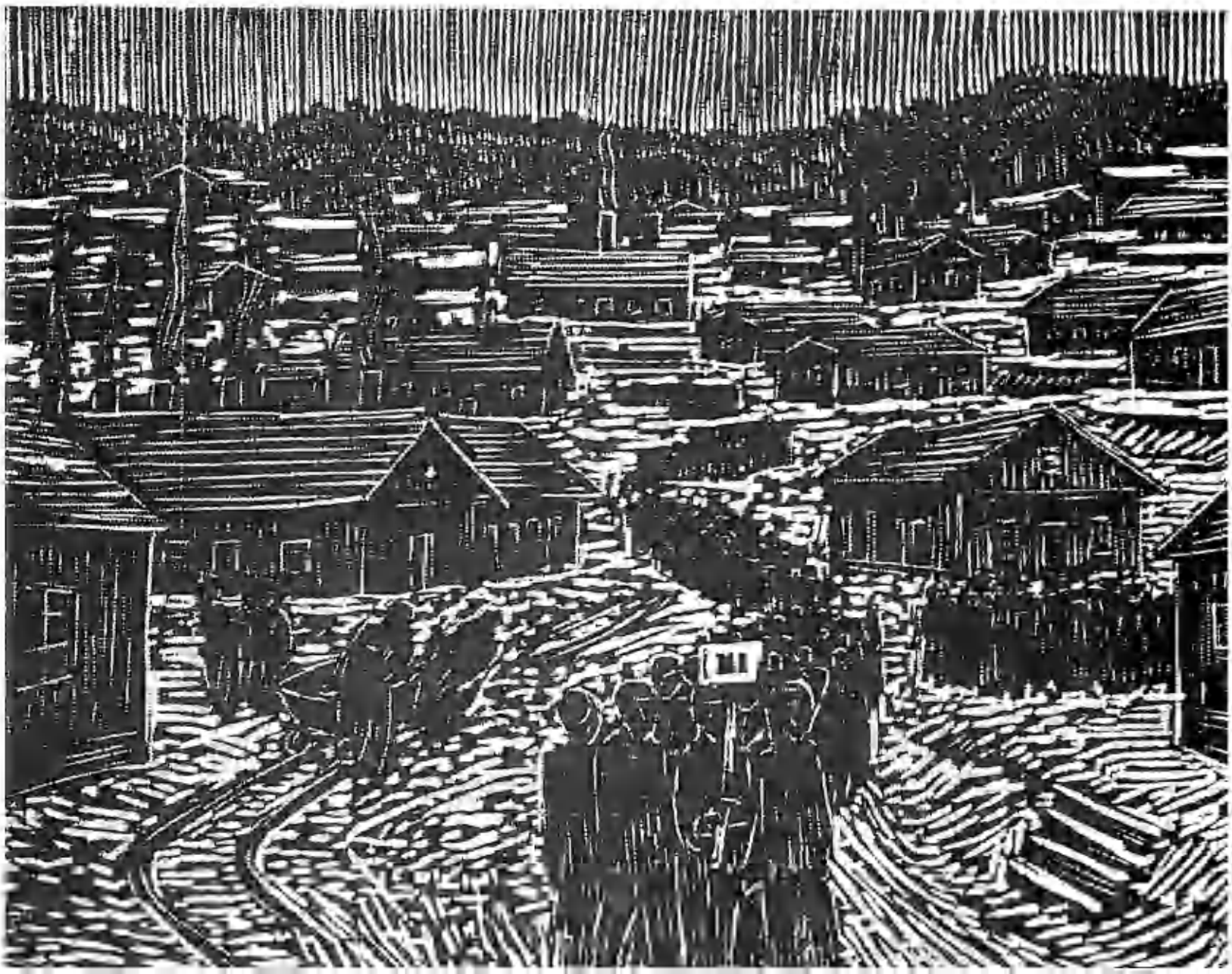
MENNONITE LIFE

JUNE 1992



In this Issue

In this issue Gerlof Homan introduces us to the World War II story of Dr. H. L. Groeneveld, a Dutch Mennonite medical doctor who was involved in the resistance against Nazi occupation. Groeneveld's recollections have special poignancy when read together with the articles on Mennonite relationships with National Socialism in Germany, Paraguay and Canada, which appeared in the June 1991 issue of *Mennonite Life.* Homan is Professor of History at Illinois State University in Normal. His manuscript on American Mennonites in World War I has recently been accepted for publication in the series, "Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History," Herald Press.

Norman Saul's listing of primary resource materials for the study of the Mennonite migration to North America in the 1870s is a reminder that more historical work may be done on that topic. Saul is professor of history and Soviet and East European Studies at the University of Kansas. His most recent book, *Distant Friends, The United States & Russia, 1763-1867* (University Press of Kansas, 1991) is the first of a three volume set. Professor Saul has written and lectured on the coming of Turkey Red Wheat from the Ukraine to Kansas.

Mark Jantzen wrote his essay on recent Mennonite scholarship about Mennonites in Poland and Russia while a seminary student in Elkhart, Indiana. Jantzen visited the former Mennonite areas of Poland during his term as a Mennonite Central Committee representative in East Germany.

Barbara Thiesen, compiler of *Mennonite Life's* annual Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography, is the Technical Services Librarian at Mantz Library and Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College.

The photo credits in our March 1992 issue should have noted that James Amstutz was the source of the photos which appeared with his article, "Dialogue with Washington: Mennonites and the Test of Faith." Our next issue will include an article by Elmer Suderman of Gustavus Adolphus College comparing the treatment of Mennonite literary identity by John Ruth and Al Reimer.

James C. Juhnke

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Front Cover
Camp Dora. Woodcut by Dominik Cerny.

Back Cover
Heubuden cemetery, ca. 1930.

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Camp Dora:

A Dutch Mennonite Medical Doctor in a Nazi Concentration Camp

by Gerlof Homan

Introduction

German and Russian concentration camps, those terrible places of imprisonment, enslavement, and extermination for millions, are among the many horrors of this century. Many survivors have recorded their camp experiences and left eloquent testimonies of their suffering. They remind us that modern civilization, in spite of its progress in science and technology, has not overcome human depravity and evil and has made the possibility of large-scale slaughter even greater.

Dr. H. L. Groeneveld of Malden, the Netherlands, was one of those fortunate few who survived various Nazi prisons and concentration camps. In 1968 he wrote a brief account of his experiences as a prisoners' medical doctor in Nazi concentration camp Dora which was published by Christian Bernadac.[1] A few years ago he wrote a much more detailed account of his experiences as a Nazi prisoner and has kindly given me permission to translate and publish it.

Dr. H. L. Groeneveld was born in 1907. From 1926 to 1935 he studied medicine at the University of Amsterdam and was very active in student life. After he completed his medical training, he established a practice in Nijmegen. In the meantime, he joined the *Doopsgezinde* or Mennonite church in The Hague and married. At the time of his arrest in 1942 he was chairman of the Nijmegen Mennonite church board and the father of two children of whom the youngest was just an infant.[2]

Nijmegen, one of the oldest cities in the Netherlands, is located on the Rhine tributary, the Waal, in the east central part of the Netherlands. In February 1944 American planes accidentally bombed the city causing immense damage and more than six hundred casualties among the population. More destruction followed in September 1944 when American forces fought a ferocious battle in this city in their desperate attempt to rescue the embattled British troops near neighboring Arnhem. Among the destroyed buildings in September 1944 was the meeting place of the Mennonite church.

On May 10, 1940, the Netherlands was invaded by Hitler's legions and five days later surrendered to a mighty foe. This was the beginning of one of the most painful periods in modern Dutch history during with the nation suffered acutely at the hands of Nazi brutality until its liberation in 1944-45. Most Netherlanders very much resented the German occupation and in one way or another resisted attempts at nazification. But most citizens also acquiesced and cooperated some with the new masters. They did so out of a desire to survive. A small minority organized resistance groups who undertook a great variety of tasks against the German occupation and their Dutch Nazi sympathizers. Some of their activities were of a violent nature, but others preferred to hide fellow citizens, such as Jews, print underground papers, and engage in other forms of non-violent resistance. In the beginning, resistance work was rather amateurish and many individuals were caught because of imprudence and betrayals. In the course of time many men and women were incarcerated, brutally treated, shot, or perished in German camps or prisons.

It was especially Nazi anti-semitism that motivated Dr. Groeneveld to become involved with the resistance. Persecution of Dutch Jews, who had traditionally been well treated in the Netherlands, was initiated in the beginning of the occupation. In the Netherlands, Nazi anti-Jewish policies were more thorough than in some other German-occupied countries. Furthermore, unlike Danish, Norwegian, and French Jews it was difficult for Dutch Jews to escape abroad. As a result only some 20,000 of the total Jewish population of 140,000 survived the war.[3] For some time, like many of his countrymen, Dr. Groeneveld acquiesced in many anti-semitic policies. But when Dutch Jews were forbidden to use public parks he told his wife, "I can no longer bear this. Do you approve if I join the resistance?" She approved.

Dr. Groeneveld considered himself just "a small link" in the resistance movement. As a medical doctor he knew many people who were willing to hide Jews, but he also had Dutch Nazis as patients who might have betrayed him. One night in November 1942 he was arrested and locked up in the local police station. But after a few days he succeeded in escaping by climbing over a wall. After having spent some time in hiding, he fled on bicycle to Paris where he intended to make contact with members of the French underground who could help him escape to Spain. Via Spain he hoped to be able to reach England where the Dutch government in exile continued the war. However, during a round-up he was arrested in the metro or subway of Paris and spent some months in two Parisian prisons. Here he was not mistreated but suffered from hunger and various inconveniences. In the spring of 1943 he was transferred to a German *camp de triage,* or selection camp, near Compiegne, France, and a few weeks later transported to Buchenwald where he arrived on June 28.[4]

Buchenwald is a village located a few miles from Weimar, a city usually associated with such German cultural giants as Goethe and Schiller. In 1937 Buchen-

wald had become the site of a third Nazi concentration camp, preceded by Dachau and Sachsenhausen. Although not an extermination camp, Buchenwald, like all other German concentration camps, became known for its brutality and inhumane treatment of prisoners of whom thousands died during World War II. While in Auschwitz and various other German camps prisoners were exterminated by gassing them, in Buchenwald and elsewhere they died more slowly as a result of terribly hard work, lack of food and medical care, and general brutality. In World War II Buchenwald's death rate was about 25 percent. Although Dr. Groeneveld was a political prisoner, many of his fellow inmates were German criminals, black marketeers, Russian prisoners of war, etc.[5]

Dr. Groeneveld spent only a few months in Buchenwald. He was able to survive this camp because Dutch communists, who ran the prisoners' hospital, accepted him as a nurse, although he himself was not of their political persuasion. He would not have been able to do the task of digging, work to which he was initially assigned. Later he worked in the Pathology Section where he noticed how many prisoners had died because of severe beatings. In Buchenwald he also often heard the cries of those upon whom the Germans performed medical experiments and saw lampshades made of human skin. Among the prisoners who impressed him the most were Jehovah Witnesses who refused to perform work of a military nature in camp and refused to join the German army on the Eastern Front. They could not comply, they stated, because Yaweh did not permit them to do so. Even after some of them were shot, the survivors refused. It was their "deep faith in God," Dr. Groeneveld wrote, that motivated them to stand firm. The Germans were so impressed they allowed the other Jehovah Witnesses to live.

