

August G. A. Liebig: German Baptist Missionary and Friend to the Mennonite Brethren

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August Gustav Alexander Liebig (1836-1914) is notable as a missionary/pastor in six countries – Romania, Turkey (Dobrudja), Ukraine, Poland, Germany, and the USA – as well as relating to two denominations, the German Baptists and Mennonite Brethren on two continents. Except for a few Mennonite Brethren historians, Liebig is largely forgotten today.¹

Liebig was born on 14 February 1836, in Bernstein, Neumark, Prussia, near the border of Pomerania, in Germany, which today is in Poland. His father, Friedrich Wilhelm Liebig, a master dyer, and his mother, Henriette, were Lutherans. Liebig was the fourth child in a family of eight children – seven boys and one girl. The father died around 1843, shortly after the birth of the last child, and the mother died ten years later in 1853. Although Liebig lost his father around the age of seven and his mother at seventeen, he was fortunate in that the oldest brother, Friedrich Wilhelm, took the place of the father and kept the family intact.²

The German Baptists, founded by Johann G. Oncken in Hamburg in 1834, was a young revival movement, which soon extended over

much of northern Europe and then to the east. Oncken propounded the watchword, "every Baptist a missionary," and recruited a remarkable number of *Handwerker* or artisans who with self-support spread the gospel. In 1846 Baptists established a church at Stettin (today Szczecin) in Pomerania and a mission at Reetz (Recz). Friedrich was converted in 1854 and baptized into the church. By 1856 Liebig and all the other siblings, except one who joined later, were baptized and joined the congregation at Reetz, which became an independent church that year. Five of the Liebig brothers, including Liebig, entered the Baptist ministry, first as church workers and then as missionaries/pastors.³

Bucharest and Dobrudja

Liebig, who had learned the trade of locksmith or mechanic, settled in Hamburg probably as early as 1857 where he became active in Oncken's church.⁴ Liebig caught Oncken's eye, and after short instruction and ordination Oncken sent him, then only twenty-seven, to assume the leadership of the German Baptist mission in Bucharest, Romania. Carl Scharschmidt, a carpenter from the Hamburg church, moved to Bucharest in 1856 where with others he participated in preaching services, Bible study, and a tract ministry. The small German group that developed appealed to Oncken to send an ordained minister who could support himself.⁵

Only a year before in 1862, Romania had become a united state with its own prince but still tributary to the Ottoman Turkish Empire. Liebig arrived in Bucharest on 29 September 1863. He wrote that from a distance the city with its many districts and towers looked beautiful, but a closer view revealed its drabness. He noted its hustle and bustle but feared that he would break his legs when walking the streets. He observed the great contrast between the richly clothed and the destitute. Liebig felt that with a wise administration and fear of the Lord Romania would be a fortunate land but the depravity of the populace was heartrending.⁶

Liebig's congregation was small. He reported in May 1864 that he baptized four candidates and several immigrants had joined them. As a result twelve could now gather at the Lord's Table. In the following year the authorities recognized the group, as small as it was, as a regular church and, as with the Lutherans, was given the right of civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths. In 1874 Liebig wrote that the congregation generally averaged twenty in attendance with seldom more than twenty-five.⁷

The year 1865 proved to be momentous for Liebig. He spent six months in Hamburg in the Mission School conducted by Oncken in a

class of twenty-six that included his brothers Friedrich and Hermann. The brothers shared a room where they assisted each other in their schoolwork. A class picture of the twenty-six along with Oncken and two other instructors shows Liebig, seventh from the left. He was of medium height, sporting neat chin whiskers, and exhibiting an air of confidence. On 7 September in Hamburg, he married Sophia Ratzeburg, then twenty-one, who was born in Lueneburg, Lower Saxony in 1844. She became Liebig's faithful co-worker and mother of ten children.⁸

The year 1865 was also momentous in bringing to Liebig an additional field of service. This was Dobrudja, a territory east of Bucharest between the Danube River and Black sea that belonged to Turkey but would not become part of Romania until 1878. Here he found German-Russian exiles from the Russian Empire in Ukraine who had been influenced by the young Mennonite Brethren movement. As a revival movement, Mennonite Brethren had broken in 1860 from the other Mennonites. As Mennonites they rejected infant baptism, but under Baptist influence they immersed rather than simply pouring water on the head of the candidate. With evangelistic zeal, some Mennonite Brethren began to baptize individuals outside their own ranks, both Ukrainians and Germans. In May 1864 Gerhard Wieler, accompanied by Jakob Bekker, immersed candidates in the German colony of Neu-Danzig. With Lutheran cooperation, the authorities exiled around ten families by 1866 to Catalui in Dobrudja. Other families from Ukraine also settled there, and revival broke out among the Germans already in the area.⁹

Although a number had now been immersed as believers, the question of proper church order and authority arose in the exiled community in Dobrudja because of the activity of J. Kowalsky, a Mennonite Brethren. In September 1864 he had baptized converts in another German colony in Ukraine, Alt-Danzig, leaving them as orphans without adequate organization. The authorities in Russia exiled him to Turkey. He came to Dobrudja where he baptized four candidates. But the leaders of the exiled community, although they too had been baptizing, resisted his further activity as lacking proper authority and considered appealing for counsel to Charles Haddon Spurgeon in England, the only Baptist they knew. On the advice of an American Methodist missionary, Frederick W. Flocken, they wrote to Oncken for help, and Oncken sent Liebig to investigate. Liebig arrived in Dobrudja in October 1865, consulted with Kowalsky, held services, and instructed in Baptist church order. On 1 November he baptized eleven converts in an arm of the Danube River, followed on 4 November by eleven more. He then went northward into southern Bessarabia, which Turkey then controlled, finding numerous converts

whom Kowalsky had already baptized but who were being persecuted and without spiritual leadership. After staying only two days and after a difficult journey, spending some evenings out in the cold and rain, Liebig arrived in Bucharest on 16 November. He found some of his congregation, including his wife, praying and anxiously awaiting his return.¹⁰

In April 1866 Liebig again returned to Dobrudja on his way to Ukraine in Russia. He baptized sixteen converts, but opposition forced him to defend himself before the Turkish Pasha. The Pasha told Liebig's Lutheran opponents that in Turkey there is religious freedom; why should they molest others for their belief? In the summer he now with his wife returned to Dobrudja. The brethren wished him to stay. In December he reported that the congregation in Catalui had forty-nine members and seventy in attendance with seventy-eight Baptists in the territory. Catalui had become a Baptist colony with very few remaining outside the church. Finally in January 1867 Liebig moved from Bucharest to Catalui.¹¹

