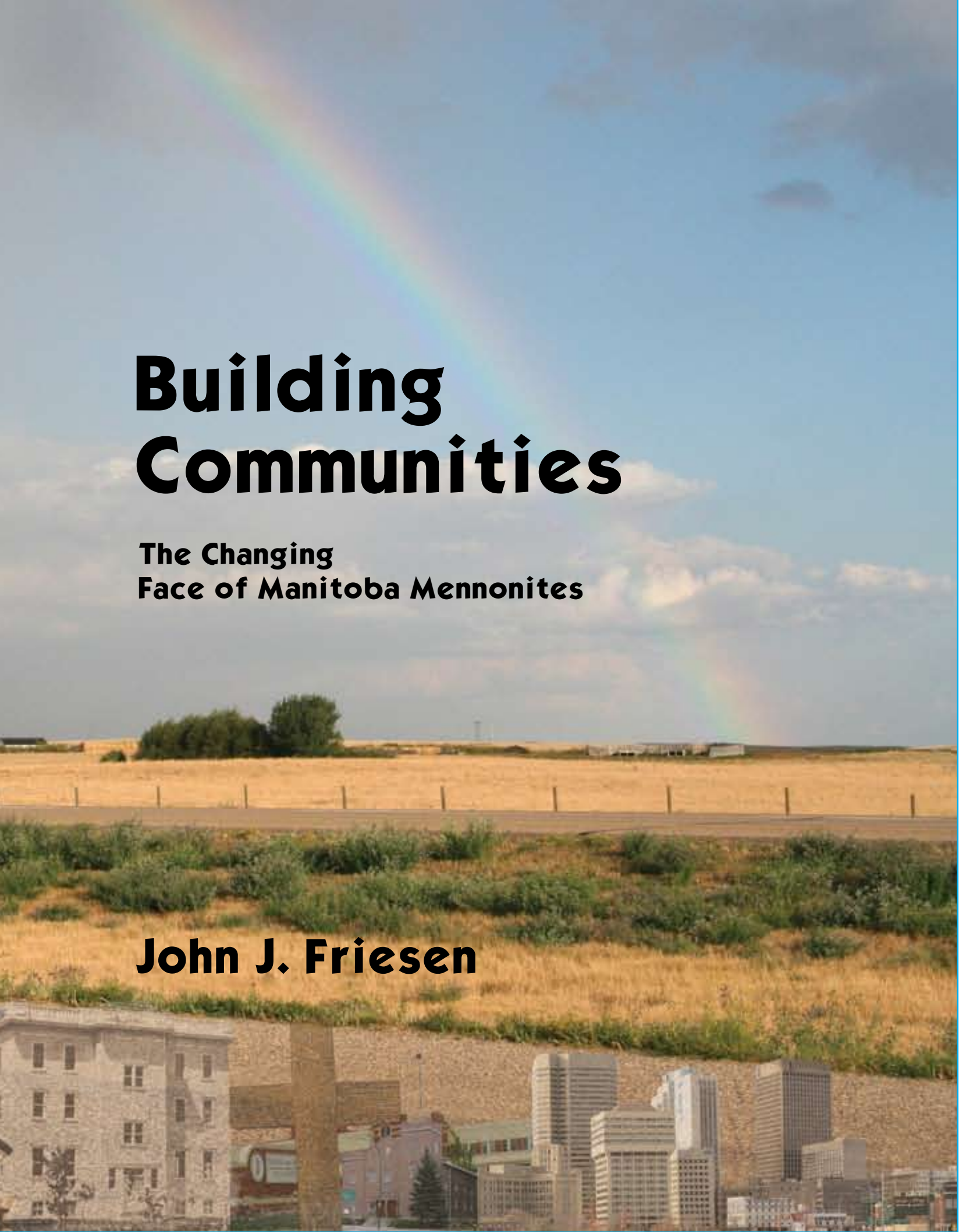


Building Communities

The Changing Face of Manitoba Mennonites

John J. Friesen

Building Communities

Building Communities
The Changing Face of Manitoba Mennonites

John J. Friesen

CMU Press
Winnipeg, Manitoba
2007

CMU Press
500 Shaftesbury Blvd.
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3P 2N2

In collaboration with Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society

Book layout and design: Tamara A. Sawatzky
Cover design: Lynette Schroeder Wiebe
Cover photo (landscape with rainbow): Jane Grunau
Cartographer: Weldon Hiebert

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Friesen, John J., 1940-
Building communities : the changing face of Manitoba Mennonites / John J. Friesen.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-920718-78-0

1. Mennonites—Manitoba—History. I. Title.

FC3400.M45F75 2007 289.7'7127 C2007-901131-4

Printed in Canada by
Friesens Corporation, Altona, Manitoba

To my grandchildren
Nicole, Sara, Jonathan, Joshua, and Alishia

Contents

Maps

Tables

Foreword

Mennonites have been an important part of Manitoba's social, economic, and religious fabric since the 1870s. They were some of the first of what became a wave of "foreign" settlers that transformed the Canadian West between Confederation and World War One. Almost everyone in Manitoba is either of Mennonite origin, knows Mennonites as members of their extended families, or has met them through business and social relationships. Mennonites have penetrated the cultural, political, and social life of the province where they embrace an internal diversity and yet have a cultural and religious similarity that makes for a richly textured history. John J. Friesen's synthesis of the Mennonite experience in Manitoba captures the internal dynamics of Mennonite life in the province, but also their relationship with other groups and society at large.

The need for a comprehensive but readable history of Manitoba's Mennonites was felt by many people. Earlier studies by E.K. Francis and John Warkentin, the former a sociologist and the latter a geographer, had asked questions that were important in the 1950s when both studies appeared. Both, however, could not deal with the urban experience of Mennonites because the migration to the cities was just underway when they wrote. Their focus on an agricultural way of life privileged the social, economic, and cultural story and placed less emphasis on the story of faith and church.

People such as Ken Reddig, currently director of the Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, and the late author Delbert Plett had suggested the need for a new history that would bring the story of Mennonites into the era of the urban, secular world of the twenty-first century. After a fairly long period of gestation, the idea was taken up by what was then the Research and Scholarship Committee of the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society. The Committee contacted John J. Friesen, who was beginning a sabbatical year away from his teaching responsibilities at Canadian Mennonite University, and commissioned him to prepare a manuscript for publication.

Long before I developed a serious interest in history, I heard a presentation by John J. Friesen that stressed the role of community in the faith expression of Anabaptist-Mennonites. I still recall the resonance I felt with John's portrayal of how faith was worked out, not only in the realm of theology and doctrine, but also in the rhythms of daily life. It is now many years later, but that sense of daily working out faith in the context of community remains a feature of this history of the Manitoba Mennonite experience.

John has brought to the story of Mennonites in Manitoba a long-standing interest in Mennonite history and theology. His love for the story of his people emerges in the pages that follow, but he has also sensitively portrayed the tensions and controversies that emerged and shaped the community. Friesen's story also brings new emphasis on the experience of women, Mennonite folklore, and the rituals of the life-cycle in Mennonite families and the community.

The project has enjoyed the support, both financial and emotional, of a cross-section of the Mennonite community. The Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society is pleased to have the manuscript published by CMU Press and made available to a broad audience. *Building Communities: The Changing Face of Manitoba Mennonites* is a welcome addition to the history of Mennonites in North America, but will also be important in enriching the story of Manitoba.

Hans Werner,
University of Winnipeg

Preface

The motivation for this study grew out of thirty-five years of teaching the Mennonite story and of directing hundreds of research projects. Students shared their enthusiasm as they interviewed grandparents, pored over records of their home congregations, delved into family histories, or studied conscientious objectors during times of war. This book is intended to generate a similar enthusiasm in the Mennonite story.

The publication is written with my children and grandchildren in mind. I hope that it will help them understand, and appreciate, their rich heritage. I trust that many readers in the Mennonite community, both young and old, will be able to locate themselves in this story, and see how it has shaped their lives. Hopefully, readers beyond the Mennonite community will gain a greater understanding of Mennonites and the contribution they have made to Manitoba. One cannot build for the future if one does not know the past.

The book is intended for the interested, non-professional reader. It includes photos, maps, tables and side-bars. The footnotes not only document primary material, but also direct readers to books and articles that expand on the content of the book. This feature should assist students and others who wish to pursue particular topics. The study tells a multi-faceted, thickly textured, and complex story, and is meant to inspire further research and interpretation.

The methodology used is eclectic, drawing on methods used in immigration studies, organizational patterns, religious history, theological analyses, social history, economic life, and political involvement. This mixed approach reflects both the diversity of studies about Manitoba Mennonites as well as the multi-layered texture of Mennonite life.

A perennial question is, "Who is Mennonite?" This study expresses the view that to be Mennonite is to be Christian within a particular story—the Anabaptist-Mennonite story from the sixteenth century to the present. It includes both the historical communities that originated in Europe, and the new communities in Manitoba and around the world. The boundaries of the Mennonite story are open and inclusive, able to incorporate new people with their histories. To be Mennonite is to be part of this ongoing, expanding story, shaped by its beliefs and practices, its strengths and its weaknesses.

The title, *Building Communities: The Changing Face of Manitoba Mennonites*, tells the Manitoba part of this story. As a deeply religious people, Mennonites believe that faith must be embodied in community. They are, however, not of one mind about how that embodiment happens—hence, a plurality of communities. The Manitoba story is also one of continually changing communities—hence, the changing face.

Manitoba Mennonites also have a sense of commonality, of being one people. The commonalities are mystical and hard to define, and yet very real. Among others they include a shared history, belief in God, and convictions about community, peace, service, and mission, even when these are expressed differently. The sense of common peoplehood is often greater at the community level than among leaders and organizations.

The book divides the Manitoba story into three parts or eras: 1870-1920, 1920-1950, and 1950 to the end of the century. Each era has unique characteristics expressed in a number of topics. Since one of the goals is to pull together previous studies into one narrative, the topics chosen reflect the published research. Each topic is discussed in terms of how it contributes to community building. Each becomes a window into the Mennonite experience.

Readers will also notice some underlying themes. One theme is the importance of faith in continuing to shape Mennonite reality. Even as Mennonites change and secularize, church life continues to be important. Second, although most of the original Mennonite immigrants in Manitoba had a common history, they have become a much more diverse people in the past half century, accepting people with many new stories and heritages. Expanding their boundaries is one way in which Mennonites have renewed themselves. Third, Mennonites have both embraced acculturation with enthusiasm and resisted it. Resistance has been expressed in a variety of ways: from emigration, to distinctive clothing and lifestyles, to separate educational systems, and to promotion of peace, justice, and equality.

The contributions of many people to the completion of this study are gratefully acknowledged. Some have helped through their books and articles. Since this study is designed to pull together the studies to form a narrative, this detailed work by many scholars is especially important. Others have been willing to be interviewed on various topics, and have generously contributed from their knowledge and experience. Numerous people have been willing to read parts of the book, and make many comments and suggestions. The archivists at the Mennonite Heritage Centre, the Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, and the Evangelical Mennonite Church, as well as the curator at the Mennonite Heritage Village, Steinbach, have been most helpful.

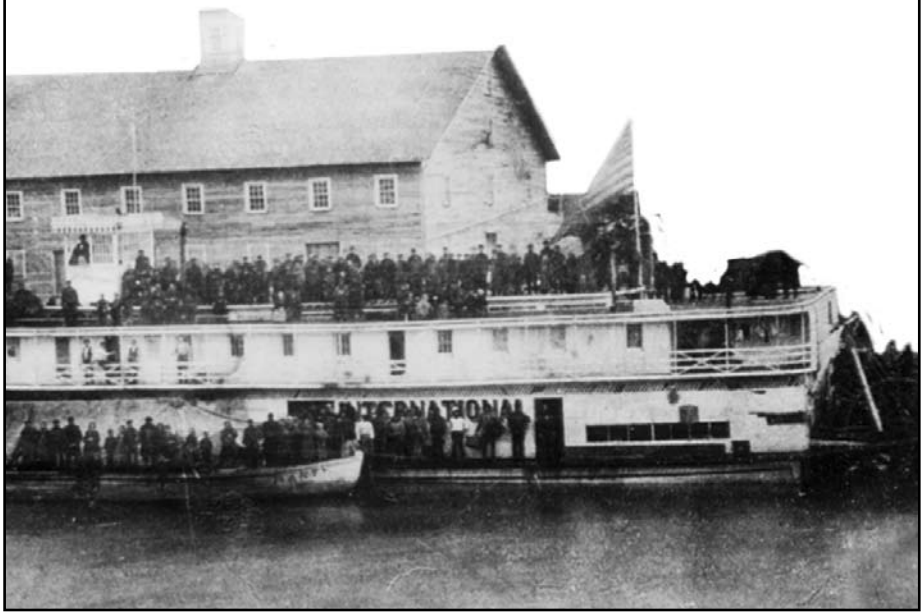
Thanks go to the historical committee of the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, which commissioned and funded this project. Thank you also to the D.F. Plett Historical Research Foundation, Inc. and the Gerhard Lohrenz Publication Fund for generous grants toward the publication of this book.

Numerous people have served on successive readers' committees, and their advice and counsel are gratefully acknowledged. The editorial committee of CMU Press, chaired first by Karl Koop and later by Harry Huebner, has been most helpful in bringing this study to conclusion. To Tammy Sawatzky who did the design and layout, Lynnette Wiebe for the cover design, Weldon Hiebert for the maps, and Margaret Franz for copy-editing, thanks. A special thank you goes to Dorothy, my partner, for her wise questions, comments, and critique as the book developed. To these, and to the many who have offered suggestions, information, and encouragement, my sincere thanks.

John J. Friesen
Canadian Mennonite University

Part I: 1870 1920

Pursuing a Vision



Part I: 1870 — 1920
Pursuing a Vision

1
Mennonites Inspect the Land

For people in the Red River settlement of Fort Garry, June 17, 1873 was just another warm, mosquito-infested day on the prairie. The Métis' attempt to form a government had failed. The buffalo hunters had moved west. Aboriginals were moving onto reserves. Settlers were arriving. Manitoba was just three years old. And the buffalo (or bison), whose symbol was emblazoned forever on Manitoba's new coat of arms, was nearly extinct. Early summer was a time of toil for the settlers, breaking virgin land, tending livestock, and planting gardens. They hoped their new crops would escape the dangers of grasshoppers, drought, frost, or sudden summer thunderstorms.

Along with the storms and the rain, powerful political winds swirled from the east and the south. Ottawa was scrambling to populate this fledgling province in an attempt to keep its fertile lands out of the hands of Americans. As politics at the time dictated, possession was nine-tenths of the law. Both Ontario and Quebec were working to increase their influence in this quickly growing gateway to the West. Aware of its vast new resources, both wanted to build a satellite that would strengthen their position in the Dominion of Canada. This rivalry set the stage for the continuing French-English conflict in Manitoba.

However, such rivalry was not the worry of the first Mennonite delegates on June 17 as they stepped from the *International*, a steam-powered riverboat, onto the muddy shores at the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red rivers. Their immediate concern was to meet with officials, inspect the land, and discern if this place was where they were destined to settle. And they were preoccupied with the rich black soil at their feet. They sensed that here might be the opportunity for which they and their forebears were searching. They wanted to follow the teachings of the Bible and instruct their children in its ways, be free from military service, and have enough land for themselves and their families. They wanted to live in peace and follow their convictions.

Historical Background

Anabaptism. Mennonites originated in the Anabaptist reform movements that swept through Europe in the sixteenth century. These reforms happened in the midst of major Protestant upheavals led by Martin Luther in central Germany, Ulrich Zwingli in northern Switzerland, and Jean Calvin in French Switzerland. These three leaders broke with the medieval Catholic tradition of relying on the church fathers for authority on how to interpret scripture, and believed that the Bible was clear and could be understood directly by its readers. Instead of seeing salvation as based on a merit theology in which God rewarded believers' good deeds, the reformers understood salvation to be a gift from God that people could not earn. Instead of Latin they used local everyday languages in worship services. Rather than the mass being the centre of worship, they emphasized the importance of the sermon.

However, the reformers did not change the Catholic Church's emphasis in regard to the relationship of church and state. They continued the system in which all the people in one country or state belonged to one church. This form of church-state relationship was called Constantinianism and began in the fourth century with the Roman emperor Constantine. During the sixteenth century, the effect

of this system was that the Protestant reformers had to take direction from their protector kings and nobles about the nature and speed of their reforms. The reformers' stated aims of the centrality of the Bible and of basing salvation on faith had to be tempered by political considerations.

In response, Anabaptists advocated adult baptism, and formed churches that were free and independent of governments. The Anabaptist movement arose more or less simultaneously as a series of reforms in various European regions, including the present-day countries of Switzerland, Austria, the Czech Republic (Moravia), Germany, eastern France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Because this movement was seen as a threat to the political and religious order of the day, its members were severely persecuted by the Catholic Church as well as by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin.

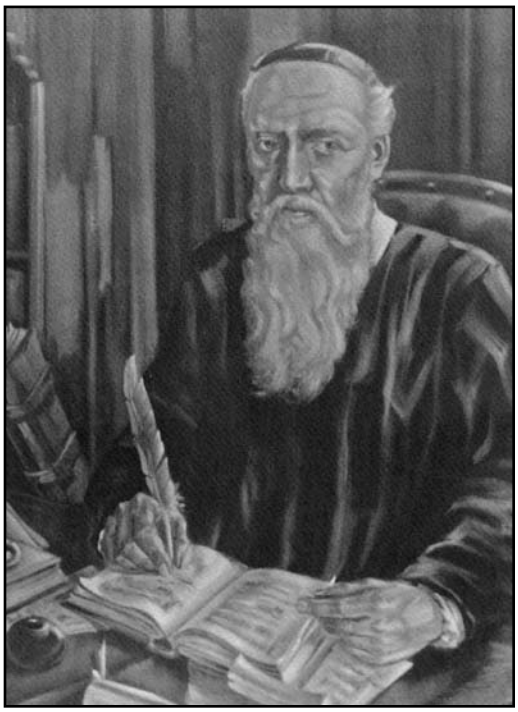
The movement was called Anabaptist because its members who had been baptized as infants were re-baptized as adults. In Latin *ana* means repetition. The first rebaptism took place in January 1525 in Zurich, Switzerland.

For some time the Anabaptist movement in the Netherlands encompassed various factions. Some were spiritualist and charismatic and gave little weight to the Bible. Others were individualistic and had little place for the church. Still others, especially those in Muenster, Germany, who had come from the Netherlands, believed that true reform could be based on visions and dreams and be implemented through the violence of the sword.

In the midst of these diverse directions, Menno Simons, a Catholic priest in the northern Dutch region of Friesland, left the church in January 1536 in order to lead the Anabaptists in a more wholesome direction. He called for reform that was based on: the centrality of the Bible for faith and life, adult baptism upon confession of faith, nonresistance and peace as a way of life, witnessing to Christ in one's whole life, and being willing to suffer even unto death. He advocated separation of church and state, and that church leaders be elected by members, not appointed by bishops.[1] His followers were called Mennists or Mennonites.[2] Along with this branch of the sixteenth-century Anabaptist movement were two others: Mennonites and Amish in southern Germany and Switzerland, and the Hutterites in Moravia and Hungary.

Refuge in Poland and Prussia. Brutal per-

Ursel van Essen being whipped for assisting her husband, an Anabaptist elder. In 1570 Ursel was burned at the stake in Maastricht, Netherlands (1).



Menno Simons, influential early Anabaptist leader in the Netherlands and the northern German states. (2).

secution by the Spanish, who controlled the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, caused many Mennonites to board ships in Amsterdam and sail eastward to other Hanseatic League cities. Initially they settled in both Polish and Prussian regions, but when Prussia expelled them, they fled to the lowlands along the Vistula River in Poland near the cities of Danzig (Gdansk), Elbing (Elblag), Marienburg (Malbork), and further south up to the city of Torn (Torun).[3] These regions were all in the Polish province later known as West Prussia. There along the Vistula River, Mennonites were able to live in peace from the 1530s to the 1770s. However, they were rarely granted the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Mennonite churches in Poland were not allowed to construct church buildings, so they met in homes, barns, or sheds. Each church elected from within its membership a bishop, plus ministers and deacons. The bishops' responsibility was to lead and direct the life of the church, serve communion, and baptize new members. Ministers, called teachers, had the task of preaching and teaching. Each congregation had a deacon who took care of those with special economic needs. Believing that faith should extend to the material and financial areas of life, they developed fire insurance organizations and an orphans' bureau (*Waisenamt*) that provided for widows and orphans.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century Mennonite congregations were finally given the right to build meetinghouses. They were, however, required to keep the church buildings plain, e.g., no towers, no bells, no decorated windows. The simplicity of architecture imposed by these laws became the "Mennonite" form of church architecture that was still used when Mennonites came to Manitoba. During the eighteenth century they gradually changed the language of their worship services from Dutch to either Low German or High German. Low German (*Plautdietsch*) was the language of their rural neighbours and became their language for everyday use. High German, the language of the Germans in the nearby cities of Elbing, Danzig, and Marienburg, was adopted as the language of worship.

Education was a matter of great importance for Mennonites. Since the Bible was their guide to faith and life, it was important that each member be able to read. Education was seen as the responsibility of the church and the home.

Because Mennonites believed in peace and nonviolence they refused to do military service. To secure exemption from such service in times of war, they had to pay Polish government officials large sums of money. In 1642, in order to protect themselves against repeated extortions, Mennonites negotiated a charter of rights for non-citizens (*Privilegium*) with the Polish king, Wladislav IV. They agreed to pay an annual sum of money to the royal treasury in exchange for their exemption.[4]

In 1772 Prussia, Austria, and Russia decided on the first partition of Poland. Prussia

An arcaded house formerly owned by Mennonites in the Vistula Delta region, south east of Gdansk (3).

For this is the nature of love, to pray for persecutors, to render good for evil, to love one's enemies, to heap coals of fire upon their heads, and to leave vengeance to him who judges rightly.

Romans 12:20

(Menno Simons in Walter Klaassen, *Anabaptism in Outline*, 277)

Therefore, in response to the humble request of the aforementioned inhabitants, We, by the power of our royal authority grant, confirm and will protect all the rights and privileges, freedoms, prerogatives and customs which our forefathers...have granted in the past.

King Wladislaw IV, Warsaw, 22 December 1642

(W. Mannhardt, *Die Wehrfreiheit der altpreussischen Mennoniten*, 80.)

received West Prussia, the region in which the majority of Mennonites in the Vistula River area lived. Since Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, was intent on creating one of the strongest armies in Europe, he was reluctant to grant Mennonites exemption from military service. When he finally relented, he demanded a large annual cash payment and forbade Mennonites to acquire additional land. The latter restriction caused many Mennonites to become landless. Consequently, when Catherine the Great of Russia advertised for settlers, Mennonites sent delegates to investigate. Finding the land fertile and the terms of settlement favourable, thousands of Mennonites migrated to the steppes of Ukraine during the following century.

Migration to New Russia-Ukraine. Mennonites migrated to Ukraine, at that time called New Russia, on the basis of promises included in a charter of rights (*Privilegium*) promised by Catherine and published in 1800 by Czar Paul I. The conditions of the charter were similar to those granted to other immigrants into New Russia at the time. For Mennonites the key terms were: adequate land, ability to set up their own businesses, exemption from military service, freedom of religion, exemption from swearing an oath, and control of their own schools.[5] The Russian government wished to insulate its own people from the influences of foreign colonists. To accomplish this, it set up a separate organization, the Guardians Committee under the Department of the Interior, to govern the foreign colonists, including Mennonites.[6]

In their settlements Mennonites developed "row" villages (*Reihendörfer*) with central streets and farmsteads on both sides. This pattern, adapted from the northern European

Czarina Catherine the Great of Russia who invited many, including Mennonites, to settle in Ukraine (5).

areas where Mennonites had lived, became their distinctive form of community organization. The village was much more than a way of arranging houses and barns; it organized religious, social, economic, and political life. They brought this village pattern to Manitoba.

The main Mennonite settlements of Chortitza and Molotschna were established in 1789 and 1804 respectively (see Map 1 for Mennonite colonies in southern Russia).[7] Each Mennonite household received 65 dessiatins of land, or about 175 acres or 70 hectares, which could not be subdivided. When these settlements were filled up, a landless class developed and so new settlements were founded: Bergthal colony in 1836, Borozenko in 1865-1866, and Fuerstenland in 1864-1870. By the 1870s Russian Mennonites again had a large landless class of people. In the Bergthal colony for example, some 355 families out of about 500 were without land.[8] The economic difficulties many were experiencing in Russia made them receptive to the offer of free land in Canada.

A typical Mennonite farmstead in Ukraine, in the village of Blumenort, Molotschna (4).

Emigration from Russia. In the early 1870s the Russian government embarked upon a series of reforms designed to modernize and strengthen its empire. Serfs were emancipated, military service was required of all citizens including colonists, and the government took control of all schools. The Russian language

became mandatory in schools and civil affairs. Mennonites found these changes threatening. They especially feared universal military service and loss of control of their schools. Negotiations with the Russian government were fruitless. However, after Mennonites sent a delegation to North America to investigate immigration possibilities, the Russian government became worried that the whole community of 55,000 Mennonites might emigrate. Consequently it offered them exemption from military service in exchange for alternative service in forestry work and as orderlies under civilian control in times of war.

The school reforms, however, remained. The Russian government appointed teachers, regulated curriculum, controlled teachers' standards, shortened the school days and the school year, and denied girls access to secondary education. One-third of the Mennonites in Russia believed the changes were too threatening and the concessions too minimal. They looked for a new homeland in which they would have freedom to practice their religion.

Manitoba

In 1874, when the first Mennonites arrived, Manitoba was a very new province—it had been created by an Act of the Canadian Parliament in 1870. Initially the province was much smaller in size than it is today. Winnipeg had a population of some 5,000 people, which was less than the total number of Mennonite immigrants in the 1870s.[9]

In 1867 when Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick signed the British North America Act, the Dominion of Canada was founded. The Act specifically mentioned that the West should become part of Canada.[10] After it was signed, the Canadian Parliament "adopted a resolution asking her Majesty 'to unite Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory to this Dominion' . . . ."[11] In 1869 the British Parliament passed a resolution that allowed the Hudson's Bay Company to sell its land to the Canadian government.[12] The date for the transfer of authority was December 1, 1869.

The creation of the Province of Manitoba within the Dominion of Canada was not a simple matter. Different parties were vying to control the Red River region. Merchants in Minneapolis, Minnesota, wanted it to belong to the United States. However, in 1869 the American government was preoccupied with other issues and did not press its claim to the Northwest prairie region, much to the dismay of these merchants and traders.

The aboriginal people in the area were the Ojibway and Cree. Even though they had freely roamed this land for centuries, others had laid claim to part or even all of it long before the Province of Manitoba was founded. The functional non-aboriginal governing body of the area was the Hudson's Bay Company. From 1821, when it merged with the Northwest Company, until 1869, when its rights were extinguished and authority transferred to Canada, it was the legal authority in the area. The third party, and one that had direct authority, was the Governor and Council of Assiniboia. This council was established in 1811 when Lord Selkirk and his group of Scottish Highlanders were granted more than 300,000 square kilometres of land that included regions of present-day Manitoba, Saskatchewan, North Dakota, and Minnesota. This included Winnipeg and the region where the Mennonite reserves were later located.[13]

The Métis. The fourth group to lay claim to the land in question were the Métis, descendents of French and English traders and aboriginal women. They lived on river lots along the Red and Assiniboine rivers where some of them grew crops and vegetables and engaged in annual buffalo (or bison) hunts. The Métis were the dominant group in the Red River settlement before 1870. In a settled population of 12,228, 5,757 were French Métis and 4,083 were English Métis. In addition there were 1,565 so-called white people, and the rest were probably settled aboriginals.[14] One historian has indicated the importance of the Métis thus: "In the absence of a regular police force . . . the governor and council members (of Assiniboia) understood that they could govern only with the consent of the Métis."[15]

Metis traders on the plains, ca. 1872-1874 (6).

In 1835 Métis representatives were added to the Council of Assiniboia.

In the fall of 1869, shortly before the transfer of authority from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada, Canadian surveyors arrived.[16] The French Métis realized that their land and way of life was being threatened. On October 11, when the surveyors came to the land of one of Louis Riel's relatives, he and a group of Métis stood up to the surveyors and forced them to leave. From this time on, Louis Riel, a twenty-five-year-old French Métis, played a key role in the creation of the province of Manitoba. Born in the Red River area in 1844, he was educated in a Catholic school in Montreal for ten years. He received some training in law before returning to the Red River settlement in 1868. By this time he was better educated than most people in the settlement, although he was unemployed. In temperament he was bold, but also suspicious. "As a speaker he was fluent and forceful; as a strategist he was quick and innovative; as a personality he was intense and utterly dedicated to his cause."[17]

Riel's aim was that the Red River settlers, especially the French Métis, should have a say in the terms under which Canadian authority would be established in their area. After the October confrontation with the surveyors, events happened quickly. On November 2, the Métis captured Upper Fort Garry and on December 7 Lower Fort Garry.[18] On the political front, Riel and his French Métis supporters moved ahead as well. On December 8, 1869 Riel proclaimed the establishment of a provisional government and issued what has become known as the Declaration of Métis Independence.[19] This document was "no more than an assertion of the right of the Métis to negotiate the terms on which Canadian authority would be established in the North-West."[20] Thus from the perspective of the Métis, from December 8, 1869 to July 1870, the Riel provisional government was the legitimate government in the Red River settlement.[21]

Riel was strongly opposed by English Canadians both in the Red River settlement and in Ontario. The English in Ontario saw the annexation of the North West Territory with Canada as assuring Canada's political and economic future.[22] They also saw this region as potentially strengthening their hand in the ongoing tension with the French in Quebec.

That Riel was not able to carry out his vision was largely the result of the execution of Thomas Scott, a twenty-eight-year-old labourer from Ontario. Scott, who opposed the Métis, especially Riel, was involved in a number of disturbances and made repeated threats against Riel. In early March 1870, Riel's provisional government had Scott arrested, court-marshalled, convicted, and executed. This created a martyr for the forces opposed to Riel, and aroused strong opposition to the Riel government in Ontario. It doomed his attempt to be a voice for the Red River settlement.

The Riel provisional government, however, went ahead with plans to establish a new province. In April it sent a delegation of three persons to Ottawa to negotiate terms for the creation of a new Province of the Northwest. Instead of a large province encompassing the whole of the West, what they received from the federal government was a small Province of Manitoba of about one hundred miles square. The rest of the West became a territory under the authority of the federal government. The other terms they received were largely as they had requested: a responsible provincial government, bilingual institutions, denominational schools, guarantees of land titles, federal respect for Indian title, and 1.4 million acres of land for their unmarried children.[23]

Louis Riel and his council who drew up a constitution for Manitoba. (7).

Amnesty for those who had participated in the provisional government and in the execution of Scott was granted verbally but not honoured. At the same time the Canadian government sent a military force to Manitoba, even though the reason for such a force was no longer valid since the provisional government was willing to transfer authority to the governor general representing the federal government.[24] It did

arrive in the Red River settlement in early July 1870, a week before the governor general arrived. The military treated Riel and the Métis as revolutionaries, rather than as legitimate rulers who could transfer authority. In the face of the military threat, Riel fled, the Métis were disempowered, the promises of land were not honoured, and an English governor general was installed. On July 15, 1870 the Province of Manitoba was officially proclaimed and the Manitoba Act became law.

Riel's actions had been successful in connecting the Northwest to Canada instead of to Minnesota. In this accomplishment he ranks as the founder of Manitoba. But he also suffered setbacks. He failed to secure a role for himself and his Métis supporters within the new Province of Manitoba. Even one of his victories, namely the creation of Manitoba as a bilingual province, laid the basis for an acrimonious struggle between the English and French—a struggle that had unfortunate results for both the French and the Mennonites in the later history of the province. After Manitoba was established, many French Métis moved to Saskatchewan to follow the buffalo herds that were migrating ever further west and to escape the growing anti-French Métis feelings among government leaders and English settlers.[25] The fraudulent confiscation of their land left them few options but to depart.

Aboriginal People. The main aboriginal groups in the newly created province were the Ojibway and the Cree. They were not part of Riel's provisional government, nor included in his set of demands to the Canadian government. The relationship between the Métis and the aboriginals had been uneasy at best. The latter believed that all the land belonged to them, and they did not want their rights extinguished by either the French or the English without compensation. In Ontario and Quebec, as well as in the areas north of the Great Lakes, a pattern of treaties between governments and the aboriginal people had been established. So in 1870, with the founding of the Province of Manitoba, the federal government undertook serious treaty negotiations with the aboriginal people in Manitoba.

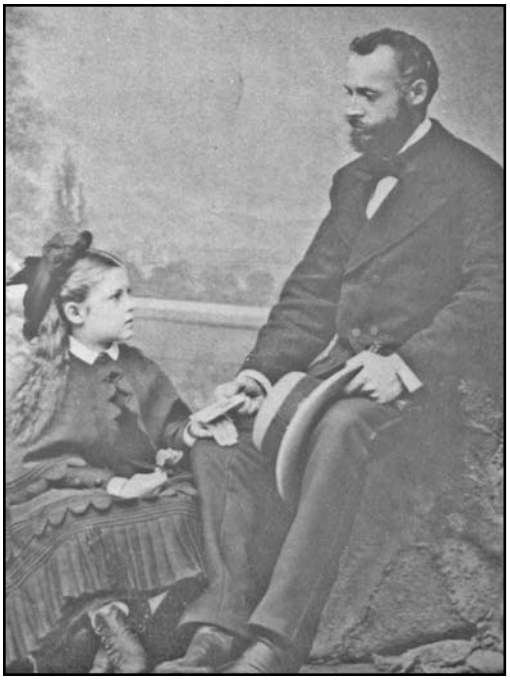
In 1871 they signed Treaty One with the Canadian government.[26] They gave up title to their land in exchange for an annual contribution of 15 dollars per family of five, reserves of 160 acres per family of five, schools on each reserve, and protection from intoxicating liquor. In addition they were promised clothing for the headmen, as well as farm animals and implements to begin farming.[27] In 1874 they were in the process of moving onto the reserves. Their former nomadic ways, however, did not vanish overnight. Many aboriginals still lived in tents, hunted wild animals, and migrated along traditional routes.

Those who had started farming along the Red River north of Winnipeg lost their land and had to move to reserves. Curiously, despite the government's stated aim to teach and assist the natives to become farmers, the farmland they had was taken from them and much of the land they were given was unsuitable for farming. Furthermore, they were scattered in many small reserves. This was contrary to their request, and the fragmentation meant that they did not have the necessary critical mass of people to sustain viable communities.

The French. In 1870 the number of non-Métis French in Manitoba was quite small. Attempts were made to bring in more French settlers, especially those from Quebec who had moved to New England states and were looking for land in Canada. The settlements of St. Jean Baptiste and Letellier on the Red River were founded in this manner. These efforts, however, resulted in bringing relatively few new French settlers to Manitoba.

Mennonites Inspect Manitoba

William Hespeler introduced Mennonites in Russia to the idea of moving to Mani-



William Hespeler and daughter Georgina Hope, 1870-1871. Hespeler and his family settled in Winnipeg after the Mennonite immigration (8).

We chose Canada because it was under the protection of the Queen of England; and we believed that our freedom from military service would survive longer there and also that church and school would remain under our own jurisdiction.

Gerhard Wiebe, Bergthaler Mennonite Church

(Gerhard Wiebe, *Causes and History of the Emigration of Mennonites from Russia to America*, trans. Helen Janzen, 34)

Diary entries of a delegate who inspected land in Manitoba: June 17 Tuesday: Arrived in Fort Garry at 5 a.m. Lodged in the Davis Hotel. Hespeler took the delegates to Government House and introduced them to Lieutenant Governor Morris and Premier H.J. Clark. Several of the delegates went on two short tours in and around the town. *June 18 Wednesday:* A caravan of seven wagons carried the twenty-four people and supplies [to inspect the land]. Crossed the Red River by ferry and travelled along the Dawson Road. Leonard Sudermann (William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 125-126)

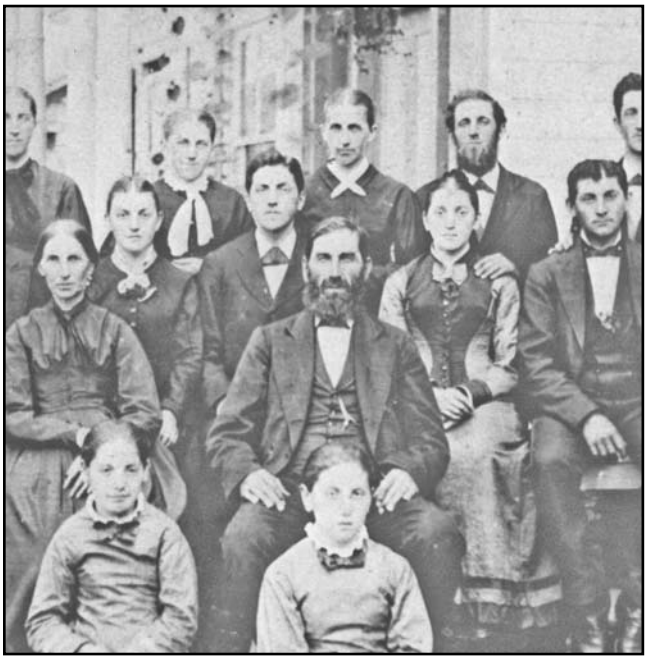
toba. Hespeler, a Canadian from Waterloo, Ontario, was stationed in the German state of Baden as a land agent for the Canadian government.[28] In the spring of 1872 his employer, via the British Foreign Office, ordered him to go to southern Russia to visit Mennonites and invite them to move to Canada.[29] The government had heard from Cornelius Janzen, a Mennonite businessman, that Mennonites might be interested in emigrating.

Hespeler arrived in Berdiansk on July 25, 1872, and visited Mennonite leaders. He discovered that they were indeed interested in moving and suggested that they send a delegation to Manitoba to inspect the land. Shortly after he arrived there, the Russian government ordered him out of the country for promoting emigration of its citizens. However, a year later, on June 17, 1873, a delegation of ten Mennonites and two Hutterites arrived in Fort Garry.[30] Seven of the Mennonites were from Ukraine, two from the western Russian-Ukrainian province of Volhynia, and one from Prussia. The Hutterites came from settlements near the Mennonite areas in Ukraine.

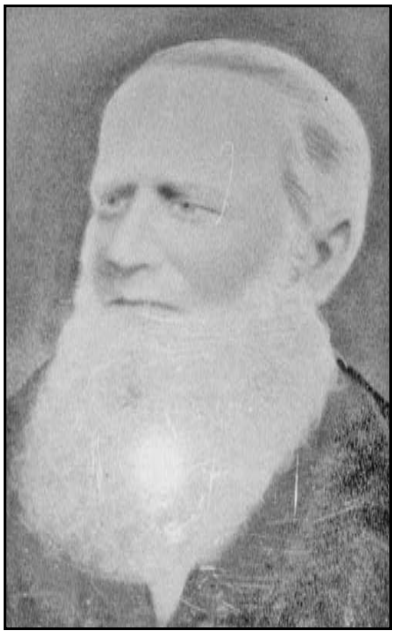
Leading this delegation of twelve was Hespeler, assisted by Jacob Y. Shantz, a Swiss Mennonite businessman in Berlin (Kitchener), Ontario, who had been hired by the Canadian government to persuade Russian Mennonites to immigrate to Canada.[31] Accompanying the delegate group were two Americans, both promoting the United States as a better place to settle. One was John F. Funk, a Mennonite from Elkhart, Indiana; the other was H.M. Hiller from the Northern Pacific Railway in the United States.

When the delegates arrived in Manitoba, Hespeler and Shantz introduced them to Lieutenant Governor Alexander Morris and Premier H. J. Clark, then took them on a tour of the city of Winnipeg.[32] The following day they left for an inspection trip into the countryside southeast of Winnipeg where the Canadian government had selected eight townships of land for possible Mennonite settlement. The mosquitoes and the swampy land were discouraging factors. Almost half of the delegates, including the Hutterites, the Prussian Mennonites, some of the Russian Mennonites, as well as Funk and Hiller, left after a tour of the proposed Mennonite area. They decided to look for land in the United States.[33] The remaining delegates decided to inspect land west of Winnipeg, and travelled into the Portage la Prairie area. On the way, they noted oxcarts bringing in new settlers. On the return trip, while staying at a hotel at White Horse Plains, their driver got into a quarrel with a group of Métis. Hespeler guarded the delegates overnight with knife and revolver. In the morning the lieutenant governor sent a cavalry troop of 30 men from Winnipeg to rescue the group.[34]

After this inspection tour, the delegates from the Molotschna settlement in southern Russia also decided not to recommend Manitoba as a destination for emigration. This left only the delegates from the Bergthal and



Jacob Y. Shantz, centre, Ontario Mennonite who assisted Mennonites to settle in Manitoba and his family, c. 1900 (9).



