Mennonite Settlements" in the beginning of this issue. Many of the following illustrations are taken from the above booklet by C. B. Schmidt. The artist who accompanied C. B. Schmidt is unknown. (See Photo Credits.)

Die Deutschen Ansiedlungen

in

Süd West Kansas

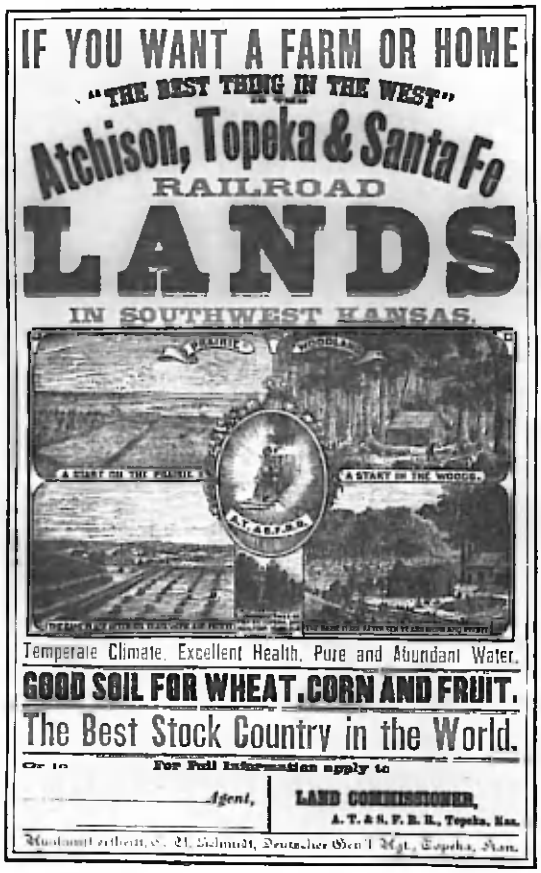
auf den Ländereien der

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Eisenbahngesellschaft.

Prüfet Alles und das Gute behaltet!

Herausgegeben in

Topeka, Kansas, im Mai 1878.



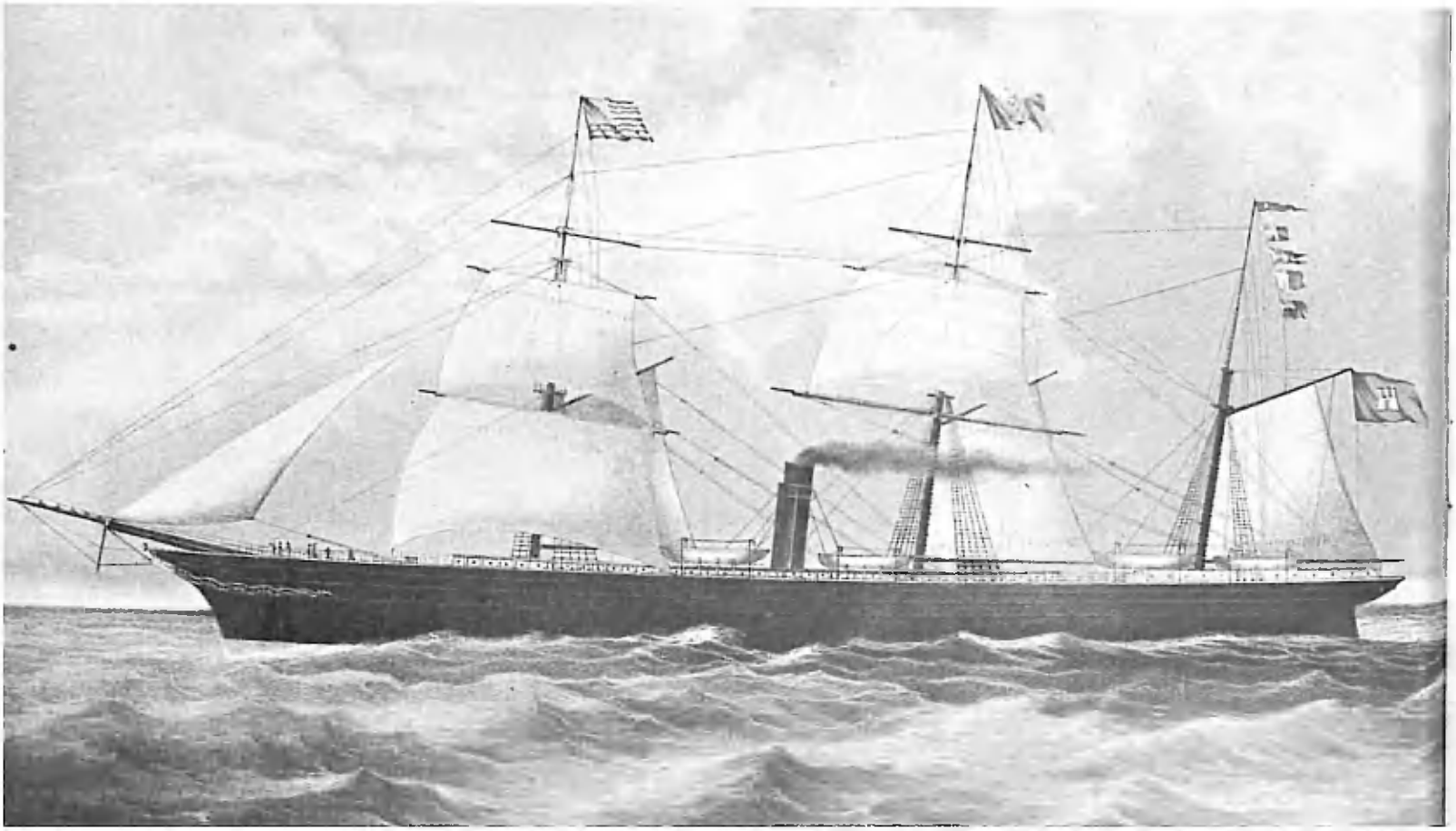
A typical railroad advertisement inducing land-seekers to acquire the alternate sections of land owned and offered by the railroad.

Reproduction of an early Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe train which brought the settlers to Kansas.

Paul Tschetter (1842-1919) was a delegate to St. Petersburg petitioning continued exemption from military service. He and his uncle, Lorenz Tschetter, were the Hutterite representatives of a delegation of twelve in search for land in the prairie states in 1873.

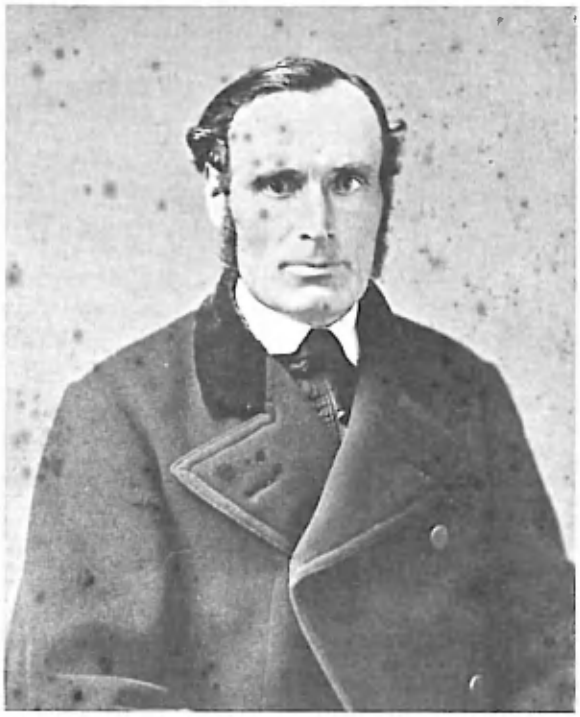
Leonhard Suderman (1821-1900) was a delegate to St. Petersburg and to the American frontier in 1873. Later he was elder of the Emmaus Mennonite Church at Whitewater.

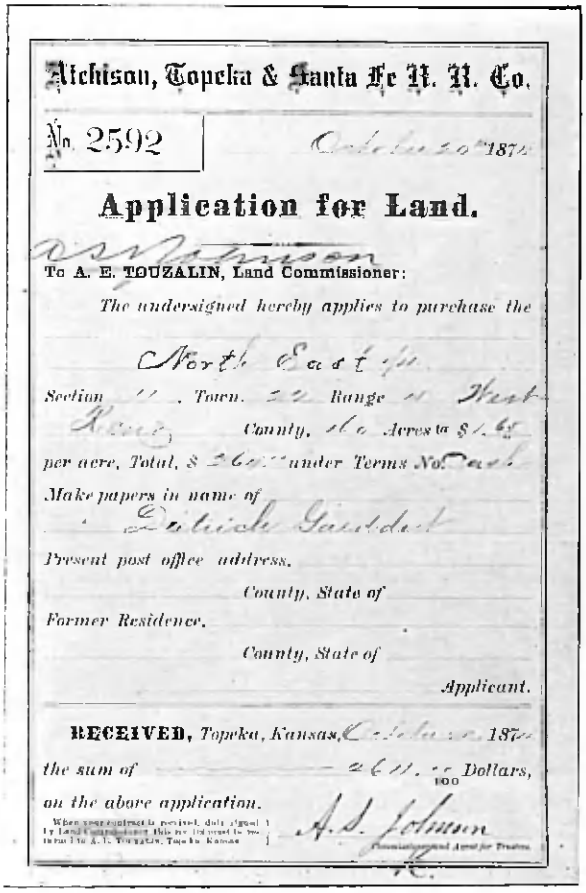
The "Teutonia" was one of the ships which brought the Mennonites from Europe to New York or Philadelphia.



Elder Dietrich Gaeddert's "Application for Land" dated 1874. He paid $1.65 per acre.

Wilhelm Ewert (1829-1887) of Thorn was joined by some members of his congregation in 1874 and became the Elder in the Bruderthal Church near Hillsboro, Kansas.





Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Co.

No. 2592 October 20th 1874

Application for Land.

To A. E. TOUZALIN, Land Commissioner:

The undersigned hereby applies to purchase the

North East ¼

Section 11 *Town.* 22 *Range* 1 West

Reno *County,* 160 *Acres at* $1.65

per acre, Total, $ 264.00 *under Terms No.* Cash

Make papers in name of

Dietrich Gaeddert

Present post office address.

County, State of

Former Residence.

County, State of

Applicant.

RECEIVED, *Topeka, Kansas,* October 20 1874

the sum of 264.00/100 *Dollars,*

on the above application.

When your contract is revised, duly signed by Land Commissioner this will be returned to you. Send to A. E. TOUZALIN, Topeka, Kansas.

A. S. Johnson
Commissioner and Agent for Trustee.

G. N. Harms' "Affirmation of Non-Resistance" dated 1884.

Affirmation of Non-Resistant.

I do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm that I am a resident of Harvey county, State of Kansas, and a member of the Religious Society or Church known and called by the name Mennonites, and that according to the creed and discipline of said Society, the bearing arms is forbidden, and this I do under the pains and penalties of perjury.

G. N. Harms.

Subscribed and affirmed to before me on this 30th *day of* April

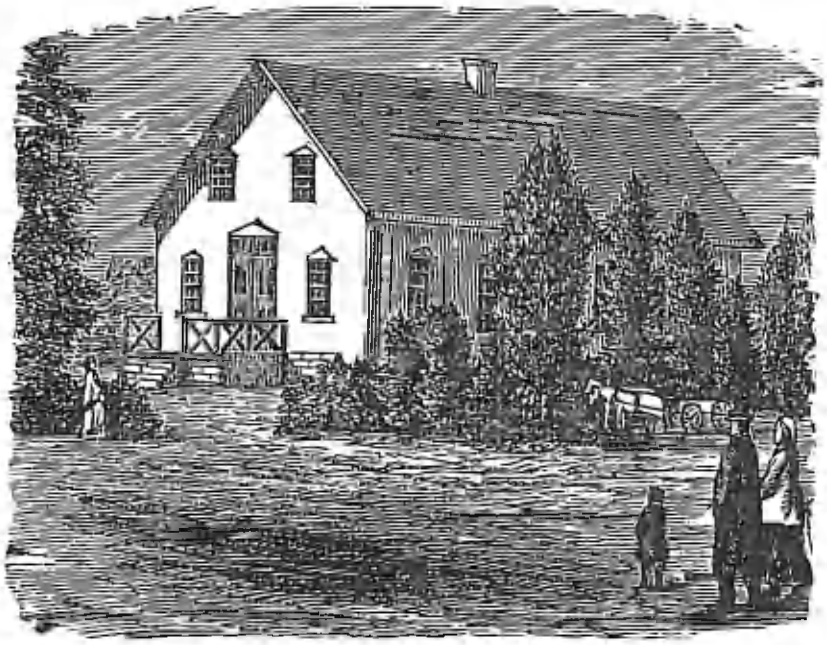
*A. D. 188*4

John C. Johnston
County Clerk.