On August 28, 1943, Dr. Groeneveld and 106 other inmates were sent about fifty miles northwest of Buchenwald to the area in and around Kohnstein, a location in the Harz mountains a few miles east of Nordhausen. In the months following, thousands more, especially Russians, Poles, Frenchmen, and Germans, were sent to this area which became the site of a new concentration camp. Dr. Groeneveld was one of the few of about twenty Netherlanders sent there.

H. L. Groeneveld at the time of his arrest in 1942.

For some time the Germans had been secretly working on the so-called *Vergeltungswaffen* or revenge weapons, the V 1's and V 2's, which were self-propelled rockets. Initially, most of the work and flight testing were done near the village of Peenemünde, located on the Island of Usedom, near the mouth of the Oder River. However, after the partially successful British bombardment of Peenemünde in August 1943, the Nazi regime decided to construct a new facility in Kohnstein to build the V 1's and V 2's and to use concentration camp inmates as labor.

In the 1910s in Kohnstein two tunnels had been constructed which were used to excavate gypsum, and later in the 1930s, for storage of strategic materials. But these tunnels did not provide enough space for rocket building. Therefore, the first task of the prisoners was to enlarge the two tunnels and to interconnect them with many galleries. This work was begun in late August 1943. Upon completion, each tunnel was about 1,800 meters long, twelve-and one-half meters wide, and eight-and one-half meters high. The inmates were to be housed in a newly-organized concentration camp called Mittelbau, but it was soon more commonly referred to by its code name, Dora. In the beginning, the prisoners had no barracks and had to live and work in the tunnels. For weeks they saw no daylight and were exposed to the horrors of a subterranean world where falling rock, terrible, ammonia-laden dust, and humidity caused many casualties.[6] Andrès Pontoizeau, a former Dora inmate, called the tunnel in which he worked a "scene of hell, a vision of the apocalypse" and

> . . . a phantastic world, full of clamor, noise, yelling, lamentations, cries, dust, fumes; a world of folly and fever,

demonic tumult, where men pass like shadows; a hell among so many others where the damned died; a modern Babel where all European languages hurl their blasphemies.[7]

These appalling conditions continued until early 1944 when barracks were completed for the inmates. However, in late 1944 and early 1945 the situation deteriorated when thousands of inmates from other camps in Poland and the eastern part of Germany were brought to Dora by the Germans who tried to escape the Red Army.

After completion of the main tunnels and galleries, the inmates were forced to assist with the building of the rockets or put to work on construction, mining, and other projects in and near the camp. The rocket building was done under German civilian and camp supervision. These German civilians were not prisoners but technical experts and engineers who often treated the inmates with contempt as did many German citizens outside the camp.[8] How much sabotage was committed by the prisoners is difficult to determine.

In early April 1945 some 25,000 to 30,000 prisoners were evacuated to other concentration camps. Many of those died during the evacuation, in the next camp, or even after the liberation. It has been estimated that in the course of time some 60,000 prisoners were sent to Dora; of those some 20,000 died.[9] Of the 1,000 inmates who entered Dora with Pontoizeau in January 1944, only fifty-two were still left in March 1945.[10] No wonder one person called Camp Dora "The hell of all the concentration camps."[11]

Initially, in camp Dora Dr. Groeneveld was the only "Prisoners' Doctor." Later he became, in fact, head of the hospital, although he had various German superiors. During the first few months he performed his duties in a tent. Later barracks were built that housed the Prisoners' Hospital. The sick and injured were cared for by nurses, most of whom lacked any kind of training, and twenty doctors. Among the latter were many Frenchmen and Czechs who, like Dr. Groeneveld, were prisoners of the Nazis. In spite of these improvements in medical care, conditions in the hospital remained appalling. Below is an edited and abbreviated version of his camp Dora experiences to which have been added a few sentences from his account in Bernadac's book.

Life in Camp Dora.

On a certain day I received the order to get ready as doctor for departure. With me [were] 106 others. Of those 107, only seven were still left over by the end of the war! Of course, [our] destination was unknown. You never heard anything. We would find out when we had reached our final destination. [We had] to build an entirely new camp on an enormously large grassy field next to a mountain. In that mountain was a tunnel, called *Stollen*, where they would install the factory to make the V1 and V2, the last trump card the Germans would play yet to win the war. We were turned loose on this grassy field. There was no electrical barbed wire. We were watched only by the S.S.[12] and their bloodhounds. We slept and worked in the tunnel. The factory still largely had to be made. That meant it had to be drilled. The water dripped down the walls and the thick dust from the drilling very much limited visibility.

Outside they erected a tent for the doctor and his patients. There was no possibility to wash [or] shave yourself. [You should have seen our] convict faces. That lasted six weeks. The first commandant[13] [was] not the worst. Only a brute. He was not mean [but an] alcoholic. [One time] he rode with his horse across our table while we were eating. The mean character of the Germans really fully expressed itself [with their appointment] as head [of the camps] professional criminals, that is thieves, murderers, and others who had been released from prisons and houses of correction. . . . Many *Kapos*[14] were greens[15] and carried on worse than the S.S. They had nothing to lose. For months I had to share a sleeping place with such a person. He was not the worst. [He had] endless stories about his luxurious life and a big break-in, his expensive cars, women. . . . I became fully informed about how to crack a safe.

[One day] through the loudspeaker came the announcement, "Number 14340.[16] Come immediately to the gate. On the double. Fast." That usually meant the death sentence. It appeared, however, that the *Lagerfuhrer*[17] had fallen off his horse. There were only bruises. I had to massage him. He was one of the worst villains. Before his trial he wrote me if I would declare he had never done any harm to anyone. He received twenty years. One Christmas eve one of the big shots called me. He really had nothing wrong with him, only felt lonely. He could not be with his wife. Imagine, [confessing this] to a prisoner. I received food from him out of the dog bowl.

The man who had to hang the prisoners was also a green.[18] In the beginning the whole camp, insofar they were present, had to fall in whenever five or more were hanged, [but] later it became such a regular [event] that the fun wore off.[19]

There were also spies among the prisoners. The S.S. wanted to know what was going on among the prisoners. One was known and had the deaths of many on his conscience. He became ill and was therefore not allowed to get better. He was liquidated with an intravenous injection of carbolic acid. I could not do it. A French colleague did it.

Now arrived first hundreds, later thousands, of forced laborers. At the peak of its production, including all the outside camps, there were more than 50,000. Soon the situation became precarious. [The] food situation [was] very bad, [the] accommodations abominable, the hours of work much too long, treatment was the same. The drilling became deadly; it was exhausting always to work beyond your strength with a heavy drill in humidity and dust. I knew two Dutch brothers [who] radiated health when they entered. [They were] big, well-built fellows. After six weeks they were both dead.

[Because] we were still an outside camp of Buchenwald, the bodies had to be transported by truck to the mother camp. Every Tuesday I with some nurses had to load the bodies, usually sixty to eighty . . . green, molded skeletons. There was still contact with prisoners in Buchenwald by hiding notes in the mouths of the bodies. [Later Dora had its own crematorium] which worked day and night and always spread the typical odor of burned flesh. It could not handle the number of dead. Therefore, there were piles of corpses, three or four layers on top of each other. There was an S.S. dentist who first had to break all the golden teeth and molars out of the mouths.

In the beginning I was the only prisoners' doctor, later many more came, at least twenty, especially Czechs and Frenchmen.[20] At one point I was appointed doctor for the S.S. troops and the guards. My only courageous deed in camp was to refuse and to say that

I was obligated to stay with my "comrades." It was risky [and] a few days I lived in fear, but they accepted it and appointed a French doctor.

They also appointed a *Kapo Revier*[21] who had unlimited power over the entire hospital facility. He was . . . a stove fitter. [He was] a communist [and spent already] ten years in camp. [His name was] Karl. He performed . . . small operations . . . not so badly. At the expense of, I don't dare to say how many victims, he had learned quite a bit. After my work, the *Kapo* ordered me to scrub my barrack. [This was an expression of his] craving for power; communist against "capitalist." My revenge consisted then of singing and humming. [Except for medicine stolen from the S.S. pharmacy] there were no medicines, only chalk and charcoal. The latter helped a little against dysentery.[22] [There were] no bandages. Only paper. No narcotics. Very serious were the phlegmons caused by an infection of wounds. Enormous abscesses had to be opened. A phlegmon on the back was always deadly. First you had to beat the patient groggy by a fast uppercut and then make a fast incision. One time I had to amputate the lower right arm of a Russian colleague, Dr. Ivanovich. Since I did not dispose of a single instrument, I used a wood saw. When a few days later I changed the paper bandages maggots crawled around in the stump. Not so bad because they kept the wound clean but [it was] not very appetizing. He survived.

There were also imposter doctors who had registered as doctor when they were taken prisoner. They were quickly exposed by us, and we informed the German authorities, but they did not do anything. They did not care if more or less prisoners died. One of them was Johnny, an American Negro.[23]

At five o'clock in the morning, when the night shift (they worked continuously) came out of the tunnel, the sickest and weakest, usually thirty to forty, dragged themselves to my "office hours." Actually, I had to admit all of them. The day before I dismissed with pain and a feeling of guilt ten [of the patients], therefore I could not accept more than ten. Then the siege began. They all tried to get through the little door of the hospital, an attempt in which they partially succeeded. I still see the deadly fear in their hollow eyes. For those I had to reject this was usually a death sentence. Sometimes with a few

Inside one of the tunnels at Camp Dora. Woodcut by Dominik Cerny.

nurses I had to see to it they be removed. [We] pushed, shoved, beat and sometimes kicked. A doctor who has to beat his patients! No one can imagine such a situation. On me, like a little god, depended the destiny of so many comrades. In the beginning I admitted the sickest, next those who were less ill. They had a small chance to survive.... During the most difficult period I counted every morning between one-hundred and fifty and two hundred dead in my hospital. [During that time] the patients lay three high above each other, almost naked with two or three in one bed. [There was] a horse blanket for two or three. The one on top was usually so sick he could no longer climb out of bed. They let everything run; I still see the excrement dripping down. [An] unbearable stench. They had their messkits in which to urinate. We had patients who drank each others' urine. That's how thirsty they were.