Cornelius Toews, a Kleine Gemeinde delegate, who inspected Manitoba and recommended immigration (10).

Kleine Gemeinde settlements who decided to recommend that their groups move to Manitoba.[35] The delegates from the Bergthal Colony were Jacob Peters, the sixty-year-old civic leader; Heinrich Wiebe, a thirty-six-year-old minister; and Kornelius Buhr, an estate owner who came on his own expense. The Kleine Gemeinde delegates were David Klassen and Cornelius Toews. Wiebe expressed the view of the delegates when he commented, ". . . one should not only consider the land question but also not forget the matter of freedom, for that is the reason why we came to this country and are making this long journey."[36]

On July 1, 1873, Dominion Day, when the Mennonite delegates left Manitoba, boarding the same boat, the *International*, that had brought them to the province, they had the information necessary for a possible move to Canada.[37] The next steps depended on the communities back home. Before returning to Russia, the delegates travelled to Ottawa to get the Canadian government's assurance in writing. They received a letter from John Lowe, secretary of the Department of Agriculture, who promised them ample land, exemption from military service, immunity from swearing an oath, and control of their own schools (see Appendix 1). With these commitments in hand, they returned to Russia to present their reports.

2
Immigration and Settlement: New Beginnings

At the end of summer in 1873, after months of absence, the Mennonite delegates were welcomed home with eager anticipation. They had inspected land in both Manitoba and in the western United States, and now presented their reports to crowded churches. The Bergthaler and the Kleine Gemeinde delegates had been most impressed with the offer from Canada. The letter written by John Lowe on behalf of the Canadian government was widely read, and people argued the pros and cons of emigrating.

Immigration

About one-third or 17,000 of the Mennonites in Russia decided to emigrate. Ten thousand chose to move to the United States where they believed the weather and land were better. This group included Mennonites from Galicia in western Ukraine, Hutterites, one-third of the Kleine Gemeinde, some from the Molotschna settlement, as well as some Mennonites from Prussia.

Seven thousand chose Manitoba. Based on the recommendation of their delegates, the Bergthaler settlement (2,833 people) and the Kleine Gemeinde settlement at Borozenko (696 people) arrived in 1874, 1875, and 1876.[38] The Chortitza and Fuerstenland settlements had not sent their own delegates but depended on the advice of the Bergthaler group. Starting in 1875, 3,411 people from these two settlements also immigrated to Manitoba.[39] Of these groups, all but the Chortitza immigrants came from daughter colonies, and thus had recently pioneered in Russia. They chose Manitoba because of the promises in John Lowes' letter, which also included being able to establish block settlements and settle in villages.

Emigration plans were made throughout the winter of 1874 in the Bergthal and Borozenko (Kleine Gemeinde) settlements in Russia. Land was sold, possessions were packed, and passports secured. The Bergthaler Church faced a problem, however. Many of its members were landless and too poor to pay their way to Canada, but the church had decided to move as a group. What to do? The church members decided they would help each other. Those who had surplus money in their accounts in the orphans' bureau were asked to transfer up to 25 percent into an assistance account. Those in need could borrow from this account with the promise to repay. In this way everyone could move.[40] Virtually all the loans were later repaid.

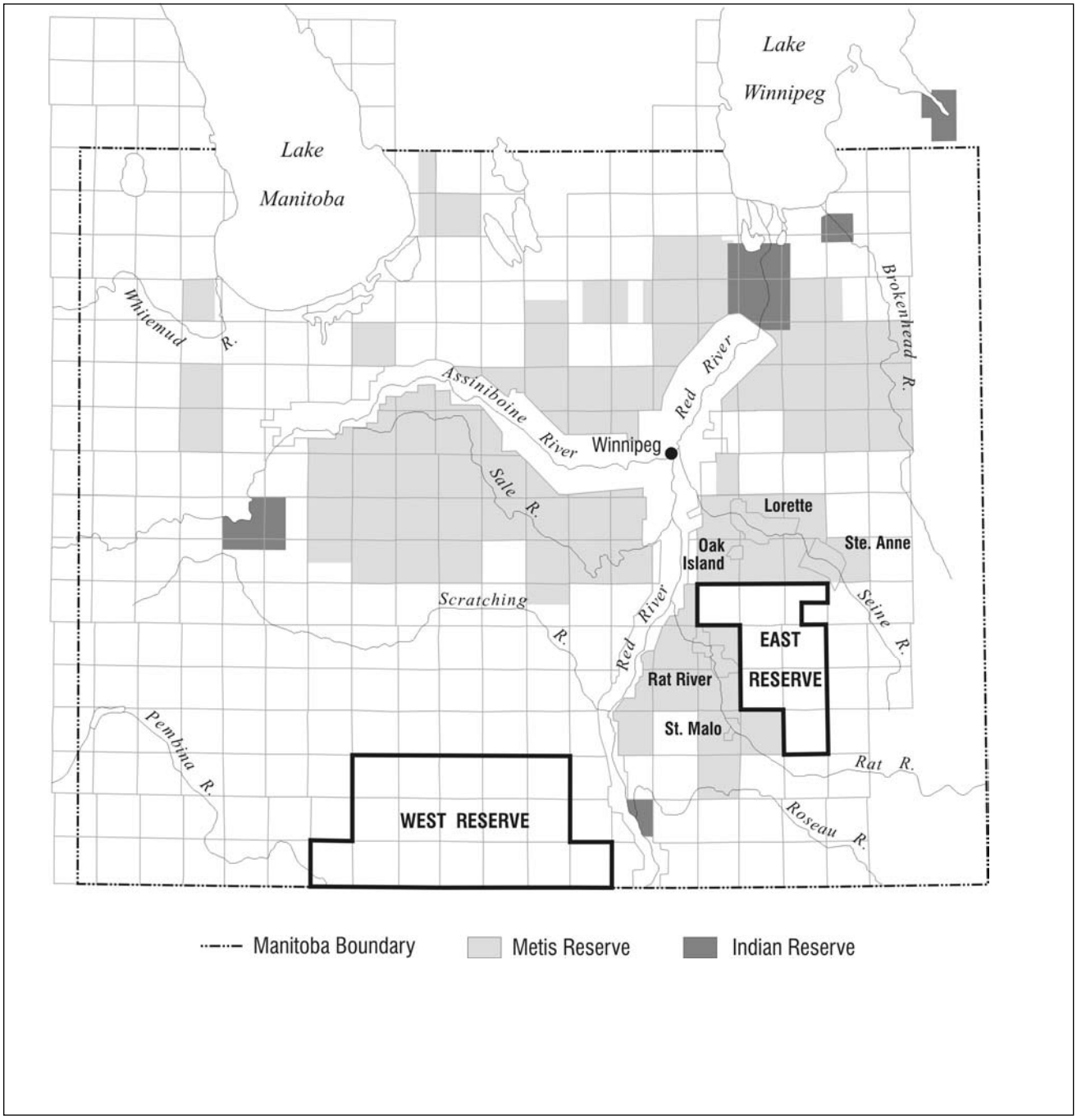
The 1874 Groups. In June 1874 the long and difficult move to Manitoba began. The first Kleine Gemeinde people left Russia on May 29.[41] The first Bergthaler group left by train on June 27,[42] travelled across Russia through the Prussian part of the newly united German Empire, and arrived in Hamburg. From there they took a ship to England, crossed to Liverpool, sailed to Quebec City, and stepped on Canadian soil 24 days after departing from their homes. Following immigration processing, they went by rail and Great Lakes ships to Duluth, Minnesota, and from there by train to Fargo, North Dakota. From Fargo they took a steamboat, the *International*, to Winnipeg, arriving on August 15.[43] Despite the collective decision to move to Manitoba, and financial assistance from the church, a sizable number of the Bergthaler were persuaded by American agents in Fargo to settle near Mountain Lake,

Key elements from John Lowe's letter (seen as the "Mennonite Privilegium"):

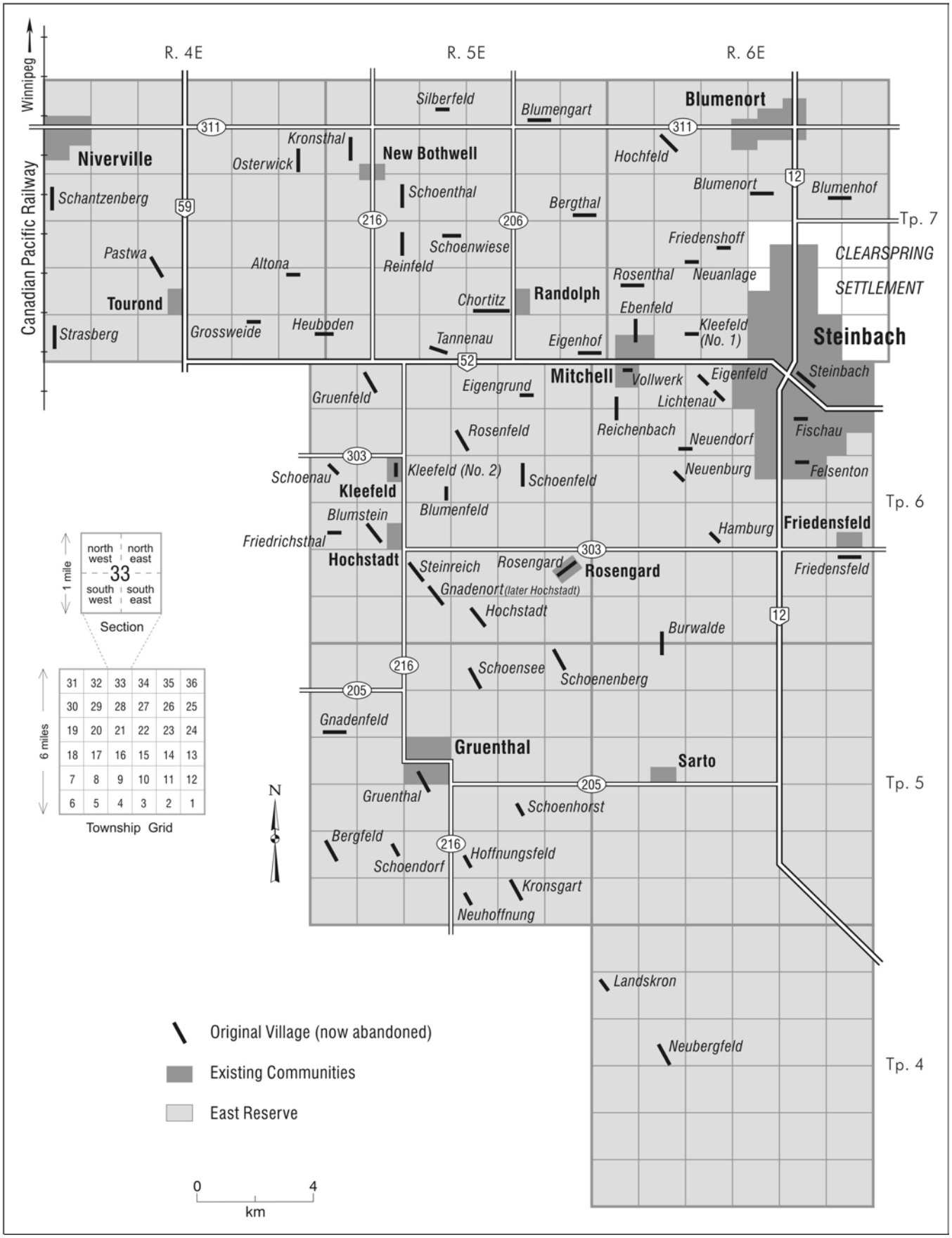
1. An entire exemption from military service is by Law and Order-in-Council granted to the denomination of Christians called Mennonites.
10. The fullest privileges of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever; and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools.
11. The privilege of affirming instead of making affidavits is afforded by law.

John Lowe, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture. July 23, 1873
(William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 125-126)

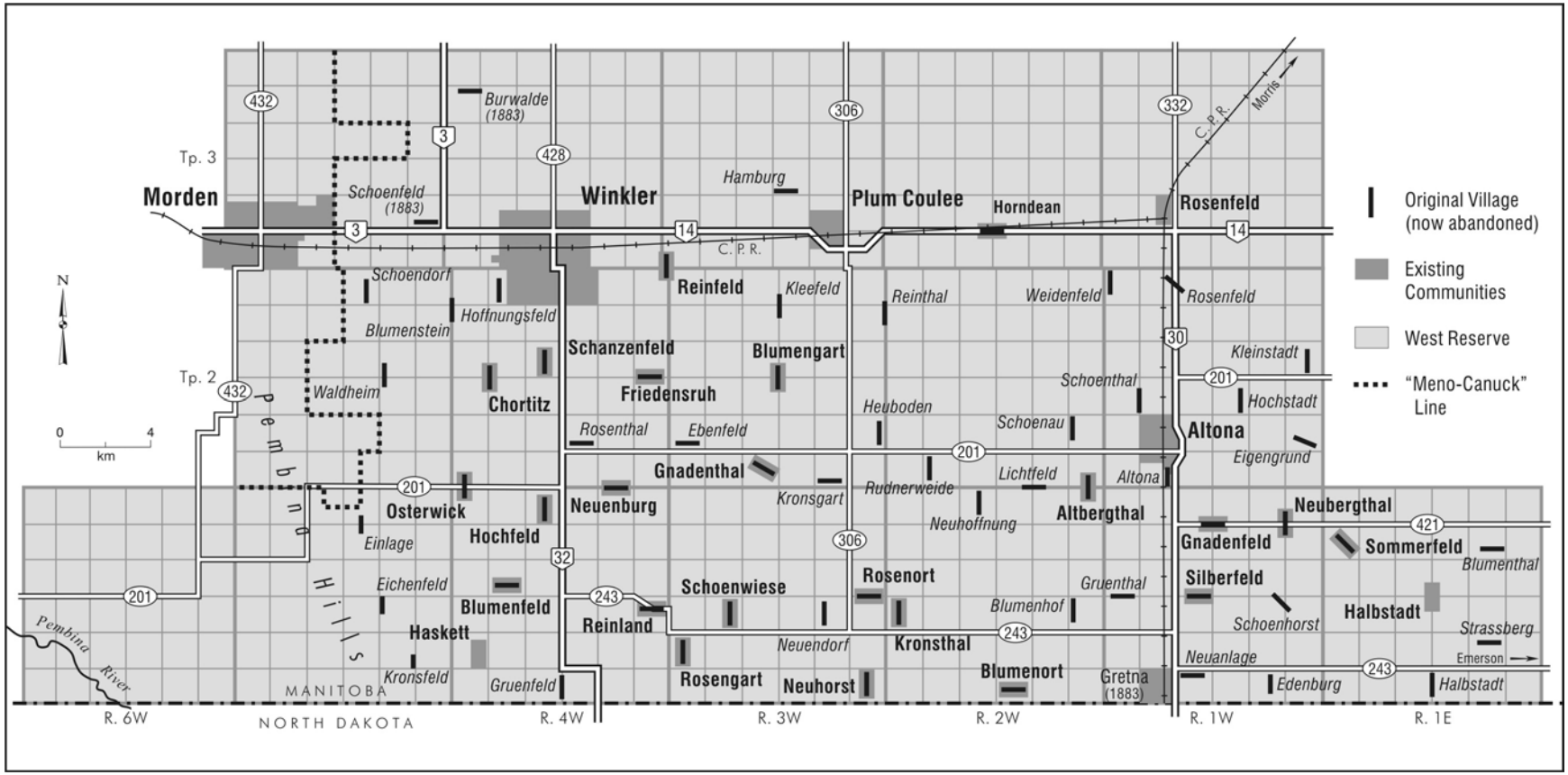
Map 1: Southern Russia



Map 2: Manitoba 1875



Map 3: East Reserve



Map 4: West Reserve

Excerpts from the diaries of Bergthaler immigrants:
The day of departure from Russia was Sunday, June 16 (old calendar). After a short farewell, the long line of wagons set out for the Nikolajevska station east of Bergthal. The journey of about fifteen thousand kilometres took seven weeks. They travelled on eleven trains, five ships, and twice on wagons. Seven children died on the trip and two were born.
(William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 75-82)

Minnesota, instead. One-third of the Kleine Gemeinde also chose the United States, settling in Nebraska.

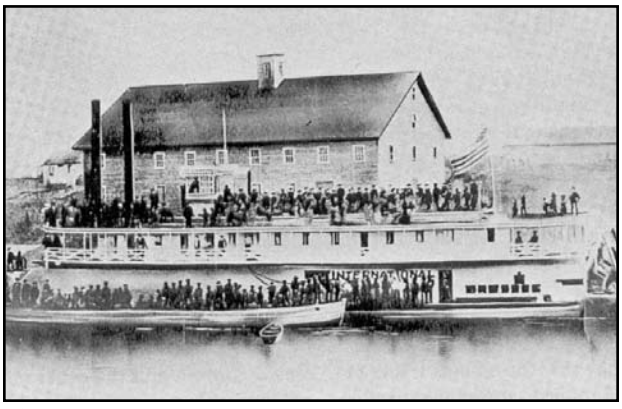
The diaries indicate some of the trauma they experienced.[44] Providing food for so many people for such a long journey was a challenge. Many got sick on the high seas. Children died and others were born. The language and customs were strange. When they arrived in Manitoba, they bought provisions to set up their new households and farms, causing a flurry of commercial activity in Winnipeg. Finally, after all this planning, travel, and heartache, they were on the threshold of making a new home in Manitoba.

The area initially set aside for Mennonite settlement consisted of eight townships east of the Red River. A township was made up of land six miles square, or about 66 square kilometres. This area, selected by the federal government in 1873 in an order-in-council before Mennonite delegates visited Manitoba,[45] was chosen because it was close to water and timber. The land did not extend to the Red River because the French settlements, St. Pierre Jolys and St. Adolphe, were situated there. Southwest of the Mennonite reserve was the newly established Roseau River Indian Reserve.

When the settlers disembarked at the confluence of the Red and Rat rivers, they walked or were taken by oxcart about five miles east to four long immigration sheds specially built for them by Jacob Y. Shantz. People lived in these sheds until the land had been surveyed and villages laid out. Usually their first village houses were sod huts (*simlins*), but as soon as possible log houses were constructed. Before long, sawmills were set up to cut boards.

A boundary commission ox-wagon, 1872-1874. Mennonites used similar ox trains when they moved west from West Lynn, near Emerson, to their village sites (11).

Winnipeg around the time of the arrival of Mennonite settlers. (12).



The S.S. International *docking at Upper Fort Garry, July 31, 1874 with the first group of Mennonite immigrants (13).*

Most of the Kleine Gemeinde members settled on the reserved lands and founded the villages of Gruenfeld (which was later renamed Kleefeld), Blumenort, Blumenhof, and Steinbach. The much larger Bergthaler group established many villages, some of which were only partially filled because more settlers were expected in the following year. Some Kleine Gemeinde founded two villages west of the Red River along the Scratching (later called Morris) River, and named them Rosenort and Rosenhof.[46] This land was considered superior to that available on the reserved land. These villages were established on the same basis as those on the Mennonite reserve although the area was not formally set aside as such.

The 1875 and 1876 Groups. During the second year of immigration almost half of the total number of immigrants arrived. Many of the Bergthaler and Kleine Gemeinde moved into existing villages. However, the largest group in 1875 came from the two settlements of Chortitza and Fuerstenland in Russia.[47] Upon arrival, they decided not to settle on the reserved lands east of the Red River because the land was considered inferior and the best vil-

Table 1
Mennonite Arrivals in Quebec, 1874-1880

Year	Number of Arrivals
1874	1,543
1875	3,261
1876	1,352
1877	1,184
1878	323
1879	208
1880	69
Total	6,940

(Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 22)

lage sites were already taken. They asked for and received permission to settle on the open, treeless prairie between the Red River and the Pembina Hills. Their petition was formally granted in 1876, thus establishing a second Mennonite reserve (see Map 2 for Manitoba in 1875). The land agent was quite willing to let Mennonites have this land because he considered it unsuitable for settlement by Canadians since it had no timber. In order to compensate for this lack, Mennonites received a wooded township in the southwest corner of the reserve. This area was called the West Reserve, and the original settlement became known as the East Reserve, because they lay on opposite sides of the Red River (see Map 3 and Map 4 for settlements in the East Reserve and West Reserve).[48]

In 1876 another 1,350 immigrants arrived and by 1880 an additional 800 people immigrated. In fact, individuals and small groups continued to move from Russia to Manitoba right up to World War I, many settling in Manitoba.[49] Most bought land on one of the reserves and became part of the existing communities. During these years, many of the immigrants who had initially settled near Fargo, North Dakota, also moved to Manitoba.[50]

Neighbours

When Mennonites arrived in Manitoba they were surrounded by various cultural and ethnic groups. In most cases relationships with these neighbours were cordial and helpful, even though distant. The Roseau River Indian Reserve, which had been formed about three years prior to the Mennonites' arrival, was situated southwest of the Mennonite East Reserve. For a number of years the aboriginals used a trail that crossed the Mennonite settlement. They taught the new immigrants some of the survival skills needed to endure the harsh winters. The East Reserve was ringed by French communities: La Broquerie to the east, Ste. Anne to the north, St. Pierre Jolys and St. Adolphe to the west, and St. Malo to the south. In the early years Mennonites had little contact with the French communities, partly because of language barriers but also because of cultural and religious differences.

Before Mennonites arrived, a number of Métis had made land claims in the area that later became the Mennonite village of Kleefeld. The Dominion Lands agent ignored their claim when the Mennonite reserve was formed. The Métis' attempts to have this matter redressed were in vain. Finally, after more than 20 years, they were given alternate lands but their original requests were never honoured.[51] Another group that made land claims prior to the Mennonites' arrival fared better. A number of Anglo Saxons had settled on nine quarter sections called the Clear Spring Settlement. When it was discovered that this land had inadvertently been included in Mennonite reserved land, it was removed before Mennonites arrived.

In 1898, 25 years after the East Reserve was established, the Canadian government, in a series of orders-in-council, opened up the area to all settlers. Large portions of the southeastern part had not been taken up by Mennonites because the land was considered unsuitable, hence was settled by other groups. In the first year that the East Reserve was es-

Celebration at the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church near Sarto, 1917 (14).

Jacob Fehr, a sixteen-year-old, describing his group's arrival in Manitoba:
[Emerson] lay on the east side of the river. On the west side the government had set up immigration houses for us. Our party occupied these quarters quite fully. There was little elbow room. There were many sick children who had not recovered from seasickness and one after the other they passed into eternity. There was a funeral every day.
(Peter D. Zacharias, *Reinland*, 39-40)

Many people suffered during the winter of 1875-1876. One family, called big Duecks ("grosze Duecken") living between Gruenfeld and Rosenfeld, was so hard-pressed that two members of the family became sick from malnutrition and died. When this became known, they were assisted by the Gruenfelders who brought them milk and food.
(Abe Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 24)

tablished a group of Lutherans founded the settlement of Friedensfeld a few miles south of Steinbach, increasing to about 230 people in a decade.[52] Around 1900 Ukrainians settled in the southeast corner of the East Reserve, east of the Mennonite village of Grunthal. That community grew to about 300 people in ten years. They established the hamlet of Sarto and built both Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek Catholic churches.[53]

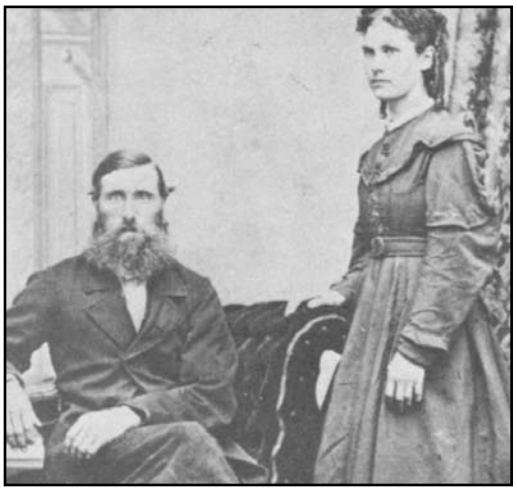
English settlers from Ontario had settled on the western fringe of what later would be the West Reserve and wanted to build a viable community there. When the Mennonites came, they wanted access to the timberland in this area. After considerable controversy and negotiations with the government, a new boundary was drawn between the Mennonite and English settlements. Mennonites gave up some land in the area of present-day Morden and received woodlands along the international border farther to the southwest.[54]

In the 1870s the northeast corner of the West Reserve around Rosenfeld was not settled because the area was too swampy. In the 1890s the government drained the land. By then the West Reserve had been opened up to general settlement and the area east and north of Rosenfeld was settled by German Lutherans. [55] As stated earlier, between the West Reserve and the Red River lay the three French settlements of St. Joseph, Letellier, and St. Jean Baptiste. These communities were founded by French Canadians from Quebec who had migrated to New England states and later moved west.

Loans and Assistance

It has been estimated that Mennonites who came to Manitoba in the 1870s brought on average about $125 per person.[56] This was not enough money to get established. The smaller Kleine Gemeinde group had the most cash since they had sold their property in Russia for a fairly good price.[57] The much larger Bergthaler colony, which had sold its land in a block, came with relatively little cash. It had to sell for a low price and, when the immigration began, had still not received any payment.

The Bergthaler delegates as well as the bishop, Gerhard Wiebe, asked Ontario Mennonites for financial assistance.[58] In response, Jacob Y. Shantz organized the Mennonite Aid Committee. This committee gathered funds by selling bonds to Mennonites and Amish in Ontario and provided the Russian Mennonite immigrants with about $50,000 in loans.[59] This generous financial aid was not sufficient since grasshoppers and excessive rain destroyed most of the crops in the first few years. So Shantz arranged for a federal government loan of about $100,000, which was approved by the House of Commons in April 1875. Some Mennonites and Amish in Ontario mortgaged their property to secure the government loans.[60] These loans were repaid during the next 17 years. The final payment was made in 1892 after the interest was renegotiated and reduced. The Canadian Parliament responded by passing a motion praising the Mennonites' diligence in repaying their debt.[61]



Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Laing settled at Ste. Anne in 1870, but did not like the two-mile river lot. Two years later they moved a few miles south to the Clear Spring settlement (15).

Mennonites and Amish in Ontario provided crucial assistance to the Russian Mennonite immigrants. In addition to giving direct loans and underwriting those from the government, they arranged for lodging, food, household provisions, short-term jobs, and cattle as they came through Ontario. This contributed greatly to make the immigration a success.[62] Manitoba Mennonites, deeply grateful, named two villages after Shantz, one on each reserve.

Expansion within Manitoba and Beyond

Within a few decades of settlement, all the land on the reserves was claimed and more had to be acquired. In the East Reserve, two new communities were formed shortly after the Kleine Gemeinde and Holdeman split in the early 1880s. Holdeman from the village of Blumenort moved north just off the reserve to found the Greenland community.[63] Kleine Gemeinde settled west of Greenland and established the community of Prairie Rose, later called Landmark.[64] The initial set-

Table 2
Mennonites in Western Canada in 1901, 1911, 1921

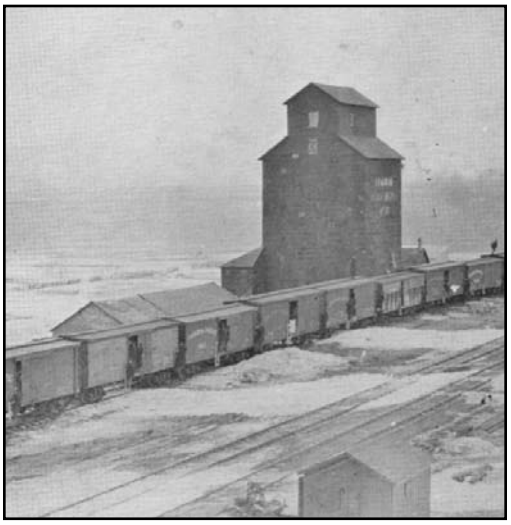
Province	1901	1911	1921
Alberta	546	1,555	3,131
Manitoba	15,289	15,709	21,321
Saskatchewan	3,787	14,586	20,568

(Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 304)

tlement of the West Reserve was in the region north of the Canadian Pacific Railway between Rosenfeld and Morden. As the population increased, this area gradually filled up,[65] and a few new villages such as Hamburg and Greenfarm were established. Mennonites also bought land immediately north of the reserve up to the railway towns of Lowe Farm,[66] Myrtle, and Kane.[67]

Even with this expansion within Manitoba, by the 1890s it was evident that large tracts of additional land would need to be acquired if most Mennonites wanted to continue farming. The opportunity came when the federal government opened up the Northwest Territories to homestead settlement. The defeat of the aboriginal and Métis people in 1885 at the battle of Batoche and the subsequent hanging of Louis Riel in Regina resulted in more railway construction across the Northwest.[68] When rail lines were laid up to Saskatoon in 1890, transportation was in place and homesteading could begin. That these settlement opportunities occurred because of an injustice to native and Métis people did not seem to cause Mennonites concern at the time. [69]

As soon as the railway was completed, Mennonites from Manitoba were taking up homesteads north of Saskatoon between the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers.[70] New immigrants from Russia, Prussia, and the United States joined them. By 1894, 400 Mennonites lived on individual farms in the Rosthern area.[71] In 1895 the federal government granted the Reinlaender Church's request for a reserve of four townships near the town of Hague, north of Saskatoon. The government provided the same adjustments to the homestead requirements as it had permitted in Manitoba earlier, namely, to allow them to pool their land and settle in villages.[72] About 19 villages were established; most were given the same names as those in Manitoba. A similar pattern of village pasture and long narrow strips of cultivated fields was implemented. By 1899 the Mennonite reserves between the Saskatchewan rivers had increased to 19 townships, even though some of the later additions never really functioned as reserves.



Mennonites leaving by train for Saskatchewan during the winter of 1902. Note the people standing in the doorways of the boxcars (16).

About the same time that the migration from Manitoba to the Saskatchewan River Valley was happening, small groups of Manitoba Mennonites settled in that part of the Northwest Territories which later became Alberta.[73] In 1891 Bergthaler Mennonites from Manitoba took out homesteads near Didsbury, north of Calgary.[74] Holdeman Mennonites from the East Reserve settled near Linden, northwest of Calgary.[75] The Alberta Mennonite settlements, however, did not become as large as those in Saskatchewan nor was reserved land provided for them.

Due to continued population pressures in Manitoba, in 1904 the Reinlaender Church petitioned the federal government to set aside a reserve of six townships south of Swift Current.[76] In the following years villages were established, again following the Manitoba pattern. This land was available because it had been considered too dry for growing cereal crops. Federal agents said that if anyone could succeed in farming this land, it would be Mennonites.[77] Numerous other Mennonites from Manitoba moved to the Swift Current and Herbert areas outside of the reserve, taking up homesteads and settling on individual farms. Thus in both north and south Saskatchewan, they established both the individual home-

A visitor describes a new Mennonite settlemen:
The Mennonites accommodated themselves to the scarcity of timber. The first winter, indeed, they provided for themselves as best they could, some crowding into houses built of prairie sod, and others existing in some shape in excavations dug out of sides of elevated ridges. But the summer of 1876 allowed for the providing of better housing, and, with surprising rapidity, quaint, home-like little villages dotted over the reserve. The buildings were one-storied, roofed with thatch-grass, plastered outside and in with clay and with sanded floors, all tending to the least possible use of wood. The barns were of thatch and poles, and in many instances consisted only of a high-pitched, thatched roof resting on the ground. Though little wood was used, the houses were warmly built, and to economize fuel large brick or stone furnaces, plastered inside and out with clay, were built into the central partitions of the larger residence, thoroughly heating all parts of the building.
(J.F. Galbraith, *The Mennonites in Manitoba, 1875-1900*, 9.)

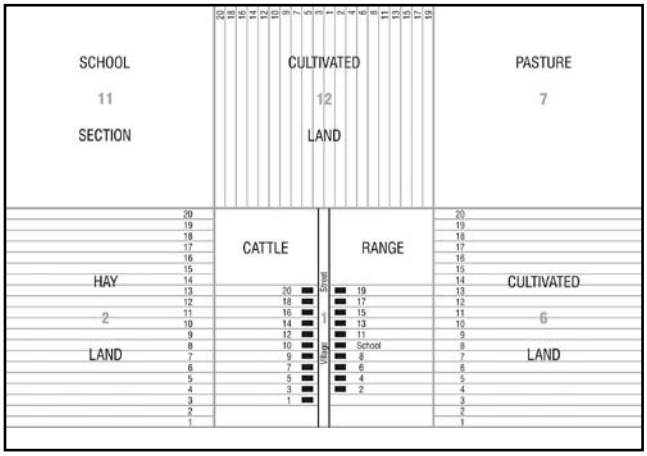
stead and the reserve patterns complete with villages. With this extensive immigration, by 1911 the Mennonite population in Saskatchewan was almost equal to that in Manitoba—about 15,000 in each province.

3
Community Life: Supporting Each Other

One of the enduring images of early Mennonite communities is that of the cowherd who gathered cattle from each yard in the brisk morning air, took them to the community pasture, herded them all day, and returned the cattle to each household in the evening. This pastoral scene was possible because of the unique set-up of the Mennonite village.

When the Canadian West was opened up to immigration following the land surveys in the 1870s, the Dominion Lands Act required that immigrants live on and receive title to the quarter section of land (160 acres) to which they were assigned.[78] This requirement forced new settlers to live some distance from each other, and imposed an individualistic settlement pattern on western Canada. In order to create community within the context of this policy, immigrants from close-knit groups in Europe tended to establish homesteads adjacent to each other. Thus the settlement of western Canada consisted of a patchwork quilt of various immigrant groups from England, Scotland, Iceland, Holland, Ukraine, and many other countries whose national origins are still evident in Manitoba place names such as Bruxelles, Killarney, Sarto, Gimli, and Holland.[79]

Village Organization and Structure



Layout of the village of Neuhorst (17).

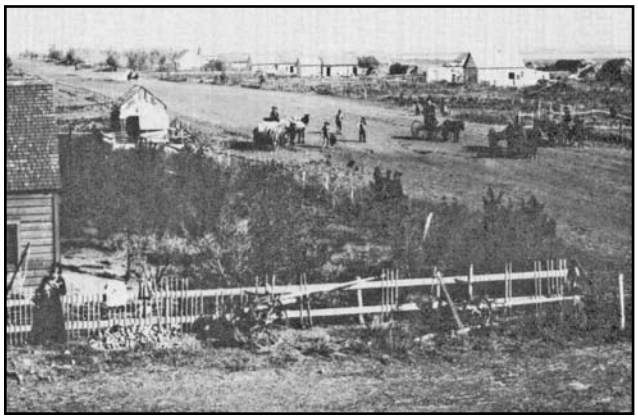
Mennonites preferred the village pattern of settlement because they believed it allowed them to express their understandings of community better than did the homestead arrangement.[80] This pattern was made possible when the federal government created a "hamlet provision" whereby Mennonites were able to fulfil their homestead requirements in villages rather than on the quarter section of land for which they had registered.[81] The federal government reserved land for Mennonites for about two-and-a-half decades.

Upon arrival, each family selected a quarter section that it registered under the Dominion Lands Act.[82] According to a provision in the 1873 letter from John Lowe, each household could also purchase up to 480 acres of additional land for the price of one dollar per acre.[83] Those who wanted to settle in a particular village pooled the land to which they held title, laid out the village, and selected their farmyards within the village. As soon as possible, families constructed dwellings and planted trees and shrubs. Each village consisted of about four to six sections of land and thus had 16 to 24 households. Proximity enabled these households to provide crucial support for each other during the difficult pioneer years. Often members of extended families settled in one village, thus nurturing family ties.

Each village organized a semi-communal farming system. It had a common pasture, and hired a herder or assigned youth from the village to take care of the cattle. The arable land around the village was divided into two or three parcels of land. Each was divided into long narrow strips, one strip in each parcel per household, thus giving each access to both the better as well as poorer land.[84] Choice of crops to be seeded was usually decided by consensus. In a number of cases even expensive machinery, such as the threshing machine, was bought by village groups, not by individual farmers.

Civil Organization

Village Government. The village became the base for the civil and social organization of the community, hence was a very important institution shaping life for early Mennonite immigrants. Each male head of a household had a vote in village affairs and was eligible for community offices. The mayor with two assistants and



Village of Reinfeld in 1898 (18).

a secretary formed the village council that supervised community activities.[85] The village councils hired the herdsman[86] and teacher, assigned people to look after fire prevention and the estates of widows and orphans, assessed local taxes, and constructed and maintained local roads and bridges. The mayors of the various villages formed a regional civil government on both the East and West reserves. Whether Mennonites settled in villages or in the more scattered communities, they developed many of the same institutions and patterns of organization. Most of them had been formed in Russia and were adapted to serve them in their new country.

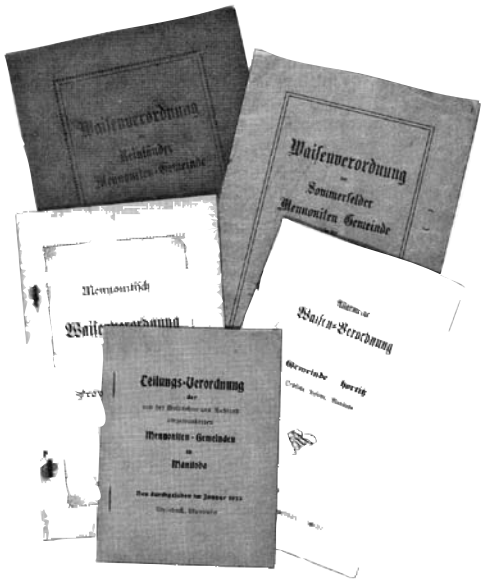
*Orphans' Bureau (*Waisenamt*).* One of the unique Mennonite organizations was the orphans' bureau. It was church based and included all members of the community. Initially there were three such bureaus, one each for the Bergthaler, Reinlaender, and Kleine Gemeinde churches.[87] Each was administered by two elected officials assisted by a committee.

The primary function of the orphans' bureau was to look after the estates and welfare of orphans, widows, and widowers. When a parent died, the bureau, together with the immediate family, appointed two local guardians to look after the children and to handle the estate. The guardians drew up a list of assets which was then verified by the village council. A contract was drawn up to divide the estate, half for the children and half for the surviving spouse.[88] All children received equal shares after debts were paid.[89] When agreement was reached, this contract had to be signed by the guardians, the mayor of the village, and all the heirs. In cases of dispute, appeals could be made to the church leadership, whose decision was final. The surviving spouse could not remarry until the division of the estate had been settled. Homesteads did not have to be sold nor divided to pay out the heirs. The surviving parent had to agree to pay out the children's share when they came of age.

The rules and regulations of the orphans' bureau gave guardians the responsibility to become like a parent to those who had lost father, mother, or both. They were to protect the children's interests and see to it that they were raised in a Christian manner. They made regular inspections to see that the remaining spouse, or step-parent, if the surviving spouse had remarried, was treating the children properly. If both parents died, the children were permanently placed in one or more homes in the community.

The orphans' bureau also served a financial role. Cash from the estates of orphans was deposited at 5 percent interest. Money from this fund was loaned to people in the community at 6 percent interest. The difference was used to pay a small salary to the bureau's administrator.[90] The bureaus processed loans, received deposits from church members, and functioned like credit unions. They helped to make Mennonite communities largely financially self sufficient and virtually immune to loan sharks who sometimes preyed on immigrant communities.