Early Atchison, Topeka, Santa Fe Railroad Station in Newton, Kansas. From here the Mennonites settled on the adjacent Santa Fe land.

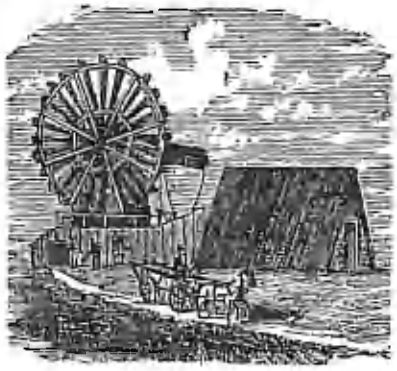
Wilhelm Ewert's farm in the Bruderthal settlement near Hillsboro, Kansas (1877). The adjacent farm belonged to J. Funk.

View of the total Bruderthal settlement. The settlers came from various parts of West Prussia and Russia.



The Krimmer (Crimean) Mennonite Brethren Church of the settlement Gnadenau, 1877.

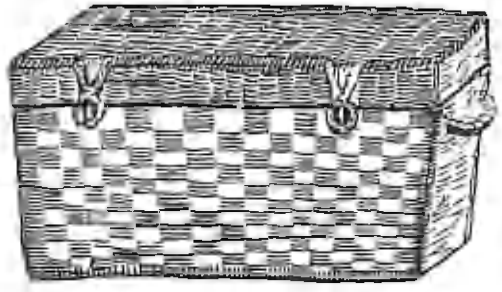
For decades the Friesen windmill of Gnadenau was a landmark of the community.



The Gnadenau village (1877) established by Krimmer Mennonite Brethren settlers under the leadership of Elder Jakob Wiebe.

The public well either at the Alexanderwohl Immigrant House or the Gnadenau village.

A Russian willow trunk. Most of the heirloom trunks were built of solid in-laid wood and are now precious antiques.

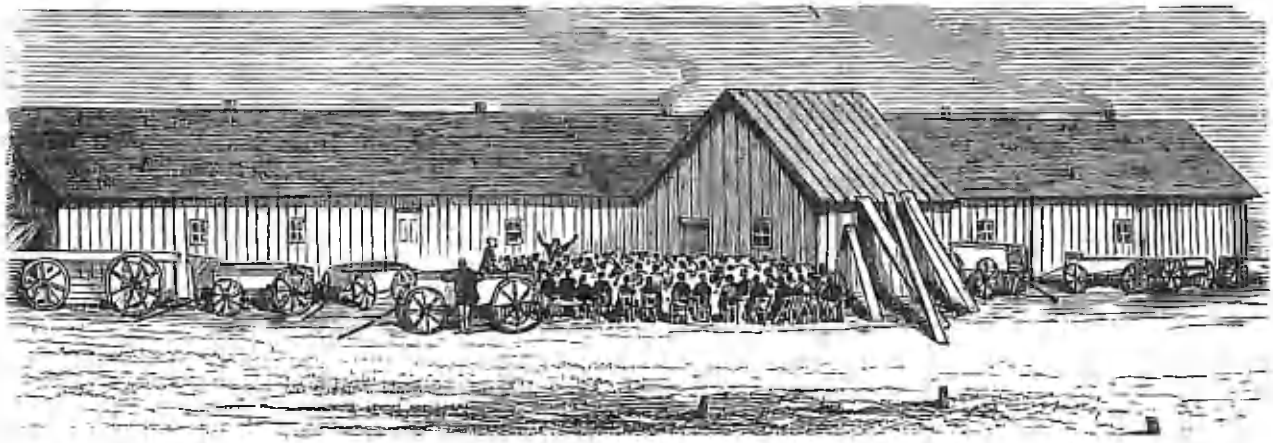


The Mennonites from Russia wore typical peasant kerchiefs, caps, aprons, and sandals (**Schlorren**) or high leather boots. These were also used by them in Russia and West Prussia.

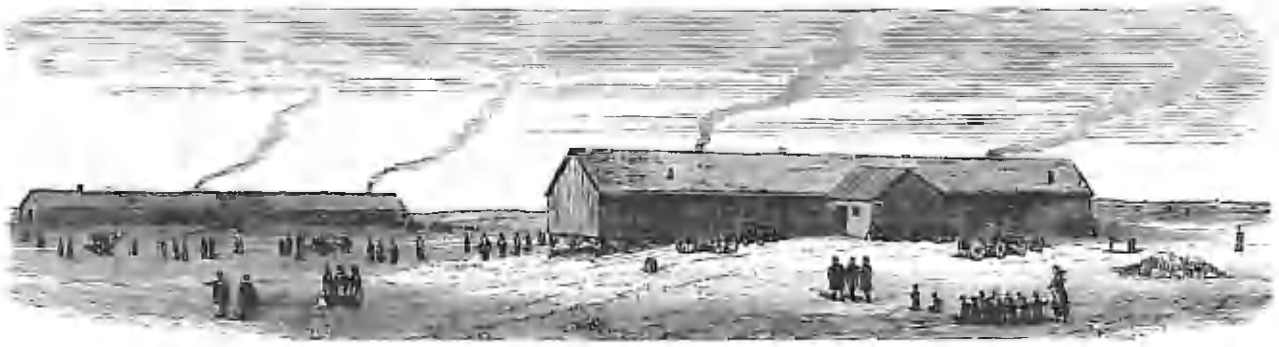
Distribution of mail at the Gnadenau "Post Office."

View of the inside of one of the Immigrant Houses featuring all of the activities taking place in such "communal living." The illustrations pp. 70-73 first appeared in Frank Leslie's **Illustrirte Zeitung,** New York, March 20, 1875, and were reprinted numerous times. (See Photo Credits.)

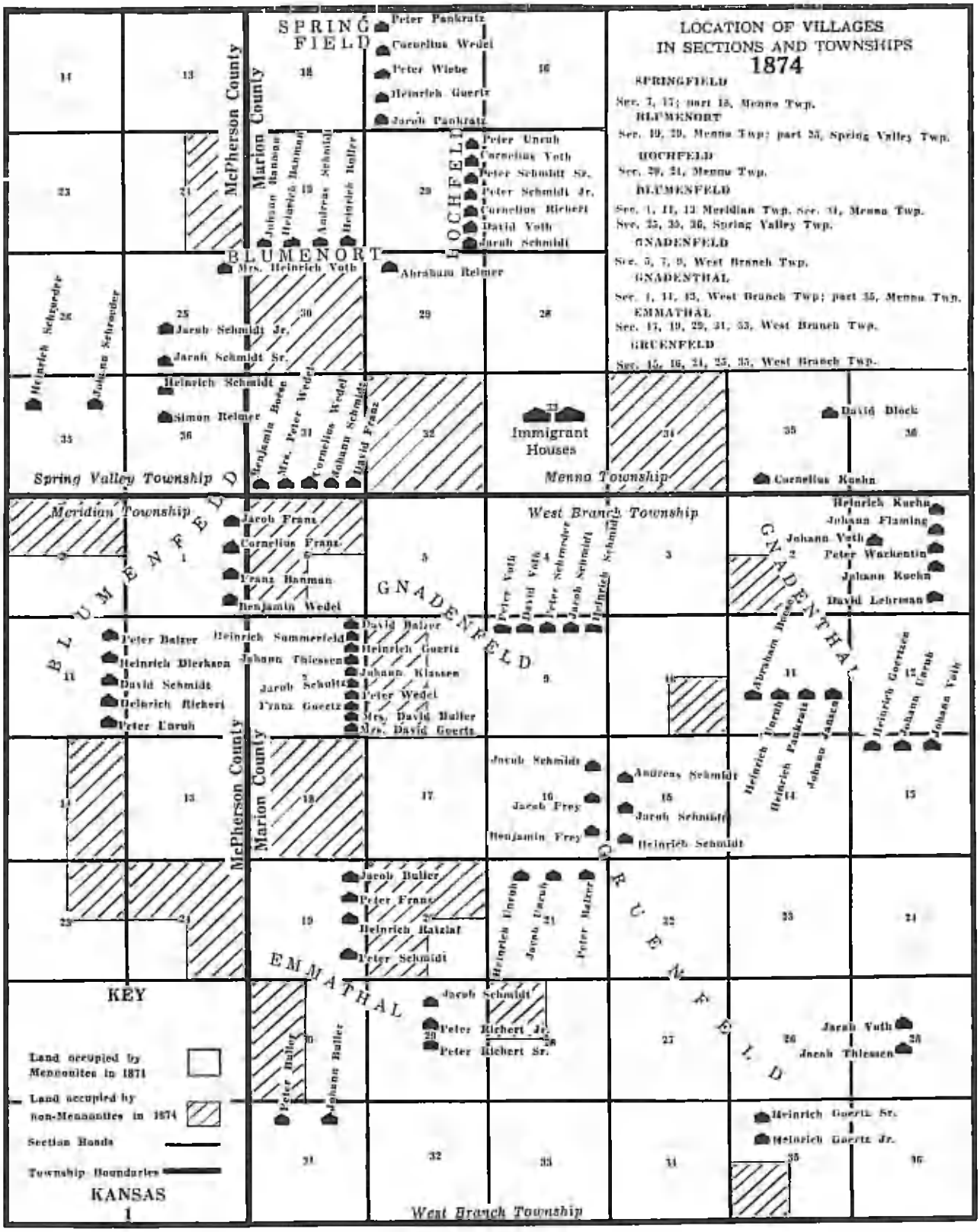
Outdoor Sunday worship at one of the Alexanderwohl Immigrant Houses in 1874.



The Alexanderwohl Mennonite Immigration Houses. The Santa Fe assisted the families in various communities in erecting five Temporary Houses.

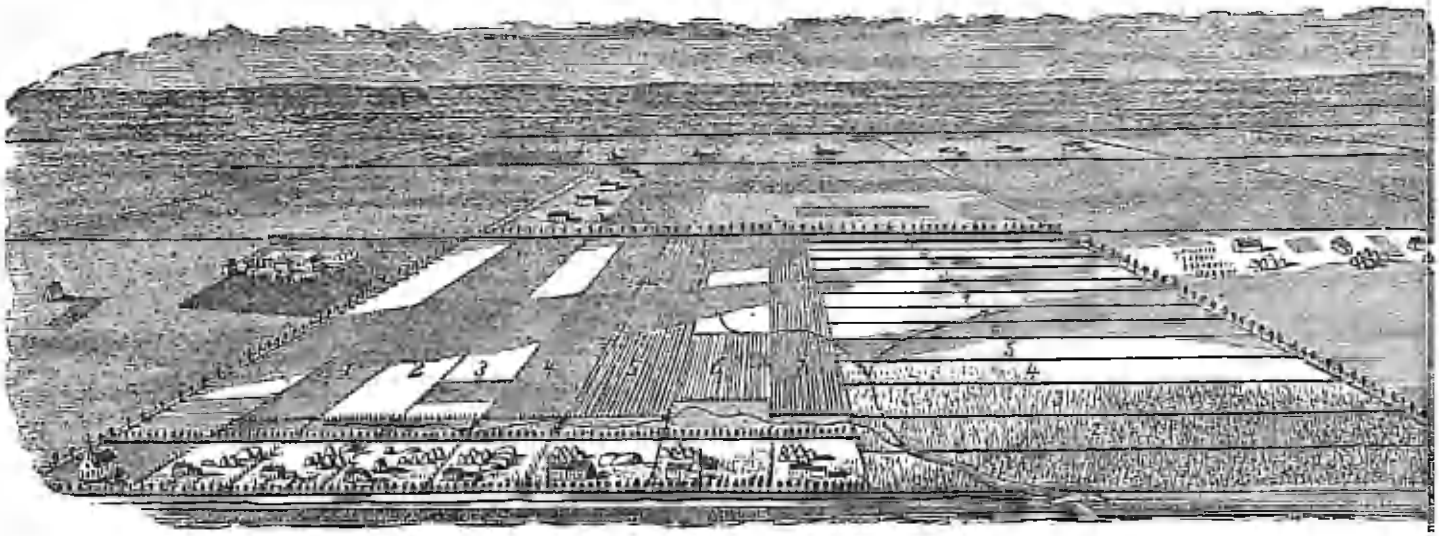


Alexanderwohl Villages in Kansas, 1874. The villages disintegrated gradually but traces of them are noticeable even today.



