

ON THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VISTULA DELTA BY THE MENNONITES

**Karl-Heinz Ludwig
(1961)**

Machine translated (DeepL) and edited by:

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Winnipeg, Manitoba

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Comments (by Glenn Penner):

1) All vowels with umlauts have been changed: ä, ö, and ü are now ae, oe and ue. The double-s symbol has been changed to ss. This has been done in order to make searching of this electronic document easier.

2) Page numbering of the original has been maintained.

3) The term “Zins” has been translated as “interest” by the DeepL software, but the term in this book has several meanings – interest, tax or rent. It is often difficult to determine just what term is being used in the original book.

4) There were two major errors in the printing of the original book. First the letters l or I are sometimes misprinted as 1. The number 0 is occasionally printed as an o. I have tried to fix as many of these as possible.

5) There are still some formatting issues which have not been resolved. These may affect the appearance, but will not interfere with the reading of the translation.

6) We have tried to fix as many of the awkward translations done by DeepL as possible.

Note that I have created a Glossary, which appears at the end of this translation.

We would like to thank Tim Flaming for help with a pagination and formatting problem.

Comments and corrections should be sent to Glenn Penner at gpenner@uoguelph.ca .

SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS

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Karl-Heinz Ludwig

**On the settlement of the Vistula Delta
by the Mennonites**

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KARL-HEINZ LUDWIG
REGARDING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VISTULA DELTA BY THE
MENNONITES

The settlements of the Mennonites in the territory of the city of Elbing and in
the economy of Marienburg until the takeover of the territories by Prussia

1772

Marburg (Lahn)

1961

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https://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/1776_West_Prussia_Census.pdf	
I Map	

[Map appears as separate scan at end of this book]

[Note that from this point on the Grosse Marienburger Werder and the Kleine Marienberger Werder will be referred to as the Gross Werder and the Klein Werder, respectively]

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4. **Maps**

a. Printed: Map of the German Empire (1:100 00), sheet no. 100 (Marienburg), 101 (Elbing), 71 (Tiegenort), 72 (Braunsberg), 131 (Stuhm), 132 (Christburg).

Atlas of the Free City of Danzig. Ed. N. Creutzburg. Danzig 1935.

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b. Unprinted: maps of the Vistula-Nogat Delta from the end of the 18th century (Berliner Hauptarchiv, Allgem. Ks. Nr. 2385, 4597, 4598).

A . Introduction

I. The limitation of the work

The study area lies in the delta of the Vistula. It includes the lowland district of the Elbing territory and also the Marienburg Oekonomie, the largest part of the Gross Werder and the entire Klein Werder. The work is limited to the Mennonites who came to the Vistula region during the Reformation and were decisively involved in its settlement. The first partition of Poland in 1772, which incorporated the area into the Prussian state, serves as a time limit.

II. The source Situation

One source covering the entire study area is the West Prussian Contribution Cadastre [census] of 1772/73. The original files of this survey were located in the Danzig State Archives, whose holdings were moved to Goslar before the end of the WWII. Due to the fact that Danzig had not belonged to the territory of the German Reich in 1937, the files had to be returned to Danzig from Goettingen, where they had been transferred in the meantime, in 1947 on the orders of the occupation. However, the West Prussian Tribute Register has disappeared. It is also not in today's Gdansk Voivodeship Archives.

However, two groups of copies were made of the land records during the Danzig Free City era. They are preserved in the Marburg (Lahn) State Archives and in the Johann Gottfried Herder Institute and were analyzed in their entirety for the present work.

The land survey of 1772/ 73 had been carried out according to precise principles laid down by the Prussian king for the classification commissioners. For each of the three voivodeships of Pomerania, Marienburg and Culm as well as for the Elbing land area, a list of properties and economic report were prepared, so that an exact picture of the state of settlement at that time can be obtained.

The religious denomination of the inhabitants is not always indicated in transcripts of the West Prussian Contribution Cadastre. In order not to be dependent only on the name index with regard to the Mennonites, a list of all West Prussian Mennonites was created as a supplement, the "Special

Consignment of all Mennonite families in West Prussia in 1776. Prepared by Director Schlemmer from the information received from the Mennonite leaders." The original lists are now stored in the German Central Archives, Department Merseburg.

For the Marienburg area, further land surveys from the Polish period could be consulted. A photocopy (from the Mennonite Research Centre Goettingen*), presently Krefeld) of the Economic Revision of Marienburg from 1590, the original of which is in the Royal Library in Stockholm, was used. Through the Polish Military Mission in Berlin, it was also possible to obtain permission to use the files of a revision of 1649 and an inventory of 1696 which are in the Warsaw Main Archives (*Archiwum Główne w Warszawie*). A very detailed inventory from 1607, also housed in Warsaw and recently published, only concerns the Marienburg castle and estate lands.

Various Polish academic societies have also published surveys of the Marienburg area in their source collections, so that the settlement status could also be determined for the years 1510/29, 1582 and 1636. In addition, tax registers of 1682 and two visits concerning the diocese of Culm and Pomerania in the years 1647 and 1667/72 had also been published in print.

The aforementioned land surveys each contain a report in Latin or Polish of the economic condition of the area. The Mennonites are mostly listed in their special Dutch Hufenbezirk [agricultural area]. Information on size of villages, the land distribution, tax rates to be paid and other services are recorded. In contrast to the Prussian land survey of 1772/ 73, the names of inhabitants are rarely given.

For the Elbing territory, the holdings of the Koenigsberg Archives, which are now housed in Goettingen, could be used. In addition to some documents from the first half of the 18th century, a transfer report from 1752 was evaluated. In addition to the number of Hufen, Hufen villages and the tax rate, the names of the inhabitants are also often given.

*) now in Krefeld

In addition to the land surveys, a number of privileges, arbitrary decrees and village ordinances were consulted. Some of this material has been collected from special collections, but also in older secondary literature. The contributions to the history of the Vistula delta by Max Toeppen, which contain, among other things, 57 documents and excerpts from files, some of which are very valuable, deserve special mention. Among the Koenigsberg file holdings, copies of several leases and some privileges granted to the Mennonites in translations from the 18th century could be found and used.

III The state of research

The eastward migration of the Mennonites is currently being researched primarily by Mennonite historians. On the basis of name comparisons, attempts are being made to prove in detail the kinship of the East German and East European Mennonites with the families of the countries of emigration.

Horst Penner studied the Mennonite settlement of the northern Vistula Delta until the beginning of the Prussian period. His work covers the Gross Werder beyond the Danzig area, although it is limited to the lowlands in the north and the pasturelands. Terms of sources Penner's study is based primarily on the West Prussian Contribution Register and information from the local Brand registers [fire insurance registers]. For comparison, the names of the first Dutch immigrants and a list of Prussian Mennonites drawn up in 1789 was used.

Another work concerns the Mennonite settlement of the Vistula Valley from Fordon to Weissenberg. The author, Herbert Wiebe, who was killed in action during the war, based his study primarily on the West Prussian Tribute Cadastre. In addition, he draws on the various records of the Polish crown estates. In a longer introduction Wiebe acknowledges the general importance of the Mennonite settlement.

A hitherto unexplored area lies in the south and east of the Vistula Delta. As the Marienburg Oekonomie and Elbing Territory, it forms the study area of the present work.

No major German language works have been published on the settlement history of the Vistula region in recent times. The source publications that Polish historians resumed ownership of after the Second World War and the photocopies and transcripts of various land surveys available in Germany still leave open interesting research possibilities on the settlement conditions in the Vistula region.

B. The Reformation as the Cause of the Eastern Movement of Mennonite Dutchmen

I. The Mennonites in the Netherlands

Mennonites belonged to the religious groups that emerged in the intellectual and theological conflicts of the Reformation broke not only the framework of the old church, but also that of the new Reformation church founded by Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Persecuted with severity by the representatives of the major Christian denominations and exposed to hostility everywhere, they always came together to form solid communities which despite their relatively small size became of great importance, especially for the history of settlement.

The Reformation had quickly taken root among the urban and rural population of the Netherlands. Most of the martyrs of the new doctrine came from their ranks.

Of the three stages in the history of the Dutch Reformation, which were characterised by the Sacramentalists, the Anabaptists and the Calvinist-Reformed, the middle stage of Anabaptism took absolute precedence for four decades from about 1530. The Anabaptist movement was initially divided into radical and moderate groups. Under Menno Simon's influence, it was increasingly steered into calm channels from 1536 onwards. Its main 'corners' were in the Frisian areas of the northern Netherlands and in East Friesland¹.

1 Theological view

The confession that gradually emerged surpassed that of the general Reformation development in decisive points. In the Anabaptist congregations, the attempt was made to live according to the ideals of Christ's Sermon on the Mount in an original Christian sense. Accordingly, the Christian message of love was taken particularly serious, and works were seen more strongly than in Lutheranism as a fruit of faith. Baptism was seen as a sign of the covenant and not as a prerequisite for Christian rebirth. For this reason, infant baptism was rejected, as well as, in the spirit of Christ's words, military service and the taking of oaths. Relations with the state

were limited to the necessary minimum but any state intervention in matters of faith was rejected².

Although the Mennonites divided into two groups on the question of the ban, the stricter Flaeminger or *Klaaren*³ and the more moderate Friesen or *Groben*, and kept themselves as separate churches, they always appeared to the outside world and to the authorities as one denomination. The internal division also had an effect in the emigration areas⁴. In the context of this study, however, the Mennonites can be a unified group.

2 Persecutions and emigrations

In the Netherlands, ideals worth striving for in the sixteenth century included not only political freedom but also spiritual and religious freedom. Emperor Charles V, however, intended to fight, in his hereditary lands, both for the enforcement of his suzerainty and for the continuation of the Catholic faith.

Already the first of the 12 heresy edicts issued by Charles V between 1521 and 1555 led to strict persecution of new believers in the Netherlands. At first, the heresy courts focused their attention especially on the Sacramentans. As these were increasingly absorbed into Anabaptism, its followers became the most ostracised group⁵ from the '50s onwards. Persistent and bloody persecution began after 1528, when Anabaptists were threatened with death by the Emperor and the Imperial Diet made this punishment law. The suppression of the Anabaptists thus took on an official character, which became even more severe because they were not included in the defensive alliance of the Augsburg religious relatives in 1530. Since the Anabaptists were not included in the Augsburg (Religious) Peace in 1555 either⁶, they had no legal protection whatsoever when a bloody wave of terror poured over the Netherlands under Duke Alba's rule from 1567 to 1573.

The unbearable pressure resulted in mass emigration of members of the persecuted religious groups. As early as 1533, the Regent of the Netherlands felt compelled to demand moderation from those responsible in a circular letter because the country was threatened by depopulation⁷. Even later the damage caused as a result of the emigrations served as arguments for demands for forbearance

to the King of Spain via his governor-general.

Around the middle of the 16th century, the flow of refugees had become a constant movement which, although it slowed down somewhat for a time, then reached an absolute climax under Alba; the direction of flight ran from the southern Netherlands northwards, mainly to East Friesland, where the ruling dynasty of counts initially demonstrated a relatively strong forbearance in matters of faith⁹. At the Emperor's request, however, they had to take action against the Anabaptists¹⁰. The persecutions extended into the 17th century. In the Netherlands proper, they ceased with the Union of Utrecht in 1579, which provided for religious toleration, among other things¹¹.

II. The North-East of the Kingdom as a Land of Emigration for Dutch Refugees

With the decline of the Teutonic Order, colonisation activity in Prussia also came to a standstill. In more recent times, however, the settlement movement began again where the medieval movement had come to a standstill, partly due to a lack of people and partly due to insufficient technical development. However, it is not possible to speak of a continuous progress of the settlement work in the Vistula delta.

Several decades had passed since the last foundation of the Order before a new village was founded in 1471 during the reign of Casimir IV. Further decades passed, people driven to flight due to the great Habsburg confrontation with the Reformation also found themselves in the Vistula region to take up and settle desolate areas or new land under the plough for the right to freely practise their religion.

The desolations of the Vistula region had arisen in the fifteenth-century struggles of the Order's lords with their estates' opponents within their own country and with Poland. Especially the period of the Thirteen Years' War, which was concluded in 1466 by the Second Peace of Thorn, is regarded as the cause of extensive devastation.

Only the general inventories, revisions¹² and visitations¹³ carried out since the beginning of the 16th century provide a revealing overview of the economic and demographic state of the country. Even then, some fifty years after the serious conflicts between the Order and its opponents, there was still no sign of reconstruction in some areas. The reasons for this lay in the population decimation caused by the war and a rural exodus continued since then, caused by the price reduction for agricultural products. This "late medieval agricultural depression" changed at the beginning of the modern era, when the purchasing power of agricultural products began to change¹⁴.

In the Vistula region, frequent flooding was another cause of desertion. With the subordination of the western lands of the Order to Polish sovereignty, the strict regimentation of the Order's administration and with it the tight, uniform organisation of the drainage system had ceased. The consequences were a reversion of large areas of land to the conditions before the dam was built and, especially in the lowland areas, a particularly high proportion of desertification. At the beginning of the 16th century, settlements in the Klein Werder once again became marshy areas¹⁵.

In addition to the pure deserted areas, there were still extensive districts in the Vistula floodplains, until the second half of the 16th century, that were waiting for intensive farming. In addition to the lowland areas, which had not been settled at all due to high humidity, these were the pasturelands of the former Order farms.

1 Settlements in the Duchy of Prussia

The important trade connection of the Netherlands with the cities of the European Northeast, above all with Danzig, brought the news of areas for suitable settlement also to the persecuted baptised. When the oppression in their Dutch homeland became unbearable and, if they wanted to persevere in their faith, they only had the choice between death or emigration, a large number of them decided to take the path to the East that was already known to their ancestors. These were not the poorest, but people from all walks of life, often only provided with the most necessary possessions, but often also in possession of a considerable fortune¹⁶ who now embarked on the merchant ships in Antwerp, Amsterdam, Enkhuizen and Vere, but also in Emden and other places, in order to sail to the Baltic ports.

The first settlements of the Dutch refugees, who are usually referred to as "Dutch" in the sources, were established in the western part of the former Order land secularised as a duchy in 1525 by former Grand Master Albrecht of Brandenburg, who had fought the Reuter War against the Polish King from 1519 to 1521, which had been very costly for him, and now saw an opportunity for the accelerated resurgence of his country in the strengthened economic and colonial development¹⁷. The efforts made since 1527 to settle the Dutch refugees in the area of Bardeyn in the Prussian Oberland were in vain, however¹⁸. In addition, Duke Albrecht, under the influence of his councillors, tried to adopt a strict Lutheran attitude and did not want to tolerate Anabaptists in his country. This led to examinations of the faith and edicts against the Anabaptist settlers¹⁹. In 1556, under the Duke's leadership, another attempt was made settle Dutch people village of Schoenberg²⁰, but this project also failed to any noteworthy significance, as many of the new arrivals fled back to Danzig from the Ducal Prussian Oberland at the mere rumour of a faith examination²¹.

2 Settlements in the northern part of the Vistula Delta and in the Vistula Flood Valley

In western Prussia, which was under Polish sovereignty, there was no centrally controlled immigration or settlement policy. This raises the question of the reactions of the sovereign authorities, the various corporations and private individuals to the hordes of Anabaptist immigrants pouring into the country.

The gateway for the majority of the Dutch refugees was the Hansa city of Danzig. The attitude of this city which had been gradually converting to the Reformation since 1523 became a decisive influence. Although the Danzig authorities opposed the arriving Anabaptists and repeatedly demanded, in letters to the friendly Dutch trading cities, that the emigrants be examined with regard to their religious innocence, they only succeeded in keeping the Anabaptists away from the actual city area. When the Bishop of Kujawy then allowed the Dutch to settle on his estates,

some of which lay desolate outside the city²³, the ban was literally broken. In 1547, the Danzig council also handed out some villages in the lowland area of the Stueblau Werder, which had been abandoned because of the lack of water, to the immigrants for settlement²⁴. The high rents that could be obtained as income were significant enough to the commercially minded people of Danzig so that they encouraged further development. From 1600 onwards, the Mennonite settlement movement spread eastwards to the spit and the Scharpau on the Elbing Vistula. Already from 1580 onwards, the acquisition of land by *Taufgesinnte* was tacitly tolerated in the Danzig suburbs²⁶.

Further to the south-east, in the Tiegenhofsche Canton, Dutch Anabaptists began to clear the land before 1554, which at that time was mostly swampy and had been taken out of the Polish king's table property since 1547 and was in the pledge possession of the Danzig branch of the large Stettin banking family of Loitz²⁷. Here, as well as later in the neighbouring Baerwaldischer Canton, secular landlords, after the ecclesiastical and urban motivated ones, opened the door to a new home to religious refugees for economic reasons.

The successes achieved by the Dutch in the northern part of the Vistula Delta soon became known to the economists and starosts, the administrative officials on the king's land holdings. This had the effect that they also recruited for the marshy and hitherto unproductive areas of the Vistula breakthrough valley. From the last third of the 16th century, they settled the Schwetzer lowlands, the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowlands and the Falkenau lowlands. Mennonite settlements also developed on the eastern side of the valley, in the two Culmic lowlands, in the Graudenz lowland and, of course, but only in later times - in the Marienwerder lowlands²⁸. South of the Vistula breakthrough valley, Mennonite settlements already existed in the 16th century near Thorn²⁹.

From the second half of the 16th century onwards, Dutch immigrants moved into the delta areas of the Elbing Niederung [lowlands] and the Marienburg Oekonomie.

C. The Territory of the City of Elbing and the Marienburg Oekonomie

I. The landscape

The areas of the Elbing territory and the Marienburg Oekonomie mentioned in the subject of this paper, form a part of the Vistula Delta. It is bordered in the north by a chain of dunes on the Baltic Sea and the Vistula Lagoon, in all other directions by mountain ranges; in the west by the Danzig Hills, in the south by the Marienburg-Stuhmer Hills and in the east by the Elbing-Trunz Hills. The entire delta region covers an area of about 1500 square kilometres. In its interior, it is criss-crossed by lowland rivers and old arms of the Vistula and Nogat estuaries. The surface of the delta is shaped by the sediments of the rivers, which, mixed with silt and fine sand, have created a fertile humus-rich clay. The sandy areas, especially on the Nogat, are the result of dike breaches and riverbed displacements in recent times¹.

The alluvial delta tide naturally allows only very low elevations above sea level. In the north of the estuary and at its edges, considerable stretches are even below sea level and require artificial drainage. Consequently, there are also smaller stretches of land with peat and bog areas. They are mainly located in the Delta and areas in the west, but also in the east around Elbing and in the lowlands around Drausensee [Lake Draussen]².

The landscape is subdivided by the courses of the rivers. To the west of the Vistula lies the Danzig or Stueblau Werder with its 376 square kilometres and the new inland spit. Between the Vistula and the Nogat is the Gross Werder with an area of 726 square kilometres, and east of the Nogat, the Klein Werder extends to the southern and eastern edge of the heights with an area of 375 square kilometres³.

From a climatological point of view, the lower Vistula region lies within an area of exchange between oceanic and continental climates. Thus, under the influence of the nearby Baltic Sea, the summer can be very humid and the winter very mild. Mostly, however, the area is subject to the continental climate with hot and dry summers and cold winters. The possibility of sudden thunderstorms with heavy downpours in summer and surprisingly cold weather in winter are always present,

so that the lowland area in particular is constantly in danger of being flooded⁴.

1 The Gross Marienburg Werder

Parts of the Elbing territory as well as the Marienburg Oekonomie extended into the Gross Werder. In the north, the districts of Tiegenhof and Baerwalde belong to Werder, as do the Scharpau and the Binnenehrung, which are part of the Danzig landholdings that extend eastwards across the Vistula. In the north-east area of the Gross Werder, the Elbing Niederung extends to the border of the Tiegenhof area. The remaining Oekonomie district in the south of the Gross Werder was first divided in 1682 into five Cantons with the suburbs: [Klein] Montau, Schoenau, Lichtenau, Neuteich and Lesewitz⁵.

Apart from a few settlements in the south-west of the Werder, planned settlement only came about after the diking of the Vistula and Nogat, which was begun by the Teutonic Knights in the 13th century. The fertile soil, especially in the south of the delta, made it possible to plant grain. Until the 18th century, the main crops were oats and rye⁶. The success of agricultural chemistry in the 19th century then allowed the increased cultivation of wheat and barley.

The landscape of fields and fields with few trees of the Gross Werder is only interrupted in a few places by larger meadows and pastures. They are mainly found in the area of the Schwente, namely on its eastern courses, the *Seelake* and the *Grosse Schwente*⁷.

2 The Kleine Marienburger Werder

The Klein Werder is neither as extensive nor as fertile in its entire extent as the Gross Werder. Its area, which belonged to the Marienburg Oekonomie during the Polish period, extends from the town of Marienburg eastwards to the lowlands of the Drausensee. The western part is subjected to roughly the same conditions as the southern part of the Gross Werder regarding deposits from the rivers. From Marienburg eastwards to Fischau, arable land comes first, while further east in the transition to the lowland and in the lowland itself, the rising groundwater level means that the land can only be used as meadow or pasture.⁸

3 The lowland area around the Drausensee and the Elbing Niederung

The actual lowland area in the area of the Vistula Delta, which is no longer subject to natural drainage, occupies a special position in the landscape. This includes all land up to a height of half a metre above sea level⁹.

To the east of the Klein Werder, the lowland includes area around the Drausensee, which is rich in game and was only reclaimed from the water area, which was about three times as large at that time¹⁰, in the 16th century. As a result of the wet soil however, mainly pasture farming is common in the area of the Drausensee¹¹. The drainage of water through canals and ditches is very difficult in this area because the Drausensee, which is connected to the lagoon by the Elbing Stream, has to absorb much inflow from the mountains and drains very poorly when the north wind creates a dam of water in the lagoon¹².

Northwest of the Drausensee, between Elbing and the Nogat, the eastern part of the Elbing Niederung area adjoins the Kleinwerdersehe [Klein Werder] Niederung. It is characterised by the five pastures of the Ellerwald and also requires artificial drainage. To the west of the Nogat, the Elbing Niederung continues in the so-called Einlage. This is an area of land of about 12 square kilometres, which is mainly used for pasture¹³. Along the dam protecting the Nogat River area there are so-called "land raids" [*Ueberfaelle*] when the water reaches a certain level on the water gauge; then settlers are obliged to let the floodwaters flow into their land. Nevertheless, the lands of Einlage are very fertile, for the stream deposits its masses of sand only in the vicinity of the "raids", while over the rest of the area it spreads a layer of fine silt which helps lush vegetation to emerge after the water has drained¹⁴.

In the north, towards the Haff [lagoon] coast, the Kampen landscape [field enclosed by a ditch or hedge] joins the lowlands and its extent increases over time. Its formation can be traced back to the damming of the rivers and the resulting heavy sedimentation at their mouths. In the course of the decades, the reed usage of the Kampen was replaced by embankment and settlement, the economic basis of which, of course, could only consist of pasture farming¹⁵.

II. The political development from 1466 - 1772

The territory of West Prussia, to which the district delineated in the previous chapter belongs, changed hands several times over the centuries. Under the rule of the German Order of Knights and cultivated under its guidance, it came under the sovereignty of the Polish crown after the Second Peace of Thorn in 1466. West Prussia was divided into three palatines or voivodeships. From then on there were the Marienburg, the Pomeranian and the Culm Voivodeships, as well as the independent Bishopric of Ermland [Warmia]¹⁶ and the areas of the three large cities of Thorn, Elbing and Danzig¹⁷.

As royal officials, the voivodes were usually paid with the income of a starostate, the economic revenue of a sub-district of the voivodeship. The voivode of Marienburg received the income of the Christburg starostate, the voivode of Pommerania that of the Schoeneck starostate and the voivode of Culm that of the Schoensee starostate. The voivodes were also entitled to the revenues of the grod courts associated with the respective starostate¹⁸.

Political responsibility for Royal Prussia, as territories detached from the Order were now called, lay in the hands of the Estates three voivodes, the bishops of Culm and Ermland, the castellans of Culm, Elbing and Danzig, as well as a representative of each of the three voivodes so-called *Unterkaemmerer* [lower chamber], and two representatives of each of the three large cities of Thorn, Elbing and Danzig, who, however, had only one vote at any given time¹⁹. Next to the State Council was the State parliament as the representative of the lower states. The meetings of both estates took place at the general Landtag. The Lublin Union Decree of 1569, however, removed de facto the right of the Landtags to make independent decisions subordination to the decisions of the Polish Reichstag. The West Prussian estates, however, retained the right to approve taxes and decide whether to participate in war, in addition to jurisdiction²¹.

In 1772, Frederick the Great took over West Prussia as part of the first Polish partition. Together with the two cities of Thorn and Danzig, which Prussia did not receive until 1793, it then remained with Prussia or the German Empire until 1919. In between, however, the Napoleonic period had also brought some territorial changes to West Prussia.

In 1867, the Treaty of Tilsit declared the city of Danzig and its territory a free city and separated the districts of Culm and Michelau from the Prussian state. The Danzig area, however, rejoined Prussia in 1814, the Culm and Michelau districts only after the Congress of Vienna. The Treaty of Versailles made most of West Prussia Polish again. In the Vistula Delta, the entire Gross Werder became part of the territory of the Free City of Danzig, while the areas of the Klein Werder and the Elbing Niederung east of the Nogat, which had previously belonged to the province of West Prussia, remained with Germany and were incorporated into the province of East Prussia. The so-called corridor problem then became the reason for Hitler's war against Poland, which brought the areas that had belonged to the province of West Prussia under German rule for another six years²².

1 The Elbing Territory

The Elbing territory, as an exempt area during the Polish period, cut the Marienburg Voivodeship into a northern part around Tolkemit and a southwestern part around Marienburg. The administration and use of the territory was in the hands of the citizens of Elbing until it was pledged to Brandenburg-Prussia.

a) History

As early as 1246, the Grand Master of the Order, Heinrich von Hohenlohe, had issued the founding privilege for Elbing. In 1454, the city and other West Prussian estates separated from the Teutonic Knights and placed themselves under the protection of the Polish crown. King Casimir IV then granted it a new privilege in 1457, which extended the old Order rights and considerably enlarged the territory. The territory now included the hilltop villages to the east of the city and the lowland areas to the west and south²³.

The Elbing Niederung, which was the only significant area for Mennonite colonisation, was divided by the Nogat into an eastern or - as seen from the town - this-side part and a western or other-side part. In the west, the boundary line at the Frisches Haff included the later named villages of Neustaedterwalde and Walldorf and reached close to the village of Tiegenhof; from there ran dead straight to the area of Halbstadt, and then crossed the Nogat,

included the northwestern part of the Drausensee, and access to the heights²⁴.

The fate of the Elbing territory was decisively determined in Polish times by the Swedish-Polish disputes over the crown of Poland and supremacy in the Baltic Sea region. The Swedish King Gustav Adolf landed his troops in Pillau in 1626. After their defeat at Mewe, the Poles confined themselves to small-scale warfare. This included raids into the Werder to keep the Swedes away from their provisions, because the Swedes were burdening the Delta region with high tributes according to the principle "war must feed war". In May 1629 the farmers' barns were so empty that even grain had to be imported from Sweden²⁵.

After the armistice in Altmark in the district of Stuhm, which was set to a limit of six years in 1629, the Swedes retained the city of Elbing, the Klein Werder and the Haff shoreline from Elbing to the mouth of the Vistula in the Gross Werder, as well as the villages of Stobbendorf, Habershorst, Altendorf, Tiegenort and most of the Gross Werder Dam. The Gross Werder, together with Marienburg, Stuhm and the Danzig Haupt was temporarily given to the Elector of Brandenburg²⁶.

During the second Swedish-Polish war the population of the Elbing territory also suffered terribly from the consequences of the war. The inhabitants of the lowlands were hit by a catastrophic famine²⁷.

In the Treaty of Wehlau/Bramberg of 1657, the Polish king gave territory to the Elector of Brandenburg as a pledge for the war debt of 400,000 talers. However, the Polish crown never paid this pledged sum. The Prussian seizure of the Elbing territory was halted again after the Elector had received the Polish imperial jewels as security. But when the debt, which had been reduced to 300,000 thalers, was also not paid the Brandenburg troops finally occupied the territory in 1703²⁸. The city of Elbing itself, which still had a limited number of rural properties for use, was captured on 13 September 1772 with the enforcement of the first Polish partition, after the garrison of royal Polish troops had marched out of the city²⁹.

b) Administrative and legal

Externally, Elbing was represented by a castellan and two deputies in the provincial council,

in accordance with the West Prussian constitution. Internally, the city had an independent government with an immediate status under the Polish king. Due to the old Hanseatic relations, it had adopted its constitution from the city of Luebeck.

The first order in Elbing was the council, composed of members of the old noble families. The number of councillors changed over the years. In general, however, the council consisted of twelve councillors and four mayors. The second order, the common citizens, was represented in the council by the bailiff. The Polish king annually elected a councillor as his representative to become a *Burggraf* or starost, since the city was considered an independent starost district. Within the council, the burgrave held the rank of mayor. The three other mayors held the following offices: the office of president in the council assembly, which was responsible for legal decisions on minor disputes; the office of vice-president with supervision of minors and decisions in guardianship matters; and the office of chairman of the exchange, staffed with three councillors as assessors who had to decide on major court cases in the territory. The last-named mayor was only allowed to rule independently in minor exchange cases³⁰.