The orphans' bureaus served Mennonites very well during their first half-century in Manitoba. In the 1920s the Reinlaender Church took its organization to Mexico. The Chortitzer and Sommerfelder churches' offices stayed in Manitoba, and continued to func-



Every Waisenamt *had a printed rulebook that served as its constitution (19).*

The experiences of three Ukrainian immigrant families as herdsmen in the village of Altbergthal, 1892-1897: Michael Elyniuk, Michael Romaniuk, and Dmytro Wiznowich:
When their fifth year of indenture was coming to an end, the three stockmen began to make plans to leave the village of the Altbergthal colony. They had had enough of hard work as stockmen, with no time off for themselves. The women also found life intolerable as they were considered indentured, too. Life in 1892 appeared akin to the servitude of their forebears [in Russia]; the serfs, however, had only to work three days a week for the lord. They also had had enough of manure fuel, poor water, no friends, no church, and, what was most important no future.
(Michael Ewanchuck, *Pioneer Profiles*, 10)

The Rules and Regulations of each Waisenamt *began with the biblical admonition:* "Learn to do good, seek justice, correct oppression, defend the fatherless, plead for the widow" (Isaiah 1:17).

In addition to their regular inheritance all children were to receive a special gift at the time of their marriage. In the case of young men, it consisted of a horse (or $75.00). For a young woman the gift was a cow and a clothes chest (or $35.00). Both male and female children were given a Bible, a hymnal, a good set of sheets, covers and pillows (or $25.00). If a parent died, it was to be assured in the estate's inheritance contract that each child would receive these items.
(Jake Peters, *Waisenamt*, 3,11-12)

tion for many years. Both remained small, church-based organizations and survived the Great Depression.[91] The orphans' bureau of the Bergthaler Church expanded by making its accounts available to depositors from all Mennonite groups. Although this action resulted in rapid growth in total assets, it continued to operate on the traditional system of slim margins and small cash reserves. During the Depression, when land values fell and depositors panicked and withdrew their money, the bureau had insufficient reserves to pay out depositors. Consequently it collapsed. Many people, including widows and orphans, lost their deposits and their life savings.[92]

Fire Insurance. Each of the Mennonite churches in Manitoba had a fire insurance organization.[93] A fire supervisor, who was elected to head up the organization,[94] kept a set of books that recorded the property of all members, including farm machinery, buildings, contents, and the amount of land owned by each family. He also supervised a fire insurance fund, collected dues, and dispensed the insurance claims in case of fire. Each village elected its own representative to assist the fire supervisor.[95] The supervisor was also responsible for fire prevention. He inspected all households, had the authority to enforce fire safety regulations, and could order people to have firefighting equipment in place, such as a ladder, buckets, and a long hooked pole.[96] In case of fire, the supervisor could requisition all male adults in a village to help fight the fire.

The insurance organization operated on the basis of collecting dues following a fire. After a careful inventory was made of the damage, the insurance paid out two-thirds of the assessed value of the loss.[97] This money was collected from all the property owners of the church based on how much land each owned. This system eliminated the need to have large cash reserves.[98]

These fire insurance organizations worked effectively and efficiently. In the 1920s and 1940s, those Mennonites who emigrated to Mexico and Paraguay established similar systems in their new locations.[99] In Manitoba two such organizations were transformed into legally incorporated insurance companies in 1941, shortly after the Manitoba Insurance Act was proclaimed. On the West Reserve the Bergthaler fire insurance organization was incorporated as the Red River Valley Mutual Insurance Company in 1941, and on the East Reserve the Chortitzer Church's organization as the Manitoba Mennonite Mutual Insurance Company.[100] In 1997 the two merged into one company.[101]

Villages Disband. At many levels village life was good. It supported community efforts, provided social interaction, and diminished loneliness. However, some villages disbanded. One of the reasons they could do so relatively easily was because they were based on voluntary associations.[102] (Even though recent scholarship has suggested that if Mennonites had tested these voluntary associations they might not have stood up in a court of law, none took any case to court since they did not believe in this way of settling disputes.)[103] In practice, when some people in the village wanted to disband, the process to do so was not difficult.[104] However, churches discouraged individual villagers from moving onto their own land. Most villages implemented a policy that the majority of residents would have to give their consent to any sale[105] but in many cases this requirement was ignored.

Villages disbanded for various reasons. On the East Reserve, some of the Chortitzer villages which were on marginal land never became fully functional.[106] Some received too few inhabitants to make them viable. Others broke up when some of the first settlers moved to the West Reserve from 1878 to 1882. Kleine Gemeinde villages disbanded mainly because farmers found it easier to work quarter sections of land than the long narrow strips.[107] Blumenhof dissolved in 1889, and Blumenort and Steinbach in 1910.[108]

On the West Reserve, many of the Bergthaler and Sommerfelder villages disbanded shortly after settlement because church leadership was weak, so the village structures faltered. By 1922, only five villages were still in existence.[109] In some cases, such as Sommerfeld and Neubergthal, the village yards were kept intact, even though farmers operated their own quarter sections of land. The Reinlaender Church was the only one that managed to keep most of its villages as socio-economic units until the 1920s. Although some of its members also wanted to move onto their own land for reasons of efficiency, the church threatened them with excommunication and managed to prevent most such moves.[110]

Villages were also threatened when residents joined competing church groups. In Blumenort on the East Reserve, those who joined the Holdeman Church moved a few miles north to found Greenland. Hoffnungsfeld near Winkler disbanded in the early 1890s when its members divided between the

Bergthaler and Sommerfelder churches.

The landscape changed when villages dissolved. Instead of a village consisting of 20 to 25 farmyards, individual farmsteads dotted the landscape. New houses and barns were built, or buildings from the villages were moved onto new farms. New shelterbelts were planted around the yards for protection from the winds. Greater distance between farms left each family more on its own resources, although kinship and neighbour ties remained. The partially disbanded villages lost their uniform appearance of neat yards, gardens, and buildings. Often all that remained was a scraggly row of cottonwood trees.

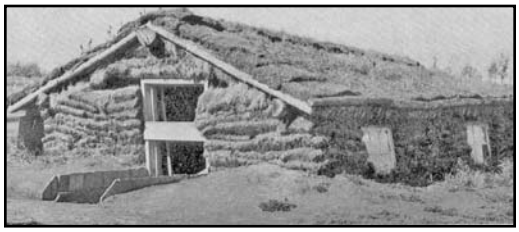
Architecture. Some of the architecture Mennonites used in the settlement years was similar to what they had in Russia. Although not originating with Mennonites, but borrowed and adapted from prevailing Russian styles, in Manitoba it was referred to as Mennonite architecture.[111] The first structure introduced to Manitoba was the *simlin*.[112] This hut, dug a few feet into the ground, had walls of sod and a roof of branches or boards covered with sod. It provided shelter for both humans and animals for the first year or two but was soon replaced with log houses, a style adopted from Canadian neighbours. Both *simlins* and log houses were usually of short duration.[113]

As soon as possible, Mennonites followed the pattern of building house-barns like in Russia, a combined structure with the house closest to the street.[114] In some cases the house and barn were directly attached to each other; in others a hallway was constructed between them, a style well suited to the severe Manitoba winters. The buildings were constructed of wood and the roofs initially thatched with straw, replaced later with wooden shingles. In some villages the gables of the houses were perpendicular to the street, in others parallel. In order to shelter the front entrances from the prevailing northwest winds, they faced either south or east.

The inside of the houses followed a standard layout. The rooms were arranged around a brick oven that was located in the centre of the house and was used for heating, cooking, and baking.[115] In summer outdoor ovens were used for food preparation. Most rooms served as bedrooms. The younger children slept in pull-out beds with straw mattresses[116] that folded into benches for daytime use. Some of the family members slept on bedding that was rolled up for the day, enabling a large family to live in a relatively small house.

Early Mennonite churches were distinctive in their simplicity. They were built of wood, rectangular in shape with gabled roofs. They had no steeples, bells, or stained glass windows; no basements, bathrooms, or balconies. Each side of the building had windows. There were two entrances, one for men and another for women and ministers. The bare wooden benches had no backs. Above the men's benches were hooks to hang their hats. The pulpit, on a raised platform about two feet high, was located on one side of the building opposite the entrance. On either side of the pulpit was a railing with a long bench behind it where the song leaders and ministers sat facing the audience. Some churches had sturdy crossbeams to allow for grain storage in the upper storey. This grain was distributed to needy families.

Mennonite private schools were built ac-



*A reconstructed sod hut (*simlin*) at the Mennonite Heritage Village in Steinbach. In many cases the* simlin *also housed animals (20).*

The first dwelling after the simlin *was often a log house (21).*

As soon as possible, Mennonites built a house-barn. This one was constructed in Reinland in 1880. The kitchen at the back was used for cooking, baking, and eating during the hot summer months (22).

Blumenhof allowed the same thing to happen to it and each farmer moved onto his own farm. . . . With the disappearance of the village vanished the trumpet sound of the herdsman. . . . Just as the herdsman's trumpet was silenced, many other things that had been practiced for hundreds of years in Prussia, Russia, and in Blumenort for the first thirty-six years, and had been considered traditional and economical, changed. The school children no longer had the school close by. They had to walk a long way, or be driven to school. The neighbours were no longer easily reached. Previously, the women had been able to reach the neighbour's yard by walking along a peaceful pathway through beautiful gardens and wooden gateways. And yet these villages broke up, an action which was justified for economic reasons.

David P. Reimer
(Royden Loewen, *Blumenort*, 259)

One by one the Mennonite villages established some years ago by the pioneers in Manitoba are fast disappearing. The pretty village of Hoffnungsfeld, probably the finest in this part of the country, is to be broken up this spring, the owners of the houses will move them on their farms, and it will not be many years before a Mennonite village will be a curiosity.
(*Morden Monitor,* 26 February 1890)

Monday, May 26, 1879. During the night it has rained with lightening and there was also thunder and produced a south wind. Yesturday morning Klaas Reimer and Peter Toews and their Lisbet from Steinbach, and in the afternoon Abraham Dicks from Gruenfeld and old Kornelsens from Eigengrund and Cornelius Toews from Gruenfeld and Johan Ens from Gruenfeld and Heinrich Brandt from Steinbach were here.
Abraham F. Reimer
(Royden Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 96)

cording to patterns developed in Russia. Most had the classroom and teacher's residence under the same roof separated by a hallway. The residence consisted of two rooms, an all-purpose kitchen with a dining and living area, plus a bedroom.

Social Organization and Customs

The Family. The most common family unit consisted of parents and several children. In a remarriage, if both partners had been widowed with children, blended families resulted. Some families accepted foster or orphaned children from the community. Single adults usually stayed with their parents, and the elderly remained in their homes with supportive care from family and community.[117] Physically or mentally compromised members remained at home. Disabilities were often viewed as embarrassing or worse, so families might seclude these members from public view.

Separation or divorce were rare because of the social stigma and opposition from church and community. When either did occur, it was likely an act of desperation in response to situations such as abuse or drunkenness. Remarriage was not allowed until the partner had died.[118]

Much of the daily and weekly activity was organized and carried out by the family working together to provide food, shelter and clothing, care for farm animals, tend the gardens, till the soil, and grow crops. Children were taught to work at an early age. Even though they were in school from age seven to twelve or fourteen, they were expected to do chores before and after school. During seeding and harvest time, school was suspended so that children could help with the extra work. They were taught to fill the wood box, feed animals, cook, sew, wash, and clean, help with the care of younger siblings, and many other life skills.[119]

Three children in the village of Neubergthal, ca. 1914 (23).

In the years after school and before marriage, young people assumed increasing responsibility for household and farm work. In fact, the success of a farm often depended on the additional work provided by the family's growing children. During these years youth learned the skills and disciplines essential for the time when they would establish their own household. If they could be spared at home, young people often worked for others as maids or farm hands.[120]

The family was supported by a network of relationships. Neighbours helped build houses and barns, butcher hogs, and bring provisions and mail from town.[121] They worked together at common tasks such as seeding and harvest.[122] Similar support was provided by relatives who often settled in the same or neighbouring villages. Extended families met socially for Christmas, Easter, birthdays, funerals, and weddings. Frequent visiting strengthened ties and fostered interdependence in both good and difficult times.

Living in the village also had its weaknesses. People could be competitive, each striving to have the cleanest yard, the largest gardens, or the best horses. Those who did not measure up could feel the sting of disapproval. Gossip could stigmatize people for life. Village organization designed to care for the disadvantaged could fail its intended purpose.

Roles of Women. Women fulfilled many roles in the Mennonite pioneer family. They set up the initial households and established daily routines. They sewed clothes, including outerwear, and spun lambs' wool. Women knit stockings, mittens, and scarves. They did the laundry, which in large families was a major task. Their efforts created a homey atmosphere in unusual and often adverse circumstances.

Women had the task of providing food for their families. In the first years when crops and gardens often failed and money borrowed from the government or from Ontario Mennonites was insufficient, providing enough food was especially difficult. Sometimes people

Picking stones on the Abram L. Plett farm near Prairie Rose, ca. 1925. Women did much of the work on the farm (24).

became so weak from hunger that they could hardly walk. The ingenuity and creativity of the women was crucial for the family to survive.[123] Much of the food for the households was provided from their large fruit and vegetable gardens and from their own livestock.[124] Produce could be stored in underground cellars, fruits and berries were dried, and meats were smoked for preservation. Ice cellars and wells provided refrigeration. Bread was baked in brick ovens.

In the early years women also contributed to a wide range of outdoor farm labour.[125] They helped to plant and harvest the fields and took care of farm animals. When the men were away on trips by oxen to get supplies from Winnipeg, to cut wood for fuel in the forests during winter, to build a road, or to dig drainage ditches, the women managed the farm and did much of the outside work.

In an era before birth control, family size could be up to a dozen or more children. A married woman might well be pregnant or nursing a child for 20 or more years.[126] During times of inadequate nutrition, poor hygiene, and primitive health care many babies died at birth or in early childhood. Mothers were the primary caregivers and had to deal with both the care and the grief. In some cases, mothers died in childbirth, leaving young families.

Mennonite women did not participate in the formal community organizations and were not elected to village or church positions. Their intense roles of birthing, nurturing, and providing for households left them little time or energy for public roles, even if these positions had been available to them. They did, however, play a vital part in the formation and maintenance of community. Through their husbands, they influenced group decisions. They prepared food and hosted countless visits from relatives, friends, and neighbours and provided for much of the informal networking.[127]

Women shaped the character of their children through role modelling, singing, storytelling, and assigning tasks. In a multitude of daily household instructions they passed on their lifestyle, values, and beliefs and thus shaped the future of the community. Girls received the same basic education in the village schools as the boys. Thus when they grew into motherhood, they had the ability to read and write, and had the necessary tools to assist in their children's education.

Courtships, Engagements, and Weddings. As in most immigrant groups, Mennonite young people courted and married within their own faith and ethnic circles. Geographic proximity, social contacts within the village and community, common church membership, and travel limited to horse and buggy were contributing factors. Courting usually took place during the late teens or early twenties, and was often of short duration. In the early years engagement celebrations were usually more elaborate than the weddings.[128] The formal engagement period began with the announcement of wedding banns at the conclusion of a Sunday morning worship service. After the service, guests were invited for a meal at the home of the bride. This gathering could be quite large including the bride and groom's relatives, plus neighbours and friends. During the time of engagement, the bridal couple visited grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins.[129]

The wedding was held two weeks later. At the conclusion of the regular Sunday morning worship service the minister invited the bride and the groom, who had been sitting on their respective sides in the church, to take their place together on a bench at the front. The minister performed a brief wedding ceremony. The bride wore her usual dark-coloured Sunday clothes—no white dress, no veil, no special apparel—and the groom wore his Sunday suit. After the ceremony, the couple met with the immediate family, plus a few invited guests, for a noon meal at the home of the bride's parents.

After the wedding, the pair often lived with either the bride's or the groom's parents until they could afford their own place.[130] If they were financially able, both sets of parents provided land, horses, and cattle to help the young couple start farming. If they were unable to provide this assistance, the newly married's start in life could be difficult.

By the turn of the century wedding patterns changed due to influences from Manitoba society. Some brides wore white dresses and veils. In some groups, the wedding ceremonies were separate ceremonies and no lon-

John Lowe, a secretary in the Canadian Department of Agriculture, observed on his visit to the East Reserve in 1877 that "every man, woman, and child is a producer." He explained that "women were plowing in the fields, thatching roofs and girls were plastering houses." Other reports told of East Reserve Mennonite women threshing grain; it was they who pitched sheaves in the path of a threshing stone that was directed by the husband.
(Royden Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 101)

Sunday, the 30th.
Fine weather. In the afternoon Father went to Peters' to invite them to our hog slaughtering. While he was gone, Hieberts came to visit and told us that on the West Reserve Mrs. P. Kehler, Mrs. Jacob Wiebe and a man by the name of Stobbe had died.

Maria Stoesz Klassen
(Royden Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 101)

October 22, 1892. Doerksens' Bernhard and Helena Plett of Blumenhof had their engagement (*Verlobung*). The 30th they got married here in the service. For lunch they came here as visitors, as did their parents, Cornelius Pletts and Peter Pletts, and David Pletts and Ab. Pletts and the old Gerhard Schellenbergs, and the old Johann Esaus and Johann Janzens, and C. Pletts, Cornelius and Peter Reimers' Maria. Margaretha Plett Kroeker

(Royden Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 244)

Wedding of John J. Hooge and Gertrude Toews, Bergthaler church members, 1896. Note the traditional black dress (25).

ger part of the Sunday morning worship service. Up until the 1920s, however, the largest Mennonite churches felt these changes were too "worldly" and followed the traditional patterns. The Reinlaender refused to allow modern wedding customs, and practiced church discipline where violations occurred. The Kleine Gemeinde, Sommerfelder, and Chortitzer reluctantly allowed some changes, even though they too considered the new wedding practices as expressing individualism and worldliness and undermining the solidarity of the community. The small Bergthaler, Mennonite Brethren, and Evangelical Mennonite Brethren churches accepted modern wedding styles because they were more open to accommodations to the Manitoba society.

Funerals. In contrast to the present-day dominant trend, where after a death much of the responsibility for the funeral is handed to a funeral director, the early settlers assumed this care themselves. Family and neighbours prepared the body, dressed it in white apparel, and partly covered it with a white shroud, in keeping with the verse in Revelation 3:4, "and they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy."[131] The bodies were placed in a casket constructed by the community casket builder. The wooden box was shaped to be wider at the upper part, and tapered toward the other end.[132] In warm weather, the remains were packed in ice and kept in a separate building on the yard until the funeral and burial. The casket was usually open for viewing before and during the funeral. In cases of infectious diseases, as during the flu epidemic of 1918, the body might be covered with glass.

Family members prepared a handwritten funeral invitation with the pertinent information and a list of those invited. These notices were personally relayed from one household to the next according to the indicated list. In the early decades, funerals were usually held in homes. If the home was too small a school or a church building was used.[133] Eventually funerals in churches became the norm.[134]

Only invited guests attended the funeral unless the deceased person had served as a leader; then the whole community was invited. The usual pattern was that before the funeral guests were served a noon meal at the home of the deceased's family; after the funeral, they gathered in the same home for a meal of buns, sugar cubes, and coffee. Next day, relatives and friends often came to offer support and more food.[135] The large supply of food required during this time was provided by neighbourhood women. Usually at a funeral, a photo was taken of the family around the body in the open casket. The children were nearest the coffin, with the adult relatives in descending order of their blood relation.[136]

Burial was in the local cemetery. In some Mennonite church groups, engraved stone markers were used, while in others wooden markers or no markers at all were the norm. Graves were dug and closed by neighbours and relatives. Usually the body of the deceased was buried facing east, except for those who had been excommunicated.[137]

November 1, 1887. On the first, Mrs. Neufeld was taken to her resting place at the cemetery. Mrs. H. Berg and I put the last dress attire on her. Maria Stoesz Klassen

(Royden Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 73)

Funeral procession for Mrs. Abram Kauenhowen from the Grunthal Church to the cemetery. The photo was taken in 1925, but represents the traditional practice (26).

Groups of masked young men made the rounds at New Year's Eve looking for cookies, cake, and perhaps some homemade wine, announcing their arrival with a Brommtopp*, an instrument made with a barrel and strung horse hair (27).*

Most groups used the practice of home burial until the 1930s when professional undertakers came on the scene, although a few have continued community-based burial practices to the present.

Social Life. Families loved to visit each other. Often on Sunday afternoons they walked or gathered their children onto a wagon or buggy and went unannounced to visit a neighbour or relative. Sometimes a number of families would go to the same home where the large number of children would play games and develop their own social networks. In winter, when the work schedule was less demanding, visiting also happened on weekdays. During such sessions, the adult men usually gathered in the living rooms and women sat around the kitchen table. They related experiences of the past, discussed farm and family issues, and likely gossiped a bit as well. Visiting was the primary means of staying informed in an age before mass communications. In some communities young people got together in homes for dances,[138] although some Mennonites objected to dances because they considered them worldly. Their own musicians played accordions, violins, guitars, and mouth organs to accompany the dancers.

Language and Maxims. The everyday language of Mennonites who moved to Manitoba was Low German (*Plautdietsch*). They had learned this language during their more than 200-year sojourn in the Vistula River Valley south of Danzig in Poland. Since Low German was primarily used in a rural setting, its vocabulary and expressions reflected the faith, rhythms, and wisdom of church, household, and agricultural life. It expressed a straight-

Maxims for housewives:[139]
Broot schleit de Hunga doot.
(Bread kills hunger.)

Daut schmakjt nijch no am,
uck nijch no ar.
(This food tastes neither like him or her;
It tastes "blah.")

Waea nijch to tiet toom aete kjemt,
Mott aete waut am ess bestemmt.
(Whoever does not come to eat on time,
must eat what's set before him.)

Wan aules aum Desch opp jejaete ess,
Dan jeft et scheenet Wada.
(If everything at the table is eaten,
then we'll have good weather.)

De Kjaeaksche enn de Kaut,
Senn emma saut.
(The cook and the cat,
always get enough to eat.)

Straum oppe Strot,
Enn schwiensch enne Kot.
(Dressed up in public [on the street],
dirty at home.)

Fonn faeare—uj, uj,
Fonn hinja—fuj, fuj.
(In front—beautiful,
from behind—dirty.)

Fael Henj
Moake schwinn en Enj
(Many hands
make work go quickly.)

Maxims for farmers:[140]
Wan de Hon kjreit oppem Mest,
Dan endat daut Wada
Ouda blift auss it ess
(When the cock crows on the dunghill,
then the weather changes
or remains the same.)

Daut raeajent,
Gott saeajent.
(It's raining,
God blesses.)

Daut's en Wada-profeet,
De fael frat enn nuscht weet.
(That's a weatherman for you,
eats a lot and knows nothing.)

Kjemt Tiet, kjemt Rot,
Kjemt Sodel-Tiet, kjemt Sot.
(When it's time, solutions will come;
When it's seeding time, there will be
seed.)

Maxims about the vicissitudes of life:
De easchte Dach en Gaust,
De aewje Tiet ne Laust.
(The first day a guest,
thereafter a burden.)

Daut Ella kjemt nijch mett Jemack.
(Growing old is not without
discomfort.)

Straum enn fedrisslijch,
Koddrijch enn lostijch.
(Dressed up and grumpy,
ragged and happy.)

De Mensch denkt,
Oba Gott lenkjt.
(People plan,
but God leads.)

Waea aunhelt, dee jewennt.
(Whoever persists, will succeed.)

Maxims about daily behaviour:[142]
Nuscht jewoagt, nuscht jewonne
(Nothing ventured, nothing gained.)

En Boom ess niemols too olt toom baeje.
(A tree is never too old to bend.)

De Kjlaeksta jeft no.
(The wisest one gives in.)

Daem faelt en baet too beschliepe.
(His corners need grinding down a bit.)

Children's rhymes:
Miene Mamme es mie gout,
Jeft mie waut tom ate
Schinkefleesch enn Bottabraut,
Daut woa eck nich vejate.[143]
(My Mother loves me,
gives me food to eat,
ham and buttered bread,
I will never forget it.)

Schockel, Schockel, scheia—
Oostre aet wie Eia;
Pinjste aet wie wittet Broot;
Stoaw' wie nijch,
Dan woa wie groot.
(Shuckle, shuckle, shia—
we'll eat eggs at Easter;
at Whitsuntide we'll eat white bread;
if we don't die,
then we'll grow up.[144])

forward, no-nonsense, often humorous approach to life.

The Low German language developed many sayings—some nonsensical but witty, others humorous, and still others reflective of a simple folk wisdom. Rhymes were often sung or spoken in play or at bedtime. See the shaded sections for a small sample of traditional Mennonite Low German maxims and rhymes, with translation. It is difficult to translate maxims well, because the tone, the play on words, the subtle humour, or the sarcasm of one language is difficult to capture in another.

Mennonites experienced their deepest sense of unity in their social life. Visiting usually happened across church and economic lines. The familiarity of a common language, similar everyday experiences, and the special occasions of weddings and funerals built strong bonds. The church divisions, that seemed so important to leaders, were often not reflected in the everyday life of the people.

4
Churches: Continuity and Change

When Mennonites arrived in Manitoba, the leaders believed they had found a place where their communities could live according to the teachings of the Bible. The three bishops, Peter Toews, Gerhard Wiebe, and Johann Wiebe, hoped to create strong churches that maintained control of schools and civic offices.

Church Groups

Initially there were three organized Mennonite church groups in Manitoba; in 1882 a fourth group, the Bergthaler Church on the West Reserve, emerged. All four groups were shaped by the character of their bishops.

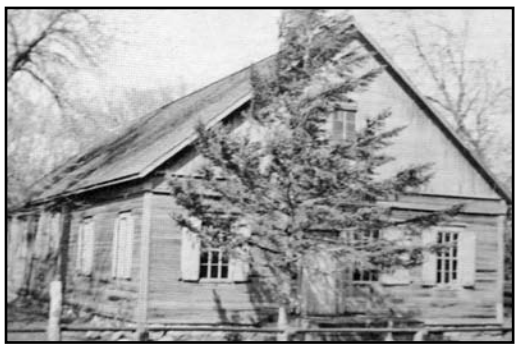
Kleine Gemeinde. The smallest church group was the Kleine Gemeinde which came from the Russian Mennonite Colony of Borozenko. It had begun in Russia in 1812-1814 as a renewal movement that reaffirmed its commitment to sixteenth-century Anabaptist principles. The whole Kleine Gemeinde Church left Russia in the 1870s, with two-thirds coming to Manitoba. Part of the group settled on the East Reserve in the villages of Kleefeld (Gruenfeld), Steinbach, Blumenort, and Blumenhof, and the rest in

Table 3
Manitoba Mennonite Churches

Date Founded	Church	Location	Bishop	Numbers
1874	Kleine Gemeinde	East Reserve and Scratching River	Peter Toews	696
1874	Bergthal Church (later Chortitzer)	East Reserve	Gerhard Wiebe	2,833
1875	Reinlaender Church	Western part of West Reserve	Johann Wiebe	3,411
1882	Bergthaler Church	Eastern part of West Reserve	Johann Funk	Included in Bergthal group

the villages of Rosenort and Rosenhof along the Scratching (Morris) River.[145] The total number of Kleine Gemeinde who settled in Manitoba was 696.[146] Their bishop was the 33-year-old Peter Toews. In Russia the group had gone through serious divisions, so Toews' aim was to renew and unify the church and to have the church control the schools.[147] In civic affairs, the Kleine Gemeinde elected mayors of villages, but left the governing of the East Reserve region to the Bergthaler Church's civic leaders.

The Reinlaender Mennonite Church was formed in 1875 when immigrants from the two Russian Mennonite colonies of Chortitza and Fuerstenland united upon arrival in Manitoba. The combined church totalled about 3,400 people. They confirmed the 38-year-old Johann Wiebe, who had been a co-bishop in the Fuerstenland colony in Russia, to be their bishop.[148] When Isaak Mueller arrived from Russia a few years later, he became their civic leader.[149] This new group on the western part of the West Reserve thus had strong church and civic leaders.[150] Wiebe's aims were to renew the church by returning to the biblical principles that he felt had been compromised in Russia.[151] In a letter to the church members in 1904 he said, "O God, grant us strength to withstand all evil, to walk in the truth, and to turn away from all unrighteousness."[152] To accomplish this, he wanted the church to play a central role in the Mennonite community so that it would have authority over schools and all civic matters.[153]



Manitoba's first Mennonite church building was dedicated at the village of Reinland, West Reserve, September 17, 1876. It was the central church in the Reinlaender Gemeinde (28).

The Bergthaler Mennonite Church numbered about 2,800 people when it immigrated and settled on the East Reserve. Its bishop, 48-year-old Gerhard Wiebe, was a humble, gentle leader whose aims were similar to those of his cousin, Johann Wiebe, bishop of the Reinlaender Church.[154] Gerhard Wiebe's vision was also for the church to be central to the life of the community and to have authority over its civic affairs, especially its schools.[155] After a few years, many Bergthaler Church members moved to the West Reserve because of better farmland. They loaded their belongings on wagons, crossed the Red River, and settled new villages on the eastern half of the West Reserve. About 400 families made this trek by the middle of the 1880s.

Bishop Gerhard Wiebe tried his best to serve his parishioners on the West Reserve, but travel was difficult and consequently Wiebe was unable to provide the necessary leadership.[156] Unhappiness, discontent, and confusion resulted. Villages disbanded, families moved onto their own quarter section of land, and community organizations ceased to function properly. In 1882 Wiebe ordained Johann Funk as bishop of the West Reserve Bergthaler.[157] The Church was at first called "The Mennonite Church at West Lynn"—West Lynn was a supply depot on the west side of the Red River near present-day Emerson.[158] The Bergthaler Church on the West Reserve was slow in forming. Many did not accept Funk's leadership and continued to look to Gerhard Wiebe for direction. The Berthaler Church did not really take shape until the 1890s. By then Wiebe's church on the East Reserve had agreed to change its name to Chortitzer Mennonite Church because Wiebe lived in the village of Chortitz.[159]

Yes, dear reader, at the time we were still of "one heart and soul" because all, whether rich or poor, said: Even if we don't get the best land, as long as we can get a spot where we can feed ourselves and our children, and above all that we can follow our religion according to God's Word, and above all that we could have our own schools in order to teach the children according to God's word and commandments.
(Gerhard Wiebe, *Causes and History of the Emigration*, 33)

Johann Funk, first bishop of the West Reserve Bergthaler church, with his third wife Louise and foster daughter, Justina Klassen (29).

Church Life

Organization. Each church group had one bishop, several ministers, and one deacon. All were elected to their unsalaried positions by the male members, and ordained by a bishop. As the head of the church, the bishop had considerable authority. He set the tone for the church, chaired the meetings of ministers and deacons, and led membership meetings.[160] The bishop's responsibility was to ordain ministers and deacons, to officiate at communion and baptism services, and also to keep church books which recorded births, deaths, marriages, baptisms, and membership transfers. He also presided over meetings that dealt with discipline.

The ministers were responsible to preach, counsel, visit the sick, and officiate at funerals and weddings.[161] Their task was crucial for the spiritual health of the community. It was also difficult and time consuming, and could interfere with a minister's farm operation. This was especially the case if the minister had no sons or hired hands to carry on the farm work while he attended to church matters. Normally each church had one deacon who sought to identify and alleviate physical or financial needs in the congregation. The poor, sick, and elderly came under his care. For example, those who needed extensive medical aid and were unable to pay could come to the deacon for assistance.

Worship. Worship was very important in the life of the Mennonite community. Even during the long journey from Russia to Manitoba, the immigrant groups met regularly.[162] These sessions provided the occasion for people to support each other, affirm their faith in God, and give voice to their fears and apprehensions. In the first number of years in Manitoba, worship services were held in schools, private homes, or large buildings. As soon as was possible, church buildings were constructed.

Worship services, attended by adults only, began early Sunday morning after farm chores were done. People came in wagons or buggies from the surrounding villages. Men and women entered the church building through their respective doors with men seated on one side of the building and women on the other. All women wore dark head shawls, lacy black head coverings, or both.[163] Upon entering, they sat in silence. The worship service started when the song leaders, usually four, entered and sat down.[164] One of them announced a song and started singing. After a few notes the other song leaders and the congregation joined in. The songs had six or more verses. All singing was in unison and churches did not use any musical instruments. The themes of the songs included pilgrimage, longing for heaven, martyrdom, faithfulness, prayer, and praise. The Reinlaender Church decided to return to the traditional long version of singing which consisted of slow singing with intricate musical ornamentations added to the melody line.[165] The Bergthaler Church still used this style up to the time of immigration to Manitoba, but switched to a newer style

Interior of the Old Colony Church, from the village of Chortitz on the West Reserve, now at the Mennonite Heritage Village, Steinbach. Note the pulpit on one side, the benches for the ministers and song leader on the other, and the crossbeams to support grain in the upper story (30).

after it arrived. The Kleine Gemeinde had already made the switch in Russia.

After one or two songs, the ministers entered the sanctuary from a small room near the women's entrance. Each church had several ministers who took turns preaching. They sat on the ministers' bench facing the congregation. Each minister wore a long black coat, a dark shirt without a tie, and black boots. Boots were used because in Ephesians 6:15 it states, "For your feet, put on whatever will make you ready to proclaim the gospel of peace."

One minister preached the 10- to 20-minute introductory sermon, which was followed by a silent prayer during which the people knelt, facing the bench on which they had been sitting. The minister might add a short audible prayer. The prayer was followed by the main sermon that consisted of expositions of biblical texts, expressions of faith in God, and often specific exhortations about daily living. The sermon was usually read from a written collection dating back several generations. Both it and the Bible readings were in High German, but the minister often added commentary in Low German. The sermon was followed by another silent prayer during which the congregation again knelt. After announcements about community affairs such as weddings, illnesses, or deaths, the service concluded with a hymn. The service was often two hours in length.

Salvation was perceived as a personal commitment to God and the church. This commitment was evidenced by faithful daily living based on the teachings of the church, and included being in harmony with village principles and participating in its organizations. It meant subjecting individual desires and wishes to the good of the whole group. Individualism in dress, lifestyle, and land use was frowned upon or forbidden. In this manner Mennonites sought to maintain a spirit of equality, unity, and a setting in which mutual sharing and admonition among church members could occur.

Catechisms and Confessions. Most Manitoba Mennonite groups used the Elbing Catechism of 1778 for membership instruction.[166] For a number of Sundays before baptism, which was usually held around Pentecost, the baptismal candidates answered from memory the questions asked by the minister. The sermons for those Sundays were based on the questions and answers from the respective sections. The Mennonite Brethren did not use this catechism because they felt that its use had become a tradition that lacked vitality. Also, consciously or subconsciously, they wanted to distinguish themselves from other Mennonite groups. They used the German confession drawn up in Russia in 1876 and reprinted in 1902.[167] The Holdeman Church used a confession they produced in 1896.[168] In 1881 Bishop Johann Wiebe of the Reinlaender Mennonite Church compiled a confession of faith in 16 articles.[169] It was added to the Elbing catechism, and was intended for private study by baptismal candidates.[170] Wiebe likely wrote this confession for the same reason that the Mennonite Brethren turned to other forms of catechetical instruction, namely to keep the teaching alive and to allow for personal appropriation by individual baptismal candidates.[171]

Church Divisions: Renewals or Disruptions?

During the decades of the 1880s and 1890s, four new Mennonite groups formed, two on each reserve. These divisions happened because of evangelistic efforts by Mennonites from the United States and because of conflicts over the role of education. Some saw these schisms as the result of a renewal of personal faith; others saw them as a compromise of true faith and a disruption of church communities.

Holdeman Church. The first division occurred in the Kleine Gemeinde group. The bishop, Peter Toews, who was looking for a way to renew his church, contacted John Holdeman, an American Mennonite, and invited him to Manitoba.[172] Holdeman, a Swiss Mennonite from Ohio, had formed a new church called the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, popularly known as Holdeman. His church had remained small until it was able to win a large number of Volhynian Mennonite immigrants who had settled in Kansas in 1874. The theology of the Holdeman Church was a blending of traditional Mennonite values such as separation from the world

The Kleine Gemeinde in Blumenort/Blumenhof constructed its first church building in 1918. Previously the congregation met in a school building (31).

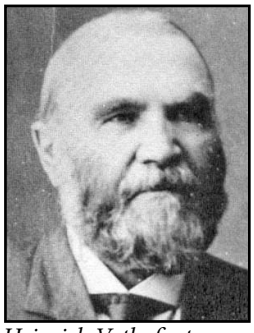
Holdeman Church:
In the winter of 1881-1882 ministers John Holdeman and Mark Seiler went to Manitoba and held a series of meetings at Steinbach, Blumenort, Gruenfeld, and Rosenort. The preaching was so convincing, life-and-light giving that one hundred and sixty souls were added to the church at that time. About half of the Kleinegemeinde church, including three of its four ministers, were united in faith with this movement. The first ministers ordained to take care of the congregations were John Enns ordained on Jan. 3, 1882; Peter Toews, Abraham Isaac and Martin Penner, ordained on Jan. 11, 1882. After two years two other ministers were chosen, namely John D. Dueck and Wilhelm Giesbrecht. (Clarence Hiebert, *The Holdeman People*, 143)

in dress, pacifism, and refusal to serve in civic offices, with a North American evangelical fervour emphasizing evangelism, personal conversions, and assurance of salvation.[173]

The result of the visit by Holdeman to Manitoba was that Toews accepted Holdeman's vision for renewal. In 1882 he, three of his fellow ministers, and almost half of the members of the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde were rebaptized by Holdeman and joined his church. The other half, together with three ministers, remained Kleine Gemeinde and was reorganized under the leadership of one of the ministers, Jacob Kroeker. He was ordained by a bishop from Nebraska.[174] The trauma of this division caused a conservative reaction within the Kleine Gemeinde and made it suspicious of change for many years.[175]

Mennonite Brethren Church. On the West Reserve a division occurred within the Reinlaender Church. In 1884, Mennonite Brethren, who had immigrated to Kansas from Russia in 1874, sent two evangelists to Manitoba, David Dyck and Heinrich Voth.[176] In 1886 they rebaptized two couples by immersion, and in 1888 established a Mennonite Brethren church in Burwalde, northwest of Winkler. This was the first of their churches in Manitoba, as well as in all of Canada. Satellite congregations were established on the northern edge of the West Reserve, and in 1897 the church building in Burwalde was moved to Winkler.

One of the reasons the Mennonite Brethren (MB) sent missionaries to Manitoba was that some of their leaders in the United States who had relatives in Manitoba were concerned about their spiritual welfare.[177] According to them, the teachings of the Reinlaender Church were not meeting their needs. In addition, the MB conference had expressed their intention to open a foreign mission field and Manitoba seemed like a good opportunity. For the Reinlaender Church, this intrusion of an evangelistic effort into its midst came at a particularly sensitive time as it was trying to unite a number of factions into one church. Its identity and vision were still being formed. That whole process was affected significantly by the mission efforts of the Mennonite Brethren Church.



Heinrich Voth, first Mennonite Brethren missioner to Manitoba. He came from Mountain Lake Minnesota (32).

The two groups had different ways of appropriating faith. The Reinlaender saw the development of faith in God as a life-long process of nurture and training in the home, the school, and the church. Baptism was an important step in this process of faith formation, which included a commitment to live harmoniously in the village and to share in its responsibilities. This life-long process of commitment to God was validated by successfully completing a life of Christian faithfulness.[178] Faith issues were rarely discussed by the people.

The Mennonite Brethren missionaries, however, emphasized repentance of sins, acceptance of Jesus Christ as personal Saviour, and assurance of salvation.[179] Their main concern was that souls be converted.[180] The faith language focused more on the individual and less on the community. It emphasized more the significance of a conversion experience, and less that of faith as a process. It was verbally much more expressive than the faith of the Reinlaender. In biblical terms, the Mennonite Brethren put more emphasis on the conversion experience of Paul of Tarsus on his way to Damascus than on the apostle Paul's encouragement to Timothy to nurture the faith he had inherited from his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice.[181]

Various practices sharpened the differences between the two understandings. Mennonite Brethren ministers preached sermons they themselves had written; Reinlaender ministers used sermons handed down from minister to minister, sometimes for generations. Mennonite Brethren introduced new gospel songs, sung in the new style and not in the ornamented style. Instead of traditional silent prayers, their ministers spoke audible prayers. Instead of baptizing adults by sprinkling or pouring, Mennonite Brethren practiced immersion baptism. Instead of having services only on Sunday mornings, they had evening and mid-week prayer, Bible study, and evangelistic services. The Reinlaender Church saw this activity by the Mennonite Brethren Church as outside interference, disruptive, and negative. They felt themselves judged as non-Christian. At the very point that they were beginning to build one church from a number of diverse groups, they felt attacked.

