

MENNONITE LIFE

JUNE 1984



In this Issue

Scholars continue to provide new insights into the Mennonite migration to North America in the 1870s. The article by Dennis D. Engbrecht focuses on the decision to settle in Nebraska. Dennis is a Professor of General Education at Vennard College at University Park, Iowa, and also an ordained minister in the Missionary Church. He is completing his dissertation on "The Americanization of a Rural Immigrant Church: The General Conference Mennonites in Central Kansas, 1874-1939" at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and he has extensively used the resources of the Mennonite Library and Archives.

Using aerial photographs recently discovered in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., Robert S. Kreider examines the Chortitza area of Russia during World War II and describes the destruction of the Dnieper Dam. This story is one of the last chapters in the one and a half centuries of Chortitza history. Robert has recently retired as editor of *Mennonite Life* and director of the Mennonite Library and Archives. Although he will serve as a consultant on future issues, the September issue, which will focus on the Mennonite World Conference, will be his final work as editor, completing ten years in this role.

Mennonite libraries and research centers have again collaborated to produce the Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography for 1983. This year the entries have not been divided into categories in order to eliminate confusion and simplify preparation of the bibliography. The source of each entry is again identified. The thirteen page bibliography is the largest ever in *Mennonite Life* and substantiates both the growing interest in Mennonite studies and the expanding efforts of Mennonite libraries to document the Mennonite story.

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The Settlement of Russian Mennonites in York and Hamilton Counties, Nebraska

by Dennis D. Engbrecht

Scouting the Promised Land

In the early 1870's about one-third of the Mennonites in Russia immigrated to North America and settled on the Great Plains. This mass exodus from Russia was preceded by a committee of twelve Mennonite leaders who in the summer of 1873 scouted the railroad lands of Minnesota, Canada, the Dakota Territory, and Nebraska. Of the 18,000 Mennonites who left Russia between 1874 and 1883, 10,000 settled in the United States with one-half choosing Kansas. The remaining 5,000 settled, in order of population density, in South Dakota, Minnesota, and Nebraska.¹

The competing frontier railroads of the Great Plains had much to do with the eventual selection of settlement sites. In 1873 these railroad companies courted the Mennonite delegation of twelve in hopes of winning their favor. The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad lands in Nebraska were the last to be inspected by the Russian delegation. The Nebraska tour began in Omaha, went as far west as Kearny, as far south as Red Cloud, and back east through Sutton (where a German Reformed group from Russia had settled in 1873) to Plattsmouth. (Fig. 1). The travel-weary delegation noted the dry condition of treeless railroad lands in Nebraska during the month of July and expressed concern about the necessity of deep wells.²

Tired, homesick, and anxious to report their findings to friends and family in Russia, the delegation limited their stay in Nebraska to five days, the briefest of their land inspections. Ultimately none of the twelve delegates settled in Nebraska.

ROUTE FOLLOWED BY MENNONITE DELEGATION THROUGH NEBRASKA IN 1873.



..... travel by railroad

.... travel by wagon

The lack of timber and water table depth were the main drawbacks. This meant that the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad had to invoke convincing advertising and aggressive salesmanship to attract Mennonite settlement in Nebraska.³

The Role of the B&MRR Company in Bringing Mennonites to Nebraska

If there was one man most responsible for bringing the Mennonites to Nebraska, it was A. E. Touzalin. Touzalin was the agent for the B&MRR Company in charge of settling the most desirable immigrants on railroad lands. The B&MRR had been given large chunks of land by the government with the understanding that it be sold to those settling near the expanding railroad. In the eastern half of the state cheap railroad lands were initially bypassed for free homesteads. Thus, the railroad was extremely interested in immigrants, especially groups like the Mennonites who desired large parcels of land for closed settlements. Since homesteaders claimed the best land first, the remaining government land was either poor in quality or too small to host an entire settlement.

While serving as an agent for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad Company, Touzalin recognized Mennonites as excellent candidates to settle railroad lands. Shortly thereafter, he switched to the B&MRR and continued to recruit Mennonites. In a letter to C. E. Perkins, the company's vice-president, Touzalin expressed a desire to secure Mennonites as settlers on B&MRR lands:

They are a people possessing in a high degree the characteristics of industry, frugality, and temperance, and rank among the best farmers in the world. No better people in the world could be found for utilizing every acre of land in the various districts where they may settle, and wherever they may go, a dense population, producing a large export surplus will be the results of their location.⁴

Realizing that the other railroad companies were just as hopeful for Mennonite settlement, Touzalin initiated a vigorous recruiting effort and a bidding war resulted.

Advertisements often constituted

the first contacts between the railroads and the immigrants. Thus, it was important that the railroads' advertising attract Mennonite attention. Circulars were printed in German and sent back with the delegation to Mennonite villages in Russia.

The bidding war between railroad agents became more intense upon the arrival of immigrants in the United States. As soon as they had disembarked in New York they were greeted by competing agents. Those who eventually settled near Henderson came from the village of Alexanderwohl located in the Molotschna colony. Their leader, Jacob Buller, a member of the committee of twelve, chose to settle in Kansas. In the late summer of 1874, the Alexanderwohl congregation decided to emigrate, leaving only seven families from the entire village in Russia.⁵ On August 27, 1874, they arrived in New York, and a week later 1,000 Mennonites arrived in Lincoln. Attempting to provide lodging for such a large congregation was an overwhelming task, and agent Touzalin worked diligently to accommodate them. An immigrant house had been built in Lincoln by the B&MRR Company, but it was too small to accommodate the entire group. Another large structure was quickly constructed at the fairgrounds, and with the use of additional buildings, all the Mennonites were soon housed.⁶

After a brief tour of B&MRR lands in Franklin and Webster Counties, Nebraska, and Santa Fe lands in Marion County, Kansas, the group met together to decide on a settlement location. Representing the Santa Fe railroad was agent C. B. Schmidt, appointed by the company to succeed Touzalin. Touzalin found himself in a difficult position. As a Santa Fe agent, he had succeeded in securing a group of Mennonites to settle on government land. Now he was competing against his former employer and against the man who had replaced him. Realizing that Schmidt was well liked by Mennonites who were more inclined to settle in Kansas because of brethren already there, Touzalin offered generous concessions to the group. Each of these offers was met by a counter offer from Schmidt.⁷ Ultimately Touzalin was outmaneu-

vered in the contest between the B&MRR and the Santa Fe. Approximately 102 families numbering 557 persons departed for Kansas while others chose Minnesota, Manitoba, and the Dakota Territory, leaving 35 families numbering 207 persons to settle in Nebraska.⁸

These Mennonites would have followed their brethren to previously settled land in other states had it not been for Touzalin's enticing offers. On October 5, 1874, the remaining Mennonite families signed a memorandum of agreement with Touzalin. Its contents included generous promises:

1. An immigrant house built on the eventual site of the Mennonite settlement at the expense of the company.
2. 40% off for all lands bought with cash and 30% off on land purchased on a ten year credit system at 6% interest per annum.
3. A well drilled for each purchaser at the expense of the company.
4. A free guide to locate suitable lands in Nebraska.
5. Loans to poor families.
6. Reduced freight charges (50%) for the shipping of livestock and farm implements.
7. Free shipping of up to 45,000 feet of lumber.
8. Free railroad passes for two leaders of the Mennonites for the purpose of meeting later immigrating Mennonites.
9. Free transportation from Lincoln to their final location of settlement.