According to the constitution, the Elbing councillors also exercised power in the external chamber's office, as well as lower courts in the villages of its district, and the district judge's office. The administrative district of the external chamber comprised the majority of the lowland villages, the others were under the district judge³¹. The district judge was responsible for the defense of all public officials of his territory moreover of all civil and criminal cases of the territory. Judgments in criminal cases, however, still had to be confirmed by the *Burggraf*. The first court of appeal for all courts was the council. In addition, an appeal to the Royal Assessorial Court was possible³².

This picture of good land administration is rounded off by the Brandordnung [mutual fire insurance] for the Elbing Niederung, which had existed since 1640. In the event of fire damage, those who had joined, received graduated assistance, consisting of monetary payments and benefit in-kind, depending on the extent of the loss³³.

c) Denominational

As in most German cities, the Reformation teachings quickly gained a foothold in Elbing. Resistance came only from the Ermland bishops to whose diocese the city belonged; they had declared a determined fight against the Reformation. Among the spiritual opponents the bishop, and later cardinal, Stanislaw Hosius stood out from 1551 onwards. Only after his death in 1579 did the citizens of Elbing achieve unchallenged religious independence³⁴. It is significant that the town was granted its first religious privilege in 1558, while the bishop was staying at the Tridentinum³⁵. It was confirmed several times, first in 1567, 1576 and 1588³⁶.

The Dutch religious refugees, who settled early on within the city freeholds and in the countryside, received from the Council, at all the times, widespread religious toleration. No longer were special privileges needed. The council of the city of Elbing, once in possession of the right to proclaim the Reformation doctrine, had sufficient means of power to protect all its territories inhabitants from the bullying of the Catholic Church. The Mennonites received far more favourable terms regarding church taxes than their co-religionists in the Marienburg area. The Mennonites were also in a much more favourable position than their fellow believers in the Marienburg area with regard to church taxes. In the Elbing territory there was only the Protestant parish duty, which they willingly submitted to³⁷.

2 The Marienburg Oekonomie

In Polish times, the Oekonomie was a complex of the king's table estates, whose proceeds went into the crown treasury (*skarb koronny*). The Oekonomie belonged to the voivodeship of Marienburg but was under the self-sufficient administration of a royal Oekonom. However, this individual often also held the office of voivode or treasurer of Prussia and, as an official of the Polish king, received a certain salary from the income of the Oekonomie³⁸.

a) Historical

The Oekonomie district took in the two Marienburg Werder, with the exception of the areas belonging to Elbing and Danzig. In addition, in the north, since the second half of the 16th century, were the districts of Tiegenhof with the parishes of Tiegenhagen, Orloff, Marienau, Tiege, Ladekopp, Schoeneberg and Schoensee and of Baarenhof with the parishes of Baerwalde,

Neu Muensterberg and Fuerstenwerder excluded from the Oekonomie district and made independent as so-called Tenuten³⁹ .

For centuries, the Marienburg area was affected by the same war events as the neighbouring Elbing territory. As early as 1476, a special request from King Casimir was needed to induce the Werder inhabitants who fled to return to their villages⁴⁰. Even after the first Swedish-Polish war, an official proclamation from Chancellor Oxenstierna was required before the peasants returned to the evacuated villages⁴¹. The consequences of the war were still evident in the Oekonomie area far into the 30s.

During the second Swedish-Polish war of succession, the Werder population did not fare any better. In 1656 the Swedes plundered the Gross Werder and took away the farmers' last cattle⁴³. Normal conditions only returned after the Peace of Oliva in 1660. It must have taken a long time, however, until the consequences of the war had been some what eliminated and the population loss, which after the war amounted to about seven villages or ca 35 H. of the Klein Werder⁴⁴, had been balanced out again. In 1661 it was ordered that special efforts restore the Vistula and Nogat dams⁴⁵ , but the visitations still reported floods and devastation years later⁴⁶.

Even the Saxon electors as kings of Poland did not bring a period of peace to the Oekonomie. The Nordic War again led the Swedes into the Vistula region. From 1704, the Klein Werder was occupied by the troops of Charles XII, who again demanded high tributes. The Vistula delta became a deployment and transit area for Saxon, Swedish, Russian and Polish soldiers. All of them collected their livelihood by means of executions, "so that the people became destitute"⁴⁷. With the peace treaty of 1716 peace returned to the Oekonomie for a few decades. During the Seven Years' War, Russian troops passed through the Werder region, disregarding Polish neutrality. Even in the last years of Polish rule, the various confederations found increasing legal uncertainty in the lower Vistula region as well.

b) Administrative and Legal

Until 1715, the Marienburg Oekonomie was under the control of the Polish king. At that time, however, it was leased out⁴⁸ so that the income no longer flowed directly into the crown treasury.

Within the Oekonomiebezirk [district] of there were 64 villages under Culmic law, whose inhabitants were free farmers. They had to pay tithes to the church, and to the sovereign they had to pay a certain amount of Zins [interest/tax] and a small tax in kind. During the Polish period, the peasants regularly paid a wood fee of 7 groschen per Hufen and gave 4 chickens and 2 Scheffel of grain per Hufen. From many villages a perpetual interest (*czynsz wieczny*) was added, which was paid from capitals still lent by the Order as sovereign on individual estates or whole villages⁴⁹. As a comparison of the Revisions of the 17th century shows, most villages gradually succeeded in paying off this interest⁵⁰.

In addition to interest and taxes in kind, the villagers had to take on a burden of cartage and to perform Scharwerk [obligatory agricultural work], which, as the Revisions report consisted of a small share in the annual haying. They were obligated to work four *Zinshufen* and to bring in a load of hay from the meadows of the estate. Occasionally, these services could be rendered by cash⁵¹.

Above all, however, the inhabitants of the Culmic villages were obliged to work on the embankment, already during the time of the Order each *Scharwerkshufe* had been allocated an approximately 50-metre-long piece of embankment⁵². In order to compensate for this, the inhabitants of the Werder were granted free use of the bridges⁵³.

Of the former Order farms, which were royal estates in Polish times, lay Kaminke, Kalthof, Klein Montau and Leske west of the Nogat, Sandhof and Thoeirichthof east of the river. In addition, there was Rehhof, situated on the Stuhm border, and Gurken on the pastureland north of the town of Marienburg.

During the Orders time, there was no significant religious property, noble property consisted of the 10 Hufen of Renkau⁵⁶. In 1565, the then owner of these Hufen, Paul Kochanski, received, for himself and his heirs, 6 additional Hufen of the Biesterfeld village area⁵⁷. This estate district of six Hufen was later called

Adlig-Renkau⁵⁸. In some places, villages or individual Hufen were lent to great men of the Polish Kingdom for life or for a few decades.

In the second half of the 16th century, next to the Culmic peasant villages, the Dutch settlements, whose special constitution was based on the principle of *Emphyteusis* or *Zeitpacht*, arose in the lowlands of the entire Vistula region.

Marienburg Oekonomie had a special position in the general legal process, which was common on royal land, from the Schulze via the Starostei to the Grod court with possible appeal to the king, or since 1589 also to the Petrikau tribunal⁵⁹. The court constitution and legal system laid down in the arbitrary decisions was determined by the special situation of the Marienburg Oekonomie and its water and dike conditions.

The lowest instance was formed by the Schulzen court in the villages. They were staffed by the Schulze [mayor] and two Beisitzer [assessors or jurors], all three of whom had to "take an oath" before the Oekonom or his deputy⁶⁰. These Schulzen courts were subject to lower jurisdiction, with the exception of fiscal matters, matters of public violence and serious, freshly committed misdeeds.

In addition, each of the two Werder had its own special dam court, also known as the *Dammkommunitaet* or *Deichgeschworenenkollegium*, which dealt with dam matters and related police matters. Courts were staffed by a *Deichgraf*, one juror from each of the five corners of the Gross Werder and two jurors from the Klein Werder⁶².

The legal process ran from these lower courts to the bailiff's court in Marienburg, which was presided over by a bailiff appointed by the king. The two dike counts and the seven sworn elders from the two Werder⁶³ were Beisitzer. This court was responsible for all criminal cases that involved life and limb sentences, as well as for civil cases⁶⁴. Verdict would have to be confirmed by the Oekonom in any case.

The Royal Court of Appeal for Oekonomie Affairs had been in place since 1569. It was also responsible for the emphyteutic inhabitants

of the Oekonomie, i.e., above all for the Mennonites who owned their land as temporary lease. All other land matters also had to be brought before this court⁶⁵. The Royal Oekonomie Court was staffed by the Oekonom or vice- Oekonom, later also by an assessor, a general fiscal and 6 Beisitzer⁶⁶.

Since 1626, the Grosse Marienburg Werder also had its own Brandordnung. Like the Elbing one, it represented a kind of mutual insurance. The fire regulations were created on a private basis but were promoted by state and municipal authorities⁶⁷.

c) Denominational

It was due to the events in the Order's state that the Reformation spread so quickly to the plains of Royal Prussia. Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Albrecht of Brandenburg who had already met Luther in Wittenberg in 1523, converted to the new doctrine two years later and transformed the Order's state into a secular duchy. As of 1523, Georg von Polenz, the bishop of Samland, had declared support for the Reformation⁶⁸, at a time, incidentally, when he, as Albrecht's representative, was carrying out the affairs of state. The rapid spread of the Reformation that followed these events was decisively furthered in 1527 by the conversion of the Bishop of Pomerania, Erhard von Queis⁶⁹, to whose diocese the Marienburg Oekonomie belonged.

The Marienburg Werder was not subject to any Catholic church authority at all for several decades. The Bishopric of Pomesania was still "*sine ullo episcopo et pastore legitimo*"⁷⁰ in 1577. After the Pope had intervened and initially transferred the area to the Bishop of Culm for inspection, unification was finally decreed by Clement VIII in 1601⁷¹.

In the meantime, supported by the cities of Danzig and Elbing which had converted to the Reformation at an early stage, Lutheranism had already spread in the Werders. In 1569 the Polish king granted religious freedom, i.e., the right to preach according to the Augsburg Confession to Marienburg, Neuteich and the other villages of the *Oekonomie*⁷². However, there were still many oppressions and complaints because the Catholic clergy did not always feel bound to the freedoms⁷³. The development of Protestantism in the Werder was later favoured by the temporary presence

of Swedish and Brandenburg troops. Thus, at the request of the Lutheran Werder population, the Polish King Władysław IV issued a new religious privilege in 1633, when the Brandenburg troops of Georg Wilhelm occupied Werder together with the Swedes⁷⁴.

The Malachowski Settlement of 1 January 1677, named by the then Bishop of Culm and Pomesanien, at least tried to finally settle the financial disputes between the Lutheran population of Werder and the Catholic clergy, who insisted on the compulsory parish taxes.

At the beginning of the century, the Werder farmers had still pointed out, in vain, in a petition and complaint to the king that in the Lutheran Werder the Lutheran clergy had to be maintained by the farmers alone, while many (Catholic) Werder parsonages had been given out to secular persons for other purposes⁷⁶.

Thus, from time to time, it proved necessary to reaffirm the right to practice religious freedom. Therefore, religious privileges were repeated by the respective kings of Poland⁷⁷.

Anabaptists who immigrated from the Netherlands in third decade of the 16th century were also granted religious privileges. However, they remained excluded from the agreements with the Augsburg religious relatives⁷⁸. The oldest surviving document in favour of the Mennonites dates from 22 December 1642. It is issued by Władysław IV and concerns the Mennonites of the two Marienburg Werder. In it, all rights, privileges, liberties and justices granted by the royal predecessors of Sigismund II August (1548-1572)⁷⁹, Stephan Balthory and Sigismund III are confirmed and reaffirmed to them. Five years later, however, the same king decreed stricter measures by strongly condemning the Mennonite's proselytizing.

Władysław IV's successor, John II. Casimir, issued two decrees in favour of the Mennonites in 1650 and 1660. John III Sobieski did the same in 1677 and 1694. The Saxon Augustus II also issued a decree on his accession to power in 1697, which he expressly reaffirmed in 1732.

The Mennonite privileges were confirmed again by his successors, in 1736 and 1750 by August III and in 1764 by Stanisław II August (Poniatowski)⁸⁰.

The Mennonites found themselves in a particularly difficult situation because of the compulsory parish dues. They were not only required to pay dues by the Catholic clergy, but also by the Lutheran clergy. In 1707 a decree issued by King Stanisław Leszczyński, appointed by the Swedes, stipulated that Mennonites of the Marienburg Werder should pay their fees to the clergy of the Augsburg Confession proportion to their Hufen size, but in such a way that nothing was taken away from the "*juribus pachorialibus*" of the Catholic Church⁸¹. Although the Catholic church authorities tried to intervene in favour of the oppressed⁸², the Mennonites could not avoid double taxation in the long run.

The Mennonites of most villages had to pay the tithes of half a Scheffel of rye and barley [each], as well as the Kalende, Witteltag, quarterly money and redemption fees for the lost stipend not only to the Catholic Pleban, but also to the Lutheran preacher⁸³. When one considers that the Mennonites also had to care for their own congregation, it is understandable that disputes and protracted lawsuits were conducted, which continued into the Prussian period⁸⁴.

D **The First Period of the Mennonite Settlement in the Elbing Territory and in the Oekonomie Marienburg**

I. Settlements in Elbing and in the Elbing Niederung

As already mentioned, the city of Elbing adopted a tolerant attitude towards Dutch religious refugees early. They are said to have been accepted in the city for the first time in the thirties of the 16th century¹. In 1550 they were sued by King Sigismund II. August because they were competing with the townspeople, especially the craftsmen. The king demanded that they be expelled, but the Mennonites immediately found new accommodation on the estates of the propertied citizens, who did not want to miss out on the hard workers². However, the Anabaptists must have found a new home in the city soon afterwards. For the year 1568, several Dutchmen are mentioned in Elbing, among them a Johst³ who is perhaps identical with Joost van Campen, together with Hans von Coeln who were the first Mennonites to whom the Council granted citizenship in 1585⁴. The recognition of the merit of the opportunities offered by the Dutchmen who had been admitted, meant that the demands for expulsion of the guilds, trades and preachers were approved by the Council, but their implementation was repeatedly postponed.

In the expulsion decree issued by the Elbing Council in 1572, in the wording of which the name coined after Menno Simons was used for the first time for the Anabaptists it said: In order to give the Mennonites the opportunity to reap what they have sown, the expulsion should be postponed until the autumn of the year. In this case, however, postponed meant as much as suspended. In 1612, sixteen Mennonite families were already living within the city walls⁵.

In the meantime, what was situation in the urban territory? From the point of view of the researcher regarding sources, this is a relatively unfavourable position in that in contrast to the royal Marienburg Oekonomie district, no periodic overall surveys or revisions were carried out during the Polish period in the Elbing land area and the later reports from the years 1635 and 1670 must be considered lost today⁶.

Immediately after the transfer of the Elbing area to Prussia, the town councillor Friedrich Hennings prepared a report to the Prussian king, which was intended to justify the town's claim for the return of the territory it had belonged to before the pledge. Although this report was ultimately not sent due to formal reservations, it nevertheless provides revealing reconstruction work in the territory. It mentions, among other things, that at the time of the granting by King Casimir only small areas of the lowlands were cultivated. A determined settlement policy of the Elbing authorities then resulted in that the largely swampy and desolate area on both sides of the Nogat be arable made by clearing, building dams and drainage systems.⁷ For this purpose, through benefits granted to them, foreign labourers were brought in. There is no doubt that labourers mentioned were Mennonites who had fled from the Netherlands.

Thus, from the middle of the 16th century numerous new villages were established in the Elbing lowlands and inhabited mainly by the Anabaptists. The first of these was Moeskenberg (formerly Tannhaeuser), which was leased by the mayor of Elbing, Jakob Rieke, in 1557 as a desolate and "unusable" place. Four years later, this twelve Hufen property fell in equal shares to the mayor's three sons-in-law. One of them gave his share to four farmers, three of whom had typically Dutch names: Anton Joost, Gewert Adriansen and Cyriakus Petersen⁸.

The next settlements established in 1565, were the five Triften [see glossary] of Ellerwaeld, a desolate area of land to the west of the town, whose total of 146.5 Hufen were divided up by the council among the 435 property owners of the old town of Elbing. As a result, the citizens were suddenly in a position to lease out an area of land. Here, too, the Anabaptist Dutch were the main interested parties securing a large part of the area⁹.

As tenants of the citizens of Elbing, the settlers concluded private contracts under emphyteutic law, i.e., as with all Mennonite settlements of the first period, this was a temporary tenancy. This original form of Roman emphyteusis had become common again with the reception of Holy Roman Empire. Annual canon was to be paid as rent and, after the expiry of the term, a purchase money or "laudemium", which as a rule was equal to an annual rent,

but could also be a multiple of it. The respective owners were usually granted the right of first refusal at the end of the contract, but often had to accept an increase in the annual interest rate. The leased land was hereditary; if the contract was not renewed, compensation could be demanded for buildings erected¹⁰. The Ellerwald Triften were supervised by the heads of the old city's municipal estate, three Elbing citizens of preminent status appointed by the council.

At the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, the number of villages founded under emphyteutic law increased considerably. More villages were founded at that time, in whose prosperity Dutch Mennonites participated. In 1586, the council of the city of Elbing issued additional land to be diked and drained on a 22-year lease, namely in the Kerbswalde and in Aschbuden¹², an area where potash was formerly produced. The whole area was leased per Hufen in eight lots, six in Kerbswalde and two in Aschbuden. The tenants received two free years, but had to pay an advance of 35 Marks, which in 1588 and 1589 was credited to them with twelve and in 1590 with eleven Marks on the respective Hufen, which according to the nature of the lots, increased from 20 to 40 and from 40 to 60 Marks per Hufen in the course of the lease period. As there were not the required number of interested parties at the drawing of lots, several councillors jumped in, and in addition the town retained four Hufen¹³. The number of Mennonite farms rose sharply by the end of the seventeenth century. Even then, almost two thirds of all farms in Oberkerbswalde belonged to owners with Mennonite names¹⁴.

Furthermore, in 1596, land used only sparsely established Blumenort in the area east of the old Werder Dam, west of the Jungfersche Laake [flat standing water] and between the Fuerstenauer Laake in the north and the later lock dam by leasing the described area of land for 29 years¹⁵. At the same time, an adjacent area to the west was leased, on which the village of Rosenort was established¹⁶. In connection with these new settlements, the Jungfersche Laake

on its left and the Fuerstenauer [Laake] on its south side were provided with dams, but settlement did not always depend on prior damming¹⁷.

In 1602, the village of Nogathau was founded on the so-called butcher's meadows which served the Elbinger butcher gild and which, 30 years later, also had to give up the terrain for the village of Hoppenau. Also leased as pasture was "a piece of land, situated next to the Kerbs Forest", on which the village of Kerbshorst was established in 1636, after the area had previously been drained¹⁸. In more recent times, the settlement of the Elbing Rossgarten, which was established as early as 1631, was also counted as part of the Kerbshorst municipality. At that time, Caspar Platen, a citizen of Elbing, took over the area of five Hufen and five Morgen on a temporary lease for 15 years¹⁹.

By the middle of the 17th century, Bollwerk, Keitlau, Schwarzdamm and Schlammsack were added as further new settlements²⁰. Without the Dutch Mennonites, experienced in hydraulic engineering, it would hardly have been possible to settle these low-lying lands, some of which had only been washed ashore recently. The religious refugees, who arrived in the Elbing territory into the 17th century, were prepared to make arable land of hundreds of Morgen of land that had hardly been usable until then.

Einlage became a settlement district much sought after because of its excellent soil. Except for the southern tip of Wieden, which, since 1473 had belonged to the Marienburg Dammkommunitaet²¹, the district belonged to Elbing. Originally, the term Einlage was used to refer to the dyke inserted into the land, but soon the whole area between the Nogat and the Gross Werder Dam was designated as such²². Since the purpose of the Einlage since the time of the Order was to absorb the annual spring flood, it could only be used for grazing. Individual settlers, however, settled on the land and gradually attempted to surround their dwellings, which were built on piles, the so-called Tanken, with dams.

For the year 1632, a plan made by the mayor of Elbing, Hoppe, shows a number of names in the Einlage, at least the first two of which clearly refer to Mennonites; Wiebe, Kroecker, Preuss and Berger²³. In 1640 a settlement agreement limited to 15 years was then concluded for part of the Einlage with the Mennonite brothers Jacob and Abraham Wiebe "for the betterment of city coffers".

The tenants paid annually 100 Marks annually per usable Hufen, but were not allowed to build a winter dam. With the permission of the council, they could continue to lease the land. Another contract was concluded in 1643 with Siebrand v. d. Berge, who was probably a Mennonite and probably the same Berger mentioned above. In 1688 he is described in a document as the one who had made the "Insel Einlage" arable²⁵. In 1643 a total of 21 Hufen of the Einlage area had already been leased²⁶.

The emphyteutic owners built dams, not only against the Stubasche Laake flowing in the north, but also against the Nogat, which, however, were forcibly destroyed after a dam broke near Sommerau in 1652. In 1707 the settlers received permission to build another dam, only it had to be a cubit lower on the left side of the Nogat²⁷. Only ten years later, however, there were again complaints, so that King August II ordered the Elbing Council to ensure that the dam was removed before the end of the summer²⁸. Gradually, however, a village of Einlage and later several smaller settlements emerged²⁹. In 1727 among the 17 farmers in Einlage, two thirds were Mennonites³⁰ and in 1752 the same ratio existed³¹.

In addition to these villages, completely newly established with the participation of Mennonites, there were new settlements in the Elbing territory of old Order lands, which had become deserted again in the 15th century³², and since the 17th century, also settlements in the Culmic villages, the extent of which, however, can only be determined based on names from sources of the Prussian period. According to the partly published names of the Brandordnung of 1727, there were already Mennonite landowners in the villages of Klein Mausdorf and Krebsfelde at that time³³.

II. Settlements in Marienburg as well as in the pastures and lowlands of the Oekonomie

In the town of Marienburg, which gave its name to the Werder, individual Anabaptist refugees are said to have stopped as early as 1526³⁴. In an inventory of 1607³⁵ individual "Dutchmen" are located on the castle grounds under the jurisdiction of the Oekonomie. In 1649 there are also some with Dutch names among the house owners on the outer castle grounds³⁶, probably Mennonites. After the second Swedish-Polish war, the number of Mennonites settling there must have increased considerably,

for in the Inventory of 1696, the number of landlords with Mennonite names on the castle grounds as far out as Kalthof and Sandhof has increased considerably³⁷.

The Mennonite inhabitants of the castle grounds, most of whom practised a craft, were tavernkeepers or pedlars, were of course not welcomed by the municipal authorities and corporations. There were repeated complaints because the Mennonites served castle beer in their Hakenbuden [commercial storage places for craftsmen] and, as craftsmen, evaded the compulsory city guilds. However, they were able to continue because they had a strong advocate in the Oekonom. The disputes ended in 1748, when the town of Marienburg took on the castle grounds as leasehold³⁸. The Mennonites thus became eligible for citizenship.

The Marienburg town fathers had been taking in farming Mennonites since the end of the 16th century. They found accommodation on the so-called *Patrimonialhufen* on the other side of the Nogat, which had been distributed to individual town house owners. As tenants with emphyteutic rights, they were involved in large numbers in the development of the villages of Stadtfelde and Dammfelde, which were established on this burgher land in the 17th century³⁹.

The area of the Marienburg Werder had been developed since about 1350, in accordance with the state of settlement technology at that time⁴⁰. In the Gross Werder, the lowlands in the north and the pasturelands north of Marienburg, which had only been used to a limited extent since the decline of the Order's state, were reserved for the second German Eastern settlement period.

There is evidence of Anabaptist tenants in the pasturelands of Heubuden⁴¹ and Gurken northwest of Marienburg as early as 1554⁴². In 1565 they paid their interest to the village of KoczELITZKE⁴³, which was founded in 1471 according to Culmic law on the site of the burned down (1454) former Order farm of Warnau and received its name from the then Marienburg castle governor Johann KoscelecZ.

The Revisions of the late 16th century convey the distribution of the pasture complex. In 1582 there are 20 Hufen and 5 Morgen, which pay an interest of 10 Guilders and 21 Groschen through KoczELITZKE. Owner of the Hufen is the Marienburg mayor Joachim Gedner⁴⁴. In 1590 the village of KoczELITZKE pays 400 Marks from a pasture near Heubuden,

presumably the area of the Koczelitzker Heubuden later listed as 10.5 Hufen. Another part of the Heubuden pastureland is given out for 50 Marks and another 3 Hufen and 13 Morgen are leased to four Marienburg citizens for 269 Marks. The villages of Altenau, Damerau and Barendt have to pay interest for smaller pasture areas of the Heubuden district. Near the Gurken suburb, the village of Gross Lichtenau owns a pasture area for which it has to pay the handsome sum of 1,030 Marks Prussian currency⁴⁵.

Up until the middle of the 17th century, the area had been divided differently. The Hufen of Heubuden are issued to several localities and individual tenants who have various privileges. However, a continuous settlement has not yet taken place. In 1649, the Gurken area is still divided in the same way as in 1636⁴⁶. Plentiful 4 Hufen, the later Gurkenhuben, are issued to Eberhard Smoler for 384 Marks. Another 19 Hufen and 10.5 Morgen, the later Willebruchshuben, are owned by Dawid Willembuk, and the remaining 2 Hufen belong to the village of Trappenfelde with a Heubuden area of the same size⁴⁷.

According to an arbitration of the year 1676, 26 Hufen and 22 Morgen of the Heubuden area and 28 Hufen and 25 Morgen of Gurken belonged to the privileged Dutch Hufen⁴⁸.

"Dutch contracts" were already concluded in 1607 for parts of the Heubuden settlement complex and in 1612 for the later Willebruchshuben without the areas having even been settled or taken to the plough. On the basis of a privilege from King Władysław IV, 8 Hufen of the Heubuden district were still issued in 1639 "Iure Emphitetico cum facultate colonos ibidem instituendi"⁴⁹.

In 1676, the 10 Hufen and 24 Morgen of Herrenhagen still belonged to the Dutch Hufen of the Gross Werder. The district, situated between the Culmic villages of Blumstein and Lesewitz, is still divided among the adjoining villages as pasture in 1649⁵⁰, but in the second half of the 17th century it is lent to various great lords of the Polish Kingdom. The relatively high interest demands, such as from the treasurer Samuel Brochotzki for 10 Hufen at 450 Guilders⁵², suggest that Herrenhagen was subleased profitably. In 1702 a contract was signed for a period of 36 years with Mennonite settlers,

which applied retroactively from 1697⁵³.

Like the area of Herrenhagen, parts of the Marienwerder lowlands were already given to Culmic villages of the Oekonomie for pasture in the first half of the 17th century⁵⁴. However, settlement of these later villages of Montauerweide, Tragheimerweide and Zieglershufen by Mennonites did not occur until the 18th century⁵⁵.

During the time of the Order, only the higher part of the Klein Werder in the southwest could be settled definitively, while the state of drainage technology was still insufficient for building in the area east of the line Neuhof-Grunau-Baalau-Thiergartfeld-Kampenau. The farms Sparnhoff (Sparrau), Markushof, Vinkelsdorf⁵⁶, Baalau and Schwansdorf, which had been built by the Order on the Niederung border had largely become swamps again in the 15th century⁵⁷.

The village of Kampenau, which was founded for the first time in 1337⁵⁸ and was situated more than one metre below sea level, had also disappeared and was awaiting a new settlement attempt. A *Lustration* from 1565 refers to the possibility of gaining a higher yield from these fields⁵⁹. This was achieved by Dutch immigrants from 1584 onwards, making Kampenau the first self-contained Dutch settlement in the Klein Werder. Exceptionally, a lease contract from the year 1612 has been preserved⁶⁰. Generally, as new contracts were made, the old ones became invalid and worthless for the partners and were lost. However, gaps in the records can be filled by the various revisions and inventories which contain valuable information about the times of origin, levies and expansion of the settlements.

In the tax register of 1582⁶¹ there is still no information about Dutch settlements in the Klein Werder⁶². In contrast, in 1590 there are already six which are described as "Weiden" [pasture]. Beside Kampenau, Markushof is listed which was given to the Danzig citizen Simon Bahr in *Arrende* in the same year. Furthermore, the Dutch own Eschenhorst, Alt Rosengart, a smaller pasture Wolfszagal, which is later counted as part of Eschenhorst, and, additionally a part of the resettled Culmic village of Kuckuck⁶³ which served as pasture for the Drausenwald⁶⁴, whereby this is presumably the first trace of the village of Thiensdorf, which came into being around 1590⁶⁵.

