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No. 3

Settlement of Mennonite Dutch in the  
Vistula Delta from the  
Middle of the 16th Century until the Beginning  
of the Prussian Period

by

Horst Penner

The Surnames  
of the West Prussian Mennonites

by

Gustav E. Reimer

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Translated and edited by

Timothy H. Flaming  
(Cypress, California)

and

Glenn H. Penner

(Mennonite Heritage Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba)

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### By Way of Introduction.

Our congregation of Heubuden-Marienburg can celebrate a triple anniversary this year. It has been 50 years since the organ was installed in our church in Heubuden. There were three brothers:

Johannes Regehr - Heubuden,

Hermann Wiebe - Marienburg,

Abraham Driedger - Heubuden,

who at that time selflessly took on the office of organist, the latter two can look back on an uninterrupted fifty years of activity. This is an important occasion for us to praise and thank them for God's kind guidance and protection. But it also gives our congregation reason to thank the two dear jubilarians, who have enriched and deepened our church services through their many years of voluntary work.

The accomplishments of Brother Abraham Driedger extend beyond the scope of our congregation. With the support of Brother Hermann Wiebe and the other organists in our conference association, he, to his credit, edited, expanded and republished The Choral Book of the East and West Prussian Mennonite Congregations.

This is by no means the end of Brother A. Driedger's accomplishments for our congregation and community. In an equally long project he has collected historical material about our congregations through diligent research and thus provided us with a good knowledge of their history. It has always been a special concern of his to engage our young generation in the field of Mennonite historical research and to assist them in publishing the results of their investigations. In order to support these efforts, more than 200 members from our congregation joined the "Mennonite Historical Society" on the occasion of the anniversary with an annual contribution of more than RM 800. Likewise, with the kind support of Brother Christian Hege, Frankfurt a.M., we were able to publish some research results, the publication of which was very close to Brother Driedger's heart, by publishing this special issue of the series of publications of the Mennonite Historical Society. We present it to Brother Driedger as a gift for his anniversary.

The present contributions have as their common subject the West Prussian Mennonites, the first section is the work of Dr. Horst Penner on the "Settlement of Mennonite Dutch in the Vistula Delta from the middle of the 16th century to the beginning of the Prussian period", which makes available valuable, hitherto unpublished source material and at the same time conveys an impressive picture of the achievements of the Mennonites in the reclamation and cultivation of the Werder soil. G. E. Reimer, in the second section, deals with the people who brought about these cultural achievements by trying to bring some light into their origin and the ancestral lineage of their family names. The genealogist will appreciate the overview of the distribution of the individual families in the West Prussian communities as well as the "Contributions to the Genealogical Table of the Driedger family" by Gustav Reimer, in which a special Mennonite family, typical in its growth and down-to-earthness, is singled out and traced up to the present. The history of this family is also touched upon in the last contribution, in the openness of the presentation probably the most interesting family chronicle that has been preserved for us from our West Prussian communities. David Mandtler tells the story of his hard-working life and gives us a glimpse into the nature, circumstances and way of life of our ancestors at the end of the 18th century. [note that the section on the Driedger family is not included in the 1963 reprint. All data from this genealogy has been incorporated into the [GRANDMA](#) database. David Mantler's autobiography was also not included. A proper translation can be found [here](#). ]

May this booklet, in its varied and yet unified form, help to awaken a sense of our Mennonite history in our circles, to deepen our knowledge of it, and to be conducive to its further cultivation.

The Board  
of the Mennonite Congregation of Heubuden-Marienburg  
Bruno Ewert, Aeltester.



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### II.

#### **The Surnames of the West Prussian Mennonites.**

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## Preface

There are quite a number of documents that touch upon the subject of this paper in some way. In particular, a number of publications have been distributed by the Mennonites on religious questions arising from the coexistence with the Mennonites with other groups of faith in West Prussia. Also the history of the Danzig Mennonites has been treated in detail by H. G. Mannhardt in his "Geschichte der Danziger Mennonitengemeinde" [History of the Danzig Mennonite Church], I could therefore disregard generally religious questions and include them only as far as they became necessary for the characterization of the settlement history. The same applies to the history of the Danzig Mennonites.

I have examined the Mennonite-Dutch settlement beyond the former Danzig territory to include the GrossMarienburger Werder because Danzig was generally the port of immigration for this area as well. Simon Loitze and Simon Bahr, who initiated the Dutch settlement in the Gross Marienburger Werder, were from Danzig. Besides, leaving out the Gross Werder would have meant a slice across the settlement area and would have torn apart some connections. Things are different with the Klein Marienburg Werder, which had to be excluded from the scope of the present work due to its geographical location and its relations to Elbing.

Temporally, I did not go beyond the second half of the 18th century, because the possession by Prussia and the subsequent emigration to Russia meant a strong break in the Mennonite-Dutch settlement movement.

In addition to Schumacher's book on the Dutch settlements in the Duchy of Prussia, there is a dissertation in Dutch by Felicia Szper on the same subject for the former province of West Prussia, which deals with the settlements during the Polish period.

Given the size of the area to be covered, Szper could only treat the Danzig territory in passing. Szper did not use the extraordinary resource of the official books of the Nehrung and the Werder *Amtskasten* contained in the Danzig State Archives. As a result, she only covered bits and pieces related to the Dutch settlements in the Danzig territory. I have tried to fill in the existing gap.

In addition, my efforts were primarily directed at further tracing the spread of the Mennonite Dutch from their first settlement areas, the "Dutch villages", established by treaties and official designations. Treaties covering entire villages were found only to a small extent for the later period. The development of the actual Kulm lands, however, proceeded quite gradually.

The settlement movement in the Danzig territory was already waning beginning in the middle of the 17th century but in the Gross Werder it continued until the end of the 18th century. I have tried to document this using the fire [insurance] registers of the Danzig Werder, the Nehrung and the Gross Werder. The names of the first Mennonite-Dutch immigrants were used as well as those of the Mennonite [Land] register of 1789 (Geh. Staatsarch. Berlin) for the evaluation of the individual names of the fire registers. Using these sources it was possible to determine the lands that the Dutch had in their possession in 1727. The further expansion up to 1772 was documented for The Gross Werder on the basis of the 1772 Contribution Register, for the areas of the Danzig territory on the basis of an inventory, which the Council had carried out in 1763 (Danzig State Archives 300, 7.118) for The Danzig Werder, and in 1771 for the Nehrung (300, 2.161). The results are recorded on the enclosed map. [See the last page of this translation for a colour scan of the map]



## Notes and Comments by the Translators and Editors.

First and foremost, it should be noted that this book was first written in 1940 and the wording in the 1963 edition is identical to that edition. Penner's comments in this book were written at a time when West Prussia (where both Penner and Reimer lived until fleeing West at the end of the war) was part of Nazi Germany. The reader should keep this in mind.

All page numbers have been retained for easy referral back to the original editions. Although the locations mentioned in this book are now part of Poland and are known by their Polish names, we keep the original German names, which were used during the time Mennonites lived in this region. For more information on these locations see [here](#). The spellings of the sources have been retained. It should be noted that, as a direct result of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World war, some of the sources available in 1940 have disappeared.

An original copy of Penner's 1940 book was scanned, and the resulting PDF was processed with the Gothic script optical character recognition software available from ABBYY Finereader. The resulting Latin script text was then proofread against the original before machine translation with Google Translate. This translation was then proofread and edited several times.

A few terms which appear in the book need further clarification. The English term "own" (or ownership) is not strictly correct. Very few of the Dutch settlers truly owned the property they farmed. These people usually rented their land according to hereditary leases which allowed them to pass the property on to a relative or to sell the lease to a non-family member.

According to [Adalbert Goertz](#) there were 3 land sovereigns in West Prussia:

1. The Towns and Cities – for example the city of Elbing owned entire villages.
2. The noble landlords – for example the Mennonite village of Jeziorka was owned by a nobleman.
3. The Crown (King) – many of the villages in which Mennonites lived were owned by the crown. Some of these villages were founded, and originally owned, by the Teutonic knights and later by the Polish crown and, after 1772, by the Prussian Crown.

A significant amount of genealogical research has been done in the 80 years since Gustav Reimer wrote his "Familiennamen". Some of what appears in this section is obsolete. When it comes to genealogical aspects of this book, both Penner and Reimer often speculate, occasionally without any evidence. Some of what they write should be taken with a grain of salt.

Like many German writers of his generation, Penner frequently mixes past and present tense when discussing events of the past. We have tried to put these into the past tense whenever possible.

Our comments are inserted in square brackets. Text within parentheses are those of the author.

Occasionally, untranslatable German terms are retained and highlighted in italics. When possible, these are explained in the Glossary of Terms and Definitions added to the end of this book.

## Introduction

The first beginnings of the great west to east movement of our people in the Middle Ages, which created the "German East", started from the Netherlands. Around 1100, the Dutch and Flemish territories of the Netherlands were the most densely populated in Central Europe.

Overpopulation occurred when the homes and farms of many farmers were destroyed by storms coming in from the sea. The Dutch turned their eyes to the more sparsely populated east to gain new arable land and opportunities for peaceful work. The Flemish emigrant song "Naer Oostland willen wy ryden" may have been written at that time.

Their homeland had accustomed the Dutch to the struggle against sea and marsh. Drainage and dike construction had already been perfected by them at that time. It is therefore no wonder that in 1106 the then Archbishop of Bremen invited the Dutch to reclaim the swamps on the Lower Weser. Even today this area is called "Hollerland".

But Flemish and Dutch Lowlanders also make up a very large part of the colonists in the migration across the Elbe. German law is often equated with Flemish law in the East. And when the Schauenburgs and Ascanians begin their great colonization task in the East, they invited Dutch settlers into the country. Helmold, a contemporary of Adolf von Schauenburg, the colonizer of eastern Holstein, writes in his Slavonic Chronicle: "Because the land was deserted, he sent out messengers to all lands, to Flanders and Holland, to Utrecht, Westphalia and Friesland, and invited all those who were suffering from a lack of land to come with their families<sup>1</sup>).

1) Helmold, *Chronik der Slawen*, p. 131.

Furthermore, the same chronicle reports in the year 1160: "At that time, the eastern Slavic country was ruled by Margrave Adelbert, who was called the 'Bear'. Since the Slavs were gradually disappearing, he sent to Utrecht and the Rhine regions, and specifically to those who live near the ocean and suffer from the violence of the sea, namely to the Dutch, Zealanders and Flemings, and from there he brought many people and let them live in the castles and villages of the Slavs. The bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg were also greatly enriched by the immigrants, because the churches swelled as did the tithes. But the Dutch began to inhabit the southern bank of the Elbe at the same time. From Salzwedel on, they owned all the swamp and farmland with many towns and villages as far as the Bohemian Forest. The innumerable immigrants, however, who came from the shores of the ocean and settled in the lands of the Slavs, built cities and churches and became rich beyond measure" <sup>2)</sup>).

These statements of Helmold may suffice to show the great share of the Dutch in the reclamation of the German East.

Towards the end of the 14th century this flow of German people to the East dried up. The population of the homeland had been so reduced by the Black Death in the middle of the century that it was no longer feasible to think of occupying new land. Likewise, the impotence of the state and the fragmentation of the empire had an inhibiting effect on the further development of the Ostland movement.

It was not until the middle of the 16th century that a new and unique movement of Low German people towards the East began. In the Middle Ages, economic motives were decisive in making the move to the East, things had now changed completely. The religious struggles of the 16th century, which were so extraordinarily bloody in the Netherlands, caused many in this region to turn their backs on their homeland. Frisians and Dutch took advantage of the trade relations with Danzig, the Hanseatic city of the East, to escape there by ship and settle in Prussia. The first settlements of this kind were established under Duke Albrecht in the badly devastated Oberlande of East Prussia. Due to the devastating urban warfare of the previous century and most recently again due to the Reuter War (1519 to 1521), this area had become almost deserted <sup>3)</sup>).

2) Helmold a. a. O. S. 131

3) B. Schumacher: *Niederländische Ansiedlungen Im Herzogium Preußen z. Zt. Herzog Albrechts*. Leipzig 1903.

The Dutch did not succeed in establishing themselves in the young Protestant state, which itself had to fight hard, because they could not find the economic and religious conditions they had hoped for.

Things were different in neighboring Polish Prussia and in the Danzig region. Here, in the swampy Delta of the Vistula, there were lands similar to the Dutch homeland, which allowed an economy similar to that of the marshes of Holland. Today, thanks to the diligence of the Dutch settlers, wide meadows, wheat and beet fields stretch out as far as the eye can see, where once the landscape consisted of only cane, reeds and ground water ponds [*Wasserblänken*].

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## Are today's Mennonites descendants of the Dutch immigrants?

The Mennonite farmers of the Vistula Delta claim that their ancestors once came from the Dutch West of the then German Empire. Such traditions usually contain a kernel of truth. However, it is necessary to provide scientific documentation to back up this claim. We must therefore prove that the names of today's Mennonites were Dutch at the time of their settlement. Secondly, we must prove that these names appear very early as Mennonite, when a mixture with people of other faiths was still very rare.

A lease <sup>1)</sup> for the village of Orlofferfelde from the year 1601 was signed by Anna von Mortangen, the then owner of the Tiegenhof Oekonomie, with the following *Holländer* [Dutch]: " To the honorable Franz Fielers (Wiehler), Jakob, Claasen und Johann Bestuader, Urban Ham, Johann Daw, Peter Jantzen, Jacob Petersch, Gregor Bestuader, Johann Jantzen, Philipp Lippe (Löpp), Johann Rumbke and Dirke..." These men are expressly called *Holländer*.

Another *Holländer* named Hugo Mathias is mentioned by King Sigismund in a letter <sup>2)</sup> which he wrote to the city of Danzig from the Imperial Diet in Lublin in 1569. In it he admonishes the council to leave Mathias in unconditional possession of the villages of Kransdorp and Worke on the Nehrung. And a few decades later (1601), a court hearing before the mayor of Danzig states: "Fabian Reimer has, on the complaint of Gert Neifelt, conceded to Frau Weyer before the district office that he owes the complaintant because of the wood taken away from the Manor Forest due to Dutch thieves ... "<sup>3)</sup>.

1) Danzig Staatsarchiv, 358, 32.

2) Danzig Staatsarchiv, 300, 2. 1019.

3) ibid. 300, 2. 8 fol. 193.

Men with these surnames are listed as Dutch, except for Rumbke, in the Mennonite Register, which was created soon after the takeover of West Prussia by Prussia in 1789 <sup>4)</sup>. In this case, the assertion would have proved to be correct, although it can't be said with complete certainty that the bearers of the above-mentioned names immigrated as Anabaptists or Mennonites.

With some certainty this claim can be made regarding the farmers Claus Hendrichsen, Peter Giesebrechtsen, Jacob Henning, and Tewes Felgenhawer, who are called Dutch <sup>5)</sup>, about whom the preacher of Schönbaum complained to the Danzig council in 1623. They did not want to pay him the annual 2 RM grazing fee paid by all the other residents of Schönbaum and Prinzlaff. They are apparently Mennonites who do not want to pay fees to the preacher, since they do not use his services. This dispute with the Lutheran preachers over the "church tax" has flared up repeatedly through the centuries. The issue is less about the financial impact of these fees but rather as a struggle of the Mennonites for just treatment <sup>6)</sup>.

Beyond this general identification as Dutch, we can also prove the place of origin of the surnames of quite a number of Mennonites. The first Wiebe, who is known to us by name in the Danzig area, is the master builder Adam Wiebe, who immigrated with his family from Harlingen in West Frisia to Danzig in 1616. In 1651, as an elderly man, he bought a small farm in Pasewark on the Danzig Nehrung <sup>7)</sup>. In all probability a large percentage of the Wiebes living today in the Werder are his descendants. Adam Wiebe was certainly a Mennonite when he immigrated. In spite of his great services to Danzig, he is not listed in the Citizen's Book. According to the custom of the Mennonites he carries an old biblical name <sup>8)</sup>. In any case, around 1700 there is mention of three Wiebes, who had leased the village Herrenhagen, said that they were "personae mennonistae" <sup>9)</sup>.

4) Geh. Staatsarchiv Berlin, General Directorium.

5) Danzig Staatsarchiv, 300, 2. 17 Fol. 55. - Only the first two names are mentioned in the Mennonite register of 1789. However, a Felgenhawer (Fehlhauer) is mentioned in 1715 in connection with other Mennonites in the leasing of the Koczelnitzke Heubuden. (Danzig Staatsarchiv 358, 625).

6) In 1676 the Mennonites at Marienau are ordered by the court to pay the church fees. In 1706 a similar sentence is issued by the court against the Mennonites in Rückenau. (Geh. Staatsarch. Berl., Gen. Dir. Mat. XVI. No. 1. Vol. II 76).

7) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 24. fol. 114.

8) Cf. Schottmüller, *Adam Wiebe, ein Danziger Ingenieur im 17. Jahrhundert.*

9) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 835.

The country of origin of the Penners, who represent the most numerous farming family in the lower Vistula region, is probably from the city of Amsterdam in Holland region of the Netherlands. A Hendrich Penner moved from Amsterdam to Danzig in 1725. He brought with him a certificate from the local Mennonite congregation, which attested to his upright of life <sup>10)</sup> and thus secured his acceptance into the Danzig congregation.

We are well informed about the places of origin of the Jansens and Jantzens. A register of inhabitants from the year 1619 of Hoppenbruch <sup>11)</sup>, which belonged to the Abbot of Pelplin at that time, names several Jansens and adds religion and profession. There a linen weaver Cornelius Jan from Harlingen is listed with the marginal note "Annbaptista". Two other linen weavers Gerg Jansen from Brabant and Hartwig Jansen from Hollstein have the same note <sup>12)</sup>.

When in 1585 a farmer Wallich Jansen in Altebabke dies <sup>13)</sup>, his Dutch relatives claim their inheritance from Jansen's widow in a letter dated from the town of Schönhosea in Holland. The names of these relatives, namely Laurentzen, Göritzen, Wahlen, except for the first one, are found both in the register of 1789, mentioned several times, and among the present Mennonites.

In a contract of sale <sup>14)</sup> from the year 1618 we have documentation, which gives us a very rare insights into origin, immigration destination and profession. it says there: "Peter Paulsen has sold. . . to Jacob Jantzen from Embden a half Morgen of rented land from his farm in Beyershorst, without fence half an Morgen holding ... for 50 Marks Prussian cash ... and it is granted upon his insistent request, that he be allowed to build a brandy distillery on this half Morgan of land and to seek his fortune by distilling brandy there. However, he must provide the wood at his own expense, and the enterprise must be profitable in the future, which the esteemed [city] council, because of the brandy distillers, would like".

10) *Protokollbuch der Danziger Mennonitengemeinde*, page 17.

11) Copy of the Pelplin Cathedral Archives in the Danzig State Archives.

12) Holstein is probably the congregation of Wüstenfelde, which was founded by Dutch Mennonites around 1555. (See Mannhardt: "*Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde*", p. 25 ff.).

13) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. no. 4 Fol. 111 u. 99.

14) *ibid.* 300, 2. no. 13 Fol. 137.



Incidentally, it is significant that this Jansen buys his land from a Paulsen, a Mennonite, and settles here in Beyershorst <sup>15</sup>). At that time this village was almost entirely in the hands of the Dutch <sup>16</sup>) and has remained so in the following decades and centuries. Other Mennonite names point primarily to Friesland as their place of origin. For example, in 1639 a Jan Barchmann from Groningen and around 1660 a Jahn Siewers from Emden and the Hamburg Mennonite congregation are named <sup>17</sup>). These names keep coming back in the Vistula Delta. In 1550 Dirk Philips, born in Leeuwarden in Friesland, is the elder of the Danzig congregation and in 1607 it is Jan Gerrits from Emden <sup>18</sup>).

It almost seems to me as if the large majority of the Mennonites are of Frisian origin, which is evident from the frequently mentioned home towns of Emden, Groningen, Harlingen, etc. Although West Friesland already belonged to Holland under constitutional law, these people are Frisians according to their lineage. Since in the 16th and 17th centuries the constitutional affiliation was decisive, here in West Prussia they are consistently described as Dutch. On the other hand, no Mennonite bears the family name "Hollander", which was and is by all means not uncommon in Danzig, but rather names like Friese, Friesen and Fröse. Furthermore, the custom of patronymic naming, which was mainly practiced by the Frisians until the 19th century, is also practiced here by the Mennonites in the Vistula Delta <sup>19</sup>).

15) The profession of distiller and liquor manufacturer was practiced frequently by the Dutch Mennonites here in Danzig. The famous *Danziger Goldwasser* and *Lachsliköre* and *Stobbes Machandel* are products of Dutch Mennonites.

16) The land of Beyershorst belongs to the following farmers in 1621: Gert Paulsen, Dönnietz Penner, Jochem Votz, Peter Paulsen, Michel Prol, Paul Petersen, Johann Jacobsen, Hans Petersen, Gert Gossen, Jacob Corneliessen. (Except for Votz and Prol, the names are all mentioned in the Mennonite Register of 1789.)

17) Menn. Blätter, 1854, p. 12 f.

18) Mannhardt: *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde*, p. 48 f.

19) I only want to name a limited number: Abrahams, Andres, Allertsen Arens, Bartels, Behrends, Claassen, Cornelsen, Daniels, Dirksen, Doercksen, Frantzen, Goertzen (from Geritsen), Gosen, Harms, Heinrichs, Hiebert, Jacobsen, Jantzen, Mathies, Nickel, (Niclas, the first part of the name became Nickel, the second became Klas), Niessen, Ohmsen, Pauls, Peters, Philippsen, Quiring (from Quirin / 1621 a Quirin Simsen in Tiegenhagen, Danzig Staatsarchiv 308, 2. 15 Fol. 24), Regehr (originated from Reyer, a Frisian first name. For example, a Reyer Florissen is named among the first Dutch settlers from Scharfenberg in 1587 (Danz. St. Arch. 358, 996), then in 1642 a Heinrich Reyger /Danz.Staat. Arch. 300, 2. 22. Fol. 196) Siemens, Thiessen, Tjahrt (from Tyahrtsen), Toews, (Low German abbreviation from Matheussen), Woelms, Ziem.

## II. The Settlement of Mennonite Dutch people in Danzig Werder

There were many reasons why the Dutch and Frisians had made their way to distant Prussia beginning in 1530. These so-called Dutch Anabaptists, in their beliefs and practices, were a continuation of the old Waldensian movement, which in the last decades before the Reformation, and in increasing numbers found their beliefs to be in direct conflict with the Roman Church. In the Radical Reformation split from Rome, the Anabaptists went beyond Luther and, in contrast to Luther, proclaimed the freedom of the human will to choose between God and Satan. They taught that freedom of confession should not be restricted by any state church.

This radical wing of the Reformation, was called Anabaptists because of their belief that only confessing adults should be baptized <sup>1)</sup>, aroused the hatred of the Protestant Church, which was just in the process of becoming organized. They were severely persecuted with torture and burning at the stake, in Switzerland as well as in the Netherlands <sup>2)</sup>. After the Munster Revolt, with all its error and violence became known to the outside world, it served as a pretext to take action against the Anabaptist. It is not surprising that even well-meaning people were too easily persuaded that all Anabaptists had the same goals as the Münster agitators, even though the vast majority of them had nothing to do with Johann von Leyden [Jan van Leyden]. When it came to their way of life, they held precisely the opposite views.

The ideas of the Anabaptists also gained a foothold in East Germany in the heavy shipping traffic between the German Baltic coast and the Dutch ports. Driven from their homeland by Charles V, Anabaptists sought refuge with their German trading partners. But here as well they did not receive a friendly welcome.

1) They called themselves Taufgesinnte (baptism minded).

2) In 1711 Mennonite families expelled from Switzerland were settled in Prussian-Lithuania by Frederick I, (from Reischwitz I., page 32.)

In 1534 the council of the city of Danzig wrote <sup>3)</sup> "to the authorities of the city of Emden: that, because Danzig has discovered some Anabaptists in the city, Danzig would like Emden to provide the sailors, passengers and other people who wanted to come to Danzig with written certification to allow them to be qualified so that Danzig could know which people to allow into the city and which to refuse. The aim is to obey the royal order, which forbids accepting such people, so that this city and the country of Poland are not infected with such poisonous disease."

A similar letter was sent from Danzig to the states of Amsterdam, Antwerp, the Fähre and Enkhuizen on May 2nd. Especially now at the beginning of the sailing season you have to be particularly careful <sup>4)</sup>. "The error of the Anabaptists and sacramentists" is also in the opinion of the council of the Hanseatic city of Lübeck "so deeply rooted in many surrounding countries and cities" that it finds it necessary to write to the council of Danzig in March 1535 <sup>5)</sup>. In this letter, the people [representatives] of Danzig are invited to a day trip to the Hanseatic League city of Lüneburg on July 1st, during which time the Anabaptists in particular are to be discussed. Apparently, they wanted to take a united front on this issue.

But when these Anabaptists didn't behave so badly in the years that followed, one could not avoid letting these people come ashore here in Danzig, if only for reasons of the huge trade with the Netherlands. It is true that they were prevented from settling in the city more out of trade envy than out of their zeal for their faith <sup>6)</sup>. In return they preferred to settle them as farmers in the lower parts of the Danzig Werder. After all, these people from the North Sea marshes are capable of wresting the soil from the swamps here as well.

The Dutch homeland of the immigrants was very similar to the Vistula Delta. In the end, the areas of the Stüblau Werders that were below sea level were nothing more than the polders of the Frisches Haff. At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Order of Knights had a dyke that finally separated the lagoon, that once existed here, from the Frisches Haff <sup>7)</sup>.

3) Danz. Stadtbibliothek 499, 41.

4) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 27 No. 13, p. 207.

5) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 29.

6) In 1563 for example, 1120 Dutch ships called at the port of Danzig (Keyser: *Danzigs Geschichte*, p. 92).

When the Baltic Sea trade and, above all, the Danzig grain trade were almost completely halted by Gustav Adolf's war against Poland, the grain prices in Amsterdam skyrocketed (Keyser op. Cit. p. 106). Also, Mannhardt: *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde*.

7) Bertram-La Baume: *Das Vistula-Nogat Delta*, p. 10.

Windmills operated bucket wheels everywhere to drain the low-lying land. Nevertheless, during the time of the Order it was hardly ever possible to transform the depressed areas into farm land of equal value compared to the other Werder farmland. It is said of the inhabitants of Petershagen, for example: "They only have *Wasserhuben* and floodplain dikes." With this justification Konrad von Jungingen decreed a plan of *Dammscharwerk* on the dams on the Vistula and Nogat <sup>8)</sup>. The income a farmer could derive from the wet meadows was too meager. Similar conditions existed in Orloff, where when Grand Master Heinrich Dusemer renews the village privilege, the residents are exempted from the *Dammscharwerk* <sup>9)</sup>.

After the reign of the order had come to an end, the administrators who managed the wide spread system of dykes and drainage systems for the common good left their posts. Individual requests from the various sovereign territories, including the villages, may well have led to the deterioration of the entire drainage system and thus even more bleak conditions. There is no other explanation for the fact that after the dike breaches in 1540 and 1543 <sup>10)</sup> the entire area of the Danzig Werder, which is below sea level, became a watery landscape for years and gradually became covered with reeds and cane. Nature seemed to want to recapture the damaged area, which covered 100 square km. In vain they tried to make the land usable again <sup>11)</sup>.

Illustrating the situation is an account contained in an old Mennonite church record, which says: "Before our forefathers came here from Holland, some of the Mennonists from Germany came to visit the area, because it was all swamps and bushes, but the task of making it arable again was seen as too difficult and so they did not move here. The Dutch, however, were masters of the water mills, a skill the Germans lacked" <sup>12)</sup>.

It is not true that drainage mills were unknown at that time. But one thing is certain, namely that the Dutch and Frisians had centuries of experience in their homeland, and had developed hydraulic engineering to a level of perfection that was not known in our homeland.

8) *ibid*, p. 39.

9) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 33. It says in the privilege: "So we let them do unmarried man's service, and do not require them to work on the large dam."

10) Bertram-La Baume a. a. Cit., P. 15.

11) The farmers from Schmerblock leave around 1550, "because the soil was not suitable for farming and they were unable to reclaim it to its former productivity." (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. 167a, fol. 32.)

12) Orlofferfelde church chronicle, page 4, owned by the local Mennonite church.

It is understandable that the responsible authorities made use of the knowledge possessed by these people for the benefit of the country. These Dutch men were often used, by the Danzig Council or other authorities, in the construction of water mills. Thus, in 1622, the council ordered the construction of a water mill for the Nehrung by Adam Wiebe, a native of Harlingen. His son continued to use these same skills in Brunau <sup>13</sup>).

Therefore, the people of Danzig did not hesitate to entrust almost the entire of the Danzig Werder, which was below sea level, to Dutch immigrants for reclamation after the 1543 collapse.

The first contract is concluded in 1547 with the Dutch locator Philipp Edzema and his consorts <sup>14</sup>). Hereby he is given the estate Reichenberg "according to the German, *Köllmisches*, right to have, to possess and according to his best abilities to cultivate and to enjoy, hereditary and eternal. . ." the colonists are ordered to build water mills and sluices for drainage. They shall, "as they otherwise can or may, manage the water without harm to the farmers from the estate of Reichenberg". They are allowed the freedom to run their own schools, to hunt birds and catch fish. Since in all likelihood the construction of the locks and the digging of the ditches would take up all of the settlers' energy in the first few years and hardly any significant income would be earned, the council grants the settlers 5 years free from taxation. From then on, they are to pay 4 Mark per Hufen each year.

After the conclusion of the contract Philipp Edzema received from the council an escort letter to go to the Netherlands and to bring people from his homeland to occupy Reichenberg. All friends and patrons of the city of Danzig are asked to not hinder him and his company in any way <sup>15</sup>). We have here one of the few cases where we gain greater insight into the interconnections between the Netherlands and Danzig. Otherwise, we generally have to be content with the designation "Dutch" in the documents.

In the same year, on March 28, 1547, Scharfenberg, Landau and the Sperlingsdorfer Bruch are sold to the "prudent Hermann von Bommeln and Tönnies Floristen" on similar terms.

13) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 16, fol. 148 u. 17 fol. 93.

14) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 996. Elsewhere the locator is called only Philipp or Philipp Fressen. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. 167b, fol. 1.)

15) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. 167b. fol. 1.

In the contract, which the council concludes with the Dutch, Landau is exempt from all *Scharwerk*, including those at the Vistula dikes. Scharfenberg also only needs to keep its dikes on the Mottlau in order <sup>16)</sup>. This exemption from the *Scharwerk* will be seen repeatedly as it is characteristic of the Dutch settlements.

In documents from 1571 we learn something more about the ownership in Scharfenberg <sup>17)</sup>. At that time, Tönnies and Adrian Florissen, Peter Jantzen and the gentlemen Hermann von Bommeln, Johann Möllers and Johann Conrads are described as being liable in an agreement about drainage.

At this time, an unusual agreement is made with these 6 owners <sup>18)</sup> of Scharfenberg. Since each of them owned about 5 Hufen, the whole parcel was divided into 6 equal "families". Each family was responsible to administer the mayor's office for 5 years from the year 1570 on. After expiration of the administrative term of the 6th family then the cycle resumed with the first family <sup>19)</sup>. Probably it was believed that this would achieve the fairest possible distribution of the village administrative costs. Later, when the land of the individual families was divided into several plots, a head of the family concerned was compensated for by the administration of the mayor's office.

The residents of Scharfenberg included a list of official duties in the mayor's book to ensure that they were properly executed. The first entries date back to 1567. From 1610 onwards, a regular record is kept of which family was in charge of the mayor's office in a given year. At the same time, the various hereditary owners within the family and the "tenants" who leased the individual farms are also listed. This allows us to trace the continuity of the Dutch immigrant families through the first centuries. For example, the Jantzen family has been resident in the village of Scharfenberg from 1570 until more recent times.

16) Danz Staatsarch. 358, 996 and 300, 7. 167a, fol. 21.

17) Between the Dutch in Scharfenberg and the Dutch settlements, which Duke Albrecht lent in the administrative district of (Pr.) Holland, certain relations existed. For this see the comments in the appendix.

18) There seem to have been some subtenants in Scharfenberg already at that time; because on November 14, 1567 Reyer Floes, Merten Clausen and Hans Jacobsen, inhabitants of Scharfenberg, conclude a contract with Anna v. Werden (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 996). They would have bought out of the share of the latter three, because just these lands were always issued to subtenants even at the beginning of the following century, while the others were worked by the owners themselves. (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 896).

19) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 996.

Likewise, the [surnames] Philippsen, Peters, Giesebrechts, later after the recent flooding of the northern Danzig Werder in 1657 <sup>20)</sup> also the [surnames] Andres' and Froeses are mentioned repeatedly as farmers from Scharfenberg <sup>21)</sup>. Similarly, for a later period (1710 to 1740) the Dutch names remain predominant in Scharfenberg, although more and more new farm families from other places, such as Eichholtz and Scherwitzki, move in.

In addition to the already mentioned three villages Scharfenberg, Landau and Reichenberg, the 60 Hufen of Schmerblock were leased by the Danzig Council to two members of the Danzig Council on January 3, 1552. They wanted to lease at the same rent rates as in Scharfenberg and Weslinke. After that the latter village seemed to have been newly leased as well. Here, too, it must have been Dutch, since the contracts were the same as in Scharfenberg. Officially, however, Weslinke was granted to Danzig citizens in 1552, who then seemed to have subleased it. Numerous leases <sup>22)</sup> from later times confirm this conclusion. Walter von Hollten, Gert Claussen (Klassen) and Friedrich Gertson (Görtz) were named as partners of the two citizens of Danzig in the award certificate from Schmerblock <sup>23)</sup>. The latter two were, to all appearances, the leaders of the Dutch community, who in reality took possession of the submerged land as tenants. They were the only ones who could discharge the obligation to make the land arable with mills, dikes and sluices.

The fact that, in the next century, Schmerblock became a village primarily composed of Dutch people, can be seen from individual notes in the official books of the Nehrung. For example, on March 13, 1638 Tewes Felgenhauer sold his farm to Aries Petersen from Schmerblock with Peter Aries <sup>24)</sup>, mayor from Schmerblock, and Albrecht Adrians and Wilhelm Jantzen, also from Schmerblock, as witnesses.

20) From 1657 to 1662 the northern part of the Werder was under water, because the Swedes had breached the dikes (Bertram-La Baume loc. cit. p. 15).

21) See for this the name registers of the fire regulations from the year 1675 (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874) and 1725 (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945).

22) The rent in each case is for 5 years in the village Weslinke: 1637 Wilm Philippsen 1 Hufe 24 Morgen, 1621 Lorenz Dirksen 54 M., 1622 Cornelius Jansen 1 H. 23 M. 1631 Andres Jansen 4 H. 7 M., 1642 Jan Corneliesen 1 H. 23 M. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. 497 u. 498.)

23) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. no. 115, p. 81 f.

24) Probably an example of patronymic naming. The mayor of Schmerblock was probably the father of the purchaser, while the son received the first name of the grandfather as his first name. This is all the more probable, since I have otherwise encountered the name Aries very rarely. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 21, fol. 318) - In 1620 Claas Andresen is the mayor in Schmerblock. (300, 2. 14, fol. 395).

All these names are of Dutch-Frisian origin <sup>25</sup>). This assertion is confirmed by a short note from Hartwich <sup>26</sup>) in his "Description of the Three Werder" [*Beschreibung der drei Werder*], which was drawn up in 1719. Hartwich speaks of the "Schmerenblock, which is a place in the Danzig Werder, where everyone in the village is Dutch. "

There is no doubt that additional land in the depression area was leased to the Dutch beyond the villages mentioned above. Because when looking through the Werder *Amtskastens* I found a list of the villages in an account book for 1613 divided in four different categories <sup>27</sup>). There were 15 Stüblau *Scharwerks* villages and the "five villages of the middle Werder". In addition, the following were administered by the Building Authority ["Bauamte"]:

	Hufen	Morgen
Plehnendorf	12	6
Neuendorf	22	11
Klautzkrug und Rückfort	4	2
And finally, the following places were listed under the title "Dutch villages"		
	Hufen	Morgen
Schmerblock	56	28
Altefehr (Breitfelde)	17	8
Schönrohr	13	6
Weslinke	44	22
Reichenberg	41	20
Scharfenberg	30	15
Landau	30	15
Subtotal, 2nd group	231	114
Grand Total :	234 Hufen and 24 Morgen	

Although we do not have the deeds of Altefehr and Schönrohr, we can assume that these two villages were also entrusted by the Danzig Council to the Dutch for reclamation. Otherwise, it is hard to understand how these two villages could be entered in the list of Dutch properties. So, we have here a well-defined district of about 235 Hufen, which was settled by the Dutch in the middle of the 16th century.

25) In 1638, besides the above mentioned, a Volkhardt Claassen and a Claas Andresen are mentioned as farmers in Schmerblock. (Danz. Staatsarch. 360, 2. 21.)

26) Hartwich, Geogr., *Hist. Landesbeschreibung der drei im poln. Preußen liegenden Werder*, S. 15.

27) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. no. 167c.



That these villages also appeared together as a unit in other respects is evident from a written petition submitted by the mayors to the council in the beginning of the 17th century <sup>28</sup>). They complain about the quartering fees they have to pay. The document is signed by:

Hans Albrecht, Mayor of Schmerblock,  
Cornelius Corneliesen, Mayor of Altenfähre,  
Cornelius Jacobsen, Mayor of Landau,  
Adrian Messen, Mayor of Scharfenberg,  
Peter Korsch, Mayor of Weslinke,  
Cornelius Cornelissen, Mayor of Reichenberg.

Here again the names speak unequivocally <sup>29</sup>).

In the opinion of the council, the religious beliefs of these Dutch were not that different. He believed that he should not have to witness the annoyance they gave the preachers over various religious matters. Even around 1570, people still lived with the memory of the Münster atrocities and believed that they had to be alert for similar events, although the Mennonites of Danzig had already shown themselves to be particularly calm and reserved just for this reason. Thus, around 1570, even in the countryside <sup>30</sup>) where all eyes had been focused on the Anabaptists, the authorities began to exert more pressure. The council issued general ordinances for the Werder, requiring regular church attendance on Sundays and holidays. Children are to be baptized within 3 days of birth. Violations are punishable by a heavy fine <sup>31</sup>). However, it seems to be partly about the maintenance of the Protestant parishes; for in a decree <sup>32</sup>) of the council in December 15, 1571 the inhabitants of Reichenberg, Weslinke, Neuendorf, Plehnendorf and Quadendorf are most earnestly admonished to comply with the request of the church fathers and to pay one Fl. per Hufe for the upkeep of the church.

28) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. 167b, fol. 73.

29) A tax book for the year 1595 names the following *Holländer*: Claus Gowerdtsen as mayor of Weslinke: Andres Bartz as mayor and Gerdt Arentson as councilman of Reichenberg: Jost Henrichsen and Jacob Jansen as representatives of Landau, Simon Janson as owner of the *Hakenbude* there: finally Men. Franßon as mayor of Scharfenberg (300, 7. 167c). The same book mentions the following names of mayors for 1612: Peter Jantzen, Reichenberg: Wiebe Jantzen, Altefehr: Klages Goders, Weslinke: Cornelius Dauedtschen, Landau: Abraham Giesebrecht, Scharfenberg. (300, 7. No. 167c.)

30) The Mennonites had been largely driven out of the city of Danzig and saw themselves as subjects of the bishop in the Danzig suburbs. (Mannh. *Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde*. p. 48 to 83).

31) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. 167b./3. Ibid fol. 32.

32) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. 167b, fol. 38.

Everyone was to pay without fail, "so that no complaint of disobedience would come." Since such forceful words were used, it seems that a particularly large number of Anabaptists lived in these villages, who were to be forced by these ordinances to maintain a church that had no relevance to them. The council believed that it could proceed lawfully, since only the Lutheran and Catholic churches were recognized, and later also the Reformed Church. Sects were not officially tolerated.

The Anabaptists responded in 1582 in a supplementary letter to the council <sup>32</sup>). It was written by the "subjects mockingly called the Anabaptists or Mennonites in the Klein Werder." It was presented by representatives from Scharfenberg, Wotzlaff and Neuendorf. The Mennonites opposed church ordinance and fines, which are ultimately aimed only at them. In all worldly matters they would obey the authorities, but not in matters of conscience. Therefore, they could not and would not pay any penance for things that were not crimes according to their faith. The council could have asked them about their faith when they settled. At that time, however, there was no discussion of such fines. Some of them had already been living undisturbed on this land for almost 30 years. If they had known this, they would have preferred to leave the country at that time. They knew that the council needed money, but it should not be forced on them in this way against their conscience.

