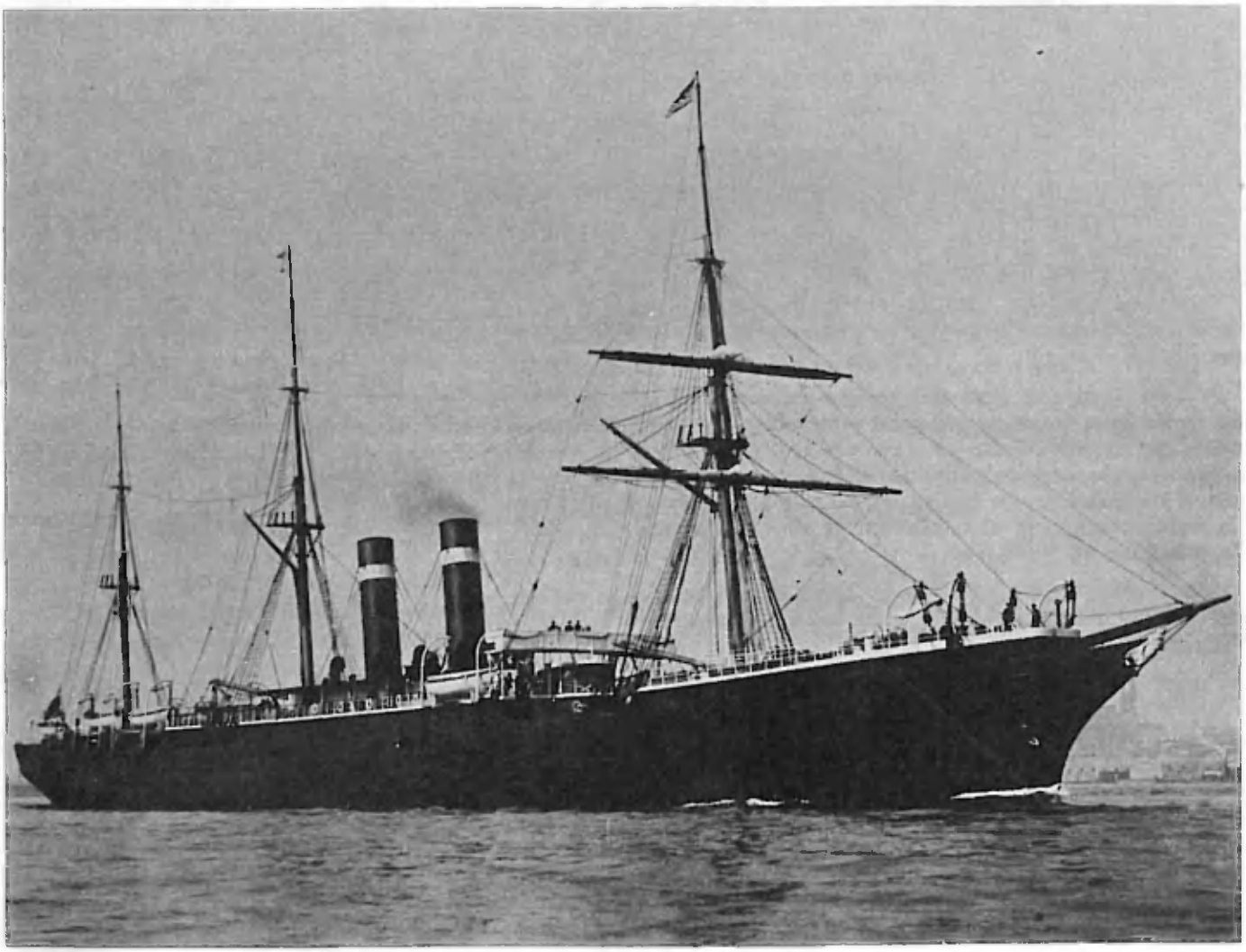
MENNONITE LIFE

June 1973



The *City of Richmond,* an immigration ship of 1874

MENNONITE
LIFE JUNE 1973, VOL. 28, No. 2

A Quarterly Magazine
Focusing on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Heritage
& Its Contemporary Expression

This Issue

continues the publication of material relating to the centennial of the coming of the Mennonites to the prairie states and provinces. Beginning in the early 1870s, this wave of migration marks an important watershed for the brotherhood in the New World, for to a large extent it shaped the development of the second and third largest North American groups—the General Conference Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Brethren Church. For Mennonites of the United States, it was the last large-scale influx from Europe, thus adding the last major ingredients to the Mennonite ethnic make-up in the U.S.

¶ An often unrecognized fact today is that Mennonites of the eastern United States had a significant role in aiding the immigrants to the prairie, not only in helping the newcomers to locate suitable areas for settlement but also in providing supplementary financing to see them through the early years. John F. Schmidt skillfully tells the story of one such project, involving a $10,000 loan from Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pa. to the Hoffnungsau group in Kansas.

¶ In Part Two of his Centennial Chronology, Cornelius Krahn continues the account begun in the March issue, focusing especially on the highlights of the great migration year of 1874. The chronology is to be concluded in a later issue.

¶ A picture section on ships that brought the immigrants to America helps create an additional sense of reality regarding the migration events of a century ago. An effort was made in the selection to include ships associated with some of the larger groups coming in the year 1874. The ship pictures are from the collection of the Mariners Museum, Newport News, Va.

¶ Several other articles in this issue stress Christian concern about contemporary issues such as Vietnam and Watergate.

¶ Cover: The *City of Richmond,* sailing from Liverpool to New York, made at least three voyages in 1874 with Mennonite immigrants on board. The largest of the groups using this vessel arrived on August 31, 1874. They were 441 Swiss Volhynian Mennonites, most of whom settled in Kansas.

MENNONITE LIFE is an illustrated quarterly magazine published in March, June, September and December by Herald Publishing Co., 129 W. 6th St., Newton, Kansas 67114.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, $3.50; two years, $6.50. Single copies, 90 cents.

Second class postage paid at Newton, Kansas. Send change of address form 3579 to Box 568, Newton, Kansas 67114.

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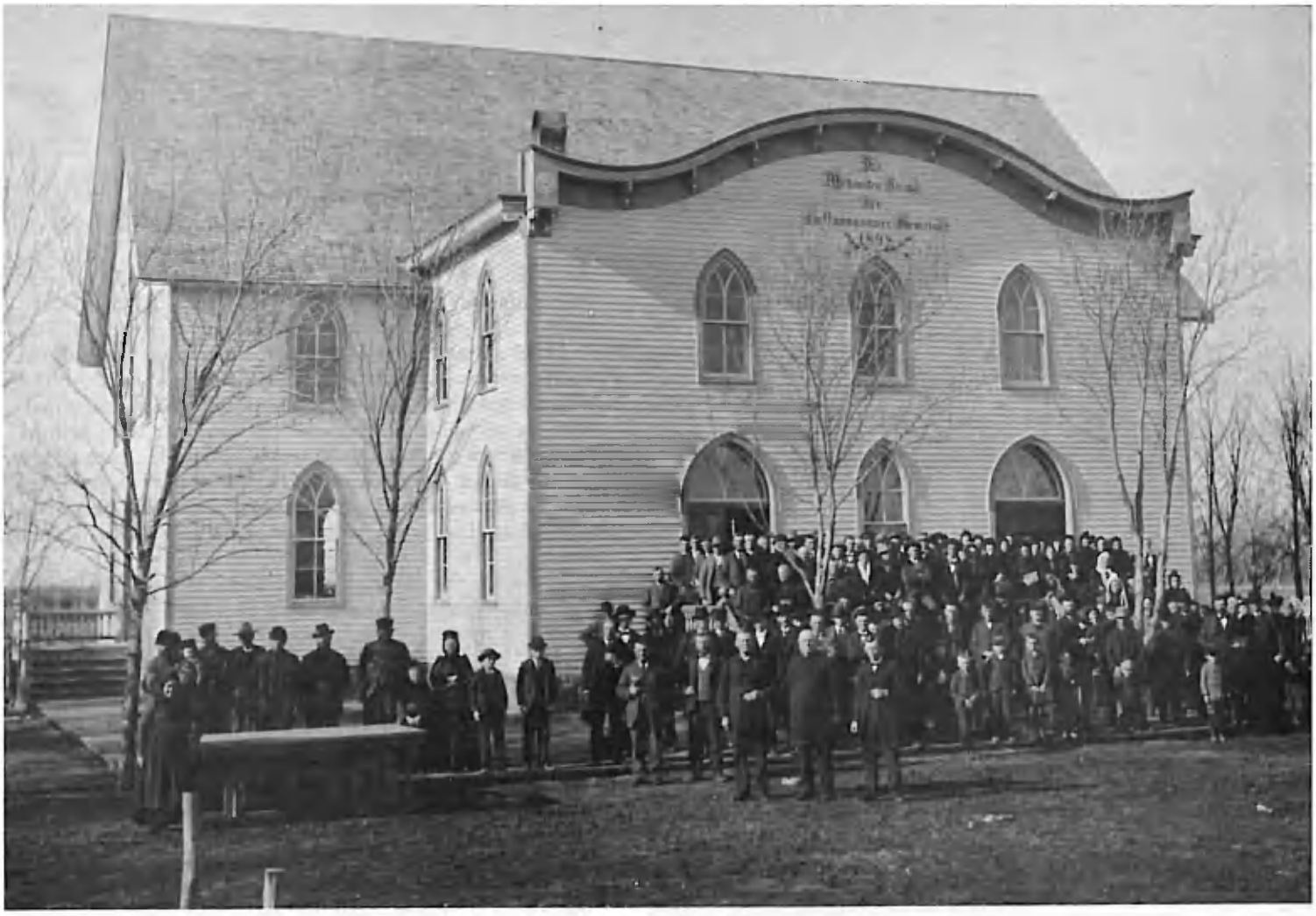


The Hoffnungsau Mennonite congregation, Buhler, Kan., as seen in an early photo.

Early Mennonites of Kansas had difficulty repaying a $10,000 loan from their brethren in Pennsylvania

'Three Years After Date...'

By JOHN F. SCHMIDT

THE casual historical investigator who relies upon some sources for his information on the settlement of Kansas by the Russian Mennonite immigrants of a century ago may gain the impression that these people were affluent. This impression is largely acquired from reading the account of C. B. Schmidt when he states in his *Reminiscences:*

The first arrival of Mennonites in Kansas that same year consisted of 400 families, 1,900 people, who brought with them two and a quarter million dollars in gold, and purchased 60,000 acres of land in the counties of Marion, McPherson, Harvey and Reno.

It may be impossible to further substantiate or to contradict the above statement. It must be remembered that C. B. Schmidt was Foreign Immigration Commissioner for the Santa Fe Railroad, a promotional position not unlike that of a contemporary chamber of commerce executive. That Schmidt was inclined toward exaggeration is shown by other statements.

In recounting the early history of the Mennonites he states that 3,000 of them suffered martyrdom in Germany and some 6,000 Dutch Anabaptists suffered martyrdom under the rule of Philip II of Spain. He is also generous in his estimate of the number who settled in Kansas: "By the year 1883 about 15,000 of these people had settled on the lands of the Santa Fe Railroad, and since then they have increased to at least 60,000" (1906).

Actually, not more than 12,000 had come to America in

that period including those who had settled in the Dakotas, Nebraska and Minnesota.

To support Schmidt's position, there are, however, other evidences of affluence among the Mennonite immigrants. Henry Riesen in his reminiscent sketches, "Fifty Years Ago," quotes from his father's notebook: "Jacob Rempel bought 5,000 acres today (June 26, 1873) at four dollars per acre. He paid down $2,000 or ten per cent."

The classic example of opulence may be quoted from Christian Krehbiel's memoirs, published under the title, *Prairie Pioneer*. In describing the sale of land by the Santa Fe to the Funk brothers in Marion County, Krehbiel relates, "When the Funks reached the stage of paying for the land they had purchased, it came out that between them they had carried $50,000 in cash on their land-hunting tour."

However, when all sources are consulted, there is an impression of pervasive and crippling poverty. The experiences of the Gnadenau settlers south of Hillsboro was representative. Jacob Wiebe, their leader, remembered the poverty:

We were all poor people, many families owed their traveling expenses . . . There was no other way than to borrow money, but where? We were strangers, had no friends here, only Bernhard Warkentin of Halstead knew us from Russia and he helped us through. Elder Christian Krehbiel with a loan of a thousand dollars, when those were distributed . . . then Cornelius Janzen of Nebraska, the well known consul Janzen, loaned us one thousand dollars, when these were distributed, it was said, brother Wiebe, we have to buy provisions for a year, and some lumber to build little houses, then the Elder Wilhelm Ewert loaned us one thousand dollars. Then the time of payment came, so Jacob Funk loaned us one thousand dollars. Quoted in L. L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe,* Lawrence, Kan., 1950.)

The Karolswalde group which came to America December 26, 1874 on the *S.S. Vaderland* became a special burden to the Board of Guardians and other agencies because of their extreme poverty. They were housed in empty warehouses in Florence, Kansas through the winter of 1875 and were the object of solicitous concern by agencies and individuals.

Most of the Mennonite immigrants who because of their poverty found it difficult to establish themselves in America had been poor in Europe. They had been guaranteed passage to America by the Board of Guardians based in Summerfield, Ill., and the Executive Aid Society of Pennsylvania. While some of them had owned land or had leaseholds in Europe, they found it almost impossible to sell the land and leaseholds and to collect the money for their sales. This was the case with the Karolswalde group, the Michaliner and others from the province of Volhynia. To some extent it was also true of the Mennonites from the Molotschna when an entire community decided to migrate. Not enough Mennonites were left in some communities who could buy land and possessions from the Mennonites migrating and pay for these purchases in substantial amounts of cash.

The Alexanderwohl group was a case in point. In this large congregation many families were on the brink of poverty. All members, however, pledged their means to the common enterprise of the migration and through a disciplined practice of mutual aid, all of them enjoyed equally the privilege of coming to America. One group, coming on the *Cimbria,* landed in New York Aug. 27, 1874. After a brief stay in Lincoln, Neb. and a longer interval at Topeka, Kan. they settled at New Alexanderwohl, Goessel, Kan.

The other Alexanderwohl group came to America on the *Teutonia,* landing at New York on Sept. 3. This group also spent some time in Topeka as guests of the Santa Fe Railway prior to their settlement in Reno County, southeast of Inman. Here the Hoffnungsau congregation, as they now called themselves, lived in a Santa Fe immigrant house while heads of families selected their land and built their homes.

Most of the land in the Hoffnungsau area was sold to the Mennonites by the Santa Fe at $3.50 per acre. According to the terms of the sale the Mennonites were asked to pay seven per cent of the sale price of the land, the balance to be paid in eleven years with six per cent interest.

A hundred years later these terms seem most generous. Surely a farmer should be able to pay down $39.20 on 160 acres of land and pay the balance of $520.80 in eleven years!

However, the documentary evidence of these farmers in 1875 indicates that for many years they faced agonizing difficulties in meeting their financial obligations. The Dietrich Gaeddert manuscript collection in the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College tells the story of the strain when pioneer economy met the Mennonite desire to maintain integrity and honor.

Whatever resources the Mennonites had brought along were gone by the spring of 1875. They had made a payment on their land and had moved into their own very modest homes. They had survived their first winter much better than the Pilgrims had but in the American economy of 1875 money was the passport to life beyond survival. Thus on April 3 some 43 of the heads of households met and addressed a request to their teacher and church leader, Dietrich Gaeddert, "to arrange a loan for us among the American brethren of $10,000." Continuing the petition they stated:

You are best acquainted with our situation; you know that many of us should still receive money from Russia. You also know that most of us are now completely without means so that the purchase of bread and other necessities is entirely out of the question. . . . We considered directing our need primarily to the Pennsylvania Brethren to whom we would first send you so you could faithfully present our situation to our dear brethren and urge upon them our request until you may come again with the fulfillment of our hope."

Of course the Hoffnungsau brethren did not expect a gift. They knew that the Pennsylvania brethren had already done much to aid the cause of the migration. They were also aware that they had no collateral to offer. Some type of surety would have to be given. The 43 signatures represented a range of 25 surnames.

If Gaeddert felt the petition was not sufficient authorization the brethren readily agreed to another document in which they also suggested that the "brethren Sudermanns, Summerfield, Illinois" might be able to help them. Primarily they wished to give Gaeddert further authorization.

Tell the dear brethren there we are asking for their brotherly help only in a business manner with the usual interest considerations for which we pledge ourselves as well as for the capital amount in a mutually binding agreement so that the grantors of the loan may be assured that our congregation binds itself in a firm guarantee that the same loan will be repaid.