A major event in the life of the congregation at Catalui was the visit of Oncken in November 1869 on his return home from his trip in the Russian Empire. During his short stay, Oncken led in establishing the congregation in Catalui as an independent church, held services, ordained elders and deacons, attended a love feast, consecrated the opening of a chapel at Admadja, and conducted a wedding. Liebig was appointed pastor. He was particularly pleased with Oncken's visit, entertaining him in what he described as his humble home. In turn Oncken wrote: "Brother Liebig and his wife practice a self-sacrificing love which almost exceeds belief. They take care not only of the souls, but of the bodies of their flock; practicing homeopathy very successfully by administering from Dr. Lutze's book." The church was in a new building with an assembly room, schoolroom, and quarters for the pastor. Its membership was 111 with two preaching stations. Oncken and Liebig went by boat to Bucharest, but nothing much was accomplished there.¹²

At this time Dobrudja was the center of German Baptist growth in what today is Romania, leaving Bucharest as a small mission without regular pastoral leadership. The church at Catalui placed colporteurs in the field who with the British and Foreign Bible Society worked in European Turkey in such places as Bulgaria and Bosnia. On 20 June 1868, Liebig baptized two brothers, Josip and Georg Lictenegger, in Lukovac, near Tuzla in Bosnia, the first Baptist baptismal service in that territory. Dobrudja also became an irritant to officials in Russia who wished to limit if not stop the Baptist movement, considering it a "lightning conductor for Baptists of Russia." Officials accused Liebig and Jakob Klundt of attempting to send tracts and hymnals from there

into Russia. Baptist and Mennonite Brethren also found here a place of refuge.¹³

Mennonite Brethren and Baptists: Consultation and Organization

After serving in Bucharest and Dobrudja, Liebig received a third missionary challenge – to help the Mennonite Brethren in the Russian Empire. The Mennonite Brethren were very close to Baptists in revivalism and church polity but were beset by factionalism. Abraham Unger and others in the congregation at Einlage in the Mennonite colony of Chortitza, located in Ukraine at the Dnieper River, appealed to Oncken to send help.

On his way to Ukraine in April 1866, Liebig, as already noted, first ministered in Dobrudja but while there went to the Russian consulate at Tultscha (Tulcea) to acquire a Russian passport. At that time, especially in the first half of the 1860s, the Russian regime was severely persecuting Baptists, particularly in Poland and the Baltic area. The consulate questioned Liebig at great length as to the purpose of his trip, suspecting he was a missionary. On the basis of his trade, he finally received the document. After he left, the vice-consul quickly reported to Kozebu, the governor-general, that Liebig called himself a workman. At the same time he declared Liebig a “dangerous man,” a “chief spreader” of his sectarian sect, and that he was bound for the German colonies. On 27 April a Russian ship took Liebig across the Black Sea to Odessa, arriving the next day. Here he worshipped at the Reformed church and preached at the Lutheran church. He then reached the Dnieper River by ship and on 5 May arrived at Einlage.¹⁴

Liebig found a divided congregation with much disorder. In presiding at the business meeting, he requested that someone record the proceedings, explaining the usefulness of minutes. He also insisted that one must rise to speak, take his turn without interruption, and refrain speaking on the same point more than three times. Liebig sought harmony and tried to be fair to all sides. Later, in a letter to Oncken presumably written by Unger, Liebig was praised for his success in uniting the church. The letter requested Oncken to send other brethren, “talented, modest and devoted,” presumably like Liebig, who at the same time would not arouse suspicions of being a missionary.

On the basis of the vice-consul’s report, the administrative office in Chortitza was alerted to arrest Liebig if he should appear. After only two weeks of work, the authorities arrested Liebig, who was taken to Yekaterinoslav for a hearing before the governor. On the way the inspector informed Liebig that he was under suspicion for promoting

sectarianism and spreading a new teaching. At Yekaterinoslav he stayed four days and five nights but was not restricted to a room and was fed bread and tea. He was sent to Odessa, arriving on 30 May, where he was confined but not placed among other prisoners. Finally on 12 June he reported that he was free.

In his history, P. M. Friesen intimates that Mennonites who were hostile to Liebig's efforts of unification led to his arrest. After the trip Liebig wrote strongly criticizing Mennonites who persecuted fellow Mennonites, accusing them of placing a higher value on their privileges from the Russian government than God's Word. He wished that God would replace those privileges with privileges to lead sinners to Christ. Whatever Mennonite hostility Liebig may have encountered, the Russian authorities had already determined to terminate his mission.

Other German Baptists also helped Mennonite Brethren. In the following spring, Karl Benzien, a German Baptist deacon from West Prussia who migrated to the area of Einlage for business reasons, also presided at congregational meetings. Under his influence on 10 July 1868, the Einlage church established mission stations and designated officers. Four days later he also presided when Unger was elected elder. Benzien's daughter Luise married a son of Unger.¹⁵

In October 1869 Oncken himself, almost seventy years old and after a strenuous journey, arrived in Einlage and stayed in Unger's home. Oncken remained for about ten days, preaching in the area and bringing edification and instruction. He ordained Unger, Aron Lepp, and Benzien as elders and others as deacons.¹⁶

On the recommendation of Aron Lepp, in 1877 the Einlage church invited Liebig to return. In the previous year at the Baptist General Conference in Germany, Liebig had declared that his return to Russia was not blocked and he had never signed a statement that he would never return. He arrived in June 1871 with his wife and one-year-old daughter Marie. Their first two children had already died. They were provided with a small house at Andreasfeld, located northeast of Einlage across the Dnieper River. The Einlage church had established a daughter church here. They remained for one year.

On Liebig's arrival, the Einlage church was still divided. Such issues as military service and smoking were very divisive. By his even temper and non-partisanship, Liebig brought order. He set standards for business meetings and the Sunday school and introduced a prayer hour on Sunday mornings. Several years later, Liebig wrote that he was allowed to work here in "undisturbed peace and delightful harmony." Since Liebig was reared in a region where *Plattdeutsch* or Low German dialects were the common speech, he had the advantage of communicating with Mennonites who used a similar language.¹⁷

Liebig's influence was not confined to the local church but extended to the formation of annual conferences for both German Baptists and Mennonite Brethren. While he was completing his work at Andreasfeld, he presided in May 1872 at the organization of the first Baptist association in Russia and one week later at the first Mennonite Brethren Conference.

