

## AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

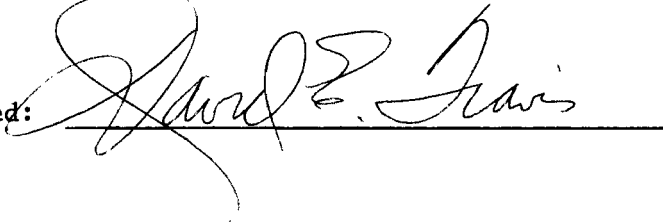
Mary Delores Schmidt for the Master of Arts Degree

in Foreign Languages (German) presented on August 5, 1977

Title: LINGUISTIC TRANSITIONS OF THE

RUSSIAN-MENNONITES IN KANSAS

Abstract approved:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "David E. Jarvis", is written over a horizontal line. The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the text "Abstract approved:".

The first part of this study reveals a brief history of the Mennonites who came to Kansas with an emphasis on their linguistic development. This covers the period from the year 1530 to 1874.

The remaining chapters, two, three and four, deal with the extent and duration of the use of German in the Harvey, McPherson, and Reno counties of Kansas settled by the Russian-Mennonites. The areas of usage examined include: the use of German in the schools, the use of German in the churches, and the use of German in the home. The time period covered in this part of the study begins with the immigration to the United States from Russia in 1874 until the 1930's in the chapter on schools, until the 1950's in the chapter on churches, and until the 1970's in the chapter on the home.

One note should be made to avoid any confusion. Throughout the study the designation "German" as a language always refers to the High German language. Low German will always be specified as Low German.

LINGUISTIC TRANSITIONS OF THE  
RUSSIAN - MENNONITES IN KANSAS

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Faculty of the Department of Foreign Languages  
EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY  
Emporia, Kansas

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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by  
Mary Delores Schmidt

July 1977



Approved for the Foreign Language Department



Approved for the Graduate Council

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I extend my sincere appreciation to Dr. David Travis for his kind assistance, his prompt attention to all details, and his constant encouragement throughout the writing of the thesis.

I am very grateful to the many individuals who welcomed me into their homes and to all who were interviewed and assisted me in obtaining research material, for they made this study possible.

Acknowledgment and appreciation are expressed to my husband who was most understanding and thoughtful while this study was in progress.

## PREFACE

Purpose of this study - The overall purpose of this study is to establish the extent and duration of the use of the German language by the Russian-Mennonite immigrants to Kansas in 1874, and their descendants.

Method of study - Imperative to such a study is a basic understanding of the history and development of the Russian-Mennonites. Therefore, the first part of this study reveals a brief history of the Mennonites who came to Kansas with an emphasis on their linguistic development. This covers the period from the year 1530 to 1874.

The remaining chapters, two, three, and four, deal with the extent and duration of the use of German in the Harvey, McPherson, and Reno counties of Kansas settled by the Russian-Mennonites. The areas of usage examined include: the use of German in the schools, the use of German in the churches, and the use of German in the home. The time period covered in this part of the study begins with the immigration to the United States from Russia in 1874 until the 1930's in the chapter on schools, until the 1950's in the chapter on churches, and until the 1970's in the chapter on the home.

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## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before the time of the Reformation, evangelical Christianity was in favor in Holland. However, pious men arose in Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, who preached and wrote books and succeeded in gaining much influence. These groups in the sixteenth century were called Anabaptists. The Anabaptists were the religious forebearers of the Mennonite immigrants.<sup>1</sup>

Obbe Philips and his brother, Dirck, led a small group of Biblical Anabaptists in Holland, beginning in 1534. In January, 1536, Menno Simons, then a Catholic priest, laid down his priestly office and renounced the Catholic Church. His activity for the first few months after his public renunciation of the Catholic Church is not definitely known. He did, however, boldly proclaim his new-found faith. As long as he did not openly affiliate with the Anabaptist group, he was in no danger of persecution. But his beliefs were so like those of the Anabaptists' that affiliation with them was inevitable.

In 1536, Menno Simons united with the small group of Anabaptists led by Obbe and Dirck Philips. Hardly had Menno united with these Anabaptists when they recognized his ability as a leader. Within a short time Menno was the outstanding leader of the group. As early

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<sup>1</sup>David V. Wiebe, They Seek a Country, (Hillsboro, Kansas: The Mennonite Publishing House, 1959), p. 16.



as 1544 his followers were called "Mennists" which has evolved into the present designation of Mennonite.<sup>2</sup>

The first century of Dutch Mennonitism was one of severe persecution. Between the years 1531 and 1597 two thousand martyrs were put to death in Holland, three-fourths of whom were Mennonites.

By the year 1600, there was a degree of toleration for the Dutch Mennonites, but the Catholics and Calvinists continued their petty persecution as late as the eighteenth century.

As a result of persecution, many Dutch Mennonites sought refuge in other countries. Many found a place of refuge in Prussia. Many went to Danzig. It is to this great city that the Mennonite ancestors of this study migrated.

Danzig offered these people opportunities to develop and drain the swampy regions along the Vistula River. These Mennonites were skilled in this work area as they had transformed a great portion of the lowlands of Holland into productive farmland. The City of Danzig, and even the Polish king, eagerly wanted the Mennonites to settle and develop the area in spite of their differing religious beliefs.

The first Dutch immigrants granted permission to come to Danzig arrived in 1547 with Hermann van Bommeln. In that same year, Philip Fressen, a delegate from Danzig, was sent to Holland to invite Dutch people to settle in the wastelands of the Vistula Delta.

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<sup>2</sup>John Christian Wenger, Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine, (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1947), p. 74.

They were promised religious freedom and warmly welcomed.<sup>3</sup>

At first the Mennonites were treated with tolerance in Prussia. They built beautiful farms, had well-kept orchards, laid out roads and canals, and added windmills to the scenery. Along the Vistula Delta the Dutch Mennonites were surrounded by Polish Catholics and German Lutherans.

The early Mennonites in the Danzig area attempted to establish a miniature Kingdom of God. They found that their Dutch background provided them with a welcome barrier between them and the world around them. The Mennonites maintained a closed group. During the first centuries, intermarriage with non-Mennonites was almost impossible. Membership in the Mennonite Church was officially denied to non-Mennonites. A few outsiders, however, did manage to enter the group. This was accomplished by traveling to Holland where they were permitted to join the Mennonite Church. Upon their return to Prussia they were allowed into the church and to marry within the church.

The Dutch language, as fostered in their churches and schools, also facilitated the barrier with their neighbors. The Mennonites developed their own educational system which was far above average in relation to the surrounding systems. They called ministers from Holland to lead in their churches. Menno Simons and Dirck Philips

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<sup>3</sup>Cornelius Krahn, "The Ethnic Origin of the Mennonites from Russia," Mennonite Life, July 1948, p. 45.

both spent time in Prussia. Dirck Philips became the first bishop of the Danzig congregation. The Dutch elder, H. B. Hulshoff, paid an extensive visit to Prussian congregations as late as 1719. They also sent young men to Holland to further their education and there was much visiting between relatives living in Holland and Prussia.

The devotional and other literature was mostly printed in Holland and in the Dutch language. The Martyrs Mirror and the Dutch Bible are two volumes which even today hold a great deal of significance for Mennonites who have never spoken the Dutch language.

Some books were published in the Dutch language in Danzig; however, most of the Prussian Mennonites depended almost entirely on Holland for their religious and cultural resources. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the language and culture of the Prussian Mennonites was Dutch. Even today Dutch Mennonite religious literature in translation is relied on by Mennonites all over the world. The Dutch Mennonites in the Danzig and Vistula area were able to retain the Dutch language and culture for almost two centuries.

The transition from the Dutch language to the Low German which was spoken in the surrounding communities in daily life and to the High German used in worship and polite conversation took place during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Throughout Mennonite history the language question has been a perplexing problem. The Dutch culture and language had provided a welcome barrier between themselves and the world around them.

This barrier could no longer be maintained. The Dutch Mennonites were farmers and sold many of their products in the local markets. The language used in these market areas was Low German. In order to function in the market place both buying and selling, they were forced to use the Low German language.

The political and cultural changes during the second half of the eighteenth century also affected the religious beliefs and practices of the Mennonites. In 1772, Poland was partitioned, and it made most of the Mennonite communities Prussian. When the Prussianization process set in with Frederick II, many Mennonites became alarmed. They perceived in this a very real threat to their beliefs. The encroachment of their religious beliefs, after all, had been the reason they had left their homeland and fled to Danzig and the Vistula area. Many Mennonites of the area, therefore, rejected and suffered loss of their identity and integrity by becoming a part of the outside world as they saw it. As a result of this, the use of Low German became a very serious question.

Low German was perhaps tolerated because of the necessity of communication for their economic existence. It was also limited to the marketplace and friendly conversation. The Dutch language was still used in the schools and in worship.<sup>4</sup>

This, too, was to change. On September 19, 1762, the first High German sermon was preached in the Danzig congregation.

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<sup>4</sup>Krahn, The Ethnic Origin, p. 45.

Reverend Gerhard Wiebe of the Elbing congregation delivered the sermon. Reverend Wiebe was not welcomed very warmly in the Danzig congregation.

On April 20, 1767, another sermon was delivered in High German. This time it was given by Reverend Cornelius Regier of the Heubuden congregation. His sermon was better received by the Danzig congregation than the first one by Reverend Wiebe.

On January 1, 1771, a teacher in the local congregation of Danzig, Cornelius Moor, spoke in the German language. Later he was followed by other teachers and ministers who spoke in the High German language.

In 1777, Reverend Peter Epp, the elder of the congregation in Danzig, preached his first sermon in the German language, interspersed with many Dutch words. Some congregations of West Prussia had used the first hymn book in the German language in 1767. It was the forerunner of a considerable portion of present Mennonite hymnology.

The use of High German in the church caused differences of opinion in Mennonite congregations. Many felt that there was a lowering of standards of quality in the transition period. Some congregations felt that in changing from one language to another there was a loss of spiritual power.<sup>5</sup>

Until 1780, the Dutch language was still used to record sermons and church records. In 1780, the High German language was used in the Mennonite schools and church services. Low German was used in

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<sup>5</sup>Walter H. Hohmann, "Transition in Worship," Mennonite Life, January 1946, p. 8.

the marketplace and in friendly conversation. Polish was spoken with the hired men working for Mennonite farmers. During the years from 1780 to 1785, the language change became final.<sup>6</sup>

As time went on strong militaristic trends developed in Prussia. Frederick William ascended the throne of Prussia in 1786. The Mennonites' refusal to do military service brought them into sharp conflict with the government.

Economic problems also played an important role in the animosity which developed toward the Mennonites. A census in 1774 revealed that Mennonites owned 80,000 acres of rich farm land. The native Prussians became jealous of them. Both the State and the Church were determined to stop these prosperous people. Toward the end of the eighteenth century strict military and property laws were enacted. Military exemptions were denied, and heavy taxes were imposed. Mennonites were forbidden to buy land except from other Mennonites. They were not to propagate their faith outside their own ranks. The Kaiser also forbade children of mixed marriages to be taken into the Mennonite faith. The State also collected fees for the State Church along with other taxes from the Mennonites.<sup>7</sup>

It was evident by this time that both church and state were determined to stop the further growth of Mennonitism. Hampered by unfair taxes, unable to provide new homes for their young people,

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<sup>6</sup>Personal interview with Cornelius Krahn, 15 June 1977.

<sup>7</sup>Wiebe, p. 20.

and fearful of the future, the Mennonites now looked for a new asylum. They sought a place where they might be free to exercise their religious convictions without fear of governmental restraint. The most vitally concerned at first were the landless and the more conscientious.<sup>8</sup>

At this time, Russia had acquired a large territory north of the Black Sea as a result of a war with Turkey. Russia was anxious for experienced farmers to develop this region. The Russians had become familiar with the Mennonites through Peter the Great.

Peter the Great had journeyed to Holland to learn the trade of shipbuilding. While he was there he had lived in the city of Zaardam and was shown the hospitality of a Mennonite home. It was through this experience that he learned to appreciate these people. On his return from Holland, Peter the Great took with him an esteemed physician to be his personal doctor. This man was of the Mennonite faith.

Catherine the Great, formerly a German princess, had become aware of the Mennonites' agricultural abilities in Prussia. She knew then of their reputation as efficient and industrious farmers. These contacts and circumstances led to the extending of extraordinary and generous privileges to the Mennonites to come to Russia.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Charles Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941), p. 289.

<sup>9</sup>Wiebe, p. 20.

An invitation to the Mennonites from Catherine II was read in one of the Danzig churches in the summer of 1786. This invitation urged them to come to southern Russia where they might enjoy all the privileges, religious and civil, and even more than had been denied them in Prussia.<sup>10</sup>

Prussia was not eager to allow its best farmers to leave and refused to grant them permission to emigrate. But under the pressure of Poland and Russia, the Mennonites were eventually allowed to emigrate to Russia.<sup>11</sup>

The Mennonites were pleased with Catherine's invitation which offered liberal terms which included:

....religious toleration, including military exemption, sixty-five "dessiantine" meaning 175 acres of land for each family, use of the crown forests, tax exemptions for ten years and no crown dues after that but an annual fee of fifteen kopeks (seven and one-half cents) per dessiantine, a monopoly of all the distilleries and breweries within any settlement (belonging otherwise to the nobility only), free transportation to their new homes, a loan of five hundred rubles (\$250) to each family, and support for each family at the rate of ten kopeks per day for each person until the first harvest.<sup>12</sup>

Baron von Trappe, the Russian minister in Danzig, suggested that the Mennonites send representatives to Russia at Russian expense to view the area. In the summer of 1786, Johan Hoepfner and Jacob Bartsch set out on the long journey. The two men were accompanied by Baron von Trappe and were royally received in Russia.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Smith, p. 289.

<sup>11</sup>Wenger, p. 96.

<sup>12</sup>Smith, pp. 148-149.

<sup>13</sup>Smith, p. 385.



