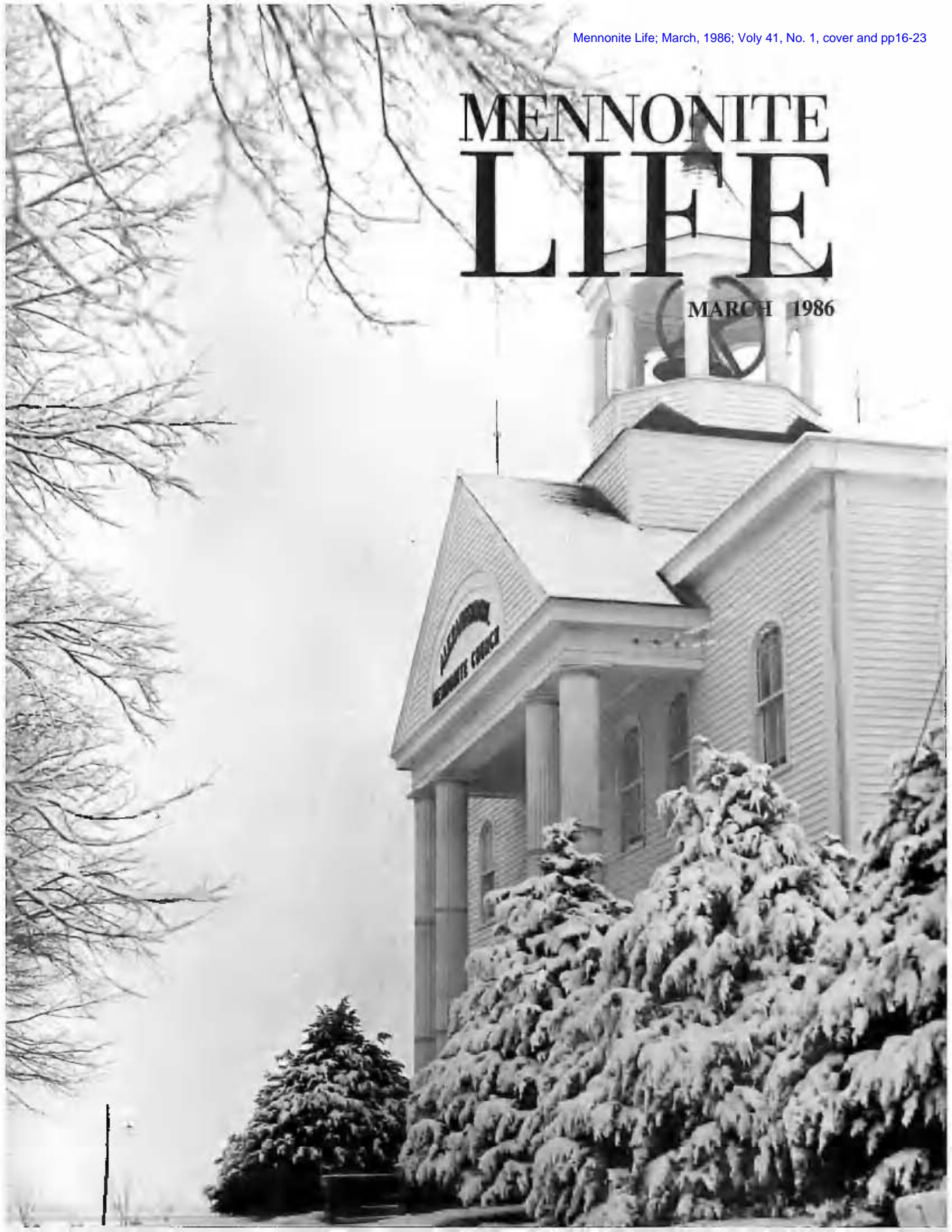


# MENNONITE LIFE

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# Alexanderwohl Architecture

by Brian D. Stucky

*We shape our surroundings, and in turn, they shape us.*

Church architecture is not frequently discussed. However, it can be a point of great sensitivity. Not only does it reflect the direct or indirect faith and feelings of the designers and builders of a certain church, but also it continues to shape the faith and feelings of all those who worship within its walls.

The Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, Gnessel, Kansas, has been noted by Mennonites and non-Mennonites in Kansas and across the nation for its interesting architecture. Although the building has undergone several changes, the century old structure still maintains some of the Dutch Mennonite architectural style, which hints at the roots of the congregation centuries ago.

The origin of the Alexanderwohl Church goes back to the organization of the congregation in the 17th century in Przechowka, West Prussia, near the Vistula River. "According to the names, some of the original members must have come from the Netherlands, some from neighboring Lutherans, and one . . . from Hutterian Brethren. The first known elder of the congregation was Berend Ratzlaff."<sup>1</sup> "In 1784, Jacob Wedel, one of the ministers of the Przechowka Church, compiled the historical records of the church membership as far back as was ascertainable at that time [the earliest being a birthdate of 1640] . . . . The continuous series of dates from 1669 to 1784 [leads one to believe] . . . that this set of dates refers to 115 years of existence of the church by 1784, thus dating the origin of the church in 1669."<sup>2</sup> From the title of this church record book, the Przechowka Church was a member of the Old Flemish or Groningen Mennonite Society.

"When Elder Peter Wedel led a group of 21 families . . . to the

Molotschna (Russia) settlement in 1821, they . . . met Czar Alexander I who wished them well (*wohl* in German) in their undertaking. Hence the name 'Alexanderwohl' for the village and congregation established in the heart of the Molotschna settlement . . . . When in the 1870's a new conscription law was in preparation in Russia, the elder Jacob Buller . . . and almost the entire village and congregation"<sup>3</sup> emigrated to America in the summer of 1874. One group arrived in Marion County and another group in Reno County, Kansas. The latter group was led by Dietrich Gacddert and settled under the name of "Hoffnungsaue." Until homes could be built, they lived in immigrant houses built by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad Company which transported them to Kansas. In the Marion County settlement, the immigrant house was the center of worship at Alexanderwohl for twelve years before the "new Alexanderwohl" church was built in 1886.

Since no minutes of "brotherhood meetings" were kept until October 1892, the earliest source of information concerning the construction of the church has been gleaned from a treasurer's book . . . . The first entry of income was July 27, 1886, indicating that \$1,519.00 was received for the building fund at a brotherhood meeting on that date.<sup>4</sup>

Johann Wall (1831-1901) was a carpenter and cabinetmaker by trade, having built the Lichtenau Church in Russia.<sup>5</sup> He was residing on his farm on the eastern fringe of the Hebron church settlement between Moundridge and Buhler, when on the 30th of July, 1886, three men from Alexanderwohl, Peter Pankratz, Heinrich Unruh, and Peter Schroeder, came to see him concerning the building of the church.<sup>6</sup> These three men, along with Heinrich Schmidt, had been chosen as the Building Commission.<sup>7</sup> Wall's diary

states, "Have undertaken the building of the church and will try with God's help to accomplish this assignment." On the twenty-third of September he writes, "I went to the Alexanderwohlers to build the church." In November he further writes, "I was involved with the building of the church for 8 weeks and 3 days. Am now at home on this 20th day of November."<sup>8</sup>

The main auditorium of the original church which was directly above the present basement was 40 feet by 70 feet. The church had a front entrance to the east (22 feet by 30 feet) with two stairways. On the first floor under the north stairway was the nursery and on the south under the stairway the Sunday School library. This room was also used for Sunday School. The middle room upstairs was used for the catechism class.<sup>9</sup>

The building of the structure progressed until the time came to construct the roof. A story is told that the head carpenter, unable to solve the problem of building a self-supporting roof that would not blow off in the strong Kansas wind, sat down under a tree to think. After a while, an assistant came running over to him with an idea. The decision was made to build a low arched roof, thus self-supporting with no pillars.<sup>10</sup>

The church treasurer's book lists a variety of building materials, food, and wages to fourteen individuals including the "Zimmermeister" or head carpenter. The final entry of Nov. 24, 1890, lists a total income of \$6,051.20 and expenses of \$6,030.24. Other miscellaneous items brought the balance to \$0.00 on April 10, 1892.<sup>11</sup>

Johann Wall's diary mentions his return to the church on December 11, 1886. "In the afternoon we left for Alexanderwohl for the church dedication, a very nice day. December 12: Church dedication service was held. Had rain during the night and snow with