During this same time, the General Conference Mennonite Church in the United States also sent missionaries to Manitoba.

Table 4
Church Groups by 1901

Area	Church	Numbers
East Reserve and Scratching River	Chortitzer Mennonite	2,200
	Kleine Gemeinde	800
	Church of God in Christ, Mennonite (Holdeman)	600
	Evangelical Mennonite Brethren (Bruderthaler)	75
West Reserve	Reinlaender Church	4,000
	Sommerfelder Mennonite	1,500
	Bergthaler Mennonite	150
	Mennonite Brethren	100

These Mennonite missionaries had come under the influence of American revivalism that also emphasized personal conversion and assurance of salvation.[182] The General Conference Mennonites (GC) who came to Manitoba brought some of the same practices as did the Mennonite Brethren. They emphasized freer preaching, special Bible study and prayer meetings, new music styles, personal conversion experiences, and less attention to separation from society. However, they did not practice immersion baptism. Despite repeated efforts, this mission effort did not result in a separate church. Instead, its converts joined either the Mennonite Brethren or the Bergthaler churches.

Sommerfelder Mennonite Church. In the 1890s a division occurred within the West Reserve Bergthaler Mennonite Church over the issue of education.[183] Bishop Johann Funk spearheaded the founding of a teacher training school in Gretna and, together with the Manitoba Department of Education, hired Heinrich H. Ewert, a Kansas Mennonite teacher, to be the principal.[184] Some people in the Bergthaler Church saw this teacher training school as necessary for the health and survival of the Mennonite community. Others saw it as a worldly danger, especially since Ewert was also hired by the provincial department of education as inspector and organizer of government schools among Mennonites. They saw him as promoting government interference in Mennonite affairs and thus a threat to Mennonite identity and separation from the world.[185]

The widespread dissatisfaction with Bishop Funk's leadership that had been present from the time of his ordination was given focus by the school controversy. The result was that the church split into two factions. Out of a total of more than 450 families, only 57 stayed with Funk and the Bergthaler Church.[186] Of this number only about 20 families were original members of the Bergthaler immigrant group; the others were former Reinlaender members. The remainder formed the Sommerfelder Mennonite Church. Abraham Doerksen, who lived in the village of Sommerfeld, was elected bishop and ordained by the Chortitzer bishop in 1893.[187]

Evangelical Mennonite Brethren. In 1897 another Mennonite group in the United States, the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren (EMB), originally known as the Defenseless Mennonite Brethren because of their emphasis on peace, sent missionaries to Steinbach. Locally known as Bruderthaler, the church had been formed by Russian Mennonite immigrants in Mountain Lake, Minnesota, and Henderson, Nebraska. The church combined Russian pietism, American evangelicalism, and traditional Mennonite theology.[188] The result of this missionary effort from the United States was that an Evangelical Mennonite Brethren church formed in Steinbach in 1897.[189] It drew its members primarily from the Kleine Gemeinde. This church in Steinbach quickly became the most acculturating church. It was at the forefront in accepting new capitalist business practices and in adopting new technologies, like the automobile.

Other Churches

The process of immigrating into Manitoba, internal migrations, and church divisions caused considerable turmoil within Mennonite communities, and new groups found opportunities to form. One of these, the Swedenborgians, officially known as the Church of the New Jerusalem, formed a church near Gretna in 1887.[190] Before long it also established groups in Plum Coulee and Rosenort on the Scratching (Morris) River. Most of the Manitoba Swedenborgians moved to Saskatchewan, even though small groups were still active up to 1920. Many of them considered themselves Mennonite, and in World War I sought exemption from military service as Mennonites.[191]

The establishment of railway towns and the accompanying influx of new residents re-

sulted in the formation of Presbyterian, Catholic, Lutheran, and other churches in Gretna, Plum Coulee, and Winkler. In Gretna, for example, the first railway town on the West Reserve, the Presbyterian Church was built in 1889, and the St. Francis of Assisi Catholic Church and the German language St. Paul's Lutheran Church in 1897.[192] Relatively few Mennonites joined these churches.

The experience of Mennonite churches raised numerous questions. What is the nature of renewal? Was John Holdeman's group a sign of renewal, or did it hinder the reform of the church? What about the entry of Mennonite Brethren and General Conference missionaries, or the formation of the Reinlaender, Bergthaler, and Mennonite Brethren churches? Given the various divisions, what were the commonalities defining all Mennonites? Most used the same catechism. All were pacifist. They spoke the same languages, German and Low German, and they defined their faith in common concepts. They shared a view that faith was to be expressed in daily living, even if what that meant was understood differently. They shared a common history dating back through Russia, Prussia, and the sixteenth-century Anabaptist experience. The Mennonite pioneers shared land, faith, and culture. However, these commonalities were being put to the test by increasing diversity. They were facing more challenges in their new land than they had expected.

5
Education: Training for Life

Education was crucial to prepare children for life in the home, community, and church. Schools provided instruction in the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. They also taught the church's religious heritage and nurtured children toward faith in God and membership in the church.[193] Therefore, it was essential that the schools were under church control.

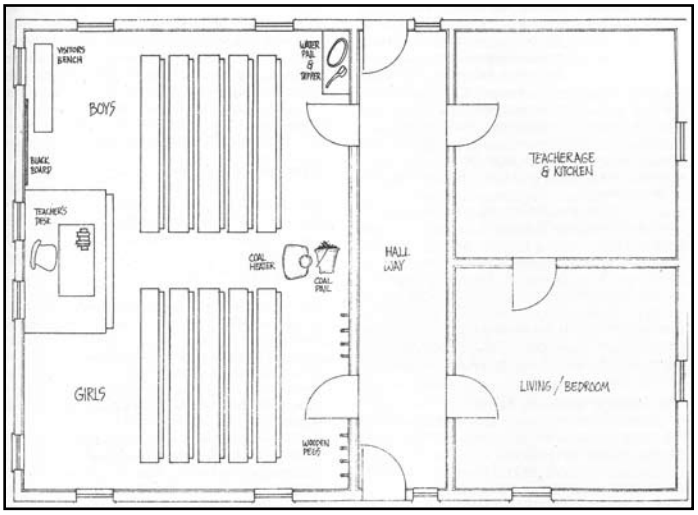
The Early Schools

Classes began as soon as the immigrants were settled, first in private homes and then in school buildings. These usually included both a classroom and a small residence for the teacher and his family.[194] The two parts were divided by a hallway. The classroom had large windows, a teacher's desk and chair, a stove, a number of long student desks, and blackboards.[195]

Education in the schools was augmented by teaching in the home, where girls and boys acquired the practical skills necessary to operate farm and household. Girls learned to bake, cook, sew, mend, and raise children. Boys learned the skills of fieldwork, taking care of the farm animals, buying and selling, repairing and construction. The training, however, was not necessarily gender specific and girls and boys might well learn each other's skills.

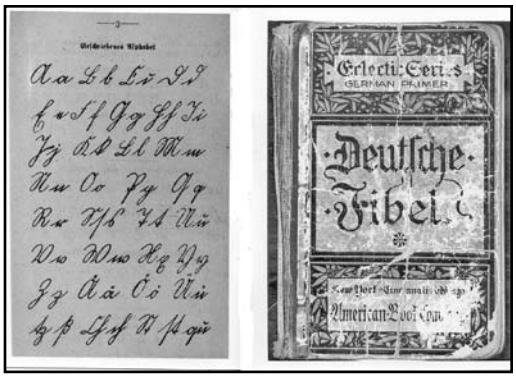
Curriculum. Children started school at age six or seven, and progressed through four levels determined by the reading curriculum.[196] The language of instruction was German. Students started with a language primer that taught them the alphabet, pronunciation, and a basic vocabulary.[197] In the second level children learned to read and memorize the catechism, a booklet of questions and short answers about the Christian faith.[198] In the third level, students read from the New Testament, and in the fourth from the whole Bible. The four levels took six to seven years to complete with girls attending to age twelve and boys to fourteen. Writing and arithmetic were taught alongside the reading levels. Considerable emphasis was placed on penmanship and embellished lettering. Children took great pride in memorizing and reciting arithmetic tables, poems, and hymns. A tradition that carried through to the 1920s was presenting parents with a carefully scribed and memorized poem at Christmas time.

Teachers. The village council hired the



The floor plan of many village private schools, where half the building was used as a classroom and the other half for the teacher's living quarters (33).

A private school class, Grunthal, 1910 (34).



The Fibel *was the basic reader for students in the Mennonite private schools prior to 1920 (35).*

teacher, but the church leaders supervised the school system.[199] The ministers regularly visited schools to see that the teaching conformed to the needs and wishes of the church.[200] Public demonstration examinations were held so that parents could see the teacher and students in action.[201]

Teachers were often farmers or other people in the community who had an aptitude for or interest in teaching.[202] Most were men, although a few were women. In the early years, many had received their training and experience in Russia. However, as the number of schools increased and older teachers retired, the demand exceeded the number who had received training in Russia. Many of the new ones had little formal preparation for their task. To address this situation, in-services were organized by the local community to upgrade teachers' abilities.[203] The teacher's contract year was from seeding time to seeding time. The school year began with a month of instruction after seeding was finished. School was then suspended during the busy summer months until October, then continued until seeding the following spring. Each family with school children had to pay its share of the teacher's salary. However, all the households of the village, regardless of whether they had school age children, were required to provide a portion of wheat, oats, and hay for the teacher's horse and cow. [204]

Public Schools. In the 1873 letter from John Lowe, Mennonites received assurances from the federal government that they had the right to establish their own denominational schools. Although the letter originated from the federal government and education was a provincial matter, the promises were in agreement with the laws of Manitoba at the time.[205] The Manitoba Act of 1870 specifically protected denominational schools. To implement this, the Manitoba School Act of 1871 established a Board of Education under which two denominational school boards operated, a Catholic Board and a Protestant Board. All schools that wanted provincial support had to register with one of these boards.[206]

Upon immigration, the Manitoba government invited Mennonites to register their schools with the Protestant School Board. Even though all Mennonite groups wanted their schools under church control, each group had a different view of how to respond to this invitation.[207] The Kleine Gemeinde and Chortitzer churches almost immediately registered their schools, but operated them under church supervision. The Reinlaender Church believed that any government control of its schools would diminish their effectiveness and therefore did not register them.[208] The Bergthaler Church registered many of its schools. When, a few years later, the Protestant School Board demanded that it approve all teachers each year and set the standards as to who could teach, the Chortitzer schools withdrew from Protestant Board control and operated privately.[209] Most Mennonite

Wilhelm Rempel and family. Rempel was a public school teacher, government school inspector, and the founding teacher of the school in Gretna (36).

Maria Friesen Redenzel (1844-1925) was the first Mennonite woman teacher in Manitoba. She settled with her parents in Blumenort, east reserve, and in 1875 started teaching in the village of Rosenort, Scratching River. She likely taught in Rosenort until 1880. After that she taught in a number of other school districts. In one of these, in Gruenfeld (Kleefeld), she met Julius Redenzel, and married him. "Maria is remembered as a very intelligent woman who had a great gift with children."
(Delbert Plett, *Preservings 8*, part I [June 1996]: 9)

The 1873 letter by John Lowe stated:
#10 "The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Mennonites without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools."
(Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 163)

Contract to hire a school teacher:
The village of Gnadenthal has come to an agreement with Johann Wiens, and he has promised to instruct in our school during the coming year, 1900-1901. As salary we will pay him $100, one hundred bushels wheat, fifty bushels oats, seven loads of hay, and two loads of grass. Second, there shall be one month of instruction after seeding time in 1900, and instruction from October to seeding time in 1901. There shall be three hours of instruction before noon, and three hours after noon. Signed by: Johann Wiens, teacher; David Fehr, village mayor; Abraham Froese, assistant; Peter Penner, assistant.
(MHC Archives, vol. 2228)

schools followed suit because they feared the government was trying to take control.

In 1884 the Protestant School Board hired Wilhelm Rempel, a teacher in Reinland, as its inspector of Mennonite schools.[210] One of his tasks was to persuade Mennonite village schools to register. This was no small job since there were only eight registered schools out of about 150. Through Rempel's efforts, the number of Mennonite public schools gradually increased. The majority of the Mennonite schools, that is, all the Reinlaender and most of the Bergthaler and Chortitzer, remained private. Private schools were a legal option; they simply did not receive financial support from the government.[211]

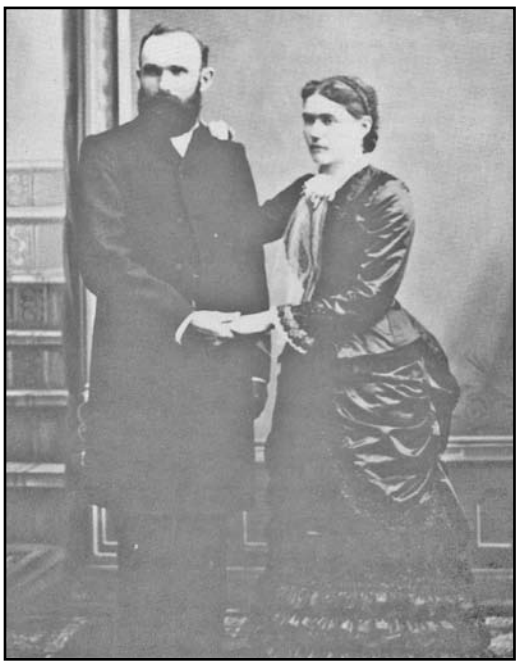
Political Influences

New Manitoba School Acts: 1890 and 1897. In 1890, the Manitoba government passed a new School Act. The English population had gained control of the legislature and now imposed its views on the province by establishing a new Department of Education. Gone were the Protestant and Catholic school boards. In their place was a non-denominational school system for the whole province with instruction only in English.[212] The French in Manitoba felt betrayed. Their vision for the West was that it would be bilingual, bicultural, and both Catholic and Protestant. They felt the Manitoba Act of 1870 guaranteed them the right to have a publicly funded French Catholic school system.[213] This attack by the Manitoba government on French culture and Catholic religion caused a political row that reverberated throughout all of Canada. The French in Quebec and the English in Ontario were drawn into the fray.

For the Mennonite schools that were public, the 1890 legislation was a threat. A non-denominational, English-only program, without religious instruction, was not their vision of education. Almost all Mennonite public schools became private again.[214] In 1891, only the six Kleine Gemeinde schools, plus two others, remained registered as public schools.[215]

In 1897 the Manitoba government passed legislation designed to be a compromise. Instead of forcing all schools to teach only in English, it provided that "if ten students in any school spoke a language other than English, instruction could be in English and that other language 'upon the bilingual system.'"[216] Religious instruction was also permitted, provided that the parents of at least ten students in a rural district requested it. Attendance of a public school was not yet mandatory and private schools could still operate. The 1897 education bill establishing bilingual schools was met with approval by those Mennonite schools that wanted to register with the government.[217] They could use the provincial curriculum, teach in both German and English, and provide religious instruction. Gradually more schools switched from private to public, with 35 doing so by 1900.[218] This still left more than a hundred private schools. For the majority of Mennonites, namely those who had private schools, this Manitoba school controversy was of little consequence. They set their own curriculum, hired their own teachers, instructed in German, and included as much English language instruction as they saw necessary.

The Teacher Training School and Heinrich Ewert. By the late 1880s Mennonites realized they were facing a problem, namely a dwindling supply of adequately trained teachers. Those who had been educated in Russia were retiring. There was no school to prepare teachers for the growing number of village schools.[219] Consequently, a group of Mennonites, mainly in the Bergthaler Church, founded the Mennonite School Society to address this problem.[220] In 1889 this society opened a teacher training school in Gretna, which at the time was the principal town on the West Reserve. The society hired Wilhelm Rempel, who had been a teacher in Reinland and who, for the previous five years, had worked for the provincial government as inspector of Men-



Henry H. and Elizabeth (Baer) Ewert at their 25th wedding anniversary, 1907 (37).

nonite schools. He had received his training in the Chortitza Mennonite secondary school in Russia.[221]

After heading the teacher training school in Gretna for a year, Rempel resigned because he felt he lacked the necessary skills.[222] The school reopened a year later under the leadership of Heinrich H. Ewert.[223] Ewert, a Mennonite born in Prussia, had migrated to Kansas in 1874, and received a university education in the United States. He seemed well qualified to assist Mennonites in Manitoba.[224] He was recruited jointly by the Mennonite School Society to head up the teacher training school in Gretna and by the Manitoba Department of Education to be its inspector of Mennonite public schools.[225] In the latter position one of his tasks was to promote registration of Mennonite schools as public schools. At first Ewert found considerable support among Mennonites, and was invited to speak to numerous groups. They liked his view of education as shaping Christian character. "To him education was the harmonious development of all the faculties of the child, whose ultimate aim was to make the child more Christ-like."[226]

Before long, however, opposition to Ewert developed.[227] The majority of Manitoba Mennonites did not share his broad intellectual world. His university education was far beyond any of their training. He was fluent in English and even his command of German was superior to theirs. He was a Prussian Mennonite and did not have the Russian Mennonite experience. Maybe most importantly, he was employed by the Department of Education and many Mennonites feared his real agenda was to promote the government's instead of the church's interests.[228]

Ewert's support consisted of Johann Funk, bishop of the Bergthaler Church, Erdman Penner, a Gretna businessman, and a small circle of Bergthaler members. In addition, the Kleine Gemeinde, Holdeman, Mennonite Brethren, Bruderthaler churches, and some Sommerfelder families backed him by sending students to his school.[229] The Reinlaender, Chortitzer, and the majority of the Bergthaler Church opposed Ewert. The opposition thus included more than three-quarters of Manitoba Mennonites. The crisis over the founding of the teacher training school and the appointment of Ewert influenced all Mennonites, but none more so than the West Reserve Bergthaler. The controversy over the formation of the school split them into two groups: Sommerfelder and Bergthaler.[230]

Erdman Penner and his wife were strong supporters of H.H. Ewert and the school in Gretna (38).

Ewert had some success in getting more schools to register as public schools, and by 1902 there were 41 such schools.[231] The option of including both religious and German instruction as part of the curriculum convinced many to become public.

Politics and the Flag. In the election campaign of 1903, the Conservative Party suggested that if the opponents of Heinrich Ewert helped them get elected, they would dismiss him as Mennonite school inspector.[232] They knew that the majority of Mennonites did not support Ewert and so they hoped to gain votes with this promise. The Conservatives did win the election and they let Ewert go.[233] Since part of his salary had come from the Department of Education for his position as inspector, his firing weakened the Gretna school financially. Mennonites also saw that the Conservative government was willing to play politics with education, and this made it more difficult to convince reluctant Mennonites to accept public schools. To aggravate matters further, the new Mennonite school inspectors were one-year political appointees.

In 1906 the Conservative government dealt the Mennonite public schools another blow when it ordered them to fly the British flag. Since many immigrants from eastern Europe were flooding into Manitoba, the government wanted to instil in them a sense of identification with the British Empire.[234] For Mennonites, the Union Jack was a symbol of British imperialism, militarism, and nationalism and to fly it was a threat to their belief in pacifism.[235] Since the provincial government was adamant that Mennonite public schools fly the flag, some of them became private again.

A New School in Altona. In 1905 the teacher training school in Gretna needed a new facility. Instead of building in Gretna, some of the supporters proposed that the school move to Altona, six miles north, since it was more

For Ewert, education was to serve a threefold function. Firstly, it should influence the child to become a "Child of God." Secondly, it should build the character of the pupil in the image of God. Thirdly, religious instruction should prepare the individual for useful and effective work in the Church.
(Gerhard J. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 37)

I think that a man who comes from a foreign country in order to benefit his circumstances, and who objects to perpetuating the glories of the flag and declines to have his children infused with British patriotism, is a man that is undesirable.

Premier Roblin, 1906
(Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 111)

central to the Bergthaler Church community.[236] This proposal was strongly opposed by its Gretna supporters. The Bergthaler Church held a number of meetings to resolve the conflict, but each meeting produced further controversy.[237] The result was that two school factions developed within the small Bergthaler Church, one supporting Altona and the other Gretna. In 1908, two schools, each with new buildings were established, one in each town. Ewert stayed in the Gretna school, renamed the Mennonite Collegiate Institute (MCI), and a new principal was hired for the Altona school which retained the original name Mennonite Educational Institute.[238] Both had similar curricula.[239]

This division weakened both schools financially and divided an already small student body. An ironic development was that a sizable number of Sommerfelder, the church that had separated from the Bergthaler Church over the issue of founding the school in Gretna, supported the Altona school. This seemed to confirm that they had been opposed to Ewert but not to higher education as such.

The Altona school remained in operation until 1926 when it burned down and was not rebuilt.[240] The school in Gretna, because of its emphasis on German instruction, was well situated to serve the students from the new wave of immigrants in the 1920s. This influx gave Mennonite Collegiate Institute a strong support base for years to come.

Mennonite Students. Despite the organizational and political conflicts swirling around the Mennonite schools in Manitoba, they provided good education for their young people. Most students stayed within the local community, although a few also moved beyond it.

One student who made a contribution to the larger Manitoba society was Helena Penner.[241] Her parents, Erdman and Maria Penner, immigrated to Manitoba in 1874 and spent the first years in Winnipeg, where Helena was born. Then they moved to Niverville and later to Gretna where she grew up. Helena's father was the most successful Mennonite businessman of the day. At one point he had stores in eight different communities. In Gretna the family built a large 12-room house. In her memoirs Helena mentions the Mennonite teacher training school in Gretna, making it evident that she graduated from it. She went on to study at Wesley College, now the University of Winnipeg, where she graduated in 1899 as a silver medallist.[242] Shortly after, she married Dr. Gerhard Hiebert, a medical doctor in Winnipeg. After her husband died, Helena served on the Winnipeg school board from 1936 to 1939.[243] She was one of the Mennonite women who used her education in the Gretna school as a springboard to serve the larger community.

Helena Penner, a native of Gretna, at the University of Winnipeg. She was in the first class of women to graduate (40).

Another student was Alfred Ewert, the third son of Heinrich H. and Elizabeth Ewert. After graduating from the school in Gretna, Ewert attended Wesley College in Winnipeg.[244] He won a Rhodes Scholarship and studied in Oxford, England, where he completed a doctorate degree. He was appointed

Students of the Mennonite Educational Institute, Altona, 1916-1917. It was a provincially recognized teacher-training institute until 1920 (39).

to a teaching position in Oxford, where he spent his whole career.

World War I: Loss of Bilingual and Private Schools

On August 4, 1914, when Great Britain declared war on Germany, Canada was automatically at war as well.[245] Even though the war began as a conflict between the Austrian Empire and Serbia, in Canada it was seen as a battle with Germany. In the early years, Canada fought the war with volunteers, with western Canada contributing larger numbers, relative to the population, far more than any other area of the country.[246]

During the early part of World War I Mennonite schools were allowed to operate as before. However, as the war dragged on, and anti-German sentiment increased, the government raised ever more concerns about the adequacy of instruction in the bilingual school system.[247] One problem for Mennonites was that their schools used German as the language of instruction. Furthermore, they were exempt from serving in the military and this created resentment. These factors combined to turn public sentiment against them.[248] The expressions of anger against Mennonites were given voice by the *Manitoba Free Press* whose articles and editorials against them became increasingly strident.

The *Free Press* argued that the reason immigrant groups such as Mennonites were not willing to do military service was that the bilingual school system was deficient in that it did not create national solidarity. It had failed to instil in immigrant young people a proper respect for God, country, the flag, and the British Empire. The *Free Press* rejected minority rights, and argued that protecting them was impractical and would ultimately divide the West into warring factions. Even French rights, which were guaranteed in the Manitoba Act of 1870, were dismissed as impractical to implement. Canada is an English country, the *Free Press* proclaimed, and all immigrants should become English.[249]

At this time about half of the schools in Mennonite communities were bilingual. Inspectors' reports indicate that English instruction and English-language facility among most students were quite good by 1916. In the public schools most subjects were being taught in English with only religious subjects still retaining the German.

As a result of public pressure, the Manitoba government prepared legislation to abolish the bilingual schools and to implement an English-only school system. Mennonites prepared briefs to the government to object to the proposed legislation. Heinrich H. Ewert, who had spent more than two decades promoting the advantages of a public bilingual school system to reluctant Mennonites, now defended this system before the government. He argued that it served both the government's interests in that it provided for good education and the Mennonites' interests since they considered education the responsibility of home and church.[250]

In early 1916 the newly elected Liberal government of T.C. Norris passed legislation abolishing bilingual schools. All Manitoba schools were to use only English as the language of instruction. The government also made school attendance compulsory, even though the legislation still provided for private schools.[251] It increasingly emphasized that the school system should create national unity and cultural conformity. The response by those Mennonites who had public schools was to turn them into private schools, seemingly on the advice of the Minister of Agriculture and Immigration.[252] The Mennonite Brethren, Sommerfelder, and Bergthaler set up a joint committee to write their own curriculum.[253] The Reinlaender and Chortitzer, who in 1916 had only private schools, were not affected by this legislation.[254]

In early 1918 the government decided to put a stop to the privatization of Mennonite public schools. It appointed John F. Greenway as the official trustee of all Mennonite schools. His first move was to keep those Mennonite public schools open that had not yet reverted to private status. The government gave him authority to take them over.[255]

Greenway's next step was to force all the schools that had reverted from public to private status to become public again. From 1918 to 1921 he introduced legislation coercing one school after the other to change.[256] The government appointed him as the official trustee with power to act on behalf of each of the schools. Wherever a new school building was needed, Greenway had it built and charged the cost to the people in the district. He appointed teachers in those schools, also at the expense of the district. Any challenge by a school, pointing out that it was meeting departmental requirements, was met with cold rejection. Schools that asked for time to bring their standards up to those expected by the government—as the Chortitzer schools did—were ignored or had their requests summarily denied.[257]

Canada is not bilingual. It is English speaking.
(*Manitoba Free Press*, 1 May 1920, 13)

Mennonites Challenge Government

Rosenfeld, Manitoba, April 1, 1919
J. F. Greenway, Dept. of Education

Dear Sir:

Complying with my promise to give you the result of our school meeting held last Saturday, I submissively communicate to you the following: Resolved, to continue our Private school as hitherto. Our government requires of us Mennonites that we learn the language of this country. This we have done already for twelve years, and at present we teach everything in English:…arithmetic, reading, spelling, geography, grammar and history. For our religion [for which we use German readers] we use the Bible, the New Testament, Bible stories, the catechism and a little ABC primer in which are godly readings. Our teacher, is William Kornelsen, who has a second-class non-professional and a third-class professional certificate.

Every rate-payer was requested to give his opinion, whether he was for private or district school, and every one without exception decided as above stated.

With esteem and reverence for our government, we submissively subscribe ourselves,

—John D. Klassen for the
Reichenbach Private school board.

Reply by J.F. Greenway.
June 21, 1919

Johann D. Klassen, Esq.
Rosenfeld, Man.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 17th instant, with letter dated April 1st enclosed. I note that your rate payers have decided to adhere to the practice of the private school. In this case, there is nothing left for me to do but take steps to provide a public school as my instructions are to see that a public school is put in operation in Reichenbach School District. I shall therefore, unless ordered otherwise by the Department, take immediate steps to erect a new school in Reichenbach District.

Yours truly,
J.F. Greenway,
Official Trustee of Reichenbach
S.D. #1198.

Manitoba Archives, Boxes 3069 & 3114

Greenway's third move was to impose public schools on those Mennonite villages that had private ones. This included all Reinlaender as well as some Chortitzer and Sommerfelder schools, which totalled about half of the Mennonite schools. There too the cost of constructing new school buildings was charged to the Mennonites in the district. Parents who refused to send their children to these schools were fined.[258] Greenway hired non-Mennonite teachers and in some districts appointed up to three per month, indicating that many teachers were not suited to their assignments. There was passive resistance among Mennonites. In some districts the teachers appointed by Greenway came to school, raised the flag daily, and marked students absent for all or most of the days of the year. [259]

Mennonites challenged the government's forcible takeover, claiming that the 1873 letter from John Lowe gave them the right to run their own schools. In the court cases that ensued, the ruling was that the 1873 federal government letter was invalid since education was a provincial matter. Mennonites were appalled to discover that a commitment by the federal government could so easily be overruled.[260] When it became evident that the forcible closure of Mennonite bilingual public and private schools could not be stopped, the responses by Mennonite groups varied. The Bergthaler, Mennonite Brethren, Holdeman, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, and Kleine Gemeinde accommodated to the new reality and went about meeting the new regulations. They hoped that in the future they would be able to work out an arrangement with the government that would better serve their needs.[261]

The Reinlaender, Chortitzer, and many of the Sommerfelder, representing the majority of Mennonites in Manitoba, refused to accept changes and planned to emigrate. They felt that accommodation would result in the loss of their children to the nationalistic values of the government. They saw it their duty to train their children, and they were willing to make sacrifices necessary to accomplish this.[262] Another fallout from this controversy was the removal of the normal school course from Gretna[263] which meant that the school could no longer fully train teachers for Manitoba schools.

Mennonites and the government had differing views of education. Through the schools, the government hoped to draw immigrant groups into the mainstream of Mani-

toba society where they would share the values of country and empire. For Mennonites, education was intended to convey the beliefs of the church to their children. Even though some desired private schools and others were willing to accept bilingual schools, their basic conviction about education remained.

6
Agriculture and Business

Farming knowledge from Russia, pressing needs of the community, faith convictions, and influences of the surrounding society shaped the development of both agriculture and business within the Mennonite settlements.

Agriculture

Mennonites have a long history of farming. Prior to the move to Russia, they had farmed in the Vistula Delta in Poland for more than 200 years from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries. In Russia they did so for almost another hundred years.[264] Farming was in their blood. When a large percentage of Mennonites in Russia became landless, this was seen as a major problem not only for individuals but also for the community. Consequently the delegates who negotiated with the government of Canada in 1873 requested adequate land for the whole community, both rich and poor. The Canadian government's offer of abundant land was one of the important factors in the Mennonites' decision to immigrate. Virtually all took up farming in their new homeland.

One of the first tasks for the immigrants was to take their teams of oxen to the virgin fields to break the soil and prepare it for seeding. In the southern half of the East Reserve, farmers had to cut down trees and pull out roots before they could plough the land; in other areas they could immediately cut the treeless prairie soil with the plough. In the first two decades most of the field work was done by oxen since they were stronger than horses.[265] Slowly the fields that for thousands of years had been home to buffalo (or bison) and nomadic peoples changed into settled agricultural land. Since most immigrants arrived in summer, they were unable to plant crops or vegetables the first year. In subsequent years they learned through trial and error when to seed, which grains and vegetables to plant, and how to work the soil.

Except for the Kleine Gemeinde, most Mennonites had meagre financial resources when they arrived.[266] Getting settled exhausted their scant money supply even further, and they had to take out loans to see them through. However, in a few years economic conditions generally improved, except in the southern end of the East Reserve where poorer, stonier soil made farming difficult. In other areas, the quality of land was relatively good and the amount of grain harvested increased as more land was broken. By 1880 the improved level of prosperity on each reserve was evident in that farmers grew more than enough grain for their use, had purchased threshing machines,[267] and had set up wind or steam mills to grind the grain.

A contemporary observed about Mennonite villages on the West Reserve, "What the traveler would see would be one of the loveliest grove-dotted prairies that can be imagined."[268] As soon as they laid out villages, Mennonites planted various kinds of trees to provide shade, protect from winter storms, and prevent wind erosion. These included poplar, cottonwood, maple, and balm of Gilead trees. The women grew flowers, not only to provide colour on their farms, but also to sell in neighbouring towns.[269]

In the early years mixed subsistence farming was the norm. People grew essentially what they could use or market in nearby towns. With the coming of the railways, cereal grain production developed rapidly.[270] Those grains that fetched good prices in the world markets were grown extensively. Before long the intensive grain farming showed its effects. Too many successive wheat crops on the same fields drained the soil of nutrients, broke down the soil's natural fibre, and caused wind and water erosion. Although the layer of topsoil in the early years was up to three feet deep in places and seemed inexhaustible, years of poor soil management caused the topsoil to become alarmingly thin in many areas. In addition, many farmers practiced

Using a home-made harrow (41).

The sunflower seed came directly from Russia. The vegetable garden was in the center, and the flower garden formed the borders, in the same manner as one may see any day in the old-fashioned English gardens. The second house that we visited was much the same as the one I have just described, and everything was equally in order. The only difference in the garden was the addition of plum and dwarf mulberry trees, also of cottonwood and poplar. The two latter were eventually to be planted out, and, in the end, to be used for firing. The potato crop was exceedingly good. W. Henry Barneby

(*Life and Labour in the Far, Far West,* [London, 1884], 363-364)

The Mennonites' contact with the dominant race has sporadically worn down the unyielding segregation of the elders, until the young men, tired of the antiquated communion of their fathers are leaving the villages and creating houses each for himself on his own homestead.
J. E. Tetu
(1886 Annual Report of the Minister of Agriculture)

poor weed control. These problems reduced grain production. The average yield per acre in Mennonite communities often was lower than in the rest of the province. To compound the problem, Mennonites were so confident in their expertise that they were slow to accept advice about addressing these issues.[271]

As farmers tried to maximize the production of grain, it became evident that there were disadvantages to their semi-communal land arrangement in which each farmer had a number of long narrow fields, called *kagel.* Individual initiative and experimentation was hardly possible in this system where farmers in a village together made decisions about crop rotation and farming practices. Weed control was ineffective unless all participated. There was little incentive to be diligent and to make improvements when the land people planted and harvested was not the same as the land to which they held legal title.[272] Soil often drifted into the narrow strips of grass dividing the farmers' fields, causing ridges up to eight feet in height. The fields were too narrow for the new machinery that began to appear after the turn of the century. The result was that, except in the Reinlaender Church villages, Mennonites switched from the *kagel* system to the quarter-section system of farming.[273]

A threshing crew near Rosenfeld taking a Faspa *break, 1900 (42).*

In 1884 Klaas Reimer opened Steinbach's first store in this building (43).

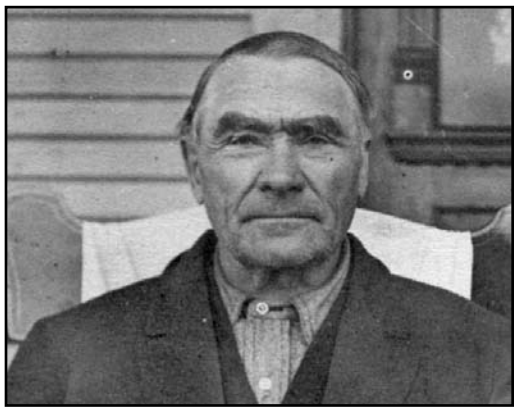
In many areas, abandoning the system of narrow fields meant that farmers moved out of the village onto their own land.

Business

In the first few years after settlement, people from the East Reserve and the Scratching River community north of Morris conducted much of their business in Winnipeg. Farm supplies, lumber, household items, and other products were bought here. A business trip to Winnipeg took almost a week.

Village Commercial Centres. However, before long a number of villages became commercial centres. In the northern part of

This windmill was built by A.S. Friesen in Steinbach in 1877, then dismantled, and taken to Rosenort in 1879. It was the first of many Mennonite-built windmills in Manitoba (44).



A.S. Friesen, pioneer Steinbach businessman. He built the first sawmill in 1876, the first windmill in 1877, and bought the first binder and steam-threshing outfit. One of his sons, J.R. Friesen, opened the first Ford dealership in western Canada in 1912 (45).

the East Reserve, for a short time, the village of Chortitz became such a centre with retail stores, a bank, community offices, and various other businesses.[274] But Chortitz was soon overshadowed by Steinbach which by the turn of the century had emerged as the principal economic hub. A wind flour mill was built in 1877.[275] When it was moved to Rosenort, a second mill was built in 1880. In 1877 Klaas Reimer, a local farmer, opened the first store in Steinbach.[276] On one of his regular trips to Winnipeg to buy supplies, a Jewish merchant suggested that he buy in bulk and become a distributor in his home village. Reimer said he could not afford to buy the supplies, so the merchant loaned him money and thus the first store in Steinbach was established. From this modest beginning, the community developed many dynamic businesses that gave Steinbach its prominent place on the East Reserve.

At the southern end of the East Reserve, the village of Grunthal became an important trading centre.[277] There John Braun and John Krahn were the early business leaders. In the 1890s they formed a joint company and established a number of businesses, including a store, feed mill, sawmill, cheese factory, and a farm machinery dealership.[278] A number of other villages also developed businesses and became secondary commercial centres, including Blumenort, Kleefeld, and Silberfeld (which was renamed New Bothwell). A few, such as Hochstadt and Barkfield, operated for a while but eventually disappeared.[279] Landmark, which was outside the reserve and thus not based on a village site, also became an important economic base. On the Scratching River settlement, the village of Rosenort became the trading centre.

On the West Reserve, in the first few years, Reinland was the most important commercial village.[280] It had retail stores, a mill, offices of the North West Mounted Police, and civil offices for the Reinlaender Church.[281] What prevented it from achieving even more importance was the establishment of Mountain City, a short distance to the west on the Pembina escarpment, which became the banking and commercial hub for the region.[282]

Both Reinland and Mountain City were on the Post Road. This was the supply route through the reserve, running west from Fort Dufferin, near Emerson on the Red River, through Mountain City to the west. Hostels were established in various villages on the Post Road as resting places for travellers and horses. Fort Dufferin on the Red River was the shipping point for grain and other agricultural products.[283] Even after railway towns were founded on the West Reserve, a number of villages maintained significant businesses. "A large, well-equipped, four-storey, steam roller mill operated in Rosengart for many years after 1891. European style windmills, used for grinding feed, were built at Blumenort, Neuhorst, and Burwalde in the1890s."[284]

Railways and Towns. In December 1878 the first railway was completed from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Winnipeg.[285] In 1885 the rail line connecting Winnipeg to central Canada by way of northern Ontario was finished.[286] In a few years, rail lines were laid west to British Columbia, thus connecting Manitoba with both seacoasts and the United States. The first line to Winnipeg ran along the western edge of the East Reserve, and Niverville was founded as a railway town. The store in the nearby village of Tannenau, owned by Erdman Penner and Otto Schultz, moved there, thus giving Niverville the opportunity to develop into a major trading town.[287] No other rail line crossed the East Reserve. This meant that grain, eggs, and other products had to be transported by wagons to towns on rail lines off the reserve, namely to Giroux to the east, Ste. Anne to the north, or Niverville to the west.

CPR station in Gretna, 1890. Railways made travelling and transporting goods easier (46).

With the coming of the railways, new forms of entertainment were available. Campbells Bros. Circus, Gretna, 1905 (47).

Among the business institutions of Gretna stands out most prominently the firm of E. Penner & Co. This firm was the first Mennonite store in Manitoba, the business having been established near Niverville in 1876. The business in Gretna was established in 1881, in one of the Mennonite villages near the place, but was moved to the depot when the railway arrived.
(F.G. Enns, *Gretna*, 64)

Looking south on Winkler's Main Street (48).