It seems that from then on they were left undisturbed by such demands.

That this was not a petition of a small minority, but that the Mennonites were by far the majority among the Dutch, is evident from another matter which, a few decades later, at the beginning of the following century, occupied the farmers of the Danzig Werder in the most serious way. In the autumn of 1613, as a result of the already obvious disputes between Sweden and Poland, which threatened to draw in Danzig, the council ordered the subjects of Stüblau Werder to take part in a military inspection. While the other farmers were gathering weapons and equipment, the Dutch villages did not. The mayors of Stüblau Werder complain about this in a petition to the council <sup>33</sup>):

32) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. no. 167b, fol. 36.

33) Danz Staatsarch. 300, 7. no. 167c. Translated into modern German by the author. As far as possible, the sentence order was preserved.

“The Dutch have not yet procured anything for the muster. We assume that they will not procure anything for muster in the future either, much less have themselves mustered. This is very burdensome for us foreign subjects and seems very strange to us. For if, God forbid, the enemy were to make an incursion into the Werder, he would certainly visit not only the Werder farmers, but also the lowland villages, which possess fine horses and cattle, and have barns and stalls full of them.” . . . “We therefore ask the Council to arrange for the Lowlanders to be examined, just as we are, in view of the fact that, without this, they have more liberties than a farmer <sup>34)</sup> performing *Scharwerk* on the dikes and also in many other respects.”

Thereupon the Council entered into negotiations with the Dutch Mennonites, who were forbidden by their religious principles to take up arms. The result was a decision by the council <sup>35)</sup> that the Low Villages should also be called up for muster. This decree to the Werder, however, had one restriction, which went a long way towards accommodating the Dutch. It says: "In the event that someone cannot perform military service due to age, physical condition, incapacity or conscience, nor have someone take his place, he shall be liable to pay 3½ Fl. Polish per month from every Hufe of land”.

In practice, this meant that the Dutch were exempt from military service in exchange for a monetary payment.

Thus gradually a special status of the Dutch villages developed, based on the cultural differences between the Dutch and Frisians and the native East Germans. They spoke their own dialect, had their own way of doing business, and did not build their farms along a common village street, as was usually the case in the rest of the country. The individual farmsteads were scattered over a wide area, each surrounded by its own land. They lived under one roof in the manner of the Frisian house-barn with cattle and supplies. Averse to any kind of coercion, they had from the beginning refused to perform *Scharwerk* or similar "servitude". Last but not least, it was the strict adherence to their religious beliefs that drew a distinction between the newcomers and the natives.

It is therefore not surprising that a community effort that started in the Dutch villages, hardly penetrated beyond the Dutch-Mennonite farm population during the first centuries of its existence.

34) The mayor, who made the entry, apparently defined as farmers only those who are obligated to do *Scharwerk* for the city.

35) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7. no. 167c.

I'm referring to mutual fire insurance, which was established at the beginning of the 17th century, specifically in 1622 <sup>36)</sup> and confirmed by the mayor of Danzig at the time. The reason for the absence among the other farmers in the Werder may also have been the centralized construction of the German farms; where mutual fire insurance seemed to be of little benefit to them compared to the more dispersed country farms of the Dutch.

The mutuality consisted of the fact that if a farmer's property was damaged by fire, the others jointly shared in the restoration. In the beginning, the villages joined the insurance company to cover all the community property. The share of fire insurance fee was calculated per Hufe, and the individual farmer was charged based on the size of his property. Mutual aid, however, consisted not only of monetary payments, but also of helping the farmers with the clean-up work and later with the delivery of building materials and finally with the construction itself.

In the comprehensive fire regulations <sup>37)</sup>, the terms were precisely laid down; among them, the fire extinguishing equipment, the buckets and ladders that everyone was obliged to keep at the ready.

What makes these fire regulations particularly valuable to me in my investigation are the carefully kept registers of the insured villages and farmers. Sometimes even a court stamp is present, but always the exact number of Hufen and Morgen of the individual farmers. New registers were created several times. The first was in 1622; with new registers being placed into service in 1673, 1723 and 1748. By comparing the names of the Dutch immigrants and then again with the Mennonite register from 1789, the Dutch-Frisian settlement area can be determined fairly accurately from the insurance registers.

One insight that we can draw from the registers is that the Dutch rarely settled in large numbers in the so-called *Scharwerk* villages *Scharwerksdörfern* of the Stüblau Werder <sup>38)</sup>. Firstly, the villages were already in existence and secondly, the Dutch were very reluctant to perform the *Scharwerk*.

36) In the following year a fire insurance company was founded in the Gross Marienburger Werder, which started from the local Dutch center in Tiegenhagen and still exists as the Tiegenhof fire insurance.

37) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874.

38) Shared *Scharwerk* villages of Stübla Werdens: Stüblau, Gütland, Kriefkohl, Zugdam, Osterwick, Wossitz, Langfelde, Trutenau, Gr. Zünder, Letzkau, Käsemark, Kl. Zünder, Herzberg, Wotzlaff, and Gottswalde.

An exception, however, is Wotzlaff <sup>39)</sup>, which is the lowest point in the depression, lying 1 to 1.50 m below sea level <sup>40)</sup>. It had been settled around 1620 by a larger number of Dutch <sup>41)</sup> because they were the only ones who could successfully farm there. In 1675 the mayor Cornielsen and the councilman Dau took out the fire insurance for their village, and the names of the farmers include Nickel, Philippsen, Jacobsen, Gertzen, Ziemen, Cornelsen, Claassen, Dau, Jantzen, Quiring, Felgenhauer, and Enze. The land in the village is primarily in the hands of the Dutch <sup>42)</sup>. There are, however, the names of five smaller farmers in the register, whose affiliation to the Dutch seems questionable.

Until the middle of the 18th century, Schönau and Sperlingsdorf were influenced by a growing Dutch immigration, which probably never took possession of more than half of the land <sup>43)</sup>. In addition, Käsemark <sup>44)</sup> seems to have had a few Dutch farmers at certain times, but they never played a decisive role there.

In contrast, the two villages Plehnendorf and Neuendorf, administered by the Building Authority *Bauamte*, were settled very early by Dutch immigrants. Here, too, it is a question of low-lying land, which offered a suitable opportunity for them to apply their drainage skills. Earlier <sup>45)</sup> we have seen that Mennonites had already settled in Neuendorf by 1582. Gradually, through immigration from the Netherlands and the Dutch villages, they became more numerous, so that by 1725 <sup>46)</sup> they had the whole village in their possession. The situation in Plehnendorf is similar. Paul Cornelies is named as mayor of this village and Peter Corneliesen and Meinerd Arendsen as farmers from Plehnendorf are mentioned in a legal transaction from the year 1629 <sup>47)</sup>.

39) see above p. 10.

40) Bertram-La Baume a. a. O. page 15.

41) Jantzen, Claassen, Cornelsen are found for this year in Wotzlaff. (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874.)

42) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874.

43) From a comparison of the register for both villages (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874).

44) This comes from the names from the early 17th century (*Amtsbücher der Nehrung*).

45) See above p. 16.

46) Michael Beberstein, Mathies Classen, Friedrich Petersen, Frantz Philippsen, Johann Sprunck, Jacob Gowert, Hendrich Petersen, Peter Giesbrecht, Martin Regehr, Franz Conrad, Peter Nickel. These were the farmers of Neuendorf for the year 1725.

47) Danz. Staatsarch. M, 2. 19, fol. 217.

According to the register of 1675 the farmers of the village are for the most part of Dutch-Frisian descent <sup>48</sup>).

We stated earlier that the Dutch hardly gained a foothold in the southern, higher-lying area of the Stüblau *Scharwerk* villages, but this does not apply at all to the other lands situated closer to Danzig.

These lands belonged for the most part to ecclesiastical landowners, who were more generous towards the Mennonites than the city itself. The yields, of the Dutch farmers, and thus rental income, were larger than average when compared to other tenants. And the ecclesiastical landlords could not ignore these results. At the beginning of the settlement period, the *Heilige Geist* Hospital owned the village of Krampitz as well as the villages of Weisshof and Scheibe. I could not find a settlement contract, but I could find the obligation of the two *Holländer* Brandt Dircksen and Jacob Dircksen from the year 1622 to join the fire insurance of the Dutch villages with the abovementioned localities <sup>49</sup>). For the following two centuries Mennonites leased the farms owned by the hospital <sup>50</sup>).

Also over on the other side of the Mottlau in Neunhuben we have the same situation. Once created by separation of 30 Hufen from Hochzeit <sup>51a</sup>), Neunhuben probably existed earlier, but certainly since the middle of the 17th century it was increasingly populated by the Dutch, and remained so in the following century <sup>51b</sup>). Later, when the oppression of the Mennonites decreased, they built a church here, so that the surrounding farmers did not have to make the long trip to Danzig in spring, when the roads were impassible. Neunhuben as well as Nassenhuben and Hochzeit had belonged to the Lutheran Danzig councilman Gerhard von Pränen since 1638 <sup>52</sup>). In the latter two villages, however, the typical Dutch-Mennonite names had been increasing since the beginning of the 18th century, until they eventually outnumbered the Dutch farmers of the two villages in 1798 <sup>53</sup>).

48) Their names are: Peter Gowert, Dirck Gertsen, Willm Cornelsen, Dirck Berkmann, Hans Cornelsen, Hans Glasenap, Michael Dawidt.

49) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874.

50) See the Register in the appendix.

51a) Klemm, *Sechs Jahrhunderte Nassenhuben* p. 6.

51b) *ibid.*

52) *ibid.*

53) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874 and 358, 945 respectively.

Gross and Klein Walddorf, also Quadendorf, appear very early in the fire register of the Dutch villages. In 1622 the mayor Adam Heinrichs and the councilman Franz Gertsen were already registered in the fire register with the 34 Hufen of Gross Walddorf, and in 1675 the mayor Andres Hindrichs and councilman Andres Nickel, registered for the village. Also in the following decades the names of Jantzen, Petersen, Nickels and Gertsen as well as Martens dominate the pages of the fire register, which gives information about the residents of Gross Walddorf <sup>54</sup>). However, a word of caution is in order, since only those names which are typically Dutch-Mennonite were used for this evaluation.

Looking back, we can rightly claim that the fertile fields and meadows in the Danzig Werder, which lie below sea level, are an ethnological accomplishment of the Dutch and Frisians. From Schmerblock to the suburbs of Danzig the Dutch villages stretch along the Vistula. At Reichenberg the Dutch settlement area makes a bend to the south, goes as far as Schönau and Landau, and then reaches its western border in the "Lake" and later in the Mottlau. The most southwestern part of the depression, beyond the "Lake", has never been settled by the Dutch to any appreciable extent. The reason for this is not known to me.

From the names that have come down to us from Scharfenberg, it is clear that not all of the Dutch were Mennonites, and that the Mennonites among them had been migrating from the "Dutch villages" of the Danzig Werder since the middle of the 17th century <sup>55</sup>). The main reason for this was the increasingly unfriendly attitude of the Council towards the Mennonites. In 1650 they were forbidden to acquire land outside the city <sup>56</sup>). In 1660 the Council forbid all Mennonites within the Danzig territory to practice their religion and orders them to be disturbed and hindered in their gatherings <sup>57</sup>). At the same time, a pamphlet entitled "Informativ contra mennonistas" <sup>58</sup>) was distributed in Danzig by unknown sources. To make matters even worse, during in the Swedish-Polish Wars, the Swedes cause the entire lowland to be flooded.

54) See the Register in the Appendix.

55) See the Lists in the, Appendix.

56) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. p. 499, 41.

57) Danz. Stadtbibliothek 449, 430.

58) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. No. 499, 41.

For several years the fields could not be cultivated. Under this pressure from all sides, there began a strong migration to the Gross Werder, which belonged to the Polish king at that time<sup>59</sup>).

### III Settlement of Mennonite Dutch in the area of the Nehrung and Scharpau a) Settlement of the Binnen-Nehrung

Quite early, in the first decades of the 17th century, a migration movement from the rich Dutch villages of the Danzig to the Nehrung began. There was still untouched and uncultivated soil in the Binnen-Nehrung. New settlers came from Wotzlaff, Reichenberg, Landau and Schmerblock<sup>1</sup>). They were supported by relatives in the Werder, who were able to supply cattle, fodder and equipment during the early years. The Danzig council itself supported the development in 1607 by giving a carpenter, the *Holländer* Peter Giesebrecht from Reichenberg, a contract to build two sluices near Pasewark, where the first settlers had been located for a short time<sup>2</sup>). Peter Giesebrecht, probably as a result of his skills, rose to the position of watermill builder<sup>3</sup>) and finally married the daughter of a new settler<sup>4</sup>).

Some years later Giesebrecht sold his farm to another *Holländer* named Bestvater and moved further up the Vistula to the area of Mewe. Likewise, we find the Dutch name Felgenhawer listed in the north on the Nehrung at the beginning of the 17th century, and a few decades later further south in Heubuden. After filling up the area in the north, the Dutch apparently advanced further south along the Vistula<sup>5</sup>).

59) Geh. Staatsarch. Berl., Gen. Dir. Mal. CIX, No. 1, Vol. II, 72.

1) Willm Corneliesen and Gerd Corneliesen, farmers from Wotzlaff settled on new land in the old Binnen-Nehrung in 1611. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 947, fol 39.) Hermann Adriansen from Reichenberg was named as guardian for the children of the deceased settler Peter Jansen in 1628 (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2.19 fol 180). Simon Quiring from Landau built a house and farm on the Schwentekampe in 1626 (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2 19, fol. 6). Aries Petersen from Schmerblock bought [a farm] at Nickelswalde in 1650 (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 23, fol. 115).

2) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 9 fol. 223.

3) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 12 fol. 322.

4) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 13 fol. 123.

5) However, already in the second half of the 16th century there were Mennonites in the Graudenz lowlands.



However, the first record of a Dutch settlement on the Nehrung dates back to an earlier time. On April 9, 1562, the Council of Danzig leased 52 Hufen of land of the villages Kransdorp and Worke <sup>6)</sup> to the *Holländer* Hugo Mathias. It was land that had been uncultivated since time immemorial, covered with shrubbery and ground water ponds [*Wasserblänken*]. The Hufen of these "sterile villages" were given to Mathias via emphyteutic right, and in a few years he brought them to a respectable level of cultivation, but soon disputes arose with the council, which now wanted to take the land back. In response to a complaint of Mathias to King Sigismund, the latter intervened in favor of the *Holländer* and in 1569, from the Diet of Lublin, ordered the Council to let Mathias enjoy the fruit of his diligence and to comply with the conditions of the lease <sup>7)</sup>. However, since the Council usually did not heed such "orders" of the Polish King as encroachments on its rights, Mathias must have had to give way as well. In the following time there is no more talk about him or other Dutch, who would have resided in these villages.

A second generously written settlement plan <sup>8)</sup> was submitted to the Danzig Council in 1593 by the ruling lords of the Nehrung. The intention was to settle farmers on 200 Hufen of the old Danzig Binnen-Nehrung, which had been swampy or overgrown with trees and shrubs, thus bringing new income to the city treasury. The plan provided for the formation of 8 new villages of 25 Hufen each. In each village 8 farmers were to be appointed together with the mayor. Each farmer should have his three Hufen of land in one piece and border it with an efficient ditch. Also, the farmer shall erect his farm and other necessary buildings on his own property and not build immediately next to his neighbor <sup>9)</sup>. Furthermore, the new settlers must repair the Vistula dike system surrounding the village and maintained them in the future <sup>10)</sup>.

6) See Felicia Szper, *Niederländische Niderzetzungen in West-Pruisen*, 1913, p. 45. Perhaps Werdel and Kronenhof on the new Binnen-Nehrung.

7) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. no. 1019.

8) *ibid.* 300. 2. no. 279.

9) The Council envisaged a construction method as already proven by the Dutch in the Danzig Werder and was probably most suitable for the lowlands.

10) Here, too, since the disappearance of the Order's rule, a neglect of the dike system had been noted. The dike of the Binnen-Nehrung, which cut it off to the east, started at Junkertroylhof and went north to the Nehrung Forest.

The community *Scharwerk* on the dikes, interest payments, construction of the drainage network, the building of churches and pubs are specified in detail.

A request of the four already existing villages Schönbaum, Nickelswalde, Pasewark and Prinzlaff to be allotted 50 Hufen of the new land each but was rejected. However, the idea was to allocate 25 Hufen to each village <sup>11)</sup>. In 1595 a favorable opportunity presented itself to allocate the 200 Hufen profitably. The Council entered into negotiations with "foreign Dutch". These Dutch men were not those who were already in the Danzig territory, but apparently locators who were to inspect the land to be settled and conclude a contract. The agreements made with the Dutch about the 200 Hufen have been preserved. They wanted to help the council to restore the Vistula dikes, but they could not do it alone. They would then maintain the finished dikes, just as the farmers of the Klein Werder of Danzig are likewise obligated <sup>12)</sup>. However, if a serious breakthrough of the Vistula should afflict the country, the residents of the Klein Werder would be obliged to come to their aid. Likewise, they were willing to help, if a breach of the dikes would inundate the Klein Werder.

The Dutch wanted each farmer to receive his Hufen in one parcel, as the council had already provided. They then wanted to enclose their land with a ditch, continue with ditches through it, so that the water could run off to a main ditch, which the adjacent landowners would have to keep clean. As far as the construction of sluices and windmills would prove necessary, the landowners would share the costs. The expenses would be apportioned according to the number of Hufen of those who would benefit from the improvements. In general, it would be wise to issue an ordinance on dike and other public obligations, similar to the one the landowners in the Klein Werder had. Under these conditions, the Dutch wanted to lease the land. For the first ten years they wanted to pay 7½ MK per year pay interest for each Hufe, and from then on 15 MK annually.

11) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. no. 297.

12) The foreign Dutch probably looked thoroughly at the conditions of their compatriots in the Werder in order to achieve similar conditions for themselves. In contrast to the Dutch in the Werder, they toke on *Scharwerk* for 12 days a year.

However, no higher burdens could be imposed on them in the future.

Then, however, everyone should be obliged to improve his parcel immediately, to clear it and to dig ditches. Should anyone fail to fulfill his obligations in this regard, the council would be entitled to take the land from him and, after reimbursement of expenses, leased it to someone else.

It is quite remarkable that the agreements on the right of inheritance correspond to a large extent to the provisions of our present law on inheritance of farms. It says there: "If a farmer dies and leaves behind children, the land shall not be divided among the children. All the land shall remain intact with the farm and a son, whom the council shall appoint, will possess it. He shall give the other siblings as much of the inheritance as will be determined by the inheritance decree issued. This decree will have to determine how many cattle must be sold from each Hufe and how much must remain with each Hufe <sup>13</sup>).

This regulation has forced some second and third sons of the Dutch to settle as so-called gardeners or owners [*"Eigentümer"*] in the villages of the Nehrung. The existing resources and the amount of new land available were not sufficient for everyone to farm.

The agreements between the Danzig Council and the foreign Dutch men give us some information about the way the settlement of the lowland area was carried out. In any case, the agreement was not carried out for the entire 200 Hufen.

Apparently, there weren't enough farmers available to immediately lease all the available land. Instead, the council concluded contracts with individual Dutch or smaller groups of them. However, these contracts were not for 10 years, but only for 5 years, and were usually renewed with the old owners of the rented land. This principle of five-year lease remained for the Nehrung also in the following centuries. This short period was very favorable for the council, since it could then raise the rent with increasing yields from the land <sup>14</sup>).

13) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. no. 279 (analogous transfer).

14) That the land lease was regarded by the Council more from the point of view of a businessman than that of the sovereign is proven by the clause of a lease contract with the *Holländer* Cornelis Andres from 1687: "For the fixed interest all movable and immovable property of the tenant shall be liable as a true pledge, so that in case of non-payment we can make ourselves paid out of it before all other creditors" (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 949, fol. 122) That the collection of debts was also handled harshly against the farmers at that time is proven by the case of the peasant Hans Wiebe from Tiegenort, whose farm had been burned down by the Swedes. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300. 2. 286.) The money borrowed for the reconstruction of the farm from the citizen of Danzig Nicolaus von Bodeck was given to him in 1662, half a year later the Scharpau *Amtsboten* posted an announcement [*"Strohwisch"*] and the farmer was told that he must pay within half a year, otherwise the whole property would go to his creditor. This then happened. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 27, fol. 1 u. 161.)

The new land, which should initially be leased for 7.50 MK or 15 MK per Hufe, already brought the council 6 MK per Morgen in a contract from 1646 <sup>15)</sup>. Business methods were used here for negotiating land ownership, which would not always please the farmer.

The first contract <sup>16)</sup> with a *Holländer*, which I found, dates from the year 1606, should run until Easter 1611 and is contracted over 3 Hufen between Pasewark and Nickelswalde with Wilhelm Fast. The land is to be measured by the sworn land surveyor of the city, starting from the so-called rearmost farmyard.

A second lease contract about the "new Land behind Prentzlaff" is concluded with a larger number of Dutch in December 1611. The individual parcels are also to be measured by a land surveyor. In total there are 8½ Hufen, which are rented to Wilhelm Cornelies, mayor of Wotzlaff, and Gerd Corneliesen, to Cornelius Wilmsen, Tewes Felgenhawer and Peter Hardwigs. At their discretion they are to clear the land, make it arable and usable. They are free to sell the shrubbery and trees standing on it. If a mill is to be built within the five years of the lease for the benefit of the community, they shall all share the cost of construction according to the size of their property <sup>17)</sup>. In addition, they are obligated to maintain the dikes, sluices and ditches and any church <sup>18)</sup> and school that are built and to pay the preacher and schoolmaster their customary salaries.

15) The mayor of Freienhuben Gergen Lübbe concluded a rental contract for 5 years in 1637. At that time he payed 5 MK per Morgen. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 948, fol. 70.) In a new lease in 1646 he already paid 6 MK per Morgen. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 948, fol. 331 u. 949, fol. 131.)

16) Wilhelm Fast is already mentioned in 1605 as the son of Peter Fast. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 7, fol. 167.)

17) The fact that money for such things was already scarce at that time is shown by a decree of the council from 1622: "The council has ordered all farmers, who owe money to the mill builder in the Nehrung, to pay his quota to the mill builder Master Wieben", followed by the warning: "If such a thing does not happen, they shall all be seized". (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 16, fol. 148.)

18) In 1637 the [Lutheran] church fathers of Schönbaum complained against Tewes Felgenhawer, because he did not want to pay the church fee due on his farmsteads. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 21, fol. 8.) Felgenhawer does not pay, but sells his farm and moves away. (ibid. fol. 318.)

They are supposed to pay the usual dike and farmyard fees [*“Damm und Hofscharwerke”*] in the Binnen-Nehrung, but are exempted from them for the first 5 years of their leases, in order to be able to get established.

In 1611 at the latest, another 8 Hufen, which border on the Prinzlaff land, were leased to the two Dutch men Claas Hendrichs and Jacob Henningk <sup>19)</sup> and another Hufe of the new land was allotted to Mathies Nitsch <sup>20)</sup>.

Thus, it can be proved by documents that at least 20½ Hufen of swampy land were leased to the Dutch at the beginning of the 17th century. Here the corner stone of the later village Freienhuben is laid <sup>21)</sup>. Freienhuben was probably called so, because the Dutch later, in contrast to the initial regulations, managed an exemption from *Scharwerk*, which all other farmers had to perform <sup>22)</sup>. In the 20's and 30's the name Prinzlafferfelde was still in use for Freienhuben. The current name only appears in 1641 <sup>23)</sup> for the first time and then gradually replaces the old <sup>24)</sup>.

The old villages of Nickelswalde and Pasewark, excluding Prinzlaff and Schönbaum <sup>25)</sup> received new names around the turn of the 16th to the 17th century.

19) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 947, fol 127.

20) *ibid*, fol 41.

21) Around 1625 the following *Holländer* were known as settlers on Prinzlafferfelde or Freienhuben: Tewes Felgenhawer from 1611 to 1637; Peter Giesebrecht on Fast's widow's 3 Hufen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 10, fol. 220); Clatz Jansen (300, 2. 19, fol. 204); Friedrich Petersen (300, 2. fol. 55); Georg Gertsen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 17, fol. 227); Franz Philippsen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 19, fol. 180); Jan Petersen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 17, fol. 343.)

22) In a rental agreement Cornelis Andres concluded with the council for five years on June 18, 1687, for 2 Hufen in Freienhuben: "We have also promised the tenant that he shall be completely exempt from all *Scharwerk*, except for what has been customary from time immemorial for the mills, sluices, dikes and waterways, as well as for the ice watch and wolf hunt.

23) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 22, fol. 1334.

24) That the name Freienhuben could have originated only at that time is evident from the uncertain place name. This can be proved by the case of the *Holländer* Gergen Löbbbe (Löpp, Lippe). This man owned 4½ Hufen rented land (the Hofmarke [was a tilted swastika]) in Freienhuben and is mayor of this village. He is mentioned several times in the official books of the Nehrung: 1642 Gergen Löbbbe, the Freienhüfner mayor. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 22, fol. 281.) 1643 Gergen Löbbbe, mayor of Prinzlaffer Felde. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 22, fol. 244.) 1637 -1642 Gergen Löbbbe leases 4½ Hufen at his farm on Prinzlaffer Felde. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 948, fol. 70.) 1646 -1651 Gergen Löbbbe, mayor from Freyenhuben leases 4½ Hufen. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 948, fol. 331.) 1652 Gergen Löbbbe leases again 4½ Hufen of the vacant Hufen in Nickelswalder Feld gelegen. It is the same piece of land and the same village where Löbbbe is mayor. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 948, fol. 368.)

25) The land of Prinzlaff and Schönbaum lies up to 3 and 4 m above sea level. No Dutch were needed here.

In the nineteenth century, the Dutch colony was quite strong. Apparently, according to their wishes, some new land was leased to the villages for cultivation. For later, in connection with these villages, there is talk of emphyteutic land <sup>26)</sup>, which is rented out for five year terms. For the drainage and reclamation of these lands, Dutch people were certainly brought in, who in Nickelswalde, shown by the fact that in 1588, Simon Libbe <sup>27)</sup> was the mayor of the village. When in 1613 34 Hufen of Nickelswalde were rented out, such names as Kröcker, Pauls and Reimer appeared next to the names of local farmers. This colony continued into the following century <sup>28)</sup>.

In the first quarter of the 17th century some Dutch settle in Pasewark. However, they are not to be regarded as settlers on new land, since they generally bought already existing farms. Thus in 1623 Johann Petersen from Blumenort acquired a farm with 2 Hufen, 4 Morgen of rented land in Pasewark <sup>29)</sup>. At the same time also some other Dutch lived in the village <sup>30)</sup>. From time to time they receive an influx from outside <sup>31)</sup>. In August 1665 Abraham Jantzen leased 27 Morgen of land for 5 years from the lords of the Nehrung. He received the usual exemption of the Dutch from the obligation to work on the land [*Scharwerk*] and to serve the estate. Since only 40 groschen interest is paid for the Morgen, it must be "new land" <sup>32)</sup>. Otherwise, however, the Dutch have probably had little to do with the cultivation of the Pasewark lands <sup>33)</sup>.

26) Emphyteutic or leasehold land existed only in the period after the Order's rule. Before that the villages were all founded under Kulmish law.

27) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 3, fol. 6. (Besides Libbe he is also called Lübbe or Lebbe / 300, 2. 947, fol. 61 /) On 24. 10. 1620 Simon Lebbe appears for the last time in the official books of the Nehrung as mayor von Nickelswalde. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2 14, fol. 644.) See above p. 5.

28) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2 947, fol. 61. The names of Dutch farmers in Nickelswalde were – in 1656: Peter Danielsen, Jacob Giesebrecht, Gert Claassen, Hans Giesbrecht, Gergen Claassen. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 286.) and, in 1734: Marten Lebbe, Michel Gertzen, Cornelies Hinrichs, Hans Jantzen, Hans Frese, Peter Fügutt. (358, 710.)

29) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 17, fol. 424.

30) Gert Petersen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 19, fol. 94),- Henrich Jansen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 17, fol. 237): Wilm Reimer (ibid., fol. 55).

31) Around May 6, 1651, the famous engineer Adam Wiebe, a native of Harlingen, bought a farm with 27 Morgen of associated rented land located between Thomas Fischer's inheritance and the Pasewarker dike (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 24, fol. 114). 1 year earlier Bastian Philippsen also had a farm on the Pasewarke dike (ibid., fol. 20).

32) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 234.

33) In 1734 there were only the Mennonite farmer Abraham Reimer and the farmer Michel Barckmann, Martin Claassen, Martin Gertz in Pasewark. (358, 710); in 1650 among the gardeners of Pasewark Karsten are Michel Fiegutt and Merten Bergmann (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2, no. 286).

A few Dutch farmers were probably always found living in Prinzlaff since the beginning of the immigration <sup>34</sup>), while in there were Schönbaum none at all <sup>35</sup>). In Junkeracker <sup>36</sup>) and Steegen <sup>37</sup>) the old-established population hardly ever saw a Dutch influx. For Stutthof there is no evidence of a larger Dutch settlement in the 17th century. Only the tavern owners were occasionally Dutch <sup>38</sup>). In the first third of the 18th century they also disappeared <sup>39</sup>). Only in 1737 did this change. The Russians, who besieged Danzig with a large army in 1734 during the War of Polish Succession, plundered and devastated the Danzig region. In the process, Stutthof, located on the Nehrung, was completely burned. On March 23, 1737, the desolate Stutthof was leased to Abraham Hecker and Adrian van Hoeck for 22 years. "They shall own all the buildings, lands and meadows belonging to the Stutthof, the cheese, the horse yard, the *Kreuzacker* near the farm, as well as the *Ziesewald* and the *Maternkampe*, except for the part which the Stutthofers have in use, then the smithy, the baking, brewing, malting and distilling house, as well as the small farm. They are not to burden the subjects with too much *Scharwerk* <sup>40</sup>). It seems that these are Dutch who have been living in Danzig for a long time and who want to invest their money profitably and get the malt house and distillery in Stutthof in their hands. In addition, they receive a number of loans in the Stutthöfer meadows and in the Ziesewald also quite respectable estates <sup>41</sup>), whose reclamation had not have progressed very far at that time.

34) 1734: Arend Wiebe Jr., 1 Hufe, Arend Wiebe Sr., 1 Hufe, Adrian Dircksen 2 Hufen, Franz Reimer 1½ Hufen, Georg Fast ½ Hufe, Andres Dieck ½ Hufe (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710).

35) 1656: in Schönbaum among 12 farmers: Jan Peters, among 16 gardeners: Hans Frese (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 286).

36) 1734: among 14 owners and proprietors: Jacob Dick and Hinrich Hinrichs (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710).

37) 1734: no Dutch in Steegen (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710).

38) On 20. 8. 1665 Jacob Bestvater, tavern keeper from the Stutthof, Beerstore and whatever else is connected with the earlier consent is lent again from Lichtmess 1665 to 1670. He was obliged to serve only Danzig beer (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 949, fol. 39). On 5. 8. 1653 Jacob Jantzen in Stutthof purchased the small pub, called the *Störbude* (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2.24, fol. 384).

39) The fire register of 1734 does not mention any Dutch in Stutthof. Felicia Szper op. cit. page 56 claims that Stutthof was settled by the Dutch and that in 1665 a lease was renewed with the Dutch. The official books of the Nehrung, besides many native names, only extremely rarely mention Dutch in Stutthof. Szper bases her assertion only on the name of the *Holländer* Jacob Bestvater, whom we have just met as a tavern keeper. This explains the erroneous conclusion.

40) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 950, fol. 190. Also, the *Scharwerk* of the Stutthof farmers do not give evidence of a settlement of Stutthof with Dutch people (cf. note page 39).

41) This is seen on the map of the Weichselhaffkampen from the year 1600 (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, P. R. 6 u. 7). Also printed in Bertram-La Baume, op. cit., p. 52.

Beyond today's Stromweichsel in the New Binnen-Nehrung no more exclusively Dutch settlements can be found after the settlement endeavor of Mathias. Although in March 1612 farmers from the Dutch villages Weslinke and Reichenberg rented the Bohnsacker cattle pasture for the period from 1612 to 1617 <sup>42)</sup>. It is not to be assumed that these farmers settled here all, but, as the name cattle pasture says, let their young cattle graze the pasture here in the summer. The, then still quite narrow, Vistula <sup>43)</sup> allowed for good grazing for cattle from Weslinke. But there were already a number of farm owners here in the first half of the 17th century, whose name suggests Dutch origin <sup>44)</sup>.

Also, for Schnackenburg there is a rental contract about the 17 Hufen of this pasture from the year 1613. It is concluded with the honorable Philipp Frantzen, Peter Dobek, Peter Bewersdorff, Hans Schulz, Marten Schröder, Jacob Brandt and Jan Elert. They are to pay 1200 MK annually for the lease <sup>45)</sup>. We have already seen how the Dutch appear in close proximity to the native East Germans. Also, in the following decades Dutch names appear in legal transactions of the village Schnackenburg <sup>46)</sup>. But the exclusiveness of the Dutch, as we see for other areas, for example with villages around Tiegenhof, hardly exists for the Nehrung. Only in the case of Freienhuben can this be assumed for the first period of its existence.

The legal position of the Dutch to the Danzig Council was sometimes a rather difficult one. Since most of them belonged to the Mennonite community, they refused to accept duties that were otherwise taken for granted.

42) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 947, fol. 59.

43) Bertram-La Baume op. cit., p. 18.

44) 1628 Peter Siemens (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 19, fol. 155). - 1642 Conrad Wiebe (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 22, fol. 22). - 1646 Jochem Willer (Wiehler) 300, 2. 23, fol. 203 /.- In 1734 the following farmers owned the Bohnsacker pasture: Gottlieb Schmidt 3 H., Matthias Claassen 5 H., Gergen Schulz 1½ H., Hinrich Andres 2 H. (358, 710).

45) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 947, fol. 81.

46) In January 1625, a certain Reimer from Schnackenburg sued Albrecht Petersen from there because his stepson Franz Philippsen, Philipp Philippsen's legitimate son, had assaulted him (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 18, fol. 415).



Their principles generally prohibited the Mennonites from accepting public office. Since in closed Dutch settlements they didn't want to appoint one of their own as a schoolmaster, the council was forced in 1628 to pass a resolution for the Nehrung and Scharpau, "that no Mennonite, if he is elected schoolmaster, alderman, councilman in the villages, shall refuse such office, and shall be required to do so first with single, then with a double penalty. If he accepts the office, he shall also take the usual oath, as the others have taken it <sup>47)</sup>. The decision is a proof that Dutch Mennonites already lived in quite large numbers on the Nehrung and in the Scharpau around this time. However, there are also Mennonite-Dutch mayors and councilmen on the Nehrung for a long time before that. It almost seems as if this principle of refusal of public offices only really became established in this time. However, the Mennonites also make certain exceptions: for at an examination of faith in 1678 before royal delegates in Danzig, their elder declares that public offices may be accepted in the countryside where it cannot be avoided <sup>48)</sup>. Gradually, the Mennonites adapted to the local conditions in this respect, so that 100 years later, when they were denied the office of schoolmaster, they protested against it <sup>49)</sup>.

It is also remarkable how the financial obligation of the Mennonites towards the Lutheran church is regulated by the office of the Nehrung <sup>50)</sup>. Precise tax rates were established. At a wedding, 4½ Fl. are to be paid to the parish in which the bride lives, namely 3 Fl. to the preacher and 1½ Fl. to the schoolmaster. If, however, the bride moves from one parish to the groom in the other, the designated rate shall be paid in each parish. If a child is born to a Mennonite, he shall pay 2 Fl. to the pastor and 1 Fl. to the schoolmaster within 14 days.

47) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. no. 161, sheet 2.

48) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. pp. 488, 370.

49) In 1720, in a supplementary document, "all the *Holländer* or Mennonites of the Klein Marienburger Werder" declare to the royal office of the Oekonomie in Marienburg that they wish to be treated equally with the Lutherans at the mayoral elections. This is promised by the Oekonomie in Marienburg (the letter of the Oekonomie is in the possession of the Orloffferfelde Mennonite congregation).

50) A decree for the parishes of Koppelgrube and Tiegenort from 1740 (300, 2. 236, fol. 30). The same was determined for Schönbaum, except that here the rates are higher (*ibid.*).

When the council allowed the Mennonites of the Nehrung in 1740 to hold their devotions unhindered in a certain house, it nevertheless admonished them that they would inevitably pay their dues to the churches, schools and preachers <sup>51</sup>). That the Mennonites resisted such payments is understandable. After all, it was an obvious injustice to have to pay someone for services he had not rendered. This was especially unbearable for those people who felt every restriction of their freedom quite bitterly. They, for example, very seldom performed *Scharwerk*. They preferred to move to low terrain and cultivate it, rather than to have an easier profit on Kulm law land, but they were also more dependent. This is probably the reason why they constantly, at least in the 17th century, settled only in areas that were "lowlands" in the true sense of the word. Here they could not be denied their liberties, otherwise with their departure the land would have reverted to its original state. On the other hand, we will recognize that areas which had already been sufficiently cultivated, or which, due to a somewhat higher elevation, did not depend so heavily on their drainage expertise, were populated by native inhabitants who did not resist the demands of the Council with such "fat peasant resistance" <sup>52</sup>).

### b) Settlement on the Weichselhaffkampen

West of the old Binnen-Nehrung lie the Weichlelhaffkampen, which administratively belonged to the office of the Nehrung, but otherwise was still covered by alder forest and reeds at a time when the old Binnen-Nehrung had long since been diked and settled. They were a paradise for waterfowl and marsh birds, cranes and swans. Here and there people may have settled on higher land. The farmers living south of the Elbing Vistula and in the Binnen-Nehrung may have driven their cattle to pasture in the Kampen area during the summer. A final settlement on a larger scale could only be realized when the council decided at the end of the 17th century to gradually dike the Elbing Vistula on its left bank also <sup>1</sup>).

51) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 236.

52) Many left the Dutch villages of the Danzig Werder, especially the higher parts of the Scharpau (cf. this in the relevant sections).

1) See Bertram-La Baume a. a. O., page 44.

Until then, in the spring, the floodwaters, which up to Prinzlaff were confined by the high dams, poured into the Kampen area in a broad surge. Since here the speed of the water immediately decreased due to its spreading over wide areas, a large part of the entrained sediment was deposited here. Over the centuries, the western Kampenland itself grew above the height of the fields behind the dikes.

It is no wonder that the first settlements developed in the western Kampen area decades before the dikes were built. On a map <sup>2)</sup> from the year 1600 we see in the middle of forest and reeds in the area of Glabitsch and Fischerbabke the first clear land, and on this the first houses and farmsteads of these villages.

Glabitsch was settled by locals and Dutch together <sup>3)</sup>. The situation is similar at Fischerbabke, where the Dutch were often the farmers, but the locals were fishermen <sup>4)</sup>. It seems that in the first decades after 1600 the settlement of the so-called Gross Steeger Werder started partly from Glabitsch, i.e., at a time when there was no talk of diking. Thus, in 1660 at the latest, the council leased 2½ Hufen of land on the Gross Steegen Werder to the three fellow farmers [“*Mitnachbarn*”] of Glabitsch Wilm Wiggert, Hans Claassen and Daniel Schultze <sup>5)</sup>. In 1695 a lease contract is renewed with the mayor of Glabitsch, Hans Claassen, for about 1 Hufe of land on Gross Steegen Werder <sup>6)</sup>. The name Steegen Werder referred to a larger area <sup>7)</sup> than the current boundaries of this village. It is to be assumed with quite certainty that the Glabitschers, whose land area was still quite small around 1600, expanded in the direction of the Steegen Werder. This is because a locality of Gross Steegen Werder already exists in the period in which the above-mentioned contracts are concluded.

2) Danz. Staatsarch. (300, P. K. I. 6 u. 7).

3) In 1626 Michel Reimer lived in Glabitsch (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2, 19, fol. 54). He became councilman in the village in 1647 (ibid., 23, fol. 336); in 1637 Jacob Reimer in Glabitsch (ibid., 21, fol. 196); in 1647 Jochem Reimer bought in Glabitsch (ibid. 23, fol. 336); in 1605 Hans Claassen was mayor in Glabitsch (ibid. 949, fol. 205).