As a guarantee that the company would carry out these nine promises, the B&MRR placed \$5,000 with a trusted Mennonite living in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.⁹

Initially this agreement applied only to the 1874 Mennonites. Touzalin reasoned that once the B&MRR secured settlers on its lands, other Mennonites would automatically follow without the original concessions. However, in February, 1875, a report by the Mennonite Board of Guardians revealed that Nebraska ranked a distant fourth in the hosting of Russian Mennonite settlers. Kansas led the way with 600 families, followed by Manitoba with 230 families, the Dakota Territory with 200 families on its lands in 1874.¹⁰

With these statistics in mind, the B&MRR agreed to extend the same terms of 1874 to those Mennonites arriving in the Henderson area in 1875.¹¹ A letter in 1876 from Elder Isaac Peters of the Henderson group to another Mennonite leader mentions that these terms of 1874 were guaranteed for Mennonites arriving in Nebraska in 1876 as well.¹² Although the Henderson Mennonites had to remind the railroad of its original promises, the company lived up to its end of the agreement by fulfilling all nine points.

The B&MRR was not limited to attractive advertising in its effort to recruit Mennonite settlers. The railroad company realized the Mennonite objection to Russian conscription laws and subsequently placed pressure on the state legislature to change the Nebraska law to exempt all conscientious objectors from military service. This was successfully accomplished in 1877 since the railroad exerted strong influence over state government at the time.¹³

Selection of Nebraska

Ultimately two Mennonite settlements were established in Nebraska. The first group came in the summer of 1874 and settled on railroad lands in Jefferson and Gage Counties near Beatrice.¹⁴ Cornelius Jansen and his son, Peter, were primarily responsible for guiding this group to Nebraska with the aid of the B&MRR. Cornelius Jansen had been an early promoter of emigration and was expelled by the Czar for his active promotion of settlement in America. He brought his family to the United States in 1873 and temporarily settled in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, enrolling his children in public schools to learn English at an accelerated rate.¹⁵ Peter Jansen frequently traveled to meet Russian Mennonites landing in New York in 1874. Eventually Peter led a group to the Beatrice area where the Jansen family joined them and purchased railroad land.

The other Nebraska settlement of Mennonites was located in York and Hamilton Counties approximately twelve miles north and three miles east of Sutton. These were later referred to as Henderson Mennonites because the town of Henderson was



Memorial marker for Henderson Mennonite Pioneers on site of Immigrant House.

eventually founded at the center of the settlement. Originally Touzalin had tried to interest these immigrants from Alexanderwohl to settle railroad lands in Franklin and Webster Counties but failure to dig a well deep enough discouraged his effort.¹⁶ On their way back to Lincoln the group came across a German from Russia who had settled in Sutton, Nebraska. The man was a grain dealer who had much to gain from the settlement of successful wheat farmers nearby. Because of his German Russian background the Mennonites decided to visit Sutton and examine railroad lands north of the prairie village. Encouraged by their visit to a Nebraska town where fellow Germans from Russia of the Reformed Church had settled the previous year, the remaining 35 families who had not followed their brethren to Kansas or Dakota

decided to buy B&MRR land in York and Hamilton Counties.¹⁷

The Mennonites who settled in Nebraska did so for three basic reasons. First of all, they were impressed by Touzalin's effort to recruit them. He rapidly discovered that the Mennonites were after two things—cheap agricultural land and religious liberty. The railroad did its best to provide both for the Mennonites.

Secondly, the Mennonites were influenced in their choice of Nebraska by two of their persuasive brethren, Peter Jansen and Isaac Peters. Jansen, in his early twenties at the time, had an excellent command of the English language and served as translator-guide for the B&MRR. This he did without pay. Circulars with Cornelius Jansen's endorsement of Nebraska were sent to South Russia.¹⁸ Young Jansen was

given a free pass by the railroad and constantly traveled between Nebraska and New York during those first years of the immigration. Isaac Peters was an influential elder of the early Henderson settlement who actively recruited many Mennonites still in Russia. Like Jansen, Peters was quoted in B&MRR circulars posted in strategic areas of the East where Mennonites arrived from Russia.

A third factor in the choice of Nebraska was its geographic location. Nebraska was something of a compromise zone; neither too far north nor south. In a letter to Leonhard Suderman, one of the members of the committee of twelve who was still in Russia in 1875, Isaac Peters carefully pointed out the possibility of drought in Kansas and extreme cold in Minnesota: "But on the other hand, good quality and laying of the land is in Nebraska and therefore is the best state among them."¹⁹

In Russia the Mennonite colonies were located between the 46th and the 48th parallels. If they had settled on the Great Plains between these same two parallels, they would have been restricted to North Dakota and northern Minnesota. Thus Peters' reference to the "extreme cold" of wintry Minnesota and Dakota were conditions the Mennonites

were quite accustomed to. Of course this was not the view of those who settled in Nebraska and Kansas.