The situation on the West Reserve was quite different. A number of lines ran right through the reserve. The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) line from Winnipeg arrived at Rosenfeld in 1882.[288] It was extended south to the American border, and in the following year the town of Gretna was founded just north of the international border.[289] It quickly became the commercial centre for the western part of the West Reserve, and attracted the businesses from the nearby village of Neuanlage. In a few years Gretna had seven grain elevators and a large business community.[290]

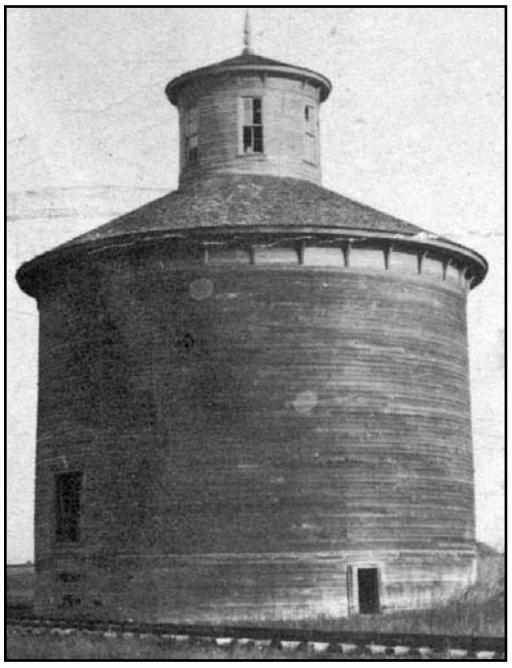
When the rail line from Rosenfeld was extended westward, a new town, Morden, was established on it just off the western edge of the West Reserve, between the towns of Nelsonville to the north and Mountain City to the south. Businesses and government offices from both towns moved to Morden which became the commercial, banking, and local government centre for the western part of the West Reserve. In 1888 Plum Coulee was founded on the CPR railway line in the middle of the West Reserve.[291] By 1897 it had become the major grain shipping point for the West Reserve with six elevators and two flour mills. It was given a further boost in 1907 when the Great Northern ran a line from Gretna past Plum Coulee to Portage la Prairie.[292]

In the next decade, the towns of Winkler (1892) and Altona (1895) were founded on CPR rail lines on the West Reserve.[293] On the southern edge of the reserve, just north of the American boarder, Haskett was begun on a rail line from North Dakota as a trading outpost of Walhalla, North Dakota.[294] The lines were laid without regard to the location of Mennonite villages. In the case of Rosenfeld and Altona, they ran right through the villages. Rosenfeld was consequently abandoned, but Altona survived.

Railways revolutionized farming. Earlier, farmers grew some wheat, but were in no hurry to increase their production for lack of a market. Much of the land remained pasture or hay land. After the coming of the railways, Mennonites had access to world markets and wheat became a major export. For this cash crop, farmers broke as much land as possible to maximize their returns. As wheat yields increased, temporary storage before shipping was needed, hence elevators sprang up.

Elevators. The first grain elevator in western Canada—in a circular shape—was built in Niverville in 1878.[295] The first western Canadian-style elevator was erected in Gretna in 1883.[296] In a few years grain elevators sprang up in Morden, Plum Coulee, Haskett, Winkler, Altona, and Rosenfeld—some towns had up to eight of them. By 1909 there were 34 in the railway towns on the West Reserve.

The elevator owners lived outside the community, had a monopoly on purchasing grain, and aimed to maximize profits. Service to the community was not a high priority. In 1883 farmers met in Gretna to denounce the practices of the owners of the main elevator in



The first grain elevator in western Canada was built by William Hespeler in Niverville, 1879. It was built of timbers brought in from Moorhead, Minnesota (49).

town. The meeting was led by Isaak Mueller, the civic leader of the Reinlaender Church on the West Reserve.[297]

Businesses. The coming of the railways also had a major impact on the development of businesses in Mennonite communities. As noted earlier, Niverville was the first railway town on the East Reserve, but its growth was restricted because of a swamp to the east which cut it off from much of the population on the reserve. This allowed other centres to flourish.[298] The railway town of Giroux could have created a commercial centre to the east of the reserve and, according to the usual pattern, the businesses in Steinbach should have moved there. But because the business owners in Steinbach were local farmers and thus firmly anchored in the community this did not happen. Since they kept their businesses in the village and refused to move to the railway town, Steinbach became the commercial centre for the area.[299]

On the West Reserve the railways supplanted the Post Road as a supply line. The towns on the rail lines became the commercial centres, replacing the village-based businesses. In the first group of towns to be established, most of the business owners were non-Mennonites: German Lutherans in Gretna, English from Ontario in Morden, and a mixture of Lutherans and English in Plum Coulee. Around the turn of the century Jewish merchants located in each of these towns. In Winkler and Altona, both founded in the 1890s, more of the first businessmen were Mennonite. There Jewish merchants were able to gain a foot-hold more easily because they arrived when the towns were just beginning.

Initially Mennonites felt there was a stigma attached to going into business. Their communities all had economic institutions which were cooperative, met needs at cost, and were community based; for example, the village pattern of settlement, the orphans' bureau, and the fire insurance organizations. Mennonites thus felt, either consciously or intuitively, that their traditional communal economic systems and assumptions were in tension with the competitive, individualistic capitalist businesses that were driven by the need for profit. This feeling of alienation from capitalist business enterprises was compounded by the fact that on the West Reserve starting a business meant entering a non-Mennonite world. Erdman Penner, a Mennonite who set up eight retail businesses in the first few years after the railway towns were founded, was one of the few Mennonites to embrace the new economic opportunities.[300]

Despite the powerful influence of the railway towns, some businesses continued in a number of villages. Reinland, Gnadenthal, Blumenfeld, Schanzenfeld, and Halbstadt remained as secondary business centres. The economic pull of the railway towns, however, prevented any of the villages on the West Reserve from becoming major commercial forces.

Winkler began as a CPR railway siding half-way between Plum Coulee and Morden. In 1892 the land around the tracks was surveyed into lots, and in 1906 Winkler was incorporated. The town was named after the owner of the land on which the town site began, Valentine Winkler, a German Lutheran whose family had lumber businesses in Gretna and Fort Dufferin.[301] Initially, Isaac Wiens owned the land, but when he heard that a town would be built there and that it might be named after him, he exchanged land with Valentine Winkler. He felt it would be a sign of pride to have a town named after him.[302] Winkler developed fairly rapidly. By 1893, it had an elevator, two stores, three lumber yards, one flour mill, and one feed mill.[303] In the next year, its elevators were buying more grain than those in Morden.[304] The Morden paper surmised that Winkler's rapid rise was due to the "incivil, disrespectful, and even contemptuous manner in which it has unfortunately become the custom [for Morden businesses] to treat the Mennonites."[305]

As already noted, the coming of the railways changed the West Reserve in many ways. It was no longer isolated. People from various nationalities with different languages, cultures, habits, and religions were located in the midst of the Mennonite communities. Even though no railways ran right through the East Reserve, it also was affected by the access to markets and easier mobility. For some these changes were attractive and created new opportunities; for others, they represented a threat.

Jewish Merchants. From the 1890s onward, numerous Jewish families immigrated to Manitoba from the shtetls and towns in eastern Europe, mainly from the Russian empire. They were fleeing the official and unofficial persecution of Jews in Russia, including periodic pogroms, as well as brutal treatment of their men in the army. They were attracted to Mennonite settlements in Manitoba because their knowledge of Yiddish and German allowed them to communicate with Menno-

Gretna, December 6, 1883.
A large meeting was held in the Mennonite reserve, near Gretna, at which Head Kaiser Miller presided. A resolution was adopted denouncing the Ogilvie Monopoly. The offer of a Chicago buyer to buy 3,000 bushels of No. 1 Northern frozen wheat was accepted. Ogilvie had offered from 40-45 cents.
(*Manitoba Free Press*, 6 December 1883)

The [Jewish] peddlars [sic] set out from Winkler every Monday morning at sunrise, their wagons loaded with yard goods, needles, pins, soap, pots and pans, and household trinkets; these they bartered in the villages for chickens and eggs, clopping back clucking and crowing every Friday afternoon in time for the Sabbath. Each peddlar had his own territory and his own regular customers. ... The weekly arrival of the peddlar caused great excitement in the village, since for many Mennonite women the Jew was virtually their only contact with the world; it was also the only business transaction they could make on their own, and they relished the haggling. "The peddlar was a great event," recalls a village wife.
(*Honouring the Pioneer Jewish Settlers of Winkler*, 6)

Table 5
Origin and Religion of Plum Coulee Inhabitants 1901 & 1911

Origin	1901	1911	Religion	1901	1911
British	42	24	Roman Catholic	10	42
German	308	260	Anglican	5	1
Polish	0	20	Presbyterian	76	12
Russian	7	4	Methodist	13	15
Jewish	37	70	Mennonite	119	118
Other	0	2	Baptist	23	2
Total	394	380	Lutheran	105	100
			Jewish	37	70
			Other	6	20

(Gerhard J. Ens, *Volost & Municipality*, 108)

nites and they shared the same Russian history and former homeland.

Many of the Jewish immigrants began as peddlers. In an era when many Mennonites were reluctant to enter the world of business and transportation to commercial centres was slow and difficult, these travelling Jewish salespeople fulfilled an important role. They provided a market for farm produce such as eggs and chickens, and in turn supplied many household items.[306] They established themselves as the go-betweens which linked the towns with the Mennonite villages, a position they had also occupied in Russia.[307] Because they could speak German and brought their products right to the homes, the Jewish peddlers had a clear advantage over merchants who resided some distance away in towns and usually spoke only English. These merchants settled in virtually every town on the Mennonite reserves, "each one staking out a small circuit of five or six villages which he visited once a week."[308] Of the developing commercial centres, only Steinbach seems not to have had Jewish merchants in the early years. In Gretna and Plum Coulee, they arrived after German Lutherans and others had already opened businesses.[309] In these instances the Jewish merchants had to find a market niche or buy out existing businesses. In Winkler and Altona, they were at the forefront of the development of the business community.

One of the earliest Jewish merchants was Adolph Coblentz.[310] He was different from most of the merchants since he came from France, not eastern Europe. By 1886 he had a store in Gretna that he and his family ran until 1942 when it was bought by the Gretna Co-op. In the early years, Coblentz's store was a specialty store that sold liquor and cigars. A merchant who started as a ped-

Three Jewish businessmen in Plum Coulee, 1897-1901 (left to right): Abe Brownstone, Sam Rosner and David Rosner (50).

Frank and Golda Bookman (Buchman) family in Plum Coulee, about 1901. Bookman was a peddler serving the surrounding area (51).

dler on the East Reserve and later bought a store was Hersch Bronstone.[311] He arrived in Manitoba in 1901 or 1902; in 1904 he bought a small store, the Niverville Trading and Lumber Co. The family stayed in Niverville until the 1950s when a son, Hyman, moved the family business to Winnipeg where he was doing most of his trade. Hersch Bronstone's experience as a peddler, then buying a store was repeated by numerous other Jewish merchants.

When they began as peddlers in the villages, they sometimes drew opposition from the established merchants in the railway towns. In 1916 store owners in Gretna petitioned the municipal government to license Jewish peddlers. The merchants could not forbid them from coming into town but they could make doing business more expensive.

West Reserve towns had a sizeable number of Jewish people in the early part of the twentieth century.[312] At one point, Plum Coulee had at least 70 Jewish residents.[313] The totals in Winkler and Morden were even larger. In a number of towns the Jewish communities were large enough to set up synagogues. In 1896 the B'Nai of Israel Synagogue was founded in Morden[314] with Jewish people in the area from Gretna to Morden attending it. In the years 1923-1930 a synagogue existed in Winkler. It was "large enough to maintain a . . . *chazzan* (cantor) who doubled as *melamed* (teacher) and *shochet* (butcher)."[315]

The Jewish merchants' role was very significant. Mennonites felt more comfortable relating to them than to the merchants in the towns because town culture was more of a threat to their way of life and faith. As one descendant of a Jewish peddler commented later, "The peddlers provided convenient shopping and relieved the Mennonites of the awkward choice of having either to deal with the English or go into trade themselves."[316] The relationship between Mennonites and Jewish people was distant and, at the level of business encounters, usually cordial, however, sometimes also strained. Jewish people were unimpressed with the educational level of Mennonite schools, and with the harsh, often mindless, discipline meted out to students. Some Mennonites expressed anti-Semitism toward Jewish people. Dr. Ernest Sirluck, writing about a later era when he lived in a Mennonite community, noted that on his first day at school he was beat up for being Jewish.[317] For him, this antagonism continued throughout his school years; others had more positive experiences.

When Mennonites arrived in Manitoba, they tried to control and shape agriculture and business because they realized the importance of both for community life. Before long, though, major changes that they could not control occurred in these two areas and affected all aspects of Mennonite life. The arrival of railways, the growth of towns, and the influence of capitalist economics were some of the most important influences reshaping the ongoing communities. One of the important connections Mennonites made was with Jewish merchants—the two needed each other. For Jewish immigrants, being peddlers and merchants in Mennonite communities gave them a start in a new country. For Mennonites, who were at first reluctant to enter the field of business, Jewish merchants provided an important service to their communities.

7
Health Care: Community Resourcefulness

During immigration and the early years of settlement in Manitoba, health care was often inadequate. Medical facilities were in their infancy and primarily concentrated in Winnipeg, far away from village settlements. Mennonites thus often had to depend on their own resources. One health issue that faced the immigrants was childhood illnesses which caused high infant mortality. In 1875, while waiting in Fort Dufferin to move onto his land, Jacob Fehr wrote in his diary, "There were many sick children who had not recovered from seasickness and one after the other they passed into eternity. There was a funeral every day."[318] A total of 35 children died in those first few weeks. In 1884 in the family of Jacob Peters, the civic leader on the East Reserve, seven grandchildren, ages two to nine, died during a diphtheria epidemic; four died in one day.[319] Genealogical records from this time indicate similar deaths in many families.

Home Care

People resorted to home remedies, ranging from common sense to the outrageous, which were shared by word of mouth or in newspapers.[320] The *Mennonitische Rundschau,* a paper published in Henderson, Nebraska, and read widely by Manitoba Mennonites during the early years, carried remedies in virtually every issue.

A teaspoon full of turpentine with milk taken morning and night is a good remedy for tape-worm. . . . Oil of turpentine, if taken three or four times daily, can be helpful for diphtheria. It can also be helpful for abdominal pain, diarrhoea, stomach cramps, muscle pain, chest pain, fainting, or diarrhoea in children.
(*Mennonitische Rundschau*, 22 February and 11 July 1888)

For burns and scalds there is a simple remedy in a salve made of a tablespoon full of butter and the yolk of an egg. Mix well and put on a cloth and apply until pain is gone.
(*Mennonitische Rundschau*, 30 November 1887)

Midwives. Because Mennonites immigrated as largely intact communities, they had their own health providers, such as midwives and chiropractors, called bone setters. Given the high birth rates, midwives were called upon frequently. Few of them had formal training and depended on their common sense and on the skill handed down from experienced midwives.[321] The midwife's role included assistance with birthing and care of mothers and newborns. In case of death, she might sign the death certificate and help prepare the body for burial, thus serving as the local undertaker. Midwives also often carried a supply of remedies for various problems, including blood poisoning, diarrhea, other children's ailments, and accidents.[322] One who practiced her skills in the early days of the Scratching River (Rosenort) settlement and did so for 50 years was Mrs. Margaret Brandt.[323]

A notable midwife in Blumenort on the East Reserve was Anna Toews. A historian describes her contribution as follows:

> Over the years Blumenort was served by many midwives. The most famous was Mrs. Peter B. Toews (nee Anna Toews). For almost 40 years, from 1893-1932, Mrs. Toews worked diligently to bring most of the babies in the Blumenort and Ste. Anne areas into the world. Her personal record book reveals that over the years she delivered close to 1,000 babies, 924 to be exact. Often these children ranged over two generations. Her records show that in several cases she delivered both parent and child. Her services extended not only to Kleine Gemeinde and Holdeman people but also to the Métis of Ste. Anne and Richer. Often these latter people were poor bush-dwellers without money. This did not deter her from helping them. She is remembered as a woman who felt very strongly that she had a calling from God, and even though she had no formal education, it was her duty to help anyone in need. Her reputation as a person with medical knowledge was so widespread that she was often called officially to certify deaths of people.[324]


Gesunde, glückliche Kinder
und Erwachsene findet man in
den Familien wo
Forni's
Alpenkräuter
das Hausmittel ist. Es ist der Mutter erste Zuflucht, wenn eines ihrer Lieben erkrankt. Es ist stets sicher und zuverlässig. Bei Millionen von Familien, hüben und drüben, findet man es im Medizinschrank.
Es ist aus reinen, heilkräftigen Wurzeln und Kräutern bereitet, enthält keine schädlichen Drogen, und kann unbesorgt den Kleinen, sowie jungen und alten Personen von schwächlicher Konstitution verabfolgt werden.
Apotheker können es nicht liefern. Nähere Auskunft erteilt
Dr. Peter Fahrney & Sons Co.
2501 Washington Blvd. Zollfrei in Kanada geliefert. Chicago, Ill.

Alpenkraeuter was one of the most trusted patent medicines (52).

Many similar stories of midwives who faithfully served their communities could be told. They received little financial remuneration for their services. Like Anna Toews, they had a sense of calling, and knew that if they did not help at the delivery, the mother and/or child might well die.[325] Most midwives were women. However, in the village of Blumenort, a man known as Docta Warkentin had developed some basic knowledge and skills in dealing with disease and injury in both humans and animals. He was also called upon to assist in the delivery of infants.[326] Midwives probably best expressed the view that health care was integrated into the life and rhythm of the whole person and community. They dealt with birth and death, providing care, nurture, teaching, and comfort.

Bonesetters, Local "Doctors," and the First Facility. Another group of practitioners who played an important, holistic health role in the community were the bonesetters (*Trajchtmoaka*). These caregivers, both women and men, treated torn or bruised ligaments, strained muscles, and injured or dislocated joints. In the absence of doctors, they were also called upon to set broken bones, treat scalded lungs, repair crushed limbs, and look after any other medical emergency that might come along. In the process they became the counsellors and comforters of people in need. The bonesetters charged little for their service, and yet the successful ones, who were known far and wide, had a reasonable income. Some remodelled their homes, or even built additions, to accommodate their clientele.

One of these bonesetters was "Doctor" John Peters from Grunthal on the East Reserve[327] who practiced his profession for 30 years. He was a rough, often uncouth person, yet he had the skill and ability that people admired. Clients from both Mennonite reserves came to him with their health problems. A native of Steinbach remembers Peters this way:

> I have seen a lot of bone setters in my day—but none that could touch old Doctor Peters. I remember when old Carl Pachal from Friedensfeld got crushed between a wagon box and barn door. He

had a great many broken bones. They went and fetched old Peters and in a short while he had him back in shape. Eventually Mr. Pachal recovered full use of his limbs and lived to be 77, working hard right up until the end of his life.[328]

Another bonesetter was Gertrude Klassen in the Kleine Gemeinde village of Kleefeld where she had an office in her spacious home. "There was no name plate on her door, but her appointment book was filled months in advance. Her clientele ran into large figures and her talented touch for resetting twisted joints became legend."[329]

The Grunthal bonesetter "Doctor" John Peters and his wife (53).

Katherine Thiessen and her husband, near Winkler. Mrs. Thiessen, known as "Docta Thiesche," served the community from the early 1880s (54).

One of the very few Mennonites who received some medical training and practiced her profession in the Mennonite community was Katherine Thiessen, known as Dr. Mrs. Thiessen.[330] She lived near Winkler in the village of Hoffnungsfeld. Thiessen was born in a Mennonite village in Russia and, in an era when very few women received advanced education of any kind, she received medical training in Germany. She studied midwifery, as well as chiropractic and naturopathic medicines. Thiessen and her husband immigrated to Kansas in 1874 when she was about 35 years old. Unable to find suitable land, they moved to Manitoba. There she set up a medical practice on her farm in Hoffnungsfeld. As a woman doctor, at first she faced some resistance from Mennonites, but soon was accepted far and wide. Her rates were moderate: three dollars for attending a birth. She delivered babies, set broken and dislocated bones, diagnosed illnesses, and prescribed herbal and patent medicines. She promoted healthy eating, cleanliness, and worked to control diseases such as whooping cough, typhoid fever, diphtheria, and trachoma.

The Free Mason Hospital in Morden was established in 1893, after Thiessen had been practicing for more than a decade. The story is told that on one occasion, when the doctors at the hospital had a particularly difficult birth, they called upon Thiessen for assistance. She came and skilfully delivered the baby in a short while, saving both mother and child. Later, she went to Cincinnati, Ohio, to learn how to make a salve that would heal skin cancer. At this hospital she felt keenly the sting of prejudice against women medical practitioners.

In order to accommodate her growing clientele, Thiessen built a new hospice. Then she was dealt a blow by the doctors in Morden's Free Mason Hospital: they sued her for practicing without a license. It was not clear whether they took this action because she was a woman practitioner or because they envied her success, since at the same time the provincial health inspector threatened to close their hospital because of lack of cleanliness. The doctors' lawsuit seemed unusual since they did not sue any other Mennonite health practitioner. At any rate, Thiessen was found guilty and had to pay a fine of 50 dollars. She did not defend herself in court—being a Mennonite she did not think she should take part in a lawsuit. Although she continued her practice, she could no longer charge for her services. People made voluntary contribu-

June 1898. Mrs. Ens was just out of the hospital in Winnipeg. She had been there for 6 weeks because of sore eyes.
Heinrich Friesen
(Royden Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 180)

tions, but she suffered financial loss. Increasingly she sold herbal and patent medicines to make ends meet. In 1907, when her husband suffered a stroke, she stopped her practice to care for him.[331]

Agatha Wiebe was another woman who received professional health care training. In 1914 she graduated with a Registered Nurse's (RN) degree from the Evangelical Deaconess Hospital in St. Louis, Missouri.[332] She later wrote her Canadian Registered Nurse exams and worked in the Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Ninette, Manitoba, for seven years. On the East Reserve, Mr. and Mrs. John Harrison of Niverville provided medical services.[333] They had arrived in Niverville in 1883. Although John was a veterinarian with interest in animal diseases and cures, he was called to treat people's illnesses as well. The Harrisons had a store in which they sold remedies and salves.

The first Manitoba Mennonite health care facility was a home for the aged in Gretna, founded in 1919.[334] The Bergthaler Church spearheaded the project and attempted to make it inter-Mennonite. When the other churches declined to participate, the Bergthaler Church went ahead on its own, funding the project from its orphans' bureau. The home was established in the former Erdman Penner residence and continued to operate until 1937.[335]

Health Care Professionals

Until 1890 Mennonites had no fully licensed medical staff nearby. For serious health problems they travelled to Winnipeg to receive help. In a diary in 1887, Maria Stoesz Klassen writes, "Johann Unger from Rosenort got his arm squashed at the threshing machine. They took him to Winnipeg to have it amputated."[336] Because Mennonites depended on the hospital care outside their community, they provided support for some of these facilities. The personal diaries of pioneers indicate that the Kleine Gemeinde collected money specifically for the Brandon mental hospital and the sanatorium in Ninette.[337]

The first professionally trained doctors to practice for any length of time in Mennonite communities were non-Mennonites. On the West Reserve, the formation of railway towns provided the setting for the doctors. On the East Reserve, the first doctors located in Steinbach. Dr. James McKenty set up a practice in Gretna in 1890, seven years after the town was established. He was the first fully trained doctor to move into a Mennonite community. In 1900 he was joined by Dr. Francis Daniel McKenty. The former left Gretna in 1907, and the latter in 1910 to do post graduate work.[338] After them, Dr. H. J. Friesen, from Mountain Lake, Minnesota, came to Gretna.

A number of physicians located in Morden after a hospital was built by the Free Masons in 1893.[339] However, the relationship between the doctors and the Mennonite community was often strained.[340] The doctors and hospital staff were English and not positively inclined toward immigrants whom they considered culturally inferior. Mennonites felt the condescension, especially since many did not speak English well. Also, Mennonites were not in favour of secret societies such as lodges and viewed the Free Mason Hospital and staff with suspicion. When doctors located in the other towns, Mennonites preferred to go to them for medical care.

In 1902 Dr. Hugh McGavin established a practice in Plum Coulee, the main town in the centre of the West Reserve.[341] Because of the negative feelings toward the Morden doctors, he received widespread support and served much of the West Reserve for almost 56 years. During that time Dr. McGavin delivered about 6,000 babies. In the early years, he travelled throughout the reserve on horse and buggy, or cutter in winter, attending to his patients.[342] The story is told that on one occasion when he delivered a baby, the family was so poor that, instead of asking for his usual fee, he gave the father some money to buy food for the baby.

In the early years Altona had difficulty keeping a physician for any length of time. In 1898 the first doctor, Dr. Susan Isaac, located in Altona. She left after two years and was followed by a number of doctors, all of whom except Dr. Lambert Breitenbach stayed for only a short time. He came to Altona in 1912, and practiced there for 40 years.[343] About the time that Dr. Breitenbach began to serve in Altona, two local sisters, Margaret and Anna Siemens, who had taken a nursing course, decided to open a private health care home. They took in those who needed medical care, often mothers with babies. The sisters also provided care in the patients' own homes. Their nursing home was operational until the 1940s, almost a decade after a hospital was constructed in Altona.[344]

Between 1900 and 1920 a number of doctors served Winkler and area for brief periods of time.[345] None of them developed a long-standing practice like Dr. McGavin did in

Plum Coulee. Occasionally Mennonites who lived in villages near the American border were also served by physicians from Walhalla, North Dakota.[346]

The first medical doctors on the East Reserve were Drs. Alexander and Anna Shilstra.[347] They came to Steinbach in 1909 after practicing in Winnipeg and Gretna. Since Gretna had a doctor, the Shilstras decided to move to Steinbach where Anna Shilstra was also able to practice. In 1911, after only two years, they moved to British Columbia for health reasons. Alexander Shilstra served in the Canadian military during World War I. In 1919, when the Manitoba government required that all regions in Manitoba be served by a health officer, the Shilstras were invited to return to Steinbach. They accepted and provided the local community with capable health care for many years. Women gravitated to Anna Shilstra for maternity and other medical care. She died in 1942 and Alexander in 1962.[348]

Dr. Gerhard Hiebert was one of a few Mennonite health practitioners who had professional training. A native of the Bergthal colony in Russia, he immigrated to Canada in the 1870s and worked in Erdman Penner's stores before going on to medical studies in Minnesota. Shortly after 1900, Hiebert married Erdman Penner's daughter Helena, who had just graduated from Wesley College. Dr. Hiebert had a private practice in Winnipeg for a number of years, then was appointed chief surgeon at the Winnipeg General Hospital.[349]

Margaret and Anna Siemens, Altona, opened a private nursing home about 1912 which continued until 1943 (55).

Dr. Anna Shilstra and her husband Dr. Alexander Shilstra served in Gretna for a few years, and later in Steinbach (56).

Health care among Mennonites during the pioneer years followed the pattern of other immigrant groups in the late nineteenth century. Government services were sparse and each group had to draw on its own resources. Mennonites relied on their history, experience, and sense of community to create some of the necessary health services. Around the turn of the century, they were the beneficiaries of a growing professional health care field in which new doctors, mostly non-Mennonite, looked for communities in which to practice their profession. These new commercial centres provided attractive settings in which to set up medical offices.

8
Political Involvement and Nonresistance: A Matter of Conviction

The popular view is that early Manitoba Mennonite settlers did not engage in politics. Reality is quite different. They negotiated with the Canadian government about terms of immigration and with provincial government officials regarding schools and municipal affairs. They ran their own municipal government for almost half a century and repeatedly presented briefs to the government. Even though prior to 1920 no Mennonites were elected to the provincial or federal governments, they were not uninvolved in politics or unrelated to the political processes.

Local Government: Mennonite Civil Organizations

When Mennonites settled in Manitoba, they organized two local civil administrations on both reserves. It was clear that these organizations were under the authority of

The Mennonite doctrine forbade direct participation in the affairs of the state because elected representatives had the responsibility of declaring war and appropriating funds for military purposes and it would be difficult for a believer in New Testament nonresistance to hold, with any kind of consistency, any responsible position as member of the legislature or federal parliament.
(Abe Warkentin, *Reflections on our Heritage*, 274)

the church. The officers were installed by the church from which they took direction in discharging their duties. On the East Reserve the civil administration was under the control of the Bergthaler Church, later renamed the Chortitzer Church. On the West Reserve this was divided between the Reinlaender and Bergthaler churches. The Kleine Gemeinde did not organize regional organizations, even though its villages elected mayors who reported to the civil administrator of the Chortitzer Church. The Kleine Gemeinde in the Scratching River settlement also did not have a separate civil administration.

The successful settlement of the two reserves was largely due to two people, Jacob Peters and Isaak Mueller. Peters, who had served as civil administrator (*Obervorsteher*) in the Bergthal Colony in Russia for 20 years before the emigration, meticulously planned the exit out of Russia and the entry into Manitoba.[350] He arrived in Manitoba with the last group of immigrants in 1876, and continued in his office in Manitoba until 1882.[351] People had confidence in his leadership and trusted his judgement. Mueller, who lived in the village of Neuhorst, was elected the first civil administrator of the Reinlaender Church villages.[352] He served until 1887.

Although Peters arrived after many of the villages had been laid out, both men played crucial roles in the establishment of the immigrant communities, including setting up the fire insurance system and the orphans' bureau.[353] They organized the construction of schools and churches and determined the location of local roads, bridges, and drainage ditches. For these projects they organized the system whereby each Mennonite household had to provide a set number of days of free labour. These men negotiated with the provincial governments about municipal matters. Both collected annual taxes from the villagers to finance the Mennonite civil operations. They presided over a local civil Mennonite office with staff that kept records of taxes, debts, populations, oxen, horses, and other statistics necessary to keep the communities functioning smoothly.[354]

Among other activities, Jacob Peters organized a crew of Mennonite men to build a road through the northern part of the East Reserve to Winnipeg.[355] The road crossed swamps, and so Peters designed the corduroy log base necessary to build a good foundation. In the southern area of the reserve, he designed a road that ran along a gravel ridge, linking Steinbach and Grunthal. The Mennonite road building crew was so successful that the provincial government hired it to build some additional roads.[356] To alleviate perennial flooding, Peters organized a large group of men to dig a five-mile drainage ditch by hand. He set up sawmills in the wooded regions to the east of the East Reserve to cut logs into wood suitable for building houses and barns.

On the West Reserve Isaak Mueller, in addition to his regular functions, also took on some unique tasks. He arranged with the authorities on the American side of the international border to allow Mennonites to cut wood in the forested areas along the Pembina River. When the elevator companies in the railway towns colluded against the farmers and fixed grain prices, he called public meetings to develop strategies to get better prices for their crops.[357] At the end of his life, Mueller was remembered not only as the strong leader whom they fondly called "Kaiser Mueller," but also as one who lived by the motto: "I am only a servant [of God]."[358]

Although most Mennonites accepted the practice of holding political office at the municipal level, provincial and federal politics was a different matter.[359] They were generally opposed to this kind of involvement because they considered it to be in conflict with their peace theology and a threat to their exemption from military service.[360] Before 1920 no Mennonite was elected to provincial or federal political office in Manitoba, even though a few ran for office.[361]

Visit by the Governor General

Some Mennonite contacts with the government included pomp, ceremony, and celebration. One of these events was a visit by Lord Dufferin, Governor General of Canada, Lady Dufferin, and their daughter to the East Reserve on August 20-22, 1877. This visit to Manitoba was the first by a Governor General.[362] Jacob Peters, the civil administrator of the East Reserve, was asked to plan the visit in the Mennonite community. A welcome gate to the reserve was erected at the village of Kronsthal near the present town of New Bothwell. Over the gate was a bower of greenery with the words Mennonite Reserve.[363] A campsite for the group accompanying the Governor General was prepared on a high ridge near the village of Vollwerk, close to the present village of Mitchell. From this height ten to twelve villages could be seen. In nearby villages, the houses and yards were prepared for inspection.

Of all that the Governor General and his party will see during their visit to Manitoba their experiences in the Mennonite settlements on the Rat River will be the most interesting.
(*Manitoba Free Press*, 20 August 1877)

On August 20 the Governor General's party left Winnipeg and arrived at the campsite just north of the East Reserve. A rainstorm made the trip soggy, difficult, and unpleasant. The next morning, the party travelled through the gate at the edge of the East Reserve, and arrived at the celebration site at noon. An honour guard of Mennonite riders accompanied the party. Along the way, the Governor General challenged some of the Mennonite men to a horse race. The men, not realizing who he was, took part in races and other equestrian sports. Later, at the reception area, they were most surprised to discover they had been competing with Lord Dufferin. They conveyed an apology to him for their boldness.

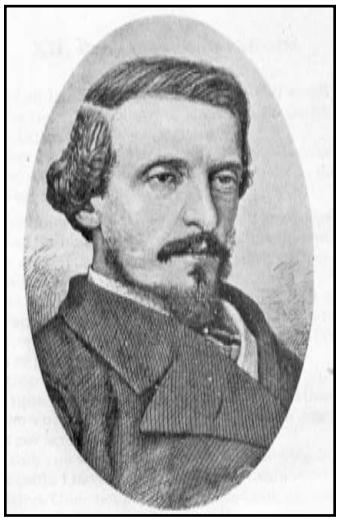
August 21, the day of the reception, was declared a holiday on the East Reserve. More than a thousand Mennonites gathered to get a glimpse of the dignitaries. At the reception, Jacob Peters spoke for the Mennonites. He thanked the Governor General that Canada had invited them to settle in Manitoba and had extended the freedoms for which they had been searching. Lord Dufferin responded to Peters and congratulated Mennonites for the progress they had made in building thriving communities. He challenged them to take on the duties of citizenship, and assured them that they would always be able to enjoy religious freedom. The Governor General and his party ended their visit by inspecting of homes. Lady Dufferin was not impressed with the house-barn arrangement. Even though the buildings were all very clean, she felt the animals were too close to the living quarters.

Creation of Municipalities

Initially Manitoba allowed settlements to establish their own civil organizations, and Mennonites did this on both reserves.[364] Then in 1880 the Manitoba government changed the system, drew up boundaries for municipalities throughout the province, and ordered that in each municipality residents elect councillors and reeves. The three Mennonite settlements responded to this development in different ways. The Scratching River settlement with its two villages, Rosenort and Rosenhof, did not have its own civil organization. So it fit into the municipality in its area and did not elect its own municipal officials.

In the 1880 legislation the East Reserve became one municipality named Hespeler.[365] In the following year, provincial legislation divided the East Reserve into two municipalities, Hespeler in the north and Hanover in the south.[366] The local officials were elected by Mennonites through the village election system, but at the same time were officials of the municipalities. For a number of years, the Mennonite civil organization reported both to the Manitoba government and to the Chortitzer Church. Even though there were two municipalities, the Mennonite civil administration functioned as one.[367] This dual system worked well for numerous years. Eventually the Hanover and Hespeler municipal officials reported only to the government, and the Mennonite aspect of the system fell into disuse. The transition from a Mennonite-based organization to government municipalities happened gradually and without conflict, mainly due to the capable civic and church leadership on the East Reserve.[368]

The creation of a municipality on the West Reserve proceeded much less smoothly. There the provincial government also created a municipality named Rhineland which largely conformed to the boundaries of the West Reserve. At first Isaak Mueller cooperated with the government. The church elected him as the civic leader, while the government appointed him as warden of the municipality.[369] In 1882 the eastern half of the reserve, which consisted of Bergthaler Church villages, elected their own civic leader. In the western half of the reserve Mueller was elected both as the church's civic leader and the warden.[370] A year later the provincial government divided the West Reserve into two mu-



The Governor General, Lord Dufferin, and the Countess of Dufferin, nee Harriot Hamilton, visited the Mennonite East Reserve in 1877 (57).

If then you have come hither to seek for peace peace at least we can promise you. But it is not merely to the material blessings of our land that I bid you welcome. We desire you to share with us on equal terms our constitutional liberties, our municipal privileges, and our domestic freedom; we invite you to assist us in choosing the members for our Parliament, in shaping our laws, and with this civil freedom we equally, gladly offer you absolute religious freedom. Lord Dufferin, 21 August 1877, to the Mennonite community
(William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 105)

nicipalities, roughly conforming to the two church groups, Reinlaender and Bergthaler. In the 1884 elections Mueller did not win the office of warden, now called reeve, but was elected as the church's civic administrator.[371] Thus two leaders served in the same area: Isaak Mueller elected by members of the Reinlaender Church, and Jarvis Mott, an Anglo-Saxon Baptist, as the reeve. (In later years the reeves were elected by the small number of Bergthaler and Mennonite Brethren who resided in this area that was predominantly Reinlaender.[372])

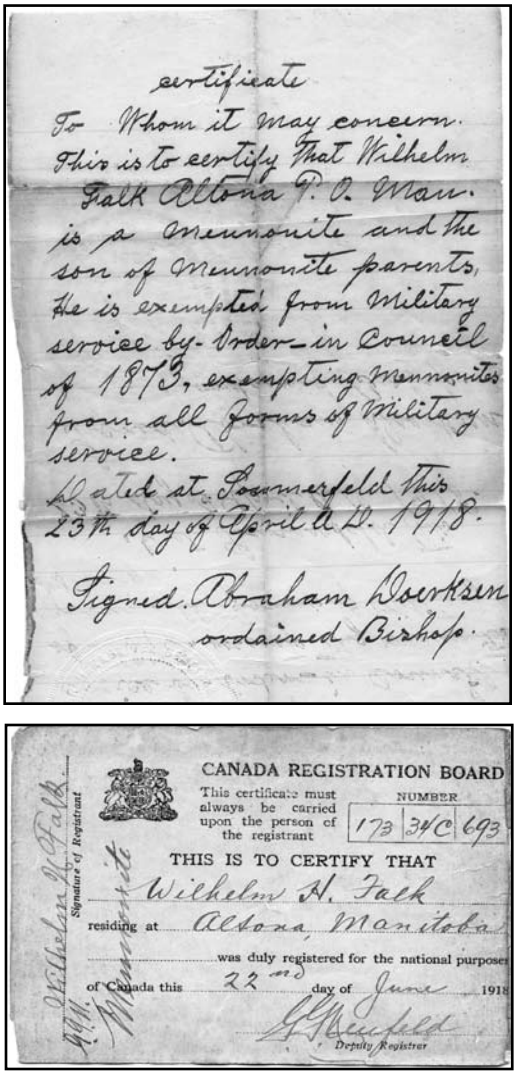
The Reinlaender Church refused to recognize the municipal government and did not allow its members to stand for office nor to vote. It believed that participation in elections could make them liable for military service. In addition, the municipal system "threatened the continued existence of the village landholding system and much of the communal social organization that went with it."[373] The provincial government also did not back down. The standoff between the two was eventually resolved by allowing both municipal systems to function simultaneously in the same area. By 1887 the two were cooperating, sharing responsibilities and information. The two municipal organizations worked together until the Reinlaender Church's emigration to Mexico in the 1920s.

Effects of World War I

Exemption from Military Service. Another area of contact with the federal government was over the issue of military service. From the early nineteenth century, Swiss Mennonites in Ontario, who had emigrated from the United States after the American Revolution, had been exempt from serving in the military. When the Dominion of Canada was founded in 1867, this exemption was reaffirmed.

> Any person bearing a certificate from the Society of Quakers, Mennonites or Tunkers . . . who, from the doctrines of his religion, is averse to bearing arms and refuses personal service shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace, or war, upon such conditions and under such regulations, as the Governor-in-Council may from time to time prescribe. *Militia Act of 1868*[374]

In 1872, in order to attract Russian Mennonites to Canada, the Canadian government extended this exemption to them:



certificate

To Whom it may concern.
This is to certify That Wilhelm Falk Altona P. O. Man. is a Mennonite and the son of Mennonite parents, He is exempted from Military service by Order-in Council of 1873, exempting Mennonites from all forms of Military service.
Dated at Sommerfeld this 23th day of April A.D. 1918.
Signed. Abraham Doerksen ordained Bishop.

CANADA REGISTRATION BOARD

This certificate must always be carried upon the person of the registrant

NUMBER 173 34C 693

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT

Wilhelm H. Falk

residing at Altona, Manitoba

was duly registered for the national purposes of Canada this 22nd day of June 1918

Signature of Registrant

Deputy Registrar

Certificate (top): A letter verifying that Wilhelm Falk was a member of the Mennonite church, and therefore eligible for CO status. Falk later became bishop of the Rudnerweider Church.
Registration card (bottom): Wilhelm Falk's military exemption certificate from World War 1 (58).

> . . . that the Governor General in Council cannot prescribe any conditions or regulations under which, under any circumstances, the persons referred to in the above quoted section can be compelled to render any military service. *Order-in Council, September 25, 1872*

This exemption was included in a letter addressed to Mennonite immigrants by the Canadian government:

> . . . that an entire exemption from military service, as is provided by law and order-in-council, will be granted to the denomination of Christians called Mennonites. *John Lowe letter of 1873*

Based on these assurances by the Canadian government, Manitoba Mennonites were confident that they would not have to do military service when World War I broke out.[375]

In the first few years of the war, Canada did not have the draft, hence military service was not required. The Canadian military consisted of volunteers, and virtually no Mennonites volunteered.[376] In the third year of the war, in January 1917, the Canadian government ordered a general inventory of all men between the ages of 16 and 65.[377] For Mennonites this seemed threatening. Was this "inventory" the beginning of a military draft? A delegation of five leaders, two from Saskatchewan and three from Manitoba, went to Ottawa to investigate. Government officials assured them that the registration was for agricultural purposes only. Most Mennonite groups decided to comply, but the Reinlaender Church remained suspicious.[378] Despite government pressure, they steadfastly refused to cooperate in this manpower inventory. The government finally gave in and accepted their non-compliance.