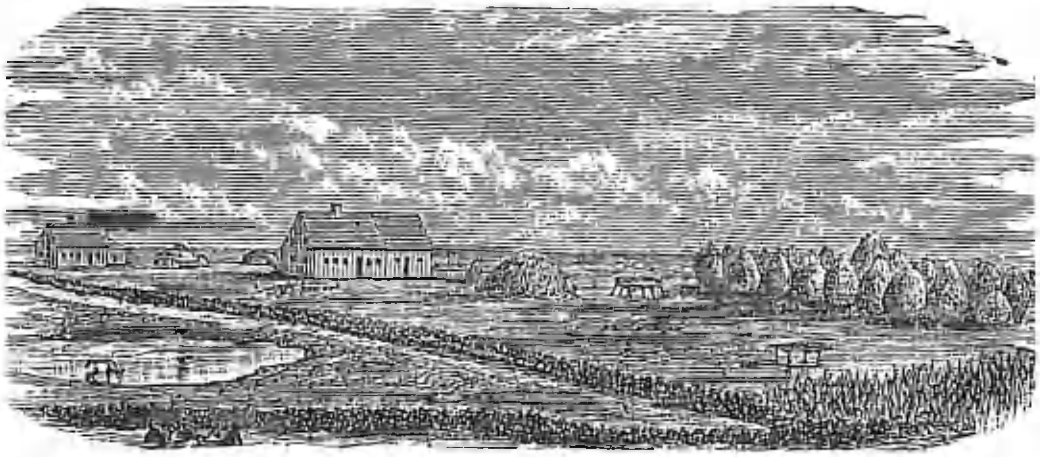
Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, Goessel, Kansas, entertaining the Western District of the General Conference Mennonite Church in 1886.

Hochfeld, one of the original nine villages of the Alexanderwohl Mennonite settlement, illustrating the early land distribution so that each farmer would get some land nearby and some farther away (see text for details).



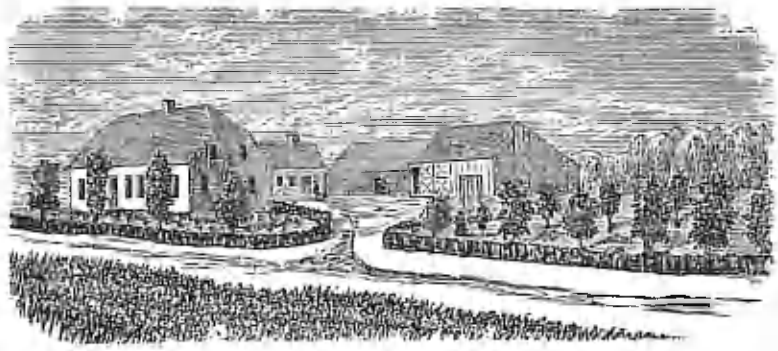
The village Weidefeld was located on the South Cottonwood River. When the delegates inspected the land, they rested in the shade of the big elm tree and had their lunch. The farm belonged to Peter Harms.

C. B. Schmidt visited the farm of Abraham Reimer near Hochfeld. He was also later visited by Noble L. Prentis.



The farms of Heinrich and Jakob Regier, southeast of Turkey Creek, constituted a part of the Hoffnungsau settlement.

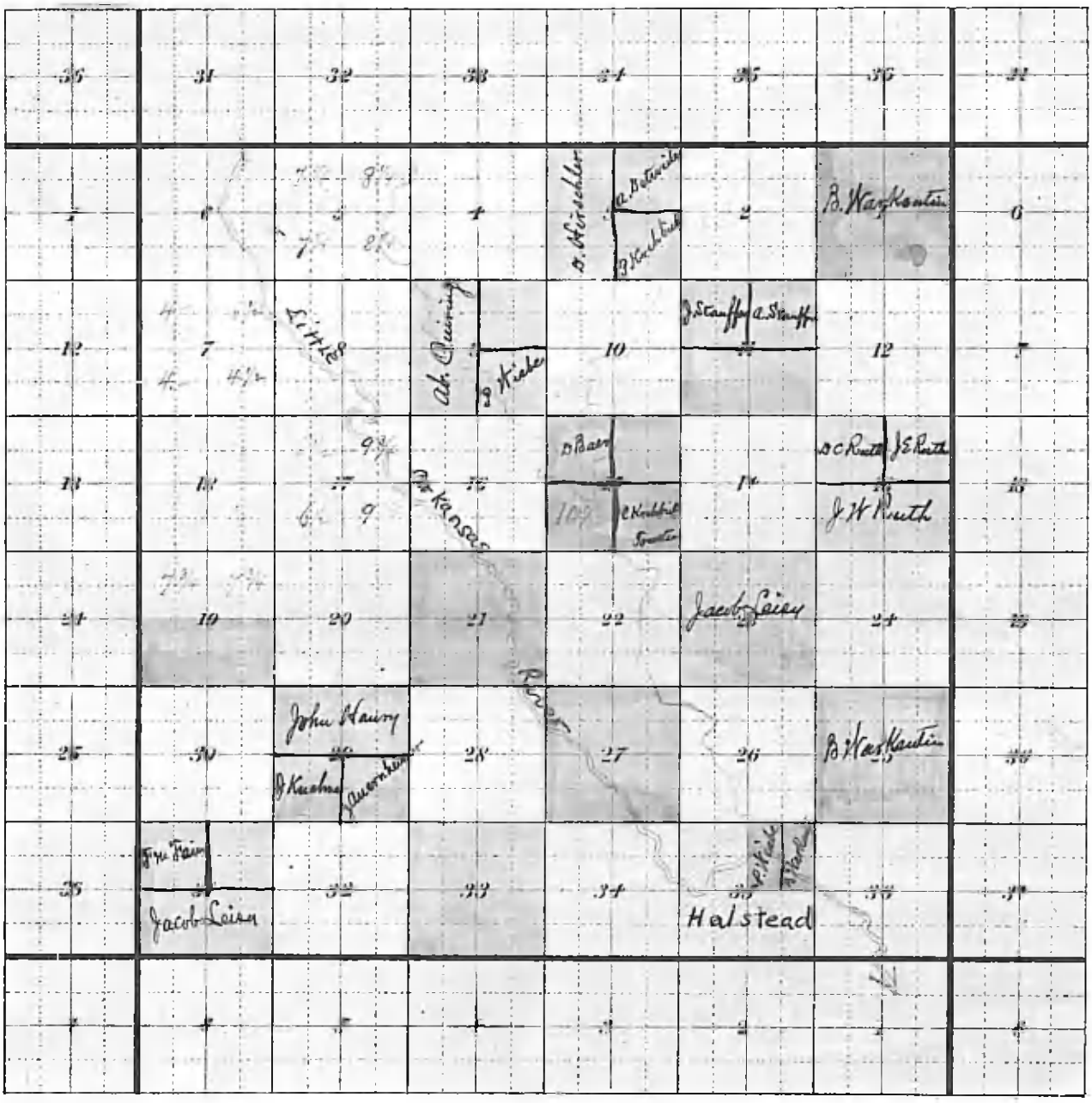
The village of Franzthal of the Hoffnungsau settlement.



The farm of Elder Dietrich Gaeddert of the Hoffnungsau Church near Buhler, Kansas. These settlers were originally a part of the large Alexanderwohl group in Russia.

The farm of Elder Valentin Krehbiel ten miles northwest of Halstead. Krehbiel was the first Elder of the Halstead Mennonite Church.

The Halstead Mennonite settlement was established on the Little Arkansas River primarily by Summerfield, Illinois, Mennonites. (Note names of early settlers.)



Goldschar, a small West Prussian village located three miles southeast of Newton, was started in 1877 and occupied by Hermann Sudermann, Sr., Hermann Sudermann, Jr., and Wilhelm Quiring.

Abraham Sudermann home in Butler County, which he shared for a while with the elder and delegate Leonhard Sudermann.

Farm of Dietrich Claassen. Both farms were a part of the large West Prussian settlement near Whitewater and Elbing.

The railroad depot (1886) of Moundridge, Kansas, where the Swiss Volhynian Mennonites from Polish Russia settled on Santa Fe lands in 1874.

Mr. and Mrs. Joe C. Goering.

Adolph and Maria Goering.

Mr. and Mrs. Joe Graber.

Jacob and Kathrina Goering and son.

Early Swiss Volhynian Settlers of the Moundridge Area.

The Seventieth Anniversary of the Swiss Volhynian Mennonites at the Eden Mennonite Church, 1944. Many of them were born in Volhynia, Russia.

(Continued from page 64)
Catholic priest visited with us and told of his interest in Mennonite history and his research in this field.

The priest told me that Tiegenhagen lies six feet below sea level. During World War II the dikes had been bombed and all of the Delta had been flooded. Consequently most of the residents of Tiegenhagen were forced to flee. Only three families returned to the town after the dikes had been restored and the area drained of the water.

My host stopped at the Vistula River and allowed me to walk along its dikes. Tears came to my eyes as I saw these massive earthen structures built by my forefathers. They are monuments to the integrity and skill which these people acquired in Holland prior to their settlement in this region.

As I traveled through this Delta I was reminded of a farm home east of Elbing, Kansas. It has a very high foundation and was built by one of the first settlers from this region. Flooding had always been a threat to these people—first in Holland and then in West Prussia. A high sturdy foundation was not necessary in Kansas but it did provide a sense of security for those who had previously lived near the dikes of the Vistula River.

Now let me describe the landscape in the Delta area and share with you some of my observations. Prior to going to Poland I was told by some that Poland was the poorest country in Eastern Europe. After my return from there I have often been asked if this was true. My answer is that I have not been in Poland long enough to fully make an evaluation.

The countryside in the Delta is very beautiful. It is lush with stately trees, rich pastureland, green fields, and many good herds of Holstein cattle. The old dikes and drainage ditches are still there though some farmers are experimenting with tile drainage systems.

I was able to find the family home of my grandmother in Sandhof, a suburb of Marienburg, now Malbork. I had taken an old picture of her home along with me. Since I did not have any street address or description of its location, I had to ask some residents of the village if they could direct me to this old place. I first asked a woman in a store if she could help me find the place. She could not speak German or English. However, I knew that "Mamma" is the same in Polish as in our language, so I pointed to the picture and said, "Mamma, Mamma." She soon began to grasp what I was trying to say to her. She studied the picture for some time and showed it to other neighbors walking past the store. Suddenly one young woman signaled that she could take me to that place. So they called a taxi and we drove out to the farm on the outskirts of the town.

The farm home had been restored, painted, and kept up in its original form. The present residents were very friendly but could not tell me who the owners

The top photos show the home of the author's grandmother at Sandhof near Marienburg (Malbork). The top photo was taken by the author in 1969 and the bottom photo by C. W. Claassen in 1910.

Teenage Polish girls on the streets of Gdansk (Danzig), in 1969.

of the farm had been prior to World War I. Most of the new tenants came from distant places, and all documents had been destroyed during the war years.

I was most impressed by the warmth and the friendliness of the Polish people whom I met. They seemed to be extremely kind and cordial to me when I told them I would like to learn more about the homeland of my grandparents. Some had learned about the Mennonites; others had not. I was not shut off from them when they learned that I was a minister. Even young people asked me about our beliefs.

A Polish writer, Dr. Kazimierz Mezynski of Danzig, has recently written about the history of the Mennonite people.[2] He writes of the contacts which Mennonites had with the Polish Brethren, a movement related to the Moravian Brethren in the seventeenth century. I was greatly interested in his analysis of the Mennonite community in its initial development in the Danzig area. He does not write of the Mennonites as being a church, but as a community oriented people. This community-mindedness (*Gemeinschaftssinn*) had been strong prior to the 1870's but had decreased with the rise of German nationalism and militaristic pressures.

Consequently, when I said that I was looking for my ancestral homeland from which my grandparents had emigrated in 1876, I was given an especially cordial welcome. In their thinking there was a difference between Mennonites and Mennonites. This warmth on the part of my Polish hosts reminded me of the hospitality of my grandparents. Their homes were open not only to relatives and Mennonite associates, but English-speaking neighbors were also made to feel welcome. Though language barriers made communication difficult, they did find ways and means of relating to each other.