1734: among 8 farmers of Glabitsch Hans Claassen 2 H., Gert Willm 2 H, Jacob Wiggert 2 H., Marten Claassen 2 H (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710). 1771: among 8 farmers Johann Claassen 3 H. 16 M, Franz Reimer 1 H 5 M, Class Claassen 1 H 4 M (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 161, fol. 121).

4) 1734 among a large number of local farmers were: Martin Claassen 2 H; Jacob Lobbe 2 H; Absalom Claassen 1 H; Hans Dickmann 14 H. (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710).

5) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 949, fol. 32.

6) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 950, fol. 251.

7) S. Karle, Danz. Staatsarch. P. K. I 6 u. 7.

It is unlikely that a large number of farmers from Glabitsch also had farms in the village of Gross Steegen Werder. Around 1650 a mayor of this village is mentioned <sup>8)</sup>. Here, too, locals and Dutch together made up the settlers. But here also the Dutch, after initial stronger participation in the development <sup>9)</sup>, gradually disappear as was the case in many parts of the Danzig territory. The situation was the same at Junkertroyl <sup>10)</sup>. Here the Dutch were crucial for the first settlement work, but later they were not needed anymore, because at the widening of the mouth of the Elbing Vistula the land is relatively high. The drainage work there is not so complicated, so that the skills of the Dutch were not required.

A part of the Kämpen, namely Poppau, is situated below sea level. The council had to wait to issue permits for settlement until the time when the dikes on the left-side of the Elbing Vistula had progressed to the point that this stretch of land could be drained with ditches, mills and sluices. In 1700 this seems to have been the case, because the 7½ Hufen of Poppau were leased to the *Holländer* Philipp Dick and consorts at a moderate rate of interest for 5 years <sup>11)</sup>. When then the contract is renewed in 1706, another Hufe is added, which had been made usable by the settlers in the meantime <sup>12)</sup>. It is remarkable that here in the low-lying meadow lands the Dutch, one can say, since the formation of the village and the lease to Philipp Dick, have been living in completely closed settlement until more recent times <sup>13)</sup>. The family of the locator can be documented in the village for the whole 18th century.

8) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 24, fol 252.

9) Around 1700 Jacob Claassen was the mayor of Gross -Steegenerwerder for a long time (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 040, fol. 197 and 950, fol. 108). In 1734, 10 of 24 Hufen are in the hands of Dutch people (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710); in 1771, only 5½ Hufen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 181).

10) Around 1650, 4 Dutch men can be located in Junkerkroyl: Martin Gertsen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 24, fol. 280); Martin Claassen (ibid., fol. 105); Bastian Philippsen (300, 2. 23, fol. 46); Albrecht Petersen (ibid., fol. 343); in 1656, only 2 Dutch men can be located among 7 farmers (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 286); in 1734, no Dutch lived in Junkertroyl anymore (358, 710).

11) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 950, fol. 1.

12) ibid, fol. 68.

13) This can be verified: 1734. Brandregifter (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710); 1771. Inventory of the emphyteutic land in the Nehrung (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 161, fol. 121); for 1822 from the records of the time emphyteutic properties in the archives of the Orlofffelder church. In 1685, a quarter of the Gruben- and Kedingskampe, furthermore the Tilleckerkampe and the Blockhaus were leased to Franz Dick (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 949, fol. 218).

In 1685, the meadows of the Babke forest together with their bushes and bogs were leased to Tiess Claassen for 50 MK per year <sup>14</sup>). The contract is renewed in 1691 <sup>15</sup>). This is the Fischer-Babker Schweinewald, which adjoins Poppau to the west.

Further toward the Haff only the southern part of the Kämpen, today's Gruben-Kedingskampe, a part of the Hauskampe and south of the Elbinger Vistula River the Abgunstkampe were diked and drained by the Dutch by the end of the 18th century. We know that a contract the representatives of the Nehrung was concluded with the two brothers Bastian and Albrecht Philippsen in 1651 for 5 years for the large piece of the Kedingskampe, Tilleckerkampe and Blockhaus, (Hauskampe), and that it had been owned before by Jacob Abraham <sup>16</sup>). The remaining part of the Kedingskampe is apparently meant in the lease contract, which the first lieutenant Eilhardt Toniges concluded with the honorable Heinrich Berendts in May 1668. However, the contract is limited for the time being to just one year. In addition to a monetary payment, the farmer is supposed to deliver 30 bushels of oats to the lieutenant and in the winter, 2 wagonloads of hay to the city in Danzig <sup>17</sup>).

On the Groschkenkampe, the Groschkenkrüger Gert Gertsen leased 3 Hufen from the council in 1665 <sup>18</sup>). Here, too, it is probably a matter of redevelopment of the land, because at that time one begins to build very low dikes against the floods of the Vistula <sup>19</sup>). The Gertsen family operated in Groschken Inn (Groschkenkrüger) for the next century. In 1762 the owner of the Groschkenkrug, Gergen Gertzen, was granted permission to maintain a ferry on the Vistula <sup>20</sup>).

The Abgunstkampe, located south of the Vistula, has been cultivated by one Franz Enss since the middle of the 18th century <sup>21</sup>). In 1783 a new contract is issued by the council for 30 years <sup>22</sup>). The successor of Enss, Hans Dyck, succeeded in reclaiming 40 Morgen. He had to pay the council 45 groschen for the rental from 1793 onwards <sup>23</sup>).

14) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 949, fol. 164.

15) *ibid*, fol. 199.

16) *ibid*. 948, fol. 366.

17) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 234.

18) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 949, fol. 48.

19) S. Bertram-La Baume *loc. cit.* p. 54.

20) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 050, fol. 287.

21) Enss was already owner of the Abgunstkampe in 1773 (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 161, fol. 130).

22) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 950, fol. 454.

23) *ibid*, fol. 500.

Apart from Freienhuben and Poppau and some areas of the Kampen, where the land was farmed by only the Dutch, the Dutch were involved in varying degrees in the settlement of the individual villages all over the Nehrung. Perhaps in the beginning they were the majority in some villages in the Kampen area. Gradually, however, there is a certain tendency to emigrate elsewhere, as we had already noticed in the Danzig Werder.

### **V) Settlement in the Scharpau.**

The Scharpau, which belonged to the city since 1530, was colonized by the Dutch to a much greater extent than the Nehrung. At the time of the Order, the remains of the former lagoon formed the Scharpau fish ponds. When the Scharpau area south of the Elbingen Vistula was pledged to various people after the end of the Order's rule <sup>1)</sup>, they let what had already been created by the Order fall into disrepair. Therefore, in a document from 1562 it says: "The territory of Scharfau has been desolate for as long as anyone can remember, and it is almost overgrown <sup>2)</sup>. Since that time, however, the town seems to have taken greater care of this area. Evidence of this is a map of the Scharpau, drawn by the council surveyor Berndt, from the year 1600, which shows alder forest or reeds only in a few places <sup>3)</sup>. For these first years I could not find settlement contracts. Only individual reports indicate with a high degree of certainty that Dutch people played a predominant role in the development of this area. Even for the 17th century, with some decrease of the Dutch segment of the population, its decisive role, which it plays in the Scharpau, cannot be denied. There is no other way to understand the demand of the Polish king from 1670, who demands a free gift (donum gratuitum) "from the Mennonite subjects of Scharpau". The council wants to avert this demand if possible, because it means an interference with its sovereign rights. The farmers should protect what little they have and defer to the council <sup>4)</sup>. This document proves that at least a large part of the farmers at that time must have been Mennonites and thus of Dutch-Frisian origin.

1) Hartwich op. cit. p. 20.

2) Dormann, *Geschichte des Kreises Marienburg*, 1862.

3) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, P. K. I 7.

4) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. no. 206, p. 1 f.

Even in the Scharpau, for the first decades after the immigration, direct relations between the Netherlands and this part of the Danzig territory can be proven. We possess court records about an estate dispute from the year 1590 between the Dutch in Altebabke and such in Schönhofea in the Netherlands <sup>5</sup>). 1618 again the distiller Jacob Jantzen from Emden bought into Beyershorst <sup>6</sup>). A few decades later (1659), Meta Jansen, a fisherman in Amsterdam, appointed a Mrs. Marie Lammertsen and her daughters from Tiegenort as her heirs by will <sup>7</sup>).

It is also no wonder that it is here in the Scharpau that we see the Dutch settling to such an extent, for the Scharpau is, for example, near Beyershorst and Altebabke, and 1.50 m below sea level, the deepest depression area of the entire Gross Werder <sup>8</sup>). Success was only possible if the Dutch hydraulic engineers were employed.

For the village of Jankendorf no contracts have been preserved, also otherwise the sources for this village are very sparse. Nevertheless, the Dutch must have had the arable land of Jankendorf in their possession towards the end of the 16th century. The official books of the Nehrung for the year 1593 refer to Peter Kipeke, the mayor of the 30 Hufen of Jankendorf, explicitly as Dutch <sup>9</sup>). He is assisted by Karin Claassen as a councilman <sup>10</sup>). It is likely that they were assumed to be native farmers.

The first beginning with the new settlement of the Scharpau came from Brunau, which was founded in the time of the Order. In 1562 this village, which actually existed only in name, was offered by the council. Finally, Heinrich Etzke, a Danzig *Schöppe* agreed to restore the lands of Brunau <sup>11</sup>).

5) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. no. 4, fol. 99 (see above p. 7).

6) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 13, fol. 137 (see above p. 7).

7) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2 25.

8) Bertram-La Baume a a. O. E. 2.

9) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. no. 5, fol. 30. Perhaps related to the Kieps in Scharfenberg. In 1625, a Peter Kipe first held the office of mayor in the Dutch village of Scharfenberg, where his descendants can be traced for the following 1½ centuries (358, 996).

10) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 5, fol. 30. - 1610 a farmer Kersten Jansen in Jankendorf (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 10, fol. 104). - In 1647 Hermann Wiebe sold house and farm with 1½ Hufen of rented land in Jankendorf (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 23, fol. 330).

11) Dormann l. c. Documents, p. 47.

It is likely that he then sold Brunau to the Dutch. A contract has not been preserved. Information about Brunau is also missing for several decades after 1562. The first Dutch names appear only in the 1590s. In 1599 Dirk Cornelies is mentioned as mayor of Brunau in the official books of the Nehrung <sup>12</sup>).

In 1618 the owners of the Nehrung leased the 29½ Hufen of Brunau for 10 years to farmers, whose names for the most part have a Dutch-Frisian sound. In the next year the contract is amended and the interest rate is reduced <sup>13</sup>). In the following decades there is a strong decline of the Dutch part of the population in Brunau. In 1652 there are only two Dutch <sup>14</sup>); by 1727 <sup>15</sup>) they have completely disappeared. Since 1650 the council had taken an increasingly hostile position towards the Mennonites. Thus, new treaties were concluded with the Dutch only in those areas where they were indispensable. This was no longer the case around the middle of the 17th century with Brunau, which was situated at a somewhat higher elevation and had already been cultivated in the past.

The first records about Beyershorst are found in the official books for the year 1621 <sup>16</sup>). At that time the interest obligations of the residents, almost all of them of Dutch origin <sup>17</sup>), are specified in detail. However, it was not possible to get a high rate of interest out of the land, which was constantly flooded in the spring. Therefore, two years later it was reduced to half. During the Swedish-Polish war of succession, the Swedes, as everywhere in the Danzig region, burned the farms in Beyershorst. Also, the lives of the inhabitants were rarely spared. In 1656 when the council compiled a list of how many residents of the village remained or are alive, the sad fact was that only one farm was not destroyed and half of the farmers are dead <sup>18</sup>).

12) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 6, fol. 86. - 1595 already a Merten Jansen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 5, fol. 128).

13) For example, Jacobsen, Fransen, Hom (Hamm), Nickel, Petersen, Albrechtsen, Corneliussen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 047, fol. 147).

14) Claas Bestvader and Hans Nickel are listed among 15 local farmers in 1652 when Brunau was leased again. 1656 Claas Bestvader and Dirk Dirksen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 286).

15) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. U. q. 1.

16) Names of residents in 1621: Gert Paulsen, Donnies Penner (long time mayor of the village), Jochem Voss, Peter Paulsen, Michel Prol, Paul Petersen, Johann Jacobsen, Hans Petersen, Gert Gohsen, Jacob Corneliesen.

17) Resident rent list of 1623 (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 17, fol. 49), of 1624 (ibid., fol. 213). 1645 lease of 4½ Hufen on the (Beyers)-Horst with Antony Penner, Claas Jansen and Abrahams (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 948, fol. 340).

18) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 286. Also here are predominantly Dutch farmer names.



Money had to be borrowed in order to rebuild. But the war also cost the Danzig financiers a large part of their fortunes. They were exploiting the farmers with the harshest means in order to recoup their losses <sup>19)</sup>. The Dutch have recovered from this heavy blow. In 1727 it was the old Dutch farm families who insured their houses and farms with the Tiegenhågen fire insurance <sup>20)</sup>.

The Schwentekampe, located west of Beyershorst, was largely transformed into cultivated land starting from Beyershorst. In 1600 the clearing work had just begun <sup>21)</sup>. The alder forest had already been cleared. However, the most difficult work, the stump clearing and draining, still remained to be done. Dönnies Penner, the mayor of Beyershorst, must have participated in the work, because in 1647 he sold his farm on the Schwentekampe together with one Hufe of rented land to David Dirksen <sup>22)</sup>. Beside him a Claas Petersen is mentioned as an outstanding example from this area. From 1626 <sup>23)</sup> until his death in 1654 <sup>24)</sup> he owned the so called Rohrkampe, and since 1636 two more Hufen of the Schwentekampe <sup>25)</sup>. In the same year, the council also granted him the entire eastern adjacent Susewald with 5 Hufen and 17½ Morgen for 20 years <sup>26)</sup>. This is completely virgin land and a map from 1600 shows the Susewald still completely overgrown with alder forest and furthermore the owners of the Nehrung admonish Petersen in 1638 to develop the Susewald, to clear it and build the necessary dikes <sup>27)</sup>.

19) For example, on the farm of Hans Wiens in 1662, an announcement [“*Strohwich*”] was posted which stated that he must pay in six months or lose his farm to the creditor (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 27, fol. 168).

20) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. U. q. 1, S. 147.

21) see map - 300, P. K. I. 6. u. 7.

22) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 23, fol. 317. In 1665, David Dirksen, together with Peter Prolen, concluded a contract with the Council for 114 Hufen of the Schwentekampe (300, 2. 949, fol. 46). At the same time, the farmer Abraham Quiring resided in the Schwentekampe (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 21, fol. 268).

23) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 19, fol. 27 (The Rohrkampe was a part of the Schwentekampe). Since 1665 it had been owned by Wilm Gertzen (300, 2. 949, fol. 47).

24) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 24, fol. 442.

25) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 948, fol. 31.

26) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 948, fol. 33. - Szper loc. cit. p. 56 incorrectly places this contract for Ziesewald west of Stutthof. However, since the Susewald is mentioned in connection with the Rohrkampe, it can only be in the Susewald in the Scharpau (cf. 300, 2., 19, fol. 27).

27) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 21, fol. 476.

In 1665 the deepest part of the former lagoon, the Krypkerwald, was leased for 5 years to Wilhelm Gertzen and Peter Prolen, which marked the beginning of the development of this area. At that time, the Krypkerwald was an swampy area, interspersed with individual islands of alder forest, reeds and open water areas. It was only at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that this whole area was reclaimed to meadows and arable land <sup>28</sup>).

The first report about the village of Altebabke dates back to 1584 <sup>29</sup>). For this year the official books name a Kersten Janson from the Altebabke. The village itself must have existed at the most for one to two decades, unless it was a single farm in the first place. However, at the same time on the Altebabke lived a man named Wallich Jansen <sup>30</sup>), who probably immigrated from Holland and is a relative of Kersten Janson. The spelling at that time is not yet so fixed that the town clerk might enter once "sen" and the other time "son" as ending of the patronymic name in his books. These Jansens were certainly among the first settlers. In 1622 a Simon Jansen <sup>31</sup>) and in 1625 a Jacob Jansen was named as mayor <sup>32</sup>) from Alten Babke: the latter also held the office of dike watchman [*Deichgeschworenen*] <sup>33</sup>) of the village. He held this office as a representative of a then almost exclusively Dutch farmers <sup>34</sup>). In the Swedish war of 1655, the village of Altebabke was almost completely destroyed. The Farm Register, which the council compiled the following year, shows again that Dutch names predominate <sup>35</sup>), just like a fire register from the year 1727 <sup>36</sup>).

28) Bertram-La Baume, op. cit. p. 46.

29) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 1, fol. 156.

30) W. Jansen died in Altebabke in 1585 (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 4, fol. 111), see page 7 above.

31) Simon Jansen (300, 2. 16, fol. 5).

32) Danz. Staatsarch. 300. 2. 18, fol. 453. 1612 a Jacob Jansen in Altebabke (300, 2. 11, fol. 3). - 1642 Jacob Cornelies, mayor of Altebabke (300, 2, 22, fol. 23).

33) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 22, fol. 557.

34) Jacob Jansen, mayor, (300, 2, 18, fol. 1453): Cornelius Sprungk, (300, 2. 19, fol. 90): Hans Claassen, (300, 2. 13, fol. 145): Wilm Petersen, (300, 2. 18, fol. 450): Jacob Penner, (300, 2. 18, fol. 90); Jan Dirksen, (300, 2. 18, fol. 451): Heinrich Jansen, Schröderskampe, 300, 2. 17, fol. 241: Lorenz van Riesen, Poln. Hube, (300, 2. 947, fol. 262). Lowland farmers in Altebabke who are known around 1625.

35) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 286.

36) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. U. q. 1, S. 145.

It is even possible to trace the change of ownership within the Dutch families of Altebabke on the basis of the official books for some specific properties over several generations, such as the districts of Polnische Hube, Schröderskampe or others <sup>37)</sup>.

Today's Scharpau did not exist before 1600. This village developed later on the then Binnen-Küchwerder. On the map of 1600 only one farm can be found. The only documentation from this time mentions a Hans Borchmann (Bergmann) on Binnen-Küchwerder in 1626 <sup>38)</sup>.

Also, for Kalteherberge a settlement contract could not be located. But here in the higher part of the Scharpau in the direction of Tiegenort a longer lasting, more exclusively Dutch settlement is not to be expected. At the beginning of the 17th century, we have Dutch men as mayors, like Hans Thiessen <sup>39)</sup> in 1615 or Wilm Görütz who moved from Tiegenhagen in 1624, but nevertheless the Dutch and natives have always shared the properties in this village <sup>40)</sup>.

In Tiegenort the situation is a little bit different, because the village had already been founded during the time of the Order. However, some outlying lands, such as the Persenick, were settled later. We have a lease contract from 1592, issued by the council <sup>41)</sup>, in which the Tiegenort farmers who made the contract concerning this property, are listed.

37) Around 1600 a Cornelius Sprunck owned a property with 2 Hufen and 21 Morgen of land at the high bridge. After his death his children sold the farm in 1618 to their brother-in-law Hans Claassen (300, 2. 13, fol. 145), who owned it until 1654. After his death, his son-in-law Cornelius Epp took possession of the farm (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2, 24, fol. 456).

Polnische Hube: In 1626 Lorenz van Riesen leased the Polnische Hube near Altebabke for 5 years (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2, 947, fol. 262). After him it came into the possession of Franz Reimer, who exchanged it in 1642 for a plot of land owned by Wiens in the village of Altebabke (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 22, fol. 185). Wiens died in 1653, and the Polnische Hube went to his son-in-law Hans Harder in 1654 (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 24, fol. 487). In 1665 and 1688, 5 year contracts were concluded with a Hans Harder by the Council concerning the Polnische Hube (Danz. Staatsarch. 300,2. 949, pp. 50 u. 147).

Schröderskampe: 1624 Heinrich Jansen, followed by Hans Münten (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 17, fol 241), from these Wilm Reimer (300, 2. 23, fol 297). 1652 Jacob Heinrichsen (ibid 24, fol. 250).

38) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 19 fol. 38.

39) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 12, fol. 136.

40) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 17, fol. 212 u. 324.

41) Thus, the fire register of 1727 lists the following Dutch for Kalteherberge: Gert Wiebe with 1 H 15 M, Peter Entz with 3 H, Jacob van Riesen with 1 H, Isaac Bruhn with 1 H, Hans Bruhn with 1 H, Abraham Bruhn with 1 H, Claas Bruhn with 1 H, (Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. Uq. 1). In addition, however, an even larger number of local farmers and residents (Danz. Staatsarch. 300,2.154, fol 100).

The names Eggert and Bülow indicate a native population, although a stronger Dutch influence cannot be denied <sup>42)</sup>. Especially the so-called Zehnhuben, located in the southwest of the village, was partly inhabited by Dutch. But already the fire registers of 1727 <sup>43)</sup> show them in the minority, and a farmer register of 1773 <sup>44)</sup> lists no Dutch at all in Tiegenort.

In retrospect, it can be stated that at the beginning of the final development of the Scharpau around 1562, the two old villages of Brunau and Tiegenort were temporarily populated by a strong Dutch presence. However, when the land was reclaimed, the Dutch population in the higher peripheral areas of the Scharpau ebbed away somewhat. They remained only in the lowest part of the depression, Altebabke, Beyershorst, and Susewald. Here it took more than a few decades to turn reeds, alder woods and ground water ponds [*Wasserblänken*] into land valuable for the cultivation of wheat.

This can already be seen externally in the appearance of Scharpau's villages. Tiegenort exhibits the type of the period-order street village. The farms of the Altebabk farmers, however, stretch along their drainage artery, the Schloslake, at wide intervals in the Dutch style.

#### IV. Settlement of Mennonite Dutch in the Gross Marienburger Werder

##### a) The Oekonomie Tiegenhof

The Scharpau area marks the end of the [settlement] of the south of the Danzig territory. The Dutch settlements, however, continue into the Marienburg Werder. Here lay the crown estates of the Polish king. The marshy and wet lands in the northern part of the crown estates yielded little for the king.

42) Cf. above, p. 38. In the first half of the 17th century, the following Dutch men are mentioned as owners in the Zehnhuben: Hans Thiessen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 18, fol. 443): Jacob Petersen (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 23, fol. 23): Hans Hübert (ibid., fol. 477): Jacob Bestvader (ibid.).

43) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 131.

44) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 161, fol. 130.

Thus, Sigismund II August soon after his accession to power in 1548, and at least before 1554, granted large parts of the northern Werder to the noble Simon Loitze and his brothers. The villages of Ladekopp, Schöneberg, Orloff, Tiege, Reimerswalde and Tiegenhagen are mentioned by name <sup>1)</sup>. Simon Loitze, whose family had already been resident in the city of Danzig for some time <sup>2)</sup>, had first hand knowledge of the first Dutch settlement attempts in the Danzig Werder. It can be assumed that he too had the first cultivation work carried out in the Tiegenhagen area as early as the beginning of the 1550s. The Dutch must already have been present, because in a 1554 letter received from King Sigismund II August, which forbids the Loitzes or their subjects from building new drainage systems. The letter is apparently directed against the attempt to polder the Tiegenhof lowland area and thus to be able to drain it efficiently using Dutch technology, as was previously done at Scharfenberg. In the letter it is forbidden to create waterways to the disadvantage of the other subjects or to build new ones. Furthermore, no dike should be built around the villages, because then the water would have to go in new and unusual directions <sup>3)</sup>.

However, the church book of the Mennonite community of Orlofffelde <sup>4)</sup> mentions the year 1562 as the year in which the Loitze brothers called the Dutch into the country in order to reclaim the unproductive land on the basis of their long experience with water mills, ditches and dams. The church book records that the Dutch had built up the dikes on the lower Nogat, Vistula and Tiege may be somewhat overstated. Probably they renewed or raised the dikes. According to Bertram, the entire Werder was already enclosed by a ring of dikes during the time of the Order.

A contract between the Dutch and the nobles of Loitze from 1562 does not exist. The first lease agreement known to us dates back to 1578 <sup>5)</sup>. At that time the Dutch were probably granted a 30 year lease after the expiration of the free years during which the reclamation work was done.

1) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 1047.

2) Hartwich, op. cit. p. 23 f.

3) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 1047.

4) Chronicle of the Orlofffelde Mennonite congregation (in the church archive).

5) Chronicle of the Orlofffelde Mennonite congregation.

They were to pay DG 52, and 13 chickens per year to Hans von Loitze Jr. Because of some debt claims, the latter had to cede the area later called Tiegenhof Oekonomie to Ernst Weyher. Weyher summarily cashed in the contracts of the Dutch, which had not expired for a long time, and concluded others in 1581, which were only limited to 20 years. In general, the new owners of the Oekonomie, the Weyher family, quickly made many administrative changes which prompted the subjects of Tiegenhof to complain to the King of Poland in 1618 <sup>6)</sup>.

In 1601 the widow of Ernst Weyher, Anna von Mortangen, had already renewed the expired contracts, this time for 40 years <sup>7)</sup>. These contracts were confirmed in each case by the King as the actual owner and overlord of the lands. They exempted the Mennonite Dutch from all quartering, *Scharwerk* and dike work, except for the work on the low dike. After the expiration of 40 years, the then owner of Tiegenhof, Abraham von Gehema renewed the contracts for another 40 years <sup>8)</sup>.

In this way the percentage of Dutch-Mennonites among the farmers in the Marienburg Werder steadily increased, so that in 1608 the Bishop of Kulm complained bitterly that this area was completely filled with Anabaptists. Danzig and Elbing, which benefitted quite considerably from the prosperity of the Dutch settlements, tried to ward off this attack by referring to the Warsaw Confederation of Prussian Estates of 1585, which promises complete religious freedom <sup>9)</sup>.

Nevertheless, the position of the Dutch Mennonites remains quite uncertain for a long time. The sun of royal grace warms them very unequally, depending on whether the royal treasury needs funds or the zeal of the adversaries of the heretics gains the upper hand.

Thus, in 1635, Vladislaus IV. issued a fire privilege for the Dutch of the Tiegenhöf's office, which exempted them from any taxes for 4 years in case of a fire <sup>10)</sup>.

6) Hartwich, op. cit. p. 24.

7) Orlofffeld Chronicle p. 3.

8) Orlofffeld Chronicle p. 3.

9) Brons, *Ursprung, Entwicklung und Schicksale der altevangelischen Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten*, 3rd ed. 1812 p. 255.

10) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 449 - confirmed by Johann Kasimir in 1652 (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 336).

In the same year Wladislaus IV exempted the Dutch of the Oekonomie, whose lands were located on Frisches Haff, in Lienau or Tiege, from the maintenance of the Vistula and Nogat dikes <sup>11</sup>).

In 1642, the same King was convinced of the danger of the Mennonite Dutch and ordered Lord Chamberlain, von Haxberg, to expel them from the Marienburg Werder. On the basis of this mandate, he extorted enormous sums from the Dutch. Each farmer had to pay 50 Fl. per Hufe. All in all, he brought in 80 000 Fl. for himself. At the last moment, being made aware of the harmfulness of this enterprise for the royal private purse, Wladislaus made a complete turnaround. In 1642 he then granted the Mennonites a privilegium in which he promised them the greatest toleration as well as protection and preservation of their old freedoms for all time. In the most praiseworthy words, it speaks of the efforts draining and reclaiming the Werder <sup>12</sup>). This privilegium is repeatedly renewed and confirmed by the later Polish kings, and sometimes, extended as far as the practice of religion <sup>13</sup>).

### The individual Dutch villages of the Oekonomie

Already the Loitzes began to build a castle in the area of the Oekonomie at the place of the today's Tiegenhof, which was completed later by Ernst Weyher. It stood on the site of the current Protestant church <sup>1</sup>). Soon a market place for the farmers of the Oekonomie was established here. There were a good number of Dutch among the merchants and craftsmen <sup>2</sup>).

11) Szper op. cit., p. 108 f.

12) Transcript of the original in the Orloffelfelde church archives. "It is well known to us that the ancestors of the Mennonite inhabitants in our Marienburg Werder .... were called and came because of certain freedoms, rights and justices granted to them. They came and found desolate, swampy and useless fields in the same Werder, and by much work and at great expense, they cleared out the bushes, built the necessary mills to drain the water from the swampy and flooded fields, and built the dikes prevent flooding by the Vistula, Nogat, Drausen, Haff and Tiege and other streams, and thereby bequeathed to their descendants examples of extraordinary diligence, work and expense to do the same. (Cf. Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter, 4 Jahrgang, 1939, page 56).

13) Privilegium of King August from 1732 (Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S 1251, 16).

1) Orloffelfelder Chronicle, p. 1.

2) On November 25, 1637, for example, the Dutch men Philipp van Dyck, Zacharias Petersen and Peter Hübert from Tiegenhof brought an action against a farmer from Tiegenort before the Danzig court (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 21, fol. 212). In 1804 the following Mennonites are known in Tiegenhof: Peter Ziemens, Anton Busenitz, Stefan Unger, Peter Rahn, Heinrich Bartsch, Henrich Willems (Paczkowski loc. cit., p. 391).

Above all, they practiced trades, which they had brought with them from the West which were not yet well-known here. Thus, in 1617, Melchior Weyher gave Bastian Esau, who settled in Tiegenhof, the exclusive right to sell all kinds of merchandise, garments, caps, silk goods, as well as all kinds of spices <sup>3)</sup>. A few decades later (1664) we find the Dutch man Hans Sprung as the tenant of the Tiegenhof castle distillery, which had previously been established in 1617 <sup>4)</sup>. Perhaps this is the year of birth of Machandel, now famous far beyond Tiegenhof. In any case, also in the following years the Dutch practiced the trade of distilling brandy in Tiegenhof <sup>5)</sup>. A sales monopoly within the Oekonomie "for all kinds of bread and gingerbread" was granted by the administrator Johann Isebrand in 1685 to Henrich Conrad from Elbing <sup>6)</sup>. The wood and grain trade within the Oekonomie was also mainly carried out by Dutch. However, there were many complaints from the people of Danzig and Elbing, who claimed that trade was the prerogative of the cities alone <sup>7)</sup>. The Dutch even built granaries in Platenhof and Rückenau.

This trade and change grew naturally only on the soil of the Dutch farmers, which sat since the time of the Loitzes in the Oekonomie. The arbitrariness and court order <sup>8)</sup> (*Willkühr und Gerichtsordnung*), which King John III gave to the hard hit Werder after the turmoil of the Swedish-Polish war in 1676, mentions 136 Dutch leased Hufen within the Oekonomie. These can be rightly called the first settlement area of the Dutch around Tiegenhof. Until then they were for the most part uncultivated, swampy and marshy lands. The Hufen are distributed as follows: <sup>9)</sup>

3) Danz. Staatsarch. Kontributionskataster 180, 11058.

4) Paczkowski loc. cit., p. 302.

5) 1714: Isaac Wiebe, distiller of brandy in Tiegenhof (Dormann l. c., p. 82): 1732 Johann Bestvater, distiller of brandy in Tiegenhof (Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058).

6) *ibid.*

7) 1732: Johann Bestvater received permission for unrestricted timber trade within the Oekonomie (*ibid.*).

8) Crichton, *Zur Geschichte der Mennoniten* 1786, p. 32. – Also, the fire registers of 1727 show a strong Dutch share among the tradesmen of Tiegenhof (Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, pp. 105 and 193).

9) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 322.



	Hufen	Morgen	Ruten <sup>a)</sup>
Platenhof	11	12	—
Tiegenhagen	50	4	—
Tiegerweide	14	5	—
Reimerswalde	14	22	177
Orloffelfelde	23	23	—
Pietzkendorf	7	12	—
Petershägenerfeld	6	8	12
Pletzendorf	8	27	87
=	133	113	276
	136	23	276

However, the lease contracts always mention 11 Hufen and 22 Morgen for Platenhof. The first contract for this village, of which we have knowledge, was concluded in 1610 by Anna von Mortangen for 40 years with 6 Dutch men. This contract was renewed in 1654 by John Casimir for another 40 years. The farmers are exempted from all *Scharwerk* except for the work on the dike, are allowed to brew beer for their own use and to put out 2 fish traps for fishing where their land is adjacent to the Tiege <sup>10)</sup>. Names are not mentioned by the commission, which presented these contracts in 1664. But a certificate issued by the Danzig council for the farmers of Platenhof names Abraham Wiebe and Paul Dick, on 29. 3. 1627 <sup>11)</sup>.

Also, in the following century the Dutch retain their interest Hufen in Platenhof. In 1690 and 1734 the old contracts are renewed, but in contrast to the usual time these are for 44 years <sup>12)</sup>. In 1734 Jacob Jacobs, Franz Penner, Johann Funk, Peter Wiebe, Class Bestvater and Peter Boldt appear as tenants of the village <sup>13)</sup>. In the contract they are explicitly called *Holländer*.

The actual center and perhaps the starting point of Dutch settlement in the Marienburg Werder was Tiegenhagen.

10) Paczkowski, op. cit., p. 400.

11) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 18, fol. 93.

12) Konkributionskataster 180, 11059.

13) See the Brandregister of 1727: Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, S. 103. - In 1779 all privileges are once again reaffirmed by Frederick the Great at the instigation of mayor Peter Wiebe and consorts (Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 8807).

Tiegenhagen was already founded by the Teutonic Knights on the basis of the Kulm law, but later the marshy and wet lands were leased to the Dutch by the Polish kings <sup>14</sup>). The commission, which toured the Oekonomie in 1664, reports: The 50 Hufen and 4 Morgen are owned by 30 landlords. The old lease was renewed in 1641 by the late Abraham von Gehema for 40 years. The lease deeds were confirmed on October 25, 1639 by Wladislaus IV and on January 22, 1650 by Johann Kasimir. However, out of the 50 Hufen, only 3 Hufen and 1 Morgan are completely free of fees. They belong to the *Holländer* Hendrich Kreker. His father, Hans Kreker, already owned this land completely interest-free on the basis of a privilege given to him by Johann Kasimir on April 13, 1650 <sup>15</sup>). Perhaps this is a family whose ancestor had once brought the Dutch to the Loitzes and then received this land as a reward without interest. Then the privilege would be only a confirmation of old rights. That the family was already in Tiegenhagen at that time can be seen from a note in the official books of the Nehrung, which in 1627 name Hans Kreker, the son of Claass Kreker from Tiegenhagen <sup>16</sup>). Perhaps this wealthy farmer <sup>17</sup>) had bought the privilege from Johann Kasimir for a considerable sum of money. 100 years later, 1727, his descendant named Abraham Kroecker owns the 3 free Hufen of Tiegenhagen <sup>18</sup>).

Besides the 50 Hufen of the village there were 173 Morgen of land in 1664, which were leased to a group of Dutch for a very low price <sup>19</sup>). It is certainly low lying, not very productive meadow land. On August 6, 1750 August III confirms to the "egregio" Hans Kröker and his neighbors the lease contract for these lands, which once Johann Kasimir had concluded with their ancestors <sup>20</sup>).

The year 1727 shows us on the basis of the fire registers that the population of Tiegenhagen was exclusively Dutch. This was also the origin of the Tiegenhagen fire insurance, which still exists today. From its very carefully kept registers we can glean some information about the distribution of the Dutch <sup>21</sup>). In 1623, this insurance was established quite similar to the one in the Danzig Werder <sup>22</sup>). Gradually, in addition to the entire Tiegenhöfer and Bärwald area, it soon covered large parts of the rest of the Gross Werder.

14) Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 8810. In 1642, according to their own records, the Dutch owned over 200 Hufen in the Tiegenhof lowlands (Westpr., fol. 314,160).

15) Paczkowski, op. cit., p. 403.

16) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 19, fol. 74.

17) 9 On 6. 6. 1648, for example, Hans Hübert from Tiegenort paid 1500 marks to Hans Kreker (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 23, fol. 477). At the same time (1651) a Gils Kröker is also mentioned in Tiegenhagen (M. S. Uq. 1, p. 45).

18) Danz. Stadtbibliothek Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 99.

19) Paczkowski loc. cit. p. 403.

20) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 139.

21) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, In July 1681, Nickel Reimer from Tiegenhagen was elected clerk and manager of the whole fire insurance company and confirmed by the municipality. From that time to the present day, as far as I know, this insurance company has had its headquarters in Tiegenhagen (ibid., p. 57).

22) See above p. 19 f.

The status of the property in the village of Tiegerweide, including the Hufen held by the Dutch, was arbitrated in 1676 and concluded with a renewal of the old contract made by Johann Kasimir in 1651. This contract is to be valid from Easter 1647 and for 50 years. The village pays 840 Fl. per year rent <sup>23)</sup>. The 14 Hufen and 5 Morgen of the village are all in Dutch hands in 1727 <sup>24)</sup>.

When in 1664 the General Commission comes to Reimerswalde, the 10 farmers are informed that their old lease has already expired. However, an extension of the contract for another 40 years beginning on Easter 1665 has already been agreed with the Starost Gembicki. Like most Dutch villages, Reimerswalde is also exempt from *Scharwerk* <sup>25)</sup>. All farmers of the village are of Dutch descent <sup>26)</sup>.

West of Tiegenhof, in the lowland between Linau and Liege, in the fields of the village Orloff lie 23 Hufen and 23 Morgen, today called Orlofffelder. Single farmsteads scattered over the fields show that there is a Dutch settlement here. The contract that Anna von Mortangen signed with a group of Dutch men in 1601 <sup>27)</sup> was not the first one. It was certainly an extension of the lease agreement that Ernst Weyher had signed in 1581 with a number of villages of the Oekonomie for a 20 year term. On July 8, 1639 the heirs of the Dutch were granted Orlofffelder for another 40 years with all previous exemptions for the period from 1641 to 1681 by Wladislaus IV <sup>28)</sup> and this contract was confirmed by Johann Kasimir in 1651. The *Holländer* annually pay 1426 Fl. rent <sup>29)</sup>.

We know the names of the Orlofffelder farmers in 1601 <sup>30)</sup>. The names remain very much the same for the following century with only periodic handing down of farms <sup>31)</sup>.

23) Paczkowski a. a. O., P. 402, f.

24) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 117.

25) Paczkowski op. cit., p. 401.

26) According to the fire register of 1727 (see appendix).

27) See above, p. 5.

28) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 32.

30) Paczkowski op. cit., p. 405.

31) See Appendix.

A contract has been preserved from the year 1725, which lists with very few exceptions Dutch as tenants <sup>32</sup>). The amount of interest has not changed, but it is to be paid on two dates, on the Feast of the Assumption and on the Feast of St. Martin. The farmers are obliged to pay general imperial taxes the same as the other subjects, but they remain exempt from quartering. They are allowed to bake bread and brew beer for their own needs. An important provision is that at the expiration of the lease if the lease is not renewed, the Dutch should receive adequate compensation for the buildings and improvements to the fields. A commission would estimate the added value. Also, the tenant should be allowed to sell his interest in a parcel to another <sup>33</sup>).

In 1766, after the expiration of 40 years, Stanislaus Poniatowski renewed the lease agreement with the Dutch, who were living in Orlofffelde at that time, and whose names are mentioned in the deed <sup>34</sup>). At the same time, however, the land is granted to them from now on with perpetual hereditary rights, since it was once granted to them by the Knights of the Cross under Kulmian law <sup>35</sup>). However, they are to continue to pay 60 Fl. per Hufe annually to the Tiegenhof castle. As a result of the new order, the residents of Orlofffelde are now more involved in the general dike work. They are ordered to ". . . to procure 23 pieces of wood according to the usual quantity and to pile them at the dike, furthermore to bring 30 loads of shrubbery according to the prescribed dimensions of the dike at the place determined by the dike commissioners and to weigh them down with earth". Annually, they are to pay 3 Fl. per farm to the Dike Commission of the Gross Werder [*Großwerdersche Deichkommunität*] and contribute to the costs of restoration in case of breaches of the Vistula or Nogat. They shall always repair and maintain the dikes within their borders and the cross dike at the Haffe <sup>36</sup>).

31) Thus the official books of the Nehrung mention a Cornelius Bestvader in 1627 from Orlofffelde, to whom Danzig horsemen had stopped the cattle in Pasewark [?]. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 19, fol. 72). - In April 1629, a Cornelius Friesen from Orlofffelde is appointed guardian over the daughter of the deceased farmer Hugo Friesen from Beyershorst by the Danzig Council (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 19, fol. 230). - On May 16, 1702, Samuel Penner is named as mayor von Orlofffelde (Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 75).

32) See Appendix.

33) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 34.

34) *ibid.* Cf. the names in the appendix.