Particularly strong expansion can be accredited to the Eschenhorst inhabitants in the following period. Not only did they succeed in incorporating the Kneiphorst, Sankwickel and Wolfszagal pastures, which are still listed separately, but they are also responsible for the first settlement in a Culmic village in the Klein Werder. In 1591 they leased the 8.5 undeveloped Hufen of Grunau, which they then purchased in 1622 for 6,800 Marks⁶⁶. This was a new form of settlement for the Dutch, the settlement on purchased plots of land in the Culmic villages.

Some of the newly settled land was also part of an area that had previously belonged to Culm. The village of Kampenau, founded in 1337 with 60 Hufen, was already mentioned. After its reestablishment as a Dutch settlement, it comprised only 46 Hufen⁶⁷. Of the Culmic area of Thiergarten, which in 1590 still had the same 92 Hufen as at the time of its foundation in 1350, 40 Hufen had fallen to Kampenau and Markushof by 1636⁷⁰. Presumably this was previously unsettled and desolate village land for even the Handfeste [writ] of 1350 described a large part of the fields as wooded⁷¹, while in 1590 "quite a lot" of Hufen lay desolate⁷².

In addition to the Dutch settlements already mentioned, there are the following from the last decade of the 16th and up to the middle of the 17th century; Schoenwiese (1597)⁷³, Kronsnest (before 1609), Sparrau (before 1612), Rosenort (before 1617), Schwansdorf (before 1620), Hohenwalde (before 1629)⁷⁴, Baalau (before 1631)⁷⁵ and Sorgenort (before 1636)⁷⁶.

In summary, it can be stated that in the Klein Werder a settlement movement directed towards the lowlands began on a broad front as early as the 16th century, opening up the area as far as the Drausensee in the east and reaching the Dutch villages of the Elbing territory in the north.

The sequential settlement movement of the Dutch religious refugees thus began in ducal Prussia and spread to the Danzig, Tiegenhof and Elbing areas. At the same time Mennonites also appeared on royal Polish estates of the Vistula break through valley and the Marienburg Oekonomie.

Expelled from the Duchy of Prussia because of the government's rigid stance on religious issues, the Anabaptists and their later arrivals found a permanent home in the Prussian lands of the royal Polish portion. Although this was not as a result of particular political or spiritual tolerance, but merely out of the realisation that they were economically useful to the country. This motive was probably also the reason for the first official defence of the Mennonites by the magistrates of Danzig, Thorn, Elbing and Marienburg, when in 1608 the Bishop of Culm and Pomerania turned against the Anabaptists at the Graudenz parliament. The deputies pointed to an agreement with the Polish king, which had been reached in 1585 providing for tolerance in matters of faith⁷⁷. Also, the voices raised against the Mennonites at other times at the Prussian Diet and the Polish Imperial Diet were less in number than the defenders who put the economic benefit in the foreground. The bishops of Culm, however, could never completely hide their resentment against the Mennonites⁷⁹. All the more significant are the many letters of protection issued by the Polish kings⁸⁰.

E The increase in Mennonite land ownership until the end of the Polish period

By about 1650, the Mennonites had mainly developed all new land. Only occasionally were the lowland districts interrupted by lakes, swamps or areas overgrown with scrub. At the river mouths new land was created by the continuous deposit of sediment, and cultivated land was also gained in form of polders along the Drausensee.

Even when there was no new Dutch influx from the homeland, the Mennonites continued to spread in the Marienburg and Elbing area. This was mainly due to their strong increase in numbers and their economic success which provided the financial means for the acquisition of new land. Around the middle of the century, many co-religionists from the Danzig and Tiegenhof districts tried to obtain land in the Marienburg Oekonomie because of the anti-Mennonite measures in Danzig and severe overpopulation¹.

From then on, the Mennonites acquired more and more land in the Culmic areas. By 1676, the Mennonite settlement had spread so far into the grain-growing areas of the Werder, that at the Landtag, the excellent agricultural practices of the Mennonites were particularly praised².

Significant for the new form of the Mennonite settlement was the purchasing of Culmic lands, which included the assumption of all obligations encumbering it.

Only in rare cases do old Culmic Hufen appear in the sources, which are leased out under Dutch, i.e., emphyteutic rights. In most cases, these are interest-free loans given to deserving noblemen of the Polish Kingdom, who received the respective area to use for a few decades³. In contrast in the Elbing territory during the time of the Prussian administration, land was also offered for lease in some Culmic villages, so that interested parties could rent it themselves⁴.

I. Elbing Territory

It was not until the end of the 17th century that the Elbing council took steps to use the alluvial Kamp lands [field enclosed by ditch or hedge]. At first, however, only a Kamp, later named after the District Secretary Fischer, was leased. Fischer himself took over the area in 1683, but he resigned from the lease as early as the spring of 1691 after a heavy ice flow on the Nogat had partially destroyed the Kamp. Thereupon the Elbing council gave the "Fischerskamp" to 30 tenants for ten years of emphyteutic rights⁵.

With a high participation of Mennonites, 30 Hufen of forest land were developed near the village of Jungfer. This area of land had initially belonged to the Elbing new town, but then the old town acquired 10 Hufen of it. In 1699, an Elbing citizen received 4 Hufen of this area, which was only used for logging. An extended area was then given to six tenants in 1703 and 1706, who immediately began cultivating it. Gradually, the locality Neustaedter Ellerwald (Neustaedterwalde) as well as the field names Goldberg and Hegewald⁶.

Since the end of the 17th century, the Nogat dikes had been moved further northwards. In 1715, the Prussian director, *Hofrat* Braun, pointed out in his proposals for increasing the yields in the Elbing territory with the possibility of establishing new villages in the area enclosed by the Nogat, the Jungfersche and the Fuerstenauer Laake by building transverse dykes. In the same year, the Elbing council issued extensive estates with emphyteutic rights for 40 years to various "privatos"⁷.

During that time, the villages of Walddorf (Walldorf) with 21 Hufen and 20 Morgen⁸ were created from the remaining part of the Jungfersche forest area, Laakendorf (Lakendorf) with 17 Hufen and 1 Morgen from the Langhorst area, Fuerstenauerweide with 4 Hufen and 15 Morgen and Klein Mausdorferweide with 4 Hufen. In addition, 3.5 Hufen of the later settlement of Neudorf in the Stubtsche forest east of the Jungfersche Laake and a number of smaller pieces of land in the Kampen were leased for the first time around this time⁹. From 1733 onwards, the old outwork lands of Stutthof were also leased for settlement¹⁰.

With the exception of the settlement of Neulanghorsterweide, whose inhabitants still complained of a lack of cattle and wetness in 1752 when the Elbing territory was taken over by the Kriegs- and Domaenenrat Koeppen, all the villages founded since 1715 have experienced an economic upswing.

Mennonite participation in these new settlements was relatively high. In 1755, when the settlement contracts with most of the tenants were initially extended for 40 years, the Mennonite inhabitants of Walldorf owned four-fifths of the land. Laakendorf, too, a third of the land was in the hands of the Mennonites¹².

II. Marienburg Oekonomie

Already before the middle of the 17th century, almost every last little piece of wasteland in the Marienburg Oekonomie had found an owner and had become cultivated land.

In the Gross Werder, most of the former pastureland of the Order around Heubuden and Gurken had been granted as landed property. A requirement issued by Władisław IV in 1639 to settle colonists was probably fulfilled mainly by bringing in Mennonite farmers.

The list of 1676 calculated 55 Hufen and 17 Morgen in the Gross Werder on the Heubuden estate complex and 10 Hufen and 24 Morgen in Herrenhagen as "Dutch Hufen". In the list of land tax rates for 1682, the number of Heubuden landlords is given, while Herrenhagen is not listed as a landed estate. Of the emphyteutic owners burdened with a head tax, 16 lived in the Willebruchshuben, 3 in the Gurkenhuben, 3 in the Philipponerhuben, 3 in the Finkenhuben, on the (Koczelitzker) Heubuden, 4 in the Irrgangshuben, 2 in Trappenfelde and 1 in the Heubuden share of the Culmic village of Altenau¹³.

Two decades after the 1676 inventory, the 1696 inventory of the Marienburg Oekonomie attributes around 82 Hufen of the Heubuden-Gurken and Herrenhagen districts to the "Dutch".

In the 17th century it had become common practice to refer to the settlers, under Dutch law, as Dutchmen. Therefore, terms "Dutch" and "Dutch Hufen" appear in source material from the Marienburg Werder to be understood as referring predominantly to Mennonites or areas settled by Mennonites.

For the year 1642, the number of Mennonite owned Hufen is documented. At that time, the royal chamberlain Willibald von Haxberg extorted an amount of 150 Guilders from each Mennonite farm by means of a patent obtained from the Polish king. The total income for the chamberlain was 80,000 guilders, so that no less than 533 Hufen in the Marienburg area including Tiegenhof must have been in the hands of the Mennonites¹⁴. This number corresponds almost exactly to the 528 "Dutch Hufen" of 1676.

It was tempting to equate all the Hufen designated as "Dutch" in 1676 with those owned by Mennonites in 1642¹⁵.

However, the problem cannot be solved so simply. After the 1676 inventory of the Gross and Klein Marienburg Werder, laid out in 1666, respectively the 321 "Dutch Hufen" may have formed the basis of the Mennonite settlement, but they were never exclusively owned by Mennonites.

Apart from the fact that in 1642 not all the "Dutch Hufen" of the Gross Werder could have been settled by 1676¹⁶, let alone owned by Mennonites, the "Dutch" villages of the Klein Werder never belonged exclusively to Mennonite owners either.

Even if one takes into account that some Upper German Mennonites immigrated to the Vistula region in the 16th century¹⁷, they cannot explain all the High German names that appear in the sources.

Only a few names are mentioned in the Revisions, but the existing documents are quite sufficient to prove Lutherans also lived in the Dutch villages of the Klein Werder even before 1642.

Thus, the only name of a "Hollander" mentioned in the revision of 1590 is not of Dutch origin¹⁸. In the Kampenau document of 1612 there are three High German names also¹⁹. In 1636 there is a decision to build a Lutheran (!) church in Thiensdorf, i.e., in the middle of the Dutch Hufen district, which is recorded in a document and signed by the Schulzen of Schwansdorf, Alt Rosengart and Markushof, namely Jacob Koch, Gerbrand Wolter and Gerhard Jacobs²⁰. If any further proof is needed, it is provided in 1652. At that time, a decree on the Mennonites of the parish of Thiensdorf explicitly contrasts the "Ministischen Hollendern" with "Lutterische Hollender"²¹. The church visitations carried out in 1667-1672 also only emphasises that some of the "Hollaender" belong to the Anabaptists or Mennonites²².

Even in the first Dutch settlements of the 16th and 17th centuries, individual Lutheran Upper Germans resided alongside the genuine Dutch, whether they had immigrated with the Mennonites or had joined them from neighbouring Culmic villages. In the immediate aftermath, too, Lutherans could easily appear as legal successors to Mennonites. Thus, the original national designation "Dutch" for the immigrant Dutch Mennonites also became a personal one regarding their special legal status in the Vistula Delta.

Even after what has been said, the assertion made above can stand regarding the "Dutch Hufen" on the list of 1676 as well as the settlements of the "Dutch" listed in the Revisions of 1636 and 1649; they represent the starting point of the Mennonite settlement. The first Dutch settlements in the Vistula delta are therefore Dutch settlements, i.e., resettlements which, according to Dutch law, were also inhabited for the most part by real Dutchmen, in contrast to the Dutch settlements of the Posen area, which received the name merely because of their Dutch legal status²³.

Among the 533 Hufen owned by Mennonites in 1642, there must have been a large number of Culmic properties. Admittedly, it is not possible to trace them in detail, since there is no land survey before 1772 which records names of the local inhabitants or their denomination. Only isolated information in the sources of the 17th century proves that already

in 1622, in Koczeltzke²⁴ and 1636 and 1649 in Preussisch Koenigsdorf²⁵ Mennonites resided who owned Culmic properties.

After the turmoil of the Second Swedish-Polish War, the Mennonites bought more and more Culmic Hufen. After the Nordic War, many of them must have settled in the old Werder villages again, as the number of baptisms tripled in the large Mennonite community between 1711 and 1743²⁶.

The limited space of the Dutch settlement district in the Gross Werder was simply not enough for the Mennonites. But it was not only the surplus population that had to move to the neighbouring Culmic neighbourhoods. Above all, Mennonites from the lowland areas left the estates that were too low yielding for their demands and also tried to buy their way into the Gross Werder. The settlements in the Culmic Werder villages gradually took on such proportions that in the course of the century, until the Prussian seizure, the area inhabited by Mennonites, measured against the 66 Hufen of 1676, extended over an area five times as large²⁷.

Mennonite settlers received loans for the purchase of the Culmic properties and the individual farms built "out into the field" not only from their own co-religionists, but also from the rich Catholic churches and monasteries in the wider area as well as from the officials of the Oekonomie²⁸. With regard to the obligations assumed with the plots of land, the Mennonites' traditional endeavour to convert contributions in kind and personal services into monetary payments was immediately noticeable²⁹.

For financially strong Mennonites from the Elbing and Marienburg area there was still the possibility of settling on the outlying estates in the southern part of the Gross Werder which were sparsely settled until the 18th century.

The Inventory of the Marienburg Oekonomie of 1696 had already mentioned some Mennonite names among the house owners of the areas³⁰. These emphyteutic village lands became the outlying estate lands of Kalthof in 1718³¹. In 1726, the Marienburg Oekonom, Count Doenhof, also issued the lease contracts for the outlying estate lands of Kaminke, Leske and Klein Montau³². A year later the contracts were confirmed by King August II³³. Many Mennonites settlers,

but especially those from Kalthof, extracted good yields from the very fertile (in parts) soil³⁴.

For the distribution of the outlying estate lands, the form of hereditary lease (*ius perpetuum*) was originally used on a large scale. For the tenant, the poll tax and the purchase money were omitted, but he still had the advantages of the emphyteutic, the freedom from the dam responsibilities and the *Scharwerk* [see glossary]. However, the rents were increased accordingly and reached 150 Guilders for one Hufen³⁵. In 1745, a decree even stipulated that every tenant who received the hereditary lease should also pay higher tax³⁶.

In the Klein Werder, almost the entire lowland had been reclaimed by 1650.

The six settlements of the "Dutch" already mentioned in the Revision of 1590, to which Wengeln, which apparently remained interest-free must also be added, had, according to a later survey, extended over an area of more than 150 Hufen.

By the end of the actual cultivation period, the area of the Dutch settlements in the lowlands had grown to 323 Hufen and 23 Morgen. The Revision of 1649 distributes these Hufen owned by the "Dutch", i.e. mainly Mennonites, to the following villages:

Kampenau	46 Hufen	27 Morgen
Sorgenort	5 Hufen	19 Morgen
the same again		12 Morgen ³⁷
Schwansdorf	36 Hufen	
Kuckuck	4 Hufen	15 Morgen
Hohenwalde	32 Hufen	
Thiensdorf	12 Hufen	
Baalau	4 Hufen	25 Morgen
the same again	6 Hufen	
Markushof	60 Hufen	
Rosenort	12 Hufen	
Wengeln	25 Hufen	15 Morgen
Fellermanshuben	2 "	
Eschenhorst, Kneiphorst, Sankwickel, Alt Rosengart and Wolfszangel together 39 Hufen and 15 Morgen.		

Additionally there were 8 Hufen und 15 Morgen (Grunauer Land)	
Kronsnest	20 Hufen
Sparrau	8 Hufen

A further 6 Hufen were owned by the Dutch in Preussisch Koenigsdorf in 1649. However, these are Culmic Hufen, for which a Zins (interest/tax) of 16 Marks is to be paid.

The Willkuer of 1676 and a similar list in the Elbing Deicharchiv³⁸ contain 321 Hufen and 20 Morgen as "Dutch Hufen" in the Klein Werder. In comparison with the Revision of 1649, which gives the actual size of the villages, 2 Hufen are missing from Rosenort, 12 Morgen of out lying villages from Sorgenort and 2 Hufen and 13 Morgen from Thiensdorf. On the other hand, the 3.5 Schoenwieser Hufen from the Gross Werder are incorrectly listed.

The tax rates established in 1682 also mention the numbers of emphyteutic owners burdened with a poll tax. With the exception of the villages of Kronsnest, Sorgenort and Sparrau, which are not recorded, the remaining 290 Dutch Hufen are occupied by a total of 248 communities⁴⁰. In 1682 in the villages of Markushof, Kampenau, Eschenhorst, Schwansdorf, Hohenwalde and Baalau, there is also a Krueger in each case, who only has to pay half of the head tax rate of 8 Groschen⁴¹.

By the end of the 17th century, the number of privileged Dutch Hufen had increased only slightly. In the Inventory of the Marienburg Oekonomie 1696, under the heading "*Zinse von den Hollaendern, die nach Privilegien und Gottespfennigg im Kleinen Werder wohnen*" [Interest/tax from the Dutch who live in the Klein Werder according to privileges and God's penny(?)], there are, in addition to the old Dutch villages, Liebenthal, Stobbendorf and Wiberwald as well as the still unsettled pasture areas of Montauerweide, Tragheimerweide and Zieglershufen from Rehhofschen. Liebenthal is the farmland that was granted to the crown villagers as emphyteutic rights by King Sigismund III as early as 1593⁴². Stobbendorf is one of the two small outlying villages of Sorgenort and Wiberwald which is later called Wengelwalde as a settlement. The village of Augustwalde, which was mentioned as a new settlement as early as 1667⁴³, is not listed in 1676, 1682 or 1696, although the parish lies to the west of the Sorge.

At the beginning of the 18th century, in 1702, the Marienburg Oekonom issued 3 Hufen of the area of Schwansdorferhoefchen situated north of Schwansdorf as emphyteutic rights⁴⁴.

Furthermore, in the course of the 18th century, the outlying estate lands of Thoyerichthof and Sandhof were released for settlement on a hereditary leasehold basis. A scattered settlement of 19.5 Hufen was established on the Thoyerichthof site as early as 1726⁴⁵, while Sandhof was not issued until 1752⁴⁶.

As already mentioned above, many Mennonites moved out of the lowlands in the 17th/18th century and acquired Culmic properties in the higher Werder area. Individual conversions of Mennonites, which always had to take place when a baptised person chose a spouse of a different denomination⁴⁷, may also have led to a considerable reduction in the number of Mennonite-owned Hufen in the Klein Werder.

As can be from a surviving document of the Thiensdorf church⁴⁸, in 1744 the Mennonites owned 37 Hufen in Markushof, 20 in Schwansdorf, 16 in Wengeln, 13 in Alt Rosengart, 10 in Hohenwalde, 7 in Augustwalde, 6 in Thiensdorf and 6 in Baalaeu. However, this loss of property, some of which was quite considerable, was offset by a far greater gain in Culmic Hufen. Even into the Prussian period, the Mennonites were able to expand unrestrictedly in the flat lands.

F. The Significance of Delta Settlement by the Mennonites

I. Drainage and reclamation as a prerequisite for settlement

As already mentioned, the Dutch mainly advanced into areas that had not been covered by the medieval settlement period or had since become desolate again. Unfavourable water conditions in these areas had worsened considerably since the decline of the Order.

The immigrant Dutch refugees can be credited with the final draining and settlement of these depression areas. By means of dam constructions, the building inlets, canals and the tower mills familiar from their homeland, which raised the water from the lower-lying fields to the level of the drainage canals, they succeeded in lowering the groundwater level to such an extent that agricultural use of the area was made possible¹.

In the Oekonomie area, the floodplain of the Drausensee, which at the time of the Mennonite immigration extended as far west as the area of Markushof and as far north as the city of Elbing, had resisted all earlier attempts at settlement. The settlements of Kampenau, Baalau, Markushof, Schwansdorf and Vinkelsdorf (or Nickelsdorf²) founded within this area during the time of the Order never really prospered and lay desolate at the beginning of the 16th century³. The lowlands had remained essentially inaccessible to economic use. The poorly draining waters of the Elbing-Trunzer and the Marienburg-Stuhmer heights, together with the frequent flooding of the Nogat, had preserved the entire Drausensee area as an inhospitable region, interspersed with extensive pools and flushed by a myriad of small rivulets.

The immigrant Mennonites ensured permanent drainage in this area. In order to expose the fertile lake bed, rich in nitrogen, for cultivation, they are said to have built a dam through the Drausensee near the later village of Wengeln as early as 1550, in order to keep the land away from the water in the form of a polder. On the dam they built grinding mills which gradually drained the area to the west⁴. So by the end of the 16th century

a permanent settlement could be established in the Drausensee lowlands. A large piece of valuable settlement land was gradually opened up to economic use.

In the area of the so-called *Haffkampen*, too, a large part of the first cultural work was done by the Mennonites. The diking of the Nogat and Vistula rivers, which was completed in the 14th century, led to the development of remarkable land north of the Elbinger Einlage. As soon as this were somewhat secured against the lagoon, initially by makeshift dams and embankments, attempts were made to use this as pastureland. However, the inhabitants of the settlements gradually built on the *Kamp* land could only make a worthwhile attempt to also cultivate grain after years of grazing the cane stubble by cattle⁵. Until the second half of the 18th century, this attempt was successful in most of the villages which were inhabited by numerous Mennonites from former *Kamp* land.

However, the Dutch did not only bring their experience of water construction to the Vistula region. From their former, highly developed state system, they introduced a social and legal status to their settlements in the special form of the "community" of all settlers of a village, enabling an upswing in economic performance.

For their settlements, which they always leased for only a few decades, they demanded the right to freely elect a Schulze. The Schulze did not have a special position, nor did he receive any free Schulzenhufen, but only took on his office for one election period, usually one year. All owners were liable for the punctual payment of the rent "*omnes pro uno et unus pro omnibus*"⁷.

They tried to be as free as possible from personal services to the landlord and from the Scharwerk, which is why they often found themselves willing to pay a considerably inflated rent. In the Gross Werder, the emphyteutic villages were free of all dam obligations, while in the Elbing and Klein Werder they were required to pay a monetary contribution⁸ and occasionally also to supply materials for the construction of the dam⁹. On their land, the Dutch were usually granted the right of Zeidlerei [honey harvesting from wild bee colonies], fishing and free hunting, for which they occasionally had to pay a tax in kind¹⁰. In addition, the Dutch settlers demanded and received the privilege of freely buying and selling of their produce,

and beer brewing for their own use. They were also granted freedom from the mill ban [*"Muehlenbann"*] and, depending on their needs, the building of a chandler shop which was often connected with a bar, which in most other cases required special privileges.

II. Rising sums of interest as a sign of rising prosperity in the 16th and 17th centuries

The settlement of the Mennonite Dutch not only resulted in a significant increase in the area of cultivated land, but also, hand in hand with this, in a considerable increase in the income of the royal treasury.

The general currency devaluation in the 16th century created the loss of a large part of a landlord's real income, because the peasant interest had remained the same. Officials of the Marienburg Oekonomie tried to compensate for this loss by levying an additional amount, usually 5 Marks, a "new interest [tax] for the Culmic Hufe¹³. In return however, the farmers' *Scharwerk* obligations were often reduced, which in the Oekonomie district were limited anyway because of the small extension of their outlying lands which were being leased by settlers. In the area of the Oekonomie, the new demand for tax was abandoned in 1594. At that time King Sigismund III forbade the Marienburg Oekonom, Stanisław Kostka von Stangenberg, to continue to charge the tax¹⁴. This decree, however, only had a delaying effect because the grievances drawn up at the beginning of the 17th century by the Werder farmers, also took a stand against this new tax¹⁵. From the Revision in the 17th century, this "new tax" was regularly required.

From the beginning, a much higher tax rate was levied on the Mennonites settled by emphyteutic rights than on the inhabitants of the Culmic villages. The exemption from the dyke burdens on the main dams, from the *Scharwerk* duties and the taxes in kind only offers an inadequate explanation for the high amounts. Already in the beginning, figures agreed upon by the Marienburg Oekonomie and the Dutch tenants show the special position of the new settlers. Relatively high sums of interest are paid for the land that used to be worth only a fraction earlier.

Thus before 1579, the Elbing area profited 600 Marks from the Markushof pasture which was temporarily in their possession¹⁶. After renting it out to the Dutch at emphyteutic rights, the yield rose to 3000 Marks by 1590¹⁷. Since prices by no means rose in the same proportions, this increase is seen to be an expression of the greater economic capacity on the part of the mostly Mennonite new settlers.

1. The revision of the Marienburg Oekonomie in 1590

In 1582, before the great Mennonite immigration into the lowland and pasture areas of the Oekonomie, the regular tax income from the two Werder, with the exception of the Baerwalder and Tiegenhofer areas, had amounted to about 2350 Guilders¹⁸. Eight years later, 1590, a sum of 23,033 Marks was reached when the new interest claim was included¹⁹. To the listed income for the year 1590, however, 9063 Mark must be added from the pasturelands. This sum was almost exclusively contributed to by Mennonite settlers, who are referred to as "Dutchmen" in the source:

"Campenau pasture. Dutch have settled on it. They have a confirmation from King Stephen and, according to the contract which they concluded with the late Lord Treasurer (Johannes Dulski, succeeded in 1590 by Stanisław Kostka, Administrator of the Oekonomie) pay 2400 Marks annually into the treasury.

Markushof pasture. They have settled Dutchmen on it, but they do not have the King's confirmation. According to the contract with the late Lord Treasurer, which runs for 30 years, they pay 3000 Marks." ... "At this pasture the Dutchman Bartell Flisel has a fish pond with duck hunting, for which he has to pay 15 marks and 5 Schock of ducks [1 Schock = 60; 5x60 = 300 ducks].

Eschenhorst pasture. Dutch people have settled on it, paying 1,050 Marks.

Alt Rosengart pasture. On which Dutch reside. They pay 1,000 Marks annually into the treasury. On the same pasture the Dutch have leased a few 10 (i.e., 10-20) Morgen, for which they pay 50 Marks. Furthermore, the Dutch have leased a reedy duck pond with a house on it.

For this they pay 130 Marks, in addition 2 Shock [120] of ducks, four Shocks [240] of snipe and three Shocks [180] of garganey [a type of duck].

Wolfszagal pasture. For this, the Dutch pay 250 Marks into the treasury."

The sum which the Dutch in the Klein Werder paid to the Marienburg Oekonomie in 1590 to the crown treasury thus amounted to 7,895 Marks. If one compares this amount with the total income of the Culm villages of the Klein Werder amounting to 4,994 Marks and adds the income from the pasturelands which, according to the revision, are or will be lent to great people [nobility] of the Polish Kingdom, the result is that the old-established inhabitants only brought the King an income of 5,843 Marks.

Admittedly, this comparison is not exact insofar as most of the Culmic villages of the Werder had to perform some form of *Scharwerk* services. Since the inhabitants of Stalle bought their freedom from the "*onera villae*" with money, there is a comparative figure. If one assumes that, as in Stalle, the *Scharwerk* services can be bought off for a sum roughly equivalent to the "new interest", the *Scharwerk* services of the Kleine Weider can be estimated at around 2,600 Marks annually. Even if this sum is added to the amount calculated above, the income amount from the Dutch settlements exceeds only by a fraction. Thus, a significant statement can be made regarding the area of the Klein Werder: From the mostly Mennonite religious refugees who had settled in the lowlands for only a short time in 1590, the sovereign had almost as much income as from the long-established citizens of Culm.

The Oekonomie district of Gross Werder was for Mennonite immigration a much lesser target of destination. Part of the pastureland around Heubuden and Gurken was already in the possession of the Anabaptists in 1590. A large part, if not all, of the sum of 1,430 marks was paid by them to the royal treasury via the villages of Gross Lichtenau and KoczELITZKE.

2. The Revision of the Marienburg Oekonomie in 1649

By the middle of the 17th century, all the formerly unsettled or deserted land of the Marienburg Oekonomie had been cultivated by the Dutch.

In some areas they had been cultivating the Werder and lowland soil for two generations, and in other places they had reclaimed the marshes during the first half of the 17th century.

On the occasion of the death of the Marienburg Oekonom and Pomeranian voivode, Gerhard Doenhof, a new Revision of the Marienburg Oekonomie was carried out in 1649. It provides information on the economic importance that the Dutch Mennonites had for the Marienburg Werder at the end of their first settlement period, the cultivation period.

The total income from the Culmic villages of the parts of the two Werder belonging to the Marienburg Oekonomie amounted to 25,737 Marks or 17,158 Guilders in 1649. This contrasts with income from the pasturelands amounting to 16,292 Polish Guilders, or converted into Prussian currency, of 24,439 Marks. It is divided between 5260 Marks from the Gross Werder and 19,179 Marks from the Klein Werder. Compared to the figures of 1590, it can be seen that within the period of 60 years, the income from royal land only increased by 2704 Marks, i.e., by 12 per cent²¹. From the emphyteutic lands, however, it increased by 15,376 Marks. This is an increase of 176 per cent.²²

The reasons for these higher yields are to be found on the one hand in the increase of the interest rate of most of the Mennonite settlements, which were already present in 1590, and on the other hand in the considerable increase in agricultural land.

In detail, for the village of Kampenau, which had to pay 2400 Marks in 1590 based on the contract lasting during 30 years from 1584, but 4300 Marks were demanded as interest when the contract was extended by 20 years from 1612 onwards²³. In the Revision of 1649, an Arrendeverschreibung [tenant lease] running for 25 years from 1637 to 1662 is given for the 46 Hufen and 27 Morgen, which retained the annual interest of 4300 Marks.

