

MENNONITE
LIFE

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The
CHRISTIAN
EXONENT

A Bi-weekly Christian Journal

JANUARY 4, 1924.

The "Why" of The Christian Exponent

The Spirit of Progress

Christian Courtesy

The Gospel of God

Our Bi-weekly Sermon

The Reason Why

From the Diary of a Relief Worker

In this Issue

The June issue again features the Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography. The 1985 bibliography has reached a record length, but includes a new feature to assist readers who find it inefficient to consult the multitude of sources. The first section of the bibliography contains only a few pages and lists resources published in 1985 and 1986. Books acquired by the various contributing libraries from earlier years are listed in a second, longer section. Thus the bibliography still represents the acquisitions of major Mennonite libraries in 1985, but readers interested in the most current materials may consult only the first section.

Janeen Bertsche is a student at Bluffton College with majors in religion and psychology. She prepared her paper on the "Views of Atonement in the *Christian Exponent*" for J. Denny Weaver's class on the "Christian Faith" in 1984, and it won third prize in the John Horsch Mennonite History Essay Contest at Goshen College. After graduating this spring, Bertsche intends to marry (June 21) and attend AMBS.

In the December issue last year, John B. Toews, Professor of History at the University of Calgary, provided "a portrait of Mennonite singing in Russia in the 1860s" by translating and editing selections from the Jacob Epp diary. In this issue Toews uses Epp's diary and the diary of Dietrich Gaeddert to add insights into the Mennonite migration from Russia in the 1870s. Gaeddert resided in the Molotschna settlement and migrated to central Kansas where he became the elder of the Hoffnungsau Mennonite Church. Most of his diary is in the Mennonite Library and Archives. Epp lived in one of the "Hebrew Colonies" of the Chortitza settlement. His diary is in the Mennonite Heritage Center, Winnipeg. Historians continue to debate the significance of the political, economic and religious factors which influenced the 1870s migration, and these diaries reveal more of the complexity of the situation.

After a March issue containing an abundance of photographs, the size of these two articles and the bibliography did not allow for illustrations in this issue. The September issue will return to a more normal format.

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Front Cover

First issue of *The Christian Exponent*, January 4, 1924

Back Cover

Dietrich Gaeddert, a leader of the Mennonite migration in 1874, with Maria Martens (married 1859) and Helena Richert (married 1879).

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Views of Atonement in the *Christian Exponent*

by Janeen Bertsche

During the 1920s, the fundamentalist-modernist controversy reached a climax in the Mennonite Church. The *Christian Exponent*, published from 1924-1928, served as the progressive Mennonites' voice in the conflict. Within this periodical can be found discussion on many of the issues and doctrines being debated both in the Mennonite Church and in the wider American controversy.¹

One of the "fundamentals of Christian truth" accepted by the conservatives was the substitutionary atonement theory, referred to as the "blood atonement."² The *Christian Exponent* in its first issue acknowledged and accepted this theory as "indisputable fact."³ However, later pages of the periodical indicate that the writers were greatly influenced by the moral influence view of atonement, a position taken by most liberals of the time. Although the *Christian Exponent* allowed many viewpoints on atonement to be expressed, including some that could have been branded as liberal, none of the attacks made on the publication (for example, by Mennonite fundamentalist John Horsch) charged them with presenting an incorrect view of Christ's saving work. Atonement apparently, was not one of the issues vehemently debated among the Mennonites in the 1920s.

Early twentieth century fundamentalism, according to Paul Toews, was "an interlocking movement to codify doctrine, centralize church authority and rigidify cultural nonconformity."⁴ Fundamentalism was primarily a religious movement, a defense of the traditional "fundamentals" of the faith,⁵ but "theological questions and social issues were intertwined."⁶ In the Mennonite Church, the fundamentalist conflict developed to its height between 1913 and 1928. Several of the progressive administrators and faculty of Goshen College resigned during the early upheavals and made their way to Bluffton College and Witmarsum

Theological Seminary in Bluffton, Ohio.⁷ From there, the progressive group began publication of a biweekly, the *Christian Exponent*, in January 1924. Intended as an alternative to the official publications of the conservative main body of the (Old) Mennonite Church,⁸ the *Exponent* was used by the Goshen exiles, as well as many other midwestern Mennonites, in their open-minded search for truth, to express a wide spectrum of viewpoints on church issues and beliefs.⁹

Publication of the *Exponent* was looked on very unfavorably by the conservatives, and some charged the *Exponent* writers with disguising modernism as Mennonitism.¹⁰ Graybill, Schla-bach, and Toews, however, do not consider the group as modernists, but as progressives with "liberal inclinations."¹¹ Both the conservative and liberal views of atonement were expressed in the *Christian Exponent*, although very few articles dealt only with the atonement. Surprisingly, some of those who dealt most with the atonement issue during the paper's publication combined the substitutionary and moral influence theories of atonement, often without reconciling the differences between the two views.¹²

The fundamentalist or traditional view of atonement as it was expressed by *Christian Exponent* writers will be examined first. Salvation was at the heart of the fundamentalist message.¹³ The human heart was viewed as inevitably sinful and in need of "redemption and regeneration by the Spirit of God and the blood of the sinless Lamb of God."¹⁴ As explained by Paul Whitmer, Christ as God-Man was able to redeem humankind and reconcile us to God.¹⁵

A. J. Neuenschwander stressed the divinity and sinlessness of Jesus in his sacrificial view of atonement.:

The nature of man, the nature of the fall, and the nature of sin, makes a Saviour of Divine nature and character a necessity. As far as God saw it wise to reveal it to us, we

know that there can be Salvation through no other way than by the way of the Divine Son of God. It is by this Son becoming human, that through His perfect life and acceptable sacrificial death, He could bring Salvation to all men.¹⁶

Other writers expressing fundamentalist views of Christ's atoning work included Wilbur Miller, Wilmer S. Shelly, and John F. Funk. Miller stated that Jesus proclaimed the kingdom of God and gave his life "in payment for the sins of the world."¹⁷ Shelly viewed Christ as our mediator and sacrifice: "We are all prodigals who can only return to our Father because Christ is our mediator and because He consents to associate with us. Christ's message, Christ's sacrifice, is not for the faultless, if there are any such, but for the fallen and lost . . ." ¹⁸ To gain our salvation, said Funk, we must accept Christ as "the propitiation for our sins" and the sins of the world.¹⁹

The substitution theory of atonement is most clearly and explicitly explained by M. M. Horsch. According to Horsch, the fall of man was caused by Satan. Sin is "enmity between God and man" and "incurable by man."²⁰ The results of sin include ruin, darkness, damnation, and death: "God's mandate is irrevocable; it stands today and will stand to the end of time."²¹ Out of love, God conceived a great plan of salvation. He gave his "eternal, everlasting only begotten of the Father and one with Him, as a substitute for sinful, fallen man."²² As Horsch stated, "it took the Sinless One, the Righteous One, to suffer in our stead, in a vicarious way. Of His own free will He became our substitute and God laid upon Him the iniquity of us all."²³

Christ's death wiped out the curse of sin and damnation and re-established "sweet and loving harmony between the creator and His creatures; between God and man."²⁴ If we come to the cross in childlike faith and true repentance, we can make Christ's sacrifice ours—his blood purifies us. Once this step is taken, God no longer sees our

sin and disobedience, for "they are covered by the blood of Christ . . . In and through Christ you are pure and holy in the sight of God."²⁵ Thus M. Horsch, as well as Groh, Whitmer, Neuenschwander, Miller, Shelly, and Funk, represented the substitutionary and sacrificial views of "blood atonement" as they appeared in the *Christian Exponent*.

Opposed to the fundamentalist orientation were the various forms of the moral influence theory which liberals adopted from Abelard. Since liberals emphasized following the teachings of Jesus rather than believing in any explicit doctrine about Jesus, a wide variety of opinions about Jesus' role and work were presented.²⁶ The viewpoints of Mennonite contributors to the *Christian Exponent* also reflect this diversity. This liberal view of atonement apparently had great influence on intellectual, progressive Mennonites, since twice as many writers adopted the moral influence theory than adopted the substitution or sacrificial theories.

One identifying mark of the moral influence theory is a less serious view of sin. According to Payson Miller, sin is missing the mark, a failure to follow the course outlined by God, a hindrance to God's eternal purposes in the world.²⁷ Each person has a divine spark within urging him to contribute to God's purposes. Once off this course, the sinner is brought back "through the influence of the eternally appealing love of God."²⁸ Jesus perfectly represents the godly person, for he submitted himself completely to God's will, so that God's love could be manifested in his life.²⁹

Another aspect of the moral influence theory involves humankind's view of God and Jesus' revelation of God's character. For example, Ruth Yoder wrote that "Christianity has the highest revelation of God. It finds the character of its God revealed in Jesus Christ who has brought to us the consciousness of God's love."³⁰ The development of a growing consciousness of the loving Father and fellowship with God constitutes faith. "Jesus is teacher, example, and companion."³¹

"The idea of God as a 'Father' is one of the great new ideas of the Gospel of Christ . . . This idea opens the door to a new conception of God's relationship to man," wrote J. N. Smucker.³² "Christ lifted the holy law of God from the realm of Fear and showed how it was to be interpreted by Love."³³

Ernest Bohn portrayed Jesus' work similarly: he gave us a true revelation of God, which "brought God down closer to us."³⁴ Jesus revealed a God of majesty, righteousness, and love, a caring Father and intimate friend whom we can approach freely. Further, by studying Jesus' life and teachings we are shown God's character and will. According to Bohn, the incarnation and resurrection are secondary in our salvation to Jesus' life and moral perfection; Jesus followed God's will perfectly.³⁵

