

Herbert Wiebe

**The Settlement Work of Dutch
Mennonites in the Vistula Valley
between Fordon and Weissenberg
until the End of the 18th Century**

1952

Translated and edited by Timothy H. Flaming (Cypress,
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[English translation of the cover page.]

Johann Gottfried Herder Institute Marburg/L.

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Herbert Wiebe

The Settlement Work of Dutch Mennonites in the Vistula Valley between Fordon and
Weissenberg until the End of the 18th Century

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HERBERT W I E B E

Das Siedlungswerk niederländischer Mennoniten im
Weichseltal zwischen Fordon und Weissenberg bis zum
Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts

- als Manuskript gedruckt -

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Preface

The doctoral dissertation of the young West Prussian historian Herbert Wiebe, made accessible to the public by the Johann Gottfried Herder Institute, has a special significance for the history of the German East.

On the one hand, it is a contribution to the appreciation of the economic achievements of the Mennonite population of the Vistula region which was either annihilated or scattered over West Germany and America by the events of 1945. Wiebe's dissertation, by its limitation to the Vistula Valley between Fordon and Weissenburg, most desirably complements Horst Penner's study of the "Settlement of Mennonite Dutch in the Vistula Estuary from the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the Beginning of the Prussian Era," published in 1941 as Volume III of the *Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins*. Like Penner's work, Wiebe's is of fundamental value to Mennonite studies in Europe and America. Wiebe's writing is also an important contribution to the elucidation of the recent Dutch eastward migration, the study of which has received such decisive impetus in the last twenty years by Keyser, Posthuma, Kuhn, Unruh, and others. German and Dutch researchers will therefore gratefully welcome Wiebe's work.

Finally, Wiebe's legacy also serves the general German settlement history. Historians, geographers, settlement experts and agronomists will have to use the results of Wiebe's investigations.

The work, drawn from now destroyed or inaccessible sources, is at the same time the last legacy of the young scholar who was snatched away from research so early [See the translation of his obituary in the supplementary material appended to this book]. In the cleanness of its method, in the care of its source indexing, in the prudence and impartiality of its judgment, the dissertation is a fine testimony to the scientific ability of the author. To those who have watched over the preservation of these leaves and the irreplaceable pictorial additions [which are, unfortunately, very low resolution]: Fraeulein Irma Wiebe, Professor Dr. Erich Keyser, Professor Dr. Harold S. Bender deserve the special thanks of the readers of this work.

Goettingen, July 1952.

Dr. Kurt Kauenhoven.

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Translators' notes:

- 1.) This book has been a deceptively challenging document to work with. The scanned copy has a gray background and OCR recognition is perhaps 50-75% accurate in even recognizing any text. Some sentences had to be retyped or reconstructed
- 2.) Wiebe underlines some text, in some cases for no apparent reason. This underlining has been removed.
- 3.) Latin or Polish quotes have usually not been translated. It should be noted that translating the old Latin and German documents in the appendix has been challenging. The translations we have done should be considered rough.
- 4.) Like many later Prussian Mennonite historians, Wiebe uses the German name Wintersdorf for the village of Przechowka. All references to Wintersdorf have been changed to Przechowka.
- 5.) We have had to vary the font size and line spacing in order to fit all the text into some of the pages. This is the case for much of the tabulated data near the end of the book.
- 6.) Dates are given in the Day/Month/Year format.
- 7.) All German special characters have been changed: ä = ae, ö = oe, ü = ue and ß = ss.
- 8.) The terms Flemish and Frisians used by Wiebe can be very confusing. In a few sections of the book these terms refer to the origins of the early Dutch settlers. In most of the book the terms refer to the church affiliation of the Prussian Mennonites, which had nothing to do with origins Flanders or Friesland. During the time period covered by this book the Prussian Mennonites were divided into 3 religious communities: The Old Flemish (usually called the Flemish), the Frisians and the Groniger Old Flemish.
- 9.) We have tried to make minimal changes during editing to keep the text as close as possible to the original.
- 10.) "Wintersdorf" has been changed to "Przechowka".
- 11.) "Pomerania" has been translated as "Poland".
- 12.) The old spellings of many locations have been changed to more recognizable versions. This was done in order to maintain standard spelling for locations and aid searching.

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State of Research.

W. Mannhardt's work *Die Wehrfreiheit der altpreussischen Mennoniten*, published in 1863, is the first important account of the history of the West Prussian Mennonites [translation published as "The Military Service Exemption of the Mennonites of Provincial Prussia"]. In the field of settlement research, Bruno Schumacher followed in 1903 with a study on "*Niederlaedische Ansiedlungen im Herzogtum Preussen zur Zeit Herzog Albrechts*" [Dutch Settlements in the Duchy of Prussia at the Time of Duke Albrecht], which is still important today. In her dissertation *Niederlandsche Nederzettingen in Westpruisen gedurende den Poolschen Tijd* [Dutch Settlements in West Prussia during the Polish Period.], Enkhuizen 1913, the Dutch woman, Felicia Szper, undertook the first attempt to trace the settlement history of the spread of the Mennonites in all of West Prussia. Given the extent of the research area and the abundance of sources, her otherwise meritorious work could only do justice to this topic in broad strokes. The history of the largest urban community was dealt with in detail in 1919 by H.G. Mannhardt in his memorandum on *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde* [translation published as "The Danzig Mennonite Church"]. Further progress was made in 1940 by Horst Penner's dissertation *Ansiedlung mennonitischer Niederlaender im Weichselmündungsgebiet von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der preussischen Zeit* [translation published as "Settlement of Mennonite Dutch in the Vistula Estuary from the Middle of the 16th Century to the Beginning of the Prussian Period"]. In this dissertation the colonization of Dutch Mennonites in the Danzig Werder and in the parts of the Gross Werder belonging to the Danzig city area was described in great detail. The task of the present work is to describe the course and significance of the Mennonite settlement in the Vistula Valley from Fordon to Weissenberg, the middle section of the German Vistula region. Thus, later research is still reserved for the investigation of the Low Country settlement of Kleiner Werder and in the southern part of the Grosser Marienburger Werder. Administratively, these parts of the Vistula Delta belonged to the territory of the city of Elbing and to the estates of Marienburg. An indispensable reference work for all questions concerning Mennonitism in West Prussia and its branches in the Old and New Worlds is the Mennonite Lexicon issued by Hege and Neff.

Sources.

The study was able to follow Maercker's *Geschichte des Schweizer Kreises* [History of the Schwetz district] and Froelich's *Geschichte des Graudenz Kreises* [History of the Graudenz District]. For the Kulm area the, *die Geschichte der Stadt Kulm* [the history of the town of Kulm] by Franz Schultz was consulted, which, however, only goes up to 1479. A collection of West Prussian *Willkueren* tells us about the self-government of the Dutch villages published by the Cracow Academy of Sciences in 1938 informs us about the self-government of the Holland villages. The most important source for the settlement research of our *Reichsgaues* are the Kontributionskataster, all of which have been evaluated. The cadastres of the estates of the Crown of Poland in West Prussia (1565, 1569-70, 1623-24, 1664) made it possible to trace a number of Dutch settlements back to the time of their establishment. Even if the Polish land registers are not as comprehensive as the Prussian contribution cadastres, since they include only the sovereign property, and cannot compete with the Frederician land registers in terms of richness of material, they are of similar value

for the settlement history of our region. What the Kontributionskataster are for the 18th century, the cadastres [Lustrations] are for the preceding centuries.

Additional information was provided by the Kirchenvisitationen [church visitations] published by the Thorne Scientific Society. Waschmski has published important excerpts from previously unprinted visitations in the appendix of his work on the West Prussian school system.

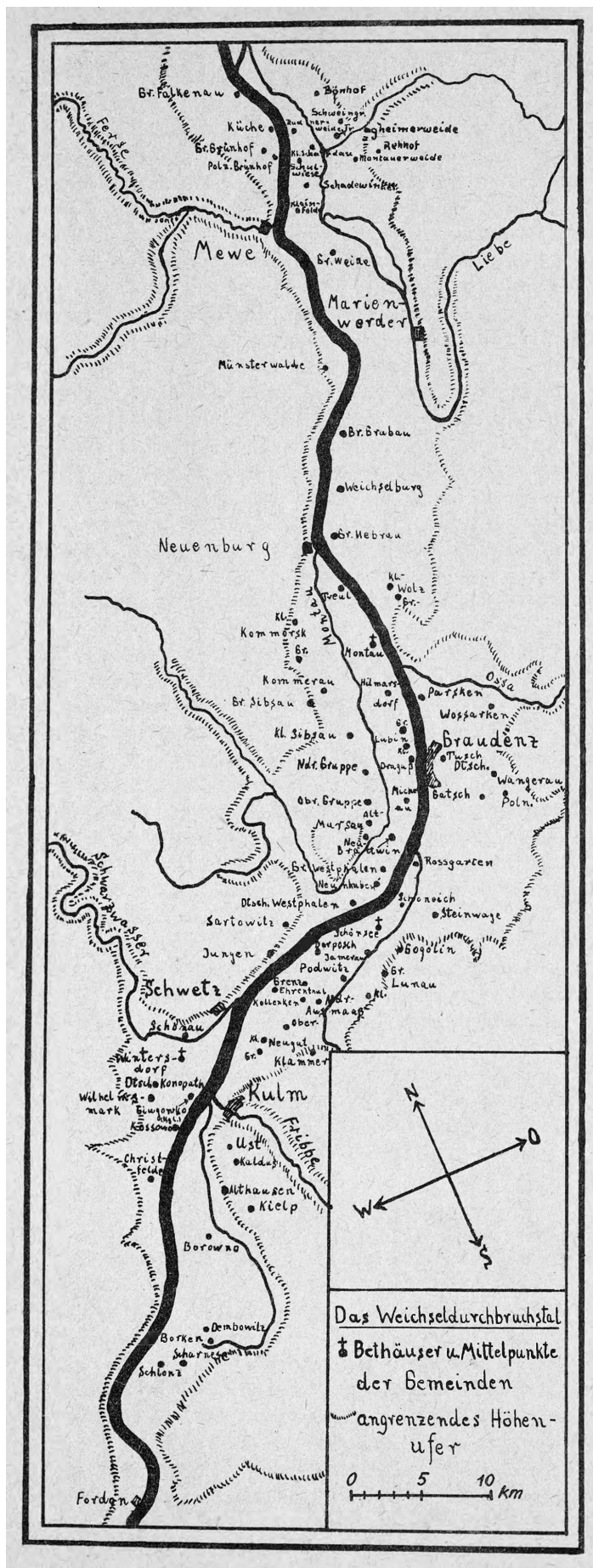
The archives of the municipality of Montau, deposited in the Royal Archives in Danzig, contain a rich collection of documents dating back to the time of the settlement of the Low Countries. The most important source for the history of the Mennonites in the Kulm lowlands is the "Liber actorum", a register volume of the town of Kulm (Archives of the town of Kulm in the Royal Archives in Danzig). In it we have preserved almost without any gaps the contracts of the Kulm council with the emphyteutically assigned town villages.

The entries begin in the last decade of the 16th century and end with the Prussian seizure of property. Duplicate copies of lease agreements from the 18th century can also be found in the tribute registers. With one exception (the lease of Schoensee 1700-40), there are no copies of the contracts from that whole period.

I. West Prussia and the Netherlands.

In many cases, the distant Netherlands influenced the cultural and economic life of the German Vistula region more strongly than did its German residents. Between Danzig and the Dutch cities, there have been lively trade relations since ancient times, dating back to the early 14th century. Flanders and Holland, in the high Middle Ages the most commercial and densely populated areas of Europe, were dependent on grain imports from the East. In return, they imported mainly cloth and fabrics from the Vistula region. In the 14th century, the Teutonic Order was their most important grain supplier, whose trade was handled by the merchants [*Grossschaeffer*] in Marienburg and Koenigsberg. After the fall of the Order, Danzig took its place. In the years 1585-1620 the Dutch ships reached their maximum numbers in the port of Danzig. Rarely in these years did the Dutch share in the Danzig port traffic fell below half. In 1620 it reached a maximum of 83%. Since 1500 Amsterdam and Danzig were the main centers of the European grain trade. Trade in this bulk commodity became the source of the great wealth of the Hanseatic city on the Vistula. It retained this decisive importance until the 18th century.¹⁾

The cityscape of Danzig still betrays Dutch influence in its most outstanding buildings. Anthon von Obbergen, who built the armory in Danzig, de Vries and von dem Blocke, who gave the Town Hall in Thorn its present form, worked here.²⁾ The Church of St. Mary has as its models in the churches of Flanders in Damme and Lisseweghe, the Crane Gate has its side piece in the Brussels Gate in Mechelen. Dutch influence can also be seen in the front of the Danzig Town Hall at the Langer Markt, while the High Gate bears a striking resemblance to the former George Gate in Antwerp.³⁾ Besides sculptors and painters, Dutch engineers and technicians also settled here for life. The fortress builder Adam Wiebe from Harlingen, resident in Danzig since 1616, aroused the general astonishment of his contemporaries when he set up a suspension railroad to raise the ramparts.



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[Translation of the map title box on the preceding page.]

The Vistula Brush Valley

Churches & centers of the communities

Dikes adjacent to waterways

Furthermore, the scientific relations were varied and fruitful. The Dutch universities of Leiden, Groningen and Utrecht were visited with preference by students from the former lands of the Order. In 1625 and 1643, about a quarter of the Germans studying at the Leiden University came from East and West Prussia. In the first century of Leiden University's existence, almost 700 students from Old Prussia attended the university.⁴⁾ Out of 132 physicians working in Danzig in the 17th century, 52 had studied at Dutch universities and in many cases had also received their doctorates.⁵⁾ The Dutch universities also received influxes from Elbing. Thus, in the 17th century, 38 former students of the Elbing Gymnasium received their education there.⁶⁾ Towards the end of the century the Dutch colleges went out of fashion. Only a few students from Old Prussia were still to be found in them until the middle of the 18th century.⁷⁾

On the other hand, the number of professors who immigrated to the Netherlands from the territory of the Empire was considerable. Thus, in the 17th century, of 52 professors at Groningen University, 27 came from all parts of Germany, including Danzig. In Leiden, their share was about one sixth in the same period, another example of the intertwining of the Dutch with that time.⁸⁾

The Dutch who immigrated to the Vistula region by sea in the 16th and 17th centuries, mainly for religious reasons, came from all classes of society; not only craftsmen and peasants, but also merchants and scholars were represented in large numbers.⁹⁾ According to the confession, the smaller part of the immigrants was Reformed, while the larger part consisted of Mennonites. The extent and significance of the immigration of the Dutch Reformed has not yet been studied in detail. In their destinies the Reformed refugee community had much in common with the Mennonites. The Reformed congregation maintained the connection to the Netherlands, albeit for a shorter time. The Reformed had to struggle with the same resistance in the beginning when they held their services secretly outside the city walls "between the mountains in the field". Like the Mennonites, the Dutch Reformed had their preachers come from the homeland at first.

Dutch farmers of the Reformed faith can be found in various places in the Danzig Werder. They thus sought out the same area into which the immigration stream of peasant Mennonites flowed.

II. The Dutch Colonization.

In the colonization of the German East we can distinguish, according to the origin of the settlers and the legal norms of settlement two major waves of settlement, which are also clearly marked out in the German Vistula Land: The medieval colonization, which was mainly carried out by the Order [Teutonic Knights] as the sovereign and reached its peak in the 14th century, and the Dutch settlement, which started at the beginning of the modern times. The villages established by the Order under Kulmer law [aka Culm/Chelmo/Culmic law] corresponded to the form of the medieval colonial village. According to this law the village land was divided between the parish priest, the mayor (Mayor) and the peasants.

The mayor was usually given the tenth part of the village land, the priest regularly 4 Hufen, the rest of the land was given to the peasants

with the right of hereditary inheritance. The peasants were personally free but owed the order a certain amount of rent according to the number of Hufen. In addition, they were obliged to pay the parish priest the Mass grain [Messkorn]. The property of the mayor and the priest were exempt from taxes. The lower jurisdiction was the responsibility of the mayor, while the higher jurisdiction was reserved for the sovereignty.

While the medieval colonial village was founded by wealthy and energetic men, the so-called locator [Lokator], in agreement with the landlord, who then took a privileged position as mayor. However, the Dutch colonization that began in the 16th century was based on other principles.¹⁾ Here the community of equally entitled the settlers to negotiate with the landlord, be it the council of a town, a bishop or his cabinet, a noble landowner or a Starost as the owner of crown estates. They took over the land intended for settlement on the basis of a lease agreement. Instead of the previously customary hereditary rent, the settlers now received the land on a temporary lease [emphyteusis]. The allotted land, mostly swamp or wasteland, could only be won in hard work for agriculture and gave only low yields in the beginning. Therefore, the settlers were usually granted 1-3 free years, during which they were exempt from the rent. For the same reason, the first leases were usually for only a few years. Then, when the normal capacity of the new land was reached, the contracts were concluded for longer periods, usually 40 years.

After the expiration of the lease period, the residents had "lived out", so they had to "rent in" again. The renewed lease agreement was called "purchase letter" or "extension of the emphyteutic right". At the beginning of the new lease period, the emphyteuts had to pay the purchase money, also called *Laudemium* or *Gottespfennig*, to the lord of the manor, the amount of which varied, but always amounted to a multiple of the annual rent. The annual payment, the "rent", was sometimes paid all at once, but more often in two installments.²⁾ For all services and expense (*Leistungen* und *Abgaben*) the community as a whole was liable "one for all, all for one".³⁾ Characteristic of the Dutch villages was that they were exempt from the Scharwerk, usually required from settlers, as free men, they considered it intolerable to do landlord's service [*Herrendienste*].⁴⁾ In the lease agreement, they had this freedom from Scharwerk and castle services [*Hofdiensten*] explicitly guaranteed. In many contracts we find the landlord's obligation not to burden the colonists with any other taxes beyond the agreed rent. However, the tenants had to pay royal taxes and royal levies. The community was granted the right to elect a mayor and two councilmen annually, who had to watch over the execution of the obligations stipulated in the lease agreement. The administration of the village was governed by the charter agreed to by all the residents and confirmed by the lord of the manor. As in the medieval colonist village, the lower jurisdiction (*iudicia minora*) belonged to the mayor's court [Schulzengericht], while the higher jurisdiction, also called "Obergericht" (*iudicia maiora*) was reserved to the landlord [dominium].⁵⁾

The temporary lease [Zeitpacht] (emphyteusis) came very close to an actual property right. The emphyteut could sell or pledge his rights to the leased land or exchange them for rights to other leased land. Even his departure could not be prevented by the landlord, as long as he continued to be entitled to the benefits due to him under the contract. In the event of damage suffered by the tenants by *force majeure*, such as war, fire, floods and storms, the lord of the manor was to grant a partial or complete waiver of the rent.

The economic life of the colonists was determined by the sale of their products. In general, they were free to sell their products, but sometimes they were bound to certain places belonging to the manor, which was often perceived as an oppressive burden.⁶⁾ As a rule, the settlers were also allowed to have their grain milled only in manorial mills. Permission to send grain to other mills had to be purchased. Residents were allowed to brew beer for their own needs, but usually only beer from the landlord's breweries could be served in the local inns. The brewers usually practiced their trade on the basis of a special agreement with the lord of the manor. The right to use the land included hunting and fishing, but only for personal use. A large part of the contracts of the Dutch settlers was taken up by regulations concerning drainage work [*Entwaesserungsarbeiten*], receiving water [*Vorflut*], dike maintenance obligations [*Deichpflichten*], etc.

If the lord of the lease intended to take the pledged land into his own cultivation after the expiry of the lease period, he was obliged to compensate the residents for the expenditure directed towards the improvement of the land and for the buildings erected. However, confiscation of the leased land took place only in rare cases; for landlords and temporary tenants only benefited if the existing lease was renewed. In this case, the tenants had the right to lease the land in advance. Therefore, the bond between blood and soil was hardly less among the emphyteutic tenants than among the peasants of the Culmic tenure. Even among the tenants we can find families who lived on their land for centuries.

The side piece of the lease, in many respects its necessary complement, was the village charter (*Dorfwillkuer*). While the lease regulated the relationship of the landlord to the community of settlers, the charter ordered the coexistence among the village residents.

As already indicated, the position of the Mayor in a medieval colonial village was very different from that of the mayor in a Dutch village. The former, as the founder of the village, had a privileged position from the beginning, in that he was granted a larger landholding, hereditary lower court jurisdiction and freedom from taxes. The Dutchman's village mayor was a resident like all the others and had nothing ahead of them. He was only the head of the village elected for the year, who was paid for his office.⁷⁾ He was assisted by two councilmen, also called aldermen [*Schoeffen*] or compane, who were elected for an annual term. The mayor handled the police power and had to ensure compliance with the statutes laid down in the charter. Therefore, the charter made it the duty of every resident to obey his commandments without fail.⁸⁾

Together with his assistants, the mayor exercised the lower court jurisdiction, the scope of which has already been pointed out. Thus, the village court was responsible for simple assaults, while stabbings and brawls with a fatal outcome were judged by the lordship of the manor.⁹⁾ Furthermore, the High Mayor's Office had to ensure that widows and orphans had guardians and that their inheritance was distributed correctly. No resident was allowed to avoid taking over guardianship.¹⁰⁾

If a resident did not agree with the verdict of the village court, he could appeal to the whole community and, against payment of a high "appeal fee," in the last instance to the lord of the manor. If this appeal was also rejected and he had thus "appealed iniquitously," the community condemned him to heavy fines.¹¹⁾

Since the lord of the manor had not granted the land to individual residents, but to the community, the whole community was liable for the rent, it was only logical that it should have coercive means against defaulting payers. It was in the nature of such a lease agreement that the lord of the manor did not care about the individual distribution of the land, while the community exercised a determining influence in all matters of the change of ownership.¹²⁾ Thus, the lord of the manor expressly granted the community the right to remove defaulting tenants and put more reliable tenants in their place.¹³⁾

If a resident intended to sell his farm, he was obliged to announce this intention to the community and to offer the land for sale for 14 days. His blood relatives and residents had the right of first refusal. Only if they did not wish to acquire the land, he was allowed to sell it to a stranger.¹⁴⁾ However, the charter set the condition: "The buyer should also be a German man who knows how to keep the Dutch practices and rules and not a Polish who does not know Dutch customs."¹⁵⁾ The buyer must also be honest and blameless; if he could not produce a certificate of good character within a year, he had to vacate the village after the purchase was rescinded.¹⁶⁾

In addition, the faith of the residents and their schools, raised the residents of the Dutch villages far above the surrounding environment and formed a strong wall against foreign influence. They clung tenaciously to their distinctive roots. Every letter of purchase included their guarantee of freedom of religion and the right to have a German school.

As we have seen, acceptance into the community was subject to certain conditions.¹⁷⁾ However, whoever was accepted into the community could be sure that his fellow residents would grant him their "neighborly assistance" in case of need through no fault of his own according to the principle "all for one and one for all". If a residence burned down, his fellow residents would help him by paying a "Christian contribution." Like most levies, it would be calculated according to the number of Hufen and consisted of timber, thatch, money and goods in kind.¹⁸⁾ The building material was even delivered to him. This custom has been preserved to this day in the so-called "Fuhrverein" in the Schwetz-Neuenburg lowlands.

In the mayor's custody was the landmark of peasant self-government, the community chest (Nachbarlade). In it were put the municipal money and fines, the arbitration, the court or jury book and all other documents that were important for the village. The chest was locked with two keys, which were in the hands of the two councilmen. Only in the presence of all three officials was the chest allowed to be opened. The Mayor and Councilmen had to give the community an account of their income and expenses, as well as an account of their official business, quarterly, but at the latest after the end of the official year.¹⁹⁾

Thus, a Dutch village presented the image of an ethnically cohesive community on a broad democratic basis, in which the sense of community and pride in independence were equally pronounced.

In the medieval German colonization of the East, the legal norms introduced by the German settlers were soon transferred by the Polish landlords to their own peasants. In addition to the old settlements established by Germans under German law, Slavic villages under German law were subsequently established. The "*locare Teutonicos*" became a "*locare jure teutonico*".

A similar process can be observed in the second German settlement in the East. While the first Dutch villages were indeed established by the Dutch, other Low German settlers soon adopted the "Dutch way". They established such villages initially in association with them, later alone. Dutch settlements became settlements organized under Dutch law (lat. *more Hollandorum*, polish. *prawem holenderskim*). Since the beginning of the 17th century the Dutch villages or Dutch estates are usually to be understood only as a type of village different from the Schulz villages in constitution, law and economic form. The Mennonites, however, prepared the way for this second German settlement in the East.

In both cases, the medieval colonization of the East and the modern colonization of the Dutch, the rights of settlement, originally limited to the group of immigrants, were transferred to other parts of the population of the new country. While in the first case the new legal norms found acceptance also within the Slavic population, in the second case the law of the Dutch immigrants was only among the other Low German immigrants. There were exceptional cases, when Poles were settled according to Dutch law. Thus, the Dutch settlement preserved its German character.

After Frederick the Great had taken possession of West Prussia, the self-government of the Dutch villages fell victim piece by piece to the measures of the new absolutist regulatory state. The temporary tenancy continued for some time, for the Mennonites even until March 2, 1850. On the basis of this Act of Redemption, the land they had held for centuries became their full property in the course of the following years. In Central Poland the temporary lease was still in use throughout the 19th century between the Polish nobility and their German colonists. In Volhynia it was used even up to our time, where it became a means of ethnic oppression due to Polish intolerance.

III. The Spiritual Life and the School System.

In contrast to the views of earlier times, the newer historical research appreciates Anabaptism as an equal branch on the tree of the Reformation next to the great renewal movements of Calvin and Luther. If we want to understand the root of the teachings of the Anabaptists [Taufgesinnten = baptism-minded], we must emphasize their central idea. The goal of faith of the Anabaptists was the achievement of the original Christian community following to the apostolic model. In this striving they went even beyond Luther, holding fast to the principle of the general priesthood of believers, lay preaching and complete independence from the state. For good reasons, they rejected infant baptism as unbiblical. Later, in addition to adult baptism, the principles of their faith included the refusal to take an oath and defenselessness. But the last two dogmas were not yet present as formed principles in the earliest Anabaptist communities. Together with other "Anabaptist" virtues, they sprang from an attitude toward life that took the demands of the Sermon on the Mount seriously. Later, these two were perceived by the community as the special characteristics of their faith, because they were in contradiction to law and tradition.

Since these dogmas are difficult to reconcile with the requirements of the state, which is a conflict that some still struggle with today. The migrations of the Mennonites from country to country and from continent to continent were driven in large part by this.¹⁾

Both denominations of Mennonites, Frisian and Flemish, were represented in our study area. The Frisian community of Montau included the Mennonites of the Sartewitz-Neuenburg lowlands. This community had been in active contact with the Frisian community of Markushof in the Kleine Marienburger Werder since ancient times.²⁾ By the end of the 16th century, the Montau congregation was already exerting a decisive influence on questions of faith among West Prussian Mennonites. The separation between Frisians and Flemish in the Low Countries led to dogmatic disputes in the Vistula region as well, due to the close connection between the Netherlands and the West Prussian communities. When in 1588 the Aeltester of the Montau community, Hilchen Schmit, on behalf of the Haarlern community, removed the leading Aeltester of the Danzig community, Quirin van der Meulen, from his office, the rift broke open irreparably in the West Prussian communities as well.³⁾ The relationships with the Dutch congregations that emerged here continued into the 18th century. There is a remarkable note in the church book of the parish of Montau about the visit of Dutch preachers: "This parish has been visited by priests of their faith comrades for love at various times. Anno 1676 by Gerard Ros from Altona and Peter Pottebacker from Harlingen, both Aelteste, and have spent here in Prussia 142 days in visits to our congregation and have entertained the memory of the Lord Jesus with the others." ⁴⁾

The ecclesiastical center of the Mennonites in the Kulm lowlands was Schoensee, their oldest settlement in that area. This congregation was also visited by their Dutch brethren, so in 1676 the Dutch preachers Jann Siebes, Geeret Roose and Stieve Sand were here.⁵⁾ In Schoensee, in addition to the larger Frisian community, there was also a smaller Flemish group. The church of the Frisian community was built in 1618, as can be seen from a date posted inside the church. It still serves its original purpose. According to several researchers, German Anabaptists also played a role in the settlement of the Kulm lowlands and joined the Frisian community around 1590.⁶⁾ The smaller Flemish community was reduced to 39 souls in the middle of the last century. It united with the Frisian congregation on October 12, 1849. The Flemish prayer house is also still standing, today it is a worker's dwelling.

The Flemish of the Kulm town area were closely connected with the Flemish community in Przechowka, which had also existed since ancient times.⁷⁾ Presumably they were members and only maintained their own prayer house because the frequent floods of the Vistula would have made it impossible to travel to the prayer house in Przechowka for weeks at a time. These Flemish on both sides of the Vistula belonged to the Old [Groniger] Flemish group and maintained close relations with the old Flemish [churches] in Groningen.⁸⁾ At the beginning of the 18th century the Groningen Aeltester Alle Derks ⁹⁾ visited the Przechowka community and in 1719 he was followed by his fellow Aeltester Hendrick Berents Hulshoff, who has left us a detailed account of his trip.¹⁰⁾ In his travel notes, Hulshoff names the villages on the left side of the Vistula as Przechowka and Konopat inhabited by Flemish, on the right side of the Vistula Schoensee, Jamerau, Horst and Posterwolde. The Dutch Aeltester was received by his West Prussian fellow believers with great joy and reverence. Several times he had the opportunity to deliver sermons. He accepted thirty-one baptized persons into the congregation. He presided over the election of two preachers (Abraham Unrau and Jacob Isaaks) and settled disputes in the congregation. He distributed the Lord's Supper and performed the washing of the feet.¹¹⁾ There was general mourning when he had to leave.¹²⁾ Hulshoff has given us two lists of names of his living there.



Photo: H. Wiebe 1941.

The former prayer house of the old Flemish (Groningen) community in Schoensee, "The Little School".

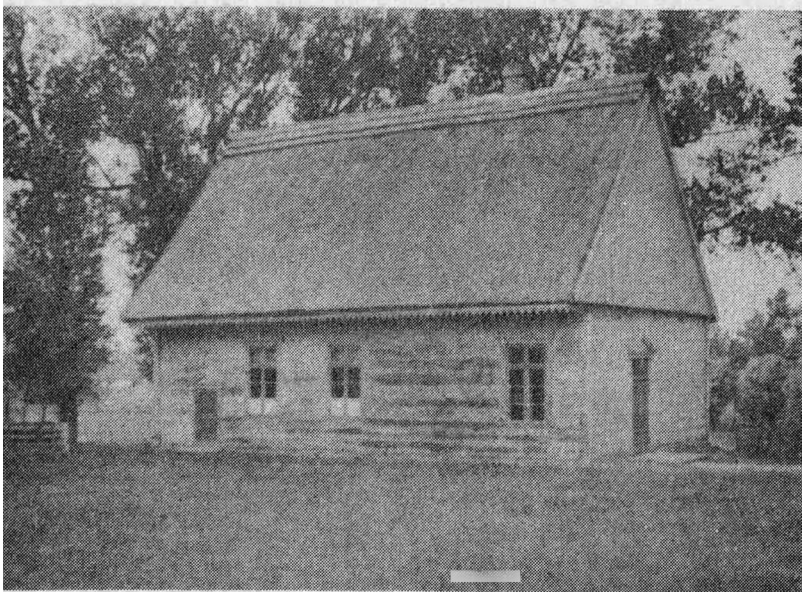


Photo: C. Schulze 1940.

The prayer house of the Frisian congregation in Schoensee (built in 1618) "The Big School"

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One was compiled by Hulshoff himself in 1719, the other was recorded some time earlier by his predecessor Alle Derks. According to Hulshoff's data, in 1719 there were 109 baptized members in the Schwetzer Lowland, in the Kulmer Stadtniederung 48, a total of 157 persons.¹³⁾ The registers show us clearly that the members of the Old Flemish community had different names than the Frisians in the communities of Montau and Schoensee. After 14 years the Dutch Aeltester paid a second visit to this Old Flemish community (1733). In the 18th century, with the settlement of Mennonites in Jeziorken, another Flemish community was formed there, which built its own prayer house in 1743.¹⁴⁾ It was dissolved in the 2nd decade of the 19th century, as well as the one in Przechowka, due to emigration of its members.

Dutch remained the language of worship until the middle of the 18th century. Until then, Dutch hymnbooks and prayer books were still in use. They were mostly printed in Haarlem or in Alt-Schottland near Danzig. It was not until the second half of the 18th century that German devotional books appeared, gradually replacing the Dutch ones.¹⁵⁾ In appreciating the economic achievements of the rural and urban Mennonites, we cannot overestimate the religious influence. The report of worldly pleasures and any expenditure, which was conditioned by their faith, was only too conducive to their purse. This puritanically simple lifestyle went so far with the Flemish that they even considered buttons and patch pockets to be sinful.¹⁶⁾ Relatively late, the spirit of inner-worldly asceticism, to use this word coined by Max Weber, gave way to secularization in the Mennonite congregations. For example, it was not until around 1850 that the Aelteste allowed the youth to participate in dances.¹⁷⁾ Since the Mennonites remained exempt from military service until this time, and in the earliest times even refused to accept public office, they were able to live undisturbed in their economic activities. It is a characteristic of most Christian sects that they devote themselves with special zeal to prayer and work and turned away from the affairs of the world. That is why they have become much more professional leaders in the economic field. I am thinking of the Huguenots in Germany, the Quakers and Methodists in North America and the Old Believers (Altgläubigen) in Russia. Similar to the Puritans, the Mennonites also saw their daily work as the exercise of a religious duty.¹⁸⁾ Therefore, they increased their goods like the faithful servant in the Bible, who feels obligated for the pound entrusted to him and owes God an account for his economic management. An enrichment for the personal peace of raw enjoyment of life would have seemed unchristian and reprehensible to them. On the other hand, this religious attitude also formed a barrier that prevented them from abusing their economic power to exploit their fellow men. Their impeccable lifestyle gradually earned the Mennonites the trust of the broad mass of the population, an important prerequisite for economic success.¹⁹⁾ Moreover, in the worst case, they could always rely on the advice and support of their fellow believers, who would not easily let anyone from their midst fail. In an exaggerated but not inaccurate formulation, Max Halbe says in his life novel "Scholle und Schicksal" about the Mennonites of the past that they kept their hand as firmly on the Bible as on the purse.

Nevertheless, we would paint a false picture of them if we did not mention in this context their repeatedly demonstrated willingness to make sacrifices. Thus, the Mennonite congregations have always considered it an honorable duty to care for their needy parishioners themselves.

Members of their free church (Freikirche) were therefore not a burden on public welfare. Even where the people and the state demanded sacrifices, they never took a back seat to other sections of the population.

The most important privileges to which the Low German settlers owed the preservation of their uniqueness lie in the words "church" and "school". If the one institution separated them clearly from the outsiders [Fremdvolke], the other raised them above the Slavic environment. The right to live according to their religious convictions was expressly guaranteed to the colonists. The leases, in which they were not guaranteed this freedom, were exceptions.²⁰⁾ But according to the circumstances of that time, only the tacit toleration of their free church could be granted, by no means the public-legal equality with the privileged Catholic state church.²¹⁾ In 1603, Bishop Laurentius Gembicki allowed the Mennonites to settle in Gr. Lunau, with the proviso that they would not build churches and would not spread their doctrines.²²⁾ Such provisions were intended to prevent the Mennonites from becoming a danger to the existence of the church, which was, [according to Catholic dogma,] the sole source of salvation. The Catholic clergy condescended to tolerate the Mennonites if they refrained from evangelizing people of other faiths to their confession and if they paid their dues (*decem* and *calende*) to the Catholic Church. One can literally hear the regret in the words of the ecclesiastical visitor, who reported in 1595/96 about the village of Deutsch Westphalia: "Westphalia was before, an estate that belonged to the Starostei Schwetz, from here a few *Scheffel* of rye and oats were due in fair money, now Dutchmen are settled on this estate, who give nothing".²³⁾

As mentioned elsewhere, in 1584 the Mennonites owned the Catholic parish church in Gr. Lubin, which they even occupied.²⁴⁾ King Sigismund III, zealous for the Counter-Reformation, like so many other Pomeranian churches alienated from the Catholics, returned this one to the Catholic Church after having endowed it again with 4 Hufen.²⁵⁾

In the 17th century the parish priest of Gr. Lubin, Theophil Grzembski, sued the villages of his parish Dragass, Gr. and Kl. Lubin for payment of the *decem* at the Royal Court. In his verdict of April 22, 1689, John Sobieski exempted the subjects of the Graudenz Starostate in the villages of Dragass, Gr. and Kl. Lubin from the payment of the *decem* for eternity, from the taxes for the maintenance of the church, parish and school buildings, as well as from all fees for marriages, baptisms and funerals, because they were dissidents and did not belong to the Roman Church.²⁶⁾ Sometimes things turned out differently than the ecclesiastical lords would have wished.

As in the Starostei Graudenz, the Mennonites in the Schwetz Starostei villages resisted the unjust demands of the Roman clergy. But here the Mennonites of the villages of Brattwin, Deutsch Westfalen, Gr. Westfalen, Neunhuben, Jungen, Schliewitz and Przechowka had to commit themselves on June 13, 1653, to keep schoolmasters only for the instruction of the children, but no preachers, to refrain from burials of persons who did not belong to their religious community, and to give a fine of 100 thalers in each case of violation. Half of the fine was to go to the Starosten, the other half to the priest in Schwetz. They also had to commit themselves to pay the *decem* to the parish priest.²⁷⁾ This was far from the end of the dispute, because in 1725 these villages were sentenced by a preliminary decision of the Bydgoszcz consistorial court, to pay the *Decem*, and mass and funeral

fees to the pastor in Schwetz. At the same time they were forbidden to keep teachers and preachers. Before the appellate court of the *nuncio* in Warsaw, the plenipotentiaries of the above mentioned localities protested against this ruling, arguing that it contradicted their privileges *ex contractu* and that the matter belonged before a secular court. However, the papal *nuncio* confirmed the decision and the matter went to the apostolic see.²⁸⁾

These repressions reached their climax in the 18th century. Thus, the Mennonites in the area of the city of Kulm were granted religious toleration only with the addition, "provided that their sect should continue to be tolerated in Prussia. In several places in the Kulm area, the Catholics were also given the right of first refusal over other believers in the sale of land."²⁹⁾

When Frederick William I expelled the Mennonites from the Tilsit lowlands because he did not want to tolerate such a "rogue nation" that did not render any services, some of the expellees went to the territory of the Bishop of Kulm.³⁰⁾ In 1732, one of their Aelteste, Peter Becker, described in detail to the Society of Mennonite Congregations in Groningen how difficult it was for them to work their way up in their new homeland. In response, their fellow Mennonites from Holland sent them 200 ducats in aid. Gabriel Frantz and Heinrich Michel expressed their gratitude for this sum by expressing the hope that they would be able to buy religious freedom from the Bishop of Kulm with this money. They had already offered him 4000 guilders, but had answered that he was not interested in money, but in their souls, from which they had gathered that he was interested in even more money. Their efforts with two gentlemen of the cathedral staff had also been unsuccessful.³¹⁾

Soon after, on April 20, 1733, these men informed the Groningen Society that the Mennonites had received confirmation of their earlier letters of protection as a result of an audience of their representatives with the bishop. However, they instinctively asked for further help, since they had still had to spend considerable amounts of money on various officials in order to reach their goal.³²⁾ Not only in the case of religious oppression, but also in all other misfortunes, be they crop failures or floods, they were assured of the help of their Dutch co-religionists.

A church visitation from the years 1667-72 censures the Dutch Anabaptists of the Kulm parish, who were also called Mennonites, as blasphemous and steeped in Arian heresies. At that time, the Bishop of Kulm, Andreas Leszczynski, had forbidden them to practice their godless religion under the threat of severe punishment. They suffered only because of their great efficiency in agriculture.³³⁾ A resolution of the Kulm diocese of 1745 is filled with the spirit of this intolerance: "Anabaptists or Mennonites are not to be tolerated in this realm under any circumstances."³⁴⁾

The school system was closely connected with church life. It served both religious instruction and practical life purposes. As a rule, schoolmasters also performed ecclesiastical duties, read the Gospel and preached sermons. For this reason, the anger of the Catholic clergy was also directed against the teachers, who were ordered to restrict their teaching activities, as can be seen from the above-mentioned decree of 1653 to the Schwetz Starost villages and further from the provisions of individual leases.³⁵⁾ In some places, e.g. in Gr. Kommorsk, the property of the Bishop of Leslau, they even proceeded to the expulsion of the Haeretian [heretical] schoolmasters. In his status report of August 13, 1728, the Bishop Anton von Schembeck says that many places of his diocese were infected with heresy,

but he tried with all his strength to free them from it, especially by prohibiting schools and removing the heretical schoolmasters. These were hired by the heretical congregations under the pretext of teaching the youth and used to preach on Sundays at their secret meetings and explain other false doctrines to the people. Such schoolmasters would be defended by the nobility, including the Catholic, against his orders. He set a good example on his episcopal estates and removed the heretical schoolmasters and appointed Catholic ones.³⁶⁾ The consequences of this cultural policy were not long in coming. Thus, in 1724, the archdeacon Kasimir Jugowski of Komorsk and Sibsau reported that there were no more schools in these villages since the heretical schoolmasters had been removed.³⁷⁾ At least he considered the establishment of a Catholic school. The fact that their fanaticism thus only encouraged illiteracy did not disturb the ruling circles of the church, just as little as it displeases the Polish government in our time when the general education of the people sank through the closing of German minority schools.

Where the Mennonites were particularly strong in number, they kept their own school; if they were less represented, they paid for the common schoolmaster in good community with the Lutherans. The schools were kept by the village residents according to the number of their Hufen. The residents also maintained the school gardens in turn.³⁸⁾ As a main profession, the schoolmaster often practiced a trade (tailor, shoe maker, etc.). He received his annual salary in money and in kind. Since the teacher usually also performed the duties of a village scribe, he gained some additional income through this activity.³⁹⁾ The school instruction took place mainly in the winter and in the summer. Schools were closed when there was urgent work in the fields. The lessons were limited to reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as to singing and memorizing spiritual songs. In those days, however, it gave the German rural population a great advantage over the Polish population. Every larger German farming village in the Vistula lowland already had a German school during Polish times.