35) At the time of the Order, the Hufen of Orlofffelde belonged to Orloff, which was founded by the Knights of the Cross according to Kulmish law.

36) See Dormann, *op. cit.*, Urkunden, p. 63 f.

It is clear to see how the previous special position of the Dutch hereditary tenants is closely aligned with those exempt from Kulmian law of Gross Werder. They must participate in the maintenance of the Vistula dikes, but in return they become owners of their land and houses. They increasingly grow together with the Werder soil, so that these Dutch are later known as "typical farmers of the Werder". Naturally, they also took a more active role in overcoming the hardships of their native soil and as a result are gradually led out of their Frisian isolation.

The 7 Hufen and 12 Morgen of Pietzkendorf are called Dutch Hufen in the Willkühr of the Werder of 1676 <sup>37)</sup>. Thirteen farmers shared this land, as the General Commission stated in 1664. So we are dealing with quite small plots of land. Especially since in a later register of the village from the year 1727 <sup>38)</sup> an additional number of owners are mentioned, who must have owned even smaller parcels of land. They are all of Dutch descent <sup>39)</sup>. The first contract, of which we have a written record, was made by Abraham of Gehema. It is valid from Easter 1640 for 40 years. The village, like all Dutch farmsteads, is exempt from any sharecropping and pays 60 Fl. rent per year for the farmstead to the castle in Tiegenhof. This was probably also a renewal of the contract, which was concluded for the first time in 1578 or 1581 with a larger number of villages of the Oekonomie. Also, for Pietzkendorf a similar arrangement as for Orlofffelderde is made by Stanislaus Poniatowski in 1766. From now on, the farmers are to own their land according to Kulmian hereditary law. On the other hand, their obligations for the maintenance of the Vistula dikes are precisely specified <sup>40)</sup>.

Northeast of Tiegenhof, almost grown together with the town, lies the village Petershagenerfeld. In the early days there were already quite a number of native ["*Bürgergrundstücken*"] properties in Tiegenhof <sup>41)</sup>. The land, however, was been cultivated by the Dutch.

37) See above, p. 48.

38) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. US.

39) See Appendix.

40) Cf. Dormann op. cit., p. 68 s.

41) Cf. the list of 1727 (Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 193).

The first *Holländer* of this village, who is known to us by name, is a Georg Tyssen, who moved from Petershägenerfeld to Beyershorst in 1625 and bought a house and farm from Paul Petersen <sup>42</sup>). Concerning the first settlement contracts for the 6 Hufen of this village, we have to rely on the records of the General Commission of 1664. It reports that in that year 4 farmers held the land on the basis of a lease. Melchior Weyher had concluded this lease for 16 years, beginning in 1621. On December 29, 1634 the lease was extended to 40 years by King Vladislaus <sup>43</sup>). Then we find no records for quite some time. The fire register of 1727 records that beside the Dutch farmers a whole number of Dutch and native craftsmen and shop owners settled in Petershägenerfeld. At that time there must already have been nearly 40 town houses [*Bürgerhäuser*] <sup>44</sup>).

From the year 1762, we found a renewal of the contract for Petershägenerfeld. At that time, retroactively for the year 1761, the 6 Hufen of 8 Morgen were leased again for 40 years from the Marienville convent in Warsaw for a rent of 70 groschen per Morgen. The tenants Johann Penner and associates are to pay the interest in two installments, at Easter and St. Martin's Day. At that time, they are still exempted from all dike *Scharwerk* and thus retain their special priveledges. However, they are admonished to maintain the church and churchyard, as well as to pay the quarterly dues to the preachers and teachers on time <sup>45</sup>).

There is no more detailed information about the small Dutch village of Pletzendorf with its 8 Hufen and 27 Morgen. We know that an older contract had expired in 1657. On June 26, 1660 the Bishop of Plock, Jan Gembicki, as guardian of the then Starosten in the Oekonomie, concludes a new lease for 40 years with the 7 farmers of Pletzendorf. They paid 1800 Fl. purchase contract money for it. The annual rent is 450 Fl. <sup>46</sup>). Names of the farmers of this village become known to us only at the beginning of the following century. They prove to us that this village is still populated by Dutch people around this time <sup>47</sup>).

42) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 18, fol. 454.

43) Paczkowski op. cit., E. 408.

44) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 193.

45) Contributionskalaster. Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11050 (cf. also Dormann l. c., p. 66 f).

46) Paczkowski loc. cit., p. 402.

47) According to the list of inhabitants of 1727 (Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 197).

## Contracts with other Villages of the Oekonomie

In addition to these villages, which are expressly referred to as Dutch Hufen, there are also a number of villages in the Tiegenhof Oekonomie that saw strong Dutch immigration at certain times. In 1594 Ernst Weyher leased the 15 Hufen and 24 Morgan village of Stobbendorf (Habbendorf) to Dutch people for a period of 30 years. The village, located close to Frisches Haff, was particularly threatened by the water outside the dikes during northern storms. When on July 17, 1623 Sigismund III Renewed the contract with the Dutch, he speaks of their contributions to the reclamation of the village, but there are only 13 Hufen and 15 Morgen left. The rest of the land had been torn from the village by storms and floods. It seems that these Dutch were not just farmers, because they are given the right to trade and sell their goods anywhere. They were allowed to fish within their area. The Dutch are exempted from any military service in order to be able to better meet their interest obligations to the lord of the castle in Tiegenhof <sup>1)</sup>. The contract would be valid from April 1624 to April 1654. It was then extended to another 30 years on April 24, 1654 by the Tiegenhof Starosten Andreas Gembicki and confirmed by Johann Kasimir in 1660. During a severe storm in 1662 the lagoon tore away 44 Morgen from the village, leaving only 12 Hufen and 1 Morgen <sup>2)</sup>. A quarter of the village land was lost in less than 80 years. The land must have been otherwise quite wet and unproductive, since the residents pay only 1 Fl. and 10 Groschen per Morgan in rent, while the village paid 20 Fl. per year for fishing rights. It seems as if since the first settlement there had been more and more fishing due to the uncertainty of a successful harvest. The Dutch farmers seem to be moving to other places, because Stobbendorf is not counted among the Dutch Hufen in the Arbitration of 1676. The fire register of 1727 shows only 3 Dutch names out of 24 occupants and farmers <sup>3)</sup>. Here we have one of the few cases where, in the long run, the Dutch did not quite succeed in diking and draining.

1) Szper a. a. Cit., P. 97 f.

2) Paczkowskj a. a. Cit., P. 405.

3) (Siemens, Wiebe, Sprung) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 127.

The small village of Habershorst is located north of Stobbendorf. As the name suggests, there used to be an alder forest here on the lower Tiege, which was later transformed into arable land by settlers. The 5 Hufen and 28 Morgan of the village were definitely sold to the Dutch by the beginning of the 17th century at the latest. Back then, Ludwig Weyher had signed a 40-year lease with a group of settlers. They are excused from the *Scharwerk* and other obligations, a standing all Dutch try to attain. After this lease expired, the contract was retrospectively extended on May 18, 1654 by Johann Kasimir for a further 40 years from 1651 <sup>4)</sup>. Even in 1727, mainly Dutch people lived here <sup>5)</sup>. The lease contract was not renewed until 1746. Sophie Gatecka, the Mother Superior of the convent in Warsaw, sold the village to Natanael Barent, Hans Dick, Michael Jannoth, Peter Pauls, Michel Burmeister and Franz Quapp for 46 years. They are exempt from *Scharwerk* <sup>6)</sup>. However, as it appears, not all tenants were of Dutch origin. Within the large arch that the Tiege draws from at its confluence with Frisches Haff, next to Stobbendorf and Habershorst, there is also the village of Altendorf <sup>7)</sup>. This village, too, has been freed of all unusual burdens, billeting and *Scharwerk*. On the basis of these conditions, we have to assume that this is also a Dutch settlement, especially since the lease is agreed for 40 years each time. The register of farmers and residents from 1727 <sup>8)</sup> provides further evidence for this assumption. In 1660, Johann Kasimir again signed a lease with the 7 farmers of the village for their 13 Hufen and 7 Morgen from <sup>9)</sup>. Here also, the Haff seems to have torn away some land, because the contract renewed in 1725 is only for 12 Hufen <sup>10)</sup>. In 1766 the document of Stanislaus Poniatowski mentions these things himself with the following words:

4) Paczkowski a. a. Cit., P. 404.

5) Harmann Dick, Johann Pauls, Gröger Zoll, Lamert Lamerts, Isbrandt Philippsen, Görgen Bielau (Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1).

6) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 318.

7) All three villages are mentioned as early as 1629 in a ruling on the maintenance of the Haff dams (Toeppen a. a. O., page 101)

8) See Appendix.

9) Paczkowski a. a. Cit., P.404.

10) Dormann a. loc. cit., certificates, p. 44.



“The Rental contract reads. . . Because of their hard work, especially with the restoration of their dikes against the Frisches Haff, which were partially damaged by floods, with the same freedoms and justice that they had until now by virtue of their previous privileges, extended another 40 years. They are allowed to bake bread and brew beer for their needs and fish within their limits in the basin. They are exempt from all burdens, and only required to keep their dikes in order <sup>11)</sup>).

It wasn't until much later that the village of Reinland was made arable. An alder forest stood in that location until 1725. It was not until that year that Count Kasimir von Wybranowo Chlebowski leased the 10 Hufen and 18 Morgen to a large number of settlers, most of who had Dutch names <sup>12)</sup>. The settlers are allowed to enclose their lands with dikes, to dig ditches, to build drainage mills and sluices. They are exempt from *Scharwerk* on the main dike. They are only allowed to pass their land on to blood relatives or those who marry in <sup>13)</sup>.

Just as the settlement area here expands from the actual Dutch Hufen towards the Haff, a similar tendency towards the south of the Oekonomie can also be seen. In addition to Rückenau, there are the two other villages founded during the time of the Order, Orloff and Petershagen, which were already freed from *Scharwerk* on the main dikes in the 14th and 15th centuries because of their low elevation and frequent floods <sup>14)</sup> and are now finally turned into farmland by the Dutch. On the basis of a contract with Melchior Weyher from the year 1622, all three villages paid to exempt themselves from of the *Scharwerk* that they had been obligated to do. The *Scharwerk* was then reduced a few years later, because of the "small size of the fields, which are swampy and marshy in some places and are situated in a great depression which causes them to tend to flood with water and drown" <sup>15)</sup>.

11) *ibid.*

12) Crichton a. a. O., p. 28 (Gert Dyck, Cornelius Sprung, Absalon Peters, Peter Brand, Hermann Wiens, Michael Jantzen, Claass Suckau, Gert Dirksen, Johann Reimer, Daniel Löwen, Heinrich Boldt, David Bestvader and other Dutch people are named for 1725.

13) Dormann a. a. Cit., P. 73. Bergt, on this also Nordmann, *Die Entstehung der Sekundären Delten der Elbinger Weichsel und der Nogat*, 1937, p. 41.

14) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 33 (Orloff). – See: Dormann documents p. 66 (Petershagen).

15) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 108.

The purchase of exemption from *Scharwerk* indicates the strong impact of a Dutch farmers in these villages, who preferred to sacrifice a larger sum of money than to do military service. Otherwise, all three villages were granted the privileges of the Order. Therefore in 1664 the Orloff mayor, Jacob Bestvader, a *Holländer*, had 2 mayor's Hufen [*Schulzenhufen*] free from *Scharwerk* of the 20 Hufen in the village <sup>16</sup>). On May 16, 1702 the *Holländer* Franz Philippsen was elected as mayor of Orloff <sup>17</sup>). And the fire register from 1727 <sup>18</sup>), like the Contribution Register <sup>19</sup>) later, which Frederick the Great had drawn up when he took over West Prussia, show us almost exclusively the farmers in the village had Dutch names.

That's exactly how things were at Petershagen. A general commission, which traveled to the Oekonomie in 1711 and which came to Petershagen on February 27th, was presented with the village privilegium by the mayor Nikolas Penner and the farmer Gerhard Peters <sup>20</sup>). As here at the beginning of the century, the Dutch remain in possession of the village until it is taken over by Prussia <sup>21</sup>). It is the same with Rückenau <sup>22</sup>). The land in Tiege, which was founded under Kulm law as early as 1345, seems to have been increasingly owned by the Dutch after the initial immigration of the Dutch around the middle of the 16th century. In 1622 two Dutch men from this village, named Andreas Bril and Hendrik Penner, appeared before Wladislaus IV to ask him, on behalf of all the villagers, for information about their *Scharwerk* obligations with regard to the main dike. They were required to perform *Scharwerk* on the main dike equal to 40 Hufen, so over a fifth of the village lands remain free from these requirements <sup>23</sup>). In 1702, Cornelius Dircksen is named as the dike warden [*Deichgeschworener*] in the village. The fire registers of 1727 and the [1772-73] Contribution Register <sup>24</sup>) show us that during the 18th century, aside from two large farms, the small and medium-sized properties of the village were in the hands of descendants of Dutch immigrants.

16) Paczkowski a. a. Cit., P. 394.

17) Danz. State Library M. S. Uq. I, p. 75.

18) *ibid*, p. 111.

19) Contribution register Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058.

20) *ibid*.

21) Mountain. Fire register 1727 (Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 121) and contribution register Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058.

22) See: Fire register from 1727 (p. 140) and contribution register. *ibid*.

23) Contribution register Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11059.

24) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 155 and the [1772-73] Contribution Register. Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058.

There are no contracts of any kind from the other free-Kolmish [*freikölmischen*] Oekonomie villages, as they were owned and therefore could not be leased. We would therefore not get any additional information about the composition of the farmers in these villages in the previous centuries except what is contained in the previously mentioned fire register, which show us how far the Dutch residential area had reached by the beginning of the 18th century. The results are recorded on the map in the appendix to this book.

Only in the case of two smaller rural areas can I locate contracts that indicate that these were definitely initial settlements. The small village of Siebenhuben received its first 15-year lease from Melchior Weyher in 1620, which was then extended to 40 years by Wladislaus IV on December 29, 1634. The settlers are then exempt from *Scharwerk* and other obligations, for which they have to pay 2 Fl. pay interest annually <sup>25)</sup>. The name of the first mayor that is known to us is that of Hans Claassen <sup>26)</sup>, who administered his office around the year 1700. And in 1727 the farmers Hans Claassen, Jacob Wiebe, Franz Philippsen, Gert Albrecht and Abraham Claassen lived in Siebenhuben <sup>27)</sup>.

In addition, 96 Morgen of the village Ladekopp were leased out by Abraham von Gehema for 40 years in 1641. In 1664 this land is in the possession of Isaac Penner and Michael Gertsen's widow. The tenants are exempt from military service and all other burdens <sup>28)</sup>. Six decades later we see most of the whole village owned by descendants of the Dutch <sup>29)</sup>. They seem to have also populated the lower lands to the north of the village. They lived in the country outside the village borders.

## b) The Bärwalde area

Just like the Tiegenghof Oekonomie, another, albeit significantly smaller, area in Gross Werder had been aquired from the Polish crown. In 1569, the so-called Bärwalde area was pledged to Mr. Reinhold Krakau by Sigismund August for the sum of 13,000 ducats. Simon Bahr, a distinguished citizen from Danzig <sup>1)</sup>, who lived around 1600 came into the possession of the Bärwalde estates <sup>2)</sup>, then separated 20 Hufen from Bärwalde.

25) Paczkowski a. a. Cit., P. 404.

26) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. I, E. 75.

27) *ibid*, p. 109.

28) Paczkowski a. a. Cit., P. 399.

29) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 165.

1) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 1041. See also Hartwich, p. 24 f.

2) In 1737 the village council Bärwalde, the estates Fürstenwerder and Neumünsterberg, the Mühlenhube, Vogtei, Vierzehnhuben and Vollwerk (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 1041) belonged to this area.

The village of Vollwerkshuben is created, which will later probably be known as Bahrenhof. The properties are leased. Apparently, a number of Dutch Mennonites must have settled in the Bärwalde area because the commission reported in 1664 that the owner of Bärwalde had allowed her sub-tenants, the dissidents, to hold their heretical devotions in a wooden granary. This is still strictly forbidden by the Commission, since it contradicts the Crown Law <sup>3)</sup>.

Isolated reports from the first half of the 17th century also point to Dutch people <sup>4)</sup>. On March 5, 1627, a Merten Dircksen was listed as a mayor of Bärwalde in the official books of the Nehrung <sup>5)</sup>. Later, Dutch people often appear as tenants of the distilleries and general stores in the area. In a list of the area's income from 1737, it says: "For the free distillery, the Mennonite paid 115 guilders <sup>6)</sup>. It is probable that the distillery belonged to the Bahrenhof estate. In the same year, the [Lutheran] pastor and deacon of Fürstenwerder and Bärwalde, August Silski, sold Jacob Petersen the inn in Fürstenwerder, located on the church property. The innkeeper is to keep good beer and brandy, salt, tobacco and other unadulterated goods. The pastor also forbids that any disturbances should take place in the pub during the church services <sup>7)</sup>.

In Neumünsterberg, too, a Peter Stobbe <sup>8)</sup> owned the village's pub in 1727, which later (1752) was leased to Isaac Penner with the condition that he could serve beer and sell other goods. He should be exempt from all *Scharwerk* obligations and other burdens for eternity <sup>9)</sup>.

In 1727 the proportion of farmers and owners of Dutch descent was compared to the residents in the Bärwalde area of the Werder at about 50 to 50 <sup>10)</sup>.

3) Paczkowski p. 409. Around 1740, however, a Mennonite community emerged in Bärwalde. Already 100 years earlier, in 1643, the "Bärwalder Holländer" are mentioned (Westpr., Fol. 315, 85).

4) In 1612, a Bastian Dick lived at Vierzehnhuben (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, November 2, fol. 3). - 1647 a Thomas Wiens (Danz.

Staatsarch. 300, 2. 23, fol. 312). In 1645 a Peter Siemens is mentioned in Bärwalde (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 23, fol. 156).

5) Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2.19, fol. 88

6) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 1041.

7) Dormann, certificates, p. 50

8) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 181.

9) Dormann, certificates, p. 60.

10) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 181 to 191.

Thereby the Vollwerkshuben and Vierzehnhuben <sup>11)</sup>, which were separated later for the new settlement around 1600, as well as Vogtey are occupied to a greater extent by the Dutch.

These 3 villages, which were issued as emphyteutical property, are sold on January 19, 1757 by the dike wardens of the Gross Werder to the then owners for 36 000 guilders for property according to Kölmish law. No duties are to be paid for the Hufen under contract. Also otherwise lower interest rates than usual are applied to the area, "since it is particularly exposed to dangers due to its low elevation and therefore the benefit will often be lacking". The purchase contract is signed in the name of all owners of the three villages by Hans Reimer, Andreas Soenke, Hans Warkentin, Andreas Mierau, Johann Toews, Hans Ens, Abraham Dick and Arendt Peters <sup>12)</sup>. Thus, according to the names, the Dutch element predominates quite significantly.

In the following year, a declaration is drawn up by the plenipotentiaries of the three villages about the monetary and in-kind contributions to be paid to the estate by each village. According to this, the village of Vollwerk payed 416 pounds of butter or the monetary equivalent, 8½ geese and from each Hufe 1 Fl. of [*Huhnergeld*"]. In addition, according to old custom, the village must pump the water from the manorial Hufen. Vierzehnhuben paid from each Hufe 1 Fl. 15 groschen *Huhnergeld* and 1 shock of straw or the value of it. Vogtey remains free of the chicken and butter money fees. The dues to the church in Bärwalde are paid according to the contract. Vierzehnhuben and Vogtey, however, remain bound for eternity to maintain the sluices and the dikes and also to weed them annually <sup>13)</sup>.

### C) The Dutch pasture lands of the Gross Marienburg Werder.

In addition to the Dutch Hufen, the Arbitration of 1676 records a number of Dutch pasture lands. If you take the train from Simonsdorf to Kalthof today, you will pass through vast pastures just behind Simonsdorf.

11) Of Vierzehnhuben it says in 1737 (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 1041): "In more recent times the village Vierzehnhuben has been created from the lands belonging to Bärwalde." However, since the village is mentioned for the first time in 1812, it can be assumed that it was established at the same time as Vollwerkshuben (Danz. Staatsarch. 300,2.11, fol. 3).

12) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 374.

13) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 374.

This is a remnant of those lands which are summarized in the Arbitration under the pasture lands of Heubuden and Gurken.

However, the first Dutch in this area are not documented for Heubuden, but for Warnau (Koczelitzke). A written audit report from 1622 concerning the villages of the Marienburg Oekonomie lists among the 33 Hufen of village number 3, those for which the "Holländer" pay rent <sup>1)</sup>.

For the 54 Hufen of Heubuden and Gurken, which are described as Dutch in 1676, I have been able to find lease agreements in the Danzig State Archives only for a later time. Like the other Dutch estates, Heubuden was also frequently granted to notable people in the Polish state. Thus, in 1710, August II granted his chamberlain John Alfonso a hereditary lease of 10½ Hufen on Heubuden for a period of 40 years <sup>2)</sup>. In 1736 the same land is owned by the Saxon *Acciserat* Franz-Josef Hofmann.

The first lease of these 10½ Hufen of land, located in Heubuden on the Koczelitzke border, is signed by the military leader of Marienburg, Franz Bilinski, in order to "improve and increase the royal income from the Oekonomie". On May 1, 1671, he rented the land to some of Koczelitzke's and Heubuden's farmers for 40 years for an annual lease of 140 fl. While the farmers of Koczelitzke are all locals, Isaac Conrad, Peter Drosdau, Franz Conrad and Claass Reimer must have been Dutch men from Heubuden. <sup>3)</sup>. In 1715 a new lease is signed by the chamberlain Alfonso for 40 years for the 10½ Hufen of Koczelitzke Heubuden. The land then went to Jacob Dyck, Harm Niefeld, Johann Conrad, Isaac Conrad, Hans Suckau, Peter Regier, Johann Drosdau, Michael Werner, Ernst Hein and Peter Fehlhauer <sup>4)</sup>.

All of Heubuden has actually never been rented in one piece. The village, whose farms are scattered out over 54 Hufen, has a number of individual parcels, which were always issued separately. The largest parcel, in terms of Hufen, were the pastures Gross Heubuden or also called Wilhelmbruchshuben. The first documented mention of this part of the village dates back to 1710.

1) *ibid.* 335, 1697.

2) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 449.

3) *ibid.*

4) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 625. Probably a descendant of the Felgenhauer on the Nehrung. See above p. 6 and p. 27. In 1736 the following people are in possession of the 10½ Hufen: Marten Tornier, Jacob Conrad, Peter Warkentin, Jacob Penner, Peter Claassen, Jacob Dyck, Jacob Conrad, Isaac Dyck, Franz Conrad and the widow Christine Barbara. Sassin (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 625).

At that time, August II transferred the 19 Hufen and 10 Morgen of Gross Heubuden to his secretary Holvel for a period of 40 years. However, the remark is attached to it that he should take possession only after the expiration of the contract of the current tenants who are listed by name <sup>5)</sup>).

Probably this Saxon secretary rented the land again to Dutch subtenants, because when August III extends the hereditary lease contract with the farmers of Gross Heubuden on May 27, 1750, it is almost exclusively Dutch-Mennonite names <sup>6)</sup> that are listed. At that time the tenants were also allowed to build a horse mill.

In addition, there are a number of documents in which smaller parcels of the Heubuden pasture land are given to *Holländer*. Thus in 1738 the two Reimers farms, which were previously leased to the Polish magnate Kasimir Knitowski, are rented to Arnd Walde <sup>7)</sup>. In 1759 the 4 Philipponer Huben are rented to Peter Penner, Jacob Epp and Jacob Claassen for an annual lease sum of 320 Fl. <sup>8)</sup>. A contract from 1750 is with the Dutch for Gurken and Trappenfeld <sup>9)</sup>.

An excellent compilation of the Dutch settlements of Heubuden and Gurken is in the fire register from 1727 <sup>10)</sup>. According to it, of the 41 farmers and owners of the village, 35 are of Dutch-Mennonite origin. From the fire register we learn that the Dutch had already settled a large part of the neighboring village of Stadtfelde <sup>11)</sup>.

5) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 449 (Martin Rex, Johann Claassen, Peter Drosdau, Isaac Conrad, Gils Tews, Jacob Hybert, Isaac Wall's widow, Peter Lemberd, Jacob Suckau, Peter Matthis, Andreas Warkentin, Michael Drosdau, Greger Peters, Vallentin Rex, Peter Harder, Johann Drosdau, Wilhelm Giesbrecht, Martin Reske, Greger Kossnau).

6) *ibid.* (Dirk Dirksen, Hans Eggert, Behrend Mathies, Dirk Jantzen, Wilm Isbrecht, Friedrich Johst, Gert Wiens, Arnd Warkentin, Isaac v. Dyck, Hans Röske, Andreas Peters, Peter Ortmann, Martin Regeer, Hans Bartsch, Jacob Burnutz, Peter Claassen, Claas Regeer, Gert Entz, Abraham Conrad, Abraham v. Dyck, Arnd Walde, Johann Busenitz, Arnd v. Dyck).

7) Contribution Register [of 1772-73]. Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11034.

8) *ibid.*

9) *ibid.*

10) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 159. The year 1772 shows the same proportions in the composition of the Heubuden village population (Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11034). That the Dutch Mennonites lived in Heubuden in large numbers early on is evident from the fact that a Mennonite community existed here already around the middle of the 17th century.

11) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 162.

Separate from the other Dutch settlement district between the old Kölm villages Lesewitz and Blumstein the Arbitration of 1676 mentions 11 Dutch pasture Hufen of the Herrenhagen estate. There are no documents that show that the Dutch were here at that time. These pasture lands are in the hands of high officials of the Polish crown in the second half of the 17th century <sup>12)</sup>. However, it can be assumed that the Herrenhagen pastures were further leased to the Dutch; otherwise the designation "*Holländerhufen*" can't be explained. Only on June 30, 1702 August II confirms the sale of the 12 Hufen <sup>13)</sup> of the Herrenhagen by the previous owner to the respectable Werder subjects Hans Wiebe, Cornelius Lippe, Dietrich Wiebe and Johann Wiebe. The document states "that the above-mentioned Werder residents with their wives and heirs shall own the Herrenhagen estate together with the Hufen belonging to it according to the privileges with freedom from all complaints, contributions and expenses which are usually imposed on the other Werder residents". They shall only pay 630 Fl. annually to the royal treasury, when they sign a 36 year lease with emphyteutic rights. The contract will come into force retroactively from the year 1697 <sup>14)</sup>.

In 1727 Herrenhagen is already divided into a number of smaller parcels <sup>15)</sup>. Later, the three smallest settlements disappear again, because the soil was so heavy that successful farming was impossible. Nevertheless, the estates were so small that the Dutch farmers could cultivate their land with the help of a large brood of children <sup>16)</sup> without hiring outside help.

The lease of Herrenhagen was renewed in 1766 by Stanislaus Poniatowski, but this time for 40 years <sup>17)</sup>. The first lease renewal, which should have taken place in 1733, has not been preserved for us.

The last pasture area, in the already often mentioned Arbitration of the Gross Werder lists, are the nine Hufen in Einlage on the Nogat River.

12) Johann II. Casimir (1648-1668) had granted Herrenhagen to the vice-colonel Ellert for a term of 36 years. In 1689 the treasurer Samuel Brochotzki came into possession of Herrenhagen. In 1697 the Auditor General was Chrysostomos Dorpowski (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 835).

13) In 1697 the so-called Blumstein'sche Hufe was added to the previous 11 Hufen (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 835).

14) Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 835 (a report from 1707 names the owner of Herrenhagen "personse mennonistae").

15) See appendix (register of Herrenhagen).

16) 7 peasant families have a head count of 65 persons in 1772. Only one laborer is mentioned (Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11034).

17) Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 8747.



Einlage, which covers an area of about 25 to 30 square kilometers, had been left out by the Order during diking in order to be able to absorb the large masses of water and ice during floods and thus reduce the danger of dam bursts. Therefore, the land was only used as pasture in the summer.

According to Toeppen <sup>1)</sup> the first human settlement in these lands covered by forests and pastures dates back to the year 1640. At that time ten Hufen of Einlage were granted for 15 years to Jacob and Abraham Wiebe by the Elbing council. These Dutch received permission to drain the land by mills and sluices, but were only allowed to build summer dikes. In case of heavy floods, they always had to reckon with a flooding of their land <sup>2)</sup>. In 1727 there are already 17 farmers of mainly Dutch origin in the Einlage, who cultivate a land area of about 35 Hufen or use it as pasture land <sup>3)</sup>.

If we take a final look at the settlement activity of the Dutch in the Gross Marienburg Werder, the following conclusion can be drawn: the entire land of the Werder lying below sea level has been definitively cultivated by Dutch and their descendants from the middle of the 16th to the middle of the 18th century. The first villages founded by the Order in this area were not very successful. Villages, such as Tiegenhagen and Orloff <sup>4)</sup>, which had once been founded under Kulm law, were completely or partially reissued to the Dutch under emphyteutic hereditary leasehold rights. A large number of villages were completely rebuilt. I have tried to record the temporal and spatial course of this settlement period on the map in the appendix.

1) M. Toeppen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Weichsellandes*, 1894 (Nordmann I. c., p. 34 believes to be able to assume a somewhat earlier settlement).

2) These are probably the *Holländerhufen* mentioned in 1678.

3) Danz. Stadtbibliothek M. S. Uq. 1, p. 217.

4) Of the kulmish Hufen from Orloff, Orlofffelder and Siebenhuben were ceded.

## Conclusion.

The northern Werder is reminiscent of the marshes of Friesland and the Netherlands, with its wide pasturelands, its black-colored cattle, its windmills, its many dikes, and the unlimited field of vision. Here, too, the barges seem to hoist their sails directly above the fields as they sail along the Tiege. The people who immigrated here have changed the landscape, but they have also been transformed by the landscape. The somewhat rigid and stubborn Werder type emerged, which probably has little in common with today's "Mynheers" [Meinherren].

Let us take a look at the national political side of this post-settlement period. Around 1550, large parts of the Vistula Delta lay fallow and desolate. The Polish king granted them to his nobles. They built castles in Tiegenhof and Bärwalde, they preserved the large pasture lands of the Werder. And yet this land has never seen a Polish peasant. No Pole took on the effort and work of draining the swamps; he probably couldn't do it even if he tried. Only Germans did that. The native German population was too few in numbers to grow and fill the new space. Then sailing ships brought across the sea large peasant bands of Low Germans from Flanders, Holland and Friesland to the mouth of the Vistula. They did not secure this land with the sword, but with the plow and water mills, for Germans for all time. What the Order did not completely succeed in doing, the filling of this space up to the last place, happens in this time.

But the Vistula delta is actually only a funnel for the incoming Dutch peasant population, some of whom migrate further upstream from here. The Marienwerder, the Graudenzer lowlands already had large settlements of Dutch in the 16th century. In addition, they migrated further upstream into Poland proper. Despite Polish state rule, new German ethnic soil is gained.

The Mennonite *Holländer* gained historical importance beyond West Prussia when they followed the call of Russian rulers and established new settlements in the Ukraine for several decades after 1788. 120,000 Low Germans, whose ancestors had once emigrated from West Prussia, possessed a land area of 15,000 square kilometers in Russia.

Even in Siberia they had brought large areas under the plow <sup>1)</sup>.

As strongly as possible we must object to the fact that Polish scholars refer to these emigrants as Dutch foreigners. When we have spoken of the Dutch up to now, we have always referred to them only as a part of the Low German people, which, however, during the centuries that have passed since 1550, have become increasingly distinct from the German people in the actual Netherlands. At that time, when the Frisians and Dutch immigrated to the Vistula region, there could hardly be a question about this separation. If the emigrants to Russia and Poland had considered the Netherlands and not West Prussia as their homeland, they would not have taken the West Prussian dialect as their mother tongue when they emigrated to Russia <sup>2)</sup>. Then the newly founded villages would probably not have borne the village names of their beloved Werder homeland. One will search the vastness of the Russian steppes in vain for Dutch name places but will find many village names from the area surrounding Danzig.

1) Near Barnaul, 50 Mennonite villages have been established since 1909 (from "*Die Mennonitengemeinden in Russia*", 1921 p. 29. See also *Mennonitisches Lexikon* Vol. I, 1913, pp. 125-127).

2) See Mitzka loc. cit. - Already at the beginning of the 18th century the Dutch Mennonites make use of the German written language, e.g. in the statutes of the Tiegenhöfer Brandordnung. And does it need a clearer proof than that in 1926 -1000 German Mennonites from Canada gave up house and farm and emigrated to Mexico and South America, because one [the governments] wanted to deny their children instruction in the German language.

## Appendix.

### Connections between the Dutch settlements in the Werder and those in the Duchy of Prussia

In his work "Dutch Settlements in the Duchy of Prussia", Schumacher has already pointed out that a large number of Dutch left their settlements in the Ducal Prussian Oberlande and went to Danzig. The year 1543 was quite decisive for this migration. At that time, the Anabaptist movement had spread so widely among the Dutch from the Netherlands that Duke Albrecht ordered the expulsion of those whose views on baptism and the Lord's Supper didn't agree with the Prussian church polity <sup>1)</sup>. Most of the Dutch did not give up their basic beliefs, but left.

It is noteworthy that the first treaty concluded by the Danzig Council on the occupation of the low pasture lands with the Dutch was concluded a few years later and specifically with two men who had relations with the Duchy of Prussia. Namely, in this contract, on March 28, 1547, Scharfenberg (30½ Hufen), Landau (30½ Hufen) and the Sperlingsdorfer Bruch were leased to Hermann von Bommeln and Tönnies Florissen <sup>2)</sup>.

Hermann von Bommeln worked for a long time (1539-1553/54) as a business agent in the service of Albrecht of Prussia. In return, the duke awarded him several plots of land in and near Memel. The descendants of this rich Dutch merchant are said to have lived in that area until the 18th century <sup>3)</sup>. On February 28, 1550, Hermann von Bommeln became a citizen of Danzig. He was listed as a merchant in the Danzig register of citizens <sup>4)</sup>. Probably this was done in order to be able to take better care of his interests in this way, because since 1547 von Bommeln had owned large estates in the Danzig Werder. Perhaps, however, the dislike for the Dutch, which became more and more apparent in the duke's court during the last years of Albrecht's reign, had caused him to shift his sphere of activity to Danzig.

1) Schumacher, *Niederl. Ansiedlungen im Herzogtum Preußen*, 1903, p. 47.

2) See above, E. 12.

3) Cf. Schumacher, note 266.

4) Staatsarch. Danzig.

Tönnies Florissen, the second contracting party, was certainly a refugee from the Upper Dutch village of Schönberg. Because of his activities here and in Scharfenberg, this name has become known among all Dutch settlements in Prussia. It is also known about the last Dutch mayor of Schönberg, who was the last one to live in the village, that he owned larger estates in the Danzig Werder and also stayed there most of the time <sup>5)</sup>. In 1561 he finally left Schönberg <sup>6)</sup> and moved completely to Scharfenberg, where he is listed in 1570 next to Tönnies Florissen among the owners of the village <sup>7)</sup>.

Otherwise, the same patronymic names recur in Scharfenberg and in the Oberlande. They can be used, however, just because of their frequency as well as the names derived from Dutch localities to make comparisons and to uncover the connections between both areas. There remain in the name lists of Schumacher only three surnames, whose whereabouts after their departure from the Oberlande are not known and an investigation would have to be made. The first is the mayor of Schönberg, Hermann Sachs, who had by 1542 left the village again. I did not come across his name again among the Dutch of the Danzig Werder <sup>8)</sup>. The second, the farmer Paul Lau, fled from Schönberg in 1543, because he belonged to the baptist movement <sup>9)</sup>. At the beginning of the following century the first registers of the mayor's book of Scharfenberg name Gerd Lau and Hans Lau as Dutch subtenants of 5 Hufen of the village Scharfenberg. The third, the farmer Hillebrand Rycke, migrated in 1558 from a Dutch settlement neighboring Scharfenberg. The first registers of the Scharfenberger mayor's book name a Peter Rieke as subtenant of the village.

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts would be that the Anabaptist Dutch fleeing from the Oberlande after 1543 turned primarily to Danzig. Here, through the mediation of their compatriot Hermann v. Bommeln <sup>10)</sup> the possibility of finding a new field of activity in the then flooded Danzig Werder.

5) Schumacher, note 281.

6) Schumacher, note 321.

7) Staatsarch. Danzig, 358, 996.

8) Schumacher, p. 184 u. Schärffenberg Schulzenbuch (Staatsarch. Danz. 358,996).

9) Schumacher, note 198 u. p. 176.

10) There were close relations between the Dutch at Duke Albrecht's court and the settlers of the Oberlande (cf. Schumacher p. 55 ff.).

The first Dutch settlement in Scharfenberg in the spring of 1547 was been populated mainly with refugees from the Oberlande. When the council decided in the autumn lease the town of Reichenberg to the Dutch, it had to fall back on the Dutch homeland of the settlers. Therefore, the council sent the locator [recruiter] Philipp Fresen (also called Philipp v. Edzema) to the Netherlands in order to get the necessary settlers from there.

It can therefore be rightly said that the first wave of Dutch settlement in the Danzig region was begun by the Anabaptist Dutch who fled ducal Prussian Oberlande after 1543.

Escort letter of the Danzig council for the surveyor

Philipp Fresen

for his journey to the Netherlands.

(Original in Werder's Amtskasten of the Danzig State Archives 360, 7,  
167 b, fol. 1) unprinted.

[not translated from 16th century German]

*Allen den Jennen, zo dusenn unfenn Breff sehen offte horenn lessen, wat standes offte Condition de wessen mögen, Genedigen, Grothgünstigen Herren und besonderenn godenn srunden, doen kundt wie Borgermeister und Rathmanne der Stadt Danczigk, neffens behe glicken unsser deenste ock fruntlicks willens unnd alles goden erbeding einem elcken nha geboer hirmede upenbaer thugende unnd bekennende, dat wie dem Bescheidenen Philipp Fresen, togere dusses Brevs ein eklickenß; Landtgudt Richenberch genant zugewen unnd recht und reddelick vorschrewen hebbenn, dat sulwige mit ludenn siner Nativ offte anderenn ept forderlixte anthorichten unnd tho besitten. Worumbe denne genante Philipp sich dithpas van hennen Inn de Nedderlande verfogett, zodan volck daersolwigst, wo he wetenn werdl to colligerenn unnd hieheer tho vorgemelde behofe mit denn ersten tho bringende. Hirumbe up dat Verwegen up gemeldenn Philipp und sine Conssortenn offte geselschop, so he by unnd mit sick Hebden unnd hieheer forenn werdt, keine quade (böse) suspitio, archwan offte sust wedderwille van jemandenn geheckt werdenn möge. So gelanget an alle und itrzliche unsse Genedige, Grotgünstige herrnn und besondere gode frunde, zo hirmit erfocht werdenn, unsse deutlicke unnd fruntlicke bede, se willen sick denn gemeldenn Philipp Fressenn, mit alle siner Comiteve inn genadenn und gunstenn beshallen sien latenn, und alß hierheer tho unns gullick, unbehindert und sunder last und vordreth passerenn unnd reissen latenn. Datsulwige herwederumbe im glicken offte groterenn jegens einenn elcken na geboer tho vordehnenn unnd to beschuldenn, sindt wie stedes onverdraten und woll gewogen. des tho mehr Orkunde und loffwerdigen schine der warheit hebgen wie unsser Stadt Sigell dat wie dithpas hirtto gebruckenn hirundenn witlickenn andruckenn latenn dussem unsssem Breve. De gegewen is tho Danczigk am Maendage, denn achtundtwintichsten dach des Mandts Novembris innt Jaer nach Christi Gebork 1547.*

(Seal)

First documented mention of a number of Dutch-Mennonite names  
that still exist in the Vistula Delta today [1939].  
(Excluding Danzig and the Marienburger Werder.)