In spite of Touzalin's efforts with the support of Jansen and Peters, and even though Nebraska offered a compromise zone to the immigrating Mennonites, relatively few settled in Nebraska compared to Kansas, Manitoba and the Dakota Territory. The downfall of the B&MRR was twofold: It was partially a matter of not securing the earliest Mennonites and partially a result of being outmaneuvered in its recruiting efforts. Elder Peters detected this in 1875 when he wrote to Suderman in Russia:

Humanity is often compared to sheep and in the migration there is a great similarity. . . . which ever way the first are taken into a certain direction, then a large part follows until another direction has been formed.²⁰

It was not a matter of Touzalin waiting too long to recruit Mennonites. He had recruited them early, but as an agent for the Santa Fe railroad. His own convincing recruiting for the Santa Fe had undermined the B&MRR. In the same letter Peters added: "It is the oil-tongued agent who exalts one state above the other for his own personal benefit."²¹ Competing agents took careful note of Nebraska's deep

water level and, even though the railroad drilled free wells for all purchasers of railroad lands, this drawback stuck in the minds of Mennonites who settled elsewhere. A single incident of a Mennonite settler in Hamilton County who was flooded out the first spring because of a poor choice of a building site became an effective recruiting arsenal for settlers and land agents in Kansas.²²

Settlement in Nebraska

The year 1873 was miserable for many Nebraska farmers, particularly those in Hamilton and York Counties. The Great Easter Storm struck that year, destroying much of the livestock and delaying the planting of grain. This was followed by a summer-long drought and prairie fires. Late in the summer grasshoppers invaded the state and on some farms destroyed nearly all vegetation. As if this was not enough, the Panic of 1873 added the finishing touches to a destructive year for Nebraskan farmers.²³ The Mennonites arrived in the wake of these discouraging times and many a disillusioned pioneer took advantage of their arrival to sell them what livestock and equipment was left.

The Mennonites benefited significantly from the 1873 disaster.



Peter Jansen



Rev. Isaac Peters

They purchased livestock and implements at reasonable prices from the desperate homesteaders. Crop failure was nothing new to the Russian farmers. In fact, it was expected by Mennonite colonists in Russia that three out of every ten plantings would not be harvested because of crop failure.²⁴ Grasshoppers were not frightening to the Mennonites either. Compared to the Russian locust, which was reportedly four times the size of a grasshopper, the Mennonites were pleased to be doing business with such a mild pest.²⁵

The Mennonites probably could have bought out a number of homesteaders for much less than they paid for B&MRR lands. However, they were quick to remember the result of their last experience on lands given by a government: conscription. Reasoning that settlement on homestead land would result once again in forced military service, they decided instead to buy railroad lands. It was not until four years later that a Nebraska Mennonite ventured to locate on a relinquished homestead. He was considered by peers as a fool settling on "*Soldaten Land*" (soldiers' land).²⁶ Gradually later settlers purchased homestead land or settled it themselves, but by 1880 few had actually bought any land other than that sold by the railroad. (Fig. 3). The fact was that by 1874 most homestead land in York and Hamilton Counties had been claimed, and available land was owned by the B&MRR Company.

Even if it was more costly than the homestead land, railroad land was still reasonably priced. Prices ranged from \$3.50 to \$4.90 an acre for land purchased by the 1874 Mennonite settlers in Hamilton and York Counties. The average price was approximately \$4.70 an acre. The following is a breakdown of the price per acre and the total land purchased for the first six years.²⁷

year	highest price pd.	lowest price pd.	aver. age pd.	total acres cost chased
1874	\$4.90	\$3.50	\$4.70	7,338
1875	4.90	2.10	3.80	1,671
1876	no purchases recorded			
1877	6.25	2.00	4.80	2,800
1878	7.00	3.00	4.45	4,526
1879	8.00	5.40	6.80	800

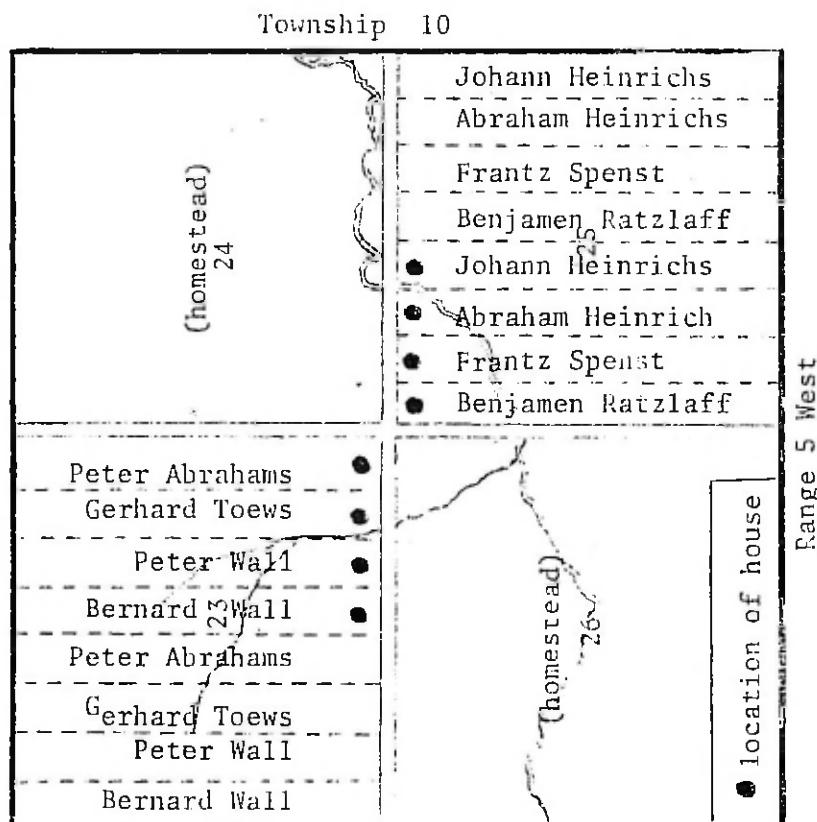
Most of the Mennonites in the first group of settlers purchased their new farms under the Ten Year Plan provided by the B&MRR Company. Only about one-third of the 1874-75 settlers paid cash in full for the railroad lands. In 1877 only one-fifth of the Mennonites paid cash, while in 1878 and 1879 only one Mennonite settler paid cash while the rest chose to buy the railroad lands on one of the long-term payment schedules devised by the company.²⁸ This would seem to indicate a considerable number of landless or at least individuals of modest landholdings emigrating from Alexanderwohl. Newspaper reports of those staying at the fairgrounds in Lincoln gave the impression that the Mennonites were a wealthy group of people possessing large sums of money with which they intended to purchase railroad land. This does not appear to be the case amongst

the Henderson group. One of the provisions in their agreement with the B&MRR was that special loans could be secured by the poorer brethren to be paid back at low interest rates. Another of the nine agreements allowed them to stretch out the payments for a loan over a ten-year period in order to relieve some of the initial financial burden incurred by the purchase of livestock and farm implements.

The average farm size amongst the Mennonites settling in Hamilton and York Counties in 1874 was 175 acres. This compared exactly to the original 65 dessiatine (175 acres) their ancestors had originally received from the Russian government. These landholdings dwindled in size when parcelled out through inheritance.

When they first arrived in the United States, the Mennonites had every intention of retaining the

MENNONITE SETTLEMENT OF HAMILTON COUNTY, NEBRASKA, 1874.