They spent almost a year in Russia and decided to reserve a rich plain along the Dnieper, not far from where it flows into the Black Sea. They had traveled in Crimea in the convoy of her Majesty, Empress Catherine II, who was inspecting her newly acquired domain. Before returning home they were presented to the Crown Prince, Paul I, son of the Empress. This took place in St. Petersburg where they met with various government officials, including Crown Prince Paul, and secured official confirmation of the promises made them by Baron von Trappe.

The favorable reports about the south Russian area by the two representatives, Hoepfner and Bartsch, were welcomed by the Prussian Mennonites. But neither the Danzig nor the Prussian authorities were eager to make the further expansion of the Mennonite settlements possible. Passports were denied to all prospective emigrants who had property and granted only to the poor.<sup>14</sup>

The first group of Mennonites left Prussia in 1788. This group numbered about nine hundred. They were forced to encamp for the winter along the way, and many did not survive the hardships of this first winter. Another disappointment was met in the spring. The Turkish War was still raging near the region that Hoepfner and Bartsch had reserved, and they were forced to go to much less fertile land farther up the river. They reluctantly chose a new site near a small tributary of the Dnieper, called Chortitza. The settlement became known as the Chortitza or Old Colony.

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<sup>14</sup>Smith, p. 387.

The immigrants were bitterly disappointed. The government was slow in extending aid, and the settlers were hampered by thieving Russians. They knew nothing of farming on open "steppes" and their disappointment increased. Many refused to make this their home, but others decided to make crude dwellings for the present. Hoepfner and Bartsch, however, set out to erect permanent structures and were denounced as soul sellers. Several settlers testified against Hoepfner and Bartsch, and the two were excommunicated. Hoepfner was imprisoned for a year. Bartsch begged for forgiveness and was reinstated into the church. For a long time there was much unrest and poverty in the Chortitza colony.<sup>15</sup> But becoming convinced of the fact that this was to be their permanent home under any conditions, favorable or otherwise, the settlers began the distribution of land among the heads of families. At first, each family started to live on its own farm. But for reasons of protection they were driven to settle in small groups. There were usually fifteen to thirty families to a village. Eight villages were laid out with Chortitza as the center of the settlement.<sup>16</sup>

In the meantime, the more prosperous landowners had also received permission to leave Prussia. These groups fared better than the first groups. The new group of immigrants that founded the Molotschna colony about fifty miles farther down the Dnieper arrived in 1803 and 1804 from Prussia. This group consisted of the wealthier

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<sup>15</sup>Wiebe, pp. 24-25.

<sup>16</sup>Smith, p. 391.

and more educated class and numbered 342 families. By 1840, the immigration came to a close, and by that time the Chortitza and Molotschna colonies numbered 1150 families or about 6000 people.<sup>17</sup>

After the colonies became adjusted to the "steppes" of Russia, they improved greatly in agriculture, horticulture, and livestock raising. Much of this was due to the young Mennonite, Johann Cornies, who had immigrated in 1805. He became the Agricultural Representative of all Mennonites in Russia and was empowered by the government to enforce progressive methods in farming, livestock breeding, orcharding, landscaping, and in education.

The immigrants had the right to choose their language and to have their own schools, but the progress of education was very slow. In the village schools the High German language was used for instruction with emphasis on only a few basic subjects. The teachers were poorly trained, poorly paid, and short school terms were considered sufficient. Many were reluctant to make contributions for the schools, regarding a well-equipped and well-ordered farm as more important than education.

After 1820, a society was formed to improve village schools and to promote advanced schools. Some of the reforms included were: the building of model schoolhouses, compulsory school attendance, uniform textbooks and prescribed courses, teacher training schools, and the licensing of teachers.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>P. M. Friesen, Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland, (Halbstadt, Taurien: Verlagsgesellschaft Raduga, 1911), pp. 73-74.

<sup>18</sup>Wiebe, p. 27.

The first churches built in the Chortitza and Molotschna colonies were actually built at the cost of the Russian Crown. Baron von Trappe had promised, along with their religious freedom, that the government would also build churches for them. The Molotschna colony was given 6000 rubles for the construction of churches, the first of which was built at Orloff in 1809.<sup>19</sup>

Prior to the actual construction of schoolhouses and church building, the educational and religious activities of the Mennonites were carried out in the homes of the immigrants. The language used for these activities was the High German language. It is interesting to note that the High German, which was so reluctantly accepted in Prussia, and viewed as the beginning of a loss of identity for the Mennonites in Prussia, now became a vital part of the Mennonite identity and was incorporated as part of the barrier guarding that identity in Russia.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps this can be better understood by considering the following traits which Smith attributes to the Mennonites:

a) Mennonitism is the essence of individualism. The individual is to interpret the Bible for himself; he is to worship as he pleases and to obey only his own conscience in all matters of religious faith. Each congregation was a self-governing unit. b) A spirit of exclusiveness characterized the early Mennonites. This feeling was engendered by the conception that the true Christian must live a life separated from the world, and was reenforced by the fierce persecutions

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<sup>19</sup>Wiebe, p. 26.

<sup>20</sup>Personal interview with Cornelius Krahn, 15 June 1977.

through which they passed. c) Coupled with this spirit of exclusiveness there was the provincialism or sectionalism which would lead each group to look with suspicion upon the opinion and practice of other groups if they differed from their own.<sup>21</sup>

These Mennonite traits were protected by the continuation of such policies as no outsider being allowed to join the colonies or the church without the consent of the group. The result of this policy was both a physical and a religious barrier between the immigrants and their nomadic neighbors.

The primary aim of the entire school system was to, "perpetuate the German language and save the children for the faith of the fathers."<sup>22</sup> The curriculum therefore consisted of the three R's, reading, writing, and arithmetic, with a fourth added - Religion. Some attention was also given to singing.

As education became more important to the Mennonites they began establishing secondary schools, supported by tuition fees. The first teachers in the advanced schools were called from Prussia and did much to raise the educational standards in the two colonies. Three of those early teachers were Tobias Voth, Heinrich Heese, and Heinrich Franz. Voth remained for six years in the Molotschna colony and taught only in the German language. But Cornies, who had been granted considerable control over the school system by the Russian authorities at Odessa, believed that the Russian

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<sup>21</sup>Smith, pp. 66-67.

<sup>22</sup>Smith, p. 414.

language, too, should be added. In 1829, Voth's successor was Heese, another Prussian, but a decided Russian patriot and well versed in the Russian language. Heese left in 1842 and founded a similar advanced school in Chortitza. He was replaced by Franz who was known as a strict disciplinarian and a good mathematician. He authored a mathematical textbook which was long used in the schools of south Russia.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, approximately one-hundred years after their arrival in south Russia, the Mennonites were a well established distinct group within the empire. They were really a state within a state, separated from the native Russians by social and political as well as religious and language barriers. These ties of language, religion, racial pride, and a sense of superior culture held them firmly together.

The growing nationalism of middle Europe during the 1860's made it increasingly difficult for the Czar to grant favors to a minority foreign population above those enjoyed by the citizenry in general. In 1870, the change came. The day of special privileges had ended for the colonists. They were to be governed directly from St. Petersburg. Russian was to be the official language in the local government office; Russian was to be required as a subject of study in all schools; all the German schools were to be supervised directly by the imperial educational authorities; and military exemption was to be abolished. The colonists were given ten years

to comply to the new order or emigrate. After that they would become full fledged Russian citizens with no special favors.<sup>23</sup>

This came as a great surprise to the Mennonites and they immediately took steps to protect their former privileges. In midwinter, 1871, a delegation was sent to St. Petersburg to present a petition to the Czar. They were not able to meet with the Czar but with several ministers of the imperial council. The fact that neither of the two chief Mennonite spokesmen could speak Russian did not make a good impression with the ministry. The delegates returned home without any assurance as to their future.

The churches sent a second delegation the next year. They were permitted an audience with Crown Prince Constantin. He assured the delegation that every effort would be made to meet the religious principles of the Mennonites but that some sort of non-combatant service would be required. Several other delegations were sent to St. Petersburg in 1873 but to no avail. By 1874, the new law had been formulated. It provided forestry service or industrial work not connected with the war department in times of peace and hospital service in times of war.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, the interest in emigration had increased among the Russian Mennonites. The first Mennonites to leave Russia to investigate America were four men who traveled for pleasure, for experience

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<sup>23</sup>Smith, pp. 439-440

<sup>24</sup>Smith, p. 442.

and to look over the settlement possibilities. They were Jacob Boehr, Philip Wiebe, Peter Dyck, and Bernard Warkentin. They came in the summer of 1872 and visited Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska. Three returned to Europe while Warkentin decided to remain in Illinois for the winter.<sup>25</sup>

In the summer of 1873, twelve delegates came to America to inspect the land for colonization. Among the twelve were two delegates from the Molotschna colony, Jacob Buller and Leonard Suderman. They split up into smaller groups to investigate areas in Canada, Minnesota, Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. They considered the soil, climate, available satisfactory land, and inquired about political conditions and military regulations. The twelve delegates returned to Russia in late summer, 1873. The more conservative colony of Chortitza elected to recommend Canada. The more liberal colony of Molotschna recommended the United States.<sup>26</sup>

The group concerned with in this study encountered difficulty in securing passports, but on the twentieth of July, 1874, they were ready to depart. A number of individuals from various other villages attached themselves to this group so that the total number in the party that left by ship from Hamburg, Germany, for Kansas was 1010 persons. The ship, the Teutonia, set out from Hamburg on August 16, 1874, and arrived in New York on September 3, 1874.

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<sup>25</sup>Wiebe, p. 41.

<sup>26</sup>Smith, p. 447.



The group was quite a young group, in reference to age, as is reflected in the following summary:

1 was in the 80's  
 3 were in the 70's  
 14 were in the 60's  
 53 were in the 50's  
 92 were in the 40's  
 80 were in the 30's  
 177 were in the 20's  
 191 were between 10 and 19 years  
 399 were below 10 years of age, of these 399 there were 101 babies eleven months old or younger.<sup>27</sup>

In other words, almost sixty percent of the group were below nineteen years of age with almost forty percent of the group below ten years of age. A complete passenger list giving the name, age, occupation and relationship of each of the passengers is given in the appendix. The leader of the Mennonites on board was Reverend Dietrich Gaeddert, a thirty-seven year old minister.

Arriving in New York the group, led by Reverend Gaeddert, was immediately taken by train to Topeka, Kansas, where the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe railroad company lodged the entire group for a period of four weeks in a large vacant shop building. During this time a committee of five went exploring for a suitable place for settlement.

Upon the return of the committee of five, and the Santa Fe agents, it was found that a smaller group had chosen a site in Marion and McPherson counties about fifteen miles north of Newton, Kansas. The group with Reverend Gaeddert chose a site about twenty miles northeast of Hutchinson. The area contains the township of Little River and part

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<sup>27</sup>Albert M. Gaeddert, Centennial History of Hoffnungsau Mennonite Church, (North Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Press, Inc. n.d.), p. 42.

the Medora township in Reno County and Alta township in Harvey and McPherson Counties. This area had natural geographic boundaries on three sides.

This railroad land was bought for two and one-half dollars per acre, payable within eleven years with six percent interest. The railroad company gave two sections of land for the poor with an immigrant house one hundred feet long by sixteen feet wide built of adobe on each of these sections. Two sections were school land and could be bought for three dollars an acre with ninety-nine years to pay. There was little homestead land left. Most of the homesteaders sold out to the Mennonites and left.

The immediate task of the settlers was to build homes. Many of them began at once; others resided for the time being in the immigration house. The houses were of various composition; some were cabins while some were sod houses. These two types of houses were intended to be only temporary dwellings. Many lived for many years in these houses, but those who were of the wealthier class built more comfortable homes the next summer. These permanent homes were usually built of adobe brick or stone.

No attempts were made to copy the Russian village system. In place of villages, neighborhoods were established. Neighborhoods usually consisted of relatives or families that came from the same village in Russia. One such neighborhood consisted of the Franztel village in Russia. Another neighborhood occupied by the Balzer

families was the Lake Valley area. The neighborhood was called in to butcher hogs, thresh wheat, shell corn, put up hay, or any other task, when help was needed.

The neighborhood was far more important than the community during the early years. The community was broken up from the beginning as a result of religious splits that occurred. There were, however, three main communities in the earliest period. The Buhler community, which at that time centered around the home of Reverend Dietrich Gaeddert, was close to Buhler and the Steinfeld and later the Union school. The second was the Inman community and the third the Hoffnungsau community. It was the Hoffnungsau community which served as a center for the entire group at first.

Sod had been broken in 1874, and in the spring of 1875, farmers were busy putting in spring crops. Farming facilities were inadequate in the early years. Farming implements were few. The raising of wheat, barley, rye, and oats was done in the same manner as in Russia. The Mennonite farmers introduced Turkey Red Winter wheat to Kansas. Kansas resembled the Russian "steppes" so much, that these Mennonites from Russia knew better than the pioneer Kansan how to farm this land.

Social life consisted mainly of visiting on Sunday afternoons. Religious meetings also served as an opportunity for visiting. Literary societies were soon organized where even the older people came to enjoy themselves. Holidays always were opportunities for

large gatherings. The Mennonites were fond of large group gatherings and did not care for formal affairs.

Today, in 1977, many descendants of these first families still live on and farm the land which their ancestors settled a little over a century ago, in 1874. In the remainder of this study, a close look at the religious and educational institutions in this area in relation to the development and transition of their linguistic culture will be taken.

## CHAPTER II

### EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

When the Mennonites from Southern Russia settled on the plains of Central Kansas in 1874, they went through many of the same experiences which their ancestors had in southern Russia in the late 1700's. In Russia they had found hardly any form of local government, township or county government. The Russian government had left all the local affairs, with little restrictions, to the Mennonites themselves. They had to organize their own village and district form of government. They built and supported their own schools. They built and supervised their own training schools for teachers. They chose their own curriculum and daily program.