*Left. John Wall (1831-1900) and Margaret (Wiens) Wall (1831-1916).*

*Below. This east view of Alexanderwohl was taken shortly after completion of the structure in 1886. The occasion is not identified. The Western District Conference of the General Conference first met in this building in 1887, and many other special conferences have also met at Alexanderwohl.*







a northwest wind until noon. A goodly number of people attended in spite of the bad weather."<sup>12</sup>

The treasurer's book records December 11, 1886 . . . "To the Zimmermeister . . . for wages due him . . . \$110.00."<sup>13</sup> There is no direct mention of Johann Wall, but we may assume it was he.

The most outstanding features of the 1886 Alexanderwohl building center around its "Dutch Mennonite" style of church architecture. The style has endured through hundreds of years and through the migrations to several countries. Characteristics of this style, as observed in Molotschna, are that "along one wall" was a platform, with a pulpit on the middle of the platform. On one side of the pulpit on this platform were [benches for] ministers and on the other, Vorsingers [Songleaders]. On the other three sides of the church auditorium was a balcony . . . . At the end of the building, at the side was the minister's room, and at the other end was the mother's room. It also had side entries. The windows were small and ran in two rows, so the building from the exterior gave the impression of a big two storied building. On the side where the pulpit stood were three large, tall

windows."<sup>14</sup> Other characteristics are that the floor seating on the sides faced inward, the pulpit was built in a multi-sided form, as many European churches use, and railings lining the platform were made with lathe turned spindles. In the Netherlands, chairs rather than pews may occupy the center floor area. The three-sided arrangement with balconies prevented the worshippers from seeing all the others, but allowed large numbers of people, often eight hundred or more, to be placed relatively close to the speaker. This relative closeness in worship is consistent with Anabaptist theology. A very long sanctuary or nave separates those in back from the center of worship.

This Dutch Mennonite style still survives in the Netherlands in buildings approximately three hundred years old. One of the most notable is the Singelkerk in Amsterdam. "Rev. P. H. Unruh, who traveled to Holland, Germany, and Russia shortly after World War I, said that when he walked into the Alexanderwohl Church in Russia, he felt he was almost back home in America. So we see that the Mennonites not only carried their religious practices, but also their Dutch style of architecture from Holland to Prussia, to

Russia, and then to America."<sup>15</sup>

No written record exists concerning a church built at Alexanderwohl in Molotschna immediately after the migration in 1821, but there are records about a later building, one that is known through existing photographs. The church record book reads, "Our new church was dedicated on the 30th of October 1860. Because of the severe rainstorm not too many people could come. There were about 300, perhaps more, in attendance."<sup>16</sup> Then follows a record of moneys assessed, borrowed, and repaid. Twenty-five silver rubles were assessed per family, but most could not pay because of poor crops, so funds were borrowed from individuals.

Churches in America that carry signs of the Dutch Mennonite style include Alexanderwohl's sister church, Hoffnungsau, east of Inman and Buhler. The first building in 1880 was a sand structure with a straight sanctuary. But the second, a wooden building built in 1898, was very similar to Alexanderwohl, with the exception that the edge of the balcony was rounded, like a horseshoe.<sup>17</sup> The Hoffnungsau building measured 40 feet by 70 feet [identical to Alexanderwohl] with an addition of 20 by 40 feet. Dietrich Guddert was



*These three photographs illustrate some of the early changes in the sanctuary.*

elected to be building contractor, Abraham Ratzluff was his assistant, and there was a building committee of five. The carpentry contract was given to Dietrich Funk of Newton, KS. . . . This task, with five workers, was begun May 24 and completed in time for the dedication on November 13, 1898.<sup>18</sup>

Emmaus, near Whitewater, KS., with its pioneers coming directly from Prussia, is an interesting comparison. The first two Emmaus buildings, 1878 and 1908, were both straight sanctuaries, with no balconies. However, in building the present church in 1928,<sup>19</sup> Emmaus developed an interior quite similar to the present Alexanderwohl interior. This church makes a return to the Dutch style after a 54 year absence. However, Emmaus has, like the Hoffnungsaur wooden building, strong

Gothic pointed windows, in contrast to the simple Mennonite tradition.

