P.Toews

MENNONITES AND THE SEARCH FOR MILITARY EXEMPTION: STATE CONCESSIONS AND CONFLICTS IN THE 1870's

В статті показані основні етапи боротьби менонітів проти намірів царського уряду розповсюдити й на них загальну військову повинність. Також були розглянуті й проаналізовані основні причини та наслідки менонітської еміграції 70-х рр. XIX ст. до Америки.

On November 4, 1870 an announcement appeared in the *Pravitel'stennykyi Vestnik* that the Russian government had decided to move toward some form of universal military conscription. The announcement called on Dimitrii Miluitin, War Minister, to submit proposals for a structure of reserve elements for the army and for "the extension of direct participation in the military conscription ... to all classes of the empire"[1]. If the announcement was a triumph for Miluitin who had long championed reform of the Russian army, it seemingly did not bode well for Mennonites, a small pacifist minority group headquartered in Ekaterinoslav and Taurida gubernias. News of the proposed conscription system spread quickly among Mennonites. first with the more politically connected population of Berdyansk. In early January of 1871 in the village of Alexanderwohl, in the Molochna settlement, a group of Mennonite ministers met to determine what kind of response should be formulated. The conclave decided that a delegation should be sent to St. Petersburg in hopes of personally presenting to Tsar Alexander II a petition requesting that the historic exemption Mennonites had enjoyed from any participation in the military be continued. Between January 1871 and the December 1873 five additional Mennonite delegations traveled to St. Petersburg to continue the quest for full exemption from any military obligation[2]. The delegations met with a variety of government officials but none were successful in personally meeting with the Tsar.

The petition drafted by the sixth delegation summarizes the issues which all the delegations hoped to bring to the attention of the Tsar. In part it reads: "We approach respectfully the throne of His Royal Majesty with concerned hearts, but with the glad prospect of a considerate and gracious

© Toews P., 2007

acceptance of our most humble petition. Called to the empire by the highest authorities, provided with the best authorized letter of protection, promising us full freedom of faith and conscience, as well as exemption from all types of military and civil services in perpetuity (fuer alle Zeiten), our fathers found a haven for themselves and their children. Thanks to the care of His Royal Majesty and his most honored predecessors it has been sustained unaltered till the present time.

However through the intentional promulgation of universal military service which we understand shall shortly become law. our hearts have become deeply troubled, lest we be forced to surrender a most central tenet of our confession of faith... The matter is of such gravity for us, and so important, actually a question of the survival of our community, that we have felt inwardly compelled to address ourselves also to our tsar and lord, in order to plead with him personally for the upholding of our freedom of beliefs as we have known it till now doing this with the child-like trust that the fatherly compassion of His Majesty will be mindful also of the cries of pain among the lowliest children of the realm"[3].

Meanwhile representatives of Russian Mennonites were also filing petitions with another head of State. In August 1873, Paul Tschetter and Lorenz Tschetter, Hutterites of Taurida gubernia, and Tobias Unruh of Volhynia, met with Ulysses Grant, President of the United States. In 1873 they were in North America as part of a larger delegation of Mennonites and Hutterites, ostensibly because of the refusal of the Russian and Prussian governments to grant complete exemption from any form of compulsory service. They were investigating settlement opportunities and hoping to secure in Canada or the United States what they had not been able to achieve in Russia. Paul Tschetter carried an audacious petition which he had written a few days earlier. After noting their current difficulties in Russia as the occasion for their visit to the United States he then requested an exemption from the $300. computation fee which Mennonites had been obliged to pay in the recently concluded Civil War. Pleading economic loss attendant to their leaving Russia and their potential inability to pay he forthrightly asked the following: "We the undersigned deputies therefore must respectfully beg to ask of Your Excellency to allow to us and all our brethren exemption from military service for the next fifty years, without payment of money on our part for such exemption. We also desire to be allowed to keep our German schools in our colonies, and to administer them according to our own rules as we have done in Russia"[4].

The intent of the petitions to the Russian Tsar and the American president were the same – to secure a set of privileges or what in Mennonite

parlance has come to be known as a "Privilegium". That Mennonites would ask for a special dispensation is both a reflection of their long history of being treated differently in many societies. That the quest for or denial of special privileges would be connected to a migration story is also integral to the Mennonite story. That a significant number of Mennonites would chose to emigrate to the United States in spite of not receiving any guarantee of exemption from military service adds another dimension to the story of these petitions.

Following the sixteenth century Reformation, Mennonites, as dissenters from state institutionalized systems of religion, lived for centuries outside the established legal system in many parts of Europe. Their history can be described legally as one of mandates and privileges. For the suppression of Anabaptists (sixteenth-century term for groups that in Russia were known as Mennonite) mandates were issued with great regularity by differing political societies. A full summary of the number of mandates designed to curtail Mennonite activity does not exist. The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* lists 222 issued between 1525 and 1761. They include forbidding religious services, confiscation of property, expulsion from a territory, corporal and capital punishment[5]. In the face of these pressures Mennonites, and other religious minorities, needed to negotiate some kind of special status which would permit them to survive.

The ability to negotiate special privileges was part of a long established tradition in European politics. Gail Bossenga in *The Politics of Privilege* notes that the word "privilege itself stemmed from the Latin for "private laws"[6]. These were laws granted either horizontally – to certain geographical entities – or vertically – to different social elements. Privileges permitted groups of society or territorial regions advantages that were withheld from other segments of the population. Some privileges had utility – such as exemption from certain taxes or differential tax rates. Others were honorific. Historians have usually seen the horizontal form as a division of sovereignty in contrast with a more unified and rationalized state of common expectations. With horizontally differentiated privileges royal or central governments needed to cooperate or compete with pockets of organized and recognized political authorities. Privilege dispensed vertically established social rankings and usually determined the rules for movement between ranks. Bossenga summarizes their impact by on political and social relationships by noting that "privileges gave a political cast to relationships in civil society and tinged political power with a social hue..."[7]

The ability to negotiate was possible if there a mutually satisfactory trade-off could be found. Historian M.J.Rosman, writing of the Jews nego-

tiating a special status in the eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth observes that the "determining factor" was not "abstract principle or fundamental attitudes, but concrete economic interest"[8]. The trade-off in the port city of Hamburg, where Mennonites had a significant economic presence[9] was satirized in 1787 by Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart:

Tolerance, you godly daughter bright
Led by your brilliant celestial light,
In princely German cities
Reigned by divinely 'spired ditties
And full of truth! But mostly money's might[10].

The Russian empire had its own history of privilege. In 1811 M.M.Karamzin, a Russian historian, described the condition of his society this way: "We have only ... the specific rights of the various estates of the realm. We have gentry, merchants, townfolk, peasants, and so forth-they all enjoy their specific rights, but they have no rights in common, save for that of calling themselves Russians"[11]. A new chapter in the history of privilege began with the 1762 and 1763 Manifestos of Catherine II and their invitation for foreign colonists to settle in newly acquired lands. To insure an adequate supply of industrious colonists Catherine, and subsequent Tsars, offered a variety of enticements-travel assistance, manufacturing privileges, arable land, tax remission of varying kinds, relative political and cultural autonomy, forms of religious freedom, and exemption form "Military or Civil-Duty against their will, except Land-Dutys" and even that would expire with time. Further foreigners were invited to inquire regarding "other Privileges more"[12].