In America they found themselves in much the same situation. The different states provided for county and township government and for a school system, but these counties, townships and school systems were not settled and organized in many areas. The requirements for education were very low, and the school laws were very lenient. The western states were more interested, at this time, in finding settlers than to pass and enforce strict school laws.

The school laws in Kansas in 1874 provided in Section I that every parent, guardian, or other person in the State of Kansas, having control of any child or children between the ages of 8 and 14 years, shall be required to send such child or children to a public school, taught by a competent instructor, for the period of at least

twelve weeks in each year, six weeks of which time shall be consecutive unless such child or children are excused from such attendance by the board of the school district or the board of education of the city in which such parent or guardian resides, upon its being shown to their satisfaction that such parent or guardian was not able, by reason of poverty to clothe such child properly, or that such child's bodily or mental condition has been such as to prevent his attendance at school.<sup>28</sup> At this point the law concerning education was very lenient. There was no stipulation or requirements for instructors other than that they be a competent person. There was also no distinction as to the language to be used in instruction.

The Russian-Mennonites brought with them not only a concern for the education of their young, but also a highly developed notion of how to educate. Therefore, they wasted no time in establishing German schools in their Kansas settlements. If there were no schoolhouse, school met in the home of the teacher. These private schools were common in the majority of the settlements during the first few years. They were usually located in a home which was so located that all the children could easily reach the school. It became a sort of community school where all the children of the neighborhood of a few square miles attended. Just where the first of these schools was begun is difficult to establish. In the majority of the settlements they were begun within a year after the people settled and in some

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<sup>28</sup>H.P. Peters, History and Development of Education Among the Mennonites in Kansas, (Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1925), p. 12.

cases within five or six months. The Hoffnungsau area had established three such private schools in 1875, a year after it was settled.<sup>29</sup>

Two schools were held in private homes: one in the home of Reverend Dietrich Gaeddert<sup>30</sup> and one in the home of D. D. Unruh.<sup>31</sup> The purpose of these schools as with the later German schools was primarily to teach the children the German language and to make them acquainted with the Bible. The curriculum of these early schools included reading, writing, arithmetic, and sometimes other elementary subjects. Reading was taught from the Bible and from German readers. All instruction at this time was conducted in German.

Also in the Hoffnungsau area schools were established in a private schoolhouse. These schools were essentially the same as those held in private homes. The purpose remained the teaching of the German language and the teaching of the Bible. There was no uniform curriculum for these schools at first. However, the purpose was so uniform that most all the schools were teaching the same subjects. Included in the curriculum were Bible history, Bible reading, memorizing Bible verses, reading, arithmetic, geography, writing, and music. In the area of music, none but religious hymns were used. It should be emphasized that the primary concern of these

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<sup>29</sup>John J. Voth, Religious Education in the Mennonite Churches Comprising the Western District Conference, (Bluffton, Ohio: 1922), p. 12.

<sup>30</sup>Personal interview with Reverend Albert Gaeddert, 18, June, 1977.

<sup>31</sup>Personal interview with Martha Siemens, 4, June, 1977.

Russian-Mennonites was that their children be instructed in their Mennonite faith. This in turn meant instruction in the German language as all religious undertakings were conducted in German. German was almost synonymous with religion. Many were convinced that giving up the German language meant giving up their religion. The story is told of one gentleman who claimed he could prove that God spoke German. When asked to explain, he replied that in the Bible it was written that God said, "Wo bist du Adam," and therefore God spoke German.<sup>32</sup> Still today there are many who cannot think of German as other than a tool of religious expression.

Even with these attitudes toward the German language the teaching of the English language was soon begun.

In 1877, a group of concerned Mennonite leaders met to discuss the state of school education in Kansas Mennonite communities. A later meeting in December of that year, attended by some seventy teachers and preachers produced the following recommendations for Kansas Mennonite school education:

1. when Mennonites were in the majority in an area and could exert a controlling influence, the Mennonite community should organize a public school district (In these cases the Mennonites usually could include German and Bible study in the school curriculum.);
2. where Mennonites did not control decisions, they should organize their own private school;
3. English should be learned as well as German to facilitate communication with American neighbors and to help extend the Kingdom of God;

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<sup>32</sup>Personal interview with Lena Balzer, 2, June, 1977.



4. the entire financial support of the German school should be the common burden of the whole congregation.<sup>33</sup>

At this meeting there was also a proposal for the establishment of a Zentralschule to train teachers and there was a discussion of having uniform textbooks in the schools.

The State law in 1877 provided that in each and every school district shall be taught orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography and arithmetic, and such other branches as may be determined by the district board, provided that the instruction given in the several branches taught shall be in the English language.<sup>34</sup> In the school laws of 1876, Section 6 the certification of teachers set forth that certificates issued by the county board shall be of three grades - A, one and two - and shall continue in force respectively two years, one year, and six months, according to grades. Those of the A grade shall certify that the person to whom such certificate is given is qualified to teach orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, U. S. History, bookkeeping, industrial drawing, the elements of entomology, the elements of botany and the elements of geology so far as related to the manner of formation of soils and their adaptation to purposes of production. Certificates of grade one and two shall certify that the person to whom such certificate is given is qualified to teach

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<sup>33</sup>Kathy Ensz, "A Configuration of Education Among the Mennonites in Kansas, 1874-1910," MS, p. 44.

<sup>34</sup>Peters, p. 12.

orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic and U. S. history. No certificate shall be in force except in the county in which it is issued. The certificate issued under this act may be revoked by the board of examiners on the ground of immorality or any other cause which would have justified the withholding thereof when the same was granted.<sup>35</sup>

At this time, after only two or three years, the Mennonite schools began to compete with increasing numbers of public schools. As a result, these Mennonite teachers ventured to take the county teachers' examination in order to meet the requirements of the law. Some teachers even took the examination without having attended a day of English school and others who had attended an English school for only a few weeks. Another reason for taking the county examination in addition to complying with the law was to take their schools over into the public school houses and to receive financial aid from the county.

During the late 1870's and 1880's the school laws remained somewhat lenient. As the Hoffnungsau area was almost entirely Mennonite, there was little conflict over schools. But with the coming of the American public school, the education of the children was no longer a community affair but came under state supervision. The Mennonites were not satisfied with secular education alone as given by the public schools. In order to give their children some

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<sup>35</sup>Peters, pp. 12-14.

definite religious instruction they began to organize vacation day schools which taught religion as they wanted it to be taught. This was so generally done by all the congregations that these vacation day schools became a very important factor in the field of religious education and were regarded as a regular institution.

The vacation day schools were held before or after the regular public school term. In a few cases private buildings were built for these schools but more often, especially in all-Mennonite communities like the Hoffnungsau area, the public school buildings were used. The vacation day school was always taught by Mennonite teachers. Wherever the public school term was taught by a Mennonite teacher, he was usually retained for the vacation day school as well. Often it was difficult for a teacher to obtain a position among the Mennonites unless he was prepared to teach both the public and the vacation school terms.

The curriculum was very nearly the same in all the schools. At the fifteenth Kansas Mennonite Conference in 1891 a committee established earlier reported that copies of a teaching-plan had been printed and was in the hands of nearly all of the teachers. In the introduction to this teaching plan it was stated that such a plan should be in harmony with the purpose of the school, which was that it should be a German Church School. This purpose included three ideas, the school, the church, and the German language. The function of the school was to develop the faculties of the child, and as the duty of the church it was to train men by all ordained

means as He would like them to be and to bring them into the church. The third characteristic was that they were German. German was to be emphasized, because as long as the congregations were German they could only guide their children and care for them spiritually if the children also knew the German language.

The curriculum set forth in the teaching-plan included the following courses to be used in a four-level plan.

Religion was the first area of instruction and consisted of three separate courses. Bible History was to be taught three hours per week. Ninety stories were selected and about equally divided between the Old and New Testament. They were set up in such a way that most of the important stories were gone over twice. One year the stories were from the Old Testament and the second year from the New Testament. The teachings of each story were fixed and summarized by appropriate Bible verses, also by a few stanzas from the most familiar hymns. Pupils from the first to fourth school year were given suitable questions to be answered and had to memorize the Bible verses. Pupils in the fifth to eighth school year were expected to tell the story, either in part or as a whole. Those in the seventh and eighth years had to memorize stanzas from familiar hymns in addition to the Bible stories.

Also included in the area of religion was Bible reading which was to be held two hours per week. Whenever the stories of the Old Testament were discussed in Bible History class, the reading material was taken from the Old Testament and if the Bible History stories

were from the New Testament, then the reading was also from the New Testament. The aim was to read books in the Old and New Testament which were not studied in the Bible History class. In Bible reading the seniors and intermediates were together as one class.

The third area of religion was the Psalms and church hymnal. This was to be held one hour per week. During the whole four-level course it was expected that the pupils should memorize about ten Psalms and from ten to fifteen church hymns.

The second area of instruction was Singing which was to be held two hours per week. Pupils were to memorize practical hymns. Popular hymns and airs were also used for instruction. Each year fifteen to twenty tunes were to be used. The singing was by rote and also by notes. The whole school was in one class for singing.

The third area of instruction was German. This area consisted of four sections. Reading was one of the sections. Pupils of the first and second year were the primary classes. They were to study in two divisions of the "Fibel," a book which contained the alphabet in German script, vocabulary, and also short reading passages. Pupils from the third to fifth year were the intermediates, and they were to read easy selections in the reader thirty minutes, five times per week. Pupils from the sixth to the eighth year were the seniors and were to read more difficult selections fluently, intelligently, and with emphasis. There were to be three recitations per week of forty minutes each.

The second section of German was Written Exercises and Composition. In the first two years pupils were to learn to copy and take easy selections from dictation. The third and fourth year pupils were to have dictation exercises and easy compositions in connection with the object lessons, which involved conversation of various topics. It was also suggested that the beginners could copy easy narratives which had been thoroughly discussed. The senior class was to follow descriptions, comparisons, paraphrasing and analysis of reading selections. Composition work could also be connected with the sciences. The senior class was to write a composition every two weeks.

The third section was grammar. Pupils from the fifth to the eighth year were to take part in this course. There were to be two divisions with four recitations each per week.

The last section of German was Object Lessons. Object lessons were used to promote the conversational faculty in children and to enrich their vocabulary. Twenty minutes each day was to be devoted to this exercise.

The fourth major area of instruction was Nature Study. This area was included so that children would have information of how to observe nature and know nature because in this area one could find proof of God's wisdom, power and fatherly care. Beginners were introduced to nature study through the object lessons. Pupils from the fifth to the eighth year were to have two periods per week in nature study. The material was divided into four years of study.

The first two years dealt with the animal kingdom. The third year was devoted to plant life and the fourth to the mineral kingdom.

The fifth area was General History. The material for the seniors came from simple readings of history, stories from the teacher, and supplementary books. The reading material was to provide work for two hours per week for three years.

The sixth area of instruction was Church History. The material of this area was to be divided into a three year course with fourteen lessons per term. The first year began with the organization of the Christian church, its development and fate in the Judean country. The second year began with the victory of Christianity over heathendom. The third year began with Martin Luther.

The seventh area of instruction was Geography. Not much time was to be given to this area as it was studied in the public schools. It was included merely to acquaint the children with a few geographical names in German.

The eighth area of instruction was Arithmetic which was to be held four hours per week. Arithmetic was considered more important than geography and was to be a continuation of the same course given in the public schools.

The ninth and last area of instruction was Penmanship. The entire school was to have instruction in this for three hours per week. All written work of the pupils was to be a specimen in penmanship.<sup>36</sup> This curriculum and daily program submitted by the

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<sup>36</sup> Lehrplan für Deutsche Gemeinde-Schulen, (St. Louis, Missouri: A. Wiebusch and Son Printing Company, n.d.), pp. 3-20.

committee for school and education was not compulsory but only suggestive and advisory for the purpose of a more uniform school system. Interviews with individuals in the area with which this study is concerned indicate that this program of instruction must have been used.

The length of the term depended to some extent upon the length of the public school term. For a number of years the compulsory attendance laws in Kansas provided for only four months of school, then five months, and later seven months were required. In the early years there was always considerable time left for vacation schools in the fall or spring months.<sup>37</sup> By 1916, the average length of the vacation school had been cut to about two months.<sup>38</sup> When the public school law was amended to provide for a public school term of seven months, it became more difficult to maintain the vacation schools. Many were reluctant to support the vacation school and send their children for another month or two which removed them from the work in the homes for the greater part of the year.

As a result of the available time for vacation school, another committee on school and education of the Mennonite Teachers Conference of Kansas published another teaching-plan in 1924 for Vacation-Bible Schools as they were then called. The introduction to this

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<sup>37</sup>Voth, pp. 16-17.

<sup>38</sup>Peters, p. 57.



teaching-plan sets forth the reasons for issuing the new plan. In the plan of 1890 the program outlined was intended for a minimum of four months of instruction per year. Today, in the early 1900's, with the extended public school term there is at most six weeks of available time for vacation school. Therefore, the present plan includes only the most necessary elements of instruction. It was also desired that the pupils not be overburdened with school work.

The teaching-plan of 1924 was designed for a total program of six years. The pupils in the first two school years were referred to in the plan as "Anfänger." The pupils of the third and fourth school years were the "Unterstufe." The pupils of the fifth and sixth years were referred to as the "Mittelstufe." The teaching-plan was organized to provide a six weeks school term for each year of the six year program. For those public schools which included some religious instruction the teaching-plan was able to reduce the vacation term to fewer weeks.

The curriculum set forth in the 1924 plan contained eight courses of instruction. All eight courses of this plan were related to religious instruction. Also for the first time the plan suggested the use of several books for instruction in the English language.

The first course listed was Bible Stories. The suggested texts were "Biblische Geschichte" by Zuck, "Zweimal 52 Biblische Geschichten," "Biblische Geschichten für Mittelklassen und gemischte Schulen,"

and "Bible Stories with Questions and Helps" by M. Vitz. The Anfänger, Unterstufe and Mittelstufe were held as separate classes.

