

The Dutch-Low German
Background
of the Mennonite eastward migrations
in the 16, 18 and 19 Centuries

by

Benjamin Heinrich Unruh

Translated and edited by Timothy H. Flaming (Cypress,
California) and Glenn H. Penner (MHA, Winnipeg, Manitoba)

2023



Im Selbstverlag

Die niederlandisch-niederdeutschen
Hintergründe
der mennonitischen Ostwanderungen
im 16., 18. and 19. Jahrhundert

von

Benjamin Heinrich Unruh

Im Selbstverlag

1955

Printed by Heinrich Schneider, Karlsruhe, Karlstrasse 28

Anschrift des Verfassers:

Prof. D. Dr. B. H. Unruh, Karlsruhe-Rüppurr, Diakonissenstrasse 20
Deutschland / Germany

Dedication

This work is dedicated to our "Mennonite Congregational Church" in the world and its "World Brethren Aid", its deserving deceased and living agents, furthermore to our pioneers throughout the centuries, in East and West, as well as to their benevolent Christian and idealistic friends everywhere in Europe and America. Above all, Mr. D. G. Doerksen, Oak Bluff, Man., Canada, who, with a generous repayable advance, made possible the printing of this study.

Unruh.

III

Table of Contents

Dedication		Page
Table of Contents		III
		IV
	Part I	
I.	To the question	1
II.	The Lowlands as the original homeland of the vast majority of the Prussian and Russian Mennonite groups	4
III.	Languages	12
	Brief Summary of the chapter	12
	The Anglo-Frisian	13
	The Frankish / Franconian	15
	The Lower Saxon (Plattdeutsch)	16
IV.	General information on the origin and nature of Mennonitism	17
V.	The Origins of Anabaptism in the Netherlands	19
	Brief Summary of the Chapter	19
	Anabaptism before Menno	23
	Anabaptism before Melchior Hofmann	24
VI.	East Frisia as a gathering place and asylum for Anabaptist refugees until after the middle of the 16th century	34
VII.	The Origin of the Frisian-East Frisian Anabaptist Immigrants	40
	VII a. The evidence for Chapter VII	48
	VII b. Methodology of Name Research	55
	VII c. Names from the East Frisian tax rolls (<i>Hebungslisten</i>) and the other lists reproduced in extracts below	66
VIII.	Menno Simon's life and literary activity from the point of view of questions of origin	74
IX.	The emigration of the Mennonites to Schleswig-Holstein and the Hanseatic cities	86
X.	The Emigration of Mennonites from Holland and Friesland to Prussia	88
XI.	About the contribution of Dutch pioneers to the German settlement in the East	96
XII.	The beginnings of Mennonite immigration to the Vistula estuary	100
XIII.	The immigration of Mennonites to Danzig and Danzig Werder	120
XIV.	The immigration of the Mennonites to the Elbing area	141
XV.	The Mennonites in the Vistula Lowlands (Graudenz, Schweiz, Kulm)	145
XVI.	The Mennonites in the Gross and Klein Marienburg Werders	157
XVII.	The Mennonite daughter settlements in Lithuania and in Netzebruch	162
XVIII.	The results of the investigation and their supplementary justification	165

IV

Part II		Seite
The Lists of the Low German Russian Migrants 1797- 1895, edited by Prof. Dr. h. c. Lic. B. H. Unruh as well as Franz Harder, in conjunction with Dr. Horst Quiring, Gustav Reimer Sr., Dr. K. Stumpp et al.		
Appendix. The Lists of Mennonite Russian Migrants 1787-1895		183
Foreword		185
Introduction to the lists of Low German Mennonite migrants to Russia 1787-1895		188
a) On the historical research of the Russian Mennonites		188
b) The Russian-German Mennonites in the framework of the Mennonites as a whole		189
c) The eastward migrations of Plattdeutsch Mennonites in the context of the Mennonite migrations in general		190
d) The causes that led to the eastward migration of the West Prussian Mennonites		192
e) A Chronological-Statistical Overview of the Immigration of the Plattdeutsch Mennonites to Russia		201
A. The emigrations of the Mennonite farmers up to and including 1806		203
a) To Chortitza		203
1. The migration of individual splinter groups in 1787 and 1788		203
b) The great emigration groups before 1800		206
List of Mennonite families in the Chortitza colony in 1793		210
1803 List of farm owners in the villages of the Mennonite Chortitza Colony		213
2. The immigration period up to 1806 inclusive		216
April 2, 1818 List of Mennonites newly immigrated from Prussia in 1818		217
3. The emigration after 1806		223
Summary		230
Sources		
a) Sources for the year 1795		236
Revision list for the year 1795 about the colonists-Mennonites who arrived on 1. 8. 1789 in Gouv. Ekaterinoslav for the villages: Chortitza, Rosenthal, Insel Chortitza, Einlage, Neuenburg, Neuendorf, Schönhorst, Kronsweide.		237
Revision list for the year 1795 regarding the Frisian Mennonites who arrived in 1793, settled near the Alexandrovsk fortress in the colony of Schönwiese. Including the Flemish Mennonites who arrived in 1794, not yet settled for the village of Schönwiese.		243
b) Sources for the year 1802		245
The "farmstead 1802" for the villages: Chortitza, Schönhorst, Neuendorff, Neuenburg, Insel Chortitza, Rosenthal		246

V

	Seite
Family list from April 27, 1802 regarding the Mennonites of the village of Neuendorf settled in the Chortitz area	254
c) Sources for the year 1808	257
Revision book for the year 1808. "Inscription by name of the colonists of the Chortitz colony who settled in the village of Einlage on September 20, 1808."	257
Also the village of Rosenthal	261
Also the village of Neuendorf	266
Also the village of Burwalde	274
d) Sources for the year 1814	278
Family list from October 4, 1814 regarding the Mennonites settled in the Chortitz area: in the villages of Kronsweyde, Nieder-Chortitza, Neu-Osterwick and Kronsthal	278
Summary	286
Brief explanation of the Collective Directory "EL 1795"	287
Migration to the Chortitza Colony area	287
Revision lists of October 27, 1808, concerning the Mennonites settled on the Molotschna in the following colonies: Halbstadt, Muntau, Schönau, Füschau, Lindenau, Lichtenau, Blumstein, Münsterberg, Altona, Ladekopp, Schönesee, Petershagen, Tiegenhagen, Ohrloff, Tiede, Blumenort, Rosenort, Fürstenau.	304
Family list of 19 July 1811 concerning the Mennonites of the village of Rückenau settled at Molotschna.	330
List of the villages on the left bank of Molotschna, documented in the District Office, in the course of the year from August 25, 1812 to August 25, 1813, born / married / died: villages, Halbstadt, Muntau, Schönau, Füschau, Lindenau, Lichtenau, Blumstein, Münsterberg, Altona, Ladekopp, Schönesee, Petershagen, Tiegenhagen, Ohrloff, Tiede, Blumenort, Rosenort, Fürstenau, Rückenau	331
Emigration (Molotschna 1803-1895)	336-391
Summary of the table of contents:	
Part One	Page 1-181
Footnotes	" 392-404
Part II (Appendix)	" 183-391
Footnotes	405-410
Gazetteer	" 411-415
Personnel Register	" 416-429
Directions for Use	" 431
Notes	" 432

*

The reader should, before reading this work, carefully consider the notes given on page 432.

PART I

This page blank in the original

Translators' and Editors' Comments:

Unruh repeats his points many times and much of the document is fairly technical and may not be of interest to every reader. There a much speculation in this book, which the reader should accept with caution.

Unruh's formatting is very quirky and has been difficult to deal with while keeping true to the original book. On some pages font size had to be reduced in order to keep all of the text on the same page. He also used a wide variety of font sizes and styles. His use of italics, expanded text, quotations, etc., have made it very difficult to reproduce his style.

Unruh used abbreviations liberally to save space. There are 11 Abbreviation keys on 10 pages. These cover some of the abbreviations. It appears that Unruh expected the reader to be familiar with the other abbreviations. The meanings of some abbreviations are unknown to the translators.

Unruh uses the DDMMYYY format for dates. This has been maintained in the translation.

There are 27 instances where Unruh places a footnote at the bottom of the current page to remind us of the title of the book that we are reading. These have been translated.

We have used the term "Anabaptist" liberally for such words as "Tauf gesinntten, Tauferlehre", etc."

It appears that Unruh did not standardize people and place names. We are leaving them as in the original.

The term "Dreierfriesland" is used 36 times and the term "Frisia triplex" 7 times. On page 56 he indicates that the 2 terms are synonymous. It refers to the 3 parts of Frisia which are (p. 20) Frisia (or Friesland), East Frisia and Gronigerland). It is translated 12 times as the Three Frieslands. In all cases we use the German term "Dreierfriesland".

The term "Hebunglisten" is used 11 times. (Page IV, 41, 53, 54, 58, 66, 68, 144 and 145). This term is retained in the translation.

this by making that line 9.5 point font rather than 10. In the final pass, I don't think I had to do this.

The errata, at the very end of the book, have been applied to the text.

In some cases, Unruh uses square brackets which makes it difficult to distinguish his remarks from mine.

Unruh uses the term "Gemeinde" in order to refer to community or congregation (religious community) and it is not always clear which is the correct translation. There are several of these ambiguous terms. Another is the word "Richtung".

I. To the question

At the Second German Mennonite Congress in Gronau in Westphalia, which immediately preceded the Third Mennonite World Congress in Amsterdam, the author gave a lecture on "Dutch Backgrounds of Mennonite Immigration to Prussia in the Sixteenth Century" on June 28, 1936, and a paper on the Origin of the Russian Mennonites to an interested circle in Stuttgart on August 24, 1936. Both lectures were published¹. Because the origin of the West Prussian is at the same time also that of the Russian Mennonite group, one can summarize both subjects, as it is also done in the title of the present monograph: *"The Dutch-Low German Backgrounds of the Mennonite Eastern Migrations in the 16th, 18th and 19th Centuries"*.

The question of the original homeland of the Mennonites in Russia, who emigrated there for the most part from West Prussia since 1787, was the subject of almost passionate discussions in connection with certain official measures during the First World War, even in Russian government circles, so that these questions of origin, which can only be solved by way of factual historical questions and investigations, were unfortunately politicized on the part of Mennonites, non-Mennonites and authorities, condemning efforts to clarify them largely to barrenness.

Leopold von Ranke once paraphrased the historian's task in classic terms: The historian should determine how things actually were.

He does not ask what might have been, he does not claim how it must have been, his only concern is, if at all possible, to establish what has been. And indeed, everything else is poetry and not history.

It was to be foreseen that our problem would be revisited again and again. This has happened. Already in 1922 an attack on the Mennonites in Russia was published in Germany by an outstanding scholar, in which they were accused of falsifying history in the matter of questions of origin, by the way, the author of the attack was a great admirer of the Mennonites because of their colonizing achievements in the wide world. This monograph sets it as its task.

The above-mentioned lectures of the author in 1936, following lively essays in the Canadian Mennonite weeklies "Der Bote" and "Mennonitische Rundschau" as well as a paper by H. H. Schroeder², and following preliminary works of various origins^{1&2}, dealt with the important question of how the closer examination of the already uncovered and still to be uncovered connections in our question could and should be done.

It is advisable to refer here to excerpts from U.'s remarks in the two papers mentioned above, where I refer to the Gronau paper and II to the Stuttgart paper.

The origin of the Prussian Mennonites is also the origin of the Russian Mennonites (I).

The recording of the Russian Mennonites encounters special difficulties. These have always existed, but thanks to the all-crushing world war and post-war events, they have increased to such an extent that the source documents hardly satisfy even the most modest scientific demands. One will have to come to terms with the fact that much here has slipped forever from any historical access. Very valuable records from the time of immigration, from the first period of the settlements, but also from their later stages of development have been destroyed. This is especially true of the church records. For example, the Mennonite congregation in Goessel, Kansas, has a very old church book, which was created in 1661 [actually 1782] in the area of Graudenz. It came with the Mennonite migrants to the Alexanderwohl colony in the Mennonite Molotschna area and from there to the state of Kansas, USA (II).

One difficulty in particular should be pointed out. The Mennonites in Polish and ducal Prussia were "Unburgers" until Frederick II, in Danzig even until 1800, and were treated according to alien law. The ecclesiastical registration of Mennonite births, deaths, baptisms, marriages, etc. was in the hands of clergymen of other Christian confessions and was often poorly done (II).

The question of the *original home* of Mennonitism in Russia, i.e., its seat in the pre-Prussian period of its history, has been neglected by historians so far, because it is a complicated task. Conjectures and assumptions cannot claim validity here, but only facts, verifiable connections and their methodical examination. If the historical sources are anything but pleasing, the clues that one comes across are to be considered and used all the more conscientiously (I and II).

We must *have a good questioning* at heart. It is generally accepted that the Prussian Mennonites in the 16th century came in their majority from the Dutch-Low German area, which is scientifically easy to substantiate and especially by the name research is brought into the light more and more brightly^{5 a)}. Already Reisswitz and Wadzeck wrote: "This Dutch origin is proved by the first and family names, the kinship and succession, the now (1821) not yet extinct knowledge as well as the use of the Dutch language, Dutch written teaching and edification books, but especially the Dutch custom and way of life as well as the kind of economic business among the Mennonites". As the main evidence of the Dutch origin of the Mennonites, the authors cite the use of Dutch as the language of worship.

"Finally, for a long time the correspondence between the Prussian and Dutch congregations maintained the connection until later the Prussian Mennonites formed independent congregations"⁴. However, in the Vistula and Nogat regions there was also an unspecified number of hundreds of Anabaptists from Switzerland and from Upper Germany.

a.) The reader should note that Unruh's footnotes are not sequential.

b.) The city now known as Gdańsk, was known, in German, as Danzig before 1945.

Thus we read in H. G. Mannhardt that Menno found refuge among Anabaptists from Switzerland, southern Germany and the Netherlands in the cities of the Baltic Sea³. The same researcher speaks in another article of an influx from the Netherlands, from Moravia and from South Germany to Prussia (I and II).^{6 and 7}.

The examination of the connections already discovered and still to be discovered has to be done methodically in such a way that above all one tries to mark out the historical-geographical spaces within which the majority of the Mennonites in Russia must look for the original homeland of their fathers, i.e., the homeland *before* the West Prussian period of their history. We recall that the countries of origin of Anabaptism in the 16th century were, as is well known, German Switzerland, Upper Germany and the Netherlands, including the neighboring Low German districts. Even if a hundred percent of the West Prussian-Russian Mennonites, which cannot be exactly determined because of the state of the sources, have to look for their ancestors in Southern Germany and in Switzerland, *most of the Mennonites in Prussia and Russia undoubtedly originate from the Lower Rhine areas, from the Dutch-Lower German region. This general fact has already been scientifically put into the light to a large extent.*

Some important questions arise here, of which, admittedly, it is not necessarily certain whether they can be satisfactorily settled historically at all, because the sources here flow more than scantily. They are the following questions:

1. can it be determined whether Mennonite emigrants in the 16th century migrated *directly* to ducal and Polish Prussia from the provinces that later belonged to the United Netherlands?
2. can it be determined whether certain Mennonite colonists, whom we meet in the two Prussias in the 16th century, came to the Vistula region from West Frisia, East Frisia and the Groningen area, which is most closely connected to it (from Groningen and the so-called "Umlanden" [surroundings]), as well as from the neighboring Low German areas?
- 3) Can the relative size of groups 1 and 2 to be determined approximately?
- 4) Is it necessary to clarify whether the two groups mentioned included *original* refugees, i.e., those who would have stayed only for a longer or shorter period of time before their eastward migration in the actually Dutch provinces or in East Frisia as well as in the neighboring Low German districts?

This last question places us in the midst of the intricate and confused Mennonite migrations in the 16th century, of which, unfortunately, we still do not have a systematic and exhaustive inventory⁷. Perhaps it is impossible to clarify it scientifically at all because of the inadequate stock of sources. If this is the case, then we must finally do without this clarification. According to the present state of research it is not attainable strictly scientifically. But we have to keep an eye on it permanently and register every new fact that can lead us further (II).

Here migration, settlement, genealogy, linguistics, etc. must have their say. The already registered publications represent beginnings of such investigations. The best clue for the determination of the origin of our people, the families and ethnicities, is unquestionably offered by the family names. According to Mannhardt, among the Mennonite names there are also those which are native everywhere, e.g., Müller, Schmidt, Becker, Schulz, etc., but most of the Russian Mennonite families bear in their names the characteristics of their origin. The majority of these names, however, point to the Dutch-German area as the original homeland of their bearers.

Perhaps we will find it a little easier with the other questions. For the purpose of a closer determination of the original seat of the majority of the Prussian-Russian Mennonite groups, above all those Germanic tribes have to be considered, which appeared in the Dutch-Lower German area and formed a state: the *Lower Franks*, the *Lower Saxons* and the *Frisians* (Angio-Frisians). All statements on our subject from Mennonite and non-Mennonite authors have lacked a final clarity about the connections that exist here (II).

II. The Dutch Original Homeland of the Great Majority of the Prussian and Russian Mennonite Groups

When in the 4th century A.D. among the Germanic tribes the migratory urge broke through in rare strength, the Frankish and Saxon tribes were not immediately seized by it. Only small groups from these tribes went along with the other Germanic tribes and came as far as to the Mediterranean Sea, even as far as to America⁸.

But even the Franks and Saxons who remained on German soil could no longer sit quietly as the migration of peoples continued to unroll. The Saxons at the Elbe pushed forward to the west. The Franks we find except at the Main (Upper Franconia) at the Middle Rhine (Middle or Rhine Franconia; these became the creators of the Frankish empire) and at the Lower Rhine (*Lower Franconia*).

The Franks: Their name, "at first for the region on the right bank of the Rhine,"³ soon spread to all tribes in the Frankish state. We then eventually find it applied to all Germans.

The Frankish confederation came into being for the purpose of defense. In the name Franks (= the free) was hidden a political slogan against Romanization.

How the Frankish empire grew cannot be further explained here. In our work we only have to deal with the *Lower Franks* at the Lower Rhine.

The Lower Saxons: they became the neighbors of the Frisians, with whom they were in battle, but together with whom they occasionally carried out privateering on the Belgian and Gallic coasts. In the following centuries we find them in Oberyssel and Drenthe.

From their original home, the Lower Saxons *then gradually populated the East Frisian peninsula*¹⁰.

The valor of the Saxons was also known to the British, whose call for help against the Celtic natives of Scotland, the Picts (Pikten) and Scots, they and other peoples (Angles, Jutes, *Frisians*) gladly followed.

This move to England began in the 5th century¹¹. For the characteristics of Lower Saxony, see Bielefeldt¹².

The Frisians: When Caesar came to Gaul, all the territories between the left bank of the Rhine and the Scheldt (Schelde) were inhabited by the Beigen (Belgen) (Bataven).

One can read in Menzelburger, which peoples lived in the vicinity of the Bataven¹³.

The oldest and most important of these peoples were the *Frisians* (= Gothic "the free"). Their homeland was the damp, flat coastal area on the North Sea. Adam v. Bremen calls Friesland the region at the sea, which was inaccessible because of impassable swamps¹⁴.

Thus also an old-Icelandic saga (= a kind of the old-Icelandic writing) describes this area: flat country, wide plain, ditches full of water (fields and meadows enclosing), channels, which one crossed on overlaid beams, and rain soaked fields^{14a}.

The coast of Friesland was sinking, and this forced the inhabitants to defend themselves or to migrate, which was resorted to reluctantly.

Their struggle with the advancing sea tides is evidenced by the enormous artificial dwelling mounds (Wurten, Warfen, Dutch "Terpen") on the coast, which were already admired by the Romans. Their names often end in "um" (= heim). The outermost hills were later connected with a continuous dam to protect land and people.

But the Frisians were not only marsh farmers (the marsh = alluvial land), they saw themselves forced to settle also Geest (the higher, less fertile, mostly sandy land) and moor, *and the daughter settlements consistently preserved the type of the homeland, namely in the house layouts*. Lübbling¹⁵ describes the Frisian house, which was very different from the Saxon house of earlier centuries and less so today. In the Saxon house, dwelling and farm[house and buildings] lie next to each other or are joined together. In the case of the Frisian house, the dwelling and the farm [buildings] are separated from each other, as was the case in our father's farm in Philipstal (Timir-Bulat) on the Crimean peninsula, Perekop district.

Recent times have brought changes to the Frisian house¹⁶. The structural East Frisian type, on the other hand, has remained more the same and has also prevailed in other areas. Baron von Haxthausen says in his reflection on the Mennonite farmsteads on the little river Molotschna (Taurien, district of Berdyansk) that one could recognize the settlers "as old Frieslanders^{16a}." As in Friesland, the dwelling house was protected by a fire wall. In Russia, East Friesland style was reminiscent in the double-piece stable doors, the pointed gable and the gap above the stable doors.

H. Bertram, La Baume and O. Klöppel in their paper "Das Weichsel- and Nogat-Delta" (The Vistula and Nogat Delta) have commented in detail on the settlement and homestead system of the two major East German settlement periods. The border between the two settlement areas is approximately a line drawn from Danzig to Elbing. South of it lies the land drained in the time of the Order. North of it lie the later drained stretches of land, the settlement of which began in the middle of the 16th century and to which the *Mennonite settlement* belongs.

In the villages of the of the Order there is separation between dwelling house, barn and stable. *In the second period of settlement these are usually merged into one unit*. The simple form is shown to be that of the barn following the dwelling house in its longitudinal direction, then the stable, a pattern that can be called a long yard. "All three parts of the building have the same width and height, so that they are drawn together under a single uniform roof like a long caterpillar."

The marsh of the Frisians with its Geesthöhen (Geest = higher, mostly sandy land) sand dunes, island debris, sea bays, streambeds, surf, the coastal strip 4 to 8 nautical miles in width, presented a

world, which had to make all visitors wonder. Part of these areas have long since been swallowed up by the sea waves, despite the energetic attempt of the Frisians to protect themselves against the storm tides of the sea by dikes and earthen embankments.

Bielefeldt¹⁷ regarding the *origin of the Frisians*, states that it is disputed whether they migrated from the north (from the Jutish peninsula and from Scandinavia) or from the mouth of the Rhine into the coastal areas of the north. The oldest news about them come from the *old West Frisia* between the Zuidersee and the river Sinkfal (gulf of the North Sea) near Bruges.

From other side, good reasons are asserted, which speak positively for an immigration of the Frisians from the *north*, where they had the Danes as neighbors. Lately this view has gained much ground. The linguistic research points in this direction (Richtung). *In grayest prehistoric times they have settled in slow advance along the coast of the North Sea.*

The name Friesland did not always designate the same district. The old Friesland extended according to the testimony of the *lex Frisiorum* (Frisian law) from the Sinkfal, now "het Zwin" [the swamp], to the Weser. *At the time of the Frankish rule Friesland consisted of the old Frisian lands (in the later "United Netherlands"), further of East Frisia, which in the Napoleonic period did not belong to Holland for 10 years, of the adjacent smaller dominions as well as the northern part of the Duchy of Oldenburg.*

This *large Frisia* consisted of many larger and smaller districts, with inhabitants of Frisian tribe, who stuck together firmly only when resisting common enemies, but otherwise feuded passionately among themselves, administered their internal affairs according to their own laws and thus constituted small independent states (cf. the nominal autonomy of the individual community).

In West Frisia, the Lower Frisian element penetrated from the province of Sudholland, as in the eastern Frisian areas the Lower Saxon (Plattdeutsch), which flowed in from the Elbe. On the other hand, the Frisians spread beyond the Weser. Block¹⁸ notes that the land of Eiderstedt was Frisian land, where Frisian was spoken. Jakob Sachs from Eiderstedt gave a brief description of the Eider Frisians in 1610, noting that the inhabitants spoke, in addition to the "Saxon" (Plattdeutsch), their "strange" = special), natural language, which they had in common with the Frisians in the Three Frieslands. Sachs further remarks, according to Block, that the style of clothing of the inhabitants at his time was still Frisian.

The dialect of Eiderstedt then died out under the influence of the Lower Saxon (Low German) colloquial language¹⁹.

I will mention here that already, very early baptism-minded people, as in Holstein and Schleswig, found refuge in the area of Eiderstedt. They came here from the Dutch area. More about this in another context²⁰.

Beside the Lower Saxons neighbors of the Frisians were the so-called *Chauks* mentioned by Tacitus. According to Klopp²¹ the Chauks had joined the Frisians.

Clement has sharply disputed in his pamphlet responding to the Dane Allen²² that in the Duchy of Schleswig Danish nationality and language had reached to the Schlei, the long narrow Baltic Sea bay of Schleswig-Holstein. Clement somewhat romantically exaggerates the freedom of the West Germanic people²³, but the fact is that the West Germanic spirit of freedom gave them an invincible quality.

It is too little known that about half of the Schleswig land was inhabited by Frisians²⁴, especially the land Eiderstedt. Only deep in the Middle Ages did they become subject to the Danes²⁵. Under the pressure of the advancing Danes the Frisian border was withdrawn to the west. At least the Frisians knew how to defend themselves against the Danes to a large extent. The Eiderstedt *Jakob Sachs* described, as already mentioned, in 1610 the Eider Frisians had were "*strange*", i.e., special, language and national costume. Their language, it was a *language*, not a mere *dialect*, was under the influence of Lower Franconian and Lower Saxon (Plattdeutsch) more and more degraded to the level of a minor and peasant language. For the Anabaptist fathers it had already actually no special meaning. Menno Simons and the two, Dirk and Obbe, Philips, as good Frisians, naturally spoke their Frisian mother tongue. In the *Groningerland* (= Middle Frisia, which actually belonged together with East Frisia) the Frisian gave way early to the Low German, *likewise in East Frisia. More about it to follow!*

The English Minorite monk Bartholomew Anglicus describes the inhabitants of the Frisian land as a rough people, strong, proud of their freedom and their customs, which were peculiar. The Frisians always had the reputation "rouw (= rough) te wesen"²⁶. But the Romans judged that there was no people as "brave and trustworthy" as the Frisians²⁷. They were known by all peoples as free Frisians. *To anyone who knows how domestic discord has always torn the land of the Frisians to pieces, an exaggerated idealization of this freedom must seem unfounded.* ²⁶ (compare the Mennonite divisions!).

According to Bartholomew Anglicus, the Frisians lived mainly from cattle breeding. He particularly emphasizes that the Frisian territory was poor in wood, and that the inhabitants used peat and dried cow dung as fuel for fires. While other peoples were displaced by their enemies, chased away and disappeared, the Frisians still lived under their old name in their old territory.

Charlemagne left their personal and civil freedom untouched. However, the Frisians suffered greatly from the *Norman invasions*.

Their farms were devastated, the animals slaughtered, the inhabitants sold into slavery, the towns and villages burned, so that Frisian country often enough resembled a desert, an area infested with locusts. Only at the beginning of the 11th century did these terrible raids stop, which were almost as devastating as the storm surges, about which one can learn more from Block and Clement²⁹. The Frisians were called "God's people of honour", whose history unfolded like a tragedy, in the fight for the barest existence against the sea and for the most precious commodity of freedom against foreign robbers and princes (compare the persecution of the baptized!).

From those the Frisians have suffered the hardest through all the centuries. This can already be seen from the fact that they spoke of Denmark as the "Grim Corner" (Grimmia Herma)³⁰.

The freedom of the original West Frisia, at present North Holland (only a small corner of North Holland still bears the old name "West Frisia"); was abolished after bloody battles by the Dutch gentry. For a longer period of time, the Three Friesland, and for the longest time East Frisia, preserved its freedom. When in 1555 Philip of Spain paid homage and all the envoys of the Dutch provinces knelt before him, the Frisians remained standing upright all alone, declaring: "The Frisians kneel only for God!". It is worth mentioning that the celibacy (the celibacy of the clergy) was never fully implemented among the Frisians.

Even if the Frankish county order was established in Friesland, it retained its special rights, which were always asserted by the Frisians.

This applies primarily to East Frisia (called "Free Frisia" = "Frisia libera" in contrast to Erbfriesland). One speaks of "Erbfriesland" because it belonged hereditarily to the Counts of Holland³¹.

As the Normans, the Catholic bishoprics and the various German dukes (especially the Saxon ones) tried to subjugate East Frisia, so did the Counts of Holland after they got hold of "West Frisia", which, by the way, in its turn tried, though in vain, to regain its independence

(in 1256 the West Frisians slew the Dutch Count William II).

The East Frisians resisted to the death against a political assimilation with the county of Holland. One must be familiar with Wiard's older work of history on East Frisia (6 volumes), which almost seems like a collection of protocols, or Onno Klopp's history of East Frisia (3 volumes), in order to fully appreciate this heroic struggle for the freedom that had been handed down to them.

In their passionate affection for their own kind, the Frisians have kept up the old custom the longest. Feudal rights, which allowed servants to supplant nobles (nobles), never found acceptance among them, and the Frisians never courted the favor of princes. In Emperor Barbarossa's time, they refused to be knighted because *they were all knights. They were all the more firmly rooted in the common destiny of their kinship group, but this did not prevent them from constantly feuding with each other.* This their disunity was always the most dangerous for the Frisians, that disunity which they could only completely overcome in times of great need and danger.

Already in the 15th century, East Frisia was largely unified under the peasant dynasty of the Cirksenas, thus establishing the border against the Netherlands.

The unified East Frisia formed an independent administrative district from 1815 to 1866 (during the Napoleonic period, however, it had not yet belonged to the Netherlands for ten years), as a principality, as a province, as the "Landdrostei" Aurich and the governmental district of Aurich³². (The "Drost" was the administrator of a bailiwick in Lower Saxony ").

According to Bielefeldt, the population of East Frisia is for the most part Frisian. All native inhabitants of East Frisia count themselves as Frisians³³. The cities experienced an immigration of foreigners for a long time, mainly religious refugees. Thus, in the seaside resorts, immigration has created a strong ethnic mix. *In the rural areas, however, Frisians and Saxons have survived almost intact. If this is still true for today, how much more for the 16th century!*

Emperor Maximilian (1493-1519, married Maria von Burgundy in 1477) was also Count of Holland. Now he bequeathed Duke Albrecht of Saxony with East Friesland, which, like his son George, was energetically rejected by the East Frisians. These pointed to their imperial immediacy: they were directly submissive to the German Reich and to this alone. George of Saxony then renounced Friesland, and Karl von Geldern took his place. Only East Friesland remained "Frisia libera".

The following is a brief reminder of the *formation of the Netherlands (read this addendum over and over again!)*:

After Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, the Dutch territories were subordinated to his sons Lothar I († 855) and Charles the Bald († 877). Since Lothar, these areas have been called "Lorraine". This changed hands several times over the course of a few decades: in 879 the entire Dutch area was annexed to Germany, with the exception of part of Zeeland and Flanders. In 912 the Duke of Lorraine defected from Germany and Charles the Simple from France. *The latter bequeathed Diederich I with the county of Holland* (Holtland = wood-rich country). This is how the actual Dutch history begins. Thus, a part of Lorraine seemed to be slipping away from Germany. But years later (924) Lorraine, and with it the Dutch area, was permanently linked to Germany.

As a German duchy, Lorraine was divided into Upper and Lower Lorraine by the Archbishop of Cologne, the brother of Otto the Great.

Lower Lorraine soon broke up into several independent principalities. They were united with Flanders and Luxembourg in the 14th and 15th centuries, by the French dukes of Burgundy. In 1482 the *Habsburgs* became heirs to these territories.

In 1524-1543 Emperor Charles V acquired the province of Friesland (1525) and the province of Groningen (1536) in addition to Utrecht and Guelders. In 1555 the Netherlands fell to Philip II of Spain, who fiercely opposed Dutch Calvinism and its estate privileges. The unrest since 1566 led to the open rebellion of the Netherlands against Spain. The seven northern Dutch provinces, led by Holland, united in the Union of Utrecht in 1579, fell away from Spain under the leadership of William of Orange and formed the predominantly Protestant republic of the "*United Netherlands*" (Holland), which was recognized in the Westphalian peace treaty of 1648 gained full independence, unlike the southern provinces. The "General States" (= the assembly of the deputies of the 7 provinces) and the governors from the Flouse Nassau-Oramen shared the political leadership.

The fiefdom that connected the Dutch counts with the empire and its emperors became increasingly loose over time. Long before the Reformation, they began to oppose the emperor's claims to power. The counts felt less and less as the emperor's vassals and more as independent territorial princes³⁴. Dutch counts very often took sides in internal German affairs, and a Wilhelm II even aspired to the Roman imperial crown! He was an exponent of the indestructible force that made overwhelming and heroic breakthroughs in the Dutch struggle for freedom against the Spanish yoke.

The emperors were too busy with their affairs in Germany and Italy to be able to assert themselves in the long term in these self-confident and progressive northern areas, because they always had France and England at their side, from which they were also culturally permeated. For the question of whether Holland was a fief of the German Reich in the constitutional sense or not, reference is made to Menzelburger and Ritter³⁵.

In 1555 the empire decided to extend its protection only to countries that submitted to its jurisdiction. *This brought the political problem to the fore again, which inevitably led to the separation of peoples and states*³⁶. The division was made even greater by the fight against Spain. It was carried out without official Reich aid, but not without German mercenaries. The Orangeman had turned to the Emperor and the Empire for help, but the emperor's eldest daughter was married to Philip II, and the Lutheran princes were unwilling to do anything for the Calvinists³⁷.

The further relations of the Netherlands to the empire up to 1648 will not be pursued in detail here. The whole feudal relationship was only on paper and was a sham relationship.

Without accurate information about how the “United Netherlands” came about, we will never be able to deal with our questions of origin in a historically correct manner. Do not confuse spatial and constitutional terms! It is undeniable that the great majority of the Mennonite pioneers who came to Prussia and Russia came from the Netherlands. The academic, however, who is to be taken seriously in specialist circles and *also* by politicians, must always endeavor to use clear regional, geographical and constitutional terms. This demands historical and moral truthfulness.

In order to prevent personal misunderstandings on all sides, it should be noted that the author in a scientific essay had unmistakably presented the above feudal relationship of the Netherlands to the German Empire as a sham relationship. That was the reason, why this his genealogical monograph was not admitted for publication together with the *lists* of the Mennonite Russian migrants 1787-1895. The lists were originally intended as an *appendix*, as emphasized above. In the present study, as the reader will note, Unruh has again strongly emphasized that spurious relationship, citing Menzelburger and the Dutchman Ritter³⁸. Here, too, he has conscientiously kept his doctoral vow to always fearlessly represent what he believes to be true.

III. Linguistics

Brief summary of the chapter

This is offered in order to make the actual presentations of this not entirely simple section more accessible to the reader. Those who are not interested in linguistics can ignore it!

The *Low Saxon* (Low German) spoken by the Lower Saxony, in its admirable expansiveness, pushed westward to the Lower Rhine, and then through Flanders to where Germanic and Romanic clashes (eastward it has spread as far as Königsberg and to the Memel).

Low German is widely and erroneously regarded as an inferior language. We must not forget that Middle Low German was an official written language, which was then, of course, supplanted by High German.

In addition to the language of Middle Low German, there was a common legal and merchant language. It was the Hansa that developed it.

In the beginning of the 16th century and even earlier we have a number of *eastern* chancery languages, of which the Upper Saxon and Austrian were the most important. However, church, mysticism and imperial days contributed to the formation of a common language. Linguistically, from Riga to Memel to Königsberg to Bruges and England, we have, as it were, a more uniform multi-field system.

Frisian was widespread along the entire North Sea coast and, as recent research proves, also extended inland. Even during the Middle Ages, Frisian prevailed in a large area along the North Sea coast and on the associated islands. According to Paul, parts of the Frisian tribe have been spread further south into *Saxon territory*. Hirt assumes that Frisian noble families ruled widely over the Low German (North German, Plattdeutsch) land, since the Plattdeutsch vocabulary, as has long been recognized, shows close relations to Anglo-Frisian.

The *displacement of Frisian* in Groningen Land and East Frisia has been studied by Foerste^{47a}, whose relevant work on the influence of Dutch on the vocabulary of the dialect in the eastern Frisian areas (Groningen, East Frisia) has our full interest.

The Frisians were largely "Saxonized". Already in the 13th century *Groningen* became a Saxon city and in the next two centuries the political, economic as well as cultural center of the Frisian lands. These became completely dependent on this Saxon outpost and were interspersed with immigrating Saxon (Low German) families.

The East Frisian town of *Emden* also received *Saxon immigration* in the early 15th century. The Emden law was written in Low German (Dutch) in 1465. To Foerste we owe the evidence of how this displacement took place in the Groninger Land and Osrriesland.

Between the areas of western and eastern East Frisia, clear linguistic differences can be seen. It should be noted that the dialect of the southwestern area of East Frisia coincided with that of the Groninger Land, the dialect of the northeastern area with that of the Oldenburger Land. *From this, conclusions can be drawn about the origin of certain Mennonite groups in the Vistula area and in the Black Sea area!* (More about this below).

In order to come closer to the final clarification of the questions of origin that have been assigned to us, it is also necessary to pursue the solution of the problem from the linguistic point of view. Of course, this can only be an *introduction* and a preparatory work for a relevant linguistic-scientific monograph that is long overdue.

Just as comparative linguistics³⁹ seeks to develop an Indo-Germanic original language, so too does a Germanic original language.⁴⁰

Proto-Germanic split into *north-east and west Germanic*. We are dealing with the second one here⁴¹.

West Germanic has conquered large areas. The main body of the West Germans remained a coherent block and spread mainly to the west.

The migrating West Germans, such as the Sueves and Lombards, lost their language, as did a portion of the *Franks*, who were scattered among the older population of Gaul and *Romanized* there, not without leaving many West Germanic loanwords in French.

Only *some* early emigrated groups of the West Germanic have preserved and further developed the language brought with them, namely the *Anglo-Saxons* and the *Angio-Frisians*⁴².

My essays mentioned in footnote No. 95 prove *Old English* to be largely Old Low Saxon. Compare the examples given by the author in *Der Bote*: *apa* (Affe/ape), *cnapa* (Knabe/boy), *bita* (Stück/piece), *plog* (Pflug/plough), etc.⁴³.

Dutch (Holländische) is of course even closer to the Low or Low German spoken on today's German soil than Old English. *Our interest in connection with our topic focuses on this relationship.*

Three West Germanic dialects have decisively shaped Dutch, as E. E. Frerichs points out in his excellent essay on "Menno's taal" (Menno's language)⁴⁴: *Low Franconian, Low Saxon and Frisian* (Frerichs names this second).

We will cover the important aspects of these dialects, beginning with *Angio-Frisian*.

The Angio-Frisian

Hirt concludes: *"One can assume that this language was widespread along the entire North Sea coast and also extended somewhat into the interior"*⁴⁵.

During the Middle Ages, Frisian still dominated a large area along the North Sea coast and on the Frisian islands. According to Paul⁴⁵ also, parts of the Frisian tribe spread further south into Saxon territory. Hirt assumes *that the Angio-Frisian noble family largely ruled over the Low German area*, since the Low German (plattdeutsche) vocabulary, as has long been recognized, shows connections to Angio-Frisian⁴⁶.

While the Old Saxon reached an impressive expansion, the Frisian language remained completely on its own on a narrow marshland edge and the poorly populated Frisian North Sea islands⁴⁷.

Because the art of writing was a rarity among the Frisians, their language remained almost only a colloquial language. However, languages without writing are always easily threatened with extinction. At the time of the Crusades, one could still hear the unadulterated Frisian spoken, but then very soon its decline begins. *It was gradually absorbed by the neighboring Frankish and Saxon dialects and partially pushed back by Danish.* At the time of the mighty Hansa, Hamburg Low German harassed our language at numerous points in the elongated and narrow Frisian language area. In a widespread shipping and business traffic, more and more Lower Saxon linguistic material flowed into Frisian.

William Foerste investigated the influence of Dutch (from Holland) on the vocabulary of the younger dialects of East Friesland ^{47a}. *Foerste examines the Dutch-East Frisian relationships in terms of their significance for East Frisian language history, highlights the Dutch elements in the vocabulary of the post-Middle Low German East Frisian dialects and examines their survival in today's dialects.*

Already in the 13th century Groningen became a Saxon city and in the next two centuries the political, economic and cultural center of the Frisian lands between Lauwers (flows into the North Sea) and Ems. The Frisian lands became completely dependent on this Saxon outpost and were interspersed with immigrating Saxon families. *In the wake of this development, a strong displacement of the Frisian language by the Saxon language set in.* According to Huizinga, in the first third of the 15th century (i.e., long before Menno's time!) the ancient Frisian legal language was no longer comprehensible to the common man and had to be translated into Dutch. Nevertheless, according to Foerste, farmers of the Ommelande "still seem to have spoken a dialect with typical Frisian characteristics in the last quarter of the 15th century", which is indicated by field names from that time.

By the end of this century, however, Saxon had completely asserted itself in "Groningerland".

In the Frisian areas east of the Ems (see map for the article "Groningen", in the M.L.), which were controlled by the chieftain Cirksebas, this development could not be stopped in the long run. The city of Emden also received immigration from Saxony at the beginning of the 15th century. *The Emd city law was written in Dutch in 1465.* However, Frisian technical terms continued to assert themselves in the *legal language* of Emd for a long time. On the other hand, the spoken language of Frisian had already had to give way in the 15th century, *but not in the Frisian villages in the south-west of East Frisia.* Foerste pursued this tragic death struggle of a language with great compassion.

The Frisians were thus "Saxonized". If they spread beyond the Weser to Jutland, it is not surprising that their language had to give way to the Low German dialect much more quickly in the Low German area. *We owe Foerste a more precise proof of how in Groninger-Land and in Ostfriesland this displacement of Frisian took place, and how Low German came about here, which of course differed from Schleswigsch.* You only need to get a superficial insight into the development of dialects to understand this find^{48 & 49}. The western (south-western) parts of Ostfriesland initially transitioned to Dutch (Nederduitsch). They took it from the west, while the parts to the east of the moor area came from Oldenburg-Bremish, i.e., from the east in the areas of western and eastern Ostfriesland there are clear language differences.

The dialect of the south-western area agrees in all essential features with that of Groningerland, but the dialect of the north-eastern area with that of Oldenburgland.

In the discussion of our questions of origin in connection with these facts, the reader must gain a completely new perspective.

Before the 10th century, Frisian dominated the entire *coastal area* from Bruges to Jutland. From the Lower Elbe to the Lower Rhine, the Lower Saxony *spoke the language of the flat Geestboden, the Geest plain*. Frisian, on the other hand, was the *language of the marsh plain* (marshland = fertile alluvial land).

Only the present province of Friesland (West Friesland) was able to preserve Frisian longer due to its insular location, and the islands maintained the purest.

The Low Saxon Low German spoken in East Friesland represents an old form of the original German, which has resisted the German sound shift. It stands with the Dutch, English, Danish and Swedish on the same sound level⁶⁰.

The original Frisian language peculiarities cannot be discussed in detail here⁵¹. *The Frisian language is a proto-language with many monosyllabic root words*, it has the "th" sound and the same irregular verbs as English⁵².

The great *wealth of first names* among the Frisians⁵³ also deserves mention. No other people have ever had so many first names. They can still be found in North and West Friesland, but much more rarely in East Friesland, in Oldenburg, in Groningerland and in North Holland. Dutch and Low Saxon have eradicated this wealth of proper names, but those that remain, their number is comparatively small, are mostly proto-Frisian.

According to Clement, the West and North Frisians do not know the type of father name and surname designation with the small appendix "zoen" (sön, son, sen). The North Frisians attach *oena* to their father's first name. Other syllables that are suffixed are notably "ma" and "inga". *It is striking that the East Frisians already assigned "soen" to their father's name centuries ago*, initially only in the ruling families, e.g., B. Enno Edzards soen (one also encounters Edzard Ennen soen: thus, the North Frisian designation *alongside* the Lower Saxon one, which in turn clearly shows the Lower Saxon influence on Frisian).

The Franconian

Generally, it should be said that German, like Anglosaxon, is a language of the colonial land, i.e., it is spoken on a soil where a people of another language once sat, in our case the Celts. The areas where no Celts settled can be easily determined and must be regarded as Germanic homeland. These are; The non-Celtic northern Germany, the Jutish peninsula, the Danish islands and Scandinavia. Among the many prehistoric finds, no traces of immigration to these areas could be found.

High or Upper Franconian has generally shifted the "t" to "z", Middle Franconian does not shift the final "t" (dat, wat), *and Low Franconian shows no sound shift at all*.

The Lower Franks sat in Brabant and Flanders, Zeeland and Holland⁵⁴, then in Utrecht and part of Gelderland. Under Charles V they submitted to the Saxons and Frisians. When a focus of power and education arose in the County of Holland, the Low Franconian dialect developed there into the so-called "Nederduitsch" or "Dietsch", which became a significant dividing line from the whole of Germany and a most important element of the special Dutch cultural community.

And because the true Friesland (province of Friesland) with Drenthe and the city of Groningen was incorporated into the Archdiocese of Utrecht and clergymen who came from there spoke "dietsch", "nederduitsch" ("Dutch"), Frisian was inevitably completely displaced, especially because of the influx of Dutch eloquent and academic literature into the areas mentioned. Frerichs can be seen about this.

Thus, in Menno's day, Low Franconian or Dietsche or Dutch or Low German, all designations for the same thing, had become the written language in Friesland. However, Frerichs emphasizes that Dutch in our areas was "geen zuiver Hollandsch" (not clean Dutch). In the dialects, the old Frisian, Lower Saxon and Lower Franconian connections survived the new literature.

Das Niedersächsische (Plattdeutsche)

We usually call it Niederdeutsche. Plattdeutsche (actually, Low German also includes Low Franconian and the resulting Dutch (from a linguistic point of view!))

Old Saxon revealed an admirable power of penetration; it pressed westward from the mouth of the Elbe to the Lower Rhine and on through Flanders to where the Germans and Romans clashed. To the east of the Elbe, it has spread to Königsberg and to the Memel. Old Saxon has also revealed its strong influence on English. It has also influenced large populations in other parts of the world⁵⁵.

Dutch held a special position. *The divorce of the German and Dutch nations had become a fact*. It is quite young⁵⁶, but they had formed two written languages and distinguished them from each other. As in the Netherlands, an exemplary culture prevailed in all fields, so also in that of poetry. Heinrich von Veldeke is also considered the founder of German poetry.

He wrote for a High German readership, but later Dutch poets did not follow him in this. *They broke away from High German and went their own ways*. They wrote on Dutch soil in their own language, which was already in the 13th century a written language that stood above the dialects, at first a poetic language, from which the Dutch written and cultural language then developed admirably.

Low German is consistently considered an inferior language. We must not forget, however, that Middle Low German^{57 & 58} was an official written language, which was of course then supplanted by High German in the course of the 16th century.

In addition to the language of Middle Low German, there was also a legal and merchant language. It was the Hansa that formed the common merchant language.

In the Dutch area there were several central places of Hansa trade (e.g., in Bruges, where many Germans were resident). There were also German trading posts in Scandinavia, in England, in Russia.

Unfortunately, the Low German language later disappeared almost entirely from written use. Since the 16th century it has played no real role. The Dutch poem "Reinaert de Vos" from the end of the 15th century did not circulate among the people.

At the beginning of the 16th century and a little earlier we have a number of Eastern chancery languages, of which the Saxon and the Imperial-Austrian were the most important. The church also influenced the language through sermons and through mysticism.

In addition to Latin books, German books were also printed and the orthography standardized. The Reichstage also contributed to the development of a common language. So, the influence of High German became stronger and stronger.

Only in the Netherlands, because its intellectual life was very strong, was the native language able to hold its own against Standard German. A surprising phenomenon!

Franz Fromme points out that the Dutchman understands something different by "nederduitsch" than the German, *who uses it in a purely historical and linguistic-historical sense* by using the term "Low German language" to include the entirety of the Low German dialects and at the same time the Dutch one, Dutch written language includes the Flemish-South African-Dutch dialects.

The Flemings and Boers also used the word in this broader sense⁵⁹.

In some respects, Dutch [Niederländische (Holländische)] is closer to High German than Low German, as Fromme shows. Some Low German words are more similar in sound and meaning to the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon forms than to Standard German. And this is not about a later import from Nordic into Low German, but about original kinship that emerges in inflection, sentence structure, word meaning. However, Low German words have often adapted their old meaning to High German.

Frerichs has, to conclude these explanations, also touched on the dispersion of Dutch within the mentioned area in the mentioned essay. His remarks largely coincide with the above⁶⁰ & 60a.

IV. General information on the origin and nature of Mennonitism

Although we are dealing with questions of origin in this monograph and not with specifically denominational studies, we must first share the most important church-historical-dogma-historical information about Anabaptist-Mennonitism in order to be able to make the following explanations more understandable.

At this point, more essential information on the *origin and nature of Mennonitism* should be offered in a purely illustrative form^{61 to 65}.

During the Reformation, *different church types emerged* among the Reformers, with different approaches and goals, with different paths even to the same goals. The whole atmosphere at that time was quite revolutionary, both spiritually and socio-politically. Religious and moral indignation and socio-political demands were interwoven here and created a unified atmosphere of tension. It was always naïve to blame Luther or the Anabaptists for this. Anyone who does this has no insight into the *pre-Reformation pamphlet literature*, into the various reform proposals long before the peasant revolution. *Münzer* lived entirely in the revolutionary world of ideas as it emerged in the epoch of early capitalism. Its originality is slight. But he wanted to *realize* the revolutionary ideas by force, as they were present in the oppositional literature. He was hired by God to exterminate the ungodly to make room for the reign of God. Rothmann, who was originally close to Martin Luther, then sought to justify this "gospel of revenge" theologically in Münster. The novelty of this religiously dressed up socio-political radicalism is only the deletion of any indulgent lukewarmness and the relentless implementation of these ancient ideas in practice, in the name of the gospel.

There is a whole literature about the *relationship of the evangelical Anabaptists to Münster and Münster*. Because of adult baptism, they were regarded as the same flock of rotten spirits, which was reprimanded by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

It is a fact that the Münster circle criticized early baptism. But Münster explicitly provided for *infant baptism* in his liturgical writing.

He also never baptized adults. In his confession shortly before his death he did not touch the question of baptism at all. It was not particularly important to the Zwickau prophets either, as Nikolaus Storch testified. In addition, the Zurich Anabaptists, Konrad Grebel and his circle, had already by September 5, 1524, i.e., even before the outbreak of the Peasants' Revolution, in the well-known collective letter to Thomas M nzer, strictly rejected the fist "Faust" in matters of faith preached and then applied by the latter.

The relationship of the people of Zurich to *Thomas Munzer* can no longer be misinterpreted by objective historical research, which finally achieved a breakthrough in relation to Anabaptism.

The existing, stabilized Protestant Anabaptist communities in the Netherlands were not involved in the Munster catastrophe, let alone those in Upper Germany and Switzerland. The Dutch congregations fought the adventurous venture of M nster (Dirk and Obbe Philips) and therefore turned to the Catholic priest Menno Simons, asking him to become their bishop.

The evangelical Anabaptist movement was not *triggered* by Menno Simons. It began a decade before his "Exodus from the Papacy" (1536) in Switzerland, in Upper Germany, but also, as our monograph will show, very early in the Netherlands.

The theory of the origin of the 16th century Anabaptists from the *Waldensians* etc. is untenable in the form in which Dr. Ludwig Keller has advocated it (see the author's memoranda). Of course, pre-Reformation evangelical movements helped prepare the ground for Anabaptism, as for the Reformation in general.

In order to define the *confessional context* of evangelical Anabaptism and Mennonitism in a more concrete way, it is necessary to speak not only of its *origin*, but also of its *essence*.

In the very first years of the Reformation movement, throughout the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, from the foot of the Alps in Switzerland and Tyrol to the coasts of the North Sea, from Flanders to Livonia, we encounter men who advocated the idea of a *voluntary church* (*Freiwilligkeitskirche*) and, in the closest connection with it, confessional baptism of faith, in which the individual, which is also the *idea* of "confirmation," consciously and independently confesses the Christian church and allows himself to be incorporated into it.

Anabaptist-Mennonitism represents the first Reformation *free church*. The authorities, who were denounced by the zealots as godless and contrary to the laws of God, were considered by the evangelical Anabaptists to be of divine order (Menno called the representatives of the state "ministers of God"). Those wanted to establish the church with the sword, while these rejected the "fist" in the religious-ethical field, confessing: "We are baptized on the cross and not on the sword." Here all political confessionalism was rejected. It was the quiet Anabaptists who protested against war, especially religious war, as they did against slavery. Among the zealots, polygamy, adultery and fornication were tolerated, while the silent Anabaptists protected marriage and the family and even rejected divorce, in extreme cases allowing or even imposing divorce. The enthusiasts swore or even broke oaths, but the evangelical Anabaptists declared every oath superfluous, because every speech should be true and faithful as spoken before God. If the M nsters sought to overthrow thrones in order to control them, these people were mostly very reluctant to hold a magisterial office. Under terrorist pressure, the former demanded a community of goods where they were striving for a *voluntary (freiwillige)* community, which, however, had to take on the constant obligation to look after their fellow travelers and to take care of them. Menno's message that no beggars should be found among his people bore real fruit in the history of the small free church. The Anabaptists were ethical-religious activists,

and it is tragic, but because of the Münzerists and Münsterits (die Münzerei and Münstererei), Luther could declare about them: "They damn the ministenum verbi (the office of preaching) and destroy regna mundi (the earthly dominions)". But who handled the principle of Scripture more seriously than the Anabaptist-Mennonites, who fought off more passionately not only the interference of the state in ecclesiastical matters (Caesaropapism), but also the mixing of ecclesiastical matters with political ones (Papocaesarism), more consistently the evangelical Anabaptist people of the 16th century^{66abc}? Among their opponents, the contemplative Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse stands out by far, because as a statesman he wanted to act with restraint; after all, people are very different and faith is God's gift and is in God's power. Philip of Hesse was the statesman who really broke away from a view of the relationship between church and state that prevailed throughout the Middle Ages. According to this view, church and state were united in an inseparable unity, the whole of Christendom was a great universal empire. Therefore, deviation from the recognized faith was considered a *civil* crime. And this was punishable by death by fire. [Philipp] Melanchthon still completely held these ideas, while Menno Simons, this Frisian farmer's son, left them far behind (see article "Freedom of Conscience" by B. H. Unruh in the Menn. Lexikon).

Luther signed an opinion of Melanchthon in this regard with "Placet mihi Luthero" = "I, Luther, agree!" But he himself could actually justify this only *politically* ("they destroy regna mundi"). He was thinking of the just ended Münzer affair and the Munster affair that was brewing. He rightly condemns the religious ethical anarchism, which Menno nevertheless also so hotly fights in his first writing!

Melchior Hofmann, originally also appreciated and recommended by Luther, unfortunately represented a fanciful eschatology (doctrine of the eschatological things, but without being a Münsterite, which, of course, his student David Joris inevitably became (see Menn. Lexikon). However, not all Melchiorites followed this development, let alone the older, more quiet Anabaptist Swiss-Upper Germans.

The detail⁶⁶ of teachings of the Anabaptists (about discipleship, the church, the kingdom of Christ) cannot be expounded here and do not need to be because of the narrower concern of our study.

V. The origins of Anabaptism in the Netherlands

Short summary of the chapter

In this chapter, the author has methodically followed new paths that have already proved fruitful to him following his Gronau lecture and following the series of articles in the Canadian Mennonite weeklies.

With the late Dutch Mennonite church historian W. J. Kühler, U^a). also considers the old Waldensian theory to be obsolete; Blaupot ten Cate^b) has already stated that there is no evidence that the baptized in the province of Friesland (the western part of the Three Frieslands owe their emergence to the Waldensians. With regard to *East Frisia*, however, he comes to somewhat different conclusions.

At the beginning of the 16th century we find them on the East Frisian border. A *direct* derivation of Anabaptist Mennonites from Waldensianism, however, as said, it cannot be historically supported. (See U.s Church-historical-Dogmatic-historical information about Mennonitism, which were requested from him in 1937 and 1938, and which the "Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten", Baden, editor (Schriftleiter) Aeltester Christian Schnebele, printed in August to November 1948). Waldensianism has also been a *breeding ground* for Anabaptism, as according to Kühler also the so-called "devotio moderna"

a.) In this and other cases, where an individual is repeatedly cited, Unruh uses only the initial of their last name. Unruh makes use of abbreviations that seem abrupt, but the full spelling will be nearby.

(= modern piety) in the Dutch area. The Dutch Anabaptism was largely a home-grown movement, although not necessarily so. A spreading of the Swiss Anabaptist movement to those in the Dutch areas undoubtedly took place, especially through Melchior Hofmann (see Menn. Lexikon). He became the leader and organizer of Anabaptism before Menno, from Emden, in the Netherlands, where he baptized 300 persons in one day; thus Anabaptism in the northern provinces was organized by Hofmann's disciple Jan Volkerts, surnamed Trijpmaker (beheaded in 1531).

Next to Emden, Amsterdam became a second Anabaptist center of activity.

But not only before Menno, also before Melchior Hofmann there were Anabaptists. U. tried to get to this oldest Anabaptist stratum, taking his location in the Three Friesland, especially in *East Frisia*.

Because East Frisia, like the lands of Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse and Albrecht of Brandenburg, enjoyed a milder ecclesiastical-political climate, it attracted many reformers of various confessions. Emmius says of the Anabaptist refugees to East Frisia that they came in from the neighboring provinces (*ex vicinis provinciis*).

* * *

This chapter deals with the emergence of Dutch Anabaptism from a *genealogical perspective*.

There was *Anabaptism before Menno*, whose organizer was *Melchior Hofmann* through his disciple Jan Volkerts (Volkertszoon), surnamed Trijpmaker = chair maker, plush maker, who was beheaded in the Hague on December 5, 1531.

In this part the author has methodically taken new paths, which proved to be fruitful for him after his Gronau lecture in 1936 and after his series of articles on the West Prussian-Russian-Mennonite question of origin in the "Bote" and the "Mennonitische Rundschau".

According to Kühler, the old Waldensian theory is to be regarded as invalid. Waldensianism, however, has been a *breeding ground* for Anabaptism, as well as for the so-called "devotio moderna" (= modern piety). Dutch Anabaptism was largely homegrown, but there was an outreach from the Swiss Anabaptist movement to those in the Dutch area, especially through *Melchior Hofmann*, who joined the movement in Strasbourg, a Reformation offshoot of Basel-Zurich. He came to East Frisia in April or early May 1529, from Kiel, went to Strasbourg at the end of June of the same year, only to reappear in East Frisia in May 1530, where he founded the Emden congregation ("Bundgemeinde"), whose leadership he placed in the hands of Jan Volkert, before again going to Strasbourg. Still in 1530, he met with Volkerts in Amsterdam.

Our chapter tries to get to the oldest Dutch Anabaptist layer. It shows the very close relations between the Anabaptists in North Holland, the old West Frisia, on the one hand, and in the Three Friesland (provinces of Frisia, Groningerland and East Frisia) on the other hand.

Unfortunately, the information in the highly significant "Doopsgezinde Bijdrage"^b) [Anabaptist Contributions] is not sufficient to reveal the oldest layer of Dutch Anabaptist Mennonites in all provinces of the south and north. With the greatest probability, however, we can venture the judgment that there were baptism-minded persons and circles everywhere in the Dutch region even before the appearance of Melchior Hofmann.

What we urgently lack is a more systematic approach (treatment) of the Dutch Mennonite community archive. It should be possible, because the Dutch Mennonite researchers have been the first to point this out and have already made very commendable contributions to Mennonite genealogy, according to Professor de Hoop Scheffer.

The late Amsterdam church historian W. J. Kühler, in his lecture at the 400th anniversary of the Mennonites (1925 in Basel), as the most outstanding authority on Dutch Anabaptism, spoke in more detail about its origins⁶⁷.

Kühler considers the *theory that the Anabaptists descended from the Waldensians* to be finally settled⁶⁸. He quotes Moll⁶⁹ who found in the sources known to him not a single proof, "dat op Noord-Nederlandschen boden sich Waldensen hebben voorgedaan" [that the Anabaptists in Friesland owe their origins to the Waldensians]. In his work about the baptized in Friesland, Blaupot ten Cate⁷⁰ also comes to the conclusion that there is no evidence "dat de Doopsgezinden in Friesland hun oorsprung aan de Waldensen hebben te danken" [quote repeated]. In his work about the baptized in East Frisia etc.⁷¹ this researcher, however, comes to somewhat different conclusions, because according to certain clues Waldensians had fled here. Undeniably, Waldensians have also joined the Anabaptist movement, as this is handed down from Palatine Waldensians⁷². About the literature pertinent to the question, see ten Cate. We mention especially C. S. Geuns and Kornelius van Huijzen⁷⁸.

One points out that the former seat of the Waldensians was Switzerland, Alsace, Brabant and Flanders, and concludes from this that the Anabaptist doctrine came to Holland and Friesland from Brabant and Flanders. But Kühler, who strongly emphasizes the independence of the Anabaptist movement in the southern provinces of the Netherlands, is also of the opposite opinion, that *the teaching of adult baptism came to Antwerp from the East*.

It must give pause for thought that, according to ten Cate, there is "geen spoor" (no trace) of Waldensians in the province of Friesland⁷⁴, and that the *Frisian baptized know nothing at all of a Waldensian origin of their ecclesiastical movement*. The Frisian Dirk Philips, in his "Encheiridion", also emphasized that the Waldensians had practiced *early [infant] baptism*.

According to the "Martyrs' Mirror" of Tilemann Braght, there were Anabaptist martyrs in the Belgian areas only relatively late (1538). Of the first undoubtedly Anabaptist, John and Peter Styvaerts, it is expressly reported that they would not have found any comrades there⁷⁵. The representatives of the new baptismal doctrine, with whom Menno got involved, and whom he had not known at all until then⁷⁶, were according to ten Cate not Waldensians, *but Frisian Doopsgezinde before Menno*. Corel van Gent, a Frisian historian who was mostly in Friesland⁷⁷, refers back to the *Swiss movement*, from whose representatives he had a letter to the baptized in Cologne^{77a}.

Further he refers to *Melchior Hofmann*. Also, the unknown author of the oldest memorandum on the history of the origins of the Doopsgezinden, which Scheffer published^{77b}, does the same. Any mention of Waldensians is also missing from the religious discussions of the Anabaptists. Among the oldest Upper German martyrs Hans Koch, Leonhard Meister, Michael Sattler, Leonhard Kaiser are mentioned, who are said to have been Waldensians. But the first two were Moravian brothers, and it is not shown that they joined the Anabaptists. The other two were Catholic priests and therefore not Waldensians.

This question is especially important for the history of the Anabaptists in *East Frisia*⁷⁸. In the following we will take our location largely in East Frisia in order to advance the research.

When dealing with the origin of East Frisian Anabaptists, however, ten Cate thinks first of the Waldensians. According to him, these have always escaped northward during persecutions. From the 13th to the 16th century, we find their martyrs in Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Mecklenburg, Holstein, at the beginning of the 16th century also at the East Frisian border.

But a direct derivation of Anabaptism from Waldensianism cannot be supported historically. Something else is the insight that pre-Reformation movements with their attitudes and aspirations also provided a *breeding ground* for Anabaptism.

Prof. Kühler mentions in his lecture and in his great work on the Doopsgezinden in the Netherlands as such a breeding ground also the "*devotio moderna*" (= the modern piety), which their recent historian has called a "Christian Renaissance"⁷⁹. *The members stood up for the sacred rights of the heart in religion and founded free associations, which were not under a spiritual administration, in which only the "good will" bound the members to each other.* We pass over details, referring to Kühler and the relevant literature.

Kühler rightly emphasizes that the similarities with the Anabaptists are too great to be called accidental. One only compares the view of Fides, peaceableness, the holding of official offices here and there. Incidentally, Menno Simons, who rated the state very positively ("justice of the judiciary"), left this up to the individual⁸⁰.

Kühler has shown that the "*devotio moderna*" with its subjectivism also carried great dangers. One thinks of the Amsterdam nude runners (the mystical enthusiasts wanted to be stripped of everything earthly). *Menno and Mennonitism have always maintained the sharpest distance from all such insobrieties.*

The Anabaptism of Mennonite character confessed again and again the importance of practical service to God and neighbor^{81 & 82}.

Dutch Anabaptism was largely a *home-grown phenomenon*, but not entirely so. An influence of Swiss Anabaptism on Dutch Anabaptism unquestionably took place⁸³, especially through Melchior Hofmann (Menn. Lex.), who was won over to the Anabaptist movement in Strasbourg, a Protestant offshoot of Basel and Zurich. He became the bearer of *Anabaptism before Menno* in the Dutch area.

Anabaptism before Menno

The first Frisian martyr, Sicke Frerichs Snijder (tailor by profession), was called Menno by Melchiorites⁸⁴, so-called "allies". Menno already knew then that Cyprian had recognized both early and late baptism and made it optional,⁸⁵ but he had never heard of a second baptism. Unfortunately, A. Cramer did not come up with this only possible interpretation of the relevant information⁸⁰. Menno clearly distinguishes the allies from the Munsters. First he states that it is "ettelijc met der doope inbraeken⁸⁷" and then continues: "Hierop is volgende die secte van Munster aengebrouken [Thereupon the following sect of Munster was broken up]⁸⁸". These phrases ("inbraeken" and "aengebrouken") already show that Menno wanted the "inbraeken" to refer to the general Anabaptist movement that had started some time before, which was disturbed, disrupted, and broken up by a sectarian radicalism that had intervened ("aengebrouken").

It cannot be overlooked that towards the end of the 16th century the baptismalists made up almost *a fourth* of the population in *Friesland*⁸⁹. *The general Anabaptist movement was therefore a strong, broad stream that had actually "broken into" the Frisian population.* As ten Cate rightly points out, the Münster craze (Schwärmgeisterie) did not at any time in Friesland deal with this great movement of Anabaptism people covered, especially not in the large southern provinces. The two movements cannot even be equated numerically. Pieter van Ceulen and Brixius, the best defenders of the baptismal idea, see Münster as the blackest betrayal of the idea⁹⁰, just like him Menno Simons.

Melchior Hofmann came to Emden from Strasbourg, where he had already been from Kiel in 1528/2991. In the first three posters (1534)⁹² against the baptized in Friesland, he is named Michael Peiser (Peltzer)⁹³. As a representative of an imaginative eschatology, he turned the principles of Anabaptism into raptures for himself⁹⁴ since he was a man alien to reality and steeped in apocalyptic literature.

He did not consider himself a prophet, at least not originally, but unfortunately others did. He has never been a "Mennonite", just as little as Karlstadt was a "Lutheran"^{95 & 96}.