For J. E. Hartzler, salvation required correcting or saving our thinking and our attitudes toward God and man. Christianity means reproducing Jesus' life and spirit in our age³⁶ and responding to God through our thought, feeling, and will. Christianity serves as "the divine method of making available the moral, spiritual and ethical potentialities in man."³⁷

God was revealed perfectly in Jesus, according to W. B. Weaver. "Jesus is the incarnation of truth concerning the ultimate values of life."³⁸ Jesus revealed God's plans for the redemption of the world,³⁹ and this revelation produced fellowship and communion with God and right attitudes toward other persons.⁴⁰ Lester Hostetler, editor of the *Exponent* from 1926 to 1928, also stressed Jesus' revelation of God's character.⁴¹ "In Him they see God. . . . In Him was God."⁴² Jesus shows God as loving, forgiving, and sympathizing.⁴³ According to Hostetler, "the heart of Christianity is Christ. He came to bring a new life and a new way of living."⁴⁴ "He has opened up to us the vision of God and the way to eternal life."⁴⁵

From the perspective of A. M. Eash, pastor and superintendent of the 26th Street Mennonite Church and Mission in Chicago,

The mission of Jesus was to make the Father known. God had not been known to the world as a God of love and mercy,—a kind Heavenly Father. To the men of Jesus' day, He was a God of justice and power, whose presence could not tolerate the savor of sin and whose right arm was the symbol of power and authority. . . . They feared Him because of their own sins and revered Him for His great holiness. To make known the tenderness, sympathy, mercy and love of God, Jesus came among men. To make this revelation He resorted to living a life and rendering helpful service rather than to abstract teaching.⁴⁶

Christ's revelation of the character of God was more important than his death on the cross, which resulted from his teaching mission and man's misunder-

standing of it. Through Christ's death "we have an expression of the extremity to which Jesus was compelled to go in order to reveal the character of God."⁴⁷ In a summary statement, Eash said that revealing the Father "was the task of Jesus and is the present day task of the Christian Church. When once the world really sees Jesus in His great revelation of the Father, then it will surely be drawn unto Him."⁴⁸

Samuel Burkhard presented a similar view of Christ's death. Jesus lived in total obedience to God and tried to win others to his way of life. Because he chose ideals different from the world's, he had to pay a price.⁴⁹ Jesus' "sacrificial love" was the only way to redeem the world, even though it meant facing death.⁵⁰ J. W. Kliever likewise portrayed the crucifixion as a rejection of Jesus' perfect ethical standards, saying that "the Cross of Christ stands for the highest ethical conceptions. . . . even more than of God's severity with sin."⁵¹

J. E. Hartzler viewed the death of Jesus as consistent with the loving, sacrificial self-giving of God's character as revealed by Christ. God does not take delight in "the destruction of sinners," but in their understanding of his purposes and love.⁵² Payson Miller echoed this view of the understanding of God's purposes:

To a child who loves his parent, consciousness of having wronged the father's purposes will be sufficient punishment for disloyalty. . . . To a child who loves his parent, consciousness of the effects of his deeds upon the father's purposes will be sufficient motive for loyalty. A child who loves his parent will not be guided in his conduct by expectations of penalties, or hopes of rewards . . . but simply by love for his parent.⁵³

Thus, the moral influence theory emphasized the Christian lifestyle which resulted from knowing God's true character and purposes. "This Truth once implanted in men's hearts and minds would produce life of the right kind."⁵⁴ Jesus' unique contribution to the world was the dedication of his life to persuade persons to change from their ways of error.⁵⁵ Jesus lived and taught a righteous life, wrote I. R. Detweiler, and showed that this life was attainable by all persons:

he omits all rules, and sets his own life side by side as the example, inspiration and power through which all may reach it. His appeal is based on love, not on demands, on persuasion not on force, through a possible blessedness in days when supremacy of legalism obscured the higher conception of righteousness.⁵⁶

According to Detweiler, the way of the cross, which was consistent with Jesus' life, was the finishing work by which he became the universal ruler, the spiritual Messiah for all.⁵⁷ Jesus' blood cleanses us from all sin if we follow his way of life, and we are filled with the character of Christ.⁵⁸ Detweiler summarized the moral influence theory by saying that "Jesus believed thoroughly in the power of a perfect life. And the way He did it was to sum up and express the real spirit of His perfect life. This life would 'draw all men unto him.'" ⁵⁹

Several of the *Exponent* contributors who dealt with atonement combined aspects of the substitution and moral influence theories. Vernon Smucker, who served as editor of the *Exponent* from 1924 to 1925, had basically a liberal view of atonement. Jesus lived to love, and his death was the ultimate expression of love. Jesus reigns in our hearts "not by coercion but by the compulsion of love."⁶⁰ We are called to apply the principles and teachings of Jesus to our lives and relationships.⁶¹ This lifestyle shown by Jesus differed from the world's standards, and Jesus' death was the result of humankind's rejection of his way of living.⁶² A hint of the classic (Christus Victor) theory entered Smucker's view of the resurrection, which proclaimed Christ as victorious over death and the grave, and eventually over sin as well.⁶³ Although Smucker rejected the fundamentalist view of the final conquest between God and Satan as a terrible, literal war,⁶⁴ he presented a more serious view of sin. Humankind is marred by sin, helpless without divine assistance, and unable to work out its own salvation.⁶⁵ This traditional, conservative view of human nature must be balanced with Smucker's liberal view of Jesus' work.

A. R. Eschliman's view of atonement was even more complex. Christ was sent to earth by the Father to show us the way to God, but he left it to us to work out this salvation. Christ became our high priest in order to allow us access to God, and he intercedes with the Father for us.⁶⁶ In addition, Christ's blood cleanses us from all sin (a "blood atonement" view),⁶⁷ and the resurrection was "a vindication and completion of Christ's redemptive work."⁶⁸ Now that Christ has broken the power of sin and death, the believer obtains the dynamic energy of Christ which enables him/her to live and triumph over all

obstacles, including temptation of the world, sin, and death (the classic view).⁶⁹ Eschliman also emphasized our knowledge of God. In Christ we see a way to live up to God's ideals, and we are freed from the law of sin and death.⁷⁰ Further, as we see more of God's truth, we come to love and adore him. As a result of this knowledge and appreciation, "we become 'wise unto salvation'" (a moral influence view).⁷¹ Evidently, the combination of theories resulted from Eschliman's equal emphases on Christ's life, death, and resurrection: "It is the whole fact of Christ, and not any particular experience taken alone, which is the power of God unto salvation."⁷²

A. F. Tieszen presented a mixed view of atonement focusing on the death of Christ. His death is a ransom for many; his blood and life were given for the forgiveness of our sins. Yet, salvation comes "not because the wrath of a monarch has been appeased, but by accepting and acknowledging the love of the Father,"⁷³ which was manifested in the life, teaching, and spirit of Jesus, as well as in his death. According to Tieszen, Christ's death saved those whom he could not win through his life. "In the cross center His teaching, the glories of His life, and the purpose of His coming."⁷⁴

P. P. Wedel's view of atonement was closer to the substitution theory. Sinful humanity deserved death and eternal punishment, but Jesus came to us out of God's grace to redeem us from our sins, to seek and to save the lost.⁷⁵ "He died on the cross to reconcile us with God. In faith we accept the atoning work of Christ and receive pardon and are justified. God no longer sees us as sinners, He declares us just for Jesus' sake."⁷⁶ However, Christ came to show us a new way of living, as well as to give us pardon. Christ revealed God's love and led a pure, holy life as a pattern for us to follow.⁷⁷

From 1924 to 1927, A. E. Kreider served as the Sunday school editor for the *Christian Exponent*. Many of his lessons explored Jesus' work; thus, Kreider's view of atonement can be pieced together even though he never wrote explicitly on the atonement. Kreider himself stated how difficult it was to summarize Christ's gospel (why he worked and died) into words, much less a creed. Only the experience of the Holy Spirit can show us the fullness of Jesus' message.⁷⁸

Kreider wrote that "the God whom we worship and who is above and over all things, is like Jesus. Jesus, the Son, has revealed the Father."⁷⁹ Jesus is the true representation of God, the "Word" through whom the Father speaks to us.⁸⁰ Because the Father made himself known in Jesus, faith is made easier and more dynamic.⁸¹ Jesus has shown us the light, driving back "the moral and spiritual darkness of this world. Jesus has revealed to us what God can do and what He will do for us."⁸² "The gospel of God was embodied in the character of the Christ. Truth—the living, saving truth—comes through personality, the personality of Jesus of Nazareth."⁸³ "The Jesus of our gospels in a natural, human, appealing manner taught of the Father's character of love . . . Jesus' words . . . strike responsive human notes in the souls of men."⁸⁴ This aspect of revealing God's character such that men are drawn to him resembles the moral influence theory.

Kreider's view of sin and the cross, however, drew more from the traditional theories of atonement. Human nature has been sinful since Adam.⁸⁵ On the cross, Jesus bore all of the sin and wretchedness of humanity.⁸⁶ His life was given as a ransom for many,⁸⁷ "as a sacrifice for the redemption of the world."⁸⁸ "The Christ of Calvary is our Saviour. His blood cleanseth us from all sin."⁸⁹

Why would Jesus lay down his life for the world's redemption? First, the way of the cross was God's way, and Jesus yielded himself in perfect obedience to God's purposes: suffering, sacrifice, and death.⁹⁰ Second, the cross shows the depth of Jesus' love and God's concern that we be redeemed. "In His death He accomplished that which His life alone had failed to accomplish."⁹¹ Third, through his death the world could be redeemed and reconciled to the Father.⁹²

Kreider summarized his view of Jesus' work on the cross:

The world's greatest need has been satisfied in Jesus Christ. He is Deliverer and Saviour. Calvary gives us a picture of sin at its height. Jesus Christ waged the struggle to the end. He gave His life, shed His blood. But not in vain. He triumphed. The bondage of sin, of our baser nature has been broken. He lives as the resurrected One. Through Him we have the assurance of forgiveness of our sin and victory over its power.⁹³

Not only can we be victorious over sin but also over the fear of death.⁹⁴ This concept comes from the Christus Vic-

tor theory of atonement.