Mennonites, like many other European colonists, entered the Russian empire in the latter part of the eighteenth century with these concessions and more. Among the additional privileges Mennonites gained was a strong statement on military exemption. "We assure them with Our Imperial word that none of the Mennonites, now settled and those which may settle in the future, nor their children and descendants will ever be taken and entered into military service without their own desire"[13]. The Mennonite Privilegium had been negotiated by representatives who came from Poland/Prussia to look over the Russian territory prior to the initial immigration of 1789. In 1800 it was ratified and signed by Tsar Paul I.

The Privilegium from the Russian government allowed Mennonites to create distinctive settlements and also a distinctive kind of Mennonitism. By the mid-nineteenth-century the Mennonite colonies were increasingly prosperous. The Board of Guardians, the administrative agency in the Rus-

sian government responsible for the foreign colonists, increasingly saw them as model communities that were contributing to the economic and cultural development of "New Russia"[14]. As religious nonconformists Mennonites had understood the relationship between obedience and protection, between productivity and privilege. Privilege carried with it expectations. They were political monarchists, economic modernizes and confessional nonconformists. On two out of three counts they were an asset.

The reforms which Tsar Alexander II introduced following Russia's defeat in the Crimean War, including reform of the military, were consonant with trans-national European political movements seeking the expansion of national sovereignty and a social system based on greater principles of equality. They were designed to edge Russia toward a more rational and participatory political system. As beneficiaries of the older political system many Mennonites perceived these reforms as threatening their best interests. Changes in the administrative structure of the empire, loss of the Board of Guardians as the state agency that in large measure designed and maintained the special status of the foreign colonists and new requirements for the educational system were troubling, but paled in comparison with the threat of universal military conscription. Many Mennonites interpreted the government's aims as an attempt to deprive them of their sacred Privilegium which, for all time, had promised freedom from military service of any kind.

As successive delegations went to St. Petersburg to appeal for the continuation of the Privilegium, other Mennonites turned to the time-honored way of looking for new settlement opportunities which would guarantee full freedom of religious practice – this time to Canada and the United States. The initial leadership in the investigation of North America came from the Berdyansk Mennonite community, populated for the most part by recent newcomers from Prussia. Many arrived there only during the 1840s and 1850s. In Prussia, during the first half of the nineteenth-century, Mennonites had experienced even greater changes in economic and social life than their co-religionists in Russia. The persistent Prussian pressure on Mennonites led to increasing accommodation on many issues and finally even on military service. As Prussia's military power increased Mennonites had seen their rights whittled away until exemption from conscription was finally withdrawn in 1867. The majority of Prussian Mennonites accepted these changes, but others resisted and migrated to various places, Berdyansk included, where they hoped to perpetuate previous ways[15].

Some of these new Prussian immigrants came with financial resources and quickly established themselves as important grain merchants

for nearby Mennonite agricultural regions. Some mixed easily in the small international community that emerged proportionate to the role that Berdyańsk increasingly played as a growing port city. Among noteworthy Prussian Mennonite immigrants to Berdyansk were Cornelius Jansen and Leonhard Sudermann. Sudermann settled in Berdyansk in 1842. In 1860 he became minister of the Berdyansk Mennonite congregation. Quaker visitors in 1867 reported about seventy Mennonite familys within the orbit of the congregation. Sudermann also became broadly acquainted with the Mennonite settlements of the hinterland. After the imperial orders of 1870 seemed to restrict Mennonite privileges he was a member of the initial three delegations that visited St. Petersburg in 1871[16].

Cornelius Janzen following an exploratory trip to South Russia and sensing economic opportunities in Berdyansk moved there in 1850. He soon seems to have formed a partnership with Abraham Matthies, a merchant in Rudernweide, Molochna settlement, for the purchase, storage and export of grain. His initial stay in Berdyansk was short for in the fall of 1852 he returned to Prussia, apparently to settle lingering inheritance and business issues. With the outbreak of the Crimean War most of the Berdyańsk Mennonites fled north to the Molochna villages. The Jansen family remained in Prussia until the war was over. He returned in the summer of 1856 and soon was apparently appointed as consul for the German states of Prussia for nine years and Mecklenburg for three years[17]. He, and colleagues, fraternized with the international set of Berdyansk. His children learned English by playing with the children of the British consul.

In addition to political friendships Jansen also developed wide contacts with religious groups both in Russia and elsewhere. He subscribed to American Mennonite publications and knew some Prussian Mennonites who had migrated to the United States. In 1871 and 1872 Jansen was in contact with American Mennonites, English Quaker friends that had visited Russia in the late 1860s, and local consular representatives of the United States and England. Perhaps lacking the same degree of attachment to Russia that was the case for others who had been there much longer, he was quick to utilize these contacts to explore immigration alternatives. He corresponded with various Mennonites in the United States. John F.Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, the acknowledged leader of the American Mennonites and publisher of *The Herald of Truth*, the most widely read American Mennonite newspaper, indicated that in America there was complete freedom of religion including protection for conscientious objectors. Mennonites had paid a $300. computation fee during the civil war, but with the practice of mutual aid that was not an onerous burden even for the poorest family. As

for land, Funk indicated there was ample in the West and that as Russian Mennonites made their way west they would receive the assistance of their co-religionists[18].

Peter Wiebe, a recent Prussian immigrant who had settled in Missouri, provided details about his farming operations including start-up costs, probable yields and crop prices. Special privileges he noted did not exist in a democratic society, but since the constitution guaranteed freedom of conscience, no one would be forced against their will to bear arms. Gerhard Wiebe, a former Prussian now living near Cleveland, Ohio, following consultation with a lawyer about conscientious objection noted that there was no constitutional guarantee but precedent was on the side of granting it. So Wiebe concluded that the United States provided better guarantees than what other countries could offer[19].

Apparently the only discouraging word Jansen received was from Christian Krehbiel, an 1851 immigrant from Germany who had settled in Summerfield, Illinois. He noted that in America, unlike in Europe, labor was so scarce that the landowner and his family were obliged to do much of the work themselves. To which Jansen responded that "if a hired hand was sick one's own son would feed the horses; or if a maid was ill or away, one's daughter would do the milking: but that every owner must be his own best worker", he could not understand[20]. Krehbiel subsequently wrote "I had correctly surmised that they would not grasp this point in Russia" for they came from a social class "where management was their function-cheap labor did the actual work"[21].

Jansen's son, Peter, later recalled their arrival at the train station in Berlin (subsequently renamed Kitchener) Ontario. He wrote: "We had been used to servants doing the manual labor, but here everybody waited on himself. How well do I remember going after our numerous trunks and baggage to the station. They were all piled on the platform, to which a dray had backed. The station agent came out while I was looking for the usual baggage carriers seen at European railway stations to load the trunks. The station master looked at me for a minute and then said: 'Look here, young fellow, you seem pretty husky. Take hold with me and be quick about it'. That was my first introduction to American independence, and it seemed very strange to me, in the first place, that an official should perform manual labor, and also that he should have the temerity to command me to help. Well, I soon got over my ideas regarding labor"[22].