The German Baptist South Russian-Turkish Association met at Alt-Danzig in central Ukraine on Sunday 3 May and continued until Tuesday. Liebig preached on Sunday morning from Acts 2:36-42 on Peter's sermon at Pentecost. At a mission emphasis on Monday, he related a couple of stories that connected prayer and giving. He collected an offering of sixty-five rubles for missions citing the example of Rowland Hill, an Anglican evangelical, who held a collection plate at the door, asking those who gave nothing to leave first and then noting the gifts of those who followed. Thereupon Liebig requested deacons to stand at the doors with plates to collect from the departing congregation. As presiding officer, Liebig explained the purpose and necessity of an association, which would not infringe on the independence of the churches, but could propose resolutions for mission extension and combat misunderstandings and disorder.¹⁸

A little more than a week later, May 14-16, the Mennonite Brethren held their first general conference at Andreasfeld, about 250 kilometers to the east. Liebig presided. Under Liebig's influence, the conference established a missions committee of seven members for itinerant missionaries and a system of collection for support. In the following year, Karl Ondra, German Baptist missionary from Volhynia, and Johann Pritzkau from Alt-Danzig, attended the Mennonite Brethren conference in the Molochna settlement where they noted the effects of Liebig's work as indicated by the generous support Mennonite Brethren were then giving for traveling missionaries.¹⁹

Liebig continued his relations with the Mennonite Brethren by presiding for some years at their general conferences. Mennonite Brethren participated in mission schools (Bible courses), which met annually for one month at a time, which Liebig had established in his own church in Ukraine. It was common for Mennonite Brethren and German Baptists to attend each other's conferences. One unfortunate incident occurred, however, at a Mennonite Brethren conference in the mid-1870s when Liebig was not permitted to partake of the Lord's Supper because some Mennonite Brethren, influenced by a former Baptist, Eduard Leppke, believed that only non-resistant Mennonites could be saved. As a consequence Liebig refused to accept the invitation to preach the communion sermon.²⁰

The Mennonite Brethren historian, P. M. Friesen, greatly appreciated the fact that Liebig did not attempt to make Mennonite Brethren

into Baptists. He pointed out, however, writing in 1902, the mutually beneficial relations between the two bodies and admitted that without Baptist influence the Mennonite Brethren would have been "impoverished and dried up into a Mennonite 'sect.'"²¹

Much credit must be given to Liebig for his impact in establishing standards in church polity and cooperative work among both German Baptists and Mennonite Brethren in Eastern Europe, particularly in Romania and Ukraine, which in turn also influenced the later Russian Baptist Union. As a disciple of Oncken, he was not an innovator, but from training and experience he learned his lessons well. For young movements that were subject to division and fanaticism, he helped to bring a sense of corporate unity and confessional accountability. He believed in the responsibility and the authority of the local church in ordination and the observance of the ordinances. He did not countenance the freelance activity of a J. Kowalsky or a Gerhard Wieler, who baptized and left converts without adequate supervision or a proper church relationship. Both by example and exhortation, he furthered the cause of missions and helped to establish organization and cooperation in mission work.

Odessa

In 1872 Liebig returned to Dobrudja where in the following year his brother Ludwig assumed the pastorate of the church in Catalui. The British and Foreign Bible Society appointed Liebig the head of its depot in Bucharest, but his tenure here was short. It was not long before he was again serving in the Russian Empire. While residing in Bucharest, Liebig received in 1874 a call from the German Baptist church in Odessa with the promise of support from the German Baptist Mission. Odessa was a small work that had had to struggle against division, outside hostility, and inadequate leadership since its founding in 1870. Although at first reluctant to go and requesting a coworker, Liebig, with the encouragement of his friend, Johann Pritzkau, elder at the church in Alt-Danzig, accepted the challenge and arrived in Odessa on 18 April, 1874 (o.s.) to assume his new post. Liebig proved to be the right man in the right place.²²

A great number of members lived outside of Odessa in Annenthal, thirty versts (thirty-two kilometers) away, which became the center of Baptist work among the surrounding German Swabian colonies, leaving Odessa a station. At first Liebig and his family resided in Annenthal, but later they moved to Odessa. At the beginning of his ministry, he spoke before a large crowd of three to four hundred on the theme, "Christ and Him Crucified," and baptized thirty-two persons. He then soon left for the Mennonite Brethren conference in Andreasfeld.²³

Liebig's field among the colonies proved to be most productive due in part to earlier revivals. In a comparatively short time the work grew to include thirty-two sites. Mission stations were widely scattered, which demanded much travel by horse and wagon and the need for assistance in both Odessa and the stations. Liebig also wanted a worker for Bessarabia. Because of hurried visits, Liebig claimed in 1877 the stations could not be given sufficient guidance in Sunday school work and, aside from the work in Odessa, youth, women's, and worker's societies were practically non-existent. He found the untrained lay leadership in the stations something of a blessing but also taxing. Liebig received some help from neighboring pastors and temporary assistance from associates. He also faced opposition from Lutheran leaders and from pietistic brethren who resented Baptist intrusion as well as competition from Seventh Day Adventists.²⁴

In spite of the problems, the membership rapidly grew from sixty-two members to 526 in 1878 and to 875 in 1884. The work in Odessa, first meeting in a house, then later in a hall, increased in strength. In 1885 three new churches were constituted, leaving Odessa with 254 members at the end of 1885. In his history, Pritzkau praised Liebig for his "Christian humility and modesty and his sacrificing zeal" in addition to "a rare gift of preaching, especially endowed for the edification of the congregation." Pritzkau also noted that Liebig's wife Sofia "went hand in hand with him in loving zeal." The authorities did not disturb the numerous German settlers in the colonies nor molest Liebig, although a German Prussian subject.²⁵

In the 1880s Liebig corresponded with Vasily A. Pashkov, the wealthy leader of the Pashkov movement whom the Russian regime later exiled for his evangelical activity, as well as with Pashkov's agent, Lin. He wrote in German, claiming little knowledge of Russian. In 1883 Liebig made an impassioned plea for support for poor members of his church who lacked food, clothing, and seed stock. The response was immediate. Liebig received 1,000 rubles that would assist about forty families. Liebig also pled for others, also remembering the Mennonite Brethren, receiving additional 700 rubles, thereby assisting all told one hundred families. In 1885 Liebig received 475 rubles for a church worker in Odessa and vicinity.²⁶

Liebig was also a conduit for Pashkov funds intended for Russian Stundo-Baptist believers, moneys that he might dole out but more often distributed through Michael Ratushny and to a much lesser extent through Ivan Ryaboshapka, both of whom were Russian Baptist leaders. Liebig was also a Pashkov agent for Bibles, transmission of books, and contributions to others.²⁷