There was also a barrack for the sick who had been discharged but who were not yet ready for work. This was called *Schonung*[24] I went there daily [walking] along a small road with trees. Often men were suspended from them who had hanged themselves. Especially Russians who were treated extra badly by the S.S. They were especially tough, but for many it was unbearable. Sometimes you heard them singing. Endless, melancholy ballads. In the *Schonung* [they begged me] with folded hands. Another week? [Those] poor fellows I had to discharge and in so doing depriving them of the chance to survive. Actually, I was never led by a very positive faith in God as was the case with some others. The situation was too bad. Yet, I was capable of remaining myself and in the absence of medicines to say an encouraging word to the patients. [This was] something exceptional in camp. Everything was so hard, even among the prisoners. . . . To remain friendly was very difficult. They have told me many times after the end of the war that during these visits a good word here, a gentle gesture there gave the sick the impression they were still being considered as human beings.[25]

I also had to examine the women in the brothel for gonorrhea. One time I met among those women a Netherlander. It appeared she was the wife of a Rotterdam policeman. In the Polish

camp, where she came from, the conditions were so bad that she only had the choice between the brothel or dying. She wanted to remain alive. To top it all, she got typhus fever. She got over that. [Later] she married a Greek and had a small restaurant [and] traced me down. We embraced each other. . . .

Of course the food was very bad. A few slices of bread and soup. Soup was distributed in large pails [and] served by the *Blockälteste.*[26] The top part was almost just water. His friends received the bottom part. I still hear the French say, *"Remuer! Remuer à fond!"*[27] Those who worked in the kitchen had a cushy job. [They were] big, fat and round. I recall one Pole who was so heavy that he went through his bed and broke a few ribs. He probably died of a fat emoblism. After a while, we no longer suffered from hunger in the hospital. In the evening the remainder of the food was sent to the hospital [and] because there were always some who died during the night there was enough food left over which we would eat.

[My wife] would send parcels as often as she scraped food together. But everything that was edible was stolen by the German postal service.[28] One time she sent a small box with shoe polish. Did she really think that we were wearing shoes or was this a ruse? On the bottom was a small picture of [my son]. What a weak moment when I discovered that. We never received anything from the Red Cross. . . . After the war they reproached the Red Cross for that. . . .

Typhus fever broke out in camp. [There was] intense lice inspection, sometimes in the middle of the night. The less sleep you granted a prisoner, the better. By handing in five lice you were allowed to go into quarantine where consequently you had a chance of getting typhus fever. But everything was better than working in the tunnel. There even developed a black market in lice and bread. Three lice went for a half a loaf of bread. That took place on a large beam placed above the quarry. There sat from thirty to forty at the same time relieving themselves.

One of the most difficult assignments I received was the composition of transports to the *Erholungslager.*[29] I had to select fifty to one hundred men. [We mistrusted the word] *Erhohlung* but could not prove anything and certainly not refuse. Some of them went eagerly. It could not be worse than the present situation. Another group did want to stay. In the beginning I thought I would send the least weak then they still would have a chance to survive. Later I sent the weakest with the thought, they will die here too. The choice remained difficult. Later it appeared it was an extermination camp.

In the camp was still a prison—the "Bunker"—for those who "misbehaved." At the head was a scoundrel, dressed in striped clothes, appointed by the S. S. [There prevailed] unusual circumstances; ten to twelve persons in a cell, no possibilities for lying down, half rations. I do not know exactly what it was all about, but I had a fight with that scoundrel. It was very intense and we fought. [We were] quickly separated because this was playing with your life. By far the largest number of prisoners did not survive the bunker. [I waited] for days in fear that I would be called, but I never heard anything about it anymore.

During the last weeks many transports arrived from the east where the S.S. had evacuated the camps. [They came] in open cars, without food and had only eaten snow. [It was] bitterly cold. Almost all of them got paralytic ileus and died. I counted them when I went from one barrack to another. The bodies were lying in the street next to the front door. Fifty a day was normal.

[In spite of the terrible suffering and treatment] we laughed a lot in camp. That was a good weapon. The Germans were so ridiculous with all their display of power and pomposity and because of their lack of efficiency. *"Die dumme Holländer lächeln immer,"* they would say with their lack of understanding.[30]

[In April 1945] the Americans began to bombard the camp and barracks, [and] rumors about evacuation were circulating. The prisoners' organization which had hidden weapons under the barracks in order to prevent the leadership of the camp from instituting a bloodbath, now became visible.[31]

[Most of the camp was evacuated, and] I was in charge of a train with invalids who could not walk more than twenty kilometers. In Osterode[32] we could not go farther. There were no more rails because of the bombardments. Many had already died. With my white band around my arm, I went to the local hospital and ordered my colleague "director" to send all the patients home. He did look a little strange to be commanded by a striped prisoner, [but] he did cooperate. Of course there was not enough room. I returned to the train. Everybody [was ordered] to get back on board again. The accompanying S.S. was drunk and therefore very dangerous. If someone would stick his head out of the window they would shoot, and there were many deaths. We had to dig graves next to the rails (quite a job in that hard soil) [and] . . . also buried all the corpses under constant cursing and threats of the S.S. The train moved in the direction of a woods in the neighborhood where everybody was to be shot. We really did not trust [the situation] and with a few nurses I jumped from the train which fortunately did not ride too fast. [I] walked back to Osterode. There we could experience the disintegration of the German army. We reported to the Americans who received us suspiciously, but we were finally able to convince them we came from a camp. Fortunately, the train riding to the woods fell into the hands of the Americans. Americans had borne the brunt in the battle. After that came the English with special troops who had to restore in the conquered places the bridges, electricity, and water. I was added as interpreter to an English major. That's how we followed the Americans.

[American] officers eagerly wanted a B.M.W. A Russian prisoner of war knew of one standing under a haystack. "Can you drive a car? [they asked me]. I went after it in an open jeep. [Here] I was driving in this magnificent weather in the beautiful, conquered German land. That was the moment after almost three years I felt for the first time completely free. I could barely hold back my tears. How much I had experienced, how much patience I had to have, and now finally free.

[But] . . . I wanted to go home now and said so to the major. For such a long time I had had no contact with [my wife]. She must fear that I was dead. I asked for a car, but that was out of the question. They did have a bicycle, a yellow one with red tires. Of course, I did not have any papers. He gave me a document. [It said], "To Whom it May Concern," that I was a liberated doctor from concentration camp Dora. It was quite a trip to the Dutch border; I estimate [it must be] between four hundred and five hundred kilometers. I slept in barns . . . , rode a distance with an enormous American truck and arrived at the Rhine. There was only one bridge intact, near Wesel. All traf-

A street in ruins in the Hague, Netherlands, at the end of World War II.

fic had to make use of it. All people who went from Germany to the Netherlands had to go to a quarantine camp. "I'll never do that," I thought. [I waited] near the bridge until the evening. I was able to trick an American Negro driver to get me across the river. . . . There were still fifty kilometers to Venlo.[33] I did expect to be received in a friendly manner, but I could forget about that. Obviously, they did not know what to do with me, and they barely let me proceed on my bicycle to Nijmegen. When I rang the bell, my substitute, Mulder, opened the door. [He] went upstairs and said to [my wife], "He is back." I said the same when I went upstairs and we fell in each other's arms. I have summed up many facts, events, and experiences. That does give an impression of life in a concentration camp. What can never clearly emerge [and] be expressed [is] the atmosphere of danger, peril, hunger, desire, human badness, corruption, delight to torture and to kill, contagious depravity, uncleanliness not only of body but especially of the spirit . . . [and] to have been deserted by God. [But] I have never doubted I would come out of this alive.[34]

ENDNOTES

[1]Christian Bernadac, *Les medecins de l'impossible* (Paris, 1968), 330-334.

[2]Unless otherwise indicated, all the information in this article was obtained from Dr. Groeneveld's accounts and through personal correspondence and conversation with him.

[3]The best accounts on the fate of Dutch Jews in World War II can be found in L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* 14 vols (The Hague, 1969-1991), 4-8 passim and in S. Presser, *The Destruction of Dutch Jews*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (New York, 1969).

[4]Dr. Groeneveld could not recall the date of his transfer to Buchenwald. The date was kindly provided by the Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie in Amsterdam.

[5]On Buchenwald see De Jong, *Koninkrijk*, 8 passim; Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them*, trans. Heinz Norden (New York, 1975).

[6]On Camp Dora see Jean Michel and Louis Nucceras, *Dora*, trans. Jennifer Kidd (London, 1979); Manfred Bornewasser and Martin Broszat, "Das KL Dora-Mittelsbau," in Studien zur

Geschichte der Konzentrationslager." *Schriftenreihe der Vierteljarhshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 21 (Stuttgart, 1970): 155-180; Manfred Bornemann, *Geheimprojekt Mittelbau* (Munich, 1971); Andrès Pontoizeau, *Dora la mort. De la Résistance à la Libération par Buchenwald et Dora* (Paris, 1945); Jozef Garlinsky, *Hitler's Last Weapons* (London, 1978), 107ff.; Pierre Durand, *Les francais à Buchenwald et a Dora* (Paris, 1977), 10. Charles Sadron, "A l'usine de Dora," in *De l'université aux camps de concentration. Témoignages strasbourgeois* (Paris, 1947), 177-231; Alfred Untereiner [Frère Birin], *16 Mois de bagne. Buchenwald-Dora* (Epernay, 1946); William Aalmans, *A Booklet with a Brief History of the "Dora"-Nordhausen Labor-Concentration Camps and Information on the Nordhausen War Crimes Case of the United States of America versus Arthur Kurt Andrea et al.* (Nuremberg, 1947). The Frenchman, Paul Rassinier, spent much time in Dora but his book, *Passage de la ligne. Du vrai à humain* (Paris, 1949), as well as all his other works should be used with caution because of his anti-semitic views.

[7]Pontoizeau, *Dora*, 76.

[8]Ibid., 86.

[9]Bornemann and Broszat, *Dora*, 197-198.

[10]Pontoizeau, *Dora*, 145.

[11]Cited in Bornemann and Broszat, *Dora*, 5.

[12]The S.S., the abbreviation of *Schutz Staffeln* [Protective Units], were elite Nazi elements to serve as the core of the New Order.

[13]The first Dora commandant was Otto Förschner.

[14]Most likely the word *Kapo* or *Capo* came from *Konzentrations Lager Arbeit Polizei* [Concentration Camp Work Police]. A *Kapo* was in charge of the work details but also played other rolls in the camp hierarchy. Many of these men were foreigners and became notorious for their brutality.

[15]Greens were inmates who wore a green triangle on their prison garb the designation for professional criminals. As a political prisoner, Dr. Groeneveld wore a red triangle.

[16]Each prisoner had a number. No. 14340 was the number Dr. Groeneveld had received at Buchenwald.

[17]The *Lagerführer* was the officer-in-charge of the prisoners.