On Hofmann's influence in detail, see Kühler and the literature consulted by him and Neff (in the article in the Mennonitischen Lexikon).

From Emden, where Hofmann baptized 300 persons in one day, Dutch Anabaptism was further spread and organizationally developed in the northern provinces by Hofmann's disciple Jan Volkerts, called Trijpmaker. It should be emphasized that, according to ten Cate, the *Frisian* Volkerts did not work in the province of Friesland (West Friesland) at all. *This was already generally understood by the movement.* Through Volkerts, Amsterdam became the second Anabaptist center of activity. Incidentally, Hofmann himself was also here (in 1535, before Menno's departure from the old church). *In 1536, the Amsterdam Anabaptist congregation already had 1535 members.*

It has thus become clear to us that with M. Hofmann the organization of a large Anabaptist movement began even before Menno⁹⁷.

Anabaptism before Melchior Hofmann:

But even before Melchior Hofmann there were Anabaptists! We have seen that Anabaptist ideas were in the air, both from movements such as the Waldensian and Zurich ones, and in impact of the *devotio moderna*. Volkerts⁹⁸ and his teacher Hofmann, who also achieved great effects through his writings from Strasbourg⁹⁹, and largely updated the reform ideas. In 1533, Butzer had a disputation with Hofmann, about which he reported to all true Christians in the Netherlands in order to break up the Melchiorite movement in this way¹⁰⁰.

About the Melchiorite community life one consults Kühler¹⁰¹. In any case, the Melchiorites were, as Obbe Philips says, people in uniform (*mensen in der eenvout*) (= simplicity), i.e., peaceful people. But very soon *bloody persecutions* began against them. The court of Holland decreed the capture and execution of Trijpmaker, which caused a great disturbance in the midst of the brothers. Hofmann, who had baptisms stopped for several years (one should only teach and admonish in silence)¹⁰², could not extinguish with his means the fire that Jan Matthijsz and consorts kindled by carrying the blazing fires from place to place¹⁰³. Only when one sees these connections does one recognize the ecclesiastical history of the Church. Menno's great deed in helping to solve this conflagration.

Inevitably, there had to be a divorce between the Anabaptists and the revolutionary rebaptizers, because they had nothing in common. The meeting in Bocholt in Westphalia brought the settlement¹⁰⁴. David Joris, who tried to play the mediator, came to sit between two chairs. He was rejected by both the radicals and the pacifists¹⁰⁵. By the way, Obbe and Dirk Philips as well as Menno Simons had not appeared in Bocholt at all, but neither had Batenburg, who had counted on his condemnation from the beginning¹⁰⁶. *The East Frisian police order reflected this divorce of spirits (1544!!)* Again and again we touched upon the fact that even *before Hofmann* there were Anabaptists, but we do not say: Mennonites! Over this early Anabaptist period, however, lies even greater darkness than over the Melchiorite movement just discussed.

This is especially true of the south of the Netherlands. Neither Hofmann nor any of his students set foot here¹⁰⁷. On the whole, we must see the emergence of the movement in the south as analogous to what happened in the north. The *devotio moderna* had also taken root there, and popular piety was generally under the influence of various reform efforts of the late Middle Ages. In the south, too, there was an alienation of large circles from the church. *The Münster affair had no influence on the southern movement.*

Kühler comments: The Munstersche movement is limited to the north. The southern communities that flourished, as, for example, in Bruges, were completely blown apart by the most ruthless persecution. *They fled mainly to Friesland.*

Let us now try to penetrate to the oldest Anabaptist stratum, to those baptized before Hofmann.

We take our location in this special investigation to the Three Frieslands, primarily in East Frisia.

The emergence of Anabaptists in East Friesland was summarized by Dr. Müller as the first stage of the Reformation¹⁰⁸. E. Beninga assesses Anabaptism as a native East Frisian plant that first sprouted up in 1528 without any outside influences. Ubbo Emmius also names this year as the time when this movement first appeared in East Friesland¹⁰⁹. However, Beninga's view is exaggerated, as is the opposing view that the East Frisian Mennonites were composed solely of refugees. That should then also apply with the same right to the province of Friesland, the home province of Obbe and Dirk Philips as well as Menno Simons, this most important

leader of Dutch Anabaptism. In this context, it is worth recalling the information provided by E. van Reuid and Hooft (footnote 89) about the large Anabaptist population in Friesland. We have then seen that East Friesland was the base of Hofmann's great missionary and organizational movement.

In the south of the Netherlands, Anabaptism as such spread as an organized movement from the east. *We must see the appearance of the Anabaptist movement in East Friesland, as well as in Groningen and Friesland, etc., as closely connected with the Reformation movement in the Swiss, German and Dutch areas in general, and also specifically in connection with the suppressions of Reformation ideas in these areas*^{109a}.

Because East Frisia, like the lands of Philip of Hesse and Albrecht of Brandenburg, enjoyed a lenient ecclesiastical-political regiment, it became the area in the Empire where this religious forbearance, to its unusual extent for the time, attracted many religious refugees. Unfortunately, neither Beninga nor Emmius specified more precisely *from where* the refugees poured into East Frisia. Emmius only says in general that there was a permanent influx of such refugees from the neighboring provinces ("ex vicinis provinciis"). Also Schotanus¹¹⁰ provides no more detail regarding from which areas the immigrants had fled. Probably from the province of North Holland, where already in 1528 persons suffered martyrdom because of Anabaptist sentiments. Blaupot ten Cate notes that already in 1527 three persons from Krommeniedijk (Nord-Holland) and a woman from Monnikendam underwent martyrdom because of Doopsgezinde beliefs. He refers here to T. J. van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror*^{110a}.

*Extremely important are G.(!) ten Cate's comments on the beginnings of the church in Gravenhage*¹¹¹ and his statement that there were Anabaptist house churches in North Holland even before the well-known Frisian Leonhard [Leenaert] Bouwens¹¹² traveled teaching and baptizing in this area. W. Klaasdochter from Monnikendam, who was martyred in 1527, was also baptized after him, but certainly Jan Dirks Walik or Walig, Cornelius Luytens van Krommeniedijk and Dirk Gerrits (cf. the Prussian-Russian-German family name "Görtz"), who were burned in 1524. In any case, on his travels in North Holland, Bouwens already came across nascent early Anabaptist communities.

In the [periodical] *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, J. Glasz offers important material about the community in Alkmaar (North Holland) before 1600^{112a}. It is a Waterland-Flemish community whose archive was unfortunately almost completely destroyed in the French period.

Scheffer in his work "History of Church Reformation in the Netherlands to 1531" (Geschiedenis der Kerkhervorming in Nederland tot 1531) had concluded that in the eastern part of North Holland the reform movement had found little or no adherents, which Glasz vigorously denies.

He acknowledges that there were no official reports about a reform movement in these areas. But he notes that in Alkmaar humanism flourished, whose representatives were favorable to the reform movement ("qui reformationi faverunt"). Glasz knows how to name men who were absent from church processions very early (e.g., Jakob Willemszoon, Jan Filipsz, Franz Jansz^{112b}, all names very familiar to us).

When baptism came to Alkmaar, it certainly found well-prepared ground there and many a man who was receptive the new ideas. According to Glasz, Knappert in the "Theol. Tijdschrift" in 1906 found that as early as 1529 a woman, Maritgen Davidsdochter, from Leiden, had been drowned there. So, the conclusion is forced on you that this movement had older roots.

On 2/5/34^{112c} the councilor Gerard van Assenfeld reported to the governor about the execution of two sisters Geertruyt and Anna Jansdochter. Before these two women were taken to The Hague, a conference was held in *Limme* on June 24, 1533 (i.e., at the time of the Münster affair, before Menno left the old church) at which 20 deputies from Amsterdam, Alkmaar, Krommenic, Hoorn and from other places were present, including "Gerrit mitten baerde" (Gerrit with the beard). That was probably the bookbinder Gerrit^{112d}, who had been sent out by Jan van Campen in various provinces, to preach and baptize. Glasz names the participants^{112e}. All persons present at this meeting were then expelled from Holland, Zeeland and Friesland. *This note alone gives us an idea of the extent of the opposition movement that broke out.* All of these persons were also declared forfeited of their goods by rescript dated January 19, 1534 (!). In 1544 a Jan Pietersz, a butcher from Alkmaar, confessed to having taken part in this meeting in the house of Franz Jansz, at which the move to Munster was discussed, and which must therefore have taken place before January 19, 1534. An apostle of Jan Matthys was called Claas van Alkmaar, who, that is characteristic (!), did not work in Münster, but was assigned to Groningen^{112f}. At every step we encounter such very close ties between North Holland and the Frisian areas.

Jan van Leiden sent the Claas van Alkmaar to Groningen with the book "Von der Rache"^{112g}

Blaupot ten Cate is undoubtedly of the correct opinion that a large part of the Emden community came from the Waterland, i. e. originally Frisian areas^{112h}).

In 1531, 3,000 servants of the King of Denmark had invaded Alkmaar and had been running riot. They lived in luxury ("van spijs ende dranck"¹¹²ⁱ). Trade and commerce came to a standstill because of them. This invasion reminds us of Ukrainian banditry, the *Makhnovshchina* of 1918 and following, and of the Pugachevshchina under Catherine II in the Volga region. Who can be surprised that the doctrine "of revenge" found a willing ear in such conditions? Glasz reports about all who moved to Münster. *However, for us these are quite strange names. Whether this is not also an indirect proof that a distinction must be made between the Münster and the evangelical Anabaptists to a large extent?* These revolutionaries came from other circles than all the martyrs mentioned. *With the Münsterites, we are dealing primarily with a radical socio-political movement.*

In any case, the opposition movement flared up in flames in the north of Holland as well as in Friesland and other parts of the Netherlands. The Procurator General therefore took the strongest possible action, in Alkmaar as well. Among the people who, sharply *opposed by the Protestant Anabaptists* and led by Jan van Geelen, stormed the town hall of Amsterdam was the goldsmith Sybrand Klaasz of Alkmaar. In Harzewoude, on December 31, 1535, several Anabaptist prophets were arrested, among them "Janne Jan Dirks, daughter from Alkmaar (dochter uyt Alkmaar)"¹¹³. The zealots planned to take Alkmaar by surprise and held meetings in Wormer for this reason. However, there were house searches and arrests beforehand, which is why many fled.

This radicalization of the reform movement was unquestionably related to the Soldadeska invasion mentioned above, just as the Münsterites was largely rooted in the unprecedented socio-political conditions of the time.

While, as G. ten Cate strongly points out, in Friesland, in Groningen and North Holland a whole crowd of Anabaptist teachers [preachers] wandered about, in *South Holland*, especially also in the Hague, the Anabaptists were left to themselves, because the traveling preachers had to keep away from these areas because of the danger of being caught. Initially, the Anabaptists were confused with the other reformers, which is why the first posters were directed against the followers of Luther, Karlstadt, Melanchthon, etc., lastly still in 1529, and then exclusively the Anabaptists, whose number, as can be seen from the memoranda of the court of Holland, more and more swelled to fight.

Therefore, for economic and population reasons, the governors as such exercised the utmost leniency towards these heretics, quite contrary to the official blood posters. However, this policy was impractical in Flanders and Brabant, because of the proximity of the Court of Brussels, whose influence on the governors of these provinces was very strong. Here, moreover, the nobility had remained loyal to the old church. *But where the aforementioned indulgences were applied, harried reformers immediately sought and found an asylum.* For example, religious refugees came to Breda in Brabant, to Haarlem¹¹⁴, but especially to the Rhine areas (Jülich), to the Three Frieslands and especially to East Friesland.

K. [Karel] Vos has pointed out in the most remarkable way that the Flanders must have had a different origin than the rest of the Dutch Anabaptism¹¹⁵. It was originally connected neither with the Swiss nor with the East Frisian-Melchiorite movement.

Accordingly, Vos assumes an Anabaptism before Melchior Hofmann. We saw that Prof. Kühler holds a similar view, although he considers a connection between the West and the East possible, in view of cosmopolitan Antwerp.

Vos wants to *trace the beginnings of Anabaptism in Flanders*, especially in the large commercial centers (Ghent, Bruges, etc.) to the still slumbering remnants of earlier religious anti-Catholic movements, but at the same time also to the global attitude of the population of these cities, their widespread but then dwindling industry and their international trade. Anabaptism in Flanders had its roots mainly in the workers of the silk industry and among the Flemish weavers (tisserands) [Danish for weaver]; which is why the state authorities would have liked to observe the reticence already touched on, in order not to damage international trade, if the Brussels court had not constantly waved its scourge. The persecutions came from the sovereign, with the support of the clergy and the monasteries. Hence the great indignation of the Flemish refugees when they learned in Friesland that a Frisian Anabaptist was sending his daughter to a convent school to be educated. It was also those Groningers, the so-called "Altflamingen" [Old Flemish], who fought and abolished the position of power of the Aelteste, whom they wanted to see as nothing more than overseers entrusted with controlling life and teaching in the communities. One had to experience with Dirk Philips how the overemphasized system of the leader had an effect.

Thus, the Flemish rejected the hierarchical principle of authority, from which the Frisians had not kept themselves entirely free.

The petty bourgeois origins of the Flemish Anabaptist circles may also be evidenced by the fact that the Flemish refugees in the Three Frieslands were offended by the somewhat rich bourgeoisie of the Frisian peasants,

as the latter, for their part, in the "clothing luxury" of the guests. *In tribal terms, however, they belonged close to each other*, but due to the geographical separation of their main bodies and their professional differences, they were alienated from each other, so that they could only poorly adapt to each other. But it was precisely this "something" that proved to be a chasm over which the two counterparts could not cross, given the patriarchal nature of their entire way of thinking and attitude to life.

The real root of the Flemish-Frisian schism, however, is, according to Vos and Scheffer, the threatening shift of the center of church life to the authority of the Aelteste, to the "*organization*", to the centralization of church administration among the Frisians, in which the Flemish workers, craftsmen and merchants saw a violation of the original Anabaptist principles, a diminution of the inalienable basic rights of the specific individual congregations "here and there". *The fact that the Anabaptist movement in the southern provinces was at least as old as that in the Three Frieslands, but that the persecutions there broke out earlier than in the Three Frieslands (the first Frisian martyr in 1531), makes the behavior of the refugees from Belgium, who were economically largely ruined, towards the Frisian peasant Anabaptism, which was more secure in terms of church politics and economy, more understandable from a human point of view.* Inevitably, sensitivities arose and tensions broke out. This was especially true when the Frisian communities objected to the election of a Flemish refugee as a church minister. The refugees could not quite shake off the impression that they were regarded as "foreigners" and perhaps even mistrusted.

We have here, and from the point of view of questions of origin, a preview of later developments, which will consistently occupy us.

In the *Doopsgezinden Bijdragen 1862*¹¹⁸ the beginnings of the Anabaptist movement in *Dordrecht, South Holland*, are discussed in more detail. *The poster against the Anabaptists in 1534* (23. 1.) is also printed there, in which some Anabaptist preachers are listed: Adriaan Adriaensz, Cornellis, Gillis Dirksz.

For quite some time *before* the Reformation, there were already Anabaptists in Dordrecht who, according to Blaupot ten Cate, were not in any contact with the Münsters. In this city there were already in the first half of the 16th century refugees *from Brabant and Flanders*, whose main stream, however, flowed off to Friesland, but also many (DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1862) straight to Dordrecht, where the congregation then also belonged to the Flemish tradition.

The DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDAGEN 1862 offer us the names of the Dordrecht Aelteste from the 17th century. It must be noticeable at first glance that only a few of the names, which incidentally almost all have surnames, are familiar to us. However, this is not due to the actual names, but to the surnames. I list here a number of *first names* - without surnames - which occur again and again among the Prussian and Russian Mennonites, then first *names with patronymics*, which are in the list, and finally *also place names*: Gerrit Hendrik, Jakob Arendsz, Franz Adriaansz, Adriaan Cornellisse, Mees Ghijsbrechts, Isaak Hendricksen, Jan and Marcus van Dijk, Menno Simons, Tielman Janssen, Willem Jansen, Seger Dirksz, Rochus Jansz, - Gerrit von Bylaer, Jaques Verbeck, Abraham Spronck van Utrecht, Jan van Bijlaer, Bartholomeus Leendert van Stein, Tielman Jansen van Braght, Wilern Jansen van Brockhuisen, Seger Dirksz de Pot usw.

These persons were for the most part foreigners in Dordrecht, with Flanders, Brabant and Holland (North and South Holland) providing the majority of the immigrants. The Frisian-Flemish character is not denied by this list. The small town of Aardenburg (Zeeland) had baptized people who were also mostly (DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDAGEN 1876, p. 83) of Flemish descent. Only one family was at home in Aardenburg itself.

Charles V had issued a sharp edict against the reformers in the south and north of the Netherlands in 1521 and 1522, whereupon Margaret began to act vigorously against them in 1523. The first posters do not yet mention the Anabaptists, a proof that even if there were people of this reform direction, they did not stand out so openly and strongly. Luther's writings on the Reformation were forbidden in the first posters and any printing of books without official approval was prohibited. *From 1533, however, the posters were then directed only against Anabaptists.* It is not to be overlooked that the *order of 19. 2. 1533 primarily wanted to attack the Anabaptist leaders*¹²⁰. The name bearers listed above are Anabaptist preachers.

The first known poster that *Groningen* published dates from May 3, 1534¹²¹. In general, the first posters against Anabaptists in the Three Friesland only went out in 1534, as Blaupot ten Cate expressly notes. The edicts in the south against the baptized there appeared earlier. The first Groningen edict of February 23, 1534 stipulated that all those who had traveled there and *all foreign Anabaptists (!!) were to be expelled. Thus, there were refugees there at the time who, according to our earlier statements, came from other Dutch and German areas. According to the article about*

Dordrecht, there were already Anabaptists there for quite some time before the Reformation, thus even before Melchior Hofmann. It is also worth remembering the explanations of G. ten Cate above.

In the highly significant Dutch journal of Anabaptist-Mennonite research, the *Doopsgezinden Bijdragen*, one repeatedly encounters omissions like those of G. ten Cate. But, unfortunately, they are not sufficient to cover the oldest layer of Dutch Anabaptism in *all areas* of the north and south. With a high degree of probability, however, we can venture the *judgment that Anabaptist persons and circles existed everywhere in the Dutch region even before Hofmann's East Frisian activity.*

Appendix to Chapter V, (very important!): What we urgently lack is, as already noted, a systematic treatment of the Dutch municipal archives. It should be possible, because especially the Dutch Mennonite researchers have been the first to emphatically point out this need on their part, and they have already made excellent contributions to Mennonite genealogy (as, by the way, have the American Mennonites).

I have only been able to look through the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* in this regard, but not yet exhaustively enough, and some of what I have come across here shall be mentioned.

However, this can only be done in detail in the context of a consideration of *the migrations of baptized people to the Dutch area and within it in the time before the great Mennonite migration to the Vistula and Nogat area, which began as a Mennonite (not general Anabaptist) migration in the 40s of the 16th century.*

We have already explained that the artery of the evangelical Anabaptist and Mennonite history *in the first decades* was in the Three Frieslands, and in the Frisian-Flemish area in general. For factual and methodological reasons, I therefore take my location in this *area of Three Frieslands*. From this area I have made my observations, when I looked at the historical contributions of the attracted Dutch journal. For all expert additions and useful corrections I am grateful!

The *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* has rendered significant services to research by collecting the still existing Mennonite community archives and, in addition, the file material in municipal and state archives, as well as *by way of a careful literary vigilance*. As incomplete as the source material available to the staff of the DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN has been, the results of their historical efforts are often noteworthy and meritorious.

Already in the first decade of the existence of our journal we find in it *contributions to family research*: Professor de Hoop Scheffer, the eminent Mennonite historian, in 1867, the journal saw the light of day in 1861, gave basic and practical suggestions in this regard in his interesting essay "Her Geslacht Sleutel" [The Family Sleutel], and his remarks on the *importance of family research* deserve every attention.

The scholar rightly emphasizes that among the sources for researching Mennonite history, family trees, family registers, family records of old families are of great value. Here there are omissions on the part of the Mennonites, which the editor of the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* Dr. Harting found this to be based on a Mennonite characteristic (Eigenart), so that he did not dare to believe in their removal. Already Reisswitz and Wadseck¹²² say of the Mennonite settlers: They " ..., partly simple farmers, thought little of writing. They were fully occupied with their bourgeois existence, and their lives

was a continuous struggle against their powerful enemies and envious neighbors. *The religion of Jesus was more important to them than the writing of historical essays.* All we know of them was news that passed from mouth to mouth. Especially the Frisians were anything but writers. That "Frisia non cantat" (do not sing) played into this. Even if for a part of the Dutch Anabaptists the above sentences do not fully apply, they also have a part in the general behavior of the Mennonites, who always, *with full right (!!!), have always, rightly (!), placed practical religious life and action above every theory and every scientific investigation...* Scheffer complains that the existing entries in the family bible and possible family chronicles have always been withheld from research because of the mentioned Mennonite one-sidedness. When he, as it were, appeasing himself, remarks that one does not need to put special emphasis on the birth, marriage and death records in order not to bore the readers of the journal with trivial material about trivial ancestors, then it must not be overlooked, that for our historical uncertainty the concreteness of the genealogical clues is of special value, and the calmly flowing stream of the families appears as the actual supporting reason for the emergence of stronger historical personalities and characters. Scheffer himself did not miss the opportunity - even if it was only in passing - to collect quite carefully the small building blocks in the representation of the top performance of his own family (he belonged to the "Sleutel family") and then to utilize them accordingly.

It has not escaped our researcher that also Blaupot ten Cate has resorted to family chronicles, even if only now and then. Today the utilization of the family research is a matter of course for the historical method.

We have to learn to handle this key (to the deeper essence of the past, to the secrets of earlier generations and their fates) correctly. It will be of greatest interest to learn how far Scheffer's suggestions have already had a fruitful effect in the latent Dutch Anabaptist family research. Only an, admittedly laborious, detailed genealogical work can help to clarify controversial issues, which, once they have appeared, do not disappear again by mere call, as experience teaches. Scheffer exhorts, where the historical utilization of genealogical information is concerned, "What questions would we perhaps have solved (by this information)!" *Cornelius van Hujsen had withheld his intimate knowledge about the origin of the East Frisian refugees to our greatest sorrow, which was recently presented as inaccurate, but which would have been confirmed or refuted if van Hujsen had shared his documents with us.* Now this source is sealed and buried forever!

Scheffer's contribution on the Sleutel family, from which he comes, can give us a better answer for our topic, after we have tried to clarify above the general picture of the origins of Anabaptism in the Dutch area from the East, especially the Three Friesland. It has already been largely confirmed to us that the artery of Dutch-Dutch Anabaptist and Mennonite history lay in the Three Friesland. Of course, it would be an exaggeration of the "Frisian theory" to want to determine statistically exactly what percent of the Mennonite pioneers who came to Prussia and Russia were of Frisian stock. Such a determination (this is objected to by H. H. Schroeder) is impossible for various reasons, especially also because of the constant Mennonite migrations in the Lowland-Lower German-Upper German area and because of the in the Vistula-

Nogat region, to which I have repeatedly referred, in my essays on questions of origin in the Canadian "Boten" and the "Menn. Rundschau" as well as elsewhere. *But it is indisputable, on the basis of the above explanations about the origins of Anabaptism in the west, east and south of the Netherlands, that the Three Frieslands, the Waterland, the North Sea islands, the Flanders coast up to Bruges, all old Frisian territory, has been the proper hearth of the Anabaptist movement. In this H. H. Schroeder is right!*

Just to *this* view of the prehistory of our Russian Mennonites I have to present new material, but old in partly new light.

This is done *within the framework of a presentation of the Mennonite migrations*, as they took place in the 16th century mainly in the Dutch area and then from this area eastward. For the eastward migrations, since the middle of the century, since the involvement of ducal and Polish Prussia as the destination of Mennonite eastward migrations, East Frisia in the north was the gathering place of Mennonite refugees. This fact justifies the formulation of the heading of the next chapter.

VI. East Frisia as a gathering place and asylum for Anabaptist refugees until the middle of the 16th century

In academic research, too, the Mennonites were spoken of as a people on a journey.

The ideas represented by the evangelical Anabaptists in the 16th century broke through everywhere. For example, in Augsburg the movement won no less than 10% of the population. In Tyrol, in Italy, in Central Europe it gained a foothold. We already know its extent in the Netherlands. Around the time when the first Anabaptist congregations were formed in Switzerland, the whole of southern and central Germany was filled with Anabaptists, as were whole areas in northern Germany, in the Frisian districts.

Note: I refer to the other migrations of the baptized to my lecture in Regensburg, Mennonite Day (Mennonitentag) 1938¹²³⁻¹²⁵.

East Frisia, as we have seen, was the starting point of the great Anabaptist movement within the Dutch-Low German area in the 16th century.

East Frisia, Groningerland and the province of Friesland, the so-called three Frieslands, were now also the starting point of the great Dutch-Low German Mennonite migrations to the Vistula and Nogat regions, *to ducal and Polish Prussia, from where the Prussian Mennonites came to Russia and via Russia (partly also directly) to overseas.*

The first appearance of the Anabaptist movement in East Frisia has already been mentioned. Likewise, also already briefly of the refugees, who came there "ex vicinis provinens" (from the neighboring areas). With the existing open traffic between East Frisia and the neighboring Low German and Dutch districts, this was natural. Groningen, for example, was in earlier centuries closely intertwined with East Frisia¹²⁶, especially the cities of Groningen, Appingadam and the port city of Delfzijl. The border fortress Neuschanz (Nieuwe Schanz) was only torn loose from East Frisia in 1628. *Politically, as is known, East Frisia belonged to Holland for only a few years, according to some documents a few years longer.*

Unfortunately, there is no way to estimate the number of Anabaptists who fled to the East Frisian county, to Groningen and the province of Friesland¹²⁷. It is always emphasized that there were many refugees. We know that Emden flourished because of the influx of Dutch refugees (and others). Because of the mass influx of refugees, there was sometimes a lack of housing and warehouses. That East Frisia in particular became a gathering place for religious innovators is also confirmed by Blaupot ten Cate when he writes: Such a refuge (*Zufluchtsstaette*) Groningen and Overijssel certainly did not provide¹²⁸.

In the province of Friesland, in Groningen and Overijssel, the Anabaptists were also persecuted, although not quite as cruelly as in the southern provinces. Ten Cate has given an exhaustive history of the oppressions in the Frisian provinces in his books. We have already touched on them. It should only be noted that ten Cate mentions a dozen executions for Deventer in 1571, and then also martyrs who came from Overijssel and Groningen, but were killed in other places. (Berend Claessen from Zwolle, Thijman Hendriks from Kämpen, Quirinus*) from Groningen)¹²⁹.

It is clear without further ado that the largest number of refugees to the Three Frieslands to East Friesland, were Reformed, namely in the early Reformation period. This is also true for the Vistula and Nogat regions in the early period.

*) Quiringa (Quiring) is derived from Quirinus.

But that with them also came Anabaptist people to East Frisia is evident from ten Cate^{129a}, who finds among a group of Reformed refugees to East Frisia - though from the year 1569, a number of Anabaptist people:

Claas Boer..Claas Timmermann, Bate Hindriks, Hindrik Willems and others. ten Cate also mentions two names that are very common among the Mennonites in Prussia and Russia: Harms and Eppens,^{129aa}.

Let us briefly clarify the reasons why the refugees sought out East Frisia. The most important reason, the unusual and ecclesiastically favorable situation in the county, has already been mentioned. Regarding the whole question, Müller is to be consulted¹³⁰

He rightly points to the geographical position of East Friesland as the obvious reason for this. For the inhabitants of Friesland, Groningen and the surrounding areas, as well as Overijssel (M. L.) and Drenthe (M. L.), the eastern direction was literally the only way that the persecuted could escape the bloody stalkings of the persecutors, as well as for the refugees from the provinces of Holland, Zeeland it must have been particularly obvious to turn to East Friesland. Only the hasty escape to the north-east could be an option for the threatened people, who were also terrified by the martyrdom of Jan Janszoon (also known by the name of Johannes Pistorius) in 1525. The Anabaptists and Anabaptist leaders in particular sought to evade police access through this gate, which was not locked at the time, in order to unite with their like-minded comrades in the East Frisian county and on Low German soil. *With Beninga, one may assume that the influx began at the latest, but perhaps not earliest, in 1528.*

One of the most important reasons, however, was the tolerant regime of Count Edzard I Cirksema, which had to attract especially the Anabaptist (Dutch, Swiss, German). The count had declared himself a friend of the reform movement at the very beginning, and had allowed the distribution of Luther's writings. He did not oppress the old church or the new movement. Both Catholic and Protestant preaching took place in the great church.

Had Edzard, whose church-political attitude Emmius has portrayed¹³¹, still lived in 1529, he might have sided with the Protestant church.

In East Frisia, there was room for everyone. To the Anabaptists, this freedom was the main motivator. When in 1572 William of Orange, to whom they gave moral and material help in his difficult struggle against Spain, offered him their services in return, they asked only for freedom of conscience. For the Mennonites, this has remained their main demand to this day¹³². Scheffer, too, has occasionally mentioned this point as the main reason

for the emergence of the refugee communities in East Frisia. Thus he mentions¹³³ the judgment of Syvert Pieters that the refugee communities had come into being because the authorities in Friesland ruled more mildly for the “*volk Gods*” than elsewhere. *The Anabaptists attached great importance to remaining completely autonomous in the regulation of their religious affairs, and for their part they had little for political power.* The Dutch citizens were by nature accustomed to the autonomy of their towns, their guilds, their dike administrations. Each congregation should be free, so was the opinion of the Anabaptists, each member of the congregation should vote according to his insight on ecclesiastical matters in his local congregation, without looking to the right or to the left, and so should the whole individual congregation, without somehow tolerating interference in its own internal affairs from the state and from other congregations. Scheffer has shown, as we have seen, that it was *precisely the violation of this principle of autonomy and freedom that led to that schism between Frisians and Flemings*¹³⁴.

Enno I (1528-1540) continued the ecclesiastical policy of his father and vigorously advocated church reform, which earned him the scornful name “Frisian heretic” from Charles of Guelders^{134a}. In Holland the environment for the reformers became even hotter, so that the refugee stream to the reformed East Frisia swelled ever more.

However, the flood of reformers into his county made Enno I suspicious of the dissenting faith groups. There is no doubt that the Count of Zurich was influenced by the Zwingli circle, in the sense of denominational disputability, and that the edict against the Anabaptists in 1530 (they had to leave East Frisia before Shrove Tuesday against the loss of life and limb) can be traced back to such influences. By the way, the evil acts of Münster played a role here, which were also a heavy burden for the quiet, apolitical Anabaptists, because of their obvious confusion with the putschists, despite the fact that Obbe and Dirk Philips vigorously opposed the fanatics even before Menno left his church to second them, as he had already done in his writing against Jan v. Leiden in 1535 before his resignation from office [as priest].

Also the East Frisian police order was extended by Enno in polemic intensification against the Anabaptists, although the Reformed, who themselves were strongly challenged by the Lutherans, were more tolerant. After all, adult baptism was banned in 1535 and 1537 through a mandate to the same effect (Richtung).

Subsequently, doctrinal disputes broke out on East Frisian soil. The immediate cause was a visit there by Karlstadt, who had to leave Saxony. This difference among the reformers gave Enno the idea of their confessional unification. Bugenhagen received a request to draw up a confession of unity, which he refused. Enno then called two men from Bremen, also refugees from Amsterdam to Emden, who met with the harshest opposition because of their confessional stridency. This disunity in the ranks of the reformers helped to strengthen the Anabaptist influence in East Frisia. Enno took this into account, only intervening against such firebrands as Rink, Hofmann, etc., who had to leave the country. According to Beninga, Enno issued that stricter edict against the Anabaptists. However, it was directed against the agitated refugees and does not seem to have been carried out¹³⁵.

Also under the government of the widow of Enno I, the *countess Anna of Oldenburg* (1540-1562), many Anabaptists sought out East Frisia, because the ruler granted religious refuge, *until imperial power abruptly intervened*¹³⁶ and halted further free admission into the country. Dirk Philips, Menno Simons and Leonhard Bouwens were among the refugees who moved to the East Frisia.

Until 1543, Anna continued the traditional church policy of toleration and non-interference in religious affairs. The Reformed superintendent, the Polish nobleman Johann à Lasko, supported her in this. Then, however, a thunderstorm broke over East Frisia as well. According to ten Cate, "eene dunkere Lucht boven de Doopsgezinden in Ostfriesland" (a thinner sky over the Anabaptists in Ostfriesland) gathered. This did not happen without the help of Anna's brother-in-law Johann von Ostfriesland, who was in the service of the emperor and who, having returned to East Frisia with a sovereign mandate, tried to seize the guardianship of the county¹³⁷. *Charles V demanded written information from Anna about the Anabaptists in East Friesland and, in order to increase the political pressure on the Countess, he also wrote to the Emden magistrate at the same time.* The following year the countess was attacked even more violently by the regent of the Netherlands, Maria of Hungary, on behalf of her imperial brother, which, as we know from a letter from the superintendent à Lasco to Hardenberg¹³⁸, caused him great terror. The governess made serious complaints about the church-political situation in East Friesland, where enemies of God and the Emperor found refuge, people who had long since been outlawed (*Acht*) and excommunicated.

Anna immediately issued a mandate that all members of any sect, but *primarily the Anabaptists*, were to leave East Frisia.

It should be emphasized that the Mandate also affected the people who had settled in the country, and not just refugees. Both those who had recently come to East Frisia from the Netherlands and elsewhere, as well as those who had lived there for years and even born East Frisians as well ("en zelfs ook geboren Oost-Friesen") were persecuted¹³⁹. The Lutherans, who had sought and found refuge here from the Netherlands, were also under intense pressure, to the great chagrin of the noble à Lasko. The notorious troublemakers and revelers were expelled from the country without a fuss, while the Mennonites were subject to the decision of à Lasko, who showed them the greatest possible benevolence. *After all, many quiet Anabaptists emigrated at that time, like Menno Simons himself.* They had all correctly guessed that the situation would get worse. Even à Lasko had to turn his back on East Frisia because of the so-called Interim, which was published in June 1548. An order of 6. 4. 1549 was to the effect that *the Anabaptists had to vacate the area altogether.* If Müller^{139a} also thinks that the countess was lax in her edicts against the Anabaptists, because she could not refrain from making that distinction between the restless and silent Anabaptists, the example of à Lasko shows clearly enough how unstable the conditions were in terms of church politics, even in East Frisia at that time. From one day to the next, the reformers, especially the already distrusted evangelical Mennonites, could be confronted with a completely changed situation, which they, who were directly concerned, could certainly overlook better than even the best historian. *The great migration in the 40s of the 16th century, mainly from East Frisia, will be confirmed to us later as a fact in other ways as well. Here it should be mentioned only briefly that there was documentary evidence of a large settlement of Frisians near Danzig in the Danzig archives for the year 1547. We will come back to this.*

From Groningerland, not only foreigners were expelled, but also locals. The first poster was directed against the foreign Anabaptists (May 3, 1534). The poster of October 8, 1535, set fines and, as a last resort, banishment. This "Oostrewarfs-Constitutie" explicitly distinguishes between individuals who resided in the area around Gronigen and immigrants. And the "Oosteren Westerwarfs-Constitutie" of May 3, 1536 reads of "Male or female persons residing in the area of Gronyngen and beyond". Frerichs has published a poster from 1539, in which measures are also ordered against the local residents. As long as Groningen was independent, greater tolerance could be practiced within East Frisia.

In 1536, however, the province fell to Charles V and this leniency was more or less over. At least here, too, a distinction seems to have been made early on between the Mennonites and the Münster Anabaptists. In any case, Menno was able to remain untouched here until 1543. In 1544, however, a poster against him came out.

In East Frisia, in 1545, Anna made an explicit distinction in the police regulations between the Mennonites on the one hand and the followers of David Joris and Batenburg on the other. But the poster of Charles V towards the end of the previous year (31. 8. 1544¹⁴⁰) mentioned Menno Simons in one breath with those "sword spirits" (Sweertgeestern), a proof of the embarrassing ambiguities that existed here, from which many Mennonites concluded the necessity of fleeing home. For the sake of greater clarity, the most necessary information about the name *Mennonite* is given in a footnote 141.

VII. The origin of the Frisian-East Frisian Anabaptist immigrants

To Chap. VII, VIIa, VIIb and VIIc:

Because this large section of the monograph offers an overabundance of material and methodology in the interest of our main task of solving questions of origin, some introductory overviews are given here for quicker orientation, by splitting the explanations belonging here into the chapters VII, VIIa, VIIb and VIIc.

Regarding ch. VII: *Ottius* says in his "Annalen" that many baptized people came from *Germany* to Friesland and Holland. Ten Cate gives a whole series of families who fled from *Westphalia* to East Frisia and Holland. According to him, "most members" of the congregations went from there to Oberyssel at the outbreak of the persecutions (see the article "Oberyssel" in the Menn. Lexikon). The same researcher mentions here also *High Germans* (Oberdeutsche) and *Swiss*. These initially united with the local Palatines to form a community. Ten Cate mentions names of the Groningen Swiss community, which became more similar in *naming* to their Frisian neighbors (Cornelius, Jans). One part of the Swiss began to preach Dutch, the other remained strictly with the German sermon and the German hymnal ("Ausbund"). The latter also used the Luther translation, while the less traditional group introduced the Biestken Bible (see Menn. Lex.) and a Dutch hymnal ("Lusthof des Gemoets"). The old customs held on most tenaciously in the Swiss communities. We then encounter their peasant costume among the "old Groningers" in the Schwetz area and in the Neumark settlement, an offshoot of Schwetz. *According to an essay in the "D. B" in 1862, the best relations existed between the Dutch Anabaptists and the German Mennonites.*

In this context, I discuss in more detail the fate of the community in *Nymwegen*, where there was a community of High Germans. Especially many persons from the *Jülichschen* were naturalized (Jülich = city in the Rhine Province. District Aachen; = former duchy on the left bank of the Rhine). Also otherwise we find scattered news in the DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN about the influx of German Mennonites to the Netherlands.

We cannot determine this Swiss-German refugee element, which sought and found a new home in the Netherlands in the 16th century and also later, even approximately in *numbers*. Everywhere we find "Hochduitsche" in the Dutch provinces. It is interesting that these High Germans mostly kept to the freer Waterlanders. Scheffer mentions one exception (Kops), which case we will discuss in more detail.

Our remarks about the dividing line between Germany and Holland deserve special attention.

According to the available documents, we can get a picture of how the Swiss and German Anabaptist developed in Holland, the classical land of freedom. They held on to the mother tongue as long as possible, both in the family and in worship. In time, however, they were absorbed into Dutch Anabaptism.

According to ten Cate, in 1543-1550, that is, late ("laat"), "many" Anabaptists from Flanders and Brabant fled to the three Friesland. De Hoop Scheffer knows of refugees from the southern provinces here.

If the northern provinces provided so many refugees in our area in the *early days* of the Reformation, then the numerically very strong Anabaptist element in the Frisian areas must be traced back to the greatest extent possible to internal Frisian origins, i.e., this is our thesis!, the real artery of the Dutch baptismal movement of the first period lay in the areas with predominantly Frisian population.

Above all, Anabaptists also emigrated from the northern provinces to the Three Friesland

This section of the monograph is quite its core and star. Here we have broken new methodological ground. We have finally proved that the Anabaptism in the Three Friesland was closely related to that in the original Frisian North Holland and on the Frisian islands also genealogically.

The proof of this is carried out on the broadest basis.

To VII a: First an explanation is offered to the *method* of our carried out proofs.

Prof. de Hoop Scheffer's essay about the "Sleutel family" is extensively consulted by us. We provide evidence that the *Willems* family developed and strengthened itself in *Frisian* ways, both ecclesiastically and genealogically. The author also pays tribute to a series of essays on the communities on the islands of the North Sea with a predominantly Frisian population. Above all, the various lists of names are also assessed from the main point of view of the monograph.

To VII b: Here again *methodical aspects of name research* are discussed. In this context the publications of H. H. Schroeder, Gustav Reimer jr., Horst Quiring, *Deichrentmeister* Schulz and others are evaluated and appreciated in more detail.

On VII c: The section dealing with *names* from the East Frisian tax rolls and the other lists reproduced in extracts speaks for itself.

All these perspectives, as well as the following chapter VIII, are only a more thorough guide to a final, comprehensive opinion on the question of our subject.

* * *

After we have revealed the reasons why the persecuted fled primarily to East Frisland, *we try to determine the origin of these Frisian-East Frisian Anabaptist immigrants as much as is possible.*

a) Very important is an omission by Ottius in his "Annalen"¹⁴² that in 1525 "many" Anabaptists from *Germany* and *Switzerland* fled to *Friesland* (meaning East Friesland^{142a}) and Holland. Schaghen¹⁴³ also reports, relying on the Martyrs' Mirror printed in Haarlem, that at that time *many German Anabaptists* went to the Netherlands. Ten Cate¹⁴⁴ also notes that when persecutions broke out in Westphalia, "most members" of the Anabaptist congregations went to Oberyssel. Documentary evidence exists of this flight of Westphalian Anabaptists to *the Netherlands* after the collapse of the Münster affair. We also know that the Anabaptists were excluded from all imperial peace by the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1539, which of course could not dampen their oppression or stem their wanderings. The Westphalian refugees moved in particular to Enschede, Almelo, Oldenzaal and as far as Deventer. According to Blaupot ten Cate, members of the first mentioned communities remembered their German origin for a long time. The researcher gives quite a number of families originating from Westphalia. He also mentions High Germans and Swiss¹⁴⁵. These united initially in Groningen and Hoogkerk with the Palatines to a community¹⁴⁶. Ten Cate lists a number of families who came from Switzerland (among them de Boer¹⁴⁷) and names the preachers of the Groningen Swiss congregation

(Names such as Cornelis, Jans prove that the refugee element was quickly brought into line with the naming of their Frisian neighbors, which is why names from later times do not provide completely reliable information for solving questions of origin in disputed cases¹⁴⁸).

The Swiss split into old and new believers in baptism, which did not involve questions of confession, but precisely that *alignment with the new environment*, primarily in the language of worship. Some Swiss began to preach in Dutch, while others stuck strictly to the German sermon¹⁴⁹ and used a collection of German songs (the "Ausbund") for congregational singing¹⁵⁰. They also needed the Luther translation¹⁵¹. The other group¹⁵² preferred the Biestken Bible and a Dutch hymn book ("Lusthof des Gemoets", Groningen 1732)¹⁵³. It should be mentioned that the old customs¹⁵⁴ were most tenacious in these Swiss communities, especially in the area of worship. So they had no pulpit. The preacher stood in front of or behind an ordinary chair to preach. He was nothing but "a stone among stones," a man of rank, an instructing brother. The prayer was performed silently and kneeling (out of reverence and awe), by which the ultimate immediacy to God of this piety was expressed. Some of these farmers still wore beards and not buttons, but hooks and eyes¹⁵⁵. This Upper German old peasant costume

we still encounter this in the 18th century among the "old Groningers" in the area of Schwetz, so in connection with the founding of the Mennonite Neumark settlement, which originated from this group (see below). Particularly praiseworthy in these communities was the fact that they finally *united* when the German [language] declined more and more, also in response to suggestions from Germany, and bequeathed a certain sum to the poor of the community when they died.

In the *Doopsgezinden Bijdragen* 1862, it is stated in an essay "De Baptisten in England" *that the best relations existed between the Dutch Doopsgezinden and the German Mennonites.*

"The designation of "High German" congregations in the signatures of letters and many other official documents also indicates that there were congregations among them, in which there were "a large part of the people originated in *Germany*."

The fate of the congregation of Nymwegen is of particular importance in this context. I refer to the contribution of J. Attema, Jan Gottschalks van Elten¹⁵⁶ and to Guyot, contributions to the history of the Baptists at Nymwegen¹⁵⁷. In N. there was a community of the High Germans. In 1539, the Gelderland Diet had taken measures against all Anabaptists out of apprehension from the activities in Münster. In 1569 two men were even executed, one of whom was named *Johann Block*. Years passed before there was talk of Anabaptists in N. again. In 1635 N. was severely afflicted. An extraordinary drought resulted in a total crop failure. The plague also raged there from April to November, killing 200 or more people a week. From July 1, 1635 to August 1, 1636, at least 6000 people died in the city¹⁵⁸.

When the plague had subsided, the authorities sought to remedy the great distress and specifically to populate the city as much as possible ("to be peevd at the time"). In carrying out these measures, confessional prejudices against the Mennonites were put aside. When on October 16, 1639, Peter Peterss (the second "s" is an abbreviation of "son," later written with only one "s") registered with the city council, he was granted citizenship without complaint, even though he was a Mennonite. The following year Joost Albertss and Jan Alberts were naturalized. Of interest is the oath they were allowed to take. They declared at "man's truth" "in order to comply with the content of the civic oath of all things"¹⁵⁹. Between 1642 and 1650 "many refugees from Gulik" (Jülich), who left their country because of the 30-year war, were "welcomed here with open arms". Willem Kops, who was of means, received the citizenship very quickly. In the two years 1654-1655 no less than 29 Anabaptists from the Jülichsdien were naturalized. Most of these refugees were weavers, but even

the guild did not protest against the admission of these people. "Thus one then gladly allowed many"¹⁶⁰. Guyot names 180 people. They came mainly from the Jülichschén, but without "vermaanders" (Vermahner, [preachers]) and had their meetings in the house of the widow *Markus Janssen*¹⁶¹. Among these refugees from Jülich there are names like *Peter Willems, L. Hendriks, Willem Kops, Jacob Peters* and others, which are very familiar among the Prussian and Russian-German Mennonites¹⁶². In this context, attention should be directed to the work of W. Bax on Protestantism in the diocese of Luik and in Maastricht 1535-1557¹⁶³. In Maastricht there were major Anabaptist executions around 1534, also in 1538 and later. Bax's work has in some respects supplemented earlier research¹⁶⁴. During all these disturbances, "many" Anabaptists fled to the Netherlands.

In the *Dooopsgezinden Bijdragen* we also find scattered news about the influx of German Mennonites to the Dutch territories. Scheffer also draws attention to this in his essay in the 1867 volume already mentioned above.

But we are not able to estimate numerically the Swiss-German element which found a new home in Holland in the 16th century and also later. Everywhere "Hochduitsche" [High German] can be found in the various provinces of this country, which, what is interesting, have mostly kept to the Waterlanders.

Scheffer mentions in the essay about the Sleutel family¹⁶⁵ an exception. In the Rhine provinces many refugees from the southern Dutch areas have found a refuge, as also in Upper Guelders, who have then *returned* to the Netherlands (!!). Prof. Scheffer¹⁶⁶ names a number of such families. Among them also *Kops*. We have come across bearers of this family above, among refugees from Jülich who came to Nymwegen. Scheffer refers to one Claas Wolters Kops, Aldenhove near Venlo, who married in Cologne and then came to Harlem, *where he joined the Flemish, not the Waterlanders, as the immigrants from Germany did almost without exception*. From this Scheffer concludes that in such cases they were refugees who had come from the German area, *but who had originally escaped here from the Netherlands, only to return to Holland*. According to Scheffer, the fact that they joined the *Flemish* suggests that they came from Brabant and Flanders. What applies here to the Kops family, etc., could also apply to many of those Jülich refugees who, as explained, came to Nymwegen and acquired citizenship there.

It is a fact that the dividing line between Germany and Holland was drawn by recent *political history*. In the "Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung"¹⁶⁷ the Freiburg geographer Prof. Friedrich Metz has presented interesting material on the question of the relations between the Dutch and the German people in an essay about Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl as the old master of German regional and ethnic studies. The Dutch appear to us in his work as "closest relatives and community members (Volksgenossen)". And yet, again, the very greatest differences exist between Cologne and Rotterdam. In Rotterdam we find ourselves after

Riehl in a foreign world and the contrasts of German and Dutch character surprise and assail us. The two border towns of Kleve and Nymwegen are barely three miles apart, Riehl thinks, but far apart in the character of the population! *What is true of the towns, however, is not true of the villages.* The villages of Prussian Geldern and Kleve are strikingly related to the neighboring Dutch villages.

Riehl offers an explanation for this fact. It is explained by the fact "that precisely the original ethnicity, as most faithfully preserved by the farmers, was a common one, while the course of political culture, culminating in the cities, has torn Holland and Germany apart for three centuries." Riehl *finds no natural boundary here, only a political one.* Holland was a maritime power, the Dutch a seafaring and urban people. But while everywhere else urbanization is taking place at the expense of the ethnic heritage, not in Holland! *The Dutch ethnicity has remained vigorous and has asserted itself beyond the political boundaries of the various sections.*

Interesting in this context are Riehl's remarks about the Frisians and about East Frisia, where the Low German dialect crossed with the Dutch and created a language saturated with Frisian elements. The Dutch call the area of Arnhem and Nymwegen "German Holland" and so, according to Riehl, East Frisia could be called "Dutch Germany". The image of Emden is as much a Dutch one as a Low German one. Riehl points out that Dutch refugees came to East Frisia, which is also proven by the expression "Reformed-Dutch" and "Lutheran-German".

He also deals with the connections at the Lower Saxony-Westphalian border. The dialects range back and forth, but also trade and change. The same applies to the Rhenish border section. Kleve, Rheydt and Nymwegen reveal a Dutch-Low German double face. *Especially on the Rhine, there is no natural border between the two countries, and the political border has also fluctuated back and forth.* The settlement is very similar to Dutch-Lower Rhine land. The same trades have always been common to the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands. Migration flows back and forth have shaped this economic area *and the Mennonites in particular have played an important role. Dutch essence has penetrated into Germany and German into the Netherlands.*

State borders are not yet national borders, this becomes clear from the explanations of Riehl and Metz. Riehl shows how Dutch became an independent cultural and literary language through the commercial culture of the Dutch. The dialects, however, and the naive folk life collide in the border areas.

This small excursion can stimulate our whole presentation, which we now take up again. We have already discussed how Kornelius v. Hijzen let refugees of Waldensian origin from Switzerland and Alsace come to East Frisia. His statements are no longer available for us to review. On the other hand, *we can get a picture of how the Swiss and German Anabaptists developed in Holland, the classical land of freedom. As we have already noted with the Swiss in Groningen, they held on to the mother tongue as long as possible, both in the home and in worship.* In time, however, they were absorbed into Dutch Anabaptism.

So much for the refugees from Germany!

b) De Hoop Scheffer mentions in passing in the essay referred to *refugees from the southern provinces of the Netherlands, where*

according to our discussion in the previous chapter, there were Anabaptist early on. While the Anabaptists in the eastern areas of the Netherlands have survived and still form large congregations today, the southern congregations were completely wiped out before the end of the 16th century. Early on, the southern Anabaptists sought to escape this annihilation by fleeing. According to ten Cate¹⁶⁸ "many" Anabaptists from Flanders and Brabant fled to the Three Frieslands in 1543-1550. The researcher emphasizes, however, that this flight from this area happened "late" (laat), *only around the middle of the century*. That is why they cannot be called Waldensians. We must draw another conclusion from the same data. Without question, since the departure of Menno Simon from the papacy, we have a very strong Anabaptist movement in the Three Frieslands. But if the southern provinces did not provide so many refugees in the early days of the Reformation, the strong Anabaptist movement in Three Frieslands must be traced back to the greatest extent to inner-Frisian origins, i.e., the artery of the Dutch Anabaptist movement lay in the areas with a predominantly Frisian population.

Let us make the *fate of Anabaptism in Flanders and Brabant a little clearer*¹⁶⁹.

Bouwens let the movement started by Melchior Hofmann in East Frisia swell into a strong stream as an *organized* brotherhood according to the directives of the two Philips and Menno in the whole area from East Frisia to Bruges. When it was crippled, at least temporarily, during the sharp conflicts between the Flemish and Frisians, his friend Ebbe Pieters of Haarlingen could say: "The fountain is turned off!"¹⁷⁰ Bouwens baptized over 10,000 people¹⁷¹. His baptismal list is available and has incalculable value for the clarification of the founding times of many Mennonite congregations.

Bouwens, like Dirk Philips and Menno, belonged to the more strict party in the matter of church discipline. This strictness led to the secession of the aforementioned Waterlanders, who practiced a more lenient practice, in North Holland, an old Frisian area.

But the strict party did not keep its firm unity for a long time. The sad Mennonite *grand schism between the Flemish and the Frisians*, which has determined and partly distorted the face of Mennonitism for centuries, occurred. In the case of the two parties, the underlying idea also split again, so that there were "Old and Young Frisians and Flemings". Among the Flemish it came as late as the 16th century because of the

buying a house in which one party, which is not dishonorable (!), missed the handling of the highest Christian ethics, to the split between the „Hauskäufer“ [house buyers, who wished to buy a house for use as a church] and "Contra-Hauskäufer"¹⁷² [anti-house-buyers]. With the proverbial “kinship” (Ehrt) of Mennonitism, with its manifest formation through clans, through genealogical relationships, the local divisions also spread to the communities in other localities, so that we also come across such strange group designations where we never look for them (e.g., “Danzig” congregation in Amsterdam).

The schism in question reveals a clear polarity in Dutch Anabaptism, which undoubtedly also goes back to tribal characteristics of the Flemings and Frisians.

The historian will have to avoid two biases in the representation and in the evaluation of the above events: on the one hand, it is absurd to see in the two parties only ecclesiastical parties (Richtung), for the emergence of which no genealogical connections would have been contributory. *On the other hand, it is wrong to see these ecclesiastical factions not as such, but exclusively as ethnic tensions.* We have here a combination of *ecclesiastical and ethnic (völkisch) forces, whose intersections, however, did not take place diagrammatically*¹⁷³. Dirk Philips, a Frisian, is known to have taken the side not of the Frisian, but of the Flemish party, and with him large parts of the communities in the Three Friesland. Conversely, that Flemish orator Jonkmann Pierson¹⁷⁴ became Frisian church preacher (Kirchenlehrer), but without shunning his former friends. In Harlingen, a group led by Michael Jansen became the counterpart of the group headed by Ebbe Pieters [Ebbe Pieterszoon]. And so we could continue and come up with such transitions.

There is no doubt that the members of the opposition were the refugees from Flanders and Brabant.¹⁷⁵ We have already uncovered the deeper reasons for this and have come to know the opinion of K. Vos about the origins of Anabaptism in the Belgian provinces. Vos emphasizes very strongly its independence. But we must not forget that of Menno's collaborators Gillis van Aken, Hans Buschaert [Hans Bouwens Busschaert] and especially L. Bouwens have worked here¹⁷⁶. Hofmann's restless, errant disciple David Joris, about whom a monograph has recently appeared, who was probably born in Bruges as Johann van Brügge, as he originally called himself, has had followers in Flanders. On the other hand, the Anabaptists in the Belgian territories rejected Hofmann's and Menno's special view of the Incarnation of Christ, the only theologumenon [individual theological opinion] of the Frisian reformer.

Ottius reports that the refugees from Flanders and Brabant had moved to Friesland and East Friesland. He mentions such refugees in East Frisia for 1543. If God had not averted it, they would have infected all of East Frisia with their heresy¹⁷⁷.

The Anabaptists who remained in the southern Dutch provinces at that time, there were still large communities in Antwerp and Bruges around 1550 thanks to the active work of Bouwens, for example, were partly exterminated and partly expelled by Duke Alba. In droves they left their homeland, and early on they also came to Holstein, as well as to England and North German seaside towns. Thus a certain Karl Roosen from the Jülicher country settled in Holstein¹⁷⁸. To Hamburg-Altona fled from Brabant families, e.g., the family Noe¹⁷⁹.

Above all, however, Anabaptists from the northern provinces came to Friesland and East Friesland. I now claim that the East Frisian and Groningen Anabaptism and that in the province of Friesland on the one hand with that in North Holland and on the Frisian islands on the other hand genealogically belonged together most closely¹⁸⁰.

Here is the point, where with me a partial agreement with H. H. Schröder appears¹⁸¹.

VII a. The Evidence for Chapter VII

I now try to corroborate the statement just made with documentation. Here I must fall back above all again to the contribution Scheffers regarding the family Sleutel.

In the *Doopsgezinden Bijdragen*¹⁸², Prof. de Hoop Scheffer treats the Aeltester *Jan Willems*, the inventor *Pieter Jans*, the poet *Jacob Fransz* and the church preacher *Jan Willems* from the family mentioned several times. They are all of North Dutch, Frisians ethnicity, as we shall see shortly.

The ancestor of the Willem Jans family lived in *Waterland*, between *Hoorn* and *Enkhuizen*. *As is well known, this is originally a Frisian area.*

Jan Willems.

His son Jan Willems was born in 1533. Already at the age of 24 he became an Aeltester whom Dirk Philips, that outstanding Anabaptist preacher from Friesland, "ordained" ("to full service," as even today the Mennonites.

say, the Aeltester also administers baptism and the Lord's Supper). Jan Willems belonged to the conservative party also represented by Dirk Philips and Menno Simons and made it his task to steer the movement of the "Waterlanders" emerging in the 50s, which represented more moderate views on the ban question, to the best of his ability. Since 1559 *Lubbert Gerrits* (cf. Görz) was his co-Aeltester. In 1567 Jan Willems was appointed as arbitrator in the Flemish-Frisian conflict in the congregations of Harlingen, Franeker, etc. (province of Friesland). *De Hoop Scheffer, as mentioned several times, has brilliantly presented the history of this dispute in the DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1867*. The Flemish passionately renounced any association with the Frisians and triumphed when the Frisian Dirk Philips, then Aeltester in Danzig, professed his allegiance. From congregation to congregation, in Groningen, in East Frisia, in the province of Friesland, but also in North and South Holland, on the Frisian islands, and even in the Belgian provinces, the fiercest propaganda ran against the Frisian ecclesiastical party. In his wounded ambition and passion, Dirk Philips even went so far as to deny any Christian character. The baptism in their midst has no power and meaning.

The Aeltester Jan Willems constantly and selflessly strove for a balance, especially after the death of Dirk Philips and until his demise (1588). *Lubbert Gerrits, a second founder of the Doopsgezinden Free Church* (Kühler) - besides Menno¹⁸³ - finally succeeded in uniting the High Germans and the Waterlanders in the milder orientation (Richtung) of the Frisians.

We have learned from Scheffer that the "High Germans" were, in part at least, original Dutchmen. *In any case, however, we have in this community we have combined, to a greater extent, an originally Frisian element.*

The wife of Jan Willems was named *Aagt Pieters*. The first name Agathe (Aeagt, Aaghte) was according to Bielefeldt¹⁸⁴ very popular with the Frisians.

She gave her husband 9 children: *Pieter* (to whom we return below), Frans, Willem, Dirk, Aafge, Dienwertje, Maritje, Trintje, Aagtje. Except for Dienwertje, *we meet all these names at every turn in the Prussian and especially in the Russian Mennonite families, and in the same form.*

A word about Frans Jans! His wife was his niece In fact, his father, the elder Jan Willems, had two sisters, one of whom was named Anna (Anna Willems). Anna's daughter married a Hermann, to which marriage a daughter, also called Anna, was born. She became the wife of her cousin-uncle Frans Jans, her mother's cousin). *Frans Jans took the surname "Sleutel"*. Because there are no family names

such names were a means of getting to know the people more easily. The son of Frans Jans, the *poet Jacob Franss*, will occupy us later.

There is nothing to note about the other children. Only one thing is still to be mentioned. Scheffer reports that the head of the "Old Frisians" in the province of *Friesland* ("Jan-Jacobsleute"), who had separated from the other "Frisians" in 1599 (under the leadership of this man) had composed a song for *Aagtje*. *This proves the close relations of our oldest [or earliest] families to the Frisian communities in the Three Frieslands*. It is, this must be particularly noted, *known that the companions of Jan Jacob were to be found almost exclusively in Friesland, that one can call them therefore also ethnically to a large extent "Frisians"*. Equally interesting is Scheffer's information that the Aeltester of the "Young" Frisians, Peter Willems, joined in 1588, dedicated songs to the second and third daughters. I have to recognize in these facts an expression of that "family-ness" which we already noted as a special characteristic of Mennonitism.

Pieter Jans.

He was the eldest son of the elder Jan Willems and had the surname "Lioren" (the Italian city "Livorne" had become famous by its shipbuilding), Pieter Jans was nevertheless a famous shipbuilder. Because of his simple clothes he gave himself the surname "Vaal" (= our word "pale").

Pieter belonged to the "Young Frisians". *If in the Waterland Anabaptists were of the Frisian school, then genealogical factors also played a role*, although not only and not always. But the fact that Pieter embraced the younger Frisian perspective was undoubtedly caused by the freer Waterland environment in which he grew up. As a member of this younger Frisian school, he held offices of authority, which, by the way, Menno is said to have found permissible according to a lost letter^{184a}, while the Waterlanders made it their obligation to show the greatest restraint in this direction¹⁸⁵. The "Young Frisians" rejected such a position, however *Pieter Jans was a juror, member of the admiralty and mayor*. He became known as the inventor of the so-called "Hoornsche fluit- schepen" [Horn flute ship] (Hoorn - city at the Zuidersee)¹⁸⁶.

Jacob Fransz.

This poet is, as proven above, the grandchild of Jan Willems. His father already bore the surname "Sleutel", as did he.

He joined the Frisian movement. *This also testifies to strong Frisian traditions in his family.* Already his grandfather, Aeltester Jan Willems, had not been able to deny his free Frisian heart in the Frisian-Flemish quarrel, especially when Dirk Philips turned out to be a dictatorial churchman, although he himself tended to the stricter view and had even fought Waterländer for a while.

The poet's wife was named Aaltje Jans. The marriage produced five daughters: Liefje, Annetje, Geertje, Aafje, Aaltje. If you check the names of their husbands, you will also find the stereotypical character, only the surnames change, which is not surprising.

The poet had a brother Jan and a sister *Aagtje*. The latter became the wife of a Frisian Aeltester Willem Martens with the surname Seylemaker (Aeltester since 1659). His wife, however, bore the surname Sleutel, as did some of their children, while the others preferred the surname of their father (Seylemaker). *(One son, Jan, called himself both Sleutel and Seylemaker).* It is with him, Jan Willems Sleutel, also Seylemaker, that we are now dealing.

Jan Willem Sleutel
(also Seylemaker)

He also became a church pastor at the age of 24, like his forebear Jan Willems, an Aeltester.

The Frisian congregations in North Holland had formed a brotherhood, but there were also divisions.

But in 1692 Jan Willems succeeded in achieving a *union between a Frisian and a Flemish congregation*. And in other respects his more moderate view of the ban and shunning found increasing acceptance.

Thus we see the whole Sleutel family, as far as we can judge on the basis of Scheffer's data, developing and consolidating both ecclesiastically and ethnically in Frisian ways.

As has often been the case, we must again consider the article on *Dordrecht*¹⁸⁷ in the *Doopsgezinden Bijdragen* 1862. The article is *not* dealing with a Frisian area. Now it is strange that in the list of Aelteste of the Dordrecht congregation we read a whole series of names in the Flemish brotherhood that sound foreign to the Mennonite ear in Prussia and Russia^{187a}, even if not all of them (so not: Arendsz, Adriansz, Gisbrechts, van Dijck, Janssen, Jansen, Dirksz, Jansz). *These better-known names are apparently related to North Holland and Flanders.*

We have in the DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN further a series of essays about the communities on the *islands of the North Sea* with predominantly Frisian population.

On the island of Terschelling¹⁸⁸ Leonhard Bouwens baptized 169 people. The church-historical connection with Friesland, from where Bouwens was sent out, becomes clear.

On Terschelling there was a community of Jan Jacobs-supporters, i.e., a decidedly Frisian tendency. On December 13, 1622, the *Dossard* of Terschelling received a regulation from the states of Holland (North Holland) and West Friesland not to bother these people.

Next to the Frisian community existed a Flemish one, as a fruit of that deplorable split in Friesland and of the anti-Frisian propaganda everywhere. But *this community also apparently had the closest ties to Friesland*. Thus, the preacher Age Ides¹⁸⁹ moved to Berlikum in the province of Friesland. The community then brought back Klaas Jans from the community of Woudsend, Friesland^{189a}.

In 1782, the two congregations united on Terschelling and appointed the Sonnisten Andele Cuperus from Blessum b. Leeuwarden in Friesland.

On the island of *Ameland* there were the congregations of Nes, Hollum and Ballum. The baptismal list of L. Bouwens, arranged according to these parishes, is provided by the Doopsgezinden Bijdragen.

In addition to the Waterland congregation and the Flemish congregation, there was a congregation of the Old Flemish (Jan-Jacobs followers) in Hollum, Ballum and Nes.

The Flemish community was under the strong influence of the Frisian Jan Jacobs, Harlingen, province of Friesland. Jan Jacobs was extremely popular on Ameland, especially as a Frisian. Tys Gerrits of Medemblich, North Holland, reports about it: "...and a special love... the brothers and sisters coming to him from Vriesland...". He was "banished from Friesland" in 1600, but was then allowed to stay in his homeland for some time. His wife Jeslie Frans returned to Harlingen in April 1612, after living 12 years in Horn North Holland, whereupon Jan Jacobs soon died and was buried by L. Bouwens in Harlingen.

It is also reported that Jan Jacob's co-workers, like him, had to suffer much persecution and oppression in "Leeuwarden" (Groningen), in "Bolwest" (Friesland) and "Ameland" (Frisian islands). *Just this compilation shows clearly that it is about Frisian area, which forms a whole in terms of baptismal history.*

We learn that the elder Jakob Teunis was not an Amelander, that he together with Laurens Jansen was "ordained (bepflicht) to full service" by Jacobs and his fellow Aelteste in 1603, and that they in turn ordained

Jacob Claasen and Jacob Gerrits as Aelteste in Harlingen in Friesland. Again and again, these are Frieslanders and supporters of Jan Jacob.

The genealogical ties of these Christians are extraordinarily strong.

Jacob Teunis often visited the Jan Jacobs people on Ameland and experienced all kinds of difficulties there. This can be seen from a collection of songs, probably published by Pieter Willems in 1612, in which a song is dedicated to Jacob Teunis, and also to the Ameland congregation: "Aen den Gheloovigen op Ameland" (To the believers on Ameland) with the addition "uit Harlingenen (from Harlingen), den 21. Dec. 1612". The list of elders of the Jan Jacobs parish since 1650 contains our names throughout: Jahnssen, Cornelis, Pieters, Tjeerts, Jannsz, Gerrits, Willems, Wybes, de Boer, Dekker.