Jesus also came to teach humanity a new way to live, said Kreider. Christ and the Gospel stories have the power to change the characters of men and women.⁹⁵ Jesus' life and message were intended to bring about a moral and spiritual transformation in the lives of his followers, and all who heard his message.⁹⁶ Jesus taught that the saved life is controlled by perfect love and manifested in Christ-like deeds.⁹⁷ Jesus' moral perfection "stirs and empowers by its gracious influence."⁹⁸ Kreider stated that in Jesus we find "comfort, courage, inspiration, hope, life—in one word, salvation."⁹⁹ By saying that salvation was brought about by Jesus' life and influence as well as his death, Kreider has combined the moral influence and sacrificial views of atonement.

The final example of the combined theory of atonement is found in several articles by A. S. Rosenberger. He stated:

Jesus Christ was the greatest teacher that the world has ever known He has brought to man the highest standards and ideals and by His own life showed that these were liveable [However] Jesus is more than a human teacher and example. He is the divine Son of God who came as Saviour of the world.¹⁰⁰

Jesus came to help humanity but was rejected. "The Sinless One received the penalty of sin."¹⁰¹ He gave his life as a ransom, fulfilling his divine mission of salvation.¹⁰² "The cross was not a tragedy but a part of the plan of God, and stands as a glorious symbol of a Father's love giving to the uttermost for the salvation of His people."¹⁰³ According to Rosenberger, Jesus is now "influencing and transforming the hearts and lives of men in the task of building the Kingdom."¹⁰⁴ "Jesus is Saviour because he does save men from sinful to righteous lives."¹⁰⁵

Overall, these "combined views" of atonement contain the serious nature of sin and the substitution or sacrificial view of Christ's death from the conservative/traditional position, and the work of Jesus as the revealer of God's character and example for Christian living from the moral influence theory. In much the same way, these two concepts are balanced within one person's position without noticeable conflicts; the *Christian Exponent* presented both the fundamentalist and liberal views of atonement and those in between. The *Exponent* made no comments on the dif-

ferences between the theories and adopted neither as its official position, despite Smucker's claim that the "fundamentals" were accepted as fact. A better statement of the *Exponent's* presentation of beliefs would be Lester Hostetler's remark that "we are propagandists for the religion of Jesus but not for any particular brand of theology."¹⁰⁶

Fundamentalists in the Mennonite Church were not comfortable with many of the views presented in the *Christian Exponent*, but atonement does not appear as an issue of controversy. In his book, *Modern Religious Liberalism*, John Horsch set up the substitution theory of atonement in classic fundamentalist form as the only acceptable viewpoint. He rejected the moral influence theory, and, in *The Mennonite Church and Modernism*, he quoted and attacked S. K. Mosiman's view of Christ's work, saying that Christ's death for sinful man is a theological doctrine taught by Jesus and the New Testament.¹⁰⁸ However, the quote of Mosiman is not from the *Exponent*; in fact, an *Exponent* article written by Mosiman says that we can be reconciled to God through the sacrifice of the Son of God,¹⁰⁹ which does not fit the moral influence view of atonement. The main point, however, is that John Horsch and other conservatives never mentioned the *Exponent* views of atonement. The main controversies over *Exponent* positions dealt with interpretation or views of scripture, the authority of the Church, and the cultural restrictions based on non-conformity,¹¹⁰ not on theories of atonement.

Fundamentalists created an articulated theology,¹¹¹ which included the "blood atonement."¹¹² Fundamentalism was also utilized by conservative Mennonites, "to define and distinguish a theology by which they could identify themselves to themselves and to others."¹¹³ Toews further explains that some of the progressive Mennonites adopted "hints of theological modernism" and others refused to use the explicit, strict, categorized doctrines of the fundamentalists.¹¹⁴ This freedom of exploration can be seen in the views of atonement presented by *Christian Exponent* writers. Why atonement was not an issue more debated between Mennonite conservatives and progressives poses a question difficult to answer. Perhaps the label of modernism served

as a smokescreen for other tensions relating to authority, attitudes, and cultural restrictions. The analysis of this paper, in support of the theories of Theron Schlabach and Paul Toews, demonstrates that there was little theological modernism in the Mennonite Church. The hints of theological liberalism that can be seen in *Christian Exponent* views of atonement were balanced by more conservative views, perhaps keeping the *Exponent* from open attack, though not from suspicion.

ENDNOTES

¹John Graybill, "The Search for Truth: A Study of the *Christian Exponent* and its Place Within the Conservative-Progressive Conflict in the Mennonite Church in the 1920's," History Seminar Paper, Goshen College, 1982, p. 1.

²Theron F. Schlabach, *Gospel Versus Gospel* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1980), pp. 169, 111.

³Vernon Smucker, "The Open Forum," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan. 4, 1924), p. 4.

⁴Paul Toews, "Fundamentalist Conflict in Mennonite Colleges: A Response to Cultural Transitions?" *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (July 1983), p. 247.

⁵George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 3.

⁶James C. Juhnke, "Mennonite Church Theological and Social Boundaries, 1920-1930—Loyalists, Liberals and Laxitarians," *Mennonite Life*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (June 1983), p. 18.

⁷Toews, p. 241.

⁸Harold S. Bender, "Christian Exponent," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1 (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955), p. 581.

⁹Graybill, p. 20.

¹⁰Juhnke, p. 18. See also Graybill, p. 19.

¹¹Graybill, p. 5; Schlabach, p. 114; Toews, p. 247.

¹²Books used for definition and explanation of theories of atonement were: William E. Hordern, *A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1968); Alan Richardson, *Creeds in the Making* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1935); and Gabriel Fackre, *The Christian Story* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978).

¹³Hordern, p. 60.

¹⁴Mabel Groh, "The Burden of the True Missionary," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (Feb. 27, 1925), p. 70. Groh was a foreign volunteer from Preston, Ontario. She was educated at the Bible Institute, Toronto.

¹⁵Paul E. Whitmer, "Good Tidings of Great Joy," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 26 (Dec. 19, 1924), p. 410. Whitmer was educated at Goshen College, 1903-4; Oberlin College and School of Theology, 1904-8; and the University of Chicago, 1916-17. Positions included: professor of English and Bible at Goshen 1908-16; Dean of Goshen 1913-16; professor of Bible at Bluffton College 1917-21; Dean and professor of Church History at Witmarsum Theological Seminary 1921-31; pastor of Zion Mennonite Church, Bluffton, OH. (from *Who's Who Among American Mennonites*, North Newton: Bethel College Press, 1948.)

¹⁶A. J. Neuenschwander, "The Virgin Birth," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jan. 30, 1925), p. 41. Neuenschwander was educated at Bluffton College, 1912-16; Witmarsum Seminary, 1916-18; and Garrett Biblical Seminary. Positions included: pastor of the First Mennonite Church of Philadelphia, 1921-29. (from *Who's Who*).

¹⁷Wilbur W. Miller, "The Building Program of Jesus," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 13 (June 20, 1924), p. 201. Miller was superintendent of the North Lewisburg, OH schools. (from *Who's Who*).

¹⁸Wilmer S. Shelly, "Jesus and Sinners," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Jan. 3, 1928), p. 14. See also "Jesus, the Suffering Messiah" (5.7, p. 109) and "Jesus the Saviour" (5.13, p. 205). Shelly was educated at Bluffton College and Witmarsum Seminary and served as pastor of the First Mennonite Church at Wadsworth, OH. He wrote the Sunday school lessons for the *Christian Exponent* during 1928.

¹⁹John F. Funk, "Sermon Preached by John F. Funk," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 11 (May 22, 1925), p. 170. Funk was a well-known author and publisher in the Mennonite Church. The article was sent to the *Exponent* by a friend of Funk's.