[18]The hangman was Josef Kilian, one of the few concentration camp criminals who acknowledged some guilt during his trial at Dachau in 1947. Aalmans, *Booklet*, 51.

[19]In March 1945 some 162 inmates were hanged most of whom were Russians. Bornemann and Broszat, "KL Mittelbau Dora," 194; Pontoizeau, *Dora*, 125-126.

[20]In addition to the prisoners' doctors there were also at least two German S.S. camp physicians, Doctors Kahr and Kurzke. According to Dr. Groeneveld, the latter was not bad in comparison with others of his kind and did a number of good things for the prisoners. The Czech doctor, Jan Cespiva, claimed that Kurzke saved his life by allowing him to go into hiding in the camp. Jan Cespiva et al., *Geheimwaffen im Kohnstein* (Erfurt, 1964), 53-55.

[21]Dr. Groeneveld's first *Kapo Revier*, or Hospital *Kapo*, was Karl Schweitzer. He was replaced by another Communist inmate, Fritz Proll. The latter committed suicide after the S.S. discovered he had been listening to "enemy" broadcasts on his secret radio. Dr. Groeneveld had also listened to this radio.

[22]Dr. Groeneveld was able to save the life of one of the Dutch inmates, his good friend, Henk Steppe, who became ill with meningitis, by giving him eubasin, a forerunner of penicillin. He saved the life of the prisoner Marcel Petit by giving him sulfa. On Petit see Bernadac, *Medecins*, 338.

[23]Johnny was not American but French whose real name was Jean Marcel Nicolas. He was born in 1918 on Haiti. His parents came from Guadeloupe, a French overseas territory, and were French citizens. He learned American from U.S. marines stationed in Haiti. Jean received part of his schooling in France and served for a time in the French navy. He lived in France when the war broke out. During the German occupation he pretended to be an American airforce pilot and called himself Johnny Nicholas. He did intelligence work for the Allies but was betrayed in Paris by his "girlfriend." He was dispatched to Buchenwald and later to Dora. He survived the war but died in France in September 1945. According to Dr. Groeneveld, Johnny was a man of strong character who knew the German language well, assets that enabled him to survive and to obtain many concessions for his fellow prisoners. On Johnny Nicholas see Hugh Wray McCann, David C. Smith, and David L. Matthews, *The Search for Johnny Nicholas* (London, 1982).

[24]*Schonung* means exemption or excuse from regular duty.

[25]Prof. Charles Sadron was one of many who expressed his appreciation over Dr. Groeneveld's humane bedside manner. Sadron, a prisoner at Camp Dora, was hospitalized in the prisoners' hospital where he slept naked on wood between two other patients. But every morning, a "sympathetic Dutch doctor" visited him. Although the latter could offer him no medication his "cordial manner" and words in French, "Bonjour! Alors, ca va?" [Good day, how are you?] comforted him again. Sadron, "A l'usine de Dora," 219. Dr. Groeneveld's gestures and the humanity of others offered the sick prisoners in the hospital, in spite of all its imperfections, "a provisional asylum away from the merciless brutality of the world of the concentration camp." It represented for the prisoners the "last refuge of a vestige of humanity in the midst of a mad and violent world." P. Andre Lobstein. "Le block 39 A de Revier de Dora," ibid., 233.

[26]The *Blockalteste* was the block or unit supervisor.

[27]"Stir, stir the bottom!"

[28]Often the contents of food parcels were stolen by fellow inmates and camp guards. See Aalmans, *Booklet*, 42. For some reason the Netherlands Red Cross did very little for Dutch nationals in Nazi concentration camps.

[29]*Erhohlungslagers* were convalescent camps. In reality they were or became extermination camps.

[30]"The stupid Dutchmen always smile."

[31]In the spring of 1945 Heinrich Himmler, the head of the S.S. considered the possibility of allowing many of the inmates to go free. But in mid-April he ordered their liquidation. Many camp commanders ignored these instructions. The evacuation of Camp Dora began on April 4-5. Before and during the evacuation many inmates were killed. Among the prisoners who perished were the c. 1,000 men herded in a barn at Gardelegen, about seventy-five miles east of Berlin, which was set on fire by the S.S. on April 13. Others were transported to Bergen Belsen. At the time of the evacuation, Camp Dora had about 40,000 inmates. About 10,000 were still there when the camp was liberated on April 15. Ironically, shortly before the end and immediately after the war, the Western powers and the U.S.S.R. captured many German scientists and "persuaded" them to work for them. Among them was Wernher von Braun who contributed to American rocketry and space exploration. Today few realize that modern rocketry owes much to slave laborers at Camp Dora who suffered so much at the hands of the Nazis. Michel, *Dora*, 299-301; Joseph Billig, *Les camps de concentration dans l'économie du reich hitlérien* (Paris, 1973), 95. For the underground in Camp Dora see Cespiva, *Geheimwaffen*, 33ff. However, because of its pro-communist emphasis this source must be used with caution.

[32]Osterode is located about twenty miles northwest of Nordhausen.

[33]Venlo is a border city in the southern Netherlands.

[34]Dr. Groeneveld arrived home on May 6, 1945, and soon resumed his medical practice. His work became his principal therapy for all he experienced in Hitler's concentration camps. But he also owed much of his recovery to his spouse. In 1947 he testified at the so-called Dachau Trials instituted by the American occupation authorities in 1947 against various Camp Dora officials. He ascribes his survival to his optimistic philosophy of life. Until this day he has remained active in the Nijmegen *Doopsgezinde* church. On the Dachau Trials see Aalman, *Booklet* and Record Group 153, Records of the Judge Advocate General, Army. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Mennonites in Poland—Mennonites in Prussia:

A Look at Recent Mennonite Scholarship

by Mark Jantzen

The cemetery of the Heubuden church looked transformed. An international work camp organized by the Hans Denk Fellowship had cleared out much of the brush in its two weeks of work in August 1991. A few tombstones had been set upright and many more uncovered from under two or three inches of dirt. A local work crew was setting posts for a fence, which would keep the cattle from the adjoining pasture out of the cemetery. Material and labor expenses for that project were paid for by the Hans Denk Fellowship and the Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association. About 20 yards away, the concrete walls of a new Catholic church were already finished. The space between the old Mennonite cemetery and the new Catholic church had been reserved as cemetery space.

Much indeed had changed since the departure of Abraham Jantzen, my great-great-great grandfather, who worshiped in the Heubuden church before moving his family to the Am Trakt colony in Russia and my return as part of that work camp. Changes in Poland have made it easier for North American Mennonites to visit one former area of refuge and settlement for Mennonites. However, just as Poland is overshadowed by her neighbor, the former Soviet Union, so too the research into the Mennonite experience in the area of the Vistula Delta has been overshadowed by the literature produced about the Mennonite experience in the Russian empire.

Two Mennonite scholars in North America are working to adjust this balance: Peter J. Klassen, Dean of the School of Social Sciences at California State University in Fresno, and John Friesen, professor of Church History at CMBC. This article will look at their work to see what direction they are pushing for scholarly work to take in this area.

Peter J. Klassen's work

Peter J. Klassen has had two works published since 1983 related to Mennonites in Poland and Prussia. The first was an article, "Faith and Culture in Conflict: Mennonites in the Vistula Delta," in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* July 1983 issue. In this article Klassen points to the constant urban element of Mennonite life in this region. He is careful to emphasize the Polish context in his development of Mennonite history of this region. The theme running throughout is the conflict between Mennonites and their surrounding culture. The later stages of the Prussian surrounding culture are shown to apply more pressure than the earlier Polish one, leaving, in the end, little difference between the Mennonites and their surroundings.

Klassen's book *A Homeland for Strangers: An Introduction to Mennonites in Poland and Prussia*, published by the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies in 1989, divides its attention. The largest part gives detailed descriptions of how the various Mennonite settlements of the region got started. The smaller second part could serve as a tour guide supplement to *Mennonite Tourguide of Western Europe* until Jan Gleysteen's book gets updated. Of course with all the changes in Poland, some of the information here is already outdated.

Klassen seems to be pursuing two main objectives in these writings. First of all, his footnotes point to the wealth of material available in Polish archives and to a much smaller group of materials in the royal Prussian archives in Berlin. This legwork was done while travel to Poland was still cumbersome and points to the work that needs to be done in this area. Secondly, Klassen seems to be trying to spark lay interest in modern Poland and the remains of Mennonite life to be found there. His work should be seen in the light of his part as chairman of the ad-hoc organizing committee for the founding of the Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association. This group organized the installation of a plaque on the wall of the former Mennonite Church in Gdansk and led a tour group there in June, 1991, to dedicate it.[1]

Klassen uses some contemporary Mennonite sources, particularly Penner's two-volume set *Die ost- und westpreussischen Mennoniten*. He points out some of the short-comings of looking at this history through these Prussian-tinted glasses, but does not outline a program for a systematic rethinking of it. The impetus from Klassen for further critical work in this field is at best implicit; his main goals seem to be to bring Polish archival sources to light and to arouse some lay interest in this neglected area of Mennonite history.

John Friesen's work

John Friesen has had three articles published since 1980 on Mennonites in Poland or Prussia. They are "The Relationship of Prussian Mennonites to German Nationalism," in *Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural, and Literary Essays Dealing with Mennonite Issues*, Harry Loewen, ed., Hyperion Press Limited, 1980; "Mennonites in Poland: An Expanded Historical View" in the *Journal of Mennonite Studies*, volume 4, 1986 and "Theological Development

Heubuden cemetery, ca. 1977.

among Mennonites in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries," published in *Anabaptism Revisited*, William Klassen, editor, Herald Press, 1992.

In his article on "The Relationship of Prussian Mennonites to German Nationalism," Friesen probes the question of why Mennonites in Germany did not offer any resistance to National Socialism. He starts with Han-Jürgen Goertz's thesis "that Mennonites lost their ability to discriminate in the face of National Socialism" and moves the point of reference back to attempt to show that the loss occurred already in the late 1860s.[2] His thesis here is that they lost their critical capacity already much earlier, during the debate in the late 1860s and early 1870s about complying with the new draft regulations. He tries to develop this by showing that Mennonites were different from their neighbors until 1867, fully assimilated by 1933 and then sketches the changes that took place during that debate, particularly as reflected in the writings of Wilhelm Mannhardt and others in the *Mennonitische Blätter*.

Friesen's second article, "Mennonites in Poland: An Expanded Historical View" is a review of Mennonite historiography of the area. It makes the point that since Mennonite self-consciousness arose after the partition of Poland, Mennonite historiography reflects the Prussian view of history prevalent at that time. Friesen again points to a change of heart among Mennonites in the late 1860s. In his conclusion he outlines a number of expected gains from taking Mennonite history out of its Prussian-view prison and placing it in a broader, which would include Polish, context. This would help us span the gap from Anabaptists to Mennonites in the Russian Empire. The specific areas where more research is suggested are local elected representative government, the relationship between Mennonites, Germans and Poles, the role of Privilegia and the role of economics, especially in the transition years from Polish to Prussian rule.