Thus the Mennonites maintained their own schools in Montau, Gr. Lubin and Dragass, of which those in Montau and Gr. Lubin were founded already in the 16th century.⁴⁰⁾ Furthermore, the Mennonite residents of the Upper and Lower Gruppe had a common school, which was granted to them in the lease agreement of 1694.⁴¹⁾ In the 18th century the castellan of Kulm and hereditary lord of Gruppe, Stanislaus Konarski, protected his Mennonite and Lutheran subjects here, much to the chagrin and annoyance of the Catholic clergy, who tried to force the him to expel the dissident schoolmasters by threats and exhortations.⁴²⁾ At the time of the Prussian takeover, there was still a Mennonite school in Neunhuben, which naturally could have only been established there after the Mennonites settled in the village in 1745.⁴³⁾ On the other hand, the Mennonite school in Przechowka can be traced back deep into the 17th century.⁴⁴⁾ The Mennonites who settled in Jeziorken built their school in 1743.⁴⁵⁾ In the Kulm lowlands, only the school in Schoensee was a distinctly Mennonite institution. In all other places the schools served both confessions, the Mennonites and the Lutherans. Such schools existed on the left bank of the Vistula in Treul, Kommerau, Alt-Marsau, Neu-Marsau, Brattwin, Deutsch Westfalen, Jungen, Ehrenthal, Deutsch Konopath, Wilhelmsmark and Kossowo.⁴⁶⁾

On the right bank of the Vistula in the Kulm town area, outside the already mentioned Mennonite school in Schoensee, there were such schools in Gr. Lunau, Schoeneich, Rossgarten, Dorposch, Niederausmass and Oberausmass.⁴⁷⁾ The network of elementary schools in these Vistula lowlands is hardly denser today than it was in the middle of the 18th century. Since these schools were maintained at a time when the rest of Poland was in a state of deepest economic and cultural decay, the significance of the achievements of these German farmers are especially notable. In the dioceses (Dekanaten) of Mewe, Neuenburg and Schwetz, the Catholics, although twice as numerous, had only half as many schools as those of other faiths.⁴⁸⁾ In the section of the Vistula Valley treated here, this ratio shifts considerably in favor of the German population.

IV: Settlement Pattern and House Construction.

The dike village, a variation of the row village, is peculiar to the Vistula lowlands. Its form is conditioned by the same economic conditions that are also characteristic of the marshes of northwestern Germany. This type of settlement in the Vistula Valley dates back to the end of the 16th century, when the Dutch colonization began. The land division among these colonist villages is based on the same principle of equitable field distribution as we find in the marshland villages. These parcels are divided by parallel ditches, cut at right angles by canals, into strip-shaped areas, at the head of which the homesteads lay along the road.

The lowlands of the Vistula Valley are similarly divided into strips running perpendicular to the stream and the adjacent high bank. The result of this division is that each farmer receives land of equitable quality. At the end of these right-angled field strips, the homesteads (Gehoeften) are lined up along the road. Since the road usually follows the curves of the dike, it becomes a windbreak for the homesteads. This succession of stream, dike, road, homestead, and field is particularly marked in the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowlands, as can be seen from the enclosed map sheet.¹⁾ While the farms dating back to the time of the Order show a strict division of dwelling house, stable and barn, it is characteristic for the farms established by the Dutch in the 16th century that they have dwelling house, stable and barn under one roof. The stable was placed next to the dwelling house and the barn next to it in the same longitudinal direction.²⁾ In the case of larger properties, we also find the barn built at right angles to the stable (*Winkelhof*). Double-broken farms (*Kreuzhöfe*) are not present in these lowlands with the predominance of medium farm sizes (20-50 ha).³⁾ Characteristic for the Dutch houses in the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowlands, the Kulm lowlands and the Schwetz lowlands are the front rooms [*Vorbauten*], which are connected to the rest of the house by an inner door. They are called end chambers [*Endenkammern*] and serve as dwelling of the *Altenteiler* [usually retired parents].⁴⁾ In many cases, the West Prussian floor plan has been adopted, so that a number of houses in West Prussia in general, as well as in these areas in particular, have these layouts.

The house itself consists of a large living room and 2-3 smaller rooms. In the middle of the house there used to be the so-called black kitchen. Through an intermediate door one could easily exit the house into the stable, which was especially useful in bad weather.

A Dutch custom seems to be the Mennonites' love of flowers. In the Vistula meadows and lowlands, their homesteads stand out for their well-tended flower gardens.

In a house in Neunhuben, built in 1753 by Peter Rosenfeld, there is a parlor, which is completely preserved in the style of the 18th century with its Dutch stove, the ceilings and walls painted with colorful birds according to the old pattern, the four-poster bed, the colorful window panes set in lead, the corner lockers and built-in closets. The furnishings of this parlor resemble Danzig parlors from the same period. The Rosenfeld family, which will have owned the farm for two centuries in 1945, has sympathetically preserved the room in its original condition.

V. The crown estates.

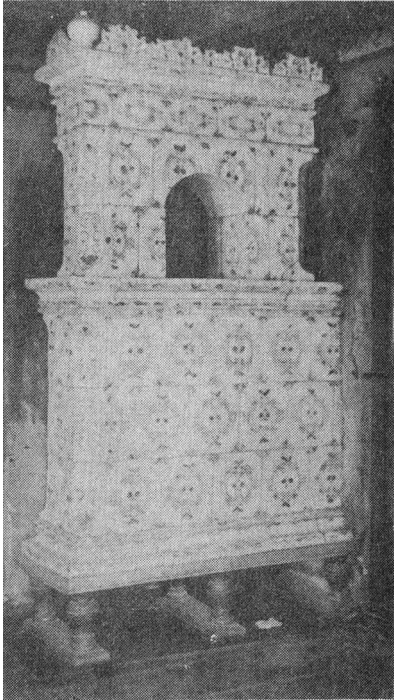
After the second Peace of Thorn, the sovereign property of the Order in West Prussia, its former castles with the associated estates and villages, became the property of the Crown of Poland, which fully took over the rights of its predecessor.

According to the Polish pattern, this property was given to deserving men for life or for several generations, often pledged for a certain sum of money for a longer period of time. These owners of the crown estates took the place of the former officials of the Order, the commanders, bailiffs, and keepers. Their title was captain, *capitaneus* or Starost. The German term Hauptmann (captain) was retained for a long time and only gave way to the Polish title of office around the year 1500, as the polonization of the term progressed. Usually the Starosts took their seat in the former commandery castle. They exercised the police power in the estate administrative district and the higher jurisdiction over the peasant subjects in the now royal tenement villages [*kgl. Zinsdoerfern*].¹⁾ However, the Referendariat Court in Warsaw was the final court of appeal where the peasants could appeal against the encroachments of the Starosts.²⁾ In contrast to the commanders, the Starosts did not have jurisdiction over the landed gentry. Since they had no authority over the landed gentry, there could be no question of a unified administration of the country as in the time of the Order.

For the use of the estates owned by the Starosts, they had to pay a certain tax, the *quarte* (fourth), to the state. This was the fifth part of the revenues of the Starosts.³⁾ Parts of the crown estates were distributed by the Starosts, and even individual villages, were often given to servants in exchange for the customary *quarte* or as rent-free lifelong fiefs (*panis bene merentium, dozywocia gołe*). If they were leased, the lease holders retained the *quarte* until their loan was repaid. Such small estates were called Gratialgueter, larger estates Tenuten.⁴⁾ As the largest landowner in the country, the Crown of Poland was to become of particular importance for the Dutch settlement.

VI The national political significance of the Mennonite settlement.

If we take a look at the population map of West Prussia, we see from it that the Germans are in possession of the fertile Vistula area, while the area of distribution



Source: C. Schulze 1940. Old stove in the Rosenfeld house in Neuenhuben.



Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. House Rosenfeld In Neuenhuben (built 1755)

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of the Poles is by and large, is covered with the less fertile light soils. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to deduce from this fact a subordination of the Poles. Only the history of settlement can give us information about the reasons that led to this striking distribution.

At the time of the Polish dukes the Vistula Valley was only sparsely inhabited in its higher sections. It was not until the Order that the colonization of the Vistula region began, which meant embanking and taming of the Vistula river. They were able to undertake this great work only with the help of German peasants, who immigrated in droves. A large number of German peasant villages were established by the Order, and the urban settlements it founded along the Vistula River grew into the largest cities in the country. Thus, the Vistula Valley became a German cultural landscape and the backbone of the Order's state.

A setback occurred after the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410. The Hussite invasion and the unfortunate wars with Poland inflicted further severe wounds on the German Vistula region.¹⁾ In the Second Peace of Thorn, West Prussia became part of Poland in personal union (1466). The firm, attentive government of the Order was replaced by the selfish and lax overlordship of the Polish kings. Even a century after the conclusion of this peace treaty, the damage done to the country had not been repaired. The height of the Order's national culture remained unmatched. Many peasant villages, which had once flourished under the Order, now lay desolate, and their fields sank back to their original state. The Order's estates, which had previously been conscientiously administered by the commanders, fell into disrepair under the Polish Starosts, who were no match for the Order's officials in either knowledge or ability. Many square kilometers of land, which the Order had wrested from the river, began to dwindle away again.

It is significant that the impetus that led to a new uplift of the national culture came from the German side. After the dike breaches of 1540 and 1543, when the entire part of the Danzig embankment was under water for years and threatened to become swampy, the Danzig Council began to grant emphyteutic rights to Dutch settlers in this depressed area in 1547.²⁾ Great were the successes of these colonists, who in a few years created fertile fields and meadows from a watery waste.

The commissioners of the Polish king, who took over the crown estates in West Prussia in 1565, heard of these incredible achievements during their travels throughout the country. They pursued the obvious decision to settle Dutch settlers on the estates in the Vistula Valley. In the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowlands they found marshy wasteland that seemed suitable for their project.³⁾ Following their persuasive arguments, the captain of Roggenhausen initiated the settlement of Dutch Mennonites in this part of the valley in 1567. In this decade the settlement of the Mennonites on the West Prussian estates of the Crown of Poland reached a high point. At the same time, the Danzig patrician families of Loitz and Krakow settled Dutch Mennonites on the estates of Tiegenhof and Baerwalde, which were leased to them. Also in those years they settled in the Marienburg region. They also settled in the territory of the independent city of Elbing.⁴⁾ The sovereign property, which the Polish king had taken over in West Prussia, consisted of the peasant villages and the lands managed by the Order itself. On them the knights of the Order had established farms and outposts, either in the immediate vicinity of an Order castle "in front of the house" or in its wider surroundings.⁵⁾

These estates of the Order served primarily for livestock and only secondarily for grain production, as Toeppen has convincingly explained as well as the information in the *Grosses Aemterbuch*.⁶⁾ The outposts had to breed horses for the houses of the Order, supply them with cattle for slaughter and to cover their demand for wool using their own shepherds. Since the outposts in the Vistula Valley were subject to frequent floods, another form of economy would have been impossible for these reasons.

The immigrating Dutch preferred to settle on these farms of the time, as these estates were perfect for their way of doing business, which was mainly based on cattle breeding. Thus, in the Marienburg area, they occupied the Order's farms of [Klein and Gross] Montau, Leske, Warnau, Kalthhof, Thoeichthof, Herrenhagen, Markushof and Heubuden.⁷⁾ Also in the middle part of the Vistula Valley we can observe the same process. Here, on the left bank of the Vistula, the former Order outposts of Sanskau, Lubin, Brattwin and Westphalia were settled, and on the right bank of the Vistula, the former Order estate of Tusch. However, the settlement activity of the Dutch was not finished yet. Many villages, which had been established by the Order, had been deserted and had become wastelands due to the neglect of drainage systems during the Polish period. Soon, the Dutch settlers spread out from their oldest settlement centers and settled in the surrounding villages among the East German farmers. Together with them, as their masters, they completed the work of colonization so extensively carried out by the Order, a difficult and strenuous task, which no Pole undertook. Only now, the Vistula region was reclaimed down to the last Hufe by German farmers creating new German soil and this, despite the basically anti-German Polish state.

How indispensable these Dutch colonists were is shown by the fact that all the large landowners of the country, without exception, took advantage of their activity: the cities, the crown, the nobility and even the Catholic Church. These immigrants, far from being humble refugees of the faith, were masters of the art of drainage and in possession of considerable cash resources, well aware of their indispensability.⁸⁾ Therefore, they met their landlords as free and independent men and maintained this position until the end of the Polish period. It is remarkable that in the records of the crown estates they are always called burghers, landlords or Dutchmen, but never peasants.⁹⁾ The legal position of the settlers has already been explained elsewhere. In addition, they were able to gain special privileges in some places. Thus, for example, the Dutch villages of the tenure Sanskau and the Starost of Graudenz received the right to sell their products as they wished along the Vistula. They countered encroachments by their landlords or the Catholic Church with all the legal remedies to which they were entitled. They did not even shy away from a lawsuit in Warsaw.¹⁰⁾ Apart from that, their landlords really had no reason to be dissatisfied with them because they would have had a hard time finding more conscientious and punctually paying tenants. In a short time, the Dutch were able to respond to the increase in lease rates.

The basis of their economy remained cattle breeding, especially since the frequent floods in the lowlands allowed them to cultivate winter cereals only in small areas. The Mennonites excelled in milk and cheese production. In these branches of agriculture they introduced methods that were adopted throughout the Eastern region.¹¹⁾

The struggle with the Vistula was the constant concern in their lives. Every generation had to survive at least one big flood, about which detailed descriptions are preserved in the old house books [*Hausbuecher*]. The devastation of the floods was twofold; they not only destroyed the belongings of the farmers, but also deposited large quantities of sand on the fields, so that in many places the quality of the soil was forever diminished. Even into the Prussian period, the residents of the Vistula lowlands were exposed to the river. It was not until after the great flood of 1855 that the present dike protecting the entire lowlands was built.

The Swedish Wars brought even greater suffering to the German peasants in the Vistula Valley. What the Thirty Years' War did to Germany, these wars did to Poland. It is touching to read in the lists whole villages which were razed to the ground by the Swedes, who carried out their work of destruction partly according to plan. The Vistula region with its German peasants was particularly affected by the horrors of war. The largest cities and fortresses of the country were located on the Vistula, and the armies could be most easily supplied along its rivers and lowlands, which is why they often took up their winter quarters here. Even the Mennonites were now unable to pay their rents on time. They had to ask for a deferment or reduction of their rent. In many cases, they were only able to meet their obligations after selling land. Despite all the strokes of fate, they did not despair and remained on their land.¹²⁾

As the most peculiar and numerically strongest group that moved from the Netherlands to the German East, the Mennonites have held particularly tenaciously to the customs and traditions they brought with them from their old homeland. Nevertheless, it is misleading to attribute to them a Dutch state consciousness with regard to earlier times, or to speak of their Germanization in Prussian times, as was done by the Polish side for obvious reasons.¹³⁾ After all, when the migration of the Mennonites to the Vistula estuary began, the Low Countries still belonged to the [Spanish] Empire for a hundred years! The history of the Mennonites knows nothing of a contrast to the German population even in their new homeland, the Prussian land. Thus the Mennonites inhabited only some districts exclusively on their own, while in others they lived together with the Lutheran Germans in good neighborly relations despite the differences in faith. The German peasants of both confessions kept their distance from the Slavic population. Poles were excluded from their community because they did not know how to keep "Dutch ways and customs".¹⁴⁾

To speak of a Germanization of the Mennonites by the Prussian state is absurd, because they had already adopted the West Prussian dialect in their daily interactions before Frederick the Great took possession of the country. Even in the church service, where the Dutch language had asserted itself most tenaciously, the German language had come more and more into use since the middle of the 18th century.¹⁵⁾ How quickly the Mennonites had settled into the Prussian state and how soon they felt loyal to the Prussian royal house was proven by the great financial sacrifices they made for the liberation of their homeland from the yoke of the French.¹⁶⁾

VII. The scope of research

The German Vistula region is divided into three natural sections: The Thorn-Bromberg Basin (Becken), the lowlands [*Durchbruchstal*] and the Vistula Delta [*Delta des Stromes*]. Our investigation covers the central part, the Vistula Breakthrough Valley [*Weicheldurchbruchstal*]. The serpentine river divides the valley floor into areas of irregular, mostly arched shape, the lowlands. Of these individual sections of the valley, only the larger ones come into consideration for our purposes. These are on the left bank the Schwetzer Lowland opposite Kulm, further downstream the Sartowitz-Neuenburg Lowland, the center of which is approximately opposite Graudenz, and finally the Falkenauer Lowland. On the right bank of the Vistula there are four sub-areas: The Kulm district lowlands, which begins below Fordon and is terminated by a promontory of the hill on which the town of Kulm is situated. Another is the Kulm city lowlands and the Graudenz Basin, which is connected to it by a 2.5 km wide lowland strip. As the last and largest section of the valley on the right side of the Vistula, the Marienwerder Lowland is included in the circle of our considerations.¹⁾

VIII. The course of the settlement within the various regions.

a) The Sartowitz-Neuenburg Lowland

The area of the Sanskau tenure, which consisted of the villages of Montau, Gr. Sanskau, Kl. Sanskau and the Sanskau Vorwerk, belonged to the Engelsburg Commandery in the 14th century. The village of Montau received from the Engelsburg commander Ulrich von Hachenberg (1374-81) a charter [*Handfest*] for 46 Hufen.¹⁾ Around 1400 his successor allowed the honorable Cuneke to occupy the neighboring Sanskau with Kulm rights with 28 garden plots [*Gaertnern*].²⁾ In Sanskau there was also an outpost, today's Hilmarsdorf, on which the Order maintained a stud farm. In 1381 it had a considerable stock of 247 horses.³⁾ The commandery was so devastated by the Order's unfortunate war with Poland in 1410 that it was no longer possible to maintain its own commander in Engelsburg. The Commandery of Engelsburg was therefore united with the neighboring Vogtei Roggenhausen in 1416.⁴⁾ Your property west of the Vistula, later Tenute Sanskau, was attached to the Dirschau Bailiwick.⁵⁾

In the 16th century this area belonged to Roggenhausen,⁶⁾ when Hans Dulski, a leading personality of the West Prussian nobility, held this Starost (1562-90).⁷⁾ Hans Dulski died on March 28, 1590. King Stephen Bathory now lent the royal feudal estates of Montau and Sanskau for life to his secretary Reinhold Heidenstein, the well-known historian of his wars with Ivan the Terrible.⁸⁾ The Heidenstein family seat was Sullenschin near Berent, where Reinhold Heidenstein died in 1620.⁹⁾ After his death, his widow Therese, born of the Konarski family, owned the Tenute, which she ceded to her son Johann Heidenstein and his wife Katharina Witowski on November 24, 1656.¹⁰⁾ With Johann Heidenstein, who died in 1673 as castellan of Danzig, the male line became extinct.¹¹⁾ The crown estates now came to the Polish magnate family Potocki, which remained in their possession for around a century until the beginning of the Frederician period.

When in 1565 a Crown treasury commission visited the Starost Roggenhausen, the village of Montau no longer existed. Its lands have long been leased to Danzig butchers for cattle grazing. The commissioners, anxious to increase the Starost income, noted when registering the incoming rent of 976 marks that the Dutch living near Danzig would give 2000 thalers a year from this land if they were allowed to settle here. In any case, they would bring the king a greater profit.¹²⁾ Likewise, the king's officials, when including the Sanskau Vorwerk, expressly pointed out to the Starost that this Vorwerk, settled by Dutchmen, would yield greater income.¹³⁾

As already mentioned elsewhere, only the great successes of the Dutch Mennonites in Danzig Werder could have persuaded the crown commissioners to take this step. It can also be concluded from their later statement [nachdruecklichen] that the Dutch, who settled in Montau in 1567, were Mennonites who had immigrated from Danziger Werder.¹⁴⁾ After Hans Dulski had given them time to settle in and get to know the new country, he concluded the first contract on February 2, 1568 with Thomas and Peter Janssen, Leonhard von Rho, Bernhard von Baygen, Andreas Unrau as representatives of a total of 18 Dutchmen, a 12-year limited lease over 50 deserted Hufen. But the Starost reserved one and a half remaining Hufen for his own use. The lease amounted to 1400 marks in Prussian coins. In the contract he granted the Dutch colonists freedom from court and horticultural service, gave them free timber for the construction of their houses and guaranteed them the right of first tenancy. On September 15, 1569, King Sigismund August confirmed the agreement.¹⁵⁾ Before the lease expired, the Starost renewed the contract for a further 18 years with Julis Frantsen, Jakob Schmidt and Dietrich Witken as representatives of the Montaner residents. Other things being equal, the lease was increased to 1,500 marks. How satisfied the landlord was with his tenants is evident from the document that the colonists "land and village Montau, which previously lay in deserted and was of little or no benefit to Roggenhausen, through their diligence and effort and brought a great increase in arable land."¹⁶⁾ Another unmistakable sign of the success of their colonization work is provided by the third lease contract that Reinhold Heidenstein signed on July 10, 1592 for 40 years. The lease was now considerably increased from 1000 guilders = 1500 marks to 1400 guilders.¹⁷⁾

The energy of the Dutch soon became apparent on a larger scale. On April 4, 1605, twenty-one representatives of the 8 villages of Dragass, Gruppe, Gr. Lubin, Kl. Lubin, Gr. Sanskau, Kl. Sanskau, Kommerau and Montau met on the topic of regular weeding and keeping the Montau river clean. They decide that the costs of the maintenance should be borne by the residents according to the number of Hufen. A committee of 6 men elected by the localities is responsible for ensuring that this decision is consistently carried out in an orderly manner. Since most of the representatives have Mennonite names, I take it, from the fact that it was only through the Dutch immigrants that a plan and order came into the drainage system of this lowland.¹⁸⁾ In 1624 the number of residents in Montau had already risen to twenty-four.¹⁹⁾ Through the mediation of their landlady Therese Heidenstein, they received the right from Wladyslav IV in 1627 to freely sell their products along the Vistula.²⁰⁾ When Reinhold Heidenstein's widow extended the previous lease agreement to 50 years on December 3, 1636, she increased the lease price again. It was now 1,600 guilders and 10 hams to be delivered at Martini [St. Martin's day].²¹⁾

Like the other villages in the lowlands, Montau had to endure bitter times during the two Swedish Wars and the Northern Wars. In the second Swedish war, Johann Heidenstein's manor house in Sanskau was completely destroyed and the villages of Montau, Gr. and Kl. Sanskau were so plundered that they were no longer able to pay their rent. The tenutar, himself in a difficult economic situation, tried to hold his subjects responsible, but they did not accept this. In any case, Heidenstein complained to the king that the villages mentioned had owed him the lease for the war years and had also neglected their duties in other respects and violated their privileges. In 1667, Johann Kasimir ordered a commission to settle the dispute. However, the commission did not meet until 1671 under the leadership of the Marienburg chamberlain Peter Tucholka in Sanskau. Since the villages had meanwhile paid 1,800 guilders of wartime rent to the tenutar, this point of contention was quickly settled and the villages were freed from further payments of overdue rents. The royal commissioners then settled questions of jurisdiction between the village courts and the supreme court of the landlord. Of particular value to us is the fact that the inspectors saw and treated the accused residents of the Holland villages as equals with the plaintiff tenutar. It is clear from this that the Low German farmers were able to retain their personal freedom and independence, while the Polish peasants had long since been reduced to the ranks of serfs.²²⁾

To top it all off, the villages of the Sanskauer Tenute suffered from the Vistula floods, which wreaked particularly havoc at this time.²³⁾ This is proven, among other things, by a report by the district judge of the Kulm Voivodeship, who, by decision of the Prussian state parliament on November 16, 1677, toured in the Dutch villages of Montau, Gr. and Kl. Sanskau to determine the damage caused there by the flood in the year mentioned. The magistrate noted great losses and the silting up of many Morgen of land. He therefore spoke out in favor of reducing and deferring taxes.²⁴⁾ In the same year, Johann Sobieski issued a letter of protection to the towns that had been run down by so many misfortunes, in which he forbade troops marching through to take up quarters there or to impose any burdens on them.²⁵⁾ Since the Montaner residents were not able to get their purchases in the city due to the frequent flooding, they were given the right early on to set up a general store [Hakenbude]. The owner of this store was the landlord, who leased it in the same way as he leased the village land. In 1686, Count Kasimir Potocki leased the Montau store to the Mennonite Johann Ledardel for 50 years. Ledardel had the right to sell cloth, fish, herring and wine, even foreign beer and Danzig brandy. But he had to buy 30 barrels of Sanskau Hofbier a year.²⁶⁾ The German farmers of the Vistula villages had scarcely recovered from the horrors of the Second Swedish War when the Northern War brought new, severe suffering to them. Saxon, Polish, Swedish and Russian troops were now quartering with them and destroying their wealth.²⁷⁾ Again they were now unable to fulfill their obligations. They were only able to pay off a part of their debts to the landlords by selling land. In 1727, Count Josef Potocki finally gave up the remaining arrears from the war.²⁸⁾

The residents of Montau made their last lease renewal of the Polish period with the Count's family of Potocki in 1685 and 1732.²⁹⁾ In 1765 there were 26 residents in Montau, and owned 46 Hufen,



Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. Herbert Krueger's house in Montau.



Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. Franz Knel's house in Montau.

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4 Morgen.³⁰⁾ In the last few years before the Prussian occupation, the situation of the German farmers in the Vistula lowlands became more and more unbearable because the Catholic Polish nobility set up a charter regime in the country and especially oppressed the German rural population of other faiths. In 1769, Prussian troops took over their protection.³¹⁾ In 1772, Frederick the Great finally liberated West Prussia from these anarchical conditions by taking it into his state. From Montau, as their oldest settlement on the left bank of the Vistula, the Mennonites spread over the entire Sartowitz-Neuenburger lowland. Throughout the period of Polish rule, the village retained its Mennonite character, which is clearly proven by the lists of neighboring villages from the 17th and 18th centuries [found in the appendix].

Just a few years later in Montau, the Dutch began to expand their colonization work from here to neighboring Sanskau. Until 1598, Hans Dulski leased them ten Hufen, which he had previously used as an Vorwerk farm for his own business.³²⁾ The village of Kl. Sanskau was subsequently built on this ground. Reinhold Heidenstein renewed this first agreement on July 10, 1592 with the representatives of the village of Montau, Christian Schroeder, Johann Dau and Gerhard Heinrich, for an annual payment of 350 guilders for 40 years.³³⁾ Heidenstein's contract was later extended by his widow to 50 years (1636-87) on the old terms.³⁴⁾ The following agreement (1687-1737) has also been preserved.³⁵⁾ The last purchase was again according to the old custom for five decades. The contract was signed on June 24, 1732 by Countess Theofila Potocki in her residence in Ropczyce. The rent at that time was 450 guilders and 6 hams. This payment was to be delivered annually on Martini at the Sanskauer Herrenhof.³⁶⁾

In contrast to Montau, in Gr. Sanskau, the peasant population which was still part of the Order, was preserved until the 16th century. In 1570, twenty farmers lived here on 40 farms.³⁷⁾ The Mennonites soon gained a foothold here, but they never outnumber the German-Lutheran farmers. Since Gr. Sanskau had a population of over hundred Mennonites and was subsequently given Dutch privileges, it already counted at the beginning of the 17th century, among the Dutch villages of the lowlands.³⁸⁾ In 1624 the settlement had 30 Hufen, 15 Morgen owned by 18 residents.³⁹⁾ The first lease we know of was issued by Johann Heidenstein for 50 years (1661-1711). The leased land was now only 28 Morgen, since the Vistula had swept away 2 Hufen and 15 Morgen, the annual rent on 1400 guilders and 10 hams.⁴⁰⁾ The next contract was only agreed on July 17, 1721 between Count Josef Potocki and the resident of Sanskauer (1722-1772). In 1772 the purchased land comprised 23 Hufen, 25 Morgen.⁴¹⁾ In this village there has been a German *Krug* [tavern or inn], a Polish *Krug* and a *Hakenbude* since ancient times. Adrian Focht (Fot) leased the German *Krug* in 1636 for 30 years.⁴²⁾ North of the Sanskauer Tenute was the Starost of Neuenburg. In 1527, King Sigismund I gave this crown estate to the mayor of Danzig, Hans von Werden. In 1552 Werden and his descendants were even granted feudal rights to the Starost until the male line died out. The family moved onto the land, chose Neuenburg as their residence and owned this starost for more than a century.⁴³⁾

A grandson of the mayor of Danzig, Hans von Werden, in the years 1620-48 Starost of Neuenburg,

granted an oak forest in the north of the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowlands for settlement by Dutch. They cleared it and built the village of Treul in its place. The settlement was originally 18 Hufen in size. Since the Vistula partly washed away or silted up 3 Hufen, the town had only 15 Hufen in 1664.⁴⁴⁾ The second Swedish war brought bitter hardship to the settlement. Before this war, the colonists had paid 1050 guilders in rent. After 1663, the payment for 10 Hufen was only 200 guilders.⁴⁵⁾ In 1773, the village of Treul was 13 Hufen, 10 Morgen and it was owned partly by Mennonites and partly by Lutheran residents.⁴⁶⁾

The Graudenz *Starosteidoerfer* Gr. Lubin and Dragass west of Kommerau and Sibsau situated on the ridge, this area had belonged to the Graudenz Commandery. Lubin had been leased by the order to farmers,⁴⁷⁾ the knights also maintained an outpost there.⁴⁸⁾ The Lubin Ordenshof [Teutonic order estate] was the main stud farm of the Graudenz Commandery, but there were also a considerable number of cattle, swine, and sheep.⁴⁹⁾

The first news of the Mennonites comes from a visitation report by Bishop Rozrazewski (1583) at the time of the beginning of the Counter-Reformation. It says that Lubin is occupied by Dutchmen who shamefully even own the church.⁵⁰⁾ Credit for having settled the Mennonites in this Starostei village goes to the castellan of Gniezno Hans Zborowski, who was Starost of Graudenz from 1581 until his death (1603).⁵¹⁾ In 1591 he leased Gr Lubin, Companie, Cobelnitz, Schlosswiese and other adjacent castle grounds and meadows, "which territories were completely flooded with water and completely barren and were very devastated and ruined during the war", to the Dutch for a payment of 1087 guilders. The lease was valid for 50 years and the annual rent shilling [*Pachtschilling*] was payable in two installments on May 1 and November 11. The leased land was 32 Hufen, 18 Morgen.⁵²⁾ This contract was extended to 50 years on April 13, 1640 by the Graudenz Starost Susanne Schepanski⁵³⁾ and then on November 24, 1687 by her successor.⁵⁴⁾ The last purchase made in Polish times by Jacob Ewert and Thomas Gertz on behalf of their residents was from Starost Georg Wendelin Mnischek for 28 Hufen, 8 Morgen of land. The four church Hufen were leased by the Catholic parish itself. This contract was signed on November 7, 1740 by the Starost and confirmed by the king on November 13.⁵⁵⁾ At the beginning of the Prussian period, the residents only paid rent for 25½ Hufen, since the rest of the property was silted up by the flooding of the Vistula.⁵⁶⁾

Almost at the same time as Gross Lubin, Hans Zborowski leased Klein Lubin out to Mennonites. Its first lease, probably due to its origin, was approved by the crown in 1593 and was then still valid for 38 years. The annual rent was 250 guilders.⁵⁷⁾ Susanne Schepanski renewed this contract in February 1632 with "the merry men Christoff Schultz, Casper Janzon Abraham Meinerth, Peter Hapner, Heinrich Conradts and David Lorentz" for 40 years (1632-72).⁵⁸⁾ From the next privilege is only known that it was granted by Martin Borowski who was Starost of Graudenz from 1667-1709.⁵⁹⁾ On the other hand, we are informed in detail about the subsequent last lease contract in Polish times, with Hans von Schembeck,



Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. House Heinrich Franz III in Gr. Lubin.



Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. The old Rosenfeld house in Brattwin.

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Dirck Goertz and David Vogt for 50 years (1720-70). The lease was still 250 guilders. At the beginning of the Prussian period, Kl. Lubin owned 9 Hufen, 10 Morgen.⁶⁰⁾ Another third Starostei village, Dragass, lay on the left bank of the Vistula. In its place in 1570 there was only grazing land used by the residents of Lubin.⁶¹⁾ This place was also settled by Mennonites in the last decade of the century by the Starost Hans Zborowski, who is already known to us, probably in 1592, who leased 28 Hufen, 4 Morgen for 50 years for an annual payment of 984 fl.⁶²⁾ The Starost leased three Hufen, 11 Morgen on the basis of a special privilege in 1591 for a period of 37 years to Dutchmen, who paid 127 guilders a year.⁶³⁾ A document issued by Sigismund III on June 17, 1595 at the instigation of Zborowski gave the residents of the towns of Dragass, Sczucze, Gross Lubin, Klein Lubin and Kl. Wolz the right to ship their products "*laboris et seminis*" freely and unhindered on the Vistula and to sell them along this river at will".⁶⁴⁾ On April 13, 1640 the certificate of appointment extended to 50 years by the starost Susanne Schepanski.⁶⁵⁾ A quadruple dam breach at Dragass, the "*ingens diluvium*", killed many people, caused great financial damage and silted up the lands of the village so badly that King Johann Casimir freed Dragass and the neighboring Kl. Lubin on October 17, 1651 from all taxes and services for four years.⁶⁶⁾ The consequences were that 1664 they not overcome this stroke of fate; because the residents, with a total area of 31 Hufen, 15 Morgen, only paid rent on 19 Hufen, 17 Morgen, as the rest of the land was silted up.⁶⁷⁾

The leases were renewed for the usual period of 50 years according to Starost Martin Borowski⁶⁸⁾ and Georg Wendelin.⁶⁹⁾ In this last agreement of November 7th and 13th, 1740 respectively, the residents bought 20 Hufen through their representatives Franz Zibrand and Derk Gertz.⁷⁰⁾

The Dutch settlement of Kommerau goes back to very early times. This village received its first lease from 1570-80, when the active champion of the Protestants in West Prussia was the Marienburg Voivode Fabian von Zehmen Starost von Graudenz.⁷¹⁾ This agreement was extended to 50 years in 1604 by Mathias von Konopath. The leased land measured 11 Hufen, 12 Morgen, for which 342 guilders were due in two annual installments.⁷²⁾ Owner of the Starostei, queen Marie Ludowike renewed the contract for the period 1656-67.⁷³⁾ The next extension took place on June 26, 1684 by the Starost Martin Borowski to 50 years.⁷⁴⁾ The last purchase letter was issued to the residents of Kommerau Peter Richert, Abraham Urnał, Johann Bartel and Peter Richert on May 11, 1733 by Countess Eva Schembeck for four decades.⁷⁵⁾ In 1750 several residents of this place leased three more Hufen belonging to the Sibsau farm. Andreas Penner, Peter Richert, Heinrich Sibrandt Stefan Frantz and Wilhelm Trechler are named as tenants.⁷⁶⁾

In 1649 a colonist settled in Kommerau, which had suffered a lot during the war, on 1 Hufe 5 Morgen of 40-year leasehold land.⁷⁷⁾ On this land in the years 1731-36 a Gerhard Rosenfeld renewed the lease. His successor Stephan Frantz concluded the last lease for 40 years (1761-1801).⁷⁸⁾ The strength of the Mennonite share in the four mentioned Starostei villages is indicated by the fact that Gross and Klein Lubin, Dragass and Kommerau are explicitly described in the lists of the 17th century as the Pomeranian Dutch villages of the Starostei Graudenz. In 1623 these 4 Niederungsdorfer, furthermore Montau and both Sanskau, finally the Schwetzer Starosteidoerfer Brattwin Gross- and Deutsch Westfalen received a

royal letter of exemption from military taxation and billeting. All the places mentioned in this document were inhabited by Mennonites, who in them formed the majority or at least a considerable part of the residents.⁷⁹⁾

A few Mennonites settled in Sibsau around the middle of the 17th century in the lowlands of the town. On June 7, 1659, Nikolaus Franz, Dirk Gertz and Isaak Greger acquired 1½ Hufen.⁸⁰⁾ This land was owned by Georg and Eva Bolt in the 18th century. In 1748 the Starost Georg Wendelin Mnischek renewed emphyteutic rights for this couple for 40 years (1750-90).⁸¹⁾

From the estate Gross Sibsau, which at the beginning of the 18th century was leased by the Graudenzer Starost to the Gordon family with emphyteutic rights.⁸²⁾ In 1710 two Hufen, 9 Morgen were leased to emphyteuts for 40 years on land that is now Kl. Sibau. Among the ten tenants we find three Mennonites in 1773: Frantz Bartel, Abram Schmid and Gert Bartel.⁸³⁾

The noble manor Gruppe and the noble village Michelau separated the part of the Starostei Graudenz situated west of the Vistula from the Schwetz Starostei which comprised the southern part of the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowlands. Along the Vistula dike, which today protects this lowland from the once devastating floods, lie the former Schwetz Starostei Brattwin, Gr. Westfalen, Neunhuben and Deutsch Westfalen.⁸⁴⁾ Of these places Brattwin and Gr. Westfalen were in the time of the Order Commanders of the 15th century Brattwin belonged to the bailiwick Roggenhausen, but then, probably because of its location, which was more favorable for the Schwetz Commandery, was attached to it. In its ownership the Order court Brattwin is mentioned first in the year 1423.⁸⁵⁾ The neighboring village, Gr. Westfalen, was in the time of the Order, named Smoln the most important Order estate of the Schwetzer Komturei, while Deutsch Westfalen was at that time an available [Zinsdorf] village.⁸⁶⁾ In 1565 Deutsch-Westfalen had 24 Hufen and was inhabited by 12 farmers and for itself good soil was reduced in its value by frequent floods.⁸⁷⁾

Then the Starost of Schwetz, Sophie Herbut von Fulstein, decided to lease the land to Dutchmen, for which King Sigismund III approved on January 15, 1593.⁸⁸⁾ Soon after she leased the 24 Hufen to Dutchmen, because on March 7, 1593 the king already agreed to the lease limited to 60 years. As representatives of the Dutchmen we see in that contract, Paul Rolis, Christian Stoermer, Cornel Golbertsch, Augustin Fridach, Christian Michals. The tenants had to pay for 20 Hufen, 30 thalers rent per Hufe, for the other 4 Hufen they had to pay only 15 thalers rent for each Hufe.⁸⁹⁾ This first agreement was renewed by the Starost Johann Zawadzki probably for the period 1645-95, which contract Wladyslaw IV confirmed in 1646.⁹⁰⁾ The subsequent agreement has not been preserved; it expired in 1745. Prince Stanislaus Jablonowski granted the residents of Deutsch Westphalia their last purchase letter on March 29, 1746.⁹¹⁾

About half a century after Deutsch Westfalen had been leased to Dutchmen, Gr. Westfalen, too, was leased to Dutchmen the former Order estate Smoln, called Starosteivorwerk Stwolnko. In 1642, the then desolate 16 Hufen were leased for 50 years by the Starost Johann Zawadzki. The colonists, who received the right to freely sell their products along the Vistula in the contract, undertook to pay 25 guilders rent for each Hufe from 1643 on.⁹²⁾ The village land also included two more Hufen, which, however, were owned with other rights.

This distribution of village lands lasted until the Prussian period.⁹³⁾ The settlement agreement ended in 1692. The following agreement, which was surely calculated for 50 years (1692-1742), has not been handed down. On the other hand, we know the last contract [*Verschreibung*] of the village, which was granted to it on April 2, 1741 by the princess Johanna Jablonowski as the Starost of Schwetz for Dutch rights again for 50 years 1742-92.⁹⁴⁾

In 1564 Brattwin was a Starost village with 12 farmers on 22½ Hufen.⁹⁵⁾ It was still occupied by Dutchmen in the first half of the 17th century, but the exact date of their first settlement cannot be determined. Brattwin is among the Dutch villages, which received exemption from military quartering and levies in 1623.⁹⁶⁾ The first lease, which we can locate, was issued by the already mentioned Schwetz Starost Johann Zawadzki and confirmed by Wladyslaw IV.⁹⁷⁾ As it can be concluded from the later lease sections, it was valid for the period 1646-96. The total annual rent amounted to 1000 fl. In 1696 the residents of Brattwin rented the land again from the Voivode and general of the lands of Russia, the prince John Stanislaus Jablonowski.⁹⁸⁾ The last purchase was made at the time of his son Stanislaus, to the honorable residents of the village Brattwin on June 4, 1729 for 24 Hufen, 14 Morgen, 124 Ruten for another 40 years. The residents paid for the Hufen, 36 guldens, for the rest they kept their lands as before "in the manner of other *Hollenderdorfschaeften*, located in the lowlands".⁹⁹⁾ Of the 13 landowners in 1773, only 4 were Mennonites, in addition to 9 Lutherans.¹⁰⁰⁾

The village Neunhuben, situated between Deutsch and Gross Westphalia (Polish Westphalia), was inhabited around the middle of the 17th century by Dutchmen, who in 1664 paid 375 guilders per year "*manu conjuncta*" for 9 Hufen.¹⁰¹⁾ In the same place, King Johann Casimir leased to the respectable Dutchman Jakob Kryzell a farm belonging to the Schwetz castle, which had suffered a lot during the Swedish wars. It was 3 Hufen which were given to him for 30 years against 120 guldens Polish on February 10, 1668.¹⁰²⁾ In 1670 Prince Stanislaus Johann Jablonowski as the owner of the Schwetz Starostei gave to the Captain Gottfried Ursin Berends and his wife Catharina Barbara Wenediger the 9 Hufen of this village plus two adjacent so-called Brandt Hufen for 60 years with emphyteutic rights.¹⁰³⁾ The Dutchmen now had to vacate the land they held, because Berends established an estate in Neunhuben. After Berends' death, the second husband of his wife, the captain Johann Foerster, came into possession of Neunhuben, to whom the estate was given again for 60 years (1728-88). Foerster's rights were later transferred by the king (May 21, 1742) to Captain Martin Ludwig von Gottenthau and his wife Johanna Wilhelmina von Behrensen, who was probably the daughter of the first emphyteutic owner.¹⁰⁴⁾ But the couple was not happy with their property, because Neunhuben suffered from frequent floods. Therefore, von Gottenthau finally sold the estate of 11 Hufen to 7 Mennonites.¹⁰⁵⁾ One of the buyers, Peter Rosenfeld, has left us a vivid account of how this purchase came about.¹⁰⁶⁾ After that, the landowner first turned to Franz Koepper in Brattwin with the request to find him a buyer for his land. The value of the estate was estimated by von Gottenthau at 27,300 guldens. On the basis of this appraisal, Kopper succeeded in engaging six fellow believers from Montau and Kl. Sanskau with the plan of purchase. They all then visited Neunhuben. After a thorough investigation Franz Koepper from Brattwin, Peter Rosenfeld and Hans Goertz from Montau, Peter Kliewer the younger from Kl. Sanskau, Peter Kliewer from

Dragass, Heinrich Bartel from Schoensee and Heinrich Geaedert from Niederausmass, seven in number, to buy the estate and divide it among themselves. On March 20, 1745, the contract of sale was concluded and Neunhuben was acquired by them "with all rights and duties" for the above-mentioned sum. Since the Crown was the chief owner of the land, this purchase had to receive the consent of the Starost. The consummation of the contract was attended by the Comtarius Zediersky, the Governor Zadallinsky and the mayor of Schwetz together with the town clerk and the town actuary. The total cost of the charter amounted to 479 florins.