- ²⁰M. M. Horsch, "A Sermon for the Season of Lent," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (Mar. 13, 1928), p. 88. M. Horsch was from Beatrice, Nebraska. No information on him was found in *Who's Who or Mennonite Encyclopedia*.
- ²¹M. M. Horsch, p. 88
- ²²Ibid.
- ²³Ibid., p. 89.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 88.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 89.
- ²⁶Hardern, pp. 80-82.
- ²⁷Payson Miller, "What Sin Is," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 5, No. 13 (June 19, 1928), p. 198, and "The Consequences of Sin," Vol. 5, No. 16 (July 31, 1928), pp. 245-6. Miller was a former teacher at Bluffton College and in 1928 was studying at Hartford Seminary. No additional information in *Who's Who*.
- ²⁸Payson Miller, "The Forgiveness of Sin," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 5, No. 18 (Aug. 28, 1928), p. 284.
- ²⁹Ibid., p. 282.
- ³⁰Ruth Yoder, "The Missionary Enterprise," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 12 (June 6, 1924), p. 183.
- ³¹Ibid.
- ³²Jesse N. Smucker, "Lord Teach us to Pray," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Jan. 31, 1928), p. 44. Smucker was educated at Goshen College, 1914-18; Princeton Theological Seminary, 1924-25; Positions included pastor of the Oak Grove Mennonite Church at Smithville, OH, 1916-35. (from *Who's Who*).
- ³³Jesse N. Smucker, "The Quiet Hour," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 5, No. 11 (May 22, 1928), p. 172. See also "The Perfect Prayer," (1.14, pp. 218-19).
- ³⁴Ernest J. Bohn, "The God that Jesus Revealed," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Feb. 12, 1926), p. 59. Bohn was educated at Goshen College, 1917-23; Princeton Seminary, 1923-25; and Garrett Biblical Institute in Chicago, 1925-26. He served as pastor at Tiskilwa, IL from 1925-31. (from *Who's Who*).
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- ³⁷J. E. Hartzler, "Is Religion Necessary?" *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 17 (Aug. 14, 1925), p. 266.
- ³⁸William B. Weaver, "Freedom Through the Truth," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Feb. 1, 1924), p. 41. Weaver was educated at Goshen College, spring terms 1905-14; Indiana University, 1914; and Northwestern University, 1923-26. Positions included teacher of history and social sciences at Goshen College, 1914-22; pastor of the Prairie St. Mennonite Church in Elkhart, IN, 1914-20; pastor of the North Danvers Mennonite Church (IL), 1922-43; editor of *The Christian Evangel*, 1923-29. (from *Who's Who*).
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- ⁴⁰Wm. B. Weaver, "The Message of the Church," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (May 23, 1924), p. 170.
- ⁴¹Lester Hostetler, "What Think Ye of Christ?" *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (Feb. 29, 1924), p. 74. Hostetler was educated at Goshen College, 1911-15; and Union Theological Seminary, 1915-18. Positions included pastor of Sugarcreek (OH) Mennonite Church, 1925-27; Walnutcreek (OH), 1918-23; Upland, CA, 1927-29; staff of *Christian Exponent* 1924-25 and editor 1926-28. (from *Who's Who*).
- ⁴²Lester Hostetler, "Meditation on Christmas," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 4, No. 25 (Dec. 20, 1927), p. 389.
- ⁴³Lester Hostetler, "The Spiritual Climate of Life," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 3, No. 15 (July 16, 1926), p. 229.
- ⁴⁴Lester Hostetler, "The Test of Discipleship," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan. 14, 1927), p. 4.
- ⁴⁵Lester Hostetler, "The World's Debt to Jesus," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 3, No. 26 (Dec. 17, 1926), p. 404.
- ⁴⁶A. M. Eash, "The Church Revealing Her Lord," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 20 (Sept. 25, 1925), p. 314. No additional information on Eash was found in *Who's Who or the Mennonite Encyclopedia*.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., p. 315.
- ⁴⁸Ibid.
- ⁴⁹Samuel Burkhard, "A New Aristocracy," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 16 (July 31, 1925), p. 245. Burkhard was educated at Goshen College, 1911; Columbia University; and Student Union Theological Seminary, 1911-12. Positions included instructor at Bluffton College, 1919-21; Bethel College, 1916-19; and Arizona State, 1921 on. (from *Who's Who*).
- ⁵⁰Samuel Burkhard, "The Temptations of Jesus," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 4, No. 17 (Aug. 30, 1927), p. 267.
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- ⁵³Payson Miller, "The Consequences of Sin," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 5, No. 16 (July 31, 1928), p. 246.
- ⁵⁴R. L. Hartzler, "Mennonite Idealism," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 12 (June 6, 1924), p. 182. Hartzler was educated at Goshen College, 1911-12 and 1916-18 and was pastor of the Maple Grove Mennonite Church in Topeka, IN from 1916-28. (from *Who's Who*).
- ⁵⁵Jacob Hermann Langenwalter, "Why I Believe in the Atonement," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (April 22, 1927), p. 119. Langenwalter was educated at Bethel College, 1898-1900; Baldwin-Wallace College, 1902-04; Oberlin Seminary, 1904-05, 1909-10; and Hartford Theological Seminary, 1914-15. Positions included Dean of Witmarsum Seminary, 1914-19; president of Bethel College, 1921-25; and professor of Bible and Religion at Friends University in Wichita, KS, 1925-36. (from *Who's Who*).
- ⁵⁶Irvin R. Detweiler, "The Life Abundant," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 10 (May 9, 1924), p. 153. Detweiler was educated at Goshen College 1911 (degree); Garrett Biblical Institute 1923; and University of Chicago, summers 1912-17. Positions included acting president of Goshen College, 1919-22; pastor of 8th St. Mennonite Church, Goshen, IN, 1922-31. (from *Who's Who*).
- ⁵⁷I. R. Detweiler, "The Power that Lifts," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 24 (Nov. 21, 1924), p. 377.
- ⁵⁸Detweiler, "The Life Abundant," p. 154.
- ⁵⁹Detweiler, "The Power that Lifts," p. 378.
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- ⁶¹Vernon Smucker, "An Opportunity," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 16 (Aug. 1, 1924), p. 243.
- ⁶²Vernon Smucker, "The Beaten Paths," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 22 (Oct. 24, 1924), p. 342.
- ⁶³Vernon Smucker, "The Christian's Joy," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (Feb. 29, 1924), p. 67.
- ⁶⁴Vernon Smucker, "Fundamentalism and the Fundamentals," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (May 23, 1924), p. 165.
- ⁶⁵Vernon Smucker, "The Bible and Modern Life," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (May 23, 1924), p. 163.
- ⁶⁶A. Ray Eschliman, "Why Christ Ascended," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 11 (May 23, 1924), p. 174. Eschliman was on the *Exponent* staff in 1924. Later he taught at Freeman Jr. College (SD), from 1927-28. No additional information can be found in *Who's Who*.
- ⁶⁷A. R. Eschliman, "Studies in 1 John," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 15 (July 18, 1924), p. 238.
- ⁶⁸A. R. Eschliman, "The Power of the Resurrection," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 8 (Apr. 11, 1924), p. 126.
- ⁶⁹Ibid.
- ⁷⁰A. R. Eschliman, "Bible Teachings on Sin," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Feb. 1, 1924), p. 45.
- ⁷¹A. R. Eschliman, "Why Study the Bible," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 13 (June 20, 1924), p. 206.
- ⁷²Eschliman, "The Power of the Resurrection," p. 126.
- ⁷³Abraham F. Tieszen, "Salvation Through the Blood," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 7 (Mar. 28, 1924), p. 110. Tieszen was educated at Freeman Jr. College, 1914-17; Bethel College, 1917-21; and Witmarsum Seminary, 1921-22. He was a pastor and a teacher at Freeman Jr. College from 1922-24. (from *Who's Who*).
- ⁷⁴Ibid.
- ⁷⁵Peter Philip Wedel, "The Christmas Carol," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 3, No. 26 (Dec. 17, 1926), p. 406. Wedel was educated at Bethel College, 1904-06. He was pastor of the First Mennonite Church of Christian, KS, and president of the General Conference Mennonites from 1926-33. (from *Who's Who*).
- ⁷⁶Ibid., p. 407.
- ⁷⁷Ibid., p. 406-7.
- ⁷⁸Amos E. Kreider, "The Gospel of God," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan. 4, 1924), p. 9. Kreider was educated at Goshen College, 1911-15; and Garrett Biblical Institute, 1915-17. Positions included teacher at Goshen College, 1917-18; Dean of Goshen College Bible School, 1921-23; professor of New Testament at Witmarsum Seminary, 1923-31; and staff of *Christian Exponent*. (from *Who's Who*).
- ⁷⁹A. E. Kreider, "Last Words of Jesus With His Disciples," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (Feb. 26, 1926), p. 75.
- ⁸⁰A. E. Kreider, "The Son of God Becomes Man," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 26 (Dec. 18, 1925), p. 412.
- ⁸¹A. E. Kreider, "The Foundation," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jan. 16, 1925), p. 29.
- ⁸²Kreider, "The Son of God Becomes Man," p. 412.
- ⁸³Kreider, "The Gospel of God," p. 11.
- ⁸⁴Ibid., p. 10.
- ⁸⁵"The Editor 'Listens In,'" *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jan. 18, 1924), p. 20.
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- ⁸⁷A. E. Kreider, "The Conversion of Zacchaeus," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 25 (Dec. 5, 1924), p. 398.
- ⁸⁸A. E. Kreider, "Making the World Christian," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (Mar. 11, 1927), p. 76.
- ⁸⁹A. E. Kreider, "Closing Period of Christ's Ministry," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (Mar. 13, 1925), p. 94.
- ⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 93-94.
- ⁹¹Kreider, "The Savior on the Cross," p. 77.
- ⁹²A. E. Kreider, "The Lord's Supper," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan. 2, 1925), p. 14.
- ⁹³Kreider, "The Foundation," p. 29.
- ⁹⁴A. E. Kreider, "Our Lord's Resurrection," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (Feb. 27, 1925), p. 78.
- ⁹⁵A. E. Kreider, "Opening Period of Christ's Ministry," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 19 (Sept. 12, 1924), p. 301, and "Reforms Under Ezra and Nehemiah," Vol. 1, No. 12 (June 6, 1924), p. 190.
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- ⁹⁷A. E. Kreider, "The Last Judgment," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan. 2, 1925), p. 13.
- ⁹⁸Kreider, "The Foundation," p. 29.
- ⁹⁹A. E. Kreider, "Jesus and the Samaritan Woman," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Jan. 15, 1926), p. 28. Related articles by Kreider include: "The Risen Christ," (1.8, p. 125); "The Baptism of Jesus," (1.14, pp. 221-2); "The First Disciples of Jesus," (1.15, p. 237); "Jesus Talks With a Samaritan Woman," (1.17, p. 268); "Jesus Talks With Nicodemus," (1.17, p. 268); "Peter's Confession," (1.22, p. 365); "Jesus in Gethsemane," (2.3, pp. 44-5); "The S.S. Lessons," (2.13, p. 204); "Paul in Corinth," (2.20, p. 317); "Jesus, The Good Shepherd," (3.3, pp. 43-4); and "The Christian's Use of the Bible," (4.1, p. 13).
- ¹⁰⁰Arthur S. Rosenberger, "What Think Ye of Christ," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 1, No. 18 (Aug. 29, 1924), pp. 281-2. Rosenberger was educated at Bluffton College, 1919-21; and Witmarsum Seminary, 1921-23. Positions included teacher of New Testament Greek at Witmarsum and pastor of the St. John Mennonite Church near Pandora, OH, 1923-30. (from *Who's Who*).
- ¹⁰¹A. S. Rosenberger, "The Over-riding Providence of God," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 2, No. 19 (Sept. 11, 1925), p. 298.
- ¹⁰²Rosenberger, "What Think Ye of Christ," p. 282.
- ¹⁰³A. S. Rosenberger, "Peter and the Risen Lord," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (Apr. 22, 1927), p. 125.
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- ¹⁰⁶Lester Hostetler, "The Aim of the Exponent," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan. 1, 1926), p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁷John Horsch, *Modern Religious Liberalism* (Scottsdale, PA: Fundamental Truth Depot, 1920, and Chicago, IL: The Bible Institute Colportage Assn., 1921 and 1924), pp. 56, 89-92.
- ¹⁰⁸John Horsch, *The Mennonite Church and Modernism* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1924), p. 46.
- ¹⁰⁹Samuel K. Mosiman, "The Power Needed for Today and Tomorrow," *Christian Exponent*, Vol. 3, No. 14 (July 2, 1926), p. 217. Mosiman graduated from McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago in 1905 and was president of Bluffton College from 1910 to 1935. (from *Mennonite Encyclopedia*).
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- ¹¹¹Toews, p. 245.
- ¹¹²Schlubach, p. 114.
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Nonresistance and Migration in the 1870's: Two Personal Views