It is my thinking since my visit to Poland that my grandparents learned to be more open and friendly to other religions and cultural groups through this contact in West Prussia. I now experienced this same warmth in my visit to Danzig and the Delta area.

As I view this community-oriented development in the history of our people I begin to ask if we today are losing a very important part of our Mennonite traditions? Is the Mennonite church an end in itself? Do we practice this fellowship aspect and community involvement?

On the last day, just before leaving Poland, I had a fellowship meal with five Polish travelers in my compartment on the train. We had traveled together for about four hours from Danzig to Poznan. We were all strangers when we entered the train but we began visiting one with another soon after the train left the Danzig station. The ages of the group varied from about 35 to 70. A young woman sitting next to me had been in Danzig to take care of her ailing mother-in-law. The others had been there for business or to visit friends. Their homes were in different parts of Poland. Three of these travelers could speak some German. Two could only speak Polish so we had to translate all of our conversations into the two languages. We talked a great deal about the church, new trends in worship in the Catholic Church, and our Mennonite teaching on nonresistance.

At the close of our journey, one older lady offered me a pear. I asked her to cut it into six parts. As I passed these out I noticed that all of them held their parts in a worshipful manner. One man asked me to say a few words, and then we ate together. Later this same man commented that this had truly been a communion service. Certainly it was a deeply moving experience for me.

It is impossible for me to evaluate all of my experiences of this five day stay in Poland. I would like to visit my friends in Danzig again to learn more about them and their thinking in this complex world. I would also like to invite them to come visit us in our land, in the hope that I could be as gracious a host as they were to me.

FOOTNOTES

1. Peter Dyck, "Beschreibung meiner Auswanderung nach Amerika, 1876," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblaetter,* Vol. 11, No. 6, 1954, pp. 43-47.
2. Kazimierz Mezynski, *O Mennonitach w Polsce,* Gdanski, 1961, pp. 105-259.

Review

Christoph M. Kimmich, *The Free City. Danzig and German Foreign Policy, 1919-1934.* New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1968, 196 pp.

Jerzy Stankiewicz, and others, *Gdansk.* Warsaw, Arkady Publishers, 1965, 66 pp. (Illustrated).

The Free City presents the German foreign policy since 1919. The author features the stages of the effort of Germany to incorporate the free city and by doing so, gain access to East Prussia. The crucial period under Hitler is featured only briefly ending with the year 1934. The book is indeed a helpful source of information in understanding the development which ultimately led to World War II and Germany's loss of more than Danzig.

Gdansk is a Polish publication consisting of an introductory English text and 66 illustrations, most of which are in color and present Danzig as an old Hansiatic city and a completely rebuilt modern city.

Anabaptist and Free Church Studies

By Franklin H. Littell

A generation ago, with the publication of scholarly reliable volumes of Anabaptist sources, a reappraisal of the contribution of "The Left Wing of the Reformation"[1] set in. The Reformation Seminar of Roland H. Bainton of Yale was a major force.

Any representative listing of senior scholars who encouraged research and writing in the "Left Wing of the Reformation" should include Walther Köhler of Heidelberg,[2] Fritz Blanke of Zürich,[3] and Ernst Benz of Marburg; and, in this country, Harold S. Bender of Goshen College, Cornelius Krahn of Bethel College, and Robert Friedmann of Western Michigan University. Bender and Krahn wrote their dissertations at the same time under Walther Köhler at Heidelberg on Conrad Grebel and Menno Simons (1934-36).[4]

A comprehensive tribute is here impossible, however, and would divert us from the main thrust of the paper. The important points are these: the first work was done in an effort to clarify the interaction of the "magisterial Reformation"[5] and the radical Reformers, without which Luther and Zwingli and Butzer are unintelligible—let alone Grebel and Hutter and Marbeck and Menno Simons. Second, the publication of critically edited sources, begun with the *Täuferakten*[6] of the *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte*, has made it possible for a second generation to discern major church historical and theological contributions of the radical Reformers—after four centuries during which even competent historians depended almost exclusively upon the polemics of their enemies and secondary sources to dismiss their dissent as marginal and/or heretical.

It was my good fortune to come into the field as a graduate student at the time when the *Täuferakten* and other primary sources were becoming available, and to develop a thesis—subsequently expanded and several times reissued—which has commended itself to most colleagues and a later generation of students. The thesis, developed in a book,[7] is this: the basic characteristic of the radical Reformers, that which marked them off from both state-church Protestantism and Catholicism, was their view of the church and church history. Whereas Catholics and Lutherans and Anglicans and continental Reformed accented in one measure or another the continuity of Christendom, the radical Reformers were primitivists. Their program of radical Reformation was not so much reformation as *restitution* of the true church before "the fall of the church"—commonly dated in the era of Emperor Constantine. Anabaptist—Swiss Brethren, South German Brethren, Hutterite Brethren, and Dutch Mennonites—dated the fall with the union of church and state, when Christians ceased to be a suffering and history-carrying movement and became persecutors and warriors defending Christendom. The Spiritualizers—*Spiritualisten* like Sebastian Franck and Caspar Schwenckfeld and Johannes Bünderlin, of Ernst Troeltsch's "Third Type"[8] adapted from Alfred Hegler's typological essay,[9] dated the fall from Constantine's time, but emphasized the rise of hierarchy and dogmatic theology as well as the union of church and state. The Christian social revolutionaries, men like Thomas Müntzer and Bernhard Rothmann of Münster, also condemned Constantine and stressed the evils of political and economic exploitation to which the official church was now made party; for them, the restitution of the true church at Jerusalem was the first stage in a return of the creation to the lost Eden of communism and pacifism. Even the Anti-Trinitarians of the early period, before they were caught up in the involved scientific attack on Trinitarian dogma, emphasized the simple gospel without glosses and dated the fall with the dogmatic pronouncements of the Council of Nicea. All of the radicals followed a view of church history which divided "Golden Age" from "Fall," and the "Fallen Church" (Christendom) from the Restitution. In this, as I pointed out by using the critical tools applied to Latin and Greek classical writers by A. O. Lovejoy of John Hopkins and school he developed in his seminar and in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, they were primitivists.[10] They looked to a restitution of lost virtue, not a reformation or purification of present practices.

The typological distinctions here introduced have subsequently been adopted by younger Mennonite scholars, by students of Quaker history, and by writers in the history of Pietism, Wesleyanism, the Baptists, the Nazarenes, the Church of God, and others. Most noteworthy, perhaps, are the volumes by Vernard H. Eller: *Kierkegaard and Radical Discipleship: A New Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), and Donald F. Durnbaugh: *European Origins of the Brethren* (Elgin, Ill.; Brethren Press, 1958) and *The Believers' Church* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968). Catholic scholars also have entered the discussion, as evidenced by essays by Michael Novak,[11] and Daniel O'Hanlon.[12] These two are the first friendly appraisals of Anabaptist concerns ever written by Catholics, with the exception of slight paragraphs marginally appearing in essays on other subjects by the old Catholic Ignaz von Döllinger, and they signalize the shift from purely historical-scientific attention to the substantive significance of the Anabaptist and Free Church strain in church history. To a certain extent, this concern has been institutionalized in the work of the Center for Reformation and Free Church

Studies at Chicago Theological Seminary, and in the Seminar on The Free Church which I have taught there and elsewhere for a decade.

In this country, to balance the picture attention should be called to the massive and masterful work of George H. Williams of Harvard, who has directed many theses in the field and personally authored two of the major books: *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957) and *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, 924 pp.). The number of scholarly articles and monographs now appearing which concentrate on Anabaptist and Free Church subjects, as well as the acceptance of the basic typological argument by scholars who concentrate on related subjects, document what a revolution of judgment has occurred in the last thirty years. It is only necessary to contrast the appraisal of Anabaptism in Preserved Smith's *The Age of the Reformation*[13] with Harold J. Grimm's *The Reformation Era*: 1500-1650[14] to see what has happened as the impact of the new source books and interpretations has been generally felt.

The argument is this. The Anabaptist and Free Church sector can no longer be treated as a marginal and accidental deviation from the norm of European state-churches, any more than American religious history can be viewed—since the disestablishments of the colonial state-churches and the subsequent Protestant culture-religion—as a spiritual peninsula of European Christendom. A "fault" of geological proportions is evident in the history and direction of Protestantism, and many of the debates in commissions of the World Council of Churches and in American ecumenical ventures such as COCU can only be understood if differences which run back into the Anabaptism of the 16th century are taken seriously.

More yet, Catholic bishops attempting to set up dialogue with other churches on the mission fields, especially in Central America and West Africa, have discovered a type of Protestantism to be dominant there which simply cannot be understood from their previous encounters with Lutherans, Anglicans, and continental Reformed.[15] They have therefore begun to initiate conversations based on Christian issues, and concerns, rather than carry on the usual diplomatic embassies, and the Catholic encyclopedias published and now in preparation deal with the history and concerns of the restitutionist churches to help as handbooks in such approaches.[16]

The "spirit-filled sects", so difficult to classify in formal theological terms, conceive of themselves as primitive Christian churches. With Montanist, Gnostic, and Donatist sects rampant, and often experiencing persecution, they feel both internally and in their contexts closer to the congregations to which Paul addressed his epistles than to that great body of legal or socially established religion which still commonly conceives of itself as "Christian America," "Christian Spain," "Christian England" or "Christian South Africa." In this they parallel in a remarkable way some of the thinking which is being expressed by younger theologians who are struggling to define the life and work of the churches in East European communist countries, where the Christian movement is again small and voluntary and subject to the pressures of a new kind of established dogma. The thread of restitutionist thought runs through Anabaptist, radical Puritanism, Pietism, Wesleyanism, 19th century revivalism (and including Alexander Campbell's Restoration movement), to the Younger Churches of the former "mission fields."

In such a season the commitment of the Anabaptists and some who came after them, to the liberty and dignity and integrity of the human person and his conscientious concerns has still an unmistakable relevance. If there is a history of human liberty, and some affirm it, then there is written large on its pages the names of Wilhelm Reublin, Pilgram Marbeck, Menno Simons, Dirck Philipsz and those whom they called—not "re-baptizers," a name given by their enemies to bring them under the death penalty of the imperial Justinian Code—simply "brethren" or "(fellow-) Christians."

FOOTNOTES

1. Roland H. Bainton, XXI *Journal of Religion* (1941) 2:124-34.
2. "Walther Koehler," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, p. 212; Walther Koehler, *Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. II, Zuerich: M. Niehaus (1951).
3. "Fritz Blanke Memorial Issue," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XLIII, January 1969, No. 1.
4. Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel*, c. 1498-1526. (Goshen, Indiana: Goshen College, 1950); Cornelius Krahn, *Menno Simons* (1496-1561). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten (Karlsruhe: Heinrich Schneider, 1936); Bender and Krahn were co-editors of the four-volume *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (1955-1959).
5. George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962).
6. Roland H. Bainton, "Anabaptist Source Materials," *Mennonite Life*, July 1953, p. 145.
7. Franklin H. Littell, *The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1964); first published by the American Society of Church History, 1952; in German edition, J. J. Oncken Verlag, 1966.
8. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931), II, 729 f.
9. Ibid., II, 949, for 440; Alfred Hegler, *Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck* (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1892).
10. Franklin H. Littell, "Primitivismus," in *Weltkirchenlexikon: Handbuch der Oekumene* (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1960), cols. 1182-87.
11. Michael Novak, "The Free Churches and the Roman Church," II *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* (1965) 3:426-47.
12. Daniel O'Hanlon, S.J., "What Can Catholics Learn from the Free Churches?" in Hans Kueng, ed., *Do We Know the Others?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), pp. 94-103.
13. Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1920), p. 244.
14. Harold J. Grimm, *The Reformation Era*: 1500-1650 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 266.
15. Franklin H. Littell, "The Free Church View of Missions," in Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *The Theology of the Christian Mission* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1961), pp. 112-21.
16. See particularly T. C. O'Brien, ed., *Corpus Dictionary of Western Churches* (Washington: Corpus Publications, 1970), 820 pp. Treats also Radical Reformers and efforts. Among the contributors are John R. Weinlick (Moravians) and Cornelius Krahn (Mennonites); also see *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967), 15 volumes. This encyclopedia also treats the radical reformation. Among the writers are George H. Williams, Cornelius Krahn, etc. See also review of *Corpus Dictionary* in this issue (p. 88).