In the very first year, the colonists suffered a heavy blow. In spring, the Vistula broke through the dam above Neunhuben in several places, so that their entire winter grain perished in the floods. Since the flood remained until May 11, the settlers were able to move into Neunhuben only at the end of April. For the first year they set up makeshift dwellings in the manor house and in the farm buildings.

Since the meadows of Neunhuben were very marshy, the settlers received permission from the castle authorities [*Schlossobrigkeit*] to create a drainage ditch whose course was determined by a new commission. This drainage ditch, however, could be dug only against the will of the residents of Polish Westphalia and Brattwin who finally had to submit to the orders of the lord of the castle. The harvest was still brought in by all the colonists together. After that the land was surveyed with the help of 4 impartial men, namely: Peter Dirks of Obergruppe, Franz Ewert of Niedergruppe, Frantz Goertz of the Compagnie and Dirk Goertz of Dragass, and on September 1, 1745 it was divided among the many buyers according to the quality of the land.¹⁰⁷⁾

In winter the colonists brought firewood from the royal forest with the help of their friends. The actual laborious construction work began only in the spring of 1746. First, the farm buildings, stables and barns were erected in this year. For several years the settlers sustained themselves in small, makeshift houses. Only after 10 years had the last of them had built a proper house. It took a decade to complete the difficult work of reconstruction.

The contract of sale of Neunhuben was registered in the town records of Schwetz on September 25, 1754 at the instigation of Johann Goertz, a Mennonite, and confirmed by Stanislaus August on February 11, 1765.¹⁰⁸⁾ As late as 1772 Neunhuben was inhabited by 7 Mennonite families¹⁰⁹⁾.

Besides the possessions of the Crown of Poland, which occupied the largest part of the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowlands, there were still considerable estates in the hands of the nobility and the church. The above-mentioned Gruppe estate with the villages of Obergruppe and Niedergruppe, which were established on the estate land, as well as the villages of Alt- and Neu-Marsau, which were also situated on the edge of the heights, and finally the village of Michelau in the lowlands, were in the possession of the nobility.

The manor Gruppe came into the possession of the Konarski family at the end of the 16th century and remained their property for about two hundred years.¹¹⁰⁾ The Konarskis were an old East Prussian family. The family name was already established in the 14th century, derived from their ancestral seat Konarzyn in the district Konitz.¹¹¹⁾ On February 22, 1604 the hereditary lord of the family, Felix Konarski, leased to the 3 men, Abraham Franns, Lahwe Ekert and Hans Kriecker and their heirs and descendants "*etliches uneroerbbares und sumpfiges landt*" for 50 years (1604-54)¹¹²⁾.

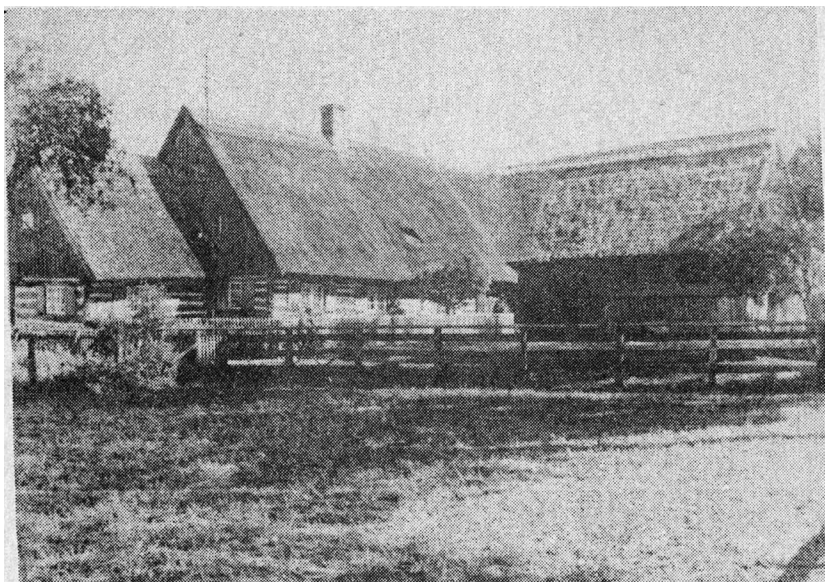


Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. House Arno Obermann in Deutsch Westphalia (Winkelhof)



Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. House Paul Goerz in Gr. Lunau, (built 1791)

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The settlers were granted "a free way over the Michelau" and the right to build a bridge over the Montau. They were allowed to get all the wood they needed for their farms from the landlord's forests, who also gave them 7,000 bricks and 5,000 roof tiles for each farm for the construction of the buildings. However, the tenants had to supply the clay and pay the brickmaker. They were allowed to sell their products freely. They were allowed to fish in the Montau and to keep bees. Those who kept bees, however, had to deliver half of the yield to the lordship. It was essential that they were granted lower jurisdiction and religious freedom. Since this document mentions a free road over Michelau, it seems that this land lease laid the foundation for the later village of Obergruppe.

Furthermore, the Marienburg Voivode Samuel Zalinski as a share owner of Gruppe's 7 Hufen "Grupsches Land and Shrub" leased on December 5, 1625 to the Dutch Zacharias Kerwer and Peter Hese with emphyteutic rights.¹¹³⁾ On July 23, 1671 Johann Konarski granted 15 Hufen, 11½ Morgen in the lowland to the mayor Wilm Jakobs and the councilmen Jacob Hetce and Zacharias for 50 years (1672-1722) against an annual rent of 831 Gulden Prussian coin.¹¹⁴⁾ This land is later proved to be a part of Niedergruppe. On the emphyteutically granted land, the villages of Obergruppe and Niedergruppe were established around 1650. Towards the end of this century, they received their 40-year lease agreements at the same time and also paid the purchase money together. Probably the first contract with Felix Konarski was extended to 40 years, as can be seen from the later lease sections. Unfortunately, this subsequent contract has not been preserved. For the following period of 40 years only the contract of Niedergruppe (1694-1734) has been preserved, while the one of Obergruppe valid for the same period could not be found.¹¹⁵⁾ In this agreement about Niedergruppe it is determined, among other things, that the tenants may have their grain milled only at manorial mills and obtain their beer only from the manor brewery. In all other respects we find the same conditions as in the agreement of 1604. The colonists were explicitly allowed to have all their privileges, which they had previously acquired from the Konarskis, entered into the town books.

For the time period 1734-74, only the purchase letters for both villages have been preserved.¹¹⁶⁾ They were signed by Stanislaus Konarski and his wife Johanna from the house of Gralewski on June 22, 1734. The purchase money in the amount of 17,848 guilders pr. [Prussian currency] had to be paid jointly by both villages. At that time the village area of Niedergruppe comprised 30 Hufen, 12 Morgen, that of Obergruppe 27 Hufen, 15 Morgen.¹¹⁷⁾ Both villages had also a common Hakenbude for which they paid 50 gulden per year on the basis of a special privilege. The lease of the villages was renewed in Polish times on December 20, 1770 by the chamberlain Ignaz Konarski, the son of the previous one, for a lease sum of 24,200 guildens pr. again for 40 years.

On November 26, 1773, the residents of Niedergruppe petitioned the Prussian government about the excessive assessment of the tribute. If they had previously paid the Polish government 49 thalers a year, they should now pay 136 thalers. They justified the requested reduction of the tax with the fact that they were "almost" in the lowest position of the local lowlands, the water flowed down from the heights onto their land and often remained on it for a long time. Even 4 horse mills, which they maintained to pump the water, were not sufficient for this purpose. Their property on the heights, however,

would be "most miserable" partly dead sand, partly overgrown and only about the third part usable.¹¹⁸⁾ Ober- and Niedergruppe were in the studied period quite predominantly in the possession of Mennonite landlords. Only a few Lutherans resided among them in the 18th century.¹¹⁹⁾

In the 18th century the noble villages [adligen Doerfer] of Alt Marsau, Neu Marsau and Michelau were the property of the Potocki family, who at the same time held the tenure Sanskau. At the time of the Prussian takeover there were two Mennonites out of 8 residents in Alt Marsau and three out of 13 residents in Neu Marsau.¹²⁰⁾ Their share was even smaller in Michelau, where, judging by the names, there were only 2 Mennonite residents among the 25 farms.¹²¹⁾ Nevertheless, Mennonites lived here already around the year 1650.¹²²⁾

The bishops of Leslau probably also settled Mennonites on their estates in Kommorsk with emphyteutic rights in the 17th century. This can be concluded from a contract by which the Bishop Mathias Lubienski of Leslau on January 3, 1637 signed Kommorsk for 30 years "to the industrious Dutchman" Jacob Dirck and associates.¹²³⁾ In the repertory of the city archives of Graudenz, two lease agreements concluded with the Dutch in Kommorsk are also listed.¹²⁴⁾ In 1688 bishop A. J. Madaliński extended a contract with Dutchmen in Kommorsk for 30 years. Bishop K Schaniawski made another agreement in 1709 with Dutchmen in the same place for four decades. The Graudenz archive is not yet accessible for use, so that these contracts could not be examined for the names of the tenants and other characteristics

In the 18th century these Dutchmen were expelled from the bishop's estates. This is evident from a document of the Pelplin archives, which reported about a complaint of the Polish Catholics of Kommorsk to the Bishop Christof Schembek.¹²⁵⁾ The Poles complained that *Germani Haeretici vulgo Hollandi dicti* [The German heretics are commonly called the Dutch] had oppressed them and, on the basis of false stories, had obtained a privilege from his processors by which the Dutch had taken possession of the land belonging to the Catholic Poles. At the request of the plaintiffs to declare this deed invalid, the bishop appointed a commission which declared their complaints justified and forced the Dutch to cede the land. However, the Dutch were to be compensated for the buildings they had erected and the ditches they had dug. The first estimate of their expenses was so low that the bishop, in response to the protest of the Dutch, felt obliged to appoint a second commission, to which assessors were appointed by both sides. The transfer of the 44 Hufen of Gr. Kommorsk to 25 Polish Catholics for the period of 40 years was executed by the bishop on August 20, 1722 with the consent of the Capitol.

Indicative of the real reasons for the expulsion of the Dutch is the provision in a lease agreement concluded by the bishop on August 30, 1738 with 10 residents of Kl. Kommorsk for 4 Hufen, 11 Morgen. By it the tenants were forbidden to sell their land to other persons than Catholics.¹²⁶⁾

Any doubt about the lawlessness of this procedure is removed by the bishop himself in his status report of August 18, 1728; "I have given an example in my episcopal estates where I have returned to their places, in a lenient manner, the heretical residents or tenants who had unjustly taken the fields of the Catholics."¹²⁷⁾ Since the bishop on this occasion further states that he has removed the Mennonites in his village of Schottland from all public offices and put Catholics in their place, we can infer from their disenfranchisement in Schottland similar measures in Kommorsk.

b) The Schwetz Lowland.

While Mennonites still lived in the sections of the Vistula Valley discussed so far, their settlements in the Schwetz Lowland, which flourished during the Polish rule, ceased to exist more than 100 years ago.

Their center here was the Starosteidorf Przechowka, formerly called Przechowken. In this place baptized (Taufgesinnte) people settled down already around 1540, who immigrated from the province of Groningen in North Holland.¹⁾ The first lease contract, however, has come down to us only from the 17th century. It was granted to the village in 1642 by Johann Zawadzki, castellan of Danzig and Starost of Schwetz, for 50 years (1640-90) for 10 Hufen. The land was of very different value; for 5 Hufen the residents had to pay 300 Gulden, for the other 5 Hufen 100 Gulden, in total 400 Gulden.²⁾ Przechowka also belonged to the Mennonite villages, which Johann Casimir protected in 1650 from the predatory extortions of the chamberlain Willibald von Haxberg.³⁾ Until the 18th century, the community of Przechowka maintained relations with the Old Flemish communities of Holland, which were united in the Groningen Anabaptist society, which has already been reported in detail elsewhere.⁴⁾ Nothing could be learned about the purchase that took place around 1690, but the last lease agreement concluded with the residents of Przechowka has been preserved. It was signed in Warsaw on October 18, 1740 by the owner of the Starostei Schwetz, Princess Johanna Jablonowski, for the usual period of 50 years and confirmed by August III on May 21, 1742. For 5 Hufen in the lowlands between Przechowken and Konopath the tenants had to pay 60 florins, for the sandy 5 Hufen in Przechowka 20 florins, finally from "the newly erased [*radizierten*] grounds" 54 florins annual rent from each Hufe. The rent had thus remained constant through a century.⁵⁾

In 1773, the residents of Przechowka owned, in addition to the 10 Hufen, another piece of leased land in the adjacent village of Schoenau (Przechowo), which had not yet been surveyed and amounted to about 3 Hufen. With the adjacent colony Beckersitz, which was 1 Hufe, 8 Morgen in size, the total area owned by Mennonites without exception was over 14 Hufen. Since 5 Hufen in Przechowka consisted only of shifting sand and 12 residents had to share 10 Hufen, the residents had to struggle hard for their livelihood. Therefore, as a sideline they were all engaged in linen weaving.⁵⁾

In the village Glugowken, which was adjacent to Przechowka, 3 owners had a share. As royal Glugowken belonged to the Starostei Schwetz 16 Morgen, the town Schwetz itself also held 16 Morgen, while 20 Morgen belonged to the noble manor Dzikowo. The fields leased emphyteutically by the town and the Starostei were mostly owned by 6 Mennonites.⁶⁾

Finally, the Starosteikempe Ehrenthal, today located on the right bank of the Vistula, formerly known as Kempe Ostrowo [Ostrowo Kaempe], on the left bank, had 5 Mennonite residents at the beginning of the Prussian period.⁷⁾ The lists for the year 1664 further mentions a Starosteikempe Christfelde, on which Dutchmen lived, who paid 115 guilders for its use.⁸⁾ More extensive than the properties of the crown were the noble possessions in this part of the valley. Like the Starosts, the nobility also took advantage of the diligence of the Dutch settlers to increase the income from their estates. At about the same time that the Mennonites settled in Przechowka, they also settled in the noble villages of Christfelde and Kossowo.⁹⁾ These places were owned together by the same owners since old times.

That is why both villages regulated their affairs together. Christfelde and Kossowo received in 1650 together with the other villages inhabited by Mennonites, the already mentioned protective document against the Haxenberg extortions.¹⁰⁾ Towards the end of the 17th century the villages came into the possession of Count Wladyslaw Doenhoff, who granted them a charter.

According to the preserved copy of this charter, which however does not bear a date, each village kept its own council (Schulzengericht).¹¹⁾

The first surviving lease agreement concluded with both villages dates from 1722, by which the Countess Konstantia von Doenhoff granted the Dutchmen Jakob Pandt, Gerhard Giert and Martin Wilk, Mayor and Councilor of Kossowo, as well as Tobias Blumenberg, Michael Blumenberg and Andreas Bartz, Mayor and Councilor of Christfelde, with authority from their other residents, both villages for 40 years. The *Gottespfennig* amounted to 12,000 guildens, the annual rent to 3000 gulden Prussian. Confirmed were their old rights, so the free sale of their grain to Danzig and other places, election of mayors [*Schulzenwahl*] and lower jurisdiction, religious freedom and permission to keep schoolmasters in both villages. The inn had to get its drinks from the lordship, otherwise it had to pay a fine of 10 gold gulden. This contract was recognized by the later owner of the village lands, the Bishop of Kujawy (Valentin Alexander Czapski on July 19, 1747 and his successor Jakob Czapski in 1751 and 1763).¹²⁾ The residents of Kossowo and Christfelde were severely affected by the Second Swedish War; so on June 27, 1658, the residents of Kossowo "in great need and shortage because of court rents [*Herrenzinsen*]" had to give their court authority to transfer the properties of the defaulting payers¹³⁾.

The strong numerical share of the Mennonites, as it can be proved for the 17th century from the village records of the places,¹⁴⁾ decreased considerably in the course of the 18th century, probably due to emigration. According to the Prussian land survey, in Kossowo (28 Hufen) among 18 residents there were four, in Christfelde (21 Hufen) among 16 residents only two Mennonites. Furthermore, there was a Vorwerk of 4 Hufen in Kossowo, which was leased with emphyteutic rights by the Mennonite Adam Gertz.¹⁵⁾ The formerly noble village Deutsch Konopath borders on Przechowka. At the beginning of the Friderician period the residents lived here on their farms on the basis of a contract made with them for 40 years (1720-60). Out of 18 Hufen, half of the land consisted of sandy soil, the other half of meadows. The poor soil conditions were therefore similar to those in Przechowka. About one third of the 26 residents were Mennonites in 1772.¹⁶⁾

As a daughter colony of the Mennonites of the Schwetz Lowland, a community remote from the Vistula Valley was formed in the 18th century in Kleinsee (Jeziorken). Here the owner, Mrs. Hedwig von Steffens-Wybczynski, on May 21, 1727, with the consent of the guardians of her children, leased 1 Hufe of meadow and 19 Morgen devastated by soldiers, to some Mennonites, who had to pay annual rent of 1 gulden 15 gr. for the meadow Morgen and 1 gulden for the remainder. The lease was limited to 40 years. They were granted free practice of their religion under the condition that the parish taxes were paid to the Catholic church in Dritschmin.¹⁷⁾ The heir of the owner mentioned in 1727, Anton von Wybczynski, further leased Jeziorken with 17 Hufen for 40 years to several Mennonites in 1767 against a laudemium of 1733 talers and an annual rent of 372 talers. In addition, the colonists undertook to cultivate 51 Morgen of land of the Simkau manor from Jeziorken. Furthermore, each of them had to perform two days of manual labor on this estate.¹⁸⁾

In the Prussian times Jeziorken was the property of the Lord of Lukowitz. The land suffered from wetness since 1765. General von Czapski had a windmill built nearby in 1763. Of the 17 residents, each landlord owned one Hufe. As can be seen from the names, the community consisted of 13 Mennonites and 4 Lutherans.

c) The Graudenz Basin.

At about the same time as in the Sartowitz-Neuenburg Lowland, the Dutch settlement work began in the opposite [side of the Vistula in the] Graudenz Basin. We are entering the main area of the Starostei Graudenz, to which also belonged the villages Gr. and Kl. Wolz at the south end of the Marienwerder Lowland.¹⁾ In 1570, only 4 Hufen of the total number of Hufen were occupied by the Mayor and 12 Hufen by farmers, while the remaining 36 Hufen lay desolate.²⁾ The whole area was abandoned to the devastating floods of the Vistula.³⁾ Soon after the middle of the 16th century the deserted lands were occupied again, this time by Dutchmen. This is proven by a declaration of Hans Hansen, who immigrated from Holland to Kl. Wolz in 1579, in which he declared his wife to be the heir of all his goods, movable and immovable, in case of his death, "*nachdem ihm und siener Frau ein Stueck Brot bescheeret ist und Gott aus rauher Wurzel sie gesegnet hat*".⁴⁾ On April 21, 1604 the Sub-Chamberlain (Unterkaemmerer) of Kulm and Starost of Graudenz, Mathias von Conopath, leased 39 Hufen of Gr. Wolz to the Dutch Christoph Napsz, Felix Buettner, Arent Jacobson, Thies Kettler, Adrian Kruszel, Abraham Frendzen for the customary period of 40 years on the usual conditions "according to the Hollender way"^[5]. The rent amounted to 400 guilders and was to be paid in two installments annually. In the following years Gr. Wolz was to suffer heavily from the Vistula floods. Thus the residents occupied only 14 Hufen for several years after 1661, for which they paid 140 guilders rent.⁶⁾ The Mayor was completely exempt from rent for the year 1664, for the following year he had to pay half the rent and only in 1666 the full rent, since his homestead had been burned in the Swedish wars, which had brought further hardship to the village. For his 4 Hufen which were silted up by the Vistula, the Starost gave him an equally large area of desert land.⁷⁾ As a result of these sad circumstances, many residents left their residences and new ones took their place, so that a vigorous mixture with the older population occurred. According to a church visitation in 1648 all residents were Lutheran Dutchmen except two Catholics.⁸⁾ Except for the first lease, which expired in 1644, nothing is known about the other contracts of the same century. In the 18th century, the first lease renewal, made by the Crown Court Marshal Johann Schembek in 1722, was valid for 40 years, as usual. The last contract issued by Count August Stanislaus von Goltz and his wife Dorothea Amalie von Keyserling (1762-1802) was already well into the Prussian period, in 1772 "we find only two with Mennonite names among 21 residents".⁹⁾

As already noted elsewhere, Kl. Wolz belonged to the Dutch villages of the Starostei, which Sigismund III granted the right to freely sell their products along the Vistula in 1595.¹⁰⁾ According to the testimony of the Dutchman Hansen, there were Dutchmen living in Kl Wolz at the end of the 16th century. The first surviving

[5] There is no footnote designator "5)" on this page in the original but there is a citation on page 63 of the Notes. It is placed here, between 4) and 6) based on the content of the text and the Note.

lease deed dates back to 1619, when Kl. Wolz was leased for 40 years by the Graudenz Starost Jakob Schepanski to the Dutchmen Hans Buschke, Mathis Nesenbrandt, Kersten Meister, Lorenz Pful, Peter Kliewer and Giesbrecht Heinrichs. The contract dated 2 February was confirmed by Sigismund III on 17 March 1619. The rent in the amount of 250 florins was due in November.¹¹⁾ However, it was paid only until the year 1662; because in 1663 a flood had silted up the fields and the rent was reduced to 160 gulden. The Catholic church in the village had been in ruins for a long time and due to a royal decree of 1650, the residents were obliged to restore it.¹²⁾ Among the Lutheran residents in 1648 there was only one Mennonite, Andreas Tews.¹³⁾ By the middle of the following century, all the residents were Lutherans.¹⁴⁾


On the Vistula, north of the Courbiere fortress, lies the village of Parsken. At the beginning of the 17th century it consisted only of pasture land, which was leased in 1618 by the captain of Graudenz, under the name Weide Ostrowo for 30 years to 5 Dutchmen. The leased land consisted of 6 Hufen, 12 Morgen, plus a piece of land extending 1 Hufe, 24 Morgen along the Sackrau border. The colonists paid 296 guilders annually in rent.¹⁵⁾ Parsken was completely destroyed by the second Swedish war in conjunction with constant flooding. In order to encourage the colonists to settle down, the village was granted a two-year rent exemption from November 10, 1661. Only after this period the rent for the still unspoiled field would be 221 guilders.¹⁶⁾ In 1706 one Isaak Barthelson was Mayor of Parsken.¹⁷⁾ The last purchase (1750-90) was made on September 7 and 23, 1748 respectively. In the deed issued by Georg Wendelin Mnischek, the residents are named George Harm, Johann Kruger and Johann Foot.¹⁸⁾ The list of 1765 names in possession of 4 Hufen are Georg Harm, Peter Ketler, Abraham Bartel, Heinrich Franz and Johann Nickel,¹⁹⁾ who still live there in 1772.²⁰⁾ The Vistula had snatched one Hufe of the village land from them, a second one was silted up. They derived their right of ownership from a lease deed of Johann Sobieski from May 1, 1679, which was confirmed by later rulers.²¹⁾ When the Starostei Graudenz was annexed to Prussia, 6 neighbors owned 5 Hufen. Furthermore, Peter Kettler leased 16 Morgen of land belonging to the Neudorf outpost.²²⁾


The village of Tusch, neighboring Graudenz, had been an outpost of the Graudenz Commandery in the time of the Order. This farm served mainly to breed sheep for the Order.²³⁾ Here again it was the Starost Johann Zborowski, who had earned money from the Dutch settlement, who settled Dutchmen at the end of the 16th century. The contract given to the Dutch for 12 Hufen, 24 Morgen was extended for 40 years on July 11, 1604 by his successor Mathias von Konopath and was confirmed on October 11 of the same year by Sigismund III. The tenants of Andreas Papengut were Joachim Heikendorf, Thomas Heidebreker, Paul Papengut, Joachim Levin, Paul Mollenhauer, Johann Ankenholz and Dietrich Wissen. In rent they had to pay 384 gulden. The settlers vowed "by their true words" to bear the incurred obligation together, which shows that they were Mennonites.²⁴⁾ Tusch had to endure a lot during the Swedish wars, so that the rent fell almost to one third^[25]. As a result of this hardship, the Mennonites left Tusch over time. At the beginning of the 18th century they were found here only sporadically and had completely disappeared by Prussian times. The residents were all Protestant at that time.²⁶⁾ The general survey of the year 1664 mentions Dutchmen in Deutsch-Wangerau and Gatsch, who owned in the first place four and in the second place 9 Hufen. Their settlement had

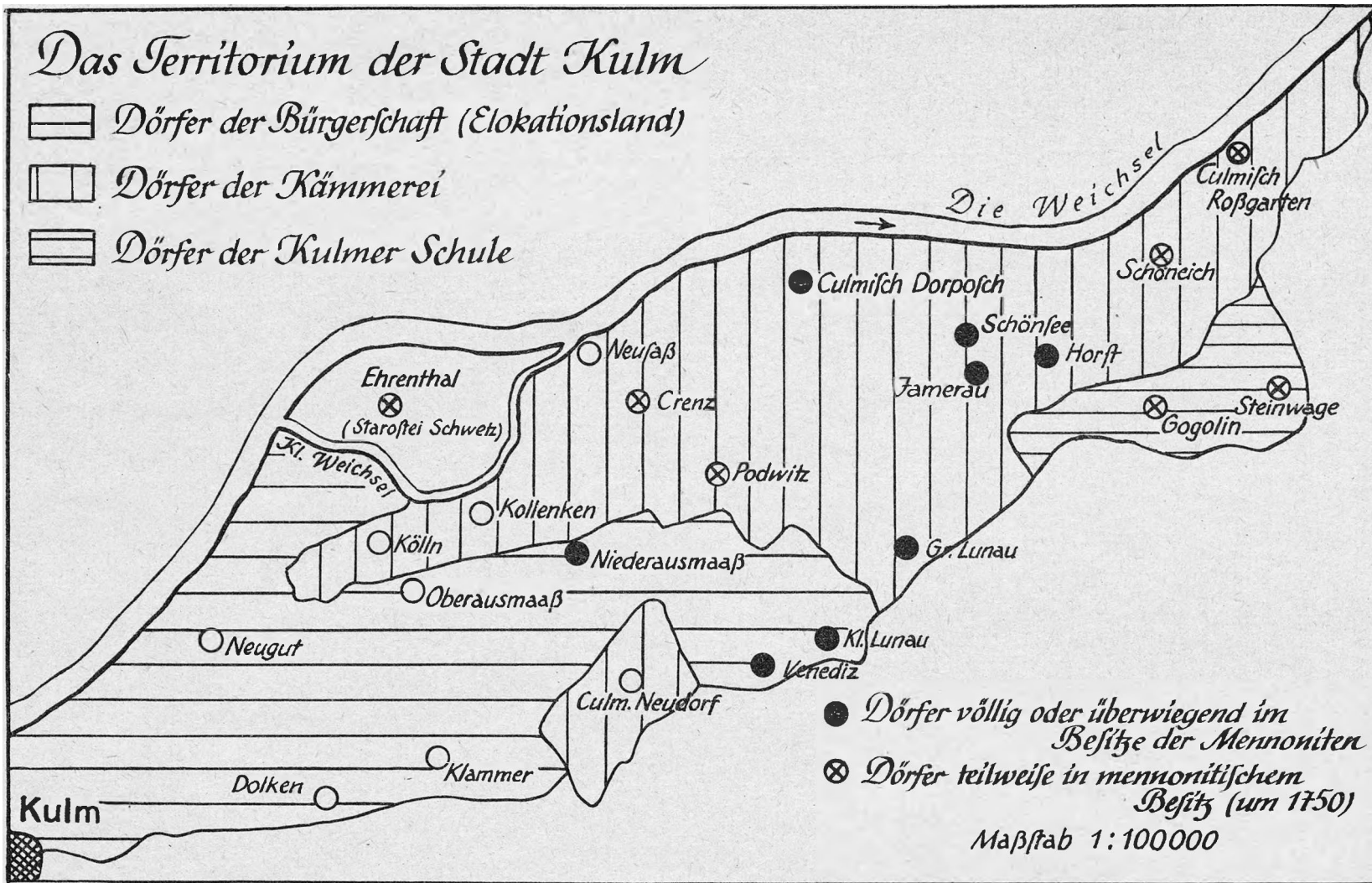
[25] There is no footnote designator "25)" on this page in the original but there is a citation on page 63 of the Notes. It is placed here, between 24) and 26) based on the content of the text and the Note.

Das Territorium der Stadt Kulm

 Dörfer der Bürgerschaft (Elokationsland)

 Dörfer der Kämmerei

 Dörfer der Kulmer Schule



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Translations of the terms in the map on the previous page.

The territory of the city of Kulm

Villages of the citizenship (elocation land) [wide-spaced horizontal lines]

Villages of the treasury [vertical lines]

Villages of the Kulm school [narrow spaced horizontal lines]

Villages entirely or predominantly owned by Mennonites [solid dots]

Villages partly in Mennonite possession (around 1750) ["X" dots]

Scale 1:100,000

suffered heavily from the Second Swedish War.²⁷⁾ Further data is available to us only from the 18th century. According to the Friderizian land survey both villages were administered jointly by a mayor. Of the 17 residents in both villages, 4 were Mennonites.²⁸⁾ It is therefore reasonable to assume that there were already Mennonites among the Dutch mentioned in the 17th century.

d) The Kulm City Lowland.

On the basis of the first Kulm charter [Handfeste] of December 28, 1233 and its renewal [Erneuerunff] on October 1, 1251, the Teutonic Order had granted the town of Kulm an area of about 420 Hufen.¹⁾ "It extended from the boundaries of the village Usch down the Vistula to the village Ruda, along the borders of this village and to the village Lunau (including it), from here following the Marienwerder road to the village Grubno (excluding it); from the border of this village over the hill to the valley of Fribet, which itself separates the urban area from Usch". The city zealously watched over the boundaries of its territory, and as often as it seemed necessary, the border of the municipal area was "ridden over" [beritten]. At the head of such a procession rode the three first councilors, who were joined voluntarily by a large number of citizens.²⁾

Until modern times, this area consisted largely of forest.³⁾ The councilor who was responsible for the supervision of the town area was therefore called the Waldmeister [forest master]. In the 14th century there were already 9 villages, which were established with special rights and paid rent of one mark for each Hufe and had the right of self-government. The other civil villages [Burgerdoerfer] were Podigest, Koeln, Lunau, Neuendorf and Bruch. They basically formed only an extended suburb, whose mayors were more subordinates of the Waldmeister than independent local authorities.⁴⁾

The devastating 13-year war also devastated the villages and lands of Kulm. At the end of the 15th century we hear almost only about 3 places: Koeln, Podigest and Schoeneich.⁵⁾ First of all the council started to build up Schoeneich, to which it paid special attention as a church village. Here, in 1484, a small wooden chapel was built in place of the old church, which had been demolished to the ground.⁶⁾ Then the city began to rebuild the villages of Koeln and Podigest. Gogolin and Steinwage, which were also in ruins, were donated by the council in 1472 and 1489 to the then flourishing Kulm school.⁷⁾

The colonization work in the other four villages rested solely on the spirit of enterprise and the labor of the citizens of Kulm. Their farmers had died in the war or had moved away and were themselves neither able or capable of cultivating the land. In addition, the number of residents of Kulm had decreased considerably and many houses in the town were empty.⁸⁾

The neighboring landed gentry took advantage of this emergency situation to take possession of burghers' houses for a low price and thus acquire the right to use the city's fields. As a result, this land area of the city came partially into the hands of the nobility. But the nobles were neither ready to submit to the city jurisdiction and to pay the city taxes, nor to join the peasant order of the burgher villages.⁹⁾

Thus, the urban area was in great danger of being alienated from Kulm if the treasury had not decided to grant the land under its administration with emphyteutic rights to the

Mennonites,¹⁰⁾ immigrating in the second half of the 16th century, and, on the other hand, the council had not proceeded to distribute the remaining land to the owners of the municipal land.

Despite the fact that in 1556 the city received a confirmation of its rights from King Sigismund August that only those persons of noble or bourgeois status should have a share in the city lands, had their permanent residence in the city, were in possession of the civil right and paid the city taxes, the dispute with the nobles continued for decades.¹¹⁾

In October 1599, the citizens decided to divide the land among the individual citizens.¹²⁾ The nobles were admitted to the possession of the city territory only if they took the oath of citizenship and assumed the civic duties, which only a part of them were able to do.¹³⁾

The land was distributed to the citizens in proportion to the size, condition and value of the houses in whole, half and quarter Hufen and the income from the land was used for the maintenance of the houses.¹⁴⁾ Citizens who were negligent in the maintenance of their houses were therefore threatened in later times with deprivation of their fields.¹⁵⁾ It was left to the citizens to cultivate the land themselves or to lease it. The fields near the town, which form the present village of Neugut, were cultivated by them themselves as a Vorwerk, the other citizens leased their arable lots as advantageously as possible. On this leased land the villages of Oberausmass, Niederausmass, Kl. Lunau, Klammer, Dolken and Venedia were gradually established.¹⁶⁾ The first distribution of the surveyed fields, the "Ausmasse", was completed in 1602 and was limited to 50 years.¹⁷⁾

Since the Polish king granted the town of Kulm to the bishop of Kulm in 1505, the allocation (Elokation) of the town lands, which continued to take place at intervals of 50 years, i.e. in 1652, 1702, 1752 and 1802, required the confirmation of the bishop as the overlord of the town each time.¹⁸⁾ It was not until 1752 that the Bishop Leski granted the town of Kulm the right to dispose of the lands without the bishop's permission in exchange for a fee of 100 guildens. Complaints about unfair distribution of the land or other complaints were settled by an episcopal commission.¹⁹⁾

The treasury reserved 13 villages for its budget and general municipal purposes. These were: Schoeneich, Gr. Lunau, Schoensee, Rossgarten, Neudorf, Jamerau, Podwitz, Dorposch, Horst, Grenz, Koeln, Kollenken and Neusass.²⁰⁾ Thus, the municipal territory of Kulm belonged to various parts of the treasury, the citizenry and the town school.

In February 1824 the mayor of Kulm wrote to the Mennonite Siebrand in Gr. Lunau asking when the Mennonites had migrated to the Kulm lowlands and in which place they had first settled. Finally, he wished to know whether the immigrants had found the land still in its natural state or whether they had already found "houses and cultivated land".²¹⁾

In his reply letter of March 13, 1824, Siebrand was unable to answer these questions clearly and satisfactorily. He referred to Dutch spiritual books from the beginning of the 17th century, which were still in the possession of Mennonite families here and there. From their existence it can be concluded that the Mennonite settlements existed for more than two hundred years.²²⁾ In the course of our research we will come back to Siebrand's answers. In any case, it is evident from them that the Mennonites of the Kulm lowlands had little knowledge of their history even 100 years ago.

Compared to the other settlements of the Mennonites in West Prussia, their immigration to the Kulm lowlands took place relatively early, already in the middle of the 16th century; for on August 22, 1553 King Sigismund August granted them the right to settle.²³⁾ It is certain that they first settled in the village of Schoensee. The first lease contract is no longer preserved, but the second one was concluded by the council of Kulm on September 26, 1595 with the Dutch Joachim Michels, Petter Vogt, Junge Cornels, Alte Cornelius, Arend Jantsche, Frantz von Lussenburgk Johann von Lauben, Greger Vogtt, Baltzer Mathisen with effect from Easter 1594 for 30 years.²⁴⁾ Rent was to be paid on 17 Hufen, 10 Morgen, 167 Ruten; 12 Morgen were allocated for the building sites without rent. Since the later contracts of the village, like those of the other Dutch villages, are similar to this oldest contract is discussed in more detail.

In the agreement, the council explicitly reserved ownership as well as jurisdiction. Since the Dutch did not find any buildings on the new land, they had to erect residential and farm buildings first, the council gave them free building and firewood. A beer bar is allowed to one of their number, but only "*Coelmisch weiss und schwarz bier*" [Culmisch white and black beer]. Furthermore, the settlers had to commit themselves to offer their agricultural products at the market in Kulm "according to the order and use of the market". Only if they cannot sell their goods here, they are free to sell them elsewhere with official permission.²⁵⁾

The city is anxious to prevent unfair competition between the city traders. This goal is served by the provision: "Apart from farming, none of them shall engage in any self-serving sales or trade for wages or profit for their own nourishment and trade, to the advantage and disadvantage of the townspeople". Goods in the city they should buy only for their own needs "and not distributed for the sake of profit".²⁶⁾ However, they are allowed four craftsmen, a linen weaver, a tailor, a blacksmith and a cooper, to pursue their trades in the village. For their own needs the tenants are allowed to fish in the Vistula and in the waters of their land.

Of great value for the immigrants, apart from the assurance of general protection, was that the council guaranteed them religious freedom, which undoubtedly required the consent of the Bishop of Kulm as the overlord of the town.²⁷⁾

Furthermore, the council undertook not to burden them with any new "*Privatschoss*" or "*Geldsteuer*" outside of the agreed lease payment. The royal taxes and state levies, however, they should be obliged to pay like all other villages. In case of flood wars and storm damages they were exempt from paying rent. If the council wants to cultivate the land itself after the expiration of the lease, the value of the buildings should be assessed and half of it should be paid to the colonists, since the city supplied them with the timber. In case of further leasing, the old tenants have the right of first refusal. However, if they do not fulfill their obligations, the council is authorized to repossess their fields without compensation. This lease was later extended for 10 years (1624-34).²⁸⁾ The following contract was signed on May 1, 1670 in the Town Hall of Kulm.²⁹⁾ For 7000 Polish guilders of *Gottespfennig* and an annual rent of 620 guilders Peter Lickfett, Ernst Koehn. Hans Fott, Michael Littfin, Andreas Unrau, Peter Steffen and Hans Meister as representatives of the community the village Schoensee for another 30 years. As before

four craftsmen (a linen weaver, a cooper, a blacksmith (Grobschmied) and a Dutch cobbler) are allowed to practice their profession, and for the first time we find the right to keep a German school. "We also consider to build a school in it. Your children should be taught by a German schoolmaster. Furthermore, you will be granted self-administration.³⁰⁾ But the council reserves the appellate court. The residents also belong to the lower jurisdiction that the residents" use the lower court for all inheritance matters."

In 1700 the Mayor Michael the councilmen Georg Buller and Georg Boltz, the residents Ferdinand Hube, David Fot, Andres Decker and Peter Siewert buy themselves on 15 Hufen for a term of 40 years again.³¹⁾ The four craftsmen (linen weaver, blacksmith, cooper and tailor) are allowed to train apprentices. However, they have to deliver 3 pounds of wax as guild dues to their guild to Kulm. Also the last lease, which reaches into the Frederician period, was concluded on November 6, 1739 by the Mayor Hans Fot, the Councilmen Jakob Eckert and Peter Nickel, the residents Georg Bremer and Tyman Bolt, and was valid for 40 years (1740-80).³²⁾ The purchase money for 17 Hufen was 15,200 guildens and the annual rent was 1018 guildens. In addition, there were 2 Hufen of allocation land (Elokationsland), the use of which was granted to two citizens of Kulm. They had leased their fields to the Mennonites Peter Nickel and Cornelius Franz for 50 years (duration of the allocation period (Elokationsabschnitts)) against the usual purchase money and the usual rent.³³⁾ Worthy of note are the annual deliveries of natural goods, which enabled the landlords to comfortably supply their kitchens. At the time of the Prussian seizure of the property all residents except one Lutheran were Mennonites. Although they were not contractually obligated to any Scharwerk, the council had forced them to provide 5-6 cartloads per Hufe annually for the transport of bricks, wood and earth, which they had to provide free of charge.³⁴⁾

Like Schoensee, the neighboring village of Jamerau was also settled by Mennonites in the 16th century. The first preserved lease agreement dates back to the year 1626. However, it already represents the renewal of an older contract, which was concluded three decades earlier (1597) and in all probability initiated the settlement.³⁵⁾ The surviving contract, dated 26 June 1626, was signed by the mayor Joachim Rathe, his companion Joachim Leskau and the residents Hans Fott, Steffen Baltzer, Michel Decker, Hans Zimmermann and Ertmann Stube for 30 years (1627-57).³⁶⁾ Since this contract is similar to the one about Schonsee, it is not necessary to elaborate its details. A linen weaver, a cooper and a Dutch shoemaker are also admitted as craftsmen; only at the end of the 17th century a blacksmith was added. The lease contracts have been handed down from the year 1627 onwards, and during the entire Polish period they showed predominantly Mennonite names.³⁷⁾ Mennonites formed the majority of the residents also in the 18th century.³⁸⁾

Only in the case of the village Gr. Lunau which was a Vorwerk [of Kulm] in 1592,³⁹⁾ we are able to indicate the exact year of the settlement of the Mennonites.⁴⁰⁾ On November 6, 1603 the Bishop Laurentius Gembicki gave permission to the city of Kulm to lease Lunau to Dutchmen for the period of 30 years under the condition that they would not publicly spread un-Catholic teachings and would not build foreign houses of worship.⁴¹⁾ On the basis of this permission, on March 19, 1604, the charter was issued.⁴²⁾ On the side of the Dutch are named the "honorable and prudent Tewes Gertschen, Eberhardt Hermans, Hans Thiere and Hans Geyker".