Sudermann had more reservations, particularly about western America where the new migrants would most likely settle. He wrote: "America was a country interesting for the adventurer, an asylum for convicts. How

could one live in peace under his vine and fig tree amid such people, to say nothing of the native savages". Life in America might be possible "for those who had their pockets full of revolvers; but for non-resistant people it would be impossible to found homes amid such surroundings"[23].

Ambivalence aside, in early 1872, Jansen printed the letters from America in a pamphlet and then circulated them in the Mennonite colonies[24]. In addition the pamphlet also offered travel information for persons going to America: the address of a mission house in New York where they might stay upon arrival and addresses of several prominent American Mennonite leaders. It also included some sketchy data about Canada, but the weight of the information, perhaps unwittingly, pointed to the United States. On March 19, 1873 Russian authorities issued an order expelling Jansen for spreading false information and persuading Russian subjects to leave. In May, of the same year, the Jansen family left for North America where they ultimately became the founders of Jansen. Nebraska[25].

The publication of Jansen's quasi-advertisement for North America came amidst other efforts by Russian Mennonites to foster emigration thinking. In January of 1872, Sudermann inquired of the local British consul, a man named Schrab, whether Canada would exempt Mennonites from military duty as it did Quakers? Schrab, who knew Mennonites well, encouraged a positive response and suggested to his government that if these Mennonites were not properly courted they might go to Canada[26].

Canada sent assurance that it would grant Mennonites the same exemptions it gave Quakers. Moreover during the years 1872 and 1873, immigrants 21 years or older were eligible to claim 160 free acres in Manitoba or other western territories. In essence Canada was inviting Russia's Mennonites to come on terms that were similar to the Privilegium they had received in Russia[27].

Stoking the possibilities of immigration to the United States was the unofficial visit of three young Russian Mennonite men who visited the United States in 1872. Bernhard Warkentin, Johann Philip Wiebe, and Peter Dick of South Russia traveling together with Jacob Boehr of Germany arrived in New York in May, 1872. Warkentin's father, also named Bernhard, was a prominent Mennonite miller in Altona, a village in the Molochna settlement and was reported to have introduced Turkey Red wheat into the Crimea. He had long been active in the internal migration of Mennonites within Russia and already in the 1860s had investigated settlement opportunities in Siberia. Warkentin Jr. was a graduate of the Halbstadt (now Molochansk) secondary school and a business college in Odessa[28]. Wiebe was the grandson of Johann Cornies, the most influential leader among Menno-

nites in the nineteenth-century. He subsequently married Bernhard Warkentin's sister and the two were instrumental in transplanting Turkey Red wheat to the American mid-west[29]. Dick's parents were owners of the Brodsky Khutor, one of the largest Mennonite agricultural estates in South Russia.

The Russian travelers were members of the emerging Mennonite entrepreneurial class that profited in the mid-nineteenth-century by the introduction of hard winter wheat, vast expansion in land-holding, the opening up of new seaport towns like Berdyansk and industrial development that made Mennonites significant players in the milling industry and the development of mechanized agriculture in south Russia. For these new entrepreneurs the cultural enclavement, political isolation and even spatial segregation of the Russian Mennonite experience could be a bit confining. New opportunities, new lands, new horizons could easily beckon.

The trip, at the outset, had the hallmarks of a pleasure trip – beginning with a stay in New York city and traveling first to Niagara Falls. But after the initial sightseeing they began a round of visiting with important American Mennonite leaders. They stayed nearly a week with John F.Funk of Elkhart, Indiana[30]. In *The Herald of Truth* Funk wrote that "these four young brethren have come on their own account simply for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the American people, their country, their privileges, their institutions and their religion so that they may tell their parents, and friends how it is, and what the prospects for a future home here may be. They are not an authorized deputation, though if their reports be favorable, a deputation may be sent hereafter"[31].

From Elkhart the young men traveled to Summerfield, Illinois to the home of Christian Krehbiel. The Krehbiel family, from the Palatinate, were refugees from rising German militarism which had already conscripted the older brother of Christian. Boehr, the fourth member of this delegation, was also from the Palatinate which undoubtedly accounts for Summerfield becoming the unofficial headquarters of the visitors[32].

With Krehiebel's guidance the young men visited prospective settlement lands in Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa and Canada. By mid-fall Dick, Wiebe and Boehr returned to Russia and Germany, but Warkentin, having heard of the death of his fiance back in Russia, decided to stay in the United States. In the company of cither Krehiebel of Illinois or Funk of Indiana and with railroad agents of different lines he continued to travel through the prairie states. He was virtually besieged by railroad agents who yearned for the pool of potential immigrants that stood behind Warkentin's investigations. He roamed south into Texas and north through the

Dakotas, Minnesota and Manitoba. He established important contacts with railroad agents and numerous state governmental officials. To his family and particularly to his good friend David Goerz, a school teacher in Berdyansk, he detailed the advantages and disadvantages of these various locations[33].

The continuing indifference of Russian officials to the representatives sent to St. Petersburg encouraged the creation of a more established deputation to formally investigate settlement opportunities in Canada and the United States. From the sentiment to send two or three, the delegation grew to twelve members. They represented differing Mennonite groups from the Black Sea area, Hutterites who lived in villages west of Melitopol, Mennonites of Dutch and German extraction living in Volhynia and Prussia[34].

The delegates came with instructions from their particular sending agency. Whatever the variations, central to all was a four-fold concern: 1) assurances of complete religious freedom-which practically meant freedom to practice their own religion including exemption from all forms of military service; 2) sufficient lands of good quality that could be secured with favorable terms and held the promise of economic security; 3) large tracts of adjacent land which would permit somewhat closed settlement with relative autonomy for continuation of distinctive cultural practices, and; 4) financial assistance for relocation[35].

During February to April 1873 the deputies left Europe in three clusters. The groups traveled independently of each other, met together at different times, visited overlapping and separate territory and in August returned to Prussia and Russia. All began their travels by meeting with John F.Funk and Jacob Y.Schantz, of Berlin, Ontario, the leading Canadian Mennonite promoting immigration to his country[36]. They mostly traveled in the company of one of these North American Mennonites, governmental representatives, or railroad agents anxious to promote their particular region.

The United States or Canada

With railroad companies, land speculators and governmental officials in both Canada and the United States making various kinds of offers, and Mennonites in both countries also organized to render assistance, the official twelve deputies had to make decisions. The plains states from Texas to Manitoba (excluding the Oklahoma which was still Indian territory) were the line of proposed settlement. There were many questions to be answered: what kind of settlement conditions might the two countries offer, what kind of guarantees for Mennonite concerns would be granted, what

kind of climate was preferable, what was the quality of soil, what kind of neighbors would predominate?

The Canadian officials reiterated proposals tentatively advanced by representatives in South Russia. An official letter from John Lowe, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture outlined a generous offer including full military exemption, eight townships in southern Manitoba to be set aside exclusively for Mennonite settlement (with more available as needed), 160 acres of free land to each male twenty-one years of age and older with an option to buy more at $1.00 per acre, assistance and subsidy for ocean travel, exemption from having to swear oaths and freedom of worship. Within the bounded tracts Mennonites would also have complete control of education[37]. In essence it was the chance to recreate the segregated Mennonite communities of the Russian steppe. It was a Canadian privilegium similar, in important ways, to the terms which brought Mennonites to Russia. Two of the more theologically conservative groups – the Bergthal settlement, a daughter colony of the original Khortitsa settlement – and the Kleine Gemeinde, a group that separated in Russia in 1812 from the larger church – accepted it. Together with other immigrants from the Khortitsa settlement they constituted the majority of the immigrants that chose Canada[38].