Markushof, whose first lease had expired in 1620, had paid 3000 Marks for its 60 Hufen at that time. The new contract ran again for 30 years and ended in 1650. According to the new contract, the rent was 5400 Marks per year. In the year 1590, the Dutch residents of the pastures of Eschenhorst, Rosengart

and Wolfszagal paid a total rent of 2480 marks. The 1649 Revision mentions a whole area; a contract, limited to 45 years, to Samuel Hebla and his heirs, which is said to be valid from 1636 to 1681 and was confirmed by King Johann Casimir. The lease sum obtained earlier has amounted to 2700 Marks. Now the land yields no income.

The Dutch settlements existing since 1590 developed the land vigorously during two generations of farmers, thus the landlord was able to take advantage of the improved economic situation with an increase in rent after the expiry of the lease period. Even if one takes into account a certain, undoubtedly existing depreciation of money, the considerable increase in the annual rent must be attributed above all to the improvement of the land. The agricultural skills and diligence of the largely Mennonite "Dutch" were already bearing fruit.

In addition to the property already listed in 1590, the 1649 Revision report contains extensive lands that have been reclaimed and settled in the meantime.

The 8.5 Hufen which the Dutch settlers had bought from the village of Grunau in 1622 became part of Eschenhorst. Although they are counted as pastureland, they take on the form of the Culmic Hufen in the interest calculation. In addition to 8 Marks of old property rent, a new interest of 939 Marks is to be paid. This serves as a solution for "general Werder *Scharwerk* work and payments"²⁴.

The Dutch settlement of Schwansdorf is granted to Margarete Doenhof. The settlement later extends over an area of 36 Hufen. The 1649 Revision, however, does not contain an ascertained size for Schwansdorf. The contract, which was last extended in 1642, was valid for 30 years. Owner pays the Marienburg castle the relatively high sum of 1650 Marks annually.

Sorgenrot is settled by Dutchmen, who once paid 286 Marks for 5 Hufen and 19 Morgen, but 23 Marks for other 12 Morgen²⁵.

Hohenwalde is given out to various people free of charge. Since the grounds are devastated, only 85 Marks per year are paid to the crown treasury for the 16 Hufen and 7 Morgen which Krystian Stroband has issued to individual tenants for 24 years. The other 16 Hufen

of the total 32 Hufen sized area are in the possession of Jan Tesmer, the vice-Oekonom of Marienburg. Tesmer had an Arrende contract from 1639, which was confirmed by Władysław IV in 1642 and by John Casimir in 1649. The annual interest to be paid amounted to 200 Marks.

The 12 Hufen of Rosenort were given to a certain Reinhold Brant, who owned them according to a privilege from Sigismund III from 30 January 1617 until the year 1647. The new contract was again valid for 30 years, and the lease sum was 5 Marks per Hufen, i.e., a total of 60 Marks,

Wengeln has several contracts in 1649. Six Hufen have been leased to the Dutch since 1640, who pay 450 Marks for them as before. The contract was confirmed by King Władysław IV on 30 May 1641. In addition, another 13 Hufen were issued to the Dutch for 30 years by the owners, the Gueldenstern brothers. The contract concluded on this was recognised by King Władysław IV and ran from the year 1644. The sum to be paid into the crown treasury amounts to 156 Marks. Another 6.5 Hufen counted as Wengeln belong to the royal secretary Jan von Holtze for 30 years from 1636 to 1666. Like the owner of Eschenhorst, he received them interest free²⁶. In the same area Jan von Bodek owns the 2 Fellermannshuben for 30 years since 1641. The contract concluded was confirmed by King Władysław IV in 1642. The revision report does not contain any interest information for this either, so the Hufen must have been granted free of charge.

A pasture area of Wengeln, still specifically listed in 1649, extends on the ground of the later settlement of Wengelwalde. It is partly overgrown with bushes and copses, especially at the Drausensee with elms and willows. The land, which extends from the waters of the Habdona (Abdaune) to Reichhorst (the 6 Hufen of Wengel called Dutch), is owned by the Dutchman Abraham Wiebe according to an agreement with the late Oekonom, which was confirmed by Władysław IV. From the other side of the Drausensee, a large part of the area is still overgrown with cane and reeds. In the Revision report it is mentioned that the owner of the land has dug a lot of ditches up to the mill in order to achieve better drainage. He also had the mill renewed at his own expense and had a special dam built. For the whole area, he pays 75 marks a year into the crown treasury.

The Abraham Wiebe mentioned must have had great influence at that time and belonged to the most respected Mennonites. As can be seen from the introductory document to the 1649 Revision, he was consulted by the Revision Commission on all matters concerning the Mennonites.

In 1649, the village of Kuckuck owns a contract for its 4.5 Hufen that has just been concluded for 30 years. The annual interest amounts to 337 Marks²⁷.

In 1649, the 12 Hufen of Thiensdorf and just under 5 Hufen of Baalau belonged to the already mentioned Jan von Holtze. He has a privilege from 1631, which was confirmed four years later by King Władysław IV. The contract for above-mentioned territories runs for 30 years from 1636 to 1666. The sum to be paid into the crown treasury amounts to 79 Marks. On the other hand, the Dutch settlers of Baalau pay 90 Marks for each Hufen.

The inhabitants of the village of Kronsnest have a 60-year contract for the 20 Hufen, which was concluded with the Marienburg Oekonom, Stanisław Kostka, in 1609. The annual rent amounts to 600 Marks. In addition, there are 15 Marks from the inn, whose privilege was confirmed in 1640.

The 8 Hufen of Sparrau, whose contract was signed by Sigismund III in 1612, are lent to a certain Heyn. According to the Revision, he does not have to pay anything for it.

Also, from the outlying land Thoeirichthof, 40 Morgen are given out to emphyteutic rights. The contract was issued in 1638 and runs for 30 years. The annual interest amounts to 130 Marks. The contract was confirmed in 1639 by King Władysław IV²⁸.

Similarly, in the area of the Gross Werder, a large part of the income was raised in 1649 from the later so-called Dutch Hufen. Here, too, individual areas were given out to deserving great men or favourites of the Polish king, who leased the land to others, but paid only a small interest themselves to the treasury. Therefore, the exact amount of the rent paid by the settlers cannot be determined. In both Werder districts however, the amount must have been higher than that paid to the crown treasury.

From the area around Heubuden, which served individual Culmic villages for pasture, but is also partly owned by individuals, an interest of 1,836 Marks is paid in 1649.

The 3.5 Schoenwieserhuben were in the hands of various owners in 1641. 1649 they are claimed by the inhabitants of the village of Kunzendorf. The current owners are the heirs of the master builder Kaminski, who only have to pay 25 Marks in interest.

From the Gurken area, since 1617, initial payment for 4 Hufen is 384 marks, on the other hand, in 1612, the payment for 19 Hufen and 10.5 Morgen is 300 marks. The actual sum paid by the settlers of these Hufen to the owner, David Willembuk, may have been considerably higher²⁹.

The Culmic village of Trappenfelde also owns shares in the Gurken pasture district. The annual interest for the 4 Hufen and 13 Morgen of the later so-called Trappenfeldschen Gurkenhuben, whose contract runs from 1640, amounts to 550 Marks.

The third area in the Gross Werder later counted as part of the Dutch Hufen area is Herrenhagen. The neighbouring Culmic towns of Blumstein, Lesewitz, Schadwalde and Tragheim pay a sum of 1,290 Marks.

In summary, it can be stated that the settlements still referred to as "pastures" in the Revision experienced a considerable economic improvement by the middle of the century. In 1649, almost half of the king's annual income from his Marienburg property came from these areas. However, the amounts actually paid (by largely Mennonite settlers) were even higher, as the feudal lords who were lent this land by the king for a certain period of time passed on nothing or only a fraction of their income to the crown treasury.

The average interest/fee to be calculated, which was paid directly to the castle for a pasture Hufen of the Klein Werder in 1649, amounts to about 88 Marks. However, this includes the very high-interest lands of Kampenau and Markushof, so that the figure is probably somewhat lower. Multiplied by the approximately 320 Hufen owned mainly by Mennonites in the Klein Werder, this results in a sum of about 28,000 Marks, which must actually have been paid in annually.

3. The Inventory of the Marienburg Oekonomie in 1696

By 1696, the Polish king's interest income from the pasturelands of his Marienburg royal property district had again increased. This is particularly significant in that the extent of the Dutch pasture Hufen, compared to that of 1649, has only increased very slightly, so that the king's additional income must be attributed either to increases in interest or - and this is the case - to fewer land loans to great people [nobility] of his realm.

In the whole economy, the income from the "Dutch" now amounts to 22,598 Guilders. Of this, 18,068 guilders are from the Klein Werder and 453 Guilders from the Gross Werder.

A comparison with the levies of 1649 shows that the interest rates of the Mennonite villages paying directly to the royal treasury at that time remained essentially the same, so that the king's increased income is a consequence of the increased use of his own Oekonomie. Except for Kronsnest and some of the Hufen of Thiensdorf and Wengeln, all the villages of the Dutch farmstead districts apparently paid interest directly to the Marienburg castle in 1696. The average sum paid at that time of around 88 Marks for a Hufen is confirmed the account of 1649 and shows that in the second half of the 17th century, the rent in the Klein Werder Oekonomie was no longer increased.

The Culmic villages, on the other hand, were not spared an increase in interest, for the interest rate of these villages in 1696 is usually somewhat higher than in 1649³⁰. In 1696, a total of 12,650 Guilders flowed from the Culmic villages into the crown treasury. In contrast to the customs of the Revision, however, the inventory of 1696 does not list the taxes in-kind, grain and chickens in monetary terms in a final accounting.

The interest sums of the emphyteusis contracts of the year 1696 show the following amounts the individual villages and Hufen of the Klein Werder:

Kampenau 2,816 guilders, Markushof 3,720 Guilders, Eschenhorst and Alt Rosengart including the purchased Grunauer Hufen 2,954 Guilders, Schwansdorf 2,070 Guilders, Sorgenort, Hohenwalde 1,294 Guilders, Rosenhorst 600 Guilders, Wengeln 780 Guilders, Reichhorst 300 Guilders, Wiberwald pasture (Wengelwalde) 50 Guilders, Fellermannshufen including Kruggeld 49 Guilders, the remaining Hufen as well as 6.5 Hufen of Wengeln belonging to Thiensdorf,

remain without income for the royal treasury, as they are lent lands, Kuckuck pays 225 Guilders as in 1649, likewise Baalau 360 Guilders³¹, Kronsnest 400 Guilders³² and Sparrau 360 Guilders³³.

In 1696, the 82 Hufen of the Gurken-Heubuden and Herrenhagen area in the Gross Werder have the following names and interest rates: 6 Hufen, namely the 4 Philipponer Hufen and the 2 Gondecker Hufen, are in the hands of a certain P. Isbrand, who has to pay 60 Guilders for them³⁴. The Dutch of the almost 5 Finken Hufen pay 433 Guilders, the owners of the Trappenfelder Finken Hufen for their 5 Hufen and 5.5 Morgen 466 Guilders. For the 12.5 Hufen on the Gurken area 294 Guilders are paid, for the Koczelitzker Heubuden with 10.5 Hufen, 740 Guilders. The village of Irrgang pays 170 Guilders for its 2 pasture Hufen, while the village of Altenau pays 180 Guilders for the same area. The Dutch on the Willebruchshuben pay 1,284 Guilders for the 19 Hufen and 10 Morgen, the owners of the 4.5 Gurkenhuben 300 Guilders, those of the two Dixonhufen, 133 Guilders and the Schoenwieserhueben near Gnojau, 187 Guilders³⁵. Furthermore, a pasture area of 10 Hufen near Kaminke, namely Herrenhagen, is mentioned, whose owner pays 450 Guilders.

Now the economic situation of the Werder farmers in the 17th century can be described as quite good. The fertile area fed its man, and despite the repeated turmoil of war and frequent flooding of the Vistula and Nogat rivers, an upward economic trend can be seen.

Mennonites on the emphyteutic lands were strongly involved in the economic rise. This can easily be seen in the rising interest figures. It should also be taken into account that at the end of the average 30-year lease period, a purchase fee or Laudemium [acknowledgement money] had to be paid, the amount of which was roughly equivalent to a year's rent.

The generally recognised efficiency of the Mennonites, their frugality and not least their special lowland economics, which in the lowlands favoured cattle breeding and thus gave advantage to pasture and dairy farming, had made success inevitable. Not even the price increases and the increasing devaluation of money, which took on alarming proportions in the second half of the 17th century, could change anything³⁶. Since foodstuffs, along with luxury goods, rose particularly sharply in price, the peasants were hardly affected.

The Mennonites also benefited from the fact that, due to their abundance of children, they were often able to save the money for the rather high wages of the farm hands. This had risen by more than 100% within a century. In 1622 the annual wage for a farm hand was 35 Marks, plus a pair of shoes, a pair of trousers and a shirt³⁷. 100 years later a chief farm hand received 80 to 90 Marks a year in addition to the clothing³⁸.

The sober way of life of the Mennonites, their aversion to luxury, which went so far that some even considered buttons and patch pockets superfluous, also contributed to their general prosperity³⁹. How advantageously this way of life differed from that of the rest of the Werder population is shown by the repeated expense and luxury regulations of the autocracy. They demanded that no more than 6 barrels or 12 tons of beer be consumed at a wedding and that no more than 2 oxen, 6 mutton and 2 calves be slaughtered. The luxury of dress must also be restricted. Among other things, the women and maidens of the Werder were ordered in 1622 to have only silver belts made instead of gold-plated ones⁴⁰.

The Werder farmers' favourable position with regard to social and economic independence⁴¹ in 1525⁴² granted him the unhindered sale of "grain and all kinds of cereals, and whatever else he brings with his labour, and does not buy from others, be they friends or strangers"⁴³ in the city and the free transport on the waterways, was only a good prerequisite for the Mennonites to also profitably exploit their own rights.

The profitability of the plots of land can be illustrated by one example each from the Gross and the Klein Werder. In the 17th/18th century the area of Herrenhagen could count on average grain harvest of about 27 Scheffel per Hufen. After deducting the tithes to be paid to the clergy via the Schulzen, the amount needed for new sowing and the annual own needs, about half of the harvest could be sold. At an average price of one Guilder for a Scheffel of grain⁴⁵, the profit from one Hufen thus amounted to 135 Guilders. In contrast to this, in the 18th century there was initially a farm rent of 50 Guilders. Only in the second half of the 18th century was it increased to 60 Guilders. Operating costs in Herrenhagen will not have been too high, especially as three loads per Hufen were used as cattle fodder every year.

The same calculation carried out by using a village of Wengeln in the Klein Werder, results in a profit of 99 Guilders on two thirds of the arable land of each Hufen, while the Hufen rent in the 18th century was 60 Guilders. In Wengeln, too, three Fuder [cartload] of hay were still harvested from the arable Hufen. A third part of the land, however, was entirely reserved for the cattle and pasture economy and yielded 10-12 Fuder of hay from the Hufen. Although the operating costs in the lowlands around the Drausensee were quite high, the net profit was probably not much lower than in Herrenhagen. In both cases, the additional tithe (= 10%) paid to the church must also be taken into account. The Malachowski settlement had awarded Catholic clergy not only the redemption money for the lost stipend fees, but also taxes in kind (on Kalende and Witteltag) as well as quarterly 2 Groschen "quarterly money"⁴⁶.

Since the first half of the 17th century, the Mennonite inhabitants of Wengel had to pay the Lutheran church in Thiensdorf 2 Marks and 6 Groschen annually as a lump sum for the lost stipend, in addition to the quarterly fee⁴⁷.

If one overlooks the leasing conditions in the 17th century, it can be seen that the increased interest demands of the Polish kings did not affect the economic upward development of the Dutch settlements. The increasing prosperity of their largely Mennonite inhabitants was not affected by them in any way.

III. Interest amounts in the 18th century

1. Oekonomie district

In the 18th century, the interest rates for the Dutch Hufen were further increased. The Mennonites, whose occupations were explicitly stated in the documents of this time as farming and small goods shopowners⁴⁸, initially still owned well over half of the Dutch Hufen district. Their numbers continued to decline in the following period because economic success paved the way for them to move into the fertile Werder area proper.

The rent increases of the 18th century are still signs of a continuing economic rise. Significantly, the interest amounts are increased primarily for those places predominantly inhabited by Mennonites in the beginning of the Prussian period.

The lease contracts⁴⁹ preserved from the half of the 18th century show that the interest rate of Schwansdorferhoefchen is considerably increased and reaches the level of 60 Guilders for the Hufe in 1724. Kampenau and Markushof, which already had to pay a Hufen interest/fee of 40 Guilders in 1612 and 1620 respectively, pay the same amount in the 18th century. The village of Rosenort had a contract from 1683 limited to 40 years⁵⁰. In the 1723 extension, the interest rate of 60 Guilders for the Hufe is maintained, as it was a year later in Eschenhorst and Schwansdorf. In Sorgenort, the lease sum of 45 Guilders for the Hufe, which was already paid in 1696, remained after the extension of the contract in 1724.

In the second half of the 18th century, the rent for the Hufe in the Klein Werder reached 60 Guilders almost everywhere. This can be seen from the contracts of King August III with the settlers of Thiensdorf in 1760 and those of Wengeln and Reichhorst in 1762⁵¹. In Kuckuck, on the other hand, the interest was not increased and after the extension of the contract in 1763 it amounted to the same 50 Guilders per Hufen⁵² as in 1696.

In the area of the Gross Werder, where the interest rate for a Dutch Hufen had already far exceeded the amount of 60 Polish Guilders in 1696, the interest rate in the contracts preserved from the 18th century⁵³ remains the same. Only in the contract with the Mennonite inhabitants of Herrenhagen, renewed by King Stanisław August Poniatowski in 1766, is a Hufen interest rate of 60 Guilders per Hufe just reached.

Around the middle of the 18th century, the interest rate of just under 13 Guilders for a Culmic Hufen, especially on the outlying lands, is compared to a lease sum of 150 Guilders for an emphyteutic leasehold Hufen⁵⁵. In 1772 such surprisingly high amounts are also found in the Heubuden area. For the two Dixons Hufen the annual interest rate is 240 Guilders, for the two Gondecker Hufen, which were lent to P. Isbrant for 20 Guilders in 1696, now 300 Guilders. The average interest rate for Heubuden-Gurken at the end of the Polish period is therefore 79 Guilders for a Hufen⁵⁶.

2. Elbing Territory

The interest rates for the Elbing territory from the 17th century show a similar rise in the economic development of the emphyteutic lands as in the Marienburg Oekonomie. An interest amount of 135 Marks per Hufen paid in Rotgarten was rare⁵⁷, but 100 Marks per Hufen were also paid in Hoppenau and in Einlage⁵⁸.

In the 18th century, the lowland villages, largely inhabited by Mennonites, continued to produce good yields. The average rate paid by emphyteutic territorial villages of the lowlands was somewhat higher than in the Dutch villages of the Oekonomie. It usually amounted to 22 Reichstaler and 20 Groschen, that is 100 Marks or just under 67 Guilders⁵⁹. In 1772, the 142 Hufen area of the Elbinger burgher village of the Ellerwald, one third of which was owned by Mennonites, even paid an average interest of 73 Guilders for the Hufe⁶⁰.

In the 18th century, the quite sharp calculations of the Prussian administrators often allowed for an increase in interest after the expiry of the respective lease period. It should be kept in mind that individual leases on smaller areas of land in the northern districts were often limited to five, six, ten or twelve years, so that the purchase money had to be paid more frequently. These small plots of land therefore changed hands more quickly, especially as the right of first refusal was also limited, and the interested party had to buy the land at auction with the laudemium. In this way, a multiple of the annual rent was often obtained as purchase money⁶¹. The auction records from the 18th century contain mainly Mennonite names. This may be due to the fact that the number of baptised people in the Elbing territory was constantly increasing⁶² and new plots of land were therefore in great demand.

Even for larger areas with emphyteutic leases, the settlement figures available for the 18th century still show increases in interest rates. A reduction of the interest rate almost never took place. If the interest rate could not be increased or even had to be reduced after the expiry of a lease period due to flooding, silted up land or the death of livestock, the intendant had to report this fact to the Prussian king and had to be anxiously compensated to the Prussian territorial treasury as soon as possible⁶³.

In Walldorf, in 1715, the rent was 1,000 Marks or 222.20 Reichstaler per Hufen, but the annual interest was 100 Marks or 22.20 Reichstaler. In 1755 a deputation of the inhabitants asked that the previous rental timeline be retained and the purchase money

be apportioned to the annual interest. This is granted, but the new interest rate is also set higher, and the owner of a farm must now pay 32.50 Reichstaler for it⁶⁴.

A similar transformation takes place in Laakendorf. The purchase sum of 1800 Marks per Hufen paid in 1715 is apportioned to the annual rent, which at the same time is increased from 22.20 Reichstaler to 27 Reichstaler, so that together with the purchase money the new Hufen rent now amounts to 37 Reichstaler⁶⁵.

The interest rate increases for the Dutch Hufen of the Marienburg Oekonomie thus contrast similarly with those for the leased lands of the Elbing territory. The economic upswing of these areas must be attributed primarily to the Mennonites living there. To what extent, however, the Mennonites at the end of the Polish period had retained their original lowlands and to what extent the individual Mennonite had already used his economic success to secure for himself or his descendants a better place on a purchased plot of land in the Culmic Werder district will be determined in the next chapter.

G. The settlement history situation at the West Prussian takeover by Frederick the Great in 1772

I. General condition of the land

The decline of state power in the Polish kingdom, which became increasingly noticeable in the course of the 18th century, went hand in hand with a deterioration of economic conditions. Disputes over the throne, wars and the appearance of mass diseases did the rest to put the country in a sad state. This can be clearly seen in the example of the cities, where in 1772 a relatively high number of devastated areas can be found¹.

The economic decline of many West Prussian towns had occurred since the ban on brewing and serving beer in the countryside, issued by Sigismund III in 1593, was no longer observed. Since the entire tax assessment of the states was based on their monopoly of brewing and distilling, their existence was severely threatened due to the fact that the king's power was no longer great enough to force the landed gentry respect the laws which were favourable to the towns².

The town of Marienburg, whose right of beer and brewing stalls was severely infringed by the brewers and Hakenbuden permitted on the castle grounds by the Oekonom, paid 12,000 Guilders brewing tax in the 18th century, which was offset by a profit from the brewing trade of only 6,000 Guilders. It is not surprising that the Marienburg debt burden, accumulated in this way, rose to a level of 24,000 Reichstaler by 1772⁴.

In the countryside, the power of the landlords and starosts had become very great in the first two thirds of the 18th century. The land surveys, which were originally supposed to be carried out every five years to determine the fourth of the revenues to be handed over to the king, hardly took place any more⁵. The increasing number of starosts did not serve the purpose of better administration, but rather the increasing exploitation of the land.

The areas of the Elbing territory and the Marienburg Oekonomie, however, had an exceptional position. Most of the peasants were able to maintain their prosperity not only in the Elbing district, which had already come under Prussian administration at the beginning of the century, but also in the Marienburg Werder. An orderly administration

also prevailed in the Marienburg Oekonomie. No less than nine Inventories and one Revision are known of the Polish period of the 18th century⁶.

II. The scope of the Mennonite Settlement in 1772

During the time of the Order, Mennonite Dutch had played an important role within the purely German settlement district of the Marienburg Werder and the Elbing Niederung. At the time of the Prussian takeover of the area, however, the name "Dutch" had long since ceased to serve as a designation for members of this people, but meant a very specific legal and social status introduced by the Dutch over two centuries ago. Since the 17th century, the shifting process between the Mennonite Dutch of the majority of the Dutch villages and the Lutheran inhabitants of the Culmic villages had contributed to the fact that even in the Delta region, "Dutch" only meant the particular social and economic structure of the villages concerned.

The distribution of descendants of the Dutch immigrants can be determined based on the lists of names in the West Prussian Contribution Cadastre [1772 census]. There are several ways of proving that the bearer of a name appearing in the Register is a member of the Mennonite community. In the best-case scenario, the denomination of the local inhabitants is indicated. Unfortunately, this only happens for one sixth of all villages with Mennonite inhabitants. Nevertheless, a comparison with the "Special Consignation of all Mennonite Families in West Prussia in 1776"⁷ [see glossary] makes it possible to identify by far the largest part of all Mennonites. Cross-checking the Contribution Cadastre and Special Consignation for Dutch-sounding names, leaves 10 to 20 per cent of the bearers of Dutch-sounding names on the Cadastre who have become Lutheran.

The time period of more than three years between the completion of the Contributions Cadastre and the compilation of the Mennonite lists naturally brings with it an uncertainty factor for the survey, especially since the spelling of the names was not exactly fixed. For example, Friesen was also used for v. Riesen, which in turn is replaced by Thiesen in the transcripts. Given the state of the sources, this uncertainty must be accepted. The numbers determined in the following final lists are therefore, regionally different, and too low by 5-10 per cent.

The Contribution Cadastre, which was compiled by the Prussian classification commissioners after the takeover of the West Prussian territory in 1772/73, is undoubtedly the most important source for the development of local settlement and economic conditions. The Cadastre was created in order to reorganise the tax system on the basis of its data.

During Polish times, the direct state taxes for the Culmic inhabitants of the Vistula Delta were limited to the Hufen tax, the forestry money and the taxes in kind. The emphyteutic settlers, on the other hand, paid the purchase money in addition to their interest and the poll tax if they did not have original settler rights.

Before the Prussian tax rates were set, the commission, which was headed by the Privy Councillor of Finance Roden, addressed a series of questions to the inhabitants of the country, the content of which was precisely prescribed. Addition to 52 so-called general information, i.e., questions about name, family members, property titles, livestock etc., there were 103 possible "specialia", which mainly concerned the economic condition of the land. The most important information was combined in the Cadaster, but a special economic report was prepared for the "specialia". Anyone who gave false information to the commission had to expect severe punishment.

The tax assessment was carried out according to the following criteria: The seed was deducted from the average grain yield and the remainder was halved. One half was attributed to own consumption, the other was assessed as the net yield to be sold according to the Prussian chamber tax of 1768. Significantly, however, an exception was made to this basic rule on the Marienburg estate, the yield was halved immediately from the sixth of the grain harvest without first deducting the seed amount. Of the net yield, Culmic peasants were required to pay a contribution of 28%, the emphyteutic and hereditary tenants 33.3%. A certain amount could be deducted for monetary and in-kind contributions to the churches.

In addition to the grain yields, the annual hay harvest and the dairy cows were also taxed. Especially the lowland areas with little or no grain cultivation were assessed with an amount of up to 2 Reichstaler for a four-horse cartload, depending on the quality of the hay. A dairy cow in the lowlands was estimated at 4-6 Reichstaler, while the rate was much lower in other areas. As an exception, the Prussian commission

in Neuhof and also in Nogathau also assessed the vegetable and fruit gardens at an average of 3 Reichstalers for a quarter of a Morgen. The sporadically cultivated legumes, beans and peas with an average yield equal to the sixth grain measure, with 1.5 Scheffel seed per Morgen were equated with grain.

It was possible to lodge an appeal against the fixed tribute. Some villages in the Marienburg Werder were successful and their taxes were reduced. The small number of complaints, however, proves that the Prussian commission described the conditions accurately.

When evaluating the economic reports, some arithmetical problems occasionally have to be solved, since the arable land of a village used for the tribute is not always indicated. However, it can be calculated from the number of Scheffel sown for an arable Hufen. On each Culmic Morgen, 2 Scheffel of wheat, rye and barley are required for seed, but oats require up to 3 Scheffel. In the lowlands, these quantities increase by one Scheffel each. Since the three-field system designates one third of the land as fallow, the number of Scheffel sown on the Hufen must be divided by 2 or 3 or 4 when calculating the arable area and halved again added to the resulting number of Morgen.

To obtain the yield of an acreage, it is only necessary to multiply the number of Scheffel sown per Hufen by the amount of grain harvested. The aim for the sixth grain measure from a Werder Hufen corresponds to a yield per hectare of 6-9 quintals (Doppelzentner), depending on the type of grain. However, this takes into account one third of fallow land, so that the yield per hectare, measured against the present system of crop rotation increases to 9 - 13.5 quintal.

1. The Mennonites in the Elbing Lowlands

A total of 46 settlements are located in the lowlands of the Elbing territory in 1772, to which must be added several royal administration estates and crofter settlements not listed in the Tribute Cadastre.

In the eastern Elbing Niederung, the Prussian land survey names the following villages: Aschbuden, Bollwerk, Ellerwald 1st – 5th Trift,

Fischerskampe, Hoppenau, Kerbshorst, Ober- und Unterkerbswalde, Kraffohlsdorf, Moosbruch, Moeskenberg, Neuuhof, Nogathau, Rossgarten, Schlammsack, Schwarzdamm with Clementfaehre, Streckfuss, Stutthof, Terranova, Gross Wickerau and Klein Wickerau. In addition, there are the unsurveyed crofter villages of the diluvial sandy elevation of Lahmehandsche Heide: Neukirch-Niederung, Fichthorst, Friedrichsberg and Schweinberg. The inhabitants of these settlements pay a poll tax of 48 Groschen and a socage fee of 60 - 90 Groschen.