We authorize you, after you have received the above loan, to present a note or certificate bound with your signature which we will then recognize and accept as our own, subject to God's gracious assistance and blessing. Such other papers as may be requested of you beyond this authorization you, according to your insight, will want to provide and certify in the name of all of us so that we will have the mutual responsibility of borrowing the same.

The brethren were well aware that they were placing Gaeddert in an extremely difficult position so they hasten to add:

Do not grow faint in asking and in knocking until we see our requests answered and our most pressing necessities are satisfied. Meanwhile, we do not wish to neglect to ask God the giver of all good and perfect gifts that he will be your strength, comfort and counselor in the execution of this difficult task: may he through the help of the brethren dry the tears of those who cry to him and may your return wipe their tears.

This document was signed by 57 heads of households, including a widow.

The third document drawn up and signed by the Hoffnungsau brethren was a surety certificate or pledge. It also spelled out the terms of the anticipated loans: six per cent interest annually for a term of five years.

We all pledge with each other—those with means and those without means, those who receive money through this loan and those who do not—that the above sum ($10,000) will be fully repaid in the time given and that the interest will be paid annually as well as proportionate payments on the capital. To the fulfillment of this pledge, we attach our signatures.

This document carries 69 signatures, including that of Dietrich Gaeddert. As leader he was now armed with documents expressing need, giving him authorization and assurance of the commitment of the brethren to the historic Mennonite principle of mutual aid.

In Lancaster County Dietrich Goeddert may have made his headquarters at the home of Gabriel Baer, Mount Joy. All told, 46 Pennsylvania Mennonites loaned money to members of Gaeddert's congregation in amounts of $50 to $500 each. Each loan was secured by a note which read, "Three years after date we or either of us promise to pay to ——— or order ——— dollars with six per cent interest without defalcation for value received. Interest to be paid annually." Thus while the surety certificate specified a term of five years, the individual notes specify a term of three years. Each note carries the name of a Pennsylvania witness and is signed by thirty or more of the Hoffnungsau congregation.

Several years later, as the surviving correspondence tells us, Gabriel Baer had been ill and had been forced to give up his work as secretary for the Pennsylvania brethren. On Nov. 9, 1880 John K. Nissley wrote, "Since your last remittance of interest and part of the capital Brother Baer has turned the entire matter over to me as he was too weak to understand it."

In November of 1880 all notes were past due as it was over five years since the loans had been made. Nissley wishes to keep the record clear on this, reminding Gaeddert,

. . . I have spoken to some of the creditors and have noticed that almost every one thought to receive his money. Yet they do not feel they should force repayment nor do I believe that there are brethren among them who would bring you to ruin (as you have said) by forcing you to sell at a loss. My acquaintance with your land and living conditions has been very useful, for I have found that it has helped arouse confidence in the minds of many. Many of the brethren here as well as others have never seen the western states and know little of them. Nevertheless, beloved brethren, the sooner you will repay the money, the more confidence there will be.

Elder and Mrs. Dietrich Gaeddert. As the leader of the Hoffnungsau congregation, he negotiated a loan of $10,000 from a group of Pennsylvania Mennonites in 1875. Repayment of the obligation took much longer than expected.

The 1880s were difficult years in Kansas—much more difficult than the pioneering Mennonites had foreseen when in 1875 they had signed notes requiring repayment in three or at most in five years.

On Aug. 4, 1885 John Shenk, one of the original Lancaster group to make the loan, wrote to Gaeddert,

. . . I must write somewhat emphatically because for some time I have often been asked what is lacking that we hear

no more from our brother Gaeddert and also no money is forthcoming. Brother, since I have experienced that you have lost love and confidence among the brethren, I am sorry and hurt, the reason being that when you were here to borrow the money Brother Amos Herr and I made the beginning to make up the sum you needed and also used our influence with the other brethren and through our influence and your persistent presentations with letters and the like as also through promises that if the amount were made up you would come back in five years and personally bring back the money even as you had received it.

Shenk further complained that while some had been repaid, others were still, after ten years, waiting for further payment. Irregularity had made for bad feeling.

The following summer John K. Nissley reported having received $600 which he will use for payment of two years interest and for the principal. Nissley again writes in January of 1889,

After the death of Gabriel Baer who was treasurer of the above loan as well as being a member of the committee to aid the Russian immigration, Gaeddert has conducted the business of the above loan with me for already nine years. . . . Every note made here has been written at six per cent and Gaeddert has told me that every individual who committed himself with his signature is bound until the last dollar is paid.

Nissley indicated that $1512.87 was due by next May. His patience is obviously sorely tried and he is prompted to recall a bit of history.

In the year 1874 a loan was made by the Mennonite brethren in Lancaster County for five years without interest (I have $50 in this myself), a loan to be used to aid the poor Russian brethren and immigrants with railroad fare from ship dock to their homes in the west. They had five years' time to repay this loan. However, it is now fifteen years and none of the Russian brethren speak of this loan much less pay for it.

Nissley also cites gifts made to the Russian brethren for which repayment was not expected. He does, however, deplore the lack of respect. "Every note Gaeddert made was payable in three years and now almost fourteen years have gone by and not all have yet been repaid." Meanwhile, Nissley has made smaller personal loans to Gaeddert, all of which have been repaid, according to schedule. In fact, Nissley sends $250 late in 1889 which Gaeddert apparently uses to hasten the repayment of the $10,000 loan.

In November, 1889, Nissley gives an accounting of the loan, showing a balance due of $223.86. Repeatedly he expresses his impatience, "I cannot imagine how these people interpret their keeping of this money for such a long time and make such an effort to avoid making an end of the matter, especially since such a small balance is still due." And again: "A person should always honor his word; the brethren (in Pennsylvania) have become tired and dissatisfied because of the lengthy waiting and the matter is distasteful to me. I wish to remove the matter from my mind. I do have other obligations and wish to be free of this altogether."

Is he tempted to use some form of legal action? It may not be fair to suggest this. In the contemporary context he certainly would be accused of making a threat when he says, "It really would be a lasting shame if now at the end compulsion would have to be used."

This was strong language among Mennonites. Was it too strong? A year and several months later Nissley wrote again. He is about to consult the loan brethren of the Pennsylvania debt as to what they wish to have done with the loan.

I have taken care of the matter for eleven years and am now tired of it. Have otherwise far too much to take care of with so many matters always awaiting my good will. I have made up my mind to rid myself of this and if the brethren continue to press I will complete my accounting and turn the matter over to someone else.

He still holds the $225.86 which he had Oct. 1, 1886. and soon there is a response. On Feb. 23 he received $200. The remaining $44 may have been received soon after, which closed the account.

Over the years of this correspondence Nissley and Gaeddert had developed a personal friendship. In fact, Nissley had made several personal loans to Gaeddert, all of which seem to have been properly repaid. On Oct. 15, 1890 Nissley tells of his wife being bedfast. In February of the following year he again mentions that his wife is bedfast with disorder of the nerves and a weak heart. She evidently passed away soon after this.

The final letter from Nissley is dated only July and was mailed from Paris, Ill. He is at his daughter's Mrs. George R. Risser. He is on an extensive trip and will spend some time at Elkhart, Ind. and Canada before returning to his home. He continues,

Next November, it will be three years since I have been at your home. The following December 4 I left Newton for California. I stopped at Colorado Springs, Leadville and for three months through the winter I stayed in California, mostly the southern part. The climate is wonderful and to rest under the loaded orange trees is most inviting.

Nissley is still single. In response to Gaeddert's request for a loan he indicates that he has helped his children, lost some money on a promissory note, and has even borrowed money himself "so that I cannot help you." He will write to some of his friends in Pennsylvania. The $10,000 loan transaction is past history. "We once exchanged so many letters . . . "

It is the kind of history we would rather forget until we have become far enough removed from it not to feel the emotional weight of immediate involvement. The Mennonite pioneers in the prairie states and provinces knew grinding poverty. The manuscript collections of these people are replete with mortgages and tax receipts—these were the papers that documented economic survival.

After the turn of the century money may still have been extremely scarce but more Mennonites were out of debt, young people were going to college and mission enterprises began to draw upon their resources. The story of the $10,000 loans was tucked into shoe boxes and removed from all conversation. Perhaps we need to remind ourselves today that we are not far removed from the "times that tried men's souls."

John F. Schmidt is archivist of the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

Eine liste der Leihungs Mennoniten Brüder aus

Lancaster Co. Penna. An die Russen Mennoniten in Kansas.

Im jahr 1875, im monat april, für $10000. an .06 pro.ct. für 3 jahren. = $1800.00

Amos Herr	$ 200.00	Chr. F. Hostetter	$ 50.00
Isaac Eby	500.00	John K. Nissley	300.00
Daniel Denlinger	500.00	Elias N. Nissley	250.00
Abr. Metzler	300.00	Isaac Brubacher	200.00
Jac. Hershey	300.00	Benj. Nissley	100.00
John Ronk	300.00	Jac. Cassel	200.00
Chr. Herr	200.00	David Hershey	200.00
Abr. Denlinger	200.00	Benj. Hoverter	300.00
Jac. K. Brubaker	200.00	John Reist	100.00
John Shenk	200.00	Jac. Bomberger	200.00
Chr. Kendig	500.00	Chr. Bomberger	200.00
Jac. Herr	500.00	John K. Brubacher	100.00
Chr. Lefever	200.00	Henry Frank	100.00
John B Landes	200.00	Peter K. Stauffer	100.00
Benj. Musser	200.00	Sem Brubacher	100.00
Jac. Hoiestand	200.00	Jac. N. Newcomer	100.00
Saml. Hess	100.00	Chr. Newcomer	200.00
Chr. K. Hostetter	100.00	John Musser	200.00
Henry S. Nissley	100.00	Chr. Nissley	100.00
Jonas K. Mumma	300.00	Martin B. Nissley	100.00
Gabriel Bear	500.00	Henry Shenk	100.00
Benj. Gerber	500.00	David Charles	150.00
Peter Nissley	100.00	John D. Brubaker	150.00
	$ 6400.00		$ 10.000.00

Alle Bezahlt sammt Zinsen

Alle Bezahlt sammt Zinsen

Alle Bezahlt sammt Zinsen

Alle Bezahlt

46 Leihe Brüder John K. Nissley.

A list of 46 Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pa. who in 1875 loaned $10,000 to their Kansas brethren. John K. Nissley (signature at bottom) served as secretary for the Pennsylvanians after 1880.

Continuing an account of events relating to the Mennonite migration from Russia a century ago

A Centennial Chronology

Part Two

By CORNELIUS KRAHN

June 18, 1873: Riding in five large wagons, a group of 24—including 12 Mennonite delegates from Russia—are ready to leave Ft. Garry (later Winnipeg) on an inspection tour of land along the Red River in southern Manitoba. Within a few years approximately 8,000 Mennonite immigrants settled in this area of the Canadian prairie.

THIS is a continuation of a chronological account (see March issue) relating the most important events that took place in Russia, Poland, and Prussia prior to the Mennonite migration to the prairie states and provinces a hundred years ago. The migration started late in 1873 and reached its peak in 1874, continuing in 1875 and beyond. Stragglers continued to be attracted by the letters written from North America to relatives, friends and neighbors.

Among the major reasons for the migration of the Mennonites was the introduction of universal military service, which had become effective in Germany in 1861, and which was then introduced in Russia, becoming effective there in 1880. A group of Mennonites from the Molotschna and Volga regions under the leadership of Klaas Epp and Abraham Peters migrated under great hardships to Turkestan and Khiva in Central Asia where they had been promised total exemption from any service and where they expected the coming of the Lord in the near future. Some of these disillusioned Mennonite settlers came to North America during the years 1880-82. Some prominent leaders emerged from this unique group and much has been written about this adventure in Mennonite history.

At the beginning of this report some dates overlooked in the first installment, which ended with December 31, 1873, are added. No attempt has been made to present an exhaustive chronology of all events listing all meetings and departures in the Mennonite settlements in Europe, nor listing all the ships and dates of arrival of all the groups; nor is an identification by name of all groups possible in this brief narrative. That information can be found in other contexts. Ship lists of passengers that came across, photographs of the ships, and a complete list of all the approximately 8,000 Mennonites that came from Chortitza, Bergthal, Fürstenland, and the Molotschna to Manitoba, compiled by Jacob Y. Shantz, have been preserved in the Mennonite Library and Archives in manuscript form or microfilm. They are a rich source of information for those who like to link their family histories from North America to the European countries they came from.

The Mennonite migrations from Russia, Poland, and West Prussia took place in clusters of families, villages, settlements, or congregational affiliations. We relate only a few samples. One hundred per cent of the Bergthal and Fürstenland groups, both offsprings of the Chortitza settlement, went to Manitoba. The group from Chortitza, the first Mennonite settlement in Russia, also went to Manitoba. About half of the conservative *Kleine Gemeinde* of the Molotschna moved to the east reserve of Manitoba, while the other half under the leadership of Cornelius Jansen settled at Jansen, Nebraska, from where most of them moved to Meade, Kansas. The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, partly a branch of the *Kleine Gemeinde,* settled in Marion County, Kansas under the leadership of Jacob A. Wiebe.

The largest compact group of Mennonites to come to the United States was the Alexanderwohl group of the Molotschna settlement, the nucleus of which had unique roots in Germany. This group was joined by members of other congregations and villages of the Molotschna settlement and settled north of Newton, Kansas, where they established New-Alexanderwohl and near Buhler, Kansas, where they founded the Hoffnungsau Church. Some families went to Henderson, Nebraska.

Other compact groups and settlements were originated by those coming from Poland, settling southeast of Newton (Gnadenberg, Johannesthal (near Hillsboro), and others who settled between Canton and Moundridge, most of whom later became followers of John Holdeman (now Church of God in Christ, Mennonite). Others settled in Western Kansas.

Thus far all groups referred to were originally primarily of Dutch background, having fled from The Netherlands during the 16th century to Danzig in the Vistula area on the Baltic Sea. From there they moved along the Vistula River into Poland and Russia.

Mennonites of Swiss background migrated in the 18th century from Alsace-Lorraine and South Germany into Volhynia (Polish Russia) and Galicia (Austria) from where they migrated in 1874 with the Mennonites from Russia to the United States. They settled in South Dakota and in Kansas, near McPherson and Moundridge, with later daughter settlements in the Pretty Prairie and Kingman areas. Those from Galicia came to Butterfield, Minnesota and Hanston, Kansas. Among these groups were also the South German Mennonites who had settled in Iowa and Summerfield, Illinois, in the middle of the 19th century. They became pioneers and furnished leadership in the settlement of Mennonites in Kansas, particularly those around Halstead. Another group of Swiss background moved from Tyrol to Moravia, Rumania, Russia, and settled in South Dakota, from where they have spread into Canada. Most of them live communally to this day and bear the name of their founding father, Jacob Hutter.

Another group of Mennonites of Dutch background was a small remnant resisting the infiltration of German militarism in their congregations in the Danzig area, particularly in the congregations of Heubuden, Elbing, and Marienburg. They came to the United States from 1878 to 1882 and settled in the Whitewater and Newton areas of Kansas and near Beatrice, Nebraska.

Most of the Mennonites that came to the United States in the 1870's soon joined the General Conference Mennonite Church established by Pennsylvania German Mennonites in 1860. The next largest Mennonite group, founded in 1860 in Russia, was the Mennonite Brethren Church. This group was transplanted in clusters of families into the various communities of the United States and Canada, and organized in 1890. The major nuclei of the Mennonite Brethren in the early days were Hillsboro and Buhler, Kansas, Henderson, Nebraska, Mountain Lake, Minnesota, and Winkler, Manitoba, from where they have spread to the Pacific coast in both the U.S. and Canada. Among the early leaders was Abraham Schellenberg. As far as the Russian background is concerned, most of them came from the Molotschna settlement where they had their beginning.

Part Two of the "Centennial Chronology," although focusing mainly on events of 1874, also adds some earlier information supplementing Part One, which begins in 1750 and runs through the year 1873. in the March issue of 1974 this chronology will be completed.

Cornelius Krahn, founding editor of Mennonite Life *and now consulting editor, is professor emeritus of church history at Bethel College.*

Migrations to Russia & Group Formations

September 26, 1752:

Elizabeth of Russia invited foreigners to settle in Russia, thus initiating a policy pursued for a century. Germans (Lutherans, Catholics, and Mennonites), Dutch, and other nationalities were invited to settle in Russia. (HZ)

1773-80:

Swiss South German Mennonites moved to Volhynia and Galicia, from where they later migrated to Kansas and South Dakota. (1874) (ME)

1789:

Establishment of the first Mennonite settlement in Russia, known as Chortitza Mennonite Settlement. Early daughter colonies were Bergthal (1836) and Fürstenland (1864). Most inhabitants of these two daughter settlements moved to Manitoba in 1874.