Edited and translated by John B. Toews

Few issues pertaining to the history of the Mennonites in Russia have been so extensively debated or documented as the migration of the 1870's.¹ Perhaps the sheer complexity of any migration ensures an almost perpetual argument as to its origins and causes. In any such setting, there are restraints and opportunities, as well as a variety of political, economic and religious situations. In one form or another all of these factors influenced the migration of one-third of the Mennonites in Russia to North America.

Interpretations of the first Mennonite migration from Russia have taken several directions. In his monumental compilation, P. M. Friesen viewed the emigrants as extreme conservatives who, ignorant of Russian language and culture, feared assimilation in any form.² Aware of Russia and things Russian, these "progressive" Mennonites saw their forefathers as victims of a narrow religious-cultural tradition which caused them to flee from an outside world they neither understood nor even wanted to. Others have argued that the migration was related to a widespread but unstated desire for economic betterment. At least one contemporary observer saw the majority of the migrants as blatant opportunists.³ There is other evidence to support this contention. First, the severe tensions between landed and disenfranchised landless Mennonites demanded a safety valve. Secondly, settlement in the United States offered no guarantee of military exemption, yet two-thirds of the migrants chose this option. Finally those who remained in Russia readily sacrificed a deeply held conviction to the new realities. Were those who stayed and those who left equally casual about their heritage?⁴ There is also the religious interpretation. When the emigrant leaders explained their reasons for leaving Russia, they usually pointed to one issue: the preservation of faith. Though not articulated, such a quest meant a nonresistance associated with the right to maintain the economic and

matters related to the community. Except for cases involving severe assault, homicide or major theft, the Mennonites in the Hebrew colonies were self-governing. Chortitza remained the cultural and religious reference point for Epp. He was party to all the major events engulfing the colony, including the introduction of state service. The surviving portion of the diary, covering the years 1860-1880, is deposited in the Mennonite Heritage Center, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

As eyewitness accounts, both diaries add some helpful perspectives to the prevailing interpretations of the migration. Even a superficial reading of either diary clearly delineates the prevailing mind-set. Most Mennonites only knew their own world. They stood inside looking out. P. M. Friesen was possibly transposing too much of his early twentieth century world to Mennonites three decades removed and still in the first stages of outside awareness. The circumstances of their sojourn in Russia had simply not prepared them for easy cultural and religious adaptation.

The diary writers, especially Jacob Epp, minimized the role of economics in the emigration. The landless issue was not of great importance—perhaps because they both had land or felt that colonization within Russia (1869-74) and the imperial decree of 1866 had solved the problem. For Epp there were also different motives prevailing at different times. At considerable fiscal sacrifice, both rich and poor in Bergthal left for America. Then other factors entered in: the gradual clarification of state service duties; letters from America; propaganda pamphlets distributed by private and public agencies.

Epp saw the emigration being initially motivated by religious factors. From his standpoint, the majority of ministers and elders viewed state service as a judgment of God for Mennonite apostasy. In their collective estimation, the proposed change was a radical one. The prevailing fear was genuine and

cultural life style of the Russian setting: closed communities; self-government; private schools. When participants later reflected on the reasons for the migration, the verdict was unanimous—"for conscience sake!" It meant a pacifism which included not only exemption from military service, but the terms of settlement itself. Freedom of faith was associated with a definite religious-cultural identity and a well developed social system. Later memoirs⁵ penned by emigration leaders portray men living in a self-contained community, genuinely frightened when confronted by the demands of the Russian state.

Dietrich Gaeddert was born in 1837 in Alexanderwohl, Molotschna. As a young man he received a moderate education under the tutelage of Heinrich Buller, a minister in the Alexanderwohl church. In 1862 he began to teach in the Rueckenau village school. Not long after, he left for Fuerstenwerder. In his brief diary entries, Gaeddert left a detailed account of his life as village teacher and minister. He chronicles the activities of everyday life as well as the more cataclysmic events—accidents, illnesses, deaths, village fires. For him, church and community are one. He reveals himself as an affirming individual whose affection for his people finds expression in his unflinching service on their behalf. The original diary is housed at the Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas.⁶ It begins in 1860.

Whereas Gaeddert records Mennonite life in the Molotschna settlement, Jacob Epp does so for the Chortitza district. Not far from Chortitza in the Kherson region lay the so-called "Hebrew Colonies." Mennonites from Chortitza, including Epp, had been settled in these villages to serve as model farmers for the less experienced Jewish settlers. Epp's diary, except for occasional references to Jewish-Mennonite squabbles, portrays the pattern of daily life as it existed in any Mennonite colony. As a traditional minister, his jurisdiction included all

widespread. When Epp first heard that "everyone in Russia had to render military service" on November 18, 1870, he noted that "the judgments of God are already approaching!" On the last of the year (1870), he pondered the "cloud of tribulation and affliction" which threatened. His apprehension was apparently shared by many of his fellow ministers. When they met on February 11, 1871, elder Dyck, in his sermon, expressed the fear that "God had allowed this punishment to come because of our sins." The second speaker, Heinrich Epp, referred to Mennonite mothers who "gazed into the dark future with deep apprehension." The next day, a special service was held in Chortitza to "beseech the blessing of God for the journey." For Epp, *Privilegium* had a narrow definition—complete exemption from military service. As 1872 drew to a close and the issue remained unresolved, he spoke of the "dark thunder cloud" (December 31, 1872) which was gathering. The issue was simple—"our freedom of faith is in danger."

In 1873 Jacob Epp learned that other Mennonites did not share his anxiety about the future. In mid-January he still spoke of the "general consensus" for migration (January 15, 1873). By the end of the month he complained that many "in our Chortitza congregations" did not take the existing threat "very seriously." There were, nevertheless, others who had already sold their farms and were leaving by late February, 1873. By the end of the year, the preparations for departure were rather widespread.

Some clarification of those for and against emigration occurred early in 1874. Villages like Chortitza, Einlage, Kronswende and Neuhochfeld refused to underwrite the cost of sending a deputation to America (March 8, 1874). Epp's diary confirms the oft repeated assertions that the April, 1874 visit of von Todtleben was something of a watershed in the emigration story. There was finally some clarification as to what state service meant. He recorded one interesting fact. Todtleben did not manage to impress the Mennonites who poured into the Chortitza church to hear him. He was apparently offended by the restlessness of his hearers and in the ensuing speechmaking publicly censured elder Dyck for his remarks. This "caused severe ill-feeling" (April 25, 1874). Twenty months later, Epp observed that "thanks to the promises of - - von Todtleben" (December 31, 1874)

1875) the emigration fever had somewhat subsided.

A few definitions of terms used in the diaries might be helpful:

Bruederschaft - An assembly of all adult males having membership in the local church. Its decisions, based on open discussion, were considered binding.

Fuorsorge Comitaet - A type of supervisory commission with headquarters in Odessa, which had jurisdiction over all German colonists in Russia.

Ohm - A popular term for members of the ecclesiastical officialdom. It could also be a title of respect for a senior male in the community.

Ohmsstuebchen - The room of the church in which the ministerial council usually met.

Sanitaetsdienst - A form of alternative service which implied medical duties in the army.

NOTES

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²Peter M. Friesen, *The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, 1789-1910* (Fresno, 1978), 591-594. See also James Urry, *The Closed and the Open: Social and Religious Change Among the Mennonites in Russia, 1789-1889* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University), 774-775.