Year	Name	Village	Staatsarch. Danzig
1547	Philipp Fresen	Reichenberg	300, 7 167b. 7. 1.
1552	Gert Claussen	Schmerblock	300, 7 115, S. 817
1552	Friedrich Gertson	"	ibid
1567	Hans Jacobsen	Scharfenberg	358, 996
1571	Peter Jantzen	"	ibid
1582	Gerdt Feste (Fast)	Wotzlaff	Menn. Supplikationsschrift (300,7.167b,fol.36)
1584	Hermann Eppe	Heubude	300. 2. 1. fol. 161
1584	Kersten Janson	Landau	300. 2. fol. 156
1595	nenn. [?] Frantzon	Scharfenberg	300. 2. 7. 167 c.
1598	Gerd. Niefeld	Weyherscher Unters. (Tiegenhof Oekonomie)	300. 2. 6., fol. 21
1601	Johann Dau	Orloffferfelde	358, 32
1601	Urban Ham	"	ibid
1601	Joh. Bestvader	"	ibid
1605/06	Wilm Fast, Son of Peter Fast	behind Prinzlaff later named Freienhuben	300. 2., fol. 167 u. 947., fol. 5
1607	Heinr. Giesbrecht	Scharfenberg	358, 996
1611	Wilh. Corneliesen	behind Prinzlaff (Freienhuben)	300. 2. 947, fol. 39
1612	Bastian Dick	Vierzehnhuben	300. 2. 11., fol. 3
1615	Hans van Bargaen	Scharfenberg or Hochzeit	358, 996
1618	Cornelies Sprungk	Altebabke	300. 2. 13., fol. 145
1618	Peter Paulsen from Emden	Beyershorst	300. 2. 13., fol. 13
1621	Dönnies Penner	"	300. 2. 15., fol. 100
1626	Lorenz van Riesen	Polinische Hube near Altebabke	300. 2. 947 u. 262
1627	Abr. Wiebe	Platenhof	300. 2. 19., fol. 93
1627	Klaas Kröcker	Tiegenhagen	ibid fol. 74
1638	Klaas Andresen	Schmerblock	300. 2. 21., fol. 255
1642	Herm. Wiens	Altebabke	ibid 22, fol. 185
1656	Karsten Viegut	Pasewark	ibid 286

## Landowners and Their Holdings [see [here](#) and [here](#)]

for <b>Altebabke</b>			Dönniesz Penner	144	—
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen	Jochim Vosz	123	19
Jakob Klassen	2		Peter Paulsen	203	—
Bastian Esau	2	15	Michel Prol	127	14
Dirck Neyfeld	2	—	Paul Petersen	147	12
Peter Lehr	1	—	Johann Jacobsen	58	4
Jakob Esau	1	—	Hans Petersen	115	—
Jakob Penner	1	15	Gert Gossen	77	3
Klaass Reiner	2	—	Jakob Corneliessen	91	18
Daniel Viedt	—	1	(Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 15, fol. 100)		
Hans von Riesen	1	—			
Hans Dik	—	15	<b>1623</b>	MK.	Gr.
Cornels Jantzen	1	15	Donnies Penner	72	—
Peter Dick	1	15	Hugo Frese	45	—
Hans Penner	—	20	Hans Preutz	57	—
Johann Martens	—	20	Gert Gosen	38	—
Hans Wins	1	—	Michel Prol	63	—
Marten Lehr	1	—	Peter Paulsen	101	—
Peter Prentz	1	—	Gert Paulsen	102	—
Hans Möd	—	15	Jochim Voss	61	—
Jakob Kröger	—	20	Paul Petersen	73	—
Daniel Lietz	—	10	Michel Scherping	29	—
			(Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2. 17, fol. 49)		
(Danz. Staatbibl. M. S. U. q., S. 145)					
for <b>Altendorf</b>			<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen	Isaac Schrödter	1	15
Hinrich Goossen	—	15	Abraham Penner	1	—
Wilhelm Gertzen	2	—	Jakob Bestvater	1	15
Peter Zacharitz	2	—	Arendt Fast	1	—
Bastian Siemens	1	—	Gorgen Quapp	1	—
Gottfried Technau	1	10	Hans Penner	1	—
Jans Wedhorn	—	15	Hans Omiring	2	—
Bartel Rodoffske	10		Hinrich Mekelburger	2	—
Jakob Kemp	—	15	Cornels Jantzen	1	20
Cornels Lepp	2	—	Hans Allert	1	15
Hans Esau	2	—	Daniel Rahn	1	—
Simon Dick	1	15	Cornels Umlundt	2	—
Class Pauels	—	10	Besides these, there are 11 others who rent.		
Abraham Jantzen	—	10	(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. 6. U. q.i, 6.147)		
Jakob Lindtkemann	—	15			
Jakob Dick	—	20	for <b>Blumenort</b>		
Jakob Reimer	—	15	<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
(Danz. Staatbibl. M. S. U. q.i, S. 125)					
for <b>Beyershorst</b>					
The farmers of interest:					
1621	Mk.	Gr.	Peter von Riesen	3	—
Gert Paulsen	204	—	David Gronau	2	—
			Thomas Wiens	1	—
			Hans Penner	1	—
			Klaas Wieler	1	—
			Samuel Kayser	1	—
			Abraham Peters	2	—



Peter Neyfeldt	1	—	Jakob Jantzen	2	15
Harman Wiens	1	15	In addition, 5 other landowners		
Gehrt Neyfeldt	—	20	(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11026)		
Michel Messeke	—	15	<b>for Freienhuben</b>		
Görgen Holtckau	—	15	<b>1734/37</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Feyborg	—	—	Christ. Hildebrand	3	—
Ben.omin Jochem	—	—	Cornelius Tewes	2	15
Daniel Lewen	—	10	Hans Bochske	3	—
(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q 1, S. 203)			Christ. Hohge	2	—
<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen	Marken Tiessen	1	—
Jakob Wiens	1	—	Greger Davidt	1	15
Hans Warkentien	1	15	Jakob Kohn	1	15
Johann Quiring	1	20	Petter Kestner	1	7,5
Thomas Wiens	—	29	Hans Harder	1	15
Peter Harder	—	1,5	Hans Wöllke	3	—
Johann Gerbrandt	—	18,5	Hans von Riesen	3	—
Arend von Riesen	—	8	Hans Fress	3	—
Jakob Wiens	—	8	Peter Aspen	2	15
Hermann Neufeld	1	15	Jakob Brun	2	—
Jakob Penner	1	1	Gert von Beigen	1	15
Hans Kohn	—	8,5	Peter Doden höft	1	15
Jakob Kohn	—	10,5	Hans Hinrich	2	—
Peter Wied			Gergen Fohl	1	22,5
Gerhard Wiebs, widow of			Hans Knak	—	15
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11026)			(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710)		
<b>for Einlage on the Nogat</b>			<b>1765</b>	Hufen	Morgen
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen	Hinrich Gnieffke	1	17
Peter Klingenberg	1	15	Johann Aspen	2	18
Jakob Krause	2	—	Arend Wiebe	2	12
Hermann Laberau	3	—	Paul Hoffmann	1	9
Marten Eggerdt	2	—	Michael Langnau	1	9
Cornels Tewes	2	—	Mathis Klassen	3	9
Jakob von Riesen	2	—	Hans Friesen	2	27
Jakob Preitz	—	15	Hans Luchten	2	4
Hans Kröcker	2	—	Peter Aspen	1	26
Hinrich Wieb	2	15	Hawt Wielsche	3	—
Class Wieb	2	—	Michael Schienke	—	28
Peter Gerbrandt	3	—	Jakob Brun	2	28
Dirck Wieb	3	—	Jacob Beyrau	—	28
Jakob Penner	3	—	Gerhard v. Bargaen	2	11
Hans Habenstein	—	15	Hans Boelke	—	7
Hans Krocke Sr.	1	15	Peter Schwichtenberg	2	15
Isbrandt Wiebe	1	—	Georg Gertz	2	12
(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. A. q.i. S.217)			Hindrich Bestvater	3	16
<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen	(Danz. D. 300, P. K. 1a. 144)		
Peter Penner	3	10	<b>1771</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Abraham Riesen	1	22	Arend Wiebe	2	15
Jakob Kroecker	2	15	Mathias Claassen	3	—
Johann Dieck	1	27	Gertr., Hans Friese Wit.	3	—
Gert Dieck	1	10	Gert v. Bergen	2	—
Peter Esau	1	18	Gergen Gerths	—	15
Gerhard Andres	1	18	Henrich Bestvater	3	15
Abraham Riesen	—	20	Arend van Riesen		
Cornelius Kroecker	—	23	(Die Mennon. von Freienhuben)		
Jakob Wiebe	—	3	(Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2,161, fol. 117)		
Johann Harder	—	15			

for **Glabitsch**

<b>1734</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Claassen	2	—
Gert Willem	2	—
Jakob Wiggert	2	—
Christ. Butzgan	1	—
Marten Claassen	2	—
Nathanael Degen	1	—
Michel Klingenberg	2	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710)

for **Gr. Plehendorf**

<b>1675</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Gowert	2	—
Dirck Gertsen	2	—
Willm Cornelsen	2	—
Dirck Berkmann	2	—
Hans Cornelsen	2	—
Hans Glasenap	2	—
Michael Davidt	2	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874)

<b>1725</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Paul Karau	2	—
Clas Quiring	2	—
David Lichtenfeld	2	—
Samuel Quiring	2	—
Samuel Quiring	2	—
Jakob Peters	2	—
Hans Kling	2	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 045)

<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Arends	1	—
Jacob Bestvater	2	—
Claas Penner	2	—
Cornelius Wellke	2	—
Jonas Penner	2	—

and 3 non-Mennonites.  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

for **Gr. Walddorf**

<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Jantzen	1	15
Isaac Peters	1	3
Wilhelm Jantzen	1	10
Peter Martens	—	16
Joh. Ziemen	2	—
Giesebrand Kakler	2	15
Peter Jantzen	1	—
Peter Jantzen	1	—
Beniamin Barek	2	—

and 13 non-Mennonites.  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

for **Halbstadt**

<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Gottfr. Sonnenfeldt	2	15
Joh. Harder	1	2,5
Peter Isaac	1	—
Abraham Krecker	1	23,5
Peter Dück	2	—
Isaak Wiens	1	—
Salomon Goertz	—	9,5
Isaac Loewen	—	165
Isaak Harder	2	—
M. Eggert	1	29,5

(Danz Staatsarch. 180, 11033)

for **Herrengrebin**

<b>1725</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Jantzen	1	15
Peter Jantzen	3	—

and 5 non-Mennonites.  
(Danz Staatsarch. 358, 945)

for **Herrenhagen**

<b>1702</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Wiebe	—	—
Cornelius Lepp	—	Together
Dietrich Wiebe	—	12 Hufen
Johann Wiebe	—	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 835)

<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Isaac Dick	1	15
Gilh Wiens	1	15
Dirck Wied	1	15
Peter Entz	2	—
Hans Wiens	2	—
Peter Wiens	1	—
Jakob Worm	1	—
Daniel Neyfeldt	—	7
Hinrick Entz	—	25
Jann Penner	—	15

(Danz Stadtbibl. M. S. 11. q., S. 163)

<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Wiens	1	15
Peter Wiens	1	14
Frantz Wiens	1	15
Klaas Wiens	1	5
Marten Andres	2	—
Peter Dyck	2	26
Giels Wiens	1	15

(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11034)

for **Heubuden**

<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Klaassen	1	15

Peter Klaassen	1	—	Hans Classen	2	8
Arendt Walde	1	15	Arendt Claassen	2	16
Isaac Conrad, widow of	2	15	Dürk Warkentien	1	18
Hans Suckau	2	—	Dürk Penner	1	15
Peter Drohdau	1	—	Claass Mathies	1	14
Isaac Walde	1	10	Hans Mathies	1	6
Peter Lembertsche	1	15	Abraham Regier	1	6
Wilhelm Giesebrecht	—	25	Jacob Bickert	—	15
Jakob Suckau	1	6	Wilhelm Dickmann	—	15
Peter Matthies	2	15	Jacob Epp	3	—
Harman Diedrich	—	20	Jacob Günther	—	22
Peter Reimer	1	15	Jacob Claassen	1	7
Andres Warckentien	2	15	Peter Mathies	2	—
Marten Zuther	1	—	Elias Mathies	1	—
Arendt Dick	1	15	Ludwig Wunderlich	1	—
Marten Reschcke	—	IN	Hosper	2	—
Abraham Claassen	2	15	Hans Dick	2	—
Hans Claassen	2	15	Johann Adler	3	27
Hans Klaassen	2	—	Bich. Ludwig	—	24
Peter Klaassen	1	15	David v. Riesen	1	—
Isaak Dircksen	1	—	Heinrich Penner	—	29
Frantz Kröcker	1	15	Jacob Sielmann	—	23
David Conrad	—	25	Peter Warkentien	—	14
Gilss Claassen	—	25	Gerth Peters	—	7,5
Abraham Conradt	2	—	Abraham Barkmann	—	5
Jakob van Bergen	1	—	Abraham Dürcks	—	2,75
Marten Reschke	1	—	Johann Römer	—	4,33
Claass Dick	2	15	Neufeld, widow of	—	4,25
Hans Klaassen	1	—	Hospital	—	4,66
Hans Brandt	1	—	David Peters	—	2,33
Jakob Dick	2	—	Michael Peters	—	9,5
Isaac van Bergen	1	—	Heinrich Löwen	—	4
Jakob Conradt	—	20	Peter Harder	—	6
Harman Neyfeld	2	—	Jacob Löwen	—	3,25
Jakob Conradt	3	—	Jacob Giesbrecht	—	2,75
Abraham Conradt	2	15	Witwe Beruntsche	—	2
Gehrt Neystädiger	1	—	Witwe Rösch	—	5,25
Jakob Dick	1	10	Abraham Pauls	—	3
Gehrt Reimer	—	15	Hans Harder	—	7
Salomon Marx	—	15			

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q.i, S. 158)

(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11V34)

for **Klein Mausdorf**

	Hufen	Morgen		Hufen	Morgen
<b>1772</b>			<b>1727</b>		
Isaac Borns	1	15	Peter Klaassen	3	—
Abraham Dick	1	26	Jacob Döhring	2	15
Abraham Regier	1	14	Peter v. Riesen	1	15
Arendt Warkentien	3	3,75	Andreas Sencke	1	15
Gerth Wiens	1	19	Simon v. Riesen	1	15
Frantz Dick	2	7	Dirck Neyfeldt	1	—
Jakob Entz	2	12	Jacob Claassen	2	—
Durik Jantzen	2	12	Hermann v. Riesen	1	—
Hanns Reimer	1	9	Daniel Neyfeldt	—	15
Joh. Egert	—	12	Clatz Fast	1	—
Martin Regera	1	20	Arendt Tiessen	—	15
Dürck Dürcksen	1	25	Jakob Epp	—	15
Gerth Entz	1	1	Simon v. Riesen	—	—
Elias v. Bärge	2	6	Arendt Gerbrandt	2	15
Jacob Dick	1	26	Jakob Worel	1	—
Jacob Warkentien	—	9			

Peter Giebner	—	15
Görgen Thiel	—	15
Christian Baulhem	—	15
Isaac Havenstein	—	20
Hans Isaac	1	—
Peter Klaassen's house by the cottage	—	15

(Danz. Stadtbild. M. S. U. q >, S. 209)

for **Kl. Maus Dörfer Weyde**

1727	Husen	Morgen
Hinrich Wieler	1	—
Jakob Behrens	—	20
Elias Peters	—	15
Peter Dick	1	—
Cornels Andreas	—	15
Gehrt Neyfeld	—	15

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. 11. q 1, S. 201)

for **Krebsfelde**

1727	Hufen	Morgen
Antonie Reimer	2	—
Franz Klaassen	3	—
Peter Wiens	1	5
Peter Willems	1	—
Jakob Neyfeldt	2	—
Nathanael Pasewerck	2	—
Frantz Dick	1	—
Eggert	1	—
Peter Dick	—	15
Thomas Schantz	3	—
Hans Banhin	—	15
Dir« Günter	—	10
Michel Fietkau	—	15
Hans Genssel	1	—
Abraham Habenstein	1	—
Abraham Klaassen	1	—
Jakob Klaassen	2	—
Johann Mollenhauer	2	—
Hans Lindenstrauh	—	15
Isbrandt Peters	—	15
Peter Mielke	1	—
Thomas Wiens	—	15
Behrendt Hillbrandt	—	15
Peter Dick	—	15

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. A. q.i, E. 211)

for **Koczelitzke**

1772	Hufen	Morgen
Johann Wiebtz	5	7
Abraham Bergmann	4	—
Johann Claassen	2	—
Claas Dick	2	11
Martin Toews	3	—
Abr. Busentz, widow of	4	19
Jacob Penner	2	7

David Suckau	2	7
Heinrich Penner	4	—
Peter Warkentien	3	19
Abrah. Epp, widow of	2	22
(Danz. Staatsarch. 18V, 11034)		

for **Krampitz, Wesshof and Scheibe**

1875	Hufen	Morgen
Jacob Dirksen	2	—
Willm Drop	2	9
Peter Philtppsen	2	18
Gerth Paulsen	1	15
Daniel Frehse	2	—
Clement Wölcke	1	—
Hans Jantzen	1	27
Facharias Llaben	3	—
Marten Grade	1	—
Class Paulsen	1	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874)

1725	Hufen	Morgen
Clas Job	2	—
Jacob Marlens	2	—
Simon Quiring	2	—
Simon Heinrichs, widow of.	1	15
Jacob Nickel	2	—
Simon Bauman	1	—
Heinrich Penner	1	27
Jacob Wiegert	3	—
Hans Wielck	1	—
Arndt Reimer	2	—
Gerhardt Dirksen	1	12

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

1748	Hufen	Morgen
Jacob Nickel	1	—
Lehnert Martens	1	—
Johann Schultz	1	—
Cornelius Eppe	2	—
Frantz Philippsen	2	—
Frantz Penner	1	—
Jacob Penner	1	27
Gerth Fast	2	—
Gerhard Doercksen	1	12

and 3 non-Mennonites.

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

for **Ladekopp**

1727	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Horn	2	15
Johann Robruhn	3	—
Johann Futher	3	15
Gröger Söncke	2	—
David Schlichting	4	—
Salomon Söncke	1	15
Cornels Ehrlich	2	—

Bastian Dick	1	15
Peler Entz	3	—
Jakob Harder	1	—
Michel Welmsche	0	15
Peler Hyberl	1	—
Johann Klaassen	3	—
Peter MSckelburger	3	—
Behrend Claasche	3	—
Karpen's old house	—	15
Joh. Warkentien, widow of	3	—
Johann Wieb, widow of	2	—
Johann Wunderlich	3	—
Johann Penner	1	15
Michel Begehr	1	15
Abraham Penner	3	—
Peter Entz	2	—
Marlen Enh	2	—
Johann Mau, widow of	1	—
Salomon Ziegzer	1	15
Peler Wagener	—	15
Michel Willer	—	15
George Tag	—	15
Jakob Lepinske	—	15
Elias Peters	—	15
Christian Pätsch	1	—

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. Su. q.I, S. 165)

<b>1772</b>	kölm. Huf.	Zinshuf.
Abraham Entz	—	6
Johann Jantzen	—	12
Peter Daniels	—	0,75
Arend Entz, widow of	—	—
Michel Dircks	—	—
Johann Dick	1	15
Heinr. Wintzen, widow of	—	—
Jacob Klaassen	—	13
Mathias Bestvater	—	5
Jacob Willems	—	6
Peter Klassen	—	13
Elias Epp	—	7
Jacob Suckau	—	9
Johann Penner	—	8
Cornelius Toews	—	8
Gerhard Wiebe	—	5
Jacob Busenitz	—	8
Jacob Wiebe	—	13

Also, 10 native farmers  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058)  
for **Marienau**

<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Jörgen Brengakel	2	15
David Wilhelm	3	—
Jakob Hein Jr.	1	—
Hans Penner	1	15
Sorgen Barck	—	15
Hans Niess	2	15

Jakob Zuther	3	15
David Pleiner	2	—
Hans Grönlng, widow of	2	—
Jakob Bestvater	3	—
Abraham Jantzen	3	—
Abraham Epp	1	15
Reinhold Zuther	5	15
David Zuch	4	—
Jakob Schultz	5	15
Peler Wieb	1	15
Jakob Dircksen	3	—
Heinrich Hein	2	—
Paul Pauls	2	—
Peter Lepp	1	15
Jakob Hein	2	15
Peter Kreker	—	7
Klaass Penner	2	15
Jakob Wieb	3	15
Cornels Fröse	2	—

Also 15 renters

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. 11. q.i, S. 151)

<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Conerk Fress	4	4
Witwe Niesen	4	11
Cornel. Warkentien Sr.	3	13
Cornel. Warkentien Jr.	3	13
Isebrand Wiehler	3	11
Hermann Penner	3	—
Isaac Claassen	2	8
David Pauls	2	15
Jacob Penner	2	6
Gert Fasten, widow of	2	5
Hans Hein	2	2
Heinrich Penner	2	—
Jacob Warkentien	1	28
David Hein	1	28
Heinrich Pelers	1	27
Abraham Regehr	1	12
Gerd Barggens	1	6
Jacob Warkeniiien II.	—	22
Cornel Wiep	—	9
Peter Dieck	—	4,75
Jacob Jantzen	—	9
Hermann Klaassen	—	16
Peker Epp	—	12

Also 13 native farmers  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058)  
for **Mierau**

<b>1773</b>	Hufen	Morgen
David Bestvater	2	—
Dörk Esau	2	0,5
Abraham Penner	2	3
Johann Bestvater	2	8
Johann Penner	2	7
David Esau	2	2

Abraham Dick	—	10
Johann Willem	2	—
Hinrich Enz	2	—
Isaac Wieb	2	—
Gehrt Enz	1	3,5
Jacob Wieb	1	1
Jacob Berg	—	15
Peter Niefeldt	—	10
Michael Pekers	—	5
Peter Schröder	—	5

In addition, 8 native farmers.  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11033)

for **Nassenhuben**

<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Weleke	2	—
Andreas Claassen	2	—
Andreas Claassen	3	—
Zacharias Henrich	2	15

Also, 7 non-Mennonites.  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 045)

for **Neuendorf**

<b>1875</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Lorentz Berkmann	2	—
Peter Schrart	2	—
Clas Adrian	4	—
Barthel Quiring	1	—
Frantz Job	2	—
Jacob Pegelau	4	—
Jacob Thetz	2	—
Anthon Kuwent	2	—
Hans Eichholz	3	—
Willm Werners, widow of	2	—
Conradi Behrendt	1	—
Heinrich Heye	—	15

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874)

<b>1725</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Michael Bewerstein	3	—
Mathis Classen	2	—
Friedrich Petersen	4	—
Johann Sprunck	2	—
Jacob Gowert	4	—
Heindrich Petersen	2	—
Peter Gietzbrecht	2	—
Martin Regehr	3	—
Frantz Conrad	2	—
Peter Nickel	1	—
Frantz Philippsen	1	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Arendt Friedr. Harms	4	—
Jacob Petersch	2	—
Cornelius Welcke	1	—

Frantz Philipsen	2	—
Peter Penner	3	—
Clas van Riesen	2	—
Frantz Conrad	2	—

and 5 non-Mennonites.  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

<b>1703</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Jacob Petersen	1	25
Peter Penner	2	—
Abraham Conrad	2	—

and 7 other owners.  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7, 118, S. 37)

for **Neunhuben** (Danz. Werder)

<b>1675</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Andres Evert	2	—
Cornels Brandt	1	15
Hans Klinge	1	15
Daniel Wegner	1	15
Anthonle Wölcke	1	15

Dirk Gertsen } own a  
Hans Süßfleisch } farm  
Anthoni Wölck } jointly  
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874)

<b>1725</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Andreas Claassen	2	—
Martin Classen	1	15
Heinrich Fröse	1	15
Lenert Martens	1	15
Clas Harder	1	15
Heinrich Rohl	2	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Samuel Quiring	2	15
Harem Wiens	1	15
Heinrich Roths	1	15
Frantz Fröse	1	15
Abraham Welch	1	15
Hanns Heinrich	2	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

for **Neunhuben** (Gr. Werder)

<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
David Penner	2	15
Paul Nickel	3	15
Cornels v. Riesen	2	—
Isaac Klaassen-Hinr. Epp	—	15
Peter Fast	—	15
Marten Fast	—	10
Daniel Fast	—	10
Peter Claassen	—	15
Behrend Fast	—	15
Marten Winholt	—	15

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q 1, S. 169)

for <b>Orloff</b>		
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Frantz Philippsen	2	15

Cornels Gronau	3	15
Peter Jantzen	1	15
Abraham Reimer	2	—

Jakob Wiebe	3	—
Hans Penner	3	—
Hans Wieb	2	15
Peter Wieb	2	—
Heinrich Fock	2	15
Abraham Wieb	4	—
Peter Entz	2	15
Hans van Bergen	2	—
Antonge Wilck	1	15
Jakob Äraheim	—	15
Dörgen Werner	—	15

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q.1, v. 111)

<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Samuel Quiring	1	8
Hans Reimer	2	—
Peter Tiessen	2	—
Peter Fast	1	—
Michel Reger	1	15
Peter Suckau	4	—
Jacob Wtebe	1	29
Hans Reger	1	22
Martin Wiebe	1	15
Jacob Dick	1	10
Jacob Esau	—	25
Michel Hamm	—	15
Arend Penner	—	10

(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11658)

for **Orlofffelde**

<b>1601</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Franz Fleiers		
Jacob Bestvader		
Elas Bestvader		
Johann Bestvader		
Urban Ham		
Johann Daw		
Peter Jantzen		
Jacob Pelers		
Gregor Bestvader, Sr.		
Johann Jantzen		
Philipp Lippe		
Johann Aumbke		
Dirke		

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 32)

<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Samuel Penner, widow of	4	—
Clas v. Riesen	3	—
Jakob Hein	2	15
Peter Rogotzki	—	15
Marten Fischer	—	15
Hans Classen	1	18

Jacob Penner	2	—
Arendt Allert	3	—
Peter Gronau	1	15
Jacob Jantzen	1	15
Frantz Jantzen	1	—
Marten Neckel	1	10
Derk Quiring	—	15
Heinrich Jantzen	1	—
Jacob Unger	1	—
Michel Nickel	1	—
Hofsmann	1	—
Marten Christoph	1	—

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q.1, S. 113)

<b>1766</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Schroeder		
Dietrich Dircksen		
Jacob Hein		
Jacob Draheim		
Jacob Friesen		
Johann Harms		
Barthol Hein		
Adrian Unger		
Jonas Nickel		
Johann Quiring		
Cornelius Freh		
Franz Jantzen		
Markin Klemm		
Michael Schmidt		
Heinrich Jantzen		
Peter Jorb		

Peter Daniel		
Paul Sommerog		
Jacob Boldt		

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 35)

<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Johann Nickel	2	19
Dirck Dircksen	3	4
Peter Schröder	2	14
Cornel. Grunau	2	1
Bartel Hain	1	23
Adrian Unger	1	11
Johann Quiring	—	29
Jacob Quiring	1	10
Cornel. Frötz	1	4
Frantz Jantzen	1	2
Martin Klein, widow of	—	10
Martin Schmidt	—	14
Arend Frötz	—	23
Peter Jorb	—	13
Wilhelm Gerbrand	—	14
Mich. Wille	—	1
Hanns Frötz	—	4,5
Jacob Draheim	—	7

Jacob v. Riesen	1	18
Hans Harms		3
Hinrich Titzlaff	—	3
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058)		
<b>for Petershagen</b>		
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Kamraht	2	—
Jakob Schwarzwaldt	3	15
Peter Klaassen	2	15
Peter Epp	2	4
Abraham Simon	2	—
Peter Isaac	2	15
Paul Wieb	1	15
Jakob Penner	2	—
Hans Siemens	3	10
Jacob Neyfeldt	3	—
Peter Esau	4	—
Peter Pahl	2	—
Philipp Dick	2	16
Jakob Penner	2	15
Gehrt Heide	2	—
Simon Reimer	1	—
Michel Hoff	1	—
Peter Zacharss	1	—
Abraham Steffen	1	—
Hans Steffen	1	—
Jakob Epp	1	—
Hans Reyfeldt	1	—
Lothar Isaaken	—	20
Nathan Dröffkl	—	15
Christoph Göhrmann	—	15
Cornels Kempf	1	—
Michel Diederich	—	10
Hans Weyser	—	10
Bastian Esau, widow Kathe	1	—
Isaac Peters	—	15
Tiessen, widow of	—	15
Bartel Thim	1	—
Christoph Krause	—	15
Arendt Peters	—	7
(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. 11. q.1, S. 121)		
<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Esau	1	—
Clas Epp	1	24
Peter Schultz	1	29
Jacob Schultz	1	28
Dirck Wiebe	1	—
Peter Pauls	2	8
Frantz Friesen	2	13
Claas Epp II.	1	24
Abraham Wall	—	3,5
Peter Esau, widow of	2	2
Jacob Penner, widow of	2	—
Jacob Rempel	—	10
Isaac Peters	2	9
Dirk Tiessen	2	14

Johann Grossnak	—	5
Jacob Hamm	3	2
Peter Klaasche	1	5
Isaac Lepp	1	5
Abraham Reimer	1	—
Heinr. Reimer, widow of	—	19
Hans Johst	—	10
Arend Entz	1	1
Clas Bruhn	1	14,5
Dirck Uhlfeldt	1	5
Peter Steffen	—	5,5
Abraham Steffen	—	16,5
Isebrand Rahn	—	2
Joh. Rempel	—	2
Harm Neufeld, widow of	—	1,66
Abraham Uhfert	—	0,75
Harm Neufeldt	—	1
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058)		

**for Pietzkendorf**

<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Neckel	1	—
Philipp Isaac	1	—
Jost van Bargaen	1	5
Hans Jantzen	1	5
Hans Westerwick	—	20
Jakob Martens	—	20
Gert Footh	—	10
Wilhelm Martens	—	15
Janniel Schmidt	1	—
Jakob Peters	—	7
Harman Dangels	—	15
Cornels Knelsen	1	—
Hinrich Neckel	1	5
Georgen Quawp	—	15
Hans Penner	2	—
Peter van Bargaen	1	—
Jakob Isaac	—	15
Hans Martens	—	10
(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q 1. S. 115)		
<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Frantz Quapp		
Heinrich Dick		
Peter Martens		
Heinrich Hein		
Jacob Peters		All together own:
Jacob Wiens	Hufen	Morgen
Martin Penner	7	12
Witwe Phil. Dickin		
Jacob Jantzen		
Peter Martens		
Anton Gefath		
Georg Bänder (Luth.)		
Hans Jantzen		
Arend Peters		
Hinrich Penner		
Hans Harder		



Frantz Klössen		
Harms Fröse		
Hans Schwidofski (Kath.)		
Harms Daniels		
Heinrich Nickel		
Peter Jopp		
Witwe Wiens		
Witwe Daniel		
Browski (Kath.)		
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058)		
for <b>Poppau</b>		
1734	Hufen	Morgen
Hermann Claassen	2	15
Isedrandt Reimer	—	15
Gert Filgut	1	15
Abraham Dick	—	15
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 710)		
1771	Hufen	Morgen
Michael Schröder	1	19
Michael Schröder		
(maybe the same one)	—	12
Gerth Fleguth	1	15
Isaac Bruhn	—	11
Dirk Dyck	1	8
Jacob Dyck jun.	2	6
Jacob Dyck sen.	—	16
(Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 2, 161, fol. 121)		
for <b>Pordenau</b>		
1773	Hufen	Morgen
Absalon Behrend	4	1
Jacob Entz	2	15
Peter Claassen	4	2
Arendt Esau	2	23
Johann Wölck	1	20
Peter Claassen	2	23 $\frac{1}{2}$
Johann Wiens	1	5,25
Hinrich Harder	—	1,75
Hinrich Entz	1	6,25
Daniel Sawatzki	—	—
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11033)		
for <b>Reimerswalde</b>		
1727	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Funk	2	—
Tsaac Liessen	2	—
Isaac Hinrichs	1	15
Böhrendt Lewen'sche	—	15
Dirk Quiring	1	10
Johann Quiring	2	—
Class Lepp	1	—
Abraham Wieb	1	15
Peter Derksen	1	—
Daniel Neyfeldt	—	10

Paul Dangels	1	—
Peter Harder'sche	1	10
Jacob Footh	—	15
Peter Lamerck	1	10
(Danz. Staatsbibl. M. S. U. q 1, S. 117)		
for <b>Rosenort</b>		
1727	Hufen	Morgen
Jakob Lamradt	1	15
Peker Isaac	1	—
Andreas Woogdcke	1	—
Peter Jabsen	1	—
Abraham Regier	3	—
Marten Elsfert	1	—
Hans Allert	2	—
Wilhelm Hübert	1	—
Harm Pauels	2	15
Peter Klaassen	3	—
Frantz Wiens	1	15
(Danz. Staatsbibl. M. S. U. q.1, S. 206)		
1772	Hufen	Morgen
Hermann Wientz	—	10
David Penner	—	23
Frantz Claassen	2	10
Cornel. Jantzen	1	—
Abraham Reimer	1	1
Martin Penner	—	15
Heinrich Hildebrandt	—	23
Jacob Neufeldt	—	18
Peter Entz	2	18
Cornel. Bestvater	1	—
Abraham Jacob	1	—
Michel Jentzel	—	14
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11026)		
for <b>Rückenau</b>		
1727	Hufen	Morgen
Paul Döring	4	—
Hans Döring	3	15
Peter Gowert	1	—
Paul Döring	4	—
Phillipp Dick	2	15
Gehrt Penner	4	—
Isaac Klaassen	2	—
Peter Niess	4	—
Hans Penner	1	15
Jakob Dick	1	—
Hans Gerbrandt	1	—
Jakob Riediger	1	5
Salomon Siedler	—	10
(Danz. Staatsbibl. M. S. A. q 1, E. 140)		
1772	Hufen	Morgen
Johann Willm	4	12
Paul Döhring	3	1

Abraham Töws	1	11
Isaac Claassen	2	—
Abraham Buhler	2	7
Gerd Ensch, widow of	1	—
Class Dick	—	20
Philipp Dick	—	5
Jacob Pohlmann	3	29
David Dieck	2	13
Frantz Claassen	1	—
Jacob Schierling	—	6
Gerd Braun	1	10
Anlon Penner	—	10
Peter Penner	3	18
Dieck, widow of	—	19
Peter Dick	—	20

(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058)

for **Scharfenberg**

<b>1675</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Cornels Niecke	2	—
Hans Frehse	1	25
Steffen Wulff	1	28
Gergen Willms	5	—
Adrian Blömsche	2	15
Cornels Andress	3	—
Peter Kiepe	2	15
Arendt Peters	2	15
Lehnert Giesebrecht	1	—
Cornels Ziemer	1	15
Cornels Holz	2	—
Hans Jantzen Jr.	2	2,5
Cornels Hindrichs	3	—
Hans Jantzen Sr.	2	19,5
Daniel Kippe	3	—
Peter Kiepe	2	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874)

<b>1725</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Heinrich Giesbrecht	2	—
Heinrich Giesbrecht	1	25
Peter Nickel	1	28
Cornels Pichholdt	5	—
Jacob Pichholdt	2	15
Martin Heinrich	2	15
Martin Andres	3	—
Ephraim Philippsen	2	15
Peter Stüw	1	—
Martin Scherwitzke	1	15
Peter Riep	2	—
Cornelius Heinrich	1	—
Cornelius Heinrich	3	2,5
Simon Philippsen	3	—
Daniel Rohl	2	19,5
Daniel Riep	3	—

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Peter Gowert	2	15
Peter Andres	3	—
Cornel. Heinrich	4	0,5
Gottfried Philippsen	3	—
Peter Giesebrecht	3	—
and 12 native farmers.		

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

<b>1763</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Ephr. Philippsen, widow	2	15
Susana		
Peter Andres	1	23
Peter Giesebrecht	2	2
Cornel. Henrichs	2	—
Gottfried Philippsen	1	28
and 12 native farmers.		

(Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7, 118, fol. 22)

for **Schönhorst**

<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Heinrich Pene	1	29,25
Heinrich Penner	3	23,5
Cornel. Dau	3	26
Jacob Harder	1	29,25
Jacob Wieb	3	27
Johann Toews	1	26,5
Frantz Dick	3	3,5
Michael Reimer	—	15
and 4 native farmers.		