The second course was Bible Geography. The instruction in this course was to be related to the Bible Stories. Wall maps were to be used as well as the suggested texts, "Randzeichnungen zu den Geschichten des Alten Testaments" by C. H. Wedel and "The Geography of Palestine," by A. L. Phillips, D. D.

The third course outlined was Bible Reading. The outline included fifty-nine Old Testament lessons and sixty-one New Testament lessons. The emphasis in instruction was to be on the religious lesson and not on the reading ability.

The fourth course was Biblical Memorization. Each level, Anfänger, Unterstufe, and Mittelstufe was given a list of Psalms and Bible verses for memorization. These were again related to the Bible Stories lessons.

The fifth course was Reading. Much emphasis was placed on reading with understanding. Suggested texts were "Fibel für den Lese - und Schreibunterricht," "Schreib-Lese Fibel," "Lesebuch für Evangelische Schulen - Unterstufe," and "Lesebuch für Evangelische Schulen - Mittelstufe." Pupils began with learning the vowels, consonants, small words, sentences, until finally they reached difficult reading passages.

The sixth course outlined was Language Instruction. Because the pupils were exposed only to English in the public schools and to very little High German at home this course was to be held at an

elementary level. Most of the language instruction was to be oral; however, the older pupils were to do written exercises as well. The Unterstufe was advised to use "Erstes Uebungsbuch für den Unterricht in der deutschen Sprache," by F. Rechlin. The suggested Mittelstufe text was "Zweites Uebungsbuch für den Unterricht in der deutschen Sprache," also by F. Rechlin. For advanced students there was also the "Dritte Uebungsbuch für den Unterricht in der deutschen Sprache."

The seventh course of the program was Singing. The suggested material was "Kleiner Liederschatz" and the songbooks used in Sunday School and church services which were often in English. The school day often began with a hymn but there was also to be class time given to singing. Pupils were taught songs by rote and by notes. Pupils were also expected to memorize the verses of songs.

The eighth and last area of instruction was Church History. Two textbooks were suggested, "Bilder aus der Kirchengeschichte," by Wedel, and in English, "Wedel's Sketches from Church History." Included in the course was biographical material of the apostles, church fathers and teachers, Martin Luther, Menno Simons, and other Mennonites important in Mennonite Church History.<sup>39</sup>

By 1916, in the Hoffnungsau area the vacation schools were in session for approximately four weeks per year. Other activities associated with the vacation schools were Literary Societies and a school program and picnic associated with the last day of school each year. The Literary Societies held a program about once a month where

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<sup>39</sup> Lehrplan für Ferien - Bibel-Schulen, (Newton, Kansas: The Herald Publishing Company, 1924), pp. 3-28.

the program offered plays, debates, panel discussions, and recitations. Not all of the presentations were in German. Here everyone came together and enjoyed an evening, young and old alike. On the last day of school it was customary for the entire family to attend the school picnic. Activities at this event included recitations by the students, spelling bees, and Bible verse competition. Graduating students presented an oral thesis and, of course, there was the class picture.<sup>40</sup>

The vacation schools continued to operate. Increasing complications soon came into play against the vacation schools which used the German language. One obvious complication was World War I. There was much sentiment against German speaking persons at this time. In March, 1919, the Kansas State legislature passed House Bill No. 3 which included four main points which directly affected the vacation schools. The Bill provided that all elementary schools in the state, whether public, private, or parochial, shall provide a complete course to all pupils in Civil Government and U. S. History, and in patriotism and the duties of a citizen. It provided that the State Board of Education had the power to visit any school. If a school was not in compliance within thirty days the state board was authorized to close such school. The Bill was to take effect upon its publication.<sup>41</sup> The vacation schools, however, continued to use the German language. The German language had not been specifically

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<sup>40</sup>Personal interview with Lynda Kim, 31, May, 1977.

<sup>41</sup>Peters, pp. 203-204.

named and nothing was definitely stated about teaching a foreign language as a separate class of instruction. The state statutes which prohibited the teaching or use of foreign language in all schools below the eighth grade were declared void by the Supreme Court of the United States, June 4, 1923.<sup>42</sup>

Other disadvantages by this time included the lack of time which could be used for vacation school. The school term was slowly progressing from four weeks to two weeks and in some cases to only one week per year. There was also a lack of supervision in some schools. Also, the language question did not seem of equal importance to all Mennonites. With increased public instruction, many Mennonite pupils did not have adequate instruction in the German language, and many no longer could understand the German. English was used in the public schools; there were English newspapers in the home; neighbors were English speaking; and business was transacted in English. All of these factors played an important part in the struggle of the German vacation schools.<sup>43</sup>

One additional school which should be mentioned in the Hoffnungsau area is the Hoffnungsau Vereinschule. The school was a preparatory school which served students between the elementary and college levels. The Hoffnungsau Preparatory School opened in 1907 and continued until 1927. The school term was for six months of instruction for each of two years. The six months of instruction

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<sup>42</sup>Peters, p. 205.

<sup>43</sup>Peters, pp. 200-202.

usually included the months from October through March.

The curriculum of the first year included nine courses. Those classes conducted in the German language were five in number. Biblische Geschichte was held for three hours each week. Kirchengeschichte I was held two hours each week. Deutsch I Lesen und Diktat was held four hours each week as well as Grammatik-Deutsch I.

Randzeichnungen was held two hours each week. The classes conducted in English during the first year were: General Science, two hours per week; English I and Classics, four hours per week; Penmanship, one hour per week; and English Bible, three hours per week. It should be noted that this is the first time that the scriptures were read or discussed in the English language in a formally organized class. Up to this point, religion and German had been synonymous.

The curriculum for the second year included ten courses, five of which were conducted in German and five in English. The German courses included: Biblische Geschichte, three hours per week; Kirchengeschichte II, two hours per week; Deutsch II Lesen und Diktat, four hours per week; Grammatik II, four hours per week; and Randzeichnungen, two hours per week. Courses conducted in English included: General Science, two hours per week; English and Classics, four hours per week; Penmanship, one hour per week; English Bible, three hours per week; and Rudiments of Music, two hours per week. The above curriculum was taken from a school yearbook for the year 1922-1923.<sup>44</sup> Students attending the preparatory school were given

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<sup>44</sup>Sechzehntes Jahreschft mit Auskunft "über die Hoffnungsau Vereinschule bei Inman, Kansas. (Newton, Kansas: The Herald Publishing Company, 1922) n.p.

four and one-half credits, which were equivalent to high school credits.

Students were to register for school before the term began. Textbooks were to be issued by the instructor. School fees were \$24.00 for the full term of two years. Many students attending the preparatory school came from the surrounding area and for some it was difficult to travel to and from their homes each day. Therefore, board and room were provided in the teacher's home and also in one or two nearby homes. The cost for board and room from Monday through Friday in the teacher's home was \$3.00 per week. An additional charge of \$1.00 was added if the student remained for the weekend. Rooms in nearby homes were rented for \$12.00 for one year of school which was twelve weeks. The student was responsible for his own linens, and payment was due in advance.

The teacher was to establish the rules of order according to circumstances, but there were five rules set forth in the yearbook. Study time was to be held from 7 - 10:00 each evening as well as before school in the morning. During the school breaks and over the noon hour the students were held responsible to the teacher for the games and activities in which they engaged. Students were expected to conduct themselves in a christian manner within and without the school schedule. All unnecessary noise was to be avoided. The use of tobacco in any form was strictly forbidden. Students who were not housed on campus were not allowed to remain in the lodging homes in the afternoon without the teacher's permission.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Sechzehntes Jahresheft, n.p.

During the twenty year history of the school there was a peak enrollment of approximately fifty students.<sup>46</sup> During the 1922-1923 school term there were only four members in the graduating class and the enrollment of the beginning class stood at fifteen.

In addition to the complications which the vacation schools faced as described earlier, the preparatory school faced yet another complication. By 1916, both Inman and Buhler had established public high schools. There was a great deal of competition between the two types of schools, preparatory and public. By 1927, it was the public schools which had won.

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<sup>46</sup>Personal interview with I. H. Balzer, 2, June, 1977.



CHAPTER III  
RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

The main reason the Mennonites came to America was to obtain freedom to worship according to their beliefs. After their arrival, they immediately set to work to get their religious organizations on a sound footing. There had already been a few simple religious meetings held on board the ship.

In Kansas, the entire group under study met in one of the large immigration houses which the railroad company had provided. A number of preachers came with the group: Dietrich Gaeddert, Peter Ratzlaff, Peter Balzer, and Abraham Buhler. The services in the immigration house were well attended. People came from long distances to worship and to see each other.

The Hoffnungsau church was not officially organized until the year 1876. At the time of organization, as had been the custom in Russia, Reverend Jacob Buller of the Alexanderwohl church near Goessel, performed baptism. Two more preachers and one deacon were elected before the election of the elder. The two preachers elected were John Ratzlaff and John Warkentin. The deacon elected was David Unruh. On April 19, 1876, the election of church elder was held. As the result of that election, Reverend Dietrich Gaeddert was named church elder.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Otto D. Unruh, "Schisms of the Russian Mennonites of Harvey, McPherson, and Reno Counties, Kansas," (Thesis, University of Kansas, 1928), p. 79.

The organization, ritual, and belief of the church was that brought from Russia. The sprinkling form of adult baptism was practiced. The Sunday following the day of baptism there was always the commemoration of the Lord's Supper, to which the newly baptized were admitted for the first time. Footwashing was also introduced at the time of organization but since that time has been abandoned. The Lord's Supper was participated in with any Christian no matter what his religious affiliation.

The Hoffnungsau church is usually considered as the mother church of the area covered by this study. There are two reasons for this: 1) the original meeting place for religious services was the immigration house and the Hoffnungsau group organized there and continued to use the immigration house as the church building until the year 1880, when it was destroyed by a storm, 2) the involvement of Reverend Dietrich Gaeddert. He was the leader under whom the territory had been founded and it was he who also acted in an unofficial capacity as the leader of the religious life and meetings of the group.

At the time of organization, each of the churches which were established in the area used only the High German language. Before the linguistic transition is examined, the organization of the other churches in the area should be considered. Five churches, other than the Hoffnungsau church, will be referred to: the Bethel church, the Mennonite Brethren church, the Hebron church, the Buhler Mennonite church or Buhler South church, and the Inman Mennonite church.

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The Bethel church organized in 1875. Two men, Henry Toews and Jacob Klassen, had arrived in the spring of 1875 and worked together with a group called the Kleine Gemeinde. This group believed in absolute simplicity in the home, in dress, in daily affairs, and in simplicity in their faith. They were humble and lowly before God and man. Their religious worship was very simple, allowing no musical instruments, such as the organ, in the church or in the home. The doctrines and faith of this group was the same as the Hoffnungsau church except for external conservatism in religious and everyday life.

The Bethel church was successful in drawing a number of people from the original group from Russia which met in the immigration house. There was fear that the leaders of the original group were apt to liberalize the church, as was done in Russia, and for that reason withdrew and joined the Bethel church.

With the organization of the Bethel church, the settlement was divided into two distinct groups, the original church as modeled after the church in Russia and the ultraconservative group which followed the direction of the Kleine Gemeinde in Russia. This was the first split and it occurred before the church organization took place. Other splits from the Hoffnungsau church soon took place.

Among the group which came to this area in 1874 were several members of the Mennonite Brethren church from Russia. On May 4, 1879, under the leadership of Franz Ediger and Peter Wall, the Mennonite Brethren had their first baptism. In July of 1879, twelve more Mennonite Brethren members arrived from the Molotschna Colony

in Russia. The Reverend Abraham Schellenberg was among these twelve and upon his arrival, he immediately placed himself in charge.

Regular meetings were held on Sunday and on Thursday evening. By August of 1879, this small group decided to proceed according to the Articles of Faith of the Mennonite Brethren church of Russia.<sup>48</sup>

In November of 1880, the Mennonite Brethren decided to build a gathering house. The term "gathering house" was used to distinguish themselves from others, which the Mennonite Brethren referred to a "churchly."

The differences between the Mennonite Brethren church and the Hoffnungsau church were in relation to baptism, use of catechism, provisions for admittance of members of other churches to membership, participation in the Lord's Supper, and revival meetings of the highly emotional type. The main point of disagreement and the point which created the most disharmony was strict adherence to their immersion form of baptism and refusal to admit any other church member into their church unless they had been immersed.

That first "gathering house" decided upon in November of 1879 was begun in October of 1880. The building was made of sun-dried brick and located on a five-acre tract four miles east of Buhler.<sup>49</sup> Since that time there have been two church buildings erected to serve the Mennonite Brethren of the Buhler area. Each of these two

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<sup>48</sup>Unruh, p. 84.

<sup>49</sup>Mennonite Brethren Church, "75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee," 1954, p. 6.

buildings have been located in the town of Buhler. The first Mennonite Brethren church building was dedicated in Buhler on November 1, 1908. As time went on and the congregation grew there was need for a larger church. The church dedicated in 1908 was razed. A second Buhler Mennonite Brethren church was dedicated on October 28, 1923. This building was added on to in 1946 and again in 1951.<sup>50</sup> The present church was built in 1966.

The organization of the Hebron church came about rather suddenly in 1879. As the division between the Mennonite Brethren and Hoffnungsau church became more apparent, the Reverend Bernhard Buhler took the middle road and organized a church of his own. Some have said that the Reverend Buhler had a great deal of pride and desired leadership. He did not receive adequate recognition in the Hoffnungsau group and saw an opportunity to organize a church of his own. There were various issues at stake which came to bear on the division. The Hebron church followed more in the direction of the Hoffnungsau church rather than the Mennonite Brethren in terms of doctrine. Much of the division was of a personal nature; however, there were some religious differences.

The Hebron group discarded the catechism which the Mennonite Brethren had also done. At first the form of baptism, sprinkling or immersion, was optional; however, most chose immersion. Washing of the feet was also introduced in the Hebron church. The main

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<sup>50</sup>M. B. Church, p. 13-14.

difference between the Hebron church and the Mennonite Brethren church was that although they practiced the immersion form of baptism, they admitted membership into their church of those baptized by sprinkling.