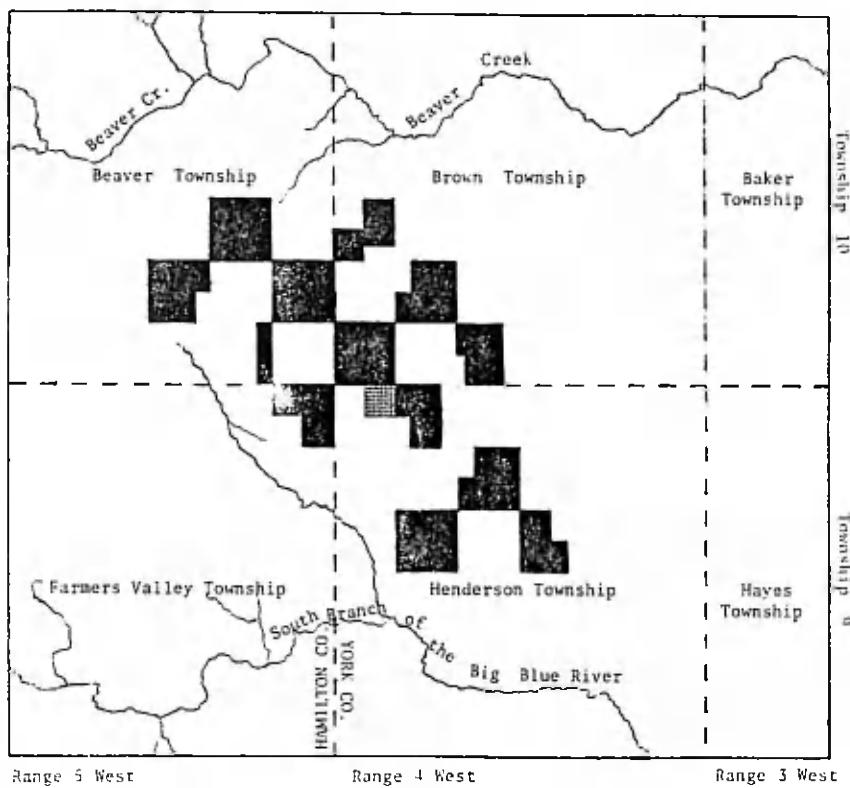
same ethno-religious culture they had preserved for a century in Russia. A major portion of this cultural reproduction in America included the closed settlement patterns developed in the Black Sea colonies. David Rempel portrays this often repeated pattern in Russia:

The land was assigned to each colony in the shape of a rectangle with the colony generally located in the center of the rectangle. As a rule the colonies were limited to 25 to 30 households. Each family received a building site of about one and one-half dessiatine (4 acres) in the village and a plot of several dessiatines immediately back of its house-and-garden lot.²⁹

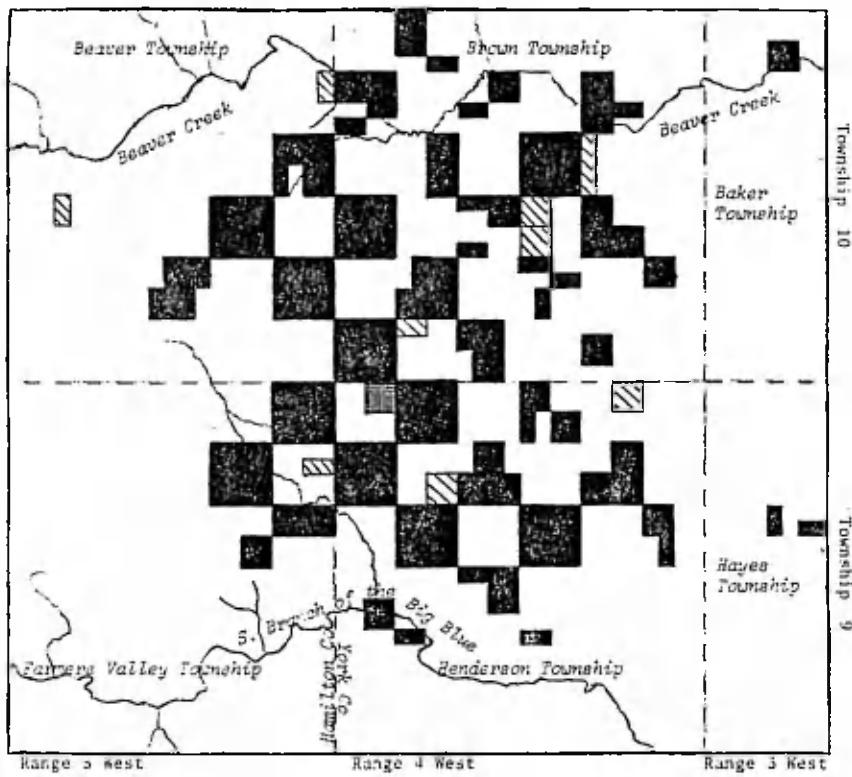
Alexanderwohl was typical of Mennonite villages in the Black Sea area. The houses were neatly arranged in near perfect rows, all within walking distance of each other. When the Alexanderwohl immigrants arrived in Hamilton and York Counties, they attempted a duplication of the Russian village pattern. They clustered together regardless of the quality of the land. Families selected adjacent strips of land and located their homes beside each other on one side of a section in an attempt to reproduce the old Russian villages.³⁰ This was particularly evident in sections 23 and 25 of Beaver Township in Hamilton County. (Fig. 2). In these two sections of land that touched only at the corner, eight Mennonite families divided their land into sixteen 80-acre strips of land a mile long. Their property was set up so that eight houses existed within one mile.

Because of the checkerboard effect of railroad lands and the refusal of the Mennonites to settle on homesteads, however, the Russian village pattern was impossible to duplicate in America. Attempts to maintain this custom were soon discarded and land was exchanged to make farming more convenient.³¹ Although adjusting to the railroad-homestead checkerboard meant giving up the village pattern, it did not terminate the Mennonite habit of clustering. (Fig. 3). With one exception, every section was joined together at no less than one corner by Mennonite settlers in 1874. This pattern persisted through the first six years of Mennonite settlement in Hamilton and York Counties. (Fig. 4).

SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF FIRST HENDERSON MENNONITES, 1874.



SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF HENDERSON MENNONITES, 1874-1880.



Families continued to settle on the same section if possible or settled sections that touched at the corners. There are no records of a Henderson Mennonite who broke away from the group geographically during this period. A common bond of religious belief, authoritative leaders, intensive use of the German language, and nearly three centuries of cohesive ethno-religious culture maintained group clustering.