Other delegates were not as attracted to Manitoba. They had seen too little economic development, an absence of adequate transportation facilities and too great a distance to markets. They noted that settlement in the United States offered greater economic opportunities, better climate, and more adequate transportation networks[39]. Military exemption, block settlement and cultural preservation were, however, more difficult to negotiate in the United States. Hence three of the delegates – Paul Tschetter and Lorenz Tschetter – both Hutterites, together with Tobias Unruh – a representative from Mennonites of Volhynia – sought an audience with President Grant. The incongruities surrounding the meeting of the Russian delegates and President Grant are numerous. The letter of introduction by which they received an audience with Grant was supplied by Jay Cooke. Cooke by 1873 had an illustrious career in American business. Through friendship with Salmon P.Chase, Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of the Abraham Lincoln presidency, his banking firm had become a special agent for selling United States Treasury bonds to finance the Civil War. His firm sold more than 800 million dollars in bonds and in the process pioneered the means by which all subsequent American wars have been financed. Economic interests in the Northern Pacific Railroad line prompted his desire to assist Mennonite and Hutterite migration[40]. So the chief finan-

cier of the American Civil War paved the way for a three pacifists from the Russian empire to seek exemption from military conscription from the President whose leadership in the Civil War catapulted him into the presidency.

On August 8, 1873 the Tschetters and Unruh met Grant at his summer home on Long Island. Tschetter recorded in his diary that "the President received us in the most friendly manner and we presented our petition to him personally. After reading it very carefully the President replied that we must have patience to wait for an answer"[41]. The President did little more than assure them that the constitution guaranteed freedom of conscience. The next day, however he wrote an endorsement to Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State, which stated that while "no privilege can be accorded to foreign born citizens not accorded to all other citizens" it might nevertheless be "proper to state to these people that it is entirely improbably that they will ever be called to perform involuntary Military Service"[42].

The full reply to the petition came from Hamilton Fish, Grant's Secretary of State, who informed the delegates that military duty and commutation of service as well as schools were matters for states to decide. That response was a bit disingenuous, as Mennonites would subsequently find out. Undercutting his own argument he did note that in the event of a national war the United States congress could hardly exempt "any particular class of citizens on account of their creed or scruples" though "we hope not to be involved in a war during the next fifty years"[43].

The visiting delegation left while efforts on their behalf continued by both American Mennonites and railroad companies. In early 1874, two prominent American Mennonites – Amos Herr of Pennsylvania and John Funk of Indiana – petitioned Congress asking for lands to be reserved for block settlement. Railroads companies, which had received huge grants of land in the plain states for building the railroad, were making generous offers. Railway lands could not permit the reconstruction of a colonial system for they owned alternate sections of land with the government holding the sections in-between. The specific request was for the government to set aside and hold "to the exclusion of all other persons, for the period of five years" those in-between lands. In early 1874 Congress debated the proposed bill[44].

The question of military exemption, presumably central to the delegates mission, was not included in the legislation introduced in Congress. The prospect of peaceable peoples did, however, provide the context for the colorful comment from Thomas W.Tipton, senator from Nebraska, one of the states seeking an influx of Mennonites. "Did America not have

enough of the fighting element already", he asked. "If there is any portion of the world that can send us a few advocates of peace, in God's name, let them come"[45].

The debate regarding block settlements was rigorous. That question went to the very heart of nationhood: would the United States adopt a pluralism with recognizable cultural and spatial boundaries or not? Vermont Senator George F.Edmunds thought it was well enough for the nation to have "different political parties, sects and social grades, but they must not be separated by territory. No, they must intermingle so as to learn to respect the opinions of others and harmonize their own with them". Wisconsin Senator Matthew H.Carpenter agreed. He inquired what would the nation do "if a hundred thousand Irish Catholics applied, then another hundred thousand German Protestants, then twenty thousand 'French communists". Would politicians get into the business of deciding which ideologies merited segregated territory and which did not?[46]

In April of 1874 the Senate rejected the bill. No accommodations were made cither on military exemption or block settlement. If Mennonites were to come from the Russian empire they would have to do so without any national policy differentiating them from other immigrants and without any Privilegium. And come they did. More came to the United States than went to Canada.

This disparity between what was required to remain in Russia and what was seemingly not required prior to coming to the United States invites further analysis. The delegates who visited the United States returned with assurance of the availability of abundant good land that promised economic prosperity, with assurances of religious freedom, with financial assistance for relocation but not with guarantees of exemption from national military service or with large tracts of land to perpetuate somewhat closed settlement patterns. They came to an open pattern of settlement that not only favored cultural assimilation but undoubtedly assisted in the erosion of the tradition of non-cooperation with military conscription. Individual states eager to receive these purported industrious farmers did pass exemptions from serving in state militias. With the First World War did the Russian immigrants come to fully understand how national interests and national laws could trump and render meaningless the exemption from state militias[47].

In explaining the decision of the majority of those who left Russia and Prussia to enter the United States the role of the three young men who in 1872 visited Canada and the United States has here-to-fore not been adequately explored. Perhaps their oral reports, the continuing reports of

Bernhard Warkentin who remained and the correspondence between Warkentin and David Goerz, a school teacher in Berdyansk, helps to unravel this somewhat curious decision. In the intervening nineteen months between Warkentin's arrival in the United States in the spring of 1872 and the arrival of Goerz in November 1873 they carried on a biweekly correspondence. The closeness of the friendship continued in the United States as Goerz initially also settled in Summerfield, Illinois. Subsequently he and Warkentin both moved to Halstead Kansas. In Hal stead Warkentin quickly became one of the early and leading Mennonite entrepreneurs. Goerz became involved in building educational, medical, missional and insurance institutions for the newly arrived Russian immigrant community[48].

After receipt of one of Warkentin's early letters Goerz wrote back that "letters from you from America, which are not only for me, but for all who find out situation in Russia more and more critical, are of great value, interest and use... I never let the original copy of your letters get out of my hands, but only summaries of excerpts of general interests; but the requests for the same are so great"[49]. Twelve days later, on October 12, 1872, he wrote much in the same vein: "for those interested in emigrating, so much valuable and interesting information about America-about which we cannot get to hear enough; so that they [the letters] are always looked forward too with the greatest eagerness"[50]. Several weeks later Goerz again noted the significance of the Warkentin letters for pushing ahead the entire migration movement. Goerz wrote that the most recent letter "which I received a few days ago, and which is still making the rounds among the emigration friends, is being read and copied and so is traveling on to Prussia; all this contributes to push the matter of emigration forward more energetically"[51].

In January 1873 Goerz reflected that the difference between the guarantees on military service in the "U[nited] States and Canada "induced most people to give first preference to the latter over the former". However, many including Goerz, were awaiting "a completely unbiased opinion about American conditions through your enlightenment"[52].