Extraordinarily important is the list of *Aelteste and church preachers published by Prof. de Hoop Scheffer in the D.B.* It concerns clergymen of the Old Flemish since 1650. It is characteristic that the majority of the congregations of this persuasion were located in the country Groningen. The simple names are presented without city names and surnames, which is less characteristic. One will immediately see where primarily the Russian Mennonite names are located: Gerrit Ebbes, Derk Jakobs, Jan Symons, Jacob Derks, Willem Goerdes, Jacob Lippes, Jan Berends, Siert Dijk, Alle Pieters, Pieter Klaassen, Jacob Willems, Symen Klaassen, Herko Jansen, Tjebke Harms, Engbert Jans, Willem Jans, Härmen Peters, Hendrik Everts, Jacob Alberts, Albert Hindriks, Peter Harms, Albert Jans, Tonjes Klaassen, Hark Pieters, Meerten Gerbrands, Peter Jansen, Herman Peters, Geert Hendriks, Derk Ypes, Hendrik Wybes etc.

These names are then also particularly common in *Friesland and East Friesland*: Jouke Evers, Jan Hendriks, Agge Classen, Douwe Sibbes, Hendrik Lieuwes, Jan Jans, Dirk Gerrits, Frank Wybes, Hendrik Jansen. *We encounter all these names in Friesland.* In addition, we have quite a lot of names in this province that sound foreign to us: Boote Fockes, Gerke Sipkes, Härmen Renskes and others, *East Frisia* Härmen Geerts, Jan Hendriks, Harm Berends, Lübbert Alberts, Pieter Alberts, Alebert Tobias, Lübbert Jans, Hindrik Peter, Heert Cornelis, Jan Warners, Job Abrahams, Hindrik Derks.

We also find some of these names in the originally Frisian North Holland, but only a few in Zealand.

Finally, the *East Frisian tax rolls*, which Müller published¹⁹⁰, are also important. I list, in order to give an impression of them, enough examples. Only the names occurring among the Russian-German Mennonites are mentioned. (I write them throughout with large initial letters, often only the family names are listed).

I. Names in the tax rolls from the years 1636, 1660, 1661, 1666. 1. Everdt Gerds, 2. Martenn Corneliuss, 3. Martenn Willemb, 4. Eylert Eppes, 5. Weyert Henrichs, 16. Johann Dirckss, 17. Isbrand Janssen, 18. Henrich Behrens, 25. Sievert Sievers, 26. Herman Albers, 27. Ties Janssens widow (Witwe), 28. Jan Evers, 29. Willem Dircks, 30. Ernst Eickes.

II. In the year 1700/10: 1. Cornelius Ebbes, 2. Jacob Janssen, 3. Wolter Peters, 4. Johan Daniels, 5. Elscke Frantzen, 6. Abraham, 7. Jacobs, 8. Jan Hedericks, 9. Berend Hendericks, 10. Härmen Peters, 11. Janssen Witwe.

III. Without date: 1. Gert Jansson, 2. Peter Gerts, 3. Jan Jacops, 4. Dvede Jansen, 5. Kornelyes Epes, 17. Piters, 18. Enne Dyrcks, 19. Tobeyas Albert, 20. Abrahams, 21 Dyrck Sywers.

IV. p. 50 with Müller¹⁹¹ two names: 1. Gert Pieters, 2. Johann Sievers (p. 51 Sieberds) Vermahner.

V. One name: 1. Jan Jacoba Vliedt in Emden. He writes to the wife of Ulrich II, Countess Juliane, on October 28 and November 5, 1644. *Nowhere in the Netherlands would such a burden (poll tax) be imposed on the Mennonites as in East Frisia. "Many" who would like to settle in East Frisia stayed away because of the poll tax. Among these willing immigrants would be many wealthy people. In May of the same year, a petition of the East Frisian Mennonites in their entirety had reached the Count in matters of the poll tax. It is interesting that the undersigned introduce themselves in the petition in German.* "The All-Mennonite E. Hoch. Gr. Gn. Graf [Count]- and Herrschaften [Lordship]"¹⁹².

VI. February 27, 1646: "Specifications of those Mennonites, who are called the old Flemish and who pay to your high Grace the annual money but are partly not able to pay because of inability".

Vla. Mennonite Designation presented Feb. 27, 1646: 1. Peter Janssen, 2. Jacob Peters, 3. Dirk Janssen, 4. Johann Jacobs, 5. Peters, 6. Dirck Titsen, 7. Jacob Cornelies, 8. Tewes Peters, 9. Johan Peters, 10. Lolle Claassen, 11. Peter Jacobs, 12. Weiart Martens, 13. Tonnie's Peters, 14. Harems, 15. Everdt Jakobs, 31. Herman Janssen, 32. Take Dirks, 33. Dirck Dircks, 34. Heinrich (Anna) Jacobs.

Vlb. Specification of those Mennonites who are called the old Flemish: 1. Gerrit Martens, 2. Jakob Isebrandts, 3. Herman Berendts, 4. Ocke Janssen, 5. Gerdt Henriches, 6. Henrich Gerdes, 48. Marten Willems, 49. Härmen Gyssbers, 50. Johann Claassen, 51. Gert Pieters, 52. Jacops, 53. Sicke Janssen.

VII. *list from 1626*: 1. Hindrik Tiartes, 2. Jacobs, 3. Laurens Jansen with note that he was „*nu vertrucken*“ [?] , 6. Andersen, 7. Danielss, 8. Peters widow, 12. Peter Teisen, 15. Berenss, 16 Peterss.

VIII. Emden Official: 1. Dirckss, 2. Syvert Peterss, 13. Siemenss, 14. Martens, 15. Gerdts, 16. First name Eppe.

IX. *North*: 1. Harmens, 2. Jansen, 3. Peters, 4. Siemens, 5. Jansen, 6. Hinrichs, 7. Dirckss, 8. Peters, 9. Gerdts, 10. Abrahams, 11. Gossens, 12. Benders¹⁹³, 13. Cornelis Eps.

X. *Westermarsch*: 1. Berens, 2. Alberts, 8. Jansen, 9. Vorname Eppe.

XI. *Official register (probably from the beginning of the 18th century)*: 1. Dirck Gerdes, 2. Jacobus van Horn, 3. Claes van Horn, 4. Görriet Ahrens, 5. Behrendt Harmens, 6. Gerriet Pieters, 7. Behrendt Hendrichs, 8. Vinck, 9. Janssen, 10. Casper Conredts, 11. Cornelis Eps¹⁹³.

VII b. Methodology of name research

Blaupt ten Cate lists in the first main part of his writing about the Anabaptists in *Groningen, Oberijssel, and East Frisia* a lot of names, most of which coincide with those already mentioned.

The following are noted with page numbers: *Berend Hendriks*, son of the same, *Hendrik Berends*, Aelteste of the Old Flemish (18 f), Pieter Willems with the surname Boomgart, a North Holland church preacher from Monnikendam, who fled to Emden, but then returned home, where he died in 1602 (26), *Hendrik Gerrits* fled to Steinfort, *Gerrits Castor* fled to Groningen, from there to Almelo (31), *Jan Gerrits*, b. 30.4.1560 at Emden, 1607 to Danzig, where he adheres to the "Vereenigden Waaterländer" [United Waterlanders] and "Hoog- duitschen" [High German] (58-60) pp. 61, 63, 66, 68, 81, 87, 96, 113 etc. etc.

P. 156 Bl. ten Cate discusses a number of men e.g., Alle Derks, Albert Willems, Aldert Sierts Dijk from Groningen, Jan Wybe, Steven Jansz, Albert Jansen, Hartman Gerrits, Tammo Jansz, Arent Jansens, Jakob Derx, Siverd Fransen, Freerk Kornellis, etc.

It is always the same names that recur here, and it is mainly the East Frisian areas, but also the Waterland, where they accumulate.

Most of the Russian (and Prussian) Mennonite family names originated from patronymics. One originally added the call name of the father to the call name, usually in the genitive case,

e.g., Gerdt Hermans (patronymic = father's name). This name occurs in 1646 in East Frisia¹⁹⁴, in the "specification" of this year¹⁹⁵. But there are also Mennonite family names, which are formed from old Germanic personal names¹⁹⁶ and such, which represent occupation and property designations¹⁹⁷. However, they strongly recede behind the family names as patronymics (of Germanic and biblical origin). The reasons for this are to be sought in the pronounced sense of family, in the firmness of tradition, the clan solidarity and the ecclesiastical sense of community of the Mennonites. The term "Mennonites" (cf. Dirks et al.) also has its origin in this patriarchy¹⁹⁸.

In order to be able to judge from the names about the origin of their bearers, it must be investigated in detail as to where and how the personal names originated. *Here we are led to the most widespread West Prussian-Russian names in the Frisian areas*, especially in the Groninger Land and the East Frisia, which used to be closely connected with it. As we saw, the Anabaptist movement had its deepest roots there. We have also already talked about the importance of East Frisia as a base, a gathering place, a refuge, a corridor of the movement.

H. H. Schröder has the distinction of having statistically highlighted the most important Russian Mennonite family names and to have determined the percentage of their bearers in the total Russian Mennonite population in more detail¹⁹⁹. *It is self-evident that here verifications are necessary.*

It is important to note that the beginning of such investigations are underway here. U. had also taken up this work quite independently of Schröder, without, however, daring to make statistical calculations. He had studied the history of the Netherlands more thoroughly, especially East Frisia, where he frequently resided. *Here his conviction solidified more and more that the majority of the Mennonite farmers (not the urban ones!) who came to the Vistula and Nogat area in the 16th century came from the Three Friesland.*

Schröder²⁰⁰ has diligently worked out 40 names that occur most frequently among the Russian Mennonites and then tried to calculate the percentage of their bearers in the total Russian Mennonite population and its overseas branches. He came to the result that the bearers of these 40 names make up 59.3 % of the total Mennonite population in Russia, i.e., about 60 %.

According to Schröder's opinion and U.'s explanations it can be said with great certainty that the original bearers of these names were mostly *resident in Frisian areas*, which of course *are not to be limited to the*

Three Frieslands; Waterland and Flanders are also to be added.

Furthermore, Schröder has pointed out the same number of names, which occur more rarely and make up a little over 4% share of the Mennonite population in Russia, whose carriers according to him were also located in the Frisian area²⁰¹.

All in all, the Frisian percentage, this term is an ethnic, not an ecclesiastical concept, would be 63.5%, even 75%^{201a} according to Schröder. A little over 10% (11.5%) he still wants to examine, but also of them he identifies a large percentage as Frisian^{201b}.

But how does Schröder accommodate the 25% of remaining names? On p. 74 he names 10 names of *Lower Saxon* origin, whose relative share in the Russian-German Mennonite population he determines with about 10%, on p. 4 even with more than 15%. It is to be compared to p. 100, where the author also mentions such names of Lower Saxon origin among the names still to be investigated.

Thus, 10 % remain, which are partly of Upper German (5% p. 79), partly of Western (2 %), partly of Slavic (2 %), partly of questionable origin.

Thus, for the first time, Schröder has attempted to gain an *overall view* of the Russian-German Mennonites according to their closer tribal affiliation, with which he has rendered an appreciable service to research, even if there will be much to adjust in his lists.

Schröder counts with Dr. Walter Quiring 261 Russian-German Mennonite surnames, respectively 273, but he has overlooked the additions to Quiring in the Canadian "Boten" and by P. Braun in the "Mennonitischen Blättern"...

Within the framework of our investigations, we are primarily interested in the question of the extent to which the Dutch Anabaptist movement had its real artery in the Frisian areas. This question includes the ethnic affiliation of the Anabaptist groups, but in such a way that the refugees who crossed over from the East Frisian area to the Vistula and Nogat area in the 16th century *are not simply stamped as Frisians*, even if they stayed on Frisian soil for a shorter or longer period of time. In my reviews of Schröder's writing this point of view has always been strongly emphasized. The correction of the very bad scheme will undoubtedly have to go in the direction (Richtung) of the strongest consideration of just the diversity of the refugee groups. However, this does not diminish his merit to have stimulated our whole topic with his questioning and its answering.

In his pamphlet Schröder^{201c} has offered material on the most important *Mennonite names* with the help of various relevant literature, admittedly much to be sifted and supplemented, and has thus done a work for the long term. We are grateful for any further expansion of the card index. *The critical, i.e., factual, examination of his notes is a self-evident scientific requirement.*

It has been emphasized again and again by the author and by others (Dr. Kauenhowen, Dr. Zimmermann, Gustav Reimer jr. etc.) that we will hardly make any progress here if the Dutch researchers and communities do not come to our aid with their community archives. A methodologically sound approach would be to work through the already published Dutch Anabaptist and Mennonite literature and to record in a card index all the names we have encountered since the beginnings of the Anabaptist movement in the Netherlands, in order to be able to identify whole families and clans over time. Perhaps we will then be able to build more concrete genealogical bridges between the Lower Rhine area and the Vistula Delta, which we have so painfully had to do without until now.

However, I share with H. H. Schröder the view that it is already our *right today* to use working principles as heuristic means for discovering scientific knowledge in order to be able to better illuminate the connections that have already been uncovered and those that are still emerging. The purpose of my statements above is to prove that this question is not meaningless, but rather appropriate.

In a further chapter it will become even clearer that the above view of the migrations of the Anabaptists from the Dutch-Low German area to the German north-east is entirely suited to bringing clarity to these events.

Addendums to this chapter:

Other things may now come up that can further support the results of our investigations so far. We can state that we are more and more in a position to advance *Mennonite name research* in the Vistula and Nogat areas. In the meantime, some things have been clarified in this field of research, which are of great interest to us and must be given closer consideration. It is about the newest genealogical efforts of the AMS and the research group around Dr. Kurt Kauenhowen, Goettingen^{201cc}.

In these reports, the most important *names* appearing in the East Frisian Tax Rolls, etc. are to be *examined* to see whether they can support our previous result or contradict it. At the same time, for the same purpose, some publications are to be consulted here, such as the clan association of Danzig Mennonite families

Epp-Kauenhowen, Zimmermann in his "Mitteilungen"^{201d} [Mitteilungen des Sippverbandes der Danzig Mennoniten-Familien Epp Kauenhowen-Zimmermann], as well as the work of Herbert Wiebe^{201e}, Dr. Horst Quiring, Dr. Horst Penner, cand. phil. G. E. Reimer^{201f}, as well as the older essays by G. H. Mannhardt and Deichrentmeister Gustav Schulz^{201g}. Furthermore, in these addendums, *the life and literary activity of Menno Simons should be subjected to a consideration for the first time from a genealogical point of view.*

a) First of all, a number of *names* from the East Frisian Tax Rolls and the other lists, which were reproduced above, as well as from the name directories of Deichrentmeister Gustav Schulz, from the dissertations of Szper and Horst Penner will be discussed.

Here I will compare my investigations in the Dutch area in particular with Gustav Reimer's (jr.) alphabetical name lists²⁰², in order to come to some reliable conclusions. For the time being, I cannot present an elaborated card index, which must remain a goal, but only to illustrate on the basis of West Prussian-Russian German names, how the already existing archival material, which we must otherwise describe as very deficient, can be used to elucidate at least the major lines of the Mennonite eastward migrations.

We already mentioned the work of *Gustav E. Reimer*, which we have to discuss in more detail in this context, because it sheds some light on the questions concerning the *Flemish-Frisian relationship*.

Reimer has published the West Prussian surnames in an almost complete alphabetical index (about 550 names), namely from the time before 1800. He has excluded the names which are not at least twice documented and whose bearers demonstrably converted to Mennonitism only in the 18th century.

In a preface to the directory, which we welcome gratefully, the author has commented in more detail on the problems we are dealing with, which will occupy us again and again in the further course of our discussions.

Gustav Reimer rightly argues "that the solution of the question concerning the *ethnic origin* of the West Prussian (and also Low German) Mennonites will be left to laborious genealogical research... will be reserved to a great extent." "The Lower German-Dutch area as the original home of this Mennonite group is certain, so that only the narrower local determination is outstanding." Reimer then emphasizes that for other fields of work than the individual genealogical research "these finer differences are no longer tangible", and that even the investigation of names can do little here, since

the majority of the surnames were "spread in the whole Low German area and often beyond", and the individual names were "subjected to many variations and linguistic adaptations" in the course of time. One is too dependent on conjectures, as much as one can draw conclusions. Unquestionably these statements of Reimer will have a focusing effect on the conscience of the researchers. In his index, the author has tried to determine for each name, in addition to its forms and spellings, its distribution in the individual communities, its origin (whether derived from personal or proper names, from profession or office, from place of residence or domicile, whether a surname arose from a nickname after a prominent characteristic, after the profession or from location names). He judges: "The families derived from proper names are by far the most represented. This corresponds on the one hand to the rural character of the large majority of the examined groups, on the other hand it is a characteristic feature of *Lower Saxonian and in particular Frisian name formation*".

This "in particular" is to be noted. The following statement is also important: "The blood composition of the Mennonites has remained unchanged in its core during the 400 years of their settlement in West Prussia until recent times, this is also expressed in the names, which show the same continuity (= steadiness) in their composition." *The verdict shows how closely ethnicity and faith interwoven in Mennonitism, which has always given its study a special charm.* As one must beware of, we already drew attention to this (!), from overestimating the folklore factor in the question of origin, so also from underestimating it. The methodically correct treatment of the Frisian-Flemish relationship will therefore be the crucial point of Mennonite genealogy, as far as the West Prussian Mennonites and their offshoots are concerned.

We must therefore listen even more closely to what Reimer has to say about this relationship.

His checks of the origin data found in the sources, which he has recorded in each case, have shown: "Their number is still too small for one to be able to form a firm picture of the origin of West Prussian Mennonitism in its entirety. However, the whole Low German-Dutch area seems to be involved.

Friesland, the whole area around the Zuidersee and the southern provinces of Antwerp and Brabant (unavailable to me U.) were mentioned more frequently. But other Dutch provinces and occasionally Holstein and Westphalia are also represented." Some "names themselves contain place references. The places, as far as they can be determined

a.) This note occurs 4 times and seems to indicate that Unruh wanted to review certain records that, due to conditions at that time, were not available to him. The word "gesperrt" literally means closed or blocked. It is used alone on page 95. I have highlighted the 4 occurrences on pgs. 60, 66, 107 & 227. THF

are located in the provinces of North and South Holland, Utrecht, Oberyssel, Drenthe, Gelderland, North Brabant, in Belgium (Brabant and Antwerp), three place names (Gülker, Willcher and Cuelen) in the Rhineland. The place names mostly indicate the place of birth, but also the temporary place of residence "on a generations-long migratory path". A complication is that happens several times in some places.

We now hear from Reimer that Frisian places are hardly ever mentioned (but cf. Rutgersch van Gorkum, Friesland, below U.), whereas *Frisian proper names* are preserved as family names, "without being able to distinguish individual Frisian localities from them". Some proper names also point to the Dutch-Flemish area. *Upper German names are rare*, Slavic and French even rarer.

These statements by Reimer do not deny that *the main focus of the Mennonite group in terms of names is undoubtedly to be found in Friesland*. But Reimer warns against considering the expressions "Flemish" and "Frisian" not just as designations for the congregational direction, but also as designations of origin. But the fact that this has to be emphasized again and again proves how the Flemish-Frisian relationship holds the question of origin under its spell. Reimer distinguishes "purely clan" *6 West Prussian main groups*, which he lists as: 1) the Flemish rural communities, 2) the Frisian rural communities, 3) the Frisian communities in the upper Vistula lowlands, 4) the old Flemish communities, 5) the Flemish congregation Danzig metropolitan area and the urban part of the Elbing congregation, 6) the Frisian congregation of Danzig-Neugarten. We shall have to take this division into account when we deal with the Mennonite immigration to Prussia and the emigration to Russia.

A number of family names occur in several or even in all groups at the same time. The following information of Reimer is extremely valuable: "Marriages between the individual groups, especially the Flemish among themselves and the Frisian among themselves, blur the differences. Also between city and countryside closest blood relations existed, not only by the urbanization of peasant sexes, but also the circumstance worth mentioning that often from pure city families peasant families descend ... A special feature of group 3 are the many - among them distinctly urban - occupational names in a nevertheless peasant population ...

A number of family names occur in several or even in all groups at the same time. The following information of Reimer is extremely valuable: "Marriages between the individual groups, especially the Flemish among themselves and the Frisian among themselves, blur the differences. Also, between city and countryside closest blood relations existed, not only by the urbanization of rural families, but also the circumstance worth mentioning that often from pure city families, rural families descend ... A special feature of group 3 are the many - among them distinctly urban - occupational names in a nevertheless rural population ...

All these observations of Reimer are groundbreaking!

But it is significant that towards the end of his introductory text, which is added to the alphabetical index of names, he comes back to the Flemish-Frisian relationship.

The question of origin is clearly of great concern to the author.

It is emphasized that the congregations were separated in both directions [Flemish vs. Frisian] "only after the resettlement in West Prussia". And now a statement is made that claims the most exciting interest in the context of our own investigation: "But if e.g., For example, in the Gross Werder the members of the Frisian community Orloffelde settle among the members of the Flemish community, but have the same names as the members of the Frisian community "Thiensdorf" in the Klein Werder, so *this suggests that even before the separation that two groups different in terms of their origin existed!*" But his scientific reluctance to say something "so far" unproven (and maybe even unprovable) causes Gustav Reimer to make an immediate qualifying remark:

"Particularly close relationships of a certain group to a certain location in the Netherlands as a former home area has not yet been documented." However, it would be wrong to leave the clarification of questions of origin until we come across further documentary data. We have serious preliminary work to do. This includes, above all, the inclusion of the names of the Dutch (and north-west German) Mennonite communities, which was also suggested by Reimer.

Also about the *first names* the author has interesting remarks. For us, this statement is important: "Many names are characteristic of the ethnic homeland (Dirck, Claas, Cornelis, Gillis, Adrian), by them one can easily recognize the Mennonites from West Prussia." In this context, the author speaks of "the old Frisian dress" of a Mennonite series of names, which had to make the foreign pastors who had to register them wonder.

We are very thankful to the author for his helpful statements on the overall problem of the West Prussian-Mennonite ethnic origin. On the one hand, they are of a clarifying nature, on the other hand, they stimulate us to further advance the solution of our questions of origin.

Here also an essay by *Horst Quiring* may be relevant as it deals with the ethnic origin of the Prussian Mennonites: "From the first decades of the Mennonites in West Prussia. At the same time a contribution to the genealogical research"^{202a}. Horst Quiring's warning is not to "baptize" in Frisia,

what has never been Frisian, a scholarly appeal equally as formidable as Reimer's.

Quiring relies on the correspondence between the West Prussian and Dutch Mennonite congregations (since 1583), which is published in the "Urkundenbuch der Gemeinde Heubuden" [Register of documents of the congregation of Heubuden], so called because copies of the letters were kept in this congregation.

Dr. Quiring emphasizes that the *ecclesiastical* designations "Frisian" and "Flemish" are not intended to indicate any "regional distinction". This in itself is indisputable. But our previous presentation of the origins of the Flemish-Frisian schism has also brought to light that it is largely based on ethnic premises. It has not become easy for the Flemish refugees in the Three Friesland to adapt to the views of Frisian rural communities. Therefore, in many cases it is certainly not a mistake to consider the followers of the Frisian ecclesiastical direction (Richtung) in general as belonging to the Frisian people.

It would be wrong, however, to simply *deny ecclesiastical* Flemish affiliation with the Frisian group in an analogous conclusion. Several cases we have already mentioned, in which the original, Frisians Dirk Philips and Menno Simons, moved to the Flemish Church camp, should lead to more cautious judgements. We shall have to keep this point firmly in mind.

Furthermore, Quiring named the Mennonite congregations in Danzig, Elbing, Muntau, Thorn and Klein Werder, which had already emerged around 1580 (in the decades that followed, they were called "at Markushoff"). At that time, the later founding of Tragheimerweide also belonged to Montau, as in the later foundations of Königsberg, Memelniederung and Kazun, in which the various groups had already *mixed*. The community of Obernassau, which later became important, but no longer exists, belonged to Thorn. All of these communities, in 16th century, were in very close correspondence, in Dutch, with the communities in the "West" or in the "Netherlands".

Quiring, like Reimer, is very cautious about the possibility of narrower local identification of the areas of origin of our Mennonite group.

"Nowhere in the Netherlands does a province come to the fore as particularly crucial. The language of all letters is therefore also in the colloquial Dutch that is customary in the Netherlands."

This is evidenced by the author by the names that appear as signatures on the letters he reviewed. We read from him:

“Since the same names recur all too often, the place where they (the bearers of the name U.) emigrated from, was simply added to distinguish them. Today, this custom helps us in family and historical research to follow the traces of the first immigrants to West Prussia.”

Horst Quiring particularly emphasizes that the signatories to the letters "were established as spokesmen for the communities," although this has not yet been "proved for the time being". Consider this: "One may well assume with good reason that the individual deputies represented a number of their homeland neighbors, i.e., we can draw conclusions on the basis of these signatures as to *the origin of the first immigrants to West Prussia*".

In 1568 the well-known written indictment of the five communities of Montau, van't Kleine Warder, van Elbing, van by Dantzig, and van de Olde Tooren was laid down and signed by representatives of these communities. A letter from Montau dated 1592 that Dr. Quiring uses, offers additional signatures, especially from representatives of the community "from the Gross Werder." The author first discusses the names that clearly indicate the origin of their bearers: Jan van Deventer (in the province of Gelderland), Hans van Amersfort, Cornelis van Utert (province of Utrecht), J. Kempener = Jan van Kämpen (Oberijssel), Martenn van Nonnekan (perhaps from Knollendam or Monikendam, North Holland?) Hans van Mechelen (near Gendringen in Limburg? south of Antwerp?) Hans van Brussels, Pieter van Hasselt (capital of Limburg, also signatory of a letter of 1612 from Danzig), Hans van Knoelen (Cologne), Cornelis Rutgersch van Gorkum (Friesland).

Jan van Deventer (see the first name above) is a representing Danzig, i.e., a *city-state* (Städtischen).

Deichrentmeister Schulz^{202b} rightly considers the bearers of names like van Almonde, van Amersfort, van Egen, van Haegen, van Kämpen etc. as the oldest Mennonite immigrants in the Vistula Delta. *They had probably come as tradesmen and craftsmen from large Dutch cities with developed industry. One must not confuse this stratum with the farming rural population. Concerning the latter, what Hermann Epp (see below on the name Epp, p. 69) says is true, that "the majority of the farming Mennonites" belonged to the Frisian ecclesiastical direction (Richtung), which means, according to our above statement, that they came from Frisian areas rather than from Belgian ones.*

However, what *Schulz* said now applies to all the names that Dr. Quiring cites. Their bearers are not farmers.

Horst Quiring finds the names of the remaining signers "evenly spread in the whole Dutch-Low German area, so that from them for the time being their more specific homeland cannot be determined". But he himself considers it probable that names like Syvert Pieters, Hans and Henderich Leenerts, Jelis Fransen point to Friesland, in particular East Friesland. I believe that *this* series of names must be studied even more (see below). Some of the names found by Quiring in the documents are special cases, which Herbert Wiebe^{202c} dealt with, while Schulz's judgment on tradesmen and craftsmen falls back on others. *With all these name carriers the actually rural element is missing, which allied itself predominantly to the Frisian ecclesiastical direction.* I believe here also to refer to Gustav Reimer's statement that often "from pure city families rural lines" have branched off^{202d}.

Rightly did Dr. Quiring, in a personal letter to me dated May 18, 1937, asserted, as also in the above article, *that the importance of the Flemish element in West Prussian Mennonitism had not yet been adequately evaluated.*

The detailed treatment of the Flemish archives, especially Brussels, is absent. Prof. Kühler, Amsterdam, was the only one to dedicate himself to them, without, however, investigating the interesting migrations of the Flemings to Friesland, Holland and West Prussia in more detail, "Blaupot ten Cate, concludes H. Quiring, should have written another volume about the Doopsgezinden of the southern provinces".

In fact, it must be emphasized again and again that only specific family and name research, detailing kinships, can provide information about the provinces in the Low German-Dutch region from which the Prussian immigrants came. If it were possible to find more relevant archive material in the Netherlands or in the archives of former Poland, it would be of great help.

As long as it is missing, other methods must be followed in order to progress along the path of genealogy, to which this monograph would like to make its own contribution. The West Prussian Mennonites came to the Vistula estuary from the wide Dutch-Low German area, from the regions from Bruges to the Eider and to Jutland, where the Frisian Menno lived and had close relationships with community members, to whom the Flemish were very close by blood. Frisians and Flemings made up the main contingent of immigrants to the Vistula region, with the Frisians in the first place undoubtedly representing the farming element.

The Danzig doctoral dissertation of Horst *Penner* has now also brought this fact into brighter light. "It seems to me, so Penner concludes, as if the larger majority of the Mennonites is of Frisian origin (unavailable to me U.), which is evident from the particularly frequently mentioned home towns Emden, Groningen, Harlingen etc..

Although West Frisia already belonged to Holland at that time, these people are Frisians according to their ethnicity. Since in the 16th and 17th century the legal affiliation was decisive, they are addressed here in West Prussia as Dutchmen.

But no Mennonite bears the *name "Holländer"*, which was and is common in Danzig, but rather Friese, Friesen and Froese. Furthermore, the custom of giving patronymic names, which was practiced primarily by the Frisians up to the 19th century, is also repeated here by the Mennonites in the Vistula estuary area"²⁰³.

Dr. Penner cites a whole series of names, which we also mentioned, which are intended to prove the above.

Now, for our part, various *names from the East Frisian Hebungliste* (see below p. 69) are discussed.

VII c. Names from the East Frisian Tax rolls (Hebunglisten) and the other lists excerpted below *)

Everdts Gerdts (I, 1 in our excerpts²⁰⁴ below).

Ewert (see the different spellings by G. E. Reimer) occurs in the lists as first name and family name. (Jan Evers I, 28, Hendrik Everts VIb, 31: Specification of the "Old Flemish", Hinrik Evets VII, 14, Evers VIII b.) That we also come across this name among the Old Flemish (Groningers) could suggest that we are dealing here with an originally Flemish refugee family, since the primary group of the Flemish persuasion undoubtedly came from the Belgian provinces. The Old Flemish were strongly bound to tradition, which was expressed in their simple clothing (!), in the strict prohibition of outside marriage and in serious confessional doctrinal efforts. Because of their exclusiveness, their numbers declined sharply in the 18th century. In 1815 they dissolved their society.

The "Old Flemish" emerged in 1587 in the Flemish community at Franeker, province of Friesland. Franeker belonged to those "four cities" where the Frisian-Flemish schism broke out.

*) U. has shortened his manuscript in this printed text. This is deposited at Bethel College, Newton, Kans. U.

It was Flemish refugees who carried the "Flemish" movement, although a great number of Frisians also joined it, for example most of the Emden community, indeed the majority of the communities in the Three Frieslands (see below).

Reimer explains that Evert (Ebert) is a proper name [Eigenname] (En.) from Eberhardt. It occurs in the Frisian communities of Montau-Gruppe, Schönsee and in the later founding of Tragheimerweide, Kazun, rarely in the Frisian communities of Thiensdorf, Orloffelfelde, Danzig-Neugarten and Lithuania. According to Schröder we meet an Andreas Ewert in 1748 as a tenant in the Frisian Czarka Kämpe near Thorn. There was also a tenant Hendrik Ewerts in Schweinsgrube at the Nogat. From Schweinsgrube, Zwanzigerweide, Rudnerweide (all communities of Frisian group) came the immigrants of the Frisian community Rudnerweide at the Molotschna, Taurien, South Russia. This case speaks for the fact that there were bearers of this name in Frisian group. *And because we find the name in Middle Frisia and further east, it is reasonable to assume that its bearers were Frisians*, that only some of them kept to the Flemish and even to the strictest Flemish group of the Old Flemish²⁰⁵. As long as we cannot locate relevant documents, we can only speculate and make probability assessments.

Deichrentmeister Schulz lists this name in his 4th group: "Mennonites in the upper (Frisian) Vistula communities", the seat of the Old Flemish. Compare also the Old Flemish church preachers of the period 1650-1750^{205a}, where in Friesland a Janke Evers and in Groningen Hendrik Everts are listed.

By the way, the M. L. [Menn. Lexicon] mentions two martyrs of this name from Amsterdam and Deventer. Jan Everts was born in Deventer and beheaded in Middelburg.

Geredts (our "Goertz") I, 1. The first name and family name occur often in our records, in various spellings. In particular, also in Blaupot ten Cate (p. 69). Gustav Schulz names "Görz" in the Frisian group. According to Mannhardt²⁰⁶, the Danzig Frisian community received its first Aeltester (in Ewert, born 30. 4. 1560) in Jan Gerrits van Embden (see Reimer) in 1607. This is the oldest East Frisian record of the name that we have. Blaupot ten Cate names a Brixius Ewert from East Frisia or Groningen, who went to Haarlem in 1589²⁰⁷.

It should be noted that the name also occurs with the Old Flemish²⁰⁸. In this latter list we see the name in Friesland, in Emden, in Groningen, once in Zeeland (Gerrit Gerrits, although it is not certain that this person was born there) and in Oberyssel. It should also be noted that, according to Blaupot ten Cate, the Danzig Aeltester Jan Gerrits (born April 30, 1560 in Emden) belonging to the united Waterlanders and High Germans²⁰⁹. In our excerpt from Blaupot ten Cate we noted: Hendrik Gerrits flees to Steinfort. Lübbert Geeritz, North Holland Aeltester.

From the above we can conclude with good reason that we are dealing here with a *Frisian* family.

In addition to Franz Gerdts, the tenants of the Frisian community of Schweinsgrube in 1740 are: Hendrik *Pauls*, Peter *Peters*, Abraham *Penner*. If Gerdts is a Mennonite of Frisian direction and origin (cf. also Horst Penner^{209a} and Reimer), then perhaps also the other signatories of the contract just mentioned.

Pauls: Schulz explicitly mentions this name among the "Frisian" names. According to E. B. Siebs^{209b} it originated in North Friesland, thus on German soil. The late Mennonite pastor (last preacher) Heinrich Pauls, Elbing, was born in a Frisian community. According to Reimer, the name is rarely encountered in Flemish congregations.

Peters: This name occurs very often in our list extracts, as one can see for oneself. In the old Flemish list (DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDAGEN 1879) we encounter it mainly in Groningerland (Alle Pieters, Sievert Pieters, Timme Pieters, twice, Härmen and Jakob Pieters, Hark Pieters, Liermann Peters etc.). In *Warns* (Friesland) two Mennonite elders Pyters^{209b} worked in the 18th century, in *Vlissingen* in the 17th century the church preacher Jan Pieters. In 1735 a Peters^{209c} also lived in Nymwegen. The name can be found in the parishes of both groups. In any case, we are dealing with predominantly "Frisian" Mennonites,

whether also found among Frisian people is impossible to prove, but it is very likely. But it is to be noted with Reimer „Hendrik Petersen Senffmahler [mustard seed grinder] from Belgium“.

In Blaupot ten Cate (see our excerpt p. 69), we encounter the name again and again.

The same applies to the extract about Alkmaar (ibid.). Cf. also the community on Texel!

Penner: (also "Penders", see G. E. Reimer). In the East Frisian lists "Pennemann" occurs, from which H. H. Schröder wants to derive our name, like Horst Quiring^{209d} from Penders. The co-signer of the above mentioned contract with the "Frisian" Mennonites in Thiensdorf was Hendrik Penner. According to Reimer, the name occurs in the communities of both directions.

Martenn Cornelius. (1, 2).

Martens: The name occurs in our lists as first name, as in 1, 2 and as patronymic. Schulz names it among the Frisian names. I found it in *Warns*, Friesland. In the old Flemish list (DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1879) the name appears especially often in Groningerland. Very often we see it in the East Frisian tax rolls. Reimer notes that this name also appears mostly in the congregations of the Frisian group. Cf. also our other excerpts. Blaupot ten Cate: Alkmaar, Texel.

Cornies, Korneisen, Knelsen and Cornelius: In 1661 Jakob Cornelis was preacher in Warns, Friesland^{209c}. In the old Flemish list ^{209f} we find Jan Cornelis, Luy Cornelis for Groningen, Heert Cornelis for Emden. Quite often we find the name in our extracts above, (also in Dordrecht). Peter Corneliss was a reformed preacher in Alkmaar (North Holland, which was originally Frisian). The M. L. mentions Corneliss of Ostkapelle on the Dutch island of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Scheldt, and Zacharias Corneliss at Hoorn (on Zuidersee, North Holland). In Hoorn, already on June 7, 1535, even before Menno's departure from the old church, five Anabaptist people were executed. While passing through North Holland, Menno Simons visited the congregation that was founded in 1542/43. The Frisian preacher Leonhard Bouwens worked in this town 1551-1557 (2 visits!). Many Anabaptist sailors, merchants etc., fled here from the rest of Holland and Zeeland. This explains the many small congregations in Hoorn. Just as the Anabaptists from Germany formed a special community of the "High Germans", so for example also the "Vlaminger". Two elders from the Frisian and Flemish congregations: Jan Willms and Lübbert Gerrits already tried to unite the groups in 1566, but this did not happen until 1692. Since 1723, only 2 communities existed side by side: the Waterland and the Frisian, thus both predominantly rooted in the Frisian persuasion. The above-mentioned Zacharias Corneliss was a printer and bookseller in Hoorn, who published a large number of Anabaptist works in the first half of the 16th century, including some of Menno Simon's writings. In Middelburg in 1535 a Cornelisz was brought from life to death^{209g}. Also otherwise we come across the name^{209h}.

We have found that the name was quite widespread in East Friesland, which according to Schröder is also the case today. It is not improbable that representatives of the clan already came to Danzig around 1547 with the Frisian Philipp Edzema (see below!). In 1642 a Jan Cornelissen is found in Westlineke near Danzig and again in 1611 in the village behind Prinzhoff (Freienhuben) a Wilhelm Corneliesen²⁰⁹ⁱ. We will come back to the Danzig Treaty with Philipp Edzema or Friesen in detail. According to this contract, the contracting party had to recruit settlers "seiner natie" for Reichenberg, d. h. [?] Frisians (in the ethnic sense). In 1702, tenant farmer (Gutspächter) Hendrik Cornelis (Evidence from Schröder), the father of the famous Johann Cornies, lived in Klein Werder [note: Conelis and Cornies are **not** the same surname]. This family is unquestionably Frisian^{209k} (important!).

Note: It would be impossible to discuss all the names here so thoroughly.

It should only be shown in a few examples how much work is still to be done here. A careful card index of Dutch-Low German names up to 1700 must be compiled, based on available Dutch sources and publications. The other names will be discussed as briefly as possible. We are primarily interested in whether the Frisian-Flemish element among the immigrants to Prussia in the 16th century is somehow tangible in terms of names.

Willems 1,3 (Willems): Common in our lists. Peter Willemsz, preacher in Moniskendam (North Holland) originally Frisian area, fled 1569 before the bloodbath of Alba from Groningen^{209l}. The noble Aeltester Jan Willems [1533-1588] from North Holland was already proved by us to be Frisian. Brons^{209m} names the physician Jan Willems to Rijp, Friesland. Albert W. Middle Frisia went to West Prussia²⁰⁹ⁿ. Most often in East Friesland. However, the fact that the name occurs in Aardenburg, the southernmost and westernmost Mennonite congregation of Holland, close to the Belgian border, suggests that we are also dealing with *Flanders* refugees of this name in Gröningen and Osttriesland. This is also supported by Reimer's findings. Go through all our list excerpts yourself! In the suggested card index of Dutch names all material about each name would have to be used methodically.

Eppes 1,4 (Epp): According to Siebs, the name originated in Middle Frisia (Groningen and environs). The Anabaptist Juriaan Epes collected funds for William of Orange^{209o}. Schulz and Reimer^{209p & 209q} count the name to the Flemish series. In contrast Hermann Epp Hamburg, explicitly states: "*The Epps belonged to the Frisian stricter orientation, like the majority of the farming Mennonites.*" In contrast, Hermann Epp, Danzig, emphasizes that his great-grandfather Thomas Epp, Neumünsterberg, was elected church minister in the *Flemish* community of Fürstenwerder in 1806, just as his father held the clerical office at the same community from 1763-1780^{209r}. Obviously, we have cases here where Frisians by birth have turned to the Flemish ecclesiastical persuasion, about which Blaupot ten Cate does not leave us in the dark.

Epp has given very interesting information about his family in his essay. He wanted to find his ancestors in Friesland, but has been directed finally to Southern Germany and Switzerland. For my part it should be remembered *that according to Clement Frisians were transplanted to Upper Germany under Charlemagne*. Whether here is not a possibility given to clear up the challenging kinship problem in the case of Epp?

Reimer: Epp is the short and affectionate form of Eberhard. I think the genealogy is Frisian, as long as the opposite is not proven.

Henrichs I, 4: Very often in all our lists. Interesting is the note: "Jakob Henrichs ex *Brabant*". Extraordinarily often we see the name in the "Specification of the Mennonites, who are called the "old Flemish" (VI b), for *Friesland* (Jan Hendriks), for *Groningen* (Albert Hindriks, Geert Hendriks, often as first name, e.g., Hindrik Meertens): for *Emden* (Jan Hendriks). Cf. also especially our excerpts: Blaupot ten Cate, Alkmaar, Texel, etc.).

Bate Hendriks fled from Alba in 1569 of Groningen^{209s}. In Harlingen (Friesland) there was a Wouter Hendriks^{209t}, in Nymwegen a preacher Larens Hendriks^{209u}.

Gustav Reimer notes the name in the Frisian communities Montau group, Thiensdorf, on the other hand in the Flemish Danzig community.

In any case, it is obvious to assume Frisian rather than Flemish name bearers here (so Horst Penner p. 8).

Dirk Harmens I, 4, *Harms*: Very often in our extracts. According to Siebs the name originated in Middle Frisia (in the surrounding countryside). Reimer mentions with this name predominantly Frisian communities, in which it occurs. Cf. also Schröder.

Dirks 1,7: Our lists are peppered with Dirck, Dirkss, Dyrck etc. Schröder has treated this name and *Dirksen* in detail. They are unquestionably East Frisian and North Dutch, thus Frisian families. According to Reimer, the names are found in the communities of both groups. This is not surprising given their wide distribution (in Russia, according to Schröder, its bearers make up 1.9% of the total Mennonite population). A lot of material about the name would have to be collected, which would have to be entered into a card index as completely as possible.

Jakob Issebrands I, 8: (in Russia only the first name Isbrand, as according to Reimer also in Prussia): The origin of the name is murky.

Baeker 1,9 (see Reimer): We come across the name other than in the Flemish Danzig community in Geziarken [Jeziorken] and Przechowken [Przechowka]. Herbert Wiebe in his excellent essay: "Menn. Familiennamen in den Weichselniederungen von Graudenz and Thorn" [Mennonite surnames in the Vistula lowlands of Graudenz and Thorn]^{209v} also discusses this name. It does not belong to the names listed by Wiebe, which are found in the Elbing and Marienburg Werder.

Przechowka belongs to the Old Flemish community, as does Schönsee. "The lists show us clearly that the members of the two Flemish communities came from the same clans, and that *they bear different names than the Frisians* in the larger Frisian communities of Montau and Schönsee."

In 1719, the Dutch Aeltester Hendrik Berent Hulshoff ("Wiebe p. 36) *from the Groningen area* paid a visit to both communities, and he has left his list from 1719 and a slightly earlier one from his predecessor in office, Ale Derks. Our name (Becker) appears in both lists. Jeziorken: Bekker (Little Lake in the Tucheler Heide) was also a Flemish parish, May 1, 1727. Among the families who emigrated from here to Russia there is also the name "Wiebe. It reminds that during the settlement of the Vistula lowland also Upper German settlers were involved. The fact that the name Bekker appears in our lists only in the old Flemish list (V a, 41), apart from I, 9, suggests that its bearers came as refugees - *perhaps from Upper Germany* or also from Flanders - to East Frisia and then migrated from there to Prussia. Cf. our excerpts: B. t. Cate p. 55 names an elder Backer from Flanders!

Janssen I, 10: According to Siebs the name originated in East Frisia. In South Russia it was found (see Schröder) mainly in the Frisian villages Rudnerweide, Grossweide, Pastwa (Molotschna, North Tauria). Its bearers made 3.6% of the Russian Mennonite population.

In our lists the first name Jan and the patronymic Jans occur rarely, but Jansen at every turn (see Horst Penner, op. cit. p. 8). Very instructive are Reimer's findings in his list. The name is scattered in the whole Dutch-Low German area, which I pointed out in the Canadian-German "Boten" (see footnote 1) already in 1935. To note the individual data about this name would require large space, which is why this work is to be done in the planned card index.

It is not surprising, as with the name Dirks, that its bearers have belonged to both ecclesiastical groups. Their Frisian origin need not therefore be questioned, since an exceedingly large number of Frisians became "Flemish". It should be especially mentioned that Johann von Sol^{209w} mentions a Michel Janszoen from Oisterhout, Brabant, who died not long ago in Elbing. All our statements above are to be considered!

Thyess, Arends I, 11: *Thyess*, from *Thiessen*: In 1569 there was a teacher [preacher] Thyss on the *Frisian* island of Texel. According to Schröder, in Russia they comprised 2.7% of the total Mennonite population. According to Reimer, the bearers of this name belong to the Flemish persuasion (p. 6). The ancestral origin of these name bearers cannot be determined with full certainty for the time being. Also Schulz counts them ecclesiastically with the Flemish, which does *not* exclude the affiliation to the Frisian peoples.

Arends: According to Siebs the name originated in East Frisia. Schröder's statements seek to corroborate this. Also Gustav E. Reimer states that the name occurs mainly in Frisian communities, as well as in the Frisian colony Rudnerweide, southern Russia.

Siebert, Peters 1,15 from *Sybrand*): According to Reimer, we encounter the name Siebert (Siewert) mainly in Frisian persuasion.

Sybrand Garbrants Via, 16: *Sijwert* as first name 1628: Sijwert Teeuhes. The Frisian community Thiensdorf had an Aeltester Siebrand^{209x}. Reimer notes the name in Frisian communities.

Gerbrants (from Gerbrand): In communities of both groups. I agree with Schröder that with the rare name we have to deal with is Frisian. But it can also be refugees in East Frisia.

Behrends 1,18: The name occurs more often in our lists. In Russia it is only used as first name (Beerend - Bernhard). Reimer describes the name as "Frisian".

Albers (Albrecht) I, 26: According to Reimer predominantly in the communities of Frisian group. In Russia also Albrandt. 1563 a Peter Albrecht in Rezchenberg (see below!)

Daniels: 11,4: Cf. Schröder's findings. Reimer: in Frisian communities.

Frantzen 11,4: According to Reimer mainly in Frisian communities. In Russia Heinrich Franz "the Old" was famous as a teacher (see my article in the M. L.). He was born at Horst near Schonsee, Weichselniederung, belonged to the Frisian congregation.

Abrahams II, 6: A. Brons (p. 250) names a preacher of this name at Norden in East Frisia (1684). According to Schroder and Reimer unquestionably Frisian.

Gijsbart VIII, 8 from it Giesbrecht: Reimer lists the name in the parishes of Frisian direction. The name bearers in the Dutch area still need to be examined more closely.

Siemens VIII, 13: The name occurs frequently in Frisian communities. Reimer has found it also in Flemish communities. Therefore its bearers can be Frisian after all.

Goossens (Gossen) IX, 11: Reimer describes the name as "Frisian".

We have discussed the most important patronymics from the above lists in as condensed a manner as possible. In a card index this should and could be done much more thoroughly.

Even if we could not in all cases make a definite judgment about the ancestral origin of the individual name bearers, *there is a strong Frisian element in the Prussian Mennonites, which Dr. Penner has convincingly shown* (see above). After this necessarily very limited review, there is no doubt that the majority of the new name bearers discussed were residents of Frisian areas. More difficult is of course the closer fixation of the closer Frisian districts of origin of the pioneers. It is more difficult to determine the location of the Frisian pioneers

Horst *Penner* has (p. 8) designated the following of the names discussed as belonging to Frisia: Abrahams, Arens, Behrends, Cornelius, Daniels, Dirksen, Doercksen, Frantzen, Goertzen, Gossen, Harms, Heinrichs, Jantzen, Pauls, Peters, Siemens, Thiessen, Woelms.

He names a *number of others*, emphasizing that he is only citing a limited number. The most important ones may *also be discussed* very briefly here. Our glosses [brief explanatory note] pursue, as must be emphasized again and again, the emphasis of the Flemish-Frisian element in West Prussian and Russian-German Mennonitism. We omit all names that are considered extinct. We confine ourselves to the briefest notes;

Andres: After Reimer in Flemish communities (p. 11 and 6). For the time being, there are no clues to express even an assumption about the origin of the bearers of this name. Penner bases his judgment on the patronymic naming:

Bartels: more common in the Vistula lowlands, in Frisian communities.

Claassen: Rare in Frisian communities, frequent in Flemish ones. Probably, the bearers of this name were original refugees in the Three Frieslands, who came from there to the Vistula area and Nogat area. However, this would not mean that they could not have been Frisians as well. In a letter of 19. 9. 1935 to me, Horst Quiring takes the perspective that the Mennonites who migrated to Prussia were *predominantly of Frisian stock*, even though it should be noted that their majority came from the *Waterland* via East Frisia to the Vistula estuary (the Waterland was originally Frisian territory).

The closer ancestral affiliation of the Claasen family either to the Frisians or to the Dutch or to the Flemings can only be decided by family and kinship research, on the basis of concrete data, not generally theoretically.

First and foremost we have to try to uncover the Dutch background of the bearers of this name, as far as this is possible, as we have tried to do with the names Ewert, Görtz, Pauls etc. and as Gustav E. Reimer in the West Prussian area carried out in a manner worthy of imitation. However, we can perhaps already make a general judgment on the basis of the psychological analysis of the Frisian-Flemish schism and on the basis of other indications,

that in general followers of the "Frisian" persuasion were Frisians by blood. The Flemish movement was mainly carried by a Flemish opposition in East Frisia, although of course also Frisians joined this group, but probably less often vice versa the Flemings joined the Frisians.

The question now is whether there are any clues that the bearers of the name Claassen (and other Flemish bearers of the name, the term "Flemish" here is understood ecclesiastically) are genealogical. If that were possible with this name, a deadlock would basically be overcome and we would at least make progress in terms of genealogy in working through of the Dutch name inventory, which would have to be investigated more thoroughly.

For this very important name, whose bearers, according to Schröder, accounted for the highest percent of the total Mennonite population (4.1%), in addition to the bearers of the name Dyck in Russia, we note that it occurs very rarely in the East Frisian lists.

That must be noticed. We have therefore come to the conclusion that this bearer of the name is *not of East Frisian origin*.

In the Old Flemish list of Aelteste and church preachers (since 1650) published by Prof. Scheffer and always referred to by us, we find the name three times with regard to *Groningen*: Pieter Klassen, Symon Klassen, Tonjes Klaassen.

In the list of Aelteste of the Jan Jacobs congregation since 1650 the name is not found.

The Jan Jacobs people were located in *Friesland*.

Based on these findings we can conclude with some certainty that the bearers of the name Klassen were *not of Frisian origin*. *The affiliation to the Flemish ecclesiastical church group and the non-Frisian origin would thus coincide here*. Our judgment in this case would therefore differ from Penner's.

Hiebert (Huebert): According to Reimer, it occurs predominantly in Flemish communities. In Russia it is common (according to Schröder 1.3%). I suspect that we are dealing with name bearers of non-Frisian origin. This is an important point. We have therefore come to the conclusion that this bearer of the name is *not of East Frisian origin*.

Nickel (cf. Klaasen): According to Reimer, the bearers of this name occur almost exclusively in *Frisian* congregation

Philippson: Certainly of Frisian, rather than other, origin.

Regehr: see Horst Penner (from Reyer, a Frisian first name) According to Reimer, these name bearers belonged to the Flemish congregation. Maybe we are dealing here with Frisians, who kept to the "Flemish".

Again and again the Frisian element is more prominent than any other.

Deichrentmeister Schulz has in the often mentioned essay in the "Menn. Blättern" mentioned the following names as *Flemish*: "Claassen, Dyck (Dieck), Enz, Epp, Thiessen, Warkentin, Wienss and Wölke. Reimer also mentions (p. 98): Andres, van Bergen, Bergmann, Driedger, Esau, Fieguth, Harder, Loep, Reimer, van Riesen, Wiehler.

We have already referred to some of these names. We still touch on some that are common in Russia: *Dyck* (and varieties): According to Schröder it makes up 4.9% in Russia. In the East Frisian lists the name does not occur, also not in the Old Flemish list of Aelteste and church preachers. This speaks for the fact that we have to do with people of *non-Frisian origin*. This information is completely consistent with Schulze's and differs from Schröder's.

Enz: Reimer derives the name from the *Frisian* name Enns.

Warkentin: Schröder did not find it in any of the Frisian sources. He locates the bearers of this name to the south of the Netherlands. More Dutch material (or also Lower Saxon) must be obtained here. Reimer asks whether "Perkentin in Mecklenburg" should not be extracted here.

Wienss (Wiens): About the derivation of the name Reimer is to be compared. Schröder supplies single data. Any clear picture is still missing. I refer to the history of the baptized in Deventer, in which a Lubbe van Wynssen appears (M. L. I, p. 430).

Wölke: Reimer and Wiebe provide the best information. I cannot comment on the name. According to H. G. Mannhardt the name occurred between 1600-1700 in Danzig.

Van Bargaen, Bergmann, Driedger: The background in the original seat still needs to be clarified. Likewise with *Esau, Reimer, van Riesen* (Reimer: place name probably Rijssen, town in Overijssel), *Loepp* (Dr. Penner names a "Philipp Lippe" in Orloffelfelde, already for 1601; this congregation was Frisian).

Reimer: According to Gustav E. Reimer "predominantly Frisian".

Schulze: has mentioned the following typical *Frisian* family names: *Albrecht, Allert, Bestvader, Dan, Dirksen, Fröse, Friesen, Funk, Grunau, Harms, Jantzen, Meckelburger, Martens, Pauls, Quapp, Quiring, Unger, Wiehler*.

We have already encountered a number of these names. About the rest (with some exceptions) very brief remarks: *Bestvader*: Frisian (cf. Schröder and Reimer).

Fröse and *Friesen*: According to Reimer, *Fröse* hardly occurs in the Flemish communities. *Friesen* occurs in the congregations of both groups. Both names indicate Frisian origin. *Friesen* reminds us of the important Reichenberg land contract of the Danzig council with the Frisian, Philipp Edzema in 1547, to be discussed in detail later.

Funk: A Swiss family, see "Menn. Geschichtsblatt" 1936, p. 53 and 1940, p. 63 f.

Grunau: According to Reimer, the name only occurs in Frisian communities. Maybe the place name (?) is related to Grunau in Westphalia.

Meckelburger Certainly a name of origin (from Mecklenburg).

Quapp: The Dutch (?) roots are still to be clarified.

Quiring: According to Reimer and Schröder derived from "Quirinus", rather Frisian than other origin.

Wiehler: According to Schulze it is a name bearer of Frisian direction, according to Reimer we encounter the name mainly in Flemish congregations.

Unger: Name of origin. The name is found in church records of Frisian congregations.

Gustav E. Reimer: names (p. 98) *in addition* to Schulze, lists the following Frisian names:

a) in the Frisian country communities Thiensdorf and Orloffelfelde Engbrecht, Hein, Holzrichter, Horn.

b) in the Frisian communities in the upper Vistula lowlands: Belzer, Becher, *Ediger, Goede, Goedert, Kauert, Kerber, Rosenfeld, Tjahrt*.

c) in the Frisian community of Danzig-Neugarten: Atzinger, etc. quite foreign-sounding names.

I discuss only briefly the names I italicized:

Engbrecht: s. Schröder, common in East Frisia as well as in other Frisian districts, also as Engel and Ingelbrecht.

Hein: I refer to my remarks about the "Moravian Brothers" below. Especially to be consulted is Herbert Wiebe, of whose works, as in the presentation of the Mennonite immigration into the Vistula estuary, we will soon speak.

Ediger: There is an old, large Viennese village of this name in the district of Kochern on the Mosel. I owe this hint to Mrs. Ag. Lange from the Swabian-Russian German colonies in Palestine, as well as to my old friend Consul (ret.) Heinrich Ediger, Karlsruhe, formerly Berdyansk a. Sea of Azov.

Goede (Goede): see Herbert Wiebe.

Goedert: Likewise.

Rosenfeld: According to Horst Quiring (Menn. Geschichtsblätter 1937, p. 35) came from Antwerp to the upper Vistula lowlands, via Emden.

To be compared is especially Herbert Wiebe, to whose works, as in the presentation of the Mennonite immigration into the Vistula estuary, we will soon speak.

Tjährt: I should have glossed the name when discussing the East Frisian. lists (VI b, 39): Hindrio Tjarts. Schröder found "Tjardes" recorded four times in Emden. He names two persons with the call name "Tjaard" (Tjaart) in the province of Friesland and in the surrounding areas.

These glimpses may suffice. They represent a lead to a comprehensive statement. *This also applies to my review of the life of Menno Simon from the point of view of the problem of origin and also to the larger chapter on the actual immigration of the Mennonites in Prussia.*

VIII. Menno Simon's Life and Writing Activity from the Point of View of the Origin Question*)

That Menno was a born Frisian is certain. When he was ordained priest in the episcopal city of Utrecht, could perhaps be determined exactly, if one could find out the year in which his writing against Gellius Faber, in which he describes his exit from the papacy, was printed²¹⁰. In any case, the Reformation was already in full swing at that time, and in Zurich the Grebel Circle had already established (1525). Melchior Hofmann, at that time still a Lutheran preacher, already developed a lively ministry. Menno Simons, however, remained ignorant of these the events, which could not remain unknown. But already in his first year in office he was driven by doubts concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation. Luther²¹¹ helped him to decide between the Church and the N.T. [?] But in the development of the Anabaptist doctrine he went his own way²¹². We know that the martyrdom of Sicke Frerichs Snijder on 23. 3. 1531 at Leeuwarden led Menno Simons to substantiate this doctrine. But he remained in his mother church for another 5 years.

Menno caused the most serious conflicts in the development that part of the Anabaptist doctrine. His doctrine of "Suffering" (leidsamkeit) was in sharpest contrast to the terrorist use of violence in Münster. He negotiated with "two fathers of the depraved sect." According to Kühler, one of them was Jan van Geelen. That the other was Obbe Philips is a completely unfounded, superficial assumption by K. Vos²¹³. Menno would never have so characterized the man who baptized him and later ordained him an Aeltester.

*) This section can only be understood if it is read several times in one sitting!

In his writing Menno stands up against Jan van Leidens "Gross and Greatest Blasphemy"(groowelicke ende grootste Blaspheemie)²¹⁴. On the other hand, he addresses all true allies in the dispersion.

Sepp's misgivings about Menno's authorship have been refuted by de Hoop Scheffer²¹⁵. The document was probably written right after the fall of the Old Monastery (7.4.1535). The printing was delayed, and in June Münster fell, so that the printing was unnecessary. It was probably published for the first time only in 1627²¹⁶. Vos, however, thinks that *this* print was lost²¹⁷.

In the context of our investigation, we are interested in the language in which Menno's first writing was composed.

Until 1541, 9 tracts by him appeared, which Krahn²¹⁸ lists. *The latter* ^{218a} *the view that these writings have been preserved, except for the first two, in the very first versions.*

However, the first two writings would have undergone linguistic changes. By the way, the editions of the remaining 7 writings, which were later made accessible to the general public, would not have preserved the original linguistic*) form either, because Menno had made changes in all places.

Krahn tries to justify this view in more detail: The 9 writings were written by Menno in the Netherlands, and indeed "Dutch". *However, he had to adapt himself to the eastern dialect, the Oosterschen.* The oldest two writings he published later also in this*) dialect, like all writings since 1553 already at the first version. In the later collections and editions, these*) were partly published during Menno's lifetime, but in a *Dutch* adaptation.

Only a few copies of the first writings have survived. In 1539/40, the first collection of seven of these works appeared as a manual for use in the churches, called a "Fundamentbuch" [Book of Fundamentals].

The chronological order of the 9 writings, by the way, cannot be stated with complete certainty, *but in any case the writing against Jan van Leiden, the Aeltester.* It was only published in 1627 as a special piece and inserted into the "Opera" in 1646. (The "Opera" of 1600 and 1613, in fact, only listed writings of which print editions* were already available). The special edition was published in Horn.

In this writing, the Münster language forms have clearly rubbed off, as Vos proves²¹⁹. With the admirable scientific meticulousness (accuracy) of this researcher, this is significant.

•) emphasize!

The polemics against Rothmann's agitational pamphlet per Von der Rache²²⁰, written in the Lower Saxon dialect, naturally had to give Menno's booklet a special linguistic character*).

From Menno's first writings, which gradually became known, it became clear that the opera edition of 1600*) (the so-called "Sommarie" [Summary])²²¹ was written in a completely different language than the oldest writings. In our special booklet [above] it is close to the language in these writings. It was already completely unknown in the 17th century, so that Sepp's assumption that the writing was only written around 1627 *completely* misses the point**)

The Rothmann manuscript "Van der Wrake" has been lost. According to an existing copy, an edition was finally acquired in 1864. For a long time there was no trace of it, so that it was not known at all in the 17th century. The refutation of Rothmann's writing must have been written when the pamphlet was still in circulation.

Because in 1535 the possession of the pamphlet was considered a criminal offense, it must have been destroyed by its owners. By the way, Rothmann's "Restitution"*) has been refuted by Dirk Philips, 20 years later, when Menno had cleaned up with the writing "Von der Rache" [Regarding Revenge]. The language in Dirk Philip's [writing] strongly reminds of Menno's oldest language.

K. Vos speaks of the language of Menno's oldest) writings very matter-of-factly as of an "Oostersch gekleurd dialect" [Eastern colored dialect]²²². Vos makes this judgment also about the language of the Fundamentbuch²²³.*

We mention especially that in 1538 Menno's meditation on the 25th Psalm appeared (according to Vos in 1539 in Amsterdam, in the "Eastern-colored dialect" (Oostersch gekleurd dialect)²²⁴. Now it is interesting that this writing came out 1554 in "Eastern translation" (Oostersch omwerking) and 1562 in "Dutch translation" (Nederlandsche omwerking).

Apparently also*) the editions in the "Eastern-colored dialect" had to be periodically reconciled with the galloping development of the eastern dialect, which (p. 98) made the "Dutch translation" appear all the more urgent. In 1538 the writing "Von der neuen Kreatur" [Of the new creature] appeared in the same Eastern-colored dialect²²³ and in 1550 (no later than 1556) "in Dutch translation."

One can rightly ask what sense it makes to speak of a "Dutch translation" when the original language of this oldest writings of Menno was,

*) emphasize!

***) Kürzer: Menno's language after 1600 is completely different than in his oldest writings. This language of the oldest writings was no longer mentioned in the 17th century, which is why Menno's rebuttal cannot have been *written* in 1627.

as Frerichs (see below!) claims, a "pure Dutch" (zuiver Nederlandsch).

Also the great Mennonite researcher Prof. de Hoop Scheffer says of the language of the speech, which Frerichs insisted on, that it represents the *Eastern dialect*. "It is the so-called Oostersch [Eastern] or Overlandsch [Overland] [in modern Dutch: Oosters or Overijssels], this language variant (gouspraak), was common in the coastal countries of the North Sea and the Southern Baltic Sea, as well as in Hanover, Westphalia and Overijssel. However, she leans more towards High German here.

And further:

"... the writer shows through the dialect of Oostersch, in which he writes, that he is not a Groninger, not an Overijsselaar, much less a Dutchman, but a *Frisian from present-day Friesland*"²²⁶.

Thus Menno's "Eastern dialect" could not deny his *Frisian* origin.

Prof. Cramer in his well-known article on Menno²²⁷ considers the dialect in which the Fundamentbuch 1539* was published to be *Low German (Plattdeutsch)*, i.e., Lower Saxon:

"From the Plattdeutsch dialect of his fundament book 1539 perhaps (maybe) some light can still be drawn. This dialect is not his mother tongue, which must have been Frisian or Dutch." Cramer even wants to conclude from the dialect used by Menno that the first time after he left the old church he did not stay in Groningen, as Scheffer thought, but resided in East Frisia.

G. E. Frerichs has, as we already know, in the DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN has written about Menno's language in his oldest writings. He subjected the explanations of Scheffer and Cramer to the sharpest criticism.

He is undoubtedly right in calling for more precise scientific terminology, but factually Scheffer and Cramer seem much closer to reality than Frerichs. The reader will note this conclusion U s.

Frerichs states in the introduction that regarding the language that Menno Simons spoke and wrote, legends are circulating through no fault of Menno. He further notes that Menno stayed in the coastal area of the North Sea and in 1553 wrote a harsh defense against the attacks of his opponents in a "hodgepodge of language" (a mixed dialect). Frerichs attributes such a language, impossible for his educated taste, to Menno's long stay in Germany. Menno Simons had written as a "pilgrim in the foreign land". That is why he was a Dutchman until his death and served his Dutch community. He was in the service of his Dutch congregation, whose fate was very close to his heart.

•) emphasize!

According to the preliminary report to this pamphlet, he had translated it "express more love ... expresses the Eastern language... translated into the Dutch language.." We still have the translation in the opera from 1681.

Our researcher considers it wrong to conclude from these remarks that Menno had all the first editions of his writings be printed in the Eastern dialect.

The editors of the so-called Sommarie (Opera 1600-01) say somewhat vaguely that they "buck" some of Mennos who at that time "were printed in the higher language*"...German", whereby it was their conscientious concern, only to correct "the high Dutch (not Plattdeutsch, not-Dutch) language", without changing the meaning of the expositions.

Because of this omission, however, it is clear to *Frerichs* that the editors of Sommarie know of a number of Menno's writings that were *not printed* in Dutch [from Holland], but "in higher words", i.e., Oostersch. *The emphasis is on "printed"*. The Dutch editors of Sommarie actually find it strange that "sommige" (some) of the Menno works written in the Oosterschen dialect were also *printed* in this dialect. They now dismiss this. These omissions by the editors cannot support Frerich's assumption that Menno did not *write* his earliest *writings* in the Oostersche dialect. *The wording of this preliminary report speaks rather for the opposite!* It does not speak of how Menno *wrote*, but how it was *printed*. *They would now have tried to make the necessary linguistic corrections in their printed edition.*

Harrison, in his 1681 edition, has consistently followed these predecessors.