The Mennonites successfully drew upon many aspects of their Russian experience. Families continued to build houses as they had in Russia. The roofs were long and steep while the walls were quite low. Frequently the barn was attached to one end of the house, a reminder of the cold Russian winters. The primary difference between their new American homes and the ones they left behind in Alexanderwohl was not the pattern but rather the material from which their new prairie homes were built—sod. In Russia brick was used in the construction of houses.³²

Since the Russian steppes did not provide the Mennonite colonists with abundant timber for fuel, they were accustomed to heating without wood. The American frontier afforded them the same opportunity to use the Russian solution to the heating problem—the construction of huge brick stoves that burned compressed stacks of long grass readily available on the Nebraska prairie.³³

The Mennonites from Alexanderwohl were grain producers concentrating primarily on wheat, with oats and rye as secondary crops. They were familiar with stock raising but for nearly two decades had been growing Turkey Red winter wheat with excellent success. Their new home in Hamilton and York Counties was perfectly suited for grain farming, although at first spring wheat produced better results than winter wheat because of a lack of proper cultivation of the new soil.³⁴

Conclusion

The vast majority of Mennonites who settled in the Great Plains states chose between Kansas, South Dakota, and Minnesota. Successful recruiting of early Mennonite leaders by railroad agents coupled with the concern over the water table

depth detoured heavy settlement in Nebraska. Given the tendency of the Mennonites to settle in one area of Russia instead of scattering, it is interesting to note the reasons why some of the Alexanderwohl immigrants chose Nebraska. In retrospect, a combination of three factors attracted the immigrants to the Henderson area—aggressive recruiting by Burlington and Missouri River Railroad agent, A. E. Touzalin; the strong, persuasive leadership of Peter Jansen and Isaac Peters; and the alternative Nebraska offered to Mennonites hesitant to settle too far north or south.

The settlement pattern of Henderson Mennonites was influenced by their desire to maintain an ethno-religious cohesiveness by settling apart from society. Ironically, religious conviction ultimately kept them from reproducing the closed Russian settlements on the Great Plains. Their fear of civic responsibility was largely responsible for discouraging homesteading. Thus, the settlement pattern of Mennonites in York and Hamilton Counties from 1874 to 1880 reveals a checkerboard effect. Clustering had its limits on the Great Plains. The Russian village structure was quickly abandoned after a brief appearance in Hamilton County. However, the persistence of Mennonite clustering in 1880 was significant, as evidenced by the number of Mennonite sections of land linked at the corners. (Fig. 4).

Although religiously conservative, the Henderson Mennonites adapted quickly to the Great Plains. They quickly discarded Russian experiences which hindered their economic progress. Economic and religious survival went hand in hand, but to Mennonites the former was a means to the end while the latter was the end. Therefore, they were willing to make economic adjustments while resisting the Americanization of their religious convictions.

ENDNOTES

¹ C. Henry Smith. *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927), pp. 132-193.

² John F. Funk, "Notes Along the Way," *Herald of Truth*, December 1873, p. 4, col. 1.

³ Letter from A. E. Touzalin to C. E. Perkins, June 17, 1878, in the *Burlington Collection* (Mennonite Historical Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas). Hereafter cited as MLA.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Smith, p. 454.

⁶ J. J. Friesen, "Recollection of Our Journey in 1874 and of Pioneer Life in America, 1874," *J. J. Friesen Collection* (MLA).

⁷ Letter from Bernard Warkentin to David Goerz, September 19, 1874. *Bernard Warkentin Collection* (MLA).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ *Burlington Collection*, October 5, 1874 (MLA).

¹⁰ Smith, p. 107.

¹¹ Letter from A. E. Touzalin to Isaac Peters, February 1, 1875, from the *Burlington Collection* (MLA).

¹² Letter from Isaac Peters to Cornelius Jansen, May 17, 1876, from the *Burlington Collection* (MLA).

¹³ John D. Unruh, "The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Brings the Mennonites to Nebraska," *Nebraska History*, XLV, No. 1 (March, 1964), p. 15.

¹⁴ Smith, pp. 171-173; G. R. Gaeddert and G. E. Reimer, *Exiled By the Czar* (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1956), pp. 109-139; D. Paul Miller, "An Analysis of Community Adjustment: A Case Study of Jansen, Nebraska," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1953).

¹⁵ Gaeddert, p. 141.

¹⁶ Letter from Bernard Warkentin to David Goerz.

¹⁷ Early references to a group of "Sutton Mennonites in Clay County" were probably a confusion with the Reformed Germans from Russia living there in 1874. Although the Henderson Mennonites settled in the southern area of York County, no records reveal that they spread into Clay County. As in Russia, they settled apart from their Reformed, Lutheran, and Catholic German neighbors even though they spoke the same language.

¹⁸ Gaeddert, p. 123.

¹⁹ Letter from Isaac Peters to Leonhard Suderman, September 13, 1875, *J. J. Friesen Collection* (MLA).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "The Map of the First Mennonite Settlement in 1874 in York and Hamilton Counties, Nebraska," *J. J. Friesen Collection*.

²³ "The Coming of Our Fathers to America," *J. J. Friesen Collection*.

²⁴ C. F. Marbut, "Agriculture in the United States and Russia: A Comparative Study of Natural Conditions," *Geographical Review*, XXI, (1931), p. 609.

²⁵ Theodore Schmidt, "The Mennonites in Nebraska," (unpublished MA thesis, University of Nebraska, 1933), p. 25.

²⁶ "The Coming of Our Fathers to America in 1874," *J. J. Friesen Collection*.

²⁷ "Applications to Buy Land in Nebraska: Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company in Nebraska," on microfilm (Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1933), p. 123.

³⁰ "The Map of the First Mennonite Settlement in 1874 in York and Hamilton Counties, Nebraska," *J. J. Friesen Collection*.

³¹ Schmidt, p. 23.

³² "The Map of the First Mennonite Settlement in 1874 in York and Hamilton Counties, Nebraska," *J. J. Friesen Collection*.

³³ Heating System in 1874," *J. J. Friesen Collection*.

³⁴ Schmidt, pp. 24-25.

³⁵ Compiled from the "Diary of Paul Tschetter".