Liebig continued to be active in the South Russian-Turkish Association. At its second meeting in September 1874 in Neudorf in Volhynia,

Liebig, after a fervent prayer, preached on Acts 7:55, participated in a wedding during the love feast, and told of God's leading in his experiences. The association established a treasury for mission work. Unger from the Mennonite Brethren was also present and was given full voting rights and spoke.²⁸

A special occasion for Liebig as host pastor was the convening of the South Russian-Turkish Association at Annenthal in October 1875. Large numbers arrived, including several Mennonite Brethren from the Molochna. All homes were full, with carriages filling the yards; Liebig and his wife kept at least fifteen brethren in their home. On Sunday, 17 October, services were held in a large wooden shed, quickly built to serve as a tabernacle. The morning service included a prayer meeting and worship service. In the afternoon Liebig conducted a baptismal service for four candidates in the Black Sea. Because of the strong waves, Liebig found difficulty getting a proper footing. As he was ready to baptize a woman, a wave suddenly inundated both of them. The association began its business session on Monday, beginning with singing and a message by Liebig. The association discussed the best means of spreading the gospel and also the call of a group from Bulgaria that wished to join the Baptists. The meeting condemned the use of tobacco for Christians.²⁹

Although Liebig was very busy with his own work in his extended field at Odessa, he took time not only to attend Mennonite Brethren conferences and German Baptist associations, but he also preached in other congregations in Ukraine and attended triennial conferences of the German Baptist Union in Germany. At the 1873 triennial conference he spoke of believers who had been imprisoned, and at the 1879 conference he reported on the appeal of believers in Bulgaria, earlier presented at the associational meeting in Annenthal. His article on the history of the Russian-Romanian Association (formerly called the South Russian-Turkish Association) in 1884 showed an extensive knowledge of the beginnings and extent of German Baptist work in its territory. He continued his interest in the church at Catalui, helping to reconcile differences in the church during the tenure of his brother Ludwig in the 1870s and ordaining the new pastor of the church, Martin Issler, in 1884.³⁰

Liebig participated in several landmark occasions in the development of Baptist work in the Russian Empire. At the organization in August 1880 of the predominantly Russian Baptist church in Tiflis (Tbilisi), Georgia, Liebig, who presided, began to give some theological instruction but was cut short when the congregation indicated that it was familiar with the subject. Liebig also explained the purpose of the German Baptist Union. He and I. V. Kargel from St. Petersburg, but who was now moving to Russe in Bulgaria, ordained the great Russian

Baptist leader, V. G. Pavlov. In April 1884 Liebig was present at the St. Petersburg Congress of Evangelicals, which the Russian authorities dispersed. Liebig wrote to Pashkov, the host of the congress, thanking the Lord for his association with him and declared how enraptured he was at the Sunday service. In September 1887 he attended the first conference of the Union of Baptist Churches in Russia, composed of German Baptists and Baltic Baptists, which was held at Neudorf in Ukraine. He was the chairman of the mission committee of the Union from 1887 to 1890, during which time he corresponded with the American Baptist Missionary Union in Boston, providing information on mission support and urging it to give additional assistance.³¹

Lodz and Stettin

In 1887 Liebig received a call from the Baptist church in Lodz, located in Russian Poland. With five hundred members, it had become the leading Baptist church in Poland with a 700-seat sanctuary, opened in 1882. Its pastor, Karl Ondra, who had attended the Mission School of 1865 with Liebig, had been a successful pastor in Volhynia and was engaged in mission service throughout Ukraine until 1877 when the Russian authorities expelled him to his native Poland. He then served the Lodz church until his sudden and untimely death at the age of forty-seven.³²

The Lodz church remained without a pastor for almost a year before Liebig's arrival. Liebig concluded his work in Odessa in November 1887. The Lodz church gave Liebig and his family a warm welcome on Sunday, 4 December. The church was festooned with wreaths and garlands. The day included a worship service with observance of the Lord's Supper. In the afternoon Liebig preached from I Corinthians 1:23, which included the words, "But we preach Christ crucified." He stated why, what, and how he wished to preach to the congregation. The day ended with a love feast, lasting until eleven in the evening with speeches, prayers, and choir numbers.³³

In his history of German Baptists in Poland, Eduard Kupsch pointed out that Liebig possessed a gift for preaching, exhibited organizational skills, and possessed a genuine Christian modesty. In contrast to Ondra's evangelistic ministry, Liebig stressed sanctification and without favor pointed out sins that he felt needed correction. He took special interest in the Sunday school and the societies of the church and engaged the assistance of men to serve in mission work outside the church. In his history, Pritzkau, Liebig's good friend, however, paints a darker picture, claiming that Liebig did not receive the same affection as in Odessa. In replacing a popular preacher with a different pastoral

emphasis and ministering to a far more urban constituency, Liebig suffered much stress. Pritzkau claimed that Liebig had confided to a friend, "In Odessa they loved me to death, and in Lodz they almost beat me to death."³⁴

But worse was yet to come. As a German subject, Liebig also faced the threat of deportation. He was in Poland at a time of growing hostility between Germany and Russia and the increasing concern of the latter over its German minority. In 1888 the Lodz church entrusted Albert Gutsche, recently returned from Hamburg, to go to the local authorities on Liebig's behalf. He received permission for Liebig to continue as pastor if he worked quietly within the church itself. Liebig began proceedings toward naturalization.

On 20 May 1890, the governor of the area visited the churches of Lodz. Gutsche took the opportunity to extend to the governor a petition on behalf of Liebig. The governor, however, was astonished that Liebig was still in the city and that his earlier command for his deportation had not been carried out. The governor then ordered Liebig to meet the chief of police the next morning. The chief informed Liebig that he must leave Lodz for Prussia in two hours, which on Liebig's plea was extended to three hours. The police then held Liebig in confinement for two nights and on Friday he arrived in Prussia, going by train to the home of his brother Hermann Liebig in Stettin. His family soon followed.³⁵

In his account of the expulsion, Liebig wrote: I was forced "under compulsion [to] leave the land where I had joyfully spent almost twenty years in labor and privation in delightful spiritual effort for the best good of the inhabitants....May [the Lord] bless Russia, and the brethren who labor there." Pritzkau claimed that Liebig already had decided to return to southern Russia, but, in any case, further work in Russia was now closed to him forever. Evidently Liebig had been at the wrong place at the wrong time.³⁶