In August 1917 the Canadian government enacted the Military Service Act that enforced conscription. Mennonites were specifically exempted, and it was clarified that all Mennonite immigrants from Russia and their descendents were included in the exemption.[379] There was some debate about who was "Mennonite." The main issue was whether it included those who were not yet baptized. The government agreed to accept unbaptized men as Mennonite if recognized leaders confirmed they were part of the Mennonite community.[380]

There was, however, a price to be paid for the exemptions. In two pieces of legislation, the Dominion Elections Act of 1916 and the War-Time Elections Act of 1917, the federal government took away the right to vote from groups that refused military service. Thus in the federal election of 1917, Mennonites could not cast their ballot. Since Reinlaender Church members as well as members of some of the other Mennonite groups did not vote in provincial or federal elections, this restriction affected only a minority of the Mennonite community. Those who were involved did not raise any significant objection, accepting this loss as a reasonable price to pay for their convictions. They were probably unaware that with this action the Canadian government was following the lead of some provinces, such as British Columbia, that had in 1910 disenfranchised immigrants from various Asian countries, including China, Japan, and India.[381]

In 1918 there was another registration of all persons of military age. Mennonites were again concerned whether this process would jeopardize their exemption. After some hesitation, all Mennonite groups complied. The Reinlaender were the most reluctant and held a membership meeting to decide what to do. The following records their decision:

> Registrar Locke was invited to attend the meeting [of the Reinlaender Church members] but when he arrived at the announced time it was already over. Together with the Morden attorney, Alex McLeod, who frequently served the Reinlaender Mennonites, and W.J. Rowe, Registrar for the electoral division of Lisgar, Locke visited the Mennonite leaders who were still assembled in Reinland. Since the brotherhood meeting had decided not to register, Locke was faced with a dilemma. Threats of imprisonment and fines did not accomplish anything. In the end his appeal to the example of the willingness of Joseph and Mary to participate in the Roman registration as recorded in the Gospel of Luke, chapter 2, persuaded the Mennonite leaders to reconsider. A second brotherhood meeting on the following Sunday then decided unanimously to participate in the registration. Thus in the end all Mennonite groups in western Canada cooperated in the 1918 registration.[382]

Although not willing to participate in war, most Manitoba Mennonites were willing to alleviate the pain it caused. They raised about $150,000 for relief for people affected by the war, funnelling the money through the Red Cross and the Patriotic Fund.[383] In 1918 they purchased $600,000 of Victory Bonds after the government promised to distribute an equal amount for "relief purposes, namely convalescent homes and hospitals."[384]

Censorship. Another result of World War I was censorship of the Canadian Mennonite press. The first action by the official censor was taken in 1917 against the General Conference Mennonite paper, *Der Christliche Bundesbote* (The Christian Uniting Messenger), which was published in the United States. Possession of this paper was declared punishable with a $5,000 fine and/or imprisonment.[385] The two German-language Manitoba Mennonite papers, the *Steinbach Post* and *Der Mitarbeiter* (The Co-worker), the latter pub-

. . . that while the laws of this country concede certain well defined rights to those who conscientiously object to military service, they provide clear and distinct punishment for those who would appeal to those who are not conscientious objectors to become so at this particular crisis in the country's affairs. (Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 187)

Whereas the Minister of Immigration and Colonization reports that, owing to conditions prevailing as the result of the War, a widespread feeling exists throughout the Dominion, and more particularly in Western Canada, that steps should be taken to prevent the entry to Canada of all persons who may be regarded as undesirables owing to their peculiar customs, ...therefore on and after the second day of May, 1919, and until further ordered, the entry to Canada of immigrants of Doukhobor, Hutterite and Mennonite class shall be and the same is hereby prohibited.
(Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 201)

lished in Gretna by Heinrich H. Ewert, principal of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, were warned not to carry articles promoting exemption from military service. Then as the war dragged on and the anti-German feeling intensified, the government passed legislation in September 1918 to control papers which were "using enemy alien languages."[386] Both the *Steinbach Post* and *Der Mitarbeiter* were shut down as German papers but were able to publish in English.

The reason the official censor found German papers offensive was that they carried no war material, either positive or negative. This was seen as evidence of "a clear pro-German bias."[387] The strong anti-German sentiment that continued for a number of years in Canada after the war prevented the papers from publishing in the German language until 1920.[388]

Immigration from the United States. Mennonites who had emigrated from Russia to the United States in the 1870s had not received the promise of exemption from military service. When the United States entered World War I in 1917 and enforced conscription, Mennonites had difficulty getting exemptions. When they inquired about moving to Canada, the Canadian government assured them they would receive this privilege. This encouraged a group from Oklahoma to immigrate. One of their young men was killed by the America military because he refused military service, and neighbours threatened the family with being tarred and feathered. The Oklahoma immigrants founded the Herold Mennonite Church north of Morden.[389]

Hutterites who had settled in South Dakota in the 1870s also suffered persecution during the war. Four of their men were imprisoned in Fort Lewis, Washington, and from there were moved to the military prison on Alcatraz.[390] They were beaten, starved, and placed in solitary confinement. Despite the abuse, they refused to put on the military uniform, and were moved to the military prison camp at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Two Hutterites died there due to repeated beatings and other mistreatments.[391] Their wives were invited to come to the prison to see their husbands. Not knowing the men had died, they were horrified to see them in caskets in full military uniform. With government approval, the colonies in South Dakota also experienced fierce persecution by neighours and local vigilante groups. Farms were ransacked and burned, cattle stolen and publicly sold, and crops destroyed.[392]

Hutterites, who had briefly established a colony in Manitoba in 1898, had been assured of exemption from military service by the Canadian government.[393] In 1918, when persecution against them was at its height, practically all Hutterites in South Dakota moved to Canada. One of the groups, the Schmiedeleut, settled in Manitoba, primarily near Portage la Prairie.[394]

Mennonites and Hutterites Excluded. When the war ended, anti-Mennonite sentiment was stirred up by returned soldiers, Orangemen, and Canadian clubs. By 1919 this negative feeling toward them and their anti-pacifist beliefs reached the Canadian Parliament. In the debates about additional immigration, some members of Parliament referred to Mennonites as undesirable cattle.[395] Even though a few defended Mennonites, the Canadian government passed an order-in-council in May 1919 prohibiting the further immigration of three pacifist groups: Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors.[396] Later this legislation was extended to other "undesirables," such as Chinese, Negroes, and Japanese. Racism and prejudice were alive and well in Canada! This legislation excluding Mennonites even made it difficult for American Mennonites to visit Canada. Large sums of money had to be paid by these visitors at the Canadian border to get permission to enter. This law was not lifted until 1922 when preparations were being made for a large immigration of Mennonites from the Soviet Union.

Nonresistance was at the heart of Mennonite identity. A visible expression of this conviction was the rejection of military service. Mennonites saw this rejection as a matter of faith; the Canadian people and federal government viewed it as a political stance. Mennonites' involvement in politics was shaped by whether, and to what extent, such action would jeopardize their exemption from military service. On this matter the different Mennonite groups were not all of one mind. But when it came to rejecting military service in World War I, all Mennonite groups were in agreement: military service was contrary to the teachings of the Bible and a compromise of faith in God. They were willing to suffer, if necessary, to be faithful to this conviction.

Summary of Part I: 1870 — 1920

Manitoba changed significantly in the first 46 years that Mennonites resided there. The whole province was settled with "a polyglot mosaic of diverse people."[397] English was the dominant culture and language. Winnipeg had become the economic, cultural, and political centre of the province and its "boosters reveled in its growing wealth."[398] By 1911 the city had expanded from a few thousand people, mainly Métis and French, to a bustling city of almost 150,000.[399] It had become the distribution, financial, wholesale, stockyard, and railway centre for the West. Its grain exchange marketed wheat and other crops around the world. Winnipeg had changed from a small frontier outpost to "the metropolis of the West,"[400] confidently flexing its political and economic muscles.

The Mennonite community had also grown in size and confidence. It was relatively well-to-do. Its social and economic support institutions—the orphans' bureaus and fire insurance organizations—were functioning well. The two secondary schools trained teachers and other leaders. Mennonite churches had successfully come through their initial period of division and reorganization, and were providing nurture and leadership for the community.

By 1920 Manitoba had developed a character of its own. Its ideals and vision were different from those negotiated by Mennonites in 1873 and stated in the letter by John Lowe. Manitoba wanted the diverse settlers to integrate into an English society and show allegiance to the British flag. Mennonites, on the other hand, still clung to their initial vision of separation from society, neutrality on issues of nationalism, rejection of military service, control of their schools, and use of the German language in church and home. These two visions were clashing. The question was how Mennonites would deal with this situation. The coming of thousands of new immigrants in the 1920s would add significant new dimensions to this struggle.

Part II: 1920 1950

Engaging Society

Part II. 1920 1950
Engaging Society

9
Emigration: Broken Promises

In 1920 the Mennonite world in Manitoba looked very different than it had in 1874. Upon their arrival Mennonites had been welcomed with open arms, courted by governments, and offered special privileges. Now they were denounced as unwanted citizens.[1] At first they had been promised freedom to exercise their faith; now these promises were broken and faith was being threatened.[2] How would they respond to this sense of betrayal?

Those who had tried hard to fulfil the government's wishes and had organized public schools felt that, despite their efforts, they were being unfairly punished. Those who had set up private schools were convinced that they had been given this right in the letter from John Lowe. They felt betrayed and disempowered when the government appointed one person, J. F. Greenway, to act as school trustee for Mennonite schools.[3]

It became abundantly clear that quality of education was not the problem. At issue was the purpose of the schools. Should they serve the home and the church, or the nation? The government of Manitoba had stated clearly that the intention of education was nation building. To accomplish this, the schools were to help create a unilingual English province in which all children would be taught nationalism and respect for the British flag.[4]

Responses to a Crisis

Two responses to this crisis emerged in the Mennonite community. One was to stay, try to regain some control of the schools, work within the new Education Act, and teach the values of home and church as much as possible. Representing this view were all the smaller Mennonite groups: Bergthaler, Mennonite Brethren, Holdeman, Kleine Gemeinde, and Bruderthaler (Evangelical Mennonite Brethren).

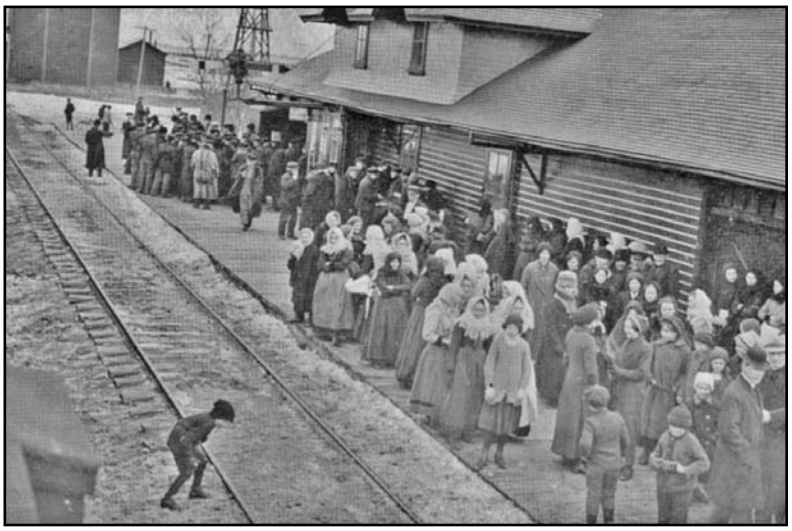
The response by the three larger Mennonite groups—the Reinlaender, Sommerfelder, and Chortitzer churches—was to emigrate. Their membership represented about three-quarters of the Mennonite population. They feared for the survival of their churches, and looked for a country that would give them control of their schools. However, within the Sommerfelder and Chortitzer groups, many were not convinced about emigrating, and preferred to stay and make the best of the new reality. The Reinlaender Church was the most united in its decision to leave.

Emigration Possibilities Investigated

To pursue the emigration option, the three larger churches, together with their counterparts in Saskatchewan, sent delegations to Argentina and Brazil in 1919 to investigate settlement possibilities.[5] These countries were unwilling to extend the desired privileges. A year later the same attempt was made in a number of southern states in the United States. The most serious discussions were carried on with Mississippi. There the state governor gave them verbal promises of freedom to run their schools as they wished, and they began negotiations for 125,000 acres of land. When a delegation of Mennonites tried to go to Mississippi to make a down payment on the land, they were turned back at the United States border.[6] This rebuff aborted the American option, even though the land company in Mississippi, through clever legal work, forced the Reinlaender to pay more than $200,000 to settle the account with them.[7] In the same year, attempts were made to buy land and get

the necessary privileges in Quebec.[8] This attempt also failed.

Meanwhile, some parents withheld their children from Manitoba public schools as they waited to move. The government threatened to impose fines or send these parents to prison. Those who could not pay eventually gave in and felt compelled to send their children to school. To stem the loss of resolve, Johann Friesen, the Reinlaender Church bishop, asked the government to suspend fines and imprisonments for two years while they planned emigration.[9]



Reinlaender Mennonites leaving for Mexico from Winkler in 1922 or 1923 (1).

In 1921 Reinlaender Church delegates met with President Alvaro Obregon of Mexico who agreed to their requests for land and extended a welcome to Mennonites.[10] In a letter, which Mennonites considered as their *Privilegium*, they were given the right to run their own schools, be exempt from the oath and military service, and have the right to operate financial and benevolent institutions.[11] They could also have title to land in the name of a corporation under the control of the church, not in the name of individuals. Church leaders felt common title to land would make it easier for the church to prevent the kind of dissolution of villages that had happened in Manitoba.[12]

Mexico had specific reasons for accepting Mennonites. President Obregon was trying to rebuild his country after ten years of civil war.[13] His long-range plan was to break up the large estates, or haciendas, and distribute the land to village-based groups who would help improve Mexico's agricultural production. The Mennonites' plan to settle in agricultural villages fit well into Obregon's plans. The large land-owners from whom Mennonites made the purchases knew that their estates were in danger of being broken up. They felt it was better to sell the land before they lost it.

The result was that the Manitoba Reinlaender Mennonite Church bought a tract of 155,000 acres in the state of Chihuahua near the town of Cuauhtemoc.[14] They paid $8.50 an acre. The Reinlaender group from Swift Current, Saskatchewan, bought an adjacent 74,125 acres for the same price. What they did not realize was that they were paying far too high a price—on the Mexican market the land was only worth about 15 cents per acre.[15]

Reinlaender Emigrate

The Reinlaender Church, the group most committed to immigrate to Mexico, now made the necessary arrangements. It decided to sell the land owned by its members in one large transaction, to ask for the same price per acre, and to pool the proceeds to purchase land in Mexico. There was, however, grumbling about this decision, because those with better quality land or significant buildings and improvements felt they were not being adequately compensated.[16] The attempt to sell in one large transaction did not work out, and people began to sell their land individually. Complicating the sale was a steep decline in prices. Shortly after World War I, land in southern Manitoba had fetched up to $75 per acre. In 1921 when grain prices fell, land prices declined accordingly.[17] In addition, the large amount of land that suddenly came on the market depressed prices. In some cases people sold for as little as $12.50 an acre;[18] others simply refused to sell.

Johann Friesen, the Reinlaender bishop, worked hard to keep up the resolve to emigrate. He believed that the godly life taught in the Bible was no longer possible in Manitoba, and that the government was persecuting them by threatening to make them into "one hundred percent Canadians."[19] It had taken away their schools in order to control their children. They had no future in Canada.

By February 1922 it was decided that the first Reinlaender Church groups should leave, even though not all the land was sold. In preparation for the move, families had to

rush to sell the personal possessions they could not take along. Most realized little return from the auction sales. Between March 1 and 11, 1922 four trains departed from Plum Coulee and Haskett carrying people and their belongings to Mexico.[20] Two additional trains left from the Swift Current settlement in Saskatchewan. Those who had not sold their land arranged with later emigrants that they would sell it and bring them their money. Most of this land sold very cheaply.

Migration to Mexico continued for the next four years. In total 3,200 Manitoba Reinlaender, some two-thirds of the church, made the move.[21] Many villages practically emptied out. Those who did stay were leaderless since the church and civic leaders all left. The church took its orphans' bureau records with them, and those who did not emigrate had to withdraw their money from it.

Sommerfelder and Chortitzer Leave

In October 1920 the Sommerfelder and Chortitzer made one final, joint appeal to the Manitoba government: to allow them to run their own schools if they promised to abide by government requirements. If this was not forthcoming, they said, "then we will be forced to look for a new homeland in which we and our children can live according to our faith."[22] The Manitoba government did not even bother to reply. Consequently, in April 1921 the two churches sent a delegation to Paraguay and Mexico to check out immigration possibilities.

In Paraguay the delegates were shown land in the Gran Chaco at the best possible time of the year and were impressed with its potential. In addition, the Paraguayan government passed legislation granting them exemption from the oath and military service, the right to control their own churches and schools, instruction in German, and have their own inheritance laws, orphans' bureau, and fire insurance.[23] The same delegates also visited Mexico, but were not impressed.

Shortly after this, an owner from one of the huge Mexican estates came to Manitoba and appealed to Bishop Abraham Doersken of the Sommerfelder Church to reconsider Mexico. Doerksen sent a delegation there and the government promised this delegation the same privileges that had been offered to the Reinlaender Church.[24] Bishop Doerksen accepted the Mexican government's offer, and in 1922, together with about 428 people, or about 6 percent of the Sommerfelder Church, moved to Mexico and established the Santa Clara Colony north of Cuauhtemoc.[25] Trains were chartered which departed from Altona and Plum Coulee.[26] Four years later, in 1926, a second migration took place, this time to Paraguay. This emigration included about 357 people, about 5 percent of the Sommerfelder Church, and about 1,200 people, or 40 percent of the Chortitzer Church. This combined group, together with a small group of Mennonites from Saskatchewan, founded the Menno Colony in the Gran Chaco.[27]

The Chortitzer Church, led by Bishop Martin C. Friesen, preferred Paraguay to Mexico because its promises seemed more secure. The Paraguayan *Privilegium* was passed by an act of the Congress and Senate, whereas the promises by the Mexican president were signed by him and his agriculture minister,

Delegate Jacob Doerksen, Chortitzer Mennonite Church, holding up a sample of Chaco vegetation. Doerksen later moved to Paraguay and died there in 1940 (2).

The groups that favoured the migration to Paraguay were the Chortitzer Church on the East Reserve, some Sommerfelder, plus the Bergthaler Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan. The Chortitzer provided the leadership. Arrangements had been with General Samuel McRoberts, a financier in New York City. . . . Finally by June 1926, McRoberts and the Mennonites had finalized arrangements for the sale. Mennonites sold 44,000 acres of land for about twenty dollars an acre, and bought 138,000 acres in the Paraguayan Chaco for five dollars an acre.

Cornelius T. Friesen, who was in charge of the Orphans' Bureau (*Waisenamt*)
(Royden Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 316)

Table 6
Emigrants from Manitoba to Mexico and Paraguay, 1922-1930

Group and Destination	Years of Immigration	Number of Immigrants	Percent of Total Group
Reinlaender to Mexico	1922-1926	3,200	64%
Sommerfelder to Mexico	1922-1925	428	6%
Sommerfelder to Paraguay	1926-1930	357	5%
Chortitzer to Paraguay	1926-1930	1,201	41%

Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 214

Sommerfelder Mennonites depart from Altona in 1927, moving to the Chaco in Paraguay with their tools, implements, furniture, and other possessions (3).

When the provincial government closed the private schools it built public schools to replace them, and gave them new, English names. The Snowden School, pictured above, was located between the villages of Reinland, Schoenwiese, and Blumengart (4).

but not ratified by the Mexican Congress.[28] Bishop Friesen, and most of the ministers of the Chortitzer Church, emigrated. After they left, the Chortitzer Church in Manitoba consisted of about 1,800 people.[29] In the Sommerfelder Church, although Bishop Abraham Doerksen left, a number of ministers stayed in Manitoba. After emigration, the Sommerfelder group numbered about 7,000 people of whom 3,000 were baptized members.[30] About 5,350 Reinlaender, Sommerfelder, and Chortitzer people emigrated out of a total of about 15,300 people in these groups.[31] Of the 21,000 Mennonites in Manitoba in 1921, about one-quarter emigrated.

Mennonite response to the threat of losing their identity in Manitoba was similar to that in previous circumstances. A minority, usually the most conservative or conserving, emigrated. They were willing to leave familiar surroundings, pioneer in a new setting, and sacrifice comfort and security for principle. Others, who believed they were equally as principled, decided to remain in Manitoba and make the best of a difficult situation. They hoped that, despite serious challenges, they would be able to sustain their identity. Both groups realized that the school crisis would have significant implications for their future.

10
Immigration: Refuge from Communism

During the same decade that more than 5,000 Mennonites left Manitoba for Mexico and Paraguay, about 6,000 Mennonites arrived from the Soviet Union.[32] These were part of an influx of some 21,000 Mennonite immigrants to Canada during this time who were fleeing from the horrors of Makhno, civil war, famine, and the loss of land, property, and privilege. They were descendents of those Mennonites who had stayed in Russia in the 1870s after receiving concessions from the government on the crucial issues of education and military service.[33]

Meanwhile Back in Russia . . .

After 1870, those Mennonites in Russia who had not come to Canada had worked out a cooperative arrangement on education. The Russian government controlled the appointment of teachers, required Russian-language instruction in all subjects except religion and German, and determined the curriculum.[34] Mennonites paid for the schooling, and had significant input into hiring teachers and determining curriculum. With this arrangement, they were able to develop an impressive array of schools.[35] By 1914 they had 450 elementary schools and 25 secondary schools. Also, because from the 1870s to 1905 the Russian government did not allow co-ed schools at the secondary level, Mennonites established four girls' secondary schools. After 1905 two co-educational secondary schools were begun. In addition, they organized a post secondary school—officially called a School of Commerce even though it offered mainly a liberal arts program—and two teachers' colleges.[36] A number of special institutions were also established, including a school for the

deaf, an agriculture school, a nurses' training school, two trade schools, and a number of Bible schools.[37]

Mennonites continued their education in various Russian and foreign universities. By 1914 approximately 300 students were enrolled in various faculties,[38] and at the time of the Revolution in 1917 a good number of their people had received an advanced education.

In regards to military service, by the late 1870s Mennonites had come to an agreement with the czarist government that their men could do alternative service under civilian control. This consisted of forestry work in peace time, and Red Cross work under military direction on the battlefield in war time. During World War I, more than 12,000 Mennonite men served in these two venues. To maintain this alternative service system Mennonites paid more than three million rubles, or three million dollars, per year.[39]

Thus on the two issues of education and exemption from military service, those Mennonites who remained in Russia had been more accommodating than those who had emigrated to Manitoba. They had come to see Russia favourably and felt they were able to be true to their religious convictions within these accommodations.

Economically they prospered under czarist rule. Prices for crops were generally good and the economy was relatively stable. Mennonites bought estates and established numerous new colonies.[40] They founded farm machinery factories that by 1914 were producing almost 10 percent of farm equipment manufactured in Russia.[41] Other entrepreneurs set up flour mills. With this robust economic activity, Mennonites were able to finance an impressive array of institutions, including schools, hospitals, banks, and homes for the aged and the mentally ill.[42]

The End of an Era. The first warning bells about impending difficulties in Russia rang in 1905 during the Russian war with Japan. This disastrous conflict, which Russia lost, resulted in modest social and political reforms that, in the subsequent years, were undermined by conservative reactions.[43] For Mennonites, trouble began during the early part of World War I. In 1915 the czarist government ordered all people of German descent, including Mennonites, to sell their property or have it confiscated. This law was passed because of anti-German feelings generated by the war with Germany and Austria.[44] Fortunately for Mennonites, it was not implemented.

In March 1917 the czarist regime of Nicholas II was overthrown.[45] It was followed by a short-lived provisional government and by the Kerensky regime which advocated democracy and liberty for its people. However, Russia continued the disastrous war with Germany. Under this regime, Mennonite men served in the Red Cross units. In other respects the new government had little impact on Mennonite life.

When the communists under the leadership of Lenin came to power on November 7, 1917—or October 25 according to the old Julian calendar and hence called the October Revolution—their rule was initially weak, hardly extending beyond the main cities of Moscow, the new capital, and Petrograd, renamed Leningrad.[46] Nestor Makhno, an anarchist, took advantage of this relative power vacuum in Ukraine, organized bands of peasants, and terrorized the countryside, destroying symbols of power and wealth that he felt had oppressed the peasants. In early 1918 Lenin signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to end the war with Germany. He made huge concessions, including giving Germany control of Ukraine. Germany stopped the reign of terror by Makhno so that from February to November Mennonites were able to live in relative peace.

Many Mennonites in Russia/Ukraine lived in village house-barn farmsteads like the one above, the home of the Johann Lohrenz family, Neu-Schoensee, Zagradovka (5).

As part of the armistice on November 11, 1918 when Germany accepted defeat, it had to vacate Ukraine. Before its troops withdrew they armed Mennonite self-defence groups, called a *Selbstschutz*, to protect Mennonite villages from the anticipated Makhno violence.[47] From 1918 to 1920, civil wars raged in a number of Russian border regions, including in

In 1918 Jacob Enns, his three daughters, and one of their friends were killed by the followers of Makhno. The terror and destruction caused by the Makhno raids, as well as the confiscation of property by the Communist government, persuaded many Mennonites that emigration was the best option (6).

Ukraine, between the communist Red army and the White army, that is, forces loyal to the czars. This civil war overlapped with Makhno raids and resulted in disease, rape, fear, and death. Those Mennonite communities that organized the armed self-defence units intended that they would only protect villages against Makhno's men, but inadvertently they also fought against the Red army. In any case, by organizing these military units, Mennonites violated their own peace principles.

After the civil war came famine. The productive capacity of the Mennonite communities was sharply reduced.[48] Farmers had no horses with which to work the land. Seed grain was consumed as food. Diseases were rampant and many starved. In the midst of these calamities, the Soviet government tried to establish a new order. Land holdings were reduced to about 75 acres per owner (32 dessiatins). Initially Mennonites were able to retain some control of their banks, schools, and benevolent institutions.[49] Many, however, worried about the small size of their land holdings, feared the atheistic school curriculum being introduced, suffered threats to personal safety, and questioned their future under a communist regime.[50] For them, emigration seemed the only option.

Food Aid. In the spring of 1920 the situation was so desperate that the immediate concern was survival in the face of famine. Mennonites sent a delegation of three men, Benjamin H. Unruh, A. A. Friesen, and C.H. Warkentin, to western Europe and North America to get help.[51] European Mennonites could offer little aid since they were still dealing with the after-effects of World War I, but Mennonites in the United States were willing and able to assist. They combined their separate denominational relief organizations into one agency called Mennonite Central Committee (MCC).[52] Thus MCC was born in July 1920 in Elkhart, Indiana,[53] and went to work immediately to bring food and other relief to Mennonites in the Soviet Union.[54] It sent Arthur Slagel, Clayton Kratz, and Orie Miller to Constantinople to make local arrangements.[55] Unfortunately, during his work in Ukraine, Clayton Kratz disappeared without a trace.[56] In the spring of 1922, MCC set up soup kitchens to feed both Mennonite and Ukrainian people. For a number of years, up to 75,000 people were fed there daily.[57]

In the same year, Canadian Mennonites organized their own Central Relief Committee in which Manitoba Mennonites participated.[58] The Canadian organization sent aid to the Soviet Union via MCC in the United States. Mennonites in Canada, with federal government assistance, also dispatched many carloads of grain directly. They forwarded more than $100,000 through "Save the Children Fund," an international relief agency that set up soup kitchens in Ukraine. Interest in helping Mennonites in the Soviet Union was so strong that some Mennonites in western Canada took out loans so they could contribute to the relief efforts. Furthermore, in order to re-establish agriculture, MCC sent seed grain to the Soviet Union so farmers could begin to plant again.[59] It also provided tractors to replace the horses that had been destroyed in the wars. By 1924, Mennonites had sent about $1.2 million worth of aid to the Soviet Union and saved at least 9,000 lives.[60]

Emigration to Canada

The three-person delegation from Ukraine was also sent to check out whether Mennonites in the Soviet Union could emigrate to the United States or Canada. When they met with American government officials, they were told the United States borders were closed to European immigrants, and that no exception would be made for Mennonites. In their meeting with Canadian government of-

ficials, the delegates painted a positive picture of the potential immigrants. They contrasted Mennonites in the Soviet Union with the Canadian Mennonites who were planning to leave for Mexico and Paraguay, and assured them that the immigrants from the Soviet Union "were a most progressive people and would give the government no trouble in school matters."[61] Despite these efforts, Canada refused to accept Mennonite immigrants since an order-in-council in 1919 had specifically barred Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors.

Different strategies developed in the two countries about how to accomplish a mass Mennonite immigration from the Soviet Union. American Mennonites put their efforts into a plan to move Mennonites to Mexico. Up until 1926, they devoted their energy and money to this project. Canadian Mennonites, on the other hand, decided to convince its government to open the doors to Mennonite immigrants.[62]

To accomplish this, A.A. Friesen, one of the delegates from the Soviet Union, H.H. Ewert, the principal of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna, and a number of other Mennonite leaders, including S.F. Coffman and T. S. Reesor, two Swiss Mennonites from Ontario, went to Ottawa in 1921 to appeal to the government.[63] The Tory government of Prime Minister Arthur Meighen was not sympathetic. However, William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Liberal opposition leader, was willing to listen. When the Liberals won the next federal election, the same delegation went to Ottawa to see Mackenzie King, the new prime minister.[64] On June 2, 1922 he rescinded the order-in-council that excluded Mennonites, thus opening Canadian doors to immigrants from the Soviet Union.[65]

A few weeks earlier, in anticipation of this change in policy, Mennonites had established the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization to plan the expected immigration effort. The organizing meeting, which included A.A. Friesen and H.H. Ewert, met in Ewert's home in Gretna, Manitoba. David Toews, bishop of the Rosenorter Church near Rosthern, Saskatchewan, was elected chair and chief executive officer. He would play a crucial role in bringing 21,000 Mennonites to Canada.[66]

The Canadian Pacific Railway. Major challenges faced the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization (CMBC). The legal doors were open, but how would the thousands of Mennonite immigrants be transported to Canada? How would this whole project be financed? Where would the immigrants settle after they arrived? A solution to the first challenge was provided by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). On their trips to Ottawa, Friesen, Ewert, and their delegation had met with Colonel J.S. Dennis who was head of the CPR's department of colonization. Dennis advocated a liberal immigration policy to settle the millions of acres of unclaimed land in western Canada.[67] In exchange for building railways in the west, the CPR and other rail companies had been given land for which they had to find settlers in order to receive a return on their investments.

Shortly after David Toews was elected chair of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, he began negotiations with Colonel Dennis.[68] Dennis offered that the CPR would provide transportation via ships and trains, and the credit to bring 3,000 Mennonites from southern Ukraine to Canada in 1922 at a cost of $140 per person. For Toews and the CMBC, this offer was both an answer to prayer and a dilemma. Since most Mennonites in Ukraine had no money, the Board would have to cover the cost and collect from them later. About $400,000 would be required. The CPR demanded full payment of this amount within six months of the immigrants' arrival. How could the CMBC come up with such a large sum of money in so short a time? In addition, the contract called for Toews to sign on behalf of "The Mennonite Church of Canada," even though there was no such organization. Would Mennonites in Canada support him if he signed?

Toews appealed to various Mennonite church groups to underwrite this amount of credit so that the immigration could begin.[69]

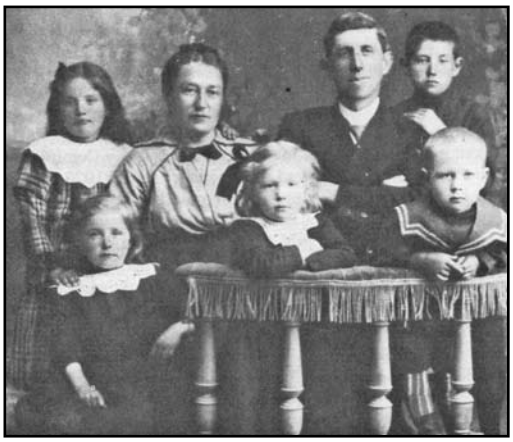
David Toews with his wife Margaret and family. Toews was chair of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization and signed for the immigration of almost 21,000 Mennonites from the Soviet Union to Canada (7).

To Colonel Dennis:
That we again affirm our stand as indicated in our telegram sent you on the 26th of July, 1922, and that we refuse to be parties to the contract between the Mennonite Church of Canada, and the Canadian Pacific Railway as already signed by the Rev. David Toews. . . . Signed in behalf of the above named branches of the Mennonite Church of Canada in a meeting assembled this 15th day of August, 1922, at Waldheim, Saskatchewan."
P.J. Friesen and F.J. Baerg
(Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 124-125)

To Colonel Dennis:
We herewith beg to inform you that we as the Chortitzer Mennonite Church have nothing to do with the immigration of Mennonites from Russia, and if there is a contract signed by David Toews so shall said contract have no validity for us, because he has never been instructed by us to do anything for us, as we as a community did never take any part in this matter.
Johann Schroeder, Steinbach, Manitoba, on behalf of the Chortitzer Church
(Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 124-125)

The response was uniformly negative. Except for Toews' church of 800 members, no Mennonite church was in favour of the terms proposed by the CPR.[70] They believed that the cost of the project was too great. Despite opposition, Toews signed the contract with the CPR on July 21, 1922 in the name of the Mennonite Church of Canada. He felt he could not turn his back on the plight of thousands of Mennonites in the Soviet Union. "I did this hoping that the CPR would not carry out the contract as it read," he said.[71]

Meanwhile, in Ukraine, Benjamin B. Janz, a Mennonite teacher in the Molotschna colony, was feverishly preparing for the emigration against tremendous odds.[72] He was appointed by an inter-Mennonite organization called the Union of Citizens of Dutch Heritage to negotiate with the Soviet government for agricultural reconstruction and emigration.[73] Mennonites chose to identify themselves as Dutch since to call themselves "Mennonite" was illegal, and to be German was problematic after World War I. At first the Soviet government was not sympathetic to Janz's plea to allow Mennonites to leave. Emigration implied a critique of the new government and its policies. Janz finally persuaded the authorities to allow at least the displaced Mennonites to leave, so that the rest of the community could more quickly recover economically. So with almost superhuman effort, and some luck, Janz managed to obtain exit visas for a large number of Mennonites. Some 15,000 Mennonites out of a total population of about 120,000 in the Soviet Union

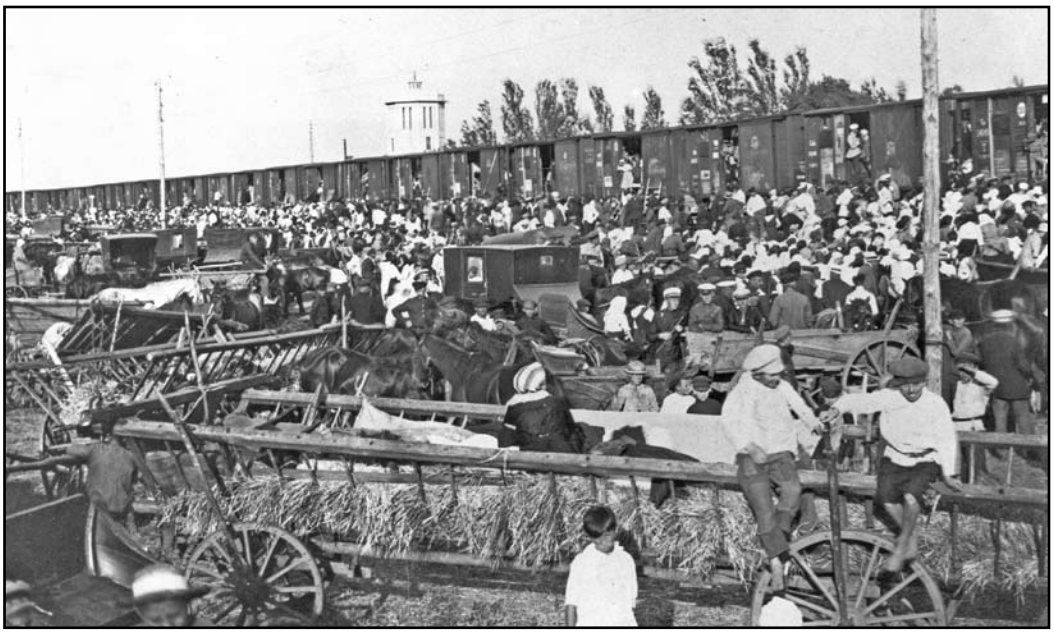


Benjamin B. Janz with his wife Maria and family in 1914. Janz was a Mennonite teacher in Ukraine. He negotiated with Soviet authorities that Mennonites could emigrate to Canada. Janz settled in Coaldale, Alberta (8).

were prepared to emigrate.[74] Janz was greatly disappointed when he heard that only 3,000 immigrants would be accepted for 1922.[75]

Then the whole project had to be cancelled. The departure point for the CPR ships was to be Odessa, a seaport on the Black Sea. In the summer of 1922, cholera broke out in Ukraine, and all Black Sea ports were quarantined.[76] In addition, Turkey and Greece went to war with each other blocking all the sea lanes.

Plans for emigration were then delayed until spring 1923. To avoid the quarantine in the Black Sea, the emigration route had to be changed to go via Moscow to Riga, Latvia.[77] New visas had to be obtained, since all the 1922 visas had expired. Another problem arose.



Scene of Mennonites departing for Canada in 1923 from Lichtenau, Molotschna, railway station in Ukraine (9).

The Canadian government refused to accept newcomers who had trachoma and other diseases.[78] After intense diplomatic negotiations, Benjamin H. Unruh, one of the delegates from Ukraine who had since settled in Germany, arranged with the German government that it would provide temporary housing for people whom the Canadian government rejected.[79] The Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization would, however, have to find the detainees an alternate permanent home if they could not get entry into Canada.

Arrival in Canada. Finally in early July 1923, the emigration of the first group of 738 people began. Unfortunately, when they were given their medical examination, about 13 percent failed and had to remain in the camp in Germany—the years of civil war and famine had taken their toll. The remainder travelled to Canada by ship, and from Quebec to Rosthern, Saskatchewan, by train, arriving on July 21.[80] Despite the earlier opposition to Toews and the Board of Colonization's immigration plans, the newcomers were enthusiastically greeted and provided with lodging, food, jobs, and other means of support. On the day of arrival, hundreds of local Mennonites came with vehicles of every description to welcome them and take them to their homes. When the immigrants stepped off the train, they sang: "Grosser Gott wir loben Dich" (Holy God, we praise thy name). A Saskatoon reporter described the scene as follows:

> A great hush fell upon the assembled thousands and to the ears of the Canadians came a soft, slow chant . . . a musical expression of great tragedy and heartbreak. . . . Then the Canadian Mennonites took up the song, and the tone increased in volume, growing deeper, and fuller, until the melody was pouring forth from several thousand throats.[81]

In Manitoba a group of immigrants arrived by train in Giroux near Steinbach on August 19 after a 42- day trip. One member of the group, Peter Ketler, had to leave his sick wife behind in a hospital in Riga.[82] With a heavy heart he described his experience as he and his children travelled to a new country:

> We landed in Quebec on August 17, and two days later arrived in Winnipeg. While still on the train one of the passengers suggested we sing a song before our arrival. We did this, although in a subdued tone, probably because everyone was gloomy about the future. In Winnipeg several American brothers welcomed us. Thank you, dear brothers! Then we steamed off to the Giroux station, arriving in the evening. Many brothers and sisters had come with their autos to meet and welcome us. We will never forget you.[83]

Immigrants from Ukraine arriving in Altona on August 21, 1923. They were met by local farm families who offered them accomodation and, whenever possibile, employment (10).