Gerardus Maatschoen (the translator and compiler of the Mennonite history of Herm. Schijn) has explained *his* conclusion that Menno wrote in "Low German" as follows: "... actually in old Plattdeutsch German or Oosterscher dialect".

So Maatschoen also knows that Menno's writings were translated from Oosterscher or East Frisian into Dutch afterwards.

In the DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1889, Scheffer has put forward another hypothesis concerning our first*) writing of Menno. He does *not* deny that in the special edition of the writing against Jan van Leiden of 1627 there is an approximation to Dutch ("approximation of our vernacular"). He believes, however, that this is due to the *printer*, who was making

•) emphasize!

“deviations ... from the copy in front of him” (abwijkenen ... van de hem voorliggende kopij“ erlaubte). The printer would then have followed the editors of the "Summary" from the year 1600, who would have offered such "corrections" as the printer a quarter of a century ago. If Menno himself was constantly smoothing and polishing the language of his writings, even more so was the publisher, who did not completely ignore the business aspect of a larger sales opportunity even with the greatest idealism. Scheffer has also cited a whole series of examples from Menno's Writing, which for their part show that the original text had been different than, "pure Dutch": he instead of hij, de (die) [the], sinnen (zijn) [are], heft, (heeft) [book], ein (een) [one], hillich (heilig) [holy], holden (houden) [hold], wol (wel) [well?] wohlbehagen (weibehagen) [well being], sleyt (slat) [slat?], ju en juwe (u en uwe) [you and yours], sick (sich) [oneself], nicht (niet) [not], manck (onder) [under] unde (en) [in], schaffen (doen) [create] usw.

Frerichs thought it necessary to dispel the confusion and misconceptions in the philological field, by making an investigation "into the language or languages in which Menno wrote." This investigation he made is interesting and in itself a very instructive essay. Menno had learned to speak Frisian as his "memmetaal" (mother tongue) in his parental home. Even in his old age, for example, he used the "he" enclitically ^{b)} (leaning on the preceding word, e.g., sechter, heefter, datter). In the monastery, according to Frerichs, he learned Latin, which he mastered properly. For the rest, it was important to him to speak and write in a way that was close to the people*). He wanted to serve the people among whom he was placed. He also seems to have known some Greek and to have read the Greek, not only Latin church fathers. Some Hebrew is also familiar to him. He spoke, read, wrote Oostersch.

What is the Oostersche? Frerichs gives a sweeping answer. " The North Germans were called Oosterlingen, while foreigners from France and Holland in Wismar and along the entire Baltic coast were called "Westerlings." *Oostersch, Frerichs strongly emphasizes, is not, however, identical with Overlandsch.* This is High German, that Low Saxon, Plattdeutsch. Ooverlanders are Upper Germans, Southern Germans. In Moravia, the Swiss Anabaptists were called "Oberlanders". In Cologne, which already belonged to the Oberland, Menno Simons got to know High German. " What kind of Dutchman was that in Friesland?" asks Frerichs further²²⁸⁻²³⁰. He gives those information about the origin of the Low German (Dutch) language,

•) emphasize!

which we already know. Dutch also became the written and literary language in Friesland. *In general, however, "no (kein) pure Ditch" was spoken there*²³¹. Frisian, we already saw, was displaced. If it had formerly dominated from Holstein to Swin, it finally ruled only the Frisian islands. The province of Friesland and Groningerland came under the archbishopric of Utrecht. The clergy who were sent here spoke Dutch. On the other hand, Frisians and Dutch came into close contact, Dutch literature flowed into Friesland and Frisian became more and more a minority language, which it no longer is. Frisian was also displaced by Lower Saxon. The Saxons spread their clout, their influence, their language more and more, and so the Frisian increasingly yielded to it. In the civil strife between the "Schieringers" and "Vetkoopers" in Friesland proper, East Frisian army units flooded the country, Albrecht of Saxony (from 1498) brought a whole staff of officials into the country, and in his battles with Karl van Geldern, "eastern and overland mercenaries (mercenaries)"²³² swarmed through the areas. *The Low German and High German languages were then also understood throughout Friesland, even if not spoken by all.*

Whoever stirred the pen in Menno's days in Friesland wrote as he saw fit. „*Everyone did what was good in their eyes*“. Everybody followed the examples he had once encountered.

Menno, for his part, was influenced and shaped by the Dutch literature of the 14th and 15th centuries, by the Anabaptist movement, and by the Reformation in general.

There is, Frerichs states, a great affinity between the language of Menno and the language of the theologians (Mystiker) and devout, Frerichs and [W. J.] Kühler agree with each other here, as well as especially of the "brothers of the common life"²³³. The language of the other reformers also helped to shape Menno's language. According to Frerichs, *High German did not differ from Menno's language at that time as much as later the High German of the Dutch ("het Hoogduitsch van het Hollandsch")*. Menno also read Sebastian Franck, whom he always appreciated. There are then also turns of phrase with him from his reading of the many High German contemporaries²³⁴. *In addition to the Middle Dutch models, he was thus also drawn to High German.*

Also the Anabaptist movement an influence in his writing. Through them, he was immersed in the Lower Saxon language.

This judgment of Frerich's, however, is now the point where he does less justice to the real facts of the case and also to his own previous statements,

than the researchers he so sharply accuses. He states: Menno knew the writings of the Brothers of the Common Life (der Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens), who lived at Deventer and Zwolle on the border of the Frankish and Saxon territory. Through them he became acquainted with many Lower Saxon words and phrases.

But it was not until he came into contact with the Anabaptists that he got access to Lower Saxon books. In 1530 he read the work of M. Hofmann "The Ordinance of God" (called "Ordinance" by Menno), published in that year. In 1533 the latter had written "The Confession of both sacraments, Baptism and Communion" in "pure Oostersch".

So, 6 years before he left the old church, Menno has read Lower Saxon (Oostersche) writings according to Frerichs and thus learned to master this dialect long before. We will need to touch on this point. In his essay, our historian has commented very thoroughly on Menno's first writing. He does not believe that the printers revised the manuscript. They should be thanked for having "transferred everything so faithfully (treu) from the manuscript to the print." If the manuscript had been subjected to revision, why had they not also eradicated the non-Dutch phrases from the original text! Menno uses a lot of Lower Saxon words, which can be easily explained by the polemical dispute with a Lower Saxon author (Rothmann). He also uses High German expressions: Seele [soul], Ehre [honor], Ehestand [marital status], Gnade [mercy], nicht [not], ein [a] etc.²³⁵.

Frerich's statements are not entirely convincing in detail. When the printers revised the language of the Menno text, they proceeded according to "modern" points of view, i.e., according to language development ad hoc (up to the hour). The language around 1627 was different from that around 1535 when Menno was writing, but it was far from Frerich's highly developed literary language. The latter makes the mistake of wanting to explain too subjectively, based on biographical coincidences, what is due to great language developments.

It is also a fact that the Lower Saxon writing of Rothmann, against which the priest of Witmarsum brandishes his spiritual sword, was as *such* widespread in the entire Dutch area and was also understood throughout. Should Menno, who was after all interested in a strong effect in the widest circles of the people, not only of his closer fatherland, but also of German, Low German areas, have written in Dutch, where in the areas primarily in question Low German prevailed to a large extent? *Why did Rothmann write in Lower Saxon?* It is the Münster dogmatist,

Frerichs, as we know from the colportage of his writing, was very concerned about winning over the Dutch confederates, also in the *western* provinces of the Netherlands, but *he reckoned and had to reckon above all with the (extended) East Frisian area*. And how the linguistic changes took place here has been described above, Frerichs himself drew it sharply, as did Foerste.

Another essential point, which I already touched upon! Should Menno, who also after Frerichs in 1553 published a document in Oosterscher dialect, and who thus really *mastered* this dialect, so that he could make literary use of it without effort, really have learned it only later? This is not conceivable, if one considers how difficult it is to *really master* a foreign language and, *moreover, a dialect* and especially such a related dialect, not only for everyday oral interchange, but highly literary, in theological treatises.

There is no question that Menno knew the Oosterian language early on, perhaps sucking it in with his mother's milk, and he used this dialect when he solemnly raised his voice in the Dutch-Low German region against overbearing sectarians who, with appeal to spirit, revelation and divine authority trod the matter of the pure gospel in the dust. *Similar to Luther, he stood in the middle of language zones in terms of language development, in a linguistically diverse country, and as a highly educated Frisian and Dutchman wrote an "Eastern colored dialect" (Oostersch gekleurden dialect). The later printers had no conscience about ironing out the language of his missives again and again in a "modern" way, following the personal example of the reformer himself. What we lack is a scholarly edition of Menno's Opera, in which authoritative Dutch linguists would also have to contribute, in order to create a more reliable picture of what actually happened from the available sources. Only research has the floor here and not claims, sensitivities and jealousies.*

The 2nd Menno writing (see Krahn, about the editions see Vos p. 293 and DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1905 p. 90 ff) offers according to Frerichs also a "quite pure Dutch"²³⁶. But this is no proof that we do not have to do here already with a *revision* from the hand of Menno*). Frerichs himself believes to be able to prove that Menno lived in Groningen after leaving the Catholic Church, "both in the city and in the surrounding countries"²³⁷. In this region, however, as we have repeatedly pointed out, Low German prevailed.

•) emphasize!

Frerichs himself notes that the first edition of this manuscript seems to have been lost. We possess it only "between alterations from 1556". According to the researcher's assumption, we would have here a second edition. The piece was written for the edition at a time when Menno Simons still had a good command of Dutch, which was not the case with the other pieces in this edition (1556). Menno had finished this writing after the fight with the Münsterites and had used here his oldest written language. Frerichs thus identifies an edition from 1556 with a presumed first edition two decades earlier.

We are obviously dealing with unproven assumptions here. According to Krahn, the 1556 edition of this piece has undergone linguistic changes^{237a}.

Of the *3rd writing* (1537 or 1538) Vos also says, it was written in "Eastern colored dialect"^{237b}. The *4th writing* is the well-known commentary on the 25th Psalm. Frerichs judged its language not to be East Frisian, although it betrayed Dutch influence. People in East Frisia at that time wrote quite differently than Menno did here. In Groningen and in the surrounding areas, the Lower Saxon dialect had made ever greater inroads. As an example, the scholar cites a Dutch (surrounding) protocol. The inhabitants in Groningen and in the surrounding areas were Frisians, who, however, increasingly adopted the Lower Saxon dialect in their dealings with the East Frisians. This penetration was also strongly encouraged by the church. In Menno's time, Frerichs emphasizes, the "corruption of the Dutch language" was not yet so advanced. A Sicke Benningha, the author of "Chronicle of the Vrieseler lands (Surrounding countries) and the city of Groningen" writes using much more Saxon than Menno. Closer to Menno were the writings of the surrounding countries themselves. There was no area in the world whose language was so close to Menno's language as the surrounding countries. Menno must have stayed here when he wrote the foundation book^{237c}.

The first edition of the *4th writing* has also been lost. According to Frerichs, this, the 6th and the other 9 pieces are written in "pure Dutch".

Since 1553, according to Frerichs, the reformer could no longer cope with *one* language. It became more convenient for him to "try to express himself in plain spoken language"²³⁸. Since 1556, he had his own print shop in Oldesloe, Holstein, and most of his writings now *appeared* in Low German. "The reformer subsequently tried to put the "homeland (Umlandschen) writings" for his friends into a clean Dutch language robe".

However, most of the writings were originally written in Dutch.

The question is thus whether Menno's oldest writings, which only slowly became known²²⁹, are available to us in their original form or already "updated". According to Vos it is incontrovertibly certain that the printed edition of the "Sommarie" 1600 shows a completely different style and a completely different language than the 9 first writings. From this it can be seen how far the "modernization" of the language style in the Menno writings on the part of the publishers, which we have discussed, went.

Shouldn't revisions already be present in the writings which we*) identify as the oldest editions?

For our purpose in this investigation, it is sufficient to state that the entire linguistic context presented corroborates, as nothing else, the fact that Menno Simons was located in the East Frisian area in the first period of his reformatory activity.

By the way, in Frerichs' essay there is a quotation from Dirk Philip's polemic against Rothmann's "Restitution". He judges the language in this polemic with the shaking of his head: "a desperate mishmash of Eastern, Overlandsch and Nederduitsch" (p. 108). Dirk Philips, who had probably first worked with Menno in the Groningerland, went to Emden and Danzig much earlier than the latter. In the Amsterdam Mennonite library there are three tracts by him, all three written in this dialect, "that Dirk had learned to speak over there"²⁴⁰. The fact that Dirk Philips fought against Rothmann, despite the fact that he was the most learned of the Dutch Anabaptist leaders and had perfect command of his native Dutch language, in a dialect that ensured him the greatest possible resonance in the Dutch-German region, does not make it seem arbitrary to assume that Menno, in his first writing against the same sect head, also wrote in Eastern Dutch dialect. Rather, *everything* points to it. Frerich's most essential counter-reasons are not irrefutable. This controversial point can probably only be *decided* with *new source discoveries*. But already today the just underlined fact is certain, that *Menno stands with his oldest writings completely in the East Frisian area.*

The resignation of the Witmarsum pastor was a voluntary one. The old church tolerated him, although it occasionally came with the confiscation of boxes containing forbidden literature in the Witmarsum parsonage. His inner [spiritual] development urged a decision.

•) emphasize!

Nine months after the monastery catastrophe and his innermost transformation, he took off the priestly robe. He tried to free those who had been seduced by the Münsterites from the "ropes of their damnation". Others he had to let go, commending them to God. Whether Menno's journeys extended over several provinces or only a few towns can no longer be determined. The sparse data from this period do not give a clear picture.

Hermann and Geeryt Jansz from Witmarsum had to answer for giving shelter to Menno on October 24, 1536 and were sentenced to death²⁴¹. Perhaps it is about Menno's stay in the time between leaving the church and leaving the village, even a later visit to Witmarsum.

Traces also point to East Frisia. Peter Janns confessed to have been baptized on June 14, 1540 in Oldersum about 4 years ago by "a priest named Mynno"²⁴². It would have been that in the summer of 1536.

Menno read and wrote a lot. At the request of allies, he had himself confirmed (befestigen) as a Mennonite bishop. Obbe Philips notes in his "Confession" that he entrusted Menno Simons to "office within Groningen". Here he also married Geertrydt, whose sister Griet, the wife of Rein Edes, who also become well-known.

In 1537 he visited Holland, where he heard Dutch sounds again. According to Frerichs, he stripped off the "familiar language (Umlandismen)"²⁴³. In this year he wrote "Van der Kindertucht", and that "in pure Dutch", even if we encounter Lower Saxon expressions, which by the way were also passable in Holland.

After returning from Holland to East Frisia, Menno left this county and went to Cologne, and after a few years from there to the Baltic regions, where he worked together with Dirk Philips as far as Danzig and Graudenz. We know that Dirk Philips, although he used that mixed dialect, did not forget his mother tongue, but translated his mentioned three tracts (in mixture of Eastern, Overland and Low German "mengelmoes van Oostersch, Overlandsch en Nederduitsch") into Dutch himself, as we must assume similar for MenNo. He himself has testified to this. The question is only whether this is not also true for the oldest writings, so that Scheffer and Cramer would have to be right versus Frerichs, which I believe.

Together we can say that Menno's writings are linguistically on a ground where the Dutch and German (Low German) linguistic elements have entered into a close alliance. This confirms our thesis that the real artery of the oldest Anabaptist movement lay in the Frisian-East Frisian area.

IX. The emigration of the Mennonites to Schleswig-Holstein and the Hanseatic cities

When the persecutions of the reform-minded broke out in the southern provinces of the Netherlands under Charles V, a large-scale flight of the Anabaptists to Schleswig-Holstein, to the Hanseatic cities and even to Prussia began immediately.

With the lively trade between Eiderstedt and the Netherlands, many persecuted people moved there in the 16th century because of their faith, the followers of David Joris as well as Mennonites. David Joris²⁴⁴ was already very active in 1528. He was opposed to Münster and Batenburg, although in Bocholt he accommodated Batenburg in a mediating clause²⁴⁵. Because of his dazzling (schillernden) demeanor, he acquired a fiercest opponent in his own son-in-law Blesdeijk²⁴⁶.

Followers of David Joris and Melchior Hofmann are said to have appeared very early in Schleswig-Holstein, *but also quiet Anabaptists*, who formed respectable communities there²⁴⁷. Among them worked around the turn of the century the meritorious dike master (Deichgraf) count Johann Clausen Coodt (Coodt), called Rollwagen. He built dikes in the 17th century, as did Adam Teekes who built a harbor in the 18th century²⁴⁸. The Dutch homeland of these pioneers was also recalled by the arts of cheese-making and milling.

In 1621, Dutch Remonstrants established *Friedrichstadt* on the Eider River²⁴⁹ completely according to the Dutch model, and in 1616 *Glückstadt* was founded on the right bank of the lower Elbe River. The Mennonites of Glückstadt were considered part of the Friedrichstadt community, which in turn built bridges to the community in Altona, but otherwise maintained contact with the Dutch communities for quite a long time.

Further, the Mennonites settled on the "Lübeck estates". In Lübeck in 1534 Jürgen Wullenweber was mayor, even dictator. He was well-disposed toward the Anabaptists, which is why quiet Anabaptists, especially from the Jülich region, soon gathered around Lübeck as tenants, tanners, blanket makers and even powder makers²⁵⁰.

In the village of Steinrade, in the west of Lübeck²⁵¹, Coord Roosen settled at that time and in 1554, already after the death of his father, his son Geerlinck (a very common name in Jülich), who had stayed behind in Jülich. A year [1561] after Geerlinck's arrival, Menno Simons also arrived in Holstein, where he [Simons] died after several years in the village of Wüstenfelde near Fresenburg²⁵².

In the south of Holstein, some Anabaptist families lived in the two towns of Wandsbek and Pinneberg, and in the southwest of the duchy it was the Kremper and Wilster Marsch, where in the 16th century Mennonites

immigrants²⁵³ and became of greater importance for the local community. However, Glückstadt and Altona^{253a}, which have already been discussed, were real safe places for religious refugees.

The ancestry of many of those who fled to Holstein were Jülichers, like the Roosen family. Dr. R. Dollinger²⁵⁴ rightly emphasizes that the names of the Glückstadt Mennonites revealed their "Dutch-Frisian" character:

"We become acquainted in this connection with names such as Albrantz, Ariens, Clasen, Cornils, Hardelop, Jakobs, Janzen, Müllienz, Peters, Siletz; first names such as Clas, Dirk, Geerit, Jan, Jakob, Altje, Gritje, Martje, Trien, all thoroughly names of Dutch-Frisian character." The first Mennonites did not come to Hamburg-Altona from the Holstein communities, which had already come into being in the 1530s, but from the southern Netherlands in the course of this century²⁵⁵. Only those families who later came here via Holstein called the northern provinces of the Netherlands their home. These people turned to Hamburg because they were most likely to hope for prosperity in this well-known trading city. Thus, in 1575, we meet an Anabaptist de Voss family in Hamburg. By the way, Lübeck, Bremen, Rostock, Stralsund, Lüneburg and Hamburg had already issued a strict mandate against the reformers, the Sacramentarians and Anabaptists in 1535, in connection with the Münster events. In 1555 and 1560 this edict was renewed and tightened. By the way, it is remarkable that William of Orange interceded for these fugitives.

Roosen offers the names of the Mennonites who became known from the interrogations. Thus, we also find in Hamburg a Noe family who fled from Brabant. An important Mennonite preacher in Hamburg was Jakob Dorner²⁵⁶, whom Brockes celebrated in his songs.

The community maintained active relations with the Dutch Mennonites. According to their origin, these baptized refugees were Brabant and Flemish, as already stated. *But already the existence of a Frisian congregation in Eiderstedt and in Altona proves that the Three Frieslands also supplied refugees to this area treated by us. This is also proved by the different names.*

On the whole, the areas we have dealt with in this section have not been too favorable for the continued existence and further development of the immigrated Mennonite groups, because the physical dissolution of the communities was inevitable due to the long-standing ban on outside marriage.

After all, the statements by Dr. Crous, in his lecture cited above, what the baptized have been able to give for the freedom of conscience granted them.

For our special topic this short chapter is not a direct contribution. It is probable that among the ancestors of the Mennonites who emigrated to Russia there were also families who lived in the areas just discussed for a longer time, that during the migrations from the East Frisian area to Prussia (the Polish and the ducal) some Anabaptists families took their way there via Schleswig-Holstein, as we know from Menno's visit to Prussia.

The AMS [?] still had to atone for a gap in the research here. The suggestion of G. E. Reimer should have been carried out as soon as possible, that the investigations should include the name stocks of the northwest German (and Dutch) Mennonite communities^{256a}.

X. The emigration of Mennonites from Holland and Friesland to Prussia

We have clarified the ecclesiastical-political development especially in East Frisia above. We noted that Enno I († 1534) followed the policy of his father, so that East Frisia could continue to be praised as the asylum of the persecuted, hounded reformers. In the northern and southern provinces, their situation became increasingly more critical, which is why the flow of those fleeing to the east increasingly swelled. If East Frisia was not the destination for many, it was the corridor through which they passed in order to save their lives and establish a new existence in Schleswig-Holstein, in the German coastal cities, and in the Vistula and Nogat regions.

We have seen that Enno I, incited also by the Zwingli circle, actually distrusted the dissenting faith groups. His edict in 1530 that the Anabaptists had to leave East Frisia by Easter was, by the way, rooted in the events in Münster, as was the polemical point in the East Frisian municipal regulations, which were turned against the baptized, as well as the prohibition of adult baptism from 1535 to 1537. The denominational feuds that broke out in the communion disputes naturally also increased the nervousness. It was precisely because of them that Enno came up with the idea of a denominational synchronization. The multiple inhibitions of Melchior Hofmann and some other preachers also did not help to calm the tempers.

Enno's widow, Countess Anna of Oldenburg (1540-1562), was herself quite oriented towards a calm, just, mild church policy,

until the imperial court intervened and categorically prescribed a very sharp course against the reformers. The traditional ecclesiastical-political balance was now over. The countess, however, tried to remain somewhat fair to the previous methods by involving à Lasko, but we know that she finally had to sacrifice à Lasko as well. Already her mandate, which was also directed against the provincials, was a most embarrassing compromise. The way out, to use sharp language in the posters and to be lenient in practice, was not a way out. Menno saw this clearly, which is why he moved from Emden to Cologne. And his congregations unquestionably took note of this example of the preacher, and so in the 1540s, as shown in the Reichenberg Treaty of 1547, which will be assessed in greater detail, as well as the migrations of the Anabaptists to northern Germany show, these were the inevitable effects of this major political event. In the Groningen area, the needle always showed a few degrees higher anti-Anabaptist sentiment anyway; the event had to bear fruit there, too. We have already touched on the successive posters, but here once again special reference should be made to the edict against Menno personally from 1545, when the Countess Anna in her East Frisian municipal order still took every pains to keep the Mennonites and the Anabaptist fanatics apart. As Menno then moved further east, to Emden, so will have done many of his parishioners, for whom he was an authority in all his undertakings. That also in the actual Friesland (province of Friesland) around this critical time migrations of Anabaptists to the East (to Groningen, to East Friesland and even further) were triggered should be obvious without further ado. Thus, the 40s and 50s of the 16th century for the eastward migrations and eastward settlements aroused new inclinations and new readiness in the Frisian farmers and in the Flemish weavers.

And if we consider at the same time how Duke Albrecht of Brandenburg as well as the city councils of Danzig, Elbing, Graudenz and all the episcopal lords of the manor had plans to settle in the East during this period, it must be more and more obvious to us to assume that the above-mentioned years were the time of a more lively immigration of baptized people from Holland-Friesland to Old Prussia.

The mild East Frisian church policy, which had been practiced until the moment of the imperial intervention in the East Frisian baptismal behavior, will undoubtedly have had a positive influence on the Danzig settlement policy, since Danzig was informed about the events in the Dutch provinces, in Frisia, in Friesland Friesland and in East Friesland.

It is only to be remembered here that the council of Danzig in the year 1534, thus at the time of the Münster turmoil, to the authorities of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Veere, Enkhuizen had turned in writing and had asked them, the Dutch port cities to screen the emigrants strictly and to allow no restless elements to come to the northeast²⁵⁷.

The negotiations that led to the *Treaty of Reichenberg in 1547* undoubtedly took a long time and were begun at a time when the negotiator or negotiators could point to the reasonably good understanding between the baptized and the Dutch authorities, especially in East Frisia. We will see that the Treaty of Reichenberg contains a somewhat disguised *religious clause*, which suggests that the negotiations concluded in the treaty with the Frisian Philipp Edzema were conducted in a very friendly atmosphere.

Another proof is given here that around 1547 Anabaptists came to Danzig, quite openly, after previous negotiations with the Danzig Council and under the settlers' indication that they had nothing to do with the Münster or other fanatical, troublemaking sects. In the summer of 1582, the Mennonites in the Danzig or Stüblauer Werder addressed a supplementary letter to the Danzig Council, seriously pointing out that they had already been in the country for 30 years without having been harassed so far because of their faith, which they had freely and publicly confessed. They were not sectarians or rebels or Münsterites²⁵⁸.

From this submission it is clear that the Danzig Mennonites must have identified themselves ecclesiastically to the Danzig Council when they were appointed. Probably, they have already at that time declared themselves as "Mennonists", a designation that officially first appeared in East Frisia^{259 & 259a}. In any case, in the petition they call themselves Mennonites, with which the demarcation from the Münsterites, but also from the David Jorists and Batenburgers was clearly given. Thus, for the mentioned negotiations between the immigrants and the Danzig Council, was not the more favorable East Frisian political situation known to us the background?

In any case, from the above petition it is clear that among the immigrants in Old Prussia there were already Mennonites since the middle of the 16th century. This also flows from the following: Among the quiet baptized people in East Frisia, as has already been underlined, a great unrest took hold due to the imperial and count's decree.

The fact that Menno felt compelled to continue his teaching indicates the tense situation in which the East Frisian Mennonites found themselves at that time. It was obvious that a part of Menno's followers fled to where their teacher had gone. On the other hand, it was due to the character of the flight that these people virtually dispersed and tried to camouflage their exodus as much as possible, which had the consequence that the individual groups went their separate ways. It is quite inconceivable that these people, who were in a hurry to escape from East Frisia, would take the route via the above-mentioned Dutch port cities, since it was precisely from the Netherlands that the decrees came, which meant a complete catastrophe for their domestic, religious and professional lives. The only option was to flee to the neighboring areas of East Frisia on the Rhine and the nearest of the more distant areas in the East. Menno died at Wüstenfelde, a village west of Oldesloe. In Hamburg and Lübeck, where quite a number of Mennonites had settled, in Schleswig-Holstein and in West Prussia, as is well known, the Dutch language was used in the church services and survived into the 18th and in places even into the 19th century.

The life of the congregation was also shaped in the same way as in the Netherlands. Blaupot ten Cate²⁶⁰ rightly points out that the Anabaptist in the Dutch-Low German area formed a unified whole and influenced each other. The personal connections were more active than we imagine today. *Blood ties and above all the religious-moral community of destiny were involved.* We also know that Waldensians from Flanders went to Germany, and vice versa from Alsace to East Frisia. It is also important that Menno, who also went to Cologne, soon hurried to West Prussia and Livonia to found congregations everywhere. We have from him the well-known pastoral letter²⁶¹ written to the Mennonites in Prussia after his visitation and missionary journeys in the East in 1549. This missive is probably primarily addressed to the Danzig congregation, which had apparently recently come from East Frisia and had been under Menno's personal spiritual leadership and care there. Menno's visit to Prussia may also be regarded as indirect evidence that the Mennonites settled near Danzig in 1547 (see below!) came for the most part from East Frisia, whereby *a part* of them had lived temporarily as *refugees* in East Frisia, while the majority were probably *Groninger and East Frisians* by origin, as the names seem to reveal. We will return to this!

Felicia Szper²⁶² and others, for their part, have raised the question of *when* the first Dutch Mennonites came to Prussia. Szper has observed, and this should be anticipated here, quite correctly that the first stream of Dutch people who directed themselves to Prussia in the 16th century consisted mainly of Reformed (Sacramentarians). Among these immigrants until 1530 there may already have been some Anabaptists (not "Mennonites"). Later these arrived in increasing numbers until they outnumbered the sacramentarians and absorbed or displaced them. Szper was probably not yet aware of the 1547 Treaty of Reichenberg. She states in general terms that Anabaptists were undoubtedly to be found in Polish Prussia before 1572, but under the name "Anabaptists". However, she then goes back from 1572 to 1549, in which year Menno wrote that letter to Prussia. Felicia Szper believes that the congregations in Prussia that received Menno's letter in 1549 were the result of missionary activity in those areas *before* Menno, and that the addressees were primarily Mennonite refugees "from southern Germany, Switzerland, and Moravia," from which it follows, by the way, that the author does not, as it may sometimes seem, subscribe to the view that *all* West Prussian Mennonites were Dutch immigrants. However, Szper's conclusions regarding the recipients of the letter are only partially correct. It should be noted that the letter was addressed to *all* congregations in Prussia, and thus also to the Mennonite refugees just mentioned, as well as to groups or small groups that Menno may have organized. The letter is unquestionably addressed primarily to the congregation near Danzig, which was, by all accounts, of East Frisian origin in the narrower and broader sense, i.e., consisting of landed, East Frisian Anabaptists as well as refugees who had previously stayed *temporarily* in East Frisia.

We would thus have the following picture of the event under discussion:

The harsh political winds in East Frisia since 1544 drove many Mennonites from there, as of course did earlier revolutionary-revivalist Anabaptist elements who were related in one way or another to the events in Münster, and who, sobered by the outcome of the affair, had become quiet Anabaptists under Menno's pastoral influence. A part of these Mennonites scattered in the Lower Rhine and North German areas, of which we have already dealt, only to be united into regular congregations by Menno on his visitation journey from Emden via Cologne to Danzig. Shortly after 1547, a group of Mennonites also came to Danzig, where they were immediately visited by their former teacher and pastor. Menno used this

visit to Prussia to organize all the already existing Mennonite groups there as well. Except for the outskirts and suburbs of Danzig, he found his fellow believers near Elbing, in the upper Vistula lowlands and in East Prussia²⁶³. Thus, the beginnings of Mennonite *congregational life* in Prussia can be traced to Menno himself. His successor in Danzig was Dirk Philips, the most learned among the first Anabaptists. Following the visitation journey of their honored bishop, the Prussian congregations then received that pastoral letter of Menno. Thus we have here a closed chain of events. *Even more striking is a proof further down.*

We must now, however, consider the *final turn* in the present drama of emigration from East Frisia:

In 1549, a new edict against the Anabaptists appeared there, and in the period that followed, further measures were taken against them by the authorities, which is why, as Müller notes, the *influx* into East Frisia greatly diminished. This fact is also relevant to the solution of the question we are concerned with. The character of the Mennonites in East Frisia changed greatly under the influence of all these developments. The baptized people who *resided* there in Edzard II's and his brother John's time were naturally different people than those refugees who came today and left tomorrow. The edicts mentioned above resulted not only in the restriction of Mennonite immigration *to* East Frisia, but also in the increase of their emigration *from* East Frisia. According to the chronicle of the Orlofffeld community in Werder, which has been preserved to us in excerpts, lands were leased to Mennonites by Simon and Steffen Loysen (the tenant of Tiegenhof) in 1562. The names of the tenants point primarily to *East Friesland*, Groningen and Friesland and are common among Mennonites. It is obvious to see also in this large group (Transport) a transfer from East Friesland and the farthest surrounding area, whereby of course a clean separation of originally East Frisian families on the one hand and refugees on the other hand, who would have stayed there only *temporarily*, whose original homeland would have to be looked for in the Dutch provinces up to Flanders, in German districts or in Switzerland. This *cannot be carried out today because the necessary documents are not available*. However, we hope to make progress in this respect as well.

In connection with the Dutch struggle for freedom, the East Frisian Mennonites, both native inhabitants *and* refugees, now also came under severe pressure. Alba had already "*cast a covetous eye on Embden*"²⁶⁴. "*After the arrival of Alva [Alba] to land here*" became "*that are even more common*"²⁶⁵. As a result of the defeat of Louis of Nassau,

the brother of William of Orange, the reformers were very frightened, especially the Anabaptists, and they fled in panic eastwards²⁶⁶. By order on August 6, 1568, Edzard II confiscated all the belongings of the fugitives. This order expressly states that the "Anabaptists" had mostly become fugitives²⁶⁷. The order also expressly stipulates that "all" Anabaptists should be expelled from the city and county after their goods have been confiscated if they are not willing to do what other citizens do and perform. Half of the confiscated goods should go to the cities, but the other half should be "*appropriated and applied to our treasury*"²⁶⁸.

Here there is documentary evidence that the Mennonites left East Frisia "for the most part". On the other hand, Szper²⁶⁹ stated that the large number of refugees to Prussia since 1567 consisted mainly of Mennonites. By the way, in 1572 the name "Mennonite" officially appears in Prussia. It is more than likely that this name was brought by the immigrants from East Frisia, where it was already, as we have seen, officially used in 1544, perhaps even earlier. Menno's name had long been officially outlawed in Friesland proper and in Groningerland, and was therefore well known. In the above-mentioned supplementary letter of 1582 to the Danzig Council, the petitioners call themselves "mennonists" in contrast to the mocking name "Anabaptists" (the closer determination "mockingly" in the document is probably only to refer to "Anabaptists"²⁷⁰).

It seems that at that time the Mennonites were already in the process of displacing the Sacramentarians (Reformed) in Prussia and uniting all Anabaptists under one name, regardless of their geographical origin and special ecclesiastical attitude. If, by the way, some earlier unruly elements came to Prussia, they have obviously become purified members of the evangelical Mennonite congregations through the pastoral work of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips, which must be a credit and not a dishonor to them.

In this context, an extremely interesting event should be mentioned, which Müller²⁷¹ reports, and which represents convincing proof that East Frisia and Emden actually played a more prominent role in the migrations to Prussia. In February 1578, Edzard II was reported to have been told publicly from the pulpit in Emden that there would shortly be arriving,

a group of about one thousand Anabaptists. Edzard declared that it was his firm will not to tolerate this immigration under any pretext. These immigrants should not be allowed to settle in Emden. The magistrate should *send them home* immediately. In general, since 1562 the East Frisian county was conspicuously closed to immigration from the Netherlands. In East Frisia itself, the Mennonites were directly harassed under Edzard II. His last measure against them was dated August 13, 1582. The authorities could no longer tolerate that the condemned sects of the Anabaptists, the Mennonites are mentioned first, stayed away from worship and the sacraments. No houses or stores were to be rented to them. Anyone who separated from the church would forfeit his person and property to the count.

Under *Enno II* (1599-1625), the center of Mennonite life had already shifted from Emden to the north. This city was required on November 24, 1613, to present a directory of congregation members. In 1621 this regulation was repeated. This time the number of Mennonites was estimated at 400 persons. We recall the fact reported earlier that at the beginning of the Anabaptist movement $\frac{1}{3}$ of East Frisia was Anabaptist. And now only 400 persons in Norden! Where had the great masses of Anabaptists gone? No matter how many converts and martyrs and return migrants to the western provinces are reckoned with, *to make this gaping difference understandable, one must also reckon with a larger Mennonite eastern migration from East Frisia.* A decree of the next year (September 25, 1622) then declared these Christians to be completely without rights, i.e., outlawed²⁷².

Rudolf Christian ([reigned]1625-1628) was conversely a patron of the Mennonites, but after him the trouble started again. A promissory bill for a Mennonite loan of August 23, 1644 in the amount of 6,000 Reichsthaler has been preserved, which proves that the purse also had a vote in the church-political dealings.

The following is also quite interesting: On October 28 and November 5, 1544, the Mennonite preacher Jan Jacobs Vliedt in Emden wrote some letters to Countess Juliane, the wife of Ulrich II, which also prove that East Frisia at that time had imposed a kind of lock on Mennonites²⁷⁸. The letter writer regrets that the high poll taxes imposed on them kept many of their co-religionists, even wealthy ones, from settling in East Frisia, which resulted in great loss to the community.

It can be proved *that since the 60s of the 16th century the influx of Mennonites from the Netherlands to East Frisia stopped.* On the other hand we also know that after the end of the

persecutions 1572^{273a} and the introduction of religious freedom in the Netherlands by William of Orange, many Protestant refugees and, of course, also Anabaptists from East Frisia returned west to their former home. This fact also suggests the assumption that the starting area for the migrations to the Vistula region must have been predominantly East Frisia.

This is finally confirmed by the resolution of the Danzig guilds (the so-called "Third Order") of August 4, 1578, that the council "should take good care that the Anabaptists coming from *Friesland* (primarily East Friesland is meant, because it says further) and *Emden* to this place do not enter here, but are expelled from here"^{273b}. That Friesland here could mean predominantly East Friesland and Groningen is proven by Bl. ten Cate²⁷⁴, who points out that in the annals of Ottius for "East Friesland" also simply "Friesland" stands, when he talks about the fact that in 1525 from Germany and Switzerland many Doopsgezinden fled to Westphalia, Holland and *Friesland*.

The overall picture of the migrations from the Dutch-Low German area to the Vistula-Nogat region gained so far is to be further clarified by taking a closer look at the immigrations in the ducal and temporarily Polish areas and then subjecting Prussian Mennonite names to a further investigation, following our preliminary glosses on the individual names just offered.

XI. About the share of Dutch pioneer elements in the German settlement in the East

During the German settlement in the East, settler groups of very different ethnic origins were recruited and successfully resettled by agents of secular and ecclesiastical princes. Schumacher²⁷⁵ could speak of a "colonizing mosaic work" with regard to the origin of these pioneers in their colorful diversity. Since the days of the Reformation, the various ethnic origins of the colonists have been accompanied by their confessional diversity.

*The German colonization of Poland began in Silesia*²⁷⁶. Poland was the transit country for the German-Russian trade which has existed since the 10th century.

These commercial relationships led to Germans settling in Russian cities, especially in Kiev, which was then flourishing.

The Igor song recalls a German merchant colony in Kiev²⁷⁷. It was Kiev, which helped Henry II (1002-1024) against Boleslaw the Brave in the fight for the Lausitz²⁷⁸.

The settlement of Germans in *Silesia*²⁷⁹ had already begun further back under monastic leadership. In addition to the monasteries, the knightly orders (the Knights Templar, the Knights of St. John and the Teutonic Knights) also brought in colonists to cultivate the lands ceded to them, so that the number of peasant settlements swelled rapidly, which were supplemented and stabilized by the founding of towns on the basis of the Magdeburg municipal law.

Also Upper Silesia was affected, although not so strongly, by the German immigration. In the 13th century German towns and a lot of German-legal villages were established here²⁸⁰.

Since the middle of the 12th century the regions at the Elbe received such a population surplus by the immigration of Dutch settlers, mostly from *Flanders*, that an advance further to the east became inevitable.

We have a monograph by Richard Schröder²⁸¹ on the Dutch colonies in northern Germany. As early as 1106, Archbishop Frederick of Bremen and Hamburg had concluded a treaty with Dutchmen and leased them a piece of land on the right bank of the Weser, the boundaries of which were significantly expanded in the course of the 12th century. The success of this settlement had a stimulating effect and led to new settlements near Hamburg and Kiel, in Mecklenburg, in Schwerin, in Brandenburg. It is worth mentioning Henry the Lion and Albrecht the Bear, who were extremely energetic in their support of the eastern settlement, in which mainly *Westphalian*, Saxon, Flemish and Dutch peasants were brought in.

The example of Albrecht the Bear was followed by other secular and ecclesiastical princes in the colonization of the area extending east of Brandenburg, so that in the 12th century also the depopulated areas between the Elbe and the Oder were opened up by the mentioned peasant elements of different ethnic affiliation. Also in the 13th century the influx of peasant settlers from the Netherlands to the East did not stop, which became of far-reaching importance in terms of economic policy.

*The German settlement of Prussia*²⁸² was particularly active and successful. Around 1230, the German knights came into the country to forcibly convert the pagan Prussians to Christianity. Already in 1231 Thorn, in the next year Kulm was founded and then under the protection of the knights castles community after community. Because the first immigrants to these newly conquered regions came from areas where Magdeburg law applied, the judicial system in them was also handled according to this law.

Furthermore, Lübeck law was also applied. By 1410 Prussia already had 25 towns (Graudenz in 1291, Marienburg in 1276, Königsberg in 1253, Danzig in 1224 (already a German market town in 1178)), and in 1309 Marienburg Castle was built, the residence of the Master of the Order. The knights were followed by German peasants who settled the conquered land. The strongest foundation of German villages in Prussia was in the 14th century.

When the Mongols had devastated large parts of Poland, the Polish princes called German settlers into the country and allowed them to introduce the Magdeburg municipal law in the new town settlements.

The German settlement in Pomerania (Little Pomerania, region between the Vistula and Pomerania) took place somewhat differently than in the core Polish areas²⁸⁸.

Even before the German Order, there was a significant influx of German people here. The Order itself first settled only the area to the right of the Vistula.

Under Casimir the Great (1343) Poland concluded a treaty with the Order, according to which Pomerania finally passed into its possession, so that now the systematic settlement of the land left of the Vistula could begin.

The national resistance of the Poles against the colonization, which was carried out according to military-political principles, awoke. *The clergy turned already in 1248 on a synod against the influx of Germans*²⁸⁴. But sooner or later the Polish struggle had to be fought against the Order.

This led to the catastrophic defeat of the Order at Tannenberg (July 15, 1410).

In her work Szper²⁸⁵ has very satisfactorily described the development of the Teutonic Order after Tannenberg, as well as clarified the catastrophe itself from its internal causes.

The collapse at Tannenberg resulted in the Order's territory being overrun by Polish-Lithuanian troops. *The Prussian cities of Danzig, Elbing and Thorn voluntarily submitted to Polish rule even before peace was concluded, just as after them the nobility, the peasantry and the Hanseatic cities blatantly expressed their dissatisfaction with the Order.*

The Grand Master Heinrich von Plauen (since 1410) did not succeed in establishing a balance between the Order and these groups and in preventing the alliance of the nobility and the cities *against* the Order, which was not prepared to make any concessions. The cities expelled all the knights and offered themselves and the land to Casimir IV, who, according to a document of March 16, 1454, accepted the Prussians as his subjects. In 1466, after 13 years of war (1454-1466), the Peace of Thorn was signed, according to which only East Prussia remained to the Order, but under Polish feudal sovereignty. All the rest of the territory fell to Poland.

The territory of the Order had suffered deep wounds from the 13-year dispute. It was devastated and depopulated, as a large part of the peasants had taken refuge in quieter areas. A terrible burden of debts weighed down the Order's rule and ate away at the people's marrow. Towns and villages had to be mortgaged to meet all demands. The general lack of security, which Schumacher depicted, did not allow the citizens and peasants to breathe.

King Casimir tried to control the hopeless situation in the newly acquired territories energetically. Later it was said that he found a wooden Poland and left a stone one. The peasants were invited to return to their farms, with the promise of tax relief of all kinds.

That was when the so called "*Pfaffenkrieg*" broke out. The bishop and bishopric of Warmia, had fallen to Poland together with the bishopric of Culm in 1466, stood up against the Polish king, but had to capitulate. In 1498 *Frederick of Saxony* became Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. He refused to take the oath of fealty and in 1505 declared the Peace of Thorn invalid because it was in contradiction with the papal decrees and the rights of the Order.

The Polish kings tried to settle the matter amicably, but did not succeed. Thus, in 1519, the Polish-Prussian war broke out. On the side of the Grand Master stood Joachim of Brandenburg and Moscow. Nevertheless, Albrecht had to give in and agree to the Peace of Cracow in 1525. He concluded it as *Duke of East Prussia and swore an oath of fealty to the Polish king.*

From war to war, the country plunged deeper into calamity and misery. Wide stretches resembled a desert, e.g., Pommersania²⁸⁶ (= Prussian part of the country on the right bank of the Vistula, from Graudenz to Elbing). In addition, epidemics and famine raged among people and livestock. Albrecht's troops had been ravaging Polish Prussia and had burned and devastated everything. The suburbs of Danzig and Elbing had been shot to pieces and the trade of the cities had been severely shaken for years. Schumacher has shown how great the general insecurity was in the country.

After peace was concluded, however, the duke sought effective means to control this immense hardship. *The most important act was the start of systematic reconstruction*²⁸⁷.

We know in what a successful way the Prussian land had been cultivated by *German and Dutch settlers*. A large part of this cultural work had now been destroyed. It was necessary to restore large areas of the duchy, in the face of human emptiness, through new settlement work.

This renewed colonization of Prussia began under Albrecht of Brandenburg and reached its climax under King Frederick William I. Schumacher agrees that the colonizing achievements of Albrecht should be valued more highly than his political achievements. It is only regrettable that the source material on these events is so sparse.

At least it was possible to get a clearer picture of Albrecht's colonization activities. The duke was always informed about the progress of the settlements, he commented critically on the reports, gave advice, asked questions, visited the settlement areas, such as *Prussian Holland* several times²⁸⁸. Therefore, we are reasonably informed about his work.

The settlers poured in from everywhere: German, Dutch, Scottish, English, Bohemian, Polish.

Szper points out that the Order granted various lands according to *Flemish law*, besides the application of Magdeburg, Lübeck and Kulm law. This proves that among the settlers there were Dutch nuclei, which is indicated here and there by place names, e.g., "*Prussian Holland*", in the Duchy of East Prussia. In the first privilege of the town, its name is derived from the fact that the settlers *came from Holland*. *The relations between Prussia and the Netherlands have always been very lively. Dutch emigrants directed their steps to the East since the 12th century, about which, by the way, exaggerated ideas, concerning the extent of these movements, prevail. The Order settled its natural resources in the Netherlands, and its cities belonged to the Hansa. Only the northern Netherlands (especially Friesland, Holland, and Zeeland) traded actively with Prussia, the southern ones (especially Flanders and Brabant) consistently only passive trade*²⁸⁹.

Albrecht was primarily concerned with the reestablishment of the lowlands. He sent, as also with the settlement of the Cholmer and Ljubliner country²⁹⁰, agents out into all countries, tasked with recruiting farmers. They found a willing ear especially in the Lower Rhine because of the religious oppressions there. In addition, Albrecht himself had become a Protestant²⁹¹.

Prof. Dr. Walter *Kuhn* wrote in the Festgabe for Hermann Aubin in: "Geschichtliche Landeskunde und Universalgeschichte" [Historical regional studies and universal history] on December 2, 1950, "Die niederländisch-nordwestdeutschen Siedlungsbewegungen des 16. and 17. Jahrhunderts" [The Dutch-Northwest German Settlement Movements of the 16th and 17th Centuries.], in an excerpt from a larger work which is to appear soon. The basic features of the Dutch settlements of these centuries are shown in the essay.

The common feature of these ethnically diverse migratory groups was their origin in the regions around the North Sea, a core area that also led the way in Upper Sea settlement in the 17th century. Apart from the British basic class of the New England settlers and the French immigrants to French Canada,

the area around the southern North Sea and the English Channel became decisive for the development of the Western European overseas settler groups in the 17th century.

The *ethnic* diversity, which we also emphasized above, was contrasted with the *confessional* diversity. The reformers left their homeland in order to find in a new homeland, above all, freedom of faith and conscience. The special confessional life always outlasted any linguistic and economic harmonization, in which the minorities gradually merged into a given related majority.

If since 1400 the peasant eastern settlement of the Middle Ages was overlapped by the urban-industrial one, *after 1500, as we have seen, a new rural settlement activity began*. It served at first the reconstruction of destroyed areas and villages and therefore led to the most lively use of pioneers from the northwest, who were at a more mature stage of social and technical development.

Already in earlier centuries, Dutchmen had made themselves available with their knowledge of draining the river marshes on the lower Elbe and Weser. Flemish and Brabant farmers had transferred new settlement methods to large areas of the Lower and Middle German East. Craftsmen had transplanted their trades to German towns in the west and east. Thus there was an intimate colonizing interaction between Germans and Dutch. Other tribes and peoples of the old Netherlands joined with the Dutch, as did immigrants, refugees here, for whom the Netherlands was thus a stopover on their eastward journeys.

Kuhn very instructively highlights the special abilities and special achievements of these pioneers, including the Mennonites. We look forward to his larger work.

XII. The beginnings of Mennonite immigration to the Vistula estuary

With the available sources, it is unfortunately not possible to determine exactly when the first Anabaptists (not Mennonites, although this is also true of the latter) came to Polish Prussia and East Prussia.

Wedel^{291a} is correct that the Mennonites were more concerned with their religion than with their history.

On September 14, 1919, the Danzig Mennonite congregation celebrated the anniversary of its founding and its history. Using the files of the Danzig City Archives and the archives of his own congregation, Pastor H. G. Mannhardt wrote a history of the Danzig Mennonite congregation^{291aa} on this occasion, which is a noteworthy contribution to the history of the pioneers who came from the Lower Rhine to the Vistula region. Incidentally, H. G. Mannhardt complains about the lack of reliable information concerning the first beginnings of the old Prussian Mennonite congregations and especially also of the Danzig congregation. This information is so sparse because, as already pointed out by Reisswitz-Wadzeck, the Mennonites were country people who thought little of writing^{291aaa}, and because the records, which were still written, unfortunately became in many cases, prey of the flames. The houses of the colonists in the suburbs of Danzig were often burned down, as well as other apartments and stables on individual farms. *Unfortunately, the correspondence of the Danzig Aelteste with the foreign communities was also destroyed in this way.*

The Mennonite Aeltester Johann Barthel, Sosnowka (Schönsee) near Kulm wrote to the author on March 16, 1936:

"Now on my homestead in 1851, where the then Aeltester W. lived, all buildings were destroyed by fire. I assume, since only one copy of the aforementioned books (church books) is available, that the others were burned at that time. An irreplaceable loss!"

In the Danzig parish only the Aeltester Georg Hansen (since 1690 Aeltester) ensured a punctual registration of births and deaths etc., as he also kept a continuous parish chronicle, which, however, has been preserved only in excerpts from the pen of the Aeltester Hans v. Steen (1754-1781), from whom records and letters also existed. The congregation still possessed the minutes of the meetings of the church council, from the 19th century, because they considered it desirable to continue the congregational chronicle punctually.

"We also refer to what Karge reports about the archive of the Königsberg Mennonite congregations^{291b}. Aeltester Barthel, Schönsee, also gives more details about the *church books* in his and in the formerly independent neighboring congregation in the attracted letter:

"At that time there were 2 independent Mennonite communities in our area, the so-called larger (Frisian) and the smaller (Flemish) community. Both had their houses of worship in the parish of Schönsee (Sosnowka). The former was built in 1618, the latter later. Both parishes have church records: the former since 1773 (birth, death, baptism and marriage records), which are well kept except for the first 10-20 years, the latter has a church record from 1802, beginning in 1817 and continuing until 1. 10. 1849. In addition, the families who belonged to these parishes are listed in detail in this church record, *so that some family ancestors can be traced back to 1744*. Some of the families of the smaller parish were also listed in our lowlands, while some were listed in Przechowka and Konopat. In 1849 the small parish finally joined the larger one because of its small number of members, according to the transfer register there were still 39 souls, and both have formed one unit since then. The church building of the small congregation was turned into a hospital for old members who were unable to work. When in the year 1929 a house for the church service had to be built on our church square, the old church building was sold to Mr. Kliever, on whose land it stands."

This information, together with the preceding remarks, provides evidence of how, despite all the care taken in church record keeping, the preservation of the books left much to be desired.

Some church books were taken to Russia by the emigrants. Thus the parish "Alexanderwohl" in Kansas, USA, immigrated there from Molotschna and originally coming from Kleinsee (Przechowka), is in possession of a church book running from the year 1661 (!) [actually 1782].

From Heinrich Dorner [Donner], the Aeltester of the congregation in Orlofffelde (1792-1804) is found in the church book of this congregation a careful and conscientiously worked, handwritten chronicle^{291c}.

Deichrentmeister Gustav Schulz published in 1912 in the "Menn. Blättern" "Statistisches aus den westpreussischen Gemeinden"^{291d & 291e} [Statistics of the the West Prussian communities]. He gives an overview of the state of the source material in the West Prussian communities.

A) *The first baptized in Old Prussia* (Duchy of Prussia and West or Polish Prussia).

Brons²⁹² finds Anabaptist families in the city of Marienburg, the seat of the Knights of the Order, as early as 1526, as well as in its surroundings; so does A. Driedger²⁹³ in a personal letter to the author dated December 11, 1935. He refers to von Reisswitz²⁹⁴, who notes that after the establishment of

in 1526, the Catholic church at Marienburg had several *Anabaptists* (not "Mennonite" U.) families living in and near Marienburg, who, as only tolerated, not parishioners, had to pay certain taxes to the clergy together with the Catholic inhabitants of that parish. Brons is also based on Reisswitz. The fact that the Order's land was very tolerant can be seen from the early acceptance of the Hussites. However, we still have a very interesting documentary evidence for this.

Prof. L. Neubaur, Elbing published in 1912 in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, [Journal of Church History]^{294a} an essay "Mährenische Brüder in Elbing", [Moravian Brethren in Elbing], in which he proves on the basis of the Elbing minutes of the Elbing Council from the years 1604-1606 that in the vicinity of this city there were congregations coming from Moravia and living in community of goods, which probably confessed to Jakob Hüter [aka Hutter], but did not call themselves after him, but bore the name "Brethren from Moravia". They are first mentioned in the council minutes in 1604 (September 10 and 24). On October 7, there was an interrogation at which the Mennonite braid maker (Bortenmacher) Claus Philipp was also present, through whom the Moravians had had a petition for admission brought to the city. The Moravians were represented by Josephus Hauser and Darius Hein. This name still occurs among the Prussian and Russian Mennonites, probably they were originally Moravian bearers of this name, who then joined the Mennonites, with whom Hauser and Hein did not identify themselves during the interrogation, especially because of the differences in the question of community of property. The two Moravians say during the interrogation that they had learned that "in Prussia religion was free for everyone.

Albrecht of Brandenburg led the government as court master of the Teutonic Order, transformed the rest of the former order's land into a secular duchy, and opted for the Reformation in 1525.

He had the Lutheran Church established in his state, and East Prussia became the first country to be entirely constituted as Protestant. In temporary Polish Prussia, too, conditions were not exactly unfavorable for religious refugees, so that both Prussia - like East Frisia in the Dutch region, became an important refuge for persecuted and harassed innovators. However, in 1526 the Polish king had Danzig citizens executed who had been too zealous in their reformatory activities (Horst Penner^{294aa}).

When the persecutions in the Netherlands began under Charles V, many reformers fled to distant Prussia already before 1530, but especially since 1530. This escape of the reformers here found special opportunity in the strong shipping traffic between the Dutch ports and the East German coast, insofar as the refugees could find accommodation with their Danzig trading partners. However, the later refugee settlements in the suburbs of Danzig, the so-called "gardens", caused the greatest dissatisfaction of the Danzig guilds (trade envy). The burghers, however, gladly left the Danzig Werder as farmland to the arrivals. The bishop of Cujavia in turn,

who owned the lands near Danzig, knew how to play the settlers off against the city economically and against the Lutherans ecclesiastically. Thus a certain *religious tolerance* arose here, which, for example, as we have heard, the Bohemian-Moravian brothers also took advantage of by founding a hammer mill near Marienburg, which was called "Hammerstern" because it was only allowed to work at night. The rumor about the prevailing relative tolerance against the reformers spread very quickly both in Moravia and in the Netherlands, so that from both areas the flow of refugees to the Vistula region increasingly swelled, because this asylum seemed safer than any other. The Lutheran Church in East Prussia was, of course, very intolerant of dissent. It already fought the Reformed, how much more the followers of Schwenckfeldt and the Anabaptists! The duke had asked Luther himself about the immigrants. In 1532, Luther replied that the duke should "not suffer such people," otherwise he would "grievously weigh down his conscience. Closer contact with the foreigners, however, prompted Albrecht, also influenced by the councillor Friedrich von Heydeck to treat them favorably, despite the unwillingness of the clergy. He was even accused of attending the meetings of the sectarians. M. Christ Hartknoch, the author of the "Preussische Kirchen Historia" [Prussian Church History] (1686), also laments: "If the devil had not endeavored to send sacramenters (= Reformed U.) outside into the country, the Reformation would have made good progress." Paul Speratus and other theologians even confronted the immigrant heretics in 1531 at a disputation in the presence of the duke and v. Fleydeck, held at Rastenburg (a town in central East Prussia) on December 29 and 30 of that year, at which the refugees presented astute arguments, but which were claimed to have been easily refuted.

Friedrich von Heydeck had been in Silesia and after contact with Kaspar Schwenckfeldt, with whom the duke then also entered into correspondence, had brought clergymen of Schwenckfeldt's movement to the duchy. These Schwenckfeldtians were the "Anabaptists" against whom the attacks on the part of the Lutheran theologians went, and with whom the mentioned colloquium was organized, in which Schwenckfeldt participated. However, this disputation does not seem to have been directed against Anabaptists as such, since Speratus does not mention baptism at all in his introductory words. After all, it was said as early as 1531 that Anabaptists had come to East Prussia with the Sacramentians.

If there were really Anabaptists in East Prussia at that time, they were certainly not *Münster*, because we did not hear anything about their work in Old Prussia. Mannhardt^{294b}, who also sees the Anabaptists soon transplanted to Prussia, is of the opinion, however, that here in connection with

the Münster affair also Anabaptist fanatics must have come.

Until 1531 there is no trace of the *quiet* Anabaptists in Old Prussia, but it is not impossible that *some* of them came in the thirties with the "Sacramentians" to "Prussian Holland" (originally only "Holland") - that Dutch colony at Lake Drausen, which is still to be appreciated by us. In 1536, this settlement complained to the duke's chancellery that "some" persons had crept in who did not baptize their children. Already the year before, Albrecht (edict of Oct. 23, 1535) had seen fit to intervene against these "fanatics" according to the pattern of the well-known Dutch posters and threatened them with the strictest punishments to body and soul. And still earlier (1534) the bishop Speratus had circulated a writing against them^{294c}.

According to Horst Penner's lecture of 1949, the first Anabaptist emissaries arrived in Prussia in 1531, after Albrecht of Hohenzollern had already secularized the eastern part of the former Order land, i.e., turned it into a secular duchy of East Prussia and constituted it Protestant, with the Lutheran Church as the state church. In Prussia in that year, *Oswald Glait* (see Menn. Lexikon), who came from Cham in the Bavarian Upper Palatinate, appeared with like-minded people in order to gain a foothold there. But already in 1532 the duke ordered their expulsion on Luther's already mentioned advice. According to Prof. J. Loserth, the outstanding expert on Austrian Anabaptist history and the author of the encyclopedia article on Glait, this Sabbatarian, although according to the testimony of Schwenckfeld and Hubmaier a man of the purest, admittedly legal piety, was not an Anabaptist.

H. Penner reminds in his lecture and in his article "East Prussia" (M. L.) that in the spring of the year 1535 a procession of *Moravian Anabaptists*, 60 land owners with women, children and servants (articles "Ascherham" and "Gabrieler" in the M. L.), expelled from their previous refuge, came via Thorn and Graudenz to Marienwerder.

After a disputation had proven their "false doctrine", they were also expelled from the country. Some of them, however, remained in the country, protected by the influential Baron von Heydeck.

It should be noted that Hartknoch^{294d} in his Prussian Church History has Anabaptists coming to Prussia around 1531. It concerns the already mentioned group of Silesians. The church historian has set the time of the *Dutch* immigration according to Schumacher quite correctly, without being able to give however clear information about kind and way, place and duration of this colonization. The findings of other researchers are based on Hartknoch.

Only Cosack^{294e} in his monograph on Paul Speratus brought the Dutch immigration to Prussia in connection with the *Dutch party at the court of Albrecht* (article "Ostpreussen" in the Menn. Lex.). Schumacher judges: "We are well informed about the Dutch at Duke Albrecht's court, but all the more scanty about the other Dutch settlers in town and country." He is also right (p. 157) that in Prussia hardly any Münster extremists were found among the Dutch baptized. With the exception of a small minority, the people of Westphalia and Friesland were completely cured of the Münster affair. Menno was able to lead them fully to evangelical sobriety and to a regulated church life. As long as this had not happened, these elements could not be counted among the "Mennonites" either. Schumacher says (p. 160): To declare the Dutch Anabaptist, who we met in Prussia before this time, as Mennonites, lacks any documentary evidence.

Of course, it is possible that one or the other fugitive Anabaptist found his way to "Prussian Holland". It cannot be a question of "Mennonites", because Menno Simons left his mother church only in 1536 and only gradually developed his influence.

All information from the early period of Prussian Anabaptism is more or less uncertain. We only stand on solid ground with the ducal decision of February 13, 1543 to the Dutch.

It is clear from the above *that there were relations between Moravia and the Prussian lands*. Not only since the beginning of the 17th century, but already in the 16th century. Also, Hartknoch, as noted, says that in 1531 Moravian Anabaptists come from Silesia to Prussia.

Horst Penner wrote the article "East Prussia"²⁹⁵ for the "Mennonitisches Lexikon" in 1949. In it he also interwove the topic: Moravian Anabaptists in Prussia. I offer here from the original of my monograph an own representation, by registering Dr. Penner's additions from his younger essay. One can see from this how fruitful such academic cooperation is.

In the above-mentioned essay by Neubaur on the Moravian Brethren in Elbing, it is reported that the previously mentioned Josephus Hauser and Darius Hein reported, when they were interrogated with the minister Claus Philipp on October 7, 1604, that "by order of their brethren and elders of the previous year" they were to make inquiries in Danzig, Elbing and other places in Prussia, whether they could find a place of residence for their fellow believers. They returned to Moravia and reported "what they had found in the matter of this place. Thereupon, "the brothers had sent them back to Moravia this previous year, so that they could inquire more thoroughly about all matters. "Even if not for the purpose of their trades (which the guilds of the city would not allow)," they asked that they be allowed to "rent or buy houses or pallets for the purpose of farming the land. *In Moravia they had already lived for 80 years, after they had to flee from Switzerland via Tyrol to escape persecution.* On October 11, 1604, Darius Hein and the tailor Christoph Stoltz were told that they could live on

they could not count on the toleration or protection of the city of Elbing. The Mennonite Claus Philipp, who was also present, was strictly forbidden to harbor them. Then, on October 16, the Moravian deputies submitted a written petition to the council, which came up for discussion on October 18. The petition contained an attack on the Mennonites, *who had distanced themselves from them* because they, the Moravians, could not yield to them "in merchandising, pensions and usury and their disorderly child rearing".

The events in Münster also changed the situation of the Anabaptists in Moravia, insofar as their expulsion took place. The persecuted returned individually and in groups to the countries from which they had come. The Gabrielians²⁹⁶ moved to *Silesia, Poland and Prussia*. This was the name of Gabriel Ascherham's followers (a special group of Moravian Anabaptists in the period since 1527). Ascherham's followers were mostly Silesians (from Glogau, Liegnitz, Schweidnitz and the county of Glatz).

However, the community received influxes from Swabia, Hesse and the Palatinate. Their second leader was Philipp Plenen. The Gabrielians and Philippians had moved to Moravia and had joined the followers of Jakob Hüter there. However, divisions soon arose because the refugees who had flocked to Moravia (from Switzerland, southern Germany, Tyrol, Austria, Silesia and other countries) were strongly divided in origin and also in their individual views. Hans Hut²⁹⁷ and Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier²⁹⁸ came theologically from different worlds, and all religious discussions could not bridge the existing differences and antagonisms. The Diet exploited these internal fermentations in the Anabaptist congregations and decreed their expulsion (around 1530!). The already mentioned Münster affair further aggravated the already catastrophic situation (footnotes^{299-301c}).

It will therefore be quite true that around 1531 Anabaptists came to Prussia via Silesia. But these were not "Mennonites", who did not even exist as "Mennonites" at that time. They were Moravians and probably those from the left wing (Gabrieler, followers of Hubmaier), who were more able to find their way in Prussia than the more exclusive Hutterites, whom Elbing rejected in 1604, as we heard.

The Anabaptists mentioned by Hartknoch, who came to Prussia (1531), will have been Moravians, who were later absorbed by the Mennonites, as we have already established with the bearers of the name "Hein". Neubauer also concludes his remarks with the words, "In any case, in the subsequent period they (the Moravian Anabaptists) were absorbed into the Mennonites."

For the sake of full clarity, the Mennonite line must be definitely distinguished from the general Anabaptist line, not to mention the enthusiastic one. Schumacher proceeds in the same way with the Reformed line when he says: "The Dutch settlers and Duke Albrecht have nothing whatsoever to do with the later and present Reformed Church in Prussia."

Horst Penner: While Polish Prussia, southeast of Elbing, did not initially offer refugees shelter, the first Dutchmen were settled in the duchy's western tip as early as 1527. The desolate villages of Bardeyn, Thierbach, Schmauch, Liebenau, Plehmen and Robitten with an area of 3400 ha [hectares] were made available to them for settlement. "At first there are no Anabaptists streaming into the country here, but 15 years later these lands have been taken over in the course of the religious

development almost exclusively occupied by Anabaptists". Penner calls "Prussian Holland" the nucleus of the entire Mennonite settlement in Prussia. Until the beginning of the 1530s the immigrants belong almost without exception (unavailable to me U.) to the so-called Sacramentarians, who in their doctrine of the Lord's Supper deviate from the Lutheran view. Since the middle of the thirties, after the appearance of Melchior Hofmann in the Netherlands, the Reformation development among the Dutch in Prussia has been moving increasingly in the Lutheran direction. The evidence that Penner's essay offers is valuable.

In essence, our two accounts are the same. Here are some points, about which only the later research will have to speak the very *last word*:

- a) Unruh and Penner agree that Prussian Holland was originally a Dutch, even in the narrower sense Dutch settlement. This judgment has been substantiated in detail by Unruh. Already the founding charter mentions that it was named after Dutch settlers. Since 1527 there was again an immigration from the Netherlands, first to Bardeyn (M.L.).
- b) Prussian Holland was not originally an Anabaptist settlement or even a Mennonite settlement. Menno Simons did not publicly join the Anabaptists until 10 years after this settlement was established. The original settlers were sacramentarians (Reformed). Anabaptists received a charter for the village of Schönberg (and further Judendorf) on February 1, 1539. Schumaker p. 184. The church visitation in 1542/1543 drove out most of them, the rest allowed themselves to be brought into line.
- c) It is possible and even probable that one or the other fugitive Anabaptist found his way into the settlement early on. As late as November 1536, the settlers complained in a letter to the duke that "recently" "some" Anabaptists had mingled with them. Claas Dirickss is expelled in this year for refusing infant baptism. In 1536 Polyphemus informed the settlers that "Princely Grace will tolerate the Anabaptists", but only on condition that they have their children baptized and do not incite a riot. In 1543, the mayor of Schönberg was ordered to make sure that every newborn child was baptized. According to the edict of 1559 the tenants have to identify themselves to the church. Around this time they were already Mennonites. The peasants were allowed to choose their own schoolmaster and clergyman. The latter had to be confirmed by the duke, the latter by the bishop of Pomesania.