Liebig now served harmoniously for two years with his brother, Hermann, the pastor of the Stettin church. But Liebig still had Russia on his heart. The Russian Orthodox author Viktor I. Val'kevich, who considered Liebig one of the top propagandists of the Baptist faith in Russia, recorded that in a speech reporting on Russia at the Hamburg Seminary in 1891 Liebig made a "powerful impression" on the students. In the same year Liebig spoke at the General Conference of the German Baptist Union where he gave "an interesting account" on Russia. He concluded with the admonition that as Moses descended from Mount Sinai with a shining face from his encounter with God his hearers too should return from the peak of the conference with the same countenance. At the Romanian-Bulgarian Association, also in 1891, Liebig spoke on "Jesus—the Model of the Preacher," and with

Martin Issler gave a paper on developing a healthy spiritual life in the churches. Liebig stressed it be done by exhortation, not by reproofs and fines.³⁷

America: The Dakotas

Although Liebig could not work among German-Russians in the Russian Empire, he could work with them in America where many, including acquaintances, had migrated. Both German Baptists and Mennonite Brethren settled in North and South Dakota, states that had just recently in 1889 entered the Federal Union. With his many years of work among German peoples in foreign lands, it is not surprising that he would now seek a similar challenge in the New World.

Liebig, who was now fifty-six years old, his wife, Sofia, forty-eight, and their children sailed on the SS Trave, arriving in New York on 9 December 1892.³⁸ Liebig and his wife had had ten children, but only five survived--Marie, 22, born in Catalui; Martha, 19, born in Bucharest; and August, 17, Johannes, 9, and Elisabeth, 6, born in Annenthal near Odessa. Liebig immediately became pastor of the Plum Creek German Baptist Church near Emery, McCook County, South Dakota, the southeast corner of the state, organized in 1883. On 13 December the family settled in the church's parsonage at Bridgewater, fourteen miles from the church.³⁹

Because of so many German-Russians in the congregation, Pritzkau reported that at his first sermon Liebig exclaimed: "Where am I? Am I not in South Russia?" At a dedication of one of the chapels of the Plum Creek church, probably in 1893, an immense crowd was present, many of whom had driven from thirty to fifty miles to meet Liebig again because had been instrumental in his ministry among them in Russia.⁴⁰

In 1893 the church at Plum Creek had five other mission stations, which included Bridgewater with its own chapel. With so many stations, Liebig again had to undertake much travel as in Ukraine. The church's membership in 1894 was 153. It had Sunday schools and a women's society. In 1899 the church dedicated a larger church building but in the same year noted that a number of members had moved to North Dakota. In 1901 the church reported praying for Liebig, who at the time was very ill.⁴¹

After her arrival in America, Liebig's second daughter, Martha, served in the German Baptist Orphan's Home in Louisville, Kentucky, but in 1894 entered the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago, established by the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society. Here she met Peter Wedel, a Mennonite Brethren who had studied in the German Department at Rochester Seminary. Martha and Peter

decided to marry and depart for the Cameroons in Africa under the Baptist Mission Committee for West Africa, established in 1891 in Berlin, Germany, under Eduard Schewe, Liebig's friend in Hamburg of nearly forty years before. The marriage at Bridgewater on 27 June 1895, drawing a thousand guests, was as much a mission festival as a wedding. The chapel at Bridgewater was turned into a dining hall and an adjoining tent was erected for the service. Liebig and Schewe, who was present and had come to America to gain recruits and funds, performed the ceremony. The wedding included speeches from ten participants, including both Mennonite and Baptist ministers, and a quartet of students from Rochester.⁴²

Martha and Peter arrived in the Cameroons in November 1895, but eight months later, ill with black water fever, Martha returned to America with a baby son, Herbert, born 4 April 1896. In 1897 Peter, already weak, left on a ship for Germany but on board also fell ill from the fever. He died on 10 August and was buried at sea.⁴³

In 1902 the church letter reported that the migration of additional members to North Dakota almost destroyed the courage of the pastor, but the church, sustaining him, surprised him with the gift of a beautiful new buggy. Nevertheless, in the following year Liebig terminated his pastorate at Plum Creek and took up a homestead at Denhoff, today in Sheridan County in the middle of North Dakota at the end of the railroad line. A number of the members of the church had already settled in the area. During his term at Plum Creek he had baptized fifty candidates.⁴⁴

In January 1904 Liebig helped to form the First German Baptist Church of Denhoff. He, his wife, and two daughters were charter members. In 1907 the church constructed a house of worship for \$2,200. It had a Sunday school and women's and youth societies. In 1907 the membership was 103 but dropped to eighty-one by the time Liebig completed his ministry at the church. In 1910 the church considered extending itself to the town of McClusky and build a church there; later after Liebig had left, the church moved there, changing its name to McClusky Baptist Church.⁴⁵

In this period Liebig's family circumstances drastically changed. Martha, who was widowed, engaged in home mission work and some teaching but in 1905 married Jacob Wahl, a widower with six children, the oldest fifteen years of age. Two more children were born to them. Liebig's oldest daughter Marie also attended the Baptist Missionary Training School and then served for four years as a missionary in the German Baptist church of Dayton, Ohio. Due to ill health she returned to her parents in Denhoff and taught in the public school. In 1905 Marie will also marry a widower, Thomas Lutz. At the time he had seven children, the oldest not more than fifteen. She and Thomas had

five more children—four sons and a daughter. Liebig's son, August had already married in 1902 a wife outside the German-Russian community. The marriage will produce twelve children.⁴⁶

Besides the dispersal of his children, Liebig had to face the serious illness of his wife who suffered stroke around 1905 and was no longer able to walk. As a consequence, she lived with her daughter Martha in the Wahl household. She finally died on 4 February 1912, at the age of sixty-seven. Liebig wrote a short obituary for his wife, which was printed in the German Baptist paper, *Der Sendbote*, calling her "my helper in work and life." At her funeral Liebig took the opportunity to give examples of her devoted ministry of caring for the ill. At the funeral four of her children were present; evidently the fifth and youngest child, Elisabeth, had passed away. At the funeral Liebig made a heartfelt appeal for the conversion of his two sons, August and Johannes.⁴⁷

Emil P. Wahl, Martha's stepson, years later wrote that the work at the Denhoff church was difficult, pointing out that Liebig would drive his buggy to the church in summer and winter over a very poor road and in hilly terrain. Because of a failed harvest, the church reported in 1911 serious financial difficulties. In the following year the church letter stated that the church, although not discouraged, could only report retreat instead of progress. As in Ukraine and South Dakota, Liebig served a broad field. Besides the church in Denhoff, in 1909 he began serving once a month the Pleasant Valley German Baptist Church near Carrington, formed in that year with twenty-one members. Pleasant Valley was where his daughter Marie and her family were living. Although it had a Sunday school and women's society, it was a very weak work, reporting only thirteen members in 1913. Liebig also preached in Goodrich, McClusky, Turtle Lake, Max, and Washburn.⁴⁸