³⁶ Compiled from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company's applications to buy land in Nebraska. On microfilm at the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

World War II Comes to the Chortitza

by Robert S. Kreider

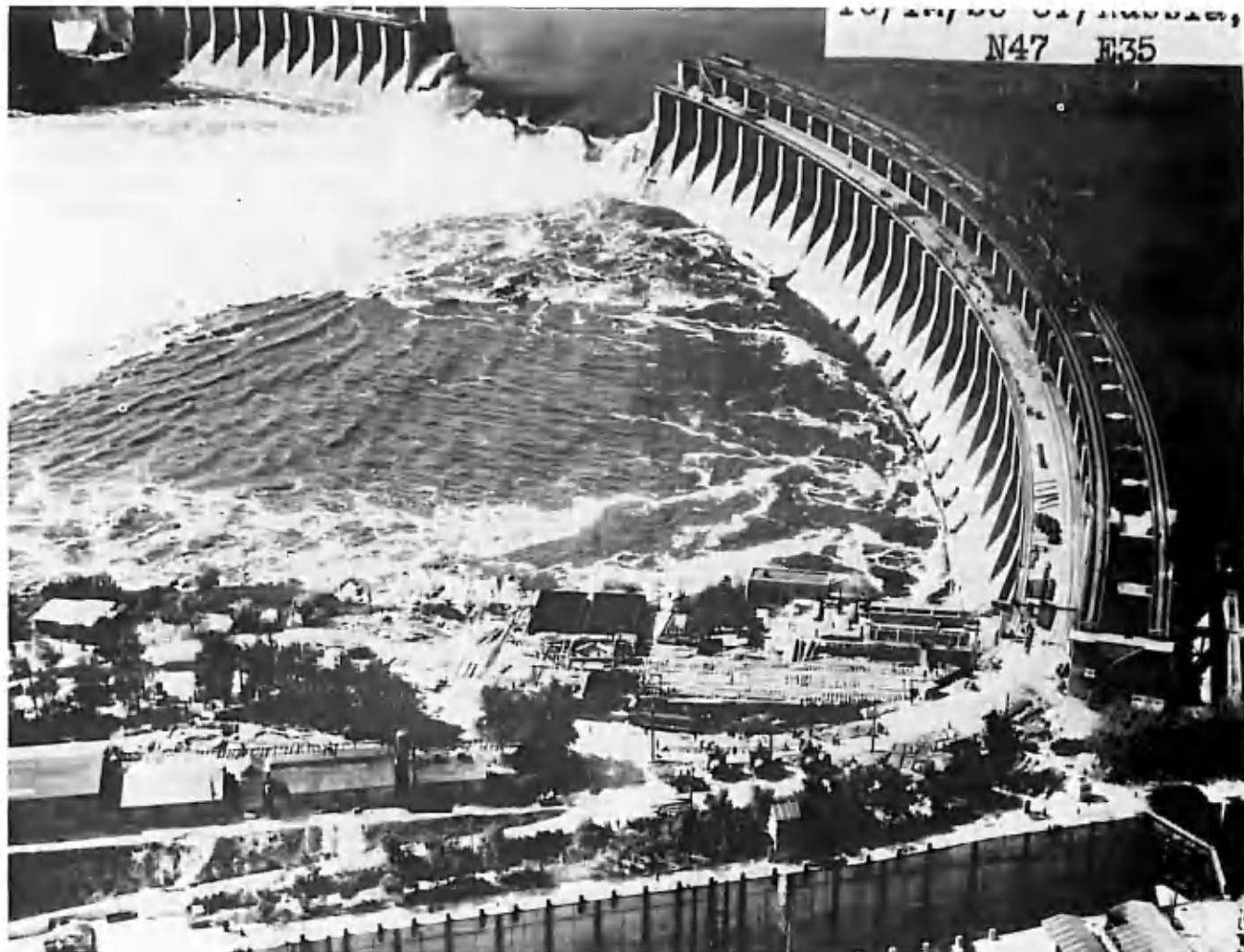
The blowing up of the Dnieper Dam and hydroelectric plant before dawn on August 20, 1941, brought World War II to the doorstep of the Mennonite settlements in the Soviet Union. On the east bank of the Dnieper River, less than a mile from the dam lay Einlage, a Mennonite village first settled in 1790, and a few miles beyond were Chortitza and Kronsweide. Mennonite workers had helped build the dam and their once all-Mennonite villages had long since been engulfed with Russian laborers and technicians.

The *New York Times* on August 21, 1941, announced with a five-column headline the destruction of the dam. With Nazi armies invading swiftly into the heart of the Soviet Union along a 1500 mile front, the Russians had blown up the dam to delay the advance. The news had come a circuitous route from Bucharest to Berne, Switzerland, to the *Times*. Eight days later, August 29, Moscow acknowledged the destruction of the dam by Russian sappers.

Marshal Semyon Budenny, commander of Soviet forces on the Rus-

sian southern flank, called for the demolition to impede the advance of the forces of Field Marshal Karl von Rundstedt. The breaking of the dam cut a major river crossing and released millions of tons of water to flood the lowlands on the lower Dnieper. An Axis diplomat called it a "scorpion, suicidal sting." S. A. Lozovsky, a Soviet spokesman, weeks later explained that the dam had

The damaged Dnieper Dam facing northwest. In the foreground on the Zaporozhe side of the Dnieper River are the locks.



been destroyed "to prevent the first child of the Soviet five year plan from falling into the hands of Hitler. . . . The Germans will get nothing."

The Dnieper Dam and hydroelectric plant, the center piece of Stalin's first five year plan, had been completed ahead of schedule in 1932 after five years of around-the-clock work. The 200 foot high dam impounded a lake with water capacity one third of Boulder Dam. Generating 750,000 horse power, the power plant was designed to supply electric energy for a population of 16 million people, including the Donets coal basin. In 1932 it was the largest power plant in the world, surpassing Muscle Shoals.

The dam had been built under the supervision of Col. Hugh L. Cooper, the American who had built Muscle Shoals. It was operated with machinery built by General Electric, the first year of operations was supervised by another American, E. E. Robinson of Kewanee, Illinois. The Soviet press followed the dam construction with daily progress reports and the completion was celebrated as "the fulfillment of Lenin's dream of an industrialized Russia."

The German invasion of Russia, which had begun on June 22, 1941, moved at lightning speed. By the first of October 1941 German forces under von Leeb had virtually encircled Leningrad and were threat-

ening to cut the Leningrad-Moscow rail line defended by Voroshiloff. On the center front the armies of von Bock were advancing on Moscow defended by Timoshenko. In the south von Rundstedt by the first of October had crossed the Dnieper and had occupied the Mennonite communities of the Chortitza, across the river from Zaporozhe, and the Molotschna, eighty miles to the south.