Photo: C. Schulze 1940. House of Peter Bartel in Schoensee. (built 1797)



Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. House of Elisabeth Kliewer in Schoensee (built 1746)

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The colonists were granted a free year, the following 9 years a reduced and only the last 20 years a higher rent rate was charged. For every 2 Hufen of leased land, the council granted them 1 Morgen for the construction of their homesteads, which was to remain non-rent-bearing as building land. They were granted building and firewood like the Dutch in Schoensee and Jamerau. Furthermore, they were assured of the lower jurisdiction and the right of first lease. The "*guettlein Laune*" [Lunau] was not surveyed until September 1611 and twenty Hufen, 1 Morgen, 80 Ruten were measured. The village craftsmen (linen weavers, tailors, blacksmiths and coopers) were allowed to keep one journeyman and one apprentice, and the town guilds were to be paid all required dues, such as registration fee and "*Wachsgeld*". In 1664, at the renewal of the expired contract, the residents of Gr. Lunau were allowed to build a school and hire a German schoolmaster.⁴³⁾ In all the leases of Gr. Lunau we encounter predominantly Mennonite names.⁴⁴⁾ Among 21 emphyteuts there are 16 Mennonites in 1773.⁴⁵⁾ In 1799 there are 10 Mennonite and 4 Lutheran residents.⁴⁶⁾

In the three villages of Schoensee, Jamerau and Gr. Lunau we can see the oldest settlement villages of the Mennonites in the Kulm lowlands. The oldest lease contracts recorded in the copy book of the town of Kulm, the *Liber actorum*, concern these places. By far the majority of the names recorded in the individual contracts can be found in the church books of the Mennonite communities of Montau and Schoensee or can still be found there among the Mennonites. The church of the community Schoensee dates back to the beginning of the 17th century.⁴⁷⁾ From Gr. Lunau also originated the concept of fire insurance, which was started by the Dutch around 1725 and whose membership registers from the years 1727 to 1750 prove the decided predominance of the Mennonite residents in the mentioned three places.⁴⁸⁾ An ecclesiastical visitation report of the 17th century praises the economic achievements of these Mennonites. "They would be tolerated solely because of their agricultural experience. Swampy or scrubby and therefore worthless lands they make fertile and suitable for raising cattle by diligent clearing work and construction of drainage ditches."⁴⁹⁾

In fact, they could only survive on their land by extreme diligence, because their land was exposed to the annually recurring floods of the Vistula as well as from the water flowing down from the heights. The cultivation of winter cereals was therefore made almost impossible. The floods of the river had a particularly disastrous effect, as its sand deposits made some of their fields completely unusable for agricultural.⁵⁰⁾ In 1774 the residents of Gr. Lunau complained about the fact that they had income only from the cattle breeding, while they had to buy expensive bread grain from the farmers on higher ground.⁵¹⁾ The Kulm Council had thus assigned to the Dutch immigrants the lowest and very unfavorably situated areas of the city area. We have again a picture, already observed in other places, that the Dutch Mennonites were still able to secure an adequate livelihood even in conditions, which other settlers would have hardly been able to cope with. In the course of time, the Dutch also gained a foothold in other *Kaemmerei* villages. The village of Horst, located between Jamerau and Lunau and comprising 3 Hufen, had in 1739 the Mennonite residents Sievert Tiaht and Abraham Becker.⁵²⁾ In 1772 the names of the residents were Johann Vot, Andreas Kneth and Johann Wichert, furthermore the linen weavers Johann Becker and Goert Eckert lived there,

as well as the tailor Andreas Vot. The population at that time was, with a few exceptions, Mennonite.⁵³⁾

In the Catholic church village Schoeneich the Mennonite residents were in the minority, compared to the Catholics and Lutherans, the conditions were similar in Grenz and Podwitz,⁵⁴⁾ In Rossgarten we meet already in 1653 a Thomas Nickel as a representative of the community,⁵⁵⁾ In 1750, 3 of 8 residents carry Mennonite names,⁵⁶⁾ twenty-two years later the community consists of 5 Lutherans and 2 Mennonites.⁵⁷⁾ In Koeln, Kollenken, Neusaess and Neudorf there is no evidence of Mennonites in that time.⁵⁸⁾ On the other hand, they are strongly represented again in Dorposch. This place, originally a Vistula "*Kaempe*", had been acquired by the council in 1696.⁵⁹⁾ In 1693 the residents had already obtained a 40-year lease from the previous owner, but the council confirmed the privilege granted to the mayor Jacob Eckern and the councilmen Tobias Schellenberg and Simon Lindgern.⁶⁰⁾ When the agreement was renewed in 1733, we again find Mennonite names.⁶¹⁾ In the list of residents subject to the fire regulations of 1750 we find eight Mennonite names among 14 names.⁶²⁾ This relationship still exists at the time of the Prussian seizure of property.⁶³⁾ Next to this village lay the Eichwald, which was distributed among the citizens in 1752 as allocation land. The burgher Johann Gwosdziewski was allotted 8 Morgen which he leased to 4 Mennonite couples on May 15, 1764, until the end of the allocation period (1764-1802) in exchange for purchase money and rent in kind.⁶⁴⁾

We now turn to the number of the Dutchmen on the allocation lands. Here the Mennonites have settled mainly in the civil villages Kl. Lunau, Venedia and Niederausmass. In Kl. Lunau in 1727 about half of the residents are Mennonites.⁶⁵⁾ Fifty years later they already count 11 among a total number of 17 residents. In this village, they also form the majority among the craftsmen and tenants. Venedia (2 Hufen, 1 Morgen) bordering Kl. Lunau is occupied by 5 residents, all of whom were Mennonites except for one of other faith.⁶⁶⁾ In Niederausmass in 1750 about one third of the residents belonged to them.⁶⁷⁾ In the Prussian time they, 13 in number, already formed the majority among the 20 farm owners. In contrast, their numerical share in Oberausmass is small, where in 1772 only 4 Mennonites are to be found among 36 residents.⁶⁸⁾

They are also in the minority in the villages of the Kulm town school Gogolin and Steinwage, where they probably moved in only in the course of the 18th century.⁶⁹⁾

Towards the end of the Polish period, a coherent Mennonite settlement area was formed, which extended over the village areas of Schoensee, Jamerau, Gr. Lunau, Horst, Dorposch, Kl. Lunau, Venedia and Niederausmass.

e) The Kulm Lowlands

In the 17th century, Mennonites can be found in the parishes of Althausen and Scharnese in the district of Kulm. The already mentioned ecclesiastical visitation report from the years 1667-72 names the population of the parish of Althausen as righteous and obedient, with the exception of the Dutch Anabaptists and some Lutherans.¹⁾ Unfortunately, the source does not state exactly in which places Mennonites had been resident.

The news about the Mennonites in the parish of Scharnese are somewhat more detailed. In 1638, in this parish the clergyman leased two parish lands for 15 years to Dutchmen for 200 gulden

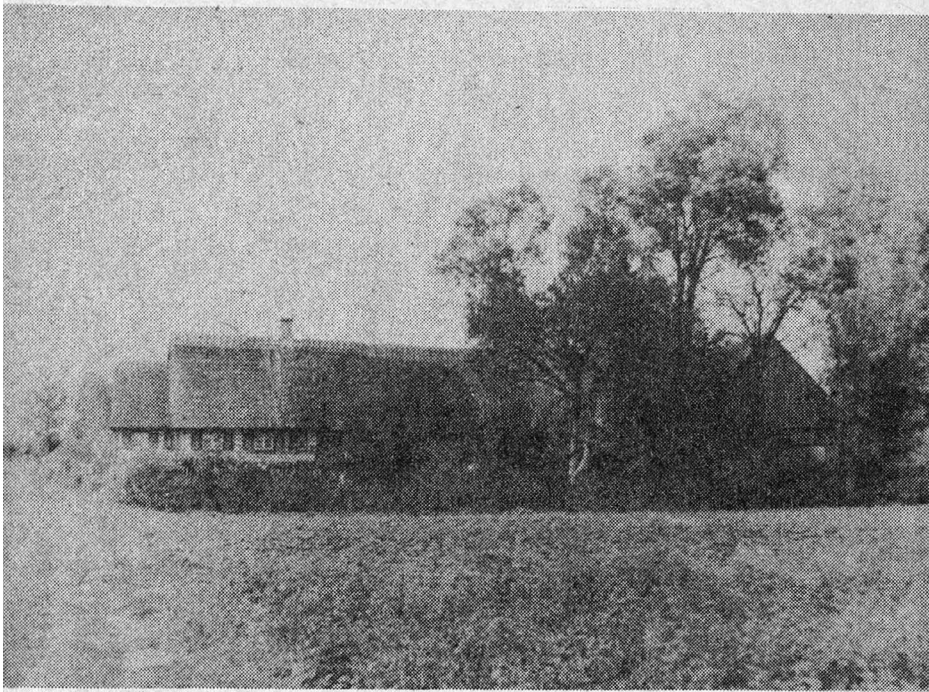


Photo: H. Wiebe 1941. Unrau house in Niederausmaas.



House Unrau in Niederausmaas (Wihkelhof)

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yearly.²⁾ Three (decades) later, they still own these Hufen at the same rent.³⁾ Furthermore, Mennonites had settled on the estates of the nobleman of Dzialyhski in Schlonsk, Dembowitz and Borken as efficient farmers and land improvers. They did not pay any mass fees except for the sacrament fees. An ecclesiastical visitor calls the Dutch farmers heretics, Menists or Mennonists, not unlike the Arians.⁴⁾

In the 18th century, we find individual Mennonites only in Scharsebusch on the share that belonged to the nunnery (Nonnenkloster) in Kulm. Here Peter Bolt owned 18 Morgen and Heinrich Goertz 6 Morgen among a group of 6 landowners; both were Mennonites according to their names. Peter Bolt had leased for 30 years (1769-99) and for the same time had received the right to trade in grain. Among the so-called small people [*kleinen-Leuten*] we still meet in this village the resident Michel Pankras.⁵⁾

It seems that the intolerance of the Catholic clergy has driven the Mennonites out of the mentioned places. This can be concluded from the fact that the Dutchmen in Borowno were expressly forbidden to belong to any other confession than the Lutheran faith on the occasion of the renewal of the lease contract which expired in 1740. The church saw the sect as a special danger to the salvation of the souls entrusted to it.

f) **The Marienwerderer and Falkenauer lowlands.**

The Marienwerder Lowland is the longest section, at 38 km, of the valley on the right bank of the Vistula lowlands. This region unit was politically divided into three parts after the Second Peace of Thorn (1466). The southern part, which became Polish, with the villages of Gr. and Kl. Wolz, has already been dealt with in the Starostei Graudenz. The middle part, which ended north of Marienwerder, remained in the Order, while the northern part became part of Poland. In the later ducal Prussian territory, Mennonites were not tolerated in the long run. Certainly, around 1580 there were Mennonites among the immigrants of the second settlement period, which can be inferred from the request of the Kanitsk peasants to the official visitors "that their elected mayors may not swear".¹⁾ It can be assumed that the intransigence attitude of the orthodox Lutheran clergy finally spoiled their stay.

In the northern Polish part of the lowlands, administratively divided between the Starostei Mewe and Stuhm and the Marienburg *Oekonomie*, the inventories of the Polish crown estates at the beginning of the 17th century record some Dutch settlements.²⁾ As already mentioned elsewhere, this does not necessarily mean settlements of Dutchmen, but it can also mean settlements of German farmers under Dutch law. As a result of the flooding of the Vistula, but above all of the Swedish wars, most of these settlements disappeared again in the course of the 17th century.³⁾ In any case, the ancestors of the Mennonites living there today immigrated for the most part only in the 18th century.

Of the villages on the right bank of the Vistula belonging to the Starostei Mewe,⁴⁾ only the village Schulwiese with 10 Hufen was completely in the hands of the Mennonites in the 18th century.⁵⁾ They lived here even as early as 1708, because in 1748 the Mennonite residents Martin Zimen, Wilhelm Unrau, Hendrich Gertzen, Heinrich Frantzen, Tobias Ecker and Martin Simson renewed their lease on behalf of their fellow residents for 30 years after their 40 year lease had expired.⁶⁾

The 25 residents were Mennonites in 1772.⁷⁾ Since their arable lots were small and could insufficient to support a family, 18 residents earned additional income by weaving linen. They explained to the Prussian commissioners during the land survey that they lived more from handicrafts than from agriculture and would all have to become beggars if they did not receive a reduction of the rent^[8]. In the other places the resident directories show only isolated Mennonite names.⁹⁾

Around the middle of the 18th century the island of Kuche was almost exclusively settled by Mennonites. The island was surrounded by the Vistula and its tributary, the Borau.¹⁰⁾ However, it was not possible to determine when the Mennonites settled here. On the left bank of the Vistula, the Mewer Starost Christian Towianski established a Mennonite colony on May 1, 1726 by granting the Gruenhof estate of 15 Hufen, 15 Morgen for 40 years to the "Manists" Anton Reimer, Jakob Dyrksen, Hans Dyrksen, Knels Wilk, Hans Hibert, Wilm Hibner, Isaak Knels, Paul Zacharias, Martin Neustadt and Harm Wis (Wiens?). They had to pay 100 guildens per Hufe in the valley and 90 guildens per Hufe on the height. The colonists were allowed to divide the land among themselves and to construct buildings on it.¹¹⁾ However, it seems that the contract was not renewed in 1766, because the [1772] Prussian land survey no longer records any Mennonites in Gruenhof.¹²⁾

Outside the enclosed area of the Marienburg region, the villages of Tragheimerweide, Montauerweide, Zieglershuben and Rehhof belonged to it in the Marienwerder lowlands. Of these villages in 1744 Zieglershuben was about half Mennonite; Montauerweide predominantly and Tragheimerweide was completely owned by Mennonites.¹³⁾

In Montauerweide at the beginning of the Prussian period there were 43 residents on 18 farmsteads. The last purchase in Polish time was made in 1730 for 40 years.¹⁴⁾ The residents complained about high water level, because the Stuhmer Starostei did not provide them with a drainage system. Their land suffered from swampiness especially during heavy rains.¹⁵⁾ The Mennonite share in Zieglershuben, which had belonged to Rehhof as pasture land in former times, was numerically weaker. In this place Mennonites, Lutherans and Catholics lived in approximately equal numbers.¹⁶⁾

In the early period of the settlement of the northern part of the Marienwerder lowland goes back a contract of sale in which Jakob Fadenrecht, dike warden in the Gross Werder and Johann Wilhelm from Mielentz on November 10, 1724 "two third part of the Tragheimerweide" to the Mennonites Salomon Becher and Jacob Jantzen immigrating from Prussian-Lithuania for 2200 pr. Gulden.¹⁷⁾ From later times we have a lease agreement which August III signed in Warsaw on September 18, 1752. He renewed the previous agreement, which was limited until November 11, 1753. The new agreement was to be valid from that day until November 11, 1803. The annual rent for the 6 Hufen was 450 florins.¹⁸⁾ In 1772, 12 Mennonite residents shared the village land. Since they owned on average only little land, they were counted as gardeners rather than farmers. Their main occupation was linen weaving.¹⁹⁾

The villages Boenhof, Zwanzigerweide, Schweingrube, Rudnerweide Gr. and Kl. Schardau belonged to the Stuhmer Starostei in the Marienwerder Lowland. They were all inhabited by Mennonites before the middle of the 18th century, with the exception of Bonhof, which was located in the highlands.²⁰⁾ Like Tragheimerweide, 14 Hufen in Rudnerweide were settled by East Prussian Mennonites who left the Tilsit lowlands in 1724.

[8] There is no footnote designator "8)" on this page but there is a citation on page 64 of the Notes. It is placed here, between 7) and 9) based on the content of the text and the Note.

They left there because they were no longer safe from the recruiters of the soldier-king who had impressed recruits for the Potsdam Giant Guard by force.²¹⁾ In a contract from later times, which the Voivode of Kulm and Starost of Stuhm, Michael Bielinski, concluded with the colonists on March 31, 1742 for 30 years, the following couples are named: Cornels and Marianne Gertz, Andreas and Marianne Neumann, Michael Quering, Peter and S..... Flaming, Hendrich and Marianne Gertz, Martin and Catharina Cym [Siemens], Abraham and Anna Unrau. The lessees are called "manists". The leased land amounted to 13 Hufen 27 Morgen.²²⁾ Another Hufe, which still belonged to the village land, was leased on September 20, 1763 by Michael's widow Tekla Bielinski to Heinrich Florent, Peter Flaming, Hans Jart, Heinrich Gerz, Peter Wichert, Hans Koper, David Schoeder, Peter Janz, Peter Gertz, Nikolas Quiring and Heinrich Gertz for 8 years.²³⁾ In 1772, 23 residents shared 27 Morgen, 14 Hufen. Five farmers lived outside the village. Among the 18 residents of Rudnerweide there was only one Lutheran. The farmland at their disposal was barely sufficient to provide them with an adequate living. Their situation was worsened by a Vistula overflow, which in 1764 had silted up 4 Hufen of good arable land two feet high. Because of the floods, they mostly sowed summer crops and only a little winter grain.²⁴⁾

In 1740 Michael Bielenski granted 5 Hufen 16 Morgen of the village Schweingrube to Mennonites.²⁵⁾ This agreement was renewed in 1770 by his son and successor in possession of the Stuhm Starostei, Franz Bielinski, with the residents Hans Markwart, Abraham Zeis, Henrich Pauls, Peter Peters, Franz Gerz, Abraham Penner for another 30 years.²⁶⁾ The rest of the land was also in emphyteutic possession. Thus in 1758 Tekla Bielinski leased to Heinrich Nickel 3 sandy Morgen, to Gils Ewert 1 Hufe, 25 Morgen and to the brothers Gils, Hans and Heinrich Ewert 3 Hufen, 21 Morgen for 30 years.²⁷⁾ In 1765, Abraham Sels and Heinrich Pauls also leased 40 Morgen of shrub-covered and sandy land in equal shares for 30 years.²⁸⁾ The Prussian land survey records for Schweingrube 11 farmers on 15 Hufen, 2 Morgen. The residents were Mennonites except for one Lutheran.²⁹⁾ The economic conditions here were similar to those in the neighboring Rudnerweide. Only 2 Hufen of highland could be sown with winter cereals, while on the 13 Hufen of lowland soil, because of the frequent flooding of the Nogat, only summer crops could be grown. The fields were also very sandy and could only be kept in a productive condition by heavy fertilization.³⁰⁾

The villages Gr. and Kl. Schardau were already in 1744 predominantly in Mennonite hands.³¹⁾ In Gr. Schardau in 1758 Stephan Balzer, Wilhelm Unrau, Heinrich Kwap and Cornelius Jantzen leased for 30 years from the Starost Tekla Bielinski. For 7 Hufen, 15 Morgen they paid 757 guilders annual rent.³²⁾ The share of the Mennonites in 1772 in Gr. Schardau comprised 13 Hufen, while 5 Hufen were leased to others.³³⁾

Various parts of Kl. Schardau had been leased. In 1756 Tekla Bielinski leased 5½ Hufen to the "Manists" Peter Tgahrt, Heinrich Gertz, David Penner for 30 years. It was meadow land which was once used by the village Pieckel.³⁴⁾ Since 1758 a Georg Nickel owned 1 Hufe, 10 Morgen of 30-year leased land. In addition Tekla Bielinski had already on June 23, 1749, 2 Hufen, 10 Morgen, which were located near Schweingrube in the Niederrung, together with a field the so-called Schinkenland to Jakob Nickel. Hendrich and Cornelius Penner for 50 years against 200 guilders annual lease payment.³⁵⁾ Of the hamlet Zwanzigerweide bordering Kl. Schardau there is only one

lease agreement that survives from 1765,³⁶⁾ although the place was already inhabited exclusively by Mennonites in 1744.³⁷⁾ In this contract, which as usual was limited to 30 years, 18 emphyteuts are named, all of whom still owned the purchased land of 7 Hufen, 20 Morgen at the beginning of the Prussian period. The lease was 766 guilders per year. The residents were Mennonites. However, half of the owners lived outside the village.³⁸⁾

In 1728 the Bishop of Kulm, Kretkowski, granted permission to the settlers to build a Mennonite prayer house. It was renovated and expanded in 1763.³⁹⁾ The center of the emerging community was initially Zwanzigerweide later Tragheimerweide.

As a result of our research we find out that the northern part of Marienwerder Niedurung was settled by Mennonites and developed for agriculture only in the second quarter of the 18th century. It happened in connection with the expulsion of Mennonites from Prussian-Lithuania in 1724, who found a new home in this part of the valley, which is proved for Tragheimerweide and Rudnerweide.

Again, it is significant that the Mennonite colonists took the low-lying and frequently flooded lands previously used by villages of the Gross Werder and the eastern high bank only as pastures. Since this soil was peaty and boggy over long stretches, and crops and vegetables did not thrive on it, they introduced tobacco cultivation. Through this new branch of industry, they were able to make better use of the partly fallow land. It is thanks to their enterprise that the largest tobacco growing area of our district, where today tobacco varieties of recognized quality grow, came into being.⁴⁰⁾

Around 1750, the contiguous Mennonite settlement area included the villages Rudnerweide, Schweingrube, Zwanzigerweide, Tragheimerweide, Montauerweide, Zieglershoben, Gr. Schardau, Kl. Schardau and Schulwiese.

IX. Emigration.

When Frederick the Great took over western Prussia, the colonization work of the Mennonites had already been completed. One third of the Vistula-Nogat delta, the part below sea level, had been transformed into pasture and farmland. Upstream of the Vistula, their settlements stretched along the river as far as Thorn. They had reclaimed the last marshland and tidal flats of the river valley for agriculture and contributed to the fact that the Vistula Valley had become a truly German folk region.

Gradually, however, with their numbers growing, they began to lack land. In many places, especially in the Schwetz and the Marienwerder lowlands, they could barely make a living through linen weaving in conjunction with their farming. In many cases, they were only in possession of mediocre land, which even with the greatest diligence only produced average yields. Added to this was the intolerance of the Catholic clergy, which reached its peak in Poland in the 18th century. Furthermore, the capriciousness of some landlords made it difficult for them to maintain their position as free men. In the Kulm lowlands and in Jeziorka, contrary to the wording of their contracts, they gradually were called upon to perform Scharwerk. For these reasons, already in the first half of the 18th century, i.e. during the Polish period, the Mennonites began to emigrate from West Prussia.

Prussian Lithuania.

When the Swiss canton of Bern expelled the country's Anabaptists [Swiss Mennonites] in 1710, King Friederich I of Prussia tried to settle them in eastern Prussia, which had been depopulated by the plague. To this end, he made extensive offers and assurances to them, but those efforts were largely unsuccessful.¹⁾ In contrast, his promises fell on fertile ground with the Mennonite communities in the neighboring Polish west Prussia. In 1713, forty-two families followed his call and moved by ship down the Vistula through the Nogat and Fresh Lagoon via Koenigsberg to Prussian-Lithuania.²⁾ They came mainly from the communities of Montau and Schoensee, and to a lesser extent from the Vistula.³⁾ In East Prussia, on July 1713, three tracts in the Kukernese district (Alt- and Neu-Schoeppen as well as Neusorge) were emphyteutically handed over to the immigrants in accordance with the conditions used in west Prussia. Another 18 families followed and took over the Vorwerk Calwen in the district of Linkuhnen.⁴⁾ In the next few years there was further migration, so that by 1724 the number of Mennonite families had risen to 105, who occupied about 88 Hufen.⁵⁾ Religious tolerance and freedom from military service had been expressly assured to them all.

Economic development was by no means easy for them, since they had to pay an unusually high rent for the land they were given, which had previously been wasteland and was not protected by dams or drainage ditches from the floods of the Gilge and Memel. Since they otherwise found the same living conditions in the Tilsit lowlands as in the Vistula lowlands, they were finally able to master these difficulties. Above all, they did an excellent job in cattle breeding, "by doing it before everyone else." In connection with this, they were also leaders in the dairy industry, an industry which they had already found profitable in western Prussia. Most importantly, their cheese production enabled them to pay taxes on time. In the city of Koenigsberg, their domestic product displaced the foreign "Mennonite Cheese" more and more each year.⁶⁾

Because of their calm behavior and economic performance have earned them the respect of the local authorities, who believed that "there would be considerable improvement in the lowlands if several of the Mennonites were moved there." However when the General Directorate for Frederick William I made a proposal in this regard the latter replied: "It is good for a nobleman, but a king of Prussia must have revenue and a strong, formidable army to protect the revenue, ergo to the army belong people: Mennonites will not become soldiers, ergo they shall not be tolerated in my lands, but rebuked" (Remonstrations).⁷⁾

From this remonstrations we see that the Soldier king was not in favor of the Mennonites. With his military-political concerns came reservations of a religious nature, which were of great importance to the strictly ecclesiastical monarch. The Mennonites had come with their Lutheran servants from western Prussia and in the new homeland these servants often assumed the faith of their employer. In addition, several pietistic-inspired members of the neighboring protestant rural communities also became Mennonites. These conversions troubled the Lutheran clergy, which saw the Mennonites as dangerous rivals. Furthermore, the Prussian government believed that many a change of faith was only a means by which the convert could elude the feared recruiters of the soldier-king.

Therefore, in December 1722, the Mennonites were forbidden, under threat of severe punishment, to accept Lutherans into their religious community or even to allow Lutherans to take part in their devotions.⁸⁾

Nevertheless, they were left unmolested for the time being. On the orders of the king, Prussian recruiters tried to force five of the most statuesque and largest Mennonites into the Potsdam Giant Guard.⁹⁾ Frederick Wilhelm I released them only after many proposals and requests were presented by the east Prussian Mennonite communities. The fear of no longer being certain of the security of their privileges led the Mennonites to take the unwise step to terminate their lease agreements with the Prussian king if the privileges promised therein were not kept. The monarch, who had previously professed a dislike for them, was thus very upset and told them to immediately clear the Tilsit lowlands. At the same time, he gave instructions to occupy their lands with other capable hosts who could become soldiers. The Mennonites had not expected such a result and now bitterly regretted their actions. In vain, they tried to gain more toleration through repeated petitions. Even an appeal by the general Director, which pointed to the inevitable loss of state income, was unable to convince the enraged ruler, who flatly declared: "I do not want to have such a Rogue-Nation that cannot become soldiers".¹⁰⁾ In May and June 1724, all Mennonites from the Tilsit lowland left the country.¹¹⁾ They found refuge with their fellow believers in west Prussia. Forty completely penniless families soon had the opportunity to return to Lithuania. Count Truchsess at Waldburg settled them on his Rautenburg estates. With two families who already lived there, they formed the new community of Dannenberg, which soon numbered 47 families.

Again, the colonists went to great lengths to drain the land, for which they set up some "modern mills", previously unknown in East Prussia. They were only able to pursue their colonization work for a few years, when an expulsion order unexpectedly came from the king in 1732. The king believed he could bring immigrants from Salzburg to East Prussia to replace the Mennonites. They should leave the country immediately; otherwise they would face the cart penalty [*"Karrenstrafe"*].

The presentation of Count Truchsess of Waldburg who pointed out the "sensitive damage" that would be suffered as a result of the withdrawal of the Mennonite tenants, who would have created fertile fields and meadows from the moor and shrubland, was in vain. The objections of the Koenigsberg War and Domain Chamber, which also presented the "evident and appreciable damage" that the Koenigsberg treasury would experience if the colonists were expelled, did not help either.¹²⁾ Most of the displaced people went to Holland by ship (24 families), while the rest probably found refuge again in the Vistula.¹³⁾ It was only after Frederick the Great came to power, that western Prussian Mennonites moved to Lithuania again. By public notice, in August 1740, he called on the Mennonites to settle in his state. There were 60 families who settled in the lowlands of Labiau. The many floods eventually led to the dissolution of this settlement in the district of Friedrichsgraben, but the "Mennonitendam" is still a witness to their pioneering work today.¹⁴⁾

In 1758, Mennonites again settled in eastern Prussia. Twelve families leased the 11 Morgen Vorwerk Plauschwarren on the right bank of the Memelufer. Their settlement was based on the principles that had been common in Dutch colonization in western Prussia

since ancient times. They were granted, among other things, free choice of a Mayor and civil justice. Over time, other families settled in the surrounding area. The first church was built in 1767 in Plauschwarren, and it remained the center of the congregation for 120 years. In 1774, the number of parishioners was 233. It rose to 288 by 1788. As a result of the emigration to Russia, it decreased in the following year to 238. In 1831, the manor house of Noble Pokraken was converted into a church. This is the name of the community that exists today in the Memel lowlands. Today, only the following names are represented in that municipality: Ewert, Voth, Janz, Rosenfeld, Goeritz, Mertens, Wohlgemut, Goetzke, Huebert and Scheffler. The first seven names are consistent with their origins in the areas of Graudenz and Kulm.¹⁵⁾

The Neumark.

In 1738, a number of Mennonite families from the Kulm region came to the Prussian government to set up their settlement in the Neumark Netzebruch. As a result of the outbreak of the First Silesian War, these negotiations were broken off.¹⁾ Soon after the end of the Seven Years' War, this settlement plan was revived by western Mennonites. At that time, the municipality of Kleinsee (Jeziorka) suffered badly from the arbitrariness of its landlord, a Polish nobleman. They therefore decided to emigrate and in 1764 sent three emissaries to Berlin, who were to speak personally to Frederick the Great and ask for admission in the western Prussian part of the Netzebruch, the Neumark. For days, the bearded men in the striking costume of the old Flemish (long, dark coats without collar, with hooks and eyelets instead of buttons) paced in front of the royal palace until the Privy Councilor von Brenkenhoff became aware of them and learned their plans. This high ranking official, who was responsible for the colonization of the Netzebruch, gave a presentation about them to the King.²⁾

On February 17, 1765, Frederick the Great approved the settlement of 28 Mennonite families and granted them extensive rights. They received religious tolerance, exemption from military service and recognition of their affirmation instead of an oath. Each family was granted 40 Morgen of farmland and meadow, as well as free timber to build up their farmsteads. Their economic position concerned a provision that they were freely allowed to trade in butter and cheese in the cities of their new home. As free people, they were also not required to perform any Scharwerk.³⁾ Later they were granted the right to maintain their own schools and to staff them with their own teachers.⁴⁾

Like all other colonists, the Mennonites were entitled to free transportation from the state border to the place of their destination. With the immigrants from Poland, and they were in the majority, this aid often had to be used in their home country; be it through negotiation to enforce the release of their withheld assets or through cavalry detachments to protect the emigrant trains from the raids of organized gangs of robbers, i.e. confederate armies. Entire regiments were constantly on the move for this purpose to cover the routes deep into the interior of this neighboring state, which had fallen into anarchy.⁵⁾ Since the Mennonites in Jeziorka feared that their landlord Anton von Wybczynski would withhold their belongings when they left, their representatives, the brothers Just and Salomon Schmidt, asked for the necessary advance and a cavalry detachment to arrive at Jeziorka "for the transport of their belongings". The latter was to make the Polish nobleman allow his subjects to leave, if necessary by force.

Brenkenhoff, who was ordered by a high authority to ensure the unhindered departure of the colonists⁶⁾, replied to his authority that he did not know of any means of making the Polish nobleman comply if his friendly mediation did not succeed.⁷⁾ The Prussian resident in Danzig, Reimer, who had been instructed to take care of the colonists with all his might, tried to force the landlord to pay their claims which amounted to several thousand guilders. But he refused to reduce his wealth by paying his debts. Even through Reimer's secretary, who negotiated with him on the matter for nine days, the Pole could not be persuaded to yield.⁸⁾

In the months of May and June 1765, 35 families with 194 people arrived in Driesen. The emigrants came not only from Jeziorka, but also from the other [Old Flemish] Groningen communities of Przechowka and Schoensee.⁹⁾ Some brothers of faith from the villages of Obergruppe and Niedergruppe, who belonged to the Frisian community of Montau, probably joined them also. There was a provision in these villages that if a resident wanted to emigrate to Brandenburg, or elsewhere, he was only allowed to take half of his assets with him, while the other half fell to the landlord.¹⁰⁾

In the Neumark, between Driesen and Friedberg, the immigrant Mennonites founded the colonies of Brenkenhofswalde (which they named in honor of their high patron), Franzthal and Neu-Dessau.¹¹⁾ Most of the families who settled in the latter place came from the Vistula.¹²⁾ However, this village soon disintegrated [ie, its Mennonite population decreased], as its residents migrated to the other two villages, where 266 Mennonites lived in 1787.¹³⁾ Among all the colonists, they soon proved to be "the hardest working and most usable".¹⁴⁾ After two decades, they began to lack new territory, so that in 1785 a family emigrated to Vyshenka, an estate of Count Rumyantsev in the Chernigow Governorate, where they joined the Mennonite community already existing there.¹⁵⁾ When other families wanted to follow, the Prussian king then gave them permission to settle in other places in the Neumark.¹⁶⁾ The Department of Foreign Affairs said they were "excellent, useful citizens of the state, even without doing military service."¹⁷⁾

At the end of 1831, the church board of the municipality of Brenkenhofswalde received notice from the authorities that their privileges had all been revoked. It was left to them to either accept military conscription or, in the event of further exemption from military service they were to pay more income tax.¹⁸⁾

Since all their submissions and petitions, including those addressed to the king, were unsuccessful, they decided to immigrate to Russia.¹⁹⁾ Their request of the Russian government to authorize the entry of 40 families into the Molotschna colony was not granted until the autumn of 1833.²⁰⁾ In the following year, ten Lutheran families who converted to the Mennonite faith moved with the emigrants (28 Mennonite families), while the few Mennonites remaining in the Neumark adopted the Lutheran faith.²¹⁾

Central Poland and Volhynia.

About a decade after Mennonite immigration to the Neumark, other emigrants founded the Deutsch-Kazun colony on the middle course of the Vistula across from the Modlin fortress. The villages of Deutsch Kazun and Polish Kazun with Grochole formed a tenure in the Kingdom of Poland,

in the middle of the 18th century. This region was in the hands of the German noble family of Huelsen, who came from Livonia.¹⁾ In 1773, this Crown Estate was awarded to the Voivode of Minsk, Hans August Huelsen, for 50 years on emphytetic rights,²⁾ who settled nineteen west Prussian Mennonites in Kazun in 1776.³⁾

On the occasion of an exercise of the Polish army near Modlin in 1938, I had the opportunity to get to know the community of Deutsch-Kazun. Even today, the big difference between the farms of the German Mennonites and the unsightly huts of the Polish rural population is still striking.⁴⁾ The names recorded in the church registers of the Mennonite congregation, which are only partially found there today, indicate that the first colonists came from West Prussian communities (Przechowka, Schoensee, Montau and Obernessau near Thorn).⁵⁾ The current Aeltester of the community, Mr. Leonhard Ewert, is in possession of a house book, according to which his ancestor at the beginning of the 18th century was born in Niedergruppe. The community suffered from land shortages in the previous century, which led to a strong emigration to the interior of Russia and especially to America. Small farms predominate here today. By growing fruit, which always sells well in Warsaw, these German farmers are able to maintain a standard of living which far exceeds that of the Polish residents.

Another Mennonite colony, the municipality of Deutsch Wymyschle, was established in the second decade of the 19th century downstream on the Vistula near Plock.⁶⁾ In 1813 they chose their first preacher, Jacob Pankratz, and in 1817 three more preachers were chosen. The immigrants came from West Prussia and the villages of Brenkenhofswalde and Franzthal in the Neumark. The following West Prussian places of origin are mentioned in the church book of this Gemeinde: Treul and Sanskau in the Sartowitz-Neuenburger lowland, Przechowka (Przechowka), Deutsch Konopath, Glugoken in the Schwetz lowland, Erenthal (Ostrower Kempe), Dorposch and Lunau in the Kulm lowlands and finally Kleinsee (Jeziorka).⁷⁾ Relations with the Mennonite communities of Montau and Schoensee were initially lively and were maintained by frequent visits of preachers. Due to border difficulties this connection was later severed, so that the pastoral care of the community was looked after by the Mennonite congregations in South Russia.⁸⁾ After the [First] World War, relations were resumed with Deutsch-Kazun and, since 1930, also with Montau and Schoensee.

The members of this community have a hard time economically and struggle for their existence because the land they own is too small to provide them with a sufficient livelihood.⁹⁾

For a time, even Volhynia was the emigration destination for Mennonites from the Prussian Vistula Valley. Kurt Lueck cites a lease agreement in his well-known work on German services in Poland, which German Mennonites, having settled in the marshes at the Horyn in Zofijowka near Wysozk, concluded on 19 April 1811 with the Polish nobleman Wacław von Borejko. We find in this contract the following names: Pankrac, Nachtigall, Buller, Derkien, Cilke, Richard, Joot Dirks, Beese, Nickel, Unruh, Sperling and Beyer.¹⁰⁾ These colonists are considered to be from the following communities: Schoensee, Przechowka, Montau and Obernessau near Thorn. In every detail, this contract is similar to the lease agreements they obtained as tenants in their old homeland. It is also known that Mennonites emigrated from the Neumark and lived in Volhynia in large numbers for several years.¹¹⁾

Although the settlers were successful in their battle against swamps and bogs, by around 1835 the majority preferred to join the great Mennonite flow of emigrants, who left their West Prussian homeland for the shores of the Black Sea. In the 70s of the last century, a second wave of German exodus began, this time to North America. Today, 7 siblings are the only remnant of eight Mennonite communities that once existed in Volhynia.¹²⁾

Russia

If the Mennonites in West Prussia had already found it difficult to acquire new land in the western Prussian period, they were further limited by law as the Prussian government prevented any further expansion of their property for compelling military reasons. The Mennonites were forbidden from buying more land in order to keep the non-weapon-bearing population at a low percentage.

This was a major reason for the emigration to the Tsar's empire, which continued into the second half of the 19th century. Over a period of 90 years, around 2,000 families migrated.

Following peasant tracks, the emigrants carried their house and farm equipment and moved to their new home in about six weeks' time. Thus West Prussia became the cradle of a foreign, Low German group, whose genetic strain and colonizing skills remained intact. In Russia, their number doubled every twenty years. Of the three mother colonies on the Black Sea and the Volga, 290 daughter settlements have been established since the middle of the 19th century in the rest of Ukraine, Crimea, the Caucasus region, the northeast Imperial Europe, Turkestan, Siberia, and even the Far East on the Amur.¹⁾

At the beginning of the World War [which one?], 120 000 Mennonite farmers owned 15,000 sq km. of arable land. When West-Prussian and many Russian-German Mennonites migrated to America in 1870 [1870's], Mennonite branches were established in the United States of America and Canada in the 20th century, also in Mexico, Brazil and Paraguay.²⁾ Thus, these world migrants are probably the most widespread splinter among the Germans abroad.

Documents from the Danzig Reichsarchiv tell us about their emigration from the Kulm urban area in the period from 1819-1833, according to which 60 family fathers or single persons applied for emigration passports. Of these, 58 indicated Russia as an emigration destination and only the two we mentioned intended to settle in Poland in the territory of the community of Deutsch-Wymyschle. The applicants generally justified their applications by saying that they were completely impoverished as a result of the Napoleonic wars and that they had no prospect of improving their situation in West Prussia. In addition, they would only be allowed to acquire *Zeit-emphytetic* land in Prussia. The Russian government offered them 4 Hufen of land [each] at the Molotschna near the Sea of Azov with ten years' exemption from all taxes. They were also advised to emigrate by their relatives and brothers of faith, who were already established there with 600 families. The emigrants said they wanted to travel via Thorn, Warsaw, Lublin, Dubno, Ostrog through Volhynia and Ukraine to the place of their destination near the Sea of Azov.³⁾

In their adopted homeland, the emigrants tenaciously adhered to their ties with West Prussia. Consequently members of the West Prussian communities who emigrated usually settled in Russia.⁴⁾

In Russia, the contrasts between Frisians and Flemish, which soon lost importance in West Prussia, remained sharp for a long time. When the Mennonites were finally unable to maintain their full freedom from military service in Russia, a strong exodus to America began in the 1870s. The church book of the Przechowka Gemeinde, which had once been brought from West Prussia to South Russia (the village of Alexanderwohl), was later brought by immigrants to the New World. It is now [1952] located in Goessel, Kansas, United States of America.⁵⁾

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X. Notes.

I. West Prussia and the Netherlands.

- 1) Quade, S.62,07-79.
- 2) Osswald, S.109 (Martin Konrad: Von Bruegge bis Koenigsberg).
- 3) Gruber, S.716-19.
- 4) Wolf, S.4-6.
- 5) Leiden was most frequently visited, 39 Danzig physicians studied here. This university was one of the most popular universities for old Prussian students. The remaining physicians were distributed among the other universities as follows: Groningen and Leiden (2), Groningen (2), Utrecht (6), Leiden and Harderwijk (1), Harderwijk (1). Finally, the Flemish University of Leuven should be mentioned, where 1 medical student studied. (Schwarz, issue 5, pp.21-32).6)
- 6) Here the ratio is similar. There are 16 students in Leiden, 11 in Groningen, 7 in Leiden and Groningen, 1 in Leiden and Utrecht, 1 in Franeker and Groningen, 1 in Franeker and 1 in Amsterdam. According to subjects of study, as far as can be determined, the lawyers (10) are in first place, followed by the theologians (6), physicians (4), humanists (4). (Abs: Die Matrikel, pp. 180-240.
- 7) Thus, in the first half of the 18th century, only 5 former students of the Eibinger Gymnasium studied in the Netherlands (all in Leiden). (Abs: Matrikel, p. 1-240).
- 8) Osswald, S. 140
- 9) Schumacher, Sp. 7-12.
- 10) Quiring, S. 122.

II. The Dutch colonization.

- 1) However, in the second German settlement in the East, villages were not only founded under Dutch law, but Schulz villages were also established according to the pattern of the medieval colonial village. Numerous villages of this kind were founded in the Warthe and Netze area. Cf. Schmid, pp.334-36.
- 2) Popular target dates for these installments were Philippi and Jacobi.
- 3) Latin "*manu coniuncta*" or "*alter pro altero*".
- 4) Where this was not possible, e.g. in the case of the repopulation of villages which had been subject to the obligation of Scharwerk, they bought themselves free of the obligation of Scharwerk by paying an annual sum of money.
- 5) This is expressed in the documents in the following way: "All things that are not embarrassing, called civil in Latin, they may arrange themselves according to their use and habits. (Reichsarchiv Danzig, 35 742). "The small community issues shall be judged by the elected Mayor, but the embarrassing and bigger things remain before the castle." (Brattwin lease, Reichsarchiv Danzig 181,13104). "The widows and orphans shall have the power to set guardians and to preside over them according to law and equity without hindrance. However, the Honorable Council wants to reserve to them the *caduca*, as well as the *iudicia maiora* and superior court." (Pv, Lunau 1604, Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 141). In a lease agreement from the 18th century, the Mayor and the Councilmen are "assigned all sorts of small issues, which come about arbitrarily." (Kontributionskataster 181, 13056 - Rossgarten).