Although Liebig had left his Mennonite Brethren friends behind him in Russia, he never forgot his relationship with this body. In 1902 historian P.M. Friesen, the successor of Liebig in the Odessa church, wrote to the editor of *Zionsbote* in America that he was pleased with relations between Mennonite Brethren and Baptists in America. Mennonite Brethren, as in Russia, again "were sitting at the feet of the dear, worthy brother August Liebig in the 'Bible school.'" Friesen wrote that Liebig "enjoys a brotherly and 'ministerial' relationship with those 'very Mennonite' M.B. churches, as a director of 'Bible schools' (courses) among them." In his memoirs in 1912, Hermann Liebig, in speaking of his brother, claimed that "the love of the Mennonite Brethren drew him to that place." In its February issue in 1906, the *Zionsbote* reported that Mennonite Brethren attended a meeting led by Liebig in McClusky, and in the evening of the same day German Baptists attended a Mennonite Brethren service where Liebig spoke.

At a memorial service for Liebig in 1928, it was reported that he had frequently spoken in Mennonite Brethren congregations.⁴⁹

Ludwig Seibel (1856-1913) was a close friend of Liebig's. Seibel was a Mennonite Brethren pastor, born in Russia, who in 1900 settled in McClusky. During his career he helped to establish seven Mennonite Brethren churches, one in South Dakota and six in North Dakota, including one in McClusky. He wrote an extended article for *Zionsbote* on Sofia at the time of her death and spoke later at the funerals of Liebig and his daughter Martha.⁵⁰

Because of bodily infirmity, after fifty years of pastoral ministry, in 1913 Liebig relinquished his pastorates at Denhoff and Pleasant Valley. In the following year, neighbors found him fallen from his buggy. During the last weeks of his life he suffered greatly but patiently from his injury, dying on 19 August 1914, at the age of seventy-eight. At the funeral six pastors spoke, including William L. Wahl who preached the funeral message on Hebrews 13:7 at the wish of the diseased, as well as Ludwig Seibel, the Mennonite Brethren pastor. He was buried next to his wife in the Lamont Township Cemetery near Denhoff. Four of his children survived him, but Martha passed away one year later, leaving three sons of her own. Johannes died in 1921 from stomach cancer, leaving a wife and four young children; Marie in 1925 and August, the son, not until 1944.⁵¹

Because of the poverty of Liebig and his family, no tombstone was erected at the grave until 1928, fourteen years after his death. In that year friends raised the necessary funds, and on 30 October a memorial service was held in his honor in a chapel about four miles southeast of Denhoff. A large crowd was present – sixty-eight cars were parked at the building. An enlarged picture of Liebig and his wife was hung. Eleven Baptist and two Mennonite Brethren pastors took their places on the platform. Besides remarks from several Baptist ministers, H. Voth of the Mennonite Brethren also spoke. Words from Liebig's own diary, which the son August possessed, were read that showed Liebig's modesty as well as the financial pressures he faced. The company went to the gravesite where the gravestone stood with the words in German, "To our esteemed shepherd and teacher." Grandchildren later erected a memorial stone and planted a tree in his honor.⁵²

Legacy

Although August Liebig is not ranked with such charismatic leaders as an Oncken or an Ivan Prokhanov for their leadership in furthering the evangelical faith in Eastern Europe and is hardly remembered, one must still rank him as one of the foundational members of that work.

Liebig showed a remarkable consistency in his ministry of fifty years, whether in the high levels of his ministry in Dobrudja and Ukraine or the low levels in Poland and last years in North Dakota. He was always ready to respond to the missionary challenge and served as a pioneer in Romania, Turkey, Russia, and the United States. Although born in Prussia, he never lost his love for the German-Russian diaspora nor forgot his relations with Mennonite Brethren.

Liebig did not seek attention for himself and served faithfully and with humility. In the face of factionalism among German Baptists and Mennonite Brethren, both young evangelical movements, he was a conciliator and worked remarkably well with both. He showed a great talent for church as well as associational organization. In Hamburg he had acquired the organizational skills of the German Baptist movement, while at the same time maintaining its revivalist and missionary exuberance. He also ably promoted the educational aims of the movement by his support for Sunday schools and Bible courses. He was fortunate in having a wife who in every sense was his co-laborer in her faithful support and ministry of healing.

Liebig's legacy also continues in the churches he served or helped to organize, such as the German congregation in Bucharest, today a Romanian congregation; the ones in Lodz and Stettin (Szczecin), both today Polish congregations; McClusky and Carrington congregations in North Dakota, both today English-speaking; and the multilingual Central Baptist Church of Tbilisi, Georgia. His legacy is also seen in his family. Two sons of Marie, August and Gustav Lutz, as well as her stepson, Thomas Lutz, entered the Baptist ministry. August became a chaplain but died in April 1945, shortly before the end of the Second World War, after a fall off a bridge and was buried in Germany. Martha's son, Herbert Wedel (1896-1965), became a medical doctor in Hastings, Michigan. Her stepson, Emil P. Wahl (1892-1983), had a distinguished career that somewhat paralleled Liebig's. Wahl was a pastor, sponsor of Bible courses, and founder of a training school in Edmonton, Alberta, today known as Taylor University College and Seminary, a North American Baptist Conference institution, and Salem Manor Nursing Home in Leduc, Alberta.⁵³

Notes

¹ See the paper by Wolfgang H. Müller, "Fünf Brüder Liebig," Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Free Church Congregations, Hamburg, 1982, which includes a short account of August Liebig as well as family background. Müller was very dependent on a series of six articles by Hermann Liebig, "Von Stettin nach Berlinchen," on his own life and other family members, which appeared in *Der Wahrheitszeuge* from Nov. 16 to Dec. 21, 1912. Herbert Kluckas, Delta,

BC, a great grand nephew of August Liebig, gave me extensive material on the Liebig family and Baptist work in Dobrudja. The Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies (Fresno, CA), the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies at Tabor College (Hillsboro, KS), the North American Baptist Heritage Commission (Sioux Falls, SD), and the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives (Nashville, TN) were of great assistance in providing materials.