In our opinion, it is clear from this point of the contract that the contracting parties were not Anabaptists or Mennonites, but Reformed.

The writing of Bishop Speratus had the subtitle: "Ad Beigas in Prussia errantes Sacramentarios". The contract clause that in case of war the colonists *had to serve in arms* also points to non-Anabaptists. Horst Penner points out, however, that in the treaty of Feb. 1, 1539, which deals with a second territory 10 km north of Prussian Holland, there is no mention of war service (in contrast to the treaties with the Sacramentarian Dutch of 1527 and 1529). In the 1539 treaty, as was always the case in all Mennonite settlement treaties, each individual farm owner is listed by name. *Thus, we actually have here a shift of settlement to the Anabaptist-Mennonite stage.*

How many settlers came to be settled in Pr. Holland [Prussian Holland] at that time cannot be determined. But it is certain that this Dutch settlement ended as a complete *fasco*. These settlers, small Dutch cattle farmers, lacked all experience to cultivate the high, dry ground, they simply ran away and had to be replaced by more suitable Polish and German farmers. Of the land area made available to the immigrants, they occupied only a little more than $\frac{1}{5}$. Also very unfavorable was the continuous change of the settler population by inflow and outflow. The recruiters had not brought the agreed 100 families, but not much more than 20 (about 100 people)^{301d}. The contracting party, for its part, did not keep its promises either. The duke's displeasure grew greater because the other settlements in these areas were making good progress every day, which gave the ducal plenipotentiary the opportunity to play off the Polish settlers against the Dutch, and to place Polish colonists in the villages not yet settled by the Dutch without further ado, thus pronouncing a public economic and social judgment on the foreigners. In addition to this, the Bishop of Pomesania made an ecclesiastical-political move against the Reformed settlers and crushed their ecclesiastical independence. As early as 1529 they were examined with regard to their genuine Lutheranism. Speratus was able to assert that the clergyman elected according to the treaty had to be confirmed by him. In 1534 he lashed out against the strangers with the writing "Ad Batavos vagantes"^{301c}. From the fuller title "Ad Beigas in Prussia errantes Sacramentarios" it becomes completely clear that we have here the Reformed, with "sacramenters", whom the bishop calls "Belgians", a proof for the fact that they came from areas", which were at least in the proximity of the Belgian border. In this episcopal action we must see, note the date (!), an effect of the events in Münster. The duke, like Landgrave Philip of Hesse, was actually tolerant, since he was under the influence of Frederick of Heydeck^{301f}, who brought Anabaptists from Silesia to Prussia. Albrecht did not approve of treaty violations per se. He also evaluated the colonization work primarily from the economic point of view, not unilaterally from the church-political point of view. Only in later times (v. Heydeck died in 1536) he came more and more under one-sided confessional influences. The decrees of May 18 and November 9, 1536 to the Dutch at Bardeyn^{301g} emphasized both the economic and the ecclesiastical point of view. The lack of occupation of the prescribed villages and the violation of the ecclesiastical order caused the lordship, for its part, not to consider itself bound by the privileges.

How critical one spoke at that time in the public of the "Dutchmen", is evident from the fact that in a petition the Dutchmen objected to being called Dutchmen^{301h,i}.

And yet, the influx from the Netherlands did not stop during these years, despite the epidemics and the flight from the land of the colonists who had already been settled, despite their grumbling and complaints. In Königsberg there were new negotiations about new influx of Dutch settlers, and on February 1, 1539 again some villages were given to them³⁰⁸.

At the beginning of the 40's the Dutch immigration flow swelled noticeably, so that despite the plague-like sweating disease also the old settlement was fully occupied. The newly occupied village of Schönberg also developed quite well. It might have turned out well with the whole enterprise, if Speratus had kept quiet! After 1536, the Dutch had issued a rebuttal against the bishop, in which he believed to have discovered Anabaptist tendencies. At his instigation in the same year (1536) a Dutch group that wanted to settle in the Pr. Holland was even rejected. Gerard von Wormer tried in vain to bring in another 200 Dutch families. In the broader public, however, exaggerated rumors about the Dutch immigration to East Prussia circulated. Thus, the Strasbourg reformer Bucer wrote to a friend on August 14, 1530, that 4000 heads had already come to Prussia, sacramentalists who taught the "manducatio spiritualis" (the spiritual enjoyment of the Lord's Supper)³⁰³. Not so many refugees came to the ducal Prussia, which we are talking about now, around 1530, the main mass turned to the Polish Prussia.

At the energetic instigation of the bishop, a church visitation took place, which found that the settlers did not share the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. On April 16, 1543, a larger part of the peasants left Pr. Holland to go to Polish Prussia (to Danzig and Ellerwald). The rest was absorbed by the other farmers^{303a}.

The Duke's expulsion order was also extended to the *Dutch near Königsberg*, who belonged to the same religious group. By the way, they were not settlers, but "Lieger", who did seasonal business and returned home at the end of the shipping season. Other Dutchmen settled in the city as merchants, which was not appreciated by the locals. However, because of the existing trade relations with the Netherlands, the duke ordered the foreign merchants not to give any reason for complaints. Finally, there were actual colonists (tradesmen and craftsmen) in Königsberg, but the guilds barred them from settling in the city, so they had to live in the suburbs.

That the Dutch element, however, always continued to move in, was due to the influence of the Dutch party at the ducal court, especially the librarian Polyphemus, whom the duke knew how to use again and again for diplomatic services in the Netherlands, an influence that was then, however, broken^{303b}. In 1543, the group of settlers near Königsberg was also interrogated, with the same result as in Pr. Holland.

The year 1543 can be seen at all as a turning point in the history of the two Dutch settlements in East Prussia^{303c}. The duke became more and more suspicious of everything that bore the name "Hollander", "Niederländer" or "Friesländer", which is clear from his decrees. The tensions between the parties became greater and greater, so that the failure of this part of the colonizing program was inevitable.

Nevertheless, even after this outcome, we find Dutch settlers in East Prussia in Pr. Holland and near Königsberg. This can only be explained by the increased immigration of religious refugees in the years after 1540 in connection with the increased religious persecutions, which in turn were a direct effect of the Münster affair. *In 1536, a new contract was concluded with the Dutchman Johannes van Zoolen, which already contained some privileges regarding military service.* In this clause of the contract, therefore, the Anabaptists clearly come into view. But because of the hostile attitude of the clergy, the settlers sought accommodation in Polish Prussia. A bad church policy thus spoiled a good state policy,

destroyed all the best state-political plans and measures. Duke Albrecht took part in the theological quarrels of the Königsberg University. He became more and more a pawn in the hands of spiritual advisors. On the other hand, he was again concerned about the colonization of the country. One cannot spare him the reproach that he did not remain faithful to the statesman in himself by starting to enter into church politics.

The question is whether Mennonites were among the immigrants on the basis of these treaties of the 50s (1558). Considering how slowly negotiations progressed, how vigilant the clergy were, how Albrecht was afraid of the Dutch as Anabaptists and sacramentarians, it is inconceivable that a treaty could have been concluded with the Anabaptists as such already at that time on East Prussian territory. Every treaty contained the church clause, all expulsions that had occurred so far had been made for church-political reasons, namely on sacramentans who still had their children baptized, which the Anabaptists did not do.

If in 1558 an agreement with the duke was reached, it was without question only with a Dutch group of settlers who were at least normally correct in their thinking regarding infant baptism in the sense of the Prussian church order. People who did not bring their children to baptism must have seemed unacceptable under the bishop's staff of Speratus. However, one thing is conceivable: The duke, for reasons of economic policy, under the influence of a Funk and a von Zehmen^{303d}, as well as determined by the flourishing of Dutch settlements in Polish circles, determined also by a reformatory attitude, looked through the fingers of the Dutch reformers, and these obtained some contractual safeguards. However, when it came to examinations of faith again^{303e}, they left without further ado and moved to Polish Prussia. Other negotiations broke down, and Johann Solius could not fulfill the obligations assumed in the contract. The governor received an order to occupy the estates with "German people"^{303f}.

Where had the settlers in Prussian Holland come from?

They are consistently called "Hollanders" and also sign as such^{303g}. Regarding the origin of the Mennonites in Prussia, it is often pointed out that they are called "Dutchmen" in all documents of the 16th century. But this does not *in itself* testify to the Dutch origin of these colonists. It is a fact that during the German settlement in the East and especially also during the colonization of Poland, besides the other Low German and also Upper German people, numerous Dutch farmers, breeders of cattle, craftsmen and merchants were employed, that they, who had an excellent colonizing reputation, played a highly significant role in the settlement in the East (the Dutch settlements under Albrecht of Brandenburg were only poorly organized). On the other hand, it can be proved that whole original German settlements were called "Dutch" by the Poles.

Here the designations "Holländer", "Holländereien" were colonial collective designations.

In the book by Dr. Lück^{304-304a} we read about this:

"However, Germans from the Brandenburg-Prussian areas also settled in Polish swamp areas, *whom the Polish people also called "holedry", although they were not Dutchmen.*" For example, the colonists in Neudorf-Neubrau on the Bug River (south of Brest)³⁰⁵, also called "holedry," immigrated from Pomerania.

In "Jahrbuch für auslanddeutsche Sippenkunde" [Yearbook for foreign German kinship studies]³⁰⁶ in the essay "Baltische Einwanderer", [Baltic immigrants] is stated: "In general, the linguistic usage here (in Estonia) includes persons of very different national origin, even Englishmen and Frenchmen, under the collective name of Germans."

Here it is to be noted that the designation "Dutchman" was not a suitable understanding.

We have several works from the pen of Dr. *Reinhold Heuer*³⁰⁷ that shed much light on our question. It is here the place to consider these investigations more near.

From his first writing about his and his wife's ancestors, mentioned in the footnote, it is only briefly stated here that according to him often no names were entered in the church books, but for example only: "a Dutchman (= farmer) from Nieschefke", "a day laborer", a "soldier". Heuer rightly judges that here the farmer actually appears as a *person* without history, not as a personality, but as "a supplier of cabbage and grain"³⁰⁸. *It is interesting that in the areas in question "Holländer" and "farmer" were virtually synonymous terms.*

Heuer has set himself the task to offer a contribution to the cultural history of the villages in the Vistula lowlands, in the area around Thorn.

He is dealing with the Duchy of Kujawy (the entire left bank of the Vistula in the area under discussion belonged to it). *And now he states that "numerous villages" in Kujawy are of "German origin",*³⁰⁹ although of course they are also spoken of as of Dutch villages and of its farmers as of Dutchmen.

All villages around Thorn belong to the so-called Dutch villages, which were newly established since the 2nd half of the 16th century on the place of old, half or completely devastated villages, on the basis of hereditary leases. The settlers were exclusively of German origin! Heuer notes expressly that Dutchmen were "among them", e.g., in Obernessau in far predominant number, in some villages only few or none. Further Heuer judges that one could "call" these descendants of real Dutchmen, who were "among" the original *German settlers*, at that time, when Holland still belonged to the German empire, with justification Low Germans³¹⁰.

The Heuers had come to Nessau from East Prussia. "Also the majority of the remaining "Holländer" of the Tnorner area immigrated from Ostpommern"³¹¹.

These people were called everyday Dutchmen, written to them and also about them as such, and they were nevertheless not real Dutchmen and had never been such. *The dialect of the people betrays this clearly.* It prevails even in the German villages of the Warsaw area and represents a uniform *Low German dialect*.

It shows strong influence of the Low German (Plattdeutsch) of Hinterpommern and South Pomerania. Linguistically the Kulmerland belongs to the Pomeranian³¹².

*Of striking importance for our topic is Hauer's essay "Die Holländerdörfer in der Weichselniederung bei Thorn"*³¹³ [The Dutch villages in the Vistula lowlands near Thorn].

Heuer also underlines the great importance of the Dutch colonists to the German settlement in the East, as early as in the Middle Ages, one thinks especially of "the Fläming" in the Mark Brandenburg, then in the 16th century. The settlers did not focus mainly on agriculture, but on meadow cultivation, cattle breeding and dairy farming.

In cattle breeding they were the greatest masters. That is why the city fathers of Thorn, the starosts, the big landowners called these people to their estates.

However, not only Dutchmen were called to the country. Heuer points to the strong ethnic mixtures of the settler groups that migrated to Prussia, with reference to Erich Schmidt³¹⁴, who reports about uncounted groups of German settlers, who also moved across the border to Poland after the 16th century, which urgently needed foreign labor and was also a haven of religious toleration³¹⁵.

In this context, however, the author now gives a most creditable explanation of the colonizing terms "Holländer" [Dutchman] and "Holländereien" [Dutch farms] (later, when the processes were no longer known, one also said "Hauländereien")^{315a}. The Dutch elements were so strongly represented in the eastern settlement, namely in the first time, "that after them the villages were just called 'Dutch' and finally all farmers in the lowland villages of Germans and Poles were called Dutchmen"^{315b}. There has been almost no so-called "Dutchman village", in which *only* Dutchmen would have lived. Heuer contributes much interesting material for this. Some lease contracts (Handfesten) and village constitutions (so-called "Willküren" from "kiesen" = choose, decide, resolve) have been signed by the settler representatives for Dutch estates, whereby the names by no means always carry Dutch character".

Heuer offers us the key for this in terms of sources. What others and the author felt compelled to establish by way of conclusions, he *proves*. It turns out the following: Quite apart from the origin of the settlers, which one called throughout "Dutchmen", the expression "Dutchman village" *designates only one since the middle of the 16th century in the Vistula region " according to certain new principles was taken into construction and administered from the middle of the 16th century"*^{315c}. It concerns a new, in the second half of the 16th century arrived *village system* of the long-term hereditary lease and self-administration^{315d}. It was called "Dutch" after the Dutchmen, with whom it held its entrance in the Vistula lowland. In Canada one spoke since 1923 of "Mennonite terms", under which nevertheless also non-Mennonites could buy property. Thus in Prussia one spoke of " Dutch wisdom and usage"^{315c}. In the eastern settlement, the Magdeburg and Lübeck laws were known, as well as a Dutch system.

The author of this meritorious contribution emphasizes both: the Dutch came to Prussia in large numbers and also the Low Germans, especially from Pomerania. And these Germans were settled in the villages of the lowlands according to the system that had proved successful in the settlement of the Dutch.

Dr. Heuer compares the *Dutch villages* with the *hereditary villages* founded up to the middle of the 16th century. In these, an entrepreneur (called a locator) who recruits settlers throughout Germany becomes mayor (Schulze) of the village with an *ownership share* in the land leased to the village on a long-term basis. He is also a farmer, except that he does not have to pay rent. The characteristics of the Erbschulzendorfer [villages with hereditary mayors] founded according to "German law" were, moreover, the hereditary possession against moderate interest (for the hereditary mayor without any interest), the personal freedom and the freedom from servitude for the landlord.

In the "*Holländereien*", of which there were about 400 around 1772, the possible mediator played no further role. Elected representatives of the "Nachbarschaft" (the community, the village) concluded a hereditary contract with the landlord. The tenant could transfer his lease to another, but only to a "German, who follows Dutch wisdom and usage,

i.e., thus, the village protected itself from fragmentation. In the event of death, the leasehold passed to the eldest son. Other details are left out! The oldest example of a Dutch will is from the village of Neu-Schlingen (Schiino), after which the wills of other lowland villages in the Thorner area were drawn up. The Thorn copy of the Neu-Schlinger charter is written in *High German*, although Low German words are occasionally found (e.g., Struck = strauch [shrub], durchkrupen [crawl/creep through], etc.), a superfluous proof of the fact that Low-Germans already lived in the Holländereien at the time of their emergence. The main difference between the Erbschulzendorf and the Dutch village was that the monarchical principle of hereditary leadership prevailed in the former, but the republican principle of annual leader elections prevailed in the latter. Erich Schmidt concludes^{315d,e,f}. "The whole system in the Dutch village breathes that genuine Dutch-republican spirit that this people often so brilliantly demonstrated in their struggles for independence." A Polish historian (Baranowski) also emphasized the sense of freedom in these Dutch villages, which was undoubtedly rooted in their Protestant spirit, of course also in Frisian traditions.

One case clearly shows how important it is to make a clear distinction here. In the 18th century under Frederick the Great, a small Mennonite settlement arose in the Netzebruch, of which will be dealt with below. In the Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark - "Die Neumark"³¹⁸ (Landsberg) was for a long time untraceable, but then in the Driesener archive record of the construction director of the melioration works L. F. Hahn from the year 1780(!) printed verbatim about the fortification and reclamation of the Netzebruch. In the memorandum Hahn speaks several times of "Dutchmen". He distinguishes the "old Netzebrücher Dutchmen" who had already settled in this area in the 17th century from the newer settlers of the Count von Brenkenhoff, he was entrusted by the king with the reclamation of the Netze, and Warthebruch, to which also the Mennonites in the villages Brenkenhoffswalde, Franztal and Neu-Dessau belonged.

Hahn does not give any further information about who these "old Netzebruch Dutchmen" were. But now U. found in the Franzthal school, thanks to the kindness of the teacher there, a note about the foundation of the *village* Netzebruch (near Franzthal). On September 8, 1929, the 200th anniversary of the consecration of the Lutheran church in Netzebruch was celebrated. The small commemorative publication reports that this place had already been founded in 1606 (!). From the founding document, which was signed in Cologne on the Spree on the Tuesday before Pentecost 1606 by the Elector Joachim Friedrich, it is clear that the inhabitants came from the village of *Westphalen*, "situated in the Crown of Poland", i.e., from the area near Graudenz-Schwet.

We already know that all peasants in the lowland villages were called Dutchmen by Germans and Poles. According to Heuer, there has been almost no "Holländerdorf" where only Dutchmen lived. The expression "Holländerei" describes since the middle of the 16th Century in the Vistula country a settlement taken and administered after certain new principles in development³¹⁷, a *village system* of the long-term hereditary lease and self-administration. It was called Dutch after the Dutch, with whom it made its entry into the Vistula lowlands.

Westphalen, its inhabitants had come "from the west of our fatherland" (Westphalen), as the Netzebrücher Festschrift also explicitly notes, was also a Dutch village "*in this colonizing sense*". Its inhabitants had migrated from the Rhine area to Poland and went to the Neumark at the beginning of the 17th century for religious reasons.

In the mentioned founding document of the colony Netzebruch the Dutch settlement system is explicitly agreed upon ("to be made into arable land after the Dutch manner"). It is also clearly stated that the settlers were *Lutherans*, who had agreed "*to be protected in the right evangelical religion, according to the Augsburg Confession*".

Of course, this must be strongly emphasized once again, also numerous actual Dutchmen or Dutchwomen came to Old Prussia and to other colonial areas. The great settlement work in the East was carried out by Dutch, Low German and High German colonists together. Different colonization systems were used. See the expressions "Flemish law", "Dutch law", "German law", "Lübeck law", "Magdeburg law", "Culm law" and so on. It is quite wrong to want to solve questions of origin from the outset on the basis of such designations. Often enough Dutchmen participated in settlements under German law and in so-called "Holländereien" there were often no Dutchmen.

We now come back to Prussian Holland and want to anticipate the result of our investigation to be carried out here: The settlers in Prussian Holland were without any doubt Dutchmen and for the most part descendants from the province of Holland.

If they called themselves Dutchmen, wrote and were also called so, then this designation is to be taken here not only in the above mentioned colonizing, but in the actual sense. Our analysis of the list of settlers of Pr. Holland (Prussian Holland) and Königsberg offered by Schumacher below *will show us that we are dealing with Reformed people mainly from the county of Holland, while only a smaller part came from other provinces.* All the more striking must be the above-mentioned protest of some Dutch against the collective designation "Dutch", which circulated in the vernacular relatively early. There is no doubt that those who protested here had a pronounced ethnic *consciousness*, which was perhaps also directed against the political aspirations of the Dutch counts.

It should be pointed out once again that an edict of Duke Albrecht occasionally speaks of "Nieder, Fries, and Holländer" (see below!), a proof that a collective designation, compare also the "Belgians" of Speratus, had not yet generally caught on at that time.

If one wanted to insist that "Holland" always meant only the *county* or only the *state* of Holland, and the "Hollanders" descendants from these areas, then one would be deliberately overlooking tangible facts! *One must examine with the nomenclature in question in each case whether the term "Holländer" in the narrowest, as in Johann van Zoolen's supplication to Eck von Reppichau³¹⁸, or in the broadest sense to the application came (so with the Pommer see villages at the Bug mentioned by Dr. Lück).* Thus, one cannot say: "Since at that time "Holland" was only understood the one province of Holland, the home of the West Prussian Mennonites is also to be found here..

To substantiate this one-sided thesis, it is also pointed out that all Mennonite correspondence from West Prussia after the

Province of Holland had gone (Haarlem, Alkmaar). Only single letters had gone from Friesland and West Friesland to West Prussia, only one village "Przechowka" (on the Vistula south of the village Montau group near Graudenz), which was still called the "Groninger" in the 18th century, could have come from the Groninger area.

This argumentation is not valid. One may not want to use the designation for the ecclesiastical groups (Frisians, Flemish, High Germans, here "Groninger") of course without further ado for the clarification of questions of origin. The individual Groninger need not have migrated from the Groningerland at all. These names *can* indeed indicate the origin of their bearers, but they *do not* have to. They designate a more or less strict conception of the ban, which was first developed or common in this region designated by the name³¹⁹. *Such* representations alone are accurate. The schism between Frisians and Flemish occurred in Friesland. The antagonisms that broke out there then spread to other areas, both in the Dutch provinces and in Old Prussia. A particularly strict group of the "Alt-Vlaminger" even called themselves "Danzigers", and there were also three communities of these "Danzigers" in Holland, in Amsterdam, Haarlem and Rotterdam³²⁰. These designations are misleading (Losungen)!

Whether the whole congregation in Przechowka really came from the Groningerland or only partially or not at all, cannot be deduced from the group name alone without further investigation. We have here an analogous process to the one with the "Dutchmen", already not on colonizing, but on ecclesiastical area.

In the already once briefly touched upon petition of the guilds to the Danzig Council³²¹ in order to provisionally conclude this discussion about the nomenclature in Mennonite history with this reference, *just not "Holland" is designated as the country of origin of the Mennonites, but Friesland with Emden: the mention of Emden thus also moves East Frisia for our question at least strongly into the foreground.*

Concerning the correspondence between Western Europe and Holland, which is considered as a special proof of the represented view, it should be remembered that the letters preserved to us by far do not make up all the letters actually written. H. G. Mannhardt explicitly complains about the fact that the correspondence of the Danzig community boards with the foreign communities has been burned. Many letters that may have been saved from destruction may not yet have been recorded in the Mennonite congregations and families. Furthermore, the correspondence records in the Amsterdam archives date from a relatively later time, when the center of Emden's congregational life had already shifted further west.

Therefore, congregational reports from the German East naturally had to go to the province of Holland, which by now represented the central focus of Dutch Anabaptist-Mennonitism. In this context, the correspondence with Dirk Philips from the time of the Frisian-Flemish schism must be of interest, since it was not, or not primarily, conducted from the province of Holland. We also know that the personal traffic between Danzig and the Netherlands did not only go to Amsterdam, which had an Aeltester from Danzig for 8 years³²², but primarily to Emden. In short, this point is probably to be judged more under aspects of the municipal administration, the church regiment and its respective location. Moreover, in the 17th century, Danzig had a greater influence on the congregations in Amsterdam, Haarlem and Rotterdam. The correspondence in question can perhaps find its explanation especially in this with regard to its addressees. It would also be necessary to determine in detail who the letter writers were. They were not just any members of the congregation, but representatives who knew the Dutch language. However, everything points to the fact that the leading class in the cities of Danzig, Elbing, Graudenz, etc. had immigrated from Dutch cities, while the rural population was recruited more from Frisian farmers. This will be discussed in detail below. Here it should only be clarified that the nomenclature for questions of origin and their solution does not represent a key to be handled mechanically.

Schumacher³²³ is of the opinion that the Anabaptists who fled or were called to Old Prussia under Albrecht came almost exclusively from the northern provinces of the Netherlands. His argument is that almost only Dutch, i.e., North Dutch ships entered the Prussian ports³²⁴. According to him, out of 310 Dutch ships that passed the Sun in one year, only 38 came from Amsterdam all others from the Zuidersee coastal towns of North Holland, 44 from Enkhuizen alone^{324a}. In a personal letter to me, Dr. Horst Quiring also specifically pointed out that the rural settlements Montau group, Thorn and Tiegenhof areas, Elbing must therefore come from Holland (northeast of Haarlem up to Alkmaar, Hoorn), because there the art of drainage was particularly in full swing. Along the "Zaan" still stand today many windmills. *"This North Holland, wrote Quiring, was called "West Frisia" in the 15th century and earlier, thus belongs to the Frisians according to its racial affiliation"*. The Flemish influence among the West Prussian Mennonites goes, according to Quiring, to the Flemish from Flanders.

who during the times of persecution had fled to Holland, perhaps also to North Holland.

With regard to these statements by Quiring and Schumacher, the following should be briefly noted here: for the question of origin, it is ultimately not decisive from where the ships arriving in Danzig had *departed*. In any case, the traffic went via *Emden*, where of course larger embarkations could and did take place. Again, we refer to the petition of the Danzig guilds concerning the Anabaptists from "Embden". If anyone, the guilds, for whom the refugees were a thorn in the flesh because of the commercial competition, were informed both about their origin and about the way they had come to Danzig-Elbing. In this context, reference should be made to the earlier explanations of the reasons why the religious refugees left for East Frisia. In order to move on, they had to embark in Emden. For them, the port of embarkation was this city. It is very likely that local Frisians, who had to flee, also took advantage of the opportunity to sail to the Vistula region on Dutch ships arriving in Emden. The names of the settlers also speak for the Frisian, East Frisian origin of a significant part of the Mennonites who immigrated to Prussia. Müller has published in his "Geschichte der ostfriesischen Mennoniten" [History of the East Frisian Mennonites] those lists (to which we already mentioned), which, and as a whole, largely coincide with the names, whose bearers are the West Prussian and Russia German Mennonites. *Here the consistent uniformity of the name groups here and there is essential, even decisive. Of course, the same names also occur elsewhere in the Dutch provinces, but nowhere do the mutual name complexes coincide to such an astonishing extent as in those areas which are under discussion here.*

Still another point we want to emphasize here. Clement, quoted by us several times, has pointed out that the patronymics with "son" or "s" etc. did not occur in North and West Frisia, but only in East Frisia (*as far as Frisian territory is in question*). If Horst Quiring emphasizes quite rightly, what H. H. Schroder has shown impressively, that the West Prussian Mennonites were in the majority ethnically *Frisians* and if on the other hand the names with "s" are very frequent among the West Prussian and Russian-German Mennonites, then we have to draw the corresponding conclusions with Clement for the question of origin of this part of the settlers. However, according to the same Clement, the Lower Saxon influence in Holland, as well as in East Frisia, has increased the abundance of the Frisian first names destroyed

and has let the discussed patronymics with "s" spread around, so that this characteristic must not be taken as decisive for the fixation of the place of origin of the immigrants to Prussia and Russia, because (as far as this characteristic comes into question) the original seat of the wanderers could have been per se both in Holland and East Frisia and the area at the Lower Rhine or in Northern Germany. At the most this name designation could deny us to look for the homeland of the bearers of such family names on "s" at the German north coast.

Now we are able to approach the solution of the question, from where the settlers in Prussian Holland and in Königsberg came.

That the *immigration to cities like Danzig took place from all Dutch provinces is proved by the lists* of the Dutch naturalized in Danzig 1535-1710, which F. Szper³²⁵ offers, with indication of the origin of these craftsmen, merchants, tradesmen and seamen. Incidentally, we are not dealing here with group immigrations, as in the case of farming settlements, which are the primary subject of this study.

The names given in Schumacher's tables are taken from *Verschreibungen*, farewells, supplements, registers etc. The addition "Holländer", which is found there to many of these names, Schumacher has rightly omitted, because, as we have already clarified, "Holländer" is already at that time a *collective designation*, about which the Dutch settlers occasionally complain. Schumacher also points out³²⁶ that the second name (e.g., Adam Dircks, Jan Dircks), which usually ends in "s" or "sz", almost exclusively denotes the patronymic and actually must always end with the syllables "son" or "zon" (John *Gertson*, Jakob *Janszon*).

This Müller table contains quite a number of patronymics that occur as surnames among the West Prussian and Russian German Mennonites:

Lorentz, Gertson, Dirchs, Petriss, Janss, Wilhelmson, van Dyck, Dieriksson, and others. If we pay attention to the dates when the individual bearers of the names immigrated, the following picture emerges:

1527: 3 names (2 verifiable from Holland).
1528: 6 names (2 verifiable from Holland)
1529: 4 names (3 verifiable from Holland and 1 from Brabant)
1530: 15 names (2 traceable from Holland)
1534: 1 name (from Flanders)
1535: 1 name (from Oberyssel)
1536: 5 names (1 from Brabant)
1537: 2 names (2 from Holland)
1539: 22 names (3 from Holland, 1 from Ostfriesland, 2 from Brabant, 1 from Geldern)
1540: 13 names (2 or 3 from Holland)
1541: 7 names
1542: 4 names (1 from Holland)
1543: 1 name
1544: 1 name 1545: 2 names (1 from Holland)
1548: 1 name (from Zeeland)
1549: 6 names (3 from Holland)
1550: 4 names (1 from Holland, 1 from Jüllich, 1 from Geldern)
1554: 2 names 1557: 8 names (1 from Holland)
1559: 2 names (1 from Friesland)

What results from this list? From Holland (North and South Holland) 26 persons could be identified, whereby it is remarkable that 9 bearers of Dutch names ("Dutch" understood in the narrower sense), thus 30% were already in Prussia until 1530. In total, according to this list, 28 Dutchmen (probably Dutch families) came to the Duchy in the years 1527 to 1530. It should be noted that out of these 28 people, only one person (family) came from Brabant. So we have the following picture: x + 9 H + 1 Br. = 28.

It is certainly not too much of a leap to assume that the x persons also left the county of Holland. For example, the farmer Claes Dircks is identified as coming from Midwoude (H). It is obvious that also Adam Dircks comes from this area, also Jan Dircks, Adrian Dircks. The name "Claes" appears several times in the list, soon as patronymic and soon as given name. Is now Heinrich Claess "Holländer", why not also Gerhardt "Claess"?

Now we know from the earlier explanations that a heresy edict of Charles V in the southern Netherlands or Holland and Zeeland came out in 1521 and 1522, and began to have an effect since 1525.

That we are dealing with sacramentans in the case of the 28 persons has already been emphasized several times. And if we take a closer look at the list of these 28 name bearers, we find among them two clergymen (Gerhard Johannson von Wormer, called "the long priest", and Walther Wilmsson, who was elected "priest" by the settlement at Bardeyn and thus was hardly a layman). It also seems reasonable to assume that these clergymen arranged and led the groups. The priest Gerhard Johannsson from Wormer came to Prussia in 1528. The larger group in 1530 (15 names), which included pastor Walther Wilhelmsson, has several farmers from Midwoude (H) in the list.

Should the connecting lines between the earlier migrated clergyman and the later arrived colonist be assumed? This is all the more obvious since Gerhard Johannsson also settled in Bardeyn, where the larger group came in 1530. The list offered by Schumacher names 5 persons from the years 1528 and 1529 who had settled in the suburbs of *Königsberg* Altstadt and Kneiphof. One of them is a ducal court servant and 4 are merchants. *We are obviously looking at a different occupational class than the peasants and artisans at Bardeyn, which is a group with a more uniform character, not without intelligent leadership.*

In summary, the Bardeyn group from 1527, 1528 and 1530 must have been indeed a "Dutch" one, as well as the smaller group near *Königsberg* (5 names from 1528 and 1529).

The *Königsberg* names have no similarity with the names of the Prussian and Russian Mennonites (Sander von Leiden, Heinrich Bowe and others). With Dr. A. Ehrh³²⁷ we have to consider the Russian-German Mennonitism sociologically now rooted in peasantry and craftsmanship. *By the way, the Bardeyn group has nothing to do with Mennonitism and also nothing to do with Anabaptism, apart from smaller exceptional cases already touched upon.*

In the years 1535-1537 *Königsberg* received an influx of 5 persons, among them Polyphem, from Ghent, the ducal librarian, and Mrs. Domkaplan Reich from Oberysse. *This group is also not farmers.* To Bardeyn, in turn, three persons come in these years, to "Prussian Rabitten" one person. This is Johann von Solius (Johannes Solius) from Holland, to whom our report must still come. He was a doctor by profession, but not a very reliable man³²⁸. These three colonists may have come from the circle of acquaintances of Bardeyn's group in the province of Holland.

The year 1539 brings again a larger increase and reminds in it of the year 1530 (22 names). Two persons from this group come to *Königsberg*, a gunsmith and ducal court official. Six names belong to farmers, but from these names only one (Cornelius Heinrichs) does not sound strange to us. Of them Antonius Claussen is also again established from Midwoude. With him perhaps all 6 persons belong to the same circle of acquaintances, perhaps to the former community of the

Pastor Johansson. Of course, the group may have included individual settlers from other areas. *We do not get beyond conjecture here.*

We now turn our attention very briefly to the remaining part of the list.

The year 1540: It shows 13 names. It is an influx of craftsmen to the Königsberg area, among which we find a sculptor. The names sound strange to us except for Johann Claus, Gert Claus and Martin Jahnsson.

The year 1541: The bearers of the 7 names are farmers coming to the Holland area. The names remind throughout of today's Mennonite names: Albrechts, Friedrichs, Peters.

Probably these farmers come from the Holland countryside.

1542 to 1557: In these years we have consistently only small immigrations. All persons who settled near Königsberg are not bearers of our names, *with very minor exceptions, and belong almost exclusively to higher classes. In this a striking regularity can be observed.* Only a few families came from Holland in these years: 1542 (1 person, Peter Jahnsson, probably from Holland), 1553 (1 from Zeeland, 4 persons went to Memel), 1554 (2 persons), 1557 (7 persons, among them: Peter Peters, Jakob Peters, Hermann Wilhelms, Johann Wilhelmsson).

In itself, it is conceivable that Menno also visited the settlements near Holland. But any evidence for this cannot be found. *Our analysis of Schumacher's list above suggests that we are dealing with a colony of pure Sacramentans (Reformed).* By far the largest contingent of this colony was the county of Holland (26), especially its northern part, where the population was also Frisian, secondarily appearing Brabant (6) Zeeland (3), West Frisia, Utrecht, Oberyssel, and the non-Dutch areas of East Frisia and Jülich (1 each). Interesting is the rising and falling curve of emigrants in 1530 (15 names), 1539 (22), 1540 (13), 1549 (6), 1557 (8). We know that the heresy edict of Charles V in the southern Netherlands, or Holland and Zeeland, came out as early as 1521 and 1522, and began to have an effect from 1525, 1527-1530 we have 28 name bearers in Schumacher, among them two clergy³²⁹. Walther Wilhelmson is elected pastor by the settlement. These clergymen probably compiled and led the groupss. The priest from Wormer came to Prussia in 1528. The bigger group falls in the year 1530. From the settlers of this group several come also from the province Holland. We can see how the lines of connection ran: Pastor Gerhard Johanson had well-known Reformed people come from his homeland. The names of the settlers near Königsberg, on the other hand, sound strange to us. Their bearers came from a different stratum than the West Prussian and Russian-German Mennonite farmers.

XIII. The immigration of Mennonites to Danzig and the Danzig Werder

The Mennonites in the area of the Free City of Danzig belonged to the communities of Danzig, Fürstenwerder (branch Neunhuben), Ladekopp-Orlofffeld, Tiegenhagen, Rosenort and Heubuden. A part of the congregation of Heubuden belonged to Prussia, namely the localities east of the Nogat River, especially Marienburg.

In the constitution of the Free City of Danzig, the Mennonites were completely equal to all other religious communities with regard to civil and civic rights, and were given special consideration in the matter of oaths³³⁰.

In the writing "Das Weichsel-Nogat-Delta" by Bertram, La Baume and Klöppel^{330a}, which we have already referred to once, *two East German settlement areas and settlement periods in the Vistula-Nogat area are distinguished*. The border between them is considered to be approximately a line drawn from Danzig to Elbing. The land south of this line, as we have heard, was already drained in the Order period, while the stretches of land north of the line, which are still below sea level, were not settled and drained until the middle of the 16th century. This greater settlement of the northern part of the settlement area, which began then, lasted well into the 17th century.

The *Danzig possessions* were: *a) the suburbs, b) the spit (= lowland)*, the narrow headland between the Danzig Bay and the Frisian Lagoon, and *c) the Danzig Werder*, the land between the Vistula and its western arm, the Motlau.

Bordering the Danzig Werder was the Gross Marienburg Werder, the stretches between the Vistula and its eastern arm, the Nogat. Between the Nogat and the Drausensee lies the Klein Werder.

These three Werder form the Vistula delta and the most fertile area in all of Prussia. However, because of its low location, it was under water for most of the year unless permanent drainage was provided. This was especially true for the areas of the Stüblauersche Werder, which were below the water level. The settlement of this area has been the subject of recent successful investigations by Dutchman [?] Dr. Horst Penner, using new source material.

Of all the areas of the Vistula-Nogat Delta that are below sea level and artificially drained, the Drausen area is the lowest lying. *It was not until the immigration of the Mennonite Dutch and Low Germans in the middle of the 16th century that the Drausen lowlands were diked and made arable*. About this is to be compared E. Händiges in his already mentioned contribution about Elbing.

A closer elucidation of the Dutch background of the West Prussian Mennonite history is completely missing in Franz Isaak³³¹. P. M. Friesen³³² attempted it, but inadequately carried it out, but struggled severely, because fantasy and insinuation tried to fill the existing gaps in historical knowledge. Here and there efforts were made to bring light into this darkness. These efforts must continue.

P. M. Friesen did not have access to the latest Anabaptist and Mennonite research (Vos, Kühler, Krahn and others).

He states in the introduction that "Dutch Anabaptists provided the foundation (in Friesen's bold print) and largest percentage for the congregations in Prussia". This sentence, however, would have had to be developed in detail. Already an editor of the

"Menn. Blätter", the late Pastor H. v. d. Smissen, suggested at that time to approach the origins of the individual Mennonite groups more microscopically and not to stop at pale general judgments, which he was incomprehensibly denied. Just in this context the thesis of H. H. Schröder is to be evaluated purely also as a working principle. For the progress of research, questions that are asked have often proved more fruitful than answers. It has often happened that original answers to posed questions were outdated, but the questions themselves remained as ferment and leaven of further scientific efforts.

Friesen has given a historical information about Prussia, which is supplemented and adjusted in nos. 6 and 6a of my "Preliminary Questions". The defeat suffered by the Teutonic Order at Tannenberg in 1410 resulted, as we have seen, in the Prussian cities of Danzig, Elbing and Thorn voluntarily submitting to Polish rule even before peace was concluded. We already know what the state-political regulations finally looked like. Polish Prussia remained *culturally* German. In any case, the formal vassalage relationship of West and East Prussia to Poland is no more severe than the dependence of the Netherlands on the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation". *The Mennonite fathers, when they immigrated to Prussia, always settled in German cultural territory.*

Friesen also raises the question, which we have already touched upon, *about when the Mennonites came to Prussia.* Here he comes to speak about the Hussites, whom he quite rightly does *not* want to confuse with the Anabaptists of the 16th century. Wrong is the opinion, as if a larger percentage of Slavs had belonged to the Anabaptist immigrants to Prussia. It will be discussed below where the few *Slavic* families among the Mennonites came from. The Anabaptist movement of the 16th century has basically nothing to do with the Hussite movement. Anabaptists really migrated from Moravia to Prussia, but they were not Slavs, but people of Swiss-Upper German origin^{332a}. They probably settled further up the Vistula, part of them went to Prussia-Lithuania in the 18th century.

Friesen also correctly distinguishes the *Mennonites* who immigrated to Prussia from the *Anabaptists* who immigrated earlier. First of all, *Friesen saw that the first Mennonites appeared in the Vistula region in the 40s of the 16th century.* Today, however, we can prove it more precisely^{332b}.

Our chronicler has the Mennonite immigrants coming "from the Netherlands". This designation is the more correct, because more comprehensive. The task of research is to develop this general judgment more closely and to show in detail which areas of the Netherlands (including East Frisia and the Lower Rhine areas) have supplied the largest percentage of *settlers* and to what extent original refugees (especially to East Frisia) have also participated in the migration.

Friesen lists *evidence* for the Dutch origin of the Prussian Mennonites, but without giving more concrete information.

At the top of Friesen's evidence are the Mennonite *names*. Schröder has put in diligent detail work here. *We will need a lot of time to prove and clarify in detail the connections between the Lower Rhine and the mouth of the Vistula in our history.* How difficult this is, everyone knows, who looks around in the field of genealogy even for his own family. The Mennonite communities in Friesland should also be interested in name and family research, because otherwise all efforts would remain a torso. The Mennonite community could in itself do above-average work in the field of genealogy, as, for example, the Lviv community did in the publication of Professor Bachmann, who died all too soon. *The name research alone can reveal the real historical facts, instead of constructions.*

The Russian-German Mennonite historian further mentions among the evidences especially *the knowledge of the Dutch language and the Dutch religious books.*

According to our research so far, the Mennonite migration to Prussia was mostly made up of natives from the Three Frieslands, mainly from East Frisia and the Groningerland, but also refugees from the other Dutch provinces (Flanders, North Holland) as well as from German and Swiss lands came to the Vistula and Nogat region. *It is certain that these immigrants spoke Dutch and Low German ("Oostersch", East Frisian, the Groninger Platt).* In Prussia, the immigrants in the countryside and in the home therefore very quickly adopted the local Plattdeutsch (East Low German) dialect, whereby the dialects they brought with them helped to form the East German dialect. In the church service, the church language brought with them has survived longer than in everyday life, especially in the cities. This is to be dealt with in more detail in another context.

In 1915, P. J. Braun published a book in Russian entitled "Kto takije mennonity? (Who are the Mennonites?"^{332c}).

The author first also deals with the origin of the Russian-German Mennonites and represents here the well-known Waldensian theory, which is rejected in this form by the newer research. P. 12 f. of Braun covers the immigration of the Mennonites to Poland. It is emphasized that at that time "the whole West Prussia belonged to Poland" (since the Peace of Toruń in 1466). The migration of the first "Mennonites" to Poland is fixed correctly in time and it is stated that in the 50s and 60s of the 16th century the immigration flow swelled significantly. Braun emphasizes that these Mennonite settlers came to Prussia partly on their own initiative and partly following an invitation from Polish princes. "Thus the Dutch Mennonites became Polish citizens," says colleague Braun. This judgment is, apart from some minor exceptions in Königsberg, Elbing, is a *misjudgment!* The Mennonites lived in the temporarily Polish Prussia under foreigners' law ("Unbürger" [non-citizens]). Only under Frederick II they were naturalized, i.e., after the partition of Poland, and that in Prussia. Danzig remained the longest under Poland and just the Danzig Mennonites remained the longest, until 1800 (!) "non-citizens".

This skewed historical conception has weighed heavily on the debates about the origin of the Russian-German Mennonites. Also, Braun unfortunately neglected to inform the reader that the Prussian territories in question remained de facto *German* territories. East Prussia was also under Polish sovereignty, but no one, including Braun himself, has denied its German character because of this. There is a lack of final clarity here and also a lack of distinction between state-political and national aspects.

Braun further conveys not quite accurate historical ideas concerning the ecclesiastical directions (Richtungen) of the Flemings and Frisians. He forgets that these geographical designations, however, are *connected* with persons of Flemish and Frisian origin, but that also quite a lot of original Frisians belonged to the Flemish. So also the Frisian Dirk Philips.

The designation of the Mennonite settlers as "Dutchmen" (Holländer) (not "Dutchmen" (Niederländer)) does not need to be discussed any more, because this question has already been dealt with exhaustively above. The designation "Dutchman" (Holländer) has been greatly expanded in colonization in both Polish and ducal Prussia.

P. Braun is very correct in his opinion *about the language* of the Mennonites who came to Prussia. He concludes that Dutch was probably only used in the church service, although he does not think about whether, especially in the rural communities, it was always the high literary Dutch or the corrupted ("mengelmoes") discussed by Frerichs. Braun also knows that Dutch had competition with Low German in the Dutch East. It is difficult on Dutch territory to draw a sharp line between the different dialects, he says. "And besides, Braun concludes, we do not know exactly from which Dutch areas the Mennonites emigrated to Poland"^{332d}. "In any case, we read further, many of them were familiar with the (we would say: 'one') Low German dialect." Quite correctly, Braun then continues, "The population in the Marienburg Lowlands found by the (immigrating) Mennonites,

also spoke a Low German dialect. Therefore, this language was quite understandable for the Mennonites and soon also became their *colloquial language*."

Weakest are Braun's remarks in p. 20 ff. Here he wants to prove that the Mennonites coming from the Netherlands should not be considered Germans in Prussia *because* they spoke Low German. Braun, when he made these remarks, had no clear idea of the early historical migrations of the Franks, Saxons and Frisians, and of the fact that the inhabitants in the Dutch area were and are blood-related to each other, and that also Dutch is closely related to Low German in linguistic history. *On this point Braun has slipped into the popular way of thinking*, in contradiction to his own shortly before expressed better knowledge about the dialects in question here. The fact is that the West Prussian and Russian Mennonites "represented a special group of the colonists", denominationally and by virtue of their predominantly Frisian origin, that they had to languish as "non-citizens" on Prussian soil for almost 200 years because of the unsightly machinations of a political denominationalism hostile to them, until Frederick II put an end to this unworthy condition. *The historian, however, must not deny the "Low German" origin of the majority of these people. And this all the less, as the Dutch even spoke of themselves, at least in earlier times, as Low Germans in the broader sense (as did Frerichs).*

The author of the pamphlet under discussion here has judged with others that the Mennonite farmers together with almost all non-Mennonites preferred the Polish rule to the German one. To this it must be said that the German towns of Danzig, Elbing, Thorn, etc., at that time really recognized the Polish king as sovereign. Besides, it is a fact, as the Mennonite pastor H. G. Mannhardt also emphasizes (p. 123), that the transition to Prussia brought "a great relief" to the West Prussian Mennonites (about 14,000 at that time). The Danzigers *as such*, however, did not want to become Prussian "in the proud feeling of their previous rights and liberties" (p. 121). Frederick the Great, to whom Danzig and Thorn had not yet fallen at the first partition of Poland, used various means of power against the unruly port city, as did his successors. *Thus, around the time of the Mennonite migration to Russia and Danzig, there was indeed a nervous tension against Prussia.* Details about this can be found in H. G. Mannhardt. It is interesting, however, that the Mennonite church preacher Peter Epp, who lived on Prussian territory, already concluded his first sermon on October 18, 1772, in the Mennonite church in Danzig with a *prayer for the Prussian king*, which, however, turned the mayor of Danzig against him. *Also in 1783, conflicts arose between the Danzig and Prussian Mennonites in this area.* The Prussian population and also the Mennonites in the Werder complained to their government, which the Danzig co-religionists resented very much. The more so as Danzig, which did not want to give in, was surrounded by Prussian troops for three months (October 17, 1783 to January 22, 1784).

In 1793 the decision was made! Danzig became Prussian.

Of course, the Mennonites were concerned about the political change at that time. But one must not let the tensions between Danzig and Prussia as well as certain church-political *difficulties* be decisive in the solution of questions of origin as such.

Why the Danzig Council felt compelled to grant Dutch immigrants the entire depression area of the Danzig Werder for drying, Horst Penner has well justified in his Danzig dissertation.

The three Werder, which formed the Weichsel delta, could be addressed as the most fertile area in Prussia. Because of its low elevation

most of the land was under water, if no permanent drainage was provided. This was especially true for the areas of the Stüblauschen Werder below sea level, whose settlement by Dutch and Frisians Horst Penner has made the subject of his interesting and fruitful investigations with the help of new sources.

At the beginning of the 14th century, the Teutonic Order had already built a dike in the Danzig Werder, had canals constructed and had colonists settled there. Due to wars, this cultural work had been largely destroyed, so that the area was a completely uninhabited, swampy marshy region. After the dike breaches in 1540 and 1543, the whole depression area of the Danzig Werder was a single water desert under reeds and cane.

The Dutch farmers, who were exceptionally skilled in building dikes and canals, therefore came in handy. Danzig preferred to accept farmers rather than merchants and craftsmen, whom it had itself. Duke Albrecht had to complain that his farmers were being taken away from him to Danzig.

About the successes of the Danzig colonization, Szper and above all Horst Penner are to be questioned. According to Penner, Szper did not use the official books of the Spit and also not the Werder Amtskasten [Office] of the Danzig State Archives. This gap has been filled by Penner.

To Penner we owe also a most exact *chronological overview of the Verleihungsurkunden*, as far as they are available: *Reichenberg* (1547), concluded with the Dutch-Frisian recruiter Philipp Edzema and his consorts, are to be appreciated by us further down still more near; *Scharfenberg, Landau and Sperlingsdorfer Bruch* (1547), *Schmerblock* (1552) - it is already referred in this contract to the village Wesslinke, to which the document must have been accordingly already lent 1552).

In an account book H. Penner found apart from these "Dutchman villages" still Altefehr (Breitfelde), Schönrohr, whose distribution documents are missing however³³³.

Penner has also found Dutchmen in some of the 15 so-called "Scharwerksdörfer" (in itself the Dutch pioneers liked to avoid Scharwerksdiensten^a)), so in the Scharwerksdörfer Wotzlaff, Käsemarkt (here at certain times). He then mentions Schönau and Sperlingsdorf.

There were further *villages administered by officials: Plehnendorf, Neuendorf* (Klausskrug and Rückfort). In Neuendorf already in 1582 Mennonites sat, in 1725 they had even the whole village in possession.

In the higher situated Stüblauschen Scharwerks villages Penner could hardly prove Mennonites, but *on the estates near Danzig*,

a.) Scharwerk is the obligatory labor provided by a resident to support civil infrastructure.

most of which belonged to ecclesiastical landlords. Details can be read in Penner, who judges that the fields and meadows in the Danzig Werder are "a type of culture of the Dutch and Frisians".

To the question when the first Mennonites came to Prussia, Dambrowski answers: in the 4th decade of the 16th century³³⁴. We come to the same conclusion below.

Among the Dutch who fled to Danzig around 1530 were reformers of various stripes. In time, however, most of the immigrants belonged to the Anabaptists, or Mennonites. Early on, of course, refugees from southern Germany also came to the Vistula region, directly and via Moravia-Silesia, but also via the Netherlands. In the Orlofffeld chronicle of the elder Heinrich Dorner (1772-1804) it says: "The occupational privilege, it is about the appointment of Dutchmen to the Marienburg Werder (Tiegenhof), is no longer present. It should be noted that before our forefathers came from Holland into the country, some of the Mennonites came from *Germany* to see the area, but because it was all bogs and bushes and it seemed too difficult for them to cultivate it, they did not want to move here, but the Dutch accomplished it with water mills, while the Germans did not have the knowledge. In contrast to Dr. Penner, I see in this message a thoroughly factual reproduction of historical events. How, indeed, were the Upper Germans to cope with the morasses? They would have experienced the same fiasco in draining them as the Dutch in turn experienced in Prussian Holland. There is also a colonizing "suum cuique" (= to each his own!). About the appointment itself it is said in the chronicle that it was also issued to "others", not only to Mennonites from Holland. We have already noted that Anabaptist refugees from the Habsburg lands arrived in Prussia, who then united with the Dutch-German Mennonites.

The question whether among the first immigrants there were also followers of the Münsterite sect. I have dealt with in more detail in my essay "Kolonisatorische Berührungen zwischen den Mennoniten and Siedlern anderer Konfessionen im Weichselgebiet and in der Neumark"³³⁵. In any case, Danzig's request of May 2, 1534, to the authority of Amsterdam, Antwerp, to the ferry, and Enkhuizen, as well as "to the authorities of the city of Emden" in the same year³³⁶ not to bring rebellious emigrants on their ships to Danzig, clearly proves that Anabaptists were arriving in Prussia during this period. Danzig repeatedly made this appeal to the Dutch cities. Schumacher³³⁷ is correct when he counts the emigrants who came to temporary Polish Prussia after 1534 in their overwhelming majority among the Anabaptists (of course, not simply among the "Mennonites",

which did not even exist as such in 1534), and when he judges that in Prussia there were hardly any Münster extremists among the Dutch Anabaptists. With the exception of a small minority, those people were completely cured by the catastrophe in Westphalia and in Friesland. Menno Simons was able to lead them fully to reformatory sobriety. As long as this did not happen, they can never be counted by the historian as "Mennonites". Schumacher³³⁸ states very matter-of-factly: "On the other hand, in order to declare the Dutch Anabaptists, who we encounter in Prussia before this time³³⁹, to be Mennonites, we lack any documentary evidence."

For the rest, the Danzig Council accepted the Dutch, without much questioning of their faith, in its Werder villages as pioneers, especially farmers, who drained its overgrown Werder estates by their skill in ditch, dam and mill construction and made them productive in a very short time.

But the council did not want to see these strangers within the walls of the city unless they were of the Lutheran or Catholic confession. Reformed and Anabaptists were at most tolerated. They were only allowed to "derive nourishment" in the so-called "gardens". They were also not allowed to worship in public. The Bishop of Cujavia, on the other hand, showed much greater concession to the settlers on his possession "Schottland", out of good calculation. They were also allowed to settle in Schidlitz, the property of the Danzig Brigitten Order. The Mennonite Aeltester Dirk Philips lived in Schottland.

For centuries these pioneers had to live like this outside the gates, and it was not until the beginning of the 19th century that they were granted citizenship. In these "gardens", however, they also clung most tenaciously to faith and clan, because here there was the least opportunity for intermarriage.

From Danzig and the Low Countries, *emigration to Russia also received its main impetus*. Thus the city Mennonites must be regarded as a self-contained circle. For many centuries the Danzig Mennonite craftsmen, merchants, distillers, braid weavers formed a whole, because especially the outside marriage (Aussentrau) was forbidden and the equal birth (Ebenburt) was required. We have here an intertwined and hereditary family group. Horst Penner has particularly emphasized this inner unity of the Dutch pioneers, as have Dr. Zimmermann, Dr. Kauenhowen, and others.

Where the Dutch sat in the Danzig Werder, we have already been told by Szper and Penner. They both also informed us about the content and character of the award certificates.

The "Dutch villages" enjoyed a certain special position, they spoke their own dialect, had a way of living and economy brought with them, they had a fire regulations with fire insurance premiums per Hufe, with mutual education and reconstruction aids, with careful

registrations of the insured villages and farmers with precise information on the number of farmsteads and Morgens. The first such register dates from 1622, followed by new registers from 1675, 1725 and 1748. Penner has published these registrations in the appendix to his dissertation.

Furthermore, we possess the known Mennonite census from the 18th century, which Gustav Reimer Sr. recorded in the Privy State Archives Berlin-Dahlem and *Gustav Reimer jun.* systematically processed and published³⁴⁰. The latter has also delivered that meritorious contribution to the name research of West and East Prussian Mennonites³⁴¹, which puts us in the position to use the entire genealogical material for the clarification of the complicated questions of origin more expediently.

On the basis of the material collected so far and partly also used, *the question can be approached when the Mennonites, i.e., Anabaptist in the narrower sense, came to the Vistula and Nogat region.* For this, my above mentioned essay in the "Deutsches Archiv für Volks- und Landesforschung" [German Archive for Folk and Regional Research] is to be compared. The remarks on this question, which are essential for our topic, can be shortened here as far as possible with regard to this essay.

It can be assumed with certainty that Menno Simons was also in and near Danzig between 1547 and 1552, when he visited his co-religionists in the Baltic regions, in Polish Prussia and perhaps even further east. Johannes Solius, about whom G. H. Mannhardt informs^{341a}, knows at his interrogation before the Brussels Council, on December 22 and 23, 1550 (!) already knows about a Mennonite group from Danzig and names among its Aelteste, Menno Simons. *We have here irrefutable proof that around 1550 Mennonite settlers were in and near Danzig.* This is also to be noted in spite of the chronicle of the Danzig community, which begins thus:

"Incidents and occurrences which have taken place in the now united Mennonite congregation at Danzig *since the year 1567.* Translated from old, mostly Dutch documents and compiled by the deacon (Vorstehrer) Anton Schreder, Danzig, 18 Nov. 1830.

In 1568, Cryn Vermeulle was the Aeltester...

"This chronicle, therefore, does not refer at all to the first beginnings of the Danzig Mennonite settlement. From its heading, however, it cannot be concluded that the Danzig Mennonite community was established only in 1567, even though it is a fact that Mennonites settled in Danzig and its vicinity in *larger numbers* first around the year 1567, when Alba's (Blutfehler) caused mass emigrations from the Netherlands.

Johannes v. Sol then brought Dutchmen to Danzig, whose council would have nothing to do with him, just as the Mennonites kept a strict distance from him. He retreated to his estate in East Prussia and there he also brought his settlers who had been recruited in the Netherlands, but later some of them moved to Danzig because they feared an "inquisition for Anabaptists". These immigrants who retreated to Danzig may have been partially baptized or later became such. They were obviously looking for a connection to their Danzig compatriots and were glad to be able to separate from Solius.

According to Reisswitz-Wadzeck the first Mennonites came to West Prussia in 1540-1549, which time determination is certainly correct. The only question is whether we can come to a more exact determination.

Mrs. Brons rightly points out that Bishop Menno's visitation to West Prussia and East Prussia in 1549 and his letter to Prussia presupposed already organized Mennonite congregations. The chronicle mentioned above now mentions the year 1567 for Danzig, but the statements of Johannes von Sol fell into the year 1550. However, it is very important to us now to carry the terminus a quo, for the time being once for the Danzig immigration, back (if possible) even beyond 1550. This is not easy, because the news about the first beginnings of the Mennonite settlement are scanty. But is it not inconceivable from the outset that the colonization of the Werder would have begun earlier than the settlement of the Danzig suburbs? We know for sure that *Anabaptist* merchants, craftsmen and shopkeepers came to Danzig as well as to Königsberg very early, and we are therefore forced to assume without further documents that in any case *Mennonites* did not settle here later than in the Marienburg Werder (1562).

Then Klassen³⁴² is aware that already *before 1550* Mennonites settled in and near Elbing. This speaks loudly for an earlier assumed settlement of Mennonites also near Danzig. In the outskirts and suburbs of Danzig: in Langfuhr, Heiligenbrunn, Neugarten, Sandgrube, Petershagen, Schottland, Hopfenbruch, Stolzenberg, Nobel and Krampitz on the Mottlau Mennonites already lived before the middle of the century, whom Menno visited in 1549 at the latest. He is directly mentioned as the Aeltester of the communities of Danzig, Elbing, Thorn, Graudenz³⁴³.

And the chronicle of the Danzig congregation itself reports, which finally breaks the fog over our question! that "Menno was found again near and in Danzig among his Dutch compatriots and co-religionists."

For me happened already several times above [?] *the petition of the Mennonites to the Danzig council of the year 1582 mention*³³⁴, which expressly testifies,

that they had been living there for 30 years and therefore could not have come to Danzig only 15 years ago.

From the same petition it appears that the Mennonites came to Danzig on the basis of an *agreement*. It says that they freely confessed their faith in public when they signed the agreement, and yet they were never harassed. Thus, *already before 1550* Dutch farmers were found in *Reichenberg* and around the same time or a short time later also in Scharfenberg, Wesslinke, Landau, Schmerblock. The Handfesten of these villages, i.e., the conferral documents, which were kept in the Danzig State Archives, contained without exception Dutch names, such as Philip Freesen, names which, except for Edzema, still occur among the Mennonites in the Werdern (see later)!

Of course, the Dutch origin of these Werder farmers does not prove that they were all Anabaptists. That there were quite a number of them, however, is proven by the petition from the summer of 1582 "of an honorable councilor, so one mockingly calls Wieddertäufer or Mennonisten in the small (Danzig or Stüblau) Werder". It should be noted here that the name "Mennonite" already appeared in 1544 in the East Frisian police regulations and in 1572 in a decree of the Elbingen Council of July 6 and in 1573 in a decision of the Danzig Council³⁴⁵.

Unfortunately, † Dr. Cornelius Bergmann, Jena, did not get to complete his studies mentioned in my attracted essay by a summarizing publication. He has, however, kindly provided me with the copy of the *Handfeste [Charter] of Reichenberg* from 1547 (!) in the name of Philipp Edzema, for which I would like to express my special thanks at this point. Later the co-worker at the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Mennonitische Sippenkunde" [Working Group for Mennonite Kinship Studies], Mr. Franz Harder, Danzig-Ohra, also for his part, in a manner worthy of thanks, a copy of this highly interesting and important document authored by him.

It is witnessed by the Council in its very cumbersome, squiggly, chancery language interspersed with Low German elements,

„dat wie (= wir [we]) den bescheidenen Philipp tegere deses breves (= Briefes [letter]) ein etlick unser Landtgut Reichenberg genannt, utgegeven vnnd recht vnnd raddelick vorschreven (= verschrieben [prescribed]) hebben, *dat sulvige mit ludenn* (= *Leuten [people]*) *siner Natie opt* (= aufs [on]) ferderlixte enthorichten (= einzurichten [set up]) vnnd to besitten, worumbe denne genannte Philipp sich dithpar von hennen jnn de Nederlande verfoget, zo (= zu [to]) *dem volck daselvigst*.. vnnd hieher tho vorgemeldte be- hofe (= Zweck [purpose]) met den ersten tho bringende.“

The names "Edzema" and "Fresen" clearly point to Friesland.

When Philipp is commissioned to bring settlers "of his nation" and these are called his "relatives" at one point in the contract, the assumption is obvious that it is about a recruitment of colonists of the closer homeland of Philipp Edzema. That these settlers are a family-like group, a "genealogical nucleus", also follows from the text of the contract.

In this document the following points are of special importance for us:

Philipp Edzema, whose name clearly betrays the Frisian origin of its bearer, is once also called Philipp Fresenn (Frisian). The Frisian patronymics end in "inga, en, ma, na, sma and a". Menno Simons should be called correctly: Menno Simona or Simonsma. The name "Fresenn" clearly points to Friesland (both "Fries" and the ending "en").

That the people in whose name Philipp Edzema appears are a clan has already been emphasized. The expected settlers are distinguished tribally from the inhabitants of Danzig. The Charter obviously refers of Frisians when it calls Philipp Edzema also Philipp Fresenn.

It is noteworthy that the Charter touches on the religious matters of the future settlers only in one place and with conspicuous restraint. It is only noted that beside the secular a spiritual court will function. But it is explicitly assured that it will happen "apart from all companions and wickedness" (sunder alle geferde and argelist). Behind this sentence a certain agreement between the contracting parties seems to be hidden. A concealment must have been necessary for ecclesiastical-political reasons. On the other hand, Philip Edzema seems to have touched this point openly, because in the already mentioned petition of the Mennonites of 1582 to the Council it is strongly emphasized that they would never have disguised their religious confession, and they would never have decided to accept the land without the assurance of free religious practice. Accordingly, an offer has been made to them, with a favorable religious clause, as it is then also present in this Charter. It is this point in the award deed still particularly with reference to the present deed affirmed. "By virtue of this letter"!

We may thus consider it proven that already before 1550 there was a Mennonite settlement in Reichenberg in the Danzig Werder, which was then visited by Menno, and to which he addressed the well-known pastoral letter in 1549. Hartknoch refers to Straphylus, who stayed in Königsberg from 1545

to 1550 in Königsberg and found "Anabaptists" near Danzig, Elbing and Königsberg³⁴⁶.

We can bring another weighty testimony to bear, namely from Danzig's historian Gottfried Lengnich († 1774): "Jus publicum civitatis Gedanensis" 1760 (published in 1900 by Dr. Otto Günther). Lengnich reports that in 1547 (!) and 1557 the city complained about the craftsmen and merchants in Schottland, which, as Szper and Schumacher believe, did not become the citizens of Danzig in 1565³⁴⁷, and asked the Cujavian bishop to "take such people away to get rid of them, which increased as a result of those fleeing from the Netherlands." Thus, in the period from 1547 to 1557 in Klein Werder there were already the settlements in question from the areas on the Lower Rhine. Lengnich also testifies that Schottland in 1571, as can be seen from the regulatory processes of that year, was heavily built-up, whereas earlier it had been a completely uncultivated place for as long as anyone can remember (as well as Hopfenbruch and Stolzenberg), "except that a few people stayed there, who subsisted on livestock, vegetables and garden crops". The new settlers, who arrived after 1547, turned this and other overgrown areas into a thriving settlement that aroused the envy of the city.

I presented this view of the historical course of events in public for the first time at the second German Mennonite Day in Gronau in Westphalia at the end of June 1936 and in August of the same year in a lecture at the conference of the German Institute for Foreign Countries in August 1936³⁴⁸. In the meantime, Mr. Franz Harder, Danzig, provided irrefutable proof for the correctness of the explanations. He wrote to me on March 30, 1938: "I currently have an old family chronicle of the Rüdiger and Hömsson families in my hands. There it says with regard to the settlement of today's Tiegenhof area (and also about Danzig and Elbing, in an important antecedent Unruh): "Since Danzig and Elbing in the years 1545-1550 with the Mennonites expelled from Holland because of their faith during the settlement of their had good success in swampy lands." Here a quite irrefutable proof for my thesis has jumped out. This surprising fact throws a glaring spotlight on the whole large field of origins in which we are concerned.

The previous investigations into the preliminary questions to our question of origin show that the Dutch Mennonites who immigrated to Prussia came mainly from Frisian areas (from Flanders up to and including East Friesland), as these areas were also the main focus of the Dutch Anabaptist movement.

It is also a fact that many refugees came to the Three Frieslands (provinces of Friesland, Groningen and East Friesland) *from other Dutch* (Dutch and Belgian) but also from *German* and *Swiss areas* and migrated on to West Prussia. But even among these refugees, as H. H. Schröder rightly saw, we have many Anabaptists who were at least closer to the Frisian tribe than to any other. In any case, there is no longer any reason to make light-hearted judgments about questions of origin, as is often the case in submissions, treatises and articles. The West Prussian Mennonites came for the most part from the Dutch and Lower German area, namely 'mainly from the regions from Bruges to the Eider and to Jutland, where the Frisian Menno enjoyed close association.