1814:

Klaas Reimer, born in Danzig, was a founder of the *Kleine Gemeinde* among the Molotschna Mennonites. In 1874 the group moved to Nebraska and Manitoba. Some became members of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, and other groups. (ME)

January 6, 1860:

Founding of the Mennonite Brethren Church in the Molotschna Mennonite settlement from where they spread to other settlements in Russia and North America. (ME)

April 6, 1863:

Johannes Lange organized the Friends of Jerusalem (Temple Church) at the Molotschna Mennonite settlement. They moved to the Caucasian Mountains and ultimately to Jerusalem. During World War II they were interned and many migrated to Australia. (ME)

September 21, 1869:

The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church (Crimea) was founded by Jacob A. Wiebe. Most of the group went to Kansas in 1874. (ME)

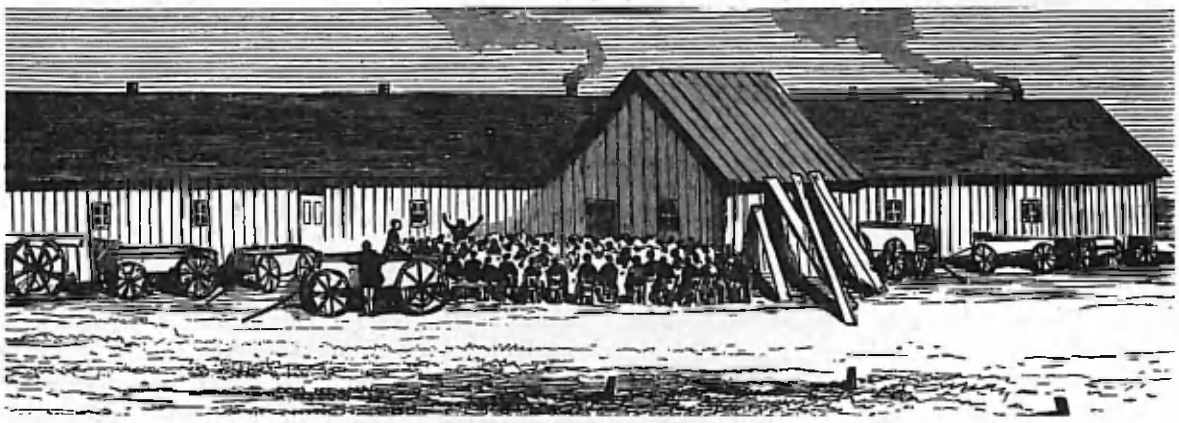
Conferences & Delegations To Petersburg

January 22, 1871:

Alarmed by the reports in regard to the introduction of universal military conscription in Russia, the Mennonites were encouraged by Senator H. von Hahn to present their case to the government in Petersburg. After repeated meetings they arranged for a larger conference which took place in Alexanderwohl on January 22, 1871. Ministers of the Molotschna, Chortitza and Bergthal settlements attended and decided to send a deputation to Petersburg. Leonhard Sudermann, Peter Goerz, Franz Isaac, and Hermann Janzen of the Molotschna settlement, and Elder Gerhard Dueck and Heinrich Epp of Chortitza were chosen to represent the cause in Petersburg. (IM)

February 27, 1871:

The Mennonite delegates in Petersburg presented a petition in the



Outdoor Sunday worship at one of the Alexanderwohl immigrant houses in 1874, as depicted in Frank Leslie's Illustrierte Zeitung, *New York, March 20, 1875. A number of buildings such as this were erected by the Santa Fe Railroad as temporary housing for Mennonite settlers in Kansas.*

KEY TO SOURCES

HZ—J. J. Hildebrandt, *Chronologische Zeittafel,* Winnipeg, Man., 1945

ML—*Mennonite Life,* published by Bethel College, 1946-1971.

RG—Gustav E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert, *Exiled by the Czar,* Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kan., 1956.

SD—Leonard Sudermann, *Eine Deputationsreise von Russland nach Amerika . . .* Elkhart, Ind., 1897.

MQR—*Mennonite Quarterly Review,* July, 1950, published by Goshen College, Goshen, Ind.

NK—*Newton Kansan,* published in Newton, Kan.

WL—Bernhard Warkentin's Letters to David Goerz in Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, North Newton, Kan.

ME—*Mennonite Encyclopedia,* published 1955-59, four volumes.

SC—C. Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites,* Mennonite Book Concern, 1937.

PL—Summaries of Passenger Lists of Mennonite Immigrants to America, 1873-1900. (In Mennonite Library and Archives).

IM—Franz Isaac, *Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten,* 1908.

Russian language in behalf of an exemption from military service addressed to Czar Alexander II. (IM)

March 2, 1871:

The delegates wrote a statement in regard to the Mennonite view in matters of war and peace addressed to the Czar. (IM)

March 5, 1871:

The Mennonite delegates had hoped to see Alexander II in matters of their request. All they achieved was that a high officer told them where they would have a chance to see him on his daily walk in the park. They were close enough so that the Czar asked them whether they were from the Tavrida province and whether they were Mennonites. After this was acknowledged he asked why they had come. When they related the cause he just said "Ah" and moved on. That seems to have been the only direct response that the Mennonites of Russia ever got from the ruler of the country on an issue so dear to them. (IM)

January 25, 1872:

During a session of the leading ministers of the Molotschna and Crimean Mennonites an appeal was made to the elders and leaders, who were extremely disturbed and considered migration to America, to once again present the cause to the government. This appeal was taken to St. Petersburg by a number of elders and ministers. (IM)

February 14, 1872:

A petition regarding nonresistance, signed by a number of elders and ministers of Molotschna and Chortitza as well as from the settlement in the province of Samara, was addressed to Senator H. von Gerngross of Petersburg. (IM)

May 1, 1872:

H. Pastor of the Moravian Church reported to the Mennonites that the following law was to be introduced. "The Mennonites of military age will be serving in hospitals, military shops, or similar establishments and will be exempted from armed services." (IM)

Delegations & Preparations For Settlement In America, 1873

June 1872:

Reuben Heatwold (Virginia), Noah Good (Iowa), Benjamin Baer (Indiana) settled southeast of Marion Center, Kansas. Henry Hornberger settled near Peabody. They were among the first Pennsylvania German Mennonites to settle in Kansas and were joined by numerous others including Amish.

June 5, 1872:

Bernhard Warkentin, Philip Wiebe, Peter Dyck, and Jacob Boehr arrived in New York on the *Holsatia*. They were young men on an inspection tour of North America. Bernhard Warkentin played a very significant role in inspecting the land, advising the Mennonites that came from Russia, Poland, and Germany and in the developing of the wheat and milling industry in the prairie states. (MQR)

Summer 1872:

Bernhard Warkentin, Philip Wiebe, Peter Dyck, and Jacob Boehr arrived in the home of Christian Krehbiel, Summerfield, Illinois, who had come from South Germany.

October 4, 1872:

Bernhard Peters and P. Goerz gave a report about the third deputation trip to Petersburg about the status of non-resistance in Russia. This led to repeated petitions addressed to the Czar. (IM)

April 22, 1873:

Bernhard Warkentin wrote that he had learned from John F. Funk that the Bergthal delegates had inspected Manitoba and were on their way to Elkhart, Indiana. (WL)

May 28, 1873:

Jacob Buller, Wilhelm Ewert, Leonhard Sudermann, and the other delegates arrived on the *Hammonia* in New York.

1873:

David Goerz published a *Circular an die Mennoniten Gemeinden in Westpreuszen, Polen und Süd-Ruszland* giving information about settlement possibilities.

1873:

David Goerz published *Mennoniten Niederlassung auf den Ländereien der Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft in Harvey & Marion Co., Kansas.* This was a promotional effort of the railroad in behalf of the Mennonites.

August 8, 1873:

Tobias Unruh (Poland) and Paul and Lorenz Tschetter (Hutterites) called on President Grant, petitioning exemption from military service, permission to have their own schools, and the right not to vote.

August 15, 1873:

Daniel Unruh from the Crimea and a group of over a hundred Mennonites arrived in New York on the *Hammonia* on August 15, 1873. After a stay in Elkhart some of them arrived at Yankton on October 18, 1873. They were the first Mennonite settlers in the Dakota Territory. Because of Unruh's friendship with Andreas Schrag, one of the twelve delegates, a large number of the Swiss Volhynian Mennonites settled here in 1874. (See *Daniel Unruh Story* by John D. Unruh)

August 21, 1873:

Forty-nine Mennonites and Hutterites (Funk, Goertz, Strauss, etc.) arrived on the *Holsatia* in New York. (MQR)

September 5, 1873:

Secretary of State Hamilton Fish informed President Ulysses S. Grant that the Mennonite delegates "wish guarantees of exemption from military service and jury service. They desire also to be free from the payment of substitute money in case of draft; and the right to govern their own schools." (HZ, p. 97)

October 8, 1873:

Christian Krehbiel left Summerfield, Illinois, with a Mennonite delegation (including David Goerz) to inspect land in Kansas. They visited Council Grove, Marion Center, Bruderthal (where Hillsboro was later established), and Gnadenau (where Jacob Wiebe settled). After visiting Newton, Halstead, Great Bend, and Larned, they reserved land in the Halstead area.

October 18, 1873:

Henry G. Brunk (Virginia) came with his family to Marion Center where he settled and died of typhoid fever October 21. He and three children were buried in the "Brunk Cemetery" between Hillsboro and Marion. Some members of the family returned to Virginia. (ML)

October 29, 1873:

Cornelius and Peter Jansen left Berlin (now Waterloo), Ontario, for Washington, D.C. to see President Grant in regard to exemption from military service, etc.

November 23, 1873:

Cornelius and Peter Janzen went to Summerfield, Illinois, for a visit with Bernhard Warkentin and David Goerz to discuss matters presented to President Grant.

December 5, 1873:

The fifth Russian Mennonite deputation arrived in Petersburg in regard to matters of military service. (HZ)

December 8, 1873:

Representative A. Herr Smith of Lancaster, Pennsylvania submitted to Congress a request signed by John F. Funk and Amos Herr that compact areas of farming land be set aside for Mennonite settlements in the prairie states. Similar petitions were submitted on the same day by representatives from Kansas and Minnesota. (HZ)

December 29, 1873:

Cornelius Jansen stated that the Mennonites of Ontario, Canada, promised $10,000 for their brethren from Russia who are in need of help. (HZ, p. 103)

The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 1874

January 1, 1874:

The Russian conscription law with a special provision for exempting the Mennonites from military service was passed. The third deputation was assured that they could "trust his majesty" in regard to this matter. (IM)

January 1, 1874:

General von Todtleben negotiated with the Mennonites of the Ukraine in regard to the proposed alternative service which the Mennonites of Russia were expected to accept. The date was set for 1880. (HZ)

January 1874:

The Christian Krehbiel group from Summerfield, Illinois arrived in Halstead, Kansas. Soon Bernhard Warkentin began to build a mill on the Little Arkansas River. (HZ)

February 9, 1874:

The Secretary of the Interior invited Cornelius Jansen to come to Washington to present his cause to some members of Congress.

February 11, 1874:

Ministers and leaders of Mennonite emigrants of the Molotschna met and adopted regulations to govern "The Corporation of Emigrants to America." They stated, "Since the emigration is for conscience' sake, it must carry a Christian stamp and consequently the well-to-do brethren are under an obligation to help the poor through a loan-treasury." This mutual aid arrangement kept a record of all entries of financial contributions and aid to those in need. (A copy of this *Schnurbuch* of the Alexanderwohl Church is in the M. L. & A.)

February 1874:

The Mennonites of Polish Russia of the villages of Karolswalde, Karlsberg, Fürstendorf, Gnadenthal, Antonovka, and Waldheim requested a sum of $40,050 to help them to migrate to America. This request was signed by Peter Richert, Benjamin Unruh, Heinrich Dirks, David Wedel, and others and circulated among the Mennonites of Pennsylvania with the purpose of raising this money. Tobias Unruh of Ostrog had been their delegates to America. (HZ)

March 9, 1874:

A new law of Kansas exempted religious objectors to war from the obligatory payment of $30 annually which had been the case since 1865. (HZ)

March 26, 1874:

Margarete Jansen wrote in her diary: "Father and Peter left for Washington" because the Secretary of Interior had asked them to come. They negotiated with the government about exemption from military service and other privileges. (RG)

April 7, 1874:

The U.S. Senate began with a discussion of the requested grant of areas of land for the establishment of traditional compact settlements of Mennonites in the prairie states. For two weeks this debate went on until the question was dropped. The flow of Mennonites to the prairie states seemed to have made this grant superflous. (HZ)

April 10, 1874:

Theodore Hans of the German Moravian Church of Petersburg related to the Mennonite delegates that the Czar's representative General von Todtleben would visit the Mennonites in the Ukraine to discuss the matter of military exemption with them. This took place during his visit during April 14-30. The Mennonites were assured that they would not be compelled to do military service. The traditional exemption would continue until 1880. (HZ)

April 21, 1874:

General von Todtleben, the Czar's representative, spoke to a large group of Mennonites in Halbstadt, Molotschna, assuring them that the Mennonites would not be compelled to serve in the army. (IM)

April 24-26, 1874:

The Mennonites of the Molotschna and Chortitza settlements expressed their gratitude toward General von Todtleben for his efforts to make it possible for them to perform an alternative service in lieu of military service. General Todtleben reported about this agreement with the Mennonites to Czar Alexander. Alternative service for the Mennonites was entered as law. (HZ)

May 6, 1874:

Sixty-four Mennonites from Russia (Bartel, Fast, Dirks, Ortman, Ratzlaff, and others) arrived in New York on the *Westphalia*. (PL)

May 18, 1874:

Fifty-five Mennonites and Hutterites (Müller, Schwarz, Waltner, Schrag, etc.) arrived in New York on the *City of Richmond*, (PL)

May 20, 1874:

Russian Mennonites faced difficulties in receiving passports to leave Russia. (RG) p. 101)

May 30, 1874:

Jacob A. Wiebe left the Crimea (Krim) with a group of Krimmer Mennonite Brethren. They crossed the Atlantic Ocean on the *City of Brooklyn*. They settled at Gnadenau in Marion County, Kansas.

June 16, 1874:

The first group of the Bergthal Mennonite settlement (daughter colony of Chortitza), Russia left in order to settle in Manitoba. Two more groups followed. (HZ)

June 18, 1874:

Twenty-three Mennonites (Fast, Goertz, Siebert, etc.) arrived in New York on the *Westphalia*. (PL)

July 1, 1874:

Fifty-four Mennonites, Entz, Fast, Rempel, etc.) arrived in New York on the *Holsatia*. (PL)

July 6, 1874:

Mennonites of West Prussia met in Ellerwald near Elbing to discuss the matter of military conscription in Germany. (HZ)

July 8, 1874:

Sixty-eight Mennonites (Boese, Loewen, Goossen, Ratzlaff, etc.) arrived in New York on the *Silesia*. (PL)

July 13, 1874:

Cornelius and Peter Jansen went to New York to meet members of the *Kleine Gemeinde* from the Molotschna, Ukraine and took the group to Clarence Center, New York. Later they settled in Jefferson County, Nebraska, at the place which later became known as "Jansen." (RG)

July 15, 1874:

One hundred thirty-one Mennonites from Russia and Poland (Flaming, Friesen, Harms, Janzen, Klas-

sen, Warkentin, etc.) arrived in New York on the *City of Brooklyn.* (PL)

July 15, 1874:

The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren arrived in New York and proceeded to Elkhart, Indiana, where most of them waited until a place of settlement in Marion County, Kansas had been located.

1874:

A number of Mennonite Brethren families settled in Reno and Harvey counties, Kansas.