(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11034)

for **Schönsee**

<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Paul Neckel	3	15
Cornels van Riesen	4	—
Jakob Claassen	2	15
Hans Klaassen	2	15
Hinrich Gronau	2	—
Hans Wedkind	1	15
Claas Entz	2	15
Behrend Bargmann	2	—
Cornels Epp	2	15
Peter Entz	2	15
Issbrandt Wiebe	1	15
Jakob Entz	2	—
Fridrich Butzki	—	15
Peter Klaassen	1	10
Andreas Bernutz		
Jakob Dick	1	15
Jakob Wieb	3	—
Jakob Entz	2	—
Hans Suckau	2	15
Gerhard van Bergen	2	—
Peter Kröcker	1	15
Gerhard Poschmann	1	—

Hinrich Penner	3	—	Cornel. Suckau	—	11
Fr. Hinrich Entsche	2	—	Cornel. Friesen	—	3
David Bestvater	1	—	Jacob Wiebe	—	4
Jakob Penner	2	15			
Peter Penner	1	15	(Danz. Staatsarch. 1180, 11058)		
Marten Brandt	2	—	for <b>Schönau</b>		
Gils Penner	1	15	<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Isaac Penner	1	15	Martin Claassen	2	15
Cornels Tews	—	15	Cornelius Cornelsen	2	—
Peter Wiebe	1	—	Jacob Siemens	1	—
Cornels Fröse	1	15	Cornelius Heinrich	2	—
Görgen Albrecht	—	15	Jacob Simon	2	—
Andreas Mey			Gerh. Cornelsen,	3	—
Isaac Wiens			daughter of		
Erdmann Prang	—	15	Andreas Jantzen	2	—
Gehrdr Entz	1	15	Peter Jantzen	2	—
Johann Reins	1	15	and 7 non-Mennonites.		
Hans Lose	1	—	(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)		
Hans Boldt	—	15	for <b>Schönrohr</b>		
(Danz. Staatbibl. M. S. U. q.i, S. 171)			<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen	Peter Heinrich	2	—
Heinrich Jantzen	3	9	Kasper Albrecht	1	20
Jakob Welk	3	—	Peter Cornelsen	2	—
Jacob Klassen	3	11	Hans Hurmann	1	15
Jacob Esau	2	25	Hans Wöllms	1	—
Hans Wiebe	2	22	and 11 non-Mennonites.		
David Berkmann	2	23	(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)		
Jacob Köpke	—	13	for <b>Schmerblock</b>		
Klass Wiebe	2	15	<b>1675</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Jacob Reimer	3	8	Wilhelm Jantzen	1	28
Cornel. Penner	2	29	Cornelius Jantzen	1	23
Heinrich Penner	1	5	Jochem Kitter	1	3
Behrend Driedger	—	14	Adrian Jantzen	1	27,5
Cornel. Epp	2	—	Andres Bartz	2	5
Isaac Töws	2	14	Cornels Messen	2	—
Heinrich Epp	1	21	Gergen Lindenberg	1	18
Andreas Hamm	—	17	Helger Miel	1	26
Hans Suckau	1	29	Peter Arissen	1	28
Peter Klassen,	1	—	Gerth Lau	2	12
widow of			Adrian Lehnerd,	1	4
Isaac Conrads,	1	12	widow of		
widow of			Lehnert Wiedhöft	2	—
Michel Regehr	2	—	Paul Jochim	2	1
Peter Wiebe	1	13	Hans Gedeahr	1	4
Jacob Regehr	1	18	Cornels Korsch	2	3
Hans Fröhs	—	14	Jan Hart	1	4
Heinrich Casper	2	15	Dirck Dircksen	3	2
Peter Harder	1	5	Peter Möller	1	20
Abraham Wiebe	—	17	Karsten Schriener	1	8
Harm Stobbe	—	28	Peter Schuemacher	1	8
Hans Regehr	1	—	Hans Nickels Hof	1	3
Arend Peters	1	—	Jan Jantzen	1	29
Abraham Conrad I.	2	5	Behrendt Behrendts	1	26
Abraham Conrad II.	1	12	Jacob Lingenberg	1	—
David Bestvater	—	19	Cornels Wolter	1	19
Hans Penner	—	12	Erdtmann Müller	1	29
Jacob Kab	—	16	Class Artcke	2	29,5
Jacob Entz	1	—	Cornels Artcke	2	—
Michel Schmidt	—	14			

Hels Helsmann	1	1
Barthel Neyss	—	15
Peter Isebrandt	2	—
Michel Schwichtenberg (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874)		
<b>1725</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Johann Kratzer	2	—
Joh. Zehls	1	28
Michael Wessel	1	23
Hans Rüter	1	3
Cornelius Jantzen	1	27,5
Michel Schwichtenberg	2	5
Wilhelm Dircksen	2	—
Clas Isebrandt	1	18
Wilhelm Gerhen	1	26
Hans Ariss	1	28
Hans Schumacher	2	12
Hans Haack	1	4
Peter Macker	2	—
Wilhelm Gehrtzen	2	26
Hans Godejahr	1	4
Christian Bewerdorf	2	3
Jacob Creutzholtz	1	4
Gabriel Mössen	3	2
Peter Heinrich	1	20
Simon Korsch	1	8
Hans Schumacher	1	8
Wilhelm Dircksen	1	20
Adrian Siewert	1	26
Cornels Lehnert	1	—
Barthel Ratzlaff	1	19
Adrian Jantzen	1	29
Hans Marcks	1	29,5
Cornels Artcke	2	—
Christofy Riep	1	1
George Ohm	—	15
Wilhelm Dircksen	3	3
Christian Schonung	1	6
Absalon Mirau	2	6
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)		
<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Cornelius Jantzen	2	15,5
Wilhelm Dircksen	2	—
Gerhard Claassen	1	18
Wilhelm Gehrtzen	2	—
Peter Heinrich	1	20
Adrian Jantzen	1	29
and 24 native farmers. (Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)		
<b>1763</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Wilhelm Dircksen, Jr.	1	26
Absalon Jantzen	1	1
Wilhelm Dircksen, Sr. and 37 native farmers. (Danz. Staatsarch. 300, 7, 118, S. 29)	2	—

for <b>Siebenhuben</b>		
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Jakob Wiebe	2	—
Hans Klassen	1	12
Frantz Phillppsen	1	9
Gehrt Albrecht	1	15
Abraham Klaassen (Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q 1, S. 109)	—	15
for <b>Stadtfeide</b>		
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Isaac Wall	—	20
Frantz Dick	1	—
Hans Entz	—	15
Peter Fast	—	15
Klautz Bickert	—	15
Jakob Wiens	—	7,5
Frantz Tiessen	—	20
Jakob Wall	—	15
Hans Arcke (Danz. Stadtbibl. S. U. q.1, S. 162)	—	15
for Tiege		
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Andreas Söncke	5	—
Hack, widow of	5	—
Abraham Penner	4	—
Cornels von Riesen	3	—
Thomas Joost	3	—
Marten Schmit, widow of	1	15
Andres Schmit, widow of	1	15
Hans Reimer	1	—
Michel Wagner	—	15
Gehrt Endt, widow of	3	15
Hans Wieb	2	—
Hans Peters	3	—
Abraham Penner	2	—
Jakob v. Riesen	2	—
Jakob Wieb	4	—
Jakob Warckentin	4	—
Gert Gerbrandt	3	—
Cornels Wieb	4	—
Marten Wieb	2	15
Arendt Joost	3	—
Jakob Claassen	1	—
Michel Brand	—	15
Abraham Mick	—	15
Erast Stabel	—	15
Andreas Damnofsky	—	15
Hans Reymann	—	15
Caspar Betcker	—	10
Dirk Esau (Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q.1, E. 155)	—	15
<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Gregor Hacker	5	14
Nathan Peters	5	9

Johann Riesen	4	—	Cornels Siemens	2	15
Cornel. Frese	4	4	Jakob Steffen	3	—
Isebrand v. Riesen	3	—	Claass Epp	3	—
Abraham Penner	3	10	Peter Bartels	—	20
Abraham Kapraun	3	17	Peter Klein	—	10
Frantz Kiassen	3	—	Marten Wieb	2	—
Heinrich Epp	3	—	Jakob Bestvater	4	—
Johann Gowert	2	28	Hinrich Dick	2	10
Cornel, v. Riesen	2	17	Sim. Holinske	—	15
Abraham Wieb	2	15	Peter Neyfeldt	2	—
Peter Wieb	2	—	Peter Wieb	1	10
Berend Classen	2	22	Georgen Drosdau	2	—
Abraham Barkmann	2	—	Peter Brodt	—	15
Berend Barkmann	1	—	Peter Pahlen (Pub)	—	15
Daniel Funk	1	29	Peter Pahlen Katt	—	7
Isaac Tews	1	29	Hinrich Quiring	2	—
Peter Klassen	—	15	Behrend Klaassen	2	—
Cornel. Gerbrand	—	15	Hans Hiebert	—	15
Jacob Dieck	—	15	Derk Brun	—	20
Nik. Putzkowski	—	5	Hans Pauls	1	—
Witwe Stegmann	—	2	Daniel Daniels	—	15
Peter Schröder	—	2	Christoph Sievert	1	—
Hans Reimer from	1	—	Peter Gäger	—	20
Jacob Esau Orloff	1	—	Jochem Abrahamsen	—	7
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058)			d. Schmidt	—	7
			Hans Töwes	—	20
			Frantz Klaassen, widow	—	5
			Kath	—	5
			(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q.1, S. 99)		

for **Tiegenhagen**

<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
David Penner	3	—
Wellem Rempel	1	15
Frantz Klaassen	2	25
Jakob Lepp	—	15
Peter Marr	1	10
Clatz v. Riesen	2	—
Arendt v. Riesen	1	—
Ionas Segler	1	—
Hans Schönhosf	—	10
Hans v. Riesen	—	20
Arendt Lepp Sr.	1	—
Daniel Neystädiger	—	—
Arendt Lepp Jr.	1	15
Arendt v. Riesen	1	15
Dirk Wiens	—	20
Daniel Neystädiger Sr.	—	15
Peter Eppe	1	15
Arendt Wieb	1	15
Bartel Bargmann	—	15
Claass Suckau	1	15
Gehrt Dircksen	1	—
Löhnert v. Riesen	2	—
Hinrich Boit	1	15
Andreas Hoy	—	15
Bastian Esau	3	—
Arendt Suckau	3	—
Peter Penner	2	15
Heinrich Andres	3	—
Neckel v. Riesen	1	15
Abraham Kröcker	3	1

<b>1764</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Jakob Steffen		
Johann Ens		
Arn. Suckau		
Cornel. Penner		
Jacob Penner		
Johann Classen		
Peter Kröcker		
Johann Epp		
Johann van Dyck		
Diedrich Wiebe		
Georg Liedtke		
Jakob Neufeld		
Johann Succau		
Heinrich Wieb		
Nikol. Martens		
Heinrich Quiring		
Nikol, van Dyck		
Bernhard Classen		
Heinrich Penner Jr.		
Heinrich Penner Sr.		
Arn. Warkentten		
Jacob Lammert		
Dieterich Wiebe		
Jacob Seicke		
Gerhard Peters		
Peter Marten, widow of		
Peter Meckelborger		
Hermann Neufeld		

Jacob Brun		
Cornel. Pauls		
Arn. Loepp		
Jacob Fogt		
Franz Isaac		
Dietrich Wiens		
Peter Epp		
Peter Käthler		
Abraham Froese		
Jacob Bolt		
Paul Nickel		
Johann Bruhn		
Johann Gerbrand		
Jacob Schmidt		
Peter Hepner		
Arnhold Friesen		
Jacob Goossen		
(Danz. Staatsarch.180, 11058)		
<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Epp	2	24
Hans Ens	2	18
Arend Sukkau	2	1
Hinrich Fröse	2	18
Jacob Penner	1	20
Hans Penner	—	20
Hans Klassan	1	26
Peter Kröcker	1	28
Daniel Löwen	2	15
Cornel. Warkenlien	1	3
Frantz Quiring	2	—
Jacob Neufeldt	—	22
Hans Sukkau	1	7
Abraham Wilk	—	25
Heinrich Quiring	2	27
Hans Gosen	1	2
Klass Dieck	—	18
Peter Klassen	—	25
Witwe Penner	2	15
Hinrich Penner	1	3
Arend Warkentien	2	7
Dirck Wiebe	1	24
Cornel. Ens	—	16
Jakob Lammert	—	14
Jacob Bruhn	1	14
Peter Neckel	—	14
Peter Meckelborger	—	14
Hinrich Bruhn	—	22
Cornel. Pauls	—	24
Hans Lepp	1	23
Jacob Vogt	1	8
Frantz Isaac	—	16
Abraham Klassen	—	15
Hans Klassen	—	4
Peter Epp	1	5
Peter Kehlter	—	20
Arend Fröss	1	23
Hinrich Penner	—	26
Paul Nickel	—	12

Bruhn, widow of	—	14
Hans Gerbrand	1	—
Jacob Schmidt	—	15
Gottfried Wanhoff	—	22
Arend Wiesen	—	23
Jacob Bruhn, widow of	—	15
Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11058)		

<b>for Tiegerwelde</b>		
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Cornels Andres	2	17
Gert Jantzen	1	15
Class v. Riesen	—	15
Franss Jantzen	2	—
Hans Penner, widow of	2	15
Heinrich Quiring	2	—
David Bestvater	2	—
Simon Quiring	2	1
Jonas Quiring	1	16
(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q 1, S. 119)		

<b>for Tralau</b>		
<b>1772</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Hagen, widow Anna Cath.	9	11
Jacob Peters	6	5
Jacob Dercks	3	14
Jdh. Gnohs	2	5
Abraham Claassen	2	5
Jdh. Epp	1	24,5
Peter Reger	2	15
(Danz. Staatsarch. 180, 11033)		

<b>for Vierzehnhuben</b>		
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Arendt Peters	1	—
Derk Entz	1	—
Hinrich Penner	1	—
Jakob Penner	2	—
Paul Gutjahr	1	15
Paul Neckel	1	15
Hans Peters	1	15
Isbrandt Klaassen	1	15
Friedrich Fock	2	—
Peter Klassen	1	15
Görgen Geschke	—	15
(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. q.1, S.185)		

<b>for Walldorf</b>		
<b>1727</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Arendt Wieb	2	—
Hans Albrecht	1	20
Marten Tews	1	—
Lewen Lewens	1	15
Daniel Lewens	1	—
Hans Sowatzky	1	—
Peter Wiens	—	20

Hans Wieb	1	—
Jakob Rowner	—	15
Gehrt Albrecht	—	15
Gehrt Gelbrandt	—	10
Philipp Stahl	—	15
Thomas Wiens	—	15
Barthel Kamcke	—	20
Jakob Ziemermann	—	15

(Danz. Stadtbibl. M. S. U. o 1, S. 201)

for **Wesslinke**

<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Michel Hein	5	11
Johann Arndt	2	—
Peter David	2	—
Peter David	2	—
Hans Gowert	1	—
Martin Classen	2	—
Isebrand Peters	2	16
Hans Nickel	2	—
Braun, widow of (Pub)	2	—
and 8 non-Mennonites.		
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)		

for **Wossloff**

<b>1875</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Hans Nickel	2	—
Jacob Werner	3	—
Jacob Nickel	2	—
Albrecht Philippsen	2	—
Paul Jacobsen	2	—
Marten Gertsen	6	—
Cornels Enze	—	—
Class Quiring (Pub)	5	—
Hans Wiegordt	3	—
Jacob Ziemer	3	—
Marten Cornelsen	4	—
Jann Classen	2	—
Heinrich Dau	2	—
Peter Arcke	2	15
Willm Wiegerodt	2	—
Hans Lange	2	—
Hans Kohl	2	—
Willm Jantzen	2	—
Heinrich Felgenhauer	2	—
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 874)		

<b>1725</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Cornel. Ackermann	2	—
Peter Panzer	3	—
Martin Dau	2	—
Daniel Cornelsen	2	—
Jacob Cornelsen	2	—
Philipp Wüiff	6	—
Michael Fitkau	3	—
Hans Bestvater	4	—
Wotzlaff, Country Inn of	1	—
Paul Bieberstein	3	—
Johann Ziemer	3	—
Gerhardt Law	4	—
Martin Scherwitzke	2	—
Heinrich Dau	2	—
Adrian Nickel	2	—
Peter Cornelsen	2	—

and 3 non-Mennonites.

(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)

<b>1748</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Johann Fröse	2	—
Heinr Giesebrecht, widow of	2	—
Hanns Jantzen	2	—
Heinrich Dau Jr.	6	—
Simon Bestvater	4	—
Jacob Gehrtsen	1	—
Ephraim Claassen	3	—
Johann Ziemer	3	—
Peter Heinrich	4	—
Dürck, widow of	3	—
Heinrich Dau Sr.	3	—
Cornels Andressen	2	15
and 8 non-Mennonites.		
(Danz. Staatsarch. 358, 945)		

<b>1763</b>	Hufen	Morgen
Christ. Jakob Dirksen	5	—
Heinrich Dau	8	—
Henrich Giesebrecht	2	—
Ephraim Claassen	2	20
Cornelis Andres	2	—
Johann Siemens	2	15
Peter son of Cornelis Henrich	4	21
Johann Froese	2	—
Peter Claassen	2	15
Simon Bestvater	2	24
(Danz. Staatsarch. 300. 7, 118, S. 15)		

Mennonite Names ').

Abraham	Dieck	Harm	Rabn
Abrahams	Dirck	Harms	Regehr
Adrian	Dircks	Hein	Reimer
Albrecht	Dircksen	Heinrichs	Rempel
Allert	Doercks	Hiebert	Riediger
Andreas	Doercksen	Hübert	van Riesen
Andres	Driedger	Isaac	van Roy
Arendt	Düeckmann	Jacobsen	Schroeder
Arens	v. Dühren	Jantzen	Siebert
Barg	Dyck	Jantzon	Siebrand
van Bergen	Eckert	Jantz	Siemens
Barkmann	Ediger	Jantzen	Siewert
Bartel	Eds	Jost	Sprunck
Bartels	Entz	Kaetler	Steffen
Behrends	Epp	van Kämpfen	Stobbe
van Bergen	Esau	Kettler	Suckau
Bergmann	Ewers	Kliewer	Sudermann
Bestvater	Ewert	Kroecker	Thiessen
Bieckert	Fast	Lammert	Thimm
Boldt	Foth	Lepp	Tjahr
Born	Frantzen	Loepp	Toews
Brandt	Friese	Loewen	Unger
Braun	Friesen	Mantler	Voth
Bruhn	Froese	Martens	Wall
Brucks	Funck	Mathias	Warkentien
Bückerk	Gerbrandt	Mathies	Wichert
Busenitz	Gertz	Neufeld	Wiebe
Claassen	Gerssen	Nickel	Wieler
Cnelsen	Giesebrecht	Nietzen	Wiens
Conrad(t)	Goertz	Oehmsen	Woelke
Cornelius	Goerssen	Pauls	Woelm(s)
Cornels	Gosen	Penner	Zacharias
Cornelsen	Gronau	Peters	Ziemens
Daniels	Grunau	Philippsen	Zimmermann
Dau	Hamm	Quapp	Zuthermann
Dick	Harder	Quiring	

') Taken from the Mennonite Land Register of 1789 (Geh. Staatsarch. Berl General-Dir. Mat. CIX).



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# The Surnames of the West Prussian Mennonites

by

Gustav E. Reimer

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## Preface

The field of Mennonite historical research has flourished recently and has raised questions regarding the ancestral origins of the West Prussian Mennonites. The answer to this question will require a great deal of investigation by highly qualified researchers. We can be confident that their homeland is within the larger Low German-Dutch region but it's harder to pin down specific places of origin with that area. Other genealogical tools aren't useful in answering this question and even the research into surnames is of little help, since on the one hand most of the surnames are found throughout the whole Low German area and often beyond it and on the other hand the individual surnames have been subjected many changes and linguistic adaptations over time. This even applies to the question of an Upper German bloodline, for which, whether it came down the Rhine via the Netherlands or via Moravia, there is no documentary evidence at all. One is too much dependent on conjectures to be able to draw any useful conclusions.

An additional problem is that an overview of the surnames within the West Prussian Mennonite communities was lacking. A number of surname indexes for the subgroup of the Russian Mennonites, have already been compiled, by W. Quiring, A. Ehrt, H. H. Schröder, F. Harder, Kauenhowen for Paraguay and most recently summarized by W. Zimmermann. (The Names of the Scattered German Mennonites, in: *Mitteilungen der Niederländischen Ahnengemeinschaft*, vol. 1, issue 3, p. No.120). For West Prussia there are, until recently<sup>1)</sup>, only two partial directories: Mannhardt compiled the Stadtdanzig family names (*Unsere Familien*, in: *Christlicher Gemeindekalender auf das Jahr 1903*), and H. Wiebe those of the communities (*Gemeinden*) in the Vistula lowlands (*Mennonitische Familiennamen in den Weichselniederungen von Graudenz bis Thorn*, in: *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* Jahrg. 4, 1939, S. 34—39).

1) V. Schulz, based on the census, gave an unpublished list of the Mennonite families for the year 1910, F. Crous gave statistics of the family names in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 5. Jahrg., 1940, p. 26-45 on the basis of the Mennonite address book 1936.

In the following, the surnames of the entire group of West and East Prussian Mennonites are compiled in as complete a manner as possible. However, with a few exceptions (e.g. the oldest documents), only names that are documented at least twice have been included in this list, even if only one source is mentioned. The documents from the time after 1800 have not been studied. Furthermore, the names of those who joined the Mennonite movement in the 18<sup>th</sup> century have been excluded.

The investigation was conducted for the individual names in three ways:

First, the various forms and spellings of the same name were compiled. Among them there are naturally erroneous spellings and sometimes curious distortions (cf. Ahinger). But it turns out that in many cases earlier forms differ considerably from those in use today (cf. Buhler, Kröker), so that they can be of decisive importance for the insight into the origin of the name. It is also possible that certain rules for the change of names can be derived, but we have refrained from doing so here for the time being.

Secondly, the distribution of the names in the individual communities was determined. The abbreviations of the community names are compiled below. The relevant sources are put in brackets behind each, but they are usually not repeated, if they were already mentioned in the first part concerning the spelling. Also found are those sources where it is only clear from the context that they must be Mennonites.

Thirdly, the surnames were examined for their origin and the attempt was made to interpret them. This was often not possible in spite of the specialized literature consulted. In the case of competing explanations, the obvious Frisian-Low German character of the majority of names was taken into account. Sometimes early name forms or related names provided valuable clues (e.g. Siemens, Siemer). In this regard also, I have tried to be concise and have therefore avoided the mention of questionable or conjectural solutions as much as possible. With regard to the formation of names, I have distinguished four large groups:

En - from proper names (personal [first] names). The underlying proper names are in many cases no longer in use today, but where they are still found as given names in earlier times, this is specifically noted.

Bn - surnames derived from occupation or profession.

On - names derived from place of origin or from place of residence. Often it is not possible to determine whether a name is derived from a fixed place name or from a terrain name, field name, etc. (Born, Neufeld, Wedel). Also, in the case of several places with the same name (such as Bergen, Neudorf), it is not possible to determine which was the place that gave the name.

Ün - family names, which originated from nicknames after a prominent characteristic (Hooge, Schwarzbart), after the occupation (Funk, Rintfles), or from house [estate or manor] names. In many cases a more precise distinction cannot be made. The names Krahn (crown or crane) can just as well be assigned to a manor name as to a physical characteristic.

The family names derived from proper names are the most frequent by far. This corresponds on the one hand to the peasant character of the great majority of the investigated group, on the other hand it is a characteristic feature of Dutch and especially Frisian name formation in general. The bloodlines of the Mennonites have remained unchanged during the 400 years of their settlement in West Prussia until recent times, which is also expressed in their surnames, which show the same continuity in their composition. Only perhaps in the oldest lists of names there are more place-related surnames, which later gave way to patronymic intermediate names, most in the countryside, where the surnames were later than in the city by frequent written documentation hardened into fixed and hereditary family names. If someone e.g. "Heinrich Gertzen von Elst", then in this case the place name "von Elst" did not become the lasting family name as with the van Riesen or van Bergen, but the intermediate name "Gertzen", which originally meant nothing else than that Heinrich was the son of Gert, but which afterwards also the children of Heinrich received, who logically should have been called "Heinrichs".

We also have the reverse case. The Danzig church book mentions a "Klaes Klaessen von Boschkau" in 1673, an "olde triencke von Buschkau" in 1677 and a "Hendrich Buhkau" in 1675. The name Buschkau cannot be traced further as a family name, but names like Emaus, Liessau, Mierau etc., all place names from the West Prussian residential area of the Mennonites might have originated in this way.

It seems almost unbelievable that until such a relatively late time fixed family names did not exist everywhere. But that they were at least not always used and fell into oblivion, for that from the same time and the same source some samples are quoted: "Marie op de Konst", "Barbke on the Treppe", "Stiencke on the Bischoppbarg", "Maricke Medder uyt de poggenpoel", "Maricke Estermedders daughter", "Grietge the Meyt", "a vraumensch by Kleppensteen", "Gert ommbidder" (Umbitter), "Guncke the Houeniersche oft (or) Müßmäckers", "Isaac Janssen often Cent", "The blind Liescke, een ander seydt: Liescke Elßenmaekers".

In the case of some surnames, information regarding their origin was found in the sources, which I have documented for each. Their number is still too small to form a firm picture of the origin of the West Prussian Mennonites in its entirety, but it seems that the whole Dutch-Dutch German area is involved. More frequently mentioned are Friesland, the whole area around the South Sea and the southern provinces of Antwerp and Brabant. But other Dutch provinces and occasionally Holstein and Westphalia are also represented.

This fact is underlined by the place references contained in some of the names themselves. The places, as far as they could be determined, are again in the provinces of North and South Holland, Utrecht, Overijssel, Drenthe, Gelderland and North Brabant, in Belgium in Brabant and Antwerp. The names Gülker, Willcher and van Cuelen point to the Rhineland. The names usually indicate the birthplace of their first bearer, but often it may be only a temporary place of residence on a generations-long migratory path. Another difficulty in determining origin is that places like Hoorn and even Hasselt and Tongerlo occur not once but several times in several locations in the Netherlands].

Frisian places are hardly mentioned. But typical Frisian proper names have been preserved as family names (Abbing, Eds, Fock, Goossen, Wiebe, Dau, Tiaht and many others), without being able to distinguish individual Frisian regions.



Other names bear the mark of a larger landscape or a special ancestral characteristic: Neufeld and van der Meersch come from the North Sea coast, names like Pau, de Beer, de Waele etc. are unmistakably from the Dutch-Flemish area. In addition, some names also point to French (or Walloon) origin (Beson, Bollee Noe, etc.). The names Besson, de Nys and v. Roye are also found in Germany as Huguenot names <sup>2)</sup>.

Clear evidence of Upper German origin, on the other hand, is conspicuously absent among our surnames (Tiroller, Beyer, Atzinger, Scheffler), only Middle or Upper German origin can be assumed for some others. But almost all of these names occur only very rarely, partly they might have joined the Mennonites in West Prussia. This is also true for some Slavic looking names and names developed under Slavic influence. The numerical proportion of Mennonites is extraordinarily small for an East German population group, and it becomes even smaller when one considers the frequency of their occurrence. Religious segregation protected the Mennonites from being absorbed into the surrounding environment and also reduced mixing with foreign populations which helped them preserve their ethnicity and cultural heritage through the centuries.

The frequency of the individual family names could not be considered in this work. The "typical" Mennonite names such as Claassen, Dyck, Wiebe, Wiens, etc., therefore seem to recede somewhat among the abundance of rare names. As a result, about the fourth part of this approximately 550-name list occurs only in Danzig, which is the result of the fact that the records here go back further than elsewhere. Also for Danzig particularly much time data were made, since it is important, when originally only on the country names appear also in the city.

Although the differences between the individual Mennonite communities, as far as the names are concerned, is not very great, some core groups can be distinguished, at first purely in terms of clan:

2) Cordier, Hugenottische Familiennamen in Deutschland. Berlin, o. Z

1. The Flemish <sup>3)</sup> rural communities (Tiegenhagen, Ladekopp, Rosenort, Fürstenwerder, Heubuden, the Elbinger rural areas and the the members of the Danzig urban areas resident in the Danzig Werder). A few of the names that occur only here are: Andres, van Bergen, Bergmann, Driedger, Enss, Epp, Esau, Fieguth, Harder, Loepp, Reimer, van Riesen, Thiessen, Warkentin, Wiehler.
2. The Frisian rural communities of Thiensdorf and Orloffelfelde (Bestvater, Dau, Engbrecht, Hein, Holzrichker, Horn, Meckelburger, Quiring, Unger, etc.).
3. The Frisian communities in the upper Vistula lowlands (Montau, Schönsee, Obernessau). Names: Balzer, Becher, Ediger, Goede, Goedert, Konert, Kerber, Rosenfeld, Tiaht etc.
4. The old Flemish communities Schönsee, Jeziorken, Przechowka and Deutsch Konopat (Becker, Decker, Frey, Pankratz, Naehring, Ratzlaff, Tessiner etc.).
5. The Flemish municipality of Danzig-City and also the urban part of the municipality of Elbing (van Almonde, Bachdach, Boliee, Emaus, Engmann, Focking, Herich, Kauenhowen, Mahl, Nehm, van Niessen, Ordon, Seemann, Stutmann, Utesch, etc.).
6. The Frisian Genieinde Danzig-Neugarten (Ahinger, Donnet, van Dühren, van Eyck, Feidt, Gillis, van Hoeck, Hommel, Kinn, Meister, Minn, Schuster, Siebing, Unstätt, Wedling, etc.).

The communities Tragheimerweide, Königsberg, Memelniederung and Kazun were founded later, where the families from different locations had already mixed.

However, a large number of surnames occur in several or even in all groups at the same time. Marriages between the different groups, especially the Flemish among themselves and the Frisian among themselves, blur the differences. Also, between city and countryside there have been very close blood relationships, not only because of the urbanization of farm families, but also by the noteworthy circumstance that often from purely city families, farm families lines branch off (Busenitz, Donner, Sprunck, Sudermann, de Beer, Zimmermann). A interesting feature of group 3 are the many, among them distinctly urban, occupational names in a population of farmers, so in Montau we find: Becher, Boettcher, Deckemaeker, Grütter, Hecker, Kaedtler, Kerber, Kliewer, Köpper, Krüger, Mesmaker, Mürer, Schmidt, Schoman, Schrieffer, Schroeder, Schwegler and Soelter.

3) The expressions "Flemish" and "Frisian" refer only to slightly different theological perspectives between the 2 groups and not to their origins.

The separation of the communities into Frisian and a Flemish groups occurred only after their settlement in West Prussia. But if, for example, the members of the Frisian community of Orloffelfelde settled in the midst of the members of the Flemish communities in the Gross Werder but shared in the same names as the members of the Frisian community of Thiensdorf in the Klein Werder, suggesting that there were different origins of the two groups that existed before the separation. Particularly close relations of a certain group here to a certain landscape in the Netherlands as former homeland area can't be proven with available documentation. Mostly Amsterdam is mentioned, which is the origin of both church factions in Holland. The relations to the homeland were still maintained for a long time, the longest example being Danzig, where they were coupled at the same time with trade connections. Therefore, even in late times in Danzig, there was a return of community members to Holland and an influx of new ones from there. There was also such an exchange with Hamburg. The Danzig Mennonite register of 1681 has with the names Fleckwehr and Nomeh (Noe) the note "from Hamburg" and at the end of the 17th century the name of the well-known Hamburg Mennonite family van der Smissen appears once. In this context it would be valuable to open an investigation into the names in the Northwest German and Dutch Mennonite congregations.

Finally, the first names should be briefly discussed. The Mennonites are commonly said to have a tendency to choose Old Testament names. But this is not entirely true. Besides the most common names like Hans, Peter, Heinrich, Cornelius, Gert, Franz, Behrend, Claas, Arend, Dirck and Harm, the names Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David and more rarely Daniel and Elias are often found. But other names like Adam, Absalon, Benjamin, Emanuel, Gabriel, Jonas, Melchior, Nathanael, Salomon, Samuel, Tobias, which were quite popular among the Lutherans in earlier times, do not occur at all or very rarely in those congregations which were somewhat more open to the influence of the environment, in the Frisian and the state congregations. Among the Mennonites, the names Albrecht, Andres, Anton, Dau, Erdmann, Gergen, Gillis, Isebrand, Lenert, Marten, Michel, Paul, Philipp, Simon, Steffen, Thomas and Willem were common among the Mennonites towards the end of the 18th century.

Rarer and earlier names which may be listed: Adrian, Arnaut, Bastian, Borchert, Carl, Ewert, Frank, Goedert, Giesbert, Goossen, Govert, Hübert, Jost, Konert (Conrad), Lammert, Lewen, Lübbert, Ludwig, Marcks, Matthies, Mussert, Nickel, Reinholt, Richert, Siewert (Siebert), Tielman, Wessel, Wichert, Wiebe, and Wienhold. In addition to Germanized names, there are also a number of old German personal names, and some of them have survived longer here than elsewhere, regardless of the prevailing fashion. If one now takes into account that in most families quite certain call names occur repeatedly, especially conspicuously Daniel with the Löwens or Salomon with the Bechers, then the spirit of Mennonite naming seems to express itself perhaps less in the choice of any names than in the retention of traditional ones.

Many names are characteristic of the ancestral homeland (Dirk, Claas, Cornelis, Gillis, Adrian), by them one can easily recognize the Mennonites in West Prussia. Some names have fallen into disuse, others have been modified as they became incomprehensible to later generations. A. de Deer "translates" the name Gedert in the Danzig church book once correctly with Gotthard, another time with Gerhard and a third time even with Gideon. Even more difficult to understand were the names, some of which had survived in their old Frisian dress, for outsiders, who had to enter them as part of their official duties. Thus, in 1763, the Catholic priest of Lichtenau wrote next to the name "Derk" in the margin of the church book: "Hoc nomen non est explicabile" (This name is inexplicable). Thus, in the 19th century the names Arend became Aron, Gillis became Julius, and probably Dau was merged into David.

Even more characteristic than the male ones seem to me the female first names. I mention here, for example, the names from the church book of the Danzig municipality on city area in the last third of the 17th century: Aalke, Agtke, Ancke, Angneetke, Barbke, Drude, Elske, Engelke, Ewke, Gardke, Gertke, Gestiencke, Greetke, Grietge, Guncke, Hedtke, Itke, Jaerdtk. Jancke. Judke, Klaerke, Lammertje, Leencke. Lieske, Liesbetje. Marge, Marie, Maricke, Maycke, Mericke, Merenske, Medlencke, Mechelke, Neelcke, Oelcken, Oorlke, Ortje, Regiencke, Sancke, Saercke, Soctjen, Stiencke, Triencke, Truytje, Wendelcke, Wille, Zaere, Zeelcke and Zofficke. A good piece of Mennonite character lies in these names, as much in the uniformity of their sound as in the idiosyncrasy of their coinage.

## Bibliography

(Preceded by the abbreviations used in the text).

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- 1592 Unterschriftenliste eines Briefes von 1592, wie vorher.
- 1619 Einwohnerverzeichnis von Hoppenbruch bei Danzig 1619, Abschriften von Kaufmann (im Staats-Archiv Danzig) und H. Wiebe aus dem Domkapitular-Archiv Pelplin, Archiv des ehemaligen Klosters, Nr. 14.
- 1681 Verzeichnis der mennonitischen Einwohner in Danzig 1681 (Staatsarchiv Danzig, 300, Abt. 35). Auch gedruckt (leider with einigen Fehlern): Grigoleit, Die Danziger Mennoniten aus dem Jahre 1681, in: Danziger familiengeschichtliche Beiträge 2, S. 124 ff.
- 1749 Verzeichnis der mennonitischen Einwohner in Danzig 1749 (Staats-Archiv Danzig, ebenda).
- EKZ Mitteilungen des Sippenverbande der Danziger Mennoniten-Familien Epp-Kauenhowen-Zimmermann, zitiert nach Jahrgang und Seite.
- EvKb. Mewe Evangelische Kirchenbücher Mewe.
- GN General-Nachweisung der Mennoniten in Westpreußen 1789 (Geh. Staats-Archiv Berlin, Gen.-Dir. Westpreußen und Netzedistrikt, Tit. CIX, Nr. 1).
- Hu. 1 u. 2 Namenlisten der Alten Flaminge, eine von Hendrik Berents Hulshoff 1719, die andere (1) früher, undatiert. Beide abgedruckt bei H. Wiebe (s. u. Wbe).
- KathKbTh Kirchenbücher der Katholischen Kirche Tiegenhagen (Für die Mennonitengemeinden Tiegenhagen und Orloffelfelde. Seit 1721, bei Übertritten zum Katholizismus auch früher).
- KdD Kirchenbücher der Mennonitengemeinde Danzig, meist besonders unterschieden:
- KbDS Kirchenbücher der Gemeinde auf Stadtgebiet (sog. flämische).
- KbDN Kirchenbücher der (sog. friesische) Gemeinde auf Neugarten.  
Die laufenden Register beginnen in den 60er Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts und sind in mehreren Abschriften erhalten, von denen jeweils die älteste benutzt wurde.  
Lehrerverzeichnis for Stadtgebiet seit 1598.
- KbD(AdV) Besonders signiert sind Angaben aus dem Familienbuch des Abraham de Veer, das 1794 aus den Kirchenbüchern und anderen Quellen „zusammengestellt“ wurde und in den Angaben teilweise noch weiter zurückgeht.
- KbGrW Taufbuch der Grotzwerder Gemeinde (jetzige Gemeinden Tiegenhagen, Ladekopp, Rosenort und Fürstenwerder), seit 1782.
- KbH Kirchenbücher der Gemeinde Heubuden, seit 1770.
- Mannh H. G. Mannhardt, Die Danziger Mennonitengemeinde Danzig 1919.
- Paczk Opis Królewsczyzn w województwach Chelminskim, Pomorskim i Malborskim w roku 1664. Herausgegeben von Jozef Paczkowski. Thorn 1938.
- Pnr Horst Penner, Ansiedlung mennonitischer Niederländer im Weickselniederungsgebiet von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der preußischen Zeit. Karlsruhe 1940.
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- SC Special-Consignation der Mennoniten in Ost- u. Westpreussen 1776.  
(Geh. Staats-Archiv Berlin, Gen.-Dir. und Netzedistr. LIX, Nr. 1).
- Sch einige Namenlisten aus dem statistischen Material des 1912 verstorbenen  
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Namen in den Urkunden von Campenau 1612 und Eschenhorst 1622).
- Wbe H. Wiebe, Mennonitische Familiennamen in den Weichselniederungen von Graudenz  
bis Thorn, in: Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter, Jahrgang 4, Nr. 1, S. 34-39. (Darin  
auch die Namenlisten von Hulshosf, s. oben).
- WbeM H. Wiebe, Die Einsassen des Dorfes Montau bet Neuenburg in den ähren 1586-  
1799.
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6. 76- 83.  
Depositum der Mennonitengemeinde Königsberg im Staats Archir Königsberg.

Aft	Parishes of the Old Flemish (according to Hulshoff's directories)	Lit	Memelniederung
		MGr	Montau-Gruppe
		Neunh	Neunhuben (zu Danzig Stadtgebiet)
Dzg	Danzig		
Dzg-S	Danzig-Stadtgebiet	Obn	Obernessau
Dzg-N	Danzig-Neugarten	Orl	Orlofffelderde
Elb	Elbing	Prz	Przechowken
Fstw	Fürstenwerder	Ros	Rosenort
Hbd	Heubuden	Ssee	Schönsee
Hbd-P	Pastwa (zu Heubuden)	Ssee fl	old flemish Schönsee
Jez	Jeziorken		According to
Kbg	Königsberg	Thag	Tiegenhagen
Kon	Deutsch Konopat	Thdf	Thiensdorf
Lad	Ladekopp	Trw	Tragheimerwelde.
Kaz	Deutsch-Kazun		
General Abbreviations			
agl	anglo-saxon	Jh.	Century
ahd.	old high german	Kf.	Short Form
as.	Old Saxon	lat.	Latin
asl.	Old Slavic	lothr.	Lorraine
Bed.	Meaning, significane, importance	mhd.	Middle High German
einst.	Single origin	mnd.	Middle Low German
geb.	Born or nee	nnd.	Low German
fläm	Flemish, Flamish	Rld.	Russia
Fn.	Family Name, Surname	slav.	slavic
fr.	Frisian	verh.	married
frz.	French	Vn.	First name
gor.	Gothic	zweist.	Of two origins
Literature on naming			
	Bahlow, Deutsches Namenbuch, 1833.		
	Gottschald, Deutsche Namenkunde, 1832.		
	Schiller-Lübben: Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch.		

## Index Surnames / Family Names

From before 1800

- Abbing** - Dzg-S (KbD. 1670 ff.) - En., v. Abbe z. „Adal-“, friesisch.
- Abraham**, Abrahams, Abrams - Trw, MGr, Ssee, Dzg-S (KbD: 1672 ff.) - En
- Adams**, Adems — Dzg KbDN: 1670 ff., KbDS: 1672 ff.), Afl (Hu. 1) - En.
- Adrian**, Adersahn (SC) — Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, - En.
- Albrecht**, Alberts, Albertz - Dzg (KbDS: 1666 ff., KbDN: 1680 ff.). Elb (KbE), nur Albrecht: Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Kaz, Thag - En.
- v. Aldendorp** - Elb (KbC) - On.
- Allert** - Thdf, Orl, Dzg (KbDN: 1666 ff.) - En zu „Adal-“.
- Alfert**, s. Olfert.
- van Almonde**, van Allemunde (1681), Almunde (1747) Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 ff.) - On.
- van Amersfort**, van Amersfoort (1586), von Amersfort (KbD) - Dzg (KbDS: 1606, KbDN: 1668 ff., KbD (AdB): „Hans von Amersfoort“ geboren 1538 in Amersfoort) - On: Amersfoort, Prov. Utrecht.
- Andres**, Andreas Thag, Ros, Fstw, Hbd - En.
- von Ankusen** Dzg (1619) On: Enkhuizen, Prov. Noordholland.
- Arend**, Arends, Arentz (1681), Arentsen (WbeM: 1630) Dzg-N (KbD: 1665 ff.), Elb, Thdf, MGr, Ssee - En: Arend zusgez. aus Arnold und zerdehnt, zu ahd. arn „Adler“ Als Vn. sehr gebräuchlich, im 19. Jh. zu Aron.
- Atzinger**, Artzenger (1749), Ertzengel (1749) Dzg (1681, KbDN: 1677 ff.) On, oberdeutsch.
- Awens** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1679 ff.). Dazu auch Abend (Ald)?
- Bachdach**, Bagdach Dzg-S (KbD: 1651, 1675 ff.).
- van Baerlen**, Behrlen (1749), von Beerlen, Boerlen (SC), von Berel (KbD), von Beeret (KbD), von Berln (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1636, 1669 ff.), Kbg - On: Baarle, Noordbrabant.
- Balau**, Baalau (SC), Ballau (GN) MGr (Sch: nach 1780) On.
- Balzer**, Baltzer MGr, Trw, Ssee, Kaz, Lit - En, aus Balthasar.
- Bannmann** - Thdf (SC, Sch) - Bn, wohl in der Bedeutung „Feldhüter“ wie mhd. banwart.
- Bartel**, Bartels, Bartol (KbD) MGr, Ssee, Trw, Kaz. Thdf, Dzg (1681, KbDS: 1689 ff.) - En: Kf. z. Bartholomäus (siehe dort). - Barthel auch Vn.
- Bartholomaeus** (Rld), Bartelmeus (Wbe), Bartelmes (Sch) Rld, früher auch MGr (Wbe, Sch: vor 1700 sehr häufig), später meist verkürzt zu Barlel (WbeM: 1630 „Jacob Bathelmeus“, derselbe 1639 „Jacob Bartel“) - En. Vgl. a. Bartel, Bartsch, Mau
- Bartsch**, Bartz (1681, SC) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1667 ff.), Elb, Thdf, MGr - En, Kf. z. Bartholomäus, meist slav.
- Farmer** s. deBoor.
- Baumann** - Lit (SC) - Vn.
- Becher**, Bücher, Bechert (Kaz) Trw (SC), MGr (Sch: nach 1740), Kaz, Dzg-N (KbD: 1715 ff.) - Bn, = Becherer, Verfertiger von Trinkgefäßen.
- Becker**, Backer (KbD), Beker (Hu. 1), Bekker (Hu. 1 u. 2) Aft (Hu), Dzg-S (KbD: 1671 ff.), Jez (SC, Wbe), Prz (SC - Vn).
- von Behren?** - Dzg (1619).
- Behrends**, Berendt, Berents, Berends (KbD), Berentz (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1666 ff.), Elb, Thag, Aft (Hu. 2), MGr selten - En, aus Bernhard, vgl. Arend. Friesisch. Als Vn. sehr gebräuchlich.