Friesen seems to have outlined some key topics on which to start or expand research in his first two articles. In both cases, he points to a change in the thinking of the Mennonites, and one of their most important authors, Wilhelm Mannhardt, around the time of 1867.[3] Some additional questions can be raised in this area as well. In the introduction to his book, *Die Wehrfreiheit der Altpreussischen Mennoniten*, Mannhardt notes "Any kind of judgmental criticism of the stance currently being taken by Mennonites has been explicitly omitted at the expressed wish of the Old Prussian Mennonite congregations, . . . especially since thereby the inclusion of the subjective opinions of the author could not have been completely avoided."[4] Although there is no room to fully develop the idea here, an alternative interpretation of Mannhardt's work in *Wehrfreiheit* might be more helpful. He did invaluable work in objectively listing the sequence of events in the Mennonites' efforts to not participate in military service. At the same time, his call seems to be less to an unreserved pacifism than to a coming out from hiding behind a hypocrisy that cheers on Prussian militarism without wanting to see one's own sons drafted.[5] This subtle difference explains how he is able five years later to argue in the pages of the *Mennonitische Blätter* in favor of serving in the armed forces.[6] Instead of presenting a case of "the Mennonites" having changed their minds, it might be more helpful to look for plurality among the Mennonites well prior to

1867. One type of plurality is explicitly identified by Wilhelm Mannhardt when he talks about three different types of response to the draft law of 1867 favored by Mennonites in his article "Der Reichstagbeschluss von 9. Nov. 1867."[7]

In Friesen's newest article, "Theological Developments among Mennonites in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries," he starts at the earliest time span, from the 1530's to the late seventeenth century. He probes a topic, the theology of these Mennonites, that has hardly ever been dealt with and tries to place it in the broader Polish context. He starts with a discussion of the appropriate terminology for this area of study, finally settling on the term "Polish Mennonites," perhaps in an effort to shake up the sloppy thinking involved in continuing to talk about "Prussian Mennonites." Another suggestion of his, "Mennonites in Poland," would be more accurate, but may prove too cumbersome to win wide-spread acceptance. He proceeds to again sketch Mennonite history on a broader canvas than usual. In addition to the importance of the contacts back to the Dutch Mennonites, he mentions contacts of the Mennonites with Hutterites and Polish Brethren or Socinians. By tracing these developments and looking at the theology revealed in the response made to a Catholic Bishop about charges of Arianism in 1678, Friesen claims to have found a shift in theological thinking from practical matters of ethics and ecclesiology to dogmatic matters of Christology and Trinity.

Friesen is certainly correct to point out that no serious work has been done on Mennonite theology in this area and that outside contacts and outside sources must be taken into consideration. However, there is more material available than he looks at in his article. If indeed the rebuttals to the Catholic bishop in 1678, particularly the one by Georg Hansen, can provide keen insight to the theological development of Mennonites in Poland, what insight could be gained by looking at some of the other works Hansen wrote? Friesen makes the point that the theology articulated by Hansen "seems to have become the norm for most of the Polish Mennonites."[8] He also raises the question whether Hansen's answers to the Bishop reflect his real opinion or were fixed up to win approval.[9] Here it would be helpful to note that apparently Hansen did some writing before 1678, namely *Glaubensbericht für die Jugend, durch einen Liebhaber der Wahrheit gestellt und ans Licht gebracht*, published in 1671.[10] A number of references can be found to further writings of Hansen and/or the contacts with Hutterites and Polish Brethren in Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety*, Penner, *Die ost-und westpreussichen Mennoniten*, Vol. I, *Mennonitische Lexikon* articles and various articles by Mezynski in Mennonite publications. In short, while many important issues are raised, not all the available materials were included in this article.

The Heubuden cemetery in the summer of 1991, visited by a North American tour group sponsored by the Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association.

German Mennonite scholarship

Here it is necessary to make a short digression before making some conclusions and adding a final question to Friesen's about rethinking Mennonite history in Poland and Prussia. By far the most exhaustive work on the topic is the two volume set *Die ost- und westpreussische Mennoniten* by Horst Penner, published in 1978 and 1987. The first volume has been reviewed by Horst Gerlach in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* in 1978 and by C. J. Dyck in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* in 1980.[11] The second volume has been reviewed by Peter J. Klassen in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* in 1980.[12]

While Gerlach only criticizes the lack of a serious look at theological developments, both Klassen and Dyck see deeper flaws. A minor flaw was seen in a certain sloppiness in the footnotes and organization of the books. A major flaw is the persistant anti-Polish, or perhaps more correctly and certainly more politely, the persistant pro-German view of the entire work. Both criticisms also run through John Friesen's review of the fourth edition of Penner's *Weltweite Bruderschaft*, which provides an overview of Mennonite history.[13] In fact, the publishing of the fourth edition of *Weltweite Bruderschaft* in 1984 by the German Mennonite Historical Society dominated the discussion of the business session of the German Mennonite Historical Society in 1985. The minutes refer only "general dissatisfaction" (allgemeine Unzufriedenheit) with the book and call the book "one-sided" (unausgewogen). A motion for the German Mennonite Historical Society to officially distance itself from the book was defeated, since most members had not yet read the book themselves. Two reviews of the book planned for the 1985 *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, the annual journal of the German Mennonite Historical Society had been withdrawn. It was decided that two reviews of the book should for sure be included in the 1986 *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*.[14] In addition, the minutes of the 1986 business session state "The fact that Horst Penner's book (volume two of his *Die ost- und westpreussische Mennoniten*) will not be appearing as an official publication of the German Mennonite Historical Society was explained by the executive committee. The idea to override this ac-

tion and procede with publication found no support among the members."[15] The book was privately published in 1987.

This whole controversy makes it all the more interesting to note that Friesen's emphasis on placing the Mennonite history of the Vistula Delta in a wider context is certainly reflected in his extensive use of non-Mennonite sources. His article on "An Extended Historical View" has more non-Mennonite sources than Mennonite sources, in that sense ground breaking for a Mennonite author. Post World War II Mennonite authors get less attention from him, underlining his assertion that their pro-German bias limits their value. He goes out of his way to look directly at the available earlier Mennonite sources, mainly issues of "Mennonitische Blätter" and the books of Wilhelm and H. G. Mannhardt, and to then tie that into the broader context of the era.

This controversy also serves to underline the importance of Friesen's call to see Mennonites in that area in a broader and thus Polish context. The urgency of that message can be seen by pointing to the general hysteria in the German press that greeted the decision to allow Poles to visit the new united Germany without a visa in the spring of 1991 and the stone-throwing German Skinheads who greeted their buses at the border.

At the same time, while it is true that Mennonite history has never properly been put into a Polish context, I would like to point out that the criticism of some of the contemporary German Mennonite historiography makes it clear that Mennonite history has also never been put in a proper German perspective. The relationship to Polish neighbors certainly needs further examination for all 400 years of Mennonite history there. However, to look at the political developments that affected Mennonites after 1772, one must look to German history. Another quick look at Wilhelm Mannhardt will indicate some of the potential for new insight that comes from properly placing Mennonites in a broader German context.

Penner gives us a short biography that outlines Mannhardt's work in German mythology.[16] Some German historians have seen the rise of German mythology as being fundamental to the rise of German consciousness and nationalism.[17] This would cast Mannhardt's biography in a whole new light. The two pages devoted to his life in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*[18] mention his contacts to the Grimm Brothers, Ernest Moritz Arndt and Ludwig Uhland, but not any of his writings on Mennonites. In 1875 he wrote in a letter to a friend "With innermost participation and anticipation . . . my heart followed the phases of the magnificent struggle against the Romanites (i.e. the French), a struggle, for which, quiet, humble and unconcerned about the immediate practical application, the work to prepare spiritual resources indeed provides the innermost drive for all my activities."[19]

Conclusion

Of course this brief look really only allows the conclusion that Wilhelm Mannhardt and Mennonite history in general deserve a closer look in the broader Polish *and German* setting. There are some Polish scholars working on this from their context, a welcome addition to Mennonite scholarship. John Friesen has explicitly outlined some avenues of exploration that will need to be pursued. Peter J. Klassen has pointed to archive sources that can be helpful in that pursuit and started increasing awareness in the wider Mennonite community of the work that needs to be done. The fact that these two approaches should be seen as complementary is perhaps best shown by John Friesen's vice-chairmanship of the ad-hoc committee that Peter J. Klassen is chairing to form the Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association.

There is obviously much to be done to raise Polish/Prussian Mennonite historiography to the level of that of the Mennonite experience in the Russian Empire. It is my hope that drawing together the various pieces of the outline offered by John Friesen and Peter J. Klassen will inspire others to add their own pieces to this outline and to start fleshing it out.

ENDNOTES

[1]*Mennonite Reporter*, Aug. 19, 1991. 4.

[2]John Friesen, "The Relationship of Prussian Mennonites to German Nationalism" in *Mennonite Images*, 68.

[3]"German Nationalism," 69-70, "Mennonites in Poland: An Expanded Historical View," *JMS*, vol. 4, 97.

[4]"Ausgeschlossen blieb grundsätzlich und auf den ausdrücklichen Wunsch der altpreussischen Mennonitengemeinden von vorne herein jede beurteilende Kritik über den Stand der Mennonitenfrage im gegenwärtigen Augenblick, . . . um so mehr als dabei ein Hereinziehen von subjectiven Ansichten des Verfassers nicht gänzlich hätte vermieden werden können." Wilhelm Mannhardt. *Die Wehrfreiheit der Altpreussischen Mennoniten*, p. V.

[5]Staatskanzler Fürsten von Hardenberg wrote from Paris on June 2, 1814 to the "Militairgouvernement" of East Prussia about the need for future regulations concerning the participation of Mennonites in the military. Von Hardenberg expressed the opinion that the teaching of Menno Simons that no Christian could carry weapons was a political ploy to distance his followers from the Schwärmer at Münster. Since that was the case and the situation had now changed *"würde eine Modifikation dieses Glaubensartikels bei den Mennoniten kein Bedenken finden können. Es verstehe sich aber von selbst, dass diese von ihren eigenen Lehrern ausgehen müsse, da die Einwirkung der weltlichen Macht, wie die Erfahrung hinlänglich bewiesen habe, sie nur noch mehr verstocken würde."* This portion of von Hardenberg's letter appears in italics in *Die Wehrfreiheit der Altpreussischen Mennoniten*, apparently at Mannhardt's discretion. p. 186-7.

Compared then to Mannhardt's conclusion "Ohne Rechtsbruch wäre hienach eine Abänderung des Gnadenprivilegiums nicht möglich, so lange die Mennoniten nicht selbst darin willigen" on the very last page (202) of the book, this seems to point to Mannhardt's making a subtle suggestion that at the very least the Mennonites should quit hiding behind legalities and start a discussion on the topic of what they really believe.