July 17, 1874:

Five hundred thirty-six Mennonites and Hutterites (Adrian, Decker, Friesen, Hofer, Kleinsasser, Stahl, Waldner, Walter, Wipf, Wallmann, etc.) from Russia arrived in New York on the *Hammonia.* Most of them went to South Dakota. (PL)

July 19, 1874:

Cornelius Jansen met a group of 60 families of the *Kleine Gemeinde* in Toronto. Most of them went to Manitoba. (HZ)

July 20, 1874:

The Jacob Wiebe group of Krimmer Mennonite Brethren arrived in Elkhart, Indiana. Wiebe preached on Sunday in John F. Funk's church. (HZ)

July 20, 1874:

Approximately 800 persons of the Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, Molotschna, left under the leadership of Jacob Buller. They were joined by others so that there were about 1,000 when they arrived in Hamburg. They left on the ships *Cimbria* and *Teutonia,* August 12 and 16. (HZ)

July 22, 1874:

Twenty-five Mennonites (Quiring, Wiens, etc.) arrived in New York on the *Frisia.* (PL)

July 27, 1874:

Eighty-six Mennonites from Russia (Senner, Loewen, Schwartz, etc.) arrived in New York on the *City of Richmond.* (PL)

July 31, 1874:

The first Mennonite group of 380 persons arrived in Fort Gary (Winnipeg) on the *International* of the Hudson Bay Co. via Moorhead, Minnesota. They were the first to settle on the eight townships of the East Reserve on the Red River in Manitoba. (HZ)

August 16, 1874:

The Jacob A. Wiebe group arrived at Peabody, Kansas, and proceeded to occupy the 7,680 acres of the reserved land located 14 miles northwest of Peabody and ten miles from Marion Center. They established the village Gnadenau and the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church.

August 24, 1874:

Three hundred thirty Swiss Volhynian and other Mennonites (Albrecht, Block, Ewert, Graber, Kaufman, Preheim, Stucky, etc.) arrived in New York on the *City of Chester.* (PL)

August 25, 1874:

The Hutterites bought 2,500 acres of land at Bon Homme, Dakota Territory, from W. A. Burgleigh for $25,000, of which $17,000 was paid in cash. (HZ)

August 27 & September 3, 1874:

On August 27 the *Cimbria* arrived in New York with 567 passengers. On September 3 the *Teutonia* arrived with 982 passengers. The passengers consisted of Alexanderwohl Mennonites joined by others of the Molotschna settlement. They were a part of the largest compact group crossing the Atlantic in 1874 and during the total migration. They established the (New) Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church north of Newton under the leadership of Jacob Buller and the Hoffnungsau Mennonite Church near Buhler, Kansas, with Dietrich Gaeddert as leader. Some of the group settled in Henderson, Nebraska. (PL)

Wilhelm Ewert farm at Bruderthal near Hillsboro, Kan., 1877.

August 31, 1874:

Four hundred thirty-eight Swiss Volhynian Mennonites (Albrecht, Goering, Flickner, Graber, Kaufman, Schrag, Stucky, Voran, Waldner, Zerger, etc.) arrived in New York on the *City of Richmond.* Most of them went to Kansas. (PL)

September 2, 1874:

One hundred forty-seven Mennonites (Boese, Enns, Nachtigall, Ratzlaff, Schmidt, etc.) arrived in New York on the *Colina.*

September 3, 1874:

David Goerz, Wilhelm Ewert, and C. B. Schmidt, the latter a representative of the Santa Fe, welcomed the Mennonites who arrived on the *Teutonia* in New York. (HZ & PL)

September 12, 1874:

A group of 23 families of the Bergthal settlement, Russia, departed under the leadership of Gerhard Wiebe and Bernhard Klippenstein and settled in Manitoba. (HZ)

November 18, 1874:

Two hundred ninety-nine Mennonites (Dirks, Jantz, Koehn, Schmidt, Siebert, Unruh, etc.) arrived in New York on the *City of London.* (PL)

November 27, 1874:

One hundred forty-seven Mennonites (Decker, Schmidt, Unruh, Voth, etc.) arrived in New York on the *City of Montreal* and proceeded to Kansas. (PL)

November 28, 1874:

Two hundred twenty-seven Mennonites from Michalin, Polish Russia (Harms, Kliewer, Schmidt, Schroeder, etc.) arrived in New York on the *Nederland.* Most of them settled in Kansas. (PL)

November 1874:

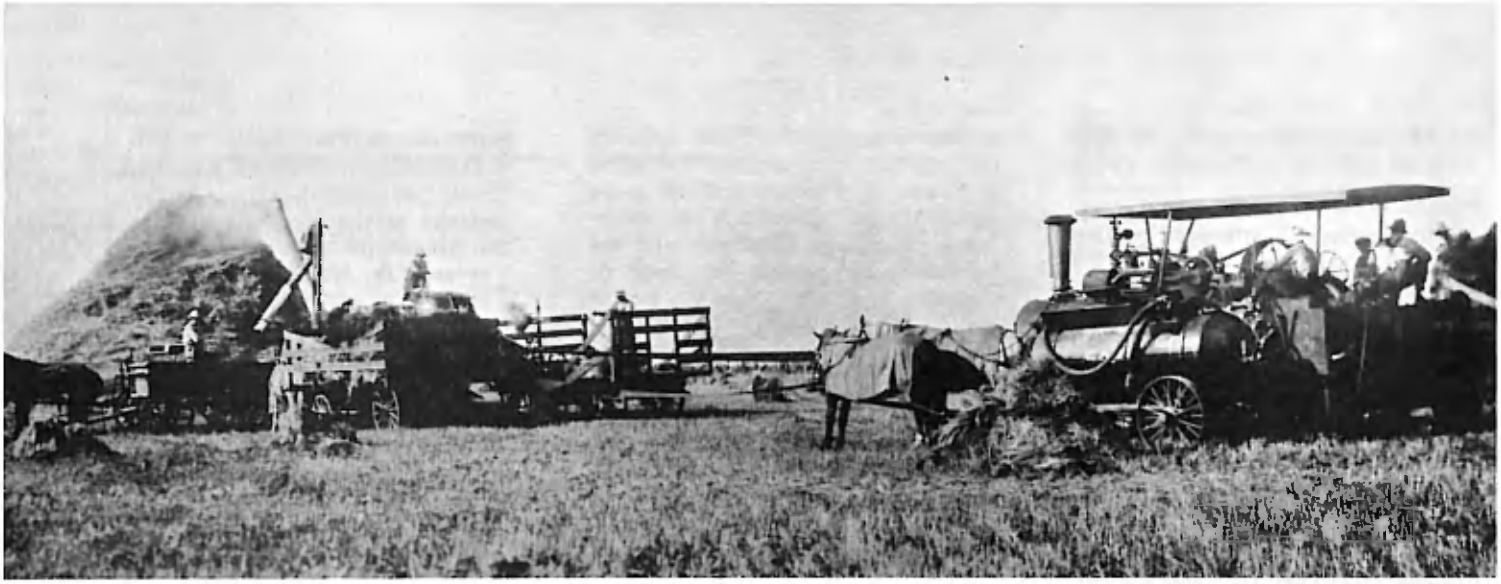
Cornelius Jansen reported that there were still 1,000 families in Russia ready to come to North America. (RG, p. 102)

December 16, 1874:

Six hundred sixty-four Mennonites from Polish Russia (Becker, Buller, Jantz, Koehn, Schmidt, Unruh, Wedel, etc) arrived in New York on the *Vaderland.* (PL)

December 16, 1874:

The Bruderthal Mennonite Church in Marion County, Kansas was the first to introduce the Sunday school under the leadership of Wilhelm Ewert. The churches of Halstead, Hoffnungsau, Alexanderwohl, and others soon followed.



Threshing wheat by steam power as it was done in the early part of the present century.

Wheat Centennial Proclaimed

Following is the text of a resolution adopted recently by the Kansas legislature, proclaiming 1974 as the centennial year of the introduction of Red Turkey Wheat into Kansas. The resolution was introduced by Rep. W. W. Graber of Pretty Prairie.

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION proclaiming the year 1974 as the year for celebrating the centennial of the introduction of Turkey red hard winter wheat into Kansas and the beginning of the great wheat industry in Kansas; imposing duties upon certain state agencies; and encouraging all cities, communities and citizens to participate in such celebration.

WHEREAS, The State of Kansas is known as "the wheat state," having gained the title from its great rolling fields of hard winter wheat, which have provided a strong agricultural economy and the basis for its growth and development; and

WHEREAS, Turkey Wheat changed Kansas from a prairie to the breadbasket of the world; and

WHEREAS, The hard wheat industry of Kansas, which ultimately spread throughout the midwestern states of the United States from Kansas, was begun in 1874 with the introduction of the first substantial amounts of Turkey red hard winter wheat to the Arkansas river valley area of central Kansas, primarily in the counties of Harvey, Reno, Sedgwick, McPherson and Marion, by the immigration of some ten thousand (10,000) Mennonites from Russia; and

WHEREAS, The great hard wheat industry in Kansas was initiated and encouraged by Bernhard Warkentin, a Mennonite miller, whose father had successfully produced Turkey red hard winter wheat in the Ukraine, and nurtured by the first contingent of Mennonite immigrants, they carried it with them among their belongings to central Kansas.

It was through the efforts of Warkentin, an envoy sent in search of an ideal place of settlement for the religiously oppressed German-Russian Mennonites, and C. B. Schmidt, immigration agent for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad company, which had completed its line through Kansas about 1872, that the Mennonites settled with their prized Turkey red hard winter wheat in Kansas. Warkentin had visited areas of the midwestern United States from Manitoba, Canada, to Mexico, before selecting central Kansas as the immigration site. He settled in Halstead, built a grist mill on the banks of the Little Arkansas river and began experimenting with the growing of hard winter wheat in Kansas in preparation for the immigration of his fellow Mennonites.

After arrival of the immigrating Mennonites, about 1885 or 1886, Warkentin imported the first large shipments of Turkey red hard winter wheat for expansion of the early hard winter wheat industry in Kansas; and

WHEREAS, The waving fields of hard winter wheat continue to contribute substantially to the economy, growth and heritage of the state of Kansas: Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Kansas, the Senate concurring therein: That the year 1974 is hereby proclaimed the year of centennial celebration of the introduction of Turkey red hard winter wheat into Kansas and the beginning of the great wheat industry in Kansas; and

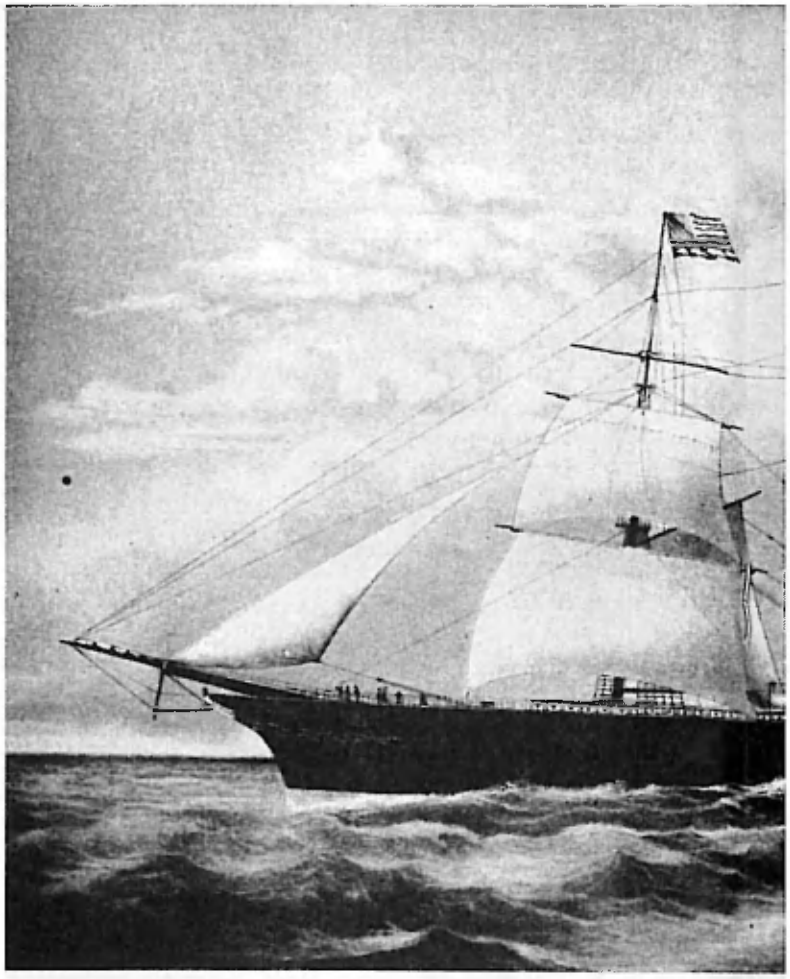
Be it further resolved: That the Kansas Legislature instruct the Kansas wheat commission, the state board of agriculture, Kansas state university of agriculture and applied science, Kansas Association of Wheat Growers, Mennonite Conferences and the Kansas department of economic development to work jointly in coordination and promotion of appropriate activities for the enlightenment, enjoyment and benefit of the citizens of Kansas and interested persons in other states of the United States or other nations; and

Be it further resolved: The Kansas legislature encourage each and every Kansas city or community and citizen to participate in the planning and commission of appropriate wheat centennial celebrations and activities during the year 1974.

Mill built in the early 1870s by Bernhard Warkentin at Halstead, Kan.

During the Newton, Kan. centennial observance in July 1971, residents of the area had an opportunity to see a demonstration of how wheat was threshed in by-gone days. Bundles are pitched into the threshing machine (foreground), powered by a massive steam tractor with long belt drive.

Across the Atlantic by Steam and Sail



A picture section of ships that brought Russian Mennonite immigrants to America in the 19th century

When Bernhard Warkentin, Phillip Wiebe, and Peter Dyck came to America on the *Holsatia*, landing in New York, June 5, 1872, they could hardly have dreamed of the immigrant flood of Mennonites which was to follow them.

The following year saw some 150 Mennonites coming to America. These included the 12 delegates who returned to Europe to sail again in 1874.

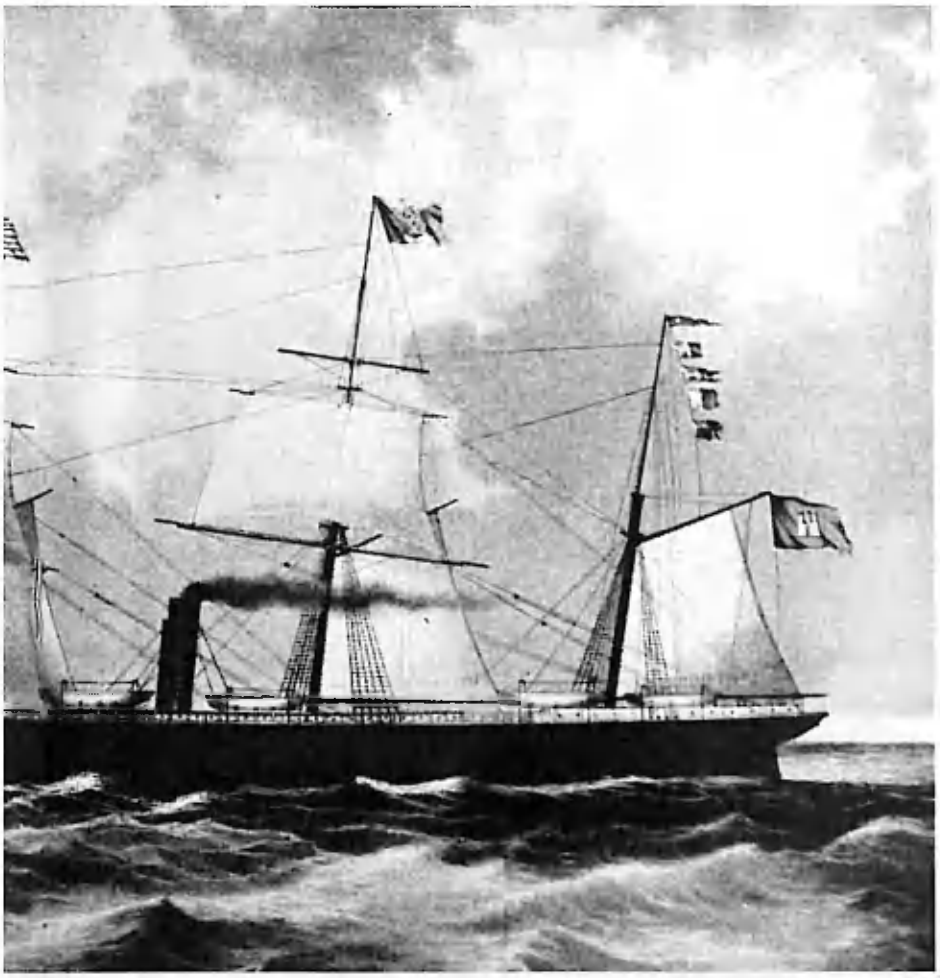
Events conspired in America and in Europe to make 1874 the great migration year. The count of the known ship lists of that year show a total of 5,039 Mennonites arriving in America. For the next five years the migration tide held fairly strong with 1,846 arriving in 1875, 1,583 in 1876, 940 in 1877, 1,022 in 1878, and 1,109 in 1879. A total of 11,689 Mennonites had now come to America by ships of the Inman Line or the Red Star Line. By the end of 1884 the total had reached 13,172.