In 1772, the villages Blumenort, Einlage, Fuerstenau, Fuerstenauerweide, Goldberg, Grenzdorf, Jungfer, Keitlau, Krebsfelde, Laakendorf, Neulanghorsterweide, Lupushorst, Gross- und Klein Mausdorf, Klein Mausdorferweide, Neudorf, Neustaedterwalde, Rosenort, Stuba, Walldorf and Zeyer with Rosengarten are located in the western Elbing Niederung. Additionally, there are the administration area of the upper Einlage with the field names Horsterbusch, Robach-Hakendorf, Wolfsdorf and Wolfszapel as well as of Hegewald and the growing Kampenland.

Only the villages of Fuerstenau, Jungfer, Kraffohlsdorf, Krebsfelde, Gross- und Klein Mausdorf, Streckfuss, Stuba and Zeyer have existed without interruption since the time of the Order.

The land of the 46 lowland villages recorded in the tribute Register amounts to 879 Hufen, of which 462 Hufen lie to the left of the Nogat and 417 Hufen to the right of the river⁸.

a) In the settlements established until 1650

Ashbuden. In 1772, the village had 14 Hufen and 23 Morgen. Of the 19 owners, 5 bear Dutch names, but only one with a landholding of 14 Morgen can be proven to be a Mennonite. The land is very low lying and requires two water-removal mills. The inhabitants depend on meadow and pasture farming, agriculture is possible in some places. Rye and wheat produce the fifth, while barley and oats produce the sixth and eighth of grain measures required for taxation.

Blumenort. In 1772, 10 Mennonites live on 8 Hufen and 19 Morgen among the 12 owners who own a total of 9 Hufen and 18 Morgen. The water miller is also a Mennonite. The village is economically well off. On half of the land, the winter grains yield the sixth and summer grains the eighth grain measure. The hay yield is also described as normal in the economic report

Bollwerk. The village is occupied by 12 owners who own an area of 11 Hufen and 10.5 Morgen. 3 farmers profess to be Mennonites, whose land holdings total 3 Hufen and 16 Morgen.

Einlage. The area consists of 62 Hufen, of which only 39 Hufen and 18 Morgen are considered cultivated. In 1772, the upstream part belongs to the royal administration properties, which are subdivided into various pasture administrations. That same year, the cultivated Einlage is by 17 landlords, of whom 10 are Mennonites with a land share of 16 Hufen and 8 Morgen. Since the Einlage area is not a closed-leasehold district, but held by individual contracts, the ownership here changes very quickly. With the exception of a few sandy stretches, the area consists of medium, sowable land and meadows. On half of the land, after deduction of the fallow, the wheat and rye yield the fifth grain measure, and from barley and oats, the seventh grain measure can be obtained.

Ellerwald. The area is still under the administration of the city of Elbing in 1772. The 142 Hufen and 26 Morgen are divided into five Triften. The whole land has to be artificially drained. Due to the good marketing conditions in the neighbouring city of Elbing, the livestock industry is quite favourable. Of the total of 211 landowners in the five Triften, 60 can be traced as Mennonites. Their share of the land amounts to 45 Hufen. Of these, 6.5 Hufen can only be determined by cross-comparison within the five areas of the Ellerwald.

Hoppenau. Since its foundation, the village has had a size of 13 Hufen and 19 Morgen. In 1772 it was inhabited by 9 owners. Probably only one widow with a plot of land of one Hufen can be counted as the Mennonite. The economic report mentions that the meadows are often wet, but can be partly sown with oats, which yield the eighth grain measure.

Keitlau. The village land extends over 9.5 Hufen in 1772. Among the 22 owners are 4 Mennonites. Two Mennonites live in the Jungfer area and own only 9.5 Morgen of pastureland there. The two resident Mennonite owners have a combined land share of 23 Morgen. Three Mennonite gardeners also still have small land plots. The area is low lying, and only in dry years can an average of 5 Morgen per Hufen be sown with barley and oats. The sixth and eighth grain measure are harvested.

Kerbshorst. The village consists of 19 Hufen and 11 Morgen. Of the 20 owners, 9 are Mennonites who own 9 Hufen and 12 Morgen. The land is very low, only a third of it can be sown with winter cereals. Of this, rye yields the fifth grain measure. On the other half of the land, barley and oats are grown for the seventh and eighth grain measure. The rest of the land is used for grazing by a considerable number of cows.

In 1772, the three Hufen of the Elbing Heilig-Geist-Hospital are also counted as part of Kerbshorst, one of which is sown and yields good returns. The Hufen are owned by Johann Peters, who, however, does not appear in the Mennonite directory.

Kerbswalde. 1772, the area was divided into an Ober- and Mitteltrift with 44 Hufen and 15 Morgen and a Untertrift with 28 Hufen and 26 Morgen.

In *Oberkerbswalde* there are 17 Mennonites among 24 owners who own a land of 26 Hufen and 24 Morgen. The land needs three water removal mills because it is too low near the Fischau River and suffers from flooding. Half of the higher area is seed land. From rye, the fifth grain, from barley and oats, the seventh and eighth grain measures can be harvested.

At the beginning of the Prussian period, 32 owners live in *Unterkerbswalde*. Of these, 5 can be proved to be Mennonites, who own a total of 5 Hufen. The Kerbswalder Untertrift is situated close to the Thiene River, which flows between the dikes at such a height that the water pours through the dam and particularly floods the low-lying meadows. Cereal cultivation is only possible in a few places and only with low yields.

Moeskenberg. The village has a parcel size of 12 Hufen and 25 Morgen. Among the 16 owners there are several with Dutch names. Only one farmer with 11 Morgen known to be a Mennonite. The village lies between two water ways and frequently floods despite two horse mills.

Nogathau. Among the 18 owners of the 25 Hufen are 4 Mennonites who work 7 Hufen. Seven of the owners, among them the four Mennonites must have had good orchards, since they are called upon to pay tribute.

Rye, oats and barley yield the sixth, eighth and ninth grain measure.

Rosenort. The village is inhabited mainly by Mennonites in 1772. Only 2 of the village's 12 owners are Lutherans. The Mennonites own 11 Hufen and 7 Morgen of the village land consisting of 12 Hufen and 27 Morgen. Half of the land consists of arable land, which can be planted with winter and summer cereals. Wheat and rye is planted on one third of the land yielding the sixth grain measure, while the wheat and rye yields the eighth grain measure. The Elbing council owns 6 Morgen of the village.

Rossgarten. In 1772 the settlement has a size of 5 Hufen and 5 Morgen. Three local Mennonites and a Mennonite settler from Oberkerbswalde own a total of 4 Hufen and 5 Morgen. The soil is relatively good and half of it can be used as arable land. Rye yields the sixth grain, barley and oats the eighth, sometimes the tenth of grain measure.

Schlammsack. 12 Hufen and 28 Morgen of the village are designated pastureland. Among the 25 owners are 3 Mennonites with a land share totalling 1 Hufen and 18 Morgen. The area is very low, and only in dry years can some oats be grown from which the eighth grain measure can be reached.

Schwarzdamm. The land area in 1772 is given as 12 Hufen and 11.5 Morgen. Of the 28 owners, 4 live outside the village, 2 Mennonites in the village own a total of 1 Hufen and 12 Morgen. The village area is divided into the so-called sand land, on which rye and oats can be grown with a low yield, and into 6 Hufen and 6 Morgen of meadow land, each of which is leased for ten years to the highest bidders.

Gross Wickerau. The size of the land amounts to 18 Hufen and 18 Morgen. Of the 23 landlords, at least 7 are Mennonites who own 4 Hufen and 13 Morgen. On some of the fields the fifth grain of rye can be harvested. The pastureland along the Fischau River is often flooded.

Klein Wickerau. There are 18 owners living on the 19 Hufen and 25 Morgen estimated in 1772. Among them are 6 Mennonites, who, with the inclusion of 2 non-resident villagers, cultivate 7 Hufen and 25 Morgen. Cereals can be cultivated on all of the plots, which in dry years yield the sixth grain measure of rye, the eighth grain of barley and the eighth grain of oats.

b) In the new settlements since 1650

Fischerskampe. At the beginning of the Prussian period, 33 landlords share the 14 Hufen and 20 Morgen, 2 Mennonites own 12 Morgen each. The settlement suffered much damage during the Nogat flood outbreaks in 1763 and 1764. Since then the land has been heavily silted up. In not too wet years, 6 Morgen per Hufen yield the sixth grain measure of barley and the eighth grain of oats.

Fuerstenaerweide. There are 15 owners living on this 4 Hufen and 15 Morgen area. At least 8 of them are Mennonites. Including an non-resident villager, they cultivate 3 Hufen and 9 Morgen. Part of the land can be sown with summer cereals. The sixth grain measure of barley and the eighth grain of oats can be harvested.

Goldberg. Of the 2 Hufen and 13 Morgen of land, 2 Hufen are in the hands of 4 Mennonites in 1772. The land, which is leased for 16 years, produces relatively good yields. The sixth grain measure of wheat and rye, the eighth and ninth of barley and oats can be harvested.

Laakendorf. The village has a size of 17 Hufen and 1 Morgen. In addition to the 74 owners, over a hundred gardeners and tenants live here. 34 Mennonite owners, including 5 from outside the village, cultivate a total of 7 Hufen and 5 Morgen. cultivation of winter cereals is not possible due to the wet soil. The seventh grain measure of barley and the eighth grain of oats can be grown on 6 Morgen per Hufen. One Hufen of the village land is reserved for earth to build dams.

Klein Mausdorferweide. 17 resident Mennonite owners and one lodger own 5 Hufen and 24 Morgen of the 6 Hufen sized village. A Lutheran owns the remaining 6 Morgen. The summer grain yields on 6 - 8 Morgen per Hufen of barley the seventh and of oats the ninth grain measure. Above all, however, the land is used for pasture.

Neudorf. The land size is 6 Hufen and 21 Morgen. If one adds the land of the 6 lodgers to that of the resident Mennonites, 4 Hufen and 17 Morgen are Mennonite. The land is very low lying, but can be sown with summer cereals in some places. One then reaches the seventh grain measure of barley and the ninth grain of oats.

Neulanghorsterweide. The settlement size in 1772 is given as 20 Morgen. Of the 5 owners, the Mennonite Jacob Neufeld alone owns 15 Morgen. The Haeker [HOeker] and the innkeeper are also Mennonites.

Neustaedterwalde. The village has a size of 20 Hufen in 1772. 20 of the 61 owners can be identified as Mennonites. Their landed property amounts to 9 Hufen and 10 Morgen. The Hakenbuedner [merchant with a warehouse] is also a Mennonite. On the land only the cultivation of oats is possible, which yields the seventh grain measure. Barley does not thrive because the soil is too marshy.

Stutthof. The former outlying area is included in the registry transcripts without any indication of size. In 1715, the parcel amounted to 4 Hufen and 24 Morgen⁹. The 4 inhabitants have Dutch names, 3 of them are listed in 1776 under Klein Wickerau.

Walldorf. In 1772, the size is given as 17 Hufen and 5 Morgen. Among the 43 owners, there are only Mennonites, with the exception of 6 Lutherans. The Mennonite land ownership amounts to 14 Hufen and 16 Morgen. From the summer grain, the sixth and eighth grain measure can be obtained on a good third of the land. However, it is mainly meadow and pasture farming.

c) In the Culmic villages

Fuerstenau. Including Fuerstenauerfeld, the area has a size of 66 Hufen in 1772. In addition to the 31 owners, there are 9 lodgers from outside. Eleven villagers are Mennonites with a land share of 10 Hufen and 18 Morgen. Among the 9 non-resident villagers, 5 are Mennonites. Two of them with a share of 18 Morgen are resident in Tiegenhof. The other three, who together own one Hufen, come from the neighbouring Elbing territorial villages. The village offers good cultivation conditions. Over the extensive area, a sixth grain measure of wheat and rye can be harvested and the eighth grain of barley and oats.

Jungfer. The area, which is somewhat higher than the immediate surroundings, has a size of 34 Hufen and 23 Morgen. Among more than a hundred inhabitants there is one Mennonite owning 4 Morgen of land. Some of the soil is of poor quality. A good third of the land is leased for 10, 30 and 40 years.

Krebsfelde. In 1772, 18 owners live on the 15 Hufen of land. 13 Mennonites have a land share of 10 Hufen. More than half of the village land consists of arable land. The sixth grain measure of rye and wheat can be harvested, and the seventh and eighth grain of barley and oats, respectively.

Gross Mausdorf. The area is estimated to have 45 Hufen. Among the 18 owners in 1772, including the Hakenbuedner, there are 4 Mennonites. Their share of the land amounts to 3 Hufen and 7 Morgen. 8 Hufen and 8 Morgen of the land are leased for 10 years.

Klein Mausdorf. The size is 22 Hufen. Among 18 owners there are 13 Mennonites with a land share of 17 Hufen. As in Gross Mausdorf, a good grain harvest can be obtained from the abundant half of the village land in addition to the pasture. The sixth grain of winter cereals and the eighth grain of summer cereals are harvested.

Streckfuss. This old fishing village on the Drausensee has a size of 12.5 Hufen. Most of the 43 tenant farmers live in very poor economic conditions. The largest property of 1 Hufen and 7 Morgen belongs to a Mennonite.

Zeyer. The village is assessed with 21 Hufen and 21 Morgen. Among the 18 owners is the Mennonite Hakenbuedner with a land share of 1 Hufen and 1 Morgen. 12 Hufen are given over as leasehold land for 10 years. Most of the village land consists of very low-lying pastureland.

d) Results

At the time of the final takeover of the previously pledged Elbing territory by Prussia, 329 Mennonite peasant families owned 252 Hufen of land. Not quite 125 Hufen lie in the eastern¹⁰, 127 Hufen in western Elbing Niederung. This means that the Mennonites own almost 29% of the lowland plots used for tribute. They have a share in the number of owning farmers in the same proportion.

Only in 6 of the 46 estimated lowland settlements are there no Mennonites at all in 1772. Grenzdorf, Moosbruch and Terranova are newer, small settlements, which are occupied by home gardeners and offered little incentive for Mennonites seeking land.

The old fishing village of Stuba also offers relatively unfavourable conditions, and the situation is similar with Lupushorst and Neuhof. In the latter two villages there are some inhabitants with Dutch names in 1772, but there is no evidence of Mennonites. In Kraffohlsdorf, on the other hand, there are some Mennonites without land ownership.

In 1772 the crofter villagers of the Lahmehand heath who were attracted by the payment of only protect money as tribute list no Mennonites. The Mennonites living in the western Nogat lowlands on the unassessed royal administration properties are listed in the Contribution Register under Hegewald.

The Mennonites have a large share in the villages that were created through their work or were resettled after becoming desolate at the end of the Order period. Of the 22 villages of the first Dutch settlement period, 5 are predominantly Mennonite in 1772: Blumenort, Ellerwald #1. Trift, Oberkerbswalde, Rosenort and Rossgarten. With the exception of Aschbuden and Moeskenberg, where only one Mennonite family can be found, the remaining 17 villages have a Mennonite population and land share of 5 to 50%.

In Elbing, as in the entire Delta region, it must have been the case that the immigrant Mennonites only stayed in places that yielded a good return. If this was not the case despite their best efforts, they turned their attention to new settlements or tried to buy a place in a Culmic village. In the fluctuating settlement actions, the Dutch village constitution proved its worth, as it allowed, without any hesitation, to leave a low-yielding plot of land after the lease period had expired. In places such as Moeskenberg, Hoppenau, Schwarzdamm and others, which still often flooded in the 18th century, there are therefore only a few descendants of the immigrant Dutch at the beginning of the Prussian period. Cultural achievements of the Mennonites in the Vistula lowlands are, in any case, greater than their property status in 1772 leads one to believe.

Many Mennonites again participated in the new settlements after 1650. They now all came from the first Dutch settlements, because the influx from the Netherlands had diminished more and more in the 17th century. Of the 10 newly founded settlements of the second settlement period in 1772, Fuerstenauerweide, Goldberg, Klein Mausdorferweide, Neudorf,

Neulanghorsterweide, Stutthof and Walldorf are predominantly Mennonite. In Neustaedterwalde, the Mennonites own almost half of the area land. In Laakendorf, their ownership share of the neighbourhood and of the village land is 45%. The unfavourable conditions on the Fischerskampe have probably contributed to the fact that less than 10% of the land is in Mennonite hands.

Of the Order-period Culmic villages, of which Ober- and Unterkerbswalde, Gross- and Klein Wickerau and the Stutthof outpost have already been mentioned, east of the Nogat only the old fishing village Streckfuss on the Drausensee still lists a Mennonite with a land share of 10%. In the Order farm Jungfer am Haff a Mennonite owns 4 Morgen.

In the western Nogat lowlands, Krebsfelde and Klein Mausdorf are more than 50% Mennonite at the beginning of the Prussian period. While in Fuerstenau Mennonites make up more than a third of the local landlords, but the land ownership is only just under a fifth of the land; the Mennonite share in Gross Mausdorf and in Zeyer (with Rosengarten) is less than 10%.

2. The Mennonites in the Klein Werder

The "Amt Kleiner Marienburger Werder" [Office of the Small Marienburg Werder] notes a total of 48 villages in 1772 that belonged to the Marienburg *Oekonomie* district during the Polish period. In the actual Werder area are 23 Culmic villages: Altfelde, Fischau, Fischauerfeld, Grunau, Jonasdorf, Katznase, Kykoit, Klakendorf, Klettendorf, Koenigsdorf with Rothebude, Preussisch Koenigsdorf, Lecklau, Notzendorf, Parwark, Pruppendorf, Reichfelde, Preussisch Rosengart, Schlablau, Schoenwiese, Sommerau, Stalle, Thiergart and Thiergartsfelde.

Except for the scattered settlements of Fischauerfeld and Thiergartsfelde, which only gradually developed on the village lands of Fischau and Thiergaert in the second half of the 17th century, the settlements mentioned already existed before the Mennonite immigration.

Pruppendorf is usually not listed in the Revisions of the 16th century because it was issued as a *Gratialgut*. The Culmic village of Stalle was also not listed in a *Lustration* carried out in 1569¹¹. In 1590, however, the village possessed a privilege from King Sigismund II Augustus, who died in 1572.

Apart from the Culmic villages, there are 4 emphyteutic villages in the Werder area in 1772 that belonged to the Marienburg *Oekonomie*: the hilltop village of Liebenthal, the two outlying areas Sandhof and Thoeirichthof as well as Sparrau.

21 emphyteutic villages lie in the lowlands of the Klein Werder. Most of them are the villages of the old Dutch settlement district: Augustwalde, Baalau, Eschenhorst, Fellermannshuben, Hohenwalde, Kampenau, Kronsnest, Kuckuck, Markushof, Reichhorst, Alt Rosengart, Rosenort, Schwansdorf, Schwansdorferhoeftchen, Sorgenort, Spitzendorf, Stobbendorf aka Sorge, Thiensdorf, Thiensdorfsee with Rueckforth, Wengeln and Wengelwalde.

The assessed land of these 48 villages of the Klein Werder amounts to about 1,000 Hufen in the lists of the Contributions Cadastre.

a) In the old Dutch *Hufenbezirk* (new settlements until 1650)

Baalau. In 1772, the village had a land size of 10 Hufen. Of the 16 owners, 6 are Mennonites who, including a non-resident villager, own a land share of 3 Hufen and 21.5 Morgen. The inhabitants live from livestock farming. Grain cultivation is only possible in particularly dry years on about 4 Morgen per Hufen. The low-lying area needs a water-removal mill.

Eschenhorst. The village land extends over 27 Hufen and 7 Morgen. This includes 8.5 Hufen that formerly belonged to Grunau. Of the 12 landowners with farms of up to 4 Hufen, 10 bear Dutch names. However, there is no evidence of Mennonites. The only Mennonite mentioned in the 1776 register belongs to the village of Grunau in 1772. The cultivation of grain on one third of the land yields, "if the Thiene does not break out or if it is not a particularly wet year", on average the fourth grain measure. Water standing on the meadows has to be removed with windmills and horse mills.

Hohenwalde. This land of 32 Hufen and 6 Morgen is inhabited by 114 owners. At least 32 of them are Mennonites that live mainly from cattle breeding. But it is not exactly advantageous because the cows frequently have to be brought to higher land because of the danger of flooding. 10 Hufen of land are in the hands of the Mennonites. In addition, a Mennonite lodger from Schwansdorf owns 11 Morgen of land here.

Fellermannshuben. The 2 Hufen and 25 Morgen, which were always counted as part of Hohenwalde in the 17th century, are listed separately in 1772. The Mennonites from the surrounding villages own just under 2 Hufen of the area.

Kampenau. Of the 46 Hufen and 28 Morgen of the village, the largest estates are in the hands of the Mennonites. Thirteen of the 45 landlords profess to be Mennonites. Including the property of outlying villages, the Mennonite share of the land is proportionately 'high' at almost 23 Hufen. A good half of the land is arable land, which allows the harvesting of the fifth grain of rye, wheat and oats, and the sixth grain of wheat. Here, too, the diked land must be cleared of water with windmills. In the event of prolonged rain, however, the hay may have to be carried out of the water.

Kronsnest. The village still suffers from drainage problems in 1772 and in wet years not even the cattle can go to pasture. In dry years, the fourth and fifth grain of the summer grain can be harvested on the highest parts of the village land. Only 8.5 of the 20 Hufen village are cultivated by local farmers. Among the 28 resident owners are 7 Mennonites with a land share of 2 Hufen and 26 Morgen. A Mennonite lodger owns another 12 Morgen.

Kuckuck. The village has a size of 4.5 Hufen. Including two lodgers, there are 10 owners. 3 Mennonites have a share of 2 Hufen and 21 Morgen of the village land. One third of the land consists of arable land. Wheat, rye and oats make up the fourth grain, and barley the fifth.

Markushof. Of the 62 Hufen and 8 Morgen of the village, only 6 Hufen are used for sowing. The other area is used for meadow or pasture. However, 4 Hufen of the village land are completely silted up due to flooding. In 1772, 29 of the 53 property owners were Mennonites. Their share of the land amounts to 35 Hufen and 25 Morgen. Additionally, a Mennonite lodger from Thiensdorf also owns 10 Morgen.

Reichhorst. There are 10 owners living in the village. In 1772, 5 of them can be identified as Mennonites, who have a share of 2 Hufen and 4 Morgen in the 6 Hufen of village land. The owners, who are joined by two Mennonite lodgers with plots of 15 and 5 Morgen, live from livestock farming. Grain cultivation is not possible in the low-lying settlement.

Alt Rosengart. In 1772, the size of the village land was estimated at 20 Hufen, although originally there were 22 Hufen, which was when the Dutch settlement was separated from the Culmic village of Rosengart (later Preussisch Rosengart). Of the 24 owners, at least 6 are Mennonites with a land share of 7 Hufen and 3 Morgen. A Mennonite lodger with 8 Morgen of land lives in Preussisch Rosengart. The area is so low lying that three mills are needed (to remove the water). Nevertheless, no grain can be grown.

Rosenort. In 1772, the village had 17 owners on its 10 Hufen. 11 of them are Mennonites, who, including the non-resident villagers from Reichhorst and Wengeln, cultivate 8 Hufen and 7 Morgen. Because of the low elevation, the land can only be used for meadow and pasture farming.

Schwansdorf. In 1772 there were 39 owners of the 34.5 Hufen. 14 of them, with a land share of almost 17 Hufen can be proven to be Mennonites. In addition, there are 2.5 Hufen which are in the hands of Mennonite lodgers. The land needs two mills for drainage. Cereal cultivation is therefore risky even in dry years.

Sorgenort. Of the 5 Hufen and 19 Morgen, 4 Hufen and 10 Morgen are owned by the 57 emphyteutic owners. The rest of the land belongs to foreign owners. There are no Mennonites in Sorgenort nor in the two outlying villages of Stobbendorf and Spitzendorf in 1772. However, the Cadastre records some Dutch names among the "very destitute" inhabitants. Despite the dams that have been built, the land never dries out, and it is also heavily dependent on the water level of the Drausensee at any given time.

Sparrau. In 1772, most of the village land is in the hands of Mennonites. Of the 6 Hufen, the Mennonite distiller Peter Penner from Rothebude alone owned 2 Hufen and 24.5 Morgen. Three local Mennonites own a total of 1 Hufen and 19 Morgen. The land situated on the edge of the lowland is mainly used for meadow and pasture farming.

Thiensdorf. The village of 12 Hufen is inhabited by 13 owners. There is evidence of 4 Mennonite farmers with a total land share of 3 Hufen and 24 Morgen. The Thiensdorf fields are very low lying and "exposed to flooding". In dry years, however, 4 Morgen per Hufen can be used as arable land. Fourth and fifth grain can be harvested from winter grain, the fifth and sixth grain of summer grains.

WengelIn. The village has 18 emphyteutic owners on the 19.5 Hufen in 1772. 16 Hufen and 6 Morgen are in the hands of 12 Mennonites. A Mennonite lodger from Schwansdorf owns 8 Morgen. The land offers relatively favourable cultivation conditions. Arable farming enables the harvesting of the fifth grain of wheat, rye and oats and the sixth grain of barley on more than half of the village land. However, one third of the area is lower and needs a water drainage mill.

Wengelwalde. The 8 Hufen and 13 Morgen of the village were still overgrown and unsettled in 1649. In 1772, 18 Mennonites, among 46 owners lived on the village land, to which 3 Hufen and 9 Morgen of Kamp land were added. Including parts of the Kamp area at the Drausensee and the 13 Morgen of a lodger from WengelIn, 5.5 Hufen of village land are in Mennonite hands. Grain cultivation is not possible here either because of the low location of the village.

b) In the new settlements since 1650

Augustwalde. Together with Sorgenort, the village lies at the lowest point of the Klein Werder. An area of 18 Hufen belongs to the village land, which is inhabited by 53 owners, 10 of whom can be traced as Mennonites. Including 5 Mennonite lodgers, they have a land share of about 6 Hufen. The economic conditions of the area are very unfavourable. The hay has to be carried from the meadows even in dry years. "The lands where the administrator went on foot moved at every step," says a report.

Sandhof. In 1772, the village had an area of 34 Hufen and 27 Morgen. The rich Marienburg Mennonitin [female] Busenitz owns 5 Hufen and 9.5 Morgen here, which she has administered by a steward. Four other farmers, who are known to be Mennonites, have a share in the land totalling 6 Hufen and 18 Morgen. All the former manor lands are used mainly for agriculture. The fourth grain of wheat, rye and oats can be harvested, and the sixth grain of barley. The fields along the Nogat River from Marienburg to the border of Koenigsdorf are cultivated by 19 farmers.

Schwansdorferhoefchen. In 1772, all but 1 Morgen of the 3 Hufen settlement was owned by the Mennonites. The two local Mennonites also own the drainage mill,

which also serves as a grain mill. As proof they present to the Prussian Commission a privilege of from the Oekonom Count Doenhof dated 1727.

Thoerichthof. In 1772, this settlement on the former manor lands had a size of 24 Hufen and 4.5 Morgen. Included in this is the so-called Thoerichthoefchen. Among the 27 owners, 7 of whom live outside, are at least 11 Mennonites. Their share of the land amounts to 12 Hufen and 2 Morgen. The cultivation conditions are moderately good, because on the land the fifth grain of rye and oats can be harvested, and even the sixth grain of barley and wheat.

c) In the Culmic villages

Fischauerfeld. In 1772, this scattered settlement had an area of 9 Hufen and 26.5 Morgen. Among the 10 owners are 2 Mennonites with a land share of 3 Hufen and 22 Morgen. Two thirds of the area is given to grain cultivation, which yields the fifth grain from wheat and oats, and the sixth grain from barley and rye.

Grunau. The village is inhabited by 15 owners. The estimated village area includes 35 Hufen and 2.5 Morgen. Including a non-resident villager from Preussisch Koenigsdorf, there are 10 Mennonite farmers in 1772 who own 16 Hufen and 11 Morgen of land. The area is quite low, so that the water has to be drained out. The soil, however, is good and loamy. Grains can be grown on half of the land. Of the wheat and rye, the fifth grain is harvested, of the barley and oats the sixth grain. The Mennonite Heinrich Unger is simultaneously the vinegar brewer and great miller. His privilege was issued in 1749.

Koenigsdorf. In the Cadastre, 31 Hufen and 19.5 Morgen are assigned to the village, additionally there are 6 Hufen each from Rothebude and Sommerau, as well largest part of the Liebenthal field. In Rothebude, in addition to the Mennonite Hakenbuedner, lives the distiller and vinegar brewer Peter Penner, who owns just under 2 Hufen of land but also has properties in Sommerau and Sparrau. His privilege was confirmed by King August III in 1757.