The German occupation authorities announced plans to rebuild the dam. Apparently little was done during the 26 months of the German occupation of the area. Following the Nazi retreat from Stalingrad, the Germans on October 15, 1943, destroyed the 644 meter railway bridge connecting Zaporozhe and Nikopol and Kiev. American flyers on a reconnaissance mission in May of 1944 observed that the dam and plant "appeared ruined."

In 1945 the Soviets placed orders with General Electric in the U. S. for new equipment. One of the turbines was again operative by March 6, 1947, and by October 13, 1948, *Tass* reported completion of the rehabilitation of the dam and plant.

Meanwhile, all Mennonites had fled or had been removed from the neighboring communities of the Chortitza and the Molotschna.

Before the first Mennonites arrived in the Chortitza area in 1789 a fortress, Aleksandrovsk, had been

Right, a map of the Chortitza area from Karl Stumpf's book Bericht ueber das Gebiet Chortitza . . . 1943.

established in 1770 to establish Czarist control over the Zaporozhye Cossacks, who were based on Chortitza Island. By 1806 a town had emerged. In 1921 the name was changed to "Zaporozhe." Mennonites from the Chortitza established a village, Schonwiese on the edge of Aleksandrovsk, later absorbed into the city. Here were the Mennonite milling firms of Lepp and Wallmann, A. J. Koop, Hermann Niebuhr, and Hildebrandt and Pries. The Soviets nationalized the mills after the revolution. The first combines in the USSR were produced in 1925 by Mennonite engineers in the former factories of Mennonites. President Kalinin bestowed the Order of Lenin on the director of one of these factories and these Mennonite engineers. In 1933 they were sent into exile. Today Zaporozhe is a great steel and automobile producing center of more than 800,000 population.

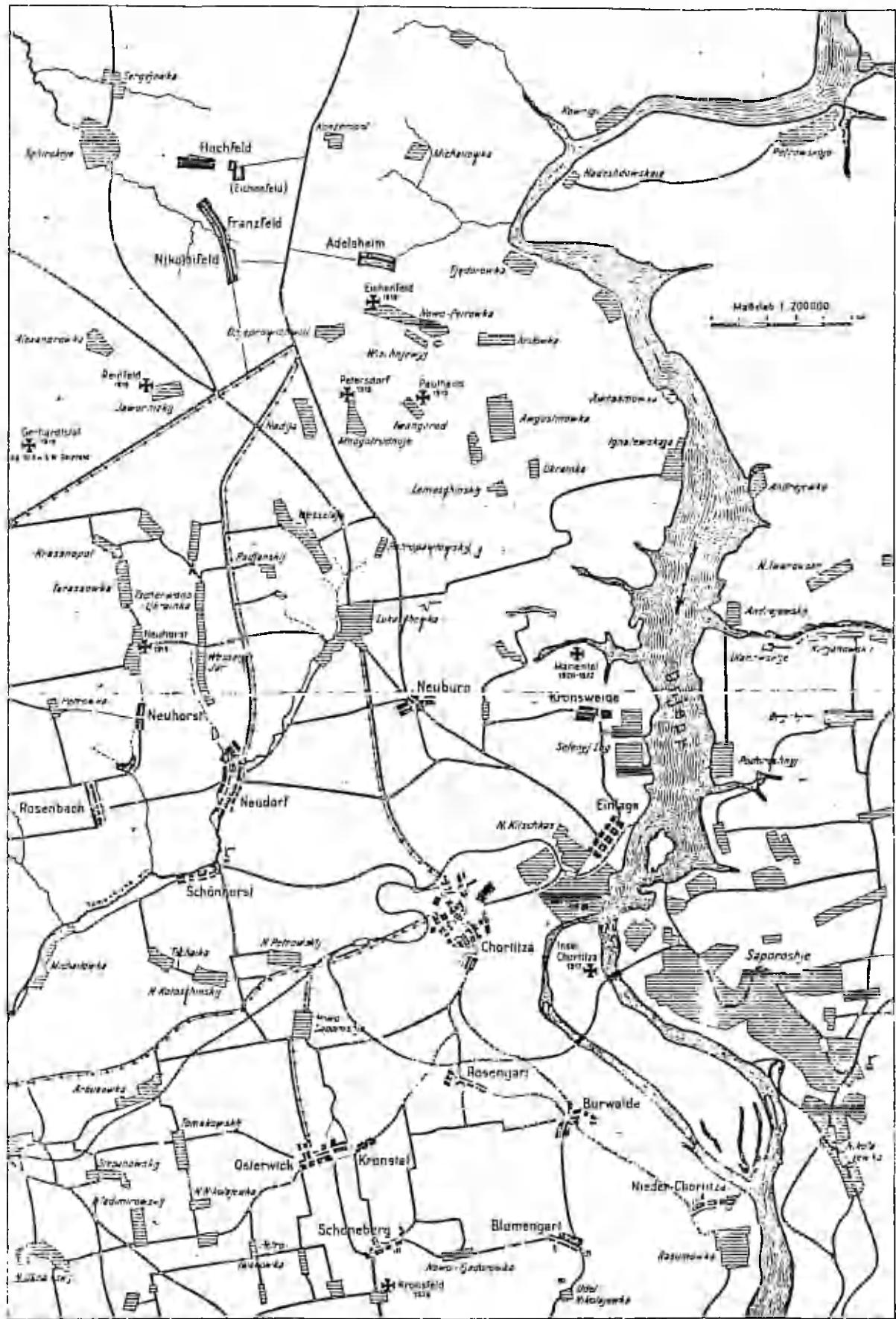
Karl Stumpf, who was a scholar-in-residence with the German occupation forces, published in 1943 a report on the Chortitza villages to the east of the dam and the Dnieper River. The story is distilled as follows:

Chortitza Settlement Mennonite Villages, Population, Exile, Evacuation:

Village	Year of Founding	1789-1941			Total Exiled and Evacuated		
		Pop. 1914/18	Killed 1919	Exiled 1929-41	Exiled 1941	Evacuated 1941	Exiled 1941
Total		11666	144	1456	831		2287
1. Chortitza	1789	2861	13	327	187		514
2. Adelsheim	1869	334	4	21	11		32
3. Einlage	1790	600	9	245	23		268
4. Franzfeld	1869	466	11	85	24		109
5. Hochfeld	1869	313	19	53	12		65
6. Kronsweide	1789	408	13	13	--		13
7. Nikolaifeld	1869	221	13	113	4		117
8. Neuendorf	1790	1050	13	123	39		162
9. Neuhorst	1790	315	2	3	1		4
10. Neuenburg	1789	280	7	17	11		28
11. Rosenbach	1928/29	new	--	5	3		8
12. Schonhorst	1790	689	4	51	15		66
13. Blumengart	1824	213	3	37	7		44
14. Burwalde	1803	536	7	72	8		80
15. Osterwick	1822	1550	3	81	136		217
16. Rosengart	1824	260	--	14	51		65
17. Nieder-Chortitza	1803	835	21	83	276		359
18. Schoneberg	1816	275	1	43	10		53
19: Kronstal	1809	460	1	70	13		83

Die deutschen Siedlungen des Gebietes Chorfitza

Tafel J



Sammlung Georg Leibbrandt-Bendix

Sankt Jördi 1942

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Deutsche Ortsch

1

"Orte deutscher See"

1

Kernische Ortsch.