That enlightenment seems to have come between January and March of 1873. In a nine-page letter of March 3, following extended visits across the plain states from Texas north to Manitoba together with his newly acquired Mennonite friends, Warkentin wrote "the brethren here are very enthusiastic for Texas or the land across the Rockies, north of California, that is, Oregon or Washington; for they do not want to have anything to do with Manitoba or Minnesota". He shared the opinion of his co-religionists: "Manitoba is pushed almost totally into the background in my thinking, and

that on account of the cold climate"[53]. Subsequently he wrote that much as he "would like to establish my home in the midst of our Russian brethren" he did not think it wise to move into the harsh northern climate. "I would appreciate it more if our Mennonites from Russia and Prussia who migrate to America would establish their home in a milder climate"[54].

Peter Dick, one of the young 1872 travelers who also visited Canada, had similar misgivings. After returning to south Russia he "expressed himself very emphatically as opposed to Canada, incl[uding]. Manitoba". His objections were climatic, isolation and also Canada's political stability. Canada in the 1870s was a new nation seeking to integrate its diverse populations and still sorting out its relationship with England. Dick thought the problems formidable and "one can conclude that Canada ... might become a republic after the pattern of the U[nited] States. Under these circumstances the advantages of the present special law in regard to our indispensable position regarding non-resistance, as well as,[sic] all guarantees connected with this matter on the part of the Canadian government,[sic] wouldn't be so superior to those provided by the U[nited] States in this respect. But even aside from such astrological reflections and studies on the political starry sky, Canada, in comparison with the U[nited] States,[sic] has a number of dark sides, which, in spite of the liberal offers of the government there,[sic] can't be completely ignored"[55].

The role of these Molochna sons in the aid networks that developed in North America also merits scrutiny. When the migration of hundreds and thousands actually began it provided for a meeting of Mennonite who were largely strangers. The North American Mennonite population, prior to this Russian influx of the 1870s, was composed of peoples whose ancestors originated in Switzerland and South Germany. The ancestors of those Mennonites who came from Russia, for the most part, originated in the Low Countries and in Northern Germany. In the intervening time from the late sixteenth-century into the late nineteenth-century there was comparatively little contact between these two Anabaptist streams. Peter Jansen recorded their initial meeting with the Swiss Mennonites of Ontario: "oh, how different were their ways and customs from ours! Even their language, a Swiss German dialect, strongly admixed with English, sounded like a foreign tongue, we having always spoken the pure high German"[56]. Behind that comment were many differences that distinguished the Swiss-South German Mennonite tradition from the Dutch/Prussian/Russian Mennonite stream.

Differences aside, the American and Canadian Mennonites embraced the needs of their Prussian and Russian co-religionists in the best Mennonite traditions of mutual aid and assistance. In both Canada and the United

States aid societies were formed to assist the needy and to more generally facilitate the immigration. The most important one in the United States was the Mennonite Board of Guardians with officers Christian Krehbiel, John F.Funk, Bernhard Warkentin and David Goerz following his arrival. It contacted prospective emigrants in Russia with offers of aid, negotiated with steamship companies and in reality became the guardian of the entire emigration process[57]. With Warkentin and Goerz as two of the four officers the potential Molochna settlement immigrants were will represented.

Ironically at the very time that the United States was refusing to make any meaningful accommodations the Russian government was so doing. The intention of the new law on military conscription was that all citizens, irrespective of their social estate or ancient privileges were to be treated equally[58]. Unwittingly the Mennonite request for exemption was part of a much larger struggle that the government faced. Other religious dissenters, including Molokans and Doukhobors, also hoped for exemption[59]. The nobility were unwilling to see their sons conscripted into an army of peasants. The Russian government, faced with many pressures, from the outset had taken the position that Mennonites inducted into the military would not be forced to carry weapons. It was a significant concession. Mennonites, however, failed to recognize it as such and pressed for more.

In the spring of 1874 the Russian government moved even further to accommodate Mennonite concerns[60]. Alarmed by the prospect of a substantial immigration of some of its productive agriculturalists General Todleben, a Crimean War hero, was sent to explain the provisions of the new military conscription law and to seek to stem the migration movement. Todleben visited various Mennonite settlements, met and listened to different groups. He made it clear that Mennonites would have to serve the state in some capacity and that his visit was to establish the terms under which they would be willing to meet their obligation. The chief Mennonite concern, now that completely evading a military obligation was unrealizable, was to ensure that it occurred outside military control. Mennonite leaders wanted their young men to work together in an alternative program under their jurisdiction.

In the spring of 1875 the Russian government issued draft regulations, including Article 157, which largely met these Mennonite concerns. Mennonites alone among conscientious objectors received special rights[61]. Those meeting the service requirement could do so by work under nonmilitary sectors of the government in units composed only of their coreligionists. Over the next half-a dozen years the details were worked out and in 1881 an alternative service system began. The system was under

dual civilian government and church control[62]. The system which lasted into the First World War turned out to be far more advantageous than what Mennonites in the United Sates were to experience during the same war.

Conclusion

In the 1870s concessions that the Russian empire offered were in reality another privilegium. Two thirds of the Mennonite population found it satisfactory and remained within the empire. The fact that two-thirds stayed does focus the question as to what kind of conflict really existed with the state. Surely the motives for those who went and those who stayed were mixed. One American Mennonite historian, James Juhnke, has raised the appropriate and interesting question of whether those delegated to inspect the New World "talked like religious men but acted like economic men"[63]. That comment seems particularly appropriate to the majority of immigrants who came to the United States. While rhetorically an attractive line Juhnke fully understands that it belies the complexity of motives. The line of reasoning between the parties is sometimes difficult to distinguish. Preservation of faith, preservation of a cultural system, guarantee of exemption from military conscription can be argued for both parties. Those who left did so with some measure of unease about the new world to which they were going. Those who remained did so with unease about what might follow in Russia.

It has also been easy to describe those who left as the poorer and the more conservative, unwilling to make any adaptation to a changing future. P.M.Friesen, author of the magnum opis of Mennonite historical scholarship in Russia, scorned those who left as "the most extreme element, incapable of ... closer association with Russian society, using the pretense of the inviolability of the religious conscience". Of Sudermann he wrote that he "understood and desired nothing of Russia except its abundantly fertile soil and its Tsar as an eminent abstraction who was real ... only in the sense of being the author and protector of the 'Great Charter of Privileges"[64]. By 1911 when Friesen published his large work he was a leading Mennonite intellectual, a cosmopolitan Mennonite who moved easily and with appreciation in Russian society. He identified with much of Russian culture[65]. In contrast he found the leaders of the emigrant movement disdainful of Russian culture, fearful of its capacity to contaminate their sons and daughters. "Of the Russian language they understood only a very tiny little piece and that only of the profane market dialect. Of the Russian literature or indeed its ethical values or theological treasures they knew about as much as we do about the literature of the Armenians or Georgians"[66]. Undoubtedly it

was such characterizations that lead David Rempel, the Dean of twentieth-century North American Mennonite historians, to describe the 1870s emigrants as the "most conservative and uncompromising element among the Mennonites"[67]. Such comments are made without distinction between those who came to Canada or the United States.

Surely Friesen and Rempel were partially right. There were conservative and uncompromising elements that migrated. However there were many of the same that also remained in Russia. And there were others like Goerz, Warkentin and Jansen who readily embraced a changing future. Goers wrote to Warkentin just prior to his leaving "it certainly can't be a misfortune for us, d[ear] friend, to leave a land where progress remains stuck in the mud. and to exchange it for another which is 50 years in advance"[68].