During 1923 about 2,800 Mennonite immigrants arrived in Canada from the Soviet Union, mostly from Ukraine. For the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization this was a triumph, even though they knew this represented a huge debt. For Mennonites in the Soviet Union, this number was far too small, since at least 20,000 more were ready and eager to emigrate.[84]

Financing Problems and American Opposition. Before immigration in the next year could proceed, the previous year's Canadian Pacific Railway debt had to be addressed. After Canadian Mennonites responded to repeated pleas for contributions, and the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization renegotiated more lenient terms with the railway company, the 1924 immigration moved ahead. Because of the shortage of funds, only a fraction of the more than 20,000 people who were again ready to leave could be accommodated—about 5,000 Mennonites were brought to Canada. The Board of Colonization had to extend credit to more than three-quarters of the immigrants. Since the Soviet government was willing to grant exit visas, the sole reason preventing the others from leaving was lack of money.

The Board appealed to Canadian Mennonites to give generously and urged the new immigrants to pay off their travel debt as soon as they had jobs so others could get passage

> But I can conscientiously repeat, what I said on several occasions: we are glad we signed the contract and kept it intact, in spite of all the attacks that we had to undergo. If it was poor judgment that was shown on our part, I am in a way sorry. But I would rather show poor judgment in the way I did, than to show the soundest of judgment in the eyes of the world at large, and fail to do our duty towards our suffering brethren.
>
> David Toews, in a letter to C.E. Krehbiel, 5 May 1923
> (Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 135)

to Canada. Some money was raised, but the total was far short of what was needed. Swiss Mennonites and Amish in Ontario contributed heavily to the CMBC, and gave the immigrants lodging, jobs, and financial assistance when they arrived. Because of this generous help, many stayed in Ontario rather than move to the West.

Urgent appeals were made to American Mennonites to assist in the Canadian project.[85] They had organized two agencies to relate to Mennonites in the Soviet Union: Mennonite Central Committee to handle relief and Mennonite Colonization Board to deal with immigration. The aim of the latter was to move Soviet Mennonites to Mexico, even though they did not want to go there and the conditions in Mexico were not favourable for immigration. It also saw itself as the main immigration board in North America and invited Canadians to operate under its umbrella.[86]

David Toews, on behalf of the Canadian Colonization Board, made a number of trips to the United States to meet with their colonization board, MCC, and Mennonite conference leaders to gain their support for the Canadian effort. Although Americans had collected considerable funds for the Mexico project, funds they were unable to use, they refused to release money to assist the CMBC. In fact they ridiculed the Canadian project, attacked the leaders of the Board personally, accused Toews of being a misguided dreamer, and deliberately undermined the project by unilaterally urging the CPR to divert immigrants to Mexico.[87] Some Mennonites were persuaded to go to Mexico, but most of them moved to Canada within a short time. In late 1926, when the Soviet Union was beginning to restrict emigration, the Americans belatedly offered financial assistance. Toews reflected later that if they had helped from the start, three to four times the number of Mennonites could have immigrated to Canada.[88]

In 1925 about 3,800 Mennonites arrived, with another 6,000 coming the following year. In 1927 only about 850 people were able to gain exit visas. The doors were swinging shut.

Panic in Moscow

In 1929 Mennonites in the Soviet Union panicked. Exit visas were virtually impossible to attain. Beginning with the communists' First Five Year Plan in 1928, conditions worsened. Collectivization of agriculture began, attacks on religion were renewed, and new policies on education were enforced.[89] Many Mennonites were accused of being kulaks—that is, people with significant property who were now seen as traitors—and were exiled.[90] In desperation, about 13,000 Mennonites fled to Moscow with the faint hope that in the capital city they would be able to get visas.[91]

The Soviet government did not want them to leave, but due to international pressure it finally gave permission. Who would accept them? Even though Germany was suffering economic collapse, it offered to take in 5,000 Mennonites temporarily, if some other country would accept them permanently within a short period of time.[92] Most of the refugees wanted to settle in Canada to join their family members. However, the public mood in Canada had turned against accepting more Mennonite immigrants. The premier of Saskatchewan specifically informed the federal government that he would not take any more.[93] Negative feelings toward Mennonites who had emigrated to Mexico, opposition to non-English immigrants, and a worsening economic outlook contributed to the dour public mood. The Manitoba government was more sympathetic and offered to accept some. However, the federal government looked to Saskatchewan for the decisive word, and that was "No!"

Germany did allow the 5,000 emigrants from Moscow to stay in the country temporarily, but the more than 8,000 additional Mennonites stranded in the suburbs of Moscow were shipped out in cattle cars, many to Siberia. Of the 5,000 in Germany, about 1,300 were admitted to Canada after all, under general immigration quotas.[94] Most of the rest were accepted as immigrants by Brazil and

This cartoon on the editorial page in the Toronto Mail and Empire*, November 27, 1929, graphically expressed that Canada's doors were closed to Mennonite immigrants (11).*

Many died on the way. At one station the bodies of 37 children were taken from the train. On one of the large Siberian transports the bodies of 60 children were taken from the train. Many died of frost, others of disease. Those who withstood the hardships of transportation faced a future fraught with unknown but certain peril.
(Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 236)

Paraguay. By 1930 just over 20,000 Mennonites had come to Canada from the Soviet Union. As indicated earlier, of this number about 6,000 settled in Manitoba.

The Mennonite immigration from the Soviet Union heralded a new era for Mennonites in Manitoba. The new arrivals enriched the collective Mennonite story with tales of war, revolution, civil war, murder, rape, fear, dislocation, and traumatic losses. Their earlier experiences of wealth, education, solid communities, alternative service, and institution building were part of the heritage they brought with them to Manitoba. The new arrivals were poised to make a significant contribution to many areas of Manitoba life.

11
Settlement: Making New Homes

In 1922, when the federal government opened the doors to Mennonite immigration from the Soviet Union, the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization had to make three promises regarding the new immigrants: they would find them shelter and support, place them on land, and make sure they did not become public charges.[95]

When the first group of the 6,000 immigrants arrived in Manitoba, the immediate concern was to find them land. Block settlements were not possible because Canada no longer had large tracts of unclaimed land available. Establishing new Mennonite settlements based on the village pattern was thus out of the question. In order to facilitate the purchase of land for the immigrants and to arrange for financing, the Board of Colonization organized the Mennonite Land Settlement Board. David Toews, chair of the Colonization Board, also chaired this board. The manager was A.A. Friesen, one of the original 1920s delegates from the Soviet Union.

Table 7
Immigrants from the USSR to Canada

Year of Immigration	Credit Passengers	Cash Passengers	Total
1923	2,759		2,759
1924	3,894	1,154	5,048
1925	2,171	1,601	3,772
1926	2,479	3,461	5,940
1927	340	507	847
1928	408	103	511
1929	1,009	10	1,019
1930	294	11	305
Total	13,354	6,847	20,201

(Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 282)

In Mennonite Settlements

Immigrants were able to buy land in the villages on the former West Reserve[96] vacated by Reinlaender Mennonites who had moved to Mexico starting in 1922. Some of these purchases were made through the companies that had financed the emigration of Reinlaender.[97] Most transactions were made privately with the departing Mennonites. Since the immigrants had no money, they usually financed their purchases with the crops they anticipated from the land. Interest was low, 3 to 6 percent, and payments were spread out over 20 years. About 15,000 acres were purchased in this manner in a number of villages including Gnadenthal, Blumenort, Reinland, and Neuhorst.[98] Additional land became available in the Mennonite communities in 1926 with the departure of more than 400 Sommerfelder to Paraguay.[99]

In 1926, 1,201 Chortitzer Mennonites from the East Reserve moved to Paraguay.[100] They sold their land to the Intercontinental Company Limited that was based in Winnipeg but owned by General Samuel McRoberts and others in New York City. McRoberts was the banker who sold the departing Mennonites land in Paraguay. This company sold 44,000 acres to about 300 of the new immigrants for a million dollars.[101] Most of the land thus sold was around Steinbach, Niverville, and Grunthal.

Throughout Manitoba—on "Mennonite Terms"

For the remainder of the immigrants, the Mennonite Land Settlement Board assisted in making purchases of land in numerous parts of Manitoba. Many owners of large farms wanted to sell because grain prices plunged following World War I, and large farms were no longer profitable.[102] Owners were willing to sell their farms as a unit, or break them up into smaller parcels. These tracts of land suited Mennonites well, but since they had no money, the issue was how to finance the purchases.

The Mennonite Land Settlement Board developed a pattern of purchase called the "Mennonite Contract" or "Mennonite Terms." Land was pur-

chased without cash, instalments were spread over 15 years, and payments consisted of half the crop. If the return from the land fell below six dollars per acre, the buyers paid only the taxes and insurance that year. A. A. Friesen commented about these terms: "Four or five years ago no one would have thought such a scheme possible. I may mention that these farms are being offered on credit to none but Mennonites. Everybody in this country seems to think a lot of our people. It will be a problem to live up to the reputation which these people are now enjoying."[103]

To the immigrants these terms were a godsend. In many cases the farms came complete with buildings, cattle, horses, storage bins, farm machinery, cars, and trucks, so that the new owners could move in and start farming without additional cash outlay. Because of the size of these farms, in some cases exceeding 10,000 acres, they were bought by groups of families. In the first few years the group usually farmed its land together. After some time, the land was divided into individual farms and each family assembled its own set of buildings.[104] Some of the areas in Manitoba where this type of purchase was made were Arnaud, Meadows, Springstein, Snowflake, and Newton.[105] Some deals were made through the settlement committee and others were made privately. The largest purchase was at Arnaud, where 44 families purchased a farm of more than 10,700 acres at 60 dollars per acre. On average, each family thus acquired about 240 acres, or one-and-a-half quarter sections.[106]

Land was bought throughout Manitoba, most of it near rail lines. One string of Mennonite purchases took place near the CPR line from Morden to Whitewater, including the towns of Manitou, Crystal City, Mather, Killarney, Lena, Ninga, Boissevain, and Whitewater.[107] Similar acquisitions took place in communities along the Canadian National Railway (CNR) line west of Winnipeg, including Pigeon Lake, Fleming, Elkhorn, Griswold, Alexander, Rivers, and Oak Lake.[108] In addition, there were settlements along the railway line from Winnipeg through Springstein, Starbuck, and Elm Creek, as well as in scattered areas such as Ste. Elizabeth. Mennonite settlements now extended throughout much of southern Manitoba.[109]

Some of the 1920 immigrants from the Soviet Union had no farming experience. They had been teachers, businessmen, or estate owners. They found farming difficult and soon looked for alternate ways to make a living. Some took up teaching, a few went into business, and others moved to Winnipeg for employment.

In Winnipeg

Many of the Mennonites who first came to Winnipeg settled in the North End. This area, north of the Canadian Pacific Railway yards, was poor, multi-ethnic, and a place where many other immigrants to Winnipeg also initially settled. By 1925 Mennonite immigrants were settling in the West End, so named because it lay west of the inner city. This area, located south of the CPR tracks, had largely Anglo-Saxon residents. A few years later, a Mennonite settlement developed in North Kildonan on the east side of the Red River.[110] This area was separated from the city by thick woods and connected by a muddy trail. Two Mennonite land agents, F. F. Isaak and Jacob J. Neufeld, acquired 20 acres in North Kildonan, and received permission from the municipality to divide the land into small plots.[111] They sold them to Mennonite immigrants who built

One group of Mennonite settlers in Arnaud purchased five large farms, called ranches, totalling about 12,000 acres, from H.H. Lyman, a businessman in Kewanee, Illinois. They bought the land for sixty-three dollars an acre on "Mennonite" terms—no down payment. This photo shows the buildings of Ranch no. 5 (12).

Mennonite women working as domestics in Winnipeg, 1940s (13).

houses, established chicken farms, grew vegetables, and took jobs nearby or in the city of Winnipeg. Before long, a sizeable Mennonite community developed in North Kildonan, initially known as the "Chicken and Garden Village."[112]

Shortly after arriving in Manitoba, many young women worked in Winnipeg as domestics. The money they earned was used to pay off their family's travel debts, support the family farm, and in some cases pay for the education of their brothers. While these young women, many in their teens, worked in the city, they needed support and fellowship. In 1923, Anna Thiessen moved to Winnipeg from Saskatchewan, and soon her home "became a refugee hostel, employment agency, and counseling centre" for young, rural Mennonite Brethren immigrant women working in the city.[113] In 1925, Thiessen formally organized the Mary-Martha Girls' Home which gave the women a place to stay on their days off.[114] She also interceded on behalf of the women with difficult employers. This girls' home continued to operate until 1959, providing more than a thousand young women with a home away from home.

In 1926, a year after the Mary-Martha Girls' Home opened, Gerhard and Helena Peters from the Schoenwieser Church established the Ebenezer Girls' Home in the West End on McDermot Avenue.[115] It served a similar purpose for young Mennonite immigrant women who were part of the Schoenwieser, and related, circle of churches, and had come to the city to work as domestics. It was a place to spend days off, to recuperate when ill, and to stay while searching for a job. In 1933, Helen Epp was appointed matron of Ebenezer Girls' Home and served for 27 years. When Ebenezer's doors closed in 1959, it too had served more than a thousand young women.[116]

The trauma and disorientation of immigration was greatly reduced by the settlement arrangements that developed. Most immigrants became land owners again. This provided them with income and status. Because most were able to settle in clusters, they created communities and received the support this provided. They were thus given a strong base from which to build for the future.

12
The Church: Building New Groups

Mennonite churches faced serious challenges. When thousands of members emigrated, the largest churches had lost their leaders and now had to regroup. Many in these churches had decided not to emigrate, despite being critical of the government and its policies, so now they had to establish a new identity. The smaller groups, even though they had not lost members through emigration, faced a critical and unsympathetic society. During the same decade, thousands of Mennonites arrived from different parts of the Soviet Union. They settled throughout southern Manitoba from Steinbach in the east to Whitewater and Oak Lake in the west, locating in vacated villages and on large farms. Most came from strong, well-to-do, settled communities in Russia, and now faced the challenge of re-establishing themselves in a new land.[117]

Identity: Descriptive Terminology

During this crucial time of reorientation and settlement, identity was also shaped by how Mennonites referred to each other. Those who immigrated in the 1920s were often referred to as *Russlaender*, translated as "Russians," since they were the most recent immigrants from that region. The term indicated more than origin, and included the characteristics of better educated, more acculturated, and less separatist. Those who had been resident in Canada since the 1870s were referred to as *Kanadier*, translated as "Canadians," and often implied conservative, less well-educated, and passive. The terms were descriptive,

Winkler became a sort of mother church for the Mennonite Brethren of the new immigrants. As quickly as possible they wanted to be members of a Canadian MB Church since this gave them a sense of belonging. Therefore, immigrants as widely dispersed as Steinbach and Alexander affiliated with the Winkler Church.
(William Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 66)

but could also be pejorative.[118] They were used most often by the two groups that accepted the immigrants into their churches, namely the Mennonite Brethren and the churches that belonged to the Conference of Mennonites in Canada. The terms, and the distinctions they implied, could, however, also be used throughout the community.

Another set of terms identified the separation between the Mennonite Brethren (MB) and non-MB groups, called *Kirchliche*. Literally *Kirchliche* meant "church" Mennonites. The term had developed in Russia in 1860 after the Mennonite Brethren formed by separating from the larger Mennonite community as a result of pietistic influences. They practiced adult immersion baptism in contrast to most Mennonites who baptized adults by sprinkling or pouring. The Mennonite Brethren placed greater emphasis on conversion experiences instead of the more traditional Mennonite view of Christian nurture as gradual. This divide between Mennonite Brethren and the rest of the Mennonite community had spread throughout all settlements in Russia. Importing into Manitoba the terminology, and with them the history of the experiences that divided the two groups, heightened tensions between them and made cooperation difficult.

A third group that also emigrated from the Soviet Union was the *Allianz*. In Russia it organized in 1905 and positioned itself as a mediator between the other two. Although also influenced by pietism, it accepted the baptism and other practices of both groups. In Manitoba, the *Allianz* immigrants were too few in number to form their own churches and most joined the Mennonite Brethren.[119]

Unity Spurned

As soon as the Russlaender settled, they began holding worship services and organizing churches. In corporate worship they affirmed their faith in God, expressed their gratitude that God had delivered them from the dangers of communism, and forged new bonds with fellow immigrants. Songs and sermons provided an anchor of familiarity in a sea of change. Retelling their stories of deliverance developed a sense of shared experiences. New church organizations created a sense of community.[120] Soon they faced the question whether to form separate churches along Mennonite Brethren and *Kirchliche* (non-MB) lines. In the Soviet Union about 10 percent of the 120,000 Mennonites were Mennonite Brethren. Of the 20,000 immigrants to Canada, about a third were.[121] Would this division continue in Manitoba or would the difficulties of immigration lead to unity?

In the next few years numerous cooperative ventures occurred. In many regions Mennonite Brethren, *Allianz*, and *Kirchliche* immigrants settled and worshipped together. Some of the regions where this happened were in La Salle, Arnaud, Elm Creek, North Kildonan, and Sperling. Groups met together for worship, elected joint leadership teams, and organized joint church membership classes.[122] However, for various reasons, the co-operative ventures gradually ceased. In one setting, Elm Creek, the separation happened after evangelistic meetings were held, and the importance of deciding into which church the newly converted should be accepted became an issue.[123] A unity that might have continued, did not happen.

Johann Warkentin with his mother, daughter, and grand-daughter. Warkentin was leader of the Winkler MB Church and helped Mennonite Brethren immigrants in the 1920s settle and organize as congregations (14).

Dr. Abraham and Katharina Unruh. Unruh was the first Bible school teacher in Winkler, and later the founding president of Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg (15).

Immigrants Form Separate Conferences.

When Mennonite Brethren immigrants arrived, they looked to the Winkler MB Church for assistance. Johann Warkentin, bishop of the church, took a leading role in establishing immigrant MB churches from Boissevain and Whitewater in the west to Steinbach and Arnaud in the east. Warkentin preached, served communion, and baptized. He encouraged the new groups to become independent congregations within an MB conference and to elect their own leaders.[124] Many, however, were too small to organize as independent congregations and were served by itinerant ministers.[125]

The North End Mennonite Brethren Church in Winnipeg played a key role for MB immigrants, hosting many who passed through and ministering to those who settled in the city and surrounding areas. Initially, all MBs in Winnipeg were members of the North End church. However, soon the people were too widely scattered to function as one congregation. Travelling to services by streetcar or automobile was difficult and expensive. Groups met for regular worship in different parts of the city, and gathered at the North End church only four times a year for common worship.[126] Eventually, two of these groupings formed separate congregations, South End in 1936 and North Kildonan in 1938. Two others organized churches outside of Winnipeg, one in Springstein and the other in Marquette.[127]

When *Kirchliche* immigrants arrived, the Bergthaler Church offered to help them form churches under its umbrella. Some who lived close to Bergthaler churches became members, but numerous others decided to form their own congregations. This decision created some tension with the Bergthaler Church leaders who believed they were being slighted.[128]

The General Conference Mennonite Church, created in 1860 with headquarters in Newton, Kansas, assisted *Kirchliche* immigrants in various ways. It provided assistance even though it had opposed the immigration to Canada in favour of Mexico. Now the General Conference asked those who had been ministers or bishops in the Soviet Union to take on leadership roles and provided finances for some of them.[129] It also hired itinerant ministers from Kanadier churches to provide spiritual care.[130]

Three major *Kirchliche* immigrant church groups formed. One was the Schoenwieser Mennonite Church.[131] Its base was in Winnipeg and included numerous groups from Steinbach to Oak Lake.[132] The Schoenwieser Church grew rapidly and became the largest *Kirchliche* immigrant church in Manitoba, consisting of 37 meeting places at its peak.[133] During the early formative years, Johann P. Klassen served as bishop.[134]

When Frank F. Enns, who had served as bishop in Ukraine, arrived in Manitoba in 1926, David Toews, chair of the immigration board, asked him to lead the western *Kirchliche* immigrant groups from Manitou to Whitewater.[135] Enns organized the White-

Johann P. Klassen and wife Helene. Klassen was the first bishop of the Schoenwieser group of immigrant churches (16).

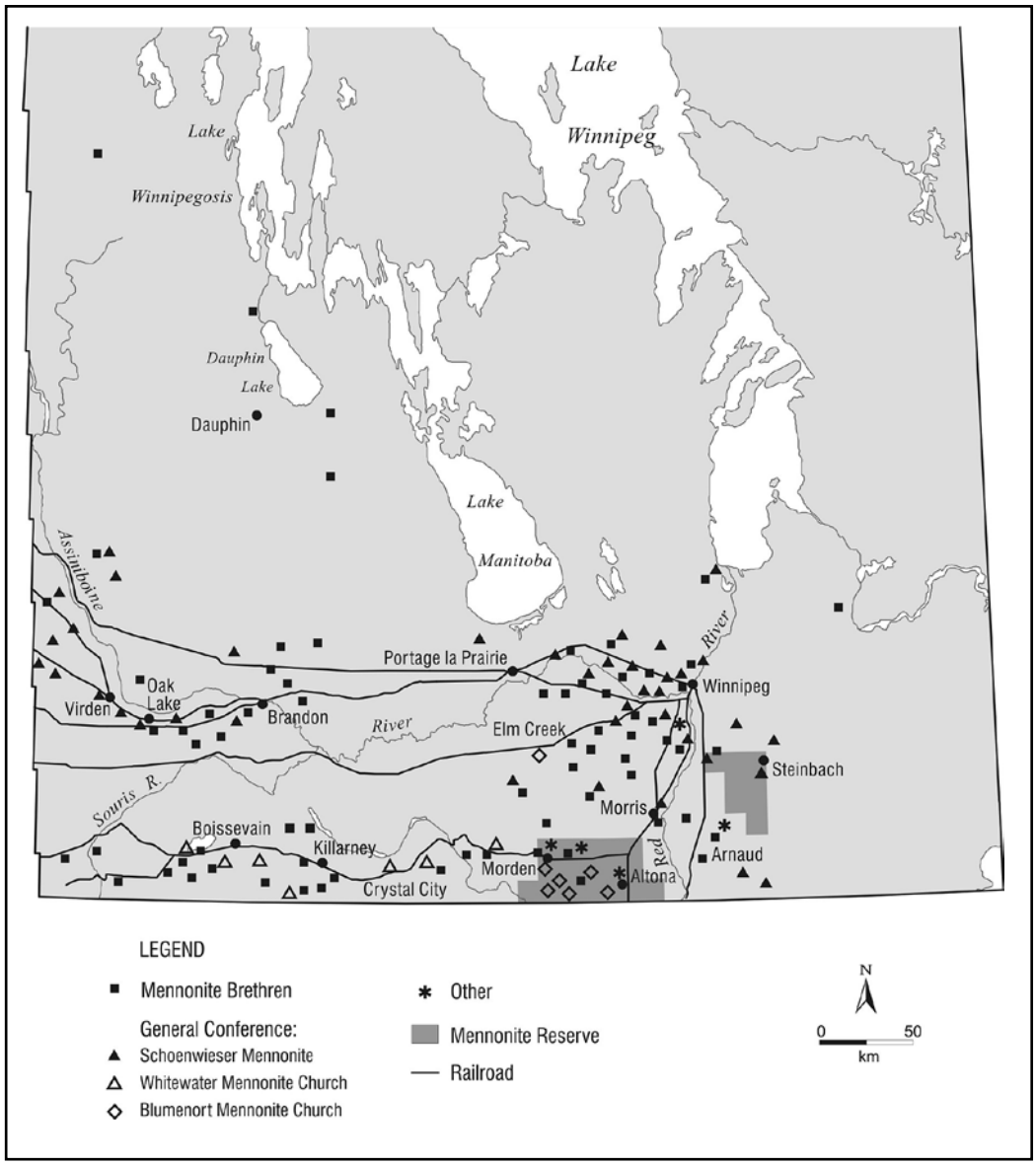
*Frank F. Enns and his wife Anna. Enns was founding bishop of the Whitewater circle of immigrant churches. He was appointed by the Home Missions Board of the General Conference Mennonite Church as an itinerant minister (*Reiseprediger*) (17).*

Johann P. and Katharina Bueckert. Bueckert, ordained in 1928, was the first bishop of the Blumenorter Mennonite Church. His election and ordination were delayed because an invitation was extended to Jacob A. Rempel, a bishop in Ukraine, to be their leader. Rempel was not allowed to emigrate (18).

water Mennonite Church with about eight meeting places.

A third circle of *Kirchliche* immigrant churches formed on the former West Reserve and took the name Blumenort Mennonite Church since the first meetings were held in the village of Blumenort. It formed in 1925 and included those who had settled in villages vacated by emigrants to Mexico.[136] At first this group was served by Klassen, the Schoenwieser bishop in Winnipeg, and by Enns of the Whitewater group. In 1928 the church ordained its own bishop, Johann P. Bueckert.[137] Major worship centres were established in the villages of Rosenort, Blumenort, Gnadenthal, and Reinland. Additional villages that had worship services for some time were Hochfeld, Schoenwiese, Chortitz, and Eichenfeld. When a number of members from Hochfeld moved to Wingham near Elm Creek in the mid-1930s, that group became an affiliate.[138]

Three other *Kirchliche* immigrant groups organized independent congregations: the Lichtenauer Church at Arnaud, the Elim Church in Grunthal, and the Nordheimer Church near Winnipegosis. These three groups were served by visiting bishops from the three large *Kirchliche* immigrant churches (see Map 5 for 1920s immigrant churches in Manitoba).



Map 5: Location of the 1920s immigrant groups and churches in Manitoba

Conference Affiliations. Both the Mennonite Brethren and the *Kirchliche* immigrant churches joined Canadian and North American Mennonite conferences. In this way the immigrants linked up with larger circles of churches, developed international connections, and participated in their respective conferences' mission programs, production of Sunday school materials, and publishing of hymnals.[139] Mennonite Brethren churches became part of the Northern District, later renamed the Canadian Conference of the North American Mennonite Brethren organization.[140] The *Kirchliche* church groups became part of both the Conference of Mennonites in Canada (now called Mennonite Church Canada) and the North America-wide General Conference Mennonite Church (now part of Mennonite Church USA).

Kanadier Regroup

Since the three churches—Sommerfelder, Reinlaender, and Chortitzer—each had lost their bishop, some ministers, and members through emigration, they had to reorganize. Before Abraham Doerksen of the Sommerfelder Church left for Mexico, he ordained Henry J. Friesen as bishop. He had been reeve of the Rhineland Municipality for six years and was an experienced administrator.[141] Even though Friesen had been known as a progressive reeve, he was quite conservative as a church leader. He introduced few changes and continued most of the church's historical patterns.

The Chortitzer Church on the East Reserve had elected Martin C. Friesen as its bishop a few years prior to emigration. Friesen was loved and respected, so when he emigrated to Paraguay in 1926 he left a leadership vacuum in the church. No bishop was elected

Martin Friesen, bishop of the Chortitzer church, who led about 40 percent of its members to the Chaco in Paraguay. He is shown here with his wife Elizabeth (19).

In 1937, after more than a decade without leadership, the Old Colony church in Manitoba reorganized and ordained Jacob J. Froese, Reinfeld near Winkler, as bishop (20).

until 1932, and during this time Henry Friesen, the Sommerfelder bishop from the West Reserve, provided services such as baptism and communion. In 1932 Peter S. Wiebe was ordained bishop of the Chortitzer Church by the Sommerfelder bishop.[142] The Chortitzer Church developed a fairly conservative identity, consistent with its earlier character and similar to the Sommerfelder Church on the West Reserve. For many years the leaders of the Sommerfelder and Chortitzer churches, together with their counterpart in Saskatchewan, the Bergthaler Church, met to discuss matters of common concern. They did not create a formal association, but considered the three to be of like mind.

The Reinlaender Church had been the largest in Manitoba prior to emigration. Its bishop, ministers, civic leaders, and two-thirds of its members were gone. Even its orphans' bureau had been moved to Mexico and members were thus deprived of the economic support it had provided. For more than a decade the Reinlaender people were without a leader or regular pastoral care.[143] Some joined other churches, but most remained unaffiliated. Johan Loeppky, the Old Colony bishop from the Hague-Osler area of Saskatchewan, provided occasional church services, baptisms, and communions.[144] In 1936, Loeppky came to Manitoba to preside over the election of new leaders.[145] Jacob J. Froese, from the village of Reinfeld, near Winkler, was elected bishop, along with a number who were elected ministers. Froese spent a great deal of effort contacting and gathering people to form a new church.[146] This group chose the name Old Colony Mennonite Church, since they or their parents had originally come from the Old Colony, or Chortitza Colony, in Russia. The name Old Colony was also used in Saskatchewan and in Mexico by the former Reinlaender Church.

These three reorganized churches retained the traditional leadership pattern of lay and unpaid bishops, ministers, and deacons as well as the traditional order of worship. Their High German sermons wove through

the Old and New Testaments, emphasizing sin, redemption, and obedient faith. The sermons were read by ministers and commented on in Low German. Traditional Mennonite German-language hymnbooks without notes were used, although they ceased using the embellished form of singing. The songs spoke of languishing, yearning for eternity, martyrdom, and praise to God. Congregational singing was in unison. Most prayers were silent and in a kneeling position.

Kanadier in Winnipeg. Most Kanadier churches were suspicious of urban life and discouraged members from moving to the city.[147] Even though Mennonites had lived in Winnipeg since the turn of the century, the earliest church meetings occurred in 1905 or 1906 when a number of Mennonite Brethren met in a private home.[148] They organized as a congregation in 1909, and were supported as a home mission project of the Northern (Canadian) District of the Mennonite Brethren Conference.[149]

Somewhat later, Benjamin Ewert, a Bergthaler Church minister and public school teacher, started a second congregation in Winnipeg.[150] In 1918 he was asked to meet with Mennonite university students, and in 1921 was hired to serve as minister of the group.[151] He held regular church services with about 110 persons in attendance.[152] After 1923 a large number of Russlaender participated and overwhelmed the Kanadier who gradually withdrew. They felt left out when the church reorganized as the Schoenwieser Mennonite Church.

In 1938 Benjamin Ewert again tried to form a church for the ever-increasing number of Kanadier Mennonites in Winnipeg. He placed a notice in Mennonite papers, announcing church services designed for Canadian-born Mennonites.[153] This effort resulted in the formation of the Bethel Mennonite Mission Church. During the war it attracted many rural conscientious objectors who were placed in Winnipeg.[154] This, and the general Mennonite migration to Winnipeg, helped the church grow rapidly from the 1940s onward.

Reforms and Changes

One of the more notable religious reforms happened in the village of Reinfeld near Winkler. In 1934 Isaac P. Friesen, a minister from Rosthern, Saskatchewan, held a series of evangelistic services there.[155] His preaching

Bethel Mennonite Mission baptismal group, 1945, with ministers Benjamin Ewert and Isaac I. Friesen (21).

touched a sympathetic chord in many people. They confessed sins to God and to one another, settled old conflicts, and paid outstanding debts. The Winkler merchant, Sirluck, noticed how people settled old financial accounts and

William H. Falk, the first bishop of the Rudnerweider Mennonite Church, his wife Elizabeth, and their family in 1945 (22).

remarked, "What Reverend Friesen did here in Winkler was something that all the policemen put together could not have done."[156]

This evangelistic movement had its greatest impact on the Sommerfelder Church.[157] Many of its members wanted to incorporate this new religious fervour into the church's life. Bishop Peter A. Toews, who had succeeded Henry Friesen in 1931, and a majority of the members disagreed.[158] This led to a separation. Toews and the ministers visited all members and asked them if they wished to remain with the church or join the new group. Four of the seven ministers with about 1,100 members, about 20 percent, left to form the Rudnerweider Mennonite Church with William Falk from Altona as the bishop.[159]

The relationship between the old and the new churches was strained. The Rudnerweider Church maintained that commitment to Christ should happen through a conversion experience that provided assurance of salva-

tion. The Sommerfelder Church emphasized that commitment occurred through a process of education and catechism instruction that culminated in baptism. The Rudnerweider Church introduced Sunday schools, organized mission festivals, carried on street-corner evangelism in the towns, and conducted evangelistic services in the congregations.[160] The Sommerfelder church had none of these practices.

In Steinbach a new evangelical church formed in 1943.[161] A group within the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Church felt that a number of problems were not being addressed properly. These included laxity among members, spiritual ineptness among leaders, a practical disregard for nonresistance, and lack of church discipline.[162] When attempts to reconcile the two factions failed, 70 members left to form an independent congregation called the Emmanuel Mennonite Mission Church.[163] In 1952 it dropped its Mennonite identity, moved away from teaching biblical nonresistance, and associated with the Evangelical Free Church of North America.[164]

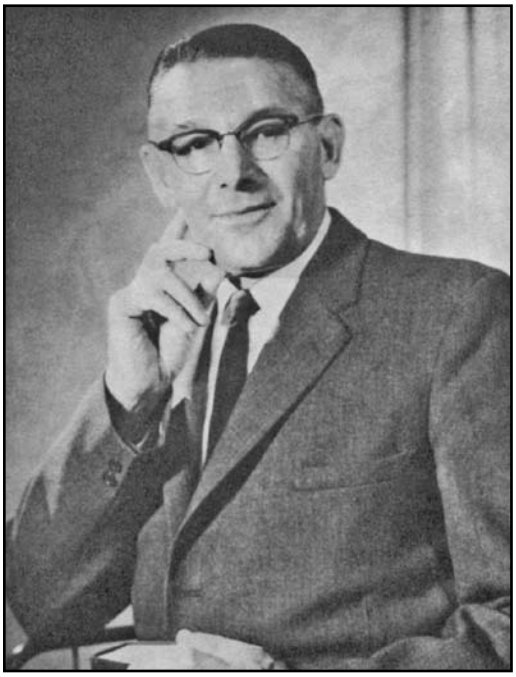
During the 1930s the Kleine Gemeinde became increasingly open to change.[165] It accepted evangelical influences, Sunday schools, choirs, Sunday evening programs, mission work, and contact with other Mennonite churches.[166] Members embraced technological changes and engaged more actively in the world of business.[167] However, the bishop, Peter P. Reimer, and a minority of members were suspicious of these changes and in 1948 immigrated to Mexico. After their departure the conservative faction lost its strength, and changes accelerated. In 1952 the Kleine Gemeinde adopted the name Evangelical Mennonite Church and in 1960 revised it to Evangelical Mennonite Conference.[168]

The Bergthaler Church also went through major changes. In 1926 it ordained David Schulz, a 31-year-old teacher-turned-farmer, as bishop. His predecessor, Jacob Hoeppner, who was 77 years old and of failing health, had for some years wanted to be relieved of his responsibilities.[169] Schulz was described as "charismatic, attractive, an intelligent speaker, a shrewd administrator, and an outstanding leader at brotherhood meetings, plus dedicated to the cause of evangelism and Christian education."[170] Under Schulz's posi-

Table 8
Blumenort Kleine Gemeinde
Brotherhood Resolutions of the 1930s

1933 Agreement that Christians cannot be Justices of Peace
1934 Warning against using guns for hunting
1934 Work against radios and musical instruments
1934 Advise against flowers at funerals
1934 Advise against participation in 60th anniversary of Mennonites in Manitoba
1935 Advise against big weddings and the practice of gift giving
1936 Advise against taking part in worldly elections
1936 Agreement that brothers cannot go to court against their brother
1936 Advise against small groups having the Lord's Supper
1936 Advise against members being Municipal Councillors
1936 Agreement that, whereas [taking] government pensions for widows is not advisable, the church should support widows as much as possible
1937 Warning that owning guns is not consistent with being non-resistant Christians
1937 Discourage members from working in the city
1939 Discourage the buying of life insurance; money should rather be paid into the *Hilfsverein* with interest
1939 Agreement that members cannot be jurymen
1939 Agreement that, while silent prayer is encouraged, each church is allowed to make its own decision
1940 Warning against useless pleasure (i.e., picnics, hockey)

(Royden Loewen, *Blumenort,* 431)



David Schulz was ordained bishop of the Bergthaler church in 1926 at the relatively young age of 31. Schulz led the church as bishop for almost forty years (23).

tive leadership, the Bergthaler Church tripled its membership by the mid-1940s, from 1,162 to about 3,300 members.[171] It retained many of its young people, incorporated immigrants from Russia, and attracted members from other Mennonite churches.

The Holdeman Church on the East Reserve and in the Rosenort area continued to be unique in the Mennonite community. On the one hand, it was evangelical in character, emphasizing missions and evangelism; on the other, it was conservative and adopted a number of highly visible signs of separation from society. Holding political office and voting were frowned upon. Men wore beards and did not use ties. Women wore black head coverings. Women's dresses, although not uniform in colour, were conservative in style and pattern. During the 1920s and following, one of the issues the Holdeman Church dealt with was leadership. Many favoured strong leaders, others felt they were too domineering.[172] This led to a power struggle between leaders and members.[173] Despite internal tensions, the Holdeman Church continued to develop its unique blend of separation from the world and evangelical fervour.

Mennonites met the challenges posed by emigration, immigration, and settlement by creating new, vibrant communities. Despite the success of these efforts, some deep divisions also emerged within the Mennonite community: between Russlaender and Kanadier, and between Mennonite Brethren and *Kirchliche*. How these divisions would affect the future was not at all clear. As in early pioneer years, Mennonites faced renewal movements that were positive for some, and troublesome or divisive for others. It was evident that they were creating not one but a number of communities. Was there still a centre with which they could all identify?

13
Education: New Frontiers

Schools were the focal point for preparing children for the challenges of life. They fostered community, taught the faith, trained workers for the church, and kept the German language alive. The earlier immigrants, those who had lost control of their education system, hoped to regain at least some say in the operation of their schools. The 1920s immigrants needed to forge a new common identity based on the educational traditions they had developed in Russia. In trying to attain their goals, they entered uncharted frontiers.

Tackling the School Issue

In the early 1920s the educational situation looked bleak. Many of the schools in Mennonite areas were under the control of J. F. Greenway, an official trustee appointed by the provincial government. Mennonites had little, or no, input into hiring teachers and in setting policy. So both the Reinlaender and the Sommerfelder churches tried to migrate to areas within Canada where they would have some control. They petitioned the federal government for large tracts of land in the Peace River area of Alberta where they would be able to establish block settlements. The Sommerfelder petition alone was on behalf of 8,000 people. Their requests were turned down because the government was no longer "granting reserves to facilitate the block settlement of particular groups."[174]

In late 1922 all the groups met to plan strategy.[175] Their highest priority was to regain as much control of education as possible. They also reaffirmed their historic aim, namely, that the schools should serve church and home. At this meeting they decided to make three requests to the government: first, that Mennonite schools be returned to local board administration; second, that they receive permission to teach the German language, accepting that all other instruction be in English; and third, that the school year be shortened, which many other schools wanted as well.[176] The Manitoba government flatly rejected their requests, but then decided to return schools gradually to local control where they thought it advisable. This process took about a decade to complete.[177]

When the Mennonite districts finally regained control of their schools, they were able to hire their own teachers who, of course, had to have the training and qualifications required by the Department of Education. Two secondary schools, the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna and the Mennonite Educational Institute in Altona prepared students for the provincial Normal, or teacher training, schools. By hiring Mennonite teachers, the school boards were able to exercise their influence over the public elementary schools. Before long, most schools were again staffed by Mennonites.

The school boards also worked out an arrangement with the Department of Education to allow half an hour of German and religious instruction in the public schools before and

Rosenhoff Public School children, 1931, posing on two see-saws. By the 1930s, all private schools had been forcibly closed (24).

after the regular school day. In some districts the local boards arranged that ministers visit the schools once or twice a year. These visits, which had been routine in the earlier private schools, helped in maintaining a degree of informal church involvement.

In the 1920s group, those who had been teachers in Russia were initially unable to pursue their vocation in Manitoba because they lacked facility in the English language. However, numerous immigrants attended the MCI where they acquired the education and English language training necessary to become teachers or to enter other vocations.

Establishing Schools

Saturday German Schools and Sunday Schools. Children of the 1920s settlers who lived on farms scattered throughout the province usually attended schools that did not have German and religion instruction before and after school hours. In many of these settlements Saturday schools were organized. They helped incorporate young people into the church communities and gave them the German-language skills they needed. While maintaining these teaching sessions required commitment and sacrifice by children, parents, and teachers, all felt that the gains were worth it.

During the 1930s and 1940s, many churches organized Sunday schools to supplement the biblical and faith education.[178] Children learned Bible stories, sang German hymns, and memorized German Bible verses. Before long, however, the English language was used in Sunday schools.