Many remembered the names of the ships on which they came. The Red Star ships, the *Nederland* and the *Vaderland*, were easily recalled. So were the Inman Line ships, such as the *Cimbria, Teutonia, Colina*, and *Holsatia*.

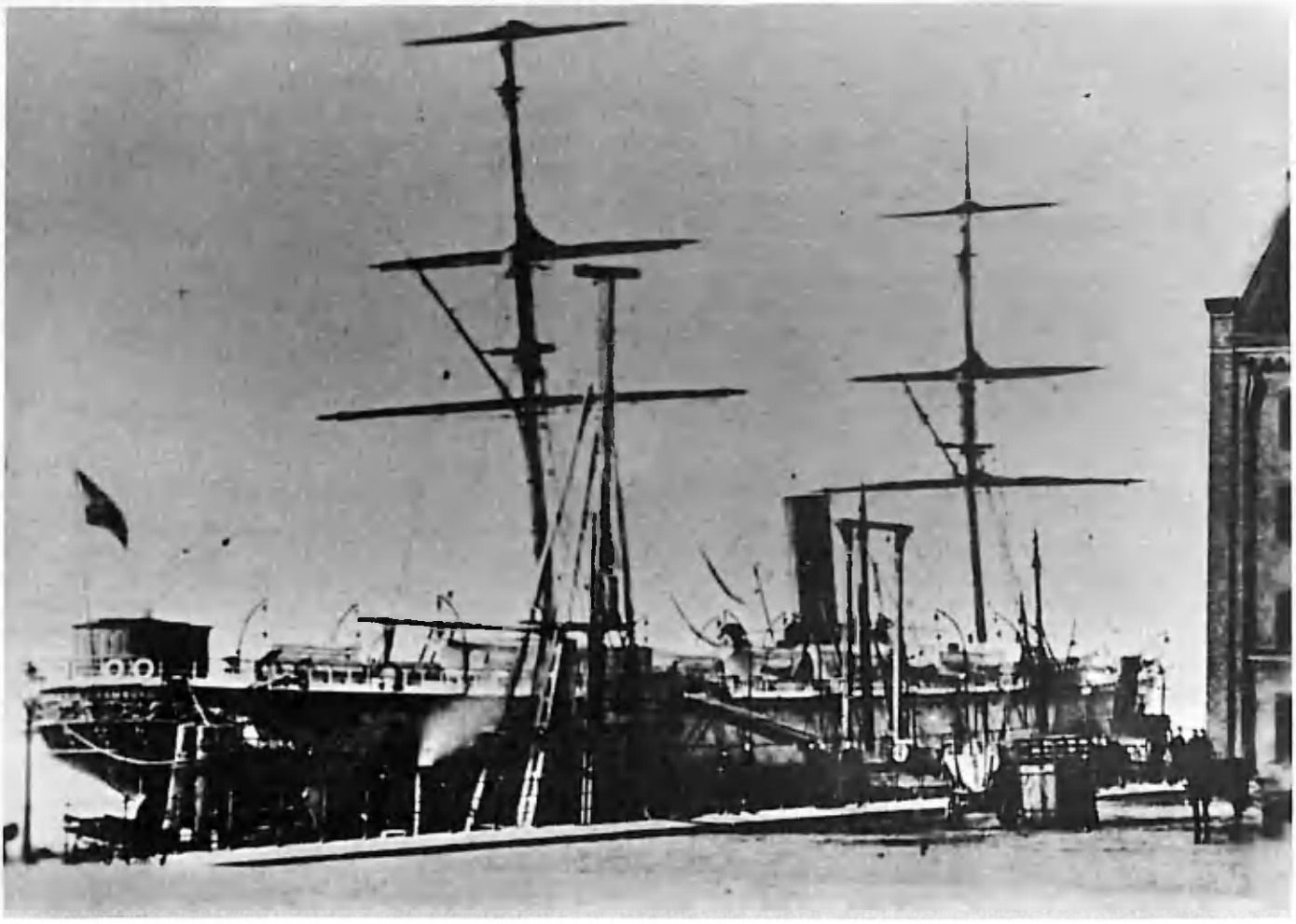
The above ships were loaded with hundreds of Mennonites. Some other ships, however, carried only small groups of Mennonites and were not necessarily remembered. There were ships named after authors: *Lessing, Wieland, Herder.* Some were named after rivers: *Rhein, Mosel, Oder, Donau, Main.* Cities and states found their counterparts in ships: *City of Richmond, City of London, Montreal, Berlin, Strassburg, Nevada,* and *Illinois.* There were countries afloat: *Switzerland, China, France, India, Ethiopia.* German states were represented in the *Westphalia, Silesia, Frisia,* and *Pomerania.*

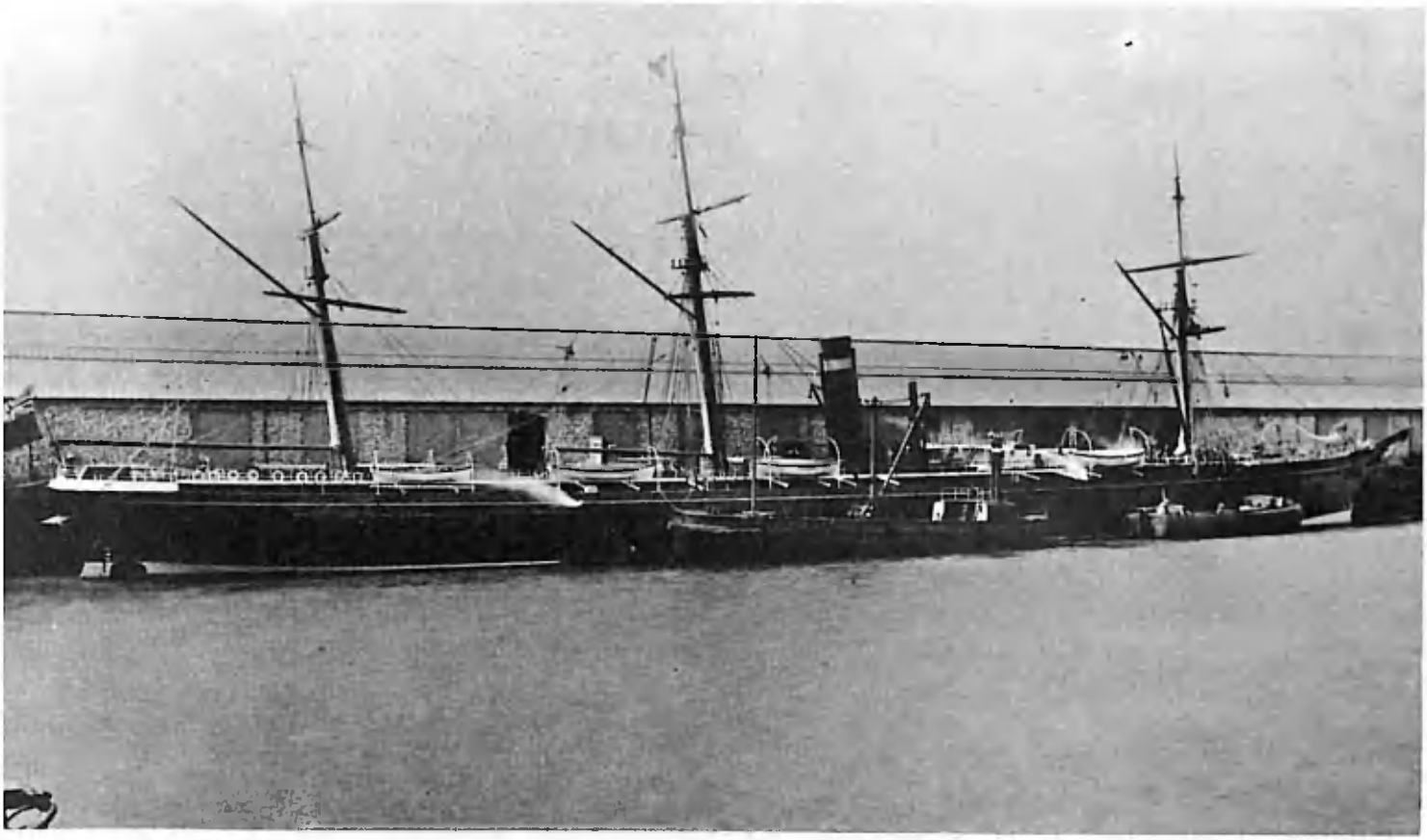
Ships were steam powered but they also carried masts and occasionally the sails were hoisted, according to some observant immigrants who noted this in their memoirs.

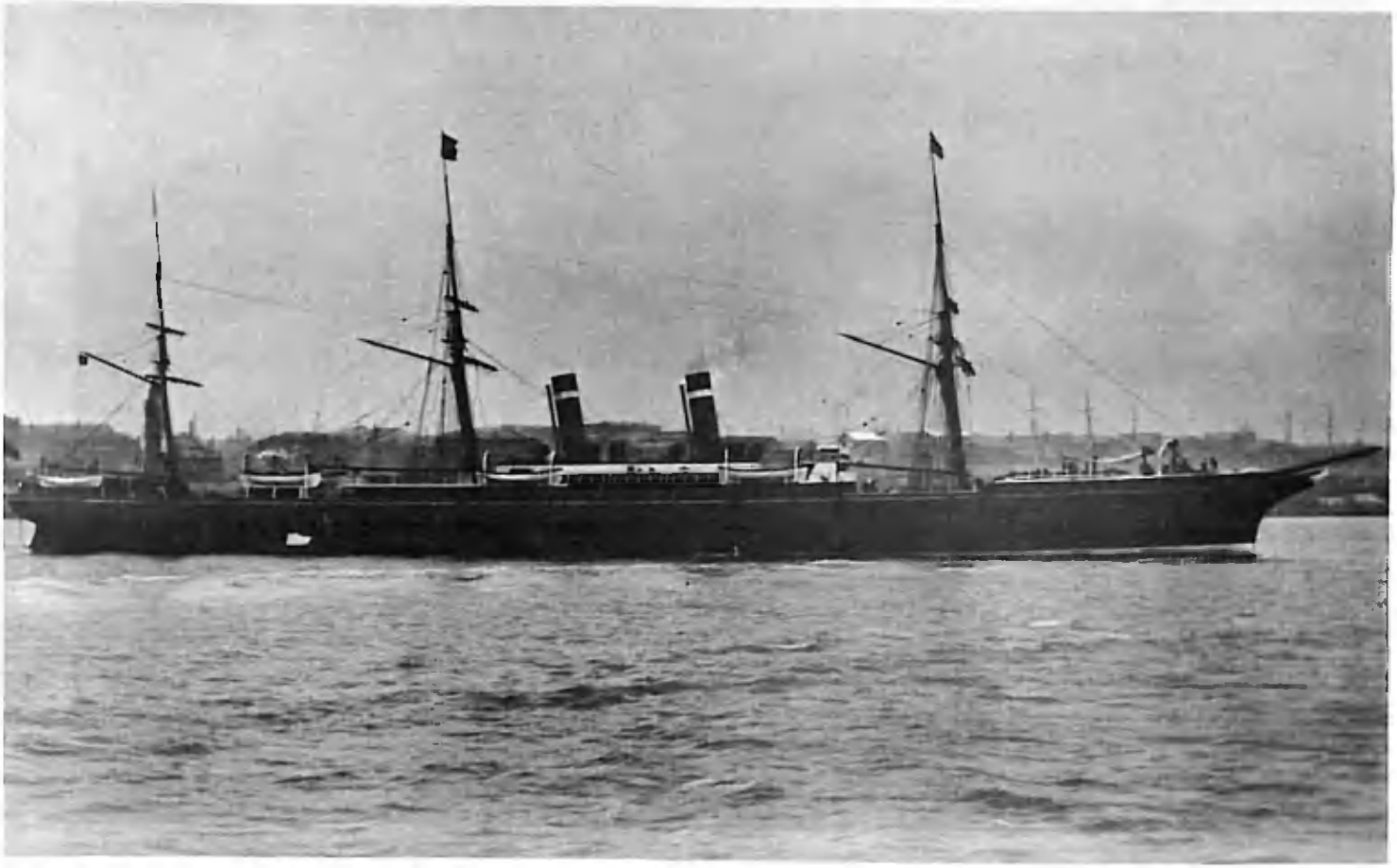
—John F. Schmidt



The *Teutonia* (left) and the *Cimbria* (below) together brought the largest compact group of Mennonites crossing the Atlantic in 1874 and during the total migration. Sailing from Hamburg, the *Cimbria* arrived in New York with 567 passengers on August 27, and on September 3 the *Teutonia* docked with 982 of the immigrants on board. Settling on lands of the Santa Fe Railroad in Kansas, they established the (New) Alexanderwohl Church 15 miles north of Newton (Jacob Buller, leader) and the Hoffnungsau Church near Buhler (Dietrich Gaeddert, leader).