³Leonard Gross, "The Coming of the Russian Mennonites to America: An Analysis by Johann Epp, Mennonite Minister in Russia, 1875," *MQR*, XLVIII (1974), 467.

⁴P. Albert Koop, "Some Economic Aspects of Mennonite Migration: With Special Emphasis on the 1870s Migration From Russia to North America," *MQR*, LV (1981), 143-156.

⁵Gerhard Wiebe, *Ursachen und Geschichte der Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika* (Winnipeg, n.d.); Isaak Peters, "An Account of the Cause and Purpose that led to the Emigration From Russia to America," *Herald of Truth*, Vol. 44 (1907), Nov. 7, 417-418; Nov. 14, 427; Nov. 21, 437-438.

⁶J. B. Toews, "A Russian Mennonite: The Diary of Dietrich Gaeddert," *Mennonite Life*, Vol. 33 (1978), 10-18.

⁷J. B. Toews, "The Diary of Jacob Epp 1860-1880," *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*, Vol. 5 (1982), no. 1, 37-43; no. 2, 23-28.

The Dietrich Gaeddert Diary (Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas)

December 17, 1870

An elder conference was held here regarding military service. It was decided to get more information and to convene a *Bruederschaft*. Another conference is to be held in the new year. Then steps are to be taken to discharge [the obligation] of military service.

January 8, 1871

Today there was an elder conference regarding the question of nonresistance. We have elected two men, elder Sudermann of Berdjansk and elder Goerz of Steinfeld. They are to deal with the question if [pastor] Hahn in St. Petersburg agrees. Jakob Peters of Pordenau and Barkmann of Halbstadt are to acquaint our Brethren in the Old Colony with the matter so that they can also elect a few men.

January 10, 1871

Bruederschaft . . . the congregation was informed of the danger to our nonresistance and of the delegates to be sent. They are to remember these men in prayer. We were urged to change our ways.

January 22, 1871

Today there was an elder's conference again. Many ministers came together on account of St. Petersburg (the actions of St. Petersburg). There were [representatives] from the Old Colony and Bergthal. Almost all the elders were here. The teacher Franz Isaak, Peter Goerz, the secretary Janzen and elder Leonhard Sudermann of Berdjansk were elected to travel to St. Petersburg. Now we think there will be peace. God grant it!

July 4, 1872

In the forenoon, father and I drove to the Rudnerweide church where there was *Bruederschaft*. First it was decided to send a delegation to St. Petersburg as soon as possible to petition the tsar to continue to uphold our exemption from military service. Second, it was decided that the monies needed should be collected voluntarily. Third, the question of footwashing would need further study. Fourth, the elder earnestly admonished the Brethren to stop the wrangling and quarreling and to deal with one another in love. Then the Lord would also give his blessing to the negotiations with the authorities.

December 27, 1872

There was a large *Bruederschaft* in the Rudnerweide church. First elder Peter Goerz of Steinfeld held a short

sermon on missions and a few verses were sung. Then the elder presented the costs of the trip to St. Petersburg and the Crimea.

January 24, 1873

In the forenoon I drove with them (several guests) to the Pordenau church. A number of elders were there: Isaak Peters of Marienthal, *Ohm* Buller of Alexanderwohl, Leonhard Sudermann from Berdjansk. There were many ministers from various congregations and also many brethren. The consultation focused on sending a deputation to America to study emigration possibilities. Our colony is sending Buller from Alexanderwohl, and *Ohm* Sudermann von Berdjansk. Bergthal is sending *Ohm* Wiebe and district head Peters. Bersenko beyond Nikopol is sending David Klassen, the Crimea, elder Wiebe. They are leaving the end of February.

October 18, 1873

Drove to the Pordenau church with Johann Franz. Many Brethren had come to hear the travel report of the two elders *Ohm* Leonhard Sudermann and *Ohm* Buller on what they had seen and accomplished in America.

April 22, 1874

There was a large *Bruederschaft* in the Rudnerweide church. There is a General von Todleben from St. Petersburg here who the tsar has sent to negotiate an agreement with regard to military service. Our leaders are willing to participate in civilian service—shoemakers, saddlers, tailors, workers in wood and iron—but in no military related activities. If this is not possible, they want free emigration. Oh Lord strengthen our faith in this recently troubled time.

May 19, 1874

We drove to the Rudnerweide church with Isbrand Friesens. A minister from the Herrenhutter by the name of Friedemann preached. The old elder *Ohm* Ratzlaff held his farewell sermon for he is planning to emigrate to America. He was a minister for 50 years, and elder for 35 years.

May 26, 1874

The Sunday morning service was held here in our church. *Ohm* Franz from Schardau preached the preparatory communion sermon (*Vorbereitungspredigt*). Afternoon we drove to Pordenau. *Ohm* Heinrich Epp from Elisabeththal and *Ohm* Klassen from Sparrau both held a farewell sermon. Both are thinking of migrating to America.

July 21, 1874

JUNE, 1986

On Sunday forenoon we fetched the entire Cornelius Dalke family for lunch. Afternoon we drove with them to Neukirch. I lent Cornelius a horse to drive to the railway station. We have taken our leave of them.

September 27, 1874

In the afternoon we drove to Gnadenfeld with neighbor Fast and dropped letters for America off at the Post Office.

Jacob Epp Diary (Mennonite Heritage Center, Winnipeg, Manitoba)

1870

November 18, 1870

On Wednesday at 15:00 hours [my] brother Diedrich Epp returned from his journey to Chortitza . . . He brought disturbing news: in future everyone in Russia will have to render military service just like in Prussia! How can our *Privilegium* help us now, which exempted us and our posterity from military service in perpetuity. Can it protect us against the commands of higher authority? Oh I fear our community is facing a dark future for the judgments of God are already approaching!

December 31, 1870

Only one cloud of tribulation and affliction threatens our faith. It relates to our freedom [from military service], but [so far] the government has told us nothing. We have richly deserved punishment, for the life in our congregations is more worldly than Christian . . . What will the new year bring? God alone knows.

1871

February 11, 1871

On Thursday a conference for all the ministers (*Lehrer*) of the Chortitza and Kronsweide congregations was held in the Chortitza church. By mistake the brethren in Neuendorf, Schonhorst and Neuhorst were invited to a *Bruederschaft* (brotherhood meeting), and we saw many, many sleighs arriving. Preparations for a service had to be made immediately. The church stove had to be heated and arrangements made for the singing.

The reason for the ministerial conference which I attended related to a consultation on the forthcoming journey to St. Petersburg. The [deputation] hoped, if possible, to avert the threatening danger of military service. For this purpose the Chortitza and Kronsweide congregations elected our beloved elder

Gerhard Dyck and my brother Heinrich Epp. Now they wished to bid farewell to all their fellow ministers. Elder G. Dyck had attended a conference in the Molotschna where those congregations elected elder Leonhard Sudermann of Berdjansk, Peter Goerzon of Rudnerweide, the minister Franz Isaac of Ohrloff and the district secretary Hermann Janzen. The Molotschna delegates wanted the approval of the *Fuersorge Comitaet*, as proposed by our elder and so wanted to travel via Odessa. In Charkov one delegation would wait for the other at a predetermined lodging.

We sent the district head Isaac Lehn and the former district head Jacob Hamm to the *Fuersorge Comitaet* in Odessa on our behalf. A telegram from them had arrived informing us that they had [safely] arrived, spoken with the president who authorized the journey and who gave permission for the absence of the minister Epp. They now wished to leave for St. Petersburg and present their credentials to the minister of defense. They carried a petition for the minister with them and a [similar] one had already been presented to the governor of Ekaterinoslav. As soon as the travellers from Odessa return, elder Gerhard Dyck and [my] brother Epp will begin their journey to St. Petersburg.

After we had entered the church and sang several verses, elder Dyck stepped behind the pulpit and talked about the purpose of their journey. God had allowed this punishment to come because of our sins. He urged the congregation to an earnest return to God through Jesus Christ. Then God would give his blessing for this journey. All were also to implore God to direct the heart of our gracious tsar so that the threatening danger might be averted. All hearts were stirred. Following the prayer, the elder invited brother Heinrich Epp to speak [whose words] were no less moving. Lord give your blessing! In his address, the brother observed that mothers also participated in this matter on account of their little sons. They gazed into the dark future with deep apprehension. He urged that during their absence the brethren tell [the mothers] that, so they too would pray to God. If you at home persist in believing prayer, you can accomplish more than we in St. Petersburg. He also mentioned that every night before they went to sleep and every morning when they got up they should think in love of the [families] left behind and include

them in their prayer. Once more the elder summoned the congregation to prayer. After [we] had sung he closed the meeting.

A beautiful, moving service. Oh that the Lord would accompany them with his blessing! Various matters were discussed in the *Ohmsstuebchen*. It was decided to hold a service tomorrow morning, Friday, in the Chortitza church in order to beseech the blessing of God for the journey. It was to be announced in all villages (except Neuen-dorf, Schonhorst and Neuhorst who were present) and everyone was invited to participate. Elder Peter Klassen of the Kronsweider church had not come. Only [their] ministers Heinrich Pauls, Cornelius Pauls and Cornelius Friesen were present. The service tomorrow morning will probably be very large. After we had wished both deputies the grace and blessing of the Lord God we parted from one another.

March 30, 1871

In the afternoon I received a letter from brother Heinrich Epp dated March 28, a part of which reads:

"We have returned home from our St. Petersburg journey safely and in good spirit. The prayers of the brethren have not been without results. The angels of the Lord have protected us and removed many difficulties along the way. It was not us but the Lord. Praise and thanks to him. I do not have time for a detailed account since I have to prepare a sermon for tomorrow morning. You and the rest of the people will have to be satisfied if I picture the overall highlights.