- ² *Der Wahrheitszeuge* (hereafter WHZ), Dec. 7, 1912, 386.
- ³ WHZ, Dec. 12, 1912, 393-94, and Dec. 21, 1912, 402. Rudolf Donat, *Wie das Werk begann* (Kassel: J. G. Oncken Verlag, 1958), 297-98.
- ⁴ Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten* (Cassel: Verlagshaus der deutschen Baptisten, 1900), II, 318, claims Liebig came to Hamburg in 1859, but see Eduard Scheve, *Dem Herrn vertrauen* (Wuppertal and Kassel: Oncken Verlag, 1979), 21, who knew Liebig in Hamburg in 1857.
- ⁵ Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, 386; Rudolf Donat, *Das wachsende Werk* (Kassel: J. G. Oncken Verlag, 1960), 383; *Quarterly Reporter* (hereafter QR), Apr. 1862, 25.
- ⁶ *Missionsblatt* (hereafter, MB), 1863, 170-71; QR, Jan. 1864, 61.
- ⁷ MB, Aug. 1864, 122; May 1865, 71; June 1874, 98-99; QR, July 1865, 114-15.
- ⁸ WHZ, Dec. 21, 1912, 402. For the class picture see Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, 320-21, and Donat, *Das wachsende Werk*, 528-29. For some details on Sofia Liebig, see her obituary in *Der Sendbote*, Feb. 21, 1912, 14.
- ⁹ For the exiles, see MB, June 1865, 92-94; July 1865, 106-08; and Oct. 1865, 156-57.
- ¹⁰ MB, Jan. 1866, 11-13; QR, Apr. 1866, 165-67; *Baptist Missionary Magazine* (afterwards, BMM), July 1866, 303. For Kowalsky's visit to Alt-Danzig and the problems of the group he left behind, see Johann Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten in Südrussland* (Odessa: Wenske and Lübeck, 1914), 12, 31-33.
- ¹¹ QR, July 1866, 178-79, and Oct. 1866, 197-98; MB, Aug. 1866, 123-25; no. 12, 193-94; and 1867, no. 4, 53-54; BMM, July 1867, 209-11.
- ¹² MB, 1870, no. 1, 3-5, and no. 4, 68-69; QR, Apr. 1870, 814-16, and July 1870, 835-36.
- ¹³ MB, 1872, no. 10, 162. Oksana Raychynets, "Baptist Mission Efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina: 150 Years of Discontinuity and Struggle," in Keith G. Jones and Ian M. Randall, *Counter-Cultural Communities* (Milton-Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), 232. K. I. Veltistov, "'Nemetski baptizm' v' Rossii," *Missionerskoe obozrenie*, June 1902, 1022-23.
- ¹⁴ For Liebig's account of his visit to the Mennonite Brethren in 1866, see QR, July 1866, 179-80 and MB, Aug. 1866, 125-28. For the account in Eng. tr. written in 1907 by Heinrich Epp, a Mennonite Brethren, see "Life and Work of the Late Elder Abraham Unger, Founder of the Mennonite Brethren Congregation," *Direction*, 20 (1991), 129-30. For the report of the vice-consul see, Aleksii Dorodnitsyn, *Materialy dlya istorii religiozno-ratsionalisticheskago dvizheniya na yuge Rossii vo vtoro polovine xix-go stoletiya* (Kazan, 1908), document 35. For Unger's letter, see QR, Jan., 1867, 215. Also see P. M. Friesen, *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland (1789-1910)* (Halbstadt: "Raduga," 1911), 290-92 (339-40, Eng. tr.).
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 380-82 (459-61). Heinrich Löwen, *In vergessenheit geratene Beziehungen* (Bielefeld: Logos, 1989), 21-22.
- ¹⁶ Friesen, *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft*, 382-83, 385. QR, Jan. 1870, 803-04; MB, Dec. 1869, 180-82. J. Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 37.
- ¹⁷ Epp, *Direction*, XX/1, 132-34. Friesen, 385 (466). MB, Dec. 1874, 221.
- ¹⁸ MB, Sep. 1872, 148-50. BMM, Jan. 1873, 25-26. Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 76-82. Pritzkau somewhat confused the first associational meeting in 1872 with the meeting two years later at Neudorf in Volhynia.
- ¹⁹ Friesen, *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft*, 385-86, (466-67), and 394-95 (475-76); MB, Aug. 1873, 140; QR, Oct. 1873, 60.

- ²⁰ Friesen, *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Brüderschaft*, 386 (466-67), 395-96 (476-77), and 431 (515). Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 116.
- ²¹ Friesen, *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Brüderschaft*, 384-86 (465-67). *Zionsbote* (afterwards *ZB*), May 14, 1902, 2-3.
- ²² British and Foreign Bible Society, *69th Report*, 1873, 212, and *70th Report*, 1874, 130-31. For Liebig's ministry at Odessa, see "Die Berufung des Br. A. Liebig" in Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 64-74, which includes pictures of Liebig and the Baptist chapel and his home in Annenthal. For the beginnings of the German Baptist work in Odessa and vicinity, see Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 55-63. *BMM*, Jan. 1878, 18.
- ²³ *MB*, Dec. 1874, 221.
- ²⁴ *BMM*, Sep. 1874, 326-28; Jan. 1878, 18-19; and May 1887, 140. *MB*, 1875, no. 4, 66, and 1877, no. 5, 79-81. *WHZ*, Apr. 15, 1884, 85.
- ²⁵ *MB*, 1877, No. 1, 14. *BMM*, Mar. 1876, 79. *WHZ*, May 1, 1886, 95. Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 71. *QR*, Jan. 1870, 805.
- ²⁶ Letters of August Liebig to Vasily A. Pashkov: 1883, Feb. 11, Mar. 15; 1885, Feb. 7/19. Pashkov Papers, microfiche at the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives.
- ²⁷ *Ibid*, 1883, Apr. 5, Apr. 7/19; 1884, Jan. 30/Feb. 11; 1885, Sep. 21/Oct. 3; 1886, Jan. 7/19, Apr. 16/28, July 11/23, Sep. 22.
- ²⁸ *MB*, Mar. 1875, 44-46, and Apr. 1875, 70-72; *WHZ*, May 15, 1884, 110.
- ²⁹ *BMM*, Apr. 1876, 117-18; *QR*, Apr. 1876, 13.
- ³⁰ German Baptist Union, *Bundes-Konferenz*, 1873, 62, and 1879, 30; *WHZ*, May 15, 1884, 109-10; Elisabeth Rauschenberger, "History of the Baptist Community Katalui," tr. by Armand Bauer, *Heritage Review*, Mar. 2000, 26.
- ³¹ Victor L. Val'kevich, *Zapiska o propagande protestantskikh" sekt" v" Rossi i, v" osobenosti, na Kavkaze* (Tiflis, 1900), 57, 113-14, and *Prilozhenie*, I, 45. *WHZ*, May 15, 1884, 110, and Nov. 15, 1887, 224; Letter of August Liebig to Vasily A. Pashkov, Apr. 8/20, 1884, Pashkov Papers; Letters of August Liebig to the American Baptist Missionary Union, Boston, 1888-1890, in American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies, Records, Missionary Correspondence, 1817-1900, Europe, Reel no. FM-90, American Baptist Historical Society.
- ³² For the career of Karl Ondra at the Lodz church, see Eduard Kupsch, *Geschichte der Baptisten in Polen, 1852-1932* (Zdunska-Wola: Author, 1932), 154-58.
- ³³ *WHZ*, Jan. 15, 1888, 16.
- ³⁴ Kupsch, *Geschichte der Baptisten*, 159-60. Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 73.
- ³⁵ For Kupsch's account of Liebig's expulsion, see Kupsch, 160, ft. 9. For Liebig's account, see *BMM*, Aug. 1890, 360, as well as his letter, June 5, 1890, from Stettin, in American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies, Records, Missionary Correspondence, 1817-1900, Europe.
- ³⁶ Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 73.
- ³⁷ *WHZ*, Dec. 21, 1912, 402; Val'kevich, *Zapiska o propagande protestantskikh"*, 57-58, 92-93; and *Prilozhenie*, III, 71-72, 73-74.
- ³⁸ For the manifest of the SS Trave, see www.immigrantships.net/v6/1800v6/travel18921209_02.html, which lists the names and ages of Liebig and his family.
- ³⁹ For a history of the Plum Creek church, see the booklet, Plum Creek Baptist Church, *75th Anniversary, 1883-1958*. The history includes a picture of the building of the Plum Creek church as dedicated in 1899, which the caption incorrectly records as 1889. For the family's settlement in Bridgewater, see *Der Sendbote*, Nov. 21, 1928, 9.
- ⁴⁰ Pritzkau, *Die Geschichte der Baptisten*, 73. T. M. Shanafelt, *The Baptist History of South Dakota* (Sioux Falls: South Dakota Baptist Convention, 1899), 198, which includes a picture of Liebig between pages 188-89.