Other General Conference churches display the three-sided balcony, such as the churches at Berne, Indiana, Bethel at Marion, S.D., Freeman, S.D. (that has since been replaced), Fortuna, Mo., and Pandora and Bluffton, Ohio. Some of these also have pews formed in a semicircle. Features similar to the Dutch Mennonite style do not necessarily mean that the congregation has Dutch or Prussian roots. On the contrary, some of these have Swiss ancestry. The above churches and others may more likely be part of the early to mid 20th century era in which people and ideas traveled more easily and styles began to blend.<sup>20</sup>

Was one person a carrier of the Dutch style to America? Johann Wall is not

mentioned concerning the Hoffnungsaur building, although he may have advised in its construction. He did, however, supervise the building of the nearby Hebron church. The Dutch Mennonite style seems not to have been carried to America by a single "architect," but rather was widely enough known to be used by several congregations.

The present Alexanderwohl building, which contains some 112-year old timbers from the immigrant house, has had a series of remodelings and additions in its 100 year history. "In 1899 it was decided to build two rooms 12 by 24 feet, one to be added on each end of the building, [north and south] which were also used for Sunday School. The little room on the south was the minister's prayer room." In 1906 more modifications were completed. Previously, the elevated pulpit area provided a shallow space for only the pulpit, pulpit chairs, and benches for the Vorsänger to the south and ministers to the north. Paneling enclosed the bench area with a semicircle railing in front of the pulpit but allowed walking space between the pulpit and the railing. Access to the platform was gained by a single center set of steps in front of the pulpit.<sup>21</sup>

After 1906, the Vorsänger and ministers' benches and pulpit remained intact, but the platform or stage area extended into the sanctuary below the pulpit, approximately three feet high. This entire platform was bordered with a railing, with the exception of two short sets of steps from the main floor. It was between these "twin" steps that many official functions took place, such as marriages and baptisms. This lower area made it virtually impossible for those in the balcony to see. From the flat platform, steps on either side of the pulpit led to the Vorsänger and ministers' bench area. The choir usually took a place on the south side of the platform.<sup>22</sup> A detailed model of this building built by Alvin Goossen is on display at Goessel's Mennonite Heritage Museum.

Other changes by 1906 included the addition of an ornately trimmed organ, which resulted in the lessening of the importance of the Vorsänger. Also, square pillars were changed to round, but in spite of this, there were many "blind spots" in the church seating arrangement.<sup>23</sup>

Kerosene lights were originally used, until in 1906 carbide gas lights were installed. This worked until January

1918. Following an evening service, all had gone home, when custodian Reinhold Schwartz walked out to the small building regulating the carbide gas on the west side of the church. A kerosene lantern carried by Schwartz ignited a gas buildup, causing an explosion which rocked the neighborhood, knocked out all windows on the west side and some on the south side, and burned and knocked Schwartz unconscious. Henry Ediger, who lived a half mile east of the church, saw the flash and heard the explosion. He quickly ran into the house and told Mrs. Ediger to call Gnessel to say that the church was on fire. A ring was made on every party line after which many people arrived on the scene and so the damage was controlled. Following this incident, gas lights were no longer used. Two light plants were purchased and electric lights were installed.<sup>24</sup>

The basement of this building was dug in the spring of 1920. This took much hard labor, because the ground was so hard and dry. Many remarked that it had not rained for a long time under this building.<sup>25</sup>

At brotherhood meetings in the years leading up to 1928, several discussions led to the idea of a new or a remodeled church building. Information is sketchy until in the "fall of 1927 it was decided to rebuild the church, and on the first Sunday morning in February, 1928, it was announced that help was needed Monday morning, February 6, to start removing the additions from the main building."<sup>26</sup>

Daniel F. Unruh (1883-1953) served as the architect and head carpenter for the 1928 remodeling project. Although a charter member of the Gnessel Mennonite Church, Unruh had grown up at Alexanderwohl and so was still keenly aware of the wishes of the congregation. He had no formal training in architecture, except for a correspondence course, but was considered a builder by trade. The fruits of his labors are preserved in many fine homes and farm dwellings scattered throughout the community. He also designed and built the Gnessel Mennonite Church, [worked on the] Tahor Mennonite Church, and the Mennonite Church near Kingman.<sup>27</sup>