- 6) Thus, the Kulm Council imposed on the villages of the city area the obligation to sell their agricultural products only at the market in Kulm, (Liberactorum 322, 141).
- 7) The Mayor received twice as much as each of the councilmen. In Obergruppe the Mayor received 8 fl., the councilmen 4 fl. (Ms 1323). In Polish Westphalia the Mayor received 20 fl., each councilmen 10 fl. (Reichsarchiv Danzig 358, 166).
- 8) Violations of the village rules were punished by fines, which doubled in repeated cases. Larger violations used to be atoned with cask of free beer for the community. The fines went either to the village court (mayor and both councilmen) or to the community.
- 9) In the figurative language of the people it is said: "Beating, brown and blue belongs to the courts. If two or more of them beat each other and one or the other has blue and brown spots, the courts punish them according to the circumstances and this punishment is for the good of the courts; stabbing, cutting, blood and death wounds belong to the authorities." (Polskie Ustawy p. 134, - Willkuer Obergruppe, Stadtbibliothek Danzig Ms 1323. Willkuer Polnisch Westfalen, Reichsarchiv Danzig 358,166).
- 10) But no resident was obliged to accept more than three guardianships.
- 11) Willkuer Niedergruppe 1692 (Stadtbibliothek Danzig Ms 1324), Willkuer von Unter- und Obernessau (Polskie Ustawy p.201), Willkuer Grabowitz (ibid p.225) and others.
- 12) In several Willkuer we find the provision that the residents may sell the farm of the defaulting payer as long as the rent and all incurred expenses have not been repaid (Willkuer von Montau c. 1630, in possession of the municipality of Montau; Willkuer Gr. Lunau from 1660, Reichsarchiv Danzig 416, 35 Nr. 1; Willkuer Grabowitz, Polskie Ustawy p, 241 u.a.m.).
- 13) "Similarly, it shall also be held that the above-mentioned middlemen shall be forgiven and allowed to accept other advantageous leases and lower rents, and if it is necessary and convenient for them to occupy the land in their place with other worthy and acceptable leaders, to free and sell it with each other ..." (Pv. Schoensee [lease agreement] 1594, Reichsarchiv Danzig, liber actorum 322, 141).
- 14) The same provision applied to barter (Freimark). Each resident was allowed to barter with another resident within the village. Exchange with a stranger required the permission of the community,
- 15) Willkuer Neu Schlingen 1562 (Polskie Ustawy p. 13), Willkuer Kossebor 1729, Unter- und Obernessau (ibid. p.210), Willkuer Grabowitz 1729 (ibid. p.248), Willkuer Dulinewo 1754 (ibid. p.331). In Neu Schlingen and Grabowitz the one who sold his land to a Pole had to pay 10 gulden fine to the community.
- 16) Willkiir Obergruppe 1719 (Stadtbibliothek Danzig Ms 1323), Willkuer Niedergruppe 1692 (ibid Ms 1324), Willkuer Polnisch Westfalen 1694 (Reichsarchiv Danzig 358, 166), Willkuer Gr. Lunau 1660, (ibid 416, 35 Nr. 1) and others.
- 17) Before a stranger was accepted into the community of a German village, the charter of the village was read to him, which he had to commit himself to obey. He was, as it were, "sworn to the constitution" (Polskie Ustawy p.65, 150, 469),
- 18) Polskie Ustawy p. 135, 212, 252 and others.
- 19) ibid, p. 134, 203, 239.

III The Mennonites as a faith community.

- 1) Krahn, pp. 103, 171, 177.
- 2) Communication from the Aeltester, Mr. Bernhard Koppers, in Dragass. [#860307]
- 3) H. Quiring: Meulen (Mennonitisches Lexikon 1939).
- 4) Church book of the Montau community (from 1661).
- 5) Letter of reply from the Mennonite Siebrand to the mayor of Kulm, 13.3.1824 (Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 352).
- 6) Neff: Culm (Mennonitisches Lexikon 8, 1918), also Mannhardt, p.92, A. Broms, p.81.
- 7) This is clear from the travel report H. B. Hulshoff.
- 8) In 1567 the separation between Frisians and Flemish took place in the Netherlands. Through the influence of the first Danzig Aeltester Dirk Philips, who was a companion of Menno Simon, the Mennonites in Danzig and the Gross Werder joined the Flemish. Twenty years later (1587) the "Old Flemish" separated from the Flemish. These, in turn, fell into two different groups from the beginning of the 17th century in the Netherlands as well as in West Prussia: the Danzig and the Groningen Old Flemish. The Danzig congregation was considered by the Old Flemish congregations in Amsterdam, Haarlem and Rotterdam as their mother congregation, therefore they were called the "Old Danzigers". Other names were Klerken or Hauskaeufer. At the request of the Rotterdam and Amsterdam congregations, the Danzig congregation even sent them an Aeltester in 1725, Dirk Janzen, who was appointed to this office by lot. After eight years of service, he returned to Danzig and took over the office of Aeltester in his hometown. On the other hand, the old Flemish of the Schwetz lowlands and the Kulm city area saw their center in the Groningen community. The congregations of the Groningen direction joined together in 1628 to form the "Groninger Taufgesinnten Sozietael", which included 15 Old Flemish congregations in the province of Groningen, 4 congregations in East Friesland, 5 in Friesland and 7 in North Holland and Overijssel. In West Prussia, the parish of Przechowka also belonged to this society, as evidenced by its church register, created in 1661 [actually around 1782]. (Cf. d.Art.: Alexanderwohl, Alte Flamingen, Friesen, Danzig, Gnadenfeld, Groningen und Groninger Taufgesinnte Sozietael in Mennonitisches Lexikon 1, 1913; 9, 1921; 16, 1925; 18, 1928; 19, 1928. Further H. Ch. Hulshoff, pp.32-47, 62-67). The Old Flemish communities in North Holland are said to trace back to Flemish weavers who fled from Flanders and Brabant to Overijssel and Twente between 1520 and 1530. There they established looms at Almelo, Enschede, Borne, Hengelo. Probably some of them migrated to West Prussia, which explains the later relations of the West Prussian so-called Groningen Mennonites with their Dutch co-religionists. This assumption cannot be dismissed out of hand for another reason, because we actually know the names of Anabaptist weavers who immigrated from Flanders and Brabant to the vicinity of Danzig (Jan Brun, Flanders, Truepmacher; Kilian Witus, Sartor from Prabandt of Brussels; Jacob Henrichs ex Brabant, linen weaver; Lenert Jansen of Mecheln, Portenmacher [Bortenmacher – lace maker]; Gerg Jansen, linen weaver from Brabant). The most widespread craft of the Mennonites in the Vistula lowlands was linen weaving until the Friderician period. Accordingly, the tradition of this craft can be linked to the once world-famous Flemish weaving mills (H.Ch. Hulshoff, p.38; list of residents of Hoppenbruch near Danzig in 1619; transcript of Dr. Josef Kaufmann from the cathedral chapter, Pelplin archive, archive of the former monastery, no. 14, in the Royal Archives of Danzig).

- 9) Alle Derks in Meeden on June 16, 1670. son of Aeltester Alle Derks, by whom he was introduced to the preaching ministry in 1699. In 1723 he made a trip to Poland to serve baptism and communion and to appoint Aelteste there. He died in 1733 (K. Vos: Derks. in: Mennonitisches Lexikon 9. 1921).
- 10) The Hulshoff are a respected Anabaptist family in Holland, still flourishing today in several branches. Their progenitor is Berend Hendricks who settled soon after 1626 on the "Holshof" at Zenderen between Borne and Hengelo (province Overijssel). It was his son Hendrik Berents Hulshoff, who took office as an Aeltester around 1690, who visited Przechowka in 1719 (Mennonitisches Lexikon Vol. II p.365).
- 11) This symbolic act was held in special esteem by the Old Flamers and was part of their order of worship. The different conception and practice of foot washing was a distinguishing feature of the Groningen and Danzig Old Flemish. It remained in practice in Russia in the Gnadenfeld and Alexanderwohl communities, which were created by the West Prussian "Groningers", until after the [First] World War. Today [1940] it is still performed once a year in the community of Deutsch-Wymyschle near Plock, which was also founded by West Prussian old Flamingers. (Neff: Fusswaschung Mennonitisches Lexikon 16 1923; Heinrich Pauls: Deutsch-Wymyschle, eine Mennonitengemeinde sondergleichen Mennonitische Blaetter 5, 1940). We have here an apt example of how customs and traditions long lost in the homeland are tenaciously kept alive in foreign colonies remote from the current of development.
- 12) His entire journey lasted 84 days. He began his journey on May 22 in Borne and came via Groningen, Dokkum Leuwarden and Harlingen to Vlieland where he boarded the ship on June 15, which brought him to Danzig in a 14-day journey. From July 4 to 29 he stayed with his fellow believers in the Schwetz and Kulm lowlands. On August 2, he started his return journey from Danzig by land, which took him via Berlin, Hamburg, and Bremen. Since the Northern War was still raging at the time, the journey was not without danger (Hulshoff, p.34).
- 13) The numbers are distributed in detail as follows: Przechowka 57, Konopath 52, Posterwolde 14, Schoensee 34.
- 14) Waschinski, p.379.
- 15) The first High German hymnal was published in 1767. It was not until 1771 that a Danzig preacher preached in German. The last Aeltester to hold on to Dutch in speech and writing was Hans von Steen in Danzig. (Mitzka: The Language of the German Mennonites. In: Heimatblaetter des Deutschen Heimatbundes VIII, 1930.)
- 16) Among the [Old Groniger] Flemish the following mocking verse was in circulation among the Frisians:

Those with hooks and eyes
 God will redeem.
 Those with buttons and pockets
 the devil will catch.

*[Die mit Haken und Oesen
 wird Gott erloessen
 Die mit Knoepfen und Tacshen
 wird der Teufel erhaschen]*

Thus, on April 20, 1659, as a measure against the threatening secularization of the communities, the Groninger Sozietat forbade the Old Flemish to wear shoes with high heels or decorated with white thread. Furthermore, no bright colors or paintings were to be placed on or in houses, (N. van der Zizpp Groniger taufgesinnte Sozietat. In: Mennonitisches Lexikon 19 : 1928).

- 17) The secularization began in the Dutch communities in the early 18th century, in West Prussia only in the 19th century. Significantly, the colonies in Russia and the New World remained free of it longer. The religious life of Mennonites in Paraguay or on the Canadian prairies is probably still similar to that of Mennonites in West Prussia 100 or more years ago. Things are similar in linguistic terms. The Mennonites in Russia have held on to the West Prussian Platt longer and more tenaciously than their fellow believers in West Prussia.
- 18) Weber, pp. 171, 176, 190, 191.
- 19) Their unblemished leadership was ensured by strict congregational discipline (Bann, Meldung); for the congregation was to be "without spot or wrinkle". (Krahn, p. 150).
- 20) The toleration of their confession was probably briefed to them in every case. If it was not granted to them in the leases, the Dutch received a special letter of protection, which ensured the free practice of their religion, as for example the residents of Montau in 1731 from their landlady Theofila Potocki (Reichs archiv Danzig 358, 768).
- 21) In the lease contracts this is expressed, for example, with the following words: "The residents shall not be subjected to any offence or attack in regard to their religion, nor shall they be forced to 'revoke it' by the castle authorities, if they only give no one a nuisance, conduct themselves peacefully quietly and conscientiously, and do not practice the public meetings and customs of their religion other than according to old custom (Pv. Dragass 1742-92, Kontributionskataster 181, 13084), or "If in the course of time someone clerical or secular would challenge them because of their religion, we shall represent and relieve them of it, but that they keep themselves quiet in their religion and do not provoke and draw anyone to them" (Pv. Jamerau 1627-57, Liber actorum 322, 141).
- 22) Royal Archives of Danzig 322, 21.
- 23) Swolenko, *fuit praedium olim ad capitaneatum Suecence spectans, ex quo pendebantur missalia aliquot modii siliginis et avenae, nunc sublato praedio Hollandi itroducti, qui nihildant*. (Visitationes Fontes I-III, pp.365-366).
- 24) Visitationes, Fontes I-III, p.78.
- 25) Slownik geograficzny vol 9, p.683.
- 26) Maercker II. 19, appendix p.406-407.
- 27) Froelich: Contributions, p.319.
- 28) Maercker II. 17, pp.53-54.
- 29) Liber actorum 322, 141.
- 30) Brons, p.256.
- 31) Ibid.
- 32) Brons, p.257.
- 33) Fontes VI, p. 151.
- 34) Anabaptistaesive Mennonistae in hoc Regno nullatenus sunt tolerati (Waschinski, p.43).
- 35) Froelich: Beitrage, p.319.
- 36) [translated from Latin]: *There are also many other places infected with heresy, from which I take care to free my diocese with all my might, especially by the interdiction of scholars and the removal of heretical scholars, who, under the pretext of training young men, hired by the community of heretics, even to preach on Sundays in their clandestine meetings, or others they were accustomed to teach heretical errors, and such attempts were made here and there by the nobles, even Catholics, against those who were in favor of the orthodox religion*

are protected I gave my example in my episcopal works, where I found heretical scholars, removed them, and made them Catholics. (Status report of Bishop Christoph Anton Szembek of August 18. 1728. In: Monumenta, pp.67-68).

- 37) Cum eiectis haeticis nulla sit schola catholica tarn in Comorscensi quam Bzovensi (Sibsau) villa (Waschinski, p.358).
- 38) Polskie Ustawy Wiejskie, p. 135. arbiters of Obergruppe and Niedergruppe (Stadtbibliothek Danzig Ms 1323, Ms 1324), arbiters of Polnisch Westfalen 1694 (Reichsarchiv Danzig 358, 166).
- 39) A "settlement" made in 1803 between the residents of Gr. Lunau, Kl. Lunau, Schlossberg, Gogolin and Paparzyn "about the schoolmaster's lodging and his income" gives details about the schoolmaster's salary. According to the agreement, he receives a free dwelling, a garden, the schoolyard, and 10 gulden every quarter. At the end of Christmas he receives from each landowner three kinds of meat, half a pig's head, half a goose, one Bratwurst and bowls full of other foods, as well as 9 groschen. In Gr. Lunau, each resident gives him one loaf of bread every year. On big holidays he is allowed to go around with the bell-bag according to the old custom. In addition, he is entitled to 12 cartloads of firewood per year. For funeral sermons, which he officiates for Lutherans as well as Mennonites, he receives 1 gulden, 15 groschen for an adult, and 1 gulden for a child. "For teaching each boy who attends school and is merely learning arithmetic, 1 groschen a week, and for pupils in confirmation classes, 2 groschen." He received additional money from individual residents for wage calculations and for writing various documents as privately requested. A handwritten letter, be it a wedding letter, a funeral letter, a thank you note or an appeal, costs 6 groschen. On the other hand, he has to carry out the official correspondence of Gr. and Kl. Lunau free of charge (A. Lattermann: Dtsch. Rundschau 21.5.1935).
- 40) Mennonistae ... scholigeras suos cum injuria parochi fivent et sustentant 1745 (Waschinski p.377 and p.421 ff.).
- 41) Document in the possession of Mrs. Helene Siebrand in Brattwin.
- 42) In a protest about it from 1728 the canon Andreas Robakowski complains that the castellan Stanislaus still does not fulfill his obligation "utscholiarchas omnes tarn Mennoniticae quam Lutheranae sectarum in hucusque in Bonis suis (Floetenau, Ober- und Niedergruppe) conservatos. ex nunc expelleret et amoveret ..." and gives him again: "declarationi suae satis- faciat, scholiarchas sive szulmeystrow abroget et amoveat, rectores catholicos pro instruendis liberis in locum eorum substituat (Waschinski, appendix p, 359).
- 43) 181, 13104.
- 44) Maercker II. 19. p.350.
- 45) Waschinski, p.379. Among the Mennonites, "school" is usually also understood to mean the prayer house. Thus, in Schoensee, the prayer house of the Frisian congregation was called "the big school," and that of the Flemish congregation was called "the little school.
- 46) Waschinski, p.421 ff.
- 47) 181. 13056.
- 48) Waschinski, pp.92, 167.

IV Settlement and house construction.

- 1) Geisler, The rural settlement forms of the German Weichselland p.47 and 48.

- 2) Mennonite Encyclopedia, Vol. III So 38.
- 3) In 1931, the farm sizes of Mennonite-owned land in the Sartowitz-Neuenburg Lowland were as follows: 0-2 ha 7.5 %; 2-5 ha %; 2-20 ha 46 %; 7.5 20-50 ha over 50 ha 37 % (Zdislaw Ludkiewicz, *Osady holenderskie* p.53.) The situation is similar in the Kulm Town Lowland.
- 4) These end chambers are characteristic only for the Mennonite settlements in the Sartowitz-Neuenburg Lowland and in the Kulm Town Lowland, as far as I could determine. Also in the Schwetzer Lowland, where Mennonites still lived 120 years ago, I found 4 houses with end chambers, in Deutsch Konopath (1), Przechowka (2) and Niedwitz (1).

V. The Crown estates.

- 1) Baer, *Behoerdenverfassung* p.36.
- 2) *ibid*, p.30.
- 3) Kutrzeba, p. 142.
- 4) *ibid.*, p. 140.

VI. The national political significance of Mennonite settlement work.

- 1) Kasiske, pp.240-247.
- 2) A. Driedger; *Marienburg Werder*. Mennonite Encyclopedia 31.1938 p.37.
- 3) *Lustratio Pomeraniae* 1565.
- 4) Mennonite Lexicon vol III 31.1938, p.37.
- 5) Toppen, p.412 ff.
- 6) *Das Grosse Aemterbuch*, Danzig 1921.
- 7) Mennonite Lexicon vol III 31.1938, p.37.
- 8) *Korrbl*, 53.1905 sp.8-10 (Schumacher).
- 9) *Opis krolewszczyzn*.
- 10) Maercker II. 17, p.54.
- 11) *Mennonitische Blaetter*, 1.1940, p.8.
- 12) Details can be found in the historical outlines of the localities.
- 13) Polish researchers, such as R. Galon, Z. Ludkiewicz and K. Jezowa, are remarkably united in their support of this thesis. In September 1939, the Poles no longer made a distinction between Mennonite Germans and Germans of other faiths. The communities of Montau and Schoensee also suffered.
- 14) *Polskie Ustawy Wiejskie*, pp.248, 331.
- 15) Mitzka, p.226.
- 16) Thus the deacon of the Schoensee congregation, Abraham Nickel from Jamerau, presented the Prussian royal couple Friedrich Wilhelm III and Queen Luise, who were fleeing from Napoleon, with a voluntary contribution of 30,000 Reichstalers from the West Prussian Mennonites in Graudenz on November 8, 1806. The Mennonites would certainly not have made this contribution if they had not been loyal to the Prussian state and royal house (*Mennonitisches Lexikon* Bd III, p.223).

VII The area of investigation.

- 1) Geisler: *Vistula Landscape*, pp.33-44

VIII. The course of the settlement a) The Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowland.

- 1) Wegner II, p.59

- 2) Wegner II, p.72.
- 3) Grosses Amterbuch, p.584.
- 4) Słownik geograficzny, Bel 9 p.683.
- 5) Toppen, p.451.
- 6) Reichsarchiv Danzig 358, 123 and 124.
- 7) Czaplewski, Sc 170. Unfortunately Hans Dulski is not listed in the Old Prussian Biography. A brief outline of his life is in Orgelbrand, vol 4, p 527.
- 8) The grant from the documents of the Royal Archives in Danzig 358, 125 and 126. Thus the villages Montau, Gr. and Kl. Sanskau were separated from the Starostei Roggenhausen forever.
- 9) Orgelbrand, vol.6, p.577.
- 10) Opis, Se 91c
- 11) Czaplewski, p.30.
- 12) Ollandrowie mieskaianczy okolo Danziga gdibi thei wschi iem pozwolio- no ku myeskanycz, a one spustossono: dalibi do roku kazdego Taler 2000 y z pastwiskami czoby yednak bilo z liepsem pozithkiem. A tak starosta ma tho obczicz: przed sie wziawszy iako by z liepszem bilo pozithkiem Jego Kr. Msczi. (City Library of Thorn, Lustratio 1565.)
- 13) A czynilibi then folwark wielki pozitek gdibi ossadzon bil olledrami o czym panu starosczie trzeba wiedziecz. (Lustratio 1565.)
- 14) Bilo puste imienie, alle theras za jego mci pana starosti zezwoleniem ollandrowye nowo szie buduja od roku 1567 a tak nie dali jego K.m.poboru. (City Library of Thorn, Regestrum contributionis Prussiae 1570.)
- 15) Royal Archives of Danzig 358, 123.
- 16) 358, 124.
- 17) 358, 125.
- 18) This agreement was concluded for Dragass: Greger Busen, Mathias Ketler, Adrian Krusel, Albrecht Peters; for Gruppe: Johan Davenss and Evert Peters; for Kl. Lubin: Christoff Frantzen and Toenniss Guelcker; for Gr. Lubin; Arendt Jacobsen, Labrecht Dirksen and Paul Fapcke; for Gr. Sanskau: Johan Jantzen and Thomus; for Kl. Sanskau: Peter Tohmuss and Johan Goedtken; for Kommerau: Frantz Goedtken; for Montau: Peter Lenert, Karsten Schroeder, Abraham Putger, Davod Unrau and Hagen Willemsen. The agreement was renewed in 1638, 1734 and 1765 by the Waaeserschulzen of the 8 villages (Reichsarchiv Danzig 358, 827).
- 19) Lustratio Prussiae 1623/24.
- 20) Reichsarchiv Danzig 358, 128.
- 21) Reichsarchiv Danzig 358, 128.
- 22) It was determined, among other things: If a resident sells his farm, he has to deliver 10 per cent of the purchase money to the landlord. If a resident dies in the village and the heir lives outside the village, the landlord is entitled to 1 horse or 1 ox from the inheritance. In case of death of a woman, he has claim to one cow or corresponding monetary value. Of the fines received by the village court, two parts go to the tenutary, one part to the village. The mayors have to give an annual account of the fines. The accused villages are represented by Adrian Vagtt from Gr. Sanskau, Abraham Jacobs from Kl. Sanskau, Jakob Ekert and Peter Bartel from Montau. (358, 742).
- 23) About the flood note we find pages of reports in the house books of the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowland. In the spring of 1675 there was such a great flood that "the water ran over the "Wallen". On Jacobi of the same year there was an even bigger flood "and it drank a lot of gesey and grass".

"In 1698, March 26, the Vistula went loose, March 29, there was no more ice in the Vistula, but the water was still rising, until April 2, on Brattwin and Westphalia, the dam broke through and there was more water than thought possible by humans. And on the 9 hills (Neunhuben) in the milk factory many cattle drowned, also in other villages. In my parlor the water is about 3 *Wickel*." From old records floods are documented in 1565, 1635, 1651, 1663, 1674, 1708, 1736, 1765, 1772, 1807, 1813, 1816, 1827, 1839. 1840, 1841, 1844, 1845, 1855. (House book of the oldest from Montau David Schroeder born 1663 + 1736. The book is in the possession of Mrs. Alma Hertzberg in Brattwin).

- 24) Document in the possession of the municipality of Montau.
- 25) 258, 771
- 26) 328-135
- 27) Reichsarchiv Danzig 358. no 773 house book of David Schroeders
- 28) 358.791.
- 29) 328, 134 and 136 The first agreement was valid from Easter 1685 to Easter 1737. 1600 guildens signed by Kasimir Potocki Voivode of Krakow and his wife Christina Anna Lubomirski. The subsequent contract was valid from Easter 1732 to Easter 1786. Rent as before Theofila Potocki. Ropczyce (in Galicia not far from Wisloka) 24.6.1732.
- 30) Maercker II. 19, p.268.
- 31) House book Johann Schroeder from Dragass, born 1754 + 1809 (in possession of Mr. H. Ewert in Dragass).
- 32) 358, 149.
- 33) 358, 150; also main archive Warsaw: Lustration Prussia 1623/24.
- 34) 358, 151
- 35) 358, 154.
- 36) 358, 153
- 37) Lustratio 1569/70.
- 38) Main archive Warsaw: Lustratio Prussiae 1623/24 n.Opis. S.92.
- 39) Lustratio Prussiae 1623/24. On 10 remaining Hufen Kl. Sanskau had been created.
- 40) Opis p.92.
- 41) Reichsarchiv Danzig, Kontributionkataster 181, 13083.
- 42) Opis. S.92.
- 43) Czaplewski 144
- 44) Opis, p.96.
- 45) *ibid.* p.96.
- 46) Kontributionkataster 181, 13083.
- 47) Kasiske, p. 103.
- 48) Grosses AEmterbuch. S.595-612.
- 49) *ibid.* pp.601, 604.
- 50) Ab Olandris ipsa etiam ecclesiam foedissime inhabitantibus occupata (Visitationes, Fontes I-III, p.78).
- 51) Czaplewski, p.92.
- 52) Warsaw Main Archives, Lustratio Prussiae 1623/24; also: Maercker II. 19, p.251.
- 53) In the contract the Mayor of Gr. Lubin, Heinrich Bartholomaeus, and the residents Hans Harmes Peter Kerber and Adrian Dircks were named (Maercker II. 19, p.229 and 251). The agreement was confirmed by Wlaciaw IV on May 11, 1640 (Opis, p.80).
- 54) Maercker II. 19, p.252, Johann Sobieski's confirmation took place in 1688.
- 55) Royal Archives of Danzig, Contribution Cadastre 181, 13084. The Gr. Lubin agreements were valid for the following periods 1592-1642. 1642-92, 1692-1742 1742-92.

- 56) 181, 13084.
- 57) *Lustratio Prussiae* 1623/24.
- 58) Maercker II. 19, appendix So 414 (print of the document).
- 59) 181, 13084.
- 60) City Library of Thorn, *Lustratio* 1569/70..
- 61) This treaty received the approval of the Crown in 1593 (*Lustratio* 1623/24.).
- 62) *Lustratio* 1623/24.
- 63) Maercker II. 18, p. 183.
- 64) The confirmation was made on May 11, 1640 by Wladyslaw IV (Opis p, 81).
- 65) Maercker II, 18, p. 183 and H. 19, p.407.
- 66) While the rent in 1624 was 984 florins, it had decreased to 764 florins in 1664 (Opis p.81).
- 67) 181, 13084. The contract was valid for the years 1692-1742.
- 68) *ibid* (1742-92).
- 69) 181, 13084, In 1772 the village land was 30 Hufen, 23 Morgen.
- 70) Warsaw Main Archives, Czaplewski, p.91, *Lustratio Prussiae* 1623/24.
- 71) *Lustratio Prussiae* 1623/24.
- 72) *Kontributionskataster* 181, 13084.
- 73) *ibid*.
- 74) *ibid*.
- 75) 181, 13084.
- 76) *Lustratio Prussiae* 1623/24.
- 77) 181, 13084.
- 78) Maercker H. 19, p.402. (Print of the document.)
- 79) Opis, p.82.
- 80) 181, 13041.
- 81) Maercker II, 19, p.312.
- 82) 181, 13041.
- 84) Opis. S.245.
- 85) *Das Grosse Amterbuch*, p.621.
- 86) *Siownik geograficzny* vol 11, p.513.
- 87) *Lustratio palatinatus Pomeraniae* 1564.
- 88) *Reichsarchiv Danzig* 358, 79. The Herbut family is of German origin. They migrated from Fullstein near Olomouc to southern Poland at the end of the 14th century. Sophie Herbut was the 4th and last wife of the Sanskau tenutary Hans Dulski. So she knew the achievements of the Montau Mennonites. Probably she was moved by this to the settlement of the Dutch in Deutsch Westphalia. She became Starost of Schwetz by her second marriage with the Schwetz Starost Hans Kostka, who died after a short marriage in 1592, (*Orgelbrand* vol 6, p.639 and *Niesiecki* vol III, p.214, p.434; vol V p.297). Sophie Herbut's third husband now became the hereditary lord of Filehne (in the then Polish part of the Netzebruch) Johann Czarnkowski. Probably on her advice, several Dutch villages (Neuhoefen, Follstein, Ehrbardorf, originally Herburtsdorf and Mariendorf) were founded in the Filehne dominion at the beginning of the 17th century, which perpetuated the family name of the founder (Schmidt, 3.323). However, these "Dutchmen" settled at the Netze were not Mennonites. In 1606, some of the Dutchmen settled in Deutsch Westphalia by Sophie Herbut in 1593 settled in the Prussian part of the Netzebruch. Since these colonists were Protestants, the "Dutchmen" who remained in Deutsch Westphalia were probably also Protestants. (see the chapter on emigration).

- 89) Maercker II. 19, appendix p.425, Maercker constantly confuses (s.344 and 345) German and Polish Westphalia (today Gr. Westphalia). Following him also Felicia Szper and Słownik Geograficzny. Attention to the leased number of Hufen, successive lease sections, and a comparison of the Lustration from the year 1664 with the Kontributionskataster provide clarity.
- 90) Opis, p.246.
- 91) Kontributionskataster 181, 13109. The purchase money was 6400, florins, the lease was valid from 1745-95.
- 92) On 13.1.1643 the agreement was confirmed by Wladyslaw IV (Maercker H. 19, p.344, further Opis, p.246).
- 93) 181, 13109.
- 94) ibid. The purchase money was 10,000 thalers, the rent from the Hufe 20 florins.
- 95) City Library of Thorn, Pomeraniae Lustratio 1564.
- 96) Maercker H. 19, appendix, p.402.
- 97) Opis, p.425.
- 98) Repertory of the Graudenz City Archives: Acta Judicialia of 1725.
- 99) The lease was limited from 1726-66. Rent from the farmstead 36 fl. (181, 13104).
- 100) 181, 13104 and 13108. Frantz Frantz, Cornelius Baltzer, Isaak Adrian Andreas Koepper.
- 101) Opis, p.426.
- 102) Maercker H. 19, p.272.
- 103) Kontributionskataster 181, 13108.
- 104) ibid. Felicia Szper (p. 144) erroneously makes a Dutchman Beerent and consorts out of the mentioned Gottfried Ursin Berends!
- 105) 181, 13108.
- 106) Original description of the origin of the village Neunhuben in 1745. Manuscript in the possession of Mr. Alfred Rosenfeld in Sellnowo near Rheden.
- 107) Hans Balzer from Obergruppe, Peter Kliewer from Kl. Sanskau, Heinrich Goertz and Jan Block, both from Montau, and Heinrich Bartel from Gr. (Original description by Peter Rosenfeld).
- 108) Kontributionskataster 181, 13108.
- 109) 181, 13108. Noble possessions.
- 110) Maercker H. 18, p.204.
- 111) According to Niesiecki, this family is of German origin. It used to be called von Stegsen and is said to come from Meissen (Niesiecki vol V, p. 182 - Słownik Geograficzny vol 4, p.322).
- 112) German document from parchment in the possession of Mrs. Helene Siebrand in Brattwin.
- 113) Maercker H. 18, p.205.
- 114) ibid.
- 115) Polish parchment document in the possession of Mrs. Helene Siebrand in Brattwin.
- 116) Contribution cadastre 181, 13110.
- 117) ibid. The land was composed of the following areas in Niedergruppe: Niederungsland 15 Hufen, 11 Morgen, Hofstellen 2 Hufen, 10 Morgen, Hoehenland 21 Hufen, 20 Morgen. In Obergruppe: Niderungsland 12 Hufen, 6 Morgen, Hofstellen 2 Hufen, 9 Morgen, Hoehenland 12 Hufen, 29 Morgen (data rounded down to the Morgen).

- 118)) 181, 13110.
- 119) . . but the residents consist almost entirely of Mennonists and only a few Protestants (181, 13110).
- 120) 181, 13105.
- 121) *ibid.*
- 122) Maercker H. 19, appendix, p.370.
- 123) Maercker H. 19, p.229.
- 124) Repertory of the Municipal Archives of Graudenz Part IV No.53 Acta Judicialia 1709, No.65 Acta Judicialia 1730.
- 125) Reichsarchiv Danzig, transcript Die Kaufmanns from the cathedral chapter Pelplin B VIII. 126) *ibid.* - If the Dutch had indeed unlawfully taken possession of the disputed fields, the bishop would hardly have compensated them for the effort they had made. Further, it is curious that it was only after decades that it was discovered that the tenants should have obtained the fields by dodges.
- 127) Dedi exemplum in Bonis meis episcopalibus, ubi ... incolas seu colonos haereticos, qui fundos catholicorum indebite occupaverant, suavi modo ad sua loca redire feci, et catholicis restitui. In Szotlandia mea Mennonistas ab officiis honorabilibus quibus incolis illius loci praeerant, destitui, catholicis vero praelationem ad omnia munia concessi; et hoc facto non ita sumunt sectae incrementa, quinimo varii conversi sunt. (Monumenta, 8. 08).

b) The Schwetz lowlands.

- 1) Contribution "Gnadenfeld" in Mennonitisches Lexikon, 18th delivery 1928, p. 128.
- 2) Opis, p.81.
- 3) Maercker H. 19, Appendix p.370.
- 4) More details in the section "Religious Life and the School System".
- 5) Reichsarchiv Danzig, Kontributionskataster 181, 13109.
- 6) On Starosteiland were situated Cornelius Wedel (10 Morgen) and Andreas Wedel (1 Morgen). Of the land belonging to the town of Schwetz, Peter Schmidt, Hans Decker, Jacob Goeritz and Heinrich Ratzlaff each held 3½ Morgen.
- 7) Peter Bartel senior, Peter Bartel junior, David Stoebe, Peter Nachtigall. Heinrich Buller (181, 13108), Ehrenthal still belonged administratively to Schwetz until the 20th century.
- 8) Opis, So 81.
- 9) A visitation report of Bishop Rozrazewski in 1584 mentions in the parish of Grutschno "haeritici Gedanienses", which probably means Mennonites who moved from the surroundings of Danzig. The Catholic parish of Grutschno also included Christfelde and Kossowo.
- 10) Maercker H. 19, appendix p.370.
- 11) Maercker H. 18, p. 175.
- 12) *ibid.*, p. 176.
- 13) Maercker H. 19, p.235.
- 14) Thus, on May 12, 1676, on the occasion of an inheritance settlement, the following persons, among others, are named: Peter Leucke, Johann Tyartz, Frantz Konper, Henrich Commsen, Johann Blocken, Evert Evertsen (Stadtbibliothek Danzig Ms 1331).
- 15) In Kossowo: Jacob Gertz, Christian Beyer, Joh. Richert and Joh. Jantz. In Christfelde; Peter Adrian and Jacob Beyer (181, 13108).
- 16) In the Landesaufnahme v.J. 1772 are listed among others: Peter Schmidt, Tobias Ratzlaw, Ernst Schmidt, Andreas Pankrotz, Peter Buller, Heinrich Pankrotz, Johann Ratzlaw, Peter Tesmer, Heinrich Schmidt, Andreas Pankrotz, Peter Buller (181, 13110).

- 17) Maercker H. 18, p.220. - Kleinsee (Jeziorken) belonged to the Catholic parish Dritschmin and is situated in the district Konitz.18) ebenda.
19) 181, 13110.

c) The Graudenz Basin.

- 1) Froelich Vol. I, p.361.
- 2) 6 peasants lived on 12 rent farmsteads. (Lustratio 1569/70).
- 3) Lustratio 1569/70.
- 4) Froelich Vol I, p.362.
- 5) The confirmation of Sigismund III took place on October 11, 1604. (Froelich I, 362).
- 6) Opis, p.81.
- 7) ibid.
- 8) ... Incolae omnes lutherani Hollandi, catholici duo (Fontes VII, p, 319).
- 9) Reichsarchiv Danzig 181, 13040. - They are Michael Block and Peter Kerber.
- 10) Maercker II. 18, p. 183.
- 11) Of those named here, probably only Peter Kliewer and Giesbrecht Heinrichs were Mennonite (Froelich Vol. I, p.364).
- 12) Opis, p.81.
- 13) In minori Welcz nullos catholicos. Anabaptista seu menista unus, dictus Andris Thevus. (Fontes VII, p.319).
- 14) Reichsarchiv Danzig 181, 13040. - In 1719 the Dutch Aeltester H.B. Hulshoff, on the occasion of his visit to Prussia, stayed with his Mennonite brethren in Wolz, by which Gr. or Kl. Wolz may be meant. (Hulshoff, p.64).
- 15) Lustratio Prussiae 1623/24 - cf. Froelich I, p.240.
- 16) Opis, p.82.
- 17) Froelich I, p.242.
- 18) The laudemium was 1000 gulden, the annual rent 180 gulden (Reichsarchiv Danzig 181, 13041).
- 19) Froelich I, p.242.
- 20) 181, 13041.
- 21) Froelich I, p.242.
- 22) 181, 13041.
- 23) Toppen, p.454.
- 24) Froelich I, p.350.
- 25) Opis, p.83.
- 26) 181, 13040.
- 27) Opis, p.83.
- 28) 181, 13042.

d) The Kulm lowland.

- 1) Preussisches Urkundenbuch I No. 105 Halmhuber, p.56.
- 2) Schultz, p.24.
- 3) ibid, p.70. - At the end of the 18th century there were still 4 larger forests in the Kulm lowlands: 1. the Oak Forest, 2. the Linden Forest, 3. the Podwitz Forest, 4. the Borreck Forest. In the course of time, the villages of Neusass, Grenz and Dorposch were established on the Oak Forest. In 1820 this forest had already ceased to exist (Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 344). Also some place names can be traced back to the former strong forest cover: Schoeneich, (Jamerauer) Horst, Dorposch-Dorrenpusch and the Polish name of Schoensee Sosnowken (Sosna = spruce).

- 4) Schultz, pp.76 and 77.
- 5) *ibid.*, p.77.
- 6) Reichsarchiv Danzig 416, 35 No. 1.
- 7) Schultz, p.77.
- 8) *ibid.*, p.78.
- 9) Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 5505.
- 10) The administration of the treasury was the task of the highest or first treasurer and his assistant, the sub-treasurer. The two chamberlains were among the 7 civil servants of the city. The first chamberlain, standing in the fourth place in the council, was the most important city administrative official. He was in charge of the city treasury and thus had to watch over the revenues and expenditures of the city. In addition, he determined the services to be rendered to the city, collected the taxes from the citizens and received the rents from the villages, which constituted the main income of the city. Schultz, p.35.
- 11) Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 10.
- 12) Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 5505. A similar process can be followed here as in Elbing, where the council, at the request of the citizens, divided the swampy Ellerwald (Erlenwald) in the extent of 27 sq. km. [and given] to the 435 house owners of the old town on February 10, 1565. (A. Driedger: Marienburger Werder, In the Mennonite Lexicon 31st installment 1938). Perhaps this example encouraged the citizens of Kulm to imitate. Here as there, the land was then emphyteutically handed out to Mennonites by the individual citizens.
- 13) 322, 5505
- 14) 322, 5505 (negotiations and episcopal decisions on the 1599-1752). Halmhuber p.57. bear, Westpr. II p.586. in 1802 the allocation land was 151 Hufen, 21 Morgen. For general purposes 8 Hufen, 27 Morgen of it were retained, everything else was distributed. For this purpose the 301 houses were divided into 7 classes (Halmhuber). Fifty years earlier the "Ausmasse" amounted to only 96 Hufen, 23 Morgen (Baer II, 586).
- 15) Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 91 No. 1 and 2.
- 16) Halmhuber, p.58. Incidentally, the establishment of the allocation was not able to stop the decline of Kulm in Polish times, mainly a consequence of the religious intolerance of the bishops. Only the care of Frederick the Great brought the completely run-down city back to prosperity.
- 17) 322, 5505. - Cf. Halmhuber p.58.
- 18) 322, 94, No.4. On May 26, 1505, the city of Kulm with its territory had been given to the bishop by King Alexander. Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 94 no. 1.
- 19) 322, 5505. Cf. Halmhuber p.59160.
- 20) 322, 344. bear: Westpr. II, p.626 - Halmhuber p.58.
- 21) 322, 352.
- 22) *ibid.*
- 23) Neff: "Culm" in: Mennonitisches Lexikon Bd I, 382 installment 8, 1918.
- 24) Sequitur secundum privilegium villae Sosnowkae (Liber actorum 322, 141).
- 25) This provision, which also applied to the other villages, remained in force until the Prussian period. It was rightly perceived as an oppressive economic fetter. 181, 13056.
- 26) This fear of the citizens of Kulm of competition from the Dutch is in the same line as the concern of the Danzig guilds about the bustling Mennonites, skilled in all crafts, who had settled on the ecclesiastical estates in Alt-Schottland and Hoppenbruch outside the gates of the city of Danzig.

- 27) That this assurance of religious toleration could only have been made with the consent of the Bishop of Kulm is evident from a document of the Bishop Gembicki, by which he gave the Kulm council permission to place Dutchmen in Lunau. As can be seen from the document, these Dutchmen were dissidents, in this case Mennonites. (322, 21).
- 28) Liber actorum, 322, 141.
- 29) *ibid.*
- 30) It has also been granted to these tenants to elect a mayor and council every year on May, who will have the power to judge all cases (except criminal cases, which belong to the honorable authorities alone).
- 31) Liber actorum 322, 141 - 322, 34.
- 32) 322, 141; Contribution cadastre 181, 13056.
- 33) 181, 13056.
- 34) *ibid* 181, 13056.
- 35) 322, 141, ... the common town hereditary called Brankau estate, which your ancestors from our town for thirty years immediately following one another previously already rounded off.
- 36) *ibid*, 322, 141,
- 37) In the liber actorum, leases are recorded for the following periods: 1627-57, 1662-92, 1692-1722, 1722-52, 1752-82; see Appendix.
- 38) 181, 13056.
- 39) 322, 116.
- 40) 322, 141. In answer to the second of the already mentioned questions of the mayor of Kulm in 1824, Siebrand said that old men who had died in the meantime had told him that they had heard in their youth that the Mennonites summoned from Holland by King Casimir for the reclamation of the Vistula lowlands had also come to the Kulm area and that they had called out "Telontonau", i.e. "It is hardly worth it", in Dutch at the sight of the scrub-covered morasses. This word is said to have become the name of the first village settled by them, from which the present name of the village has developed over time. Now this story sounds from the beginning too popular to be true, on the one hand the name Lunau is already mentioned in the second Kulm Handfeste, on the other hand the Mennonites immigrated in the 16th century and not only at the time of Johann Kasimir (reigned. 1648-68).
- 41) 322, 21.
- 42) 322, 141.
- 43) *ibid.*
- 44) *ibid*, in the liber actorum copies of the leases are recorded for the following periods: 1603-34, 1634-64, 1664-94, 1694- 1724, 1724-54, 1754-84; see appendix.
- 45) Contribution Cadastre 181, 13056.
- 46) Lattermann, Dtsch.Rundschau 21.5.1935.
- 47) A beam inside the church bears the date 1618.
- 48) Lunau fire and fire regulations. That this association of self-help among farmers was a work of the Mennonites is evident from the fact that this insurance arose in Gr. Lunau (around 1720) and in the first time included mainly Mennonite villages. Gradually, the other villages of the lowlands joined the fire insurance, which was in force only for the duration of one lease section. Around the year 1725 the following villages belonged to the Lunau fire order: Gross Lunau, Schoensee, Brankau (Jamerau), Horst, Schoeneich, Rossgarten and Dorposch. On 16.8.1727 Kl. Lunau, on 25.6.1730 Gogolin and on 16.