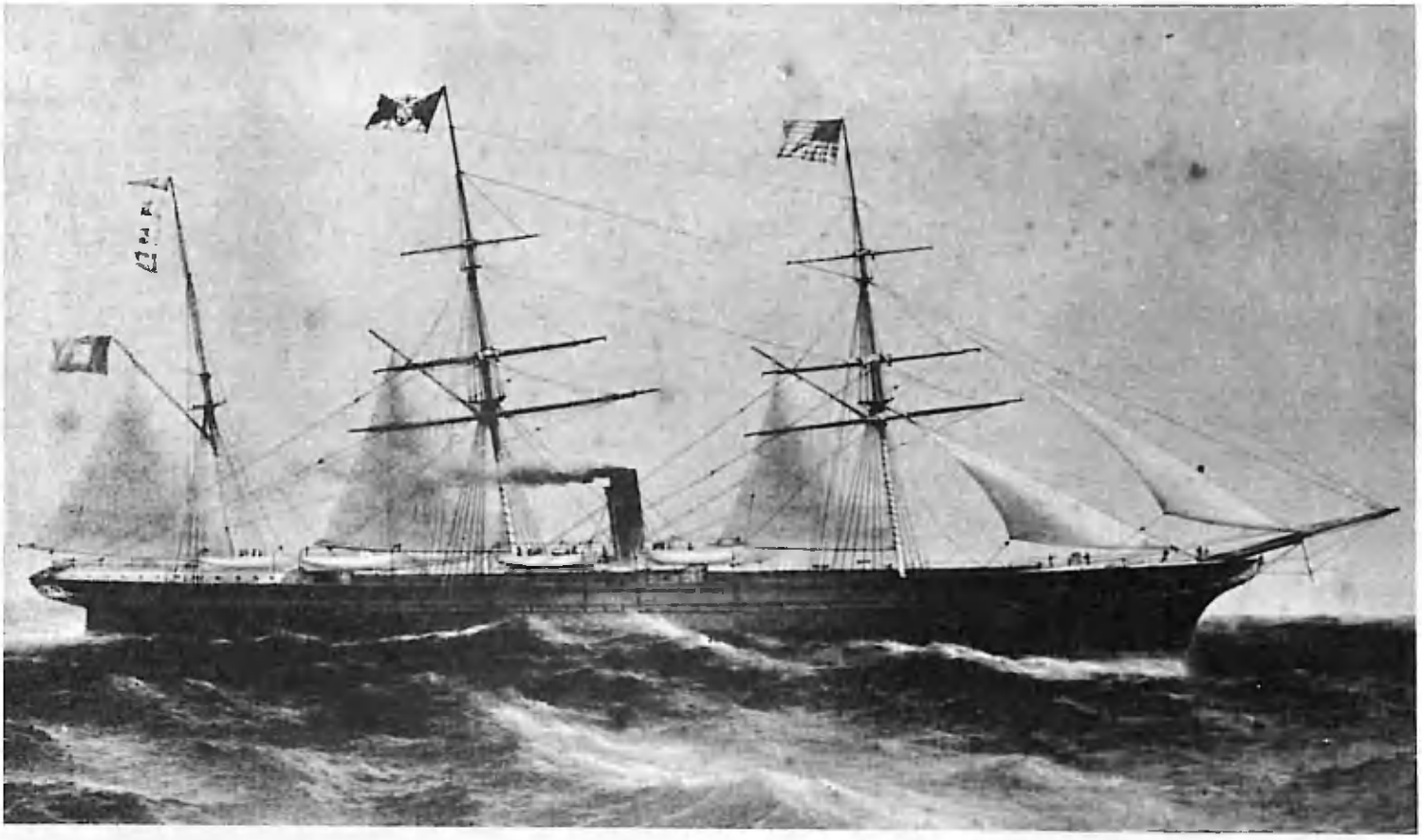




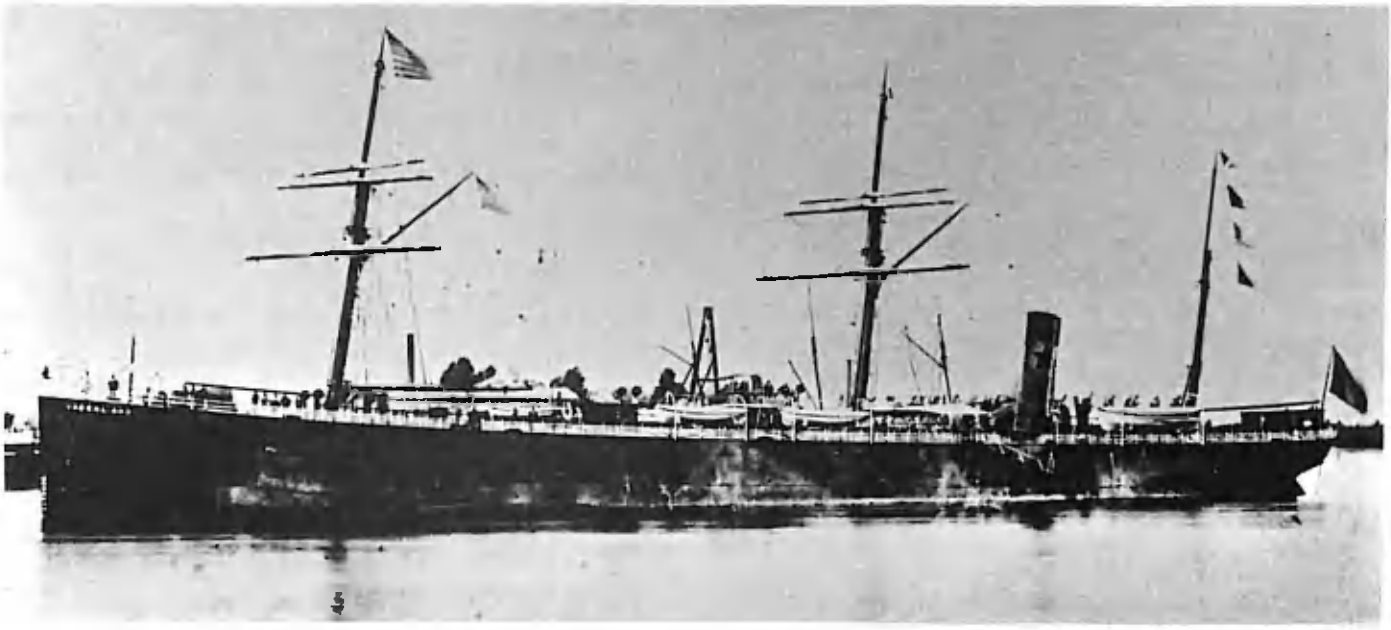
Shown above in an excellent Currier & Ives illustration, the *City of Montreal* took 147 Mennonites from Liverpool to New York, arriving November 27, 1874. They settled in Kansas. This ship, typical of the passenger vessels on the North Atlantic a century ago, had a length of 432 ft. and registered tonnage of 3,026. (The size of the larger modern ocean liners is from 50,000 to 70,000 tons.)

The *City of Brooklyn* (above left) brought the group of Krimmer (Crimean) Mennonite Brethren under the leadership of Jacob A. Wiebe. Arriving in New York on July 15, 1874, they went to Kansas and founded the Gnadenau settlement in Marion County.

Among the immigrants coming on the *City of Chester* (below left) were 330 Swiss Volhynian and other Mennonites who settled in South Dakota. The date of arrival in New York was August 24, 1874.



One of the earliest groups of Russian Mennonite immigrants sailed on the *Hammonia* (above), arriving in New York on August 15, 1873. After a stay in Elkhart, Ind., some of them arrived in Yankton on October 18, 1873, as the first Mennonite settlers in Dakota Territory.



Arriving in America in December 1874 on the *Vaderland* (above) were 664 Mennonites from Polish Russia. An especially impoverished group, they were housed in empty warehouses in Florence, Kansas through the winter of 1875.

What is the main source of creative revolution in America?

A Critique of 'Without Marx or Jesus'

By ELAINE SOMMERS RICH

JEAN-FRANCOIS REVEL, French writer and observer, in *Without Marx or Jesus* (Paladin, London, 1972) says that the revolution of the 20th century will take place in the United States. In fact, he sees it taking place now as five simultaneous revolutions: (1) political, (2) social, (3) technological and scientific, (4) a revolution in culture, values, and standards, and (5) a revolution in international and interracial relations.

With much of Revel's analysis I can agree. But I contend that as a foreign observer he does not understand the main source of creative revolution in American life. This is reflected in his title *Without Marx or Jesus*. What or whom does he mean by "Jesus"? Does he mean the Jesus of Nazareth of whose followers it was said in the New Testament that "they turned the world upside down"? The Jesus who was always talking about a coming kingdom that was like new wine and new cloth? The cosmic Jesus Christ identified with the "Word" in John 1:3, "Without him was not anything made that was made"?

For Revel "Jesus" seems rather to be a code word meaning the ideology of France's extreme right. And because Christianity is not an established state religion in the United States, Revel casually dismisses it as insignificant. But at the same time he is puzzled by different attitudes toward life held by people in different societies. In one case individuals are "convinced that they can better themselves by bettering their circumstances. In another case, individuals regard themselves as trapped in a gigantic pot of glue." (p. 27)

What is the source of this difference in attitude? Does it not result from the beliefs and outlook of a people? Christianity is oriented toward the future. Sunday after Sunday millions of Americans hear read from their pulpits such sentences as Romans 12:2 ("Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind . . .") and II Corinthians 5:17 ("Therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come").

One might ask why citizens of the United States have less of a sense of fatalism than Europeans (if, as Revel says, this is indeed the case). Could it be because many of the most innovative, creative people were forced out of Europe precisely because of their commitment to Jesus? In Revel's France, e.g., the Huguenots were severely persecuted in the 16th century. Many fled Europe in 1685 and have provided distinguished leadership in the United States. On April 18, 1688, at Germantown, Pa., a group of Mennonites who had fled Crefeld, Germany, drew up a protest against slavery, saying, "Freedom and conscience reign here . . ." Jesus, i.e. Christianity, and its parent Judaism, have continued to be a source of creative revolution in American life. George Finger Thomas and David Elton Trueblood find the roots of American democracy in the pages of the Bible.

Two examples, the civil rights and peace movements, can serve to point up Revel's failure to see this aspect of American life accurately. He cites Martin Luther King, Jr., as the outstanding leader in the recent American revolution. Yet he fails to recognize (nor did American secularists recognize at his death) the extent to which King, a clergyman, was shaped by his Christian commitment. Martin Luther King Jr. said many times, "I have learned my ideas from Jesus, my method from Ghandi." King's collection of sermons, *Strength to Love* (Harper, 1963) details the thinking which underlay his actions. In "Our God is Able" King tells of an experience he had during the Montgomery bus protest in 1955:

"After a particularly strenuous day, I settled in bed at a late hour. My wife had already fallen asleep and I was about to doze off when the telephone rang. An angry voice said, 'Listen, nigger, we've taken all we want from you. Before next week you'll be sorry you ever came to Montgomery.' . . . I could not sleep. It seemed that all of my fears had come down on me at once. I had reached the saturation point. . . .

"I was ready to give up. . . . I determined to take my problem to God. My head in my hands, I bowed over the kitchen table and prayed aloud. The words I spoke to God that midnight are still vivid in my memory. 'I am here taking a stand for what I believe is right. But now I am afraid. The people are looking to me for leadership, and if I stand before them without strength and courage, they too will falter. I am at the end of my powers. I have nothing left. I've come to the point where I can't face it alone.'

"At that moment I experienced the presence of the Divine as I had never experienced him. It seemed as though I could hear the quiet assurance of an inner voice, saying, 'Stand up for righteousness, stand up for truth, God will be at your side forever.' "

Although this inner spring was hidden, King's outer actions were visible to the entire world. He did not act "without Jesus."

Similarly, Revel calls moratoriums and other anti-war demonstrations in the United States "the first mass phenomena of this kind." (p. 139) Again he fails to recognize the extent to which anti-war sentiment and action in the U.S. has been generated by commitment to Jesus Christ. For example, Father Philip Berrigan in *Prison Journals of a Priest Revolutionary* (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1967) says (p. 188):

". . . the Church must always take upon itself the role of protest, must incorporate the whole prophetic dimension of a

Elaine Sommers Rich, presently teaching at the International Christian University in Tokyo, Japan, is from Kansas (which Revel calls a "bastion of reaction").

covenant with God. That is why the Church has the obligation to work for the moral purification of the social order. This necessarily involves challenging power as it becomes institutionalized, as power always does. If you accept the truth of Christ's teachings, particularly the death-life patterns mirrored in his passion and resurrection, and understand what that means in an existential way, then you have to be revolutionary, not only in your personal life but in public as well."

The list of Jesus-inspired groups opposing the war in Vietnam is long and impressive and ranges from "Clergy and Laymen Concerned," "Fellowship of Reconciliation," and "National Action/Research on the Military Complex" at the national level to a small group of Church Women United in a local supermarket in any city in the U.S. refusing to buy a particular brand of bread because they believe the company that bakes it is too involved in the war.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not consider the U.S. a "Christian" nation living by the teachings of Jesus and the Jewish tradition out of which he came. The bombing in Vietnam was all-too-sad evidence to the contrary. But I do see the minority of committed Christians and Jews in the U.S. as a continuing source of its innovation and creativity. They are always dissatisfied with the status quo and looking for "a city whose builder and maker is God."

This is the part of American life which foreign observer Revel fails to see. Without Jesus? Hardly. Jesus is not extreme right as opposed to Marx, extreme left. Jesus is the direction of the future, not only in the United States, but elsewhere in the world.

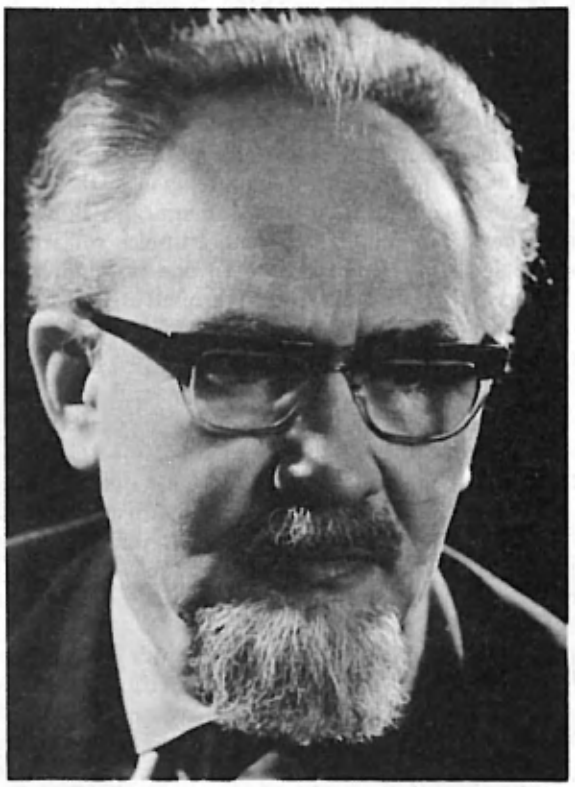
Recognition at Seventy: HANS HARDER

It is a German practice to produce a *Festschrift* (a book for a festive occasion) for men (and women?) who have spent almost a lifetime in a significant endeavor such as producing literature, scholarly books, and other endeavors. In the case of Hans Harder, there was such an occasion when he was sixty, and it was repeated on January 29, 1973, when he was seventy.

Since the life of the author is totally devoted to European literary, religious and educational writing, none of which has been translated into English, he is less known in North American circles. Occasionally an article appeared in *Der Bote*. This *Festschrift* entitled *Entscheidung und Solidarität* (Decision and Solidarity) (P. Hammer Verlag, Wuppertal), consisting of 276 pages, contains 24 contributions or chapters written by his friends who are professional men and women, most of whom hold a Ph.D. degree and are professors, theologians or educators (Jürgen Moltmann, Herbert Braun, etc).

Among the areas covered, Russian literature is possibly the most dominant because of Harder's personal involvement in this area. He has written numerous novels, short stories and scholarly articles devoted to Russia. Another area in which Harder has done outstanding work is his involvement in the *Confessional* struggle of the resisting Christian leaders during Hitler's regime. The contributions or chapters of the book are extremely helpful. Anybody who likes to be up-to-date on the German treatment of learned theological and philosophical issues and terminologies has an opportunity to have a try at it.

Since Harder spent over 20 years teaching at the Wuppertal Teachers College, many contributions in his honor are in the area of contemporary educational trends. Harder, who now lives in semi-retirement, continues to write and has recently brought new life into the German *Mennonitisches Jahrbuch* by making it a stimulating platform for a Mennonite historical and theological dialogue. In addition to this, he serves the Frankfurt Mennonite Church as a minister.



This is my *Fest*-page in recognition of the fact that Hans Harder was the first one to inspire me to love the Russian and his land and literature, where I had just come from, and the German and his *Land der Dichter und Denker*, where I studied for ten years (1926-36). He pointed out to me those who would not be engulfed by the tide that threatened to destroy values considered imperishable.—*Cornelius Krahn*

Dr. Ha Thi Truc at Bach Mai Hospital, taking inventory of lost equipment.

BACH MAI: A View from Inside

By DOUGLAS HOSTETTER

LAST Christmas Eve, the *New York Times* carried a small story stating that Swedish diplomatic sources in Hanoi had reported that the largest hospital in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Bach Mai, had been destroyed by American bombers.

I had little idea of the meaning of those few lines until a few months ago when I had the chance to sit down and spend five hours with Dr. Ha Thi Truc, who was at Bach Mai the night it was bombed.

I had met Dr. Truc just two days earlier at a world conference on Vietnam being held in Rome. Dr. Truc is a 26-year-old medical doctor with a specialty in biological science. She was warm, but very shy, as she invited me to sit down and visit with her and Mai Lam, another representative from North Vietnam.

Bach Mai, I learned, was not just a hospital, but was an entire medical institute including 50 buildings and covering 35 acres. The institute included a complete pediatrics hospital, a medical referral center, a hospital for the treatment of cadre, and Bach Mai hospital itself. The hospital had been built in 1932 by the French and was the largest medical institution in all of Indochina, containing 1,200 beds at its peak capacity. There was a full-time medical staff of over 200, with about 800 medical students and residents in training.

Despite the fact that the hospital had been located in this area for 40 years, was well-marked, and noted on all French maps of Hanoi, it had been hit twice before that fateful evening of December 22. After those attacks the decision had been made to evacuate as many of the patients to the countryside as was feasible, but continued bombing of the city made transportation hazardous and brought in many more patients.

A little after 3:30 a.m. on December 22, the air raid sirens sounded. The hospital staff including Dr. Truc quickly rushed patients into underground shelters. At 3:45 a.m. the bombs hit.

The whole world seemed to have gone into convulsions. Everyone in the shelter grabbed each other to keep from flying across the floor. Suddenly the roar ceased, the earth quivered and then, silence, except for the muffled cries of the sick and wounded in the shelter. Dr. Truc felt herself and discovered that she had escaped without a scratch. Someone lit a match. Dr. Truc and the other young people who belonged to the youth rescue teams climbed over the rest to get to the door. Unfortunately, the blast had dropped a tree trunk and other debris onto the entrance of the shelter. There was a moment of panic about being trapped. But fear gave way to determination. They started digging away the debris and forced their way into the cluttered desert of what had been Vietnam's finest hospital.

The rescue teams started work immediately. Almost all of the shelters had been buried, some under mounds of brick and concrete. It was a race against time to dig out the entrances before people died of suffocation or injuries. Even when a shelter was opened, most of the patients were in shock and had to be given care. There was a desperate searching for friends buried in the rubble, anger and revulsion at the meaningless terror from the sky and determination to keep working.