Thanks to the research of Dr. Horst Penner we now have the best *overall picture* of what happened during the settlement of the Danzig properties mentioned.

Already in the Middle Ages, in the 14th and 15th centuries, when the Dutch-Northeast German trade developed strongly, which became more and more a trade with the city of Danzig, the latter was happy to see the immigration of Dutchmen despite the Hanseatic cities' prohibitions on this.

As early as the 15th century, Dutch craftsmen had their own bench in the Artus Court in Danzig.

The Netherlands have largely influenced the cultural and economic life of the German Vistula region. There have always been lively trade relations between Danzig and the Netherlands, dating back to the Middle Ages. Flanders and Holland, as the most densely populated areas of Europe at that time, were heavily dependent on grain deliveries from the east. Barter goods were cloth and cloth.

According to H. Wiebe (p. 2), in 1620 the proportion of the [ships with the] Dutch flag reached 83 percent of Danzig port traffic. Since 1620, Amsterdam and Danzig were the main hubs of the European grain trade. The townscape of Danzig showed Dutch influences throughout. Wiebe has documented this in detail. Sculptors, painters, engineers, technicians settled in Danzig for life. Well-known is the excellent work of the fortress builder Adam Wiebe from Harlingen, West Friesland, who built a cable car to fill up the fortress ramparts of Danzig. The *Dutch colonization* provided settlers *and* legal norms for settlement, the so-called "righteous". The settler should "know how to keep the Dutch usage and justice" (Wiebe p. 6). As we have already noted, two settlement waves can be distinguished:

a) The medieval colonization practiced by the Teutonic Order, which created the medieval colonial village that Wiebe characterized in detail (p. 6 ff). The Schulz villages created by the order corresponded to the shape of the medieval colonial village. According to this right, the village land was divided between the pastor, mayor and the settlers. The pastor was granted 4 Hufen, the mayor a tenth part of the village area, the settlers the rest. The farmer had to pay a temporary lease (Emphyteüsis).

The mayor was adjudicated the lower issues, the higher to the provincial government. The medieval colonial village was founded by an enterprising man, the so-called Locator (Lokator), who was in charge as mayor.

b) The Dutch colonization that began in the 18th [16th] century was based on other principles (see Wiebe). Here the *community* of equal settlers (the "Nachbarn" [landowners] - the "Nachbarschaft"[association of landowners]) confronted the landlord (the city or the bishop or the noble landowner or a starost as the owner of crown estates) as contract opponents. This village community as such took over the land to be settled. The *Zeitpacht* (Emphyteüsis) replaced the earlier hereditary lease law. The settlers were granted a few years off until the land (unland) brought in income. The first contracts were short-term, later long-term, taking into account the productivity of the soil. After a lease expired, new contracts had to be concluded; the settlers had to "rent" and "buy" anew. The renewed lease agreement was called "Purchase Letter"(Einkaufbrief), or "Extension of Emphytean Justice". The purchase money was also called "Gottespfennig" (also Laudemium). It had to be paid to the landlord and amounted to several times the annual rent. The annual "rent" (Pachtschilling) could be paid in two installments.

The Dutch villages were freed from "Scharwerk", physical service due the landlord. The pioneers wanted to be free men. The lease agreements therefore expressly provided for freedom from Scharwerk and service to the landlord. Beyond the rent, the landlord was not allowed to burden the settlers. The farm owners were allowed to elect a mayor and two "Ratsmänner" (assessors) every year. Guideline for the village administration was the so-called "Wilkühr", that is, the collective decision of the farm owners regarding the village administration, which the landlord had to confirm. As in the medieval colonist village, the Schulze court was entitled to the lower jurisdiction (judicia minora), the higher (judicia majora) to the manorial rule (dominium inspector; Braesig in Fritz Reuter occasionally speaks of the "dominial"!). In the lease contract of Brattwin mentioned by Dr. Wiebe p. 51 it says: "The small local things shall be judged by the elected Schulze, but the serious and larger things remain before the castle [court]".

The time lease came close to ownership. The emphyteut could sell, mortgage or exchange his rights to the leased land for rights to other leased land. Even moving away (i.e., freedom of movement) was secured for him. The landlord insisted only on the services due to him from the contract. Compensation was possible for damage caused by force majeure.

Wiebe's comments on further details of the lease agreement are very revealing (about the sale of agricultural products, which was partly tied up, which the settlers found to be a shackle, about breweries, about hunting and fishing, about the termination of the lease agreement, about the leaseholder's right of first tenancy - "among the temporary leaseholders we can identify families who have sat on their soil for centuries" - about the "village Wilkühr" that regulated the coexistence of the village residents, about the position of the mayor in the Dutch village, who was elected and paid for a year, about the mayor's court, about widows and orphans from the "Hohe Schulzenamt", about the right of appeal in the last instance to the landlord, about property distribution and change of ownership in the Dutch village, about the right to *found a German school*, about "neighborly assistance" or "about Christian contribution", etc.).

In our context, two statements by historians are important: "The buyer - namely in the case of a change of ownership, in order to ward off foreign invaders - should be a German man who knows how to keep Dutch usage and justice and not a Polish person who does not know Dutch usage". H. Wiebe verbatim confirms (p. 6) U's earlier account in his essays in the Canadian weekly papers and in Part I of this volume. Also important is the fact that the legal norms introduced by the German settlers were very soon transferred by the Polish landlords to their own Slavic peasants. The application of German Teutonic order (I locáre Teutonicos), became an application according to German law, Teutonic order by law (locáre jure Teutonico). Wiebe states: "A similar process also happened with the *second* German settlement in the east, namely in the 16th century (!) to observe". The first Dutch villages were founded by Dutch people.

Very soon "*other Low German settlers*" (Wiebe p. 7) adopted the "*Dutch way*". Initially in *community* with the Dutch, and later *alone*, they laid out such Dutch villages "according to Dutch law", more Hollandorum, Polish, "Dutch law" (prawem holenderskim). The reader of Wiebes' presentation in Part I *before* this publication can state that both judgments coincide completely. U. has always pointed out that in the Middle Ages and in the 16th century etc. the eastern settlement in question exactly repeated what happened analogously in Canada when the "Mennonite terms" (the Mennonite order) came into general application. So there were settlements of German farmers in the East of Germany under Dutch law.

It is to be hoped that this research will once and for all do away with lay interpretations oriented towards current politics in Mennonite circles.

This *digression* on the last historical account from the hand of a young Mennonite historian, who was unfortunately immortalized too early, is intended to help ensure that impartial research can no longer accuse the Mennonites of so-called "history cluttering" (history distortion).

The unrest in the Netherlands during the Reformation brought a whole stream of refugees to the Vistula estuary. The fact that, in addition to the peasant settlers, the less welcome craftsmen and merchants also continued to appear, to the annoyance of the guilds and clergy in particular, could not be changed.

The Bishop of Leslau owned the suburbs of Old Schottland, Hoppenbruch, Bischofsberg and Stolzenbruch. A whole colony of foreign craftsmen of Alt-Schottland, English and *especially Dutch origin* gradually arose in them, to the great annoyance of the guilds, who constantly besieged the council to get the bishop to expel the "Anabaptists". However, the latter drew too many economic advantages from the colonial competition to be willing to comply with the council in this regard. Also, from a *church-political* point of view, he could have absolutely nothing against the Protestant splits, that is, against the fact that on occasion one party could be used as a battering ram against the other. The council, for its part, found a desirable counterbalance to its often unruly guilds in the unorganized foreign craftsmen and merchants.

Finally, the only way out left for the council was to buy Alt-Schottland from the bishop, which happened in 1565. In 1568 there was a new influx of Dutchmen, who avoided Alba's rabid abode and took refuge in the suburbs of Danzig.

The Danzig magistrate benefited from these colonists (ask Szper about this). No wonder then that he repeatedly only casually carried out the strictest mandates of the Polish crown against the non-citizens.

The Polish king Stephen Bathory (since 1576) declared in a decree that the council was not allowed to leave this "human plague" (hanc pestam hominum, qui et religionem mutare et statum publicum turbare assuet [This pestilence of men, which is wont both to change the religion and to disturb the public state.]^{348a}) in the city.

They should stay in the suburbs. In 1603 the council even decided that the Mennonites and other non-citizens could own *property* in Neuengarten and the other places outside the wall and register it in the register of inheritance, whereas previously they had only been allowed to make entries under aliases. Admittedly, on May 10, 1650, the council revoked this decision. Nevertheless, the Mennonite families pushed more and more into the city. The council argued against reproaches to its order that these Dutchmen should not be insulted. In 1681 there were already 180 families living in the Stadtgebiet [a district outside the city walls] and their number kept growing.

They were valued primarily for their brandy distillery and as border makers (Bortenmacher). They also knew how to defend themselves against attacks in writing, about which H. G. Mannhardt reports in detail. In this connection it should be mentioned that Dr. Kurt Kauenhowen paid special attention to the "craft of border making"³⁴⁹, and that after Szper, which the opponents disputed, the Dutch had brought this craft to Danzig. B. H. Unruh's already mentioned lecture "Cultural achievements of the Mennonites all over the world" should also be consulted here.

It would take too long to describe in detail how the rights of the Danzig Mennonites were contested, but how they continued to expand despite occasional setbacks.

The conditions of the Dutch farmers who came to Danzig were quite different from those of the settlers above. The city had an extremely favorable colonization area at its disposal for them, the "*Danzig (Stüblauer) Werder*", which had belonged to it since 1454.

These farmers came in extremely handy for the council, as they were masters at building dykes and canals.

After Szper³⁵⁰ the first Dutch farmers came to Prussia "accidentally". "Neder-Duitschers"³⁵¹ leased the village of Reichenberg (the author probably did not know the contract of 1547 better or at least it was ignored³⁵²). The council also had good experiences with other villages (Wesslinke, Schmerblock).

Among the Danzig estates, the "*Dutch villages*" are the most important for us. Horst Penner has clearly worked out their special position.

Then there are 15 Stüblausche so-called *Scharwerksdörfer* that Dr. Bums all listed³⁵³. (After Szper³⁵⁴ *Käsemark* was added to Schmerblock. In this village and in Gottswalde^{354a} Penner recorded Mennonite residents (as well as in Schönau and Sperlingsdorf³⁵⁵.) Penner further differentiates on the basis of the sources "villages managed by the building authority" [Bauamt].

The "Dutch villages" claim special interest for questions of origin. It should be mentioned, however, that the Mennonites, which is very important, from the middle of the 17th century emigrated from the "Dutch villages" to the Gross Marienburg Werder because of the unfriendly attitude of the Danzig council.

If we now try to find a more satisfactory solution to the problem we have been given, using the material provided by Penner and Reimer, we want to do it in such a way that we always take into account the categories of villages given. Anyone who wants to follow our explanations should read No. 3 from the series of publications by the "Mennonite Historical Association" with the work of Horst Penner and Gustav Reimer jun. have on hand, because for the most part we have to limit ourselves to hints for economic reasons.

The "*Dutch villages*" (5 + 2) are of particular interest to us as the oldest of the Dutch settlements from the 16th century in temporarily Polish Prussia.

One of the 15 Scharwerksdörfer that Penner³⁵⁶ lists was, as we already know, made to Schmerblock (Käsemark) after Szper. Penner has identified Mennonites in several of these villages.

We note that not all Dutch people in our Dutch villages were Mennonites, and then that *the Mennonite names in these villages are almost exactly the same as in the East Frisian and other lists already reviewed.*

This fact alone is striking.

In the Dutch villages, however, we also encounter very "foreign" names that we have not yet been able to classify due to a lack of source documents. We shall leave them aside in what follows.

We now compile the most important Mennonite names in these villages, constantly emphasizing those already annotated. The few names that have not yet been discussed are also discussed in a series of smaller or larger explanations. Perhaps the resulting name material can be examined from a factual point of view.

The names of the 5 *Dutch villages* are now listed in the following order: Reichenberg (R), Scharfenberg (Scha), Landau with Sperlingsdorf (Land, Sp), Schmerblock (Sahm) and Wesslincke. The names marked with + have already been annotated by us.

In addition to Felicia Szper's dissertation, which he substantially supplemented, Penner consulted the official registers in the Spit and the Werdersche Amtskasten of the Danzig State Archives. He explained what this is about.

R: Reichenberg. In the 1547 contract with Philippus Edzema, a Frisian group of settlers is mentioned. This has already been discussed in detail. However, the various sources mention three other names from Reichenberg:

Arentson Bartz (1595 Schulze in Reichenberg), Ratsmann + *Gerd*, *Arentson* (1595) and Cornelius + *Cornelissen* (Schulze von Reichenberg, early 17th century).

According to Reimer, the name *Bartz* = Bartsch is of Slavic origin. Johann Bartsch³⁵⁷ was one of the West Prussian delegates who went to Russia in 1786 to prepare for Mennonite emigration there.

The Danzig Council probably had difficulties in getting peasants for this village. It was the lowest lying village and after Szper first "leased to some Neder-Duitschers en Danzig Bürgers". It is not said who the previous owner's³⁵⁸ were. They were allowed to claim damages and received them. Szper further mentions that Reichenberg had been leased to a citizen (aan een burger) in 1547. This is probably just an "intermediary" who was often involved in lease agreements³⁵⁹. In 1563 the council leased 4 Hufen to the Dutchmen Jan + *Albrecht* and Jan + *Petersen*³⁶⁰.

Unfortunately, we are missing a fire register from Reichenberg. Already in the first decades of the 17th century, because of the harassment of the council, there was a migration from the "Dutch villages" in the Danzig Werder to the settlements in the Spit area.

Here there was still soil to be cultivated in the inland spit. Such an exodus also started from R. Penner names³⁶¹ the settler Peter Jansen, over whose orphans in 1628 a Reichenberg resident Hermann + *Adriansen* was appointed guardian. Peter + *Giesebrecht* from Reichenberg had to build two sluices near Pasewark, in accordance with an order from the council, and married the widow of a new settler³⁶². After a few years, Giesebrecht moved to Mewe. In 1612 farmers from Wesslincke and Reichenberg leased the Bohnsacker cattle pasture^{362a} for 5 years. In 1734 it was owned by Matthias + *Schmidt*, Matthias + *Classen*, Gergen + *Schulz*, Hinrich + Andreas. From the 17th century are mentioned: 1628 Peter + *Siemens*, 1642 Conrad + *Wiebe*, 1646 *Jochem* + *Willer* (Wiehler).

One can rightly assume that some of these namesake descendants were also Reichenberg settlers. It can be ascertained that in 1628 there were already quite a few Mennonites in the Spit (and in Scharpau) who were obliged to hold the office of mayor, which the Mennonites of the time were less willing to do.

No less important is the emigration of settlers from the Dutch villages of the Danzig Werder to the Gross Marienburg Werder, which began in the mid-17th century.

a) Soon after his accession to power (1548), Siegismund II August had lent large parts of the land north of the Gross Marienburg Werder to the noble Simon Loitze and his brothers, who were well acquainted with the settlement attempts in Danzig Werder. Here in the northern Gross Werder the villages of *Ladekopp*, *Schöneberg*, *Orloff*, *Tiege*, *Reimerswalde* and *Tiegenhagen* are named

A check shows that from the Reichenberg namesakes mentioned above in this Gr. Werderdörfer the following occur (we quote in more detail!):

Peters: 1727 Ladekopp, 1727 & 1772 Tiege, 1764 Tiegenhagen.
Schmidt: 1727 Tiege, 1772 Tiegenhagen.
Claassen: 1772 Ladekopp, Tiege, 1764 Tiegenhagen; 1772 Tiegenhagen.
Andres: 1727 Tiegenhagen.
Siemens: 1664 Tiegenhof.
Willer: *Wiehler*) 1727 Ladekopp.

In any case, we have here a parallelism in Mennonite names as such that is significant in itself. Whether it was due to migration from the Dutch villages to the Gr. Of course, it is not clear who or otherwise is to be explained.

b) In 1608 the bishop of Kulm complained that the area of the Marienburg Werder was full of Mennonites. We intend to come back to this below.

The *settlement area around Tiegenhof* comprised 136 Dutch leaseholds (Zinshufen), of 23 Morgen and 276 Ruten³⁶³, which were distributed among the following villages: *Platenhof*, *Tiegenhagen*, *Tiegerweide*, *Reimerswalde*, *Orlofffelde*, *Pietzkendorf*, *Petershägenerfeld* and *Pletzdorf*.

Let's now check whether the Reichenberg names also occur in these villages!
 (Unfortunately, the lists of Platenhof, Petershägenerfeld and Pletzenhof³⁶⁴ are missing from Dr. Penner in the appendix.

Petersen = Peters: 1727 Pietzendorf; 1637 Tiegenhof p. 46, Footnote 2.
Schmidt: 1727 Pietzendorf.
Friesen: 1629 Orlofffelde p. 51, Footnote 31.

With most of the names, the parallelism is missing! The names here point to the Frisian communities in the upper Vistula lowlands, but also to other Frisian communities (Schulz: by the way, also of the Flemish persuasion). *We are obviously dealing with Upper German namesakes who may have come to Prussia from Moravia.*

c) There were a *number of other villages* in the *Tiegenhöf economy* in which Dutch people settled: *Stobbendorf* (Habbersdorf), *Altendorf*, *Reinland*, *Rückenau*, *Orloff*, *Petershagen*, *Siebenhuben*. There are no contracts from other villages of economy.

Parallelism with R: (Penner is missing some lists, e.g., for *Stobbendorf*).
Philippsen: 1727 Siebenhuben, s. p. 58. 1651 Haberhorst s. p. 55 Footnote 5.
Albrecht: 1727 Siebenhuben.
Claassen: 1727 Siebenhuben.
Petersen = Peters: 1725 Reinland p. 56; 1711. Petershagen p. 57;
 1727 Petershagen, 1772 ditto.
Siemens: 1727 Stobbendorf p. 54, Footnote 3.

d) *The Burwaldsche area:* Since 1569 there were Mennonites in *Bärwalde*, *Vollwerkshuben* (Bahrenhof), *Fürstenwerder*, *Neumünsterberg*, *Vierlehnhuben*, *Vogtei*.

Parallelism with R: The Reichenberg names appear here:
Peters: 1727 Vierzehnhuben, 1627 Fürstenwerder p. 59;
 1757 Mitvertreter der drei Dörfer Vollwerkshuben,
 Vierzehnhuben, Vogtei, p. 60.
Siemens: 1645 Bärwalde, p. 59, Footnote 4.

e) *The Dutch pasture lands of the Great Marienburg Werder.* To be mentioned here are: *Heubuden*, *Gurken*, *Warnau* (Kozelicke), *Lesewitz*, *Blumstein*, *Herrenhagen*, *Einlage an der Nogat*.

Parallelism with R:
 In *Heubuden:* Giesebrecht 1727, 1772;
 Claassen-Klaassen 1727, 1772;
 Peters 1727.
Kozelicke (Warnau): Claassen 1772.
Tenants in Gross-Heubuden, Wilhelmbruchshuben: p. 61, p. 62, footnote 5. *Gurken:*
 Peters U. Giesebrecht 1710;
 Peters, Bartsch, Claassen 1750 (Claassen also 1759).
Einlage: Andres 1772 P. 72.

Important summary: We do not intend to carry out the comparison completely without gaps. We only want to show that even in the case of *Reichenberg*, where the documents are extraordinarily meager, because of the lack of a fire register, the parallelism in the name bearers is not missing here and there. This suggests a *flow of settlers from the Danzig Werder to the Gross Marienburg Werder, even from Reichenberg*. We note as a peculiarity that the two Reichenberger names *Bartsch* (Bartz) and *Giesebrecht* occur only in Heubeden from the years 1710, 1727 and 1750 and then a Reichenberger Giesebrecht also in the Binnen-Nehrung³⁶⁵. If Peter Giesebrecht from *Reichenberg* migrated to the spit, then the *analogy conclusion* lies close that it is also the Giesebrechts in Heubuden. The analogy conclusion is not obligatory, however.

We now move on to the "Hölländerdorf" *Scharfenburg* in the Danzig Werder. Our notes will be as brief as possible. We do not strive for completeness. This would only make sense if we had the guarantee that all the names that can be found in the various archives were actually included.

Scha: 1547, in this year *Scha* was given away "to some Hollanders together with some Burghers".

Penner offers a whole series of names familiar to us: von Bommerln, Florrissen, Peter + *Jantzen*, Möllers, *Johann* + *Conrads*, + *Schulze*, + *Frantzen*, Mennonit, Heinrich + *Giesbrecht*, 1615 Hans von + *Bargen*.

Subtenants of *Scha*: Merten + *Clausen* (from this Claassen), Hans *Jakobsen*.

Scharfenbergs fire register 1675, 1725, 1748, 1763 see Penner in the appendix! For us, a whole series of names foreign to us is ruled out. They are easily recognizable.

The names + *Frehse*, + *Willms*, + *Andress*, + *Peters*, + *Ziemen* (= *Siemens*), + *Giesbrecht*, + *Nickel*, + *Hindrich* and + *Heinrich* (= *Heinrichs*), + *Philippsen* are familiar to us.

Especially to note is *Wulff* (*Wulf*, *Wolff*). According to Reimer the name appears in the church books of Danzig (since 1710). In the church books of Heubuden, also Rosenort, thus consistently in Flemish parishes; the name has a Low German sound).

Parallelism with *Reichenberg*: *Philippsen* (cf. R: *Philipp* Edzema) *Clausen* (*Claassen*), *Andress*, *Peters*, *Siemens*, *Giesebrecht*.

Parallelism with R.: in the settlements a) b) c) d) and e) in the Gross Marienburg Werder (we quote more precisely here on a trial basis!);

a) *Frehse* (in *Tiege* 1727), *Pietzendorf* 1772), *Willms* (*Ladekopp* 1727 and 1722, *Andres* (1727 *Tiegenhagen*), *Peters* (1637 *Tiegenhof* p. 46, footnote 2) *Siemens* (1727 *Tiegenhagen*), *Nickel* (1764 & 1772 *Tiegenhagen*) *Philippsen* (1702 in *Orloff* s. Penner p. 57 and also 1727). The only names that do not occur in these villages are: *Giesebrecht*, *Hindrichs* and *Heinrich*.

b) *Fröse* (1772 *Pietzendorf*), *Andres* (1727 *Tiegerweide*), *Peters* (1727 & 1772 *Pietzendorf*) *Nickel* (1727 *Orlofffelder*, *Pietzendorf*, quite common in both villages).

c) *Willm* = *Willms* (1772 *Rückenau*), *Siemens* (1727 *Altendorf*), *Peters* 1725 *Reinland* s. Penner p. 56), *Philippsen* (1727 *Siebenhuben*, *Hebershorst*).

d) *Peters* (*Fürstenwalder* s. Penner p. 59, 1757 co-representative of the three villages *Vollwerkshuben*, *Vierzehnhuben*, *Vogtei*), *Nickel* (1727 *Vierzehnhuben*).

(e) *Heubuden* and *Gurken* (described as Dutch in 1676): Penner gives the names p. 6 (see especially footnotes 4, 5 & 6) and in the appendix. The parallel names between *Scharfenberg* and *Heubuden* are: *Claassen* (= *Claussen*), *Peters*, *Giesbrecht*, *Jantzen*, *Isbrecht* (= *Giesbrecht*), *von Bargen*, *v. Bärge*.

Summary: This overview shows that the families in *Scharfenberg* appear with a few exceptions also in the Gross Marienburg Werder. This proves the unconditional identity of the clans in the "Dutch villages" of the Danzig Werder and the Gross Werder.

The comparisons with *Wesslincke*, *Landau*, *Schmerblock* have also been carried out carefully by me. The reader can make the comparison on his own!

The name bearers from *Wesslincke* occur frequently in the Gross Werder, with exception of *Arndt* and *Cornelissen*.

In *Schmerblock* the names occur: + *Jantzen*, + *Barg*, + *Dirksen*, *Behrends*, *Isebrandt*, + *Gortzen*, + *Heinrich*, + *Siewert*, + *Lehnert*, + *Ratzlaff*, + *Mirau*, + *Claassen*. New for the area of the "Hölländerdörfer" are the names: *Behrends*

(the name is rare), Isebrand (with the Russian Germans only first name, like also Behrend = Bernhard). Also the other names are rare.

On the basis of the comparisons we conclude that the vast majority of name bearers in the "Holländerdörfer" also occur frequently in the Gross Marienburg Werder. But a certain group of names is peculiar to the Gross Werder in comparison with the names in the "Holländerdörfer".

We encounter names that occur in the "Holländerdörfer" but *rarely* in the Gross Werder. Then names in the "Holländerdörfer", which *do not* occur at all in the Gross Werder, at least according to the material available to us.

XIV. The immigration of the Mennonites to the Elbing area

The last summarizing account of the Mennonite immigration into this area comes from the pen of the former Elbing Mennonite pastor Lic. E. Händiges³⁶⁶. He tries to give an overall picture of the events on the basis of the various sources, basing it primarily on the work of Wilhelm Mannhardt "Die Wehrfreiheit der altpreussischen Mennoniten" [The Military Freedom of the Old Prussian Mennonites] and on H. G. Mannhardt, the chronicler of the Danzig Mennonite congregation. Then there is a "Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Elbinger Mennonitengemeinde,"³⁶⁷ [Brief history of the Elbing Mennonite congregation] which deals primarily with the community that separated from the old Elbing congregation in 1845. The historian of the Russian-German Mennonites also devotes a large section³⁶⁸ to the Elbing-Ellerwald congregation in his well-known work. In addition to the records of Aeltester Gerhard Wiebe mentioned in the last footnote, the chronicle of Aeltester Jakob Krocker, which Geheimer Oberregierungsrat Wiehler-Potsdam [Privy Councillor Wiehler-Potsdam] discovered in the archives of the Danzig Mennonite community during his genealogical research. The contribution "Elbing" in the "Mennonitisches Lexikon" deserves special recognition.

The main sources are the records of the former Aelteste and preachers, which Händiges has compiled in a list.

Mennonites existed in Elbing already before 1550. Händiges quotes what Aeltester Jakob Krocker reports about this. "With the greatest certainty, we read with Wilh. Mannhardt, we may assume Mennonites in the "Dutchmen" who settled in the city of Elbing in 1550." The strict orders of the Polish kings Sigismund I and II from 1556 were obviously directed against them³⁶⁹. They had been sued in a petition to the king because of their competition in trade and commerce, and on the part of the clergy they were accused of direct seduction of the people in secret meetings.

The king ordered the Mennonites to vacate the city in 14 days. The magistrate, however, was lukewarm in carrying out the crown's order. The council declared, with a touch of humor, that it was more Christian to save the souls of the people than to remove them. Since the Mennonites were not allowed to stay in the city, many citizens gave them places to live on their estates in the surrounding area, to the annoyance of many other citizens. Because it was a matter of sublease, there are no documents about this in the Elbing archives³⁷⁰. Later (1565) they were used for the reclamation of the Ellerwald, a still desolate stretch of land along the lagoon, which had fallen to Elbing in 1536³⁷¹. Because the Lutheran citizens, Elbing had a Lutheran magistrate, were themselves still challenged in church politics, they were more lenient toward the Mennonites.

Also the original contracts concerning the Ellerwald have unfortunately been lost³⁷².

Sigismund August protested against this concession shown to the Mennonites at the Diet of Marienburg in 1556; these rebellious elements were dangerous to the state as "corrupters of the common people."³⁷³ The edict explicitly states that "in some places in Prussia, the Anabaptists are allowed free residence. Some authorities not only allowed this, but encouraged it"³⁷⁴.

This confirms what we have stated above about the agreement between Philipp Edzema and the Danzig Council. The Elbing Council maintained the position it had taken, and in 1559 it also accepted the refugees who came to Elbing from the Duchy of Prussia. In 1571 the preacher Sebastian Neogeorgius, incited by the guilds, opened a real campaign against the Mennonites, so that the magistrate had to give in. He issued an order that they had to leave the city area, but postponed the execution of the sentence until it was completely irrelevant³⁷⁵. The settlers remained on the estates and soon found their way back to the city. In 1585 Hans von Köln and Jost von Kämpen were even able to acquire citizenship, and in 1590 the community was allowed to build a church³⁷⁶. As before, the Mennonites were accepted as citizens even without a citizens' oath.

Elbing granted them citizenship much earlier than Danzig, which became part of Prussia only in 1793.

The origin of the Elbing Mennonite community thus goes back to the first half of the 16th century. Already around the time of 1528 to 1530 "Anabaptists" (not "Mennonites") are mentioned not far from Elbing, to whom Duke Albrecht of Prussia granted a land complex northeast of Prussian Holland

for settlement. He had promised them freedom of military service, as was the general colonial custom at that time, and they were also allowed to elect their own preachers and mayors. A report about the elections was signed by persons whose names are still numerous among the West Prussian Mennonites: + *Dirks*, + *Janss*, + *Janssen*, + *Siemens*. However, they had to give way to the disfavor of the clergy and leave East Prussia as late as 1543, unless they were willing to accept the Lutheran confession of faith. Some of them moved to the Tilsit area, others came to the Elbing lowlands (Niederung) or to the neighboring Werder. In both places they found themselves together with Anabaptists who had settled there around 1530. *In the forties there was a new influx from the Netherlands, and around 1545 one can already recognize the formation of separate communities.*

The account of Händiges is completely consistent with the results of our investigations.

The Elbing Mennonite congregation is mentioned everywhere as one of the oldest between the Nogat and the Vistula. With great probability its consolidation goes back to Menno Simons himself. H. G. Mannhardt assumes that Menno Simons was in Danzig a few times in 1547-1552 alone or accompanied by Dirk Philips and Hans Sicken, and "also sought out and gathered the scattered Anabaptists in and near Elbing, in the upper Vistula lowlands and in East Prussia"^{376a}.

Menno Simon's letter of October 7, 1549 may have been addressed first to the members of the "Elbing community". In any case, it came into their possession. A translation of this Dutch letter by Gerhard Wiebe, then Aeltester of Elbing-Ellerwald, was in the archives of the community Thiensdorf-Markushof (later Thiensdorf-Pr. Rosengarten).

One may determine thus the beginnings of a firmer community formation in E.-E. [Elbing-Ellerwald?] approximately in the year 1547-1548³⁷⁷.

Händiges emphasizes that the division between Flemish and Frisians did not exist at the time of the oldest immigration into this area, but at the time of the later ones. This proves the correctness of the above dating, because the split into the two factions in Friesland occurred only in the 60s of the 16th century. It was not until 1783 that a prayer house was built in Ellerwald and the first sermon was held there on October 5. The members of the town and the country formed one congregation. The number of Mennonite families naturalized in Elbing increased with time. In 1610 there were 16 families living in the city. In 1642 the Mennonites received the well-known privilege from King Vladislaus.

But already after a few years a fight broke out about their toleration or non-toleration at the Marienburg Diet³⁷⁸ In 1677 they then received a new letter of protection. In 1700 the Elbing Council stated: "Mennonitae habent tolerantiam religionis" (the Mennonites enjoy religious freedom). They were naturalized and they paid a special protection fee for the granting of freedom from conscription.

Until 1726 the community seems to have been without Aeltester. The Aeltester Heinrich von dem Bösche (1606)³⁷⁹ was probably only a guest in Elbing. The first Aeltester was Hermann Janssen (1727). From this year on an exact order of the Aelteste can be determined^{379a}.

We are interested here in the names: Hermann + Janssen (came to Elbing from the Netherlands in 1690), Zacharias + Schröter, Anthony Wölky (cf. Russian-German Mennonite names Wölk), Gerhard + Wiebe (in the rural community, the Aeltester in the urban community was Anthony Wölky, 1804 unification of the urban and rural community), Jakob *Kroecker*, Johann + Andres (went to America), Johann Mierau, Abraham Dick, Wilhelm Dückmann, Rudolf Wiehler, Lic. E. Händiges.

Note: "Wilhelm alias *Wölke* Krin" see Gustav Reimer. Reimer gives a very interesting quote on "Krin": "Susanna, the daughter left behind by Wolcke Krienen from Friesland at birth, who was raised from a young age in Prussia at Schönsee.". The name *Kroecker* varies greatly, see Reimer. *Dückmann*, Dyck, Dickmann is found in the Flemish communities of Rosenort and Heubuden.

In 1648 Zacharias Janssen, Hermann Fock, Anton Woeube are named as "Men of the Word"³⁸⁰.

Unfortunately, as already noted, the original contract with Ellerwald has been lost. In a contract concluded by Count Wybranow Chlebowski with the local farmers in 1725, the following family names, very common among the Mennonites, appear: Gert van + Dyk, Franz *Isaac*, Abraham Peters, Christophel *Hooge*, Hermann + Wiens, Michael + Janssen, Gerd + Dirksen, Andreas + Hein, Arend + Peters, Jakob + Peters, David + Bestvader, Hendrik + Qiring, Jakob + Bestvader and Absalom (extraordinarily rare!) + Friesen³⁸¹.

Note: We have already said the most important of these names. Isaac (and variations) occurs almost exclusively in Flemish congregations, or Old Flemish, as does *Hooge*.

Summary: We must agree with G. L. Baron von Reisswitz³⁸² when he concludes: "The first *Mennonites* in Prussia indisputably settled first in *Danzig, Elbing and in the Werdern, especially in the Montauschen lowlands (Niederung)*" (Italics by me U.).

That the Elbingers belong together with the Danzigers is indisputable. Most of the names in the Elbing area also coincide with the names in the East Frisian tax rolls. Here again

it should be emphasized that the identity refers not only to the individual names, but to the large groups of names. Gradually a sorting out of names has taken place, which have found a permanent "home right" among the Mennonites. In any case, it must be noted that the names on the tax rolls and the usual name groups in the Prussian rural districts are almost one hundred percent the same. This peculiar phenomenon can be explained only in terms of settlement history and genealogical nuclei.

XV. The Mennonites in the Vistula Lowlands (Graudenz, Schweiz, Kulm)

In Donner's chronicle of the Orlofffelde community in the Gross Werder, the settlement in the Marienburg lowlands is moved to 1562 and added: "*In the lowlands higher up the Vistula the settlement of the Mennonites happened about 20 years earlier.*" It would thus also have originated, as in the Danzig area and in Elbing, in the 40s of the 16th century. Menno, as reported, also visited them and was their Aeltester. The author, when he dealt with the above topic, was in close cooperation with the late Dr. H. Wiebe, who visited him and worked in his archive. It came to a mutual give and take, which cannot be delimited in all cases more exactly against each other. Now that Wiebe's dissertation has been published, U. can state that the interest in the questions of origin of the West Prussian-Russian Mennonite groups, which occupied U. lively at that time, forced him to the almost one-sided *concentration* on this topic, while Wiebe had to strive very seriously for the general *historical* picture of the settlement work of Dutch Mennonites in the Vistula valley between Fordon and Weissenburg until the end of the 18th century. Both representations overlap, but this can be avoided afterwards. In fact, Dr. Wiebe, in drawing the *framework* of this settlement work and its development, its course sketchily comes to words, and we pursue our genealogical concern in the most *one-sided* way. The author will let H. Wiebe give the reader an *overview* in the drawing of that frame and that course of development of the Mennonite settlement work in the Vistula valley, which only the deceased young excellent researcher could give. Due to the mentioned cooperation between the author and Dr. Wiebe, as far as the historical *painting* is concerned, the two representations, which moreover have drawn from many common sources, largely coincide. The panorama of the settlement history is naturally much more colorful and richer in Wiebe's work and at the same time more total and concrete in every respect. This is mainly due to U's special topic. We highly recommend the work of Dr. Wiebe!

In the German Vistula landscape we distinguish three sections: *the Thorn-Bromberg Basin, the Vistula Breakthrough Valley (Weichseldurchbruchstal)* and *the Vistula Delta*.

We are dealing here with the *Vistula Breakthrough Valley*, with its larger lowlands, i.e., the areas of various shapes into which the river cuts the valley floor.

On the *left* bank of the Vistula one identifies the *Schweizer Niederung (lowland)* opposite *Kulm*, further downstream *Graudenz* opposite the *Sartowitz-Neuenburg Niederung* and even further downstream the *Fälkenau Niederung*.

On the *right* bank of the Vistula, four sub-areas are distinguished: the *Kulmer District Niederung*, which begins below Fordon (see H. Wiebe map sketch between p. 2 and 3), the *Kulmer City Niederung*, the *Graudenz Basin* and the *Marienwerder Niederung*.

H. Wiebe has treated all major subsections in great detail. In U's explanations in part I of this volume the question of origin dominates. Now that W's work has been published, it is taken into account, even if not exhaustively for a long time, but piecemeal, in order to prove that Wiebe's research results are not at all contrary to the author's view, but are suitable to support it to a large extent.

We consider Dr. Wiebe's remarks insofar as they are able to refute or justify our methodological approach to clarify our main concern.

We have started our discussion in Part I with the settlement *Montau* and *Gruppe* in the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowland. In the 14th century the area belonged to the commandery (= district of religious estates) Engelsburg, to which the villages Montau, Gr. Sanskau, Kl. Sanskau and the outlying estate Sanskau belonged. The village Montau had received a charter (document) for 46 Hufen (Hufen: = the average measure of farm property), the neighboring Sanskau was occupied by gardeners, on an outwork in Sanskau the Order maintained a stud farm (1381 a stock of 271 horses). In the unfortunate war with Poland, the Engelsburg Commandery was so devastated that in 1416 it was united with the neighboring Order Bailiwick of Roggenhausen. The bailiwick of Roggenhausen, which the Mennonites had to deal with at Graudenz, was held by the West Prussian nobleman *Hans Dulski* († 1590). The Polish King Stephan Barthory then awarded the royal feudal estates for life to his, the king's, secretary Reinhold Heidenstein, with whose son Johann H. in 1673 the lineage in the male line became extinct. The crown estates now fell to the magnate family Potocki, which remained in their possession until the beginning of the Frederician period.

In 1565, crown treasury commissioners, anxious to increase royal tax revenues, had strongly recommended leasing the land to Dutch Mennonites in the Danzig Werder, who had proven themselves to be excellent pioneers. The crown estates would then bring the king a significantly greater profit. *For us it is of genealogical importance that according to Dr. Wiebe's statement the Dutchmen who settled in Montau in 1567 were Mennonites who had immigrated from the Danzig Werder. Thus their closest genealogical interlocking is given from the outset.*

The oldest settlement of the Mennonites in the Sartowitz-Neuenburg Lowlands, established in 1567, was *Montau*. The history of the village, which Wiebe offers documentarily, is very worth reading (p. 20 ff). In 1624 Montau already had 24 residents. In 1605, 21 plenipotentiaries of the 8 villages Dragass, Gruppe, Gr. Lubin, Kl. Lubin, Gr. Sanskau, Kl. Sanskau, Kommerau and Montau agreed on a drainage system of the lowlands to be carried out jointly and controlled by a committee of elected men. More than half of these plenipotentiaries bore Mennonite names.

Montau and the other villages experienced the hardest times during the two Swedish Wars and the Nordic War. The villages of Vistula had hardly recovered from the horrors of the Second Swedish War when Saxon, Polish, Swedish and Russian troops were quartered there during the Nordic War and destroyed their prosperity. In the last times before the Prussian seizure of possession the situation of the villages became more and more difficult, which led to emigration, e.g., to the formation of the Neumark settlement (see below). In 1772 West Prussia was incorporated into the state of Frederick the Great.

Wiebe shows how the Mennonites spread from Montau, the oldest settlement on the left bank of the Vistula, over the entire lowlands under discussion.

Only a few years after their settlement in Montau they began to extend their colonization work to the neighboring *Sanskau*. It was on this land that *Kl. Sanskau* came into being. In *Gr. Sanskau*, where the farmers, who were still employed by the Order, had survived until the 16th century, the Mennonites could not achieve a numerical predominance over the German-Lutheran farmers. Nevertheless, it had a strong percentage of Mennonite farmers and was subsequently "under Dutch law". It belonged at the beginning of the 17th century to the "Hollander villages" of the lowlands.

North of the Sanskauer Tenute lay the Starostei *Neuenburg*. There an oak forest was given to Dutchmen for settlement. They founded the small village of *Treul*, which had only 15 Hufen in 1664. The village consisted of Mennonite and Lutheran farmers.

Upstream from the Vistula, the Graudenz Staroste villages of *Gr Lubin* and *Dragass* joined them. In an episcopal visitation report from 1583 Mennonites are mentioned, who occupied Lubin and shamefully inhabited even the church. The castellan Hans Zborowski (Starost of Graudenz from 1581 until his death in 1603) had put them there. He leased to the Dutch, *Gr. Lubin, Companie, Cobelnitza* (1591). The last lease was made by Jakob Ewert and Thomas Gertz during the Polish period. At the same time Hans Zborowski leased *Kl. Lublin* to Mennonites (first contract in 1593). In 1632 the contract was renewed, by Christoff Schultz, Caspar Janzon, Heinrich Conradts, David Lorentz and two bearers of names foreign among Mennonites (Abraham Meinerth and Peter Hapner). The next contract was concluded with *Dirck Görtz* and *David Vogt*. The third Starosteidorf *Dragass* was also settled by Mennonites. At Dragass a fourfold catastrophic dam burst (an "ingens diluvium"), which cost human lives and severely silted up lands of the village. In 1740, the landowners through their representatives Franz Zibrand and Derk Gertz acquired 20 Hufen (1740).

The *Kommerau* settlement was established at an early date. The last lease letter was issued in 1733 to the farmers Johann Bartel and Peter Richert and two bearers of unknown names.

In 1623 these 4 lowland villages with Montau, the two Sanskau and several Schwerzer Starosteid villages (see below), received a royal letter of exemption from military assessment and quartering. Everywhere the Mennonites were in the majority in a considerable number of villages.

Smaller settlements (Sibsau, Kl. Sibsau), which Wiebe discusses, we pass over. The noble manor *Gruppe* and the noble village *Michelau* separated the part of the Graudenz Starostei situated west of the Vistula from the Schwetz Starostei in the south of the Sartowitz-Neuenburger lowland. Along the Vistula dike, which today protects this lowland from flooding, lie the former *Schwetz starost villages: Brattwin, Gr. Westfalen, Neunhuben, and Deutsch Westfalen*. In 1593 Dutchmen were settled here, whose representatives (Wiebe p. 24) bore names foreign to us. Details are passed over with reference to Wiebe, who has particularly interesting things to report about the *village Neunhuben*. Because Neunhuben suffered from frequent floods, it was sold to the following 7 Mennonites: Franz Köpper from Brattwin, Peter Rosenfeld and Hans Gertz from Montau, Peter Kliewer the younger from Kl. Sanskau, Peter Kliewer from Dragass, Heinrich Bartel from Schönsee and Heinrich Geddert from Niederausmass. The lease came into effect in 1754 with Johann Gertz.

The manor *Gruppe* was leased in 1604 by three men Abraham Franns, Lahwe Ekert and Hans Kriecker. As a share holder of Gruppe, the Marienburg Wojewode Samuel Zalinski sold 7 Hufen of shrub land (Gruppsches Land and Strauch) in 1625 to the Dutchmen Zacharias Kerwer and Peter Hese, at emphyteutic rights. This land later belonged to Niedergruppe. The *villages of Obergruppe and Niedergruppe* were founded on it in 1650.

They were called "Germani haeretici, vulgo Hollandi dicti" = "German heretics, vulgo (commonly, usually) called Dutchmen". These Dutchmen would have taken possession of the land belonging to the Poles. These were ceded, under compensation of the Dutchmen, to 25 Catholic Poles (Catholici Poloni). The bishop Christof Schembeck, before whom the Catholics of Kommorsk had brought an action, declared that he had succeeded in returning "in a mild manner to their places" the heretical tenants who had unjustly taken the fields of the Catholics.

b) *The Schweizer Niederung*: The Mennonite Settlements in this lowland ceased to exist more than 100 years ago. Their center was the *Starosteidorf Wintersdorf* (formerly called Przechowka). We will come back to this village, as well as to the daughter colony of the Schwetz lowlands in the 18th century in *Kleinsee (Jesiorken)* below.

We leave aside the Mennonite settlements on the left bank of the Vistula with reference to Dr. Wiebe.

U's Presentation: About the settlements of *Montau* and *Gruppe* we have a publication by L. Stobbe, which is also referred to here.

He calls it "A memorial sheet to the settlement of the Schwetz-Neuenburg lowlands by Dutch Mennonites in 1568". On February 2, 1568, the Mennonites Thomas and Peter Janssen, Bernhardt von Rho, Bernhard von Baygen, Andreas Unrauh (= Unruh, Low German form) as representatives of a total of 18 neighbors concluded a lease for 12 years with Captain Hans Dulski on Roggenhausen. The document was kept for safe preservation in the Danzig archives under Montau 358 No. 123-137. The mentioned contract covered the villages of Montau and Sanskau in the size of 50 culmisch Hufen. It was confirmed by the Polish king and periodically renewed, with the "rent shilling" being increased each time, a proof that under the skillful hands of the pioneers the land increased in value. Special reference should be made to a small paper by W. Kerber^{383 & 384} and to the interesting essay by Herbert Wiebe³⁸⁵ published in the "Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter". In *my* essay *Colonization contacts between Mennonites and settlers of other denominations (Kolonisatorische Berührungen zwischen Mennoniten and Siedlern anderer Konfession)*³⁸⁶, the Mennonite settlements of Montau and Gruppe were treated in more detail. Here, therefore, the presentation can be substantially shortened. The focus here will be entirely on the question of the origin of this Mennonite group.

The chronicle of Donner seems to come closer to reality with its information about the time of origin of these Mennonite settlements than the one of L. Stobbe in connection with the lease contract of February 2, 1568. Such contracts were often concluded only after a certain trial period. Thus older agreements may have been lost.

The 1568 contract is printed by Stobbe and Kerber. Wiebe considered a diary of the Montau Aeltester David Schröder³⁸⁷, as also Kerber³⁸⁸. The latter notes that the document of February 2, 1568 is the oldest of its kind;

about the origin of the village Montau, at that time called New-Montau, as well as its first establishment (Einrichtung) an older document gives us information³⁸⁹.

The reclamation and drainage of the Vistula lowlands and the Werder is *with* the historical merit of the Mennonites from Friesland and Flanders, but not *their* merit alone, but the merit also of the other Low German and High German pioneers.

The village of Montau and a number of other "Dutch villages" in the Vistula lowlands were not only inhabited by Mennonites, in many cases even predominantly by non-Mennonites. Thus, a more intimate settlement community between the confessionally separated and, due to their tribal affiliation, also different settlers was inevitably given and required. *My* essay on this subject can be consulted further.

From the royal feudal estates of Montau and Sanskau, the Mennonites spread out over the entire lowlands, together with the other Lowlanders, whom W. Kuhn³⁹⁰ aptly called colonizing "fast runners" because of the extraordinary speed with which they advanced up the Vistula in the lowlands. From 1550-1650, they established a number of villages up the Vistula lowlands, especially the Mennonite settlements around Graudenz and Kulm. After 1750 mainly daughter settlements were founded up to the fortress Demblin (Deblin, Ivangorod), and in the course of these formations the Polish-German Mennonite settlements of Deutsch Kazun and Deutsch Wymysle.

Szper has discussed the individual village foundations, village leases in the individual Starosteien Stuhm, Graudenz, Neuenburg, Schwetz, Kulm in more detail and noted each time also the mixed character of a village, where it was present. Instructive are the works of Heyer, especially his essay "The Dutch villages in the Vistula lowlands around Thorn" (Die Holländerdörfer in der Weichselniederung um Thorn)³⁹¹ that H. Wiebe submits here concluding as we have seen above. Erich Schmidt could speak of "uncounted crowds" of German settlers who had moved to Poland since the second half of the 16th century³⁹¹.

Herbert Wiebe discussed in the "Menn. Blättern" the settlements of the Mennonite Dutch and Low Germans (Plattdeutsche) in Pomerelia (Polish: Pomorze, landscape in West Prussia between the Vistula and Küddow), on the lands of the Polish crown in the 17th century³⁹², and also lectures on Mennonite family names in the Vistula lowlands from Graudenz to Thorn^{393 & 394}. In the meantime, his highly significant dissertation on "The settlement work of Dutch Mennonites in the Vistula valley between Fordon and Weissenberg until the end of the 18th century" printed as a manuscript.

Above all, in the *appendix* to his study, Wiebe compiled a list of "Mennonite names in the Vistula lowlands" from various church registers (in the "Menn. Blatter" he said: "From Graudenz to Thorn"). The church books from which he drew are: Church books of the Frisian community Montau Group (*church book from 1661*), the Frisian and Flemish community *Schönsee* (*church book of the Frisian community from 1773*) and the Frisian community *Obernnessau near Thorn* (*church book from 1740*)³⁹⁵.

About the church books, which W. had seen, about which he constantly informed the author in detail, under addition of his afterwards in the Menn. Bl., it is briefly repeated here what U. has noted in the first draft of Part I of this volume³⁹⁶.

The church records that Wiebe has consulted are the following:

a) Those of the Frisian parish of Montau and Gruppe. "The building (the church) of the parish of Gruppe-Montau was built for the first time in 1586". It was the common church for Montau and Gruppe for 2 centuries. From this time visits of foreign preachers from Danzig and Hamburg, from Lithuania and Harlingen (Friesland!) are recorded.

Because of the large expansion of the settlements, a second church had to be built in Gruppe (also Obergruppe) in 1776. The church book of the Frisian parish of Montau-Gruppe was established in 1661.

b) In the opposite Kulm lowland a church parish was formed around 1600 in the village *Schönsee* (Sosnowka). It was of Frisian origin. Besides the larger Frisian parish there was also a smaller Flemish one with its own, still preserved church. Around the middle of the 19th century they were reduced to 39 souls and joined the Frisian parish on October 12, 1849. The church register of the Frisian parish runs since 1773. Wiebe also mentions one of the Flemish parish.

c) Even before *Schönsee*, the parish of *Obernnessau*, near Thorn had come into being, around 1550, thus together with the Danzig and Elbing settlements and not without the direct involvement of Bishop Menno Simons. Church register since 1740³⁹⁷.

In his monograph W. sketches the history of the Mennonite settlement work in the Vistula delta between Forden and Weissenberg. We have followed the course of the settlement in the Sartowitz-Neuenburg lowlands and the Schwetz lowlands, as far as that was somehow useful for our narrower purposes of clarifying questions of origin (above p. 149 ff) Wiebe gives the names of the representatives, the spokesmen of their respective neighborhoods when the leases were concluded. The Mennonite name index drawn from the Mennonite church records is of particular use here. The census (Namenverzeichnis) is of particular use here, because it makes it possible to determine who of these colonist agents was of Mennonite faith, and who was not. Of course, one must reckon with the fact that the church registry was not without gaps, also because here and there (cf. below the "Neumark Settlement") it was in non-Mennonite church hands. On the whole, however, one can go on the information of the church books. Incidentally, Dr. Wiebe noted the following in his work: "I have not been able to find the following names in the Mennonite church records of Montau and in the neighboring community of *Schönsee*: Buck, Dehn, Drewantz, Fick, Kremer, Kowalck, Kadatz, Milk, Mreetz, Rachau, Strelauw, Tobias and Zarschke). From this it can be concluded that the bearers of these names were not Mennonites".

The dissertation contains in the *appendix* p. 75-86 very commendable *directories*, carefully compiled from various sources. Dr. W. says of the directories of the village of *Montau* that they made it possible to trace the owners of the individual farms during a period of 250 years.

Other genealogical *sources* for the mentioned name material are: The diary of the Montau Mennonite Aeltester David Schröder, born in Montau in 1663, from which the lists of the occupants of the village from the years 1639, 1685, 1700, 1711 are drawn. Furthermore the village book Montau from the years 1738, 1759 1799 and the village plan Montau from the year 1785.

Then W. has in the *appendix* p. 79 to 86 a whole series of similar directories from various villages in the Vistula lowlands, east of the river.

In order not to additionally burden the production of this monograph of ours financially, the author must refrain from submitting this abundant material, which W. has contributed, to the readers. U. will comment exhaustively on W's information in the "Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter" as well as in the two Canadian Mennonite weeklies, following this study of his own.

His idea from the outset is that research should be *stimulated* by his publication.

d) Furthermore, since the beginning of the 17th century there was a Flemish community *Przechowka* (pron. Pschekowka = Wintersdorf)^{397a}, which was later dissolved by emigration (to the Neumark, to Volhynia and South Russia).

This community (see "b") belonged to the Old Flemish group, and both maintained relations with the Old Flemish in Groningen. From there they received a visit in 1719 from the Aeltester Hendrik Berent Hulshoff³⁹⁸. In his report about this visitation he names the villages Persighofke (*Przechowka*), Koenpat (Deutsch Konapath) and Pasterwalde, on the left side of the Vistula, as well as Schonze (Schönsee), Hors (Horst) and Jammerou (Jammerau), on the right side of the Vistula. Two *lists of names* of the Mennonites living there are left by the Aeltester (one by himself from 1719 and an earlier one recorded by his successor (Nachfolger) Alle Dirks). Wiebe offers both lists in the extracted essay. The encyclopedia article still mentions Posterwalde, but not Jammerau. In 1661 the settlements were members of the "Groninger Altflaminger Sozietä" [Groninger Old Flemish] founded in 1628 (Menn. Lexikon II 185).

Przechowka, the mother community of Brenkenhoffswalde in the Neumark and of Gnadenfeld in the Molotschna area, was located up the Vistula in the Klein-Schwetz lowlands south of the Frisian congregations of the Montau group and Schönsee. It originated around 1540, with a number of other settlements^{398a}.

It was, like Dworeczisko, a royal village, the others noble villages. In 1661 these settlements counted as members of the Groninger Altflaminger Sozietät founded in 1628 (Menn. Lex. II 185). In the 18th century settlements of the Altflaminger existed in the noble village *Jesiorka* = German *Kleinsee* halfway to Tuchel, and northeast beyond the Vistula Schönsee, Posterwolde and Horst.

The *Przechowka* estate was sold by Polish nobles to five Mennonites from the Netherlands, who were joined by other co-religionists, so that the village community eventually included 15 households. The first lease agreement was signed in 1642. It was granted to the village by the castellan of Danzig and the starost of Schwetz, Johann Sawadzki, for 50 years (1640-1690) (Herbert Wiebe loc. cit.).

At the *beginning* of the 18th century the settlements received the visit of the Aelteste Alle Derks (1670-1733) of Groningen and Hendrik Berents Hulshoff 1664-1745) of Zenderen near Borne, in the province Overijssel (Derks probably before 1719, Hulshoff 1719-1733). In 1732, in fact, had been collected for the needy co-religionists in Prussia and in the Sozietät Poland. Both Aelteste list the families they visited.

In Deutsch Konopath it is mentioned that Lutherans lived among the Mennonites. Among the names of the settlements Ratzloff and Unruh, Becker predominated,

Foth, Nachtigal and Wedel. Hulshoff's diary from 1719 is still available. He was in Przechowka from July 5-17. On July 13 (on a Thursday) the election of two servants at the Word took place: Abraham Unruh in Przechowka and Jakob Isaak in Posterwalde. Hulshoff was approached by the settlements for books: for the Dutch Biestken Bible*) for song and martyr books, for writings of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips. Since 1743 the congregation had its own prayer house.

The Aeltester of the Old Flemish congregation in the Schwetzer Niederung was Benjamin Wedel, who preached in Dutch until 1785 (from then on the language was optional). Since 1799 a second Benjamin Wedel was an Aeltester († 1871).

The name directories of 1759 and 1805 do not distinguish Flemish and Frisians, but "old Flemish" and "Wasserländer" (Waterlanders). In 1759, before the settlement in Neumark, Abraham Unruh is registered for Przechowska. 1805 there is a Hans Unrau in the Culmischen (probably the Old Flemish in Schönsee). In 1819/20 and 1823/24 most of those who stayed behind at Schwetz migrated under the leadership of Peter Wedel to the Molotschna, where they founded the community Alexanderwohl (see M. L.) Stobbe reports about the end of the settlements at the Vistula. The Old Flemish group in and near Schönsee united with the Frisian group there on October 12, 1849.

e) *Finally*, since the first of May 1727, there was a third Flemish community at *Jeziorken* (Kleinsee), a noble village in the *Tucheler Heide*. Several families settled there on 17 Hufen of land. This community also dissolved due to emigration (mainly to the Neumark).

f) From the area of Graudenz, Schwetz and Kulm numerous Mennonite families moved up the Vistula to *Central Poland* (*Deutsch-Kazun* near Modlin and *Deutsch Wymysle*, *Wojewodschaft Warschau*, Kreis Gostynin) around the half of the 18th century.

We need only briefly discuss the *question of origin* concerning this Mennonite group, because it has been treated in detail by Herbert Wiebe in his essay. It should be referred to him again and again urgently.

With Wiebe it is to be noted that in these settlements we encounter the same core stock of Mennonite names as in the *Elbing and Marienburg area*, "which points to the close common tribal homeland of this group with the Mennonites of the Vistula lowlands from Neuenburg to Thorn. The lively relations that have existed between the Frisian communities of Thiensdorf-Markushof and the Frisian community of Montau-Gruppe since time immemorial are further proof of this," Wiebe has noted the series of names in question here, although not exhaustively. Most of these names have already been discussed by us, for example Abrahams, Albrecht, Arend, Berent, Cornelsen, Dirks, Funk, Froese, Gerbrand, Giesbrecht, Gronau, Heinrichs, Janzen, Klassen, Martens, Martins, Nickel, Pauls, Penner, Peters, Quiring, Wilms and others.

Concerning Adrian, Brandt, Buller, Caspar, Fläming, Hamm, Harms, Isaak, Kettler, Kliewer, Knels, Stobbe, Teus (Töws) we refer to G. Reimer. They occur predominantly in *Frisian* communities, some admittedly more rarely, e.g., Hansen, Isaak, Toews.

An interesting group are the Old Flemish in Przechowka and Jeziorka and their offshoots. Their most important names, which we still encounter among the Prussian and Russo-German Mennonites, are (we leave out the variations of the names): Becker, Buller, Foth (also Voth), Janz, Jansen, Kryckert (Kroeker) [?], Köhn, Nachtigall, Onrouw (Unrau, Unruh), Pankratz, Ratzlaff, Richert, Schellenberg, Sperling, Wedel.

In Russia these Mennonites (of the older generation) spoke the so-called *Waldheimer Platt*. The village name "Waldheim" was transplanted from Volhynia to South Russia. In Volhynia Waldheim was co-founded by Mennonite Niederungers (so also by my great-grandfather Benjamin Unruh, about whom P. M. Friesen is to be consulted³⁹⁹). The Niederunger spoke a different Plattdeutsch than the Marienburgers. About this Jakob (now Walther) Quiring is to be consulted⁴⁰⁰ and J. H. Firminich⁴⁰¹.

*) see Menn. Lexikon I, p. 220 f.

The Mennonite dialects in Russia are mixed dialects. The settlers came from different dialect areas of West Prussia, and in the new homeland mostly the dialect spoken by the majority prevailed⁴⁰².

For the development of the Mennonite dialects, the 1568 split into Flemish and Frisian had been of decisive influence. (In Franeker, province of Friesland, the Flemish community had also split into Flemish and Old Flemish). The divisions in Friesland also spilled over to the Mennonite settlements of the Vistula and Nogat estuaries. Each of the three groups (Frisians, Flemings, Old Flemings) lived closed for itself, which must have had an influence on their dialects.⁴⁰³

The oldest Mennonite settlement in the Black Sea area, the Chortitza settlement, had the Frisian dialect (Kronsweide, Schönwiese, Kronsgarten and Einlage) in addition to the dialect of the Flemish majority (*the Chortitza dialect*). The Frisian dialect has given way more and more to the Chortitza main dialect with the progressive smoothing of the differences between the two groups among the younger generation.

Also on the Molotschna settlement the first immigrants belonged mostly to the Flemish congregations. In 1819, however, a Frisian community from West Prussia set out together and founded the villages *Rudnerweide*, *Grossweide*, *Franztal*, *Pastwa*, *Kontinenuisfeld*, and *Sparrau*. Incidentally, Old Flemish from the Neumark (Brenkenhofswalde, Franztal, Neu-Dessau) also lived in these villages.

However, the actual Old Flemish villages in the Molotschna were *Waldheim*, *Gnadenfeld* and *Alexanderwohl*. The dialects in these three villages were very similar, but did not necessarily coincide. The Frisian dialect also somewhat resembles the Waldheim one, etc. While the dialect of Waldheim, Gnadenfeld and Alexanderwohl was strongly on the wane, the Frisian of Rudnerweide etc. had somehow been able to resist the encroachment of the Molotschna dialect.

But such adjustments have had little or no importance for the immigration time, which is why it is not without sense to keep the dialectal facts in mind when discussing the questions of origin.

We will have to say the most necessary in a final chapter about the West Prussian and Russian-German dialects in connection with the questions of origin. Here, however, we already want to *state in general that the Frisian and Old Flemish core families from Graudenz to Thorn as well as their offshoots in Lithuania, Central Poland, in the Neumark and in Volhynia reveal a Flanders-Frisian origin in their dialects*. This applies primarily to the core of the Old Flemings. If it would be possible to fix their original homeland more closely, then certain conclusions could be possible also to the original homeland of the Mennonites in the Elbing and Marienburg Werder, with whom the Niederunger (apart from a group to be discussed shortly) are related.

Quite a number of names that appear in the Montau church records have completely disappeared among the Mennonites by about 1800. Only partially are they still found in Central Poland (Deutsch Kazun and Deutsch Wymysle). We refer to Wiebe, who has largely registered them, e.g., Külling, Fadenrecht et al.

D. Neff says in the article "Culm" in the Mennonitisches Lexikon⁴⁰³ of the Niederungers that they were "partly of High German descent". The chronicle of Donner also speaks of this. Around the year 1586, the congregations of Thorn and Montau held a meeting with the three Werder congregations of Marienburg, Orlofferfelde and Elbing for the purpose of closer connection among the Frisian congregations. A few years later they accepted "High Germans" into their association⁴⁰⁴.

G. Fast is of the opinion that these "Deutschländer" moved up into the lowlands of the Vistula, whose reclamation did not make such high demands on the knowledge of the drainage works.

Very close is the other conjecture which Neff expresses, : "... High Germans probably came *from Mahren* to the Culm area after the first persecutions."

Stobbe is mistakenly of the opinion that also all these name carriers (Lenke, Pultker, Pilgrim, Pinker etc.) came from Holland. The names prove clearly that we do not have to do here with people from the Dutch area. However, it is not completely excluded that some of the bearers of the name had fled from Upper Germany to the Dutch provinces, especially to the Three Friesland to then go eastward together with the Dutch.

We can no longer determine whether the Dutch Lowland Mennonites of the Mennonite faith came *directly* from the Lower Rhine areas to the Vistula Lowlands, or had first found an intermediate place in Danzig-Elbing. We lack any evidence to decide this. Perhaps the permission for settlement of August 22, 1553, given to the Mennonites by King Sigismund, while he ordered them expelled from Elbing in 1550, where the guilds rose up against the foreigners, offers one.

Summary: We come to the conclusion that the Niederung Mennonites, as far as they came from the Lower Rhine, belong together with the Danzigers and Elbingers as well as the Werderschen Mennonites. They came to the Northeast at the same time as the latter, i.e., in the second half of the 40s of the 16th century. Menno Simons is also mentioned as an Aeltester of Graudenz and Thorn. The communities in the Gross and Klein Marienburg Werder, which are mentioned later, did not exist at that time.

Explanations to some names from this group⁴⁰⁵:

Mr. Herbert Wiebe kindly sent me an essay from his pen: "Die Einsassen des Dorfes Montau bei Neuenburg a. d. Weichsel in den Jahren 1568-1799" (The residents of the Village Montau near Neuenburg on the Vistula for the Years 1568-1799), which we refer to in these explanations. The village of Montau was one of the oldest settlements of the Mennonites in the Vistula region (not founded in 1568, as Wiebe thinks, but at the end of the forties).

In the Montau lease contract (2. 2. 1568) names unknown to us are mentioned and Andreas Unrau (= Unruh, Low German pronunciation).

Accordingly, we have a large Mennonite immigration to Polish Prussia temporarily around the middle of the 16th century, i.e., immediately after Menno's flight to East Frisia. The contract with Philipp Edzema was a contract among others. Similar contracts may have been concluded before and after. In any case, the transaction with Philipp Edzema is typical.

Accordingly, we have a large Mennonite temporary immigration to Polish Prussia around the middle of the 16th century, i.e., immediately after Menno's flight to East Frisia. The contract with Philipp Edzema was a contract among others. Similar contracts may have been concluded before and after. In any case, the transaction with Philipp Edzema is typical.

Unrau = Unruh: According to G. Reimer the name is found in Frisian communities, but also in Old Flemish ones. In the "Namelist of Anabaptist Families Near Schwetz" (Naamlijst vaan Doopgezinde Families in de Buurt van Schwetz), compiled by Alle Derks, the name "Onrouw" is given. The bearers of this name are a very old family (Unruoch = the tough, undeviating, already under Charlemagne, in the Upper German area, from where it spread to Silesia, Pomerania, etc.). In the article of A. C. Meyling, the journey of the Barn (Barnschen) Aeltester Hendrik Berends (Hulshof, 1719) to Danzig in Poland is the congregation "Persighofken" (Przechowka) mentioned, and registered: July 13, 1719 Abram Unrau was elected as preacher. According to the school archive of Wintersdorf near Schönau (Schwetz district), the Przechowka estate, the present village "Wintersdorf", belonged to a Polish count at that time. (His heirs sold the estate to 5 Mennonites, who belonged to the Old Flemish group U.) These attracted further Mennonites. Stobbe refers to Maria Kuchenbecker from Glugowko, a Mennonite by birth, who reports that Mennonites lived in the villages of Glugowko, Dworziska (now Wilhelmsmarkt), Przechowka (now Wintersdorf) and Gross-Deutsch-Konopath. According to Mrs. Kuchenbecker, her maternal grandparents, along with *many others*, had migrated to these villages from the *Neumark* near Driesen in 1823 and 1824, having been abandoned by the Mennonites in the years 1818 to 1820, because they moved partly to southern Russia and partly to Russian Poland. (Strangely, Stobbe does not mention anything about the settlement of the Mennonites in Netzebruch, but only about a small return *migration* from the Neumark).