- 9.1739 Steinwage an Finally, on 4.3.1750 still the place Podwitz. Kolenken Nieder- and Oberausmass were added. In this year Gr. Lunau was represented by Jacob Bartel, Schoensee by Isaac Wilhelm, Jamerau by Peter Sievert, Horst by Sievert Tiaht, Rossgarten by Martin Weitgraf and Dorposch by Dirk Wichert as their village mayor.
- 49) *Visitationes Episcopatus Culmensis 1667-72. Fontes VI p. 151* "Tolerantur vero ex sola agriculturae peritia loca enim stagnis aut dumetis impedita sedula ex-stirpatione aut fossarum ductu reddunt fructuosa et armentorum propagatione foecunda
- 50) Contribution cadastre 181. 13056. Thus it says of Gr. Lunau: "Almost no arable land at all, the third part of the meadows and pastures are boggy or sandy. Two thirds are good land which, however, suffers from flooding." From Kl. Lunau: "Most of the land that is used for meadows consists of bog, the arable land of sand." In Niederausmass, the little arable land is described as boggy and cold-soiled. Better are the meadows. From Jamerau: "Half of the land consists of sand dunes, part of which is flying sand and cannot be used at all, the low and apparently good land but is very spoiled by the sand dunes. The village suffers from the floods of the Vistula as well as the floods from the heights". Horst consisted half of sand half of low lying meadows. It suffered like Jamerau from floods. Better were the soil conditions in Schoensee. But also here some areas were silted up. This village also suffered from the floods.
- 51) Lattermann, Dtsch,Rundschau 21.5.1935.
- 52) 322, 141
- 53) 181, 13056. 26 of the 32 residents were Mennonites.
- 54) *ibid.*
- 55) 322, 141.
- 56) Lunau fire and fire regulations.
- 57) 181, 13056.
- 58) *ibid.*
- 59) 322, 141. Dorposch belonged until then to the Starostei Schwetz (Maercker, H. 17, p.23). Like Ehrenthal, it used to be enclosed by two branches of the Vistula. Only with the regulation of the Vistula, both places finally came to lie on the right bank of the Vistula. Ehrenthal, for example, still belonged administratively to Schwetz.
- 60) 322, 141.
- 61) *ibid.*
- 62) Lunau fire regulations
- 63) 181. 13056.
- 64) 181, 13056. see appendix. The lease agreement was concluded before the rural court. This court was responsible for the civil jurisdiction (inheritance, guardianship, sale, ownership of all kinds) of the land area of the town of Kulm, including the allocation lands. This court was presided over by a city councilman, his German title was Waldmeister [rural judge] his Latin *judex suburbanus*. (Schultz p.69-73). Furthermore, the rural court was a court of appeal after the mayoral courts of the villages. (Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 82). The rural court could appeal to the council and finally to the bishop.
- 65) Lunau Fire Order
- 66) 181, 13056 Venedia does not exist today, it is now a part of Kl. Lunaus

67) Lunau fire regulations.

68) 181, 13056.

69) Kontributionskataster 181, 13055. In Steinwage the Prussian land survey records 3 Mennonites among 14 residents, in Gogolin 4 Mennonites with a total number of 11 residents.

e) The Kulm lowlands

1) *Vulgus probus et obsequens, exceptis Hollandis Anabaptistis et nonnullis Lutheranis* (Fontes VII, 164).

2) Fontes IV, 23.

3) Fontes VII, 283.

4) *Hollandi uti extirpatores et cultores insederunt, nulla contribuunt messalia, exceptis sacramentalibus. Hollandi agricolae haeretici sunt, Menistae seu Memnonistae non dissimiles Arianis* (ibid).

5) 181, 13058

6) 181, 13054 similar provision is known from Gr. Zappeln There the noble landlord forbids the residents to employ Arian or Mennonite craftsmen (Maercker II. 19, p.352). The Mennonites rightly reject the name sect for their free church, since their community, like the Protestant national church, originated in the Reformation. In this context, however, their ecclesiastical community must be placed on an equal footing with the sects.

f) The Marienwerder and Falkenau Lowlands.

1) Communication of Mr. Oberstudiendirektor i.R. Erich Wernicke from 8.10.41.

2) In the Falkenauer Lowland the Dutchman Hans Gunter had leased 3 Hufen near Gruenhof (1657-87); in 1623-24. Dutchmen held 6 meadow Hufen in Gruenhof. The remaining pasture land of Gruenhof was leased in the 17th century from the villages Gr. Falkenau and Sprauden (Opis, p.38 u.42; *Lustratio Prussiae* 1623/24). Furthermore, since 1640 Dutchmen lived in Kl. Falkenau on 20 Hufen. Also in Alt-Moesland Dutchmen owned 13½ Hufen around this time. However, in the Second Swedish War this last settlement was completely destroyed (Opis *krolewszczyzn*).

In the Marienwerder lowlands in 1664, 4 Dutchmen owned 21 Hufen, 16 Morgen in Schardau. In 1624 Dutchmen are mentioned in Neu-Liebenau, whose lease was valid from 1607-47. In Mewischfelde Dutchmen settled already in the 16th century, their lease was limited from 1593-1633; likewise in Gutsch (1614-34) where they are still mentioned in 1664 (*Lustratio Prussiae* 1623/24 u , where Opis *krol.*).

3) Opis *krolewszczyzn*.

4) Schulweise, Schadewinkel Kleinfelde, Neu-Liebenau, Aussendeich, Johannisdorf. Gr. pasture, Mewischfelde. Gutsch and Kramershof.

5) In 1623, a butcher from Danzig leased Schulweise as a pasture. The land served the same purpose in 1664 (*Lustratio Prussiae* 1623/24, Opis.).

6) Contribution cadastre 181, 13080. The purchase money amounted to 8000 florins. The annual rent 358 guilders.

7) This is clear from the list of names of residents (181, 13080).

8) 181, 13080.

9) In Schadewinkel among 10 residents: Cornelius Rosenfeld, David Adrian and Heinrich Unruh (181, 13080).

- 10) Today, Kiueche is located on the left bank of the Vistula, as Borau was separated from the stream by the Vistula dike. The former Vistula river is therefore in the process of silting up. The conditions here are similar to Ehrental and Dorposch.
- 11) Royal Archives Danzig 358, 377
- 12) In 1772 the Landesaufnahme records no more Mennonites in Gruenhof. The outlying estate mentioned in the contract included the villages Gr. Grunhof and Polnisch Grundhof, as can be concluded from the number of Hufen (181, 13079).
- 13) Heym, p.12.
- 14) In this contract are named: Michael Harder, Michael Hust, Georg Polkein, Daniel Bielewski, Christoph Wit, Peter Gerz, Christian Borowski, Georg Unrau, Daniel Knak, Michael Jablewski, Wilhelm Schmit, Heinrich Oben, Hans Laskowski, Martin San, Jakob Paswalk, Christian Abraham, Hans Firtsk. (180, 11036).
- 15) 180 11036
- 16) Lease 1744-88. annual rent 140 guilders. In Zieglershuben, among 14 Hufen of village land, there were 3 Hufen of uncultivated land, for which, however, the same rent had to be paid as for the good land. (180, 11036.)
- 17) Heym, p. 10. In 1722 the deacon of the Mennonite community in the Memelniederung was named Salomon Becher. Furthermore, at that time a Mennonite owner Jacob Janson resided in Jewilleiten. Probably these two are the same persons as the buyers mentioned here. (Pauls, p.8, 9 u. 11). In 1664 Tragheimerweide was still used by the village Schweingrube as cattle pasture. (Opis, p. 142).
- 18) The agreement names: Jacob Nickel Salomon Jantzen, David Zeels, Heinrich Ediger, Wilhelm Albrecht, Erdmann Stobb. Martin Flammig, Abraham Unrau and, Gehrt Plenert's widow (181, 13075).
- 19) Konigsberg State Archives 181, 13075).
- 20) Gr. Usnitzer Brandordnung. 1744. (Heym, p. 12).
- 21) "Gumbinnen" and "Lithuania" in Mennonite Lexicon Vol. II 198 u.660. In 1664, 8 Hufen of Rudnerweide (Pastwiska Kalwinski nazwane) were in the leasehold of the village of Tralau as cattle pasture (Opis, p. 142).
- 22) Annual rent 1800 guilders Kgl. confirmation of the contract on 13.7. 1748. Reichsarchiv Konigsberg 181, 13119).
- 23) Lease period 1764 - 72 (181, 13119).
- 24) 181 13119
- 25) ibid.
- 26) The annual rent here from the Hufe was 100 Gld (181, 13119).
- 27) Heinrich Nickel, 3 Morgen 1758-88, annual rent 7 Gld. Gils Ewert, 1 Hufe, 25 Morgen, 1758-88. annual rent 184 Gld. Gils. Hans and Henrich Ewert, 3 Hufen, 21 Morgen, 1758-88 (181 13119).
- 28) 181, 13119
- 29) Johann Marquardt (181, 13119).
- 30) ibid.
- 31) Heym, p. 12.
- 32) 181 13119
- 33) ibid.
- 34) Formerly called Piecklerwiesen (181, 13119).
- 35) 181, 13119
- 36) ibid.
- 37) Heym p. 13
- 38) 181, 13119.
- 39) Heym, p. 10.
- 40) Danziger Vorposten, Stargard Heimatanzeiger fuer die Kreise Dirschau und Pr. Stargard, February 15, 1942.

IX. The Emigration

- 1) Brons, p.252. – Mannhardt reports (p. 118 without specifying the source) that a small part of the Bernese Swiss had settled in East Prussia. Randt considers Jedwillen to be the place of their settlement. Either this branch was not established at all or the Swiss must have left the country soon, because already in 1722 there is no trace of them. The Mennonites named in this year all come from western Prussia (Pauls, p. 12).
- 2) Randt, p. 11. –Lithuania was then called the East Prussian government district, which today is called Gumbinnen.
- 3) A government patent dated 17 October 1713 ensures the Mennonites, "who have moved from the Bishopric of Culm" and from the Graudenz area, freedom from conscription and accommodation. (Randt, p. 12).
- 4) Randt, p. 11. – In 1722, several people recorded when they came to the country. After that, eight had immigrated 9 years ago (1713), four 8 years ago, two 7 years ago, two five years ago, one four years ago and finally two three years ago. (Pauls, p. 13).
- 5) Randt, p.26. – A number of the colonists are known to us by name from 1722. Most of these names were then and still are found among the Western Prussian Mennonites: Albrecht, Barthel, Becker, Eckert, Epp, Frantzen, Funck, Chur (Guhr), Harms, Heinrichsen, Jansen, Kettler, Lorentz, Penner, Quapp, Quiring, Rhode, Schroeder, Siebert, Sperling, Schmidt, and Weitgraff. (Pauls, p.7-12). Explicit indications of origin for 6 people are: 1. Berend Janson, a Mennonite servant, is from Brattwin near Graudenz. 2. The owner Jacob Janson of Jedwillen comes from Marienburg Werder. 3. A Mennonite Funck has moved back to Graudenz. 4. Tobias Sperling "died afterwards in Poland". 5. Katharina Quappen, born Bestvater, comes from Danzig. 6. Harm Harms, "who moved from Poland to Prussian-Lithuania to the village of Jedwillen a few years ago". (Pauls p. 1,7 and 8).
- 6) Randt, pp.24-28. In 1722 the settlement area of the Mennonites already extended to Jedwilleiten, Neusorge, Kielucken, Kalliningken, Budweit, Bogdahnen, Alt-Schoeppen, Neu-Schoeppen, Kallwen und Kraulaiten. (Pauls, pp.9-11).
- 7) Randt, pp.29/30.
- 8) A former Mennonite Berend Janson from Brattwin near Graudenz (the father of the already mentioned Mennonite servant Berend Janson) had been banned from his Mennonite community because of his loose lifestyle. In May 1722, he slandered the Mennonite congregation in the Memel lowlands under Friedrich Wilhelm I. He accused this congregation, among other things, of seducing and attracting many Lutherans, especially young men, who wanted to avoid conscription. The minutes of the investigation ordered by Friedrich Wilhelm contains extensive information about the names, origins and living conditions of the Mennonites. The following persons had joined the Mennonites: 1. Johann Wichert, born in the lowlands near Kulm; 2. Christian Krusse from Fuerstenau in Gross Werder; 3. Michael Technau, born in Poland, since his 10th year in the Danzig Werder, then in Stobbendorf and Ellerwald; 4. Alexander Fisch, from Schoensee in the Kulm lowlands;

5. Jacob Fisch, the previous brother, baptised as a child in the Kulm catholic church; 6. Christoph Hill, from Vogelsang near Marienburg; 7. Peter Pauls, from the Weierhoefische Werder (Tiegenhoefer area) near Danzig; 8. Paul Janus, from the Kulm lowland of Schoensee; 9. Abraham Etz from the Elbing Werder. A number still want to become Mennonite, among them a Mathys Schepanski from the Elbing suburbs, whose 6 children are already Mennonite, and a carpenter Gerge Grubert from Rautenburg an der Tauber, who later carried out his intention. It is remarkable that of the 9 new members of the congregation, two had already decided to join the Mennonite confession in western Prussia. These were Alexander Fisch from Schoensee and Christian Krusse from Fuerstenau. Since they would have been denied the right to convert in their homeland, they had gone to Amsterdam and joined the Mennonite community there. When they returned home, they were no longer prevented from joining. An example of the reasons that led to these changes of faith is the statement of the Lutheran Gerge Paul from Danzig, who intended to become Mennonite. The evil life of the Lutherans, who go to communion and get drunk on it, was seen by him as an abomination in front of the Lutheran Church. Another, Hans Gertson from Campen near Elbing, wanted to become Mennonite, "because the Mennonites live a quiet life and are pious, leaving no one, and if he should fall ill, he would have comfort from them." Of the 24 servants and maids named in the document, 21 were born in the western Prussia Vistula region, further proof of the exclusively west Prussian origin of the immigrant Mennonites. (Pauls, pp.7-9).

- 9) Mannhardt, pp.118-119. – Randt is of the opinion (p.31) that the abduction of the Mennonites was not disapproved by the king, but also not ordered by him. In fact, however, this act of violence took place on the orders of the soldier king, as Pauls (p.25) has shown.
- 10) Randt, p.33.
- 11) Mennonitisches Lexikon, Bd II, p.661.
- 12) Randt, p.66.
- 13) The Dutch brothers in the faith accepted the settlement of those expelled from Lithuania in Wageningen and Walcheren with great financial sacrifices. In the long run, however, living together with the Dutch was not profitable. After 3 years, the colonists of Wageningen returned to western Prussia by sea. In the following years the settlers of Walcheren followed. (Mennonite Lexicon BD II, p.661).
- 14) Randt, p.90.
- 15) Mennonitisches Lexikon, Bd II, p.662.

The Neumark.

- 1) Rehmann, p. 138. – By the way, relations between the west Prussian Vistula Valley and the Netzebruch can be traced to the beginning of the 17th century. Some of the Dutchmen, whom Sophie Herbut von Fullstein brought to Deutsch Westphalia in 1593, moved upstream to the Netzebruch area after several years. They were Kersten Sturm and Augustin Freytag, mentioned in 1593 in the charter of the Schwetzer Starost, who settled there in 1606 with their consorts on 60 Hufen and founded the present-day village of Netzbruch. The village rules of the residents Verbruch [Vorbruch?] also point to this connection, while those of the Netzebruch conclude with the words: "Given according to The Schmoerbloekische Order". From this it can be concluded that the colonists came from the Danzig Werder. Hence the Netzebruch "Hollaender" were Protestants [Lutherans]. According to Prof. Unruh, the same names as in Netzebruch still occur among the Protestant residents near Danzig (Unruh, pp.63 and 64; Maercken H. 19, p.425, Haeuseler, p. 15).

- 2) Unruh, p.60.
- 3) Neuhaus, p.304-306.
- 4) Mennonitisches Lexikon, Bd III, p.206.
- 5) Neuhaus, pp.76 and 82.
- 6) Before requesting armed protection, the brothers put the following lawsuit on the record;
 "Supplicirende to hear how we, as Mennonites, live in a community of the village of Jeziorka, called Kleinsee in German, under a strict gentleman who has done a great deal of injustice and violence to our poor people, that we have a separate copy of this in the Klag-Libell specificiret, and because things are not getting better, but we are still going to be in trouble with him, we are determined to give up under him. 19 March 1764." (G. St. A. Acta gen.wegen des Establissemments einiger Mennonisten Familien. Tit IX Nr. 1).
- 7) Neuhaus, p.83.
- 8) When Reimer's secretary told the Polish landlord about the complaints of his Mennonite tenants that they had been forced to do arduous work, Anton von Wybczynski replied that whoever lived under a Nobleman in Poland was subservient or free. He always had to perform "*Scharwerksdienste*". For the farm buildings built by the Mennonites at their own expense, he offered such a small amount of compensation that the Mennonites refused. (G. St. Archiv, Tit IX Nr. 1).
- 9) Mennonitisches Lexikon Bd I, p.263, Bd III, p.206. – The Mennonist Peter Jahns [Jantz] from Nieder-Ausmass near Kulm settled in Franzthal in 1775. (Neuhaus, p.291).
- 10) Reichsarchiv Danzig 181, 18110.
- 11) In 1778, 28 families lived in Brenkenhofswalde and Franzthal, 17 families in Neu-Dessau. (G. St. A. Tit IX Nr.2).
- 12) Unruh, p.66.
- 13) Rehmann, p. 140.
- 14) Schwartz, p. 113.
- 15) Ibid. (This congregation consisted mainly of Hutterian-Moravian brethren).
- 16) Schwartz, p. 114. – The emigration to Russia therefore did not stop. In the summer of 1804, 5 families moved to Russia (Ibid).
- 17) Ibid.
- 18) Mennonitisches Lexikon, Bd III, S.207.
- 19) Ibid.
- 20) Unruh, p.72.
- 21) Mennonitisches Lexikon, Bd III, p.207.

Central Poland and Volhynia.

- 1) Słownik Geograficzny Bd III (1882), p.938. Vergl. Niesiecki Bd IV, p.399 und Orgelbrand Bd VII (1900) p.223.
- 2) Słownik Geograficzny Bd III, p.939.
- 3) Przegląd historyczny Bd 19.2, 1915.
- 4) Here I remember an experience during my military training. One night our company was quartered with the German farmers in Deutsch-Kazun. The clean and well-kept homesteads, the agricultural machinery and equipment made a big impression on officers and crews. While the Polish officers used to treat the Polish peasants with arrogance, they now even strongly ordered the crews to behave decently so that the Germans would have no reason to talk disparagingly about the Polish military.

- 5) They are the following names: Adrians, Albrecht – Bartel, Buller, Block, Bechert, Baltzer, - Dirks, Derks – Ewert, Ekert, Ebert, Ediger - Franz, Frantz, Foth, Voth, Fogt, Fink Flamming, Fast – Guhr, Goertz, Goede, Gederts, Gertz, Gede - Ham, Harms, - Jahr (certainly from Tjahrt), Janz - Knels, Kettler, Kien, Koehn, Kliewer, Kopper, Koppert, Kerber, Kat, Kohnert, Kerwer, Kasper - Lehrmann, Liermann - Matthis - Nachtigall, Nickel - Petker, Peters, Penner, , Rosenfeld, Regier _ Stobbe, Siebert, Schmidt, Schroeder - Tiaht - Unrau - Willms, Wohlgemuth. The names Fink, Kien and Kat are not found in the church records of the home parishes.
 - 6) Message from the Aeltester of the Deutsch-Wymyschle Gemeinde, Mr. Gustav Ratzlaffs from Gombim dated 23 November 1941.
 - 7) The following names are entered in the church registers of the Wymyschle Gemeinde: Bartel, Balzer, Block, Buller - Cornelius - Dirks - Ewert - Foth, Funk, Frej - Gertz, Gerbrand - Hajer - Jantz - Kliewer, Konke, Koehn - Luther, Lehrmann, - Matys - Nachtigal, Nickel - Pankratz, Pauls, Penner - Ratzlaff - Schmidt, Schroeder - Tessmann - Unruh - Wedel, Witzke, Wohlge Two emigration requests from Mennonites who wanted to emigrate to the area of Plock are known to us. On May 30, 1822, the resident Peter Foth from Dorposch asked for permission for his son Heinrich Foth to emigrate to Poland. Rieser is 26 years old and wants to move to the area of Gombin "for his advantage and to improve his happiness". On 20 July 1822, Heinrich Foth was already in possession of the emigration permit and an emigrant passport. Furthermore, on 31 October 1826, Bernhard Thiar's spouse (wife Catharina née Ratzlaff) from Grentz applied for official permission to emigrate to Poland. Due to urgent debts, they had sold their property in Grentz. They want to settle in Jaczmin, a village two miles behind Plock, where several Mennonites from the Kulm region already live. They received an emigration permit and passport on 16 January 1824. (Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 1993).
 - 8) Communication from Mr G. Ratzlaffs.
 - 9) Among 44 Mennonite families there are only 3 whose property just reaches the size of a Hufen (16.8 ha). Most have only 10-15 Morgen. There is probably no other Mennonite community in the German East that lives from agriculture with such a small and mediocre area of arable land. In the meantime, the German government had made inquiries about the economic fate of the parishioners. More than half declared they could not make a living. Therefore, many families were expected to be resettled. (Mennonitischen Bl. 87.Jg. Nr.5, September 1940. p.39).
- About 50 years ago, on the right bank of the Vistula near Plock, there was the small congregation of Wola Wodnicka, which had its own prayer house. Since many of its parishioners migrated to America, this congregation disbanded. The Mennonite families still living in that area today, are affiliated either with Deutsch-Kazun or Deutsch-Wymyschle. (Message from Mr Gustav Reimer from Heubeden dated 28 January 1942).
- 10) Kurt Lueck: Deutsche Aufbaukraefte in der Entwicklung Polens. Plauen 1934, p.430.

- 11) Mennonitische Bll.87. Jg. Nr.4 July 1940.
- 12) Mennonitisches Bll.84. Jg. Nr. 12 December 1937.

Russia

- 1) South of the city of Yekaterinoslaw on both sides of the Dnieper with the river island of Chortitza as its center, the first mother colony Chortitza also called the "Old Colony" was established. It included 18 villages founded in 1789-1833. On the river Molotschna, which flows into the Sea of Azov, the second and largest Mennonite settlement in Russia, the "New Colony", was established from 1804-63. It comprised 57 villages and 3 outlying villages. Finally, in 1855-73, 18 villages were established on the Volga River in Samara Governorate by West Prussian Mennonites, thus establishing the third mother colony. (Mennonitisches Lexikon Bd I, p.22, 348: Bd III, p. 154).
- 2) Mennonitisches Lexikon Bd I, p.51 America, p. 125 Barnaul, Bd II, p.456 Canada, p.458 Kansas, Bd II p. 15 Manitoba, p.91 (Kolonie) Menno. also Mennonitische Geschichtsblaetter i. Jg. Nr. 1/2, 1936, pp.40-43.
- 3) Reichsarchiv Danzig 322, 1993.
- 4) Especially the members of the Groningen communities held together in Russia. In 1821, 21 families from the congregation of Przechowka near Schwetz founded the village of Alexanderwohl in the Molotschna. In 1823, other families from their home village followed them. Fifty years later (1872) this congregation received further influx of brothers of faith from Volhynia, who originally also came from the Schwetz district. In 1874, the largest part of this community migrated to America. The Mennonites who had emigrated from the Neumark in 1834 and who had also belonged to the old Flemish in West Prussia founded the village of Gnadenfeld in 1835. Another branch of the congregation of Przechowka (Przechowka) was finally established as the village of Waldheim. It was founded in 1836 by immigrants from Volhynia, whose West Prussian homeland was mainly the Schwetz region. (P. M. Friesen, p. 140. Mennonitisches Lexikon Bd I, p.25, Alexanderwohl, Bd II, p. 128, Gnadenfeld).
- 5) German archive for state and folk research.2, vol. 1938, p.477.

XI. Appendices

1. Mennonite [Sur]names in the Vistula Delta

The following surnames can be traced from the church records of the Frisian community of Montau-Gruppe (church record from 1661), the Frisian and Flemish community of Schoensee (church record of the Frisian community from 1773) and the Frisian community of Obernassau (church record from 1740): [In some instances the spelling of names differs from the text. The references listed below are as they appear in the book]

1. Mennonite names in the Vistula lowlands
 Abraham(s), Abram(s) - Adrian(s), Adryan(s) - Albrecht - Arend(s), Arnt.
 Bacher, Becher, Becker, Balau, Balzer, Baltzer, Bartelmeus, Bartel(s), Berent, Brent,
 Boehrendt, Beyger, Block, Bloek, (Blak)- Bolt, (Balt) – Boltz – Brandt, Brant -Brusterin – Buller.
 Dierk(s), Dirk(s), Dirksen, Duerck, Droper, Decker.

Eck - Eckert, Eggert - Ewert, Ewers, Ebert – Ediger – Eliss.
 Fagt - Fadenrecht - Flaemig, Flaeming - Frantz, Franz, Frese, Froese, Friess, Ferflet, Foth,
Vodt, Vott, Funck.
 Garyke - Gayka - Gaede, Gehde, Goede, Gedde - Goeddert, Geddert - Gerbrand - Gertz,
Goertz - Geisbrecht - Greger - Kreger - Gronau - Gruetter, Groetter – Guelker - Guhr.
 Hamm - Harm(s) - Hecker – Henke - Hinrichs - Heinrichs
 Isaak – Jacob(s) – Jantz, Janz, Janzen – Jart, Jort – John -Joachim, (Jachim) -Jedde,
 Jöde.
 Kasper - Kaetler, Kettler – Kerber, Kaerber (Kerwer, Kerffer) – Kliewer, Klueffer - Klaass,
 Klassen - Knopf – Cornelss, Cornelsen, Knels - Komms – Konert, Konertz - Koennick - Koehn –
Kopper, Kapper – Kullig, Kuelling.
 Lebrecht, Löbrecht – Ledderdehl,- Leuke – Lerentz, Lorentz - Liermann.
 Martens, Martins - Meinert - Muerer - Mentz - Mathias.
 Nachtigal - Naehring - Nickel - Nigfelt.
 Pauls, Paulsen - Pankratz - Penner - Penkeier - Petter, Peter(s), Poettker, Poedker, Pietker
 - Pinker - Pilgrim - Ploenert, Plenert - Poelke - Puttker.
 Quiring.
 Ratzlaff, Retzlaff - Richert - Rintfles - Rossfeit, Rosenfeldt - Rose - Roettger, Rotger,- Rotz.
 Seels, Sellis - Siebert, Siewert, Siefert - Siebrandt - Soelter - Schmitt - Schmidt - Schult -
 Schultz - Schoman _ Schrieffer - Schroeder - Schwartzbart - Schwenke - Schwegeler - Sperling
 (Sparling) - Stobbe - Stuben - Struch - Stenssel.
 Tgart, Tyart, Tiaht - Timen, Tymen - Tewsens - Tessmann.
 Unrau, Unruh.
 Weitgraf - Wedel, Wedler - Wickels - Wichert, Wiechert – Wilhelm, Wilms - Woleg -
 Wohlgemut, Wohlgemott.
 Zieradt, Zirrach, Cirrach - Zent.
 The underlined names are still found among the Mennonites in those areas. The bearers of
 the other names have either emigrated, died out or changed their religious confession.
 I found the following names only in the church book of the Flemish community in
 Schoensee: Ratzlaff, Retzlaff, Wedel, Buller, Richert, Nachtigal, Pankratz, Knels, Liermann,
 Naehring, Sperling und Schwegeler.
 The surnames of the Old Flamingians in the Kulm lowlands and the the Schwetz lowlands.
 The names are recorded in the travel report of Hendrik Berent Hulshoff. The surnames
 listed therein I give in Dutch spelling, but in alphabetical order:
 1. List of Anabaptist Families in the community of Schwetz Compiled by Ale Dirks, pastor of
 Hendrick Berents: Adams, Ansen, Beker, Bekker, Boller, Boeler, Bankrats (Pankratz). Dekker,
 Frein. – Ijsaaks, Jans, Jansen, Kenn, Koen. - Swegeler, Smit, Schellingbarg, Spaarlink. –
 Tessmer, Tomas. – Vonk, Voet, Vrien. – Weedel, Wedel.
 2. List of Anabaptist Families in the Residethood of Schwetz Compiled by Hendrick Berents:
 Buijler, Boeler, Bekker, Berent. - Cornelis. -Dekker, Derks. – Jjsaahs, Jans, Jansen,. –
 Nachtegaal. – Onrouw. – Pankrat, Pinkelaar. – Rigges, Riggert, Raatslaf. – Schellenberg,
 Spaarlink, Smit, Swegler. – Tomas, Tesmer. – Vrij, Vonk, Voet. - Wedel Onrouw. - Pankrat,
 Pinkelaar. - Rig berg, Spaarlink, Smit, Swegeler. - Wedel.
 The name Koepper, which is mentioned only once here, is a Frisian name.

2. Lists of Farmers [1568-1799].

Note that the lists below have been combined into a single searchable table found at

[https://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/West Prussian Land Leases Pre-1770.pdf](https://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/West_Prussian_Land_Leases_Pre-1770.pdf)

The residents of the village Montau near Neuenburg on the Vistula in years 1568-1799.

Montau is the oldest settlement of the Mennonites in the Sartowitz-Neuburg lowlands who settled here in 1567. The registers of the residents were compiled from various sources. According to them it is possible to trace the owners of individual farms during a period of 250 years.

In the lease contract of February 2, 1568, in which Hans Dulski granted to Dutch Mennonites the royal feudal estate Montau (and Kl. Sanskau) in the extent of 50 desolate Hufen for hereditary lease, we find as representatives of the colonists Thomas and Peter Janssen, Leonhard von Roh, Bernhard von Baygen and Andreas Unrau.

In 1578 the contract is extended. Now Julis Frantzen, Jakob Schmidt, Dietrich Witken are mentioned.

In a document dated April 4, 1605, in which eight villages along the Montau River agree on the proper maintenance and cleaning of the Montau River, the village of Montau is represented by the following men: Peter Lenardt, Karsten Schroeder, Abraham Putger, David Unrau and Hagen Willemsen.

The following village owners are registered in the Montau Dorfbuch, which also contains the village charter and other items: Johann Petters as mayor, Martin Zillisz, Hindrich Unruh, Mussert Leuke, Jochim ..., Simon Jacobzon, Hindrich Vodt, Nikolaus Ewertz, Davidt Unrau, Abraham Leuke, Lubbert Schroeder, Th... Messmaker, Jakob Barthelmeus, Hans Fick, Nikolaus Fick, Peter Petersen, Gerhard Foth, Dirk Arentsen, Georgen Wilke, Franz Geike, Wilhelm Gaeddertz.

The Montau village book was created in 1650. The underlined names can also be found in the register of 1639.

The list of November 1639 comes from the diary of Johann David Schroeder, born 3.9.1663 in Montau, 1702-06 Aeltester of the community died 20.9.1736 in Montau, The book is in the possession of Mrs. Alma Hertzberg, Bratwein near Graudenz, and was made available to me for review. David Schroeder writes to this directory: "Anno 1704 I have written down the Morgen register how many Morgen that an each resident has with respect to inside and outside land and the descendants his name against his Morgen act law who have lived on the land, when the land has been measured, also the descendants their name who live in this year on the land. This register is copied according to the original." At the end of the register is written by the hand of the copyist: "*suma summarum* so much the lands on Munttauw. In itself have 47 Hufen, 4 Morgen, 117 Ruten, 3 Schuh. In all with the *siet wal* [?] 47 Hufen, 10 Morgen, 1 Ruten, 14 Schuh. Measured by the surveyor Marten Dreszeler. In the year of Christ the Lord 1639 in the month of November."

In the village book of Montau mentioned earlier, there is also a list of the village residents from 1672: David Vodt, Petter Flaeming, Gerdt Dirks, Isaak Schroeder, Peter Wilk, Andreas Flaeming, Jacob Unrau, Clas Gayeke, Richert Richertz (1660), Clas Fick (1669) Cornels Siffertz, Joh. Fagt, Abram Unrau (1665), Gerdt Dircks, Cornelss Vodt (1669), Hans Baltzer, Frantz Koepper (1665), Hanss Lederdehl (1665), Peter Fick (1670), Hagen Karber (1665), Gerdt Ewertsche, Cornnelss Fresz, Hans Falk, Peter Koepper (1669).

The bracketed number after the name indicates when the person is mentioned elsewhere in documents.

For the time of 1639-72 I found in other places the following residents from Montau mentioned: Hans Buck 1638 Jakob Becker 1643, Michael Miltz 1643, Hans Fick 1653, Hans Lenke [Leuke?] 1664, Gerdt Ewert 1669, Jakob Fadenrecht, who sells his farm to David Foth on 21.3.1672, Peter Bardel 1671, Jakob Ebert 1671 and Heinrich Wolgemut 1681. The list of 7.8.1685 is again from David Schroeder's house book. At the end of the list it says: The sum of all inner and outer land: 46 Huben 20 Morgen 219 Ruten 9¾ Shuh.

The directory from August 7, 1685 is again from David Schroeder's house book. At the end of the directory it says: Is a sum of all inner and outer lands 46 Hufen, 20 Morgen, 219 Ruten, 9¾ Shuh. The lists of March 31, 1700 and January 13, 1711 are also from David Schroeder's diary. Regarding the latter enumeration it says: "Anno 1711, January 13th, I calculated how much each resident owed the Lubin priests. About all the land calculated. Each resident as follows.". The registers from the years 1738, 1759 and 1799 are in the Montau village book. I copied the directory from July 30, 1785 based on a village map of Montau that the Chamber Conductor C.F. Schumacher prepared by order of the Prussian government from this place. Closing sentences: From the registers we can see a very favorable distribution of landed property among medium-sized farms. Even today in Montau, as in the whole of the Schwetz-Neuenburg lowlands, medium-sized landed property is predominant. It also appears that the village of Montau has kept its Low German character throughout the period of Polish rule. The German *acquis* has survived here undiminished to the present day. The directories also speak for the down-to-earth nature of many families. I was not able to find the following names in the Mennonite church registers of Montau and the neighboring parish of Schoensee: Buck, Dehn, Drewantz, Fick, Kremer, Kowalck, Kadatz, Milk, Mreetz, Hachau, Strelauw, Tobias and Zarschke. From this it can be concluded that the bearers of these names were not Mennonites. In addition, these compilations will also be of value for Mennonite genealogical research.

List of the residents of the village Montau in the year 1639.

	Morgen	Ruten	Fuss		Morgen	Ruten	Fuss
Hans Fick	44	154	3	Peter Flamig	40	184	12
Ernst Ewert	40	86		Lebrecht Schroeder	52	260	11
Nicklas Fick	41	218	4	Jacob Bartel	54	75	12
Hans Leucke	86	108	7	Peter Fick	109	118	6
Dirck Gertz	44	123	12	Gregor Klatte	63	22	
Dirck Arent	46	141	10	Gross ...	79	32	6
Tomas	56	83	6	Hinrich Vodt	76	210	12
Ledderdehl							
Hinrich Unrau	57	124	12	Martin Gielss	63	59	7
David Lorentz	48	236	2	Goergen Wilcke	15	12	10
Gert Vott	50	23	1	David Unrau	58	24	2
Willem Goedert	51	198	11	Abram Schroeder	66	104	1
Jan Flamig	70	241	4	Berend Kuilink	48	254	5
Klass Ewert	47	101	5				

(Hausbuch David Schroeders)

List of the residents of the village of Montau in 1685, 1700.

7.8.1685	Morgen	Ruten	Fuss	31.3.1700
Klass Gertz	44	132	3	Klass Gertz
Peter Kremer	40	46	6	Peter Kremer
Cornels Frese	41	152	4	Hans Jantz
Hans Fick	86	108	7	Hans Fick
Ernst Ewert	44	123	1	Jan Richert
Hans Dreyer	49	51	10	David Schroeder
Hans Ledderdehl	52	180	6	Goergen Knopf
Peter Dierks	56	106	8	Peter Schroeder
Hans Baltzer	47	286	2	Hans Baltzer
Christian Arendt	49	224	1	Hinrich Ewert
Jan Zieradt	51	102	11	Jan Zieradt
Cornels Vodt	69	298	4	Cornels Vodt
Hinrich Goedert	46	184	10	Hinrich Goedert
Dirck Arendt	39	188	12	Dirck Arendt
Peter Dierks	51	84	11	Hans Kapper
Peter Strelauw	52	16	12	Hans Diederick
David Siewert	53	106		David Siewert
Jan Mreetz	53	106		Hinrich Fick
Andreas Brandt	63	22		Andreas Brandt
Richert Richert	54	32	6	Peter Dirks
Jan Dehn	44		12	
Mattiss Rachauw	57	210		Mattiss Rachauw
Andress Flaemig	63	59	7	Andress Flaemig
Peter Wilcke	15	12	10	Peter Wilcke
Peter Koepper	74	24	2	Peter Koepper
Peter Flaemig	50	104	4	Jacob Bartelmess
Eck Ewert	48	254	5	Andreas Ewert

(David Schroeder's Hausbuch)

(David Schroeder's Hausbuch)

The residents of the village of Montau in 1711, 1738.

13.1.1711	M.	R.	F.	12.3.1738	M.	R.	F.
Klass Gertz	44	132	3	Hinrich Gerz	44	132	3
Antoni Ewert	40	46	6	George Baltzer	40	46	6
David Jantz	41	152	4	Frantz Frantz	41	152	4
Hans Fick	86	108	7	Peter Fick	66	150	7
David Tobias	44	123	1	Peter Kowalk	64	-	6
David Schroeder	49	51	10	David Schroeder	49	51	6
Goergen Knopf	52	180	6	Johann Block	48	13	-
Peter Schroeder	56	106	8	David Block	56	106	9
David Block	47	286	2	Franz Bartelsche	47	267	-
Hinrich Ewert	49	224	1	Heinrich Unrauhss	49	190	-
Hinrich Goedert	62	102	11	Heinrich Unrauh	51	102	-
Christof Gertz	69	298	4	Christof Gert	53	150	12
				Andres Jantz	27	-	-
Willem Goedert	46	184	10	Franz Gertz	47	34	10
Klass Frantz	39	188	12	Klass Frantz s.	39	188	12
Cornels Fick	51	84	11	Klass Franz j.	51	84	11
Hans Diederich	52	16	12	Hans Wohlgemut	52	16	12
Frantz Berent	53	106		Peter Schroeder	52	175	-
Hinrich Fick	53	106		Matthias Buchsche	57	202	-
Andreas Brandt	96	22	12	Hans Koerber	62	162	9
Peter Dierks	54	32	6	Friedrich Zarschke	26	119	7
				Hans Dircks	26	113	7

	M.	R.	F.		M.	R.	F.
junge Brandt	33	...		Hans Fick	33	123	-
Jacob Jantz	57	210		Jacob Jantz	49	210	-
Hinrich Flaemig	63	59	7	Heinrich Kliewer	61	166	8
Peter Wilcke	15	12	10	Steffen Baltzer	13	62	9
Peter Kapper	74	24	2	Gerdt Dirks	71	88	4
	M.	R.	F.		M.	R.	F.
Paul Therlucht	50	104	4	Teus Baltzer	56	261	12
Andreas Ewert	48	254	5	Peter Rossfeit	46	254	5
				Hakenbude	4	148	5
(Hausbuch David Schroeders)				(Dorfbuch Montau)			

List of the residents of the village of Montau in 1759, 1785.

6.12.1759	M.	R.	F.	30.7.1785
Frantz Gertz	44	132	3	Frantz Gertz
David Bartel	40	46	6	Heinrich Gertz
Dierk Kerber	41	452	4	Dierk Kerber
Peter Fick	66	450	7	Peter Fick
Peter Fick	64	-	6	Jacob Bartelmeus
Heinrich Gertz	42	51	6	Witwe Gertz
Heinrich Frantz	44	14	5	Heinrich Frantz
Abraham Schroeder	56	106	9	Heinrich Kerber
Peter Bartelsche	47	267	-	Isaac Ewert
Hans Ewert	49	190	-	Abraham Ewert
David Bartel	51	102	-	Daniel Bartel
Heinrich Schroeder	61	-	12	Heinrich Schroeder
David Baltzer	55	184	10	David Bolt
Klas Frantz	50	188	12	Peter Kerber
Hans Frantz	51	84	11	Heinrich Ewert
Hans Wohlgemut	53	16	12	Claus Goertz
Johann Kliewer	53	175	-	Johann Kliewer
Johann Fick	52	202	-	Johann Schroeder
Peter Kerber	62	162	9	Zacharias Unrau
Cornelius Fick	62	252	14	Jacob Richert
Hans Fick	33	123	-	Brandt
Clas Fick	49	210	-	Peter Strelau
Wilhelm Ewert	61	130	8	Wilhelm Ewert
Gerhard Dierks	71	22	4	Jacob Bartel
Hans Nickel	62	24	6	Stefan Koerber
David Unruh	46	254	5	Claus Frantz
				Peter Frantz
Hakenbude	4			Hakenbude
(Dorfbuch Montau)				(Dorfplan Montau 1785)

List of the residents of the village of Montau in 1799.

23.9.1799		
Frantz Goertz	Cornelius Baltzer	Christian Witt
Heinrich Goertz	Heinrich Schroeder	Peter Kadatz
Heinrich Kliewer	Peter Wohlgemut	Peter Strelau
Peter Fick	Peter Koerber	Witwe Ewerts
Jacob Bartelmes	Klas Frantz	Jacob Bartel
Isaac Schroeder	Klas Goertz	Heinrich Goertz
Zacharias Rosenfelt	Bavid Boltz	Klas Frantz
Heinrich Koerber	Johann Schroeder	
David Schroeder	Zacharias Unrau	
Abraham Ewert	Cornelius Baltzer	
	(Dorfbuch Montau)	

M = Morgen
R = Ruten
F = Fuss

List of residents of the village Kl. Sanskau in the years 1653, 1664, 1772, 1787 and 1821.