When the team reached the shelter for the dermatology

Douglas Hostetter served with MCC in Vietnam, 1966-69. In 1970 he visited North and South Vietnam and is presently involved with the Medical Aid to Indochina Committee.

ward, they discovered that it had taken two direct hits. Seventeen people had been in that shelter—their arms and legs were intertwined as they had grasped each other to stay together. Only one had miraculously survived. Of the 20 sections of the hospital, 18 were completely destroyed. Two sections were partially damaged.

Several of Dr. Truc's best friends didn't make it through that night.

Miss Ngo Thi Ngoc Tuong, Bach Mai's best X-ray technician and head of her own lab, was planning to be married on Christmas Eve. Dr. Truc had gone shopping with her to help select the silk for her wedding gown. But Tuong was on duty the night of the 22nd, and the dress on which she had worked so hard for her wedding became the dress in which she was buried.

Nguyen Kim Phung, a nurse on the dermatology ward and a close friend of Dr. Truc, had been married on November 26, 1972. Her marriage lasted only 27 days. It was shattered by the bombs that destroyed Bach Mai.

As I got up to leave, I wasn't sure I could look directly into the eyes of Dr. Truc. But when I did, I discovered not hatred and bitterness, but forgiveness, strength and determination. As we parted, she said, "I must return to Vietnam. The doctors and medical staff of Bach Mai are determined to stay in our positions and work for the reconstruction of Bach Mai and the hundreds of other destroyed hospitals and clinics in my country."

I resolved to return to the United States and do what I could to assist Dr. Truc and others like her who refuse to give up, regardless of the hardships or difficulties.

What the War Has Done to Our Witness

By LUKE MARTIN

THE Mennonite church has heard voices suggesting that United States involvement in Vietnam made impossible any meaningful proclamation of the gospel. More voices have said that, in spite of the problems, Christian compassion called for the sharing of the Christian word and deed. While I support this view, I believe there are several issues the church cannot ignore as it seeks to witness in Vietnam.

One of these is the foreigness of the gospel. The Christian message was first preached in Vietnam in the 17th century by Jesuit missionaries. Later missionary work was carried out by various French orders. Today when over ten per cent of the population is part of the Catholic community, many still refer to Catholic Christianity as the Western (or French) religion. Protestant missionaries have been in Vietnam for only sixty years. Some observers refer to evangelical Christianity as the American religion.

Another issue is the entanglement of the Christian gospel with political and military power. Some French missionaries encouraged French involvement in Indochina. Persecution of missionaries and Vietnamese Christians provided the context for France to intervene in the 19th century.

French control over Indochina meant preferential treatment for the Catholic Church. The Church received large tracts of land when poor peasants defaulted loans. Writing in 1924, Ho Chi Minh said the Vietnamese peasant "is crucified on the bayonet of capitalist civilization and on the cross of prostituted Christianity." Even into the era of Ngo Dinh Diem, the Church had great political power. Conversion to Catholicism was the only sure way to advancement for military officers and civil servants. All officer trainees were required to attend mass.

Some Vietnamese have seen a direct relationship between Protestant missionary activity (mainly from the United States) and American intervention in Vietnam.

Some Protestant missionaries have tried to be discreet in not involving themselves in political issues, but most have supported American intervention. Many preferred a more aggressive military policy believing it would have led to a rapid defeat of the insurgents. A few years ago one missionary privately stated that the American President should "stand up and tell the world that God is on our side." This, he said, would lead to a rapid conclusion to the war.

Francis Cardinal Spellman made yearly visits to the American "soldiers of Christ." Billy Graham also made visits to the GI's, yet he has always insisted that his was a spiritual ministry without political significance.

The Christian churches have been generally identified with an anti-Communist position. This has attracted some Vietnamese to the church. But it is repulsive to others. An anti-Communist student imprisoned for protesting government injustice told bitterly of one minister preaching to them with apparent unconcern about the issues of justice of which the gospel also speaks. A Vietnamese Christian trying to present the gospel was rejected by a young man who said, "You are just part of America's plan to take over our country."

The overwhelmingly destructive United States military power compounded the problem. Millions of innocents suffered from this power. American officials expected Christian relief agencies to contribute to United States political

Luke Martin has served in Vietnam under the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions since 1962.

objectives. Occasionally these agencies were asked in advance to commit relief assistance for refugees the United States forces were planning to "generate".

Some Americans have seen United States involvement in Vietnam as an opportunity to advance the cause of the gospel. GI construction of orphanages is cited as one illustration. One devoted GI serving on an aircraft carrier in the Tonkin Gulf requested gospel tracts and Bible portions to send with jet aircraft as they flew on their missions over North Vietnam. He said he was concerned for the salvation of the people! A Vietnamese evangelical church leader, however, said United States intervention has hindered the spread of the gospel.

How should the church today respond in light of what has happened? We are grateful that the Vietnamese people and leaders on both sides of the conflict have frequently seen the church ministering to human needs. A witness to the gospel of Christ is needed in Vietnam. The alternative to a prostituted gospel is not simply to withhold the gospel. The gospel of Christ must be presented and received as good news. I believe American Christians can have a part in this. It is essential that we join with Christians from other nations to proclaim the gospel. Perhaps the true "offense of the gospel" will then become visible—repentance and the way of the cross. The Christian church dare not construct artificial barriers to the gospel.

Vietnamese fishermen bringing in their boat.

Reflections on Watergate

By DELTON FRANZ

I take my text from the 8th Chapter of Nehemiah: "And Ezra the priest brought the law before the assembly—and he read it facing the square before the Water Gate—and the ears of all the people were attentive to the book of the law. . ." Americans need to have read to them from their book of the law. The priest in this case will have to be the President. He cannot govern with authority until the Watergate case is cleared up. Our presidency has become a sort of monarchic repository of public virtue. To discover it is not virtuous would be hard to bear.—John K. Jessup, on the NBC "Today" program, formerly chief editorial writer, *Life* magazine.

IT IS TEMPTING, in observing the state of corruption and deceit that has permeated the White House, to say, "a plague on all your houses," and to hold ourselves aloof in personal self-righteousness from all of the strivings of our government. But since both this nation and individuals in its government stand under the judgment of God, we do well to reflect on some of the meanings that the excesses symbolized by the Watergate have for the Christian community.

Church members in America have generally trusted their government. In the 20th century that trust concentrated itself most zealously in the office of the President. While national leadership in a democratic system cannot govern effectively without the broad support of the people, there is equal danger when that trust becomes too casual.

The excesses of two administrations have now come under challenge. In the sixties, a growing number of citizens became alarmed by the deception practiced by the Johnson Administration regarding the government's war activities in Vietnam; it provoked a serious credibility gap. But finally millions of concerned citizens forced an end to the use of United States forces in Vietnam, even though the devastation in Southeast Asia continues in other ways. Now in the seventies, the public's trust in the Office of the President has again been undermined by the two-year-long series of law-breaking and cover-up activities of which the Watergate break-in was but one minor part.

At the same time the importance of a free press, a strong Congress, and an independent judiciary has been rediscovered. The fact that these checks on abuses of power by the White House have functioned as effectively as they have is as surprising as the breadth and depth of the scandals which they have revealed. While our system has failed by allowing such a great concentration of power in one office, thus inviting abuses, it has also succeeded in exposing and correcting those abuses. Perhaps the greatest failing which comes to light in the whole affair lies not with any aspect of our system, but with the people who have placed so much trust in the President and who have considered as subversive or unpatriotic any attempts to check his power or change his policies.

What does all of this mean for the church? What should Christians learn from the crisis this government and society is undergoing? "There are apparently thousands of American Christians who seem to hold a theory on politics appropriate to dutiful slaves in the late Roman Empire: 'The great ones in Washington know best. Our duty is to be loyal to their better judgment.'" (*God's Lively People* by Mark Gibbs & Ralph Morton)

The lessons of history dare not be ignored. That the churches cannot afford to be silent and uninformed regarding the policies and trends in government was underscored by one of the pillars of the German Confessing Church which did resist Hitler in the 1930's. Martin Niemoller said, "If the evangelical churches of Germany had been clearer in their own thinking about what a state could and could not do and what a Christian could and could not permit, the assumption of power by National Socialism (Nazism) would have been more effectively resisted."

While recognizing the damage that has been done to our government by this broad-scale subversion of law and order, it can be noted that some good may also emerge.

1) *A more cautious estimate of the Office of President:* Perhaps the sobering developments surrounding the President in recent months will provide a more down-to-earth appraisal of that office among the public. Certainly the church should be under no illusions about the temptation of rulers to lord it over men.

Christians especially, should be sensitive to the potential of idolatry that exists when such a large part of one's security and trust is placed in one man. We should remind ourselves that our theological understanding of sin means that excessive power resting with one person will likely be used for self-serving and self-justifying purposes. Power shared by many—the promise of a democratic system—will more often be exercised with justice and wisdom.

2) *A Renewal of public vigilance:* Corruption in high places increases as the vigilance of the people decreases. Often people in the church say that being critical of presi-

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dential decisions is out of place because only he has access to the necessary information and the expertise required for crucial decisions.

The judgments of decision-makers are however, seldom determined as much by classified information or specialized knowledge as by broad world views, underlying presuppositions and basic convictions. George Reedy, Special Assistant to the late President Johnson, attests to this when he writes: "He (the President) must deal with those problems for which the computer offers no solution. . . . He has no guideposts other than his own philosophy and his intuition. . . . That a President has more comprehensive data available to him is true . . . but is actually irrelevant. On sweeping policy decisions . . . a President makes up his mind on the basis of the same kind of information that is available to the average citizen." (*The Twilight of the Presidency*)

A President's views on basic issues will more likely be shaped to take into account the interests of the dispossessed if the voices of nongovernmental groups are heard. Toward that end, the transnational, humanitarian perspective of the churches can have a leveling effect on governmental actions. This of course assumes that the churches will devote the time to gather the necessary facts which are available and that they recognize their own fallibility as well as that of those in power.

3) *The Watergate as a watershed in the flow of power:* Some observers in Washington are seeing the Watergate affair as a true watershed in our government's history. After 25 years of political power flowing to the executive branch, the tide may now have turned in the relationship between the Congress and the White House.

For six years, the will of two Presidents to carry on a disastrous and futile war in Indochina could not be stopped by an impotent Congress. Now, in an unprecedented move on May 11, the House of Representatives has passed an amendment that would not permit the transfer of funds to continue the bombing of Cambodia. With the Senate following suit, it is apparent that the misuse of authority in the White House has prompted the Congress to assume greater responsibility. The checks of the checks and balances system have come into play.

Whether or not the courts are able to convict all who are guilty may not be the most important consequence of what has transpired. If the poison that has festered in our society because of the immorality within the White House can be cleansed by as full an exposure and as fair a judgment of the wrongdoers as possible, a true healing of the land might yet occur.

Hopefully the churches can assist this healing by turning from their tendency to deify the Presidential office and to engage in nation worship. Now, more than ever, we must pray for national leaders. Our prayers must reflect our knowledge that God alone is sovereign and that all human action including that of the President of the United States is ultimately judged by His standards of truth, love and justice. We must pray that leaders be given wisdom to discern the right and the courage to act on it.

Books In Review

Revolution Without Violence

John H. Yoder, *The Original Revolution. Essays on Christian Pacifism*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1972. 189 pp. $5.95.

Dale W. Brown, *The Christian Revolutionary*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971. 147 pp. $2.45 (paperback).

The term revolution is too often thought of exclusively as referring to violent change. Indeed, violent overthrows of power are more visible, though such may only result in transfer of power from one ruling group to another without any truly revolutionary change. The two books being reviewed deal with revolution in the sense of radical change, both in going to the root of the problem and extreme or drastic change. The Christian approach is in the direction of a different basis and vision for society from the usual political base of military power.

In times of rapid social change and need for rectifying injustices in the society, Christians need to be reminded of alternatives to violent revolution. Otherwise they may be confused and either withdraw completely from the situation or accept means contrary to the Christian faith to achieve the change which seems necessary.

The books by Yoder and Brown are both committed to the view that the Christian should be involved in the rapid change, but that the Christian revelation opens possibilities for a revolutionary stance without resort to violence.

The title of Yoder's book comes from an essay in which he says, "This is the original revolution, the creation of a distinct community with its own deviant set of values and its coherent way of incarnating them" (p. 28). He agrees with Brown who says that "Revolutionary change is implied in the doctrines of the new birth, the new creation, and a new heaven and earth. . . . When the biblical promises come alive for us to the extent that we really believe and act as if they will be fulfilled, then there will be revolution" (p. 15).

The two authors agree on most of their positions. They both believe that Jesus dealt seriously with the revolutionary and political currents of his own times but rejected the use of violence and other coercive power. His temptation to use violent means to achieve justice were real. They both deny that Jesus was part of a guerilla movement though his identi-

fication with their desire for justice led to the possibility that he might be crucified out of fear that he was just another military and political leader.

The two authors also agree that the eschatological view is critical for men to be able to face the seeming calculations about historical results and still rely in obedience on the Lord's command to be faithful. The vision of the kingdom and the hope that it represents the real nature of things enables the Christian to live in faithfulness to it. The crucifixion is folly unless one lives in the hope of the resurrection.

Brown devotes a major portion of his book to examining position of which he is critical. He tries to sort out the degree to which they have positive and valuable insights, and where they have failed to adopt the peaceful revolutionary stance. Included are the Death of God theologians, the New Left, the Social Gospel, and Reinhold Niebuhr. He also has a chapter in which he looks at the Anabaptists of the 16th century and the application of their vision for today.

Yoder's book is not as systematically developed as Brown's since it is a collection of pieces written over a period of years for a variety of purposes. They have a unifying theme and have some logic in their grouping and sequence.

The two books complement each other. They have a common core of ideas and convictions but enough diversity in scope and interest so as to fill out the total position more fully. For those uncertain about whether a Christian should be involved in the social change occurring today, or wanting to be involved but uncertain about how the Christian should do so in faithfulness, these two books should be particularly useful.

BETHEL COLLEGE — *William Keeney*

A Historian Recalls

Unruh, John D. *As I Recall.* Freeman, South Dakota: Pine Hill Press, 1971, 61 pp.

Designed primarily for his immediate family circle, this limited edition of the personal account of his life by John D. Unruh does indeed contain morsels which others may glean, as he suggests in the preface.

The introductory glimpses of rural life, education and teaching experiences provide the setting. In 1930, at the age of 26, John Unruh was "invited to serve" at Freeman Junior College. He became president three years later and remained in that position for 15 years. Some interesting details on the plight of a small school in the depression years are indicated. However, one might wish the author had shared additional insights.

One of the most interesting sections of the book deals with Unruh's experiences as a draft counselor in World War II and his efforts to develop job opportunities for Conscientious Objectors, and especially for the Hutterite boys.

Interesting sidelights are revealed in the brief sections that deal with his extensive experiences in church and conference positions and in MCC work. His further careers as businessman and mayor, as history teacher in a state school, and experiences in travel, which he obviously enjoyed, show the variety of his interests.

He makes only passing references to his writing of a history of the Mennonite Central Committee, work on the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* compilation of a family tree, and his current project of writing a history of the South Dakota Mennonites in time for their centennial in 1974.

The modesty of the author has left the story of his contributions in community, church, educational, conference and historical work much too short to indicate the significance of his contributions. One might wish he had elaborated more on some of these for the edification of his readers. However, the brevity of this booklet adds to its generally good readability, and so, perhaps, to the enjoyment of the reader.

Martha F. Graber

The Learned Doctor Ames

Keith L. Sprunger, *The Learned Doctor William Ames.* Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1972. 276 pp. Index, bibliography, illustrations.

Kingman Brewster, Jr. of Yale University recently made the following statement: "If teaching is to be more than the retailing of the known, and if research is to seek real breakthroughs in the explanation of man and the cosmos, then teachers must be scholars, and scholarships must be more than refinement of the inherited store of knowledge." One teacher-scholar who believes in going beyond mere "refinement" is Keith L. Sprunger, professor of history at Bethel College, and his new book, *The Learned Doctor William Ames,* is an example of how not to be guilty of the "retailing of the known."

The reviewer believes he has found a book that can relate the background of the growth and influence of Puritanism by using a Puritan of Puritans who was completely involved in the movement. In fact, the author has ingeniously woven the fabric of Puritanism, undergirded with significant primary source material, into the Dutch, English, and American experience through the life of William Ames, who was a pragmatic, nonconformist, congregationalist of the "rigid sort."