**Bench**, Boench, Bencken (SC) - Ros, Thag, Hbd - En, v. Benno, zu berin. Vgl. Bendinck.

**Bendinck**, Bendik.Bending - Dzg-S (KbD: 1687 ff.) - En, s. Bench. Bendinck erst seit 1687 menn.?  
**von Berel** s. van Baerlen.

**Berg**, Barg, Bark, Barch — Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Dzg-S (KbD: 1674 ff.), Elb, Kbg - On.

**van Bergen**, von Bargaen, Bergen usw. - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S KbD: 1669 ff.), Kgb - On.

**Bergmann**, Backmann, Borckmann (SC) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Dzg-S (1685), Kbg - On, nach d. Wohnsitz am Berge.

**Beringhuysen**, Beringhusen (Salv) - Dzg (KbD (Adv): 1622) - On.

**Beson**, Besohn - Dzg-N (KbD: 1686 ff.).

**Bestvater**, Bestvader (SC), beste Vater (1681). Bestuader (Pnr: Orloffelfelde 1601) — Thdf, Orl, Trw, Dzg-N (KbD: 1672 ff., Salv: 1657) - ün, = Großvater.

**Beulke**, Bulke — Dzg-S (KbD (Adv): Johann Beulke née 1585 „zu Wilster in Holstein“).

**van Beuningen**, von Benningen (1749), von Bengen (1681), von Bongen (1681), von Bensen (Salv) usw. - Dzg (Salv: 1627 ff., KbDS: 1669 ff., KbDN: 1676 ff.) On: Beuningen, Gelderland.

**Beyer**, Beygers - MGr (Wbe, Sch: vor 1700) - Herkunfts n.

**Billing** - Thdf (SC) - En. z. as. bil „Schwert“.

**Bleek** (Dzg), Blicke (Elb) — Dzg-S (KbD: 1669), Elb (Sch).

**Block**, Black (MGr vor 1700) - MGr, Ssee, Thdf, Trw - Ün od. On. Mitblok zusges. On. besonders in Overissel.

**Bock** - Elb (SC).

**Boench** s. Bench.

**Boese**, Bösse (1681) — Dzg-N (KbD: 1665 ff.) - Ün.

**Boettcher**, Petcher (SC), Petker (Sch), Puttker (Sch, Wbe), Pödker (Wbe), Pietker (Wbe), Putger (WbeM 1605) — MGr, Ssee, Kaz - Vn.

**Boldt**, Bolt, Baldt, Boltz (MGr) — Dzg-S (KbD: 1655 ff.), Kbg, Thag, Ros, Thdf, MGr - En, Kf. z. Baldwin.

**Bollart** s. Buhler.

**Bollée**, Balée (SC) - Elb (KbD(Adv)) Dzg (KbDS: 1709 ff.).

**Bomgarts** - Elb (KbC) On.

**de Boor**, den Boor (1586), Buhr (Thdf), Farmer (Thdf) - Elb (1586: „Aert den Boor“, Sch), Thdf 1787 ff. (Sch) - Vn.

**Borchert** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667) - En. - Auch Vn.

**Bornowsky** oder Bockowsky Dzg-N (KbD: 1686 ff.).

**Born**, Borm (KbH), Borren (KbD), van Born (KbD: 1678) - Thag, Ros, Hbd, Dzg-S (KbD: 1678 ff.) On.

**van den Bosch** - Dzg (KbD: 1598 „Hendr. Pieters van den Bosch“) - On. Vgl. Buschmann.

**Brand**, Brandt - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.), Elb, Thag, Lad, Ros, selten Thdf - En, Kf. Vgl. a. Gerbrand, Hildebrand u. a.

**Braun**, Bruhn, Brun, Brunß (1681,) Bruens (KbD), Bruyn (KbD) — Dzg (1619: „Jan Brun, Flander. Trüpmacher“, KbDS: 1669 ff., KbDN: 1676 ff.), Thag, Ros, Fstw, Hbd - En oder Ün. Vgl. a. Bruyning.

**Breuel** - 1787 nach Rld. - wohl On, zu Brühl und frz. breuil „Gebüsch“.

**Brigman**, Briggman — Dzg-S (KbD: 1676 ff.) - On.

**Brucks** - Lad, Ros, Hbd On, zu Bruch.

**van Brussel** - Dzg (1586) On.

**Brüsterin** - MGr (Wbe, Sch: vor 1700).

**Brunacker** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1683 ff.) - On.

**Brusen** - Dzg (1619) - En, v. Ambrosius.

**Bruyer** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1690) - Vn.



**Bruyning** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 f.) - En. Vgl. Braun.

**Bueckert**, Bieckert, Bickert, Bicker (SC) - Hbd, Lad, Ros, - En. aus Burghard. Vgl. Borchert.

**Buhler**, Buler (KbD), Bollart (KbD), Buller (KbD), Bolla (KbD), Bullaert (KbD: 1689), Buhkert (1681), Boular (Salv: 1758). von Bulaer (Salv: 1714), Bulaert (KbD: 1674), Buylaert (KbD: 1670 ff.), von Bulart (Salv: 1650), von Bular (Salv: 1638), Bulaert (1586) — Dzg-S, Thag.

**Buller**, Büller (SC), Boller (Hu. 1), Boeler (Hu 1. u. 2), B u i j l e r (Hu 2) - Afl (Hu), Ssee Fl. (Wbe), Jez (Wbe), Kaz (Wbe), MGr (SC). - Die Namen sind nicht klar zu trennen, möglicherweise aus verschiedenen Wurzeln herzuleiten.

**Burmeister**, Buhrmeister — Fstw (KbGrW - Bn, = Dorfschulze.

**Buschmann**, Boschmann - Thag, Ros, Hbd - On. Vgl. van den Bosch.

**Bosenitz**, Bussnitz (KbD), Buzenes (Pacz) - Thag (Pacz: 1664 Tiegenhof), Hbd, Dzg-S (KbD: 1691 ff.) - On.

**Butenweg** (Toeppen), Budwegh (Sch), Butthwig (SC) - Thdf (Toeppen: 1622 Eschenhorst) - On.

**van Buygen** (KbD), von Baygen (WbeM) - MGr (WbeM: 1568), Dzg (KbD (Adv): 1589) On. - Beugen (Noordbrab.)?

**von Buyk-Sloot** - Dzg (Salv: 1747 „Berent Reynderts von Buyk-Sloot“).

**Carls**, Karrels, Kaerels — Dzg-S (KbD: 1672 ff.) - En.

**Casper**, Kasper - Dzg (KbDN: 1671 ff.), Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Kaz - En.

**Claassen**, Klaassen, Claasen (SC), Claast (Lit), Klaessen (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Neunh, Dza (KbDS: 1606, 1667 ff, KbDN: 1665 ff.), Kbg, selten in: MGr, Trw, Lit, Thdf - En. Claas als Vn. sehr häufig.

**Clemens** - Lit (SC) - En. Clement auch Vn.

**Collander**, Colander, Kollander, Kallander - Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 ff.)

**Conrad**, Conraet (KbD), Kunraet (KbD) - Hbd, Lad, Thag. Ros. Fstw. Neunh, Dzg-S (KbD: 1676 ff.) - En. Vgl. Köhn, Konert, Kurtz.

**Conwenss**, Konvents (KbE), Conwenss (KbE), Cowent (KbH), Kufent (1681) usw. - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.), Elb, Kbg, Hbd - On, zu lat. conventus l. d. Bed. Kloster.

**Cornelius**, Cornelis, Corneliessen (Pnr: 1621 Beyershorst).

**Cornelsen**, Cornels, Knels, Knelsen, Korntiess, Cornies — Dzg- S (KbD: 1678 ff. Cornelis, Cornelissen, Cornelsen), Thag (Cornelius, Cornels, Cornelsen, Korntieff.), Ros (SC: Cornies), Hbd (Cornelius), Thdf (Cornelius, Cornelsen), Trw (Cornelius, Knels, Knelsen), MGr (Cornelsen), Ssee (SC: Knels), Ssee Fl. (Wbe: Knels), Afl (Hu. 2: Cornelis), Prz (SC: Knels), Kaz: Knels - En.

**van Cuelen** - Elb (1586) - On, Köln.

**Dahl** - Hbd-P (KbH) - On. Vgl. a. von Dahlen.

**von Dahlen** - Dzg-S (KbD 1611) - On: Dalen, Drenthe

**Daniel**, Daniels - Orl, Dzg (KbDN: 1673, KbDS: 1679 ff.) - En.

**Dau**, Daw (Pnr: 1601 Orlofferselde) - Thdf, Orl - En, friesisch, zu ahd. dau „Sitle“. Als Vn. noch 1776 (SC).

**Dawits** - Elb (KbE) - En.

**Deckemaeker** (1586), Deckmaecker (1592) – MGr - Vn.

**Decker**, Dekker (Afl), Dacker (SC: Glogowken) - Jez? (SC), Afl (Hu. 1 u. 2) Vn. Vgl. Deckemaeker.

**Deering**, Dehring - Ros, Dzg-S (KbD: 1691 ff., 1714: Deering uyt het werder).

**Deichgräf**, Teichgräff, Dickgrew, Dickgräff, Diek Gröw (KbH), Tetchröb (Rld) - Thag, Ros, Hbd - Vn.

**Dellesky**, Doloeski (SC) - Ros. - Aus Tillitzke? S. d.

**van Deventer** - Dzg (1586) - On: Stadt in Overijssel.

**Dickmann** s. Dyckmann.

**Diederich**, Didrich, Dirdrigrs - Dzg-S (KbD: 1685 ff.), Thag (KbGrW). Lad (SC), Ros (KbGrM) - En. Vgl. Dirksen.

**Dill** s. D o e l l.

**Dirksen**, Dercksen, Doerksen, Dirksen (Hbd, MGr), Dircks, Derks usw. - Dzg (Mannh): 1568 Dirks, KbDS: 1668 ff., KbDN: 1671 ff.), Elb, Hbd, Thdf, Orl, MGr. Trw, Ssee, Kaz, seilen: Thag: Lad: Ros: Kbg: Aft (Hu. 2: Derks) - En, fr.

**Doell**, Dell, Doli, Dill, Düll, Dül (Thag), Deel (1749) — Dzg-S (KbD: 1689 ff ), Thag - En, v. Thilo, Ks. z. diet. Vgl. a. Thielmann.

**Doerksen** s. D i r k s e n.

**Domke** - Trw, Orl (KalhKbTh: 1745 „Domscke“) - En, Ks. z. Dominik.

**Donner** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1716 ff., Salv: 1740), Orl (SC) - Aus Donnet?

**Donnet** — Dzg-N (KbD: 1698 ff., 1749: „Junffer Donnetten) - wohl En, aus Donatus.

**Donnink** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1669) - En, wohl zu Anton.

**van Dragen** - Elb (KbE) - On.

**Dreher** - Dzg (1619: „Hermann Dreher Anabaptista Embdensis“) - Vn. Vgl. Dreyer.

**Drewke**. Drewki (KathKbTh: 1739 f.), Dreeffke (Kbg), Dreweke (Kbg 1736), Dröwke (KkDN) Dzg (KbDS: 1695 f., KbDN: 1717 f ), Kbg - En, Kf. z Andreas. Vgl. Drews.

**Drews** - Dzg -Salv: 1765 Drewsen), - Thag (KathKbTh: 1749) - En, siehe Drewke. Vgl. o. Andres.

**Dreyer** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1626), Elb (KbE). - Aus Dreher?

**Driedger**, Drüdger (KbGrW) Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw - En. z. ahd. drut, mhd. trut „traut, geliebt“. Vgl. Drude.

**Drude** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.) - En, einst. Ks. z. drut, vgl. Driedger.

**Drupp**, Drup, Drop (Thdf) - Orl, Thdf - En?, zweist. Kf. z. drut, vgl. Driedger, Drude.

**Dueck** s. Dyck.

**von Duehren**, von Dihren (1681), von Dühren, von Dieren (1749), von Düren (Salv: 1709) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1665 ff.) - On: Düren?, Dieren (Gelderland)?

**Dürksen** s Dirksen

**Dunkel**, Dunckell (1681), Donckel (KbD) - Dzg-S (KdD: 1661 ff.), Kbg - Ün.

**Dyck**, Dick (SC meist so), von Dick (1681), von Dyck (KbD), van Dyck (KbD), van den Dyck (1592 „uyt het groote Waerder“) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb. Neunh, Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 ff.), Kbg, sehr selten: Thdf, Orl - On. Vgl. Dyckmann.

**Dyckmann**, Dückmann, Dickmann - Ros, Hbd - On.

**Eck** - MGr, Dzg (vgl. a. van Eyck) - En, Kf, z. Eckert. Als Vn: Montau 1685 „Eck Ewert“ (WbeM). Vgl. Eckert.

**Eckert**, Ekker (SC), Ecker, Eggert - Dzg (Salv: 1671, KbDN: 1665 ff.), MGr, Ssee, Trw, Koz, Lit, Thdf, Orl - En.

**Ediger**, Edger (SC) - Trw, MGr, Ssee, Kaz - En, z. ahd. ot, as. od. ags. ead „Bestz“ Vgl. Eds.

**Eds**, Edsen (1749), Oetz (Orl) - Thdf, Orl, Dzg - En, fr., s. Ediger.

**Egberts** - Elb (KbE) - En.

**Eggerath**, Egrath (SC), Egraet (KbD), Eggeraet (KbD) - Dzg (KbDS: 1673 ff, KbDN: 1685 ff.), Elb (KbE) - On.

**Eggert** s. Eckert.

**Ehlert**, Elert (1749) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1681 ff.) - En.

**Ehms**, Emtz (KbH), Emsen (KathKbTh: 1745), Emeys (Salv: 1691), Ehmentz (1681), Ementz (KbDN), Eems (KbDS) - Dzg (KbDN: 1668 f., KbDS: 1693 f.), Thag, Hbd - En, Kf. wohl z. Stamme amal- (vgl. Bahlow), fries. Vgl. Oehmsen.

**Ehrich** s. Herich.

**Elias**, Elitz, Ellis (KbD) - Dzg (KbDS: 1692 ff., KbDN: 1676 f.), Lad, MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - En.

**von Elst** - Dzg (Salv: 1624 „Heinrich Gertzen von Elst“) On: Elst in Gelderland

**van Embden** - Dzg (Mannh: „Jan Gerrits van Embden“ née in Emden, 1607 nach Dzg als Alt. d. fries. Gem.).

**Emaus** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1683 ff.) - On, wohl Emaus bei Danzlg.

**Engbrecht** - Orl, Thds, Trw, Lit - En, Engelbrecht.

**Engmann**, Engman - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.) - On od. En.

**Enss**, Entz, Enns usw. - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Kbg - En, z. fries. Eigennamen Enno, Enne.

**Epp**, Ep, Epps (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Neunh, Dzg-S, KbD: 1668 ff.) - En, z. Kf. Eppo v. Eberhard.

**Erbrecht** ? - Trw (SC) - En. z. ahd. hart „Heer“. Vgl. a. Harpart.

**Erdmann**, Ertmann Dzg (KbD (AdB): 1733), (KathKbTh: 1757) aus Hartmann. - Erdmann auch Vn.

**Esau** - Thag (Pnr: 1617 Tiegenhof Bastian Esau), Lad, Ros, Fstw, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1690 ff.), - En.

**Ewert**, Ewertz (WbeM: 1630) - MGr, Ssee, Trw, Kaz auch Ebert (Wbe), selten in: Thdf, Orl, Lit, Dzg-R (KbD: 1718 ff.) - En, aus Eberhard. Vgl. Epp. Ewert auch Vn.

**von Eyck**, van Eeck (KbD), von Ecken (Salv: 1663), von Ecke (1681), von Eccken (KbDS: 1674) Dzg – (KbDN: 1666 ff.) On, Eichen (-gehölz).

**Eytzen**, Entz, Eidse Thdf (Sch) - En, friesisch, vgl. auch Eds. van Eysten ? Dzg-S (KbD(AdB)).

**Fabian** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1726 ff.) - En.

**Fademrecht**, Fadenrecht Thdf (Sch: vor 1700), Dzg-N (KbD: 1688), MGr (WbeM: 1672). - Ün.

**Falk** - Lit (SC), MGr ? (WbeM: 1672) - Ün.

**Fast**, Faast (KbH), Fast (KbD, 1749) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Neunh, Dzg-S (KbD: 1669 ff.), Kbg, selten in MGr (SC). Kaz (Wbe) - En, einst. Kf. z. ahd. fasti, festi „fest“ (nach Bahlow in Namen nur friesisch, Fast aber auch oberdeutscher Fn). Baast fläm. Kf. z. Heillgennamen Bedastus (frz. Bedaste, Gaston).

**Fehr** s. de Beer.

**Feidt**, Feith, SC). Feyt (1749), Bitus (1619) Dzg (1619: „Kilian Witus Sator auss Prabandt von Brüssell, Anabaptista“, KbDN: 1704 ff.) - En

**Fenske**, Fenstke - Dzg (KbDS: 1655, 1679 ff.) - En, Kf. z. Vincentius. Vgl. a. Zent.

**Fieguth**, Figut, Fiegeth (SC), Biegut (Pnr: 1656 Pasewark) - Thag, Lad, Ros.

**Fisch** - Thdf (SC) - ün.

**Fleckwer**, Fleckwehr - Dzg (1681: „Jan Fleckwebr von Hamburg“, KbDS: 1669 bis 1688).

**Flemming**, Fleming, Flämmining, Flaming, Flamingk, Flamig (WbeM: 1639) - MGr, Trw, Kaz - Herkunstsname.

**Flieger** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1669 ff.) - Bn?

**Fock**, Fokk, Vock - Dzg (1681: Junfer foekken, KbDS: 1678, KbDN: 1711). Elb (KbE) - En, fries Kf Fokke z. ahd. folk.

**Focking**, Fokking, Vöcking, Faking (SC), Vogking (Salv: 1693, - Dzg-S, KbD: 1669 ff.) - En, fries., s. Fock.

**Foth** s. Voth.

**Fraetz** (SC), Fritz (Toeppen: 1612 Campenau) – Thdf - En.

**Franck** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1675 ff.) - En. Auch Vn.

**Franz**, Franzen, Frantz (SC: nur so), Fransen (1586, KbD: 1598, WbeM: 1578) - Thdf, Trw, MGr (1586, Sch: vor 1700 meist Fransten, Frantzen, nach 1700 Franst), Ssee, Dzg, Kaz - En.

**Frey**, Vrif (Hu. 2), Freyn (Hu. 1), Vrien (Hu 1) - Afl (Hu), Jez? (SC: Glogowken) - Ün, frei, nicht hörig.

**Friedrichs**, Fridrig, Friedrichsen - Dzg-S (KbD: 1883 ff.) - En.

**Friesen**, Friessen (KbGrW) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Kbg, Thds, Orl - En, fries., z. Volksnamen der Friesen. Vgl. Froese, van Riesen.

**Froese**, Froes (SC), Frese, Froesen (SC), Vreetz (KbD), Freh (WbeM: 1672) - Thds, Orl, Trw, MGr (Sch: vor 1740), Dzg (KbDN: 1667 ff., KbDS: 1679 ff.) - En, s. Friesen. Obwohl die Formen Friesen und Froese manchmal wechseln, kommt letztere in den sog. fläm. Gemeinden kaum vor.

**Funk**, Funck, Vonk (Hu) - Thds, Orl, Afl (Hu. 1 u. 2), Prz (SC), MGr, Trw, Lit, Dzg-N (KbD: 1674 ff.) - Ün. Für einen Schmied.

**Fyans** - Dzg (KbD (AdB): Cäcilia Fyons, née 1531 in Tuornout (Turnnout, Prov. Antwerpen), verh. with Hans van Amersfort).

**van Gammern**, vonGammern - Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 ff.) - On.

**Gayke**, Gayka (Wbe), Geike (WbeM: 1630) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700).

**van Gech** (KbD: 1670), von Goch (KbD: 1692) - Dzg-S - On: Goch (Rheinld.) ? Vgl. a. van Jecht.

**Gehde** s. Goede.

**Gerbrand**, (in Rld. zu Gelbrand und Jahlbrand) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Elb, Thdf, Orl, MGr (Wbe), Dzg-N (1712 ff.) - En.

**Gergens**, Görgens, Gerges (Thag) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1711 ff.), Thag (Kath KbTH: 1749) - En.

**van Gerschowen**, Gerschonen (KbD: 1598), Garschauen (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD (AdB): Jacques Garschauen, née in Antwerpen, verh. 1586 in Dzg) - On.

**Giesbrecht**, Giesebrecht, Jsedrecht, Gisbert (KbD), Giessberts (KbE) - Dzg(KbDS: 1679 ff.), Elb, Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Kbg, MGr (Sch: vor 1700) En. - Auch Vn.

**Gillis**, Giltz, Gilzen, Gilsen, Gillissen (Mannh) - Danzig (Mannh: 1568 Cyprian Gillissen, KbDN: 1677 ff.) - En, gewöhnlich zu Aegidius gestellt. Als Vn. häufig.

**Gleistein**, G l e y s t e e n - Dzg (KbDS: 1671 ff., KbDN: 1681).

**Goede**, Gaede, Gehde (SC), Gedde (Wbe), Jöde (Wbe) - MGr, Ssee, Trw, Kaz - En, Kf. z. Goedert, s. d.

**Goedert**, Gedert, Geddert, Gederts (Kaz), Gäddertz (WbeM: 1630) MGr, Ssee, Kaz - En, z, ahd. got „Gott“. Auch Vn. Vgl. a. Goetz, Goetzke, Govert.

**Goertz**, Goertzen, Geertzen, Gertz (WbeM: 1639), Goeritz (Lit) usw. - MGr, Ssee, Trw, Lil, Kaz, seltener in: Thdf, Orl, Dzg (Salv: 1624 „Heinrich Gertzen von Elst“, KbDS: 1668 ff., KbDN: 1677 ff.) - En. Siehe a. van Embden.

**Goetz** - Thdf (SC) - En, Kf., s. Goedert. Vgl. a. Goetzke.

**Goetzke**, Goetzki (SC), Jehke (SC), Gödige? (Toeppen: 1622 Eschenhorst) – Lit - En, vgl. Goetz, Goede.

**Goossen**, Goosen, Gootz (KbD), Gotz Gassen (SC), Gossen (Pnr: Beyershorst 1621) usw. - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.), Elb (KbE), Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Trw (SC: Gotz) - En, aus Gozwin, friesisch. Als Vn. Selten.

**van Gorkum**, van Gorcum - Dzg (Mannh: 1568 „Cornelius van Gorcum“ u. „Jan Pieters van Gorcum“), Gr. Werder (1592: „Cornelis Rukgersch van Gorkum“) - On.

**Gorys** - Dzg-S (nbD- 1620) - En, v. Gregor. Auch Vn. Vgl. Guhr, Greger.

**Govert**, Gowert, Gouertsen (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 5674 ff.) - En, aus Godebert, vgl. Goedert. Auch Vn.

**Graew**, Graw - Thag, Ros - Vn. Vgl. Deichgräf, Weitgraf.

**Graue** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1687 ff.) - Zu Grauert? Vgl. o. Graew.

**Grauert**, Grauwert, Grouwert (KbD), Growert (Salv: 1709 Cornelius

**Jantzen** Growert) - Dzg (KbDS: 1871 ff.), Kbg - Ün, Weiterbildung with -ert besonders flämisch.  
**Greger** (MGr), Gröger (Dzg) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700), Dzg-N (KbD: 1682) - En. Vgl. Gorys, Guhr.  
**Groening** - Thag (Sch), Ros (SC) - On: Groningen Stadt und Provinz.  
**Gronau** s. Grunau.  
**Gronwald**, Grohnwald (1749), Groomwolts (KbD), Groenwoll (KdD) – Dzg (KbDS: 1670 ff., KbDN: 1671 ff.) - On.  
**de Groote** (1586), Groot (Dzg), Grotz (Kbg) - Obn (1586), Dzg-S (KbD: 1720), Kbg 1736 - Ün..  
**Gruetter**, Grötter (Wbe) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - Vn.  
**Grunau** (SC: alle), Gronau - Thdf, Orl, MGr, Dzg-N (KbD: 1667 ff.) - On, Gronau?  
**Guelker**, Guelcker - MGr (Wbe, Sch: vor 1700) - On: Züllich, Rheinland Vgl. Willcher.  
**Guenther**, Günter, Ginter - Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Elb. Dzg-S (KbD: 1685 ff.) - En.  
**Guhr**, Gurr (Trw), Jur (MGr) - Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Kaz, - En, v. Gregor. Vgl. a. Gorys, Greger.  
  
**Hack ?** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667).  
**van Hagen**, van Haegen (KbE), von Haegen (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1674 ff.), Elb (KbE) - On.  
**Hamburg** - Dzg (1619: „Jochim Hamburg“) - On.  
**Hamerschwith** - Dzg (Mannh: 1568) - Vn.  
**Hamm**, Ham (Pnr: 1601 Oriofferfelde) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1676 ff.), MGr (Wbe), Kaz (Wbe) - On? = Winkel, Bucht. Aber auch fries. Eigennamen  
**Hansen**, Hanssen - Dzg-S (KbD: 1657 ff.). Ros (SC: „Witwe Hänsin“) - En.  
**Harder**, Haerder (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Dzg-S (KbD: 1677 ff.) - En, ndd-fr., zu hart.  
**Harms**, Harm (MGr), Herman (Trw), Harmens (Salv), Hermesen (Salv), Harmtzen (1681), Harmsen (KbD), Harmetz (1610) usw. - Dzg (Salv: 1622 ff.), KbDN: 1672 ff., KbDS: 1677 ff.) Elb, Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Lik, Kaz - En. Harm als Vn. häufig.  
**Harpart** - Thdf (SC), - En, aus Haribert, vgl. Erbrecht.  
**Haselman**, Hasellmann (1681) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1683 ff.) - On.  
**van Hasselt** - Dzg (Quiring: 1612) - On: Hasselt In Limburg, Belgien, aber auch Ort i. d. Prov. Overijssel.  
**v. d. Have** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1732 „Nelcke Meesse v. d. Have) - On. Vgl Haverbeck, Havermann.  
**Haverbeck**, Hawerbek, Hauerbeeck (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 ff.) - On.  
**Havermann**, Hawerman, Hauerman (KbD) — Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 ff.) - On. Vgl. v. d. Have, Haverbeck.  
**Hecht** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1681 ff.), Kbg - Ün, wohl Hausname.  
**Hecker**, Hekker, Heckker - Dzg-N (KbD: 1667), Orl (Sch), MGr (Sch, Wbe) Vn.  
**Heemsen** s. Hoemsen.  
**Heide**, Heyde, Heyd (SC), Heid - Thag, Ros. Dzg-S (KbD: 1710 ff.) - On od. En, einst Kf. Vgl. Heydebrecht  
**Heidebrecht** s. Heydebrecht.  
**Hein** - Thdf, Orl, Thag (SC), Dzg-N (KbD: 1676f.) - En, Kf.  
**Heinrich**, Heinrichs, Hinrichs (1681), Hinrichs (MGr), Henricks (KbD), Hendricks (KbD), Heinrichs (1610: „Jacob Heinrichs ex Brabant“), Henderichs (1586) - Thdf (1596, SC), Dzg (KbDS: 1598, 1671 ff., KbDN: 1668 ff.), MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - En. Vgl. Hein.

**Hellwig** ? - Dzg-N (KbD: 1666) - En.  
**Hempel**, Hemmpel - Dzg (KbDS: 1735), Kbg, Hbd - En. z. hagin Mitteldeutsch?  
**Henke** – MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - En, zu Hans.  
**Henning**, Henninck (KbD), Hennig (KathKbTK. 1642. 1750: Hennigk) - Dzg (KbDS: 1702 ff.) - En, s. Henke.  
**Herich**, Herichs (Salv: 1698), Ehrich (1681), Eerig (KbD), H e r i c k s (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1674 ff.) - En, z. ahd. hari „Heer“. Vgl. Herr.  
**Herr** (1681), Heer (KbD: 1693), Hehr (KbD: 1704) - Dzg-S - En, s. Herich.  
**Heydebrecht**, Heydbrecht, Heidebrecht, Heubrecht - Thag, Ros. Hbd - En, z. ahd. heida „Heide“. Vgl. Heide.  
**Hiebert** s. Huebert.  
**Hildebrand**, Hildebrandt, Hilbrandt - Ros, Fstw, Thag, Lad - En, Vgl. a. Hill.  
**Hill**, Huell (SC) Thdf - En, Kf. Vgl. Hildebrand.  
**Hintz** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1699 ff.) - En, Ks. z. Heinrich. Erst 1699 menn ?  
**van Hoeck**, van Hoek, von Huck (1681) - Dzg (Salv: 1681 ff., KbDN: 1685 ff.) - On.  
**Hoemsen**, Hoemssen, Heemsen, Hemsen (KathKbTh), Heems (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1677 ff.), Thag (KathKbTh: 1739 ff.), Fstw, Hbd - En; Hemme fries. Eigennamen. Vgl. auch Hoemsinck, Hamm, Ehms, Oehmsen. Zum Abfall von h vgl. Herich.  
**Hoemsinck**, Hemsing (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1666 ff.), Elb (Sch) En, s. Hoemsen.  
**Hoepner**, Heppner, Hepner, Höpner - Ros, Hbd, Dzg (KbDN: 1665, KbDS: 1671 ff.) Bn, zu Hopsen. Aber nicht klar zu trennen von Hoewner, s. Hübner.  
**von Hoewen**, van Houwen (KbD) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1696 ff.), Kbg - On Vgl. auch Huebner.  
**Hoewner** s. Huebner  
**Holt** – Elb (KbE) - On, Gehölz, Wald.  
**Holtzmann**, Holtman - Dzg-S (KbD: 1673 ff.) - On. Vgl. auch Holt, Buschmann.  
**Holzrichter**, Holtzrichter, Holtrichter (1681), Haltrechter (SC) Thdf, Trw, Dzg-N (KbD: 1667 ff.) Vn.  
**Hommel**, Humel (1749) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1676 is.) - Ün?  
**Hooge**, Hoog, Hoge (KbH), Haage (SC), Hag (SC) Thag, - Lad, Hbd - Ln.  
**Horn**, Harren (KbD), Hooren (KbD) - Thdf, Orl, Dzg (KbDS: (1672 ff., KbDN: 1695 ff.) - On: Hoorn Stadt in Noordholland und öfter.  
**Hornbrecker**, Horenbrecker - Dzg-S (KbD: 1676 f.) - Bn?  
**Hovenier**, Howenehr, Hawerneh, Houener (KbD: 1696) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1680 ff.), Kbg - Bn, holländisch, hovenier = Gärtner.  
**Huebert**, Hiebert, Hubert (SC) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Dzg (KbDS: 1679 ff., KbDN: 1684 ff.), Kbg, Lit - En. Hübner auch Vn.  
**Huebner**, Hiebner, Höwner, Hewner - Thag, Ros, Thdf - Bn, vgl. aber auch van Hoewen.  
**Huell** s. Hill.  
**Isaac**, Isaak, Isac, Ijsaaks (Hu. 1 u. 2) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Afl (Hu). Ssee - En.  
**Isebrand** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1672 ff.) - En, fr. Als Vn öfter.  
**Jochim** (Wbe), Jachims (Sch), Jochim (Wbe) - MGr (Wbe, Sch: vor 1700) - En.  
**Jacobs**, Jacobsen, Jacobson (SC), Jacobson (WbeM: 1630) - Dzg (KbDS: 1666 ff., KbDN: 1665), Kbg. MGr? - En.  
**Jancke**, Janke, Jencke (Lit) — Lit (SC), Trw (Sch) - En.

**Hansson** s. Janzen.

**Janzen**, Jantzen, Janssen, Jansson, Jansen (1619), Jentzen (Lit), Jantz, Janz, Jans (Hu) usw. - Dzg (Mannh: 1568 Janzen: 1586: Jantzen: 1619: „Janert Nansen, Mecheln“, „Cornells Jan, Hollander, Harlingen“, „Otto Jansen Westphalus“, „Gerg Jansen ex Brobant“, „Hartwich Jansen, Holstein“: 1681: „Walraff Janssen ein Amsterdamer“), Elb, Kbg, Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Neunh, Hbd, Thds, Orl, Trw. MGr (WbeM: 1568), Ssee, Afl (Hu I.u.2: Jans, Jansen), Jez (Wbe, SC), Lit. Kaz (Wbe), ferner im Gr. Werder: KalhKbTh: 1642 „Zohanna filia Wilhelmi Jantzen defuncti ex Pbrysia vulgo Freetzland“: Pnr: Beuershorst 1618 Jacob Jantzen von Emden. En. S. a. v. Tongerlo.

**Jart**, Jort, Jahrt s. T. Jahrt.

**van Jecht**, vom Jecht, von Jeucht Dzg-S (KbD: 1701 ff.) - On Vgl. a. van Geck.

**John** - MGr (Wbe, Sch: vor 1700) - En.

**Jopp** (Orl), Job (Dzg) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1667 ff.), Orl (SC) - En, v. Jacob.

**Joost**, Jost (SC), Josten (1681), Joosten (KbD) Dzg-S (KbD: 1598, 1668 ff.), Ros, Elb, Kb - En, v Jodocus. Auch Vn.

**Jur** s. Guhr.

**Kaedtler**, Kaeitler (SC), Kätler (1749), Kettler (KbD) Tkdf, Orl Dzg-N (KbD: 1675 ff.), MGr (Sch), Kaz (Wbe) - Vn, = Kessler, Kesselschmied.

**Kaehler** s. Koehler.

**von Kampen** (s. a. Kempener) – Dzg (KbDN: 1665 ff., KbDS: 1680 s.), Elb - On: Kampen, Stadt In Overijssel.

**Kasdorf**, Katzdorp (KbD), Kosdorff (SC), Kasderb (KbD), Kas Dorp (KbH) - Thag, Hbd, Dzg-S (KbD: 1666 ff.) - mehrfacher Ortsname.

**Kasper** s. Casper.

**Katt**, Kat (Kaz) Orl (KatdKbTH: 1739 ff.), Kaz (Wbe), Dzg-N (KbD: 1712 ff.) - wohl Ün.

**Kauenhowen**, Kauenhawen (SC), Kaunhoefen (SC), Kauendorfs (SC: Kbg), Kaunhoff (1681), Kauenhoff (KbD) Dzg-S (KbD: 1665 ff.), Elb, Kbg - On. Vgl. von Kawen.

**von Kawen** - Dzg (1619: „von Kawen, Anabaptista“ und „Merten Kawens Dienstknecht“) - On. Zu Kauenhowen?

**Kemp**, Kämp, Kemppt Thag, Dzg-S (KbD: 1669 ff.) - wohl On

**Kempener**, Kempner, Cempener (KbC), de Kempner (KbD: 1719) „Jacob de Kempner“ - Elb (1586: „Joost Kempener“. Heisst sonst auch „van Kämpfen“, vgl. Quiring), Dzg-S (KbD: 1672 ff.), (KathKbTh: 1758) - On, s. van Kämpfen.

**Kerber**, Kerwer, Körffer (Sch), Kärber (WbeM: 1672), Kerver (1586) - MGr (1586), Kaz (Wbe) - Bn, Korbmacher.

**Kinn** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1672 ff.) - En, s. Koehn.

**Klaeter**, Kletter, Klätter, Klötter, Kleeter Dzg-S (KbD: 1682 ff.).

**Klein** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1677 ff.), Kos, Orl, Elb - Ün.

**Kliewer**, Kliewert (SC), Kleewer (SC) Klieber (MGr), Klüsser (MGr) - Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Kaz, Dzg-N (KbD: 1698 ff.) - wohl Bn. Klüver = Büttel, Gerichtsdienner.

**Klingenberg** - Thag, Ros - On.

**Klippenstein**, Kleppensteen (KbD) Thag, Ros, Dzg-S (KbD: 1690 ff.) - On.

**Knels**, Knelsen s. Cornelsen.

**Knewel**, Kneuel - Dzg-S (KbD: 1666, 1671 ff.) - Ün?

**Kniphott** - Thdf (SC) - On.

**Knop**, Knoop, Knopf (Wbe) - MGr, Ssee - Ün oder On.

**Kock ?** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1676) - Bn.

**Koehler**, Kaehler, Coeler (SC), Kehler (SC) - Thag, Ros - Bn.

**Koehn**, Könn (1681), Koon (KbD), Coons (KbD), Koen (Hu. 1), Kenn (Hu. I), Kuehn (Wbe: Jez), Kien (Wbe: Kaz), Kinn (s. d.) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1678 ff.), Trw, Afl (Hu. 1), Ssee (SC), Jez (SC, Wbe), Kaz - En, Kf. z. Konrad. Vgl. Konert.

**Könningk** (Sch), Könnick (Wbe) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - En (vgl. Koehn) oder Ün.

**Koepke**, Kopke - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.) - En, v. Jacob. Vgl. Kopp, Jacobs.

**Komms** (Wbe), Komssen (Sch), Kommes (KbD) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700), Dzg-N (KbD: 1674) - En?

**Konert**, Kohnert, Conert (SC), Konertz (MGr) - MGr, Trw, Ssee, Kaz - En. Auch Vn. Vgl. Conrad, Koehn.

**Konwentz** s. Lonwentz.

**Kopp**, Koop - Lad, Ros, Thdf - En, v. Jacob. Vgl. Koepke.

**Kopper**, Kobber (SC), Kapper (MGr), Koppert (Wbe: Kaz) - MGr, Kaz, selten: Thdf, Orl - Bn, Köpfer, mnd. kopper „der Schröpsköpfe setzt" (Bahlow), = Bader.

**Kordes**, Kordis s. Kurtz.

**Kornelis**, Kornelsen s. Cornelius, Cornelsen.

**Kraemer**, Kremer, Kramer - Dzg-S (KbD: 1677 ff.) - Bn.

**Krahn**, Kran, Kraan (KbD), Kraen (KbD) - Thag, Ros, Hbd, Dzg-S (KbD: 1689 ff.) - Ün, = Kranich.

**Krause** - Kbg (1736, SC) - Ün.

**Kregehr** (EvKb. Mewe), Kregir (Sch: MGr) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700), Trw - wohl Bn oder Ün, mnd. kregerer „Schreier, Rufer, Herold", z. frz. crier (Schiller-Lübben).

**Kremske**, Krömske, Kremsky (Kbg), Krämscke (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1687 ff.), Kbg - wohl erst seit 1687 menn.

**Krien** - (KathKbTh: 1639 „Susanna der geburt auss fritzland Wölcke Krienen nachgelassene Tochter, so von jugend auff alhir in Preußen meistlick zu Schönsee auff erzogen") - En, Ks. z. Quirin. Auch Vn. Vgl. auch Quiring.

**Kroeker**, Kroecker, Kraeker (SC), Kreker (Pnr: 1627 Tiegenghagen), Krikert (1681), Kryckert (Wbe: Jez), Kreckert (KbD), Kröckert (KbD), Krickart (KbD), Krigkart (Salv: 1701), Kricart (KbD), Kricaert (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Neunb. Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.), Elb, Kbg.

**Krueger**, Kreger, Kröger - Orl (SC, KathKbTh), Trw (SC), MGr (Wbe), Dzg-S (KbD: 1709 ff.) - Bn, vgl. aber auch Greger, Kregehr, Kroecker.

**Kuecken** - Lit (SC).

**Kuelling**, Kullig (Wbe), Kuilink (WbeM: 1639) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700)

**Kurtz**, Kortz, Koortz, Koordes, Kordes, Kordis - Dzg-S (KbD: 1675 ff.) - En, Kf. z. Konrad

**Kulpert**, Lulpert - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 f.) - En, Colobert (vgl. Gottschald).

**Lammert**, Laemmert (SC), Lammerts (1681), Lambertz (KbD) - Thdf, Orl, Dzg (1681: „Abr.Lammert aus Schweden der Vater von Dantzig", KbDN: 1666 ff., KbDS: 1683 ff.), Kbg - En, auch Vn. Vgl. Lemcke.

**Lange**, Lang (1749) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1746) - Ün.

**Lau** (KbD(Adv): „Lau oder Löwens") - Dzg(KbDN: 1672 ff.), KbDS: 1680 ff.) - wohl En, mnd. lauwe „Löwe".

**Lauwing** (KbD (Adv): „Lauwing oder Löwens") - Dzg (KbDS: 1669, KbDN: 1686). - En, s. Lau. Vgl. Löwens.

**Lebrecht**, Leberecht, Löbrecht (MGr) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700), Dzg-N (KbD: 1667 ff.) - En, z. ahd. liut.