The Mennonite migrants of the 1870s, whether conservative or progressive, in part were responding to larger changes that had occurred within as well as beyond the Mennonite communities of Russia. If recent government reforms, especially those requiring participation in the state conscription system were a catalyst, long-term fissures within the Russian Mennonite world undoubtedly also contributed to the decision to emigrate. In the 1870s the scars of religious dissent and schism, the harsh treatment by Mennonite authorities of some dissenting groups, and the struggles over land ownership were all still visible and in some cases yet painful[69].

Emigration certainly promised new lands and new economic opportunities. Democratic institutions with their commitment to religious pluralism seemed to also carry the promise of unbounded toleration. For some it was a chance to set aside old squabbles. For some a chance to preserve cherished principles and habits and for others a chance for new beginnings.

The role of Leonhard Suderman and Cornelius Jansen in encouraging the out-migration of Mennonites in the 1870s has long been recognized[70]. They were prominent and important voices in the discussion. That would seem particularly to be the case with the Molochna immigrants who essentially came to the United States. Both were early immigrants themselves. The degree to which they were influenced by the counsel of the next generation is uncertain. It is difficult to imagine that in the small (roughly 50,000 population) and still rather tightly bounded ethno-religious community their advice would not have been taken seriously. The sons had seen first-hand what conditions would be in the new world. Further they came from established families that had a history of leadership among Mennonites of South Russia and in particular in the Molochna settlement. Perhaps the names of Bernhard Warkentin and David Goerz, in particular, but also John

Philip Wiebe and Peter Dick, need to be remembered in ways analogous to the historic role attributed to Sudermann and Jansen in the influx of the 1870s Mennonite migrants into the United States.

Notes

[1] Quoted in Lawrence Klippenstein, "Mennonite Pacifism and Slate Service in Russia: A Case Study in Church-State-Relations, 1789-1936," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1984), p. 45.
[2] There are numerous accounts of the delegations visiting St. Petersburg. The most complete English language discussion is Klippenstein, "Mennonite Pacifism and State Service in Russia," ch. iii.
[3] The German original is printed in Abram Goerz, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Forstdienstes der Mennoniten in Russland, nach urkundlichen Akten zusammengestellt* (Gross Tokmak, Turien: H.Lenzman, 1907); David H.Epp, *Die Chortitzer Mennoniten: Versuch einer Darstellung des Entwicklungsganges desselben* (Odessa: A.Schulze. 1889); English translation is in Klippenstein, „Mennonite Pacifism and State Service in Russia," p. 54.
[4] The petition is reprinted in Ernst Correll, "President Grant and the Mennonite Immigration from Russia," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* IX (My 1935): 146-147.
If the conscription that the Russians were contemplating seemed to be designed to eliminate privilege classes from evading the national defense responsibility the last American military draft prior to Tschetter's appeal was the opposite. The Federal government during the Civil War initially relied upon a volunteer army. The call to arms solicited patriotic feelings and a surge of volunteers greater than any had anticipated or could effectively be mobilized. However, when the killings began and the grim costs were counted a conscription system was required to supply the necessary foot soldiers. In every region under Northern control the names of all eligible men were drawn through a lottery system. Cast as equalitarian because the drawing was random, it was in reality quite different because a provision in the Conscription Act permitted a draftee to evade service by either paying a $300 fee or providing a substitute. While the exemption clause was opposed by both President Lincoln and Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War, it was approved by Congress. Opponents of the conscription system could justly complain that it was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight". Antagonistic Democrats who had garnered much of the new immigrant vote, particularly of working-class Irish and Germans argued that the purpose of the draft was to "kill off Democrats". Both quotes are in Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), pp. 356-357. American Mennonite responses to this substitution system are discussed in Theron Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in nineteenth-century America* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1988); Samuel Horst, *Mennonites in the Confederacy: A Study of Civil War Pacifism* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1967); Charles DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

The first draft of the petition is in Paul Tschetter, "The Diary of Paul Tschetter, 1873," part II, translated and edited by J.M.Hofer, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* V (July 1931):214. The initial draft asked for much more: "We also desire to know whether we may he permitted to form our own colony in one community; and have our own German schools; whether we may control our own schools; whether we may establish our own form of local government in our colonies as it fits us". The request for their own colony and self-government was apparently withdrawn at the urging of Cooke and his railroad representatives.

[5] Christian Hege and N. Van der Zijpp, "Mandates," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-1959), III:446-453. See also Adolph Ens, "Privileges" *Mennonite Encyclopedia* vol. V (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1990), p. 724 for an updated discussion.

[6] Gail Bossenga, *The Politics of Privilege: Old Regime and revolution in Lilli* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 5. I first became aware of Bossenga's work through James Urry, *Mennonites, Politics and Peoplehood: Europe - Russia - Canada, 1525-1980* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2006) who quotes Bossenga on pp. 43-44.

[7] Bossenga, *The Politics of Privilege*, p. 5.

[8] Mose Rosman, *The Lord's Jews. Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the 18th Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 207. Urry's *Mennonites, Politics and Peoplehood* also brought this work to my attention.

[9] On this story see Michael D.Driedger, *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona during the Confessional Age* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002).

[10] Quoted in Urry, *Mennonites, Politics and Peoplehood*, p. 42.

[11] Quoted in Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 4.

[12] The official English language version of the Manifesto of 1763 is reprinted in Roger P.Bartlett, *Human Capital: The settlement of foreigners in Russia, 1762-1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 237-241. Quotes are from 240 and 241 respectively.

[13] Both the 1763 Manifesto and the Charter of Privileges awarded by Paul I on September 8, 1800 are reprinted in David G.Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlement and Economic Development from 1789-1914," (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1933), pp. 319-326. The Charter is also reprinted in James Urry, *None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia, 1789-1889* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Hyperion Press Limited. 1989), pp. 282-284. Article number six of the Charter stating the military exemption is on page 283.

[14] See John R.Staples, *Cross-Cultural Encounters on the Ukrainian Steppes: Settling the Molochna Basin, 1783-1861* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

[15] Recent interpretation of the Mennonite story in Poland/Prussia include Peter Klassen, *A Homeland for Strangers: An Introduction to Mennonites in Poland and*

Prussia (Fresno, Calif.: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1989); Mark Allen Jantzen, "At Home in Germany: The Mennonites of the Vistula Delta and the Construction of a German National Identity, 1772-1860," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2002); Urry, *Mennonites, Politics and Peoplehood,* Part I.

[16] See Leonhard Sudermarrn, *In Search of Freedom: From Russia to America,* translated from *Eine Deputationsreise von Russland nach Amerika vor vierundzwanzig Jahren* (1897) by Elmer Suderman (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, 1974): pp. iii-viii; Cornelius Krahn, "Leonard Sudermann" in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* III:653.

[17] On Cornelius Jansen see Peter Jansen, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen: The Record of a Busy Life: An Autobiography* (Beatrice, Nebr.: self- published, 1921); Gustav E.Reimer and G.R.Gaeddert, *Exiled by the Czar: Cornelius Jansen and the Great Migration, 1874* (Newton. Kans.: Mennonite Publication Office, 1956); C.Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: An Episode in the Settling of the Last Frontier, 1874-1884* (Berne, Ind.: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927).