The Radical Reformation:

Books and Articles by George H. Williams

Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers, editor with Angel M. Mergal, The Library of Chrisitan Classics XXV (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), 421 pp.

"Michael Servetus and Sebastian Castellio: A Review of a Multilingual Tribute to Pioneers of Tolerance," The Unitarian Historical Society, *Proceedings,* XI:2 (1957), pp. 29-35; (II) also in *Erasmus,* X (1957), pp. 278-281.

"Studies in the Radical Reformation (1517-1618): A Bibliographical Survey of Research Since 1939," *Church History,* XXVII (March and June Issues, 1958), pp. 46-69; 124-160.

"Anabaptism and Spiritualism in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: An Obscure Phase of the Pre-History of Socinianism," *Studia nad Arianizmen,* edited by Ludwik Chmaj (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959), pp. 215-262.

The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), xxxi, 924 pp.

"Reflections on the Radical Reformation," *Bulletin of the Congregational Library,* XIV, No. 1 (October, 1962): pp. 5-10; *ibid.,* No. 2 (January, 1963), pp. 5-10.

"Anabaptist," "Ludwig Hetzer," "Melchior Hoffman," "Michael Servetus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1963), I, pp. 838-839; XI, p. 466; XI, p. 574; XX, p. 257.

"Anabaptists," *American People's Encyclopaedia,* I (New York: Grolier, 1963), pp. 441 f.

"Michael Servetus and a Theology of Nature," *Journal of the Liberal Ministry,* IV (1964), pp. 121-142.

"Camillus Renatus Called Also Lysias Philaenus and Paolo Ricci (c. 1550- c. 1575): Forerunner of Socinianism on Individual Immortality," *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume,* ed. by Saul Lieberman (Jerusalem: Central Press, 1965), II, pp. 833-870.

"Camillo Renato c. 1500-c. 1575," *Italian Reformation Studies in Honor of Laelius Socinus (1562-1962),* University of Siena, Collana di Studi Pietro Rossi, IV (Florence: Le Monnier, 1965), pp. 103-183/195; =*The Proceedings* of the Unitarian Historical Society, XIV, Parts I and II (1962-1963), pp. 103-183/195.

"Sectarian Ecumenicity: Reflections on a Little Noticed Aspect of the Radical Reformation," [Baptist] *Review and Expositor,* LXIV:2 (1967), pp. 141-160.

"Erasmus and the Reformers on Non-Christian Religions and *Salus extra Ecclesiam,*" *Essays in Memory of E. Harris Harbison,* ed. by Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Siegel (Princeton: University Press, 1968), Pt. III, ch. xv.

"Sanctification in the Testimony of Several So-Called Schwärmer," ed. by Ivar Asheim, *Vorträge des III. Internationalen Kongresses für Lutherforschung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 194-211 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967); also enlarged and altered in *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (January, 1968), XLII, No. 1, pp. 5-25.

"Popularized German Mysticism as a Factor in the Rise of Anabaptist Communism," *Glaube, Geist, Geschichte: Festschrift für Ernst Benz,* ed. by Gerhard Müller and Winfried Zeller (Leiden: Brill, 1967), pp. 290-312.

"Michael Servetus," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* VIII, (New York: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 419 ff.

" 'Congregationalist' Luther and the Free Churches," *The Lutheran Quarterly,* n.s. XVIII (1967), pp. 283-294.

"Socinianism," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* VIII (New York: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 474 ff.

"An Unjust War": Vietnam: October 11 and 16, 1967, *Articles and Issues,* Vol. 1, No. 1, Andover Newton Theological Seminary, October 27, 1967.

"Peace in the History of the Church," *Colloquy: Education in Church and Society,* 1, No. 6 (June 1968), pp. 28-30; also (II) reduced in All-Church Press, Inc., weekly papers of various titles.

"The Ministry and the Draft in Historical Perspective," *Perspectives,* April, 1968, pp. 40-76; also (II) in *Una Sancta,* XXV, No. 1 (1968), pp. 3-40; (III) partly reprinted in *Sanctuary: Special Report* of Division of Social Responsibility of the Unitarian-Universalist Association (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 33-34; (IV) *The Religious Situation:* 1969, ed. by Donald R. Cutler (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

"For Three Transgressions and for Four," Sermon on Vietnam during the Moratorium, 13 November, 1969, printed in full in the *Harvard Crimson,* 6 January 1970.

"The Believer's Church as Community," *The Believer's Church,* edited by James Leo Garrett (Scottdale, Pa., 1970).

"The Sacred Condominium," *The Moral Problem of Abortion,* edited by John Noonan, Jr. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970).

Books Available

Most of the scholarly books listed in "Mennonite Bibliography" (pages 86-88, 93-96) can be ordered from the Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas 67117.

Widening the Concept of the Reformation

By Cornelius Krahn

Of the numerous books which appear within a year, all dealing with the above topic, only a few will be mentioned in this report. This is in no way an attempt to give a review of each book. Rather, the primary objective is to acquaint the reader with some of the major publications within the tradition of bibliographical reports in *Mennonite Life*. The reader may want to consult preceding reports found regularly in each issue ("Books in Review") and annually in the April issue of *Mennonite Life* ("Research in Progress" and "Mennonite Bibliography").

Muenster and Karlstadt

The latest and most impressive treatment of these two radical co-workers of Luther comes from the hand of Gordon Rupp and is entitled *Patterns of Reformation* (London: Epworth Press, 1969, 427 pp., 63 shillings). Among the four reformers chosen, Karlstadt and Müntzer get the fullest treatment. The biographical and theological analysis is one of the most brilliantly written on the subject. Rupp deals with the relationship of Müntzer and Karlstadt to Luther and with their influence on the more radical wing of the Reformation. Here is a sample:

"There can be no doubt that Hans Huth . . . was more deeply influenced by Müntzer than he admitted to his interrogators in Augsburg, and the influence of Müntzer's ideas are to be found in the writings of such radicals as Haug von Juchsen, Leonard Schiemer, and the ex-priest Hans Schlaffer. No doubt the Swiss Brethren (and Karlstadt!) are the Founding Fathers of pacific Anabaptism, but a number of historians, Mecenseffy, Zschäbitz, Hillerbrand, seem to me to have rightly shown the influence of Müntzer and his teaching on the radicals of south Germany. He is one of the first in a succession of apocalyptic Anabaptist writers, and the least crackpot of them all. Nor ought we to hide or play down a real streak of violence and wildness among the radicals with a pretty continuous pedigree of incidents in Switzerland, south Germany, Strasbourg, and Amsterdam, which make the catastrophe at Münster intelligible" (p. 250).

Similarly, Rupp expresses himself in regard to the influence Karlstadt exercised on early Anabaptism. ". . . his eucharistic dialogue, came home with forceful influence in the German and Swiss cities and were echoed by such men as Ludwig Hätzer, Hans Denck, Conrad Grebel, and Sebastian Franck" (p. 152). To this observation the reviewer can add that the influence of Müntzer and Karlstadt was also strong on Dutch Anabaptism. (See Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism*, The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1968.)

Müntzer has received another full treatment in the book by Eric W. Gritsch, *Reformer Without a Church. The Life and Thought of Thomas Müntzer*, 1488 (?)-1525 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967, 214 pp., $6.50). The book is stronger on the biographical aspect of Müntzer's life than on the theological. Gritsch relates in detail Müntzer's contact with the Swiss Brethren. He also makes an effort to reinstate Müntzer under such headings as "The Scapegoat of the Reformation," "The Process of Demythologizing," and "Under the Scalpel of Historical Scholarship."

Karlstadt has also recently received a full-fledged treatment in a Ph.D. dissertation by Friedel Kriechbaum, *Grundzüge der Theologie Karlstadts* (Hamburg: Evangelischer Verlag, 1967, 142 pp., $3.00). The major emphasis of the author is on the theological system of Karlstadt which is presented in the following chapters: I. Revelation of God, II. Law and the Gospel, III. Life in the Love of God, IV. The View of the Church. On the surface, the theological views presented here look very much like those of some of the South German Anabaptists. A special emphasis is placed on his mysticism. However, Karlstadt's views on baptism are missing from the presentation on the spiritualization of the sacraments. In describing the theological views of Karlstadt, the author regularly refers to Luther as the standard representative of the faith of the Reformation. In this comparative analysis, Karlstadt appears to be mostly the loser.

Another systematic treatment of Karlstadt and Müntzer is found in Max Schoch, *Verbi Divini Ministerium: I. Verbum, Sprache und Wirklichkeit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1968, pp. 88, $3.-).

Upgrading Old Heretics

The "heresies" and "sects" of old attract scholars and popular writers more than ever. All are busy restating cases, discovering flaws, removing tarnishes, or rephrasing the old prejudices and accusations. The latter even see the "old wolf" in the "new sheepskin" of movements in our day.

Catholic housecleaning has gone a long way to restore the image of various opposition leaders and groups of centuries past and has even removed some saints from its calendar. Will any of the radical reformers ever be invited to occupy these vacant spots in the days to come? In the Protestant and secular framework, this is already happening, and radicals rank high in Marxist historiography. (See *Weltwirkung der Reformation.*) (See also "Heresy—Past and Present," *Mennonite Life*, January 1968, p. 46.)

Thomas Müntzer is possibly getting more attention than any other of the "heretics" of the Reformation period. He is now often appearing side by side with the reformers. This is the case in a book edited by B. A. Gerrish, *Reformers in Profile. Advocates of Reform*, 1300-1600 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967, 264 pp., $5.95). The editor and the writers "take the position that the Reformation era was one of many reformations." Müntzer finds his place here with Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Menno Simons, Loyola, and others.

It is interesting to note that Müntzer's writings were published recently in the series *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte*, Volume XXXIII in *Schriften und Briefe*, edited by Günther Franz (Güterloh: Gerd Mohn, 1968). When a man's writings appear side by side with

those of the magisterial reformers, this does indeed signify a restoration of his image.

Some publications appear with the purpose of the "discovery of the truth" held by the heretics which will furnish guidelines for the present. Such a book is *Die Wahrheit der Ketzer* (The Truth of the Heretics), edited by Hans Jürgen Schultz (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1968), with writers such as W. Nigg (Marcion), A. Rosenberg (Wycliff and Huss), and E. Bloch (Müntzer). The first part of the book consists of twenty biographies (From Jesus to H. Kutter) and the second part has selections of their writings which are to "provoke the present generation" and to convince the reader that "the truth of the heretics" is not "of yesterday but of tomorrow".

Muenster

The following is a novel which tells the story of the Münster kingdom and shows its relationship to "the problems of our day." Rosemarie Schuder, *Die Erleuchteten . . .* (Berlin: Union Verlag, 1968), portrays the Münster incident so "that contemporaries will fully understand its meaning."

A collection of essays, *Die Wiedertäufer der Wohlstandsgesellschaft* (The Anabaptists and the Welfare State), edited by Erwin K. Scheuch and written by fourteen writers, deals with the German intellectual "New Left." The Münster kingdom is merely used as a label to disqualify a "new heresy." The only actual reference to the Münsterites in the whole book is found in the preface (p. 11), where it is stated that the title is to demonstrate the "evil historical continuity of the exploitation of man by man." It is claimed that the Anabaptist movement "was not primarily a movement of the poor and ignorant but of those who today would belong to the middle and upper layers of society." The editor, E. K. Scheuch, states that the Anabaptist "chiliast" expected the realization of a new era through a "new man." He sees in the "New Left" a dangerous repetition of history which "claims to be engaged in a revival movement based on a special revelation." It consist of adherents who are "illiterate in the realities of life" and must be met with "reason" in order to convince them of their errors. Consequently, this book was written to fight the German intellectual "New Left."

Erasmus

A significant book dealing with the never-outdated-and-fully-researched Erasmus has appeared entitled *Erasmus of Christendom* by Roland H. Bainton (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969, 308 pp., $6.95). The author states that he would "never have undertaken this assignment were Erasmus lacking in contemporary relevance." Bainton has possibly brought to light more quotations from the writings of Erasmus dealing with the Anabaptists than any preceding author. Particularly, J. Huizinga (*Erasmus*, p. 225) and Walther Köhler (*Dogmengeschichte II*, p. 25) write of Erasmus as the "spiritual father of the Anabaptists" in a general way. But Bainton presents definite sources and references. Erasmus says, "Although this sect is of all the most hated by the princes because of anarchy and community of goods, these people have no temple, they establish no kingdom, they defend themselves by no violence, and they are said to have many among them much more sincere in morals than others. . . ." Erasmus even expressed himself at one time in favor of a more meaningful way of baptizing Christians which led Bainton to state that Erasmus "was the only Anabaptist of the 16th century" (pp. 260-62).