William Ames lived and worked during the "middle period" of the growth of Puritanism (1590-1640). He comes after the Elizabethan Puritans who sought to purify the Anglican church and before the Cromwellian Puritans who would briefly control English government. This period of Amesian influence was one of repression against any group that did not conform to the Church of England. The only options men who held differing convictions had were: to conform gracefully, conform under duress, or leave England and go into exile. Ames was one of those stalwarts who chose the latter for he believed that common sense, God's Word, and Reformed churches on the continent "all gave testimony against the English Church."

Born in Eastern England, influenced in his early life by Snelling, an uncle, Ames entered Christ's College, Cambridge, a stronghold of Puritanism. At Christ's College, he was led to the belief that Christians should practice in their actions those principles to which they have given intellectual assent. Very early in his career he complained that the Church needed purification from its laxness, prelatical mistakes, semi-Catholicism and unbiblical attitudes. Because of his outspoken belief in strict Puritanism, Ames soon became a scholarly leader of the Puritans who came to believe that Ames was a "watchman . . . to guard against sin and evil action."

In 1609, he left Cambridge for The Netherlands where

he believed his non-conformist views would be more palatable. Dutch tolerance and a community of non-conforming English settlers, it seemed to Ames, would make for a more pleasant life rather than amid English intolerance and censorship. Soon, however, his preaching and writing led to disputations with not only Anglicans, but with Separatists and Arminians. At the Synod of Dort, in 1618, he furthered his beliefs by supporting orthodox Calvinism over Arminianism —determinism over free will.

Seeking a quiet haven from continual debates and controversy, in 1622, he became professor of theology at Franeker University, a relatively unknown orthodox Calvinist school. Finding a new avenue of expression, he immersed himself in writing and teaching. When it came his turn to serve as rector in 1626-27, however, he reverted to his role as a "watchman" over the morals of the student body and called for strict discipline and piety along with studies. Needless to say, the students were not overjoyed with these prospects of curtailing their activities both on and off the campus. But they did not understand Ames' real intention, for he was seeking to instill within them a purity that exhibited personal godliness along with the acquisition of knowledge.

Since all knowledge and all the scholarly arts emanate from God (*Ens Primum*), Ames believed, learning should be practical and lead to good actions with one's totality of being committed to a godly "art of living." Theology was the "queen of the sciences" that alone could speak the message of truth. To Ames "theology is the doctrine of living to God." Everything else is but an elaboration upon this important basic theme.

This strong emphasis on living the godly life coupled with congregationalist church polity greatly influenced The Netherlands, England and New England. To fully understand the background and development of nonconforming English Puritanism, this book is must reading.

STERLING COLLEGE, Sterling, Kan. *Fred R. Belk*

The Puritan Lectureships

Paul S. Seaver. *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent,* 1560-1662. Stanford University Press, 1970. 402 pp.

Seaver presents us with a well-researched and well-written study of the institution of the lectureship within the Church of England. Although Seaver states that this is not the study of an "ism" (Puritanism), the book is significant for the understanding of Puritanism and its tactics. The lecturer was a preacher hired to preach extra sermons for a parish or a town beyond those normally provided by the incumbent vicar. As such, lecturers were less subject to prelatical control, and thus, the lectureship became a likely haven for nonconforming Puritan preachers. While the official vicar read the prayer book and carried out the ceremonies, the lecturer was given the responsibility for preaching sermons—which was the main desire of the Puritan preachers anyway.

The emphasis of the book is on London lectureships, where as many as 121 were established by 1628. Some information is given for places outside of London as well. The study includes an institutional history of the lectureships, biographical sketches of some of the lecturers and an analysis of the lectureship's connection to Puritanism. This is a valuable book.

BETHEL COLLEGE *Keith L. Sprunger*

Poems of War Resistance

Scott Bates, Editor, *Poems of War Resistance.* New York: Grossman Publishers, 1969. 217 pp. $3.95. Paperback.

Many anti-war anthologies have been published since the beginning of America's involvement in the Vietnam war. Now that we have achieved a ceasefire and an uneasy peace, it seems almost futile to review an anthology of poems which, in part at least, grew out of that war. But this collection is still worth noting. Much of what Mennonites have said in confessions of faith, in statements against war; much of what Mennonite conscientious objectors have experienced is expressed here. It is important to know that others besides members of the historic peace churches share their feelings and experiences.

It is unfortunate that Mennonites are not represented in this anthology, are not even mentioned. Indeed the only one of the historic peace churches that has a place in the collection is the Quakers and most of their contributions are not particularly noteworthy, especially as poetry. It is unfortunate that the three historic peace churches have been least successful in finding poetic forms to express their positions, that they have to depend upon others to express in poetry their own deep convictions.

But this is a good collection. It should be in every pacifist's library. For here we see how pervasive the resistance to war is in poetry, how that resistance, always passive, at least in this anthology, is present in all cultures and religions: Hindu, American Indian (who too many of us still think of as basically war-like), Buddhist, Socialist. Here are well-known poems against war like those of Thomas Hardy, Siegfried Sassoon, Walt Whitman, selections from the Bible, as well as little known poems like the very powerful "The Poltroon" by Sarah N. Cleghorn. That poem alone is worth the price of the anthology. There are also short selections like the one written by a little girl in a Nazi death-camp called "I Sit With My Dolls." This richness and variety indicates the pains the editor has taken to find the most appropriate material for this collection.

There are some weaknesses in the collection. I would have expected at least one poem by Robert Bly, the contemporary poet who has done so much to make the American public aware of the futility of the Vietnam war. Some of the selections seem weak, even insignificant, but all in all this anthology will not let its readers forget that

"There is no end to war!"

and that

"When after many battles past,
Both tir'd with blows, make peace at last
What is it, after all, the people get?
Why? taxes, widows, wooden legs and debt"

a lesson that, even though Vietnam seems to be settled, should keep us from becoming complacent. This anthology reminds us that now is the time for the pacifist to act to prevent other Vietnams.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE *Elmer F. Suderman*

The Cross and the Flag

Robert G. Clouse, Robert D. Linder, and Richard P. Pierard, editors. *The Cross and the Flag.* Carol Stream, Ill.: Creation House, 1972. $2.95. Paperback.

The Cross and the Flag deals with the relationship of evangelical Christianity and a variety of social concerns in the American cultural setting. A group of young scholars speak out rather boldly on issues such as political involvement, civic religion, women's rights, the radical left and right, racism, poverty, the ecological crisis, Israel, and war and militarism.

While rejecting either a humanitarian liberalism or a reactionary conservatism, they try to examine carefully what is biblical teaching and what is a part of American cultural positions. They are rather critical of too many evangelicals and fundamentalists who make a simple identification between Americanism and Christianity, symbolized by the flag and the cross.

The Mennonites are mentioned on a couple of occasions, for example, distinguishing them along with Quakers and Brethren as being neither like conservatives without social concerns nor liberals without an adequate understanding of evil in human nature. Mennonite authors such as Myron Augsburger, Leland Harder, and Calvin and John H. Redekop are cited.

The book is recommended for those who want balanced statements on the issues treated. It would be particularly useful with conservatives who do not think the gospel has much application to contemporary social issues.

BETHEL COLLEGE *William Keeney*

Pennsylvania Dutch Books

Elmer L. Smith and Mel Horst, *Among the Amish* (1959, twelfth printing 1971); Smith and Horst, *Pennsylvania Dutch Folklore* (1960, ninth prniting 1971); Smith and Horst, *Covered Bridges of Pennsylvania Dutchland* (1960, eighth printing 1970); Smith and Horst, *Meet the Mennonites in Pennsylvania Dutchland* (1961, sixth printing 1971); Smith and Horst, *Antiques in Pennsylvania Dutchland* (1963, fourth printing 1970); Smith, essays by Phebe E. Gibbons, illustrations by H. L. Fisher, *The Plain People* (1963, fifth printing 1971); Smith, Gibbons and Fisher, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (1963, fifth printing 1972); Horst, *The Dunkard-Dutch Cook Book* (1965, sixth printing 1971); Smith and Horst, *Hex Signs and Other Barn Decorations* (1965, fifth printing 1971); Smith and Horst, *The Amish* (1966, fifth printing 1971); Smith and Horst, *The Folk Art of Pennsylvania Dutchland* (1966, third printing 1971); Phares H. Hertzog, *The Favorite Songs, Sayings, and Stories of a Pennsylvania Dutchman* (1966, second printing 1968); Applied Arts Publishers, Lebanon, Pa. 17042. About $1.25 each.

Elmer Smith who long has been studying the Amish and Melvin Horst, an outstanding photographer of Ephrata, Pennsylvania, have joined in an unusually successful printing venture. Capitalizing on the growing interest in Pennsylvania Dutch culture and in the Plain People of Pennsylvania, they have produced a series of pictorial presentations and simple texts which present graphically the picturesque culture of Pennsylvania Dutchland. Each of the books is 8 1/2 by 11 inches in size, with an average of 44 pages. The slick paper covers are illustrated in color but the rest of the numerous, large photographs are in black and white.

From a casual reading of samples of the texts, this reviewer has concluded that the material is remarkably accurate and does not exploit the sensational. Only in a few instances are their characterizations of the attitudes and practices of Pennsylvania Amish not accurate for those in other states. Especially to be praised are Horst's high quality photographs which, although they may picture quaint customs, nevertheless show a people vibrant, joyous, and at peace. Here are pictured the kind of persons one would be happy to learn to know. One has the impression that no attempt is being made to exploit an American sub-culture but rather to answer honestly the kinds of questions Americans are asking about the Pennsylvania Dutchman, whose way of life is decidedly different from that of the larger American society.

GOSHEN, INDIANA *Melvin Gingerich*

The Joyful Community

Benjamin David Zablocki. *The Joyful Community. An Account of the Bruderhof, A Communal Movement Now in Its Third Generation.* Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books Inc., 1971. 362 pp. $1.95. Paperback.

Benjamin Zablocki is a sociologist who has had an interest in intentional communities. He and his wife spent about four months in the Woodcrest Bruderhof at Rifton, New York. In addition he did research in the archives and interviewed 20 former members of the Bruderhof. The analysis and interpretation is written as an ethnographic study.

The book gives a very helpful view of the Bruderhof. Zablocki tries hard to be fair while still being critical. He has ambivalence about the movement. At times one feels that the group is being analyzed until the reality is so shredded that it is no longer there. The question seems to arise as to whether the whole movement is just a shrewd manipulation of psychological and sociological forces so that their claim of being moved by the Holy Spirit is an unnecessary hypothesis.

Zablocki communicates a real appreciation for the quality of joy found in the Bruderhof. He also indicates in some description of other communitarian experiments that the Bruderhof has learned what the major threats to such group life are and has made adjustments to deal with them. Other groups would profit from awareness of the problems and the solutions the Bruderhof has gained. The question still remains as to whether the forms and procedures can be simply transferred without the spirit and motivation of the Bruderhof.

The description of the Bruderhof seems to be accurate as far as can be discerned. Many of the explanations seem to fit with some of the puzzling aspects noted in a brief visit to one Bruderhof, listening to representatives of the Bruderhof, visits with a couple ex-members, and reading of literature from the movement. The apparent necessary rhythm between joy and crisis almost sounds like a sociological analog of psychological manic-depression mood swings. One cannot help but wonder if the introversion and insulation from service to the larger community does not lead to the condition.

The lack of sense of mission and service to the larger world other than as a model of an alternative community which manifests the incarnation of the Kingdom seems to be restrictive. Also, the lack of appreciation of God's self-disclosure through diversity seems to leave the community with limited access to the breadth and length and height and depth of God's immensity.

The author includes in appendices the Novitiate and Baptism Vows, Methods of Study, and a Bibliography which includes Works Pertaining to the Bruderhof, Works on Intentional Communities, and Materials not on the Subject of Intentional Community. The book has an analytical index.

The book is recommended for anyone wanting a fuller understanding of the Bruderhof. The insights are worth careful consideration by those interested in a serious examination of the community's style and mode of operation.

BETHEL COLLEGE *William Keeney*

Cracks in the Melting Pot

Melvin Steinfield (ed.), *Cracks in the Melting Pot.* New York: Glencoe Press, 1973. 366 pp.

Among scholars there is an increasing rejection of the myth of America as a melting pot. Melvin Steinfield, assistant professor of history of San Diego Mesa College, is one of the foremost scholarly proponents of self-determination and pride in unique life-styles of ethnic cultural heritage, as opposed to an imaginary "American" ideal. Increasingly, the old melting pot is being replaced by metaphors such as "salad bowl" or "patchwork quilt."

This book is relevant to understanding how broad-based and deep-seated the problem of racism and discrimination in America has become, and deals specifically with the nature of our most pressing challenge in the field of human relations. Although most of the book considers white racism against blacks, considerable space is devoted also to American Indians, Mexican-Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and other ethnic minorities. The reader cannot come away from this book without an awareness that racism and discrimination have provided rationalizations for territorial acquisition, have influenced immigration laws, have provoked constitutional crises, have encouraged brutal treatment, and have created torrents of hatred and rivers of rage.

There are five parts to the book. Part One provides an overview of racism in America and elsewhere in order to establish historical perspective. Part Two demonstrates racism in territorial acquisition directed at the American Indians, Mexican-Americans, and the annexation of the Philippines. Part Three presents discrimination against immigrant groups. The three chapters of Part Four illustrate legal, extra legal, and other forms of discrimination against black Americans. The final section, Part Five, focuses on major trends and how racism is likely to influence the future of America.

STERLING COLLEGE *Fred R. Belk*

A Note on Goethe and the Anabaptists

By HARRY LOEWEN

WHAT did Goethe know about the Anabaptists? What did he think of them? A letter written by Goethe and a few lines from his autobiography may throw some light on these questions.

When the French armies in 1794 occupied the Low Countries, a Dutch scholar, R. M. van Goens, emigrated to Germany and made his home in Erfurt under his mother's name Cuninghame. In December of that year van Goens sent Goethe a gift of an old ring with the following inscription engraved in it: +ANA+NISABTA+N+I+R+I+. In a letter (Dec. 31, 1794), written in French, Goethe first acknowledges gratefully the receipt of the gift and then proceeds to decipher the mysterious anagram. He rearranges the letters of the inscription as follows: +ANA+BABTISTA +I+N+R+I+. The letter N in NISABTA, Goethe conjectures, may have been the initial of the wearer's name; the B and T in NISABTA, Goethe feels, must be used twice in order to form the word BABTISTA. Goethe then goes on to explain that the one who wore the ring must have been a secret Anabaptist, who by wearing it confessed that he was both an Anabaptist and a Christian. Goethe adds, although he, Goethe, is not an Anabaptist nor much of a Christian ("ni trop chretien"), he will nevertheless wear the relic with pleasure in memory of its sender.

Harry Loewen, chairman of the Department of German at Waterloo (Ont.) Lutheran University, is the author of Goethe's Response to Protestantism.

Goethe no doubt derived his knowledge of the Anabaptists from Gottfried Arnold's *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* which was first published in 1699. The second edition of this two-volume work, published in Frankfurt on the Main in 1729, was in the library of Goethe's father in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe states that Arnold's "important book" had a great influence on him in his youth. Goethe was drawn to this Pietist church historian and his work for the following reason:

Dieser Mann ist nicht ein bloss reflectirender Historiker, sondern zugleich fromm und fühlend. Seine Gesinnungen stimmten sehr zu den meinigen, und was mich an seinem Werk besonders ergötzte, war, dass ich von manchen Ketzern, die man mir bisher als toll oder gottlos vorgestellt hatte, einen vorteilhaftern Begriff erhielt.

Arnold's history contains several chapters on the Anabaptists and Mennonites, whom the author portrays as godly people who on account of their faith had to endure much persecution. In 1794, the year in which the letter to van Goens was written, Goethe requested that Arnold's history be sent to him in Weimar. If Goethe's knowledge of Anabaptism was derived from Arnold's work—and the evidence seems to suggest that it was—then his view of the radical reformers must have been a favorable one, and he could wear the ring of the anonymous Anabaptist not only in memory of his Dutch friend but also in honor of a "heretic" who for fear of persecution had to conceal his Anabaptist-Christian identity in an anagram!

Waving Fields of Red Turkey Wheat

By ELMER F. SUDERMAN
Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn.

The moon pushes away windswept
tattered clouds shining on fifty miles
of buffalo grass stretching from
the Cottonwood to the Little Arkansas river.
The black-hatted Mennonite elder
up before the sun,
absorbs the silence of the centuries,
seems to smell wheat blown in the wind
from the Crimea, looks into endlessness,
nearly smiles, and thinks:
"In three years that ocean of grass
will be an ocean of waving fields
of Red Turkey wheat like
those we left in the Molotchna."