- ⁴¹ German Baptist Conference, Nordwestliche Konferenz, *Verhandlungen*, 1893, 98; 1899, 21; and 1901, 21.
- ⁴² *Der Sendbote*, July 17, 1895, 2, and Aug. 25, 1915, 14; Eduard Scheve, *Die Mission der deutschen Baptisten in Kamerun* (Cassel: Verlag der Missions-Gesellschaft der deutschen Baptisten), 1901, 41-44, 48-49.
- ⁴³ *Der Sendbote*, Jan. 15, 1896, 3, and Aug. 25, 1915, 14. *ZB*, Sep. 29, 1897, 4. A picture of Peter (with African students) is in Schewe's work between pages 48 and 49 as well as in Albert John Ramaker, *The German Baptists in North America* (Cleveland: German Baptist Publication Society 1924), 101.
- ⁴⁴ German Baptist Conference, Nordwestliche Konferenz, *Verhandlungen*, 1902, 22. Plum Creek Baptist Church, *Anniversary*, 6.
- ⁴⁵ McClusky Baptist Church, *100th Anniversary, 1904-2004*, 8-10; German Baptist Conference, Nordwestliche Konferenz, *Verhandlungen*, 1907, 16, and 1908, 15, and Dakota Konferenz, *Verhandlungen*, 1910, 11. *ZB*, Feb. 28, 1906, 2.
- ⁴⁶ *Der Sendbote*, Aug. 25, 1915, 14; Sep. 2, 1925, 14; and July 19, 1944, 14. Jim Wills, ed., *Sheridan County Heritage*, '89 (McClusky: McClusky Gazette, 1989), 285-86.
- ⁴⁷ Edward B. Link, *You Who Have Dreams: The Life Story of Emil Peter Wahl* (Edmonton, Author, 2006), 8; *Der Sendbote*, Feb. 21, 1912, 14; *ZB*, Feb. 14, 1912, 4.
- ⁴⁸ Link, *You Who Have Dreams*, 1, 9. German Baptist Conference, Dakota Konferenz, *Verhandlungen*, 1910, 12-13; 1911, 11, 13; and 1912, 15-16; *Baptist Herald*, Nov. 15, 1939, 436-37. *Der Sendbote*, Nov. 21, 1928, 9.
- ⁴⁹ See the excellent article by Abe J. Dueck, "August G. A. Liebig (1836-1914)," *CMBS Newsletter*, Spring (2004), 1-4, which describes Liebig's relations with Mennonite Brethren in America; *ZB*, May 14, 1902, 3, and Feb. 28, 1906, 2; Friesen, *Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Brüderschaft*, 386 (467). *WHZ*, Dec. 21, 1912, 402. *Der Sendbote*, Nov. 21, 1928, 9.
- ⁵⁰ For Seibel's obituary, see *ZB*, Aug. 19, 1936, 11-12. For an account of his life, see Ronald D. Seibel, "Rev. Ludwig Seibel (1856-1936)" and Peggy Goertzen, "Ludwig Seibel, Founder of Mennonite Brethren Churches in the Dakotas," *CMBS Newsletter*, Fall, 2006, 1-6.
- ⁵¹ German Baptist Conference, Dakota Konferenz, *Verhandlungen*, 1913, 14, and 1914, 12. McClusky Baptist Church, *100th Anniversary*, 9, which includes a picture of Liebig's tombstone and later monument. *Der Sendbote*, Sep. 9, 1914, 8-9; Aug. 25, 1915, 14; Apr. 27, 1921, 14; and Sep. 2, 1925, 14. The article by Dueck, "August G. A. Liebig," also includes pictures of his gravestone and monument as well as a copy of his death certificate.
- ⁵² *Der Sendbote*, Nov. 21, 1928, 8-9, includes a description of the memorial service and also a picture of August Liebig and his wife.
- ⁵³ *Der Sendbote*, July 19, 1944, 14. See *Baptist Herald*, Apr. 1, 1945, 16; June 1, 1945, 16; and Apr. 1, 1946, 15, on the career and death of Gustav Lutz.; telephone interview, Dec. 27, 2006, by the author with LuAnn Wahl Prin, Eden Prairie, MN, great-granddaughter of Liebig, on Herbert Wedel. For the career of Emil P. Wahl, see his biography by Link, *You Who Have Dreams*.