Just as significant—or more so—is the question to what extent the Anabaptists were influenced by Erasmus and what they thought of him. Considerable space has been devoted to these questions by C. Krahn in *Dutch Anabaptism* (The Hague, 1968). Mention should also be made of the inaugural lecture delivered by I. B. Horst at the University of Amsterdam entitled *Erasmus, the Anabaptists and the Problem of Religious Unity* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1967, 32 pp.).

Luther and Wittenberg, 1967

Mention should be made of a volume published in honor of Wilhelm Pauk, entitled *Interpreters of Luther* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 373 pp., $8.25) edited by Jaroslaw Pelikan. Among the contributing writers are A. Harnack, Paul Tillich, Troeltsch, and Schaff. Although this information is accessible in any good library, this one volume brings together that which outstanding theologians and historians have said about Luther.

Another book on the Reformation worth noting is that by Erwin Iserloh entitled *The Theses Were Not Posted. Luther between Reform and Reformation.* The publication of the book by Iserloh is hailed as being "of enormous significance for the understanding of Western Christianity in both the sixteenth and twentieth centuries" and that "Luther's first reforming thrust was directed to needed reform, not the division of the church." The discovery that the claim about Luther's Theses is a "myth" will likely not shatter this symbol of the beginning of the Reformation.

Of significance was the 450th Anniversary of the Reformation in Wittenberg in 1967. At this occasion thirty-six lectures were presented at the "International Symposium." They have now been published under the title of *Weltwirkung der Reformation* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag, 1969, 501 pp.). The papers were presented primarily by East German scholars. The topics which dealt with theology, general history, social and economic questions included the following reformers: Luther, Bucer, Capito, Sebastian Franck, Thomas Müntzer, and other Left Wing representatives. Some of the better known speakers were G. Brendler, M. Steinmetz, and M. M. Smirin. The only American on the program was C. L. Foster, Jr.

Another presentation of lectures delivered at Wittenberg in 1967 was published and is entitled: Ernst Kähler, ed., *Reformation 1517-1967. Wittenberger Vorträge,* Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1968, 208 pp. DM 9,—. Among the contributors are Ernst Wolf, Franz Lau, and George W. Forell.

Tolerance in the Netherlands

This is a subject that is popular among scholars at any time and particularly today. Joseph Lecler's two-volume *Toleration and the Reformation,* published in French, German, and English (New York: Association Press, 1960) is an illustration. Recently an area study appeared, written

by Gerhard Güldner, *Das Toleranz-Problem in den Niederlanden im Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1968, 196 pp., $7.00). The author briefly treated the idea of tolerance in general, including Sebastian Castellio's contribution. Dirk Volckertsz Coornhert and Justus Lipsius are featured as chief promoters of tolerance. In his statistics, he provides information in regard to the number of heretics that perished in the southern Low Countries during the sixteenth century (pp. 15, 175).

Even though it would be an overstatement, one is tempted to say that the sixteen page fine print bibliography is almost as important as the book itself. For this reason it is surprising to see this German author go to the various archives and university libraries (Utrecht, Antwerp, Leiden, and Amsterdam), while bypassing one of the most significant archives and libraries in this field which is found in the Singel Mennonite Church, just across the canal from the University library of Amsterdam. Thus he does not even list in any of the three languages the classic collection of martyrdom, Th. J. van Braght's *The Martyrs Mirror*. He completely missed such authors who dealt with related subjects in many books such as Kühler, Sepp, Vos, v. d. Zijpp, Camer, etc. Nor has he made use of Philip von Zesen, *Des Weltlichen Standes Handlungen und Urteile wider den Gewissenswang in Glaubenssachen aus den Geschichten der Keiser, Könige, Fürsten und anderer Weltlichen Obrigkeiten . . .* (Amsterdam, 1665). In spite of these remarks, the book is a very substantial contribution to a very vital subject and provides the basic bibliography needed for continued research on the subject.

New Approach in Historiography

The *Corpus Dictionary of Western Churches* (Washington, D.C.: Corpus Publications, 1970, 820 pp., $17.50) contains 2300 entries or articles on "the history, personalities, key events, movements, ecclesiastical terms, and theological concepts that are related to forms of belief, worship, and policy of the churches." Cross references make the *Dictionary* a valuable source of information on an interdenominational scale. Dr. Thomas C. O'Brien, the editor of this outstanding volume, has taught both philosophy and theology for many years.

The *Dictionary* aims to convey information regarding the various denominations of the Western Christian tradition. The editor speaks of them as "bodies of Christians with distinctive beliefs, practices, and some form of organization." Efforts are made to present the information, regardless of group or denomination, "without prejudice to specific ecclesiological viewpoints" in the awareness that one church regards itself "exclusively as the true Church," while another considers itself as "a branch of the one comprehensive Church," and still another as "an imperfect reflection of the true Church." Although the editor says that Christians do not agree on the nature of the Church, he states that all "observe that the church life characteristic of Christianity manifests diversity." It was the purpose of the editor and publishers "to provide information on that diversity."

How well did the editor succeed in portraying objectively, accurately, and sympathetically what all Christian denominations have in common and what sets them apart from one another? The list of contributors which the editor solicited fills three pages and includes various Protestant representatives and even those traditionally and universally in the past referred to as "sectarian." (This word does not seem to appear in any context in the *Dictionary* with the exception of a brief article in which the term is objectively described.)

This *Dictionary of the Western Churches* is particularly significant because it is a reference book which presents moderate Catholic views and sympathetically treats all Protestant deviating denominational organizations and concepts, including the Anabaptist-Mennonites. The editor managed to keep the distinctive features of all Mennonite groups in proper relationship by making full use of articles written for the *Dictionary* or articles found in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* and other studies. An occasional slip could have been avoided if he would have checked some questions with his Mennonite contributors prior to publication.

There seems to be a weakness in the article dealing with the "Inquisition" (pp. 398-401). What has been presented is good but not enough. Little reference is made to the martyrdom of thousands of radical Reformation leaders and innocent followers such as occurred in the Netherlands. It was a great honor for the reviewer of this book to have been asked to be a contributor of articles pertaining to the Anabaptist-Mennonites and the radical tradition.

The Mennonite Theme in Novels, 1969

The following two novels are selected because of their historical significance. Ernst Behrends started his cycle of novels with *Der Ketzerbischof* (Basel: Agape-Verlag, 1966), dealing with Menno Simons. His second novel, entitled *Der Steppenhengst* (Bodman, Bodensee: Hohenstaufen Verlag, 1969, 388 pp., $6.00), is devoted to the Mennonite settlements of the Molotschna in the Ukraine, on the Volga, in Turkestan, and in Siberia. It is a vivid portrayal of Mennonite life in Russia and is to be continued in additional volumes.

The next novel takes us to the Low Countries and deals with the typical Mennonite family during the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. Isabella H. van Eeghen, the author of *Meniste Vrijage* (Mennonite Marriage) (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink and Zoon N.V., 1969, 277pp.), tells in detail the life story of the medical doctor and Amsterdam businessman, Jakob van Geuns, and all his relatives. This book is probably best described by stating that the account is a fictionalized family history whereby the author sticks closely to diaries, correspondence and other primary sources. This is indeed a significant mirror of a part of cultural history of the Dutch Mennonites of that period.

A fictionalized account centered around the life and work of Menno Simons has been written by Louise Vernon and illustrated by Allen Eitzen, entitled *Night Preacher*. The author relates the simple story of Bettje and Jan, the children of Menno Simons, who suffered hardships because their father was a "night Preacher" (Scottdale, Pennsylvania, Herald Press, 1969, 133 pp., $3.00.)

A Dutch novel about Hans Denk was written by Ruth Wolf entitled *Als de morgenster blinkt* (The Hague: Leopold, 1969, 197 pp.). Ruth Wolf is the writer of other novels dealing with similar subjects. Hans Denk is featured as an advocate of love and suffering. He dies young, but his work is continued by a Jewish girl named Mara.

Mennonite Historical Periodicals

By Cornelius Krahn

European Periodicals

European Mennonites, comparatively small in number, have always displayed an unusual interest in research pertaining to their history and religious and cultural life. The first among the European Mennonites to engage in scholarly research were the Dutch, who established a theological seminary in Amsterdam and affiliated with the University of Amsterdam. The Dutch have pursued research and participated in literary and artistic efforts for more than two hundred years. The literature produced by the Dutch during this time is equaled by none. The Mennonites of the Netherlands have also contributed greatly to the improvement of social, economic, and educational efforts of their country. An unusual source of information dealing with the Dutch Mennonites is found in the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* (1861-1919). For a time *Stemmen* (1952-63) took the place of the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*. Of significance also is the *Doopsgezinde Jaarboekje* published since 1902.

The German Mennonites produced numerous scholars and writers during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A channel for expression was created in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, published annually by the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein. The editor during the last twenty years has been Dr. Horst Quiring. In the preface of the last issue he states that "he has served the *Geschichtsblätter* for two decades and it is time for him to put the responsibility and work into other hands."

The *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, particularly since the Dutch efforts along this line were discontinued, has played a very significant role in presenting historical and theological sketches information, as well as thoroughly scholarly articles. Parallel to this historical magazine the German Mennonites have published the *Mennonitischer Gemeinde-Kalender* for seventy years, which also contains significant information. An unusual accomplishment of the German Mennonites was the production of the four volume *Mennonitisches Lexikon* begun in 1913 and completed in 1967. (See "European Research in Anabaptist-Mennonite History" by H. Fast in *Mennonite Life*, July, 1968 (128-132).

Mention should be made of the monthly publication *Volk auf dem Weg* and the annual *Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland*, both published by Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, Stuttgart-O, Diemershaldenstrasse 48. Particularly the latter is an extremely significant source of information consisting of vital articles, statistics, charts, and illustrations. It was formerly edited by Karl Stumpp, who has been succeeded by Joseph Schnurr. The *Heimatbuch* contains a considerable amount of information pertaining to the Mennonites of Russia and their migrations.

Recently an American Historical Society of Germans from Russia was organized (P. O. Box 749, Greeley, Colorado 80631). It is patterned after the European *Landsmannschaft* of Germans from Russia and has started the publication of a *Work Paper* which contains information about libraries and archives that have holdings pertaining to the Germans from Russia.

American Periodicals

In addition to the magazines which treat Anabaptism-Mennonitism and related issues in a scholarly manner, references can be made at this time to a few more papers published through the official channels of the Mennonite conferences in North America. One must say that there are "unfortunately" approximately two hundred papers in circulation which are published regularly. As soon as some vanish, new ones appear to meet some "need." Very little cooperation or coordination is thus far noticeable. Examples of cooperative endeavors are the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (published jointly by three conferences), the *Mennonite Hymnal*, and Sunday school materials (jointly published by the two largest conferences).

Two American Mennonite publications completely devoted to historical and research information should be named. The *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* has been published for thirty years by the Historical and Research Committee of the Mennonite General Conference and is edited by Melvin Gingerich, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. It is entirely devoted to historical questions and reports regularly on research activities.

The *Mennonite Research Journal* was started in 1960 by the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society (2215 Mill Stream Road, Lancaster, Pa. 17602). The *Journal* is devoted primarily to matters pertaining to the Mennonites of Lancaster County.

Among the papers published by Mennonites in addition to those named under "Mennonite Bibliography" and above is the inter-Mennonite *Mennonite Weekly Review* (Herald Publishing Company, Newton, Kan.), *The Mennonite* (General Conference Mennonite Church, Newton, Kansas), *The Christian Leader*

(Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, Hillsboro, Kansas), *The Canadian Mennonite* (Winnipeg, Canada), and *The Gospel Herald* and *Christian Living* (Mennonite General Conference, Scottdale, Pennsylvania). These periodicals contain valuable information of a general nature.

These are only a few major weekly and quarterly publications restricted to some conferences. Numerous others are received by the major Mennonite historical libraries at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas; Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; and Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia.