The last Mennonite Aeltester of this group living in Gross-Deutsch-Konopath was named [Andreas] *Richert*, Maria Kuchenbecker's grandparents were named *Schmidt*. She married Peter Franz from Gross-Lublin, her siblings emigrated with their mother to America after the death of their father. Stobbe offers⁴⁰⁶ a directory of Aelteste, preachers (Lehrer) and deacons in the parish of Montau, compiled from records of the parish chronicles of Danzig, Orlofffelde and Montau, as well as from the name directories of 1804 and the following years.

In this directory we find:

No. 13 Andreas Unrau, Dragass, preacher (= church teacher, preacher (Lehrer)), appointed in 1739, died at the end of winter 1774, i.e., about a decade after the founding of the Neumärker Mennonite villages in Brenkenhoffswalde etc. No. 28 Heinrich Unrau, Montau, preacher (Lehrer), elected in June 1774, died in the same year, 34 years old. No. 29 Peter Unrau, Dragass, preacher (Lehrer), elected June 1776.

Thus we find bearers of this name in the 16th and 17th centuries in the lowland villages. In 1764 Frederick the Great called a number of Mennonite families from here to the Neumark, where the villages of Brenkenhoffswalde, Franzthal and Neu-Dessau were founded (see below). The first contract, which the 16 Mennonite founding families of Brenkenhoffswalde concluded with Count v. Brenkenhoff, is available. In it two bearers of this name are listed: Heinrich Unrau and Abraham Unrau. I can prove that in 1783 my great-great-grandfather Martin Unruh was a citizen of Brenkenhoffswalde. In this year my great-grandfather Benjamin Unruh was born there.

I found Martin Unruh's signature on a document, the copy of which was in the school archive of Franzthal. Unfortunately it was not possible to find the name of Martin Unruh's father. It can be assumed that he came from Przechowka to the Neumark and was a descendant of Aeltester Abraham Unrau (Onrouw) mentioned in the Hülshoff travel report.

My great-grandfather Benjamin Unruh emigrated with several Mennonite families from Franzthal to Volhynia in 1816. Even before this migration he had been elected an Aeltester, which he remained until his death in 1835 in Waldheim, Volhynia. His wife was Elisabeth née Buller, daughter of Heinrich Buller (born 11. 2. 1783 at Franzthal). In Volhynia the families settled near the small town of Sofiofka. The eldest son Benjamin (born in October 1818) was my grandfather, who after the death of his father migrated to southern Russia (Molotschna, Crimea).

Where the Unruhs came from to the Vistula lowlands (whether from Pomerania, from Silesia, via the Netherlands and here from Upper Germany) is also not yet definitively determined. According to family traditions the Unruhs in the Neumark descend from the noble line of the von Unruh, about which I have received letters from bearers of our name from Ubersee. Thus they would not be of Dutch origin, at most they came as refugees first to Groningen and from there to the Graudenz area.

The Montau lease was renewed in 1578. Representatives of the colonists were Julius *Fransen*, Jakob *Schmidt*, Aelteste of the Montau community and heads of all Frisian communities in Prussia.

Fransen: Frisian.

Schmidt: Likewise, but also more Old Flemish. In the "Naamlijst" of Allke Derks "Smit", also in the "Naamlijst" of Hendrik Berents Hulshoff.

In a document of 4.IV.1605 are mentioned as representatives of Montau: Peter *Lenardt*, Karsten + *Schröder*, Abraham *Putger*, David + *Unrau*, Hagen + *Willemsen*. They consult with 7 other villages about keeping the Montau river clean and weeded. Lenardt and Putger we can leave aside, the other names we have already discussed.

In the Montau village book a number of settlers have registered themselves, from which names like Zillis, Lenke, Bartholomäus, and others are omitted for us. The others belong to the core group of Mennonite names, such as, Petters, + Unruh, + Unrau,

+ Vodt, + Ewers, + Schröder, + Petersen, + Foth, + Arentsen. The fact that the bearers of these names in our case all belong to a *Frisian* community suggests that they were original Frisians. G. Reimer mentions a Petersen "ex Belgio". The bearers of this name belong in fact only *exclusively* to Frisian communities. Just this statement can corroborate the correctness of our basic view.

Vodt (Foth): we find these name bearers almost exclusively in Frisian communities, but also in Old Flemish ones. But also Frieslanders joined the Old Flemish in the Groninger Land.

Arentsen: probably Frisian, also in the ethnic sense.

From the diary of Johann David Schroeder, born 3. 9.1663 in Montau and Aeltester there from 1702 to 1706. Wiebe also quotes names quite foreign to us (Ledderdehl etc.), but also many West Prussian-Russian core names: Vodt, Fläming, Dirks, Schröder, Unrau, Richerts, Fagt (Vogt), Baltzer, Kärber, Fresz, Falk, Köpper (Wiebe says: "The name Köpper is a Frisian name").

From the years 1639-1672 names are again mentioned from Montau, which we put aside. Otherwise appear: Becker, + Ewert, + Foth, Bartel, Wohlgemut. *Bartel* is short form of Bartholomäus. *Wohlgemut* and *Becker* are found among South German Mennonites.

Wiebe also offers lists from the village of Montau, namely from the years 1639, 1672, 1685, 1700, 1711, 1738, 1759, 1785, 1799. The same names are repeated again and again, however in many variations. These name bearers from Montau and the surrounding area are, with few exceptions, to be addressed as Frieslanders, precisely because they are ecclesiastically "Frisians". *The ecclesiastical division into "Frisians" and "Flemings" has obviously affected the Mennonites in the Vistula lowlands the least, who had already been there for a long time before that division.* Apart from the Old Flemish who joined them later, they represent a strangely uniform ethnic group.

If these conclusions of ours are correct, they can be extended in a certain direction to the Mennonite settler groups not yet discussed. And this in the following way:

If the Niederungers are predominantly Frisians, then the same name bearers in the area of Scharpau and the spit in the Small and Large Werder (not to speak of Lithuania, the Neumark, Central Poland and Volhynia as offshoots of the Niederunger branches) are also Frisians according to the origin, even if they hold themselves ecclesiastically to the Flemish orientation. They joined the Flemish opposition in the 60s of the 16th century.

We would thus have a key in hand to determine descendants from Friesland on the one hand and from Flanders-Holland on the other hand on the basis of the Mennonite family names with a considerable degree of certainty, and that in the following methodical way:

a) We comb out of the name material available to us from the area of the Mennonite settlements in the Vistula-Nogat region those names whose bearers *consistently* belonged to the Frisian group.

b) We record *the same* name bearers in the Flemish communities, whom we also feel compelled to address as Frisians, according to their origin.

c) On the basis of our efforts to a) and b) those Dutch name bearers peel out, who must come primarily from Flanders.

Remark: The "North-Hollanders" were according to our opinion at that time still largely Frisian element.

We already know that Deichrentmeister Schulz described as *Flemish* the names listed on p. 93 c. (Claassen, Dyck, Dieck, Enz, Epp, Thiessen, Warkentin, Wienss and Wölke). Reimer still names: Andres, van Bergen, Bergmann, Driedger, Esau, Fieguth, Harder, Loepp, Reimer, van Riesen, Wiehler.

Such determinations must continue on the proposed and still other ways.

For this purpose, however, we must allow ourselves time to work more thoroughly on the available and steadily growing material in order to clarify the questions of origin. Our main result will undoubtedly experience increasing support.

XVI. The Mennonites in the Gross and Klein Marienburg Werders

It is not the task of this monograph to describe the settlement of the Mennonites in detail. We are mainly dealing with questions of origin and for those details we have to refer to the relevant literature, especially to Horst Penner, who presents the settlement of Mennonite Dutchmen in the Gross Marienburg Werder in his dissertation in an unsurpassed way⁴⁰⁷, as well as to the published works of H. Wiebe.

Aeltester Heinrich Wiehler mentions in an essay in the "Mennonitischen Blättern": "Aus der Geschichte der Vereinigten Mennonitengemeinden Thiensdorf - Markushof"^{407a} [The history of the United Mennonite Churches of Thiensdorf - Markushof] chronicle by Elder Johann Penner (+ 1889), in which the immigration of the forefathers to the Marienburg Werder is described. It says:

"In 1562 they were invited here from Holland by the government of Poland to reclaim the swampy area, under guarantee of their religious freedom. And they followed this call and settled here from that time on and lived here with the Protestants (at that time called Lutheran-Augsburg confession relatives)."

According to Wiehler, these immigrants had already brought the division between Frisians and Flemings with them. However, it did not come about until 1567^{408 & 409}.

When Prussia became a Polish province in the 15th century, the possessions of the Teutonic Order passed to the Polish state. With the exception of the land that belonged to the state domains, the land was owned by the nobility, as property or in hereditary lease (since 1446 according to Culm law, which replaced the Magdeburg, Lübeck and Flemish by order of Casimir IV: the fief was free and both sons and daughters were entitled to inherit).

In 1938, the Academic Society in Thorn published in Polish "Inventory of Crown Estates in Kulm Voivodeship,

Pommerellen and Marienburg im Jahre 1664" a new important source of the Mennonite settlements in Vistula Pomerania has been made accessible. The revision, which took place after the 2nd Swedish War of 1655-60, gives us a clear picture of the economic and cultural state of the country, but also shows us the terrible devastation that this war inflicted on the land.

Because we have from the late young researcher Herbert Wiebe an exhaustive treatment of the mentioned and other sources about the Dutch settlements in Pomerelia on the lands of the Polish Crown in the 17th century, we will refrain here from pursuing this topic further.

The most prominent crown domains in Polish Prussia were the Gross and Klein Marienburg Werder.

The first Mennonite settlement in the Gross Werder came about at Tiegenhof. The experience of Elbing with the Mennonites as cultivators and drainers of wild and swampy lands induced the crown vassals Hans and Simon *Loysen* (Loritze) to make the same attempt in this area. In the chronicle of Dorner we read:

"Tiegenhof, which is part of the Marienburger Werder, was in those days, before it was inhabited by Mennonites, mostly a swampy unusable area overgrown with reeds and shrubs and it was awarded to the brothers, Messrs Hans, Simon and Steffen Loysen by the King of Poland. They learned that in Holland the water was pumped away from the lowlands by the use of mills in a directed manner, and thus made usable. Therefore they sought to settle and make their territory fertile. In 1562, Simon Steffen and his wife Ester von Baysen summoned the Mennonites from Holland *and other places* to this place, who built the dams on the Haff, Drausensee and down on the Nogat, Vistula and Tiege rivers, and also built mills and thus made the lowlands usable, which is also mentioned in our religious privilege by the Serene Kings of Poland such as Vladislav IV 1642 December 22nd and Johanno Cassimiro 1650 June 16th. The privilege of appeal no longer exists and was undoubtedly lost in the riots that followed." (Then follows the passage we have already quoted about the "Germans".)

By the way, the first agreement with the Loysen brothers, which granted great privileges to the settlers, was not dated 1562, but 1578, a proof that our assumption above about the delayed contract of the Mennonite settlement Montau group is well-founded. In 1578 the settlers had already prepared the land by building dikes along the Haff, the Drausensee, the Vistula, the Nogat and the Tiege, by building water mills and canals^{410 & 411} Initially settled only in the Tiegenhof area, the Mennonites were also settled elsewhere by the same right. The Commanderies of the Teutonic Order were, as already noted, in 1466 with the castles and

land passed to the Polish crown, which usually mortgaged or leased these state properties to nobles, or otherwise gave them away depending on the agreement. Some estates were specially reserved for the king's maintenance as royal table estates (tenuten) and were administered by a tenant or trustee (Oekonomen) in the king's name. The powers of the starosts, in contrast to the trustees (Oekonomen), will not be discussed here. In the 16th and 17th centuries, with the permission of the kings, the starosts and trustees, settled Dutchmen, mostly Mennonites, on the state and table estates located on Weichel and Nogat in order to achieve a larger harvest.

Through the above-mentioned inventory, we are informed about the extent of the taxable land under the plow in the individual settlements and localities (in Hufen, Morgan and Ruten, with the Catholic Church Land and the mayor's land (Schulzenhufen) being listed separately), as well as the number of neighbors and the amount of their investments.

The privileged "Holländer" are called citizens, landlords or just Holländer in the source, which corresponds to their position as legally free people, but never farmers.

Wiebe, in a published essay, emphasizes the great importance of the information about the respective originators of the village privileges as well as the place and time of their execution. Dutchmen are mentioned in many lease contracts.

In his detailed discussion of the Polish source mentioned at the beginning, Wiebe follows the Dutch settlements from the south of the country down the Vistula. We are only interested in specific information that is related to our topic.

The *Tiegenhof estate* is important to us. It is remarkable that the villages of this estate are nowhere expressly designated as Dutch estates. But because there is mention of exemption from military service, Dutch Mennonites must have lived here, which also follows from other clauses of the pact. After all, in most localities the Mennonites represented minorities alongside the Catholics and Lutherans, while their land holdings exceeded those of their neighbors.

In Tiegenhof, a ropemaker (Seiler) is named Peter *Rhan*, a Stefan *Unger*, and also Heinrich *Willms*. The tenant of the castle distillery is the "Mennonite" (manista) Hans *Sprung*. We meet Unger in Frisian communities, although it is related to "Ungar". Rahn (also Rohn, Raen) figures in Flemish communities. The form of the name "Raen" probably points to Flanders, because the name Rahn occurs after Reimer in Flemish communities.

The Mayor in Orloff is named Jakob *Bestvater*. The settlers in Ladekopp are free from military service and all other burdens.

In Tiegenhof we come across a Heinrich *Krekier*, the son of the late Dutchman Jan *Krekier* (cf. *Kroeker*). The bearers of this name belong to the Flemish group according to *Reimer*. The name form "Kricaert" probably points to Flanders.

Wiebe answered the question, which other villages the Mennonites settled and how much land they owned. It could not be answered exactly, but approximately.

Already *Szper* had printed a list of the "Holländische Hufen" in the Tiegenhof area from 1676, which were free of dike duties (141 Hufen, 5 Morgen, 197 Ruten). The author assumes, however, that besides *Platenhof*, *Tiegenhagen*, *Tiegerweide*, *Reimerswalde*, *Orloff*, *Pietzkendorf* and *Petershagenerfeld* other villages had been settled by Dutchmen, especially since a royal commission had traveled through the Tiegenhof area in 1650 and had found not only the above 141, but 218 (!) Hufen in the hands of the Dutchmen.

Wiebe argues interestingly: Since the so-called Dutch Hufen were free of dike duties and *Scharwerk*, so the Hufen noted in the inventory, leased with special privileges, must have been "Dutch Hufen".

The villages *Siebenhuben*, *Haberhorst*, *Altendorf*, *Stubendorf*, *Schönsee*, *Ladekopp* and *Petershagen* are also identified by *Wiebe* as Dutch villages (52 Hufen, 17 Morgen, 17½ Ruten). There will have been Mennonites in the other villages as well (in the second half of the 17th century).

From the *Bärenwalde* estate 20 Hufen were separated and apparently given to Mennonites, as a note about "dissidents" and their "heretical worship services" suggests.

According to the inventory under discussion, Mennonites were also found in the *Starostei Christburg*, in *Gross* and *Klein Brodsende* on the *Sorge* (together 27 Hufen, 15 Morgen), in *Kniewenbruch* 31 (28 Hufen, 10 Morgen).

The contract in 1578, which was mentioned at the beginning, was concluded with *Johannes Bestvader*, *Peter Jantzen*, *Matinus Jantzen*, *Philips Lippe* (our "Lepp" "Löpp"), *Johannes Dirksz* concerning *Orloff*. In 1641 it was extended⁴¹⁰. In 1685 King *Johann III Sabieski* again confirmed a contract, which was concluded with *Peter Classen*, *Hans van Dijk*, *Peter Isaaks*, *Franz Jansen*, *Elias Peters*, *David Falk*, *Jakob Claaszen*⁴¹¹.

As names occurred according to *Szper* in the beginning and later besides those just mentioned: *Reimer*, *Thiessen*, *Wiebe*, *Regehr*, *Esau*, *Hamm*, *Penner*, *Funk*, *Boldt*, *Daniels*, *Ens*, *Wiens*, *Hubert* (our *Hübert*), *Schillings*,

Conrad, Riesen, Quiring, Gronau, Schröder, Dirksen, Hein, Harms, Friesen etc.

Deichrentmeister Gustav Schulz lists the names in the Gross Werder according to the ecclesiastical differences in the essay we have already referred to earlier. We already noted the Flemish surnames in this area, which according to Schulz "have been subject to very little change". Remarkable is his statement that in this group of names "there are more names with German sound". He also mentions names in the Frisian communities of Orlofferfelde and Pietzkendorf, of which he notes that their bearers sharply distinguished themselves from the other group in the founding period. A blending of the two groups has occurred only in the last 100 years because many families have moved from the countryside to the city, which is why the rigid barriers between Flemish and Frisian communities have fallen. He ranks the following particularly common names: *Albrecht, Allert, Bestvader, dau, Dirksen, Fröse, Friesen, Funk, Grunau, Harms, Jentzen, Meckelburger, Martens, Nickel, Pauls, Quapp, Quiring, Unger, Wiehler*.

Schulz correctly states that we do not know anything definite about the origin of the immigrants in the individual areas of West Prussia, that only the family names can offer us noteworthy clues to the solution of this question. Unfortunately, only in the registers of the parish of Danzig a larger number of names from the 16th and 17th centuries had been preserved, while in the other parishes proper church records had been established only after 1772. However, here and there still preserved private notes would give some information. He summarizes his judgment in the sentence: "Undoubtedly, by far the largest part of the Mennonites comes from Holland (he should say: from the Dutch area), but in the course of the years *many families of German* (italics U.) and *some* of Polish and Swiss origin have joined them".

It should be mentioned in particular that in the Mennonite settlements in the Gross Werder, namely outside of the Tiegenhöf area⁴¹², there were still, for example, the following name bearers: *Dürksen, Matthias, Giesebrecht, Wiens, van Dijk, Peters, Andres, Bartsch, Ents, Claaszen, Conrad*, etc.

The Mennonite settlements in the *Klein Werder* were also established around the middle of the 16th century. Under George Frederick of Brandenburg in 1588, the Dutch watermills near the village of Campenau⁴¹³ were already known. About the individual localities and the contracts as well as the names mentioned in them is to be compared Szper⁴¹⁴.

XVII. The Mennonite Daughter settlements in Lithuania and the Netzebruch

I have dealt with these two settlements in my essay "Kolonisatorische Berührungen zwischen den Mennoniten und den Siedlern anderer Konfession im Weichselgebiet and in der Neumark"⁴¹⁵ [Colonization contacts between Mennonites and settlers of other denominations in the Vistula region and Neumark].

The Mennonites in the village Jedwilleiten near Tilsit, founded in 1711, were probably of Swiss origin. However, any trace of them disappeared very soon, which Dr. Horst Quiring pointed out contrary to Mannhardt and Randt⁴¹⁶. The leases have been lost, if they existed at all.

The Mennonite settlers in Jedwilleiten from 1723 were all of West Prussian origin, as the names *Bartel, Jansen, Schröder, Quapp*, etc. prove.

They came from the parishes of Montau, Schönsee and Thorn. With them, however, moved Lutheran and Catholic farm hands, some of whom joined the Mennonites, which was an exception, because the Mennonites in principle never did recruiting work outside of their own congregations. We know 26 names of such converts from an investigation process from the year 1722⁴¹⁷, which Heinrich Pauls investigated. Horst Quiring bases his article in the Menn. Lexicon on him. By the way, the consistory in Königsberg had this matter with the conversions, which, as said, in the history of the West Prussian Mennonite congregations by all means represented an exceptional case, investigated in a highly embarrassing way.

Among the Lithuanian Mennonite names we find the above-mentioned *Slavic names*, such as Szepansky, Sawatzky, Rogalsky, Koslowsky, etc., a proof that on this ecclesiastical-ethnic outpost the proverbial Mennonite self-limitation was loosened, but only for a short time, because of the rejecting attitude of the West Prussian congregations to such conversions. It is remarkable that just this Lithuanian group was more involved in the emigration to Russia. Much of their fate becomes more understandable when one considers that it consisted largely of the dispossessed, for whom there was a lack of systematic social, economic and moral support on the part of the majority, which must be booked to the debt account of this majority. This was also the reason for the outbreak of an enthusiastic, completely *un-Mennonite* movement in the Mennonite community of the Memelniederung, which was so sober in itself, and which gave rise to the above-mentioned investigations. Incidentally, in the Lithuanian group we also have to record conversely departures from Mennonitism. In May 1722 Berend Janson denounced his fellow believers in a petition to the Prussian king and asked for a fiscal investigation. The 60-page investigation protocol with enclosures contains valuable information about the names, homeland and circumstances of the Mennonite settlement in Memel at that time. More details about it in my essay. The result of the investigation was that the Mennonites were forbidden any proselytizing, no Lutheran was allowed to be accepted into the Mennonite congregation "in Amsterdam, Graudenz and other places". The Lutheran clergy, for their part, received instructions to teach better and to deal less with scolding, vituperation and threats.

Some of the Lithuanian Mennonites later moved to Holland, where they could not settle down⁴¹⁸. They returned to Prussia and most of this group later migrated to Russia⁴¹⁹.

The '*Neumark settlement*' came about immediately after the end of the Seven Years' War. According to A. Hänslers⁴²⁰, Mennonite families in Culm had already come in the first half of the 18th century for settlement in the Neumark, in the bushes of the Netzebruch to be reclaimed. The negotiations were broken off in 1741 and resumed only in 1764 by three Mennonites from the village of Jesiorka (Kleinsee) in the district of Schwetz (located three miles east of Tuchel).

The Royal Prussian Government was represented by the Privy Councillor of Finance von Brenkhoff, who had been commissioned with the colonization of the Netzebruch.

In the *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark* [Communications of the Association for the History of the Neumark]⁴²¹ there is a large record of the administration and reclamation of the Netzebruch from the pen of the construction director of the reclamation works L. F. Hahn from the year 1770, which could not be found for a long time, but was then unearthed in the Driesen archive. Concerning the Mennonite part in this colonization work A. Hänsele offers additions and also the community chronicle of the Russian-German Mennonite colony, which was founded from the Neumark in 1835 in Tauria (Gnadenfeld)⁴²². Also instructive is a contribution by Paul Schwarz⁴²³. Unfortunately, he mixes up the Mennonites and Baptists. Reference is also made to my almost exhaustive essay on the "Mennonites in Netzebruch"⁴²⁴.

It is interesting that the building director (Baudirektor) speaks several times in his memorandum of "Dutchmen". Here he distinguishes the "old Netzebruch Dutchmen", who had already settled in the 17th century, from the newer settlers of Brenkenhoff, who also included the Mennonites from Polish Prussia. Hahn does not give any further information about who these "old Netzebruch Dutchmen" were. However, I have been able to clarify this. I found in the school archive of the village Franztal, thanks to the kindness of the teacher Viebig, a note about the foundation of the *village* Netzebruch (near Franztal). On September 8th, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the consecration of the church, a small commemorative publication was published, which reported that this village had been founded in 1606 (!). From the founding document, which was signed by the Elector Joachim Friedrich himself on the Tuesday before Whitsun 1606 (at Cölln on the Spree), it can be seen that the inhabitants came from the "Holländerei" Westphalen "situated in the Crown of Poland", i.e., from the area Graudenz-Schwet. Westphalen is a lowland village. Thus we have to establish the interesting fact that already at the beginning of the 17th century there was a colonizing connection between the mentioned Vistula region and the Netzebruch. And it is more than obvious that the Mennonites, who came to the Neumark after the end of the Seven Years' War, were encouraged by these older settlers in the Netzebruch to move here decades ago. On February 17, 1765 these then received an extremely favorable privilege, which Teacher Remitz-Brenkenhoffswalde possesses in a very old, officially confirmed copy. The following 16 Mennonite families who founded Brenkenhoffswalde are mentioned in the document: *Three "Ohnrau" (= Unrau, Unruh), 6 Voot, Ratzlaff, Richert, Köhn, Thomas, Decker and Buller*, all names we meet in the Mennonite colonies Waldheim, Gnadenfeld, Alexanderwohl etc. in the Molotschna, South Russia.

In Franztal Scheer counts 13 to 19 Mennonite families in the "Neumärker", in the Roten Haus 5, in Militzwinkel 3, in Neu-Dessau 12^{425 & 426}. In 1811 the Prussian state government initiated a detailed investigation of the ecclesiastical and political condition of the Mennonites located in the Friedeberg district, on the part of the district administrator von Schönebeck in Friedberg, according to a letter to him dated January 18 of that year. The reason for such a visitation were the very turbulent times for the settlement. *At that time* there were 21 families in Brenkenhoffswalde, 16 in Franztal, 4 in the Roten Haus (formerly belonging to Althaferwiese), 7 in Neu-Dessau, 2 in Militzwinkel.

The following were summoned to the interrogation at the Driesen office on February 10 of that year: the head of the community Wilhelm Lange (formerly Lutheran), Brenkenhoffswalde and Peter Jantz from Franztal. About the details of the interrogation can be seen my essay "The Mennonites in the Neumark" (Die Mennoniten in der Neumark). The district administrator added the following concluding remark to the minutes: "That the characteristic of the moral condition of the Mennonites is very good, in that they conduct themselves quietly while having a good moral way of life." Due to extinction and emigration (to the Warsaw region and to Volhynia, see above the emigration of Aeltester Benjamin Unruh to Volhynia, in 1816) the community had been weakened, so that one had to fear for its existence.

As early as 1785, the settlers had complained to the king that they did not have enough space for their maturing sons. So the fathers already planned to leave their estates in the Neumark to their sons and to return to the Thorn area themselves. However, because the authorities wanted to keep these farmers in the Neumark, in 1787 they were allowed to settle elsewhere in the Neumark area with the permission of the Chamber. However, various reasons led to emigration. Thus in 1804 five families left the area. According to Hänseler, already in 1783 the first Mennonite had moved with official permission to southern Russia, where in 1789 the first ethnic German Mennonite settlement had been established on the Dnieper.

After all, these emigrations from the Netzebruch are only a partial movement. The mass emigration of the Neumark Mennonites to Southern Russia and partly also to Volhynia took place in 1834.

The families who stayed behind joined the Lutheran Church. Conversely, with the permission of the government, a number of Lutheran families moved with the Mennonites to southern Russia, having previously become Mennonites. The Lutherans purchased the Mennonite church building in Franztal for 100 Reichstaler. Both communities seemed in mutual esteem of each other. In the course of several decades these people, who together had carried out a great colonization work in the Netzebruch and earlier in the Vistula lowlands, had come to appreciate each other very much. In Russia, such a colonizing "symbiosis" of German people of different confessions led to ever more intimate cooperation, especially in the field of education.

Brenkenhoffswalde, where Lutheran families lived next to Mennonite families for 70 years (1765-1835), did not have its own Lutheran church records until the Mennonites left for southern Russia, because the Lutheran families there were parishioners in Alt-Karbe. The Lutheran church book in Alt-Karbe was checked by me, with the permission and support of the church bookkeeper, Mr. Paul Rhode. The Mennonite records were not kept by the Lutheran parish office in Alt-Karbe. They had their own church bookkeeping. During the aforementioned visitation in 1811, the Mennonite community representatives were asked about this. By whom are the census lists, the lists of births, deaths and marriages kept? Are their church records kept according to the prescribed form and who controls them? Answer: Such lists are kept in every Mennonite congregation, as well as church records, which are arranged in an entirely practical and comprehensible manner. The preachers are responsible for keeping them conscientiously. The lists of Neu-Dessau and Miltzwinkel are kept by the Lutheran preacher and deacon, respectively, because no Mennonite preachers live there.

I am in possession of a copy of a birth certificate of my great-grandmother, which has the following wording:

"According to the contents of the church register at Franztal, Elisabeth Buller, daughter of Heinrich Buller, owner at Franztal, was born on February 11, 1783, which is hereby certified."
Brenkenhoffswalde on October 26, 1830
signed. Wilh. Lange.

In the Lutheran church records of Alt-Karbe (1765-1835) I found quite a number of good Mennonite names that belonged to Lutheran bearers: Bartel, Baer, Böse, Boldt, Braun, Buller, Dirks, Flemming, Gäde, Günther, Janz, Klätte, Krause, Krüger, Matthies, Neumann, Nickel, Richter, Schröder, Sperling, Unruh, Voth, Wall, Welk, and so on. Some of these names appear in these church records only after the migration of the Mennonite community to Russia, e.g., Janz, Buller, Dirks. These families belonged to the Mennonite settlers who stayed behind. The preacher Peter Jans had three of his children, the oldest was 14 years old, baptized according to the Protestant rite on June 17, 1835. The godfather was the Superintendent Zierenberg of Friedberg. In the next

year, the eldest son was confirmed as a Protestant. Something similar is reported about Buller.

But this explanation for that striking fact applies only to some of the above names. Most of the persons and families listed are unquestionably original Lutherans. We have here obviously the result of a longer settlement symbiosis of two denominations. The Unruhs were also according to their family tradition not original Mennonites, but Lutherans.

Summarizing the Mennonites in the discussed two West Prussian Mennonite daughter settlements in Lithuania and in the Neumark, it can also be said *that the majority of these settlers were of Frisian-Flanders origin. Accordingly, they also fit genealogically into the core of Frisian ethnicity peeled from us.*

XVIII. The results of the investigation and their supplementary justification

Ottius reports in his annals that "*many*" Anabaptists from Germany and Switzerland fled to Westphalia and East Frisia. Schlaghen also reports that many German baptized people *went to the Netherlands* at that time. There is still some documentary evidence of the flight of Westphalian Anabaptists to the Netherlands. These Low German refugees moved especially to Enschede, Oldenzaal and Deventer, where the families in question remembered their German origin for a long time. Blaupot ten Cate gives a number of names that come into question here. He also mentions Upper Germans and Swiss; these formed a community with the Palatines, which soon adapted to the Frisian environment in naming, but not in worship language. Only a part of the Swiss began to preach in Dutch, while the others stuck strictly to the German sermon and made use of a German hymn book in congregational singing. Still very late, these farmers of Swiss origin wore beards and no buttons, but hooks and eyes, a long black skirt and a large hat. We still encounter this old Upper German peasant costume in the 18th century among the "old Groningers" in the Schwetz area.

However, we are no longer able to fix more precisely in numbers this Swiss, Upper and Lower German element which came to the Netherlands and especially to East Frisia. By the way, "High Germans"

were also called Dutch people in Holland who had once stayed in Germany as refugees for a shorter or longer period of time and then returned to their former homeland. This circumstance also complicates the clarification of the questions of origin in detail.

As great as the difference between the German and Dutch towns may be, the *villages* on this side and on the other side of the German-Dutch border are strikingly related to each other. The original folklore, as most faithfully preserved by the peasantry, was a common one, while the course of political culture, culminating in the cities, has torn Holland and Germany apart for three centuries.

But even today the Dutch call the area of Arnhem and Nymwegen "German Holland", and so conversely, according to Riehl, East Frisia could be called "Dutch Germany".

The dialects on the Dutch-Westphalian border go back and forth, as do trade and commerce. Everywhere one encounters a Dutch-Low German double face (*Doppelgesicht*) and nowhere a sharp natural border! Migratory flows over and over again have shaped this economic area, and here the Mennonites have played a significant role. Through the Dutch trade culture, Dutch became an independent cultural and literary language. The dialects and the naive folk life, however, consistently collided in the German-Dutch border areas.

Naturally, many Dutch people from North and South Holland, from Flanders and from the Frisian islands fled to the Three Frieslands, especially to East Friesland. According to ten Cate, the influx of South-Holland refugees came about "late" (*laat*), only around the middle of the century on a larger scale. Since Melchior Hofmann, we have a strong baptismal movement of our own in the triple Friesland.

From this it could be concluded that many Frisian Mennonites were also involved in the migrations to the Vistula and Nogat regions, which is largely confirmed by the name research. We have turned to this aspect of our investigation with special interest. It must not be overlooked that the ecclesiastical group names "Frisian" and "Flemish" were coined in reference to geographical areas where the respective adherents lived at the time of the formation of the divisions or from which they came, but that these names should not be interpreted one-sidedly in terms of ethnic history. Obbe Philips and Menno Simons, although they were Frisians, adhered to the *Richtung* represented by the "Flemish". On the other hand, it is an essential result of our work that the artery of the Anabaptist movement lay in the Lower Rhine, in the Three Frieslands and in originally Frisian areas,

this contains a *general* conclusion about the ethnic affiliation of the emigrants to the Vistula region, without overlooking the portion of refugees of *different origin* in the Mennonite eastward migrations. That the Frisian element predominated among them, however, has virtually forced itself upon us in spite of the deficient source material. We have dealt in more detail with the 9 oldest writings of Menno Simons, except for the first two, which, according to Krahn, have all been preserved in the original version. Also these two would only have undergone linguistic changes, as they are to be found everywhere in the editions of Menno's writings that were later made accessible to the general public.

According to Frerichs, with whom Krahn agrees, the mentioned 9 writings were been written "Dutch".

From the Dutch area in the narrower sense, the reformer came to the North Sea area, to East Frisia, Holstein, even to the Vistula and Nogat area.

Here, according to Frerichs, he would have adapted to the eastern dialect, the Oosterschen, and would have published his oldest 9 writings later also in this dialect, as in general the *further* publications. In later collections and editions they had appeared, partly still during Menno's lifetime, "in Dutch treatment".

The first writings are preserved only in a few copies. In 1539/40 the "Fundamentbuch" was published, which did not include the oldest Menno writing against Jan van Leiden (1534), which was first published in 1627 in Hoorn as a special piece, and then in 1646 was included in the "Opera".

The Münster language forms have strongly influenced Menno's first writing. This was distributed only in copies. K. Vos, however, assumes a printing in 1535/36, although on the title page of the special edition in 1627 it is explicitly noted that this writing had not been printed before.

K. Vos speaks of the language of the first writing as an "Eastern colored dialect". It should be mentioned that in 1539 the meditation on the 25th Psalm according to Vos also appeared in "Eastern colored dialect" and *then* in "Dutch translation"! The same applies to the writing "From the new Creature 1538" (Von der neuen Kreatur 1538) (around 1550 "in Dutch translation"). *We ask: Would such a Dutch reworking have been necessary if the original language of these oldest Menno writings had been, as Frerichs would have it, not the "Eastern" but "pure Dutch"?*

The meritorious Mennonite researcher Scheffer refers to the language of our pamphlet simply as "Eastern dialect".

This had been the regional language, which had been generally spread in the coastal areas of the North Sea and the southern Baltic Sea (!), as well as in Hanover, Westphalia and Overijssel and had crossed over to High German. *The same researcher emphasizes that the Oostersche was specifically peculiar to the Frisians and differed greatly from the dialects in East Friesland and Groningen.* For his part, Prof. Cramer, the well-known Mennonite researcher, describes the dialect in which the Fundamental Book appeared in 1539 as a *Low German that was close to the dialect in Groningen and East Frisia*, where Menno had stayed after leaving the old church.

According to Frerichs, Menno Simons would have written Oostersch only after 1553 and always translated his new writings immediately into Dutch.

The editors of the "Opera" 1600-1601 (so-called "Sommarie") say somewhat vaguely that they had "translated" some of Menno's writings, which in turn had been "translated into the higher language of his region", whereby it was their conscientious concern to correct the un-Dutch turns of phrase. From this omission it is evident that these editors knew Menno's writings that were *not* printed in Dutch, but "in a higher language", i.e., Oostersch, which according to Scheffer crossed over into High German. The emphasis here is on "printed". The Dutch editors considered it strange that some Menno tracts written in the Oostersch dialect had also been *printed* in this dialect. This should now be remedied.

All this cannot support the above assumption of Frerich.

The correctly understood wording of the preliminary report of the editors to the "Sommarie" speaks for the opposite.

Gerardus Maatschoon, the translator and compiler of Hermann Schlijn's Mennonite history, has explained his statement that Menno wrote in Low German with the words: actually in "old Plattdeutsch or Oosterscher dialect". Maatschoon, for his part, also reports that Menno's writings were translated from Oostersche or East Frisian into Dutch.

Scheffer, of course, is not unaware that the special edition of the writing against Jan van Leyden (1627) shows an approximation to Dutch. He believes, however, that this is due to the *printer*, who allowed himself linguistic deviations from the text available to him without further ado. A quarter of a century earlier, the editors of the "Sommarie" had already demanded linguistic corrections throughout. It is indeed inconceivable that an editor from 1627 should have been more attached to surviving linguistic forms than print editions 1½ decades earlier.

If Menno himself constantly smoothed and mended the linguistic dress of his writings, how much more publishers for reasons of sales. Scheffer, moreover, has demonstrated with convincing examples that this "Urschrift" by no means shows a "pure Dutch".

Menno Simons probably spoke Frisian as his mother tongue in his parental home. Whoever took the pen in his days in Friesland wrote as he pleased, following the models he happened to come across. Menno, for his part, was subject to influences that we have named. There is a great affinity between the language of Menno and the language of the mystics, devotees, "brothers of the common life," just as the language of the other reformers also shaped Menno's style. *Moreover, High German at that time did not differ from Menno's language as much as later Dutch did from High German!* There are quite a lot of High German phrases in Menno.

Through the ecclesiastical movements and currents, Menno was specifically immersed in the Lower Saxon (Plattdeutsch) language. Menno knew the brothers of the common life who lived at Deventer and Zwolle on the border of the Frankish and Saxon territory, and so many Lower Saxon words and phrases flowed into his pen all by themselves. But it was only through his contact with the Anabaptists that he got hold of Lower Saxon books. In 1530 he read Melchior Hofmann's: "The ordinance of God" (De ordonnantie Gods), in 1533 a book about the sacraments, both in Oosterscher dialect. So Menno learned to know and master the Oostersche at least six years before he left the old church, if not much earlier!

It is also a fact that Rothmann's writing, as a Low German text, was widespread and understood throughout the Dutch region. If Menno wanted his pamphlet to have a strong effect in the widest circles of the population not only of his closer homeland, but also of German and Dutch regions, he was not allowed to write it in Dutch, when in the areas primarily in question Low German was *the* means of communication.

Rothmann, the dogmatist of the Münster superstition, as we must see from the energetic colportage of his writing, was very concerned about winning over the Dutch "confederates" (the Anabaptist Melchiorites, Obbeists and Dirkists), but he counted above all on the extended East Frisian area. And how here the linguistic changes proceeded, was already generally outlined. To be seen here is above all Foerste (see below!).

It is inconceivable that Menno Simon learned the Oostersche only late, if one considers how difficult it is to really master a foreign language and in addition a dialect, and not only in the everyday contact, but in current tracts. Menno must have imbibed the Oostersche with his mother's milk! Like Luther, he stood in the middle of linguistic zones in the history of language development, as it were on linguistic four-field territory. Unfortunately, we lack a scholarly edition of the "Opera" with a scholarly introduction to the linguistic processes in the intersecting areas.

Frerichs himself wants to detect Lower Saxon (East Frisian) influences in some of the oldest Menno writings, but not such of the Oostersche dialect. In East Frisia one had written at that time completely differently. In Friesland, however, the Dutch prevailed in a purer form than Menno offers in his very first writings (the 3rd, 5th and 6th). Frerichs also knows that the Lower Saxon made major conquests in the Groninger Land. He himself cites as an example a protocol which linguistically bears a thoroughly Low German character. According to Frerichs, Menno could not escape these Dutch influences.

The whole question that concerns us is whether, in short, Menno's oldest writings are available to us in the original version or already "translated" (oovergeset)! According to Vos, it is incontrovertible that the "Sommarie" of 1600 to 1601 betrays a completely different style and language than the original versions. From this, compelling conclusions can be drawn that the respective "modernization" of the linguistic garb in Menno's writing came from the publishers. Shouldn't this revision already be present in the writings we address as the oldest editions?!

This much is clear: Menno Simons, with all his work and creativity, was already located in the East Frisian area in the first period of his reform work, which inevitably influenced his language.

Frerichs judges the language of Dirk Philips in his polemic against Rothmann to be "a desperate mishmash of Eastern, Overlandsch and Nederduitsch." Dirk Philips, who had probably worked for some time with Menno in Groningerland, left early for Emden and Danzig. But the fact now that Dirk Philips, who as the most educated among the leaders had a perfect command of Dutch, has to write such a "hodgepodge" clearly reveals the linguistic conditions in the communities for which the writing was intended. We also know that Dirk Philips translated his tracts into Dutch himself, which Menno also testifies. The question is whether this is not also true for his oldest writings, so that Scheffer and Cramer were right against Frerichs, which I argue.

Thus, we move with Menno's writings linguistically on a ground where the Low German and German, or Low German language element have entered into a closer affinity. This confirms our most important finding, that the real artery of the oldest Dutch Anabaptist movement is to be found in the Frisian-East Frisian area.

It is certain that the Mennonites who immigrated to *Prussia* all spoke Dutch and Plattdeutsch (East Frisian, oostersch).

In Prussia, the immigrants very quickly adopted the *local* Low German dialect in the countryside and in the home, and the dialects they brought with them helped to shape this East German dialect. In church services, especially in the cities, the church language they brought with them survived longer than in life (see below), but it too was very quickly subject to change.

The question was raised whether it was conceivable that the Mennonites who had immigrated to Prussia, if they had really been Dutch and had brought Dutch with them as a colloquial language, could have become Germanized under a *Polish* government. The Poles apparently did not want to be involved in this. Moreover, the Mennonites in the lower Vistula region were in a closed area where the influence of Germans could not be great. The Graudenz and Culm Mennonites also lived in a closed area. The towns were run by Germans, and they undoubtedly had a cultural influence on the rural population, which could have led to the introduction of High German in church services and schools, but it remains incomprehensible how the change from the Dutch colloquial language to Low German could have taken place, even with the proverbial conservatism of the Mennonite farmer. That "Dutch" was preached in the Mennonite congregations is indisputable. A Dutch language of worship existed among the immigrants to Prussia. *But not a Dutch vernacular in the strict sense of the word.*

These are convincing marginal notes. Something else comes in addition. In a letter dated 9.11.1935, the then student of philosophy Friedrich Kliewer, presently Dr. Kliewer, Neu-Witmarsum, Brazil, former seminary teacher in the Colony Fernheim, Gran Chaco, besides the above statements, contained the following.

"One observation made me wonder in the parish of Montau-Gruppe near Graudenz. I searched there in the church books for some ancestors ... and found then also a church book, which was begun in the year 1661 by an Aeltester. It contains the registers of the baptized from 1661 upwards, for each year. However, only the names of the baptized are given, without any other information.

But it is interesting that the lists were kept *in Gothic script*, and indeed the first names are all entered in *Low German (plattdeutsch)*: Trinke, Anke, Liske, Hinrich, and so on. The surnames differ only slightly from ours. Above these lists of names, however, there is a heading in *High German* on each page, with the following content: "In the year 1662 the following baptized persons were served with holy baptism".

Thus, as early as 1661, the Mennonite preachers at Graudenz were using High German in writing, some 100 years after their appointment, and that, Kliewer strongly emphasizes, under Polish rule.

"Whether it was not precisely the designation "Dutch" in a colonizing sense that helped to designate the Mennonites as Dutch in an ethnic sense," he notes.

To these interesting remarks, which have led the letter writer to overly far-reaching conclusions, it should be said: We have established with Dr. Lüde et. al. that the designations "Holländereien" have indeed been greatly extended in a colonizing sense. Kliewer writes in the same letter:

I also looked at some old Polish local primary documents in this regard. The founding document from my hometown "Wymysle near Plock" dates back to 1792, and it also speaks of Dutch people, and the village is called a Dutch village, although the first settlers of this village were not Mennonites at all ... At that time, everyone became Dutch which describes settlers who came from the west, just as the Germans in Poland are called "Zwabi" (Swabia) and the German settlers in the middle and lower Danube region are called "Saxons".

The colonists in "Preussisch Holland", under Albrecht von Brandenburg, whom Schumacher treated so extensively, called themselves Dutchmen and they were. But occasionally Dutch colonists (who had not come from the *province* of Holland) protested this naming in a petition. That was already mentioned above. These applicants did not want to be called "Dutchman" in the way that old colonists did not want to be Molotschnaer or vice versa. The immigrants would have put up with the term "Dutchman" more easily. *It was only later that the term Holland became more and more of an equivalent meaning that coincided with the expression "Netherlands"*. One has to make a historical judgment here. But it would be an exaggerated conclusion, as drawn by the student Kliewer at the end of his letter, what *Dr. Kliewer* looks the same today after paying more attention to the questions. It is also a fact that the Dutch literary language was spoken far beyond the political borders of today's Holland. Apart from a few years during the Napoleonic era, East Friesland never belonged to the Dutch state. But nevertheless, in addition to East Frisian Low Saxon or Platt, Dutch was also spoken throughout and Dutch was still preached in the 19th century, namely in the pure Dutch literary language.

This is also true of the German areas of the Lower Rhine, of Kleefeld, of Hamburg, which was called "Little Amsterdam".

Further it is certain that the Dutch literary language had a tough competitor at the Low German already in the Lower Rhine area, not to speak of the Weichsel-Nogat area. One remembers our earlier remarks, one thinks also of the Lower Saxon Bible translation, which found eager readers in the northwest (also in Mennonite circles!) as well as of the Lower Saxon protocols of the religion discussions in the Reformation time. Dutch is the most mature and highest-ranking link in the Low German language chain. In our research, we repeatedly spoke of the "Oosterschen", of that Plattdeutsch, which was especially widespread in the Groninger Land. When the Mennonites moved from the northwest to the northeast, they came from a Low German area into another also Low German area. The linguistic relations at the time of these migrations are to be seen as they were, as *fluid*. And that is why also the Dutch, which was used in the *church services* in the Vistula-Nogat area in the many years and decades, *especially in the countryside*, cannot be simply identified with the literary high one in the Dutch tribal areas. The earlier tracts of Dirk Philips ("hodgepodge") prove this sufficiently, on which Frerichs has also put his finger so impressively.

But if already in Groningen and in East Frisia the Oostersche could develop and the East Frisian Lower Saxon, how much sooner a "transition to Plattdeutsch" (Verplattdeutschung) of the Dutch could take place in the distance Danzig-Thorn! We come across such dialect transformations very often in the transitional periods of that time! The comprehensive linguistic investigation, which is still due, will unquestionably fully substantiate the above statements.

It must be underlined once again that the temporarily "Polish" Prussia was a *German* country, a German cultural area. There, the East Low German Plattdeutsch was the mother tongue, not the New High German language of Luther's translation, which was only gaining acceptance at that time. And therefore the discussed change *from* the Dutch or Oosterschen or East Frisian Lower Saxon *to* the East Low German, to the Marienburg Plattdeutsch and also to the New High German does not offer any difficulties of explanation.

If occasionally the opinion was represented that the Germanization of the Mennonites actually took place only in the Black Sea area, then this is not correct. But the High Germanization of the Low German Mennonites and other colonists, for example the Mariupol (!),

pioneers made further progress. It is a fact that Mennonite preachers in the Black Sea area requested Menno writings in Prussia⁴²⁷, noting that if nothing else, they should be given those in Dutch, which they still understood to some extent. It can be further proven that Mennonite schoolmasters in the young South Russian settlements used Low German in the lessons in the first time! But these were always exceptional cases! The transition to Plattdeutsch (Verplattdeutschung) of this element of the settlers had already taken place in the 16th and 17th centuries, not to speak of the 18th century. However, apart from the urban congregations, a *mixed Dutch-Plattdeutsch language* survived in preaching well into the 18th century, which then gradually gave way to High German after a distinctly Plattdeutsch-High German interim period.

In the area of the West Prussian Mennonite communities we have for centuries a *Dutch - Plattdeutsch* (West - East - Low German), *High German language distribution*. Herbert Wiebe also concludes that High German prevailed "*mostly probably via the detour of a Low German mixed with Dutch remnants*"⁴²⁸. He emphasizes with certainty that the Polish language did not find an entrance among the Mennonites during the two centuries of Polish rule. Only the lease contracts were drafted in Polish, but beyond that all files, writings, purchase and inheritance contracts were in German. The village mayors would have conducted all their correspondence in German.

The shift from Frisian and from the still developing Dutch into Low German had already begun in the Lower Rhine original homeland and, this is also to be emphasized (!), the shift from Low German to High German has not yet been completed. The High German of our people is often a bad translation from Low German into High German.

Here now *still further proofs* for the described!

The Mennonite pastor from Danzig, H. G. Mannhardt, has published in the 1891 volume of the "Menn. Blätter" interesting essays on the "History of Preaching in the German Mennonite Congregations" [Geschichte der Predigt in den deutschen Mennonitengemeinde]. Of great influence on German preaching in these congregations has been the Hamburg Aeltester Jakob *Denner*⁴²⁹, who according to Mannhardt was the first Mennonite pulpit speaker (Kanzelredner) had German sermons *printed*. Printed Mennonite sermons in *Dutch* existed as early as the 17th century⁴⁸⁰. Denner was of German origin. Whether he also preached in German in the Hamburg congregation is not verifiable.

As is well known, Dutch preaching persisted there for quite a long time, as it did in Emden and Danzig. In any case, Denner published Dutch gospel sermons in 1707 under the title "Wysheid des Heeren" [Wisdom of the Lord]. In 1730, however, he now published a strong quarto volume of *German* sermons. The 2nd edition appeared already after his death (1747), in 1751. There was obviously a greater need for such sermons among his co-religionists at that time, especially in the Vistula region. According to all accounts, Denner also stayed in the Danzig region for a longer period of time as a guest preacher. Here he will have encountered such a need. In any case, his German sermons were most widely read in the West Prussian congregations in the 18th century and even in the 19th century, especially because it was often difficult for lay preachers to [compose and] preach their own sermons. According to Mannhardt⁴³¹, around 1750 all *Prussian* preachers, with the exception of those from Danzig, were already preaching in German (High German), i.e., *about half a century before the emigration to Russia* and almost a quarter of a century before the first partition of Poland.

In the second half of the 18th century, the elder of the Königsberg Mennonite congregation Kröker, a merchant, published „Zwanzig Predigten über verschiedene Texte der Heiligen Schrift“ (Twenty Sermons on Various Texts of the Holy Scriptures) (1788), just as a few years earlier the *East Frisian* preacher Reinhard Rahusen also had a collection of sermons published. Thus, around the middle of the 18th century, the transition to High German (Verhochdeutschung) of the service in the Mennonite rural congregations was in full swing, as their transition to Low German [Plattdeutsche] (Verplattdeutschung) had been much earlier. The city congregations then followed, the earliest being Danzig (1780). Hamburg considerably later and still much later the East Frisian and other communities closer to the Dutch border. The Emden [resident] Waerma, to give an example, wrote down in 1757 some principles of faith known by the Mennonites in Dutch and French, on the occasion of the French occupation of Emden at that time, and not in German, *while it was still a German territory*^{431a & 431aa}.

The development of *congregational singing* in the West Prussian congregations⁴³² is also very noteworthy. In his essay (see footnote) Driedger quotes Hartwich, Description of the Three Werders (Beschreibung der drei Werder) 1700, that the Mennonite preachers at that time still “mostly” (!) preached in Dutch.

Without a doubt, what is meant is not even that mixed language, which Frerichs did not characterize particularly flatteringly, but certainly an East Low German Plattdeutsch interspersed with Dutch language residues and language peculiarities. In 1724 and 1752, Dutch hymnals made in Amsterdam were still used in the Prussian communities.

It is remarkable, however, that in many of the 284 songs the melody is given in High German. *Besides* these Dutch songs, *German* psalm songs were also in use. For *already in 1671 (!) even the Aeltester of the Danzig congregation George Hansen had to judge that the youth was more experienced in High German than in the Dutch language.*

If this was true of one of the urban communities, how much more so of the rural communities. One remembers the church bookkeeping in the Graudenz parish, described in more detail by Friedrich Kliewer.

However, because of the Mennonites' very tenacious adherence to custom, tradition and tradition, to which their history repeatedly bears witness, *it was not until 1767 that a German hymnal* was published for the rural congregations and not until 1780 for Danzig. In the preface to the 7th edition of the first-mentioned hymnal, it is explicitly stated that the Dutch language was "gradually" extinguished in the congregations (this is the language process discussed, in which Dutch and Low German were mixed), and that in 1750-1760 "finally" High German began to be preached⁴³³ and the youth was taught High German. At the same time, "the absolute necessity" was recognized to introduce High German singing at church services. The preface to the Danzig hymnal in 1780 also emphasizes that it was the first German songbook of the Mennonites there. According to P. M. Friesen⁴³⁴, Dutch was still preached in Danzig in 1890. It should be noted that the two hymnals offer the ironclad stock of hymns otherwise found in German hymnals.

The hymnal of the Prussian rural congregations was taken by the emigrants to Russia, where it was revised only at the end of the 19th century, not without overcoming significant resistance in the congregations. The so-called old colonists in Canada, Mexico and Paraguay still use it in its old form.

It should also be noted that in the 60s the *Creed* of the Prussian congregations was translated into German (by Hans von Steen, Danzig) and printed in Holland. In the "Communications of the Epp/Kauenhowen/Zimmermann family association of Mennonite families in Danzig" (Mitteilungen des Sippen-Verbandes der Danzig Mennonitenfamilien Epp/Kauenhowen/Zimmermann) 1937⁴³⁵ is described from the travel diary of the student of theology Carl Arnd a church service with the Danzig Mennonites in 1694, from which we quote some sentences that can confirm the above statements:

"The sermon itself was *half Dutch* and *half Plattdeutsch* (by me *italics* U.) by an old ... Kaufmann held..."

The following phrases and sentences demonstrate the aforementioned mixed character of the sermon language:

"Let us... at the beginning of our devotion come together and contemplate... So, thoughtful listeners, pay attention ..." (Lahtet uns... im Anfang unsrer Andacht tosamen fahren and behten... So, andächtigen Thohörer, heft geschrewen ...)

"Since we know this, let us reflect within ourselves, consider how often we have offended the Almighty God..." (Da wir den das weten so lat uns in uns sülf gahn, bedenken wo oft wi den allmäditigen Gott belediget...)

"Attentive listeners, with this text we want to consider three main points... ... the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all ..." (Andächtige Thohörer, bey diesen Text will wi betrachten 3 höftpunten ... de gemeinschaft des H. G. si mit ju allen ...")

It is noted that this service was held in the Mennonite church "outside the city" (i.e., in a rural community, not in the urban area (Stadtgebiet)). *Already in 1694 we have here a language that can in no way be addressed as pure Dutch.*

Unfortunately, we are poorly informed about the *development of the school* system in the Prussian Mennonite settlements before the emigration to Russia... It is characteristic that Johann Klassen⁴³⁸ in his essay "The Mennonites in Prussia in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries" (Die Mennoniten in Preussen im 16., 17. and 18. Jahrhundert) does not mention it at all. P. M. Friesen⁴³⁷ only records that the preachers received their training for the ministry "in the bosom of the congregation". He also mentions youth instruction (baptism instruction). However, one can generally conclude from the school conditions, as they existed from the beginning in the Russian-German settlements, to the school system of the Prussian homeland. I also refer to my essay "Colonization Contacts" (Kolonisatorische Berührungen...)⁴³⁸, in which I mentioned Prussian-Mennonite efforts in the field of education with reference to the Mennonite Yearbook (Jahrbuch) 1909.

In the Russian-German Mennonite settlements, the founding of the schools consistently fell in the settlement year of the villages, so that schools were there from the beginning. The program prescribed "reading, writing and arithmetic in German (= High German)". The language of instruction was, according to D. Epp⁴³⁹ in the beginning was with untrained schoolmasters the Plattdeutsch (the "Marienburg Plattdeutsch", as Peter Braun says in his still unpublished work about the "Molotschna Mennonite School Board" (Molotschnaer Mennonitischen Schulrat) scientifically correct; Braun emphasizes by the way that Plattdeutsch was taught only "occasionally"). The first teacher of the Orloff Association (Vereins) or Central School, founded in 1820, Tobias Voth, had been brought from Prussia, also a proof that in the Prussian homeland this pioneer had become acquainted with an advanced school system. Voth's successor was Heinrich Hesse, who had also received his education in the old mother country.

Thus we have an organic language development in the West Prussian-Russian German branches, which must be brought out more sharply by special investigations.

We now briefly discuss Förste's⁴⁴⁰ investigations.

He has provided evidence that the cultural, economic and political expansion (Ausdehnung) of the Netherlands has also left traces in the Dutch-East Frisian vernacular. He follows them up by methodically recording the Dutch loan words in the East Frisian dialects⁴⁴¹. His method⁴⁴², which does not need to concern us further here, proves to be fruitful and the list of loanwords offered by him is scientifically well-founded.

What particularly interests us here is the development of the relations between East Frisia and the Netherlands drawn by Förste, in linguistic regard, as well as the clarification of the question whether from there some light falls on the origin of the *majority* of the West Prussian and Russian-German Mennonites.

From the outset, it must be obvious that the competition between Low German (Plattdeutsch) and Dutch in the Three Frieslands, especially in the Groningerland and in East Frisia, which we have repeatedly emphasized, is fully confirmed by Förste.

In the annual journal, Pallas⁴⁴³ he states that the East Frisian spoken language "at the Dutch border" is "a colorful mixture of Dutch and Plattdeutsch". This is exactly what we had to say of the preaching language in the Mennonite rural congregations in West Prussia. The result of the competition between Dutch and Low German (Plattdeutsch) was a "mixed language". However, as Förste correctly points out, such a language can only be found among individuals who tried to speak Dutch but "remained stuck in their dialect"⁴⁴⁴.

Influenced by Dutch, the traditional spoken language has been, but not *extinguished*, throughout East Frisia and in neighboring Groningerland. The whole of the people remained here and there with their Lower Saxon (Plattdeutsch) dialect. The 200-year hegemony of the Dutch spirit, but above all the multiple personal relationships between East Frisians and Dutch, must have left clear traces in the language and culture of East Frisia. The High German of the East Frisians in the cities is characterized by a lot of Hollandisms, even in the emphasis⁴⁴⁵. But even in the cities, East Frisian Low German still somehow held its own. Only gradually did the upper strata of the East Frisian population switch over to High German (after 1800)⁴⁴⁶.

Thus everything is confirmed here, what we have independently from Förste about the language processes in the Frisian area and then in further pursuit in the Vistula and Nogat area.

*The Frisian idiom had persisted longest in the villages of southwestern East Frisia. Förste gives the evidence for this*⁴⁴⁷.

But Low German made more and more progress as a spoken language. Eggerik Beninga grumbles: „We Frisians may think that we don't stick to our speech and language like all other nations...” If we Frisians were also much more glorious, that we also stayed with our speech and language“ (Wy Fresen mögen uns des wol Schemen, dat wy nicht by unse Sprake un Cledunge bliven gelik alle andere Nationen ... Yd were uns Freesen ock vele roemeliker, dat wy ock by unse Sprake un Cledunge bleven)⁴⁴⁸. Förste has drawn the directly touching and tragic struggle of the old idiom against the onrushing tide of Low German (Plattdeutsch) and then also High German. But this fight had to end in death.

Between the Low German of the southwestern East Frisia and that of the northeastern, Förste has highlighted the differences and scientifically illuminated⁴⁴⁹. We read with him:

"The present East Frisian dialects divide mainly into a large southwestern and northeastern area, separated by the great moor. The last (northeastern) group agrees in important parts with the phonology and forms of Oldenburgerland, which adjoins it to the east, and contrasts therein with the southwestern part, whose dialect agrees in all essential old features with that of the neighboring Groningerland." Details may be read at Förste.

In its extraordinary power of expansion, Old Saxon spread westward from the mouth of the Elbe to the Lower Rhine and on through Flanders to Callais, as well as eastward to Königsberg and Memel. In its westward movement, as we have seen, it displaced Frisian in its narrow, elongated linguistic area. The individual evidence is provided by Förste. To cf. is also Bielefeld⁴⁵⁰.

The Lower Saxon Low German is divided into two main mouths: the *western* and *eastern*.

It is briefly recalled that the Lower Saxon Low German in East Frisia stands on one and the same phonetic level with the Dutch, English, Danish and Swedish. *It is an old form of the German language, which has resisted the last sound shift:* t did not become z and e did not become ei (twee = zwei [two], dree = drei [three]), d did not become t (dot = tot [dead]), p did not become f and o did not become u (ropen = rufen [call]), t did not become s, ss, ss (wat = was [what], grot = gross [large], laten = lassen [let]), tt did not become tz (Katt = Katze [cat], e did not become ch or g (Dade = Dach [roof], Klock = Glocke [bell]), p did not become pf, i became ei (Piep = Pfiefe [pipe]), f remained, while in High German f became b (Kalf = Kalb [calf]), e did not become i and did not become be (Deef = Dieb [thief]), i did not become ei (Biel = Beil [axe]), o did not become au (Boom = Baum [tree]), u did not become au (düsend = tausend [thousand]), u did not become eu, äu and p did not become f (versupen = versaufen [become drunk]) etc.

The Dutch-Low German language area is uniform in that it does not know this last sound shift⁴⁵¹. Frerichs then quite rightly called Dutch also Low German. Scientifically, Low German is divided into Low Franconian (Flemish-Dutch) and Low Saxon. Frerichs states⁴⁵², "The linguists primarily differentiate between three dialects that were spoken in ancient times: Low Franconian, Frisian and Low Saxon." *The historical facts are reproduced quite correctly here*. The Germanic tribes spread from north to east, from south to west. The West Germans included the Franks, who settled on the Main, the Middle Rhine, and the Dutch provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Zeeland, Holland, and part of Gelderland.

While they, conquering France, mixed with the Celts, and became Romanized, they remained Low German in the Netherlands and formed the very basis of the Dutch and Flemish people. The Saxons (Lower Saxons) sat in Drenthe, Overijssel and part of Gelderland^{452a}. The Frisians sat on the coast of the North Sea.

A part of them crossed over to England with the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, about which the Russian scholar Berlyayev has made interesting investigations. It should be noted that according to him Rurik (Rorik, Rhoderich) was a Frisian. It should also be briefly noted that recently quite new connections have been uncovered about the Nordic origin of the Russian empire.

In the province of Holland, the Lower Frankish language now developed into the so-called "Nederduisch" or "Dietsch". Frisian was displaced, and Lower Franconian became the literary language, also in Friesland. Frerichs, however, emphasized that what was spoken and written in Friesland was not clean Dutch. It was here interspersed with Lower Saxon (Plattdeutsch) linguistic elements. And when in the 14th century Friesland was flooded by Upper German and Low German mercenaries, the Low German and even the High German was very soon in the ears of the people.

We have at the time of Menno in Friesland linguistically a still unconsolidated area. Friesland was a corridor with a strong "draught". When Anabaptists from this area transferred to West Prussia, they were anything but stable linguistically. They were badly and fairly Low German Dutch. *They now had to compensate for a loosened West Low German dialect they had brought with them with an East Low German one*. In the countryside, as already noted, this process took place more quickly than in the cities, because in these the educated classes had a better command of the Dutch literary language than the rural population.

Any proper linguistic investigation must establish that Dutch settlers of Mennonite and other denominations brought with them to the East German area dialects anchored in their foundations in *Low German* and quickly adopted the East Low German dialect, especially in their dealings, not without helping to shape it.

We can now return here to *findings of Förste*. He has identified the main differences between the two main East Frisian dialects mentioned above according to their essential features. We clarify these briefly:

Plural of nouns (Dingwörter), in the west of East Frisia the plural is formed weakly (ending - en), in the east strongly (umlaut), e.g., Boom [boom], Pl Boomen and Boom, Foot [foot], Föten and Fööt, Dook (cloth) Doken and Döker, Mus [mush], Musen and Müüsen etc.). In the West (Southwest) our "broken" is pronounced closed "broken", in the East (Northeast) open: "broken". In the East one says "negen" [nine] (like "regen", as pronounced by the Waldheimers, Gnadenfelders, etc., while in the West the e-sound is different. In the East one says "goot" [good] (monophthong), in the West "gaut" (diphthong), in the East "twölf" [twelve], in the West "twalf".

If we compare these pronunciations with the dialects of Chortitza, Halbstadt and Gnadenfeld, we discover that both East Frisian pronunciations are reflected in these Russian-German Mennonite dialects, but nevertheless we observe here a preponderance of the Eastern pronunciation of East Frisian. I recall in particular the formation of the plural by umlaut, which we also have in the Waldheim-Gnadenfeld dialect. The Chortitzaer and Molotschnaer also say "goot", like the East Frisians in the East, but in the Waldheim dialect there is unquestionably an *echo* of the western pronunciation of the East Frisian "gaut". Twalf" has penetrated, but "twölf" has asserted itself in the Waldheim dialect, which is dwindling more and more.

If our observation is not wrong, we would have here a new indication that the Russian Mennonites also linguistically betray a distinct East Frisian character, as in their majority pioneers coming from the Groningerland East Frisia. In addition to the development of genealogical research, the scientific study of the Oosterschen and its transformation in Friesland and in the Vistula region will further promote the solution of the questions of origin of our West Prussian-Russian German Mennonite group. Here it will become clear whether we are on the right track with our explanations or not.

Part 2 of this work by Benjamin Heinrich Unruh's is available from the Mennonite Heritage Archives in hard copy and online at <https://www.mharchives.ca/resources/genealogy/#genealogyguides>.

Footnotes

Part I

1) *B. H. Unruh*: "Menn. Bl.", 1937, nos. 1 and 2 (it is to be read Edzard II, not Edgard II).

Cf. English translation in: "Mennonite Quarterly Review," Goshen, Ind, 1936, July. *Ditto*, "Die Herkunft der Russland deutschen mennonitischen Glaubens" in: "Jahrbuch für auslanddeutsche Sippenkunde", Stuttgart 1937, with sources and addenda. *Ditto*, "Vorfragen zur wissenschaftlichen Klärung der Herkunft des russländischen Mennonitentums*" in: "Der Bote", Rosthern, Sask., Canada as well as "Menn. Rundschau", Winnipeg, in the years 1935-1938. Registered are the articles in: "Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter," volumes 1936-1940.

The following essays by *B. H. Unruh* are especially worth mentioning: "Kolonisatorische Berührungen zwischen den Mennoniten und den Siedlern anderer Konfessionen im Weichselgebiet and in der Neumark" in: "Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung", edited by D E Meynen, IV. Jahrg., Heft 2, 1940.

"Die Kulturleistungen der Mennoniten in aller Welt", Menn. Blätter, 1940 nos. 3 and 4.

"Die Mennoniten in der Neumark" Calendar of the Conference of South German Mennonites, 1941.

Other of his publications are also listed in the above noted volumes of "Menn. Geschichtsblätter" listed above.