On March 1, 1928, the church was raised 39 inches with 24 screw jacks. About 36 manpower units were occupied most of the day. F. M. Goossen had the responsibility to manage the raising. The church was raised with all

the furniture in it, even the piano and the organ. Rev. C. C. Wedel stepped in about every hour and said that both clocks were still running. At first the congregation intended to have their worship services in the building after it was raised, but when they saw it so high above the foundation and the big basement under it, the decision was made to hold the services and Sunday School in five rural schools. This was done until the new church was dedicated.<sup>28</sup>

The principal changes in the 1928 remodeling were significant, although the basic sanctuary shell remained intact. The center balcony on the east was moved back farther east near the old entrance catechism/cloakroom thus "opening up" the sanctuary. The sanctuary floor was extended eastward under the new balcony, adding to the capacity. To the west, a choir loft and several Sunday School rooms were added. The roof was greatly restructured. Another significant change was the moving of the main entrance to the west side, since many felt that the front of the church should face the road. Since the parking space was to the east, south, and north, the worshippers at first used the west entrance, but as time went by, they used it less frequently, and by 1966 the west entrance was closed.<sup>29</sup>

Dan Unruh's efforts at Alexanderwohl were not without disagreements. Probably the most controversial feature was the introduction of "stained" glass (colored opalescent) windows. These were chosen as a convenient alternative to screen the sunlight, as opposed to noisy shutters or roller shades. They function well for that purpose, but a furor arose over the "Catholic" influence. The building committee calmed the membership with the explanation that they were not picture windows, just simple colored windows, and an explanation of the sun screen function. This was, in time, acceptable.<sup>30</sup>

At the annual meeting of December 29, 1927, the Vorsänger as a group resigned in protest because the new pulpit area was not planned to include seating for them. The importance of their "office" had been weakening for some time.<sup>31</sup> This, however, signaled a visible break with the Dutch architecture and format that had been used for centuries.

Two arbitrary changes were made by Unruh after membership approval of the building plans. One was the addi-



*Daniel F. and Elisabeth (Duerksen) Unruh.*

tion of the balcony "walk arounds" or "catwalks," and the other was the elimination of a semicircular extension of the stage on which the pulpit was to have been placed. "It will always be in the way," Unruh was to have commented, and simply cut it off in a straight line.<sup>32</sup>

The bell tower, rather Victorian in appearance, was also somewhat of an afterthought. C. R. Voht introduced the idea and created interest for the bell tower and was instrumental in its planning. At the church meeting of April 11, 1928, Dan Unruh agreed that the size and structure of the building would lend itself to having a bell tower. A committee was formed, with C. R. Voht as chairman. At the meeting of May 21, the church voted to proceed with the bell tower.<sup>33</sup>

The sisters of the church, at that time not able to vote, were given a special vote on Oct. 25, 1928, to decide if they wanted to continue sitting on the north side as they had. The vote was 112 North, 71 South.<sup>34</sup> Today, seating is mixed, but an older ladies Sunday School class meets under the north balcony and remains there for the service. Likewise, there is a class of men on the south. Thus there is a living remnant of a tradition of over a hundred years.

The elimination of pillars to support the balcony (as in the original building) caused great anxiety to some members. Using steel I-beams for support, Unruh successfully cleared the view for many. Those pillars were moved to the basement. However, so great was the fear that the balconies would collapse on



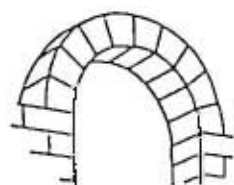


Dedication Day, Nov. 11, 1928, that the Building Committee, to show their confidence, sat in the pew directly under the edge of the "dangerous" balcony. The pastor noted that every seat in the balcony was filled, and that it was "firm," thus alleviating many fears.<sup>35</sup>

Architectural design reflects the direct and indirect faith and feelings of the designers and builders of a church and continues to shape the faith and feelings of all those who worship within its walls. A subtle but often repeated element in the building's design is what could be called the "Alexanderwohl Arch," a low, continuously curving arch that appears above the choir loft and in the colored glass windows. To the typical native church member, it seems nothing special. It is a pleasant shape, not offensive, and nothing more. After all, to many, it is a normal part of Sunday surroundings, but the meaning goes much deeper than that. Besides appearing in the choir loft, it appears in no less than 32 of the colored glass windows, in the bell tower, on each of 8 sides (the bell tower itself would make a charming gazebo), once on the west facade, for a total of 42 appearances. A slightly different low arch appears on the front of the pulpit and on each of the pulpit chairs.