We left here on the morning of February 16. On February 20 we reached the railway and on February 24 arrived safely in St. Petersburg. The Molotschna deputies were already there: elder Leonhard Sudermann from Berdjansk, the two ministers Franz Isaac and Peter Goerz and the district secretary Hermann Janzen. On February 27 we had an audience with the minister of State Domains, Selenoi, whom we handed a petition written in Russian. The minister seemed like a stern man but was well disposed towards us. He promised to accept our case but could not give us any reassurance. The nonresistance question rested with the highest levels of government and any promises he made would be premature. President Ettinger [of the *Fuersorge Comitaet*], who was also in St. Petersburg and still is, later said that we had left a good impression with the minister. That too was grace from God.

After this we had an audience with Count Heyden, the president of the commission preparing the military law. The two elders had already been to see him. They want to free the Mennonites from military or weapon service but deploy them for *Sanitaetsdienst*. Count Heyden thought that he could assure us that those Mennonites from before the implementation of the new military law would remain entirely free while those born afterward would have to

do *Sanitaetsdienst*. Its implementation might take another year and a half or two years. Consequently we still had a respite of 24 or 25 years.

We also spoke with senator Heyde. The two elders, but not I, also visited a member of that commission, the secretary? Gerne Gross and the General Governor from Odessa, Kotzebur. We wanted to see the tsar in order to present our petition to the father of our land but were advised against this by those who seemed to have our interests at heart. They felt we would spoil matters with those highly placed men who are now well disposed towards us. We therefore desisted. As requested we are preparing a small memorandum which we will present to Count Heyden, the senator and the Ministry of State Domains. When you come here or [perhaps] even sooner I will give you a copy of our petition.

We also saw the tsar taking a promenade in his summer garden. Unexpectedly he spoke to us and asked where we were from, who we were and why we had come. After we had informed him he uttered, "Ah," stepped into his carriage and drove away. Judging from his questions he almost seemed to know we were Mennonites. We left St. Petersburg on March 8 and arrived home on the evening of March 17."

May 15, 1871

When I still lived on the Island of Chortitza as a school teacher, several neighbors paid me a visit. When the conversation turned to our *Privilegium*, the opinion was expressed that it was given to us in perpetuity and that the freedoms guaranteed in it were forever. They were upset when I remarked that if changes occurred in the land, the government could always revoke it. Someone said that as long as a descendant of tsar Paul I, God rest his soul, sat upon the throne our *Privilegium* was inviolable! I answered that nothing in this world is forever, only God's Word. This *Privilegium* was given to us but it could also be taken away. Only the *Privilegium* given to us in Jesus and sealed with his blood was irrevocable... How quickly the time has come when our *Privilegium* has lost its worth! . . . By our sins we have deserved what God has brought about. Tsar Paul signed the *Privilegium* with his own hand in the year 1800. His son Nicholas approved it and under the government of Alexander it loses its worth!

December 31, 1871

The *Privilegium* which guaranteed religious freedom to our congregations appears to have lost its worth.

1872

September 8, 1872

From 14:00 to 17:00 hours all village mayors (now called *Dorfsaelteste*—village elders) and the ministers of the Chortitza and Kronsweide congrega-

tions together with their two elders gathered in the Chortitza church. I was also present. The reason: the Molotschna *Ohms* had already left for St. Petersburg because of the military [service] question. The discussion centered on whether we too should send someone and if so who. It was decided to telegraph Pastor Hans in St. Petersburg to inquire about the status of the matter and to ask his advice as to whether one should come now or later. [Once his answer arrived] we would meet for another consultation. For the closing *Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade* was sung and the assembly dismissed with prayer.

October 21, 1872

In the evening brother Diedrich Epp and his wife returned from their trip to Chortitza. He said that elder Gerhard Dyck and brother Heinrich Epp had travelled to Yalta in the Crimea in order to petition his majesty the tsar for exemption from military service and for the preservation of our religious freedom. The Lord our God bless their journey.

December 31, 1872

Again we stand at the end of the old year. If I look back and into the future my heart fills with an uneasy sadness. The sword of God's wrath is stretched over our congregations, a dark thunder cloud gathers over us. The lightning is only visible on the horizon, but the roll of the thunder can be heard from afar. Our freedom of faith is in danger. All attempts of our deputies to present our petition to the father of our land have failed. Our neighbors the Mennonites in Neuhutterthal who purchased land close to Sophiewka and settled on it have sold it again and are ready to settle in Canada in America. A deputation is being sent there after New Year. Even among us there are stirrings for emigration in order to preserve our religious freedom. According to a letter from my brother-in-law Bernhard Warkentin, whose son is visiting there, the English government wishes to have us and the land is supposed to be very good.

1873

January 4, 1873

On Tuesday afternoon I and my neighbor Isbrand Friesen, who supplied the horses and wagon, drove to Neuhutterthal where we arrived late and took quarters at L. Tschetter, who graciously accepted us. The reason for our journey was that we had heard that they were in possession of the new military law.

We wanted to know more about it. After coffee we went to see their minister. A number of others had also come. This congregation had sold their land to the nobleman L. Danilewski for 50 rubles per dessiatine including all buildings, cattle and implements. They retained two windmills, furniture, chickens and pigs. Only one neighbor and his son had not yet sold their 200 dessiatines.

Their other ministers had travelled to Alexanderwohl in the Molotschna colony. They want to send a deputation to Canada in America from here [so that] they can emigrate there. They took the aforementioned law with them. They nevertheless told us that we should believe them when they affirmed that the new law, once it came into effect, expressly stated that those on their own land were [subject to] personal military service and would have to perform *Sanitaetsdienst* on crown lands. I had a letter from my brother-in-law Bernhard Warkentin of Altona with me. In it his son Bernhard, who is still in America, lists a number of advantages for emigrants to America. I had to read this letter whose content was eagerly absorbed. They seem to agree with my long-held fears concerning our religious freedom! Oh how securely we formerly walked our pathway—we who were joyfully inclined to thankfulness because we possessed a *Privilegium* from the beloved father of our land. But now!

January 5, 1873

Friday after breakfast we left on our return trip. We arrived home at 11:00 hours and met a guest, namely Dietrich Friesen from Friesenthal, who had arrived yesterday. He was at D. Epp for lunch and soon came back to us. He too has great anxiety about the dangers to our faith and is already thinking of selling his farm.

January 15, 1873

In the Chortitza colony there is great consternation. The anticipation of the new law is generating the collective apprehension that our religious freedom could be in jeopardy. There is a general consensus for migration to America, where there is the prospect of full religious freedom. The Lord direct everything to the best!

January 21, 1873

Afternoon guests came to Friesens: Johann Martens and the David Schroeder couple. The latter were lovely people whom I liked. I got into a word exchange with Martens about the

nonresistance question. He held that military service was permissible and ridiculed the emigration fervor. Oh how true Christianity is vanishing in our churches. The question whether to emigrate or stay has been handled too superficially and is not leading us to an awareness of our trespasses which, through sincere repentance, would lead us back to our Savior.

January 24, 1873

On Wednesday morning Jacob Hiebert hitched [his horses] and drove us to Pordenau in the Gnadenfeld [volost]. There was a conference and *Bruederschaft* in the church. Elder Isaac Peters led the discussions. It focused on the planned emigration and the dispatch of a deputation to America. Approximately 2000 rubles were designated for this venture and an additional 1,000 rubles added. The elder Leonhard Sudermann of Berdjansk was elected as a deputy by majority vote . . . The deputies from Bergthal, Heinrich Wiebe and the district mayor Peters were also present. The deputation is to leave towards the end of February. May God give his blessing!

January 31, 1873

The threatening thunderclouds which sweep over our heads are interpreted in different ways. The majority in our Chortitza congregations do not take them very seriously! Many accusations asserting that I roused the church from its sweet rest have been leveled at me. Yet my heart agrees with the author of a new song: "First to Calvary, not first to America!" Oh if in this serious time we could reflect on what best serves our peace. Then we would humble ourselves before God in true repentance and the Lord would deflect the lightning so that it will not harm us.

February 6, 1873

We had guests from the Chortitza colony, namely the couples Gerhard Andres and Cornelius Harms . . . The guests informed us that a dispatch from pastor Hans in St. Petersburg had arrived in which the Mennonite representatives were invited to come [to St. Petersburg to discuss] our nonresistance. The Molotschna deputation waited until Chortitza discussed the matter. A hurried vote in the entire district elected brother Heinrich Epp, but they did not know who the second delegate was. Well dear God acknowledge this journey by giving it your blessing.

February 21, 1873

I drank coffee at Johann Hoepfner's

residence who then drove me to D. Klassen in Heubuden, who was elected as a deputy to America by the *Kleine Gemeinde*. Klassen was with me at the conference in Pordenau . . . He told me that he was leaving for America the following week with the Hutterthal colonists.

March 19, 1873

The Franz Giesbrechts from Nowoshitomir who just returned from the Chortitza district told me that our deputies, elder Gerhard Dyck, my brother Heinrich Epp and Heinrich Heese from Ekaterinoslav, returned from their trip to St. Petersburg last Wednesday. They had not spoken with the tsar, only with the grand duke. The decision will be made by Easter.

April 1, 1873

Diedrich Epp preached. After he was finished he read a report about the work of our deputies in St. Petersburg as well as a copy of the petition given to grand duke Constantine Nikolavich. Yesterday I received both papers from brother Heinrich Epp.