Preussisch Koenigsdorf. Of the 12 owners of the 26 Hufen and 23.5 Morgen living in the village, 5 can be traced as Mennonites. They have

with 8 Hufen and a 22 Morgen share of the village land. Of the land belonging to the non-resident villagers which is administered by a local dairy, one belongs to the Mennonitin [female] Busenitz from Marienburg. The village consists mostly of low land, so that the water has to be drained by a mill. On the higher land, used for growing grain, winter grains give the fifth grain and the summer grain, the sixth grain can be harvested.

Preussisch Rosengart. The village has 34 Hufen and 31 Culmic farmers. Twenty of them are Mennonites, who own almost 23 Hufen, including a non-resident villager. The land is surrounded by two rivers and has to be cleared of water by two mills. Only 8 Hufen of the land can be cultivated. The fifth grain is obtained from wheat, rye and oats, the sixth from barley.

Stalle. Of the 30 Hufen assessed in 1772, the Mennonite Frantz Froese together with his brother own 3 Hufen and 15 Morgen. The land, which is mainly used for grain cultivation, is owned by 12 Culmic farmers.

Thiergart. 38 farmers live on the 34 Hufen and 19 Morgen of village land. Seven of them are Mennonites with a total land share of 8.5 Hufen. The 8 lodgers are Mennonites who own 2 Hufen and 13 Morgen. The innkeeper and *Hakenbuedner* is also a Mennonite. Some of the land is high enough to be able to cultivate grain. Fourth and fifth grain of rye and wheat are harvested. From barley and oats even the sixth grain can be obtained. Windmills and horse mills are needed to drain the water for two thirds of the land.

Thiergartsfelde. The settlement has a land mass of 20 Hufen and 9 Morgen in 1772. Among the 22 owners, 11 can be proved to be Mennonites. Including the land of the lodgers, a good 11 Hufen of the village land are in Mennonite hands. The economic conditions are the same as in Thiergart.

d) Results

In 1772, the Mennonites in the Klein Werder owned about 26% of the estimated usable farmland of all 48 villages. The percentage of farmers amounts to 29%. This comparatively higher figure

is due to the partly very extensive land ownership of individual Lutherans in the Culmic Werder villages.

In 1676, a regulation was issued that set the maximum size of a farm at 6 Hufen. Anyone who owned more land was to be required to build a new farm within two years for the surplus Hufen¹². In the 18th century, however, it seems that this regulation was no longer adhered to, because in 1772 there are occasionally properties of more than 10 Hufen without a second farm being recorded in the Contributions Cadastre.

The number of 263, determined as certain, Mennonite Hufen¹³ is smaller than the number of *Hufen* in the old Dutch settlement district. However, in view of the population shift established so far, the fact that in 1772 the Mennonites hardly own half of the emphyteutic lowland Hufen can no longer come as a surprise.

In Kuckuck, Markushof, Rosenort, Schwansdorf, Sparrau and Wengeln Mennonites occupy at least 50% of the land. In six other villages, namely Baalau, Hohenwalde with the Fellermann Hufen, Kampenau, Reichhorst, Alt Rosengart and Thiensdorf, the Mennonite share of the village land is more than one third. The Mennonite property in Kronsnest is less than one third, while there is no evidence of Mennonite inhabitants in Eschenhorst and Sorgenort.

The gradual exodus of the Mennonites from the old Dutch villages, which was already apparent in the aforementioned Thiensdorf list of 1744, is confirmed in 1772. The increasing prosperity must be seen as the cause for more and more Mennonites leaving the lowlands.

The 1772 economic reports prepared by the Prussian Commission clearly state that some of the lowland areas that had been reclaimed since the 16th century could only be used under very difficult conditions. The soil is often described as "boggy", "swollen" or at least wet, and the cultivation of few places is very dependent on the clemency of the weather.

Due to their skills in dealing with the wet element, the Mennonites had succeeded in draining their land to such an extent that pastoral and livestock farming enabled them to achieve good material success.

As in the Elbing area, the Mennonites used the profit they made to buy into more productive land. The farmer escaped the desperate alternative of the proverb circulating in the Werder "rather drown in the lowlands than starve on the heights" if he managed to settle on the fertile Werder area proper, which was less exposed to the water. The settlement status of the Culmic villages in 1772 proves that it was precisely the Mennonite farmers who succeeded in penetrating from the lowland district into the Kleine and even more into the Gross Werder.

On the other hand, it can now be seen that after the departure of the Mennonites, the weaker agricultural element moved into the lowlands. Just as the farms in the Werder district became larger and larger, they became smaller and smaller in the lowlands. In the 12 comparatively accessible lowland villages; Baalau, Eschenhorst, Hohenwalde, Kampenau, Kuckuck, Markushof, Reichhorst, Alt Rosengart, Rosenort, Schwansdorf, Thiensdorf and Wengeln the number of owning farmers increased from 248 in 1682¹⁴ to 369 in 1772, i.e.: where in 1682 two farming families were still making a living in 1772 must have been three. And an increase in yields had not taken place at all!

The settlement of the lowland villages, which only came into being after 1650, took place with the strong participation of farmers from the neighbouring villages. Accordingly, in 1772 their Mennonite share adapted to the general conditions of the low lands. While Schwansdorferhoefchen is almost exclusively Mennonite-owned, the Mennonite share in Augustwalde and Wengelwalde is about one third of the village land. Only in the later settlement of Thiensdorfsee, which is called a "miserable place" in the *Landesaufnahme* [1772 census], are there no Mennonites.

The manor land, which was only granted emphyteutic rights in the 18th century, was also a coveted area for Mennonites seeking land. In 1772, half of Thoerichthof and one third of Sandhof were in Mennonite hands.

In 1772, two of the 23 Culmic Werder villages were predominantly inhabited by Mennonites: Preussisch Rosengart and Thiergartfelde. These villages on the other side of the border of the Dutch Hufen area

gradually had to give up more and more land to the Mennonite settlers. In Fischauerfeld and Grunau, more than a third of the village land had become Mennonite property by 1772. In Preussisch Koenigsdorf, Stalle and Thiergart the area settled by the Mennonites amounted to 10 per cent to one third of the village land in each case. Of Koenigsdorf with Rothebude, almost 2 Hufen are owned by Mennonites, while in Sommerau and Jonasdorf smaller plots belonged to the Mennonites. However, the owners still live elsewhere.

In 1772 in Katznase, Fischau and Reichfelde, only the Hakenbuedner or Krueger are Mennonites. Street traders/grocers and brewers were two trades that the Mennonites liked to practise. At the beginning of the Prussian period, the number of Mennonite Hakenbuedner and innkeepers was relatively high.

In 1772 in 13 Culmic Werder villages there is no Mennonite land ownership. For the most part, these are villages whose economic situation was not particularly enticing for land seekers. In some villages, the Oekonom report speaks of the need for a stronger damming of the Nogat, others have difficulties with drainage, suffer from overflowing dykes or have poor soil. Since the Culmic villages of the Gross Werder were usually in a more favourable position, they also exerted a greater incentive on the Mennonites.

3. The Mennonites in the Gross Werder

As of the second half of the 17th century, the large Oekonomie Werder district has been divided into five cantons. There were a total of 41 Culmic villages in them, which, with the exception of KoczELITZKE, had already been established during the time of the Order.

In *Schoenau* Canton lie: Wernersdorf, Mielenz, Alt Muensterberg, Simonsdorf, Altenau and Trappenfelde;i

in the *Montau* Canton: Gross Montau, Biesterfelde, Gnojau, Kunzendorf and Alt Weichsel;

in the *Lichtenau* Canton: Gross- und Klein Lichtenau, Damerau, Liessau, Barendt, Palschau and Pordenau;

in the *Neuteich* Canton: Neuteichsdorf, Trampenau, Parschau, Prangenau, Neukirch, Schoenhorst, Broeske and Mierau;

in the Lesewitz Canton: Gross- und Klein Lesewitz¹⁵, Irrgang, Eichwalde, Brodsack, Tralau, Koczelitzke (Warnau), Tragheim, Blumstein, Schadwalde, Halbstadt, Lindenau, Tannsee and Niedau¹⁶.

In 1772 the Culmic villages were joined by four former royal manors, on whose territory emphyteutic leasehold villages had been founded in the meantime. These were Kalthof, Kaminke, Leske and Klein Montau.

Furthermore, in 1772 the following are emphyteutic areas of the Gross Werder: Herrenhagen, the Heubuden-Gurkener area, the inherited manors of Diebau and Brodsack belonging to the Jesuit fathers of Altschottland, the outer dike Hufen of Pieckel-Montauerspitze and some Hufen in the Culmic village of Blumstein.

At the beginning of the Prussian period, the land area of the 49 settlements of the Gross Werder Oekonomie district, as estimated in the Contributions Cadastre, amounted to 1864 Hufen.

a) In the old Dutch Hufenbezirk (former pasturelands).

Heubuden. This settlement complex is estimated in 1772 at 63 Hufen and 22 Morgen. A special tax table in the cadastre divides 63 Hufen and 17 Morgen of the Heubuden-Gurkener area into the individual parts:

Willebruchshuben	19 Hufen	10 Morgen
Finkenhuben (Klein Heubuden)	4	24
Philippenerhuben	4	
Reimershuben	2	
Irrgangshuben	2	
Gurkenhuben	4	15
Trappenfeldsche Gurkenhuben	4	10
Trappenfeldsche Finkenhuben	5	
Koczelitzker Heubuden	10	15
Gondeckerhuben	2	
Dixonshuben	2	
Schonwieserhuben	3	3

The number of 38 larger proprietors and 17 lodgers, garden owners and tenants, whose properties are under 10 Morgen, is composed three quarters of Mennonites. In contrast to the list of 1772,

in the Mennonite lists of 1776, the farmers were distributed among the various parts of the settlement area. According to these lists, the Willebruchshuben, the Finkenhuben (Klein Heubuden), the Philipponerhuben, the Gurkenhuben, the Koczeltzker Heubuden and the Schoenwieserhuben with a total of 46 Hufen and 7 Morgen are in the hands of the Mennonites. Most of the remaining land is used by the Lutheran inhabitants of the neighbouring Culmic villages "The sowing is difficult to determine, as one owns more or less plough land from the other, and the fields are not used in the same way every year, especially as the pasture growth is in countless places." However, about two-thirds of the area serves as arable land and yields the sixth grain each from the winter and summer grains.

Herrenhagen. In 1772, the settlement was estimated to have 12 Hufen. In addition, there are 33 Morgen of *Scharwerk* land, i.e., Culmic land. The 7 owners profess to be Mennonites. The village land is used almost exclusively arable land. The sixth grain of the winter and summer grains can be harvested.

b) In the new settlements of the 18th century

Kalthof. Of the 19 Hufen and 5 Morgen of village land in 1772, only 8 Hufen and 11 Morgen are cultivated by local farmers. Of the 9 owners, 5 can be proved to be Mennonites. Their share of the land amounts to 3 Hufen and 11 Morgen. Mennonite owners also have a share in the brewers' land, for which the interest must be paid to the Marienburg castle brewery. Half of the village land is suitable for grain cultivation, which yields on average the fifth of grain.

Klein Montau. Including the outer dike, the village has 37 Hufen and 22 Morgen. Among the 24 landlords, there are 2 Mennonites with a land share of just under 3 Hufen. In some parts of the village land, no agricultural use is possible at all. However, more than half of the area can be sown and yields the fourth to fifth of grain.

Leske. In 1772, the village had a total area of 27 Hufen and 11 Morgen. There are 9 Mennonites with a land share of 6 Hufen and 3 Morgen. The inkeeper, who has a privilege from 1765, is also a Mennonite. Just under 4 Hufen of the land are barren and cannot be used. However, two thirds of the land can be tilled and yield from the winter crop

is the fifth and sixth grain and of the summer grains are the sixth is average.

c) In the Culmic villages

Altenau. The village, estimated at 14 Hufen in 1772, has 2 Mennonites among 5 owners whose share of the land amounts to 5 Hufen and 15 Morgen. Only half of the village land is used for arable farming, which yields the sixth grain of the winter and summer grains. The other half is used as meadowland.

Barendt. The village is estimated to have 46 Hufen and 14 Morgen, to which 6.5 outer dike Hufen are added, which are not taken into account. Among the 9 inhabitants with quite large farms, the Mennonite Isaac Walde (Wall) owns 2 Hufen and 22 Morgen. The entire village land is used for agriculture, which yields the sixth com of all cereals.

Brodsack. The village land amounts to 24 Hufen and 19 Morgen. This includes 5 Hufen and 5 Morgen of the so-called Jesuit farms. Among the 4 landowners are 2 Mennonites with a share of 5 Hufen and 17 Morgen. The area belonging to the Jesuit farm is not assessed in 1772. In 1776 it is occupied by 4 Mennonite tenants. The extensive arable fields of Brodsack consistently allow the harvest of the sixth grain.

Broeske. In 1772, among the inhabitants of the 46 Hufen and 10 Morgen are 6 Mennonites, who own 6 Hufen and 27 Morgen. In the spring of 1773, due to reported water damage, the oat yield estimated at the sixth grain was reduced to the fifth grain.

Eichwalde. The village land is estimated to be 35.5 Hufen of which 2 Mennonites own 4 Hufen and 19 Morgen. The arable land is described as good and yields the sixth grain.

Halbstadt. The village has a size of 19 Hufen and 10 Morgen, 10 Mennonite farmers own about half of the village area. The Haeker and the goats miller, each with 2 Morgen of land, are also Mennonites. Most of the area is low arable land, of which 40 Morgen, as waste, can not be assessed. The fifth grain of winter grains, the sixth of barley and oats can be harvested.

Koczelitzke (later called Warnau again, after the old Order farm). In 1772, the village was estimated to have 40 Hufen and 20.5 Morgen. Of the original 62 Hufen, already in the 16th century 8 were counted to Tragheim, 6 to Eichwalde, 3 to Irrgang and 1 to Tralau. Among the 12 owners are probably 11 Mennonites, whose land share amounts to 36 Hufen and 20 Morgen. The Mennonite groat miller has a privilege from 1747. The soil is partly sandy, but the surface is good, so that two thirds of the land is used for grain cultivation, which yields the fifth and sixth grain. On the 4 Jesuit Hufen¹⁸. the landlords mostly have Polish names.

Kunzendorf. The village has a size of 63 Hufen and 4 Morgen. Among 17 local landlords and 5 non-resident villagers are 4 Mennonite farmers and 1 lodger from Klein Lichtenau. Landed property of the Mennonites amounts to 8 Hufen and 1 Morgen. The village land includes 4 Hufen of outlying dike land and another 53 Morgen, which are not assessed. Two thirds of the area are subjected to agriculture, which, however, usually only yields the fifth grain.

Klein Lesewitz. The village is assessed in 1772 with 24 Hufen and 22.5 Morgen. Among the 10 owners are 2 Mennonite farmers with a land share of 2 Hufen and 25 Morgen. One of the two Mennonites also owns 15 Morgen in Gross Lesewitz. The village land has some low and wet spots, which is why mostly summer grains are sown. In total, more than two-thirds of all the Hufen are cultivated with cereals. Of all the cereals, the sixth grain can be harvested.

Gross Lichtenau. In 1772, the village had 94 Hufen and was inhabited by 11 large local farmers. In addition, 5 non-resident villagers have a share in the village land. A Mennonite and a lodger from Heubuden own 2 Hufen and 26 Morgen. The beer and wine merchant also professes to be Mennonite. He has a privilege from 1608, which was last confirmed in 1677. Over 5 Hufen have not been assessed as they are compensation for paths, watercourses and ramparts. The soil conditions vary. Besides sandy and light soil, there is also very fertile and heavy soil. Grains can be grown all over the area, most of which yield the sixth grain.

Klein Lichtenau. The village area has a size of 71 Hufen. In 1772 there is only one Mennonite on the actual village land, who owns a farm of 2 Hufen and 7 Morgen. Apart from him, the groat miller is also a Mennonite. Seven Mennonite farmers live on Klein Lichtenauerfeld, whose land holdings total 14 Hufen and 27 Morgen. Except for two Morgen per Hufen, which are used as pastureland, the land is used to grow grains, which yields the fifth grain for rye, the sixth of barley, oats and wheat.

Lindenau. In 1772, there were also 2 Mennonite owners of the 54 Hufen and 18 Morgen in the village, including the groat miller. Including a lodger from Halbstadt, the Mennonites own just under 3 Hufen. The village land consists mostly of arable land, which yields on average the sixth grain of all types of grains.

Mielenz. In 1772 there are 5 Mennonites among the 17 owners of the 58 Hufen of village land. Their share of the land amounts to just under 8 Hufen. Only the third part of the land is medium arable land. But 15 Morgen per Hufen are sown, from which fourth and fifth grain can be harvested. The hay needed for winter feeding has to be bought annually on the other side of the Nogat in the Stuhm area. Of the village land, 4 Hufen are parish land, whose 18 inhabitants mostly bear Polish names.

Mierau. Of the 22 owners of the village, estimated at 33 Hufen at least 9 professed to be Mennonite in 1772. Their share of the land amounts to 15 Hufen and 22 Morgen. With the exception of 4 grazing Morgen per Hufen, the land is used for arable farming, which yields the sixth grain of all cereals. In the summer of 1773, the income from the harvest was reduced because the village had complained that the Prussian commission had not taken into account the expensive maintenance of the drainage mill of the Schwente waters that passed through the dam.

Alt Muensterberg. Since its foundation, the village has been 60 Hufen in size. Of the 19 owners, to whom 2 non-resident villagers are added, 7 are Mennonites in 1772 with a land share of 13 Hufen and 28 Morgen. Also, the two lodgers, who have bought one Hufe and 20 Morgen, are Mennonite farmers from Simonsdorf. Three quarters of the land consists of medium arable land. The fifth grain of wheat, the fifth grain of rye and the fourth grain of oats may be harvested.

Neukirch. The village has a size of 61 Hufen in 1772. However, a good 23 Hufen are not called up for tribute. At least 3 of the 15 farmers are Mennonites. The Hakenbuedner also professes to be Mennonite. Of the 33 Hufen and 18 Morgen that are taken "as contributable to the Cadastre", 7 Hufen and 3.5 Morgen are in Mennonite ownership. Since some of the unassessed, silted-up Hufen have been resown again or are used for pasture, the Prussian commission sets the annual grain yield at the fifth and sixth grain, although only the fourth and fifth grain are harvested from the arable land.

Neuteichsdorf. Together with Neuteichsdorferfeld, the village land is 56 Hufen in size. The village has 23 owners, 12 of whom come from the town of Neuteich. Among the 11 actual villagers are 6 Mennonites with a land share of 16 Hufen and 24 Morgen. The Krueger [alehouse/tavern keeper] is also a Mennonite. The land consistently allows the harvesting of the sixth grain of all cereals. 2 Hufen and 9 Morgen, which have so far been included the interest are counted as waste.

Niedau. The village is assessed at 29 Hufen and 26 Morgen. 3 Mennonites own a total of 5 Hufen and 3 Morgen. Among the residents who only have pastureland is a Mennonite from Brodsack. More than half of the village land is sown with grain. Of all the grains, the sixth grain can be harvested.

Palschau. Of the 33 Hufen and 7 Morgen belonging to the village land in 1772, 3 Mennonites own 6 Hufen and 14 Morgen. 3.5 Hufen of the counted land are considered waste as they are roads, springs, outer dyke land and Kampen. As in the neighbouring villages, the sixth grain of all grains is harvested.

Pordenau. The village is predominantly Mennonite. Of the 11 owners of the 26 Hufen and 15 Morgen, 9 are Mennonites with a land share of 20 Hufen and 4 Morgen. Except for two Morgen per Hufen used for meadow and pasture, the land is cultivated with grains. Of all the grains, the sixth grain can be harvested.

Prangenu. In 1772, the 30 Hufen of the village were in the hands of 11 owners. In addition, there are 4 lodgers from outside the village.

Seven local farmers are Mennonites, and two Mennonite non-resident villagers have a share of 15 Hufen and 18 Morgen of the village land. Almost the entire area is used for grain cultivation, which yields the fifth to sixth grain.

Schadwalde. The village has a size of 40 Hufen. Among the owners are 2 Mennonites, who own a total of 5 Hufen and 10 Morgen. One of them is a lodger from Klein Lesewitz. On the arable land, which takes up about three quarters of the area, the sixth grain is harvested from oats, but otherwise the fifth.

Schoenau. Among the 12 owners of the 40 Hufen of village land are 5 Mennonites with a share of 12 Hufen. The village is in a relatively poor economic situation. Towards the Schwente [River], the village land cannot be used at all. Only 6 Morgen per Hufen are sown with summer grains and 5 Morgen with winter grains. Fifth grain of barley, the fourth to fifth of oats and the fifth of rye and wheat can be harvested.

Schoenhorst. 1772 the village still suffers from the consequences of the Vistula overflow of 1737, which silted up more than 5 Hufen of village land. Of the 50 Hufen, 11 are owned by people from outside the village. Among the 13 local landlords listed only in the Cadastre, 8 are Mennonites with a land share of 21 Hufen and 25 Morgen. On two thirds of the land, the fifth grain of the winter grain and the fifth to sixth grain of the summer grain is harvested.

Simonsdorf. Of the 35 Hufen, 6 Mennonites own 10 Hufen and 4 Morgen of land. The village land is partly low, so that only little winter grain can be sown. Nevertheless, with the exception of a few meadows and pasturelands, each Hufen is cultivated with grain, which almost everywhere yields the sixth grain.

Tragheim. Among the inhabitants there are only 4 owners in 1772. The majority of the renters have Polish names. 2 Mennonites from Koczelitzke have a share of 7 Hufen and 19 Morgen of the 30 Hufen of village land. Some of the land is of poor soil quality and is then only used for pasture, but additional pasture has to be rented for the cattle. Half of the land is used as arable. Winter grains yield the fifth to sixth grain, summer grains consistently the sixth grain.

Tralau. In 1772 the village land consists of 27 Hufen and 20 Morgen. Among the 7 owners are 4 Mennonites with a land share of 9 Hufen and 29 Morgen. Except for 3 Morgen per Hufen, which are left for haymaking, the village land consists of arable land. Of all the grains, the sixth grain can be harvested.

Trampenau. Among the owners of the village of 31 Hufen are 2 Mennonites with a land share of 5 Hufen. Most of the village land is cultivated with grain. After the village was initially assessed higher, the inhabitants pointed out in a complaint that they had to send their cattle to graze "on the Heubuden" and in the Elbing territory because of the lack of hay. In the summer of 1773, the tribute was therefore reduced. The fifth grain of wheat, rye and oats, and only the sixth grain of barley, is assessed as the yield.

Wernersdorf. 1772, the village covers 58 Hufen and 6 Morgen. Of the 16 landowners, 8 are Mennonites with a land share of 18 Hufen and 15 Morgen. The soil conditions described as medium by the economic report. The whole area is used as arable land, however, 3.5 Hufen belong to the outer dike. With the exception of the barley, which yields the fourth to fifth grain, the fourth grain is harvested.

d) Results

At the time of the Prussian takeover of the Werder Oekonomie area, the Mennonites owned 21% of the estimated area of all 49 villages. Although the 387 identified Mennonite Hufen¹⁹, which include the 10 Hufen of Brodsack, Kalthof and Schoenhorst, they account for a good fifth of the land owned by the Mennonites; the increase compared to the 66 Dutch Hufen of the 17th century amounts to about 500%!

On average, the farm of the Mennonite farmer in 1772 in the Gross Werder is smaller than that of his Lutheran neighbour, but it still reaches the impressive size of almost 2.5 Hufen. Thus, the farms of the Mennonites in the Gross Werder are much more extensive than those of their co-religionists in the Klein Werder or in the Elbing territory, where in 1772 the average size is only one Hufe or three quarters of a Hufe.

In 1772, in 35 of the total of 49 villages in the Gross Werder Oekonomie area there are Mennonite landholdings.

In addition to the old Dutch settlements of Heubuden, Gurken and Herrenhagen, at least half of the village land in at least five Culmic villages had come into Mennonite hands by the Prussian period, namely in Halbstadt, KoczELITZKE, Pordenau, Prangenau, Tragheim and probably also in Schoenhorst.

In Altenau, Mierau, Tralau, furthermore in Brodsack and probably also in the emphyteutic settlement of Kalthof, the Mennonites own a share of at least one third of the village area.

In 16 other villages, some of them very large, the Mennonites have settled on 10% up to one third of the respective village land, namely in Broeske, Eichwalde, Kunzendorf, Klein Lesewitz, Klein Lichtenau, Mielenz, Alt Muensterberg, Neukirch, Neuteichsdorf, Niedau, Palschau, Schadwalde, Schoenau, Simonsdorf, Trampenau and Wernersdorf. The Mennonites in the emphyteutic settlement of Leske have the same proportion of the land area.

The Mennonites in Barendt, Gross Lesewitz, Gross Lichtenau, Lindenau and the emphyteutic settlement of Klein Montau do not yet own 10 percent of the village area.

In 1772, there is no Mennonite land ownership in remaining 14 villages of the Gross Werder. However, a Mennonite tenant lives in Biesterfelde and one in Gnojau.

The prosperity of the peasants in the Gross Werder is demonstrated in 1772 by the extensive estates of individual Lutherans, which in some places are more than 10 Hufen in size. Even among the Mennonites, properties of more than four Hufen are not uncommon.

All of these lands offer their owners fertile arable land. While in the Elbing and the Klein Werder Lowlands meadows and pastures predominate, and the village communities own average twice as many cows as horses, it is the other way round in the Werder district proper, because a larger number of horses is needed for intensive arable farming. For the most part, the Werder land allows the harvesting of the sixth grain, so that a Hufen, cultivated two-thirds according to the three-field system of two seeded fields of winter grains,

yields 120 Scheffel, and with two Scheffel of barley and three of oats sown, another 150 Scheffel.

Although yields in some parts of the lowlands are much higher than in the Werder district, reaching up to 4 Scheffel per Morgen when four Scheffel are sown²⁰, there is hardly any larger arable area that allows such a consistently high average yield as in the Gross Werder.

In 1772, the economic district of Gross Werder had an estimated harvest of around 6,000 tonnes of grain. The areas of the Klein Werder and the Elbing Niederung, which are primarily devoted to livestock farming, together yielded just under 9000 tonnes of grain.

With a grain price of one Guilder per Scheffel during the 17th century²¹, which contrasted with an average price of 20 Guilders for a cow²², it is not surprising that the farmland of the Gross Werder had increasingly become the target of Mennonite settlement and pastureland. It was preferred to pastureland. Since the 17th century, the Mennonites had seized every opportunity to buy and had not shied away from the one-time expenditure of a few thousand Guilders per Hufen²³ in order to live on their own for a small basic rent and moderate *Scharwerk* labour, which could be paid in cash.

The purchase of a Culmic property must have seemed advantageous especially since the inheritance emphyteuses, which emerged in the 18th century granted tenants freedom from all church burdens, from all unusual obligations, contributions, work, dam burdens, quartering and the fourth, but demanded up to 150 Guilders annual rent²⁴.

The emphyteutic form of the typical Dutch settlement in which the Dutch Mennonites settled in the first decades of their immigration had not only provided an opportunity to maintain a certain freedom of movement in the uncertain religious and political situation, but had also partly been a protection against the hasty purchase of unproductive land. When the Mennonites in Polish-Prussia had become a factor in economic policy without considerable disadvantage to the king's income or the "plotting" city

could no longer evict them, there no longer was any compelling reason for them to prefer renting on the Dutch Hufen to permanent land ownership.

Even though the Mennonites did not settle "in the field" but in the middle of a Culmic village, the Lutheran community did not raise any significant resistance. Centuries of colonial coexistence with the "Dutch" had long since destroyed any possible sense of tribal difference. Linguistic barriers had never been insurmountable, and people had come to terms with the confessional separation, especially since the Mennonites did not develop any activities beyond the boundaries of their own congregations²⁵

H. Outlook on the Prussian period

When West Prussia was taken over by Frederick the Great, almost 250 years had passed since the first Dutch religious refugee had entered the area. It was mainly thanks to the enormous efforts of these Mennonites that the lowland areas in the Vistula delta, which had not yet been recovered by the Order settlement, could be wrested from the water and settled.

After this work was done by 1650, the lowlands drained and transformed into fertile meadows and pastures, the Mennonite expansion into the farmlands of the southern Delta area began. The continuing expansion of Mennonite-owned farmland then helped to displace the traditional image of the Mennonite cattle farmer in the lowlands and replaced it with that of the Mennonite grain farmer on the higher elevation of the Werder.

In 1772, the Mennonites owned 1,466 Hufen of land in the entire Vistula delta, excluding the Danzig area, which is an area of 246 square kilometres. About two-thirds of this was in the districts of the Elbing Lowlands and the Oekonomie of Marienburg.

Most Mennonites were landowners. Especially in the Marienburg Werder, many of them owned land of more than two Hufen and thus belonged to the large farmers. The Mennonite farmers were opposed by a relatively small group of Mennonites without land ownership. In the Marienburg and Elbing areas, only about one in four Mennonite families did not own land in 1772. The breadwinner was then either a trader, a groats miller, a weaver, a tailor, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a water miller or, especially in the settlement areas of the western Nogat lowlands, a jack of all trades or a labourer. In the villages of Einlage, Heubuden, Markushof, Oberkerbswalde and Wengeln there were also full-time Mennonite schoolmasters.