Many of those attracted to the Reverend Buhler's church were of the wealthier class. They were less in opposition to smoking, and less tolerant of the strict church discipline imposed by the Reverend Dietrich Gaeddert. They were the most modern in terms of dress and vehicles. They were not of the highly emotional type, as those who went with the Mennonite Brethren, but were greatly concerned with the material aspects of life.

The first Hebron church building was built five miles east of Buhler. Since that time, the church has changed location and now the present Hebron church is located in the town of Buhler, named after the Reverend Bernhard Buhler.

During the early years of the Hoffnungsau church, in order to accommodate the scattered membership, services were held in schoolhouses close to the towns of Buhler and Inman. The schoolhouses were small and especially inconvenient for Sunday School. The Hoffnungsau church thus decided to erect churches in Inman in 1909 and in Buhler in 1913. The methods of serving these churches remained the same as in the schoolhouses. They had their own Sunday School organization and the preachers from the Hoffnungsau church took turns serving the churches in Inman and Buhler.

Services were held only in the Hoffnungsau church on the fourth Sunday of the month. This system soon proved unsatisfactory and before

long the two town churches had services every Sunday. The question of becoming independent organizations soon arose in both town churches. In 1919, it was decided to organize as an independent church in Buhler.<sup>51</sup>

The church in Buhler remained the same in doctrine and creed as the Hoffnungsau church. The only difference was that the Buhler Mennonite church had a hired pastor, not one of their own group. He was to be paid a salary and have full-time charge of the church. The Buhler Mennonite church did, however, discontinue at this time, the footwashing in connection with the Lord's Supper.

In the year 1921, one year after the Buhler Mennonite church became an independent organization, the Inman Mennonite church also decided to become an independent organization.<sup>52</sup> The Inman church was organized along the pattern of the Hoffnungsau church. The Inman church, however, also discontinued the footwashing in connection with the Lord's supper and had a paid preacher who had charge of the church.

The organization of the Buhler Mennonite church and the Inman Mennonite church cannot be considered divisions or separations from the Hoffnungsau church, but were rather growths due to geographic conditions and increasing population.

Of the five churches which developed from the Russian-Mennonite settlement under this study, only three were due to differences of

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<sup>51</sup>Unruh, p. 91.

<sup>52</sup>Unruh, p. 92.



opinions. Two churches were a result of natural growth. At present, it appears that all of these churches serve harmoniously side by side and cooperate a great deal.

Over the years, the "Mother church," Hoffnungsau, has been housed in four different buildings. The first was the immigration house provided by the railroad company. In 1880, the immigration house was destroyed by a storm and the members of the congregation immediately set about building a new church. This church building was made of adobe brick and was dedicated on December 19, 1880.<sup>53</sup>

As the membership of the Hoffnungsau congregation grew, there was a need for a larger building. On November 13, 1898, the third home and second actual church building was dedicated.<sup>54</sup> This structure was patterned after the Alexanderwohl church in Russia and featured a double tier of pulpits and a balcony. This church building served for fifty years.

In February of 1948, nature again destroyed the Hoffnungsau church. This time nature took the form of a fire which completely destroyed the church building.

Again the congregation began planning a new church building. The building was dedicated in 1951.<sup>55</sup> This structure, with a few additions and alterations, is the present structure. The location

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<sup>53</sup> Albert M. Gaeddert, Centennial History of Hoffnungsau Mennonite Church, (North Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Press, Inc., 1974), p. 58.

<sup>54</sup> Gaeddert, p. 60.

<sup>55</sup> Gaeddert, p. 93.

of all four buildings of the Hoffnungsau church stood on the same location, five miles east of Buhler and two and one-half miles north.

Through the years there have been undoubtedly many issues which each of the churches in this study has had to face. Some issues may have been unique to each of the churches, but one problem they all had to face was the transition from the German language to English.

The transition from the German language to English in the churches was feared at first by both young and old. Both groups were very tolerant of each other and as a result the transition took place quite smoothly. A closer look will now be taken of the linguistic transition in the Mennonite Brethren church, the Hebron church, and the Hoffnungsau church.

Until the year 1933, the worship services in the Mennonite Brethren church were mainly conducted in the German language. On May 17, 1933, it was decided to have an English service on one Sunday evening each month. Gradually, all of the Sunday evening services changed to the English language. As early as 1922, small groups, quartets and the like, began singing in English at Christian Endeavor programs. This English singing was soon also taking place on special occasions, and finally on Sunday mornings. The congregational singing slowly changed to the English language. At times ill feelings were expressed and occasionally some members were singing from the German text and other members were singing from the English text at the same time. By 1943, because of the need which existed for the English services,

German services were no longer held regularly.<sup>56</sup>

The first Sunday School classes were held in the Mennonite Brethren church in 1888. Previously they had been held in homes and schools. Materials used in the Sunday School as early as 1886 were the Lektions-hefte. In 1900, the "Christliches Kinderblatt" for children was used. Later the Picture Roll was used. In 1935, the English Picture Roll was introduced. Later Scripture Press material was used in the Graded Sunday School classes. The upper classes used the International Sunday School Lessons, first only in German and after 1930 in both the German and the English language. By 1954, there were only three classes of the older members who were still using the German language.<sup>57</sup>

In November of 1924, a festival commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the coming of the first Mennonites was conducted in the English language. The first use of the English language had been introduced in 1922 in the Mennonite Brethren church and by 1943, there were no regularly scheduled German services.<sup>58</sup>

Many of the early records of the Hebron church have been destroyed but some information is available concerning the early transition from German to the English language. The church council minutes dating from 1896 are still in the possession of the church.

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<sup>56</sup>M. B. Church, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup>M. B. Church, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup>M. B. Church, p. 27.

All of the recorded minutes are written in the German language through 1935. The first use of English in church council meetings is recorded in the 1936 minutes. By 1937, all of the minutes are recorded in English with the exception of the March entry in which a motion is recorded in German, which would indicate that the motion was made in the German language. By 1946, there is no trace of German used in the church council minutes. In the minutes of that year there is a motion which was made to order the Gospel Hymn Book in place of the German books being used at that time. The motion carried.<sup>59</sup>

Information about the use of English in the worship services is not available prior to 1938. However, in 1938, there were German services on the first, third, and fifth Sundays of the month. English services were held on the second and fourth Sundays of the month. In 1939, the worship service schedule remained the same. However, in 1940, only the first and third Sundays had German worship services and English was used on the second, fourth and fifth Sundays of the month. By 1944, only on the last Sunday of the month were the worship services held in German. By 1948, there was to be a German worship service only on the fifth Sunday in whichever months one occurred.<sup>60</sup>

The transition from the German language to English developed and progressed in much the same way in the "mother church." The

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<sup>59</sup>Hebron Church Records, Church Council Minutes 1896-1946.

<sup>60</sup>Personal interview with Reverend Harold Graber, 24, June, 1977.

following information was obtained from the Hoffnungsau yearbooks from the year 1928 through the year 1950.

The German language was used exclusively until the year 1932. In 1932, there was a recommendation that both German and English be used in the Sunday School classes. The worship services remained totally German until 1934. Beginning in 1934 and continuing until 1937, there were English worship services once a month. In 1937, the number of English services increased to fourteen in that year.

In 1935, there was a recommendation that the baptism services be held in the English language. Prior to this time there had been only one baptism performed in English. The English baptisms came about because most of those being baptized were young people, who were more proficient in the English language.

By 1938, the number of English worship services had increased to fifteen per year with two additional services being held in both German and English. Where both languages were used, there was usually a shorter sermon delivered in English first for the young people. This was followed by a lengthier sermon in the German language.

From this point on each succeeding year brought more and more worship services in the English language. In 1939, there were seventeen English services and two services where both English and German were used. In 1940, the number of English services had risen to twenty-four with four additional services using both languages.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Hoffnungsau Church Records, "Jahrbuch der Hoffnungsau Gemeinde nahe Inman, Kansas," 1928-1940.

In 1941, there were more English services than German for the first time. Thirty-two services were conducted in English. Also for the first time the yearbook was written in both German and English. Prior to 1941, the yearbook had been issued only in the German language.

In 1942, the total number of English services was thirty-nine with one additional service conducted in both German and English. It was in this year also that the change was made to issuing the church yearbook only in the English language.

By 1943, nine years after the use of English services once a month, the situation had reversed itself. In 1943, there were German services only once a month. From 1944 to 1946, the English services steadily increased from forty-two services in English, to forty-three English services, to a total of forty-nine services in English.

In 1947, the last totally German worship services were held in the Hoffnungsau church. In 1948, there were six worship services held where both German and English were used. In 1949, there were only five services conducted in both German and English. Finally in 1950, there were no German services scheduled.<sup>62</sup> A total of eighteen years had elapsed between the first use of the English language in the worship services and the exclusive use of English in the worship services.

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<sup>62</sup>Hoffnungsau Church Records, "Yearbook of the Hoffnungsau Mennonite Church near Inman, Kansas," 1941-1950.

CHAPTER IV

DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT

Very little has been written about the use of German in the home. To obtain information in this area, the writer requested individuals of all ages to fill out the following questionnaire:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

1. I was born in America. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
2. I am a decendent of the Mennonites who emigrated from Russia to the United States in 1874. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
3. I am a \_\_\_\_\_ generation decendent of the Mennonites who emigrated from Russia in 1874.
4. My father spoke Low German. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
5. My mother spoke Low German. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
6. My father spoke High German. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
7. My mother spoke High German. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
8. I speak Low German. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
9. I speak High German. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
10. I can read High German Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
11. I can remember Low German being used in church.  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
12. I can remember High German being used in church.  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

1. I have had some instruction in High German.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

2. I attended one of the Old German Schools in this area.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

3. I went to an Old German School.....

\_\_\_\_\_ years for 2 months each year

\_\_\_\_\_ years for 1 month each year

\_\_\_\_\_ years for 1 week each year

\_\_\_\_\_ years for 2 weeks each year

\_\_\_\_\_ years for 6 weeks each year

\_\_\_\_\_ years for \_\_\_\_\_ each year

4. I have taken German as a class subject in school.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

5. I took German as a class subject for \_\_\_\_\_ years.



Name \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

1. I have spoken Low German with one or both of my parents...

all of the time \_\_\_\_\_ most of the time \_\_\_\_\_

some of the time \_\_\_\_\_ never \_\_\_\_\_

2. I have spoken High German with one of or both of my  
parents...

all of the time \_\_\_\_\_ most of the time \_\_\_\_\_

some of the time \_\_\_\_\_ never \_\_\_\_\_

3. Today I speak Low German...

all of the time \_\_\_\_\_ most of the time \_\_\_\_\_

some of the time \_\_\_\_\_ never \_\_\_\_\_

4. Today I speak High German...

all of the time \_\_\_\_\_ most of the time \_\_\_\_\_

some of the time \_\_\_\_\_ never \_\_\_\_\_

5. Today I read High German...

all of the time \_\_\_\_\_ most of the time \_\_\_\_\_

some of the time \_\_\_\_\_ never \_\_\_\_\_

From the responses to the questionnaire it can be said that use of German in the home somewhat parallels the use of German in the school and church. The time of usage is very closely correlated in the three areas.

It appears that persons born by 1917 all grew up speaking almost exclusively Low German in the home. Many of these individuals who are now in their sixties, seventies, and eighties could not speak English when they started to elementary school. These individuals still enjoy speaking Low German when they get together today. All of these individuals received at least one month of instruction per year in High German during their eight years in elementary school. Many of them received two years of instruction at the preparatory schools or academies. High German was used in the church services until these individuals were in their forties, fifties, and sixties. Except for the past twenty-five years, German has been the dominant language of these individuals.

Persons born between the years 1918 and 1927 grew up with a considerable amount of Low German being used in the home. Low German, however, was not used exclusively during this time as English was also used occasionally. Most of these individuals received some instruction in High German in the vacation schools. However, due to the lengthening of the public school term, vacation school was held only for a few weeks per year. High German was used exclusively in the church only until these individuals were fifteen to twenty years old. English then has been the dominant language for these

individuals in the church services. Low German was the dominant language for them as they were growing up. But as parents, the dominant language in the homes they established was English, although Low German was used occasionally.

Persons born between the years 1928 and 1947 grew up with some Low German in the home. These individuals were exposed to the High German in church services only until the age of five to ten years old. There were no vacation schools with instruction in High German for them to attend. If they received instruction in High German it was in the public high school or in college. It is difficult to determine how many did pursue the study of High German. Those who did pursue it, usually took one to two years of High German in high school or one to two semesters in college. Today very few, if any, of these individuals use High German. Low German is understood quite well by many of these individuals and they may use occasional words and phrases in Low German around the house.

Persons born between the years 1948 to 1957 grew up with very little Low German in the home. The majority of these individuals do not speak or understand the Low German. Unless these individuals have taken High German in high school or college they have not been exposed to that language. There were no High German services in church or vacation schools for them to attend. Very few of these individuals have knowledge of either Low German or High German.

Persons born between the years 1958 and 1967 grew and are growing up with virtually no Low German in the home. They have never experienced church services in the High German language with the exception of an occasional hymn sung in High German. A few have taken one or two years of High German in high school. Although they have not been exposed to a great deal of active usage of the German language, they do have a keen awareness of their linguistic heritage. Some of their curiosity about this heritage may have developed as a result of the Hoffnungsau Centennial celebration in 1974. There is also much encouragement from both parents and grandparents to study the German language as well as other foreign languages.

## CONCLUSION

Upon their arrival in Harvey, McPherson, and Reno counties the Russian-Mennonite immigrants were German speaking people. They used Low German in their homes and High German in their schools and churches. Over the years there was a transition from their exclusive use of German to the present use of English almost exclusively. By 1930, and in many cases before that, there were no longer schools conducted in German and requiring the study of German. By 1950, there were no longer religious services being conducted in the German language. By 1960, there was virtually no Low German being used on a regular basis in the home.