This whole area obviously needs further work.

[6]John Friesen, "German Nationalism," 70-71.

[7]*Mennonitische Blätter Beilage*, August 1868.

[8]John Friesen, "Theological Developments among Mennonites in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries," 121.

[9]Ibid.

[10]H. G. Mannhardt, *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde*, 77-78, Mennonitische Lexikon II, 470.

[11]pages 91 and 248 respectively.

[12]page 99.

[13]The same review was published in English in the *Journal of Mennonite Studies*, Vol. 3, 1985, 155-158 and in German in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, 1986, 173-177.

[14]The minutes of this meeting are in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* of 1985, 136-137.

[15]"Die Tatsache, dass das Buch von Horst Penner nicht im Rahmen der Publikationen des MGV erscheinenwird, wird vom Vorstand begründet. Der Gedanke, es doch noch vom MGV publizieren zu lassen, findet in der MV kein Echo." *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, 1986/7, 244.

[16]Horst Penner, *Die Ost- und Westpreussische Mennoniten*, Vol. II, 95-96.

[17]Klaus von See, *Die Ideen von 1789 und die Ideen von 1914: Völkisches Denken in Deutschland zwischen Französischer Revolution und Ersten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt am Main, 1975, 27f.

[18]Scherer, Mannhardt, Johann Wilhelm Emanuel, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig 1884, Vol. 20, 203-205.

[19]"Mit innersten Theilnahme und Spannung, . . . folgt mein Herz den Phasen des gewaltigen Kampfes gegen die Römlinge, einem Kampfe, dem in stiller bescheidener, um die nächste praktische Verwerthung noch unbekummerter Arbeit geistige Hilfsmittle zuzubereiten, die innerste Triebfeder ja auch meiner ganzen Thätigkeit ist." Patzig, Hermann, Hrsg., *Mythologische Forschungen aus dem Nachlässe von Wilhelm Mannhardt*, Band 51 in der Reihe Quellen und Forschung zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker, Strassburg, 1884, p. XXIV.

Contemporary Records of the 1870s Mennonite Migration

Compiled by Norman E. Saul

During the past several years, while doing research on Russian-American relations in the nineteenth century, I came across a number of official documents and contemporary newspaper and journal articles that dealt with the movement of Mennonite colonists from Russia to the United States. Some of these are well known and have been used by scholars, beginning with Henry C. Smith's classic, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (1927), but in some cases not adequately cited. Others are unknown or neglected. This is true especially of materials in the US Diplomatic Post Records that contain the incoming and outgoing communications of the various diplomatic and consular posts of the United States. These, unlike the correspondence between these posts and Washington, have not been microfilmed and are available only at the National Archives. The post records include inter-agency, e.g. between Odessa and St. Petersburg, communications as well as those of diplomats and consuls with private individuals and Russian officials.

Another important source for official records of the 1870s is the Hamilton Fish Papers in the Library of Congress. Fish was Secretary of State during most of the 1870s and, more than most others holding that office, often wrote to diplomats abroad under the notation, "private and confidential." They usually answered in kind, but rather than place these into the State Department files, the Secretary of State kept them in his personal papers. It is, therefore, impossible to tell the complete story of American foreign relations of this period without reference to the Fish Papers.

The 1870s were comparatively liberal and open years in the Russian Empire, which was an important cause for the move. Russian newspapers and periodicals noted and debated the departures of the Mennonites and the government's policy concerning them. The references to some of these represent a sampling, a starting point, but by no means an exhaustive search of this important contemporary literature.

In connection with this openness, it may be significant that America generally attracted considerable Russian attention at this same time. Whether Mennonites were exposed to this growing number of Russian accounts remains unknown, but many would have been reviewed in the local press such as *Odesskii Vestnik*. A Mennonite who read Russian could have learned about the American Great Plains from the following Russian sources:

Pavel Ogorodnikov, *Ot N'iu-Iorka do San-Frantsisko i obratno v Rossiiu* [From New York to San Fransisco and Back to Russia] (St. Petersburg: Kolesov and Mikhin, 1872); the first Russian to go across the plains, in 1869; through Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and points west.

Nikolai Slavinskii, *Pis'ma ob Ameriki i Russkikh pereslentsakh* [Letters about America and the Russian Emigrants] (St. Petersburg: Merkulev, 1873); serialized in *Otechestvenye Zapiski* in 1872; traveled from New York to Chicago, St. Louis, and to a Russian colony in Southwest Missouri.

Eduard Tsimmerman, *Soedinennye Shtaty Severnoi Ameriki* [The United States of North America] (Moscow: Soldatenkov, 1873); recounts and compares two visits to Iowa and Nebraska—1857 and 1869.

In addition, many articles were published in the Russian press about the early 1872 buffalo hunt of Grand Duke Alexis, the third son of Emperor Alexander II; he toured Missouri, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, and Kansas.

The items listed below are confined to the period from 1872 to 1880, from the very beginning of the Mennonite inquiries into emigration to America until the firm establishment of routes and destinations. These are prefaced by a guide to the abbreviations of the archival collections used. Microfilms from the National Archives may be used on the premises, purchased, rented, or may be available more conveniently in the government documents sections of university libraries, such as that of the University of Kansas, or at regional branches of the National Archives. The University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, has an excellent collection of Russian newspapers and periodicals, mostly on microfilm and available on inter-library loan. A few contemporary book references are also included.

Collection abbreviations:

AVPR—Archive of the Foreign Policy of Russia, Moscow

DI—Diplomatic Instructions

DPR—Diplomatic Post Records, Washington

DUSC—Despatches from United States Consuls

DUSM—Despatches from United States Ministers

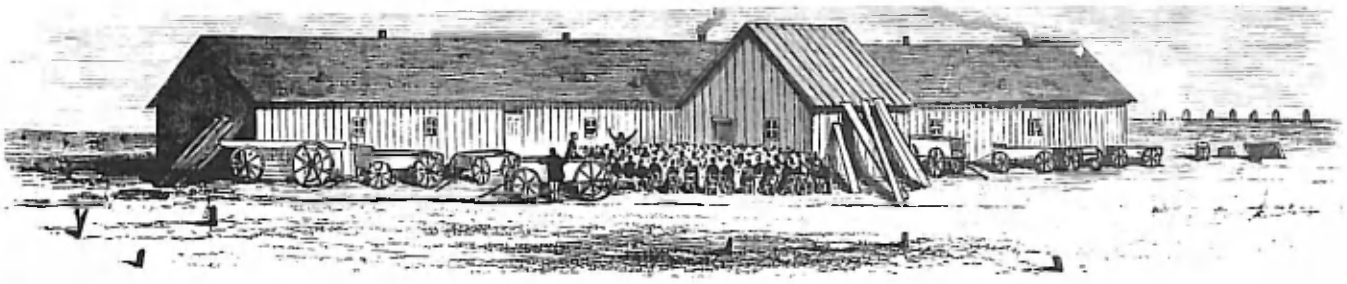
LC—Library of Congress

M—National Archives microform collection number

NYPL—New York Public Library

PRFRUS—*Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (published selection of State Department records)

RG—National Archives Record Group number



"Mennonite church service on the prairies," from Frank Leslie's Illustrierte Zeitung, *ca. 1875.*

Manuscript Sources in Chronological Order:

Timothy Smith (consul, Odessa) to Hamilton Fish (Secretary of State, Washington), 1 April 1871 (no. 103), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), Mennonite appeals for exemption from military service; describes colonies.

Smith (Odessa) to Fish, 22 July 1871 (no. 114), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), detailed account of interviews with Cornelius Jansen of Berdiansk and the US consular agent at Rostov on Mennonite emigration possibilities; Cornelius Jansen wants information on land available in US.

Smith (Odessa) to Fish, 3 October 1871 (no. 116), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), on forwarding information from US General Land Office to Mennonite colonies.

Smith (Odessa) to Andrew Curtin (St. Petersburg), 7/19 March 1872, DPR, Russia, vol. 4434, RG 84, receipt of petition of Mennonites from colony near Berdiansk, other information about them; published in PRFRUS 1872, p. 488.

Eugene Schuyler (secretary of US legation, St. Petersburg) to Smith (Odessa), no. 169, 29 March 1872, DPR, Russia, vol. 4534, RG 84, answering above, encourage Mennonites, wants more details; published in PRFRUS 1872, p. 488.

Schuyler to Fish, 30 March 1872, DUSM, Russia, vol. 24 (roll 24, M35), RG 59, on Smith's letter, enclosed, stresses value of Mennonite immigrants to US; published in PRFRUS, 1872, pp. 487-88.

Schuyler to Fish, 6 April 1872, DUSM, Russia (no. 171), vol. 24 (roll 24, M35), RG 59, on Westmann and Gorchakov (Foreign Ministry) views on Mennonite emigration; published in PRFRUS 1872, p. 488.

Fish to Schuyler, 22 April 1872, DI, Russia, vol. 15 (roll 137, M77), very interested in possibility of Mennonite emigration but be cautious not to alarm Russian government.

Schuyler to Fish, 4 May 1872 (no. 178), DUSM, Russia, vol. 24 (roll 24, M35), RG 59, reporting conversation with British ambassador about Mennonite emigration.

Jay Cooke (Northern Pacific, Philadelphia) to Fish, 31 July 1873, vol. 95, Fish Papers, Manuscript Division, LC, introducing M. L. Hiller and Mennonite delegation from Russia.

Mennonite petition to US government, 8 August 1873, vol. 95, Fish Papers, Manuscript Division, LC, concerning request for exemption from military service.

G. G. Offenburg (Russian minister, Washington) to V. I. Westmann (St. Petersburg), 25 August/6 September, f. 133, op. 512/3, 1872-73, d. 112, AVPR—reporting Mennonite delegation in Washington.

Carl Schurz (Secretary of Interior) to Fish, 13 December 1873, vol. 98, Fish Papers, Manuscript Division, LC, advising intercession on right of Mennonites to leave Russia, based on conversation with Hiller.

Smith (Odessa) to Fish (no. 160), 1 April 1874, DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, on poor harvest and suffering in Mennonite colonies. M. L. Hiller (Berlin) to Marshall Jewell (US minister, St. Petersburg), 3 May 1874, DPR, Russia, vol. 4435, RG 84, expressing concern about restrictions on leaving Russia, may cause them to be too late in arriving to erect winter shelter.

M. L. Hiller (Berlin) to Jewell, 23 May 1874, DPR, Russia, vol. 4435, RG 84, explaining his interest in Mennonites, not his desire to encourage emigration; that is being done by Russian government.

Jewell to Fish, 20 May 1874 (no. 77), DUSM, Russia, vol. 26 (roll 26, M35), RG 59, on Totleben expedition to Molochna and details of emigration plans.