The occupational restrictions for the countryside, which were maintained in Prussian times, relegated all activities beyond those mentioned and those of the blacksmith into the city². Among the Mennonites of Elbing and Marienburg, there were therefore, in addition to the professions also found in the countryside, the hawkers, shopkeepers and grocers, some of whom possessed a considerable fortune, also lace makers, dyers, bakers, distillers, brandy makers and vinegar brewers³.

On the whole, the economic situation of the Mennonite population group in the Marienburg and Elbing area at the beginning of the Prussian period is quite favourable. A social decline since the immigration in the 16th and 17th centuries cannot have taken place at all. Since not only rich people can have come to the country with the Anabaptists, an economic upward trend can safely be assumed. The upward trend continued during the Prussian period. In first years after 1772, the purchase of land by Mennonites once again increased sharply.

Then, however, the Mennonites' economic expansion forces came into conflict with the interests of the military state. Since the Mennonites had been granted military freedom by the Prussian king, for which they had had to pay the sum of 5,000 Talers annually for the Culm cadet house⁴ since 1774, retroactive from 1 June 1773, every plot of land acquired by an Anabaptist man was exempted from cantonal [military] duty. As a result, the Prussian monarch demanded, as early as 1773, that the approval of the War- und Provincial Offices be obtained for land purchases by Mennonites⁵. Approvals were granted if the "non" Mennonite seller still retained part of the land or could only protect himself and his creditors from loss of assets by selling to a Mennonite who paid more⁶.

After the Mennonite edict of 1789 had also restricted further acquisition of land, the status quo of 24 November 1803 was then declared by a cabinet decree to be the maximum extent of Mennonite land ownership. Many West Prussian Mennonites emigrated to Russia from this time onwards where land was made available to them on a large scale.

Whether the Mennonites would have taken over the whole Werder area in time, as the district administrator of the Marienburg district believed⁸, must remain undecided. It is a fact that the number of Mennonite landowners increased sharply until 1776, when the Culmic Werder villages of Katznase and Reichfelde as well as the Neuteicher Stadtfeld were added to the areas with Mennonite settlement⁹. From the beginning of the Prussian period until 1788, the Mennonite share of the Culmic villages of the Gross and Klein Werder, including the Tiegenhof and Baerwalde areas, increased by a total of 87

Hufen¹⁰. In the Elbing territory, too, the Mennonites acquired another 26 plots of land within 6 years, calculated from 1777¹¹.

It remains to answer the question of the causes of the Mennonite successes, which were recognised by all objectively thinking contemporaries.

On the one hand, there may be some truth in the sober, calculating point of view of the Prussian officials who saw the advantage of the Mennonites in their business association over those of other faiths. In addition, the exemption from military service allowed the Mennonites to employ their young sons in their own businesses¹³. This opinion is partly confirmed by the well-known fact that religious minorities often seek not only a firm faith-based cohesion but an equally strong one in the economic sphere.

In the assessment of the Mennonite achievements, however, their theological constitution must also take into account, the "inner-worldly asceticism" that was not the effect of a special dogmatic approach but was made by mutual support in the following of Christian duty. The renunciation of all public activity demanded at the time encouraged concentration on the economic moment. Also, the sober way of life, which kept the individual Mennonite away from all excessive expenditure in a time of luxury, had to benefit a productive use of what had been acquired as investment capital and thus also produce an economic result.

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NOTES

B. The Reformation as the Cause of the Eastern Movement of Mennonite Dutchmen

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17. B. Schumacher, *Niederlaendische Ansiedlungen im Hezogtum Preussen zur Zeit Herzog Albrecht (1525-1568)*, Leipzig 1903, p. 3.
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21. *Ibidem*, p. 72.
22. H. Penner, *Ansiedlungen mennonitischer Niederlaender in der Weichselmuendung Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der preussischen Zeit*, Diss T.H.Danzig (Karlsruhe 1940), p. 9f.
23. H. G. Mannhardt, *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde, ihre Entstehung und ihre Geschichte von 1569-1918*, Danzig 1919, p. 40ff.
24. Penner, p. 9ff.
25. *Ibidem*, p. 23ff.
26. Mannhardt, p. 52.
27. Penner, p. 44f.

28. Cf. H. Wiebe, Das Siedlungswerk niederlaendischer Mennoniten im Weichselgebiet zwischen Fordon und Weissenberg bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts (Wiss. Beitrage zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost-Mitteleuropas 3), Marburg 1952, pp. 18ff.
29. Cf. R. Heuer, Die Hollaenderdoerfer in der Weichselniederung um Thorn, in: Mitt. des Copernicus Vereins fuer Wiss, und Kunst zu Thorn, 42, 1934, pp. 122-155, esp. 145ff.

C. The Territory of the City of Elblag and the Economy of Marienburg

1. W. Geisler, Die Weichsellandschaft von Thorn bis Danzig, Braunschweig u. Hamburg 1922, p. 52f.
2. Ibidem, p. 53.
3. Ibidem, p. 191.
4. E. Buchna, Das Weichseldelta, eine landschaftskundliche Untersuchung, Phil. Diss., Hamburg 1935, p. 3.
5. Taryfy podatkowe ziem Pruskich z r. 1682, ed. by S. Kętrzyński (Tow. Nauk. w Toruniu, Fontes 10), Thorn 1901.
6. Kontributionskataster (abbreviated: KK), Amt Grosser Marienburger Werder, 180/11033; Amt Marienburg, 180/11034, Oekon. Gutachten.
7. Buchna, p. 51f.
8. KK, Amt Kleiner Marienburger Werder, 180/11036, Oekon. Gutachten.
9. Liczewski, Die Wasserwirtschaft in der Weichsel- und Nogatniederung, insbesondere im Elbinger Deichverband, in: Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung, Heft 29/30, Berlin 1920, p. 172.
10. Christoph Falk's Elbingisch-Preussische Chronik, ed. by Max Toeppen, in: Die Preussischen Geschichtsschreiber des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 5 vols, Leipzig 1876ff, IV, p. 185.

11. KK, 180/ 11036, Oekon. Gutachten.
12. G. Skirl, Die Kolonisation am Drausensee von der Ritterzeit bis auf die Gegenwart, Koenigsberg 1913, p. 12.
13. KK, Amt Elbinger Niederung, 180/11025.
14. A. Meitzen, Der Boden und die landwirtschaftlichen Verhaeltnisse des preussischen Staates, 8 vols, Berlin 1868ff, I, p. 221ff.
15. KK, 180/ 11025, Oekon. Gutachten.
16. Ueber die Sonderstellung des Ermlandes, cf. Erich Weise Das Widerstandsrecht im Ordenslande Preussen und das mittelalterliche Europa, Goettingen 1955, pp. 282ff and 292.
17. Das Preussenland, ed. by the Goettingen Working Group, edited by E. Keyser, Hist. Kartenwerk, Munich 1954, text supplement.
18. M. Baer, Die Behoerdenverfassung in Westpreussen seit der Ordenszeit, Danzig 1912, p. 35f.
19. Ibidem, p. 32.
20. S. Kutrzeba, Grundriss der polnischen Verfassungsgeschichte, Berlin 1912, p. 101.
21. B. Schumacher, Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreussen, 2nd ed., Wuerzburg 1957, p. 184.
22. Das Preussenland, text supplement.
23. M.G. Fuchs, Beschreibung der Stadt Elbing und ihres Gebietes, 3 vols, Elbing 1818ff, I, p. 38ff.
24. M. Toppfen, Beitrage zur Geschichte des Weichseldeltas, in: Abhandlungen zur Landeskunde der Provinz Westpreussen, Heft 8, Danzig 1894, Document No. 27, p. 97f.
25. Israel Hoppes, Burggrafen zu Elbing, Geschichte des Ersten Schwedisch - Polnischen Krieges in Preussen nebst Anhang, in: Die Preuss, Geschichtsschreiber V, p. 391.

26. W. Zieseimer, Ueber Georg Wilhelms Ordnung des Grossen Werders vom Jahre 1633, in; Mitt. d. Westpr. Geschichtsverein, 5, 1906, p. 77.
27. S. Hoszowski, Zniszczenia w czasie wojny Szwedzkiej na terenie Prus Królewskich, in: Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej 1655-1660, 2 vols, Warsaw 1957, II, p. 394.
28. S. Jacobsohn, Der Streit um Elbing 1698/99, in; Elbinger Jahrbuch, 7, 1928, p. 28ff.
29. M. Baer; Fuchs, Nachricht ueber die Koenigl, preuss, Besitznahme der Stadt Elbing 1772 den 13. Sept., Elbing 1822, p. 7ff.
30. M. Baer, Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen, 2 vol. (Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven 83,84), Leipzig 1909, I, p. 175ff; Fuer die aeltere Zeit: G. Schubert-Fikentscher. Die Verbreitung der deutschen Stadtrechte in Osteuropa (Forsch. z. Dtsch. Recht, IV, 3) Leipyig 1942, p. 368ff.
31. E. G. Kerstan, Die Geschichte des Landkreises Elbing, Elbing 1925, p. 65ff.
32. M. Baer, Ueber die Gerichte in Preussen zur Zeit der polnischen Herrschaft, in: ZWG, 47, 1904, p. 95.
33. C.E. Rhode, Der Elbinger Kreis inn topograpphischer, historischer und statistischer Hinsicht, Danzig 1871, p. 189.
34. H. Deppner, Das kirchenpolitische Verhaeltnis Elbings zum Bischof von Ermland zur Zeit der polnischen Fremdherrschaft, Phil. Diss. Berlin, Elbing 1933, p. 48ff.
35. Gedr. bei W. Crichton, Urkunden und Beytraege zur preussischen Geschichte Sammlung 1, Koenigsberg und Leipzig 1784, S. 51f.
36. E. Sehling, Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts, vol.4, Leipzig 1911, p. 223.
37. H. Nottarp, Die Mennoniten in den Marienburger Werdern, eine kirchenrechtliche Untersuchung, Halle 1929, p. 21f.

38. Baer, Behoerdenverfassung, p. 36.
39. H, Eckerdt, Geschichte des Kreises Marienburg, Marienburg 1868. p. 108.
40. E. Dormann, Geschichte des Kreises Marienburg, Danzig 1862, p. 18.
41. P. Kawczyński, Polnisch - Preussen zur Zeit des Ersten Schwedisch - Polnischen Krieges von 1626-1629, in: Jahresbericht ue.d. Kath, Gymn. Braunsberg 1873ff, II, p. 17.
42. Hoszowski, p. 389.
43. R. Schwarz, Leiden des Marienburger Werders im schwedischpolinischen Erbfolgekriege, in: Mitt. des Westpr. GeschichtsVereins, 13, 1914, p. 58ff.
44. Hoszowski, p.404.
45. Prawa, Konstytucye y Przywileje Krolestwą Polskiego, 6 Vols, Warsaw 1733ff, IV, 713.
46. *Visitaiones Episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Episcopo A. 1667-72 factae*, ed. by B. Czaplą (Tow. Nauk, w Toruniu, Fontes 6-10), Thorn 1902ff, p. 806f: "Plurimi ecclesiae bellorum incommodis et iniuris temporum laceratae, attritae et desolatae, nonnullae dirutae et funditus demolitae, pagi et villae diversis angustis affictae, exactionibus attenatae, aquorum inundationibus cum agris et araturis depopolatae."
47. A. Hartwich, Geographisch-historische Landesbeschreibung derer dreyen im pohnischen Preussen liegenden Werdern, Danzig 1722, p. 475.
48. G. Berg, Geschichte der Stadt Marienburg, Marienburg 1921, p. 140.
49. Max Toeppen, Die Zinsverfassung Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens, in: Z. f. preuss, Geschichte und Landeskunde 4 Jg., Bin. 1867, p. 231.

50. Cf. *Aeconomiae Marienburgensis Revisio 1590*; *Rewizja Ekonomii Malborskiej z r. 1636*, ed. by W. Hejnoz and J. Gronowski, in: *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii Malboiskiej* (Tow. Nauk. W Toruniu, Fontes 48), Vol. II, Thom 1960, p. 71 ff; *Rewizja Ekonomii Malborskiej z r. 1649*.
51. So 1569 in Brodsack Antoni Mączak, *Folwark pańszczyźniany a wieś w Prusach Królewskich w XVII/ XVII wieku*, in: *Przegląd Historyczny*, 47, 1956, p. 355, note 16), 1590 in *Stalle* (Revision 1590).
52. H. Bertram, *Die Entwicklung des Deich- und Entwaesserungswesens im Gebiet des heutigen Danziger Deichverbandes seit dem 14. Jahrhundert*, Danzig 1907, p. 185.
53. *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, III, 2, Marburg 1958, No. 621.
54. Sandhof (Piaski), however, was only established at the time of the Oekonom Stanisław Kostka Jr., moved around 1600 from the Marienburg castle grounds to the later location east of the town (*Inwentarz zamku Malborskiego i folwarków z 1607 r.*, ed. by Hejnosz, in: *Źródła do dziejów ekonomii Malborskiej*, I, p. 128).
55. Revision 1590.
56. E. Bahr, *Die Verwaltungsgebiete Koeniglich-Preussens 1454-1772*, in: *ZWG*, 74, 1938, p. 112; the first document cf. *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, I, 2, No. 715.
57. Document printed in A.Semrau, *Zur Geschichte der Besiedlung des Grossen Werders im 13. Jahrhundert*, in: *Mitt. des Copernicus-Vereins fuer Wiss. und Kunst in Thorn*, 42, 1934, p. 119.
58. KK 180/11033.
59. *Kutrzeba*, p. 189.
60. *Komisarzy Jana III, króla polskiego, wilkierz dla Zulaw Polskich 1676*, in: *Polskie Ustawy Wiejskie XV - XVIII w.*, ed. by S. Kutrzeba and A. Mankowski (*Archiwum Komisji Prawniczej*, 11), Kraków 1938, p. 448, Art.1.
61. *Ibidem*, Art. 2.

62. J. F. Goldbeck, *Vollstaendige Topographie des Koenigreiches Preussen*, 2. Part (Westpr.), Marienwerder 1789, p. 24.
63. Baer, *Ueber die Gerichte*, p. 90.
64. *Wilkiez dla Zuław Polskich* 1676, p. 451, article 13.
65. *Ibidem*, p. 449, art. 5; p. 451, art. 12.
66. Baer, *Westpreussen*, I, p. 16; II, p. 699ff.
67. Hartwich, p. 479ff; Penner, p. 19.
68. C. Turowski, *Kirchengeschichte von Ost- und Westpreussen*, Breslau 1908, p. 21.
69. H. Cramer, *Geschichte des vormaligen Bistums Pomesanien*, Marienwerder 1884, p. 223.
70. *Urkundenbuch des Bistums Culm*, ed. by C.P. Woelky, Danzig 1885, Document No. 1088 (Provinzialsynode zu Petrikau).
71. *Visitationes Episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Episcopo A. 1667-72 factae*, p. 806.
72. Sehling, p. 158.
73. Cf. G. Lengnich, *Geschichte der Preussischen Lande koeniglich-polnischen Anteils seit dem Jahre 1526*, 9 Vol., Danzig 1722/1755, V, p. 32f, 38f, 56ff, 106f.
74. Toeppen, *Beitraege*, Document No. 37, p. 103.
75. *Urkundenbuch des Bistums Culm*, No. 1192, p. 1070ff.
76. *Gravamina Insularum maioris et minoris ad Capitaneatum Mariae-burgensem spectatum* (reproduction of contents in Mączak, p. 387).

77. Cf. *Jura et Libertates Dissidentium in Religione Christiana in Regno Poloniae et M. D. Lithuaniae*, ed. by E. Jablonski, p. 1, 1708.
78. *Ibidem*, p. 120: "Arianis vero et Apostatis, nec non Quakeris et Mennonistis Confoederatio isthaec praesidio esse haud debet" (Confoederatio Generalis 1696).
79. As late as 1556, the same king had ordered the Prussian bishops and councillors to make proposals at the Diet of Marienburg on how to counter the pernicious activities of the Anabaptists (Urkundenbuch des Bistums Culm, No. 1047).
80. Freiherr von Reisswitz and Wadzeck, *Beitraege zur Kenntnis der Mennonitengemeinden in Europa und America*, Berlin 1821, p. 27ff. The royal privileges are partly printed in W. Mannhardt's appendix, no. 1-5. The Mennonites charters of 1660, 1694, 1697 and 1736 with their application for the establishment of a prayer house in the Elbing territory were added in, in 1754. They are preserved in a translation made at that time (Staatsarch. Koenigsberg, Etat Min. Tit. 29c, No. 12) Individual ecclesiastical privileges in favour of the Mennonites in Nottarp, p. 86ff.
81. Hartwich, p. 129f.
82. Nottarp, p. 29.
83. Toepfen, *Beitraege*, Document No. 45. p. 109f (Comparison of the Mennonite owners of Wengeln with the Thiensdorf church).
84. Nottarp, p. 41ff.

D. The First Period of Mennonite Settlement in the Elbing Territory and in the Marienburg Economy

1. E. Keyser, *Die Mennoniten im Weichsellande*, in: *Mennon. Geschichtsblaetter*, Jg. 5, 8, 1940, p. 3.
2. Reisswitz, p. 23.

3. Michael Friedwalds, des Loewentoedters, Elbingisch Preussische Geschichten in: Die preussischen Geschichtsschreiber, IV, p. 165.
4. Fuchs, Beschreibung, II. p. 303 f.
5. W. Crichton, Zur Geschichte der Mennoniten, Koenigsberg 1786, p. 23.
6. Toeppen, Beitrage, p. 23, note 1. The remains of the Elbing State Archives now stored in the Woiwodschaftsarchiv Gdansk (Archiwum Wojewódzkie w Gdańsku). It was not possible to find out anything about the documents mentioned.
7. Fox. Description, vol. III, 2, p. 184ff.
8. Rhode, p. 91.
9. Kerstan, p. 199ff.
10. C.K. Leman, Provinzialrecht der Provinz Westpreussen, 3 vols. Leipzig 1830 f; vol. III, 2, Document No. 13 (Dorffs Ordnung des Ellerwaldes.....).
11. Kerstan, p. 69.
12. Toeppen, Document No. 18, p. 90ff.
13. Rhode, p. 91.
14. B. Kositz, Die Hufenbesitzer von Kerbswalde nach den Jahresrechnungen der Elbinger Landrichter von 1596-1759, in; Quellenblaetter aus dem Stadtarchiv Elbing, ed. by H. Kownatzki, Elbing 1938, No. 10.
15. Toeppen, contributions p. 24.
16. Ibidem.
17. R. Nordmann, Neulandsbildung am Frischen Haff im Halbjahrtausend, Danzig 1937, p. 33f.

18. Kositz, Nr. 11, Die Hufenbesitzer von Kerbshorst nach den Jahresrechnungen der Elbinger Landrichter von 1638-1759.
19. Rhode, p. 91f.
20. Kerstan, p.150 and 326; Nordmann, map.
21. Toeppen, Beitrage, Document No. 30, p. 99f.
22. Fuchs, Description, p. 433.
23. Nordmann, p. 34f.
24. Rhode, p. 92f.
25. The original documents of the Elbing City Archives (1618-1768), edited in the form of registers by E. Volckmann, Elbing 1881, XIX, No. 555.
26. Toeppen, Beitrage, Document No. 42, p.109.
27. Rhode, p. 93.
28. The original documents of the Elbing City Archives, XX, No. 580.
29. Nordmann, comments on maps no. 45 and 63.
30. Penner, p. 72.
31. Uebergabe des Elbingischen Territorii an den Intendanten- und Domainenrat Koeppen Anno 1752, Staatsarchiv Danzig, Abt. 38, Kriegs- und Domaenen-kammer Koenigsberg, No. 76.
32. W.Kuhn, Geschichte der deutschen Ostsiedlung in der Neuzeit, 2 Vol., Koeln und Graz 1955/ 57, names Ober - und Unterkerbswalde, Gross- und Klein Wickerau (Map 6).
33. Penner, p. 7f.
34. Reisswitz, p. 19f.
35. Inwentarz zamku Malborskiego i folwarkow, p. 81f

36. Revision 1649.
37. Inwentarz Oekonomij Malborskiej anno 1696.
38. Berg, p. 141.
39. Ibidem, p. 181ff.
40. H. Bertram, W. La Baume, O. Kloeppel, Das Weichsel-Nogatdelta (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreussens, 11), Danzig 1924, p. 2f.
41. The name comes from the Buden [huts] of the reapers recruited annually during the time of the Order.
42. H. Penner, Die westpreussischen Mennoniten, in: Westpreussen Jahrbuch 1950, Luebeck 1950, p. 90.
43. B.Schmid, Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen, 4 vols, Danzig 1887ff, IV, p. 77.
44. Regestnim Contributionis Palatinatus Marienburgensis 1582 r., in: Zrodla dziejowe (Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym, Tom. 12, Prusy Królewskie), ed. by J. T. Baranowski, (vol. 23 of Tow. Nauk, Warszawskiego), Warsaw 1911, p. 95.
45. Revision 1590.
46. Revision 1636, p. 126.
47. Revision 1649.
48. W. Mannhardt, Die Wehrfreiheit der altpreussischen Mennoniten, Marienburg 1863, p. 76f.
49. Revision 1649.
50. Ibidem.
51. Penner, Ansiedlungen, p. 63, note 12.

52. Inventory 1696.
53. Penner, Ansiedlungen, p. 63.
54. Revision 1636, p. 130; Revision 1649.
55. Wiebe, p. 40.
56. Toeppen, p. 49, and Schmid, p. 30, read Nickelsdorf.
57. Revisio Bonorum Oeconomiae Mariaeburgensis a. 1510-1529, p. 62f.
58. Preussische Urkundenbuch, vol. III, 1, Koenigsberg 1944, Document No. 129, p. 93f
59. Chlebowski et al, Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajow Słowiańskich, vol. 1-15, 2, Warsaw 1880ff, III, pp. 959f.
60. Document printed in the appendix.
61. Regestrum Contributionis Palatinatus Marienburgensis 1582 r., pp. 69-98.
62. However, Wengeln at the Drausensee was mentioned for the first time as early as 1557 (H. Bertram, Eindeichung, Trockenlegung und Besiedlung des Weichseldeltas seit dem Jahre 1300, in: ZWG, 72, 1935, map); cf. also above p. 69.
63. Kuckuck is already present in 1565 (Bahr, p. 108), but must then have become deserted again, since it is not mentioned in 1582 and is given as newly settled in 1590. However, this attempt does not seem to have been quite successful either, so that the village was issued emphyteutic rights between 1636 and 1649.
64. Revision 1590.
65. Toeppen, Beitrage, p. 61.
66. Ibidem, Document No. 28, p. 98f.
67. Revision 1636, p. 127.
68. Revision 1590.

69. Preussisches Urkundenbuch, Vol. IV, Marburg 1960, Document No. 601, p. 542ff.
70. Revision 1636, p. 120.
71. Preuss. Urkundenbuch, Vol. IV, Document No. 601.
72. Revision 1590.
73. This area of land, which in 1636, 1649 and 1676 was counted as part of the Klein Werder because of the similarity of names with the Klein Werder Order village of Schoenwiese northeast of Marienburg, must be identical with the Schoenwieserhuben near Gnojau in the Gross Werder, which originally belonged to Biesterfelde, but were already awarded to the Kunzendorfers during the time of the Order (cf. Eckerdt, p. 178). In 1636, the inhabitants of Kunzendorf paid for the Hufen, and they also laid claim to them in 1649. In 1696, the only Dutch Hufen of Schoenwiese are those in the Gross Werder (also: Slownik geogr., p. 391).
74. Revision 1636, p. 127ff; Revision 1649.
75. Toeppen, Beitrage, Document No. 34, p. 102.
76. Revision 1636, p. 127.
77. Eckerdt, p. 171f.
78. Lengnich, VIII, p. 126 f and p. 137, IX, p. 91f and 236 (reports of Reichs- and Landtagen).
79. In 1687, the Bishop of Culm and Pomesania, Johannes Casimir Opalinski, wrote in his report to the Pope: "Sectam Mennoniticam in eadem dioecesi maxime florescere corde doloris tactus vehementer ingemisco, eamque pro zelo characteri meo debito extirpare cordicitus procuro, illudque argumentum qua publicis qua privatis nobilium regni conventibus laboris et facultatum impensis promoveo" (Urkundenbuch des Bistums Culm, Document No. 1197, p. 1089).
80. Cf. above page 48f.

E. The increase in Mennonite land ownership until the end of the Polish period

1. Penner, Ansiedlungen, p. 22f; A. Driedger Aus der Geschichte der Mennonitengemeinde Heubuden, in: Menn. Blaetter, 86, 1939, No. 5-9, No. 9.
2. Lengnich, VIII, p. 126f.
3. Revision 1649, Hufen von Kunzendorf und Grunau.
4. KK, 180/11025, Hufen of Jungfer, Gross Mausdorf a. o.
5. Rhode, p. 92.
6. Ibidem, p. 94; Nordmann, p. 18.
7. Verpachtung der Einmiethe-Laendereien (Amt Elbing) 1739-1763, Staatsarchiv Danzig, Abt. 38, Kriegs- und Domaenenkammer Koenigsberg, No. 77.
8. See attached for a lease agreement for 2 Hufen.
9. Kriegs- und Domaenenkammer Koenigsberg, No. 77.
10. Uebergabe des Elbingischen Territorii an den Intendanten- und Domainenrat Koeppen, Staatsarchiv Danzig, Abt. 38, Kriegs- und Domaenenkammer Koenigsberg, No. 76.
11. Ibidem.
12. Ebenda, list of the landowners of Walldorf and Laakendorf.
13. Taryfy podatkowe ziem Pruskich z r. 1682.
14. W. Mannhardt, p. 79.
15. First probably Mannhardt, p. 77, 96 et al.
16. Revision 1649.
17. Brons, p. 247f.

18. See below, p. 72.
19. Kampenau 1612, cf. appendix.
20. Toeppen, Beitrage, Document No. 40, p. 108.
21. Ibidem, Document No. 44, p. 109.
22. Visitationes Episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Episcopo A. 1667-72 factae, p. 805.
23. Cf. summary of Rusiński, W. Osady tzw. "Olędrow" w dawnym woj. Poznańskim (Polska Akademia umiejętności prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski Z. V), Krakow 1947.
24. Penner, Ansiedlungen, p. 61.
25. Revision 1636, p. 120; Revision 1649.
26. H. Penner, Die westpreussischen Mennoniten im Wandel der Zeiten, in: Mennonitische Geschichtsblaetter, N.F. No. 2, 1950, p. 25.
27. Cf. the list from 1772, below p. 115ff.
28. Driedger, No. 6.
29. Revision 1649, Grunau a. Kuckuck; Nottarp, p. 29 a. 33 (financial redemption of ecclesiastical obligations in Tiegenhof and in the Marienburg Oekonomie at the beginning of the 18th century).
30. Classen, Dyck, Jansen, Niefeld, Peters, Thiessen, Wiebe a.o.
31. Dormann, Document in the appendix, p. 18f.
32. Ibidem, p. 32f.
33. KK, Privileges to abb. 180/11034.
34. KK, 180/11034.
35. As a minimum rate, 100 Guilders are demanded on the Vorwerk lands.

36. Eckerdt, p.178.
37. In the Revision without Hufen indication.
38. Toeppen, Beitrage, Document No. 47, p. III.
39. Cf. above p. 136 Nota. 73.
40. Taryfy podatkowe ziem Pruskich z r. 1682.
41. Ibid.
42. KK, Privileges at 180/11036.
43. W. Maas, Zur Siedlungsgeschichte Westpreussens 1466/1772, Marburg, 1958, p. 71.
44. F. Szper, Nederlandsche Nederzettingen in Westpruisen gedurende den Poolschen Tijd, Amsterdam Diss., Enkhuizen 1913, p. 126.
45. Schmid, p. 321.
46. Słownik geograficzny, X, p. 267.
47. Mennonitisches Lexikon, ed. by C. Hege and C. Neff, so far Vol. I-IV, 1, Frankfurt, Weierhof, Karlsruhe, 1913ff, III, p. 140 (keyword Mischehe).
48. Toeppen, Beitrage, Doument No. 45, Note 1.

F. The Significance of Delta Settlement by the Mennonites

1. In the privilege of Władisław IV. states that the Mennonites of the two Marienburg Werder "ad deserta paludiosa et inutilia tum temporis in dicis Insulis loca venisse, multoque labore et sumptibus maximis, quos partim in exstipationem virgultorum partim in aedificationem Molendinorum ad pellendas aquas ex locis uliginosis, et aquis obrutis necessariorum partim vero in aggeres ad Istulae, Nogatii, Drausen, Habi et Tugae aliorumque fluminum inundationes arcendas exstructos erogarunt, utilia et fructifera reddidisse, suisque Successoribus exemplum singularis industriae laboris et expensarum imitandum reliquisse . ." (printed in W. Mannhardt, Appendix, p. 60).