The attitude toward High German has undergone a change. At first it was merely used as the medium of religious expression. It was taught and stressed only in the area of religion. Many have referred to High German as Church German. There were those who felt that giving up the High German was giving up their faith and were violently opposed to the intrusion of English. But as time has gone by it has been experienced that giving up German in the services has not resulted in a loss of faith. Their faith has not faltered nor been muffled by the English language.

As English became accepted in the church there was no longer a need for the German language. As High German was used for nothing other than religious services it gradually, but rather quickly, died out. Low German continued to be used much longer as it was used

daily in the home. But as the children were away at school for longer and longer periods they became more comfortable with the English language. Many of their friends perhaps did not speak the same dialect of Low German and it became much easier to use English.

And so, in the church and in the home, the use of German has all but been eliminated. Today the only hope for continuing High German is in the schools and colleges. But add to that hope the awareness and curiosity of young people, the encouragement of parents and grandparents, and that hope will grow.

Underlying the curiosity of the young people and the encouragement of the older people is a change in attitude which has developed over the past thirty years. Today High German is valued not only as a medium of religious expression, but it is valued as a language for its own literary value, idiomatic expression, and conversational value. Earlier, in many places, all German reading matter outside of the German Bible was considered as bad literature for children, even the elementary German readers. Today that fear of secular materials has lessened, and the study of German in and of itself is respected and encouraged.

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APPENDIX

## SHIP LIST

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
1	Robert Raphael	22	merchant
2	Carl Eisenberg	23	tailor
3	Mesche J. Stevrinsky	14	single
4	Rteve Stevrinsky	8	sister
5	Rachel Stevrinsky	7	sister
6	Gittel Levy	50	woman
7	Sara Steinbach	37	woman
8	Danny Steinbach	11 mo.	infant
9	Charles Kjarnander	49	Carpenter
10	Gerhard Abraham	43	farmer
11	Catha. Abraham	51	wife
12	Nicolai Abraham	25	son
13	Johann Abraham	22	son
14	Peter Abraham	20	son
15	Hrh. Abraham	16	son
16	Jacob Abraham	15	son
17	Dietrich Abraham	9	son
18	Cathar. Abraham	24	daughter
19	Marie Abraham	18	daughter
20	Elisb. Abraham	13	daughter
21	Margr. Abraham	9	daughter
22	Tonisd Boyh	29	farmer
23	Anna Voth	28	wife
24	Joh. Voth	8	child
25	Abr. Voth	11 mo.	infant (m.)
26	Jacob Claasen	41	farmer
27	Margr. Claasen	40	wife
28	Juste Claasen	17	child (f.)
29	Jacob Claasen	16	child
30	Margr. Claasen	14	child
31	Helene Claasen	9	child
32	Anna Claasen	7	child
33	Isaac Claasen	6	child
34	Sara Claasen	3	child
35	Marie Claasen	4 mo.	infant
36	Joh. Claasen	4 mo.	infant
37	Isaac Claasen	42	farmer
38	Sara Claasen	37	wife
39	Peter Claasen	15	child
40	Sara Claasen	13	child
41	Juste Claasen	9	child (f)
42	Isaac Claasen	5	child

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
43	Margr. Claasen	5	child
44	Catha. Claasen	8 mo.	infant
45	Joh. Claassen	28	farmer
46	Eva Claassen	26	wife
47	Joh. Claassen	5	child
48	Joh. Friesen	55	farmer
49	Anna Friesen	55	wife
50	Peter Friesen	21	child
51	Catha. Friesen	17	child
52	Helene Friesen	15	child
53	Jacob Friesen	9	child
54	Hrch. Epp	23	farmer
55	Sara Epp	23	wife
56	Cornelius Epp	11 mo.	infant
57	Jacob Friesen	32	farmer
58	Anna Friesen	30	wife
59	Joh. Friesen	8	child
60	Anna Friesen	5	child
61	Jacob Friesen	3	child
62	Peter Buller	50	farmer
63	Helene Buller	45	wife
64	Hrch. Buller	22	child
65	Elizabeth Buller	20	child
66	Peter Buller	17	child
67	Helene Buller	15	child
68	Jacob Buller	9	child
69	David Buller	8	child
70	Catha. Buller	7	child
71	Joh. Buller	6	child
72	Marie Buller	3	child
73	Peter Schroeder	38	farmer
74	Catha. Schroeder	36	wife
75	Susanne Schroeder	9	child
76	Catha. Schroeder	8	child
77	Peter Schroeder	3	child
78	Anna Schroeder	3 mo.	infant
79	Joh. Schroeder	24	farmer
80	Diedrich Ens	36	farmer
81	Judith Ens	32	wife
82	Jacob Ens	14	child
83	Aron Ens	9	child
84	Diedrich Ens	3	child
85	Judith Ens	8	child
86	Catha. Ens	7	child
87	Susanne Ens	5	child
88	Gerhard Thiessen	65	farmer

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
89	Gerhard Thiessen	21	child
90	Joh. Thiessen	20	child
91	Jacob Thiessen	19	child
92	Abraham Thiessen	17	child
93	Peter Thiessen	15	child
94	Hrh. Thiessen	9	child
95	Margr. Thiessen	8	child
96	Cornelius Thiessen	7	child
97	Aron Thiessen	5	child
98	Helene Thiessen	3	child
99	David Welk	40	farmer
100	Sara Welk	23	wife
101	Sara Welk	11 mo.	infant
102	Margr. Welk Kreker?	1 mo.	infant
103	Abrah. Krehler?	29	farmer
104	Marie Krehler	28	wife
105	Gerha. Krehler	6	child
106	Abrah. Krehler	4	child
107	Jacob Krehler	3	child
108	Peter Krehler	9 mo.	child
109	Hrch. Ediger	53	farmer
110	Sara Ediger	44	wife
111	Peter Ediger	19	child
112	Hrch. Ediger	18	child
113	Sara Ediger	16	child
114	Elizabeth Ediger	13	child
115	Catha. Ediger	9	child
116	Jacob Ediger	8	child
117	Marie Ediger	4	child
118	David Ediger	11 mo.	infant
119	Franz Spenst	29	farmer
120	Catha. Spenst	30	wife
121	Marie Spenst	4	child
122	Elizabeth Spenst	2 mo.	infant
123	Abraham Heinrich	56	farmer
124	Marie Heinrich	54	wife
125	Joh. Heinrich	25	child
126	Marie Heinrich	28	child
127	Anna Heinrich	21	child
128	Jacob Heinrich	18	child
129	Helene Heinrich	16	child
130	Abraham Heinrich	14	child
131	Elizabeth Heinrich	9	child
132	Hrch. Kluever	47	farmer
133	Susanne Kluever	35	wife
134	Hrch. Kluever	20	child

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
135	Gerhard Kluever	19	child
136	Joh. Kluever	18	child
137	Catha. Kluever	17	child
138	Marie Kluever	14	child
139	Susanne Kluever	9	child
140	Peter Kluever	7	child
141	Cornelius Kluever	4	child
142	Anna Kluever	4	child
143	David Penner	43	farmer
144	Sara Penner	46	wife
145	David Penner	9	child
146	Catha. Penner	8	child
147	Elisb. Penner	7	child
148	Gertrude Penner	6	child
149	Anna Penner	5	child
150	Johann Balzer	21	farmer
151	Sara Balzer	20	wife
152	Sara Balzer	2 mo.	infant
153	Andr. Flamming	50	farmer
154	Helene Flamming	51	wife
155	Eva Flamming	29	child
156	Peter Flamming	18	child
157	Catha. Flamming	16	child
158	Agnetha Flamming	14	child
159	Johann Flamming	9	child
160	Cornelius Dahlke	42	farmer
161	Anna Dahlke	35	wife
162	Cornel. Dahlke	16	child (male)
163	Joh. Dahlke	14	child
164	Catha. Dalke	9	child
165	Peter Dahlke	8	child
166	Hrch. Dalke	7	child
167	Anna Dahlke	6	child
168	Jacob Dahlke	5	child
169	Helena Dahlke	3	child
170	Hrch Dirksen	30	farmer
171	Cornel. Duerksen	48	farmer
172	Gertrude Duerksen	44	wife
173	Cornel. Duerksen	19	child (male)
174	Hrch. Duerksen	9	child
175	Anna Duerksen	17	child
176	Sara Duerksen	15	child
177	Helene Duerksen	5	child
178	Hrch. Duerksen	8	child
179	Isaac Duerksen	6	child
180	Marie Duerksen	13	child

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
181	Jacob Duerksen	47	child
182	Hrch. Lorenz	23	farmer
183	Elisb. Lorenz	22	wife
184	Elisb. Lorenz	10 mo.	infant
185	Anna Duerksen	7	child
186	Peter Lorenc	62	former
187	Elish. Lorenc	53	wife
188	Jacob Lorenc	21	child
189	Joh. Lorenc	17	child
190	Marie Lorenc	14	child
191	Franz Penner	23	farmer
192	Sara Penner	21	wife
193	Frz. Penner	2 mo.	infant
194	Jacob Franz	32	farmer
195	Catha. Franz	30	wife
196	Catha. Franz	6	child
197	Hrch. Franz	5	child
198	Anna Franz	7 mo.	child
199	Joh. Thiessen	29	farmer
200	Marie Thiessen	29	wife
201	Marie Thiessen	4	daughter
202	Jacob Martens	45	farmer
203	Anna Martens	47	wife
204	Marie Martens	9	child
205	Hrch. Martens	46	farmer
206	Jacob Siemens	24	farmer
207	Anna Siemens	20	wife
208	Anna Siemens	6 mo.	infant
209	Jacob Siemens	49	farmer
210	Elizabeth Siemens	45	wife
211	Anna Siemens	20	child
212	Elizabeth Siemens	19	child
213	Joh. Siemens	15	child
214	Abraham Siemens	13	child
215	David Siemens	9	child
216	Agathe Siemens	3	child
217	Hrsch. Siemens	6 mo.	child
218	Joh. Wahl	30	farmer
219	Elis. Wahl	30	wife
220	Elis. Wahl	6	child
221	Joh. Wahl	5	child
222	Anna Wahl	3	child
223	Catha. Wahl	11 mo.	infant
224	Peter Wahl	1 mo.	infant
225	David Ediger	23	farmer
226	Helene Ediger	22	wife

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
227	Agathe Ediger	6 mo.	infant
228	Helene Ediger	6 mo.	infant
229	Peter Lorenz	29	farmer
230	Catha. Lorenz	33	wife
231	Juste Lorenz	9	child (f)
232	Abr. Lorenz	4	child
233	Elisb. Lorenz	3	child
234	Peter Lorenz	7 mo.	infant
235	Jacob Friesen	23	farmer
236	David Eduger	51	farmer
237	Agathe Eduger	51	wife
238	Jacob Eduger	20	child
239	Johann Eduger	18	child
240	Hrch. Eduger	14	child
241	Agathe Eduger	16	child
242	Marie Eduger	9	child
243	Gerhard Enz	46	farmer
244	Helene Enz	40	wife
245	Gerhard Enz	18	child
246	Sara Enz	15	child
247	Helene Enz	9	child
248	Elisb. Enz	5	child
249	Marie Enz	4 mo.	child
250	Anna Harder	47	farmer (f)
			(shipmaster's mistake)
251	Jacob Harder	20	wife (m)
			(shipmaster's mistake)
252	Marie Harder	13	child
253	Agathe Harder	9	child
254	Abrah. Harder	7	child
255	Joh. Harder	5	child
256	Jrch. Frichring?	26	farmer
	Frichting?		
257	Anna Frichring	25	wife
258	Jacob Frichring	3	child
259	Hrch. Frichring	9 mo.	infant
260	Abraham Frichring	9 mo.	infant
261	Jacob Schulz	31	farmer
262	Elisb. Schulz	28	wife
263	Jacob Schulz	4	child
264	Hrch. Schulz	5 mo.	infant
265	Hrh. Franz	50	farmer
266	Sara Franz	49	wife
267	Peter Franz	8	child
268	Anna Franz	16	child
269	Sara Franz	9	child
270	Hrch. Franz	9	child



Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
271	Hrch. Kimkel	29	farmer
272	Marie Kimkel	28	wife
273	Jacob Kimkel	11 mo.	infant
274	Cornel. Wall	34	farmer
275	Helene Wall	33	wife
276	Jacob Wall	9	child
277	Johann Wall	6	child
278	Cornel. Wall	8 mo.	infant
279	Catha. Wall	7	child
280	Marga. Wall	3	child
281	Jacob Janszen	42	farmer
282	Catha. Janszen	39	wife
283	Jacob Janszen	17	child
284	Hrch. Janszen	15	child
285	Peter Janszen	9	child
286	Carnel. Janzen	8	child
287	Cathe. Janszen	4	child
288	Abr. Janszen	11 mo.	infant
289	Franz Janszen	1 mo.	infant
290	Christoph Hinz	46	farmer
291	Johe Hinz	40	wife
292	Emil Hinz	18	child
293	Herm. Hinz	9	child
294	Juls Hinz	7	child (male)
295	Mathe. Hinz	4	child (f.)
296	Hrch. Hinz	3 mo.	infant
297	David Janszen	24	farmer
298	Judith Janszen	22	wife
299	David Janszen	3	child
300	Hrch. Janszen	3 mo.	infant
301	Marie Franz	53	woman
302	Joh. Franz	20	son
303	Nicolai Franz	15	son
304	Helene Franz	9	daughter
305	Wilh. Nickel	39	farmer
306	Marie Nickel	40	wife
307	Gerh. Nickel	13	child
308	Anna Nickel	9	child
309	Marie Nickel	3	child
310	Catha. Sperling	46	woman
311	Catha. Sperling	24	daughter
312	Joh. Sperling	22	son
313	Elisb. Sperling	22	daughter
314	Abraham Sperling	18	son
315	Jacob Sperling	15	son
316	Cornel. Sperling	13	son