**Ledderdehl** (Wbe, WbeM: 1639), Lederdell (Sch) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - Ün wie Meelgergen, vgl. auch Doell.

**Leenert** (KbD), Lenaert (KbD), Lenardt (WbeM: 1605), Lernerts (1586) - MGr (1586), Dzg (KbDN: 1679 ff., KbDS: 1692 ff.) - En. aus Leonhard. Vgl. Lehn. Auch Vn.

**Lehn** - Thag, Lad, Dzg-S (KbD: 1713 ff.) - En, Kf. z. Leenert, s. d.

**Lemcke**, Lemke, Lemki, Lemmke - Thag, Ros, Hdd, Dzg-S (KbD: 1692 ff.), MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - En, zweist. Kf. z. ahd. lant „Land“ Vgl. Lammert.

**Lenß**, Lenß - Dzg-S (KbD: 1687 ff.) - En, Kf. z. Lorenz.

**Lepp** s. Loepp.

**Letkemann**, Littkemann – Thag - Ün, f. aber auch Liedke.

**Leyke** (Lit), Leuke (Wbe, WbeM: 1630), Loycken (Sch: Thdf 1789) - Thdf, MGr, Lit - En, Kf. z. liut, vgl. Liedke.

**Liedke**, Liedtke, Lietke - Dzg-N (KbD: 1671 ff.), (KathKbTh: 1763) - En, z. ahd. liut „Volk“. Vgl. Leyke.

**Liermann**, Lehrmann (Kazi - MGr, Ssee fl., Kaz - On: Lier, Antwerpen?)

**Lieffau** - Dzg(SC, KbDS: 1742) - On, Ort im Gr. Werder.

**Lietzner** (KbH), Lützner (Sch) — Hbd (Sch: Marienburg 1723).

**Lindger**, Linger (SC) – Trw - En.

**Lodßemaeker** - Dzg (1586) - Bn, wohl z. mnd. losche „Leder, das auf der einen Seite rot, auf der anderen weiß ist“ (Schiller-Lübben).

**Loepp**, Lepp, Leepp (KdH), Lipp (SC), Lip (SC). Lippe (Pnr: 1601 Orloffelfelde „Philipp Lippe“) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Neunh, - En; Kf. z. Philips od. zweist. Ks. z. ahd. liut. Vgl. Philipsen, Lebrecht.

**Loewen**, Loewens (Dzg, Kbg), Lewen (KbH), Laewen (SC), Leben (SC), Leeben (SC), Leewen (KbGrW), Levens (KbD), Liewens (KbD: 1705), Lieuens (KbD: 1708) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1676 ff.), Kbg - En: Kirchl. Eigenname Levinus, Lewin wohl in Vermischung with d. fries. Lieuwe. Vgl. auch Lau. Lauwing. Auch Vn., z. B. „Leuen Leuens“ (KbDS: 1686).

**Lohde**, Loode - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.).

**Looff** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1675 f., KbD: 1671 Lotoff.).

**Lübich**, Lübeck, Lybeck (KbD), Lubich (KbE), Liebig (KbD) - Dzg-S 1799 ff.) - En. Auch Vn. Vgl. auch Lentz.

**Lucht** - Orl (Sch, KathKbTh: 1744), Thdf (SC) - On, s. a. Terlucht

**Ludwigs**, Ludwich, Ludwicks (KbD), Ludwicksen (1749) - Dzg (KbDN: 1665 ff., KbDS: 1667 ff.) - En.

**Lübich**, Lübeck, Lybeck (KbD), Lubich (KbE), Liebig (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.), Elb (KbE) - On: Lübeck, Lubbeek b. Löwen usw.

**Maaß** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1681 f.) - En, Kf. v. Thomas.

**Mahl**, Maal, Mael - Dzg-S (KbD: 1666 ff., KbD: 1732 „Gaerit Maal Amsterdam“) - wohl On.

**Mandelkau** - Orl (KathKbTh: 1738 ff.).

**Mantler**, Mandtler, Mandeler (SC), Mantel (KbE) - Thag, Fstw. Hbd, Kbg, Elb (KbE) - Bn, z. mhd. mangel, mandel „Mandel, Rolle“?

**Marcks** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1691 ff.) - En, aus Marcus. Auch Vn.

**Martens**, Mertins, Martin, Martenß (1681), Martensen (1681), Mertens (1619) usw. - Thdf, Orl, Ros, Elb, Thag, Lad, Fstw, Hbd, Dzg (KbDS: 1672 ff., KbDN: 1672 ff.), Kbg, Lit - En.

**Massau** ? - Dzg-S (KbD: 1672).

**Matthies**, Mathies, Matthiesen, Mattis (SC), Matis (SC) Mathias (Wbe) - Thag, Fstw, Hbd, Dzg-N (KbD: 1680 ff.), Kbg, MGr, Kaz - En, Vgl. Thiessen.

**Mau** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1695 ff.) - En, v. Bartholomäus? Wohl erst seit 1695 menn.

**von Mechelen** - Thdf (1586) - mehrfacher Ortsname.

**Meckelburger**, Mäkelborger, Mecklenberger (SC), Mecklenburg (SC) - Thdf, Orl - Herkunftsname.  
**Meelgergen**, Mehl Gergen - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.) - Ün. Vgl. Ledderdehl.  
**Meelraet** (KbD), Muellrath (1819) Dzg (KbDS: 1672 f.) - On.  
**van der Meersch**, von der Mersch (Kbg), van der Moeurs (Kbg), Wander Meursch (SC), Vondermars (SC) -Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.), Kbg - On, Marsch.  
**Meerschot**, Meerschott - Dzg-N (KbD: 1683 f.).  
**Meesse** ? s. v. d. Have. - En, z. Bartholomäus. Vgl. aber auch Maaß.  
**Meinert** - MGr (Sch, Wbe) - En. Vgl. Mentz, Minn.  
**Meister** - Dzg (1681, KbDN: 1665 f.) - Bn.  
**Melchior** (KbD: 1693), Melchel (KbD: 1698) - Dzg-S - En.  
**Meller** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1708 f.) - Bn, Müller.  
**Mentz** - MGr (Wbe) - En, Menne frles. Kf. z. Meinert, z. ahd. megin „Kraft, Macht“. Vgl. Meinert, Minn.  
**Merreddick?** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1709) - Ün.  
**Mesmaker** (Elb), Metzmaker (WbeM: 1630) - Elb (Sch) - Bn, = Messermacher  
**van der Meulen**, Vermeulen, Vermölen (Salv), ver Meulen (1586) - Dzg (1586, Salv: 1653) - On, Mühle.  
**Michels** - Obn (1592), Trw (SC) - En.  
**Mierau** - Ros, Fstw, Kbg, MGr (SC) - On, Ort im Gr. Werder.  
**Minn**, Männe (1749) - Dzg-N (1669 ff.) - En, s. Mentz.  
**Momber**, Mamber (1749), Mumbert (1749), Mommer (1681), Mummer (1681), de Momper (EKZ, III, 138: „Anthony de Momper“ née 1580 in Amsterdam, n. Dzg. ausgew. um 1610). - Dzg (KbDS: 1666 ff., KbDN: 1665 f.), Kbg - Bn, z. abd. muntbor, lothr. momber „Vormund“.  
**Moor**, Mohr (1681) - Gr. Werder (1592), Dzg-S (KbD: 1669 ff.) - wohl On.  
**Mürer** - MGr (Wbe, Sch: vor 1700) - Bn?  
**Mund**, Mundt, Mondt, Mint (KbD: 1684) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1672 ff.). von Myllen (Mannh: 1568), von Mellen (1681) - Dzg - On.

**Nachtigal**, Nachtigall, Nachttegaal (Hu 1 u. 2: - Afl (Hu.), Ssee Fl. (Wbe), Jez, (SC, Wbe), MGr (SC), Ssee (SC), Kaz - Ün.  
**Naehring** - SseeFl (Wbe), Jez (Wbe).  
**Nehm** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1673 ff.).  
**Nesselradt** (Sch), Nesselbrand (KbD(AdV): 1676) – Elb - On, Nistelrode (Noordbrabant) ?  
**Neubauer**, Neibauer, Nibuer - Thag (SC, KathKbTh: 1747), Orl (SC, KathKbTh: 1743 ff.), (KathKbTh: 1738: Neibauer „cuius parens rebaptizatus“) - Bn.  
**Neudorf**, Neydorff (1749), Nydorff (1749), Neuendorff (SC: Kbg), Nidorp (KbD). Nieudorp (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1671 ff.), Kbg, Thag - On.  
**Neue**, Neue (KbD: 1685), Neff (KbD: 1693) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.) - Ün. Vgl. Noé.  
**Neufeld**, Neufeldt, Neifeld (SC), Nifeld (KathKbTh: 1674), Nigfeid (Wbe), Nyfeit (KbD), Nieufelt (KbD), usw. - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S(KbD: 1694 ff.), MGr (Sch: vor 1700), Lit - On: „Neufeld“ dem Meere abgewonnenes Neuland.  
**Neumann** (Trw), Nyman, Nieman, Nieuman - Dzg-S (KbD: 1701 ff.), Trw (SC) - Ün, Vgl. auch Neue, Neubauer  
**Neustaedter**, Nysteter, Niestädtger - Thag, Ros, Elb, Thdf, Orl, Dzg- N (KbD: 1713 ff.), Kbg - On.  
**Nickel**, Neckel - Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Ssee, Dzg-N (KbD: 1669 ff.) - En, v. Nicolaus.

**Niebert?** – Elb (SC) - En. z. ahd. nit.

**Niessen**, Niesen, Nieß - Thdf (SC) - En, Kf. z. Antomius. Cornelius oder dergl. Vgl. aber van Niessen.

**van Niessen**, Niessen (SC), von Niesen, von Nuß (KbD), de Nys (KbD), de Nyß (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD), 1611, 1662 ff.) - On.

**Nitz ?** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 f.).

**Noe**, Noweh (1681: „Kordt Noweh von Hamburg“) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1676 f.) - Ün, frz.

**van Nonnekan** - Dzg (1586) - On, (vgl. Quiring).

**Nyburgh** - Dzg (1681) - On.

**Obe**, Obbe - Trw, MGr (Sch: vor 1700), Dzg-N (KbD: 1746) – En, friesisch. Ubbo zweist. Kf. z. ahd. uodal.

**Oehmsen**, Oehms - Thag, Dzg (SC) - En, s. Ehms, Hoemsen. Aber KbDS 1693: „Borbke Hans Ooms dochter“.

**Olbitz**, Olwitz (SC) - Thdf, Orl, Dzg-N (KbD: 1719) - On?

**Olfert**, Olferts, Olfertz (KbD), Olfers (Kbg), Alfert (Thag) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1678 ff.), Thag, Kbg - En, aus Wolfhart.

**Ordon**, Ordonn - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.).

**Ortmann**, Ordemann (1681) - Dzg (1681, KbDN: 1671) - On.

**Ott**, Otte – Thdf - En.

**van Overheet** - MGr (1592: Baudewyn van Overheet) - On.

**Paen** – Dzg (1586).

**Panckert**, Pancker (1681) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1665 ff.) - En, v. Pankratz.

**Pankratz**, Pankrat (Hu. 2), Bankrats (Hu. 1) - Afl (Hu), Ssee fl (Wbe), Ssee (SC), Prz (SC), Kon (SC) - En.

**Patzer ?** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1689).

**Pau** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 ff.) - Ün: Pfau.

**Pauls**, Pauels (KbGrW), Pauwels (1681), Paulsen (Wbe: Pnr: 1621 BeyerShorst) - Thdf, Orl, Dzg-N (KbD: 1665 ff.), Elb, Kbg, MGr, Kaz, Lit, selten in Thag, Lad, Nos, Fstw, Hbd - En.

**Peckerun-** Trw (SC) - wohl erst spät menn., als nichtmenn. Fn. daselbst häufig (EvKb. Mewe).

**Penner**, Penders (1592: Gr. Werder) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Neunh, Dzg (KbDS: 1676ff., KbDN: 1698 ff.), Elb, Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Kaz, Kbg.

**Peters**, Petters (1681: WbeM: 1630), Petersen (1619: „Hendrich Petersen, Senffmahler von Schwolen ex Belgio“: WbeM: 1630), Pieters (1586: KbD) - Dzg (KbDS: 1665 ff., KbDN: 1676 ff.), Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Neunh, Hbd, Elb, Thdf, Trw, MGr (1586), Kaz - En.

**Petkau**, Paetkau, Patkau, Peterckau (SC) – Thag - On.

**Petker** s. Boettcher.

**Philipsen**, Philipps (KbD), Felpsen (MGr) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1675 ff.), Thdf, MGr (Sch: nach 1700) - En.

**Pilgrim** - MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - Ün.

**Pinkler**, Penkeler, Pennkler (KbD), Pinkeler (Hu. 1), Pinkelaar (Hu. 2) - Afl (Hu), MGr (Sch), Trw (Sch), Dzg-N (KbD: 1690 f.).

**Plenert**, Plehnert, Ploenert (Wbe) - Thdf, Trw, MGr, Ssee, Kaz.

**Plett** - Thag (KbGrW), Fstw (SC), Thdf (Sch).

**Pries**, Prietz (KbH), Preiß (KathKbTh), Pryß (KbD) Pruyß (KbD) - Thag, Ros, Hbd, Hbd-P, Dzg-S (KbD: 1678 ff.) - Herkunftsname

**Prohl**, Perol (1749), Prol (Pnr: 1621 Beyershorst) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1744 ff.), Orl (SC).

**Purau ?** Trw (SC).

**Putger** s. Boettcher.

von Putten - Dzg (Salv: 1698 Arendt von Putten) - On: Gelderland, Zuidholland u. ö.

**Quapp**, Quap. Quab (SC), Kvab (KathKbTh) - Thdf, Orl, Elb - Ün.

**Quiring** - Thdf, Orl, Trw, Dzg-N (KbD: 1667 ff.) - En, v. Quirin, vgl. a. Krien.

**Raetman** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1889 f.) - En.

**Rahn**, Rohn (KathKbTh), Raen (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Dzg-S (KbD: 1674 ff.).

**Rakau**, Rackau - Dzg-S (KbD: 1685 ff.) - wobl On.

**Rathke** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1677 ff.) - En, Kf. z. ahd. rat „Rat“.

**Raths**, Ratz (SC), Raetz (KbD), Raets (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.) - Vgl. auch Raetman, Rathke, Ratzlaff, Roths.

**Ratzlaff**, Retzlaff, Raatslaf (Hu. 1 u. 2) - Afl (Hu), Ssee fl (Wbe), Ssee (CS), Kaz, Jez (SC), Prz (SC), Kon (SC) - En, aus Ratislav, z. sl. rati „Krieg“ u. slav „Ruhm“.

**Redekop**, Redekopp (KathKbTh), Redekop (KbGrW), Rederkaps (SC) - Thag, Ros, Elb - wohl Ün. z. mnd. rede, Bed. 1. bereit, 2. beweglich (vgl. Schiller-Lübben).

**Rehbrand**, Rebrand (KbD), Reebrand (Kbg) - Dzg (KbDN: 1699, KbDS: 1703 ff.), Kbg - En, z. got. ragin „Rat“.

**Regehr**, Regier, Rigebr (SC), Regeer (KbGrW) - Lad, Ros, Hbd, Fstw, Elb, Kaz (Wbe: Regier - Betonung stets auf der zweiten Silbe. Bn od. Ün, wohl z. mnd. regêrer „Leiter, Lenker“ (Schiller-Lübben). Vgl. auch Kregehr.

**Reimer**, Reymer (SC), Reimers (KbD), Reymers (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (1671 ff.), Kbg - En, z. got. ragin. Vorwiegend fr.

**Reinke**, Rheinke (SC), Reyncke (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1641, 1672 ff.), Kbg, Hbd, Lit - En, Kf. z. got. ragin.

**Rempel** - Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1673 ff.) - En, z. got. ragin.

**Renpenning** - Hbd - aus Rentpenning, wohl Ün f. d. Rentmeister.

**von Reschema** s. Siebert.

**Retmacher** (1681), Reetmacker (KbD) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1672 ff.) - Bn, = Rad-, Stellmacher.

**Reynderts** s. von Buyk - Sloot. - En, z. got. ragin.

**Richert**, Richertz (WbeM: 1672), Richaert (KbD), Richers (Hu. 1) Riggert (Hu. 2) Riggers (Hu. 1) - Afl (Hu), Ssee fl (Wbe), Prz (SC), Dzg (1619: KbDN: 1665, KbDS: 1673 ff.) - En. Auch Vn.

**Richter** (KbD), Richters (Hu) - Afl (Hu. 1), Dzg-N (KbD: 1671 f.) - Bn.

**Riediger**, Riedger, Ritche (1749), Retger (1681), Rüttger (KbDN), Rütier (KbDS), Rutgersch (1592, s. van Gorkum) usw. - Thds, Orl, Trw, Dzg (KbDS: 1676, KbDN: 1700 ff.), Ros ? (SC) - En, z. ahd. hruot „Ruhm“.

**van Riesen**, von Riesen, Riesen, Friesen (!), von Friesen (KbGrW), von Riessen (KdH), von Ryssen (KbD) - Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1682 ff.), Kb - On, wohl Rijssen, Stadt in Overijssel.

**Rintfles** - MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - Ün. Vgl. Süßfleisch.

**Rodis** s. Roths.

**Roehl**, Rehl (1681), Roell (KbD) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1665 ff.) - wohl En, Kf. z. Rudolf. Vgl. Roloff.

**Roenert** (Thdf), Röhnert (Lit) - Thdf (SC), Lit (SC) - En, a. Reinert? Vgl. Reynderts.

**Rogalski**, Rogalsky – Ros - z. slav. rog „Horn“.

**Rogge** ? - Dzg (1749).

**Rohde**, Rode - Thdf, Orl - wohl Ün.

**Roloff** ? - Dzg-N (KbD: 1696) - En, vgl. Roehl.

**Rose**, Roose, Roofß (KbD), Roos (Kbg), Rase (SC), Rotz (SC: Trw) usw. - Dzg-S (KbD: 1691 ff.), Kbg, Thdf (SC), Trw (SC), MGr (Wbe), Kaz (Wbe) - Hausname ?

**Rosenfeld**, Rotefeldt (SC), Rosfeld (SC), Roosenfelt (1586) - MGr (1586: „Hendrich Roosenfelt“; kam aus Antwerpen (Quiring)), Lil, Kaz - On.

**Rotger**, Rottger - MGr (Wbe) - En, s. Riediger.

**Roths**, Rohtz, Rodis (KdDS: 1682 f.), Rhodis (KbDS: 1691). Rotz, (MGr) - Dzg, KbDN: 1665 ff., KbDS: Rodis, Rhodis), MGr (Sch: vor 1740) - Vgl. a. Raths, Rohde, Rotger.

**van Roy**, von Roy, Roy, von Roh (WbeM: 1568) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1669 ff.). Neunh, Lad, Kbg, MGr (WbeM: 1586) - On.

**Rump**, Romp (KbD), Rumpf (1681) - Dzg (1681: KbDN: 1689 ff.), Elb (SC) - Ün.

**Ruscher** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1665 f.).

**Rutenberg**, Rutenbarg, Rutenborg - Dzg-S (KbD: 1631, 1668 ff.) - On.

**von Ryge** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1614) - On.

**Sand**, Sandt, Sant - Dzg-S (KbD: 1665 ff.) - On.

**Sawatzki**, Sawatzky, Sabatzke (KbGrW) usw. - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw. Elb - slav.

**Schade** ? - Dzg-S (KbD: 1679).

**Scheer**, Schör - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.), Kbg - Bn, Scherer?

**Schessler**, Schoefler (SC), Schepler (SC) - Thdf, Trw - Bn, oberdeutsch, = Boettcher.

**Schellenberg**, Schellenbarg. Schöllenberg (KathKbTh: 1683), Schellingbarg (Hu. 1) - Thag, Ros, Dzg-S (KbD: 1681 ff.), Ast (Hu. 1 u. 2) - On.

**Schepanski** - Thdf (Sch: 1776, 1786) - slav., Szepan = Stefan.

**Schierling**, Schirling (SC), Schürling (KbD), Schurlinck (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Dzg-S (KbD: 1676 ff.) - Ün ?

**Schlichting** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1686), wohl erst 1686 menn.

**Schluter**, Schlutau, Slutau, Schlieter (KbDN), Schluyster - Dzg (KbDN: 1669, KbDS: 1674 ff.) - Bn, Schlüter, urspr. Bedeutung Küster.

**Schmidt**, Schmid, Swith (1592; Hu. 1 u. 2), Smet (1586) - MGr (1586: 1592: WbeM: 1578), Thdf (1586), Orl, Trw, Dzg (KbDN: 1669, KbDS: 1720 ff.), Kbg, Lit, Elb, Afl (Hu), Jez (SC), Prz (SC), Kon (SC), Kaz (Wbe) - Bn.

**Schnieder** (KbD), den Schnyder (1586) - Dzg (1586: „Olof den Schnyder“; KbDS: 1696) - Bn.

**Schoemacker** - Elb (1586) - Bn, vgl. a. Schoman, Schuster.

**Schör** s. Scheer.

**Schoman** - MGr (Sch: vor 1706) - Bn.

**Schraen**, Schramm (KbD(AdB)) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1682 f.), wohl erst seit 1682 menn.

**Schrieffer** - MGr (Sch: vor 1700) Bn.

**Schroeder**, Schroeter - Thag, Fstw, Orl, Trw, MGr (WbeM: 1605), Ssee, Dzg (KbDS: 1668 ff., KbDN: 1688 ff.), Elb, Kbg - Bn, = Schneider, z. ahd. scrotan „hauen, schneiden“.

**Schuetz** - Lit (SC), (KathKbTh: 1751) - Bn, = Feldhüter.

**Schulz**, Schultz, Schult (MGr) - Thag, Lad, Dzg (KbDS: 1674 ff., KbDN: 1730 ff.), Kbg, MGr, (Sch, Wbe) - Bn.

**Schuster** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1669 ff.) - Bn.

**Schwaan?** - Dzg (Salv: 1620).

**Schwarz**, Schwartz, Schwart (KbGrW) - Thag, Fstw, Ros - Ün.

**Schwarzbart** (Sch), Schwartbart (Wbe) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - Ür

**Schwegler**, Schwegeler, Swegeler (Hu. I u. 2) - MGr (Sch: vor 1740), Ssee fl (Wbe), Afl (Hu), Dzg-N (KbD: 1735) - Bn, z Schwegel „Querpfefte“ (Gottschald).

**Schwentke** (Sch), Schwenke (Wbe) - MGr (Sch: vor 1700).

**Schwichtenberg**, Swichtenbarg, Swigtenberg - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.) - On.  
**van Schwinderen** (1586; Mannh: 1568), von Schwinder ? (Salv: 1760) - On.  
**Seeler**, Sehler (1681) Sehliger (1681), Seler (Salv: 1758), Söhler (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.), Kbg - Bn ?, Seiler.  
**Seels** s. Soels.  
**Seemann** (KbD), Seemon (KbE) - Elb, Dzg (KbD: 1683 ff.), Kbg - En, aus Simon. Vgl. Siemens.  
**van Seven-Olden** - Dzg (Mannh: 1568 „Lamert van Seven-Olden“, 1582 (nach dem Brundbuch Schidlitz) „Lambert von Siebenofen“).  
**Siebert**, Siewert, Sievertsen (Salv: 1690 „Sievert Sievertsen von Reschema“), Sieffertz (WbeM: 1672), Sunuert (KbD: 1709) Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Ssee, Kaz, Dzg-N (KbD: 1676 ff.) - En.  
**Siebing** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1674 ff.) - En, vgl. auch Siebert, Siebrand.  
**Siebrand**, Sybrand(KbD) - Dzg-S(KbD: 1673 ff.), MGr, Ssee - En.  
**Siemens**, Siemons, Simon (SC), Siemetz (1681), Syemetz (1681), Zimtz (1681), Zymons, (KbE), Seemon (KbE, s. Seeman) - Dzg (KbDS: 1665 ff., KbDN: 1677 ff.), Elb, Kbg, Thag, Ros, Fstw, Trw (SC) - En: Simon wohl in Bermischung m. d. Eigennamen Sigiman z. ahd. sigu. Vgl. auch Siemer.  
**Siemer**, Simmer, Zimmer (Trw) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1702 ff.), Trw? (SC) - En, z. ahd. sigu „Sieg“.  
**Siewert** s. Siebert.  
**von der Smissen** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1698) - On.  
**Sobyn** (KbD), Subbiner (Salv: 1660) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1685 ff.) - On?  
**Soels**, Seels, Sells, Sellis (MGr) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1685 ff.), MGr (Sch, Wbe), Trw (SC) - En? z. Marsilius  
**Soelter** - MGr (Wbe) - Bn, mnd. solter „Salzsieder“.  
**Soermann** s. Sudermann.  
**van Soesten** - Dzg (KbDN: 1678 ff., KbDS: 1695 f.) - On: Soest, Prov. Utrecht.  
**Soleski**, Soleske - Ros (KbGrW) - slav. Vgl. Dellesky.  
**Sommer** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1695 ff.) - Ün.  
**Spenst** - Orl, Dzg-N (KbD: 1722 f.).  
**Sperling**, Sparling, Spaarlingk (Hu. 1 u. 2) - Thdf, Orl (KathKbTh: 1747), Afl (Hu), Ssee fl (Wbe), Ssee (SC), MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - Ün  
**Sprunck**, Sprunk, Sprung, Spronck (KbD) - Dzg (KbDS: 1678 ff, KbDN: 1685 ff.), Kbg - On, mnd. sprunk = Quelle.  
**Starß**, Steß (KbGrW), Stews (SC), Stoes (Kbg) - Ros, Kbg - En, v. Anastasius ? Vgl. aber auch Steffens.  
**Stedchers** - Dzg (1619) - On ? Vgl. Neustädter.  
**van Steen**, von Steen - Dzg (KbDN: 1678 ff., KbDS: 1685 ff.) - On  
**Steffens**, Steffen (SC), Stews (SC, s. a. Staeß Stevens (1592) - Obn (1592) Thag, Ros, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.), Kbg - En. Auch Bn  
**Steingart**, Steingard, Steingarth (SC), Stengart (KathKbTh: 1746) - Orl. Thdf - On.  
**Stenssel** - MGr (Wbe, Sch: 1 mal vor 1700) - En, slav., z Stanislaus.  
**Stobbe**, Stubbe (1681, . Stob (SC), Stab (SC), Stobe (1681), Stuben (Wbe) - Thdf, Orl, Trw, MGr, Ssee, Kaz, Dza-N (KbD: 1668 ff.) - Ün, mnd. stubbe = (Baum)stumpf.  
**Stoboy** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1691 ff.).  
**Stockenbach** Dzg (1619: „Bidua Henrichs Stockenbach Salfeldensis ex Prußia Anabaptista ist neulich eingezogen“) - On.  
**de Stopper** - Dzg (1586) - Bn.  
**Storch** - Dzg-S (KbD: 1681 ff.) - Ün.  
**Storm** ? - Dzg-N (KbD: 1688) - Ün.  
**Strahlmann** ? - Dzg-N (KbD: 1678).  
**Strich** (KbE), Streek (KbD) - Elb, Dzg-N (KbD: 1672 ff.).

**Strobands** - Elb (KbE).  
**Struch** ? - MGr (Wbe) - Dgl auch Strich.  
**Stufesant** - Dzg (1881) - Vgl. aber Sand.  
**Stutmann**, Stütman, Stietman - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.)  
**Suckau**, Sukau (SC) - Thag, Lad, Hbd, Dzg-S (1697 f.), Fstw - On Zuckau Mpr. ?  
**Sudermann**, Zudermann (KbH), Soermann (KbD), Suterman (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1671 ff.), Elb, Kbg, Hbd - On.  
**Süßfleisch** (Pnr: 1675 Neunhuben b. Dzg), Seetulesch (KbDS: 1671) – Dzg - Ün. Vgl. Rintfles.  
**Teichgräff** s. Deichgräf  
**Tilitzke**, Lilltzki, Tellihki usw. - Thag, Lad, Neunh - flav. Vgl auch Dellesky.  
**Terlucht**, Terlugt (KbD) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1686 ff.), Kbg - On. Lucht wohl in der Bedeutung „Lichtung“. Vgl. auch Lucht.  
**Tessmann** - MGr (Wbe) - En, s. Tessmer.  
**Tessmer** (SC), Tesmer (Hu. 1 u. 2) - Afl (Hu), Kon (SC) - En, slav., z. asl têsiti „trösten“, -mir „Ruhm“. Vgl. auch Tessmann, Utesch, Tetzlaff.  
**Tetzlaff** – Thdf (SC) - slav. En. Vgl. auch Tessmer.  
**Tgart** s. Tiaht.  
**Thielmann**, Tielmann, Tilman (KbH) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1669 ff.), Kbg, Hbd - En, vgl. Doell. Auch Vn.  
**Tiessen**, Thiesen (SC), Tiesen (SC), Tyssen (Pnr: 1625 Petershagnerfeld) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1685 ff.), Kbg - En, z. Matthias. Vgl. Matthies, Töws.  
**Thimm**, Timm, Tem (KbGrW) - Ros, Elb - En, zweist. Kf. z. ahd. diot „Volk“. Siehe auch Tymen.  
**Thomsen**, Tomas (Hu. 1u. 2), Tamsen (KbD), Toomsen (KbD - Afl (Hu), Dzg (KbDS: 1667 f., KbDN: 1681 ff.) - En.  
**Thun** - Thag, Fstw, Dzg-S (KbD: 1718), Kbg - On, mnd. tun „Zaun“.  
**van Thuys** - Elb (KbG) - On.  
**Tiaht**, Tiart, Tgart, Jahrt (Wbe), Jort (Wbe) usw. MGr, Ssee, Trw - En, fries., zweist. Kf. z. ahd. diot „Volk“.  
**Tiroller**, Tyroller - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.) - Herkunftsname.  
**Toews**, Toeffs, Taews, Tewffs, Tewsen (Wbe), Teewes (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1697 ff.), MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - En, v. Matthäus.  
**v. Tongerlo** ? - Elb (KbD(AdV): 1752 „Jonsson v. Tongerlo“ Elbing) - On: b. Antwerpen u. ö.  
**Torborch**, Torburg - Dzg-S (KbD: 1721 ff.), Kbg - On.  
**Tymen**, Timen (Wbe) MGr (Sch: vor 1700) - En, s. Thimm Als Vn: „Thiemon Boll“ (SC).  
**Ulrich**, Vllrich - Dzg-S (KbD: 1677 f.) - En.  
**Unger**, Uner (SC) - Thdf, Orl (Pacz: 1664 Tiegenhof „Stefan Unger“), Trw, Dzg-N (KbD: 1735 ff.) - meist z. Volksnamen, Ungar.  
**Unrau**, Unruh, Unru (SC), Onrouw (Hu. 1 u. 2) MGr (WbeM: 1568 „Unrau“), Ssee, Afl (Hu), Prz (SC), Jez (SC), Kon (SC), Kaz, Trw, Thdf (SC) - Ün.  
**Unstätt** (KbD, Unstert (KbD: 1673), Unstät (1740) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1673 ff.) - Ün.  
**Utermann** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1681), Paczk: 1664 Tiegenhof „Izaak Utermann“ - On.  
**Utesch**, Utasch, Vtasch (1681), Bytesch (KbD) - Dzg-S KbD: 1640, 1667 ff.) slav., z. asl. (u) techa „Trost“ (Gottschald). Vgl. Tessmer.  
**van Wttert** (1586), van Wittert (Sch) – Elb - On: Utrecht.  
**Vader** - Dzg (Mannb: 1568 „Steven Bader“) - Ün. Vgl. Bestvater.  
**de Veer**, Devehr, Dever (1681), Devaehr (Kbg), Fehr (SC), du Berre (SC) usw. Dzg (KbDS: 1668 ff., KbDN: 1671 ff., EKZ, V, 81. Gysbert Jantz de Beer née. Schiedam (Holl.) 1556, gest Danzig 1615), Kbg, Elb, Ros - En, Fährmann.

**Vermeulen** s. van der Meulen.

**Vock**, Vocking s. Fock, Focking.

**de Vogel** - Dzg (1749, KbDN: 1748 f.) - Ün.

**Vogt**, Voht (SC), Fodk Fagt (MGr), Voet (Hu. 1 u. 2), Vodt (WbeM: 1630), Foot (KbD) - MGr, Ssee, Afl (Hu), Jez (SC). Trw, Lit, Dzg (KbDN: 1677 ff., KbDS: 1741 ff.), selten in Orl, Thdf. - Bn

**Vohlmann** ? – Elb (E).

**Vollmer** ? - Dzg-N (KbD: 1672, - En, z. ahd. folk.

**Wall**, Wahl, Walde (KbH), Waalde (KbH), de Wahl (KbD), de Wael (KbD), de Waele (1586) - Dzg (1586: KbDS: 1669 ff.), Thag, Ros, Lad, Hbd - de Waele Ün Welscher. Vielleicht noch andere Wurzeln.

**Walradt** - Kbg (SC) - On ?

**Warkentin**, Warckentien, Workentyn (KbE), Worckentyn (KbD) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1667), Kbg - On. Perkontin in Mecklenburg?

**Wedel**, Wedell (SC), Wiedel (SC), Weedel (Hu. 1), Wedler (s. d.) - Asl (Hu. 1 u. 2), Ssee fl (Wbe), Prz (SC, - Kon (SC), Ssee (SC), MGr (Sch: nach 1780), Thdf (Sch: 1782 ff.) - On.

**Wedler** - Thhdf (SC), MGr (Wbe., Kbg - s. Wedel).

**Wedling**, Wed Ling (aus den Danziger „Lachs" -Erzeugnissen) - Dzg-N (KbD: 1678 ff.).

**Weiß**, Weis Dzg-S (KbD: 1662 ff.), Elb (SC) - Ün. Vgl. Witt

**Weitgraf** - MGr (Sch, Wbe) - Bn, Weidegraf. Vgl Deichgräf, Graew.

**von Werden** (KbD), von Werten (Salv) - Dzg (Salv: 1669: KbDS: 1723) - On.

**Werner**, Warner Thag, Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.), Kbg - En.

**Wessel**, Wessels - Dzg-S (KbD: 1681 ff.) - Ün, Kf. z. Werner. Auch Vn: „Wessel Wessels" (KbD: 1683).

**Westerwick**, Westerwig (KbD) - Ros, Fstw, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1668) - On. Westerwijk, Prov. Noordbradant ?

**Wewer** (KbD), de Wever (1586) - Elb (1586), Dzg-S (KbD: 1671 ff.) - Bn.

**Wichert**, Wiechert (MGr) - Ssee, MGr, Trw, Orl, Dzg-S (KbD: 1672 ff.) - En, z. ahd. wig „Kampf". Auch Vn.

**Wiebe**, Wieb (SC) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Neunh, Dzg-S (KbD: 1677 ff.), Kbg - En, fries. Kf. z. ahd. wig. Als Vn: „Wiebe Wölcke" KbDS: 1681).

**Wiehler**, Wieler (SC), Willer (SC), Fielers ? (Pnr: 1601 Orlofffelder) - Elb, Thag, Lad, Ros, Hbd, Kbg, Dzg-S (KbD: 1718 ff.) - On.

**Wiens**, Wienß, Wientz, Winß (KbH), Winantz (Salv: 1695), Wynes (Mannh: 1568) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Neunh, Dzg-S (KbD: 1670 ff.) - En, aus Wignand z. ahd. wig. Vgl. aber Wynholt.

**Wilbrandt**, Wilbrand, Welbrandt (1681) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.) - En.

**Wilhelm** - Ros (SC, KbGrW), MGr (Sch: nach 1780)- En. S. Willems.

**Willcher** (KbE), v. Wilich (Sch) – Elb - On: Willich, Rheinland.

**Willems**, Wilms, Willm (SC), Wilhelm (s. d.), Welmsen (Kath KbTh: 1673), Willemsen (WbeM: 1605) - Thag, Lad, Ros, Fstw, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S (KbD: 1690 ff.), MGr, Ssee, Trw, Kaz - En.

**Wilke** s. Woelke

**Winkelmann** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1598, 1672 f.) - On.

**Witken** ? - MGr (WbeM: 1578).

**Witt** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1686 f) - Ün. Vgl. a. Weiß

**Woelke**, Woelcke, Wöllck (1681), Wilken (1681), Wilcke (SC), Waelck (SC), Walcke (SC), Wilck (KbD), Wilke (WbeM: 1630) usw. - Dzg-S (KbD: 1667 ff.), Thag, Lad, Ros, fstw, Hbd, Elb, Kbg - En, vgl. a. Willems, Wilbrandt. Als Vn: „Wilhelm alias Wölcke Krin" (KathKbTh 1639).



**Wohlgemuth**, Wohlgemut (WbeM: 1681), Wolgemot (MGr, - MGr, Lit (SC), Kaz (Wbe) (KbE) - Ün.

**Woleg** ? - MGr (Wbe; Sch. 1 mal vor 1700).

**Wulff**, Wulf, Wolff (KbH) - Ros, Hbd, Dzg-S MD: 1668 ff.) - Ün. ?

**Wurm**, Worm – Ros - Ün.

**Wynholt**, Wynholdt - Dzg-N (KbD: 1672), Elb (Sch) - En, z. ahd wlni „Freund“. Wienhold als Vn. in Danzig öfter.

**Wyndruff** - Dzg-N (KbD: 1662 f.) - Ün (Weintraube).

**Zacharias**, Zachris, Zachrietz. Zachrissen (KbD) - Thag, Ros, Hbd, Elb, Dzg-S MD: 1672 ff.) - En.

**Zander** - Neunh (SC) - En, v. Alexander.

**Zent**, Cent (KbD, Bitcent MD: 1661) - MGr (Wbe: Sch: vor 1700, Dzg-S (KbD: 1683 ff.) - En, v. Vincent. Cent und Vicent in Danzig auch Vn.

**Ziemens** s. Siemens.

**Ziemer** s. Siemer.

**Zieradt** (WbeM: 1685), Zirrath, Cirrath - MGr (Wbe).

**Zimmermann**, Timmerman (KbD) - Dzg-S (KbD: 1668 ff.), Kbg – Br

**Zodermann** s. Sudermann

## Glossary of Terms and Definitions

<b>Danzig Staatsarchiv</b>	Now the Gdansk state archives.
<b>Danzig Stadtbibliothek</b>	Now the Gdansk city library.
<b>DG</b>	Danziger Groschen.
<b>Empheteutisch</b>	In an emphyteutic lease, the owner leases land or property to the lessee for a period of up to 99 years. But unlike a conventional lease, the lessee agrees, over the period of the lease, to add construction or improvements to the property so as to increase the value at the end of the lease period. The lessee often benefits from such an arrangement by getting a reduced rent. The big drawback, however, is the property and all of its improvements revert to the lessor at the end of the emphyteutic lease period.
<b>Fl./fl.</b>	Florin. A unit of currency used at the time. Its value depended on location and time period.
<b>Groschen</b>	A unit of currency used at the time. Its value depended on location and time period.
<b>Hakenbude(-n)</b>	A type of general store. Named for the hooks on which some items were displayed.
<b>Hufen (H)</b>	30 Morgen. 16 hectares or 41 acres. Also, a term used like the English acreage or acres.
<b>Kölmisch</b>	Those renting a freikölmisch village had certain rights that other renters did not have. These were protected by the Kulm Recht (Law).
<b>MK</b>	Mark. A unit of currency used at the time. Its value depended on location and time period.
<b>Morgen (M)</b>	300 Ruten.
<b>Nachbar(-n)</b>	Also Mitnachbar. A farmer who participated in the rental/lease contract. Translated as “farmer” in this book.
<b>Nehrung</b>	A costal spit, from the Baltic Old-Prussian Nerija.
<b>Oekonomie</b>	Economic region.
<b>RM</b>	Reichsmark. A unit of currency used at the time. Its value depended on location and time period. This may be a reference to the Reichsthaler, which was in use during the Prussian period.

<b>Ruten (R)</b>	One square rod.
<b>Scharwerk</b>	Mandatory work performed by the renters of a village on the property of the owner. This could include local military obligations.
<b>Starost</b>	A person given an estate by the Crown.
<b>Werder</b>	A river delta island.
<b>Wilkühr/Wilkür</b>	Refers to a document which details the rights and responsibilities of the inhabitants of a village.

# OSTSEE