2) Important is the writing of *H. H. Schröder*, "Russlanddeutsche Friesen", self-published, Langensalza 1936, Their method disputed Dr. Walter Quiring in; "Der Bote" and "Menn. Rundschau."

Dr. Walter Quiring also commented, more in principle, on the problem. His meritorious books about the Chako Mennonites: "Deutsche erschliessen den Chako", Karlsruhe 1936 and "Russlanddeutsche suchen eine neue Heimat", Karlsruhe 1938 are also of genealogical value, especially because of their supporting documents.

Several essays have been published by *Dr. Horst Quiring*, which are mentioned and appreciated in this monograph, as well as all genealogical efforts in the context of Mennonite research. The relevant literature is consulted in the course of this monograph.

About the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft der mennonitischen Sippenkunde" (leader Ernst Regehr, Tiegenhof, Danzig, (now Uruguay), the program paper of Ernst Regehr informs in the "Mennonitischen Blättern", 1937, No. 9. Der Sippenverband Epp-Kauenhowen-Zimmermann ließ „Mitteilungen“ (editor Dr. Kauenhowen, Göttingen, Rasenweg 11). In 1935 two issues appeared in typescript, since January 1, 1936 6 issues annually.

3) *H. G. Mannhardt* "Unsere Familiennamen", Christl. Gemeindekalender 1903, p. 76 ff, published by the Konferenz der süddeutschen Mennoniten und der Konferenz der ostdeutschen Mennonitengemeinden. The investigations of H. H. Schröder (see footnote 2), of Deichrentmeister *Schulz*, of *Gustav Reimer Sr. and Jr.*, Heubuden, Danzig, *Herbert Wiebe*, *Franz Harder* and others are considered below.

4) *H. G. Mannhardt*, "Die Danzig Mennonitengemeinde, ihre Entstehung and ihre Geschichte von 1569-1918," Danzig, 1919, p. 37.

5) *Reisswitz, G. L. Baron von and zu Wadzeck*, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der taufgesinnten Gemeinden oder Mennoniten", Breslau 1821, p. 19. There were still among the Mennonite immigrants in Russia at the turn of the 19th century persons who could read and understand Dutch. Thus Jakob Wiens, Chortitza (Gouv. Jekaterinoslaw) writes February 4, 1806 to the Honorable Johann Kauenhowen in Altschottland near Danzig (Aktenstück XXI - Briefwechsel 1806-1819, Archiv der Danzig Mennonitengemeinde), one would like to send them the works of Menno Simon, albeit in the Dutch edition: "...for we can still read the Dutch language" I owe the copy of this important piece of documentation to the meritorious Mennonite genealogist *Franz Harder*, Danzig-Ohra (see the lists in the "Appendix" to this work).

6) "Hildebrand's Zeittafel" by *J. J. Hildebrand*, Winnipeg, Man., Canada 1945.

7) On the subject of Mennonite migrations, *my* lecture registered in footnote 1: "Die Kulturleistungen der Mennoniten in der ganzen Wel" is to be included, then the article "Mennoniten" in: "Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart" (D. Neff).

8) About the Mennonites (= Doopsgezinden) in the Dutch area, the most reliable information is given in the "Doopsgezinde Bijdragen" (cited below as "DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN") Vol. I., p. 465, published for the first time in 1861. About them, cf. the "Mennonitische Lexikon" (= M. L.), edited by Christian Fiege and D. Theol Christian Neff; in 1829, the lists of baptized congregations and preachers in Holland were published for the last time. As its continuation was intended the "Jahrboekje van de Doopsgezinde Gemeenten in den Neederlanden" (1837), published by Prof. S. Müller (1837, 1838/39, 1850). Four years later Dr. Gorter published his "Godsdienst lectuur voor Doopsgezinden," also in triplicate (1854, 1856, and 1858). The Mennonite pastors Dr. Harting in Enkhuizen and P. Cool then founded in 1861 the above mentioned "DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN" A Mennonite Name Research in East and West Prussia asked *Dr. Gustav E. Reimer Jr.*, based on own and foreign source researches, which Gustav Reimer, Sr., has recently started to work on. The investigations of Dr. Kauenhowen and Dr. Zimmermann will be discussed later.

The investigations of Dr. Kauenhowen and Dr. Zimmermann will be discussed later. cf. also footnote 3.

From the literature on the history of the Netherlands, special reference should be made to Menzelburger (I. p. 396), as well as to the small booklet by H. A. Ratter, „Historische Becrekkingen tuschen Nederland en Duitschland“ (Staaten en Volkeren, Geschäften over Int. Politik usw., Serie I, No. 10) Baarn, 1918. Cf. also my essay cited in footnote 1 essay cited „Kolonisatorische Berührungen ...“ in „Deutschen Archiv für Landeskunde and Volksforschung“, 1940, Heft 2.

Hermann Hirt, Die Indogermanen. Ihre Verbreitung, ihre Urheimat and ihre Kultur, 2 volumes, Strassburg 1905.

9) *Dr. J. Frank*, Altfränkische Grammatik, Göttingen, 1909, p. 1.

10) *Dr. Rudolf Bielefeldt*, Ostfriesland, Aurich, 1924, p. 201.

11) *K. C. Clement* Die Lebens- und Leidensgeschichte der Friesen, insbesondere der Friesen nördlich der Elbe, Kiel 1845 and; Die Lebens and Leidensgeschichte der Friesen, insbesondere der Friesen nördlich der Elbe, Kiel 1845 und; Das wahre Verhältnis der südjütischen Nationalität and Sprache zur deutschen and friesischen im Herzogtum Schleswig (Streitschrift), Hamburg 1849,

12) *Rudolf Bielefeldt*, loc. cit.. (Footnote 10), S. 201 f.

13) *Hermann Lübbing*, „Die Friesen“, Eugen Diederich Verlag, Jena. cf. also the literature noted by H. H. Schröder (Footnote 2), from Menzelburger loc. cit., p. 7

14) *Adam von Bremen*, De situ Daniae; „Frisia regio est maritima inviis inaccessa paludibus“.

14a) *Hermann Lübbing*, loc. cit. (Footnote 13),

15) *Lübbing*, loc. cit., p. 61.

16) *H. H. Schröder*, loc. cit., p. 63 and *Junge, K.*, Das friesische Bauernhaus, Oldenburg i. O. 1935.

16a) *H. H. Schröder*, loc. cit., p. 65.

17) *Bielefeldt*, loc. cit. (Footnote 10) p. 200.

18) *P. J. Block*, Friesland in Mittelalter (aus dem Holländischen übersetzt v. Houtrouw), Leer 1891, p. 18.

19) *Clement*, loc. cit. (Footnote 11), p. 19 ff.

20) Artikel „Eiderstedt“ in M. L. (= Menn. Lexikon) I, p. 546.

21) *Dr. Onno Klopp*, Geschichte Ost-Frieslands, 3 volumes, Hannover 1854, 1856 and 1858.

22) see Footnote 11.

23) *Clement*, loc. cit., p. 18.

24) *ibid*, p. 200.

25) *Adam von Bremen*, loc. cit. (Footnote 14): „in oceanum Frisonicum“, cap. 208.

26) „Friesland en de Friesen“, Leeuwarden 1877 p. 1.

27) *ibid*, p. 1.

28) *Möhlmann*, Kritik der friesischen Geschichtsschreibung überhaupt und des Dr. O. Klopp insbesondere, 1862.

29) *Block*, loc. cit. (s. Footnote 18) p. 10 f. - *Clement*, Lebens- and Leidensgeschichte der Friesen. Clement p. 40 to 65

Clement made a compilation of the many storm surges that have only partially survived. Ancient writers (e.g., Strabo) mention these natural catastrophes. Clement also mentions migration of the Frisians due to storm surges. We read in Clement: "This first half of the 12th century (storm surges 1099-1100, 1111, 1141) is the time of the colonization of the east side of Holstein by peoples from the sea, who are often driven from their homes by floods". According to Strabo, storm surges expelled the Cimbri. They were also the cause of many Dutch migrations to the East. Clement, p. 69, we want Frisians to come to Upper Germany under Charlemagne. Doesn't that explain the spread of the name "Epp" in southern Germany and Switzerland? cf. Hermann Epp, The names of Epp in: "Notifications ..." (Footnote 2) 1936, issue 1. In 1227, 33 Frisian villages in the Emden area were swallowed up by the oncoming sea tides.

30) *Clement*, loc. cit., p. 69.

31) Friesland was divided into a number of regions, for which Charles also appointed Counts and Schulzen. *Charles the Simple of France had appointed Dürk or Diederich I. as Count of Holland in 920.32) Bielefeldt*, loc. cit., p. 5.

33) *Bielefeldt*, *ibid*, p. 199.

34) Cf. Footnote 8.

35) *Menzelburger*, loc. cit., I., p. 199.

36) *Ritter*, loc. cit., p. 4.

37) *Ritter*, loc. cit., p. 12.

38) *Meine Aufsätze im „Boten“* (Footnote 1) Jakob (Walter) Quiring, Die Mundart von Chortitza.

39) *Meine „Vorfragen“*, „Der Bote“ 1935, No. 22, 23, 24.

40) *ibid*.

41) Das Nordische and Ostgermanische haben sich bei ihrer Ausbreitung nirgends lange halten können.

42) cf. Footnote 39.

43) *ibid Dr. Max Kaluza*, Historische Grammatik d. engl. Sprache, Berlin 1906, Bd. I.

44) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN, 45. Jahrg., p. 72 ff: „Mennos taal“

45) *Hermann Hirt*, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, München 1919, p. 111 ff.

46) *Hermann Paul*, Deutsche Grammatik, I., p. 85.

47) Cf. Footnote 45.

47a) Foerste has published a relevant work on the influence of Dutch on the vocabulary of dialects in the eastern Frisian areas (Groningen, East Frisia).

48) *Clement*, loc. cit., p. 41.

49) *Oikar Weiss*, Unsere Mundarten, ihr Wesen and Werden, Leipzig, Berlin 1919.

50) Cf. Footnote 39

51) *Bielefeldt*, loc. cit. p. 208 ff.

52) Man cf. especially the Streitschrift von *Clement* (Footnote 11), p. 19 ff.

54) *Frerichs*, loc. cit. (Footnote 44) p. 78 f.

55) *Bielefeldt*, loc. cit., p. 204.

56) *Hermann Paul*, loc. cit., 1., p. 81.

57) and 58) cf. that from Hirt, Paul usw. angegebene Literatur zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache.

58) [there is no footnote #58 in the original]

59) *Franz Fromme*, Niederdeutsche and Niederländer in: „Deutsche Rundschau“, edited by Bruno Hake, August 1916 (zu vergleichen sind auch seine späteren Aufsätze in dieser Zeitschrift).

60) *Frerichs*, loc. cit., p. 80 f.

60a) The Saxons spread their power and prestige and in connection with it the dominance of their language, and so the Frisian language had to come early from Holstein and the land of the Wursten (east of the Weser area) to the Schleswig islands... In the 14th century, the Frisians in the surrounding areas of Groningen could no longer understand the old Frisian laws, so they were translated into the Low German (= Dutch) spoken there, which was already strongly interspersed with Lower Saxon words. And when in the civil turmoil between the "Schieringers" and "Vetkoopers" in Friesland proper (the western province in the Three Frieslands) East Frisian chieftains with their war camps surveyed the land, when in 1498 Albrecht of Saxony was appointed Potentate of Friesland by Maximilian and established himself in the land with a multitude of officials, when in the following wars between Albrecht and Charles of Guelders, in Menno's youth, whole bands of Low and Upper German mercenaries swarmed through the country, then the Lower Saxon (= Plattdeutsch) or Oostersche language and also the High German language of Friesland were understood up and down, if not spoken. Old Frisian gradually lost its dominance in Friesland to such an extent that it could no longer be recognized even in family names.

61) *Mein* Beitrag „Täuferium and Bauernrevolution“ in der „Gedenkschrift zum 400 jährigen Jubiläum des Mennonitentums“, Karlsruhe 1925, p. 19 ff.

61 a) *Menn. Blätter*, 1854 p. 5.

61 aa) *Mem* Stuttgarter Vortrag 1936 (s. Footnote 1).

61 b) „*Menn. Blätter*“ 1854, p. 5.

61 c) It cannot be cited here. A final word on the problem has the Menn. Church historian in Amsterdam. Prof. Dr. W. J. Kühler, "Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de sestiende eeuw", Haarlem 1932. He met with opposition on the part of John Horsch, Scottsdale: „Is Dr. Kühlers conception of early Dutch anabaptism historically sound“? Mennonite Press, Scottsdale, (Imprint from Mennonite Quarterly Review Vol. VII). I have commented on the issue in „Gedenkschrift“ Stellung genommen (Footnote 61).

62) Chr. Hege, 400 Jahre Menn. Geschichte, Karlsruhe 1936 and "Gedenkschrift" (see footnote 61) D. Neff, Konrad Grebel. cf. also Heidelberg dissertation on Grebel by Prof. H. S. Bender, Goshen College, Kansas, USA. Part of the work was published in: "Mennonite Quarterly Review" (see footnote 1). In 1950 the excellent work of H S Bender "Conrad Grebel 1498-1526 The Founder of Swiss Brethern from "The Mennonite Historical Society" was published (Goshen, Ind.).

63) *ibid.*

64) *ibid.*

65) *ibid.*

66) One must refrain from including the most recent assessments of the Anabaptist movements in my discussion. That has must take place elsewhere.

66a) K. Vos, Menno Simons.

66 b) Chr. Hege, Die Mennoniten in der Kurpfalz.

66c) To be compared would be B. H. Unruh Memorandum "Die Mennoniten" A church-historical-dogma-historical report („Gemeindeblatt“ 1948)

67) „Bericht“, Verlag H. Schneider, Karlsruhe, 1925.

68) *W. Kühler*, loc. cit., (Footnote 61c), p. 7.

69) *ibid.*, p. 23 ff.

70) *Blaupt ten Cate*, Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Friesland, Leeuwarden 1839, p. 4 ff, esp. p. 12.

71) *Derselbe*, Geschiedenis der D. in Groningen, Oberijssel en Oost-Friesland, Leeuwarden and Groningen 1842. Erstes Hauptstück p. 4 ff.

72) Cf. *J. van der Smissen*, On the origin of the Anabaptists, „*Menn. Blätter*“, 1854, p. 3 ff. (with continuation).

73) *Bl. ten Cate*, Friesland (s. Footnote 70), p. 4 and 10).

74) *Fl. Schijn*, Geschichte der Mennoniten I. Teil p. 195.

74 a) *Bl. ten Cate* (Footnote 71), p. 207.

75) *A. M. Cramer*, Het leven van Menno Simons, Adam 1837, p. 12.

76) It is a pure assumption by *K Vos* that they were Münsterites. Cf. *Bl. ten Cate*, Friesland (see above footnote 11) and *Kornelius Krahn*, Menno Simons, 1936, p. 22 ff.

77) *Carel van Gent*, Verhaal van t' begin der Scheuringen onder de Doopsgezinden, deutsch von J. C Jehring, Jena 1620.

77 a) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1876: J. G. *de Hoop Scheffer*, „Eene geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden ... door een Doopsgezinde“.

78) *Bl. ten Cate*, (cf. Footnote 71) p. 5 ff

79) *A Hyma*, The Christian Renaissance 1924.

80) "Report" on the 1925 Basel Mennonite World Conference. (Footnote 67) p. 53.

81) The movement, which extended to Basel and Bavaria, demanded a return to the original, in which, as is well known, Anabaptism saw its ultimate goal. Here, bourgeois circles of the Middle Ages have asserted themselves to a more spiritualized piety. Cf. *Lamprecht*, Geschichte Deutschlands IV, p. 265.

82) In these circles we also find doctrinal approaches that were further developed by Anabaptism (the emphasis on truthfulness and peacefulness).

83) *Bl ten Cate* and *W. Kühler*.

84) *Cornelius Krahn*, loc. cit., S 23, (s Footnote 53).

85) *Billicanus* treats in his writing "Renuvatio ecclesiae nordlingiacensis ..." (1525) detailing the exemption of Aker at baptism.

86) *Krahn*, loc. cit., p. 24.

87) *ibid.*

88) *Opera Omnia* (from 1681) 257 a.

89) For more details see BL ten Cate, op. cit., p. 18 (esp. his footnote 50).

90) and 91) See *W. Kühler* on M. Hofmann and the article in *Menn. Lex.*, vol II.

[91) This footnote is missing from the original]

92) *Kühler*, op. cit., p. 52. According to Bl. ten Cate, he came to East Frisia in 1528, according to Emmius (*Rerum Frisicarum Historiae* to 1563, Dec. 6 a page 177) and Schotanus (*De geschiedenissen van Friesland, oost ende wes*, 642) in 1529.

93) *Bl. ten Cate*, loc. cit. P. 14 Explains the name „Peltzer“ (Peiser).

94) *Kühler*, loc. cit., p. 53.

95) *ibid.*, p. 54.

96) Cf. DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1919, p. 134 f.

97) *M/L.* 1. p. 695 f. and I. p. 9 ff.

98) *Kühler*, loc. cit., p. 65.

99) *ibid.*, p. 66

100) *Bibl. Reform*, dl. V., p. 221.

101) *Kühler*, loc. cit., p. 66.

102) *I.eendertz*, M. Hofmann.

103) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1912, p. 98 ff.

104) *Kühler*, loc. cit., p. 63.

105) *Kühler*, loc. cit., p. 198.

106) *ibid.*, p. 102.

107) *Kühler*, p. 63.

108) *Dr. G. T. Müller*, *Die Mennoniten in Ostfriesland*, 1887, p. 1.

109) *E. Beninga* (*Menn. Lex.*) p. 652. DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1881, S 66 ff. BL ten Cate, Groningen ..., Main article I, p. 4, *Ubbo Emmiut* (s. Footnote 92).

109 a) *B H Unruh* Stuttgarter Vortrag (s. Footnote 1).

110) *Schotani*, loc. cit., p., 642.

111) *ten Cate*. Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinde Gemeente te's Gravenhage, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1896, p. 36 ff.

112) s. Article in M. L. about him.

112a) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1909. p. 1 ff.

112b) *ibid.*, p. 6 f.

112c) *ibid.*, p. 10.

112d) *ibid.*, p. 11.

112e) *ibid.*, p. 11 and 12.

112f) D B 1892, p. 13, D B 1906, p. 28.

112g) D B 1909. p. 13

112h) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1909, p. 14.

113) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1909, p. 18.

114) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1867 Scheffer mentions the most curious "Memorial" to the city. BiBl. at Haarlem, which speaks of emigrants from Flanders, whom this depopulated city had invited. Among the names mentioned by Scheffer are "van der Smisser" and "Fleming" (Vlaming). Both names are still found today in Germany, Russia, overseas. Scheffer knows that families from the southern provinces also moved to the Rhine provinces and then returned to the Netherlands (see Hartsen, Wolff and others). In the case of families where this process is not simply obvious, it is to be assumed according to Scheffer. He speaks of "so-called Dünsche" (p. 55), who came to the Netherlands from the German area, but in fact it was more often returned Dutch, original refugees, for example from Flanders. He concludes this especially from the fact that these returnees did not join the Dutch group, like the "High Germans", but the Flemings. This is, of course, only circumstantial evidence (= only indirect evidence, a conclusion from the events, not a proven fact). Scheffer illustrated his assumptions among other things by a family Kops (mutated from Jakob, cf. our family name Koop). This family returned to the Netherlands, to Haarlem, after a longer stay in the Rhine area and joined the Flemish group, as also a number of other families with their preacher at the head.

Scheffer, of course, knows of a large influx of real German refugees into the Low Countries. He knows a number of names which sound Dutch because they indicate with "van" the place of origin or the last place of residence of the persons concerned. However, one must be cautious also with them, in this our researcher is right, with the last decision about their original homeland. Their names certainly point to the areas between Meuse and Rhine as countries of origin, but perhaps their genealogical registers, if we had them, would give other information about their ancestry. Even the most ingenious combinations, the most brilliant analogies, the most amazing ideas can never replace a concrete genealogical information. That is why the dates of birth, marriage and death are so important. They put a stop to the constructions and the historian's search for reality. Especially Scheffer's excellent contribution can substantiate this.

115) *M. L. I.*, p. 162.

116) D B. 1868.

117) D B. 1868.

118) D B 1862: *Beidraege tot de Geschiedenis der Doopg. te Dordrecht* (Sd. Holland).

119) *ib.*, S 89.

- 120) The Plakat from 23. 1. 1534.
- 121) Bl. ten Cate Groningen usw. III , Erste Abt., p. 4.
- 122) *Reisswitz and Wadzeck*, loc. cit., p. 11.
- 123) *B. H. Unruhs* Stuttgarter Vortrag (s. Footnote 1).
- 124) *B. H. Unruh*: „Die Kulturleistungen der Mennoniten in aller Welt“ (Footnote 1).
- 125) Because these emigrations are not directly related to our topic, they will occasionally be the subject of a special study.
- 126) *Bielefeldt*, loc. cit., p. 1.
- 126a) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1881, p. 64 ff.
- 127) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1881: *Dr. J. T. Müller*, Oorzaken van de vestiging der Doopsgezinde in Oost-Friesland, p. 64 ff. Cf. *Dr. Hoop Scheffer*, Geschiedenis der Hervorming in Nederland van haar anstaan tot 1531, Amsterdam 1873.
- 128) *Bl. ten Cate*, Groningen ..., Erste Deel, p. 26.
- 129 *Bl. ten Cate*, loc. cit., I., p. 26.
- 129a) *Bl. ten Cate*, loc. cit., III., p. 10.
- 130) *Müller*, loc. cit., p. 65.
- 131) *Bl. ten Cate*, Groningen etc. Dl. I., 26.
- 132) All contracts with governments that Mennonites have ever entered into, contain this clause.
- 133) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1893.
- 134) *Scheffer*, „Het verband der vier Steden“. DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1893, p. 1 ff.
- 134a) *Müller*, loc. cit., p. 71 (Menn. Lex.).
- 135) *Müller*, loc. cit., p. 13.
- 136) *ibid.* p. 20 ff. According to *Müller*, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1881, p. 76 f., the Countess did not strictly enforce her edicts against the Anabaptists, making a distinction between the quiet baptized and the restless rebaptizers. Menn. Lex.
- 137) *Müller*, loc. cit., p. 20. *Emmius*, loc. cit., p. 913. *Beninga*, loc. cit., p. 737. *Wiarda*, Bd. III, p. 9.
- 138) 26. 7. 1544.
- 139) s. Footnote 137.
- 139 a) s. Footnote 136.
- 139b) *Bl. ten Cate*, Groningen ..., Tweede Deel, Beilagen p. 167 f.
- 139c) *ibid.*, p. 168 f.
- 139 d) *Scheffer*, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1906, p. 139. The edict distinguishes between "expelled citizens" and "residents"; they are „eweliken vredeloes ghelacht (= banished forever) wth (out of) the city and its outskirts“. Wives and children shall follow „nae volghen“, within a month. The expelled take their belongings „between this time and the next time.“. The poster concludes with the warning that the authorities „after this day rebaptizers are no longer suffered in this city in any manner.“
- 140) Poster Karls.
- 141) The evangelical baptized people preferred to call themselves "Evangelicals", "Christian Brothers", etc., until the 17th century. But then they had to adopt a special name to distinguish themselves from the Münster Brethren. To distinguish themselves from them, they called themselves "Mennists"
- According to P. Leendertz Wz, "De naam Doopsgezinde", DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1861, p. 32 ff, we read the name "Doopsgezinde" first in Tieleman van Braght. They began to be named on the basis of the doctrinal point of baptism.
- First the name "Doopsgezinden" appeared in Zeeland. In a letter of Willem L from 1578 to the aldermen of the city of Middelburg, "D." is mentioned. Bl. ten Cate, Doopsgez. in Holland, I., p. 42 points out that the name is found in a list of parishioners in Middelburg. The name "Doopers" is found earlier, already between 1531-1537 (Bl. ten Cate, loc. cit., I., p. 17).
- Incidentally, these Christians gave themselves the name "Doopsgezinden". However, as Cornelius Ris ("Geloofsleve der wäre Mennoniten of Doopsgezinden", 1776) points out, the baptized are also rejectors of early baptism. Halbertsma considers the designation an insult to dissenters because it places the Mennonites solely as Anabaptists. A writing from 1844 rejects the name. Bl. ten Cate therefore interprets the name differently: they are not baptized before they are inclined to receive baptism.
- About the name "Mennists" see M. L. II. p. 77, about "Mennonites" M. L. II. p. 102. For the first time the name "Mennonites" occurs in 1545 in a decree of Countess Anna of East Frisia, in which she distinguishes the Mennonites from the followers of David Joris and Barenburg (J. P. Müller, Die Menn, in Ost-Friesland 1889, p. 25, note 89).
- 142) *Ottius*, Amkales, pag. 35.
- 142 a) *Bl. ten Cate*, Ost-Friesland, I. p. 8
- 143) Schaghen, de Kerk der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden, p. 22.
- 144) Bl. ten Cate, loc. cit., p. 8., 24. 31.
- 145) *ibid.*, p. 8 11 ff.
- 146) Bl. ten Cate, loc. cit., p. 207.
- 147) *ibid.*, p. 183 f.
- 148) *ibid.*
- 149) *ibid.*, p. 185.
- 150) *ibid.*
- 151) *ibid.*
- 152) *ibid.*
- 153) *ibid.*
- 154) *ibid.*
- 155) *ibid.*

- 156) J. Atrema, Jan Gottschalks van Elten, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1874, p. 1-33 and DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1875, p. 67 ff.
- 157) Guyot, Bijdragen tot het geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden te Nymwegen 1845 (s. Attema Footnote 156)
- 158) J. Attema, (s. Footnote 156).
- 159) *ibid*, p. 6
- 160) *ibid*, p. 7 f.
- 161) *ibid*, S 9.
- 162) *ibid*, S 26, p. 13, 31 and oft[?].
- 163) W. Bax, *Der Protestantismus im Bistum Luik and in Maastrich (1535-1557)*
- 164) *ibid*
- 165) Scheffer, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1867.
- 166) Scheffer, *ibid*, p. 55.
- 167) Friedrich Metz, Wilhelm. Heinrich Riehl und die Erforschung der deutschen Grenzlande in „Deutsches Archiv für Landeskunde and Volksforschung“ 1937, Heft 1.
- 168) ten Cate, Friesland ... p. 11.
- 169) cf. the articles Belgium, Flanders a. o. in the M. L. as well as Kühler's standard work about the Frisian baptized in the 16th century.
- 170) Scheffer, Der Verband der vier Steden 1893.
- 171) 10. 378 or 10. 252 cf. M. L. I, p. 251.
- 172) M. L. II., p. 267.
- 173) The disputes in Mennonite history are strongly reminiscent of the disputes among the Frisians.
- 174) cf. Footnote 170.
- 175) *ibid*.
- 176) cf. Footnote 169.
- 177) cf. the previous footnotes!
- 178) B. C. Roosen, Geschichte der Gemeinde zu Hamburg und Altona. 1886.
- 179) *ibid*. cf. also the article „Altona“ and „Hamburg“ in M. L.
- 180) cf. The letter from H. H. Schröder, (Our Footnote 2).
- 181) I have especially pointed out this one point in my reviews of Schröder's writing, because already at that time the main results of my investigations on the origin of the Russian-German Mennonites were certain.
- 182) Scheffer, The family Sleutel, D.B. 1867,
- 183) M. L. I., p. 83 f.
- 184) Bielefeldt, loc. cit., p. 184.
- 184a) Kühler, cf. P. M. Friesen, Menn. Bruderschaft in Russland, Halbstadt 1911, p. 3 ff, as well as Cornelius Krahn.
- 185) Scheffer, loc. cit., p. 66.
- 186) *ibid*, p. 70 ff.
- 187) Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden Gemeente te Dordrecht, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1862.
- 187a) *ibid*, S 103 ff
- 188) J. S. Bakker, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden op Terschelling, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1861.
- 189) *ibid*, p. 88.
- 190) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1879.
- 190) In seinem Buch über die Mennoniten in Ostfriesland.
- 191) [there are 2 footnotes #190, but no #191]
- 192) Müller, loc. cit.
- 193) Müller, loc. cit., p. 193.
- 194) cf. VI, for the names I have quoted from Müller.
- 195) Müller, loc. cit., p. 207.
- 196) Schröder, loc. cit.
- 197) My series of articles cited in Footnote 1 „Vorfragen ...“
- 198) In this, Ehrh is right.
- 199) H. H. Schröder, loc. cit.
- 200) Schröder, p. 70.
- 201) Schröder calls them p. 72 of his writing.
- 201a) S 4.
- 201 b) „Der Bote“.
- 201 c) p. 77 ff.
- 201 cc) see previous footnotes about Kauenhowen.
- 201 d & e) cf. our footnote 2. It should be mentioned here: Kurt Kauenhowen, The writings on kinship studies and history of the baptized Dutch immigrants (Mennonites) in Old Prussia and their branches in: „Mitteilungen der niederländischen Ahnengemeinschaft e. V.“ Hamburg I, volume, 1919, p. 66-109 Kurt Kauenhowen, „Das westpreußische Mennonitentum und auslanddeutsche Sippenkunde“, Stuttgart 1936, p. 133-154. Cf. also Walter Quiring, Das Mennonit. Germanness overseas and kinship research in the " Jahrbuch für auslanddeutsche Sippenkunde", 1936, p. 134 f. - Kurt Kauenhowen, die Sippen der rußlanddeutschen Siedlung Fernheim im Gran Chako, Paraguay, in " Sippenkunde des Deutschtums im Ausland, D A.I., Stuttgart, 1938, p. 149 ff - Werner Zimmermann, Die Wanderungen der Mennoniten in " Mitteilungen des Sippenverbandes Epp-Kauenhowen-Zimmermann", 1937, p. 2 ff...
- Werner Zimmermann“, Die Namen der Rußland-Deutschen Mennoniten (ihr niederländischer Ursprung, ihre Herkunft aus Altpreußen und ihre Zerstreuung nach Asien und Amerika), in "Mitteilungen der niederländischen Ahnengemeinschaft e. V.", Hamburg, 1939, Volume I, p. 110-120.
- 201 e) Herbert Wiebe, Die Mennoniten im Weichselgebiet in „Menn. Geschichtsblätter“, 1937, No. 1/2, p. 36 ff. Herbert Wiebe, „Ansiedlungen in Pommerellen auf den Ländereien der polnischen Krone im 17. Jahrhundert“, in „Menn. Blätter“, 1939, p. 45-47 and 53-55.

Herbert Wiebe, Menn, Familiennamen in den Weichselniederungen von Graudenz bis Thorn, in Menn. Geschichtsblätter, 1919, No. 1, p. 34 ff. W. Zimmermann, „Die Kartei ostdeutscher Menno-Sippen“ in: Menn. Geschichtsblätter, Jahrgang 7, p. 2 ff.

201f) *Horst Quiring*, Die Beziehungen zwischen holländischen und westpreußischen Mennoniten in „Menn. Geschichtsblätter“, 1936, p. 39-41. - *Horst Quiring*. Die Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Preußen 1788 bis 1870, in „Auslanddeutsche Volksforschung“, Stuttgart, 1938. - *Dr. Horst Quiring*, Aus den ersten Jahrzehnten der Mennoniten in Westpreußen, at the same time a contribution to genealogical research, in „Menn. Geschichtsblätter“, 1937, No. 1/2, p. 32 ff. - *Dr. Horst Penner*, Ansiedlung mennonitischer Niederländer in der Weichselmündung von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der preußischen Zeit. (Danzig Dissertation, published in the Schriftenreihe of the publishing house Menn. Geschichtsverein, Karlsruhe published 1940. This dissertation is accompanied by the study of *Gustav E. Reimer*, *Die Familiennamen der westpreußischen Mennoniten*.

201g) *H. G. Mannhardt*, Unsere Familiennamen, in „Christlicher (Menn.) Kalender, Kaiserslautern“, 1903, p. 76 ff
Deichrentmeister *Gustav Schultz*, Statistisches aus den westpreußischen Gemeinden, in: „Menn Blätter“, July-August 1912, based on the census, created an index of the Menn. surnames in the year 1910 (unpublished). *H. Wiebe*, die Einsassen des Dorfes Montau bei Neuenburg in den Jahren 1568—1799. *Herbert Wiebe*, Das Siedlungswerk niederländischer Mennoniten im Weichseltal zwischen Fordon und Weißenberg bis Zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhundert.

202) s. Footnote 7 a).

202a) Menn. Geschichtsblätter 1937, No. 1/2, p. 32 ff.

202b) s. Footnote 201g).

202c) s. Footnote 201g).

202d) *Gustav Reimer*, loc. cit., p. 98.

203) Footnote 201 f., p. 8.

204) *Horst Penner*, loc. cit., p. 8, Footnote 19.

205) s. Artikel: „Alte Flaminger“ im M. L., Bd. T.

205a) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1879.

206) *H. G. Mannhardt*, loc. cit., p. 45.

207) *Blaupot ten Cate*, Groningen ... I, p. 81. Cf. also III., p. 91, Teacher at Euschede; III., p. 59: Hendrik Gerritsen and Tommis Gerrits in Borne (Overijssel; die Gründer dieser Gemeinde waren geflüchtete flämische Weber, M. L. I, p. 247).

208) Vlb. 5 and in der altflämischen Liste, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1879.

209) *Blaupot ten Cate*, loc. cit., L, p. 59, Footnote 1.

209a) s. Footnote 204.

209b) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1874 p. 9.

209c) *ibid.* p. 94.

209d) Menn Geschichtsblätter 1937, No. 1/2, p. 35.

209e) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1874, p. 94.

209f) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1879.

209g) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1908, p. 8.

209h) In Holland the Martyr Geleyn Cornelis, 7. Aug. 1572 banished, M. L. I, p. 370; then Gerrit Cornelis, Amsterdam.

209i) *Schröder*, p. 83 and *Horst Penner*, loc. cit., p. 70.

209k) *Blaupot ten Cate*, Groningen ... I., p. 26.

209l) *ibid.*, III, p. 10.

209m) *A. Brons*, Ursprung, Entwicklung und Schicksale der altev. Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten, Emden 1912, p. 135.

209n) *Schröder*, p. 99.

209o) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1873 c S 3.

209p) *Bl. ten Cate*, Groningen ...III, p. 11.

209q) *Reimer*, loc. cit., p. 98.

209r) „Mitteilungen“ 1936, 1 and p. 9.

209s) *Bl. t. Cate*, Groningen ...III., p. 10.

209t) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1877, p. 126.

209u) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1869, p. 7.

209v) Menn. Geschichtsblätter 1939, No. 1, p. 34 ff.

209w) *H. G. Mannhardt*. loc. cit.

209x) *Bl. ten Cate*, Groningen I, 66.

209y) *P. M. Friesen*, Altev. Menn. Bruderschaft, Halbstadt 1911, p. 53.

210) *Krahn*, loc. cit., p. 16, Footnote 15.

211) *Krahn*, p. 19.

212) M. L. II., p. 4

213) *Vos*, loc. cit., p. 28 f.

214) *M. Simons*, Opera 619-631.

215) *Krahn*, S 31, Footnote 78.

216) *Vos* loc. cit., p. 293.

217) *ibid.* 2181 *Krahn* S 49.

219) *Vos*, p. 45.

220) *Vor*, loc. cit., p. VII.

221) *Vos*. p. 293 f.

222) *ibid.*

223) *ibid.*

224) *ibid.*

- 225) *ibid.*
- 226) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN J889, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1905, S 73 f.
- 227) PR.E3, Bd. 12, translated in the DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN1904.
- 228)-230) cf. DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1905.
- 231) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1905.
- 232) *ibid.*
- 233) *ibid.*
- 234) *Frerichs* leads a series of.
- 235) *Frerichs* leads a series of.
- 236) *ibid.*
- 237) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN1906, p. 1 ff.
- 237a) p. 48, Footnote 140.
- 237b) End 1536 and beginning 1537, DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1906, p. 100.
- 238) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1905.
- 239) s. Vos.
- 240) *Frerichs*, loc. cit., p. 107.
- 241) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN 1864, p. 130. Vos p. 23, Supplement I.
- 242) 12. B 1875, p. 65., Vos p. 243, Supplement.
- 243) *Frerichs*, loc. cit., p. 106.
- 244) s. M. L.
- 245) Article *Bocholt* in M. L. and Kühler, loc. cit.
- 246) *ibid.*
- 247) *B C Roosen*, Geschichte der Mennoniten-Gemeinden in Hamburg und Altona, 1. and 2. Hälfte Hamburg 1887.
- 248) *Ernst Crous*, Kulturleistungen der Mennoniten in Eiderstett und Friedrichstadt, in *Menn Blatter*“, 1938, p. 21-22.
- 249) s. Aufsatz im M. L.
- 250) s. M. L.. Article „Lobeck“ II, p. 696.
- 251) *Robert Dollinger*, Geschichte der Mennoniten in Schleswig-Holstein, Neumünster 1930.
- 252) s *Krahn*.
- 253) s. M. L. Article „Kremper and Wilster Marsch“, II, p. 566.
- 253a) s Essay „Gluckstadt“ und Hamburg-Altona, im M. L. sowie *Otto Schawaller*, Kulturleistungen der Hamburger Mennoniten, „Menn. Geschichtsblätter“, 1938, No. 1/2, p. 33 ff.
- 254) *Dollinger*, „Gluckstadt“ im M. L. II, p. 125.
- 255) *Otto Schawaller*, loc. cit., p. 33.
- 256) s. Article in M. L.
- 256a) *G. E. Reimer*, loc. cit., p. 99.
- 257) *Horst Penner*, loc. cit., p. 9 f, with him the documents from the Danzig Stadtarchiv.
- 258) *H. G. Mannhardt*, loc. cit., p. 38 ff. *Horst Penner*, p. 17.
- 259) s. our above remarks about the name: "Mennonites".
- 259a) *Blaupot ten Cate*, Gronigen...I, p. 100: "Te Danzig zijn reeds vroeg (frühe) Doopsgezinden geweest. Zij waren meest van Nederlandschen oorsprong: Vlughtelingen die die Ingoitie entwecken. Von 1545 bis 1550 wooden er vele, zoo dar, als bey Elbing en Koningsbergen."
- 260) s. as an example, e.g., Bl. t. C., loc. cit., I, p. 144 ff.
- 261) s *Krahn*. p. 72
- 262) *Sper, Felicia*, Nederlandsche Nederzettingen in West-Pruisen gedurende den Poolschen tijd, Academ Proefschrift, Enkhuizen 1913.
- 263) Also after D. Neff (Article „Culm“ in M. L.) the M. came to the Vistula lowlands before 1550.
- 264) *Bl ten Cate*, loc. cit., I., p. 98.
- 265) *Bl. ten Cate*. loc. cit. I., p. 23.
- 266) *Bl ten Cate*, loc. cit. I , p. 23.
- 267) *Müller*, loc. cit., p. 30 Anm. 2.
- 268) *Müller*, loc. cit., p. 30 Anm. 2.
- 269) *Siper*, loc. cit, p. 201.
- 270) see the supplements of Horst Penner and H. G. Mannhardt.
- 271) *Muller*, p. 33.
- 272) *Müller*, p. 36.
- 273) *Müller*, p. 53.
- 273 a) DOOPSGEZINDEN BIJDRAGEN1873 „Het gedenkiaar 1872“.
- 273 b) *H. G. Mannhardt*, p. 52.
- 274) *Bl. ten Cate*, loc. cit. 1.
- 275) Dr. Bruno *Schumacher*, Niederländisdie Ansiedlungen im Herzogtum Preußen z. Zeit Herzog Albrechts (1528—1568) Leipzig., 1903 p. 5.
- 276) To cf. the instructive essay by *Hermann Aubin*, Zur Erforschung der deutschen Ostbewegung, Deutsches Archiv für Landes- and Volksforschung i. Jahrgang. Heft 1 and 2, 1937.
- 277) Dr. Kurt *Luck*, Deutsche Aufbaukräfte in der Entwicklung Polens Plauen im Vogtland 1934, S.5f.
- 278) *Theodor Ediger*, Rußlands älteste Beziehungen zu Deutschland, Frankreich und der Kurie (*Hallesche Diss.*) Halle 1911.
- 279) *Hans Wiese* Uns rief Polen, *Leipzig, 1937 bietet p. 27 ff. an overview of the Polish and German struggle between Elbe and Oder.*
- 280) *Lück*, loc. cit., p. 26.
- 281) *Wilhelm Schröder*

282) The land along the Vistula was already in Germanic possession when history began to be written. We do not know who inhabited the once barren swamp and steppe areas along the Vistula and Warta in prehistoric times. But the prehistoric research, the research of tools and jewelry culture testifies that the culture advancing from the north to the east and southeast of the North German lowlands 5000-1500 B.C., the megalithic culture, can be attributed to the Germanic cultural circle. Proofs for the simultaneous existence of an ur-slavic culture could not be found so far (differently in White Russia). When the Greek Strabo wrote his geographical work around the birth of Christ, the area west of the Vistula was inhabited by the East Germanic Vandals and their tribes. Wiese assumes that the Vandals, who came from Jutland, left from there together with the Cimbri and Teutons. In Silesia the Vandal culture appears in any case about 100 BC birth; the name "Silesia" itself gave the Vandal "Sillingen" to the country. From the centuries of the Vandalic rule in the Vistula region there are findings and testimonies, as well as for the fact that other Germanic tribes, e.g., the Burgundians and Goths, were resident on the soil of today's Poland. During the Migration Period, these Germanic tribes of the Vistula region were also on the move.

In the course of time, however, the Slavs advanced here, and the Germanic tribes that had remained behind were unable to successfully resist them, and eventually merged with them, in some places forming the upper class in the now Slavic settlement area.

In 927, Henry I began the advance against the East and with it the centuries-long power struggle for supremacy there. The Poles turned to Christianity, while the Pruzes fanatically rejected it. There was a Polish crusade against them, which ended disastrously for the crusaders, as their entire army was destroyed. It was not until the beginning of the 13th century that Christianity began to gain a foothold here among some Pruzes, but they were swept away by their fanatical tribesmen. Large parts of Poland were also conquered by them. Then Conrad of Mazovia (an area in Poland on the right bank of the Vistula with Warsaw) was forced to call upon the German Order of Knights for help. He was supposed to settle in the Kuhn land, keep it as a property and all the territories conquered by him in the future. The Order was granted some mint, customs, market, mining and all other rights of a sovereign state.

283) *Wiese*, loc. cit.

284) Details at *Wiese*, p. 58.

285) *Szper*, loc. cit.

286) cf. *Felicia Szper*, loc. cit., p. 12.

287) Br. *Schumacher*, loc. cit., p. 2.

287a) Br. *Schumacher*, a. a. Ö., p. 6.

288) *Schumacher*, p. 3, Footnote 6.

289) *Schumacher*, p. 6f.

290) s. *Oben*.

291) *Szper*, loc. cit., p. 72 f.

291a) *Wedel*, C. H., *Abriß der Geschichte der Mennoniten*, 4 vols., Newton Kansas Bd. III, p. 62.

291 aa) *Blaupot ten Cate*, loc. cit., II, p. 65 explains the lack of direct information about the Frisians, to whom the majority of the Mennonites in Prussia obviously belonged, by the fact that they seldom took up the pen.

291b) M. L. I, p. 25.

291c) *Mannhardt*, loc. cit., p. 43, Footnote 4.

291 d) *Mennonitische Blätter*, 1912, No. 7 and 8.

291 e) The Duchy of Prussia consisted of the eastern part of the former Deutschordensland. West or Polish Prussia came, separated from the Order State, in 1466 to the Crown of Poland (Horst Penner, M. L. article " Ostpreußen , which is presently available to me, end of 1949 / beginning of 1950 in galley proof, and which can be taken into account in this chapter. To my satisfaction, I was able to determine that his and my presentations coincide in the main. This is also true of his lecture "Die westpreussischen Mennoniten im Wandel der Zeiten", held at the General Assembly of the Menn. Geschichtsverein at the Thomashof near Karlsruhe-Durlach. The lecture will appear in the "Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter" at the earliest. Dr. H. Penner sent me, for which he is sincerely thanked here, the lecture ready for printing under 20 Nov. 49 with the note: "I have added some things from the early days".

292) *Brons*, loc. cit., p. 242 f.

293) A. *Driedger*, Heubuden, Post Simonsdorf, Freistaat Danzig, Letter of December 11, 1935 to me.

294) *Freiherr von Reisswitz and Friedrich Wadzeck*, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Mennoniten Gemein den in Europa und Amerkika*, Berlin 1821 (1824 published expanded as " Glaubensbekenntnis der Mennoniten und Nadirichten von ihren Kolonien, etc.), Vol. II by Freiherr von Reisswitz, Breslau 1829, p. 19 f.

294a) Prof. L. Neubaur-Elbing, *Mährische Brüder in Elbing*, in the " Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte " , 1912.

294aa) *Wedel*, loc. cit., III, p. 63.

294b) *W Mannhardt*, *Die Wehrfreiheit der altpreussischen Mennoniten*, Marienburg 1863, p. 67 f.

294c) *W Mannhardt*, loc. cit., p. 67 f.

294d) 5. *Cozack*, *Paulus Speratus Leben*. Braunschweig 1861.

294e) *W. Mannhardt*, loc. cit., p. 69.

295) *M. Chr. Hartknoch*, *Preussische Kirchen-Historia*. Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig 1686.

296) s. M. L.

297) s. M. and Leipzig 1686.

298) s. M. and Leipzig 1686.

299) Br. *Schumacher*, loc. cit., Notes 568-661.

300) *S. Cosack*, loc. cit.

300a) *Schumacher* has the great merit of having included the social and economic element in its consideration, in addition to the ecclesiastical-confessional element, which has so far been considered in a one-sided way.

- 300b) Br. *Schumacher*, loc. cit., p. 159.
- 300c) Br *Schumacher*, loc. cit., p. 159.
- 301-301 b) Br *Schumacher*, loc. cit., p. 160
- 301c) *Schumacher* p. 25 ff.; *Szper*, p. 73 f.
- 301 d) *Schumacher* p. 43.
- 301 e) „Ad Beigas in Prussia errantes Sacramentanas.“
- 301 f) *Friedrich von Heydeck*, a friend of Margrave Albrecht and his trusted servant, was not averse to Schwenkfeld. He was accused of having admitted two of Schwenkfeld's followers as pastors on his estates near Johannesburg.
- 301g) *Schumacher* p. 44
- 301h) *Schumacher*, loc. cit., p. 61, Note 265 and p. 20, Note 63
- 301 i) *Schumacher*, Notes 180 and 181.
- 302) *Schumacher*, reproduces a letter of the Strasbourg reformer Bucer of August 14, 1530, in which this exaggerated rumor is stated.
- 303) *Felicia Szper*, loc. cit., p. 79.
- 303 a) *Schumacher*, p. 51.
- 303 b) *Szper*, p. 81.
- 303c) *Schumacher*, p. 65.
- 303 d) *Schumacher*, p. 69.
- 303 e) *Schuhmacher*, p. 72.
- 303 f) *Schumacher*, p. 73.
- 303g) The colonists in the Prussian Holland have themselves preferably called Holländer (Supplikation Johann van Sooien, an Eck von Reichenau d. 18. December 1536. Unordered stocks, Amt P.- Holland, signed by his own hand "Johann vom soll hollender"); Latin "Hollandi" (Supplikation der Holländer d 23 January 1536, Ungeordnete Bestände im Amt Pr., Holland, signed as Holland* (Schumacher p. 19); ditto 10 November 1536. "Batavi" also occurs. (Schumacher p. 19). rarely Dutchman (p. 18). Once, however, the name "Hollander" is contested by the Dutch. We are dealing in this case, then, with the south of the countries (Schumacher S 19); ditto 10. November 1536. (Klageschrift "der Polyphemus and Genossen" ...p. 61. Note 265 and page 20 Note 63) ... he (Georg Reich) makes us poor Dutchmen, as all Dutchmen are called", so reproachable to the common man..." (Polyphem stammte aus Gent in Flandern).
- 304) *Dr. Luck*, loc. cit., p. 26, Footnote 2.
- 304 a) *Luck*, p. 20.
- 305) s above Footnote 1.
- 306) At present, Dr. Kliewer is the head of the German Central School in the colony of Fernheim, Gran Chako, Paraguay.
- 307) I refrain from enumeration.
- 308) *Heuer*, loc. cit., p. 5.
- 309) *ibid.*
- 310) *ibid.*
- 311) *Heuer*, loc. cit., p. 6.
- 312) *ibid.*
- 313) *Reinhold Heuer*. Die Holländerdörfer in der Weichselniederung um Thorn, 42nd issue of the "Mitt. des Copernicus-Verems für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn", 1934, p. 122 to 152. Cf. also the more recent work by *Werner Schulz*, Die zweite deutsche Ostsiedlung im westlichen Netzegau, Leipzig. 1938 (In: Deutschland and der Osten. Vol. 9. Vol. 10 is the extraordinarily meritorious source volume on this). Ober .Schulzendorf and Holländendorf see p. 17 ff.
- 314) Erich Schmidt, Geschichte des Deutschtums im Lande Posen unter polnischer Herrschaft, Bromberg 1904
- 315) *Heuer*, loc. cit., p. 148, Footnote.
- 315a) *Heuer*, p. 148.
- 315b) *ibid.*
- 315c) *Heuer*, p. 122
- 315d) *Heuer*, p. 142.
- 315e) *Heuer*, p. 127.
- 315f) *Heuer*, p. 351.
- 316) April - May 1927.
- 317) *Heuer*, p. 122.
- 318) cf. above Footnote 313.
- 319) Mennonitische Blätter 1936, p. 40 (*Dr. Hont Quirmg*).
- 320) *ibid.* Cf. *Blaupot ten Cate* loc. cit., I, p. 318 and 391
- 321) *Dr. Horst Penner*, loc. cit.
- 322) *ibid* H G. *Mannhardt*, loc cit.
- 323) *Schumacher*, p. 18.
- 324) *ibid* p. 11.
- 324a) *Schumacher*, Appendix XIII (p. 181 f.).
- 325) *Szper*, p. 37 f.
- 326) *Schumacher*, p. 187.
- 327) *Adolf Ehrh*. Das Mennonitentum in Russland.
- 328) H G *Mannhardt*, loc. cit.
- 329) s. Schumachers List
- 330) PGr. 95 the constitution.
- 330a) s Footnote 16b.
- 331) *Franz Isaak*, Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten, Halbstadt 1908, p. 1.
- 332) *P M Friesen*, loc. cit. About him see my "Preliminary Questions" (cf. Footnote 1): "Der Bote" 1936, No.

- 51 (7) and „Praktische Fragen“: „Der Bote“ 1937, No. 2 (7), No. 3 (7a), No. 4 (7b). Cf. also *P. M. Friesen*, loc. cit., p. 40 „1“.
- 332a) and 332 b) s. further below.
- 332c) *Peter J. Braun*, Kto takije mennonity? (Where are the Mennonites?) Halbstadt 1915. Braun's archive copy, which was kindly made available to me, represents a revision which was to appear as the 3rd edition and also no longer anonymously. It is not known to me whether the 3rd edition was actually published..
- 332d) *P. J. Braun*, loc. cit., p. 19.
- 332e) Unavailable to me.
- 332e, f, g) explains 332 d without being localized in the book text! U.
- 333) *H. Penner*, loc. cit., Forward.
- 334) *Dambrowski*, Der Schicksalsweg eines westpreussischen Niederungsdorfes zwischen Nogat and Drausensee, p. 34 f. I owe the reference to Dambrowski to Mr. Franz Harder, Danzig-Ohra.
- 335) Deutsches Archiv für Landes and Volksforschung IV. Jahrgang, Heft 2, p. 254 ff.
- 336) *H. Penner*, loc. cit., p. 10.
- 337) *Bruno Schumacher*, Niederländische Ansiedlungen im Herzogtum Preussen zur Zeit Herzog Albrechts (1525-1568), Leipzig, p. 159-167.
- 338) *ibid.*
- 339) Gedacht ist hier an Preussisch Holland.
- 340) *Gustav E. Reimer*, Ein Mennonitenverzeichnis aus dem Jahre 1776 in „Danzig familiengeschichtliche Beiträge“ (the offprint I have does not give a date; I received it January 1941).
- 341) *Gustav E. Reimer*, Die Familiennamen der westpreussischen Mennoniten, herausgegeben vom Mennonitischen Geschichtsverein, Weierhof (Pfalz) 1940.
- 341a) In his writing about the Danzig Mennonite Church..
- 342) *M. Klassen*, Geschichte der wehrlosen taufgesinnten Gemeinden usw. Danzig 1873.
- 343) *H. G. Mannhardt*, loc. cit.
- 344) *H. Penner*, loc. cit., p. 9 f.
- 345) cf. Article in M. L. I, p. 102.
- 346) Johannes van der Smissen, Über die ersten Anfänge der Mennoniten in Preussen, „Mennonitische Blätter“ 1854, p. 29 ff.
- 347) *H. G. Mannhardt*, loc. cit.
- 348) Footnote 1.
- 348a) „Der Bote“ No. 31.
- 349) s. „Mitteilungen“ ...
- 350) *Szper*, loc. cit., p. 41.
- 351) *ibid.*
- 352) *ibid* p. 44.
- 353) p. 19, Footnote 38.
- 354) *Szper*, loc. cit., p. 42.
- 354a) *H. Penner*, loc. cit.
- 355) *ibid*, p. 20.
- 356) cf. Footnote 38, p. 19.
- 357) s. about him M. L.
- 358) *Szper*, loc. cit., p. 41.
- 359) *ibid*, p. 46.
- 360) and 361) *H. Penner*, loc. cit., p. 23.
- 362) *ibid.*
- 362 a) *ibid*, p. 31.
- 363) *H. Penner*, p. 48.
- 364) s. *H. Penner*'s appendix.
- 365) *H. Penner*, loc. cit., p. 23.
- 366) *Lic. E. Händiges*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Menn. Gem. Elbing-Ellerwald, Schriftenreihe des Menn. Geschichtsvereins, No. 1, p. 25 ff.
- 367) Elbing 1883, cf. Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte 33, Bd. 1912, p. 447-455.
- 368) PGr. 16: „Eine Wespr. Menn. Gemeinde in den Jahren 1778 bis 1795“. Friesen uses records of Aeltester Gerhard Wiebe which came to America through Aeltester Andres along with other files. (Excerpts from these have been published in the "monthsblätter" of Bethel College, Newton, Kans., Jan.-März 1904 veröffentlicht.)
- 369) Menn. Lex., Bd. I, p. 548 f.
- 370) *Szper*, p. 70.
- 371) Menn. Blätter, 1927, p. 36 (*Gerhard Fast*).
- 372) *Szper* p. 71.
- 373) *Lengnich*, Gesch. der Preussischen Lande polnischen Anteils II. 131, Dokum. p. 38.
- 374) *Dr. Wilhelm Mannhardt*, loc. cit., p. 70.
- 375) *W. Mannhardt*, p. 71.
- 376) *S. M. Fuchs*, Beschreibung der Stadt Elbing and ihres Gebietes Elbing 1821, II., p. 362 ff.
- 376a) *H. G. Mannhardt*, loc. cit., p. 42.
- 377) s. previous footnotes about Schumacher.
- 378) *E. Händiges*, loc. cit., p. 38.
- 379) Menn. Lex. I., p. 549.
- 379a) s. *Händiges*.
- 380) Menn. Lex. I., p. 549.
- 381) *Szper*, p. 71.

- 382) G. L. Baran von Reissnitz, loc. cit., II. Teil, p. 4.
- 383) L. Stobbe, Montau-Gruppe, Ein Gedenkblatt an die Besiedlung der Neuenburger Niederung 1918 cf. auch Menn, Lexikon, Articles „Gruppe“ and „Montau“.
- 384) W. Kerber, Die Mennoniten in der Weichselniederung, Bromberg 1937.
- 385) Herbert Wiebe, Die Mennoniten im Weichselgebiet, Menn. Geschichtsblätter 1937, p. 36 ff.
- 386) Deutsches Archiv für Landes- and Volksforschung IV. Jahrgang, Heft 2. p. 254 ff
- 387) Born 1663, died 1736.
- 388) Kerber, loc. cit., S, 4 ff.
- 389) B. H. Unruh, loc. cit., p. 261.
- 390) 42. Heft der „Mitt. des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft and Kunst zu Thorn“ 1934. p. 122 bis 152.
- 391) Heuer, loc. cit., p. 148, Footnote, Erich Schmidt, Geschichte des Deutschtums im Lande Posen unter polnischer Herrschaft, Bromberg 1904.
- 392) Menn. Blätter, 86. Volume 1939, p. 45-47 and 53-55.
- 393) Menn. Geschichtsblätter, 4. Volume, 1939, No. 1, p. 34 ff.
- 394) W. Mannhardt, loc. cit., p. 91 ff.
- 395) M. Christ. Hartknoch, Preuss. Kirchen-Historia, Frankfurt a. M. U. Leipzig 1686 II. chap. 2, PGr. 18.
- 396) H Wiebe, Menn. Familiennamen ... p. 34.
- 397) Wiebe, loc. cit.
- 398) ibid.
- 399) P. M. Friesen, loc. cit., p. 591 (a man of very important theological and linguistic education)
- 400) Jakob (now Walter) Quiring), loc. cit.
- 401) ibid.
- 402) ibid.
- 403) Menn. Lex., Bd. I, Article Culm.
- 404) Gerhard Fast, Mennonitische Blätter 1927, p. 35 (Lecture about Prussian Mennonites).
- 405) Stobbe, loc. cit.
- 406) p. 83 ff.
- 407) loc. cit., p. 43 ff.)
- 407a) Heinrich Wiehler, Aus der Geschichte der Vereinigten Mennonitengetreinden Thiensdorf- Markushof, Menn. Blätter 1928, p. 92.
- 408) M. L. I., p. 649 and II., p. 8.
- 409) G. Fast, Menn. Blätter, 1927, p. 36 f.
- 410) Szper, loc. cit., p. 96.
- 411) ibid, p. 97.
- 412) Szper, p. 97 bis 105.
- 413) Schumacher, loc. cit., p. 40, Note 157.
- 414) Szper, p. 117 ff.
- 415) Deutsches Archiv für Landes- and Volksforschung, IV. Jahrgang, Heft 2, p. 254 ff. The paper has drawn on the relevant literature.
- 416) Hurst Quiring in M. L. (Artikel Gumbinnen, Litauen, Memelniederung). Erich Kandt, Die Mennoniten in Ostpreussen and Litauen bis zum Jahre 1772. Diss. Königsberg i. Pr. 1912. Quiring, loc. cit., p. 116.
- 417) Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Etatsministerium, Abteilung 38 d 2 St. 5 b. Paul's study is not published.
- 418) M. L., Article „Litauen“ II, p. 660 ff. and the literature listed there.
- 419) ibid.
- 420) Menn. Bl. 1928, p. 90 ff. B. H. Unruh, Die Mennoniten in der Neumark, Menn, Christl. Kalender, 1941, Kaiserslautern. B. H. Unruh, in Deutschen Archiv für Landeskunde und Volksforschung, loc. cit., p. 269 ff.
- 421) „Die Neumark“, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark, April/Mai 1927. Cf. also B. H. Unruh „Vorfragen usw.“ (Footnote 1) in „Der Bote“, No. 42 and 43, 1937.
- 422) cf. Footnote 85 in my article in „Deutsches Archiv...“, loc. cit., p. 268“:
- 423) „Die Neumark“, 1937, No. 7/9, p. 38 ff.
- 424) s. Footnote 420.
- 425) B. H. Unruh, Die Mennoniten in der Neumark.
- 426) ibid.
- 427) Documents in the archive B. H. Unruh and the AMS.
- 428) „Mennoniten in der Weichselniederung“, Menn. Geschichtsblätter s. further up!
- 429) About him a detailed report Menn. Blätter 1854, p. 11. - Menn. Lex. I., p. 414 f.
- 430) Menn. Blätter, loc. cit., p. 23.
- 431) ibid, p. 28.
- 431a) ibid, p. 38 f.
- 431aa) Ernst Crous, Vom Holländischen zum Deutschen, „Der Bote* vom 11. 8. 54, p. 11: Dr. Cr. emphasizes "with certainty" that during the two centuries of Polish rule the Polish language did not find its way into the Mennonites in West Prussia. Although the lease agreements or other official documents were drawn up in Polish, all files, writings and contracts that the Mennonite citizens concluded or exchanged with each other were written in German. "The village mayors of those Mennonite villages, who were responsible for the lower jurisdiction and internal administration of their communities, conducted all their official correspondence exclusively in German. A large number of private purchase and inheritance contracts from the 17th and 18th centuries that I was able to look through were also only written in German.

The village book of Montau, created around 1630, was kept only in German until the time of the Prussian occupation. As early as 1671, the later Aeltester Georg Hansen wrote that "the youth read better German than Dutch". The congregations of Heubuden and Danzig switched to German preaching around the middle of the 18th century and in the next two decades. The last one who wrote almost all his letters in Dutch and who preached in Dutch was Hans von Steen, Aeltester in Danzig 1754-1781; at his funeral, however, the mourners had already sung the death song in High German (written by Hans Momber). "When emigration to Russia began soon after,...the Dutch written language was hardly taken along".

Further west, Dr. Crous, like Unruh, points out, the greater proximity of the Netherlands made itself felt. In the transition to studied preachers, these were requested from the Netherlands or at least trained at Dutch universities. In Hamburg and Altona only in 1786 (the emigration to Russia began in Danzig in 1787 U.) Reinhard Rahusen began to use the High German language in the newly established weekly services. Generally this had been used since 1839 in the sermon and only in the 80s of the 19th century in the church register. Krefeld introduced it in 1818, Friedrichstadt in 1826. The conclusion of this significant essay by Crous also deserves attention...

Isaak Molenaar from Jena had brought there (to Friedrichstadt) something of the spirit of German Classicism and German Romanticism; Jakob Mannhard, the son of the Tübingen Stiftler [?], came here at that time. About the congregation at Kleve, the "hartje of Duitschland", its preacher reported in Dutch on an official inquiry as late as 1870. It had arisen from the Mennonites who had come from Holland in 1574 and from Nymwegen a few years later, and thus had always remained Dutch as far as language and worship practices were concerned. In Emden, at the request of some members of the congregation, a (German) sermon was held for the first time on January 31, 1860; since 1889, the German language has been used for sermons, baptismal instruction and church records. In 1922, the parish of Gronau, which until then had been served from neighboring Enschede, was also transferred to it, since the dominion of Gronau, located close to the Dutch border, belonged to the Counts of Bentheim."

432) Menn. Blätter 1931, p. 30 ff. (A. Driedger), p. 111 ff. (H. G. Mannhardt). Articles „Gesang“ and „Gesangbücher“, Menn. Lex. II., p. 85 f. and p. 86 ff.

433) In the table for „Katechismus ... published by the Anabaptist congregations in Prussia, which are called Mennonites“, 9. Auflage, Elbing 1890 p. 71 - It is recorded that the German sermon was introduced in the Prussian parishes in 1757.

434) loc. cit., p. 39.

435) s. this „Mitteilungen ...“ 1937, p. 122.

436) Menn. Yearbook Berdjansk 1913, p. 45-54.

437) p. 47.

438) Deutsches Archiv für Volksforschung and Landeskunde, loc. cit., p. 268, Footnote 85.

439) *D. H. Epp*. Die Chortitzaer Mennoniten, Odessa 1889.

440) *Förste* loc. cit.

441) *Förste*, loc. cit., p. 61 ff.

442) *Förste*, loc. cit., p. 60.

443) *Pallas*. An annual publication for the promotion of morality and useful entertainment, edited by J. Chr. H. Gittermann. 1799-1801, Norden, by Johann Adolf Schulte, 1802 Norden, available from Johann Friedrich Schmidt..

444) *Förste* loc. cit., p. 50.

445) *Förste*, p. 47 ff.

446) *Förste*, p. 34 ff.

447) *Förste*, p. 7 ff.

448) *Förste*, p. 9.

449) *Förste*, p. 10 f.

450) *Dr. Rudolf Bielefeld*, loc. cit., p. 203 ff.

451) *Frerichs*, loc. cit., p. 78.

452) *Frerichs*, loc. cit., p. 79.

452 a) The Germanic part of the Russian people and state are discussed in a "Handbook", 1940).

Instructions for use [by B. H. Unruh]

1) The reader must not rest until he has gained a very clear overview of the structure of this work.

2. such a complete and clear overview will put him in the position to look for the necessary information about a question that arises at the place of this monograph where it can be found alone. Here, the aforementioned overview of the study alone helps. It is advisable to read the work from the beginning to the end and to write down on a notepad a concise but reliable outline of the work on the basis of its content. At the same time, the reader should clearly answer the following questions: What topics has the author a) raised, b) answered, and c) posed and answered in his study in such a way that it is of particular interest to the reader as a Russian Mennonite of a certain origin, settlement and community affiliation, upbringing, education, and occupation.

Only after such a general, also critical, acquaintance with the subject of the study, one tries to obtain as concrete information as possible - according to place and time - to one's own and other's individual questions (about one's own ancestry, one's own clan, family, their migrations).

In case of ambiguity, questions can be directed to relatives, to experts, and to the author.

We must make arrangements in connection with our research centers, our archives (community, church and settlement archives), how our historical knowledge can be expanded through this work and other genealogical Mennonite research. The author will periodically comment on this in the Mennonite press and call on everyone to cooperate.

It is of utmost importance, as it has been expressed in the study, that especially the family archives can be collected to a large extent and put into the service of the Mennonite genealogical research.

The realization of such a small-scale work would have to be organized. Its development should be the subject of discussions in smaller circles, at conferences, at national and continental congresses, following regional and general denominational meetings.

In conclusion, this instruction manual may offer a practical note.

The work contains a personal register, but for economic reasons only a limited one. In it are registered only the family names and the places in the work where one can read about the Mennonite households of the emigrants.

In the Mennonite Press, the author will occasionally give an example to illustrate how the reader must and can fruitfully use our study by means of the personal register to get more detailed information about his ancestry.

Notes

Page 13: Delete footnote 38 a;

Page 19: paragraph 2 from above ("The doctrine of the Anabaptists, etc.") add footnote 66 after the words "in detail";

Page 78: correct paragraph 1 from above to read "Oosterschen";

Page 101: paragraph 9 from top, line 2 after the word "congregations" attach footnotes 291 d and 291 e;

Page 105: delete footnote 294 f;

Page 108: add footnote 301 h " 301h, i;

Page 113: add footnote 315 d = 315 d, e, f;

[The above corrections have been applied to the text]