Pennsylvania Folklife, edited by Don Yoder and published by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, has throughout its twenty years of existence presented much information pertaining to the Pennsylvania-German culture, which is still alive among the Old Order Amish as well as in crafts, folkways, and literature in general. Naturally, the annual publications of the Pennsylvania-German Society (Reading, Pa.) also constitute a significant source of information about the numerous religious and ethnic groups of Pennsylvania, including the Mennonites. Another publication which should be mentioned is the *American German Review*, published by the Carl Schurz Association, Philadelphia, Pa., since 1934. The annual "Bibliography Americana Germanica" of the *Review* includes publications dealing with the Mennonites.

New Amish Publication

The Diary, a monthly Amish publication, was started in January 1969. This twenty-page paper is published in "the interest of collecting and preserving historical virtues." It contains news about the Amish and reproduces some very valuable records and information found in the Amish homes, unknown in Mennonite archives and libraries. Therefore, the Amish reader is admonished as follows.

"If you wish to dispose of old letters, books, family records, or other old writings of church and family history, do not sell them to outsiders. Some of these are priceless treasures that tell us about conditions in old times and how people lived and often contain interesting happenings . . . Do not destroy them before a historian or someone interested in such things has seen them."

Most of the contributions are reproductions of historical material and are in the English language. Occasionally an item as follows appears.

October 6, 1969
Die Lengester Dienerfersamlung war ans Bishop Sam Kauffmans an Nine Points. Die beiwohnung war völlich ausgenommen 6. Der Dienner zahl war 179.

The address is *The Diary*, Box 113, E., Gordonville, Pennsylvania 17529.

Mennonite Research in Progress, 1969

By Cornelius Krahn and Melvin Gingerich

In the April, 1969, issue of *Mennonite Life*, we reported about numerous research projects including M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations. Preceding April issues since 1949 (except in 1961, 1963, 1967 and 1968 when they were in the July issues) contain similar information under the headings "Mennonite Research in Progress," "Mennonite Bibliography" and "Books in Review." Of special significance is the article entitled "Anabaptism-Mennonitism in Doctoral Dissertations" which appeared in the April 1958 issue. The listing of additional dissertations is being continued annually in this column. The editors of *Mennonite Life* will be pleased to receive information about research in progress and dissertations to be included in subsequent issues.

Doctoral Dissertations

Caldwell, Mark. "Typology of Monasticism compared with Evangelical Anabaptism." Ph. D., Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky (In progress).

Kadelbach, Ada. "Mennonite Hymnody in North America up to the Civil War." Ph. D., University of Mainz (In progress).

Kittelson, James. "Wolfgang Capito, Humanist and Reformer." Ph. D., Stanford University, 1969.

Krahn, Henry, "An Analysis of the Conflict between the Clergy of the Reformed Church and the Leaders of the Anabaptist Movement in Strasbourg (1524-1534)," Ph.D., University of Washington, Seattle, 1969.

Neal, John, "The Shape and the Sources of Conscience in the Anabaptists, Ph.D., Harvard University (In progress).

Ozment, Steven, "Medieval Mysticism in the Radical Reformation," Ph.D., Harvard University (In progress).

Pater, Calvin A., "The Theology of Andreas Karlstadt" (Not final), Ph.D., Harvard University (In progress).

Rupel, Esther. "History of the Church of the Brethren Costume." Ph. D., Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana (In progress).

Schmid, Hans-Dieter. "Die Täufer in Nürnberg." Ph. D., University of Tübingen (In progress).

Wenger, Marion, "The Swiss-German as Spoken in Three Midwestern Swiss-German Communities," (Berne, Indiana, Pandora and Kidron, Ohio), Ph.D., Ohio University, 1969.

M. A. Thesis

Deppermann, Klaus. "Melchior Hofmann's Theological Influence on Bernhard Rothmann and Menno Simons," A Habilitation Thesis, University of Freiburg, 1970 (In progress).

Gish, Arthur G. "The New Left and Christian Radicalism." Independent study at Bethany Seminary (to be published by Eerdmans Press, 1970).

Kadelbach, Ada. "The German-American Evangelical Hymns up to 1800." Thesis, University of Mainz, 1967.

Steeves, Paul D. "The Experience of the Russian Baptists, 1922-1929." M. A., University of Kansas, 1969.

Menno Simons Lectures

William Keeney, "Conditions for a Revolutionary Century" and "The Quiet Revolution: Menno Simons," Fall, 1969, Menno Simons Lectureship, Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

Alvin Beachy, "The Biblical Basis for Civil Disobedience" and "A Case Study in Civil Disobedience: Pilgram Marbeck," Fall, 1969, Menno Simons Lectureship, Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

Cornelius Krahn, "Mennonite Migrations as an Act of Protest" and "Abraham Thiessen: A Mennonite Revolutionary?" Fall, 1969, Menno Simons Lectureship, Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

James C. Juhnke, "The Agony of Civic Isolation: Mennonites in World War I" and 'Mennonite Benevolence and Civic Identity: The Post-war Compromise," Fall, 1969, Menno Simons Lectureship, Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

(These eight Menno Simons Lectures on "Reformation and Revolution," were published in the January, 1970, issue of *Mennonite Life*.)

Lecturers in Radical Reformation

Allen W. Dirrim, "Recent Marxist Historiography of the German Peasants' Revolt: A Critique," Summer, 1968, at Foundation for Reformation Research, St. Louis, Mo.

W. R. Estep, Jr., "Balthasar Hubmaier on Religious Liberty," Fall, 1969, at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas; and "Anabaptists Subversives?", Winter, 1969, Conference on Faith and History, Washington, D. C.

Douglas Hale, "The Turkestan Trek of the Oklahoma Mennonites, 1880-1884," Spring, 1969, at Oklahoma Academy of Science.

James K. McConica, "Conscience and Consensus: Erasmus on the Authority of the Church," Spring, 1969, at North Central Renaissance Conference, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Paul D. Steeves, "Marxist Writers View Soviet Baptists as Subversives," Winter, 1969, at Conference on Faith and History, Washington, D.C.

David C. Steinmetz, "In the Shadow of Luther: Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, Reformation without Tarrying for Anie," Fall, 1969, at Lexington Theological Seminary, Lexington, Ky.; and "Scholasticism and Radical Reform: Nominalist Motives in the Theology of Balthasar Hubmaier," Winter, 1969, at American Society for Church History, Washington, D.C.

Cornelius Krahn, "Radicals Demythologize the Sacraments," Winter, 1970, American Academy of Religion, Dallas, Texas.

Foundation for Reformation Research

The RFR (6477 San Bonita Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 63105) sponsors an annual Institute on Reformation Research in June and July, and grants for this purpose pre-doctoral fellowships of up to six awards of $600 each. The RFR publishes a *Monthly Newsletter*. It recently obtained a $20,000 initial grant to make the preliminary arrangements for the Fourth International Luther Research Congress to be held in St. Louis, August 22-27, 1971. Among the lecturers will be Ernst Wolf (Göttingen), E. Gordon Rupp (Cambridge), and Jaroslav Pelikan (Yale). The last Research Congress convened in Helsinki in 1966. Lowell H. Zuck of Eden Theological Seminary is the Acting Executive Director of the Foundation for Reformation Research.

Research Projects

Ada Kadelbach, who has written a thesis entitled "The German-American Evangelical Hymns up to 1880" (University of Mainz, 1967), spent the fall semester of 1969 in the Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, continuing her research in Mennonite hymnody. She also presented a lecture on this subject at a Research Fellowship. She is now working on her Ph. D. dissertation entitled "Mennonite Hymnody in North America up to the Civil War" to be presented at the University of Mainz.

Clarence Hiebert is continuing his research in the Mennonite Library and Archives dealing with the "History of the Church of God in Christ, Mennonites." He has done extensive field work in visiting most of the congregations in the USA and Canada, and has discovered numerous sources. He will obtain his Ph. D. degree at Case Western Reserve University.

Keith Sprunger is spending the year 1969-70 in the Netherlands and England, continuing his research in Puritanism.

Rachel Weaver Kreider has completed a study of her and her husband's background (Rachel Weaver and Leonard Kreider), consisting of 242 pages, tracing these two families back to Switzerland. It is a very detailed, documented research project containing a general introduction on the Anabaptists and charts and rosters of the family.

Delbert Gratz presented a paper dealing with the Mennonites at the World Conference on Records and Genealogical Seminar at Salt Lake City, Utah, in August 1969. The theme of the Conference was entitled "A Century of Emigration from the Palatinate to the USA" (Part II), and the papers were published by the Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints. Gratz dealt with matters of family history, the depositories of records, and "selected general references for information concerning the history and genealogy of Mennonites." This presentation should prove to be a helpful guide to historians in general and genealogists in a special way.

The historical libraries receive many inquiries in regard to family histories. Specialists in this field are Dr. Kurt Kauenhoven (Göttingen), Delbert Gratz Bluffton), Adalbert Goertz (22 Strickler Avenue, Waynesboro, Pennsylvania 17268), and John Schmidt (North Newton, Kansas).

Justus Holsinger of Bethel College spent his sabbatical term in 1969 in Puerto Rico, where he prepared a study on the developments within that country during the past decades. His research was related to the establishment and growth of the Mennonite Church on the island, and is a sequel to Holsinger's early published study of Mennonite beginnings in Puerto Rico.

Mennonite sociologists from the United States and Canada met at Goshen College February 6 and 7 to discuss areas of research in the sociology of Mennonite communities. It was decided to issue a newsletter for the exchange of information on research in progress.

The *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* January 1970, was entirely devoted to Hutterite studies, including articles by Robert Friedmann (Peter Riedemann and Hutterite Census), John A. Hostetler (Hutterite Educational Practices), Paul S. Gross (two articles), etc. Robert Friedmann inspired the production of this valuable issue.

Reprint of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*

A slightly revised reprint of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Volume I, appeared in 1969. The supply of the first edition was exhausted. Now Volume II is being prepared for reprint. The changes and revisions are restricted to typographical and factual errors. Suggestions and corrections for Volume II, as well as the remaining volumes, should be sent to Cornelius Krahn, Editor, *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* North Newton, Kansas 67117.

An Appeal to Our Readers

Kindly send us information about overlooked research projects, dissertations and books and articles that have recently appeared.

Theodore R. Schellenberg (1903-1970) and the National Archives

On January 15, 1970, Dr. Theodore R. Schellenberg died at the age of 66. It is unusual for a representative of a small group like the Mennonites to become a highly regarded specialist in a national institution as was the case with Schellenberg, who was the Assistant Archivist of the National Archives of the United States in Washington, D. C.

Schellenberg was born near Buhler in Reno County, Kansas. His father, Abraham L. Schellenberg, was editor of the Mennonite Brethren publications at McPherson and Hillsboro, Kansas. T. R. Schellenberg received his education at Tabor College and the universities of Kansas and Pennsylvania (Ph.D. in history, 1934). His most outstanding books are *The Management of Archives* and *Modern Archives,* which have become standard textbooks on archival administration and have been translated into most of the major languages in the world. T. R. Schellenberg has had many foreign assignments starting with the Fulbright Lectureship in Australia (1954) and his three-month assignment as a United States Specialist under the International Educational Exchange Program in seven South American countries in 1960, as well as the Caribbean Archives Conference held in Jamaica in 1965. He retired from the National Archives in 1963, but continued to teach archival science and to lecture at various universities.

Dr. Schellenberg was of Mennonite Brethren background and with his family (wife and two sons) joined the Haymarket Baptist Church where the funeral services were conducted. He was buried in the Georgetown Cemetery near his home at Broad Run, Virginia, in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains about forty miles west of Washington, D.C.

Dr. Schellenberg spent much time in research pertaining to his family and Mennonite background. (See his excellent article, "Editor Abraham L. Schellenberg" in *Mennonite Life,* January 1954, pp. 19-28.) He was also very helpful in pointing out information pertaining to the Mennonites to the Mennonite libraries and archives. He belonged to that generation of young Mennonite scholars who left their homes in rural areas to study and who were successful in education and a vocation which led them to prominent positions. Gladly and with joy many of them returned to their homes as a base and sources of inspiration which helped them make a contribution to the world at large.

In this connection two more men in Washington, D. C., who have kept their contact with their brotherhood in this manner should be named. They are J. A. Duerksen, originally from Goessel, Kansas (Washington, D. C.), and Ernst Correll, formerly at the University of Washington and now at Salt Lake City in retirement. All have been constant subscribers to *Mennonite Life* since 1946.