Fish to Jewell, 12 June 1874, DI, Russia, vol. 15 (roll 137, M77), RG 59, commends his caution on Mennonite emigration.

Smith (Odessa) to Fish, 1 July 1874 (no. 165), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, on very bad harvest around Sea of Azov in 1873, crops fair this year, also effects of competition from US wheat exports.

Smith (Odessa) to Fish, 10 October 1874 (no. 170), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, on much local publicity on American grain growing and government efforts to check Mennonite emigration with alternative forestry service agreement.

Smith to Fish, 6 April 1875 (no. 180), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, winter unusually cold and snowy, Mennonite emigration resuming, suggests regular emigrant ship from Odessa to New York.

Schuyler to Fish, 23 April 1875 (no. 107), DUSM, Russia, vol. 28 (roll 28, M35), RG 59, on alternative service arrangements for Mennonites worked out by Ministry of State Domains in St. Petersburg.

Smith to Fish, 3 July 1875 (no. 185), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, emigration becoming general, expected to continue until 1880.

Garwood, Alfred Edward, manuscript memoirs, describes visit to Men-

nonite colony in South Russia, c. 1875. Manuscript Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University.

Leander Dyer (consul, Odessa) to Fish, 10 July 1876 (no. 21), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 5 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, on Mennonites constantly seeking information on emigration.

Shishkin (Russian minister, Washington) to Gorchakov (St. Petersburg), 12 November 1876, op. 470, f. 133, d. 131 (kantselariia 1876), AVPR, in regard to impending conflict with Ottoman Empire, suggests Russian sailors be sent to US disguised as Mennonite immigrants.

Edwin L. Stoughton (US minister, St. Petersburg) to Gorchakov, 21 January/2 February 1878, DPR, Russia, vol. 4535, RG 84, about claims of Volga-German colony in Kansas to cooperative association of Ekaterinenstadt, Russia.

Giers (Assistant Foreign Minister, St. Petersburg) to Stoughton, 23 February/March 26, 1878, DPR, Russia, vol. 4506, RG 84, in response to above, need more information, names and locality.

Stoughton to Giers, 20 July 1878, DPR, Russia, vol. 4535, RG 84, providing more information on Kansas colony, names of petitioners.

Mary Stoughton diary entry, 14 August 1878, Manuscript Division, NYPL, about Barnabas Hobbs (Society of Friends) visit to St. Petersburg on behalf of Mennonites.

Giers to Stoughton, 1/13 September 1878, DPR, Russia, vol. 4506, RG 84, has made report to emperor on address of Barnabas Hobbs on behalf of Mennonites.

Dyer (Odessa) to William Ewarts (Secretary of State, Washington) (no. 79), 4 May 1879, DUSC, Odessa, vol. 6 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, about difficulties of Mennonites wanting to visit friends and relatives in US.

Dyer (Odessa) to Ewarts (no. 92), 22 October/2 November 1879, DUSC, Odessa, vol. 6 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, about C. B. Schmidt's immigrant recruitment activities on behalf of Santa Fe Railroad and growing hostility towards Mennonites of local authorities.

G. M. Hutton (consul, St. Petersburg) to Hunter, 24 February 1880, DUSC, St. Petersburg, vol. 15 (roll 10, M81), RG 59, detailed report on general state of affairs in Russia includes description of Mennonite and Volga German colonies.

Dyer (Odessa) to Ewarts, 11 March 1880 (no. 98), DUSC, Odessa, vol. 6 (roll 3, M459), RG 59, recounts details of Mennonites purchasing fraudulent passports for emigration.

Press and Journal Reports

Russkii Mir, 24 March/5 April 1872, on Mennonite desire to emigrate.

Boston *Globe*, 13 May 1872, on prospects of Berdiansk Mennonites emigrating to US.

New York *Times*, 19 July 1873, on departure of first Mennonite immigrants for US.

Harpers Weekly, 14 March 1874, on emigration difficulties, need for assistance.

Philadelphia *Inquirer*, 1 May 1874, on Congressional debate on Mennonites.

St. Petersburg *Zeitung*, 26 April/8 May 1874, on Totleben's mission to Molochna.

New York *Times*, 24 August 1874, on Mennonite arrivals.

Philadelphia *Inquirer*, 26 August 1874, on Mennonite arrivals.

New York *Times*, 23 and 24 September 1874—on settlement in Kansas.

New York *Times*, 1 December 1874—Mennonite arrivals in Philadelphia.

Otechestvennye Zapiski [Fatherland Notes] 217, 12 (December 1874): 411-13—article, "Nashi obshchestvennyia dela," by N. A. Demert, criticizing Russian government policy toward Mennonites, recounting Totleben's mission, from *Odesskii Vestnik*.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 20 March 1875—Mennonite settlement in Central Kansas with pictures.

Boston *Journal*, 9 August 1875— Mennonite emigration continuing.

Omaha *Herald*, 15 January 1876—on settlement experience.

New York *Times*, 1 May 1877—effects of Russo-Turkish War on Mennonite emigration.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 8 September 1877—description of Mennonite settlements, pictures.

Otechestvennye Zapiski 234, 9 (September 1877): 109-66—article by E. R. Tsimmerman, "Votchinnyi zakon v Amerike i nashi stepi," comparing Great Plains and steppe settlement with special reference to Mennonites.

Russkii Mir 10 (October 1877)—Mennonite emigration.

New York *Times*, 3 and 18 July 1878—more Mennonite arrivals.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 10 August 1878—desirability of Great Plains settlement.

Book Citations

George Hume, *Thirty Five Years in Russia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1914), pp. 50-111—references to selling farm equipment in Berdiansk, Halbstadt, and Molochna colony in the 1860s through the 1880s.

M. M. Vladimirov, *Russkii sredi Amerikanstsev: moi lichnii vpechatleniia kak tokari, chernorabochago, plotnike i puteshestvennika: 1872-1876* [A Russian Among Americans: My Personal Impressions as a Woodworker, Ordinary Laborer, Carpenter, and Traveller] (St. Petersburg, 1877), pp. 104-10—Russian traveller visits recent Mennonite immigrants near Hastings, Nebraska, in 1874.

Book Reviews

Theology at the End of Modernity: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Kaufman, ed. Sheila Greeve Davaney. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991. Pp. 276.

This *Festschrift* for Gordon Kaufman, professor at Harvard Divinity School, Bethel College alumnus, and a leading American theologian, makes a significant contribution to the ongoing discussion of the nature of theological discourse in the uneasy and complex transition from the modern to the postmodern eras. Kaufman, who questions the value of speaking of postmodernity (ix-x), recognizes that some tenets of modernity, such as the confidence in ahistorical rationality and objectivity, have been seriously undercut by philosophical developments of the last two centuries. That theological discourse can take many forms once modernity's foundations have been shaken is attested to by the diversity of theologians included in this volume. The contributors to the *Festschrift*, however, are united in their opposition to the postliberal theology expounded by George Lindbeck, Hans Frei and others. In fact, the book might properly be considered a manifesto of various theologians against what Kaufman calls the "fideistic confessionalism" of the "postliberal critics of theological modernism and liberalism" (xii).

The book is divided into five sections that deal with the relationship of theology to science, public discourse, solidarity, corporate/corporeal identity and the prospects for God-talk. Sallie McFague, William Dean and James Gustafson all argue for a dialectical interchange between theology and science. McFague and Dean are careful to distance themselves from a naive privileging of scientific discourse as that which presents us with objective reality. McFague does not make science foundational for theology, but rather draws from the insights of what she calls "postmodern science" for the purpose of constructing a theology which takes seriously the interconnectedness of humanity with the entire cosmos and the human responsibility for the massive ecological crisis facing us. Dean hopes to balance a humanistic historicism and a natural historicism; science, he believes, while not foundational in character, can provide a check on theology's use of supernaturalistic language. Gustafson provides us with an engaging investigation of the dialectical relationship between theological anthropology and the human sciences.

The book's sharpest attack against postliberal theology comes, not surprisingly, in the section on theology and public discourse. Linell Cady, following Kaufman, is critical of Lindbeck's location of theology within the confessional community. Rather, like Kaufman, she advocates a public theology which engages in cultural analysis and theological construction. Wayne Proudfoot is critical of both Lindbeck and Kaufman. He criticizes Lindbeck for purportedly arguing that doctrines are only grammatical rules of Christianity which do not make claims about reality; Kaufman's earlier work is taken to task for making the concept of God foundational, while his more recent writing is criticized for not showing how the concept of God can continue to serve as an object of devotion when its authoritative position has been destabilized.

The section on theology and solidarity presents both theoretical and practical perspectives. Francis Schussler Fiorenza trenchantly outlines the current crisis in theological hermeneutics and the rise of solidarity with suffering and communities of discourse as hermeneutical principles. Simon Maimela calls black theologians of liberation away from authoritarian appeals to Scripture, proposing instead that a constructive theological method as outlined by Kaufman is most promising for liberation theology. M. Thomas Thangaraj also draws on Kaufman's work in his proposal for a shift away from *missio Dei* to a *missio humanitatis* defined by solidarity, mutuality and dialogue.

The final two sections cover a wide range of theological and philosophical territory. John B. Cobb, Jr. issues a passionate defense of sophisticated realism informed by Whitehead, over against what he perceives to be the idealism of most contemporary theologians (including Kaufman). George Rupp tackles the difficult question of how community can be achieved in a pluralistic context. In the essay by Maurice Wiles one finds a brief examination of the status of God-talk in contemporary theology. Mark C. Taylor, in perhaps the most entertaining article in the volume, critiques the "Death of God" theology of Thomas J. J. Alitzer and ruminates on the interconnections between deconstruction and the end of theology. Finally, Van Austin Harvey discusses Ludwig Feuerbach's little-known second theory of religion as construction with reference to Kaufman's constructivist method. Both Wiles and Harvey critique Kaufman's understanding of God as an imaginative construction, arguing that such a God could not function as an object of devotion. I think that neither Wiles nor Harvey do justice to Kaufman's position. Particularly in his most recent work, Kaufman has made it clear that faith is not merely a constructive activity, but is also a response to the ultimate mystery of things; this move, I believe, safeguards Kaufman from charges of turning theology into a purely pragmatic or functional affair. (Cf. Kaufman's "Response to Hans Frei," in *The Legacy of H. Richard Niebuhr* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991).)