April 13, 1873

The danger that our faith is threatened does not seem to concern many and so the interest in emigration to America has declined. We anxiously await the decision from St. Petersburg.

August 14, 1873

Wednesday before breakfastENZ drove us to David Klassen in Heubuden with his team. As a deputy of his church, he had returned from America a week ago. In a short time he told us many things. They have decided to settle in Manitoba. What will our church do? Put its hands on the lap and half asleep walk towards the threatening danger? Oh God help us to know your will.

September 16, 1873

I preached in the church in Neuosterwick . . . After we had eaten lunch at D. Dyck's we drove on to Chortitza . . . In the evening I went to the deacon Gerhard Loewen and met elder Gerhard Wiebe of the Bergthal church and elder Johann Wiebe from Grossfuerstenlande. The conversation focused solely on the forthcoming emigration to America. The Bergthal elder and the district mayor [of the settlement] Peters had been to see the governor in Yekaterinoslav about the selling of their land. The settlers had received title to their land from the government the previous year and so resale is allowed for the next three years. They are to send in a petition so that the governor

can present it to the Imperial Council.
October 9, 1873

There was a large *Bruederschaft* in the church at Chortitza Tuesday forenoon. I came expressly for this purpose. The *Bruederschaft* was concerned with the emigration question. It was decided to take a wait and see attitude during the coming winter since the decision on the military law will soon be forthcoming. In any case another *Bruederschaft* would be held in the spring of 1874. Everything progressed calmly. Only Johann Hiebert of Einlage wanted concrete action. He wanted us to emigrate as soon as possible but could provide no concrete information or plan—only what he had heard. The church was filled to capacity

December 31, 1873

Our elder Gerhard Dyck and brother Heinrich Epp twice travelled together to St. Petersburg in order to secure our freedom of religion. It is said that the two dear travellers were to arrive home on the evening of boxing day. I have not yet learned what they have accomplished. Many of our coreligionists in the Molotschna and here in Barsenka on the Sslonne and Basawluk [rivers] are preparing to emigrate to America. Show me your will, oh Lord, and allow me to make a decision pleasing to you.

1874

February 15, 1874

On Friday morning there was a general *Bruederschaft* in the church in Chortitza It has now been decided that we must perform a *Sanitaetsdienst* or [if we wish] decide to emigrate during the next six years. After much discussion elder Gerhard Dyck suggested that we send a delegation during the summer of 1874. There was considerable opposition to the proposal, but it was finally accepted. Will it really be implemented? Many are not for emigration, but anxious feelings about the dark future weigh heavily upon the mind

March 5, 1874

On Tuesday morning there was a *Bruederschaft* in Neuchortitza in the home of my son [-in-law] Johann Andres. In accordance with the written request of elder Gerhard Dyck, I asked the brethren, after some introductory words and prayer, how the costs of sending the deputation to America should be covered. After much discussion there was a consensus that the levies be made [on a percentage] based on current levels of fire insurance for each farm

March 8, 1874

On Friday morning there was a conference in the Chortitza church, which was the reason for my trip. Elder Gerhard Dyck presented the urgency of sending the deputation to America and asked the [village] mayors what they had decided in view of the February 15 *Bruederschaft*. Chortitza, Einlage, Kronsweide and Neuhochfeld declared that they did not wish to send a deputation and did not want to participate in such a venture. All the others desired 'it and would gladly bear the costs. It was decided to hold a voluntary collection for this purpose. The mayors were instructed to provide the elder with a list of the gifts as soon as possible in order to determine whether the matter will come to fruition or not. May the Lord give His blessing! It appears that we will not utilize the six free years we have been given!

March 14, 1874

Franz Dyck from Islutschistaja brought me a list of the designated gifts of each [settler] for the deputation to America I received a memorandum by express rider from the Chortitza volost office in which on command of the grand marshal and H. Isprawnik, I am ordered to prepare a conscription list from my church book for all those born in 1853. I am to send this back by April 22. What of the six free years promised by our exalted monarch and of the reprieve for emigration?

April 17, 1874

All the ministers have gone to Halbstadt on orders of higher authorities. His excellency General von Todtleben has been sent by his majesty to negotiate with the Mennonites. What good will come of this? The authorities do not want to allow us to leave the land. Perhaps they will change the law so that it can be harmonized with our confession of faith.

April 22, 1874

An express messenger brought me a memorandum which announces a general *Bruederschaft* on April 24 in Chortitza. All church members are invited and especially those ministers who are to appear before General-Adjutant von Todtleben on Thursday evening to present the community's decision whether to stay or emigrate. The memorandum also noted that his excellency was making special concessions to the Mennonites in the name of the all-gracious tsar: namely that they would not be used for *Sanitaetsdienst* but for service in forestry planting, trades and similar activities. They will

remain entirely unto themselves and have no outside connections.

April 24, 1874

On Wednesday there was a general *Bruederschaft* in the Chortitza church. In addition to the elders Gerhard Dyck, Peter Klassen and Johann Wiebe, some thirty others gathered together with a few ministers and deacons. After prayer, elder Gerhard Dyck addressed the assembly on the purpose of the gathering. The elders and teachers had been in Halbstadt on orders of his high excellency the General-Adjutant von Todtleben. The elder asserted that his excellency in the name of the all-gracious tsar offered our son a civilian service unconnected with the military establishment. They would serve

1. in hospitals
2. on the railways
3. as firemen in the cities
4. in the forestry etc.

They would remain under our spiritual supervision. Those who refused the service had complete freedom to emigrate during the next six years. In order to resolve the issue a vote was taken. Of the 560 brethren who cast their ballot, 528 voted to stay, 32 wanted to emigrate.

April 25, 1874

On Thursday at 16:00 hours his excellency the General-Adjutant von Todtleben accompanied by the Yekaterinoslav governor and other dignitaries made his appearance. A triumphal arch had been erected in front of Hermann Niebuhr's porch with a banner from Psalm 134:3 "Bless the Lord out of Zion." Brother Heinrich Epp had placed his students in front [of the arch] and received his excellency with the national anthem. At his request they also sang a German song. The entire yard was filled with people. He (Todtleben) wanted to speak with the ministerial council and the village mayor. Since the church was designated for this the crowd streamed in that direction. He allowed himself to be driven, walked into the church, stepped behind the pulpit and gave a speech in which he exalted the virtues of our monarch. The tumult and noise caused by the crowd pouring into the church apparently did not make a good impression upon our exalted guest, for the tone of his voice was earnest and determined. At the close of his speech, elder Gerhard Dyck thanked him and declared that the community wanted to help and had elected the work in the [railway] workshops (*Werkstaetten*). In the same tone [Todtleben] responded that we were not negotiating

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with the father of our land. We could only accept what the tsar's grace offered us. This caused severe ill-feeling in the congregation which was heightened by the impression that the elder had been slighted.

April 26, 1874

On Friday morning the congregation and the ministerial council gathered at the church, but soon we walked over to Niebuhr's yard where the General-Adjutant in kind words described our obligations and rights. Then the dignitaries travelled to several villages and visited the schools. Afternoon we again gathered on Niebuhr's yard where his excellency again explained in kind, pleasant words the tsar's graciousness and protection [towards us]. In the volost office we signed a memorandum which his excellency would present to the tsar. [It stipulated that]:

1. If the laws conflicted with our confession of faith we were free to emigrate.

2. We had complete freedom in church affairs and that the schools remain under our supervision.

3. Our young men could work in segregated groups and remain under our spiritual supervision.

This memorandum had been drafted in the Molotschna and since it agreed with our views, we signed it. The Molotschna Brethren had also prepared a memorandum for his majesty. Brother Heinrich Epp had prepared one for us

as well which both elders, myself and several other ministers signed. The dear faithful Lord accompany these documents with his blessing and bless the beloved father of our house and the entire imperial family.

August 18, 1874

A great stirring has emerged in the local congregations. There are many who have caught the emigration to America fever. Oh that the Lord would reveal what His will for me is in this matter.

October 18, 1874

The desire to emigrate is still very strong among our Mennonites both in the Chortitza as in the Molotschna district. God knows where it will lead. The elder Isaac Peters, who is supposed to have preached against the Russian government, has been ordered out of the country. The farms command no decent price. A farm which formerly sold for five or six thousand rubles now sells for two, and if high, for three thousand rubles. Other inventory is cheap as well.

1875

December 31, 1875

The great stirrings in our congregations and the resulting emigration to America still plagues many a mind. During May and June three or four hundred families from Chortitza emigrated there. Thanks to the promises of his excellency Von Todleben, the unrest somewhat died down. The excitement

is very high again as a result of a trip made by my brother Heinrich Epp, elder Jacob Wiebe from the Crimea, the deacon Andreas Voth and the Molotschna district head Abraham Wiebe. Apparently free emigration has been cancelled for the future. In Gross-fuerstenland there are 33 families and in Chortitza there are over 300 who want to emigrate in spring. God knows where it will end. The beautiful freedom which we enjoyed so long has vanished! Oh that this time of testing might drive us into the loving arms of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Oh that help come out of Zion and that the Lord liberate his captive people. Then Jacob would rejoice and Israel be glad.

1876

January 12, 1876

Here [Neuosterwick] and in Kronsthal there is great interest in emigration to America. I visited Johann Klassen and learned that some 100 families are preparing to leave in the coming spring.

May 5, 1876

After a fatal accidental shooting Epp commented: It is really strange with us Mennonites. In order not to carry a deadly weapon we are ready to emigrate. Yet there are so many among us who love guns and hunting. Oh that we might turn to the Lord in upright remorse and repentance!

Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography, 1985

by Stephanie Hiebert

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