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
317	Peter Sperling	8	son
318	Gerhard Sperling	6	son
319	Helene Sperling	5 mo.	infant
320	Cornel. Funck	50	farmer
321	Agneta Funck	48	wife
322	Anna Funck	20	child
323	Hrch. Funck	19	child
324	Agneta Funck	19	child
325	Catha. Funck	16	child
326	Helene Funck	9	child
327	Peter Funck	6	child
328	Earhard Funck	9	child
329	Joh. Funck	8	child
330	Elizabeth Funck	6	child
331	Jacob Funck	26	farmer
332	Helene Funck	21	wife
333	Joh. Nickel	44	farmer
334	Elisabeth Nickel	44	wife
335	Gerhard Nickel	19	child
336	Joh. Nickel	16	child
337	Wilh. Nickel	9	child
338	Elisb. Nickel	4	child
339	Hrch. Nickel	6 mo.	infant
340	Abr. Neufeld	53	farmer
341	Elisb. Neufeld	54	wife
342	Aron Neufeld	30	son
343	Anna Neufeld	20	daughter
344	Elisb. Neufeld	10 mo.	infant
345	Cornel. Wedel	36	farmer
346	Eva Wedel	26	wife
347	Cornel. Wedel	14	child
348	Anna Wedel	9	child
349	Peter Wedel	8	child
350	Jacob Wedel	7	child
351	Hrch. Wedel	11 mo.	infant
352	Joh. Wedel	20	farmer
353	Peter Kluver	49	farmer
354	Margr. Kluver	38	wife
355	Hrch. Kluver	15	child
356	Joh. Kluver	10 mo.	infant
357	Margr. Kluver	13	child
358	Marie Kluver	9	child
359	Helene Kluver	7	child
360	Elisb. Kluver	3	child
361	Peter Kluver	21	farmer
362	Elisabeth Kluver	22	wife
363	Peter Kluver	11 mo.	infant

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
364	Hrch. Schmidt	35	farmer
365	Anna Schmidt	36	wife
367	Susanne Schmidt	14	child
366	Helene Schmidt	16	child
368	Abraham Schmidt	9	child
369	Sara Schmidt	8	child
370	Elisb. Schmidt	5	child
371	Marie Schmidt	2 mo.	infant
372	Hrch. Schmidt	2 mo.	infant
373	Peter Ratzlaff	44	farmer
374	Eva Ratzlaff	47	wife
375	Marie Ratzlaff	22	child
376	Peter Ratzlaff	21	child
377	Hinr. Ratzlaff	14	child (male)
378	Eva Ratzlaff	18	child
379	Jacob Ratzlaff	9	child
380	Anna Ratzlaff	8	child
381	Catha. Ratzlaff	7	child
382	Hrich. Nicker	44	farmer
383	Gertr. Nicker	42	wife
384	Abraham Nicker	21	child
385	Hrch. Nicker	17	child
386	Joh. Nicker	16	child
387	Herm. Nicker	13	child
388	Jacob Nicker	9	child
389	Martin Nicker	7	child
390	Gerhard Nicker	4	child
391	Gertrude Nicker	7 mo.	infant
392	Abraham Richert	50	farmer
393	Eva Richert	53	wife
394	Hrch. Richert	23	child
395	Jacob Richert	14	child
396	Jacob Richert	9	child
397	Peter Richert	8	child
398	Peter Heidebrecht	36	farmer
399	Elisb. Heidebrecht	35	wife
400	Peter Heidebrecht	9	child
401	Elisb. Heidebrecht	8	child
402	Hrch. Heidebrecht	7	child
403	Cornel. Heidebrecht	6	child
404	Jacob Heidebrecht	5	child
405	Joh. Heidebrecht	4	child
406	Catha. Heidebrecht	3	child
407	Diedr. Heidebrecht	6 mo.	infant (m.)
408	Gerh. Franz	38	farmer
409	Anna Franz	23	wife
410	Susane Franz	14	child

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
411	Anna Franz	9	child
412	Gerha. Franz	8	child
413	Hrch. Franz	6	child
414	Peter Franz	5 mo.	infant
415	Peter Sperling	33	farmer
416	Anna Sperling	29	wife
417	Benj. Sperling	16	child
418	Anna Sperling	8	child
419	Cornel. Sperling	6	child
420	Hrch. Sperling	4	child
421	Peter Sperling	11 mo.	infant
422	Helene Sperling	1 mo.	infant
423	Abraham Zuhlcker	23	farmer
424	Helene Zuhlcher	19	wife
425	Jacob Zuhlcker	6 mo.	infant
426	Peter Heidebrecht	62	farmer
427	Carnelie Heidebrecht	63	wife
428	Carnelius Heidebrecht	24	farmer
429	Carnelie Heidebrecht	24	wife
430	Anna Heidebrecht	11 mo.	infant
431	Joh. Heidebrecht	24	farmer
432	Catha. Heidebrecht	21	wife
433	Joh. Voth	25	farmer
434	Helene Voth	19	wife
435	Joh. Voth	3 mo.	infant
436	Franz Neumann	53	farmer
437	Helene Neumann	48	wife
438	Susanne Neumann	18	child
439	Marie Neumann	16	child
440	Abraham Neumann	14	child
441	Jacob Neumann	14	child
442	Catha. Neumann	9	child
443	Elisab. Neumann	8	child
444	Helene Neumann	7	child
445	Jacob Braun	27	farmer
446	Marie Braun	27	wife
447	Marie Braun	5	child
448	Elisb. Braun	3	child
449	Jacob Braun	11 mo.	infant
450	Joh. Braun	1 mo.	infant
451	Hrch. Ratzlaff	55	farmer
452	Elisb. Ratzlaff	44	wife
453	Hrch. Ratzlaff	22	child
454	Peter Ratzlaff	21	child
455	Joh. Ratzlaff	7	child
456	Anna Ratzlaff	8	child
457	Catha. Ratzlaff	15	child
458	Helene Ratzlaff	14	child

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
459	Peter Nickel	40	farmer
460	Catha. Nickel	35	wife
461	Peter Nickel	14	child
462	Jacob Nickel	5	child
463	Joh. Nickel	3	child
464	Joh. Claasen	30	farmer
465	Elisb. Claasen	25	wife
466	Hrch. Claasen	3	child
467	Elisb. Claasen	11 mo.	infant
468	Anna Claasen	1 mo.	infant
469	Hrch. Kohn	57	farmer
470	Anna Kohn	52	wife
471	Anna Kohn	20	child
472	David Kohn	15	child
473	Sara Kohn	9	child
474	Peter Warkentin	25	farmer
475	Marie Warkentin	25	wife
476	Cornel. Kohn	30	farmer
477	Wilha. Kohn	20	wife
478	Joh. Kohn	28	farmer
479	Juste Kohn	25	wife
480	Jacob Kohn	4	child
481	Hrch. Kohn	2 mo.	infant
482	Joh. Flamming	25	farmer
483	Helene Flamming	23	wife
484	Wm. Janzen	59	farmer
485	Agneta Janzen	46	wife
486	Sara Janzen	19	child
487	Wilh. Janzen	15	child (male)
488	Gerha. Janzen	7 mo.	infant
489	Hrch. Dahl	41	farmer
490	Anna Dahl	38	wife
491	Hrch. Dahl	9	child
492	Peter Dahl	8	child
493	Joh. Dahl	3	child
494	Cornel. Dahl	7 mo.	infant
495	Peter Dahlake	56	farmer
496	Helene Dahlake	55	wife
497	Elisb. Dahlake	23	daughter
498	Hrch. Dahlake	18	son
499	Peter Dahlake	27	farmer
500	Catha. Dahlcke	23	wife
501	Catha. Dahlcke	3	child
502	Marie Dahlcke	4 mo.	infant
503	Peter Ratzlaff	61	farmer
504	Marie Ratzlaff	59	wife
505	David Ratzlaff	27	son

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
506	Anna Ratzlaff	19	daughter
507	Hrch. Ratzlaff	17	son
508	Catha. Ratzlaff	15	daughter
509	Abraham Ratzlaff	24	farmer
510	Helene Ratzlaff	20	wife
511	Marie Ratzlaff	6 mo.	infant
512	Jacob Ratzlaff	35	farmer
513	Elisb. Ratzlaff	42	wife
514	Hrch. Ratzlaff	19	son
515	Peter Ratzlaff	13	son
516	Catha. Ratzlaff	16	daughter
517	Benj. Ratzlaff	35	farmer
518	Catha. Ratzlaff	32	wife
519	Marie Ratzlaff	7	child
520	Catha. Ratzlaff	3	child
521	Helene Ratzlaff	11 mo.	infant
522	Peter Ratzlaff	1 mo.	infant
523	Johann Ratzlaff	32	farmer
524	Catha. Ratzlaff	27	wife
525	Catha. Ratzlaff	6	child
526	Peter Ratzlaff	4	child
527	Marie Ratzlaff	8 mo.	infant
528	Sara Ratzlaff	8 mo.	infant
529	Peter Ratzlaff	38	farmer
530	Anna Ratzlaff	38	wife
531	Anna Ratzlaff	14	child
532	Peter Ratzlaff	9	child
533	Johann Ratzlaff	4	child
534	Catha. Ratzlaff	6	child
535	Cornelius Ratzlaff	1 mo.	infant
536	Peter Ratzlaff	58	farmer
537	Helene Ratzlaff	48	wife
538	Peter Ratzlaff	14	child
539	Benj. Ratzlaff	6	child
540	Hrch. Schulz	38	farmer
541	Eva Schulz	46	wife
542	Peter Schulz	23	son
543	Jacob Schulz	19	son
544	Anna Schulz	16	daughter
545	Agneta Schulz	8	daughter
546	Jacob Schulz	44	farmer
547	Hrch. Kreker	48	farmer
548	Anna Kreker	38	wife
549	Peter Kreker	34	farmer
550	Catha. Kreker	28	wife

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
551	Hrch. Kreker	5	child
552	Catha. Kreker	4	child
553	Marie Kreker	10 mo.	infant
554	Johann Kluver	43	farmer
555	Marie Kluver	43	wife
556	Joh. Kluver	15	child
557	Hrch. Kluver	9	child
558	Marie Kluver	8	child
559	Elisb. Kluver	6	child
560	Anna Kluver	5	child
561	Aran Dueck	28	farmer
562	Anna Dueck	32	wife
563	Anna Dueck	7 mo.	infant
564	Abraham Friesen	66	farmer
565	Marie Friesen	55	wife
566	Peter Eitsen	31	farmer
567	Hrch. Pankratz	54	farmer
568	Helene Pankratz	47	wife
569	Peter Pankratz	18	son
570	Jacob Pankratz	5	son
571	Johann Pankratz	11 mo.	infant
572	Anna Pankratz	22	daughter
573	Marie Pankratz	29	daughter
574	Elizab. Pankratz	8	child
575	Hrch. Pankratz	25	farmer
576	Anna Pankratz	19	wife
577	Cornel. Pankratz	6 mo.	infant
578	Franz Pankratz	38	farmer
579	Catha. Pankratz	36	wife
580	Frz. Pankratz	14	son
581	Jacob Adrian	9	child
582	Catha. Adrian	6	child
583	Anna Adrian	4	child
584	Joh. Janzen	32	farmer
585	Sara anzen	23	wife
586	Sara Janzen	11 mo.	infant
587	Catha. Abraham	43	woman
588	Eva Abraham	17	child
589	Joh. Abraham	9	child
590	Hrch. Abraham	9	child
591	Helene Abraham	8	child
592	Marie Abraham	3	child
593	Catha. Abraham	8 mo.	infant
594	Peter Wolf	26	farmer
595	Anna Wolf	26	wife
596	Joh. Voth	51	farmer
597	Care. Voth	43	wife

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
598	Joh. Voth	21	child
599	Cornel. Voth	19	child (male)
600	Jacob Voth	9	child
601	Hrch. Voth	8	child
602	Susanne Voth	4	child
603	Elisb. Voth	3	child
604	Anna Voth	6	child
605	Joh. Voth	47	farmer
606	Alwine Voth	44	wife
607	Bernhard Voth	18	child
608	Joh. Voth	13	child
609	Peter Voth	9	child
610	Susanne Voth	22	child
611	Sara Voth	15	child
612	Anna Voth	14	child
613	Alwine Voth	9	child (female)
614	Jacob Krause	65	farmer
615	Peter Krause	17	son
616	Frz. Krause	14	son
617	Abraham Krause	8	son
618	Helene Krause	24	single
619	Cornel. Krause	29	farmer
620	Marie Krause	28	wife
621	Joh. Krause	4 mo.	infant
622	Joh. Krause	22	farmer
623	Anna Krause	27	wife
624	Agneta Krause	2 mo.	infant
625	Jacob Krause	39	farmer
626	Emma Krause	44	wife
627	Hrch. Krause	22	child
628	Jacob Krause	18	child
629	Sara Krause	9	child
630	Marie Krause	8	child
631	Emma Krause	6	child
632	Joh. Krause	4	child
633	Agneta Krause	6 mo.	infant
634	David Goertz	36	farmer
635	Anna Goertz	50	wife
636	David Goertz	9	child
637	David Buller	60	farmer
638	Elisb. Buller	50	wife
639	Jacob Buller	25	child
640	Joh. Buller	21	child
641	Hrch. Buller	18	child
642	Abraham Buller	15	child
643	Elizabeth Buller	9	child
644	Gerhard Buller	8	child



Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
645	Peter Buller	28	farmer
646	Helene Buller	27	wife
647	Elisb. Buller	4	child
648	David Buller	11 mo.	infant
649	Jacob Voth	22	farmer
650	Helene Voth	23	wife
651	David Voth	11 mo.	infant
652	Benjamin Nachtigall	48	farmer
653	Eva Nachtigall	59	wife
654	Peter Nachtigall	28	son
655	Helene Nachtigall	24	child
656	Sara Nachtigall	21	child
657	Eva Nachtigall	19	child
658	Andr. Nachtigall	22	child
659	David Nachtigall	20	child
660	Tobias Nachtigall	17	child
661	Peter Shroder	34	farmer
662	Helene Shroder	30	wife
663	Peter Schroder	9	child
664	Catha. Schroder	4	child
665	Hrch. Schroder	10 mo.	infant
666	Jacob Nachtigall	54	farmer
667	Catha. Nachtigall	53	wife
668	Jacob Nachtigall	27	child
669	Peter Nachtigall	20	child
670	Benj. Nachtigall	15	child
671	Helene Nachtigall	24	child
672	Catha. Nachtigall	19	child
673	Anna Nachtigall	14	child
674	Peter Voth	59	farmer
675	Catha. Voth	55	wife
676	Hrch. Voth	26	child
677	David Voth	25	child
678	Marie Voth	21	child
679	Sara Voth	19	child
680	Catha. Voth	15	child
681	Hrch. Geertz	39	farmer
682	Sara Geertz	37	wife
683	Hrch. Geertz	13	child
684	Peter Geertz	14	child
685	Emma Geertz	16	child
686	Peter Geertz	7	child
687	Sara Geertz	4	child
688	Elisb. Geertz	4	child
689	Franz Geertz	6 mo.	infant
690	Eva Geertz	6 mo.	infant

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
691	Jacob Pankratz	46	farmer
692	Anna Pankratz	46	wife
693	Joh. Pankratz	14	son
694	Hrch. Franz	22	farmer
695	Elisb. Franz	17	wife
696	Peter Pankratz	42	farmer
697	Elisb. Pankratz	37	wife
698	Wilbe. Pankratz	19	child
699	Eva Pankratz	15	child
700	Peter Pankratz	13	child
701	Hrch. Pankratz	9	child
702	Jacob Pankratz	7	child
703	John Pankratz	4	child
704	Frz. Pankratz	3	child
705	Cornelius Pankratz	5 mo.	infant
706	Peter Wiebe	26	farmer
707	Sara Wiebe	26	wife
708	Hrch. Wiebe	3	child
709	Anna Wiebe	4 mo.	infant
710	Anna Wiebe	54	woman
711	Elisb. Wiebe	22	child
712	Anna Wiebe	19	child
713	Franz Groming	39	farmer
714	Barba. Groming	29	wife
715	Franz Groming	14	son
716	Abraham Groming	7	son
717	Anna Groming	9	daughter
718	Hrch. Durksen	47	farmer
719	Elisb. Durksen	49	wife
720	Hrch. Durksen	15	child
721	Elisb. Durksen	13	child
722	Peter Durksen	18	child
723	Marie Durksen	4	child
724	Helene Durksen	11 mo.	infant
725	Jacob Gaeddert	40	farmer
726	Sara Geddert	46	wife
727	Jacob Geddert	19	child
728	Peter Geddert	16	child
729	Diedr. Geddert	14	child (male)
730	Joh. Geddert	13	child
731	Franz Geddert	9	child
732	David Geddert	5	child
733	Elisb. Geddert	8	child
734	Sara Geddert	2 mo.	infant
735	Daniel Martens	44	farmer
736	Agneta Martens	46	wife

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
737	Franz Martens	16	child
738	David Martens	14	child
739	Jacob Martens	6	child
740	Catha. Martens	9	child
741	Gerhard Pettker	30	farmer
742	Marie Pettker	25	wife
743	Gerhard Pettker	4	son
744	Jacob Ratzlaff	46	farmer
745	Helene Ratzlaff	42	wife
746	Jacob Ratzlaff	22	child
747	Helene Ratzlaff	20	child
748	Gerhard Ratzlaff	18	child
749	Hrch. Ratzlaff	13	child
750	Peter Ratzlaff	9	child
751	Sara Ratzlaff	6	child
752	Anna Ratzlaff	3	child
753	Isaac Ratzlaff	8 mo.	infant
754	David Franz	61	Farmer
755	Helene Franz	57	wife
756	Peter Unruh	40	farmer
757	Marie Unruh	39	wife
758	Peter Unruh	14	child
759	Marie Unruh	13	child
760	Hrch. Unruh	5	child
761	Emma Unruh	4 mo.	infant
762	Andr. Beeck	42	farmer
763	Elisb. Beeck	48	wife
764	Joh. Beeck	14	child
765	Gerhard Beeck	9	child
766	Agneta Beeck	24	child
767	Hrch. Toews	35	farmer
768	Emma Toews	21	wife
769	Abraham Toews	3	child
770	Helene Toews	9	child
771	Catha. Toews	8	child
772	Anna Toews	11 mo.	infant
773	Jacob Pauls	44	farmer
774	Anna Pauls	29	daughter
775	Jacob Pauls	9	son
776	Hrch. Pauls	5	son
777	Joh. Pauls	7 mo.	infant
778	Eva Pauls	18	daughter
779	Helene Pauls	6	daughter
780	Jacob Friesen	20	farmer
781	Marie Friesen	20	wife
782	David Schroeder	35	farmer
783	Agneta Schroeder	32	wife

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
784	Helene Schroeder	5	child
785	Anna Schroeder	3	child
786	Agneta Schroeder	11 mo.	infant
787	Elisabeth Schroeder	1 mo.	infant
788	David Unruh	38	farmer
789	Sarah Unruh	36	wife
790	David Unruh	15	child
791	Sarah Unruh	13	child
792	Hrsh. Unruh	9	child
793	Anna Unruh	7	child
794	Gerhard Unruh	8 mo.	infant
795	Jacob Unruh	8 mo.	infant
796	Hrsh. Unruh	77	farmer
797	Anna Unruh	78	wife
798	Peter Abrahams	44	farmer
799	Helene Abrahams	49	wife
800	Peter Abrahams	25	child
801	Marie Abrahams	21	child
802	Bernha. Abrahams	23	child
803	Franz Abrahams	27	child
804	Anna Abrahams	17	child
805	Marie Abrahams	9	child
806	Catha. Abrahams	7	child
807	Gerha. Toews	36	farmer
808	Sara Toews	21	wife
809	Jacob Toews	14	child
810	Cornelius Toews	9	child
811	Agathe Toews	4	child
812	Jacob Friesen	47	farmer
813	Helene Friesen	49	wife
814	Jacob Friesen	21	child
815	Joh. Friesen	9	child
816	Joh. Warkentin	26	farmer
817	Marie Warkentin	26	wife
818	Joh. Warkentin	3 mo.	infant
819	Jacob Warkentin	3 mo.	infant
820	Joh. Warkentin	49	farmer
821	Helene Warkentin	49	wife
822	Elisb. Warkentin	17	daughter
823	Peter Warkentin	54	farmer
824	Helene Warkentin	40	wife
825	Peter Warkentin	20	child
826	Helene Warkentin	9	child
827	Jacob Block	35	farmer
828	Susanne Block	35	wife
829	Isaac Block	9	child
830	Johann Block	7	child

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
831	Jacob Block	5	child
832	Anna Block	8	child
833	Susanne Block	3	child
834	Abraham Block	3 mo.	infant
835	Joh. Braun	39	farmer
836	Susanne Braun	40	wife
837	Joh. Braun	9	child
838	Anna Braun	6	child
839	Catha. Braun	4	child
840	Jacob Heidebrecht	32	farmer
841	Catha. Heidebrecht	27	wife
842	Jacob Fast	9	child
843	Jacob Fast	43	farmer
844	Elisb. Fast	42	wife
845	Jacob Fast	18	child
846	David Fast	16	child
847	Gerhard Fast	13	child
848	Peter Fast	8	child
849	Elisabeth Fast	20	child
850	Marie Fast	9	child
851	Catha. Fast	2 mo.	infant
852	Martin Hamm	63	farmer
853	Helene Hamm	47	wife
854	Thos. Hamm	17	child (male)
855	Abrah. Hamm	15	child
856	Gerha. Hamm	13	child
857	Paul Hamm	9	child
858	Abraham Koop	28	farmer
859	Cacilie Koop	26	wife
860	Abraham Koop	4	child
861	Anna Koop	3	child
862	Absan Martens	43	farmer
863	Agneta Martens	44	wife
864	Eva Martens	20	child
865	Joh. Martens	18	child
866	Marie Martens	16	child
867	Agneta Martens	13	child
868	Elisbeth Martens	9	child
869	Franz Martens	3	child
870	Peter Pankratz	55	farmer
871	Sara Pankratz	61	wife
872	Hrch. Pankratz	24	son
873	Marie Pankratz	23	daughter
874	Cornel. Warkentin	58	farmer
875	Elisabeth Warkentin	52	wife
876	Agathe Warkentin	21	child
877	Sara Warkentin	18	child
878	Susanne Warkentin	16	child

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
879	Anna Warkentin	14	child
880	Cornel. Warkentin	14	child (male)
881	Abrah. Warkentin	7	child
882	Gerh. Wieder	49	farmer
883	Helene Wieder	35	wife
884	Helene Wieder	15	child
885	Joh. Wider	9	child
886	Anna Wieder	8	child
887	Sara Wieder	7	child
888	Peter Wieder	6	child
889	Elisabeth Wieder	4	child
890	Margar. Wieder	3	child
891	Hrch. Wieder	6 mo.	infant
892	Cornel. Funck	28	farmer
893	Helene Funck	23	wife
894	Benj. Ratzlaff	45	farmer
895	Sara Ratzlaff	25	daughter
896	Benj. Ratzlaff	14	child
897	Joh. Ratzlaff	9	child
898	Peter Ratzlaff	5	child
899	Sara Ratzlaff	3	child
900	Hrch. Ratzlaff	6 mo.	child
901	Benj. Ratzlaff	83	farmer
902	Joh. Harder	41	farmer
903	Anna Harder	37	wife
904	Marie Harder	16	daughter
905	Joh. Harder	15	son
906	Gerha. Harder	14	son
907	Catha. Harder	9	daughter
908	Anne Harder	8	daughter
909	Margr. Harder	6	daughter
910	Elisb. Harder	3	daughter
911	Hrch. Harder	5	son
912	Jacob Harder	5 mo.	infant
913	Diedricht Neufeld	34	farmer
914	Elisabeth Neufeld	32	wife
915	Dietrich Neufeld	9	child
916	Abraham Neufeld	8	child
917	Gerhard Neufeld	7	child
918	Johann Neufeld	5	child
919	Elisb. Neufeld	6 mo.	infant
920	Elisabeth Fast	28	woman
921	Elisb. Fast	8	child
922	Johann Fast	7	child
923	Agneta Fast	6	child
924	Cornelius Fast	5	child
925	Gerhard Fast	2 mo.	infant
926	Hrch. Penner	56	farmer
927	Anna Penner	45	wife
928	Peter Penner	25	child
929	Hrch. Penner	23	child
930	Johann Penner	20	child

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
931	Jacob Penner	18	child
932	Erdmann Penner	9	child (Male)
933	Susanna Penner	20	child
934	Hrch. Penner	8 mo.	infant
935	Abraham Regier	31	farmer
936	Elisab. Regier	51	wife
937	Franz Regier	21	child
938	Marie Regier	19	child
939	Jacob Regier	17	child
940	Peter Regier	9	child
941	Anna Regier	13	child
942	Cornel. Regier	7	child(male)
943	Joh. Regier	23	child
944	Anna Regier	17	child
945	Joh. Regier	20	child
946	Herm. Harder	46	farmer
947	Justine Harder	49	wife
948	Joh. Harder	21	son
949	Catha. Harder	19	child
950	Anna Harder	17	child
951	Elisb. Harder	9	child
952	Herm. Harder	5	child
953	Marie Harder	4	child
954	Peter Harder	11 mo.	infant
955	Minna Harder	1 mo.	infant (f)
956	Robert Hess	50	merchant
957	Schmul Meyer	62	merchant
958	Dora Meyer	50	wife
959	Marie Meyer	18	daughter
960	Schmul Lesser	30	merchant
961	Elise Buller	43	woman
962	Elise Buller	19	child
963	Susanne Buller	9	child
964	Hrch. Buller	7	child
965	Peter Buller	2½	infant
966	Joh. Dirks	23	farmer
967	Marie Toews	1 mo.	infant
968	Peter Schmidt	16	
969	Anna Schmidt	18	
970	Gracy Tettlier	born at sea	May, '74
971	Johann Epp	41	farmer
972	Marie Epp	39	wife
973	Marie Epp	15	child
974	Catha. Epp	9	child
975	Hrch. Epp	53	farmer
976	Margr. Epp	35	wife

Serial No.	Name	Age	Occupation & Relationship
977	Hrch. Epp	16	child
978	Joh. Epp	6	child
979	Catha. Epp	13	child
980	Catha. Epp	5	child
981	Wall	37	farmer
982	Marie Wall	54	wife
983	Jacob Wall	9	child
984	Gerhard Wall	20	child
985	Cornelie Wall	17	child (female)
986	Margr. Wall	14	child
987	Peter Lender	65	farmer
988	Renata Lender	60	wife
989	Peter Balzer	45	farmer
990	Anna Balzer	42	wife
991	Peter Balzer	19	child
992	Anna Balzer	15	child
993	Hrch. Balzer	13	child
994	Jacob Balzer	9	child
995	Abraham Balzer	8	child
996	Gerhard Balzer	3	child
997	Auguste Balzer	15	child (female)
998	Hugo Damming	28	officer
999	Diedrich Geddert	37	farmer
1000	Marie Geddert	32	wife
1001	Jacob Geddert	14	child
1002	David Geddert	9	child
1003	Marie Geddert	8	child
1004	Elisb. Geddert	7	child
1005	Susanne Geddert	6	child
1006	Justine Gaeddert	5	child
1007	Joh. Geddert	11 mo.	infant
1008	Anna Geddert	1 mo.	infant
1009	Jacob Geddert	73	farmer
1010	Michael O'Neil	39	manufacturer

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\*Albert Gaeddert, Hoffnungsau Mennonite Church 1874-1974, pp. 42-48.