This collection of essays has the great benefit of raising the many questions that plague theologians "at the end of modernity." How can humans come together in community while affirming the context of pluralism? What is the logical status of Christian discourse and claims to truth? Should theology be a parochial discipline, practiced only in the context of the confessional community, or is it a matter of public concern? And, if theology is public, what is its precise relationship to other disciplines? While this volume does not pretend to answer these questions with a unified voice, it does suggest many intriguing possibilities. My major criticism of this *Festschrift* concerns its treatment of postliberal theology. By calling the postliberal position "fideistic," Cady and Kaufman clearly wish to associate the position of Lindbeck et al with the so-called Wittgensteinian fideism of some philosophers of religion. Lindbeck does indeed advocate an acceptance of the Christian story and its truth claims; however, he does not conceive of religions as purely self-enclosed entities which are impervious to outside influences. That he chooses to interpret these outside influences through the glasses of the Christian tradition should not, I think, be taken as an indication of fideism. Furthermore, Proudfoot does not do justice to Lindbeck's discussion of truth, in my opinion. While Lindbeck does argue that doctrines and other religious ut-

terances should be seen as making second-order (intratextual) truth claims, he does seem to allow for the possibility that intratextual truth might also have the character of propositional truth (cf. *The Nature of Doctrine*, p. 65). That our doctrines are both intratextually and propositionally true is something which can't be proven, but must be taken on faith. Or, put another way, I'm not sure that Lindbeck would be completely opposed to construction as a theological method; he does, however, take it as a point of faith to check his constructions with that which has gone before him. In that regard Lindbeck is clearly different from theologians like Kaufman who reject any authoritarian control over theology by Scripture or tradition. My raising this critique does not necessarily imply that I find Lindbeck's choice preferable; I merely wish to ask if it is justified to call Lindbeck's position "fideistic."

Theology at the End of Modernity is an important collection of essays, one which should be read by theologians and serious students of theology. The editor, Sheila Greeve Davaney, should be commended for assembling such a strong set of essays.

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John S. Oyer and Robert S. Kreider, *Mirror of the Martyrs: Stories of courage, inspiringly retold, of 16th century Anabaptists who gave their lives for their faith.* Intercourse, PA; Good Books, 1990. Pp. 96. ($9.95—paperback)

In 1988, 23 copper plates done by Mennonite artist Jan Luyken for the *Martyrs Mirror* resurfaced in Germany. The plates' historical and sentimental appeal created a flurry of negotiations and fundraising that successfully secured the plates for Mennonite ownership. Fortunately, the individuals who helped realize the purchase of the plates had a broad vision for sharing and interpreting the meaning those plates represent for our religious heritage. The slender volume (the topic of this review) and a major travelling exhibition created by the staff of the Kauffman Museum, North Newton, Kansas, are public manifestations of that vision.

Mirror of the Martyrs introduces a modern audience to some of the Anabaptist martyr experiences in a readable, succinct manner that builds on but is not obscured by strong, scholarly research. The book provides good background information concerning the author, the illustrator, and some of the events the original text chronicles. In the late 16th and 17th centuries the genre of martyrologies, collections of martyr stories, flourished across Europe in all branches of Christianity, and Dutch Mennonite preacher T. J. van Braght drew on earlier works and original sources to compile the massive *Martyrs Mirror*, first published in 1660. In 1685, the second Dutch edition featured the striking illustrations of Luyken, which although never seen by the author, have become in some ways better known than the text. Translated into German in the 1740s and into English in 1837, this compilation enjoys an honored status among Mennonites and Amish. Although readily available, few seem to read it due to its size.

Oyer and Kreider have succeeded, working primarily with the chance selection of stories represented by the surviving copper plates, in inviting readers to learn about the realities of martyr events in the past and to consider what meanings these events have in our own societies. This reviewer particularly values the way in which the retold stories in *Mirror of the Martyrs* provide impetus for readers to delve back into the *Martyrs Mirror* itself for further information. Other "selections" from the *Martyrs Mirror* exist—"Suggestions for Further Reading" on p. 95 lists several—but Oyer and Kreider intermingle new pieces of information with parts of the original stories in a way that makes a reader curious to read the original.

The authors consciously chose to keep citations to a minimum, usually without compromising the ability of interested readers to track down the sources consulted. While it was certainly not their intent to provide exhaustive accounts of the martyrs, the authors did consult a good variety of sources to get their information. Therefore it is surprising that they seem not to have used existing volumes of *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica*. For example, they state that for Pieter Pietersz they have "only the story as told by van Braght" (p. 90, n. 25). Volume 2 of *DAN* (Leiden: Brill, 1980) covering Amsterdam includes accounts of several proceedings relating to the case (p. 272-287), and then continues with other documents relating to Willem Jansz. These sources could have lent more detail to both stories.

Although the book is concise, it would have been useful to include a list or index of the plates and stories at the back. Short statements such as that for plate no. 77 on p. 79 would have made the inclusion of the plates on p. 76-78 more interesting.

DAN also indicates (p. 307) that the identification of Anneken Hendriks (d. 1571) with Anneken de Vlaster whose name appears in records from 1552 is not necessarily sure. This is one instance in which *Mirror of the Martyrs* contains no endnote to indicate where the authors drew their conclusion as to Anneken's identity.

Following the 1685 edition, the *Martyrs Mirror* was not reprinted in Dutch until 1984 (a facsimile edition). In 1698, Luyken executed the eleven plates mentioned in note 4, p. 89 for another work, not a later edition of *Martyrs Mirror*. The chronology of the plates given on p. 80 could be clarified: None of the 1685 plates were reprinted in 1698. Around 1715 (?), Pieter van der Aa of Leiden had the 1698 plates printed together with the 1685 plates in a volume containing only the plates. In 1738, Martin Schagen brought a similar work out, but without the 1698 plates. Two of the 1685 plates were printed in another work in 1732 (reprinted in 1765), and seven were printed in 1762 in yet another work.

One of the most fascinating documents used in the stories is the account of costs for Gerrit Hazenpoet's 1557 execution at Nijmegen (p. 21). The topic of execution banquets is one that perhaps could bear more scrutiny. As published in Guyot's work, one could interpret the largest line item in the Nijmegen account to refer to expenses of wine drunk following the execution rather than at a banquet which included Hazenpoet's presence. At other points, the authors use terminology which implies festivities (p. 27: "farewell banquet" & p. 50 "celebration") without offering substantiation. The *Martyrs Mirror* text itself does not imply those festivities. While it is clear such banquets did occur in certain places at certain times, how frequently were they a feature at executions of 16th-century Anabaptists? If they were common, why did van Braght, who seemed to be able to juxtapose to advantage the behavior of the Anabaptists and that of

their persecutors, not mention the spectacle of such banquets?

The extensive use of Luyken illustrations, while not surprising given the circumstances, adds significantly to the current work. Capitalizing on Luyken's own interest in small detail, the designers of the exhibition mentioned above increased its visual impact by extracting details from individuals illustrations. The book designers repeated this creative method with good effects. These "excerpts" help illustrate the current text more specifically, add variety to the layout, and cause the viewer to go back and look at the full illustration more carefully. Unfortunately the publishers have deprived us of the true full illustrations by cropping small areas at the edges, apparently in order to add uniform black border lines instead of the somewhat irregular borders of the originals. Perhaps the speed with which the book was brought to press accounts for the fact that at least four of the full illustrations are reversed. (Nos. 49, 56, 77, 79 appear in mirror image.)

Although created in conjunction with an exhibition, *Mirror of the Martyrs* is clearly an independent work. (Those who have a chance, should definitely also visit the exhibition which provides enriched understanding of some aspects of the *Martyrs Mirror* stories and plates.) The book's attractive format and readable text allow convenient access to major themes from our heritage. One could easily use it for discussion in groups of adults or youth, whether or not the groups had prior acquaintance with Anabaptist history.

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Peter Brock, *Freedom from Violence Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War*. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Pp. 385.

Peter Brock, who is surely North America's most prolific writer of historical peace studies, has produced another very fine book. As the title indicates, he discusses the history of nonmainline peace groups from the Middle Ages to 1914. About half of the study deals with the Anabaptist-Mennonite experiences from the sixteenth century to the present.

One of Brock's sub-themes is to find historical connections between the various peace groups. He shows that there was a strong connection between the two medieval groups, the Waldensians and the Czech Brethren. Brock admits that no such historical connection existed between these medieval groups and sixteenth century Anabaptists. The discussion of Anabaptist views on peace is quite extensive, detailed, and utilizes the latest research. Brock traces the peace developments in each of the European countries where Mennonites lived, paying most attention to the Russian Mennonite developments.

In the European part of his study, Brock deals with two developments in addition to the Mennonite story. He includes a helpful discussion of the peace emphases in the Polish Anabaptist and Polish Socinian movements. He pulls this rather complex history together into a coherent, very readable story. In a later chapter he deals with two largely unknown, nineteenth century peace churches, namely the New Baptists and Nazarenes. Brock establishes that the New Baptists, a renewal movement in Switzerland and South Germany, learned about peace from Mennonites. Nazarenes, he points out, gained their convictions about peace from the New Baptists, since it was converts of the New Baptists who established the Nazarene movement in Hungary.

In North America, Brock also focuses most of his attention on the Mennonite experience. In addition, he includes quite extensive discussions of the peace experiences of the Tunkers (Brethren), Seventh-day Adventists, and Plymouth Brethren. The Tunkers originated in Europe and had Mennonite influence. The Seventh-day Adventists and Plymouth Brethren had no Mennonite influence. After the conclusion, in the Appendix, Brock includes a discussion of pacifism in Denmark and Sweden.

Brock's study is helpful in providing a cohesive and succinct overview of the peace experiences of a number of groups. In the case of Mennonites, there is no one volume study which provides a better concise overview. He also places the peace experiences of the various groups into the context of the relevant national and international events. The book includes a helpful index.

The study by Brock, despite its title, is not a comprehensive study of all sectarian peace groups in Europe and North America. There is practically no discussion of the Quakers. This may be due to the fact that Brock wrote a major study exclusively on the Quaker experience, entitled *The Quaker Peace Testimony 1660 to 1914*. There is also no discussion, only a brief reference, to the peace emphasis in sectarian groups in Russia; namely the Molokons, the Dukhobors, and the Tolstoy people. Since some members of these groups emigrated to North America, including these would have been helpful, even if only to complete the picture of pacifism in North America.

In the conclusion, Brock suggests that there are two main types of sectarian pacifism, namely separational and integrational. Separational pacifism, he says, "is usually defined as nonresistance, has a pessimistic view of the world, state and society remain effectively heathen, government necessarily entails the exercise of injurious force, and christianity and rulership do not mix." Integrational pacifism is "essentially optimistic vis-a-vis humankind and their potentiality for peaceful coexistence." The principle example of integrational pacifism is that of the Quakers, a group which is unfortunately not discussed in this study. Brock makes the evaluative comment that during the past half century, most groups which emphasized separational pacifism, seem well on the way to becoming integrational pacifists. Even though he does not say so explicitly, he gives the distinct impression that integrational pacifism has the only hope of survival in the future.

For Mennonite readers this book will be of interest because it both gives them a very good introduction to their historical experience of peace, and it introduces them to a number of other traditions which have also had a peace theology.

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Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography, 1991

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