三

Heges

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Eisenstadt

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Kategorienleitung

Einlage, one of the larger villages of the Chortitza settlement and the one nearest the dam, had a population of 1,500 before World War I. Among the early industries of the village was a wagon factory of Heinrich Unger, where the first spring wagon was built, and the factory of Johann Friesen, which produced the first grain reaper in 1879. Several large flour mills and lumber yards operated in the village. In 1910 the community celebrated the centennial of the founding of its school. Serving the community and others on nearby Chortitza Island was the Mennonite Sanatorium Alexandrabad and the Bethania Mental Hospital.

The Einlage community suffered severely during the years of civil

war and famine immediately following the Revolution. The building of the dam in 1927 led to the resettlement of the community on higher ground. Some 40,000 laborers were employed in this project; many settled in the area of New Einlage. The subsequent story is one of exile of some Mennonites from Einlage in the 30s and the evacuation of many to Germany in the period from 1941 to 1943. Einlage was captured by the Germans on August 18, 1941, two days before the demolition of the dam, and then retaken by the Russians in October 1943.

The Dnieper River, the dam and the hydroelectric plant and the villages of Chortitza, Kronsweide and Einlage are still there. The Mennonites, who once lived near the river and the dam, all have gone.

Below, a German aerial reconnaissance photograph taken in December, 1943, of Chortitza Island (3), the city of Zaporozhe (old Alexandrovsk) on the lower right, Einlage (approximately at 4), the dam across the river (between 3 and 4), the railway bridge across the river (below 3), Chortitza town to the left of the island (left between 2 and 3), and Rosengart, Burwalde, and Nieder-Chortitza (to the lower left).

Right, views and diagrams of the destroyed railway bridge connecting Zaporozhe and Nikopol and Kiev to the west.





The photographs used to illustrate this essay were found in the U. S. National Archives by Von Haresty, author of *Red Phoenix—The Rise of Soviet Air Power, 1941-1945*, (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982). Hardesty is a former member of the history faculty of Bluffton College. The primary sources for this article are drawn from the pages of the *New York Times* and the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*. K. Stumpf's population data on the Chortitza settlement is presented in an article, "Chortitza Mennonite Settlement," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, I, 573.

Below, aerial view of the damaged Dnieper Dam.

Right, two aerial views of Zaporozhe, the damaged Dnieper Dam on the right. In the lower photo the railway bridge and the east side of Chortitza Island.





Book Review

Lois Barrett, *The Vision and the Reality: The Story of Home Missions in the General Conference Mennonite Church*. Newton: Faith and Life Press, 1983, 339 pages.

Lois Barrett's history of General Conference Mennonite home missions is fascinating both as a collection of information about one group's missionary endeavors and as an interpretation of the intentions and consequences of the group's efforts. The information reflects the author's extended and diligent research as well has her considerable writing skills. The interpretation reflects her viewpoint as a first-generation American Mennonite who has struggled against the barriers of European-background Mennonite ethnicity.

Home missions, as Barret tells the story, had a number of target groups. Initially the effort was to reach scattered members of the Mennonite group who had moved away from primary rural Mennonite settlements—holding together a household of faith among ethnically homogeneous people. A much different target group consisted of native-American tribal peoples in Oklahoma, Arizona, and Manitoba—peoples of varied cultures all vastly different from Mennonites. Barrett says that concentration on these two groups "satisfied both the old and the new parts of General Conference Mennonite theology; it allowed the sending of missionaries to

spread the gospel and it preserved the cultural and ethnic purity of the Mennonite churches at home." (p. 4) The focus upon a third target group, non-Mennonite English-speaking Americans, after the turn of the century, raised the disturbing challenge of incorporating culturally different (not ethnically Mennonite) into the Mennonite peoplehood. General Conference Mennonites, in Barrett's view, did not do well in meeting this challenge. All too typical was the attitude of Home Mission Board Member Henry Peter Krehbiel in 1916 who opposed the hiring of a Los Angeles mission baptized convert to work for the mission because she was an "outsider" and because members of "our own denomination" were available. (p. 110)

Barrett reports some stories of missionary faithfulness and accomplishment—the compassion of women missionaries adopting Hopi orphans, the diligence of city workers in the face of meager results, the work of service and relief as part of peace witness, and vision for a broader Anabaptist approach to missions after World War II. But home missions throughout this history generally labored with awareness of a great gap between vision and reality. Part of the problem was that the mission vision was itself flawed, ill compounded of a Protestant evangelical formula plus some Mennonite additions. As Barrett puts it, "Mennonite mission workers had assumed that one simply had to add a few Mennonite 'distinctives' (like peace and not swearing oaths) to the formula, in the way one would gar-

nish a casserole with parsley, and one could create a church." (p. 164) Barrett is encouraged by recent signs among Mennonites of a more integrated "Anabaptist" theology and a growing detachment from exclusive ethnic and rural enclaves.

Barrett's "Ethnicity Versus Gospel" theme can be compared with the "Gospel Versus Gospel" theme in Theron Schlabach's 1980 book on the missions movement in the (Old) Mennonite Church. Schlabach believes that nineteenth century rural Mennonite communities bore an authentic and integrated heritage rooted in foundational New Testament values of humility, nonresistance, and simple life style. This heritage consisted of more than ethnic narrowness. It had the integrity of gospel. The missionary movement among Mennonites was marked by the conflict of the traditional Mennonite gospel of peace with a more aggressive and triumphalist Protestant missionary gospel. Both Schlabach and Barrett are highly critical of Mennonite missionary strategy, but from different viewpoints. Barrett, who can find positive values in traditional native-American culture, finds little of worth in "ethnic" Mennonitism.

Barrett's work is a significant contribution. It gathers together for the first time a great deal of information about General Conference home missions, and it gives these developments a consistent interpretive shape. It constitutes a warning more than a celebration.

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Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography, 1983

by Stephanie Hiebert and David A. Haury

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