Mennonite Bibliography, 1969

By John F. Schmidt and Nelson P. Springer and others

THE MENNONITE BIBLIOGRAPHY is published annually in the April issue of *Mennonite Life*. It contains a list of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with the Anabaptists-Mennonites or the radical Reformers.

The magazine articles have been mostly restricted to non-Mennonite publications since complete files of Mennonite periodicals, yearbooks, and conference reports are available at the historical libraries of Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas; Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; and the Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana.

Mennonite publications, featuring Mennonite history, life and thought are the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (Goshen College, Goshen, Ind.), *Mennonite Life* (Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas), *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* (Weierhof), *Mennonitischer Gemeinde-Kalender* (Monsheim bei Worms), *Doopsgezinde Jaarboekje* (Amsterdam, Singel 454).

General magazines which quite often feature Anabaptists and Mennonites are *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh, *Nederlands Archief voor Kergeschiedenis* (Leiden), *Church History* (Chicago) and others.

Previous bibliographies published in *Mennonite Life* appeared annually in the April issues since 1949 (except July, 1961, July, 1963, July, 1967, and July, 1968). Authors and publishers of books, pamphlets and magazines which should be included in our annual list are invited to send copies to *Mennonite Life* for listing and possible review.

Books - 1969

Bainton, Roland H. *Erasmus of Christendom*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969, 272 pp., $6.95. (Reference to Anabaptists.)

Barth, Karl. *Baptism as the Foundation of the Christian Life;* in *The Christian Life* (Fragment); in *Church Dogmatics*. Volume IV, Part 4, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969, 226 pp.

Behrends, Ernst. *Der Steppenhengst*. Bodman, Bodensee: Hohenstaufen Verlag 1969, 388 pp. (Novel: Mennonites in Russia.)

Bender, Harold S. *Voici mon peuple*. Basel: Editions Agape', 1969, 160 pp.

Bender, Lucy Ellen. *The Outside World*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 112 pp. $2.50.

Bender, Nevin, and Emanuel Swartzendruber. *Nonresistance under Test*. Keynote Series, no. I, Rosedale, Ohio: Irwin, Ohio, Conservative Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, 1969, 19 pp.

Bender, Urie A. *Soldiers of Compassion*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 319 pp.

Bontrager, Harley A., and Mary Ann (Miller) Bontrager. *The Descendants of Peter C. Nisley*. n. p., 1969, 116 pp.

Cook, Blanche Wiesen, ed. *Bibliography on Peace Research in History*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio Press, 1969, 72 pp.

Commissie tot de Uitgave van Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica. Amsterdam, *Bulletin* No. 1, May 1969, 8 pp.

Director of Teacher Education. *Teacher Education at Goshen College*. 4th ed. Goshen, Ind., 1969, 63 pp.

Eeghen, Isabella H. van. *Meniste Vrijage Jakob van Geuns (1769-1832) Gronings Dokter, Amsterdams 'Kassier'*. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1969, 255 pp. (Fictionalized family history.)

Erb, Paul. *Orie O. Miller; the Story of a Man and of an Era*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 304 pp.

Erb, Paul. *We Believe; an Interpretation of the 1963 Mennonite Confession of Faith for the Younger Generation*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 111 pp.

Erickson, Donald A., ed. *Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969, 242 pp. (Several chapters on the Amish school controversies.)

Franck, Sebastian. *Chronica*. Darmstadt: *Wissenschaftliche* Buchgesellschaft, 1969. (Reprint of the 1536 or 2nd edition of the *Chronica, Zeitbuch vnnd Geschichtbibell*.)

Franz, Delton, Carl Kreider, Andrew and Viola Shelly. *Let My People Choose*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 152 pp.

Thiessen, John H. *Let My People Choose; Leader's Guide*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press; and Newton, Kansas: Faith Life Press, 1969, 31 pp.

Geiger, Max, ed. *Gottesreich und Menschenreich; Ernst Staehelin zum 80. Geburtstag*. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1969. (Chapter by Peter Klassen, "Zwingli and the Zürich Anabaptists," pp. 197-210.)

Gratz, Delbert, "Mennonites," part III of "A Century of emigration from the Palatinate to the U.S.A." Salt Lake City, Utah, World Conference on Records and Genealogical Society of the Church of JC of the Latter Day Saints. 35 pp. 2 charts.

Hershberger, Guy Franklin. *War, Peace, and Nonresistance*. 3d. ed., rev., Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 382 pp.

Hershberger, Eli D.; Mrs. Eli D. Hershberger; and Lovina D. Miller. *Descendants of Peter Hershberger and Lizzie Yoder*. Berne, Ind. Printed by Publishers Printing House, 1969. 525 pp.

Horst, John L., ed. *Instructions to Beginners in the Christian Life;* Prepared by a Committee Appointed by the Southwestern Pennsylvania (now Allegheny) Mennonite Conference. . . . Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 121 pp.

Hostetler, John A., ed. *Report of the Conference on Child*

Socialization. Washington, D. C.: Health, Education, and Welfare, 1969. (Chapter by Franklin H. Littell, "The Anabaptist Heritage and Oral Tradition," pp. 253-264.)

Hostetler, John A. *Educational Achievement and Life Styles in a Traditional Society, the Old Order Amish*. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1969, 523 pp. (Final Report, Project No. 6-1921.)

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Kauffman, Christmas Carol. *Lucy Winchester*. rev. ed., Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 540 pp.

Keefer, Daryle E. *The Education of the Amish Children in Lagrange County, Indiana*. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University, 1969, 102 pp.

Klassen, Isaak. *Dem Herrn die Ehre; Schönwieser Mennoniten-Gemeinde von Manitoba, 1924-1968*. Altona, Man.: Printed by D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1969, 150 pp. (First Mennonite Church, Winnipeg.)

Koolmar, J. ten Doornkaat. *Täufer in Zürcher Zünften 1588*. Zurich, 1969, offprint from *Zürcher Taschenbuch*. 1970, pp. 31-47.

Kossen, H. B., H. W. Meihuizen, and H. P. H. Plevier. *Doopsgezind-zijn*. Amsterdam, 1969, 8 pp.

Krahn, Cornelius and Melvin Gingerich, *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Volume I, slightly revised reprint. Scottdale, Newton, Hillsboro: Joint Mennonite Publishing Houses, 1969, 749 pp., Illustrations 47 pp.

Krahn, Cornelius, *Antiques, Auctions, and Pottage*. North Newton, Kansas, Mennonite Library and Archives, 1969, 10 cents.

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Landing, James. *American Essence: A History of the Peppermint and Spearmint Industry in the United States*. Kalamazoo, Mich.: Kalamazoo Public Museum, 1969. (References to Amish and Mennonite mint industry.)

Lapp, John A., ed. *Peacemakers in a Broken World*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 159 pp.

Lehman, James O. *Sonnenberg; a Haven and a Heritage;* a Sesquicentennial History of the Swiss Mennonite Community of Southeastern Wayne County, Ohio. Kidron, Ohio, Kidron Community Council, Inc., 1969. 384 pp.

Mathiot, Charles, and Roger Boigerol. *Recherches historiques sur les Anabaptistes de l'ancienne principaute de Montbeliard, d'Alsace et du territoire de Belfort*.. Flavion, Belgium: Le Phare, 1921, reprainted 1969. (Vol. 5 in the series *Essais sur l'histoire du Protestantisme Francais*.)

Miller, Jacob J., and Mattie Miller. *Descendants of Eli J. Miller and Wives, Mary Weaver and Elizabeth Miller*. Bowling Green, Mo., 1969, 138 pp.

Miller, John W. *The Christian Way. A Guide to the Christian Life based on the Sermon on the Mount*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969, 136 pp.

Miller, Paul M. *Equipping for Ministry in East Africa*. Dodoma, Tanzania: Central Tanganyika Press; Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1969.

Mosemann, Ruth (Histand). *Family Directory of Samuel Swartz Histand and Susan Overholt Landis (Descendants and Ascendants)*. Goshen, Ind., 1969, 202 pp.

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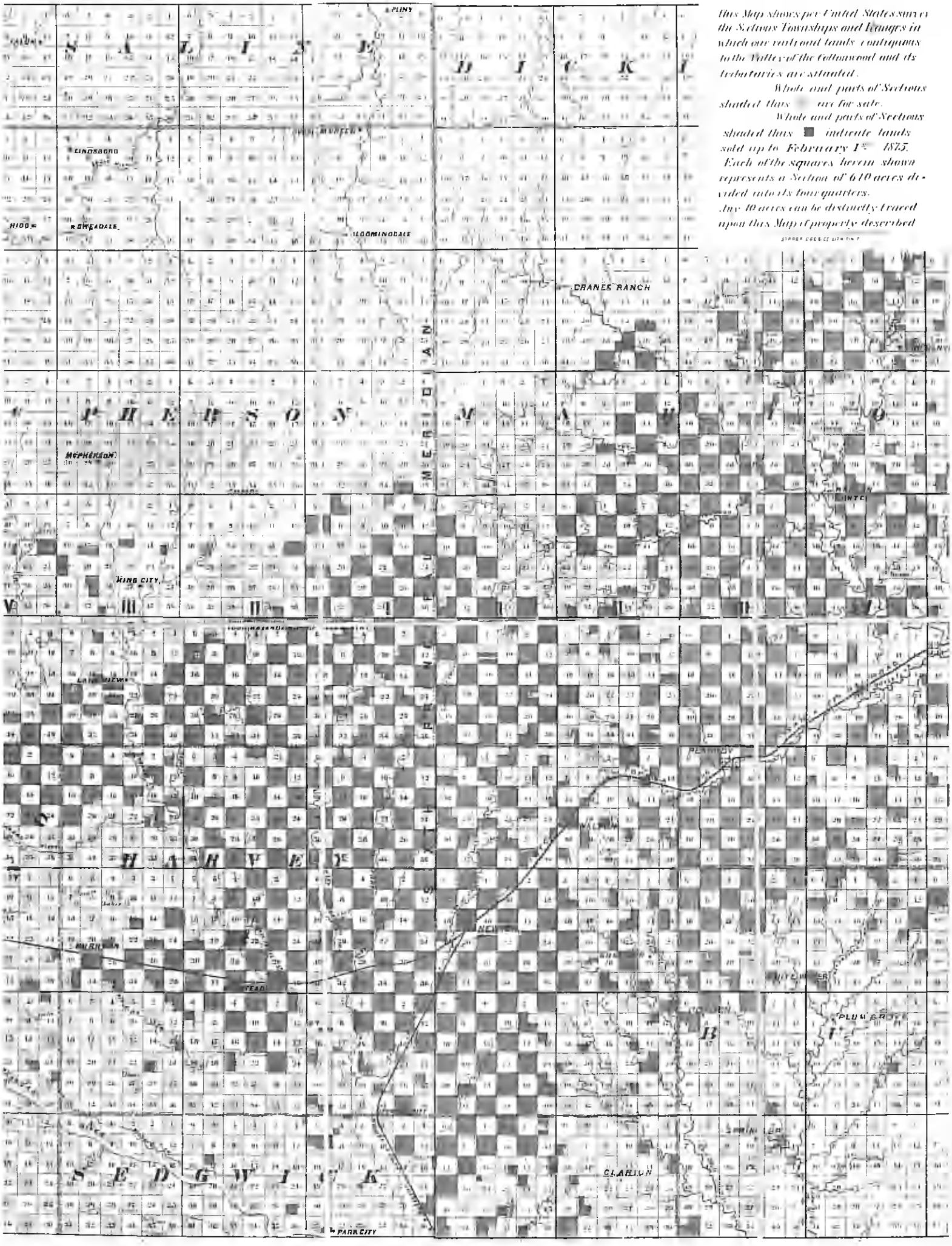
This Map shows per United States survey the Sections Townships and Ranges in which our railroad lands contiguous to the Valley of the Cottonwood and its tributaries are situated.
Whole and parts of Sections shaded thus ▨ are for sale.
Whole and parts of Sections shaded thus ■ indicate lands sold up to February 1st 1875.
Each of the squares herein shown represents a Section of 640 acres divided into its four quarters.
Any 40 acres can be distinctly traced upon this Map if properly described
PLINY
LINDSBORG
HIDDEN
ROWLEADALE
BLOOMINGDALE
CRANES RANCH
McPHERSON
KING CITY
LAKE VIEW
PARK CITY
CLARION
PLUM GROVE
SALINA
MERIDIAN
SIXTH PRINCIPAL