23.8.1653	7.5.1664
Jan Jacobs	Jan Jacobs
Willem Ledderdehl	Dierk Dam
Jan Class	Jan Clasen
Peter Efert	Peter Ewertz
Petter Effert jun.	Peter Ewertz jun.
Berendt Guelker	Klas Fick
Peter Koepper	Peter Koepper
Jakob Efert	Jacob Ewertz

1772	1787	1821
Petter Mallon	Petter Mallon	Heinrich Rosenfelt
Cornelius Richert	Cornelius Richert	Johann Braun
Steffen Kerwer	Stephan Koerber	Hans Goertz
Johann Koepper	Hans Koepper	Stephan Boldt
Andreas Unruh	Frantz Goertz	David Schroeder
	(Quelle: Dorfbuch Montau)	

List of residents of the village Gr. Sanskau in 1772.

Johann Nickel	Peter Abraham	Jacob Klann
Peter Rachau	Johann Schwartz	Christian Kowalke
Johann Riechert	Cornelius Riechert	Joh. Schartz
Johann Meister	Peter Witt	Mathes Reichau
Johann Gerths	Georg. Block	Johann Fenske

(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13084)

List of residents of the village Kl. Lubin in 1772.

	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Baltzer	1	23
Peter Kerber	1	23
Isaac Schroeter	2	3
Peter Reunke	2	3
Kohnert Rosenfeldt	1	17

(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181 13084)

Residents of the village Dragass in 1772

	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Isaac Barthel	2	11	Kornelius Bartel	1	-
Heinrich Bartel	1	23	Heinrich Gertz	-	19
Jacob Gertz	1	3	Isaac Nickel	-	29
Hnesle Baltzer	1	10	Hans Foht	-	26
Heinrich Boltes	1	11	Michel Bartz	-	7
Peter Ewert	1	17	Hans Baltzer	-	16
Knel Derks	-	11	Johan Schmid	-	1

among 23 landowners

(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13084)

Residents of the village Kommerau in 1772.

Jacob Jantz	Heinrich Bartel	Frantz Vot
Coenelius Kliver	Johann Heier	Heinrich Frantz
Martin Rahn	Zachar. Unrauch	Hans Koepper
George Schlang	Joh. Schultz	Berent Baltzer
Stephan Frantz	Peter Unruh	Johann Heidmann

(Reichsarchiv Danzig, Kontributionskataster 181, 13084)

Residents of the village Niedergruppe in the years 1692 and 1772

4.8.1692		1772	
Wielm Unrau	Steffen Baltzer	Peter Kopper	Hans Harm
Jacob Jantz	Abraham Eck	Hans Siewertsche	Christian Liedtcke
Hans Barch	Cornels Jantz	Hans Balzer	Andreas Ewert
Gerdt Hecker	Derek Jians	Cornelius Gerts	Heinrich Evert

Peter Rosenfelt	Davidt Hecker	Peter Albrecht	Georg Foth
Hans Baltzer	David Lohrentz	Heinrich Bartel	Hans Frantz
Franz Kliewer	Konnert Bartels	Jacob Bartel	Frantz Kiewer
Hans Vott	Isaac Stobb	Peter Harm	Heinrich Foth
Weimert Brecht	Abraham Jans	Peter Barthel	
Erdtmann Stobb	Kans Ediger	Behrend Foth	

(Stadtbibliothek Danzig, Willkuer Niedergruppe Ms 1324)

(Reichsarchiv Danzig, Kontributionskataster 181, 13110)

Residents of the village Neunhuben in the years 1745 and 1772.

1745	Hufen	Morgen	Ruten	1772
Hans Gertz	1	16	225	Hans Albrecht
Peter Rosenfeld	1	16	193	Jacob Bartel
Hinrich Geddert	1	16	194	Math. Baltzer
Peter Kliever	1	16	207	Wilhelm Mertens
Franz Koepper	1	18	224	Jacob Gertz
Peter Kliever	1	18	208	Peter Kliewer
Hinrich Bartel	1	18	215	Conrad Baltzer

(Bericht [Report of] Peter Rosenfelds)

(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13108)

Residents of the village of Gr. Westphalia (Poln. Westphalia) in 1772.

	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Joh. Strechlau	2	-	Heinrich Jantz	1	15
Jacob Bartell	2	3	Cornelius Fock	1	15
Klos Albrecht	2	2	Johann Hardtke	2	1
Isaack Schroeder	1	16	Jacob Fisch	2	-
Wilhelm Drath	1	19	Andr. Jantz	1	21

(181, 13108)

Residents of the villages Przechowken and Beckersitz in 1772.

	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Hans Funck	1	6	Hans Ratzlaff	-	28
Peter Unrausche	-	27	Jacob Pankratz	-	12
Hans Unruh	-	16	Die Einwohner:		
Tobias Ratzlaff	1	10	Peter Ratzlaff		
Andreas Pankratz	-	20	Hans Schmidt		
Heinrich Unruh	-	24	Peter Ratzlaff		
Benjamin Wedel	1	12	Wedell (Schuster)		
Peter Becker	-	14	Andreas Ratzlaff	-	8
Albrecht Richert	-	26	Abr. Richert	-	23
Jacob Knels	-	24	Hans Pankrutsch	-	7

(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13109)

Residents of the village Deutsch-Konopath in 1772

Peter Schmidt	Peter Buller	Heinrich Schmid
Tobias Ratzlaw	Heinrich Pankrotz	Andr. Pankrotz
Ernst Schmidt	Joh. Ratzlaw	Peter Buller
Andr. Pankrotz	Peter Tesmer	(unter 26 Wirten) [among 26 owners]
(Reichsarchiv Danzig, Kontributionskataster 181, 13110)		

Residents of the village of Kleinsee (Jeziorken) in 1772.

Behr. Ratzlaw sen	Georg Buller	Jacob Becker
Jacob Nachtigall	Jac. Ratzlaw	Hans Unrau
Behr. Ratzlaw jun.	Behr. Becker	Peter Schmidt
Mart. Nachtigall	Jacob Fott	Johann Schultz
Heinrich Nachtigall	Math. Strelau	Martin Pantzer
Behr. Ratzlaw sen	Heinrich Unrau	

Jeder Nachbar besitzt eine Hufe. Each resident has one Hufe
(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13110)

Einsassen des Dorges Schoensee (Sosowken) in den Jahren 1695, 1705, 1715, 1725, 1735, 1750, 1772, 1790, 1800.

1695	1705	1715
Christoph Unrau	Johann Wilhelm	Geore Bruemmer
Peter Siefert	Peter Sievert	Peter Sievert
George Bruemmer	Ferdinand Hube	Ferdinandus Hube
Merten Block	George Boltz	Timon Boltz
Hans Voth	Hans Vott	Hans Voth
Stephan Funk	Steffen Funck	George Funck
Peter Janns	Isaac Stob	Peter Mentz
Ferdinand Hube	Jacob Tomasche	Jacob Schuemann
Ernst Koehn	Michel Meister	Andreas Decker
Tobias Sperling	Andres Decker	Cornelius Frantzsche
Andres Decker	Dirk Penner	Dirck Poeger
Peter Stephan	Salmon Jantz	Hans Abraham
David Voth	David Vott	David Voutsche
(Reichsarchiv Danzig,	(Nachbarbuch 358, 845)	Jacob Siedau
Nachbarbuch Schoensee 358, 845)		Arnt Frantzsche
		(Nachbarbuch 358, 845)

1725	1735	4.3.1750	Hufen	Morgen
Georgen Broemmer	Georg Bremer	George Bremer	-	25
Peter Sievert	Peter Siefert	Jacob Eckert	1	16
Hindrich Nickel	Peter Nickel	Peter Nickel	2	24
Timon Boltz	Timon Boltz	Timon Boltz	2	-
Hans Voht	Hans Voht	Johan Vodt	2	15
Hindrich Nickel	Peter Nachtigall	Peter Nachtigall	-	7
Georgens Funck	Georg Funck	Jacob Panckratz	1	-
Petter Mentz	P. V.	Dirck Arndt	1	-
Andreas Decker	Georg Bartel	Isaac Wilhelm	1	15
Conert Bartel	Andreas Decker	Heinrich Vodt	1	20
Dirck Poettker	C. F.	Isaak Abraham	-	24
Hans Abraham	Dirck Poettker	Johann Bartel	1	-
Cornels Voht	Hans Abraham	Dirck Plenert	-	-
Jacob Siedau	Cornelius Voht	Cornelius Weitgraf	1	15
Petter Schroeder	Cornelius Weitgraff	Stefan Frantz	1	-
(Nachbarbuch 358, 845)	Peter Schroeder	(Lunau Fire Insurance Register)		
[Neighbors book]	(Nachbarbuch 358, 845)			

1772	Hufen	Morgen	1790	1800
Martin Nickel	2	9	Martin Nickel	Hans Frantz
Peter Nickel	1	24	Peter Nickel	Siebrandt Unrau
Johann Unrau	1	26	Peter Wichert	Peter Wiechert
Gerth Vott	2	7	Peter Wedel	Jacob Foth
Johann Vott	-	26	Johan, Wichert	Jacob Goertz
Gerth Block	-	27	Gerhard Block	Gerhard Block
Cornelius Frantz	2	9	David Ziesmer	Johann Ziesmer
Peter Pankratz	1	20	Peter Pankratz	Siewert Tiaht
Siewert Gertz	1	14	Peter Siewert	Peter Bartel
David Ziesmer	1	9	Hans Siewert	Hans Siewert
Cornert Bartel	-	22	Johann Gertz	Andreas Diercks
(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13109)			Peter Bartels	Gabriel Frantz
			Konrat Bartels	David Bartel (Nachbarbuch)

Residents of the village Jamerau (Brankau) in the years 1750 and 1772

4.3.1750	1772	Hufen	Morgen
Heinrich Biedermann	Peter Baltzer	1	6
Dirck Poettker	Heinrich Biedermann	-	8
Johan Schroeder	Cnes Goertz	1	14
Johan Nachtigal	Martin Tiaht	-	13
Hein Decker	Andreas Kurke	-	3
Jacob Wedel	Peter Tiaht	-	29
Peter Sievert	Jacob Wedel	1	2
Cornelius Plenert	Martin Broker	-	8
Martin Baltzer	Doerk Penner	-	18
Johan Vodt	Peter Siewert	-	18
Cornelius Frantz	Jacob Vott	1	13
George Knopp	George Knop	-	28
Jacob Zabel	Gabriel Unruh	-	20
Andreas Kurek	(Reichsarchiv Danzig		
Lunau Fire Insurance Register)	Kontributionskataster 181, 13109)		

Residents of the village Horst in the years 1750 and 1772

4.3.1750	1772	Hufen	Morgen
Sievert Tiaht	Joh. Vat	-	16 ¼
Abraham Becker	Andreas Kneth	-	7
Gehrt Pinckler	Johann Wichert	1	9 ½
(Lunau Fire Insurance Register)	(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13056)		

Residents of the village Gr. Lunau in the years 1750 and 1772

4.3.1750	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Cornelius Jantz	1	9	Peter Dircks	1	25
Andreas Albrecht	1	-	Dirck Buhse	2	-
Abraham Gertz	1	5	Jacob Richert	1	9
Dirck Frantz	1	2	Claas Frantz	1	-
Ludwig Witt	1	8	Sievert Sievert	1	6
Andreas Gehrtz	1	10	Adam Selnau	1	-
Peter Tiaht	1	8	David Zismer	-	15
Heinrich Boltz	1	8	Johan Wilhelm	1	15
Jacob Barte	1	15	Heinrich Wichert	-	19
Peter Krumhaus	1	15	Dirck Poettker	-	20

1772	Hufen	Morgen	(Lunauer Feuer- u.Brandordnung)	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Dirks	1	-			
Johan Wichert	1	-	Heinrich Duercks	1	15
Johan Frantz	1	6	Durks Buhse	2	5
Duerks Frantz	1	15	Heinrich Unrau	1	2
Christ. Sieburg	1	9	David Voth	1	3
Heinrich Nickel	1	16	Jacob Block	1	9
Heinrich Siebrand	1	7	Jacob Fres	-	9
Abraham Barthel	1	10	Gabriel Frantz	1	3
Hans Frantz	1	6	Abraham Gertz	-	3
Johan Kadatz	1	6	Jacob Bayrauch	-	8
Durck Poettker	-	21	Wittib Dutkin	1	13

(Reichsarchiv Danzig,
Kontributionskataster 181,
13056)

Einsassen des Dorfes Kl. Lunau in den Jahren 1727, 1750 und 1772.

Residents of the village Kl. Lunau in the years 1727, 1750 and 1772

16.8.1727	Huf.	Morg.	4.3.1750	1772	Huf.	Morg.
Peter Tiaht	1	-	Peter Tiaht	Peter Frantz	1	3
Heinrich Conels	1	-	Heinrich Ewert	Hans Ekert	1	16
Jacob Abraham	-	22	Andreas Cornels	Peter Tiaht	1	2
Heinrich Schroeder	-	15	Heinrich Poetttker	Zacharias Ewert	1	5
Hans Hartke	-	15	Johan Schroeder	Dirk Behrend	-	8
Hans Rausch	-	7	Adam Krintz		-	6
Hans Klaas	-	3	Martin Zueltz	Andreas Ewert	-	25
Goerth Vodt	-	7	Gehrt Gehrtz	Martin Resdantz	1	21
Hans Pillgrim	-	5	Peter Koepper	Michael Kraus	1	18
Berend Goerths	-	5	Peter Boelcke	Michael Knack	1	8
Christian Keszier	-	5	Michael Knaack	Michael Kremin	-	3
Michad Bruenke	-	3	Johan Evert	Joh.Orlofske	-	3
Christoff Neumann	-	3	Heinrich Linger	Jacob Boetker	-	20
Peter Boelcke	1	15	Johan Feldt	Johann Ewert	1	9
Hans Kruse	1	-	Daniel Pischker	Andreas Geritz	1	12
Michael Cornels	-	6		Peter Vodt	-	17
Jacob Cornels	-	15	(Lunauer Feuer- u.Brandordnung)			
Andreas Hartke	1	15		(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13056)		
Abraham Bartel	1	-				
Wilm Penner	-	22				

(Lunau Fire Insurance Register)

Einsassen des Dorfes Niederausmass in den Jahren 1750 und 1772.

Residents of the village Niederausmass in the years 1750 and 1772

4.3.1750	1772
Peter Hintz	Heinrich Block
Christian Reinck	Heinrich Bartel
Friedrich Lang	Isaac Schroeder
Christian Pancknin	Jacob Goertz
Johan Knopp	Peter Schroeder
Johan Schroeder	Isaack Betcker
Daniel Frantz	Heinrich Block jun.
Johann Pischker	Michael Grabau
George Wermeister	Christian Klammert
Christian Went	Peter Richert
Peter Claas	Friedrich Schultz
Christoph Rohrbeck	Heinrich Rohrbeck

(Lunau Fire Insurance Register) (Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13056)

Residents of the village Dorposch in the years 1750 and 1772			
4.3.1750	1772	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Isaac	Christian Hollnagel	-	5
Andreas Trechel	Jacob Frantzke	-	6
Jacob Berg	Jacob Korkau	-	16
Gehrt Block	Gert Block	-	13
Isaac Schultz	Gert Block	-	7
Abraham Kornels	Peter Vottsche	-	20
Dirk Wichert	Jens Gertz	-	22
Johan Schroeder	Joh. Schroeder	-	12
Johan Nachtigal	Joh. Nachtigalsche	-	11
Peter Tesmer	Laurentz Sparling	-	25
Jacob Bartz	Martin Semerau	-	14
Heinrich Isaac	Heinrich Isaac	-	14
Christoph Schoetzau	David Scheunau	-	22
Christoph Block	Georg Nathmann	-	1
(Lunauer Feuer- und Brandordnung)	(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13056)		

Residents of the village Rossgarten in den Jahren 1750 und 1772	
4.3.1750	1772
Martin Weitgraf	Klos Frantz
Johan Unrau	Jacob Bartel
Johan Tobias	Christ. Ecker
Among 8 residents	Among 7 residents
(Lunauer Feuer- und Brandordnung)	(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13056)

Residents of the village Schulwiese im Jahre 1772 .	
Heinrich Cornelius, Gruetzmacher [Miller]	Isaac Abraham, L.
Jacob Knels, L. (L = Leinweber)	Peter Ewert, L.
Heinrich Paul, L.	Peter Nickel, L.
Hans Foth, L.	Witt Foth, L.
Frantz Gertz, L.	Cornels Baltzer, L.
Cornelius Ewert, L.	Jac. Abraham, L.
Peter Ediger, L.	Martin Schroeder, L.
Heinrich Schmidt, L.	Witt. Technau, L.
Karl Quiring, L.	Wolff,
Wilhelm Cornelius, L.	
Peter Ediger L.	Die Einwohner:
Dirk Ediger, L.	Franz Pauls
Joh. Caspar, L.	Dirck Knels
Heinrich Koepper, L.	Jacob Penner
Witt. Schmid	Jacob Penner
Wilhelm Caspar, L.	Witwe Abraham
	Maria Abraham
(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 13080)	

Residents of the village of Montauerweide in 1772			
David Unrau sen.	Andreas Sahn	Christoph Kleits	Martin Stobben
David Unrau jun.	Erdmann Stobben	Siebert Tgahrt	Hans Unrau
Michael Harder	Christ. Losch	Paul Doebrich	Peter Ewert
Erdtmann Claass	Jacob Knorr	Peter Penner	Peter Obe
Abraham Unrau	Math. Schultz	Steffen Baltzer	Hans Harm

Jacob Stobb	Erdmann Unrau	Heinrich Ediger	Mich Lange
Heinrich Plenert	Heinrich Jantz	Heinrich Frantz	Mart. Knack
Eva Wwe. Jantzin	Frantz Nickel	Cornelius Bartel	Die Einwohner:
Claas Pauls	Cornelius Casper	Mich. Gerck	Abraham Siebert,
Johann Casper	Gregor Preuss	Clas Wilinski	Weber
Joh. Grabowsky	Heinrich Schmidt	Class Bartel	Abraham Unrau
Hans Siebert	Thomas Schmidt	Heinrich Plenert	Anna Block
Adrian Siebert	Michael Wyschocke	Jacob Potowski	Elisabeth Stobbe
Heinrich Casper	Samuel Schneider	Joh. Woelms	Elisabeth Penner

(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 181, 11036)

Residents of the village Raudnerweide in 1772.

	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Jacob Penner	-	21	David Quiring	-	25
Heinrich Arendt	-	5	Claus Quiring	1	4
Andreas Flamming	1	7	Doerck Goertz	-	4
Abraham Nickel	-	8	Cornel Jantzen	-	10
David Nickel	-	26	Peter Jantzen	-	7
Peter Wichert	-	27	Salomon Nickel	-	7
David Penner	-	21	Heinrich Penner	-	2
David Schroeter	1	16	David Penner	-	4
Martin Block	-	15	The last 5 residents live away from		
Erdmann Unrau	-	22	home. Residents among others:		
Hans Ediger	-	12	Goert Block		
Jacob Reimann luth.	-	18	Derks Gerths		
Heinrich Albrecht	1	6	Abraham Frantz		
Peter Gertz	-	15	Cornel Goerts		
Peter Jantzen	1	8			

(Staatsarchiv Königsberg 181, 13119)

Residents of the village of Schweingrube in 1772

	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Heinrich Paulsen	1	20	Jacob Ewert	-	22
Abraham Seelsen	2	17	Zadiarias Bartels	-	15
Johann Marquardt, luth	2	28	Hans Ewert	1	17
Peter Ewert	-	17	Isaac Nickel	1	15
Abraham Penner	-	11	Heinrich Ewert	-	29
Jacob Penner	-	17	Christ. Laski, Mueller [miller]		
(Staatsarchiv Königsberg 181, 13119)					

Residents of the village Tragheimerweide in 1772

	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Behr. Baltzer	-	13	Martin Albrecht	-	21
Mart. Flamming	-	21	Gert Jantzen	-	16
Andres Konert	-	15	Abraham Unruh	-	22
Hans Abraham, Weber	-	4	Jacob Baer	-	25
Wilhelm Albrecht	-	14	Hans Pauls	-	10
Johann Gertz	-	14	Jacob Jantz, Schneider	-	3
("Die mehresten naehren sich als Leinweber.") [Most make a living as linen weavers]					
			Staatsarchiv Königsberg 181, 13075)		

Residents of the village Zieglershuben in 1772		
Georg Stobbe	Isaac Freise	Gottfried Dragheim
Christian Schwartz	Peter Peters	Abraham Abrams
Jakob Kroeker	Johann Penner	Johan Preusse
Jacob Wall	Jacob Pankrott	Mich. Hensel
Heinrich Goss	Paul Trilhoff	Wwe. Laskowski
Mich. Kroeker	Martin Scheffler	Jacob Lewark
Johan Kregehr	Johann Wyciotzki	Andres Pruss
		Foerster Braun
(Reichsarchiv Danzig Kontributionskataster 180, 11036)		

Residents of the village Gr. Schardau in 1772					
	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Leutnant Kimmig	5	-	Wilhelm Unruh	1	15
Johann Penner	3	-	Cornelius Janzen	3	-
Heinrich Goertzen	1	15	Johann Erdmann	1	-
Steffen Balthasar	2	15	Jacob Hinski	-	15
The last two owners live away from home.					

Residents of the village Kl. Schardau in 1772					
	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
Johann Siebert	-	15	Doerck Ediger Witwe	-	19
Herrmann Becker	-	27	Jacob Vodt	1	10
Heinrich Kliewer	-	15	Herrmann Penner	-	10
Peter Ewert	-	4	Johann Moeller, kath	1	6
Andreas Neumann	-	8	Peter Tiaht	-	15
Cornelius Jantzen	-	22	Heinrich Penner Witwe	-	27
David Eggert	-	13	David Penner	-	28
Peter Jantzen	-	20	George Schmidt	-	10
Salomon Nickel	-	21	Peter Nickel	1	-
(Staatsarchiv Koenigsberg Kontributionskataster 181, 13119)					

Residents of the village Zwanzigerweide in 1772.		
Johan Goeritz	Martin Ecker	David Selis
Abraham Becher	Hans Broecker	Martin Albrecht
Heinrich Goertz	Jacob Boettcher	Wilhelm Albrecht
Frantz Baltzer	Abraham Ohnrau	Andreas Kuhnert
Isaac Nickel	Jacob Becker	Martin Flaming
Isaac Schmidt	Salomon Boldt	Zacharias Bartels
David Casper	Hans Paulsen	Behrend Baltzer
Jacob Phutt	George Jantzen	
Only 8 of the owners (nr.2-11 incl.) live in the village. (Staatsarchiv Danzig 181, 13119)		

3. The council of Kulm leases the village of Schoensee to Dutch Mennonites for the second time in 1595.

Sequitur secundum privilegium villae Sosnowkae. [The following second Privilegium of the village of Schoensee]

Four mayors and councilmen, sworn and representatives of the whole community of the city of Colmen [Kulm], hereby declare and confess our open letter before all those who need to know and see, hear or read it:

as we have done with the best of intentions, for the sake of the betterment of our city, to the following renters and the honorable Joachim Michels, Petter Vogtt, young Cornels and old Cornelius, Arend Jantsche, Frantz von Lussenburgk, Johann von Lauben, Greger Vogtt, Baltzer Mathissen Hollanders, together with their relatives, descendants and companions, at their request and solicitation. Hereby, by virtue of this established contract right, honestly and finally, however, with express right of ownership and of the judicial power and jurisdiction, mediate and lend for thirty consecutive years, from the present instance of the holy Easter holidays of this current fifteen hundredth and fourth and ninetieth year of Christ, and to pay yearly rent and to enjoy common city hereditary property of Schoensehe in the lowland at the Vistula between the city villages Schoeneuche [Schoeniech] and Podeysk [Podwitz]. So, it has been measured inside and its width and length have been marked with boundary signs and fences. Which said land, as measured by the surveyor in its present state, contains and constitutes in the lowlands nineteen Hufen, two Morgen and 282 Ruten and on the sand dunes 44 Morgen.

However, because the said officials suspect that the land surveyor may have erred in the his measurement. So, we have also reserved the right to have the land surveyed again in the coming autumn. What will be in the extent below or more, they will be obliged to pay annual rent according to the condition (however, the wedge at the Vistula, because the land is filled with 17 Morgen of sand, which is left free and unmeasured inside, they shall have the whole rent of their share free) on the following condition and opinion.

Since the above-mentioned tenants have not found any buildings on the land and must build houses, shops and other things themselves according to their opportunity, we have ceded and handed over a piece of forest within, on which there is elm and chestnut wood, as well as the standing oaks on their land; from which wood they are to build and have firewood for their needs for the duration of their stay. However, if they would still need something over this to store and other timber, we want to grant and share such from our city forest. Then they should tell us beforehand, which will be signed by the forest wardens, where they will cut it.

We have released to them all who will build and live there, twelve Morgen of land on the mountains for building sites, which they shall not pay rent on. The borders between their land and the Schoeneiche and Podeister fields are to be kept equal by both parties.

Thus, the subjects of the city should be given half of the fence and they shall be obligated to pay for the other half. Because we can see that you don't have enough trees and posts on your land, we will permit you to hew on the city ground, but with our prior consent.

If, furthermore, in the course of time, in the course of protecting the land and keeping it, some soil is washed away and carried away by the flow of the Vistula, which may be as much as a whole Morgen, it shall, as long as it is not restored to its rightful place, remain without rent. But what would be sunk or wasted less than a whole Morgen of land, shall not be deducted from the full rent, but shall be paid in full without interruption. The forests and oaks which are enclosed and contained within their measured boundaries (except for the oaks against the sour cherry and before the for the sake of the acorns and mast for their own good [?]) shall be free for them to cut down and uproot everywhere and to use them for their need for building and firewood for their hopes and dwellings and to do with them as they please.

We also allow you the freedom to fish in the Vistula adjacent to their land for all kinds of fish and creatures for their own needs, but five turns [*gewende*] from the large ditch where the fish enters the lake, they shall not fish, nor shall they place any fishing gear, nor shall they allow anyone else to fish. Otherwise, they shall be free to fish anywhere in the ponds on their land. Likewise, in the town of Trzebowno they may fish only with rods and anglers, but not with any other fishing gear. In addition, they shall be free to set up ponds and pools in the courtyards and to stock them with live fish, to set up duck ponds and duck traps. However, since they would have a lot of fish in this time, and the Honorable Council would need some for the city's needs, they shall be obliged to give them and possibly a fee.

If someone wants to buy beer from them, they should be allowed to do so, but no other beer than only Coelnisch [Culmish] white and black beer should be offered.

Furthermore, it has been stipulated that all of the goods, milk, butter, cheese, milk and other such things that are to be sold shall be brought to the city market at the first and shall be purchased according to the order and use of the market. And if they could not sell it there, then they should be allowed to take it elsewhere and sell it with the permission of the authorities. However, if any strangers came to them on their land and asked to buy from them milk, food or garden crops, they shall be allowed to sell them. But as for their livestock or cows and horses, they shall be free to sell the same anywhere they like best.

On the other hand, they shall be permitted and allowed, for their domestic needs and better enjoyment, to sell livestock, meat, fish, and the and to use them for themselves and their house alone, and not advantageously for the sake of their own gain. Nor shall any of them, apart from farming, engage in any selfish sales for the sake of wages and profit for their own living and use, to the advantage and detriment of the townspeople. However, each of them shall be

able to provide for his own needs. He can make what he can and what he otherwise cannot get made in the city. It is also granted and permitted that they may have and keep for their needs a weaver, a tailor and a butcher to work from their homes.

From the above-mentioned and conditional holding and measurement of the above-mentioned property, the above-mentioned representatives and tenants shall and will be obligated to pay rent to the Honorable Council and the Treasury of the city for thirty years, for each Morgen of land in the lowlands between the Vistula and the lake, as measured out for them and handed over in rent, one prussian thaler at 38 Polish gr. and between the road and the lake, where it is sanded, shall be obliged to pay rent of ten groschen on every Morgen. Which rent they shall pay on each Easter holiday yearly, to the Honorable Council, on time and in full.

In the aforementioned and conditional form and measure, the said tenants and their dependents and descendants shall each receive the number of farms and Morgen they have received for themselves and their heirs and beneficiaries, with all justice and appurtenances, and to the city and on account of the Honorable Council as the owning landowners and heirs, for thirty years in succession, as if by force of law, to the appointed date, when the year 1624 will be written, they shall own and use the property and, in case of necessity they shall and may occupy it with other efficient and respectable tenants as is customary to do. However, the above-mentioned tenants shall not sell, transfer, alter or alienate the land and properties situated thereon, but shall thus remain free and unencumbered for the sake of the said rent, nor shall they allow any unusual changes to take place thereon. They shall also improve more of the said land in measured boundaries and keep it well maintained at all times as is usual.

It shall also be permitted that they may make ditches on the land at the places where it is necessary, through which the water can have its outlet, and we shall also promote the water course on the city grounds according to necessity.

And all middlemen and rent payers, jointly and severally, one before all and all before one, together with their heirs and beneficiaries, shall be bound and obligated jointly and severally to bring to the Town Hall, and to pay, the due and common rent at the appointed time, annually, to the Honorable Council, without any effort, expense or disadvantage to the authorities and their descendants, and without any hindrance and without any entry, withdrawal or rejection of ecclesiastical and secular rights and persons, except for no one.

On the other hand, the Honorable Council of the bailiff's office has offered to protect them and to support them, as well as other citizens and subjects, from and against all unlawful violence, and also to inform them of and to assist them in all possible and appropriate justice, and, if they are at any time disturbed and challenged in their religion by someone ecclesiastical or secular, we shall and will represent and relieve them of this. However, they must keep themselves quiet in their religion and not use or draw anyone to them.

We shall and will also not impose any new private tax or public tax on the public or rent payers, which they would then pay annually on their leased land. Except in emergency, when the Royal Monarchy of Poland, as our most gracious sovereign, may need additional revenue and help for this fatherland for the rescue, protection and defense of land and sites. Such measures will be decided upon in the future. The burden shall be among all the subject of the monarchy, regardless of privilege or exemption, and all shall be obliged to bear the same burdens as us and others.

In the case of unexpected invasions, whom God will graciously protect from and punish, the Honorable Council will, as soon as they learn of it, warn them in the best possible way, so that they may flee with their livestock and goods in time and secure them in safe places. If they would not be able to use or enjoy their land because of war and feud, they shall not be obliged to pay any rent for that time.

And since, after the expiration of 30 years, the Honorable Council may not want to continue the lease of the former landowners who are located in front of the city, but would want to lease them out for higher and more rent or, if may be that the same wants to let them, the above-mentioned former estate middle-men and interest payers and their heirs and beneficiaries to be the next owners (who may seek and apply for this in due time, along with others who want to rent the land) negotiate a new long-term contract according to the will of the Honorable Council.

If, however, it should happen that the old tenants or their heirs, after the expiration and completion of the above-mentioned 30 years, or otherwise for good reasons, should completely abandon this land, then all and every property which they have placed and built on the above-mentioned land during this period shall be assessed and valued by qualified authority, after which assessment and discovery, because the city has granted and given them timber from their forest that was needed inside for building, half of it shall be paid to them and their heirs. Then they shall be obligated to cede, to grant and to hand over such land and property again to the Honorable Council with all and any property and improvements to the city without any withdrawal, plea and obligation, unhindered and without delay. And if the rent payers or their heirs have any objections or challenges to such estates or rent increases, as one would hope they would not, which might be detrimental or damaging to the city, then they shall do so with the due care and diligence of the Honorable Council.

Also, all shall have a free pass and route to the city churches and mills without hindrance for their needs. Item on the case to put, as one does not hope to happen, whether and if more named tenants would keep their heirs and descendants without payment of the above-mentioned rent or some other above-mentioned points, (but that shall not be in any way) the Honorable Council shall have at any time good reason and right, this often mentioned transferred property with all its jurisdiction and appurtenances together with all readiness for service nothing excluded, in their and the city's hands and power again to receive and take according to this court and country law and custom or also without all extension as the city's hereditary property and to rent to others whom one wants or to keep himself, to do with it and to leave unhindered by any men. [This paragraph makes very little sense]

From these and all the above mentioned things, the aforementioned lessees and their heirs or descendants shall not be deprived of any protection or exemption by any spiritual or secular law, rule, mercy, excerpt, custom or anything else of the kind that man may invent or conceive. For more evidence and assurance of our faith, we have affixed our official city seal to this letter, which was given on Monday before 9th Gregory after the birth of Christ in the fifteen hundredth and fourth and ninetieth year.

By virtue of and in virtue of this land lease, as much as the penalty of the new survey of the land, the Honorable Council has likewise also let sworn surveyors, citizens of Marienwerder, survey the land again for the honorable Gregory Dressieren and after the transfer of the twelve Morgen the tenants will be obliged to pay rent from now on until the end of their thirty years will owe the city, specifically for sixteen Hufen and seven Morgen and of the land in front of them one Hufe, three Morgen and 167½ Ruten. Otherwise, the above contract shall be held steadfast, firm and unbreakable in all other respects and clauses. Done the six twentieth day of September in the fifteen hundred and fifth and ninetieth year.

(Reichsarchiv Danzig, Liber actorum 322, 141.)

4. The Bishop of Culm, Laurentius Gembicki, on November 6, 1603, allows the town of Culm to lease its Lunau estate to Dutchmen. [rough translated from Latin]

By the grace of God, the Bishop of Culm, the perpetual Administrator of the Episcopate of Pomesani, we signify by our present letter to everyone and everyone who is interested. Since it was explained to us that in the name of our city of Culm, desiring to increase its own advantages and revenues, as well as to lease its land proper to the civil jurisdiction of Culm, a subject commonly called Lunawy in ancient times, to certain Hollanders for a prescribed period of thirty years under certain conditions: and it was begged of us that it would be permitted for them to do so with our consent. We have thought it proper for us to make use of the same supplication, nodding kindly to the increase, and to any who wish to increase and adorn our State, to give it our Consent to the proper execution of the matter, which indeed we give in our present letter. This farm, after it has been leased to the same Holland and has been lawfully delivered into possession, we are to have a good and firm settlement of it, and to enjoy it with all the benefits, profits, incomes, and improvements pertaining to it in ancient times, excepting none excepted and reserved according to the contract in it business to be concluded with them by the State, they shall hold the same Dutch, they shall possess them, and they shall enjoy them peacefully during the above-mentioned period, lest they publicly propagate a dogma foreign to the Catholic faith, or feed their ministers, and let them not build any Synagogues under deprivation of land and abrogation of privileges. Promising for us and for him, our most solemn and reverend successors, that we will not remove all the Dutch from the use and possession of the aforesaid land until the expiration of the time above written and expressed in their contract. remaining there safe by the lures of our superiority and the direction of the Lord.

Our seal affixed to it, in our castle of Lubaviens on the 6th day of November in the year one thousand and sixty-three.

Lawrence Gembicki, Bishop of Culm. (Reichsarchiv Danzig Orig. Pergament 322, 21.)

5. First lease of the village Gr. Lunau to Dutch Mennonites in 1604

In the name of the! Amen! We, the mayor and council of the city of Culm, hereby announce and disclose to all those who need to know this, that we have, with the consent and approval of the most reverend graces of our most gracious lords, conveyed to the honorable and prudent Tewes Gertschen, Eberhardt Hermans, Hans Thiere and Hans Geyker a parcel of the estate of our people together with the forest below Podwiessk [Podwitz] to the main common ditch under the following terms and conditions.

Firstly, the above-mentioned tenants shall hold the land for thirty years and use as much as the land will yield. The first year shall be free of rent, and the next years they shall pay rent on every Morgen in Polish florin at thirty groschen, and the other twenty years at prussian thalers, each at 38 gr. in petty cash on festival night. Moreover, the Honorable Council shall leave them free to build without rent on every two Morgen, and to the dikes and ditches two Ruten in the length. And on the same land and woods they may cut wood, small trees and shrubs to provide themselves with firewood and lumber for their needs according to their best use and pleasure. Above that, they may also relocate buildings which are standing on the same property at the moment, to another place, and build their barns and houses, which will be comfortable inside. And they may have fish ponds, ponds and duck pens on the same land, unpunished, set up as they please.

These craftsmen, a linen weaver, a tailor and a baker, may meet the needs of the village, but other craftsmen shall not hinder our citizens and their trades. They shall also be free to buy beer where they want for their table needs, but they shall not take it into an inn or tap house other than from the city. They shall also have the right to buy grain, fish, meat and other necessities for their enjoyment in the free market. Likewise, all kinds of fruit and milk and the grain, as will be farmed on the same land, if they could not sell the same in the city under the burghers nor make money. Between the harvest ["*aust*" and St. Gertude's Day [March 17] they shall be free to display, sell and distribute, as they know best. Where no stranger from the country comes to them in the country for milk, bread and cheese, they may sell them without hindrance. Likewise also their horses and cattle if they want to and can best.[?].

They shall have the power to appoint guardians for their widows and grandchildren and to preside over them according to law and equity. However, the Honorable Council shall reserve to them the *caduca* as well as the *judicia majora* and the supreme court.

Concerning the watercourse, which passes through the said estate on this side of the Horst to the Graudentz meadow, outside their measured land border to Gogoln [Gogolin] which has been constructed at the city's expense, the above-mentioned members of the estate shall maintain it themselves at their own expense. Also, in the same watercourse of the upper land from the other side of the borders of this above-mentioned estate Laune [Lunau] shall not be dammed, but the long standing community custom shall be observed. Concerning the common main ditch, they shall be obliged to maintain half as far as their measured land extends, what and where often the front of the same ditch is cleared from below and comes to their land boundary. Note that the Honorable Council wants to shield and protect them from injustice and protect their peace in all fairness. Also, where they have suffered harm from someone due to a breach of the dams and the use of the ditches, we shall protect them according to fairness and maintain justice according to lawful findings. They shall also be free from all contributions, except for the common royal treasury and the same shall be free and unrestrained in religion and matters of faith. Also, on Sundays and feast days from abstain from such work as do other people and subjects.

After the end of the contract, if the Honorable Council wants to rent the land to another, being the closest to it, they can best assess the value for themselves. If, however, the Honorable Council purchases the land for itself again and uses it for the city, the buildings, which they have built on the land, shall be assessed by a qualified authority, just like the other people and subjects of our central city.

In the same way, the above-mentioned tenants shall be permitted and allowed to accept other good rent and joint tenancies and, if it is necessary and convenient for them to occupy the land with other suitable and acceptable tenants. They shall be free to lease and sell it to each other, as is customary and in accordance with the common law on rent. They shall be obliged to stand all before one and one before all in payment of the same rent, also to use and enjoy the same land to the fullest, according to the best of their ability. After the end of the thirty-year period, you will be obliged to hand over the estate unencumbered, not burdened with any debts, well preserved within its borders without hindrance and damage to the authorities.

If however, the Honorable Council wishes to rent out the land [again], the renters or their heirs will have priority over strangers. In addition, the Honorable Council has promised to the fellow leaders of Lunau at their request that if in the future more land is to be conveyed and arranged in addition to this property and between Gogol and other landowners and fellow leaders, that the ones from Lunau shall be the closest before all other freedmen, as they can best be compared with each other. Where, however, other freedmen will hold and arrange the intended land according to other Dutch ways and means, those from Lunau shall, as then, be responsible for the maintenance of the waterway of the foreshore. [this paragraph basically states that the renters in Lunau will have first right of refusal for any additional land available in the area]

and the others shall continue to hold the same as far as it is due at their own expense.

For the record and certainty of our faith, we have hereunto affixed the great privy seal of our city. Done and given in our ordinary council session. After the birth of Christ in the six hundred and fourth year of the Friday after Reminiscere [“Remember” - The 2nd Sunday in Lent.].

Appensio Sigilli - Thomas Cechius notarius civitatis Culmensis.

The property Lunau contains twenty Hufen, one Morgen and four and eighty Ruten. Measured in September in the year 1611.

6. Schematic description of the contents of the leases from the Kulm territory: a) landlord, b) leased land, c) tenant, d) lease period, e) purchase money, f) annual rent, g) unique terms, h) place and time of issue, i) language and source.

Jamerau (Brankau). Pv. 1597 - 1627, 1627-57, 1662-92, 1692-1722, 1722-52, 1752-82.

a) Council of Culm. b) 9 Hufen 8 Morgen of good lowland, 1½ Hufen sandy land, c) Joachim Rathe [Donatz] Schulz, Joachim Lesskau his *Compan*, Hans Fott, Steffen Baltzer, Michel Decker, Hans Zimmermann, Ertman Stube, all Dutch people with their relatives, residents and fellows. d) 1627-57. f) 350 fl. g) Previous contract 1597-1627, free fishing for own food; permission to sell their cattle where they like; craftsmen shall not compete with the trades in the city; permitted are linen weavers, coopers and Dutch shoemakers; only Coelmisch beer may be served. Assurance of religious toleration. h) Town Hall in Kulm June 26, 1626. i) German, liber actorum 222, 141.

a) and b) as above, c) Jacob Donatz Schulz, Sievert Sievertsen councilman, Abraham Unrau, Henrich Konnert, Tewes Unrau and Christian Donatz Dutch, d) Whitsun [May 28, the 7th Sunday after Easter] 1662 - Whitsun 1692. e) 1400 fl. Polish coin, f) 359 fl. g) craftsmen etc. as above, they are free of private property of any kind, only the state levy imposed by the king they have to pay like the other villages, g) building sites remain without rent; cattle and horses they may sell where it suits them; butter, cheese, milk and small items [“Zwerg”] they have to offer only at the market of the city Kulm, h) Town Hall zu Kulm 30. October 1661, Joannes Busky Kulmscher town clerk, i) German, liber actorum 322, 141.

a) and b) as above, c) Jacob Pankratz Schulz, Henrich Weitgraffen and Wilhelm Knelsen Councilmen, Henrich Korneisen, Peter Pleyner, Hein Decker d) 23.5.1692 - 1.5.1722. e) 2500 fl. in 4 installments to pay f) 600 fl. g) linen weaver, cooper, blacksmith and Dutch shoemaker according to village time-honored custom; freedom of religion etc. h) Town Hall Kulm 23 May 1692. i) German, liber actorum 322, 141.

a) and b) as above, c) Peter Plenert Mayor, Giels Ewert councilman, Bartel Konert councilman, Martin Balar, Derk Petkier, Cornelius Grunau, Henrich Albrecht, Hans Futt (Fot!), Andreas Pankratz, d) 1722 - 52. e) 3000 fl. prussian currency, f) 660 fl. in two installments annually, g) as above, h) Rathaus Kulm, i) Polish, liber actorum 322, 141.

a) as above, b) 10 Hufen, c) Georg Knop Schulz, Jakob Cabel councilman, Cornelius Franz, Hans Schroeder, Hans Fut (Foot!), Hans Nachtigal, Jakob Wedel, Peter Siewert, Andreas Kurek, d) 1.5.1752 - 1.5.1782. e) 6500 prussian Gilder. f) 600 fl. pr. furthermore 15 *Scheffel* of oats, 40 pounds of ham, 2 eighths of butter, 80 pounds of cheese, g) from Schoeneich a Hufe was added, which the honorable Zabel holds.