2. See above p. 57, note 56.
3. Revision 1510/1529, p. 63. Vinkelsdorf is possibly the later Thiensdorf.
4. Penner, *Die westpreussischen Mennoniten*, p. 87; The village of Wengeln appears neither in the interest/tax register of 1582 nor in revision of 1590-1636. An emphyteusis contract expires which was issued in 1614 for 30 years (Revision 1636, p. 128f).
5. Nordmann, p, 49f.
6. KK, 180/11025, Oekonom Expert opinion.
7. Kampenau 1612, cf. appendix.
8. Dormann, p. 60.
9. Kampenau 1612, cf. appendix.
10. Revision 1590 (pasture Alt Rosengart a. Markushof).
11. Kampenau 1612, cf. appendix.
12. In contrast to the Elbing territory, there was no mill ban in the Marienburg Oekonomie during the Polish period. The inhabitants paid 2000 Guilders annually as a redemption sum. Since this amount was not covered by the mill rent alone, an additional payment had to be made annually. The owners of the Hufen paid it willingly, however, in order to avoid the otherwise necessary mill transports to Marienburg (KK, 180/11033, Oekonom report from Palschau).
13. Revision 1590.
14. Toeppen, *Beitraege*, Urkunde Nr. 21, p. 93.
15. Mączak, p. 387.
16. Toeppen, *Beitraege*, Document No. 14, p. 87f. *Regestrum Contributionis* 1582 r.
17. Revision 1590

18. Regestrum Contributionis 1582 r.
19. Revision 1590 (567 Mark is paid by Marienau that is included in the Oekonomie)
20. The audit summation is in two currencies.
21. However, the basic interest rate has remained the same, only the grain charged is higher in price.
22. It should be noted that in 1649 the villages of Thiensdorf, Wengeln, Schwansdorf, Rosengart, Eschenhorst, Hohenwalde, Sparrau, Rosenort, Schoenwiese and other parts of Heubuden were issued to deserving lords of the Polish Kingdom as rental property, which was released. The figures given in the revision then do not correspond to the rent paid by the Mennonites, but are much lower. On the other hand, about 3,000 Marks are to be taken into account, which 1590 were paid by the Culmic villages for shares in the pasturelands.
23. See document in the appendix. In addition to the interest sum for the former Culmic village of Kampenau, there is a rebate compensation for the dam work of 2 Guilders per Hufen and 2 *Balken*. In the 18th century this rebate is no longer paid (Szper, p. 117).
24. Toeppen, Beitrage, Document No. 28, p. 98f.
25. This is where the later outlying villages of Stobbendorf and Spitzendorf emerged.
26. The revision of 1636 (p. 129) mentions an tax of 78 Marks to be paid by wood, while Dutchmen reside on the Hufen whose contract stipulates 90 Marks for one Hufe.
27. In the Revision of 1649, the village is still counted among the Culm villages. The relatively high tax sum was used to pay offset the obligations of the *Scharwerk*. In 1676, the area, the size which had been measured at 4.5 Hufen in since the 1612 survey, then belonged to the Dutch Hufen.

28. The smaller pasturelands, which are still listed in the revision, are located "on the hills near Rehhof". One of them is an area near Boenhof, and the other is the pastureland belonging to the Culmic Werder villages of Gross Montau, Tragheim and Alt Weichsel. The total yield from these pastures amounts to 1,565 Marks. For the Mennonite settlement of these areas see Wiebe, p. 39ff.
29. In 1696 the inhabitants of this area paid 1,284 Guilders or 1,926 Marks (inventory 1696).
30. In the meantime, however, they had switched completely to the Złoty or Guilder currency.
31. This sum only refers to the 6 Hufen, which also had the same interest rate in 1649. In reality the settlers of Baalau paid an interest of 600 Guilders (900 Marks). Cf. the 1685-extended lease contract in Spzer, p.117f. The lease sum paid by the Mennonites is thus here again considerably higher than that paid by the chief lessee to the royal treasury.
32. Kronsnest had suffered greatly in the second Swedish War and had been desolate for a long time. In 1676, in compliance with an earlier grant by King Casimir of 30 May 1661, it was given to the Elbing councillor Johann Treschenberg for 35 usable years. At that time it received 4 free years, then had to pay 15 Guilders for the farm until 1671 and afterwards 20 Guilders interest (The original documents of the Elbing Stadtarchiv XVIII, No. 522; Toeppen, Beitrage, Document No. 46, p. 11).
33. The balance to the above sum of 18,068 Guilders is paid from the pastures of the Rehhoef'sche Canton and the Marienwerder Niederung. 133 Guilders from the Dixonhuben, which belong to the Heubuden pasture complex, are also listed there.
34. The rent paid by the local farmers is of course much higher. In 1772 it amounts to 690 Guilders.
35. In the inventory of 1696, the number of Hufen is missing. 1772 there are 3 Hufen and 3.5 Morgen.

36. D. Braun, Ausfuehrlich historischer Bericht vom polnisch- und preussischen Muenzswesen, Elbing 1722, p. 115ff.
37. Melchiora Weyhera, ekonoma malborskiego, ordynacja Wielkich i Malych Zuław 1622, in: Polskie Ustawy Wiejskie, p. 442, Art. 9.
38. Hartwich, p. 353f.
39. Wiebe, p. 9.
40. Ordynacja 1622, p. 440f. Art. 1f.
41. Cf. in addition to the partly one-sided Marxist, but source-based account by Mączak, p. 358. Ibid. p. 385ff also details of measures taken by the free peasants against attempts of oppression.
42. Schmid, p. 30.
43. Preussische Sammlung von allerley bisher ungedruckten Urkunden, ed. by some lovers of truth, 3 vols, Danzig 1747ff, I, Nr. 32.
44. KK, 180/11034, Oekonom Expert opinion.
45. Revision 1649; Schwarz, p. 59 Eckerdt, p. 184.
46. Urkundenbuch des Bistums Culm, Nr. 1192, S. 1071f.
47. Toeppen, Beitrage, Document No. 45, p. 109f.
48. Eckerdt, p. 173.
49. Szper, p. 117ff, KK, Privileges to 180/11036.
50. Gedr. bei K. Ciesielska; Osadnictwo " olęderskie" w Prusach Królewskich i na Kujawach w świetle kontraktów osadniczych. in: Studia i materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza. 4, 2, 1958, p. 248ff.
51. Eckerdt; p. 177, however, mentions a farm rent of only 50 Guilders for Reichhorst.
52. Szper, p. 124.

53. Ibidem p. 113ff, KK, Privilegia from 180/11034 (Contracts for Willebruchshuben in 1790, Koczelitzker Heubuden in 1740, Philliponerhuben in 1759).
54. Eckerdts. 176ff.
55. W. Odyniec, Z Badan nad rozwarstwieniem wsi na Pomorzu w XVII w., in: Kwartalnik Historyczny, 62, No. 4/ 5, Warsaw 1955, p. 193.
56. KK, 180/11034, Continuum Gurkenhuben.
57. Rhode, p.92.
58. Ibidem, p. 91ff.
59. Kriegs- und Domaenenkammer Koenigsberg, No. 76.
60. KK, 180/11025.
61. Auction records, Kriegs- und Domaenenkammer Koenigsberg, No. 77
According to this, Gerhard Penner and a consortium from Rueckenau once auctioned 18 Morgen of Kampenland in Elbing for 60 Reichstaler purchase price, while the annual rent/tax was only 13 Reichstaler 30 Groschen.
62. Etat. Min. Tit. 29c, No. 12.
63. In a letter from Frederick William in Berlin dated 23 April 1739, it says with regard to the rent rates: "Thus, as far as the new lease is concerned, we hereby approve it with grace according to the circumstances you have mentioned; however, you are to avoid all returns, and also to take care as much as possible that the lost lands and meadows are gradually restored, so that the budget may soon be replenished again" (Kriegs- und Domaenen-kammer Koenigsberg, Nr. 77).
64. Kriegs- und Domaenenkammer Koenigsberg, Nr. 77.
65. Ibidem.

G. The situation in terms of settlement history when Frederick the Great took over West Prussia in 1772

1. Baer, Westpreussen, II, p. 567ff (Nachrichten von den Staedten).
2. Ibidem, I, p. 206.
3. H. Huebner, Der kulturelle Zustand Westpreussens am Ende der polnischen Zeit, in: Der Kampf um die Weichsel, ed. by E. Keyser, Stuttg., Bin., Lpz., 1926, p. 92.
4. KK, Staedtesachen [Municipal Affairs].
5. L. Boas, Friedrich des Grossen Massnahmen zur Hebung der wirtschaftlichen Lage Westpreussens, Phil. Diss., Berlin 1890, p. 65.
6. A preserved list in the Gdansk state archives mentions economic inventories from the years 1707, 1711(economic revision), 1715, 1724, 1730, 1736, 1745, 1755/56 and 1764; also: Zrodia dodzie- jow ekonomii Malborskiej, vol. 1, p. X
7. Gen. Dir. West Prussia Materia, Tit. I09, No. 1, Vol. I.
8. The figures were taken from the Cadastre of Contributions. The information on the size of the parcels does not always correspond to the foundation privileges, as the Cadastre usually only lists tax land and church and free school land was not taken into account.
9. Kerstan, p. 346.
10. W. Mannhardt, p. 96, gives a total of 132 Hufen for the Mennonite community of the Elbing quarter. The shortfall of 7 Hufen, which is a little more than 5 per cent, is at the expense of the cautious evaluation (cf. p. 87) is also very likely that the 4 Mennonite farming families of Kaemmersdorf in the eastern part of the Drausensee lowlands belonged to the Elbing Mennonite community.
11. The lustration is partly printed in A. Tarnawski, Dzialal- nos'c gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego kanclerza i hetmana w Kor. (1572-1605), Lemberg 1935, p. Hoff (original in Warsaw, AGAD, AS XLVI, 30).

12. Wilkierz dla Zulaw Polskich 1676, p. 453, article 21.
13. W. Mannhardt, p. 96, names 307 Hufen for the Mennonite community of Klein Werder in 1772. If this sum is based on the tribute Cadastre, then the villages of Gueldenfelde (7 Mennonites with 15.5 Hufen), Montauerweide and Zieglershufen, which belonged to the Amt Kleiner Marienbuger Werder (180/ 11036), are included.
14. Taryfy podatkowe ziem Pruskich z r. 1682.
15. The division of the village of Lesewitz, originally 95 Hufen and 22 Morgen in size, into Gross- and Klein Lesewitz did not take place until the second half of the 17th century.
16. Listing according to the inventory of 1696.
17. Place names with the additional field for the outlying Mennonite settlement only became more frequent in the 19th century (cf. Unruh, p. 210ff: Listen der mennonitischen Auswanderer)
18. In 1638, the Jesuits received permission to acquire land in the Marienburg area for 3,000 Guilders. In addition to some municipal properties, they bought the later so-called Jesuit farm in the Rehhofschen and the ecclesiastical Hufen of Koczelitzke. The purchase was confirmed by Władisław IV in 1648 (revision 1649).
19. W. Mannhardt, p. 96, names 446 Hufen for the Mennonite community in the Gross Werder. If this sum is based on the data of the Contributions Cadastre, then villages of Mirauerwalde and Tragheimerweide, which were counted as part of the Marienburg Amt (KK, 180/ 11034) are included, but hardly Renkau and the Marlerburg town villages of Dammfelde and Stadtfelde
20. Hartwich, p. 51, even speaks of 60 Scheffel, which, however, are nowhere estimated in 1772.
21. Cf. above p. 81,
22. F. J. Jekel, Pohlens Handelsgeschichte, Wien u. Triest 1809, p. 144.

23. Wilkierz dia zulaw malborskich, before 1723, in: Polskie Ustawy Wiejskie XV "XVIII w., p. 234, Article 48: according to this, a horse's hoof should "not be taxed and sold for more than 1,000 fl. However, this provision only applied "between friends"; a stranger could always be sold at a higher price. The Mennonites were known to be willing to pay high purchase prices.
24. Dormann, Appendix p. 32f: Document on the issue of "Klein" Montau by the economist Doenhof 1726; also Odyniec, p.193.
25. B.H. Unruh, Koloniasatorische Beruehrungen zwischen den Mennoniten und den Siedlern anderer Konfessionen im Weichselgebiet und in der Neumark, in: DA LV, 4.Jg., Heft2, 1940, S. 266

H. Outlook for the Prussian period

1. W. Mannhardt, p.96.
2. Already the merchants and tavern keepers need special privileges in the countryside.
3. Special Consignation 1776. cf. Appendix [see link at end of translation]
4. Baer, Westpreussen, I, p.541.
5. W. Mannhardt, p.126.
6. Baer, Westpreussen, I, p. 547.
7. W. Mannhardt, p.200.
8. C.Parey, Der Marienburger Kreis, Danzig 1864, p.85.
9. Speciafe Consignation 1776. cf. appendix,
10. W. Mannhardt, p. 141f} Baer, Westpreussen, I, p. 549. The data submitted by Lutherans in 1788 regarding the disputed church fees still attribute all 528 Dutch Hufen to the Mennonites as a "pretence of a false deed" As was ascertained from the data in the Contributions Cadastre, the Mennonites in the Klein Werder still owned only half of the Dutch Hufenbezirk at that time.

11. Baer, Westpreussen, I, p. 548.

12. Ibidem, p. 544

Appendix

I. Coins, weights and measures during the Polish period

One (Prussian) mark was reckoned at 20 Groschen, one (Polish) Guilder at 30 Groschen and one Reichstaler (Rthlr.) in the 18th century at 90 Groschen.

The Groschen was divided into 3 Shillings of 6 Pfennigs (Denarii). From the beginning of the 16th century, a gold Ducat equal to 40 Groschen was also minted in Poland, the value of which was equal to the Hungarian Ducat. In addition, various types of coins from the German Empire were in circulation.

The unit of measurement for land ownership was the Culmic Hufen of 16.8 hectares. There were 30 Culmic Morgen to a Culmic Hufen and 300 rods to a Culmic Morgen. During the Prussian period, the Prussian Morgen was introduced. 66 of these equaled to a Culmic Hufen.

The load served as the grain measure, which was calculated at 60 Scheffel. Depending on the type of grain, the Scheffel had a different weight. Converted into today's common measurements, a load corresponds to about 2.5 gross register tons to 1,000 kilos.

II. Lease contract [for **Campenau**] from the early days of the Mennonite settlement of the Marienburg farmstead

(Toeppen, *Beitraege zur Geschichte des Weichseldeltas*, Document No. 26, p. 96f)

Extension of the *Arrendeverschreibung* of Kampenau by King Sigismund III on 7 May 1612.

" Sigismund the third, by the grace of God, king of Poland, great leader of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Masovia, Samogitia, Livonia, etc., and also the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, let us signify by our present letters, which are of interest to all and every one, that when we had leased our goods or pastures in Campenau for plowing to certain Hollanders, and the contract made in that name was to expire in the year of the Lord one thousand six hundred and fourteen [1614], and the aforesaid Hollands namely *Martin Petersen*, *Johannes Wilmes*, *Albertus Gertz*, *Albertus Arents*, *Frederickus Gertz*, *Adamus Roseken*, *Cornelius Brandt*, *Joachim Fritz*, *Johann Adrian* and *Johan Classen*. The same conditions of goods and pastures are underwritten to have passed. First of all, we maintain the aforesaid tenants in possession of the same goods for the next twenty years from the year of the Lord one thousand six hundred and fourteen [1614] to the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-four [1634], beginning from the first day of the month of May in the above-mentioned year until the day and month of the next named year. By a contract specifying that the same colonists in each succeeding year an annual assessment of four thousand and three hundred [4,300] marks of Prutene[?], each of them estimated at twenty gross [Groschen?], depend upon the labor of the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ to our treasure, according to that name all for one and one for all in a solid [?] they are careful and faithful, and bind their goods and their persons. But if, God forbid, by any chance, through the wars and devastations of the Hollanders, they could not enjoy the aforesaid goods in peace, or were driven from the possession of them by some force and forced to migrate, for as long as they were hindered or expelled and deprived of the usufruct [?], they depend on no tax. The farmers of Campenau will be subject to the economic jurisdiction of our Marienburg, but nevertheless they will be free and immune from all agricultural services and work, of whatever kind they may be and may be, outside the borders of Campania. On the basis of the settlement, according to the contract with the inhabitants of the smaller island,

they will give two florins and two beams at the entrance from which they wish to stay. [?] But they will be free from ice guard duty and other dike embankment burdens. In the name of public contributions, since they have been ordered and sanctioned, as much as is usually paid by the people assigned to pasture, they will count paying the same amount and no more. Moreover, we agree with them that they may carry their goods for sale in any part of the country, and sell and buy wherever it is more convenient for their discretion and use. They may brew beer for their own needs, and use the nearest and most convenient mills. It shall also be free for them to choose and depute from their own ranks, whomever they think fit. We solemnly promise that, after the twenty years of this present lease, they shall have the prerogative to further obtain the possession and usufruct [?] of the aforesaid goods in favor of all others. But if it cannot then be passed from the census [?], then the cost and expenses in buildings, mills, and other instruments for bringing water, necessarily constructed by those who succeed them, shall be restored to them at the discretion and estimation of experts in that art. In witness whereof we have subscribed with our own hands and ordered to be deposited with the seals of our kingdom.

Given at Warsaw on the seventh day of the month of May in the year of the Lord one thousand six hundred and twelve [1612], in the 25th year of our Kingdom of Poland and the 19th year of Sweden. King Sigismund Stanisław Lubieski

III. Lease contract for two Hufen in **Walldorf** from the year 1715 (Staatsarchiv Danzig, Abt. 38 Kriegs- und Domaenenkammer Koenigsberg, Nr. 77)

I, Sigismundus Sieffert Councillor and presently Deputy Exterior Chamberlain of the City of Elbing, hereby inform all and sundry that in the year of Christ 1715, 18 Nov, by resolution of *E. Edl. U. Hochw. Raths* [noble and worthy city council] to Arend Wiebe a piece of land of two Huben on the newly founded Walddorf, situated between the Schwartztham [black damm] and the Jungfer lake, has been issued for sale after measurement by virtue of this for such a period of forty years. That the said purchaser shall be authorized and entitled to build on the said two Huben, to farm them, to excavate them, and to seek his benefit thereon, however, without damage and detriment to the town; but the same shall, as soon as such 2 Huben of 1000 Marks each have been purchased, pay two thousand Marks pr. [Prussian currency] as a purchase price, then, however, pay a yearly tax of 100 marks per Hufe for a total of 2,000 marks, in the office of the Noble Exterior Chamberlain.

However, towards the end of the forty years which begin with this 1715th year inclusive, a purchaser shall seek the renewal of his contract from the *E. Edl. u hw. Rath* [noble and worthy city council] a year before and then be assured of the same conclusion on account of the new purchase. In addition, he shall also undertake the work of the embankments, ditches and sluices, water mills etc. required for the maintenance of this land at his own expense at all times with the prior consent of the city authorities, so that in no way may the city or the other subdivisions suffer any damage or disadvantage. He shall also be obliged to improve and maintain, according to his own number, the pathway from *Boesefleischen* [a location] to the forest, which has been granted to the entire village by the noble council and which has already been established. Furthermore, as far as the duties and obligations are concerned, the purchaser will have to pay attention to this, and according to the decree made by the noble town council for the whole village, which stipulates that the built-up houses are to be exempt from quartering for fifteen years, and the undeveloped houses for twenty years, from *Podwodden*, *Lichtgeld* and *Holtzgeld*, and other obligations, which have been placed on the quarters.

After these years, however, the built-up houses shall be held equal to the neighbouring Rosenort and Blumenort, and the undeveloped houses to the present Krefeld pasturelands, in the bearing of such complaints and obligations. Because all those who live in the borders of this newly founded village are dedicated to, and parishioners of, the Jungfer [Lutheran] Church, purchasers shall also be dedicated to it and, like those in Keitlau, pay the preacher's dues and church fees according to the ordinance made for this purpose; If, however, he should not adhere to the said church on account of religion, he shall nevertheless owe the church 2 fl [Fluorins] Seckelgeld for the 2 Huben and the usual Stetengeld [burial fees] annually; furthermore, he shall refrain from all neighbouring pastures and woods, but in particular from all fishing, whether with nets, trips, gorges, fishing rods or whatever the means may be, in the Jungfer and Fuerstenau lakes without the permission of the council, with the avoidance of severe punishment. Since an honest purchaser would also be willing to cede his built-up house and purchased land to others, he shall be free to do so, but with the consent and approval of the noble and honorable council.

How now this contract. As this contract has been duly presented to the [noble and worthy city council], and approved by Yourself, it has also been confirmed by my signature and customary petition.

IV. The division of fields and meadows concerning pastureland in the year 1772

1. Villages whose usable area may consist exclusively of meadows and pastureland because of their low altitude:
 - a) Elbing area: Grenzdorf.
 - b) Marienburg area: Augustwalde, Fellermannshuben, Hohenwalde, Reichhorst, Alt Rosengart, Rosenort, Schwansdorf, Schwansdorferhoefchen, Sorgenort, Sparrau, Spitzendorf, Stobbendorf, Thiensdorfsee, Wengelwalde.
2. Villages where arable land takes up to one third of the usable area:
 - a) Elbing area: Aschbuden, Fischerskampe, Hoppenau, Jungfer, Keitlau, Unterkerbwalde, Laakendorf, Moosbruch, Moeskenberg, Neudorf, Neustaedterwalde, Schlammsack, Streckfuss Terranova
 - b) Marienburg area: Baalau, Eschenhorst, Pr. Koenigsdorf, Kronsnest, Kuckuck, Markushof, Pr. Rosengart, Thiensdorf.
3. Villages where arable land takes up to two thirds of the usable area:
 - a) Elbing area: Blumenort, Bollwerk, Einlage, Fuerstenauerweide, Goldberg, Kerbshorst, Oberkerbwalde, Kraffohlsdorf, Lupushorst, Gross Mausdorf, Klein Mausdorferweide, Neuhof, Neulanghorsterweide, Nogathau, Rosenort, Rossgarten, Schwarzdamm, Stuba, Walldorf, Zeyer;
 - b) Marienburg area: Altenau, Grunau, Heubuden, Kalthof, Kampenau, Liebenthal, Liessau, Mielenz, Pieckei, Schoenau, Sommerau, Stalle, Thiergart, Thiergartfelde, Wengeln.
4. Villages whose usable land consists almost exclusively of arable land:
 - a) Elbing area: Fuerstenau, Krebsfelde, Klein Mausdorf, Stutthof, Gross Wickerau, Klein Wickerau;
 - b) Marienburg area: Altfelde, Alt Weichsel, Barendt, Biesterfelde, Blumstein, Brodsack, Broeske, Damerau, Diebau, Eichwalde, Fischau, Fischauerfeld, Gnojau, Halbstadt, Herrenhagen, Irrgang, Jonasdorf, Kaminke, Katznase, Klakendorf, Klettendorf, Koczelitzke, Koenigsdorf, Kurzendorf, Kykoit, Lecklau, Gross Lesewitz, Klein Leseitz, Leske,

Gross Lichtenau, Klein Lichtenau, Lindenau, Mierau, Gross Montau, Klein Montau, Alt Muensterberg, Neukirch, Neuteichsdorf, Niedau, Notzendorf, Palschau, Parschau, Parwerk, Pordenau, Prangenu, Pruppendorf, Reichfelde, Sandhof, Schadwalde, Schlablau, Schoenhorst, Schoenwiese, Simonsdorf, Tannsee, Thoeirichthof, Tragheim, Tralau, Trampenu, Trappenfelde, Wenersdorf.

[Pages 158 through 269 have not been translated. An up-to-date, accurate translation of the 1776 census of Mennonites in West Prussia, proofed against scans of the *original document*, can be found at:
[https://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/1776 West Prussia Census.pdf](https://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/1776_West_Prussia_Census.pdf)]

Karl-Heinz Ludwig. Glossary

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Note that some of these definitions are of my own making and specifically to the location and time period described in this book.

Contribution Cadastre – refers to the 1772-1773 census of West

Prussia. See:

https://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/1772/West_Prussia_Census_1772.pdf

Culmic/Culmish – refers to the “Kulmisch Recht” or Culmic law. Those renting Culmic villages had special privileges.

Emphyteutic – a type of rental contract which usually covered 10 to 50 years and was usually hereditary. It covered all immovable structures on the property.

Hakenbude (Hakenbüdner/Häker)) – a type of small general store.

Hufe(n) – a Culmish Hufen was equal to 16.8 hectare or 41.5 acres.

There were 30 Morgen in a Hufe.

Morgen – 0.56 hectares or 1.38 acres. There were 300 Ruten in a Morgen.

Niederung(-en) – lowland(s).

Oekonomie – an economic administrative district.

Oekonom – the person who oversaw an economic district.

Rute(n) – a square rod. approximately 19 square metres.

Scharwerk – mandatory community work or work on the landlord's estate. Usually part of a rental contract.

Scheffel – literally a “shovel”. This is a unit of dry measure. A Scheffel was about 1.5 bushels.

Special Consignation – refers to the 1776 census of Mennonites in

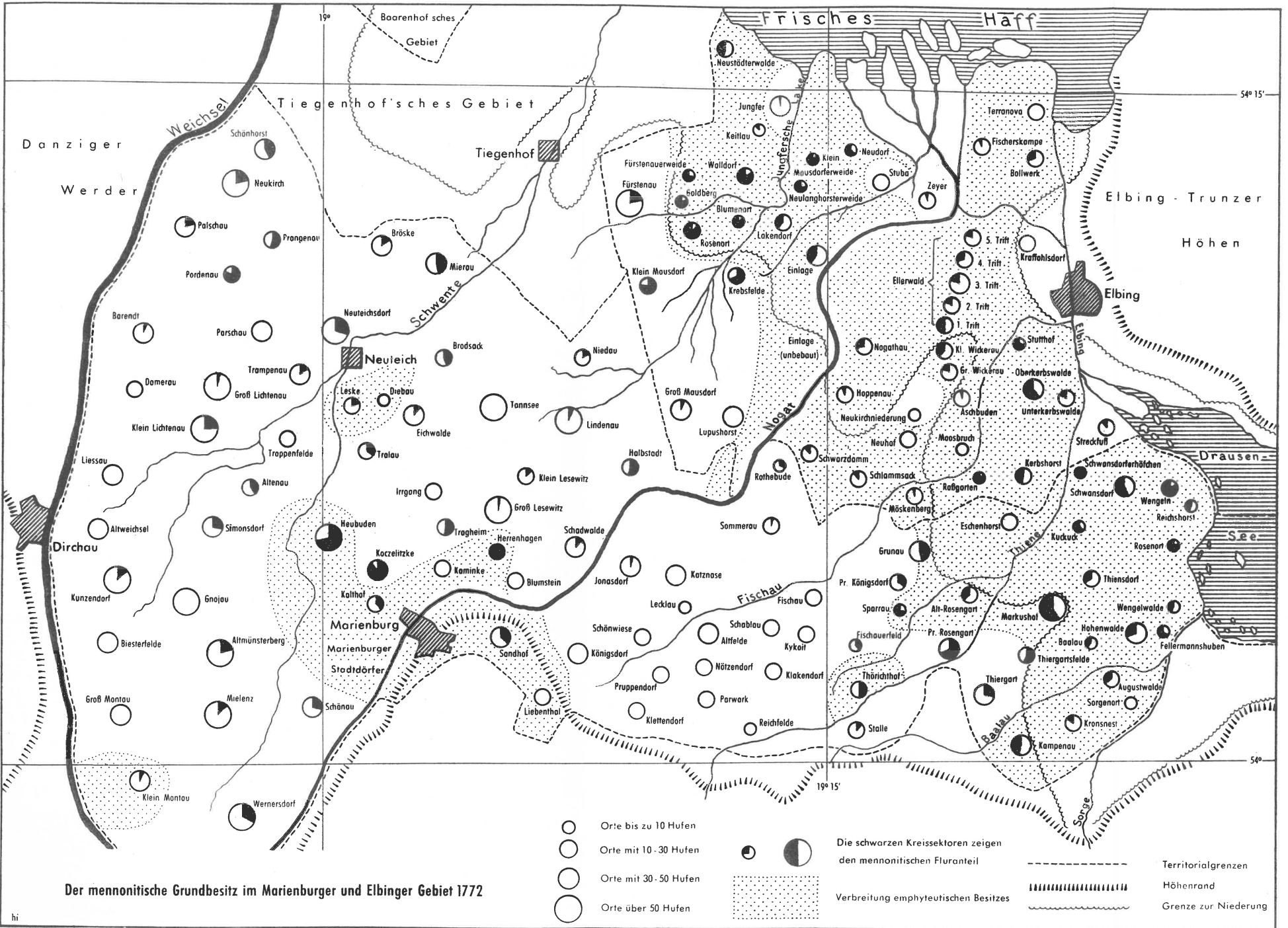
West Prussia. See:

https://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/1776_West_Prussia_Census.pdf

Trift (*f.* pl. -en) – Triften were literally cattle tracks or trails which separated large pastures. These eventually became roads.

Vorwerk – translated as outlying land in this book. Often the land outside of a village which was part of the associated manor property.

Werder (*m.* pl. -) – a river island; a Holm.



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