The description of this rare arch is called a "basket handle," "elliptical," or "three-centered" arch.<sup>36</sup> In comparison, a one-centered arch is a half circle or Romanesque arch, having its roots in Roman victory arches, aqueducts, and other structures, and it carries over to early Medieval Romanesque cathedrals up to 1000 A.D. A two-centered arch, designed by placing a compass on paper at two points, results in the pointed Gothic arch, com-

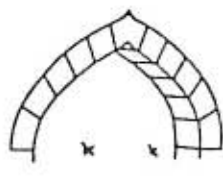
1. Dedication on Nov. 11, 1928.
2. Tent erected for dedication celebration.
3. Work underway in 1928.
4. Bell hoisted up to new tower.



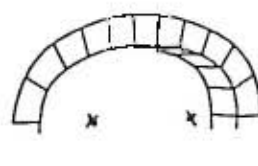
Roman Arch



Gothic Arch



4 Centered arch with peak  
x x



"Basket handled" or 3 centered arch  
x



Segmental Arch

mon in American Protestant (and even Mennonite) church windows, and having its roots in the Gothic cathedrals in France and Germany built in 1100 to 1300 A.D. The three-centered arch is drawn by placing a compass at three positions: two are close to the sides so a somewhat tight curve is drawn connecting to the sides. The third point is lower, but in the center, creating the long, low curve. The connected result is a continuous arch, with no break or peak in it from one side to the other. Somewhat different is the Segmental Arch, which appears on the Alexanderwohl pulpit and on its chairs, with a break at the sides. "The reason for the difference is simply thought to be an error in communication with the company manufacturing the church furniture and pews."<sup>37</sup>

In the 1886 Alexanderwohl building, the three-centered arch did not appear at all, but there were arches, of a sort, which in subtle ways may have influenced the design of the 1928 building. The ceiling was built in a low arch because of the way the roof had to be built in order to be self-supporting, but not because of decorative design. A second arch appeared over the added entrances, but those were modeled directly after the Antioch School entrance. The third arch is the appearance of painted round arches above the west windows, done by the Swiss immigrant folk artist Emil Kym, who worked for a brief time in the Goessel area. He also did decoration on the pillars supporting the balcony. Kym later moved to a place between Moundridge and Buhler.<sup>38</sup>

What then, is the origin of this "Alexanderwohl Arch?" Is it Dutch Mennonite, like the 1886 building? The answer is Dutch, yes, Mennonite, no. It is not common in Dutch Mennonite church buildings, even in the Nether-

lands. The answer lies with the architect himself, Dan Unruh. In preparation for the Alexanderwohl project, he increased his library of construction and millwork books. A total of about twenty books are still held by the family.

In two of these books are found many illustrations using the three centered arch. Once in each of these two books, the arch is described as "*Dutch Colonial*."<sup>39</sup> Although without proof, it is certainly highly probable that these idea books were the source of the arch. As to its meaning or reason for choice, only Dan Unruh himself could answer. But his contemporaries attach little meaning to this, casually answering, "He probably just thought it looked nice."

Dutch Colonial refers to early Dutch settlements in New York and in New England, in the Hudson valley, in Long Island, and in New Jersey. Its features include a low gambrel roof extending to a porch with pillars, dormer windows, and half circle windows with spokes placed on the gable end. Other features such as woodwork details, fluting, and fanlights in elliptical doorheads flourished as the Georgian (English) architecture became prominent and began blending with the Dutch.<sup>40</sup> In Alexanderwohl, the fluted pillars on the west exterior have earliest origins in pagan Greek temples built to mythological gods, but since that time have been used in various ways from government buildings to mansions. At Alexanderwohl the pillars, together with the round spaced windows on the south, east, and north sides, and some aspects of the roofline suggest that the entire exterior of the church has some Dutch Colonial feeling to it.