[18] John F.Funk to Cornelius Jansen, April 8 and May 5, 1871 in Cornelius Jansen, compiler, *Sammlung von Notizen über Amerika* (Danzig: Paul Thieme, 1872).

[19] Peter Wiebe to J.V.Reisen, May 20 and June 18, 1871; Gerhard Wiebe to Joh. Wiebe, September 12, 1871 in *Ibid.*

[20] Christian Krehbiel, *Prairie Pioneer: The Christian Krehbiel Story* (Newton. Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1961), pp. 71-72. The autobiography of Krehbiel while published in 1961 was written in 1906. On Krehbiel see also Olin Krehbiel, "Krehbiel, Christian," *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* III:236.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Janzen, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen,* p. 33.

[23] Quoted in Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites,* p. 48.

[24] Sudermann, *Sammlung von Notizen über Amerika.*

[25] See Jansen, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen,* p. 28-30.

[26] Georg Leibrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880: I," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* VI (October 1932):210-212.

[27] Primary documents are in Ernst Correll, "Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba: sources and Documents, 1872-1873," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XI (July 1937):196-227 and XI (October 1937):267-283.

[28] On Warkentin see David A.Haury, "Bernhard Warkentin: A Mennonite Benefactor," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XLIX (July 1975):179-202; Cornelius Krahn, "Warkentin, Bernard," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* IV:858; Frank W.Blackmar, "Bernhard Warkentin," *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State history* (Chicago: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), pp. 1095-1096; Witham E.Connelley, "Bernhard Warkentin," *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1918), p. 2291.

[29] See Cornelius Krahn, "Wiebe, Philipp," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* IV:946-947. On the collaboration of Wiebe and Warkentin in bringing Turkey Red Wheat to the American mid-west see Krahn, "Warkentin, Bernhard," p. 858 and Haury, "Bernhard Warkentin," p. 194.

[30] Sources for assessing John F.Funk's role in the immigration of Russian Mennonites include William Dean Ward, "John F.Funk and the Mennonite Awakening," (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1965); Helen Kolb Gates, et. al., *Bless The Lord O My Soul: A Biography of Bishop John Fretz Funk, 1835-1930: Creative Pioneer for Christ and Mennonite Leader* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1964); Kempes Schnell. "John F.Funk, 1835-1930 and the Mennonite Migration of 1873-1875," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XXIV (July 1950):199-299. "John F.Funk's Land Inspection Trips as Recorded in His Diaries, 1872 and 1873," edited by Kempes Schnell, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XXIV (October, 1950):295-311; Harold S.Bender, "Funk, John Fretz," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II:421-423.
[31] John F.Funk, "The Mennonites in Russia: A visit from there," *Herald of Truth* (August 1972); reprinted in *Brothers in Deed to Brothers in Need: A Scrapbook about Mennonite Immigrants from Russia, 1870-1885*, compiled and edited by Clarence Hiebert (Newton, Kans.: Faith and Life Press, 1974), pp. 15-16.
[32] See Krehbiel, *Prairie Pioneer.*
[33] Some of this correspondence will be subsequently detailed.
[34] In 1987 delegation of 12 representatives from Mennonite communities in South Russia, Volhynian and Prussian territories visited North America to study the feasibility of immigration: Elder Jacob Buller of Alexanderwohl and Elder Leonhard Sudermann of Berdyansk represented Molochna colony; Elder Tobias Unruh represented low-german speaking colonists near Ostrog, Volhynia and Poland; Andreas Schrag represented Swiss Mennonites of Volhynia; Elder Wilhelm Ewert represented the congregations of the Vistula Delta; Heinrich Wiebe, Jacob Peters, and Cornelius Buhr, represented Bergthal Colony; Cornelius Toews and David Klaassen represented the Kleine Gemeinde; Paul Tschetter and Lawrence Tschetter, represented Hutterites.
[35] Suderman, *In Search of Freedom*, pp. 3-4.
[36] See Samuel J.Steiner, *Vicarious Pioneer: the Life of Jacob Y.Shantz* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Hyperion Press Limited, 1988).
[37] The letter with die terms is reproduced in many publications. See "Sources on the Mennonite Immigration from Russia in the 1870s," edited by Ernst Correll, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XXIV (October 1950):332-333.
[38] The English language literature on the Canadian story is considerable. Starting points are E.K.Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites of Manitoba* (Altona, Manitoba: D.W.Friesen and Sons Ltd. 1955); Frank H.Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974); Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994); William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Gerhard Wiebe, *Causes and History of the Emigration of Mennonites from Russia to America*, translated by Helen Janzen (Winnipeg, Manitoba; Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981); "Mennonite immigration into Manitoba, sources and documents, 1872-1873," edited by Ernst Correll;

"Mennonite immigration into Manitoba; documents and sources, 1873-1874," edited by Ernst Correll, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XXII (January 1948):43-57.
[39] For example the June 9, 1873 entry of Tschetter, "The Diary of Paul Tschetter," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* V (July 1931):p. 204. "At some places the land is good, but railroad facilities are poor. The town of Winnipeg is forty-five versts from this land and the roads are very bad. The lumber for building purposes must be shipped by way of the Red River from Minnesota. The half-breed Indians live on this land and it belongs to them. Grasshoppers are very plentiful. The price of stock and agricultural implements is more reasonable in the United States than in Manitoba and if the same is shipped across the boundary, a duty must be paid on it. To most of us, the Manitoba country was not to our liking..." See also C.Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites,* p. 60 who reports on the unease of Sudermann and Buller, the Molochna delegates.
[40] On Cooke see Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War* (Philadelphia: G.W.Jacobs and Co., 1907); M.John Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble: The Northern Pacific Railroad, The Sioux, and the Panic of 1873* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).
[41] Paul Tschetter, "The Diary of Paul Tschetter, 1873," part II, translated and edited by J.M.Hofer, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* V (July 1931): p. 217. The entry is for July 27, but that is me Julian calendar to which Tschetter was accustomed. In the new (or Gregorian calendar) it was August 8.
A second visit with President Grant occurred a few weeks later when Cornelius and Peter (son) Jansen visited Grant. While seemingly not generating the same kind of response as the Tschetter visit the description by Peter Jansen is much more colorful. Writing in his autobiography 1921 he noted "I remember the incidents of this trip very vividly, as here I received the first insight into the official and political life of the country of our adoption. In Russia we associated a government official with a uniform and lots of gold lace and trimmings, and the higher ones would always have guards of soldiers at he entrances of their quarters or residences. Imagine our surprise when we reached the "White House" to find its portals guarded by a single colored man, who not even displayed a sword!
Our admission and introduction to President Grant was equally simple. A rather stocky, middle-aged man, with a closely cropped full beard and a well shaped head, dressed in a rather worn black Prince Albert coat, arose from his seat at the end of a long table and at the introduction of Mr. Wood [a Philadelphia Quaker who accompanied], who knew the President personally, shook us cordially by the hand and invited us to sit down.
Mr. Wood explained to him our mission and that we expected many thousands of our people to follow us during the next few years to settle upon the vast prairies of the West. The President became very much interested and sent for Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano of Ohio, who proved to be a very pleasant gentlemen, and who had been brought up on a farm.
He told us that in his younger years he had been in the habit of milking twenty cows mornings and evenings. President Grant also told us of his early experiences on the