Religious freedom according to old custom if their religion is further tolerated in Prussia. h) Town Hall Kulm 24 November 1752. i) Polish, liber actorem, 322, 141. German translation in Kontributionskataster 181.13056. A Derk Pytkier has a special contract for the same time with the Council of Kulm.

Gr. Lunau Pv. 1604-34,(1634-64), 1664-94, 1694-1724, 1724-54, 1754-84.

a) Council of Kulm, b) common town hereditary estate Lunau 20 Hufen c) Andres Block, Mayor, Michels Leuke, Paul Janzen, Martin Maller and Karsten Kuetzan d) 1664-94. e) 6000 fl. Polish. f) 747 fl. Polish coin one of them may give beer and brandy, but only Culmisch beer; Leinweber. Cooper, blacksmith and Dutch shoemaker, but that because of him they get along with the shoemaker brotherhood in the city. "We also grant them to build a school, where their children shall be taught by a German schoolmaster". Relig. Toleration. g) Fishing and sales rights as with Brankau, drainage obligations. h) Kulm Town Hall, April 2, 1664. i) German, liber actorem 322, 141

a) and b) as above c) Martin Krugen Schulz, Peter Ewerten and Gerthen Schroedern both councilmen Peter Oben, Gerth Jantzen, Joachim Kutzen, George Klassen, Jacob Wiesen, Martin Weitgrafen, Urban Ungern, Georgen Schumachern, Michel Emcken, Michel Blocken, Peter Siewer ten, Wilhelm Lorentzen, d) 1 May 1694 - 1 May 1724, e) 8000 fl.pr. f) 1194 fl. pr. g) Linen weavers, tailors, blacksmiths and coopers have to pay all the required fees of the city guilds, such as registration fee and wax money, they may also employ 1 apprentice and 1 journeyman; religious freedom; school maintenance; they may appoint every year in May, a Mayor and court, to preside over widows and orphans, exercise lower jurisdiction, while the council, as in the other villages also, reserves the higher jurisdiction. h) Kulm Town Hall, December 11, 1693. i) German, liber actorem 322, 141.

a) and b) as above. c) Peter Hobe, Mayor, Peter Derks, Georg Meister, Councilmen, Peter Hobe, Aron Eckert, Isaak Gertz, Georg Heyn, Tobias Zeis, Christian Lebnau, Peter Ewert, Dietrich Penner, Hans Kramus, Heinrich Jantz, Michael Block, Jakob Bartel, Kornels Jantz, Adam Zelnau. d) (1.5.) 1724 - (1.5.) 1754. e) 10400 fl.pr. f) 1194 fl.pr. g) Blacksmith, tailor, linen weaver and cooper, each of them has to pay 6 fl. annually to the chamberlain in Kulm and 6 fl. annually to the Kulm guild, may keep apprentice and journeymen and must otherwise fulfill all demands of the guild. School, freedom of religion, etc. as before, h) Kulm Town Hall, January 2, 1723. i) Polish, liber actorem 322, 141.

a) Council of Kulm, b) 17 Hufen 20 Mg. c) Georg Hein, Schulz, Andreas Gertz and Jakob Bartel, Councilmen, Abraham Gertz, Derksen Franz, Peter Tyart, Heinrich Bolt, Peter Kromus, Derk Pytkier (Poetker), Peter Derk, Derk Buse, Jakob Richert, Klas Frantz, Siwert Siewert, Adam Zelnau. d) (1.5.) 1754 - (1.5.) 1784. e) 1700 fl.pr. f) 1061 fl.pr. g) to the inn belong 3½ Morgen; 300 fl. purchase money to be paid in one lump sum. "Hereby they shall also not be denied or their descendants to remain with their religion according to old privileges, provided others in Prussia of this religion will be tolerated." i) Polish, liber actorem 322, 141, German translation in Kontributionskataster 181, 13056.

Schoensee. Pv. (?-1594), 1594-1624, 1624-34, 1670-1700 1700-40, 1740-80.

a) Kulm Council, b) - c) Peter Lickfett, Ernst Koehn, Hans Fott, Michel Littfin, Andreas Unrau, Peter Steffen, Jakob Meister, d) 1670-1700. e) 7000 fl.pr. f) 620 fl. Polish, g) as in Brankau and Lunau,

(4 craftsmen: linen weaver, cooper, blacksmith and Dutch shoemaker). Relig, toleration. h) Kulm Town Hall, May 1, 1670. i) German, liber actorum 322, 141.

a) Council of Kulm, b) 15 Hufen, plus one Sandhufe, c) Michel Meister, Schulz, Georg Buller and Georg Boltz, Councilmen, Ferdinand Hube, David Futt (Fot), Andres Decker, Peter Siewert, d) 1700-40. e) 10,000 fl. pr., f) 1018 fl. pr. g) Linen weaver, blacksmith, cooper and tailor. Cooper shall see to right measure at the eighths [?]. Crops and dairy products may only be sold in Kulm, h) Town hall in Kulm, May 2, 1700. i) Polish document, parchment 322, 34, liber actorum 322, 141.

a) Council of Kulm, b) 17 Hufen 32 Morgen, c) Hans Fut (Fot), Mayor, Jakob Eckert and Peter Nickel, Councilmen. Georg Bremer and Tyman Bult (Bolt), d) May 1, 1740 - May 1, 1780. e) 15,200 fl. pr. f) 1018 fl. pr. g) as above; the 32 Morgen of land were taken from Schoeneich, h) Kulm Town Hall, November 6, 1739. i) Polish, liber actorum 322, 141, German translation Kontributionskataster 181, 13056.

Schoensee. There are also 2 Hufen, which belongs to two citizens in Kulm. One Hufe is leased to Peter Nickel for the period of allocation, i.e., for 50 years until 1802. Nickel has given 3300 fl. purchase money and pays 70 fl. annual rent for his Hufe, plus 1 ham, 12 pounds of cheese, 32 pounds of butter to the widow Forgas in Kulm. The treasury has granted the ownership of the second parcel for the same duration to Cornelius. He pays rent of 65 fl., 1 ham of 12 pounds, 1 cheese of 12 pounds, 32 pounds of butter and 2 geese to Johann Taubenhahn in Kulm. (Kontributionskataster 181, 13056).

Dorposch. Pv. 1693-1733, 1733-73.

a) Council of Kulm, b) - c) Jacob Eckern Mayor, Tobias Schellenberger und Simon Lindger, Councilmen d) 1693-1733. f) 600 fl pr. g) At the beginning it is said that the town of Kulm acquired the Kaempe Dorposch legally. The privileges of the residents of said Kaempe from 1693 are confirmed, which they had from their former authorities, h) Town Hall in Kulm, December 18, 1696, confirmed, i) liber actorum 322, 141.

a) Council of Kulm, b) 6 Hufen, 15 Morgen Zinsland, c) Georg Feit, Daniel Pischkier (Poetker?), Peter Tesmer, Christian Parpart, Johann Nachtigal, Jakob Isaak, d) 1733-73. c) 3250 fl. pr. f) 700 fl. pr. g) School and schoolmaster according to old privilege, h) Town Hall Kulm 1733. i) liber actorum 322. 141. pol.

In 1773 Dorposch had 6 Hufen 15 Morgen of village land and 3 Hufen Kampen. Among the names of the 14 emphyteutic owners the following are to be addressed as Mennonite: Gert Block, Gert Block, Peter Volttsehe, Jens Gertz, Joh. Schroeder, Johann Nachtigalsche, Laurenz Sparueng [Sparling], Heinrich Isaac. The German school is Lutheran (181, 13056).

Kempe Swinia Lanzia (Schweinewiesen).

(a) Council of Kulm, (b) 4 Morgen 272 ruten, (c) Abraham Gertz, Jacob Friese, Dirk Buller, Jakob Beierau, Stanislaus Dudki, Jakob Knoff. (d) 1765 -1802. (h) Kulm Town Hall, 7/23/1765. (i) Polish, liber actorum 322, 141.

Horst.

a) Council of Kulm, b) 3 Hufen, c) Siewert Jart and Abraham Becker, d) 1740-70. e) 1200 fl. h) Town Hall in Kulm, 30 Oct 1739. i) Polish, liber actorum 322, 141.

In 1773 the residents are all Mennonites. Joh. Vat, Andreas Kenth, Johann Wichert, furthermore Hans Unruh, living in Schoensee, owns 12 Morgen in Horst. Furthermore: Johann Becker, linen weaver, Goert Ekert, linen weaver, Andreas Vat, tailor. The village land amounts to 3 Hufen, 15 Morgen of which are silted up and are non-rent bearing. Five days Scharwerk for each Hufe in the brick yard with 4 horses is bringing the loads partly of clay, partly of wood used.

In the leases of the Kulm council with the other chamberlain villages the following names are found, among others, which can be considered Mennonite:

Schoeneich, 1631-39, 1641-56, 1670-1710, 1730-1760. Abraham Kornelius, Hans Fut (Fot), 1670, Heinrich Poetker 1730. Peter Unruh, Wilhelm Knels, Jacob Bartel, Albrecht Leps, George Bartel, Jacob Penner, Jacob Vodt of 25 tenants in 1773.

Rossgarten. 1653-83, 1683 - 1713, 1713-49 1730-48, New Rossgarten; 1748-78 Old and New Rossgarten. Thomas Nickel 1660, Georg Boltz, Martin Weytgraf 1719, Kornelius Franz 1730, Johann Unrau, Martin Weitgraf 1749.

Koeln. Adrian Frantz 1639, Jakob Zybert 1691, Grenz. Pv. 1684-1714, 1719-49, 1749-79. Martin Wichert, Christian Schmid, Paul Wichert 1719. Christian Block, Georg Bolt, Michael Lorens 1750. Andres Block, Gergen Block, Michel Lorens, Jakob Lorentz 1772.

Lease agreements of Kulm citizens about their allocation lands in the Koemmerei villages.

Dorposch.

a) Johann Gwodziwski. b) 8 Morgen of oak forest allotted to him at the last allocation lasting until 1802, c) Christoph Plock with wife Annike Dirksen, Gehrt Plock with wife Lieske Wiegerts, Isaak Schultz with wife Marike, Gehrt Plock with wife Agneta Bartels, d) 1764 - 1802. e) 1600 fl. pr. f) 32 pounds of butter, 12 pounds of May cheese, 10 pounds of ham, 2 fat geese, h) Kulm. 15 May 1764. i) Kontributionskataster 181, 13056.

Kl. Lunau.

a) Citizens of Kulm, b) 14 Hufen 29 Morgen, c) In 1772 are 16 residents, of which have Mennonite names Peter Frantz, Hans Eckert, Peter Tiarth, Zacharias Ewert, Dirk Behrend, Hans Bartel, Andreas Ewert, Jacob Poetker, Johann Ewert, Andreas Geritz, Peter Vodt. f) In money 930 fl. In kind: butter 15 eighths at 8 pounds - 140 fl. 12 gr.; cheese 10 pieces at 8 pounds - 24 fl.; ham 14 pieces = 35 fl.; 10 geese = 5 fl.; 3 chickens = 18 gr. i) Kontributionskataster 181, 13056.

Among the 13 tenants the following are Mennonite: Jacob Frantz, Witwe Schroederin, Andreas Unrau, Martin Wichert, Dietrich Plehnert, Johann Nachtigall, Hermes Goede, Abraham Goeritz.

Venedia.

a) Citizens of Kulm, b) 2 Hufen 1 Morgen, c) 5 residents: Johann Block 15 Morgen, Jacob Voigt 16 Morgen, Peter Zarth 7 1/2 Morgen, Jacob Poetker 7 1/2 Morgen, Peter Tiaht 7 1/2 Morgen, d) 10-year purchase land. f) In kind: 24 pounds of butter (the pound at 9 gr.) yields 7 fl. 6 gr.; 1 cheese at 10 pounds = 1 fl.; 1 chicken = 6 gr. In money 210 fl.

Niederausmaass,

a) Citizens of Kulm, b) 16 Hufen 15¾ Morgen *Zinsland*. c) 20 residents, of which were Mennonites: Heinrich Block, Heinrich Bartel, Isaac Schroeder, Jacob Goertz, Peter Schroeder, Isaac Poetker, Heinrich Block jun., Peter Richert, Peter Ediger, Peter Ekert, Martin Baltzer, Tobias Bartel, Peter Jantz, f) 1170 fl. g) The whole village must transport 51 Fuder hay to Kulm instead of the Scharwerk. The following craftsmen are present: 1 blacksmith, 4 shoemakers, 2 tailors. The schoolmaster, the tailor Ferdinand Joachim, receives 40 fl. from all the Hufen. In wood money 15 fl. Each tailor pays 2 fl. annually to the tailor's guild. i) Contribution cadastre 181, 13056. Mennonite residents: Heinrich Block, tailor, furthermore the tenants Andreas Schroeder, Heinrich Schroeder, Benjamin Wedel, Ferdinand Joachim.

a) Carl Ernst Heinrichsdorf , rural court judgement in his and the other Forbesian co-heirs name. b) Their Ausmassland situated between Jamerau and Gogolin in Horst. c) Cornelius Frantz on Jamerau, George Bremer in Schoensee, Isaac Willems and Siewert Goertzen, co-residents in Horst, d) For the duration of the allocation period until January 1, 1802. e) 3600 fl. f) 65 fl, in kind: one eighth of butter, 12 pounds of good May cheese, two fat geese or for each goose one guilder, finally at Easter a ham of 12 pounds, g) The chamber has the authority over the land, h) Kulm, suburban court, September 1, 1755. i) Kontributionskataster 181, 13056.

7. The hereditary lord of Gruppe, Felix Konarski, leases on February 22, 1604 an area of unspecified size, for 50 years to three Mennonites.

It is known and evident to all and everyone who sees, hears or reads this letter that I, Felix Konarsky, hereditary owner of Grub and Taschaw, together with my beloved wife of the house, for both of our heirs, heirs and descendants, willingly and for good reasons, have granted the three men, namely Abraham Franns, Lahwe Ekert and Hanns Kriecher and their descendants, to take some undeveloped and marshy land as well as their heirs for fifty successive years from the current year on festival and thus until the end of the contract, which will be when it is written in 1654 of the future year. I also want to have such submitted, granted and presented together with my beloved wife, held by all my heirs and descendants, I will not be released from any right and excuse. The above-mentioned men, together with their heirs and descendants, shall have the same land in this form, with the following rights and freedoms:

Firstly, that they may use the same land for all their best benefit, prosperity and opportunity, with burial rights (begrabung), diking, removal of free water, as is intended to be most convenient for them and their heirs. They shall also not be bound to let other free water through their land and ditches. Besides this, they and their descendants shall have a free way through the third, which shall be in their land, as well as a free way over the Michelaw at all times. They may also build a bridge over the Montow according to their liking. I also hereby grant that they may hew and fetch birch, pine and fence branches from my forest as well as firewood for their own needs. So that they may build their buildings properly, it is my will and grant that they may have seven thousand masonry bricks and five thousand roofing tiles for each building or yard. But that they may carry the wood to be burned, as well as to transport the bricks and to pay the brickmaster for his work. I will also provide for my heirs, successors and descendants, so that the citizens will always keep an open and pure water for them to draw from. Hereby I also declare that where their boundary abuts mine, I will maintain half the boundary at my expense.

What they will now acquire in the aforementioned their border, be it barley or other products, they shall be free to ship and sell the same either by land or by water, at places and places, as they know best and as is most convenient for them.

They shall also have free fishing in the Montaw. They and their descendants shall not be refused to keep bees. If anyone desires bees from me and my descendants, we shall and will receive half the bounty thereof.

They shall also have the power in their own courts to hear and judge all kinds of matters, and their heirs and mine shall have the right to appeal to the proper authorities and higher courts, as well as criminal matters. I will also not permit, nor will my heirs and descendants allow, that in times of war no soldiers shall be quartered by them. Much less that they should make or arrange such at their own expense. In addition, they shall also be free to have two *Scheffel* of malt at any time in their dwelling for their own brewing needs and to have beer [for sale; "*Schenkbier*"], but as much as will be necessary for their households. As far as their religion is concerned, they shall remain unchallenged by me and my descendants.

If it should also be the case that one of these three should die, then the wife or widow and her dependents shall be free to settle in my and my own territory, wherever they wish, whether in my and my own territory or under the jurisdiction of another. Each of them shall also have the right to sell, transfer and give away his share of the land until the end of the above-mentioned years, but in such a way that I and my heirs and purchasers shall not be deprived of the annual interest or otherwise. Accordingly, if one of them should die, as far as the farm and land is concerned, the other two neighbors shall have first right of refusal.

For all these lands, enjoyments, fisheries, and ceded freedoms given and transferred by me, they shall and will be obligated to give me, my heirs, and descendants every year on the eve of the feast of this current one thousand six hundred and fourth year, for every Morgen three marks prussian, six groschen, and twelve pfennig Prussian [currency]. And the first rent day will begin as mentioned. Equally, eight groschen from each Morgen, as much as they will own and have on the land.

Since, however, God forbid, they were expelled because of war, and they were not able to use the land, they shall not be obliged to pay the rent due, until such time as they possess their property and land again. They shall also be maintained at the said rate and shall not be forced or compelled by anyone to perform any other duty, work or estate service in respect of the said rate, but shall be exempt from everything if they pay their due rate. After the expiration of the above-mentioned fifty years of their possession, if they or their descendants want to give what another offers to give, then they shall be and remain the rulers of the aforementioned land.

To certify the truth of all this, and to make it more firm and unbreakable, I have knowingly appended my inherited estate together with my dear spouse hereunder, and have signed both our hands, hereunto and thereto, the noble and magnanimous H. Michael Konarsken, Danziger Castellanen, Hauptmann auf Hammerstein, the Reverend in God Davit Konarsky Abbot of the monastery Oliva, the noble Ernveste H. Stenzell Hauptman on Mitow, besides also in guardianship of the noble and virtuous wives bodily brothers, the noble Erenvesten H. Joan and George Sokolowski.

Done and given in our hereditary village Grubbe [Gruppe] the 22nd day of February Anno Domini 1604.

With handwritten signatures of Felix Konarsky, David Konarski, Euphrosyne Konarski, née Kokolowski, Michael Konarski, Stanislaw Konarski.

Org. parchment. The earlier hanging seal is missing. (In the possession of Mrs. H Siebrand in Brattwin).

8. Original description of the founding of the village Neunhuben in 1745.

It is hereby written down as a souvenir how it happened that the village of Neunhuben was inhabited by peasants.

Because the Gotten-Taeuers Manor has been willing to sell the manor Neunhuben in the year 1745, March 1, it has offered the same to Franz Koepper on Brattwin, so he would be so good and to provide him with some merchants. Franz Koepper answered that it would be too expensive to be purchased by one or two. So the Tauer said that 5 or 6 could buy it and share it out. Since there will be a lot of work to be done on the Vistula and I don't know anything about it, I am now willing to sell it. After that he has valued everything according to his opinion, as follows:

The house, the barns, the stables, the graineries, the sheds, which are situated around the house, the same all in one sum added up for	2,200 Gl.
After that the other buildings, which are located apart, as the inn and the dairy, these two buildings he adds together	1,330 Gl.
Then the brewhouse and malt house and brewing kettle with the brewing cellars he calculates	500 Gl.
After that the cottages, the first one the two new cottages each one of four rooms, which he calculates	600 Gl.
Then 3 old cottages, each of 2 rooms which he adds together	250 Gl.
In addition also 50 head of cows, the head of 30 together makes for it	1,500 Gl.
Also 20 head of horses, he counted 30 each, make the sum for it	600 Gl.
And the land he reckons the Hufen two thousand guilders, so it makes for the 11 Hufen in sum	22,000 Gl.
In addition the 2 Kaempfen, on and around the Vistula and without any farmland, which he reckons	2,000 Gl.

This is the purchase proposal that he made and gave to Franz Koepper. Franz Koepper and took this proposal with him and showed it to Peter Rosenfeldt from Montau. Because he wanted to buy land on Brattwin at that time, Franz Koepper said to him, if their land was valuable, you could also buy the Neunhuben, because that is now for sale. Peter Rosenfeldt then took this paper to Montau and showed it to his father-in-law, Jan Block, who did not object to this proposal. After that Franz Koepper himself came to Jan Block in Montau and talked to him about it. Whether it would not be good if the Neunhuben could be bought, because it is very good ground and the purchase price was reasonable.

So, Jan Block and his son-in-law Peter Rosenfeldt as well as Heinrich Goertz and his son Hans Goertz, all four from Montau, as well as Peter Kliewer and his son Peter Kliewer, both from Klein Sanskau, these 6 men were united, to evaluate Neunhuben and to inquire about the purchase of the Gottentauschee Manor. These now traveled there, as well as 4 men from Dragass to look at the same, along with Franz Koepper from Brattwin. Because he was acquainted with the Gottentauschee Manor, he spoke first, saying that here are men who would like to buy Neunhuben and asking if they could have the freedom to see the same; so we are hereupon given permission to see it. So we went to the stables and looked at the horses and cows. After that we went to the countryside from the house to the hill and also to the dairy and looked at the cows everywhere. And because the Gottentauschee Manor had guests at that time, we did not talk much with her about the purchase, but said that we would think about it and come back at another time. After that we went home and talked about who would like to buy it and live in it. So the first Franz Koepper from Brattwin, Rosenfeldt and Hans Goertz both from Montau, Peter Kliewer from Klein Sanskau, Peter Kliewer from Dragass, Heinrich Bartel from Jenseit, and also Heinrich Geddert from Kulm Ausmass. These seven men agreed to buy and move into the Neunhuben.

After that they went back, also the three men with us, as namely Jan Block, Heinrich Goertz and Peter Kliewer. These three men have been everywhere with and at the trade, and have also been with us at the castle, so that we have finally entered into negotiations with the Gottentausche Manor on March 20, 1745, to buy the Neunhuben estate with all freedom and rights, as the Gottentausche Manor has inhabited it with all buildings, which are on this Neunhuben. In addition, also the 50 milk cows in the dairy, also 2 large bulls, 17 weaned calves, 20 horses, 100 Scheffel of barley, 60 Scheffel of alder, 15 Scheffel of malt, 10 Scheffel of peas and beans, 2 large wagons with all accessories, also a small wagon, 3 plows, 2 hooks, 6 pairs of sieves, 4 harrows with iron teeth. For all this, we finally agreed with the Gottentausche Manor for a certain amount of gold, namely for 27,300 guilders.

And while we were engaged in trade with the Gottentausche Manor, we also had to apply to the Schwetzer castle for approval, so that it would be done with the permission and consent of the castle authorities. And we also received support from the castle, so that they would protect us in freedom and justice and also accept us as their subjects. So we came to the castle many times with good gifts, so that they would be with us at the handing over and the signing of the deed, namely Count Zediersky and Governor Zadallinski; in addition we gave the mayor of Schwetz, namely Schinitzky and also the town clerk Gerlofsky and the town actuary. All of them were present at the handing over, so that the estate Neunhuben was handed over to us by a broker. After the transfer of Neunhuben was done in the house, the gentlemen left the house with us in front of the door and the Gottentauschee Manor had to touch the door and then the town actuary had to proclaim that the Gottentauschee Manor sold the Neunhuben estate to

seven men who want to pay for it and move into it with all freedom and rights. And thereupon the Gottentausche Manor let go the door and resigned from the house and we seven men had to approach the door again and touch the it. So the manor Neunhuben was handed over to us by a broker. And since the gentlemen were involved in everything, the expenses that they received from us amounted to 479 guilders.

After we bought the manor Neunhuben, the Vistula broke through the dikes that spring and did a lot of damage, so that the winter grain is all gone. And in the Deutsch Westfalen dike, three breaches occurred, in the young dike three breaches also occurred, and in the Sartowitz dam only one breach occurred, so that the water ran through the breaches until May 11. So we moved there 8 days before May and lived together for a year. Peter Kliewer senior, lived in the big room, young Kliewer lived in the small room, Peter Rosenfeldt and Hans Goertz both lived in the brick room, Heinrich Bartel lived in the inn, Hinrich Geddert lived in the dairy, Franz Koepper from Brattwin rented his part of the land to Peter Kliewer senior for one year. And because the land was divided into three parts, one of them was sown with winter grain and almost all wasted, so we divided the winter field and the summer field into seven parts for one year, including the meadows. And on the third field we grazed the cattle together. Because the meadows were a quagmire, we first discussed with the castle authorities whether it would be possible to dig the drainage ditch a little further. So they promised that when it was dry, they would come out and see it. So the people of Deutsch Westphalia also needed it very much, because they were using the same drainage system and hoped that this would be a suitable solution. However, since an old ditch from Heinrich Janzen's land and through Ernst Lauen and Friedrich Lauen's land and up to Brattwin to the Montau, it is considered good if it could be expanded there. So we were advised by the three men, if we could finance the project from among the residents, that we would dig the drainage ditch through their land. So the three men, Jan Block, Heinrich Goertz and Peter Kliewer, went there for a while and talked to the people about it, but they did not want it. So finally the residents of Deutsch Westphalia took up the matter, namely Alt Lau, Jakob Meister, Peter Richert, Jakob Schmidt and Adam Drawanz, and gave notice of this to the authorities, if they would be of help to us in this, so that the ditch might be dug further. So that also for a certain time the gentlemen have promised that they will come out to visit the same. So is the Count Zediersky as well as the lord of the castle Zadalinski, also the mayor from Schwetz, Schminitzky, and the town clerk Gerlofsky, also the lord of the manor of Morsk, also still the nobleman of Sartowize. These six gentlemen came here for a certain time and saw where the expanded ditch could be dug. So the Deutsch Westphalian residents and all of us went with them to see where it could be dug. The Polish Westphalian and Brattwin neighbors were very opposed to this, so that they did not want to allow it to be dug through, and the lord of the castle was very displeased with this, so that he demanded that those through whose land it was to be dug through be summoned to the castle by order,

and on the next day he undertook the matter and made a decree about it, as the 3rd of July, which decree is also with us in the council's drawer [*"Ratslade"*], so that we have freedom and permission to dig the ditch through their land and forbidden under heavy penalty, those who would try to prevent us from doing so.

We soon hired diggers (Graeberleut) and had the new drainage ditch dug through, Dt. Westphalia has paid 10 Hufen in addition and Neunhuben 11 Hufen, and from Polish Westphalia as Vierau and Albrecht, they have each paid half a Hufe in addition, so that on our eleven Hufen the expenses have come to us with what the owners have received and the grave digger's fee is in total 115 florins.

After we have now lived together during the summer and have done the harvest, we have discussed among ourselves that we want to seek 4 men, who would like to be helpful to us in this, in order to measure and distribute the land and the buildings. So we have asked Peter Dirks from the Obergrupp, Franz Ewert from the Nieder-Grupp, Franz Goertz from the Compagnie and Dirk Goertz from Dragass. These 4 men met on the 1st of September of this year 1745 here at Neunhuben and have taken on the matter quite faithfully, in order to be helpful to us in this. After they had inspected the land and the buildings and evaluated the same, they found a difference in the land, because one side of this land was a bit sandier, so they made a modification in this and discussed it with us, as well as with some of our fathers who were also involved in the whole deal, namely Hans Balzer from the Obergrupp, Peter Kliewer from Klein Sanskau, Heinrich Goertz and Jan Block both from Montau and also Heinrich Bartel from Gr. Lubin into a very exact and precise consideration took from the best what taken off and to the poorer which should be added, so that each are now equal. These conclusions shall be considered fixed and unchangeable. Also, each village shall pay the same rent and taxes, because each village has equal value. And now that everything has been measured and distributed, the corrections took place on September 8 at the Schwetz Castle. (The 7 lots had the following dimensions: 1) 46 Morgen, 225 Ruten, 73 Schuh; 2) 46 Morgen, 193 Ruten, 9 Schuh; 3) 46 Morgen, 194 Ruten, 11 Schuh; 4) 46 Morgen, 207 Ruten, 1 Schuh; 5) 48 Morgen, 224 Ruten, 7 Schuh; 6) 48 Morgen 208 Ruten; 7) 48 Morgen, 215 Ruten, 11 Schuh. Furthermore, it was determined which ditches each resident had to maintain). And after the adjustments were completed, each of us started to work on his own land, and in the same autumn we had the border dikes dug up. And in the winter we started to bring timber from the royal forest, for which our friends helped us. And in the spring we transported some more wood from the Schwarzwasser and brought it down, so that in the following year, on the first of May 1746, everyone began to build on his land, to border, dig and plant as much as possible. The work to be done caused us many sleepless nights. With the laths, planks and boards that we have now have built a summer stable, barns and houses, and their five have built from old wood small dwellings, and the sixth has converted the dairy building

on his lot into a dwelling house, and the seventh a house. So that we lived in these dwellings for some years and are thereby all the time on good order anxious, in order to build in the future by God's help also still other dwellings, (After some trouble the residents of Neunhuben succeeded in receiving a more liberal connection with the royal forest. A resident in Neu-Mersau allowed them to take the road there across his field in exchange for monetary compensation.) After some time in the small dwelling houses we have helped each other, so Hinrich Bartel and Dirk Goertzen were the first of the five to build their new dwelling houses onto the stables. In the year 1750 and after that Hans Goertz and Peter Rosenfeldt built on the following time in 1753 their new dwelling houses at the stables and Hinrich Geddert built the last his dwelling house at the stables namely in 1755, so that in only 10 years we have completed the buildings we needed. In short, we want to show what has happened to Neunhuben from its initial state, so that the descendants should know with how much effort and work and expenses that it has cost us.

(The manuscript is in the possession of Mr. Alfred Rosenfeld in Sellnowo).

9. Title page of a Dutch hymnal

Sommighe Leerachtige Gheestlijcke Liedekens.

Ghedrukt tot Haerlem

Bp. Hans Passchiers van Wesbusch

Boeck-drucker op't Marckt-veldt

in the beslaghen Bpl.

Anno 1638.

(In the possession of Mr. Kurt Schroeder in Montau.)

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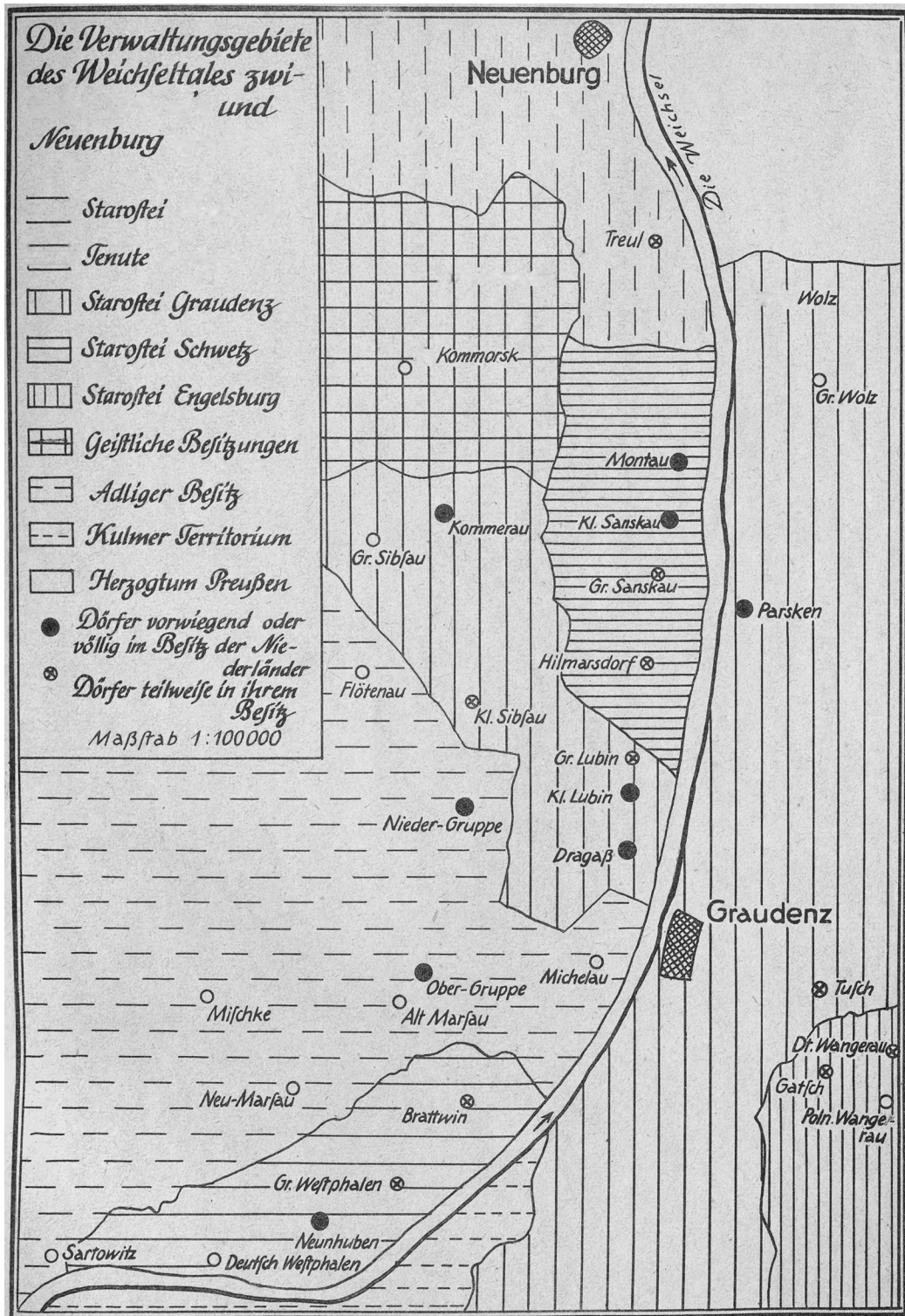
Plan des Dorfes Montau vom 30.7.1785.

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[Translation of the title box.]

The administrative areas of the Vistula Valley between and Neuenberg

Starostei

Estates

Starostey Graudenz

Starostei Schwetz

Starostei Engelsburg

Church owned

Noble property

Kulmer Territory

Duchy of Prussia

● Villages predominantly or entirely owned by the Dutch

⊗ Villages partially owned

Scale 1:100,000

Obituary of Herbert Wiebe

Herbert Wiebe born in Groß-Falkenau, West Greußen, September 7, 1912, killed in the east on March 3, 1943.

An obituary from Dr. Kurt Kauenhowen, Gottingen

The young West Prussian historian Herbert Wiebe is one of the best hopes that the war took away from Mennonite historical research in the Vistula region.

He was born on September 7, 1912 in Gross-Falkenau, Kr. Dirschau, West Prussia. His parents were Hofbestzer Otto Wiebe, who lived in Groß-Falkenau, born in Tiege near Tiegenhof on September 3, 1877, died in 1940 in Buschdorf via Halle (Saale), and his wife Ella, née Stammer, born in Johannisdorf, Kr. Marienwerder, June 23, 1884.

Herbert Wiebe attended high school in Marienwerder and later the Conradinum and the Kronprinz-Wilhelm-Realgymnasium in Danzig-Langfuhr, which he left in 1932 with his high school diploma. In the years 1932-33 he worked in the voluntary labor service. From 1933-35 Herbert Wiebe studied history, geography and German in Danzig.

Since his homeland was ceded to Poland in 1919, he was forced to serve two years of Polish military service in 1935-36, during which time he acquired his knowledge of Polish and also the rank of corporal. As his sister Irma reports, as a German in the Polish army he was always able to help himself in difficult situations with good and humorous ideas. So he once said when a Polish question of conscience whether he would shoot at the Germans in the event of war: "I shoot, and God directs the bullet!"

In 1937 he continued his studies in Danzig, from 1938-39 he went to the University of Freiburg i. Vr. and then returned to Danzig. After graduating from the Staatseramen, he went into higher education and worked as a trainee teacher and assessor at various higher educational institutions in West Prussia. However, he did not find in this work the satisfaction he hoped for. His inclinations were directed exclusively towards scientific research, and so after his doctorate (Koenigsberg i. Pr. May 30, 1942) he made the decision to devote himself to a career as a librarian. However, this should not happen again, because his conscription into the army and his early death as a soldier put an end to these plans. He fell near Purvil in the Ukraine on March 3, 1943 in a fight against a partisan force.

Herbert Wiebe had turned to research into the history of the West Prussian Mennonites at an early stage, as he came from an owning family in Groß-Falkenau with the Mennonite name Wiebe, which was popular in the Vistula region. He was particularly qualified for such research because he not only brought with him intimate knowledge of the country and its people, but also such command of the Polish language that he not only used the relevant Polish literature but also Polish archival sources for his work could use. However, this had only been done very inadequately in previous research into the history of the Mennonites in the Vistula region. So he used the archives in Pelplin, Leslau and Warsaw and collected a material and acquired knowledge that could have borne rich fruit. He also possessed the incorruptible sense of truth that is so urgently needed by any historian and under no circumstances would he be dissuaded. A few sentences from one of his letters (dated September 10, 1940) are characteristic of this basic trait of his character. They are reproduced here because of the timelessness of the admonition contained therein: "Many friends of Mennonite historical research have a tendency to... paint ancestors with beautiful colors, making the shadows disappear as much as possible, following desire rather than reality. I firmly reject this procedure, our task can only be to capture as many rays as possible from the semidarkness of earlier times on our researcher's film, so that we can develop the clearest possible picture of our ancestors. Their achievement is so great that we don't

need to shy away from showing their shortcomings and one-sidedness, just as they are part of their essence, as are their advantages, yes, in part, a prerequisite for their achievement.

Almost all of his research is related to the Vistula lowlands before the Vistula delta, i.e. the areas between Weissenberg and Thorn. His essays are published in the *Mennonitischen Geschichtsblätter*, in the *Mitteilungen des Sippverbandes Danziger Mennoniten Familien*, in the *Danziger familiengeschichtlichen Blätter* and in the publications of the *Mittielungen der Niederländischen Ahnengemeinschaft*. They are all characterized by thorough study of sources and a prudent and important work, his dissertation on "The Settlement Work of Neiderland Mennonites in the Vistula Valley between Fordon and Weisenberg until the End of the 18th Century". He unfortunately did not live longer and the heavy fates, which broke over Germany and particularly the German northeast, prevented a publication also until today. Fortunately, the manuscript of the work was saved by Prof. Dr. Erich Keyser from Danzig and brought to Hamburg, so that it is hoped that the results of these investigations can be made known to Mennonite historical researchers. They concern a section of the settlement which has not yet been treated coherently, and it is to be expected that they will form a weighty counterpart to Horst Penner's well-known dissertation in issue 3 of the "Schriftenreihe" of the Mennonite Historical Society. Mennonite historical research has the honorary duty to erect such a monument to the researcher who was taken away from it so early.

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2. Die niederländischen (mennonitischen) Ansiedlungen in Pommerellen und den Ländereien der polnischen Krone im 17. Jahrhundert. In: *Mennonitische Blätter*, 86. Jahrgang, 1939, S 45-4? und 53—55.
3. Mennonitische Familiennamen in den Weichelniederungen von Graudeuz bis Thorn. In: *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*, August 1939, S. 34-39.
4. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Herkunft der Danziger Stadtmennoniten. Die „Bisitatio Hoppenbruchensis, Anno 1619, 6 Juny instituta". In: *Mitteilung des Sippverbandes Danziger Mennoniten-Familien*, 1914, S. 7-10
5. Die Holländersiedlung Karwenbruch und Kniewenbruch bei Putzig und ihre Beziehungen zu den westpreußischen Mennoniten. In: *Mitteilungen des Sippverbandes Danziger Mennoniten-Familien* 1941, S. 130-132, auch in: *Mitteilungen der Niederländischen Ahnengemeinschaft*, Hamburg, Oktober 1941, S. 169-171.
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Glossary of Terms as they Pertain to this Book

Cart Punishment or *Karrenstrafe* - infringers were made to work on the construction of fortifications while chained to carts.

Emphyteutic – A type of long term (usually 10 to 50 years) lease in which the tenant pays an initial fee, followed by an annual rent. Such a lease came with certain rights and responsibilities. These leases could be transferred to another tenant during the lease period. Not to be confused with a **Zeitpacht**, a short-term fixed term lease. Appears to be the same as an **Erbpacht**, an inheritable lease.

Gau – A term used extensively during the Nazi era to designate a territory.

Gottespfennig – see Laudemium.

Hufen – Equal to about 41 acres. There were 30 Morgen to a Hufen.

Hackenbude – a type of general store run by a Haeckenbuedner.

Handfeste – during the era of the Teutonic Knights, a Handfeste was the legal document giving the Knight the right to possess a village and associated lands. These are important as they tell us the founding dates of many villages later occupied by Mennonites.

Krug – a Tavern or Inn.

Kaemmereidorf – a village owned by a city.

Kempe (Kaempe) – usually situated along rivers, many of these later became villages.

Kontributionskataster (Contributions cadastre) – this refers to the 1772-73 census of the new province of West Prussia. This is often cited in the sources as 181, followed by a 5 digit code specifying the exact file number for the village of interest. Scans of the originals for the villages mentioned in this book can be found at:

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

Laudemium – a one-time non-refundable sum paid to the landlord of the Emphyteutic property when a rental contract is first signed.

Lustration – a type of economic survey of Royal properties carried out during the Polish era.

Morgen – Equal to about 1.38 acres. There were 300 Ruten to a Morgen.

Oekonomie – an economic region or territory.

Privilegium – similar to the English charter. A Privilegium was usually issued by the Monarch and could be given to a village, and individual or a group of people (such as the Mennonites). Privilegia were issued in perpetuity.

Ruten – Equal to about 200 square feet.

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.

Starost(ei) – a Polish administrative district, headed by a Starost.

Voivode – a governor of a Polish province.

Vorwerk – an small outlying residential area, usually associated with a nearby village or town. This term was later used in Russia to describe the cluster of residences associated with an estate.

Willkuer – the set of rules and regulations governing the operation of the village. These also gave the penalties imposed for violating the rules.