Historical appearances of this arch developed following the Romanesque and Gothic periods. The three and four-

centered arches seem to have evolved from the French and German High Gothic, spreading northward to Belgium and to Holland, where they changed into lower arches. These arches appear mainly in secular buildings, but rarely in churches.<sup>41</sup> In the Netherlands, the arch seems to be concentrated in the City of Haarlem with many examples, but there are also isolated examples sprinkled throughout the countryside. The exact Dutch roots of the Dutch Colonial style are hard to trace because the Dutch colonists originated from many places in the Netherlands.

In the central Kansas area, many immediately recognize Bethel College's use of the arch above the stage in Memorial Hall and above the door of the present library. In the Goessel community, the house at 100 S. Summit features the arch on the side of the porch. Nearby at 109 S. Summit it appears on the porch with a "keystone" design as a remnant of the days when arches were made with stone blocks. Both of these houses, incidentally, were built by Dan Unruh.

Pre-dating the 1928 Alexanderwohl building is the first Tabor Mennonite Church. The basic structure was built in 1908, with the addition of the entrance in 1915, including a segmental arch similar but not identical to Alexanderwohl's. Dan Unruh did work on this 1915 addition.<sup>42</sup> The old Goessel Mennonite Church interior had an arch, but it was a completely round Roman arch.

The wooden Hoffnungsau Church, which burned in 1947, had somewhat of a low arch above its front entrance, but its low arch was neither three-centered, nor even segmental, but rather appeared more like a yoke. This pattern can be found in pictures of the





The main entrance to Alexanderwohl has been changed several times. This photograph shows the main entrance on the east, but covered entries have already been added over the north and south doors.

brick gate posts of the Russian Alexanderwohl Church.

Changing times led to Alexanderwohl's addition of an education wing in 1961 to the east and south, built in a modern style of red brick, a complete departure from the past with a new, large entrance on the south. This resulted in closing the west entrance, converting the lobby to a pastor's office, and building a new library beneath the choir loft in 1966. In 1965 concrete work was done to support a sagging foundation and to install a walk-in vault for the church's valuable archives. In 1984 a conference room and an elevator were added to the northeast corner.

The charm, grace, and visual power of the Alexanderwohl Church architecture should not be underestimated. In addition to the arch feature, the sheer size of the wooden structure and the strong, repeated diagonal lines of the self-supporting roofline command attention. The bulk of the roof is perfectly balanced against the delicate bell tower lancing the sky.

In speaking to the subject of the influence of architecture on worship, the indirect, or subtle influence is perhaps the most enduring. The tradition of worshipping for years in the 1886 building with its low arched ceiling and low arched entrance roofs, the simplicity of a clearly Anabaptist congregation, the knowledge that the three-sided seating arrangement was influenced by Dutch and Russian tradition, these, together with an exacting Trustee/Building Committee and a larger

membership kept Dan Unruh from straying too far from the original style. The introduction of a design theme such as the arch carried out in 42 repetitions was enough of a change. However, it was not offensive, but rather perfectly appropriate for Mennonites, and for these Mennonites in particular. Not common like the round arch, but rare: not high and lofty, like the Gothic arch, but low, illustrating the idea of humility. It is continuous, illustrating unity; it is embracing, all-encompassing, and comforting. Visual characteristics like these may subconsciously influence us in worship to shape our faith and thought. We shape our surroundings, and in return, they shape us.

#### ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>The Mennonite Encyclopedia ed. Cornelius Krahn. 4 vols. Scoudale, Pa. The Mennonite Publishing House, 1955. 1:48.
- <sup>2</sup>J. A. Duerksen, "Przerhnyku and Alexanderwohl," *Mennonite Life*, April 1955, p. 76.
- <sup>3</sup>The Mennonite Encyclopedia, 1:49.
- <sup>4</sup>Velda Duerksen, "Construction of the 'New Alexanderwohl' Church in Kansas," *Alexanderwohl Newsletter*, September 1982.
- <sup>5</sup>C. C. Regier, "Childhood Reminiscences of a Russian Mennonite Immigrant Mother," 1941, *Pioneer Experiences of Father, Mother, and Grandfather*, publ. by Herbert Regier and Sam Regier, 1963. Reprint from *Mennonite Quarterly Review* and the Social Science Publishing Co.
- <sup>6</sup>Diary of Johann Wall, Alta\*, Harvey County, Kansas, trans. Velda Duerksen, 1885. Photocopy in Alexanderwohl Church archives.
- <sup>7</sup>Treasurer's Book, Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, trans. Velda Duerksen, Goessel, KS, 1886.
- <sup>8</sup>Diary of Johann Wall.
- <sup>9</sup>Alvin Goossen, Interview, Moundridge, KS July 6, 1985.
- <sup>10</sup>Goossen, Ibid.
- <sup>11</sup>Velda Duerksen, "Construction of the 'New Alexanderwohl' Church in Kansas."
- <sup>12</sup>Diary of Johann Wall.
- <sup>13</sup>Treasurer's Book, Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, Dec. 11, 1886. Alexanderwohl Archives.
- <sup>14</sup>H. Gatz, *Die Holsteiner Auswanderung*, trans. Velda Duerksen, Buch 7. Steinbach, Manitoba. Duerksen

Printers, 1950-51, p. 67.

<sup>15</sup>Alvin Goossen, *Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church*, n.d., n.p., p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>Alexanderwohl, Russia. Church Record Book, trans. Velda Duerksen, Oct. 31, 1886. Alexanderwohl Church Archives, Goessel, KS.

<sup>17</sup>Albert Goeldert, Interview, Newton, KS Dec. 30, 1985.

<sup>18</sup>Rev. Abraham Ratzliff, *Memories and Diary*, beg. 1883, trans. Martha Epp, p. 24, 25. Photocopy in Alexanderwohl Church Archives.

<sup>19</sup>Elbert Esau, Interview, Whitewater, KS Dec. 31, 1985.

<sup>20</sup>Loris Habegger, Interview, Newton, KS, Jan. 16, 1986.

<sup>21</sup>Goossen Interview.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Maria Unruh Park, Interview and information including "Obituary of Daniel F. Unruh," *Newton Kansan*, Sept. 11, 1953, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup>Goossen, *Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church*, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup>Goossen Interview.

<sup>29</sup>Adolph Bartel and Richard Schmidt, Interview, Goessel, KS June 30, 1985.

<sup>30</sup>Minutes of (Annual) Brotherhood Meeting, Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, Goessel, KS, Dec. 29, 1927.

<sup>31</sup>Bartel and Schmidt, Interview.

<sup>32</sup>Minutes of Church Meetings, Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, April 11 and May 21, 1928.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Oct. 25, 1928.

<sup>34</sup>Bartel and Schmidt, Interview.

<sup>35</sup>James S. Pierce, *From Athens to Zeus, a Handbook of Art History*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1968, p. 4, fig. 4.

<sup>36</sup>Bartel and Schmidt, Interview.

<sup>37</sup>Goossen Interview.

<sup>38</sup>*Architectural Interior and Exterior Workwork Standardized*, Clinton, Iowa. The Curtis Company, 1920, pp. 34, 35; *Builder's Woodwork Universal Design Book* no. 25, Kansas City, Mo. American Sash & Door Co., 1927, pp. 10, 12.

<sup>39</sup>Harold D. Eberlein, *The Architecture of Colonial America*, Boston, Little, Brown & Co. 1927, pp. 15, 26, 29, 35 passim.

<sup>40</sup>Daryl Unruh, Architect, Interview, Newton, KS., July 6, 1985.

<sup>41</sup>Arnold Unruh, Interview, Fort Worth, Tex., July 6, 1985.

<sup>42</sup>Minutes of Annual Meetings, Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, 1961, 1965, 1966.

\* "Alta" refers not to Alta Township, nor the Alta Mill, but rather to Alta, Post Office on section 3 of Alta Township. As Johann Wall lived on section 6 of Garden Township, the "Alta" P.O. was his closest address. The Alta Mill was on section 24 of Alta Township, and its post office at the time was named "Valentine" in honor of Rev. Valentine Krebbs.