farm and said that he could hitch up and drive a team of horses as well as ever. You ... can hardly imagine our surprise when these gentlemen gave us the impression that it was the usual thing for the highest official of the United States and the Minister of Agriculture to do manual labor."
Following me interview President Grant invited them to stay and meet General Custer and a delegation of "nineteen chiefs [Native American] and three squaws with an interpreter. We were intensely interested in listening to a long pow-wow, at the end of which the Indians presented the President with some finely tanned and decorated buffalo robes and other Indian curios." Jansen, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen*, p. 35-36.
[42] Document is included in Correll, "President Grant and the Mennonite Immigration from Russia," p. 147-148.
[43] Hamilton Fish to M.L. Hiller, September 5, 1873, *Ibid.*, p.148-149. Hiller was a representative of the Northern Pacific Railroad lines who had accompanied the delegates on part of their inspection of western lands. He had also connected them with Jay Cooke and received the official reply of Hamilton Fish for transmittal to the delegates as they left on their return trip to Russia before the reply was prepared.
[44] The petition and the subsequent debates have been reprinted and are most readily accessible in "The Congressional Debates on the Mennonite Immigration from Russia, 1873-1874," edited by Ernst Correll, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XX (July 1946):178-221. The resolution introduced in the United States Senate is on pages 178-179, the resolution in the House of Representatives is on page 182.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 186 and 210 respectively.
[47] On American Mennonite trauma of the First World War see James C.Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1989) and Gerloff Homan, *American Mennonites and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1994).
[48] D.C.Wedel, "Contributions of Pioneer David Goerz," *Mennonite Life* 7 (October 1952):170-175; Cornelius Krahn, "Goerz, David," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II:536.
[49] David Goerz to Bernhard Warkentin, October 1, 1872, Warkentin Papers, Box 1, File 12, Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, Newton, Kansas.
[50] Goerz to Warkentin, October 12, 1872, Warkentin Papers, Box 1, File 12.
[51] Goerz to Warkentin, November 27, 1872, Warkentin Papers, Box 1, File 12.
[52] Goerz to Warkentin, January 15, 1873, Warkentin Papers, Box 1, File 12.
[53] Warkentin to Goerz, March 3, 1873, Warkentin Papers, Box 1, File 8.
[54] Warkentin to Goerz, August 13, 1873, Warkentin Papers, Box 1, File 8.
[55] Goerz quoting Peter Dick to Warkentin, January 28, 1873, Box l, File 12.
[56] Jansen, *Memoirs of Peter Jansen*, p. 33.
[57] Harold S.Bender, "Mennonite Board of Guardians," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III:591-592; Kempes Schnell, "John F.Funk, 1839-1930, and the Mennonite Migration of 1873-1875," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XXIV (July 1950):199-299.
[58] See Robert Fred Baumann, "The Debates over Universal Military Service in Russia, 1870-1874," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1982), chapters 5 and 6.

[59] See Peter Brock, *Against the Draft: Essays on Conscientious Objection from the Radical Reformation to the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), chapters 11, 19; Peter Brock, *Freedom from Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), chapters 14, 15.
[60] The story of the visit of General Todleben and the subsequent concession of the Russian government is told in considerable detail in many places. See Klippenstein, "Mennonite Pacifism and State Service in Russia"; Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites*; Reimer and Gaeddert, *Exiled by the Czar* and Urry, *None But Saints*.
[61] See Brock, *Against the Draft*, p. 156. Brock notes that other conscientious objector groups faced stiff punitive actions by the state. Doukhobors, following severe punishment, resolved their tensions with the state by emigration to Canada. There were other sectors of die population that received different kinds of exemptions. The Kirgiz of Central Asia, were a notable example. People from the Caucasus and Finland were exempt in lieu of payment of a military tax. Students received deferments and served shortened terms. Certain professions were exempted -professors, other educational professionals and religious officials. Joshua A.Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War and Mass Politics, 1905-1925* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003), notes that the universal conscription system which was intended to operate on the basis of a "community of civil equals" in fact created social categories with differing kinds of privileges. Quote is on page 22.
[62] The story of die Russian and Mennonite accommodation on military conscription is told in virtually every book and dissertation that deals with this period of time. The most detailed readily available English account are Klippenstein, "Mennonile Pacifism and State Service in Russia," and Urry, *None Bui Saints*.
[63] James C.Juhnke, A People of Two Kingdoms: The Political Acculturation of the Kanas Mennonite s (Newton, Kans.: Faith and Life Press, 1975), p. 12.
[64] Peter M.Friesen, *The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910)*, translated and edited by J.B.Toews, et. al., (Fresno, Calif.: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1978), p. 592. Friesen was originally published in the German language in 1911 by Raduga Press, Halbstadt (now Molochansk), Ukraine.
[65] Friesen awaits a full biography. Until that comes the following are the best available assessments of his career: Franz C.Thiessen, *P.M.Friesen, 1849-1914: Personal Recollections* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Board of Christian Literature of the General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1974); Abraham Friesen, editor, *P.M.Friesen and his History: Understanding Mennonite Brethren Beginnings* (Fresno, California: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1979); Abe Dueck, "Peter Martinovitch Friesen (1849-1914)" in *Shepherds, Servants and Prophets: Leadership among the Russian Mennonites (ca. 1880-1860)*, edited by Harry Loewen (Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press, 2003).
[66] Friesen, The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910), p. 593-594.
[67] David G.Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia," p. 208.

[68] Goerz to Warkentin, January 15,1873, Warkentin Papers, Box 1, File 12.
[69] Urry, *None But Saints*, p. 218.
[70] See particularly Reimer and Gaeddert, *Exiled by the Czar* and Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites.

Надійшла до редколегії 14.09.2007

В.Д.Мирончук

НЕМЕЦКИЕ ПРЕДПРИНИМАТЕЛИ И РАЗВИТИЕ ЖЕЛЕЗНОДОРОЖНОЙ СЕТИ РОССИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ (60-90-е гг. XIX в.)

Досліджується роль німецьких капіталів та окремих підприємців у залізничному будівництві в Російській імперії в пореформений період.

Как известно, немецкие предприниматели стояли у истоков создания железнодорожной сети в Российской империи. Инженер Франц Антон фон Герстнер построил первую железную дорогу в России, которая вступила в строй в 1837 г. Дорога сооружалась акционерной компанией и соединила Петербург с Царским Селом. К сожалению, предложения Герстнера о сооружении сети железных дорог от Петербурга до Москвы и от Москвы до Нижнего Новгорода и Казани были оставлены без внимания царским правительством[1].

Вместе с тем следует отметить, что еще в 1857 г. было основано Главное Общество российских железных дорог. Его инициатором был барон А.Л.Штиглиц, сын гамбургского банкира, основавшего в Петербурге в 1803 г. банкирский дом. Среди учредителей берлинский дом «Мендельсон и К°», Делами общества управлял совет из семи человек, в состав которого наряду с английскими, французскими, голландскими предпринимателями вошел делец И.Перейра, выступавший в качестве доверенного лица от целой группы парижских банкиров и от берлинского банкирского дома «Мендельсон и К°»[2].

Начиная со второй половины 60-х гг. иностранные капиталы, включая немецкие, широко использовались в железнодорожном строительстве. Особенно примечателен период с 1866 по 1880 г., ко-

© Мирончук В.Д., 2007