Bible Schools. A continuing challenge was to provide religious and German-language instruction for young people who had finished elementary school. Relatively few attended the two high schools in Gretna and Altona, and when the one in Altona burned down in 1926, even fewer had access to further education. Mennonites addressed this problem by forming Bible schools. To assist them, they drew on their experience in Russia and on the example of Bible schools formed on the Canadian prairies.

In 1925 Abram H. Unruh, a recent immigrant from the Crimea, started a Bible school in Winkler. He was joined two years later by Gerhard J. Reimer and Johann G. Wiens.[179] The school was called Peniel and followed the model of the Mennonite Brethren Bible school the three had founded in the Crimea after the Russian Revolution.[180] At first it appeared that the Winkler school would serve all Mennonites. The Bergthaler Bishop Hoeppner donated land for the building, and local people provided financial support.[181] A number of Mennonite churches sent their young people to study at the school. However, when the Mennonite Brethren teachers made attempts to proselytize and rebaptize non-MB students, the other churches withdrew their support.

To meet the needs of young people from non-MB churches, Elim Bible School was organized in 1929.[182] It was

First class of students in the Bible school in Gretna that later became Elim Bible Institute in Altona. The teacher (far right) was Rev. Johann H. Enns from Ste. Elizabeth (25).

founded by two of the local bishops, David Schulz of the Bergthaler Church and Johann P. Bueckert, of the Blumenort Church. The first teacher was Johann Enns, minister in the Schoenwieser Church at Ste. Elizabeth.[183] During the first eleven years Elim operated at the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna. In 1940 the school moved to Altona where a new campus was constructed.

Advanced religious education in Winnipeg was offered in two programs. In 1932 the Schoenwieser Church began the Mennonite School of Religion (*Mennonitische Religionsschule*).[184] It operated until Canadian Mennonite Bible College was founded in 1947. Also in the early 1930s, the Mennonite Brethren began an informal program of evening courses for working women, and continued this for about a dozen years.[185]

In Steinbach a Mennonite Brethren Bible school was begun in 1931 with Jacob W. Reimer, an elderly minister, as the teacher and driving force.[186] After one year, finances were insufficient to continue the day program. Reimer, however, was committed to the program, and for the next four years taught evening classes. Instead of tuition, students paid him with freewill gifts.

In 1936 a formally organized inter-Mennonite Bible school opened in Steinbach, supported mainly by the Bruderthaler, or Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, and the Mennonite Brethren.[187] In 1939 the Kleine Gemeinde and the local branch of the Bergthaler Church joined the board. The early years of Steinbach Bible College's history exemplify how difficult it was to get an inter-Mennonite project underway. One of the tensions in the establishment of the school was over language. The Bruderthaler's everyday language was Low German whereas the Mennonite Brethren used High German. One of the stated aims of the Bible school was to improve the use of the German language, and thus the Bruderthaler teachers were at a disadvantage.

The second area of conflict was over the level of education. The Mennonite Brethren teachers considered themselves better educated and superior to the Bruderthaler and Kleine Gemeinde. One of the early MB principals was quoted as saying, "The Kleine Gemeinde do not know anything about the Bible, so why is the Kleine Gemeinde teacher even at the school?"[188]

A third problem arose over the form of baptism. The Mennonite Brethren insisted on immersion baptism as the only valid form. The other churches baptized by sprinkling or pouring. With one church not accepting the other's baptism, it was difficult to develop a good working relationship.

A further tension developed over the influence of the evangelical movement. The

Starting in 1932, the First Mennonite Church in Winnipeg operated the Mennonitische Religionsschule*, offering courses in theology, Mennonite history, German literature, and music. The ministers J.J. Schulz and J.H. Enns were instructors. The school closed when Canadian Mennonite Bible College was established (26).*

Teachers and students in Steinbach's first Bible school, 1931-1932. Jacob W. Reimer, front centre, was the driving force behind the school (27).

Lord willing, a 3-month Bible school is to begin on November 16 of this year [1931] in the sanctuary of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Steinbach . . . two teachers will be giving instruction: Rev. Jacob W. Reimer and Rev. Isaac N. Ediger from Winnipeg. Tuition for the program during the day is $5.00 per month, and is to be paid at the beginning of each month. Tuition for the evening program is $2.50 per month.

(*Die Post,* 26 September 1931, 8)

Bruderthaler wanted the school to be evangelical and to de-emphasize Mennonite identity, historic beliefs in peace, and mutual support. They supported non-Mennonite evangelical schools such as Grace Bible Institute in Omaha, Nebraska. The Mennonite Brethren, who also considered themselves evangelical, wanted a school that would retain a Mennonite identity, belief in peace, and mutual support. Before long, the Mennonite Brethren withdrew from the Steinbach Bible School and consolidated their support in the Bible school in Winkler.

Initially, Bible schools provided education for those who had completed elementary school, and for many this was their only post-elementary education. For some it became the first step in a longer process of higher education. Mennonite Bible schools had at least three goals. One was to teach the basic tenets of the Christian faith, including Mennonite heritage. The second was to train for specific roles in the church, such as Sunday school teaching, choir conducting, and lay ministry—since Mennonite churches elected lay ministers, Bible school education was often a minister's only formal education. The third goal was to help maintain a working knowledge of the German language.

High Schools. In the 1920s the primary function of the two Mennonite high schools in Gretna and Altona was to train students to teach in public schools. They followed the curriculum required by the government, and added courses in religion, German, and Mennonite history. After the fire in 1926 destroyed the school in Altona, only Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna was left to teach high school.[189]

Until 1930 the MCI was supported by a society in which members of the Bergthaler Church had a significant role, although individuals from almost the whole Mennonite community were included. Only the Chortitzer and Old Colony did not have representatives on the board, even though they benefited from the school in that it trained many of the teachers in their elementary schools. When the Depression brought financial ruin to many, an attempt was made to create a stronger financial base for the school. In 1931 a conference of Mennonite churches was organized to run the MCI.[190] When it became evident that the Russlaender would dominate the board, the Bergthaler Church withdrew. In 1939 a new society of churches was organized, which included the Bergthaler again, even though they were still in the minority and had little control.[191]

Initially the Mennonite Brethren were strong supporters of the MCI, providing both students and finances. In 1945 a group of Mennonite Brethren formed a society to establish the Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute (MBCI) in Winnipeg.[192] The drive for this move came from the large urban MB congregations. During the first two years the high school held classes in the newly established Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Elmwood. In 1946 MBCI bought a large house next door and renovated it for classroom use.[193]

Gerhard Lohrenz with the MBCI class of 1950. Lohrenz was principal from 1946-1952, setting the new school on a solid academic path (28).

From all appearances the [Steinbach Bible] School had a successful and exciting beginning. That first class was in session from November 16, 1931 till February 21, 1932. Townspeople were impressed with what the school had produced in a mere three months. Whereas students ordinarily were able to express themselves in English and Low German, they rendered a well-prepared closing program "in a very good High German."
(Jerry Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders*, 9)

Table 9
Mennonite Bible Schools in Manitoba

Name of Bible School	Affiliation	Dates
Winkler Bible School (Peniel)	Mennonite Brethren	1925-1997
Elim Bible School -in Gretna -in Altona	Inter-Mennonite Inter-Mennonite	1929-1931, 1936-1940, 1940-1989
Winnipeg German Bible School	Mennonite Brethren	1929-1942
Mennonite School of Religion	Schoenwieser	1932-1947
Steinbach Bible School	Mennonite Brethren Inter-Mennonite	1931-1938, 1938-present
Whitewater Bible School	Whitewater Menn. Church	1936-1946
Ste. Elizabeth Bible School	Ste. Elizabeth Menn. Church	1937-1942

In 1945, two members of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada (CMC) approached the president of Mennonite Brethren Bible College (MBBC), proposing a cooperative venture in higher education between the two conferences. They received a discouraging response MBBC would welcome students but the Mennonite Brethren wished to retain control of the college. Consequently, the CMC continued its own project and, two years later, established Canadian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC).
(*2000-2001 Calendar*, *Canadian Mennonite University*, 7)

Table 10
Mennonite High Schools in Manitoba (founded before 1950)

Name of High School	Location	Dates
Mennonite Educational Institute (MEI) Mennonite Collegiate Institute (MCI)	Gretna	1889-present
Mennonite Educational Institute (MEI)	Altona	1908-1926
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute (MBCI)	Winnipeg	1945-present
Steinbach Bible School: High School section	Steinbach	1946-1948, 1952-present

In 1947 the Steinbach Bible School added a high school curriculum. At first the program was coordinated with the Bible school, but gradually the high school became independent.[194]

Mennonite high schools fulfilled important roles in the Mennonite community. They provided teachers for elementary schools, helped new immigrants learn English, assisted young people in retaining the German language, passed on the religious heritage, and generally raised the educational level.

Colleges. By the early 1940s, both Canada-wide Mennonite conferences, the Conference of Mennonites in Canada (CMC) and the Mennonite Brethren Conference, were planning to start colleges. Their young people were attending provincial universities, Canadian colleges run by other denominations, or American Mennonite colleges. Since this situation left the training of their future leaders in the hands of other groups, the two conferences decided to establish their own university-level schools. In some discussions, the schools they proposed were referred to as "higher Bible schools."[195] Others commented that the schools should train teachers for the many Bible schools that recently had been formed from Ontario to British Columbia.[196] Suggestions were made to connect the colleges to the Bible school in Winkler and to Rosthern Junior College in Rosthern, Saskatchewan.

When Mennonite Brethren Bible College (MBBC) began, it was located at Peniel in Winkler for a year.[197] For its second academic year, 1944-1945, it relocated to Winnipeg and became an independent institution.[198] Cana-

MBBC classroom and administration building, 1947 (29).

Opening celebration of Canadian Mennonite Bible College on October 5, 1947 at the Bethel Mennonite Mission Church, Winnipeg (30).

dian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC) began in the fall of 1947.[199] Before it opened its doors it sent a delegation to the MBBC board requesting that the two conferences develop a joint college. The MB board responded that "they would welcome students from and the support of the larger Conference of Mennonites in Canada, but insisted that Mennonite Brethren must retain control of the school."[200] The CMBC Board felt it had no alternative but to found its own college.[201]

MBBC was established on Henderson Highway in northeast Winnipeg on land purchased with the assistance of local Mennonite Brethren businessmen.[202] A.H. Unruh, the founding principal of the Bible school in Winkler, was hired as the first president.[203] For two years CMBC held its classes in the basement of Bethel Mennonite Mission Church. In 1949 it bought a large private home on Wellington Crescent where it remained until 1956, when it moved to a 20-acre plot of land at Grant and Shaftesbury in southwest Winnipeg.

The programs of the two colleges were similar. Both aimed to provide general religious education, to prepare leaders for churches, mission agencies, and other Mennonite organizations, and to train musicians to promote good music in congregations. In addition, both conferences felt that a college would help create unity among the scattered immigrant church groups from Ontario to British Columbia. The programs of both colleges were patterned on those of American Mennonite colleges in order to provide transferability of credit.[204] The relationship to Canadian universities came later.

Schools provided new frontiers for Mennonites in the three decades from the 1920s to the 1950s. Elementary schools became more secular, and Mennonites had to learn to nurture their identity while interacting more intensely with an aggressive host society. While battling the crippling effects of the Depression, they established Bible schools and colleges. These ventures provided increasing possibilities and challenges. The schools created new associations and unity, but they also heightened divisions within the Mennonite community.

14
Economic Life: New Ideas for Desperate Times

Each of the decades between 1920 and the 1950s presented unique economic challenges for Manitoba Mennonites. In the 1920s they had to deal with the impact of World War I on the farming economy and with the dislocations caused by emigration and immigration. In the 1930s the Great Depression influenced every facet of family and community. In the 1940s World War II created greater prosperity, accelerated mechanization, and laid the basis for urbanization.

Farming: The Struggle to Survive

For Manitoba Mennonites farming was not only a source of income and a way to feed the family; it was perceived as a godly lifestyle. The family worked together at the tasks required, each member contributing his or her part to produce food and income. Even though the cash flow was often small, most did not see themselves as poor. Their riches lay in owning a part of God's earth, working with nature to bring forth harvests, and reaping the rewards of honest, hard work. The goal was to do well enough that when children became adult, they could be helped to farm so that the lifestyle could continue in succeeding generations.[205]

During the twenties most farms were small, including a few hogs, chickens, cows, and horses—enough to provide the necessary sustenance and work power. Wheat was the main cash crop.[206] Oats, barley, buckwheat, rye, and flax were also included in the crop rotations.[207] Some had larger poultry and dairy operations to supplement grain production.[208] The aftermath of World War I caused prices for farm products to fluctuate considerably but, on the whole, farm income was relatively good.

The Great Depression, which began in 1929 with the stock market collapse in the United States and lasted until the beginning of World War II, caused serious problems. Prices for farm produce dropped by almost 80 percent.[209] In addition, drought and grasshoppers battered the agricultural economy. Many farmers could not service their mortgages. New immigrants had to renegotiate their loans. In some cases this was possible because the former owners realized that this was their only option for getting any return on the loans they had extended to the pur-

In 1929 wheat sold for $1.31 a bushel, but by 1931 the price had dropped to 29 cents per bushel and in 1932 farmers got only 19 cents per bushel. Cattle prices also declined in the same way and hogs sold for 1½ cents per pound.
(Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 349)

By the Thirties it was evident that a community with only a fraction of its former population could easily produce a yield equal to that of ten or fifteen years ago. If the communities of Southern Manitoba continued to concentrate on the production of grain, the future of the area was obvious. All that would remain of the original settlement would be a few large farms with the work entirely mechanized. . . . The solution, the Rhineland Agricultural Society believed, lay in devoting their land to a wide variety of crops which could be best produced on farms of limited acreage.
(Robert Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 18)

chasers. Others lost their farms. Bitter feelings developed when some foreclosures were for relatively small amounts of money.[210]

The financial situation for Mennonites was made worse by the collapse of the Bergthaler and Sommerfelder orphans' bureaus, which had served as savings and loan organizations. With their failure, many people, including widows and orphans, lost their life savings.[211] Since the orphans' bureaus served as the communities' primary institutions for transferring property from one generation to another, their loss had a ripple effect for many years.[212] Commercial banks had little sympathy for the farmers and did not fill the void.

Records for the Rhineland municipality, which includes a large portion of the Mennonite community in the former West Reserve, provide an example of the severity of the agricultural situation faced by many communities in Manitoba. Of 1,240 farmers in the area, "626 had lost title to their farms through foreclosure or bankruptcy proceedings; 455 were so heavily in debt that they were obliged to pay a third of their crop to mortgage companies or mortgage holders. The number of tenant farmers was increasing at a frightening rate."[213] Only about 13 percent of farmers were able to retain clear title to their land.[214] Some people feared that the Mennonite community might go under economically.

In the northern part of the East Reserve, Steinbach to Niverville and Landmark, soil conditions were similar to those on the West Reserve. Since wheat was the main crop, the negative impact of the Depression was similar to that on the West Reserve. In the southern half of the reserve, soil conditions were different with more bush and stones. Since raising large acreages of wheat had not been an option, farmers had diversified and were not as severely affected.[215]

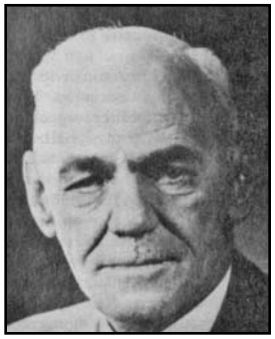
To counteract the effects of the Depression, East Reserve farmers intensified the diversification they had already begun earlier. Potatoes were introduced.[216] Dairy, poultry, and hog production increased.[217] Raising beef cattle was attractive since much of the land was well suited to growing hay. Winnipeg provided a ready market for the milk, cheese, eggs, and beef products. Diversification allowed East Reserve farmers to weather the Depression better than most areas in Manitoba. One writer's description is as follows:

> Despite unfavourable soil conditions in the East Reserve the average cash income per farm unit in 1936 was almost as great as in the West Reserve, while gross cash profits were actually higher because of smaller expenditures, a lower level of living, and a greater reliance upon home-grown food. After 1936 the East Reserve enjoyed a period of prosperity such as it had never experienced before.[218]

Solution: Cooperatives

On the West Reserve, Jake J. Siemens, a teacher-turned-farmer, together with local teachers, businessmen, and farmers played a leading role in finding solutions to the problems caused by the Depression.[219] They concentrated on various cooperative efforts and addressed local issues.[220] First, they organized the Rhineland Agricultural Society (RAS) comprised of members from Gretna to Lowe Farm. Its focus was education. Siemens felt that Mennonites needed to learn better farming methods, reduce soil erosion, improve the quality of grains and animals, and learn to grow new crops.[221] The RAS, together with the federal government, placed an agricultural representative in Altona. He organized 4-H clubs and annual agricultural fairs to showcase the best produce and to teach better production methods. The RAS also published a new comprehensive Mennonite history written by Paul Schaefer, an immigrant village teacher, and later principal at the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna. His four-volume series, *Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten*, integrated Mennonites' heritage of faith, farming, and mutual support to create a vision for the communities.[222]

By 1931, farm returns were at about 18 percent of the returns before the Depression and yet farmers' production costs of such staples as gasoline, oil, and binder twine had decreased only slightly.[223] For farmers the challenge was how to bring costs and income into balance. They faced powerful oil companies and other businesses who were benefiting from high prices, and were not about to change. The method Mennonites chose to address the problem was to organize co-ops. They had had some experience with cooperative community efforts



J.J. Siemens was the driving force behind the southern Manitoba co-operative movement in the 1930s and 1940s (31).

in Russia. The model they used, however, was patterned after a group of flannel weavers in Rochdale, England, who in 1843 organized a retail store for mutual benefit.[224] Their co-op had an open membership and was designed for service, not profit.

On the larger western Canadian scene, by the 1930s the co-op movement had more than a quarter century of growth.[225] In its early years it had focused on organizing co-op elevator companies to break the monopoly of the grain merchants in Winnipeg. Later the Pool elevator companies developed. Consumer co-operative stores were also set up to provide supplies at a reasonable price.[226] The political expression of the co-op movement was the Canadian Co-operative Federation (CCF) party organized in 1932 in Calgary. A year later at a meeting in Regina, it developed its Manifesto, and elected its first leader, J. S. Woodsworth.[227] Although Mennonites did not join the CCF in any large numbers, the co-op movement was attractive because in many respects it resembled their traditional communal economic organizations.

Already in the 1920s, Mennonite farmers in a number of communities had organized local chapters of the Farmers' Union to save money by buying products in bulk.[228] These Farmers' Unions were forerunners of the co-op movement.[229] In Rosenort a Farmers' Association was organized in 1926 and began by selling gasoline and kerosene.[230] Soon it brought in carloads of fence posts, coal, cement, binder twine, gravel, flour, cereal, apples, and many other products. In 1932 it was reorganized as a co-op.

In 1930 the first consumers' co-op in a Mennonite community was organized at Lowe Farm.[231] Although it began with less than a hundred dollars in equity, it became a successful co-op, buying gasoline, oil, and binder twine in bulk, and selling it to members virtually at cost. By gaining control of supply and distribution, the local people were not only successful in selling products more cheaply; they were also able to force the large companies to lower their prices for everyone. Thus all farmers benefited from the co-op.

The success of the Lowe Farm Co-op inspired J. J. Siemens and others in the Rhineland Agricultural Society in Altona to organize the Rhineland Consumers' Co-op.[232] Because of the poverty in the area, it was difficult to get people to commit start-up money. One local person said, "I grant that the idea of a co-op sounds good, even if it is new and sort of risky. But the only money I could put into a co-op store would have to be taken out of tomorrow's food money."[233]

Despite the lack of funds, the Rhineland Consumers' Co-op flourished and became a model for other rural co-ops.[234] One of the supporters summed up the community's situation as: "Maybe you think we have a real choice in the matter, I don't. Either we have co-ops or we go under."[235] In 1935 the oil companies embarked on a price war to try to kill the Rhineland Consumers' Co-op.[236] It did not fold and finally the oil companies negotiated new prices that were considerably lower than what they had charged earlier. The co-op won the battle and provided a major benefit for farmers.

By the late 1930s, the co-op promoters established general stores to sell a wide range of household items, including groceries, dry goods, and hardware. The first co-op store was opened in Rosenort in 1932,[237] followed by one in Lowe Farm in 1940.[238] In a few years they were established in numerous towns and villages.[239] There was some opposition from privately owned businesses, but the co-op movement had taken hold and was determined to break the economic stranglehold that big businesses had on farm communities.

Because of poor farm returns, banks were reluctant to extend loans to farmers and local businesses, and if they did, demanded such

Lowe Farm pioneered numerous co-operative enterprises in the 1930s. Their success inspired other co-operatives throughout Manitoba (32).

Interior of the co-op store in Rosenort, north of Morris, in the 1930s, with Phil Isaac and Abram Plett, managers (33).

Lowe Farm had demonstrated to the many sceptics that the people could own and operate a business. The people could democratically control the means of distribution. They had it within their power to make constructive efforts toward building a better community. Since then the Lowe Farm people have established six additional business and service co-operatives: a co-operative pool elevator, a credit union, a co-op store, a burial aid society, a co-operative hospitalization association and a co-op food locker plant.
(Robert Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 33)

The Blumenort Co-op Cheese factory (East Reserve), established in 1932 in response to the Depression, was the first of many co-op cheese factories on the East Reserve (34).

> By the beginning of 1939, the [Lowe Farm Credit Union] Society had received enough money as share capital to enable them to grant small loans to the members. A resolution which had been passed by the directors limited the amount of the loans to $10.00 and the time limit on the loans was set at one month. It was soon found that even with these limitations there was not enough money to go around. . . . For this reason a further stipulation was made by the directors that a period of two weeks had to elapse from the time a loan was repaid until a new loan could be granted.
> (Lenore Eidse, *Furrows in the Valley*, 631)

In contrast to the formation of most credit unions, in Steinbach it was the business community which spearheaded its founding. The first building was opened in 1946 (35).

high security that many were disqualified.[240] To address this problem of credit, in 1937 the provincial government passed legislation governing credit unions. In the same year the first credit union in Manitoba was organized in St. Malo by a Catholic priest.[241] A year later, the Lowe Farm community founded one, the first in a Mennonite community.[242] Because these financial institutions were run by local people who knew local needs, they could more effectively address and assess the financial needs and credit worthiness of loan applicants. Following the successful start in Lowe Farm, credit unions were established in most towns on the West Reserve, including Altona, Gretna, Plum Coulee, Horndean, and Winkler. They were also started in some Mennonite villages, including Halbstadt, Reinland, and Blumenfeld. On the East Reserve, the first credit union was launched in Steinbach in 1941, another in Grunthal in 1942,[243] and a third in Niverville in 1949.[244]

Mennonites also turned to the co-op model to create new markets for their farm products. On the East Reserve, farmer-owned co-op cheese factories were established in the villages of Blumenort in 1932, Kleefeld in 1933, New Bothwell in 1936, Steinbach in 1936, and Ebenfeld in 1936. A cheese factory in Grunthal, started in 1936, was privately owned.[245]

On the West Reserve a co-op cheese factory was set up in the village of Reinland in 1937, and in 1940 a co-op creamery was opened in Winkler.[246] It bought both milk and eggs and served an area larger than the West Reserve. The creamery manufactured ice cream and cheese and produced pasteurized milk.[247] The milk products and eggs were sold in Winnipeg and in numerous Manitoba towns. The Winkler creamery allowed many farmers to establish dairies and thus to diversify. In two years, by 1942, membership for the Winkler Creamery Co-op had surpassed 1,100, indicating the widespread acceptance and usefulness of this market for farmers' products.

The lack of markets for wheat, the staple crop, continued to be a problem. A short-lived attempt at diversification was made in 1945 in Reinland. Co-op promoters from the surrounding area established Pembina Co-op Canners. It processed primarily corn, and was

The Co-op Vegetable Oils (CVO) plant in Altona, seen here in 1951 shortly after the completion of the new elevator, provided a major boost to the area economy (36).

designed to provide a new cash crop. A drop in the price of processed corn and too slim financial reserves caused the plant to close in 1949.[248] In Altona, J. J. Siemens and the co-op group proposed growing and processing sunflowers as an alternative.[249] Raising money for such a venture was difficult, but with sacrifice and considerable personal financial investment and risk, the co-op promoters opened the Co-op Vegetable Oil (CVO) plant in Altona in 1942.[250] It quickly became a success. In 1943, 5,000 acres were seeded to sunflowers; by 1949, production had soared to 60,000 acres.[251] The value of this cash crop almost doubled the value of land during these years. Another benefit for the Altona community was that the CVO created 60 jobs.

The benefit of all these changes can be seen in farm reports from the West Reserve in 1943. Fully half of farm income was now derived from livestock and animal products.[252] Because more livestock and chickens were raised, more feed grains such as barley and oats were grown. Flax production had increased dramatically. Wheat acreage dropped from 50 percent of croplands to 33 percent. In the late 1940s, increased sunflower production and the introduction of sugar beets further reduced dependence upon wheat.

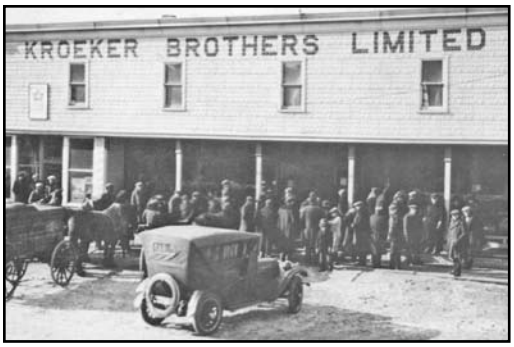
Farm and community life was rescued by these co-op initiatives. Rosenort and Lowe Farm were the pioneers, but others accepted and popularized the ideas. Mennonites combined the co-op ideals with traditional Mennonite strengths of mutual support, local control, and democratically run institutions to serve their needs at this crucial time. An example of the vigour with which communities embraced the co-op model is the village of Reinland. In addition to the credit union, cheese factory, and Co-op Canners already mentioned, it founded a Co-op Dairy Society and the Sunrise Co-op Store.[253] Mennonites also played a role in spreading the co-op model throughout Manitoba. Siemens helped organize the Manitoba Federation of Co-ops that promoted this model throughout the province. He also helped establish the Manitoba Wholesale Co-op that bought in bulk throughout the province.

Not everyone supported co-ops. Some people thought they were too socialist. Private businessmen felt they undermined their businesses. Some church leaders believed the church should address religious, not social and economic issues.[254] The co-op leaders, on the other hand, felt that the Mennonite churches in the 1930s had abandoned the Mennonite community in a time of economic need by focusing one-sidedly on pastoral care and evangelical renewal. They believed that the Mennonites' own history and beliefs provided models of mutual support that could help solve the economic problems caused by the Depression.[255]

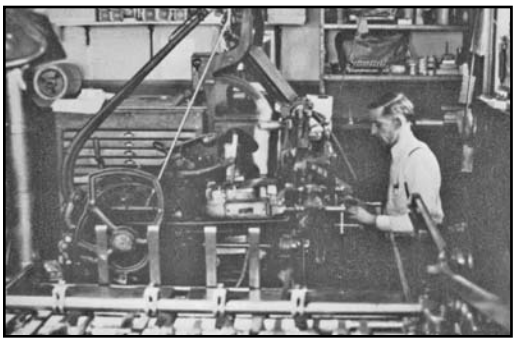
Business Developments

In Rural Areas. A second way in which the economic problems of the Depression were addressed was through initiatives taken by private businesses. Even though their efforts did not mobilize the resources of the community in the same way that the co-ops and credit unions did, they nevertheless contributed to economic survival.

By the 1920s, the earlier negative attitude toward commerce had changed as ever more Mennonites engaged in businesses. In Winkler, one of these privately owned businesses was Kroeker Farms founded by Abram A. Kroeker. In 1931 it introduced corn production into the area[256] and a few years later established western Canada's first corn-drying kiln, thus making corn a viable alternate crop. Harry Gladstone, a Jewish merchant, started a shoe



Kroeker Brothers in Winkler, seen here in 1924. One of the brothers later established one of the first Mennonite agri-businesses, producing various kinds of alternative crops like corn and potatoes, as well as selling farm supplies (37).



D.W. Friesen linotype machine. The present Friesen's printing business in Altona was begun by D.K. Friesen. Here Dave Harder, one of the first employees, sets copy on Friesen's first Linotype (38).

Besides the Altona business community, some of the church leaders also did not support the co-op movement. The reason for this was that they saw it as a worldly influence drawing people away from the church. J. J. Siemens insisted firmly that the co-ops were not only consistent with, and actually much needed expressions of the Gospel. David Schulz, for instance, contended that it was not the church's calling to become involved in the realm of socio-economics.
(Esther Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 175)

repair shop in Winkler in 1914 and gradually developed this into a retail store. His son Max began as a peddler and in 1946 took over the family store.[257] The Gladstone store's aggressive merchandising, attractive prices, and wide selection of products helped make Winkler the retail centre of southern Manitoba.

In 1948 David W. Friesen's three sons, David, Ray and Ted, purchased his business in Altona and founded a firm that included a bookstore, school supply and stationery outlet, print shop, and the newspaper, *Altona Echo*.[258] This firm became the largest employer in the community. In the same year, Abram J. Thiessen, a businessman in Rosenfeld, started a bus line to Winnipeg. It provided a much-needed transportation network, and grew into Grey Goose Bus Lines, the largest bus company in Manitoba.[259]

On the former East Reserve, numerous private businesses developed in various towns. Those in Steinbach were the most aggressive and confirmed Steinbach as the business centre in the area. One of the early companies was J.R. Friesen.[260] In 1912 Friesen wrote Henry Ford to request that he be allowed to set up the first Ford dealership in Western Canada. He received the franchise. This set the stage for Steinbach to become the "Automobile City" of Manitoba. Steinbach businesses, however, consisted of much more than car dealerships. C.T. Loewen and his four brothers represented the diversity of business interests.[261] One of the Loewen brothers started a funeral business, another a body shop, a third a moving company, and a fourth a garage. Each of the Loewens had sons who expanded their fathers' businesses with energy and creativity.

The towns and villages of Blumenort, Kleefeld, Landmark, Niverville, and Grunthal developed into significant secondary business centres, some with large enterprises. Plettville, consisting of a cluster of family homes near Blumenort, developed numerous successful businesses.[262] Some centres declined. Among them was Chortitz, a village that began in the 1870s with great promise and a number of businesses, but eventually ceased to be a commercial centre.

In Winnipeg. One of the conditions of immigration in the 1920s stipulated that Mennonites were not to settle in cities. Nonetheless, Mennonites moved to Winnipeg, some in the mid-1920s, others in the 1930s, due to economic problems on the farms; still others were drawn to the city during the economic expansion of the World War II years.

One of the first major Mennonite businesses in Winnipeg was founded by Cornelius A. DeFehr. He had owned a factory in Russia before the Revolution, lost it, and came to Manitoba in 1925. Penniless, he and his family settled in the village of Gnadenthal near Plum Coulee. For two years he was a peddler, selling cutlery and hardware to farmers. In 1927 his family moved to Winnipeg and DeFehr opened a business on Princess Street. He started in partnership with Victor Guenther, whom he bought out after a few years. In the years 1931 to 1936, DeFehr was joined by three sons and one son-in-law. In 1948 the third generation joined the family business.[263] The DeFehr company initially imported cream separators from Germany. When World War II made this impossible, the business switched to importing other products, mostly related to agriculture. In later years, it concentrated on selling furniture.

The first Mennonite manufacturer in Winnipeg was John J. Klassen. He emigrated from the Soviet Union in 1923 and attended Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna to learn English and to earn his teacher qualifications. He taught in the Mennonite village of Blumenfeld south of Winkler for a number of years.[264] In the late 1920s he moved to the West End in Winnipeg and began to manufacture machinery. After his first shop burned down he built a new one in 1933. Klassen was a creative inventor and made a number of products that he sold successfully, notably water pumps. His company, Monarch Industries, became one of the largest pump manufacturers in Canada.[265] It expanded rapidly during World War II when it received large, lucrative contracts with the Canadian military.

C. A. DeFehr's business was one of the first, and the most successful, Mennonite retail businesses in Winnipeg in the 1930s and 1940s (39).

Monarch Machinery, which specialized in water pumps, was founded by John J. Klassen in the late 1920s. It was the first Mennonite-owned factory in Winnipeg (40).

In North Kildonan, which was separate from Winnipeg at the time, the first major Mennonite business was started in 1936 by Henry W. Redekopp.[266] In his later reflections, he commented that some Mennonites, including his father, had felt that entering the business world was not quite proper for a Christian.[267] He convinced his father to support the venture by pointing out that it would be an important service to his customers. Redekopp's first company provided feed for the farmers' chickens and flour for the household.[268] After a year he started a grocery store. Later he established Redekopp Lumber and a number of other businesses.

In 1944 A. A. DeFehr started to manufacture a variety of products, including step ladders and ironing boards, in the basement of his home in North Kildonan.[269] He moved the business into an old barn, then into a new factory, and in 1949 started making wooden furniture. From this modest beginning the firm developed into one of Canada's largest furniture manufacturers.

In 1946 Henry Riediger established a grocery store on Isabel Street in Winnipeg. This location was easily accessible to Mennonite and German immigrants in both the West End and the North End.[270]

Both the co-op and private enterprise businesses saw themselves as serving the Mennonite community. The co-ops played a significant role in rural areas, allowing struggling and threatened communities to survive. Private entrepreneurs, even though they were in business for profit, also considered themselves as providing needed services at reasonable cost. Some of the successful businessmen generously supported Mennonite service and educational projects. The way economic life developed thus became a window through which the beliefs of the Mennonite community were reflected and expressed.

15
Health Care: Healthy Communities

After World War I it became evident that traditional Mennonite health care was inadequate to meet the ever-increasing medical needs of the community. Unfortunately, the provincial government did not have a comprehensive plan and, when the economic Depression of the 1930s set in, it was financially unable to address the issue. The arrival of many new immigrants increased the need for care, but the resources to address the needs were slim. It is this situation of increasing needs and decreasing resources that challenged Mennonite communities to find solutions.

Traditional Health Care

Home remedies, such as mustard plasters for chest infections, olive oil drops for earaches, camphor salve for head colds, and alcohol rubs for aching muscles continued to be popular. Since money was scarce, professional attention was expensive, and there was no government health care insurance program, these home remedies were a practical alternative.[271] Certain patent medicines, such as Forni's *Alpenkraeuter*, were popular. For many years every issue of *Die Steinbach Post* advertised this medicine which had to be ordered from special distributors in the United States. The advertisements claimed that it cleaned the body of poisons that were responsible for most illnesses. Other patent medicines, such as Dr. Thomas Sanatorium's *Heilkraeuter*, competed with *Alpenkraeuter*. The advantage of *Heilkraeuter* was that it could be bought locally.

For more serious problems, many Mennonites resorted to a bone setter (*Trajchtmoaka*), a "folk doctor, male or female, common in Mennonite circles who set bones, probed, massaged, and gave sympathetic advice by way of 'setting things right.'"[272] Sometimes the bone setters were called upon to solve speech impediments like stuttering or vision dysfunction like squinting.[273] As professional health care became more widely available, dependence on the bone setters

decreased. Still, many Mennonites preferred them to doctors—only serious illnesses were taken to professional physicians.

Midwives continued to assist with birthing until the 1940s. By then most women relied on doctors for confinement.[274] They introduced prenatal and postnatal care, but these took years to gain wide acceptance. Some women, many years later, joked that in those days they did not know that being pregnant was an illness for which they had to go to a doctor.

Medical Doctors

By the 1920s most Mennonite communities were receiving professional health care from local doctors: Dr. Shilstra in Steinbach, Dr. McGavin in Plum Coulee, Dr. McKenzie in Gretna, and Dr. Breitenbach in Altona. In the 1920s these all worked out of small clinics or offices, but none had the advantage of a hospital. In serious medical cases, patients were sent to the Free Mason Hospital in Morden or to hospitals in Winnipeg.

Dr. Cornelius W. Wiebe symbolized the move to a new level of medical care among Mennonites.[275] Born near Altona in 1893, educated at the Manitoba Medical College in Winnipeg, with an internship in Alberta, Wiebe took up medical practice in Winkler in 1925. He was the first Manitoba Mennonite who was trained as a medical doctor to serve in a Mennonite community. Although it took some time for Wiebe to gain the Winkler community's confidence, he gradually established himself as a caring, conscientious, and revered doctor. He crisscrossed southern Manitoba by sleigh in winter and by car in summer, delivering health care to many homes. His area of service covered about a 15-mile radius around Winkler.[276]

A large part of Wiebe's practice consisted of caring for women in labour and delivery. He worked alongside midwives, and "made no effort to unseat the midwives. He concentrated instead on providing quality obstetrical care for the women who did call him."[277] Wiebe introduced prenatal and postnatal care, teaching women about good diet, cleanliness, and the proper care of the newborn. "His efforts toward disease prevention and health education were rewarded by the almost complete eradication of maternal mortality, trachoma, and tuberculosis in his area."[278] By 1935, only a small percentage of women still chose to be attended by midwives.[279] Although Wiebe did not keep an exact count, it is estimated that by the end of his career he had helped deliver between five and six thousand babies.

Dr. C. W. Wiebe during the 1930s (41).

Health Care Facilities

The first Mennonite health care institution in Manitoba was the Gretna Home for the Aged.[280] It was established in 1919 by the Bergthaler Mennonite Church in the former Erdman Penner residence. The money to finance this institution was provided by the Bergthaler orphans' bureau.[281]

Concordia Society, the first Mennonite hospital society in Manitoba, was organized in 1928 by a group of Schoenwieser Church members with the mandate to establish a benevolent project. Jacob Kroeker, one of the members, suggested they establish a hospital. In the same year they took the first step by starting a maternity home with two sisters, Sara and Tina Koop, serving as staff.[282] In 1930 a registered nurse, Magdeline Wiebe, from Nebraska, was hired as director of nursing, and continued in this position for 10 years.

Three doctors provided encouragement and support for the idea of a hospital: Dr. Gerhard Hiebert, chief surgeon at Winnipeg General Hospital; Dr. Nicholas J. Neufeld, a native of Nebraska who had moved to Winnipeg in 1929; and Dr. R. A. Claassen, who later was the chief physician at Concordia for a number of decades.[283] In 1931 the government granted official incorporation to Concordia Hospital. The same year a larger facility was purchased, allowing Concordia to give care beyond maternity cases. The three doctors mentioned above, plus a non-Mennonite, Dr. H. Oelkers, provided the medical care.[284] In 1934, the board purchased a large new facility, the former Winnipeg Sanatorium on the banks of the Red River in Elmwood. This site was the home for Concordia Hospital for the next 40 years.[285]

Magdeline Wiebe was the first director of nursing at Concordia Hospital in Winnipeg, 1930-1940 (42).

The Depression

made it difficult for people to afford hospital care. To ease the financial burden, Concordia established a contract system. Initially, families paid $12 per year and were assured of medical and hospital services, if required. "The contract system proved to be the hospital's salvation during an otherwise difficult economic period."[286] The low cost made the service affordable to most. This system remained in effect until 1958 when it was replaced by a compulsory government hospital insurance plan.[287] During the years that it was in effect, the contract system also assured that the majority of patients in the hospital were Mennonite.

In 1928, the same year that the Concordia Society was founded in Winnipeg, Maria Vogt, a registered nurse, and her brother Abram, both recent immigrants, opened a maternity facility in a private home in Steinbach.[288] Vogt had trained as a nurse in Russia and Germany and had cared for wounded victims during World War I.[289] Two years later, the Board of Trade in Steinbach decided to build a hospital. It canvassed the area, enlisted church support, and collected funds from the whole East Reserve, as well as from nearby Ukrainian and French communities. The results were positive, and a board was organized to take over and operate the Vogt maternity facility until a hospital could be built. In 1937 a 15-bed hospital, called Bethesda, was opened in Steinbach.[290] All the funds for construction were provided by local people.

In the Winkler community, Dr. Wiebe noticed that the prevailing view was that those who became patients in the Free Mason Hospital in Morden died. He tried to convince people to get to a hospital before illnesses became acute, and thus improve the possibility for recovery. The anti-Mennonite prejudice among the medical staff at the Morden hospital, however, repelled people.[291] Wiebe realized that Winkler needed its own facility if patients were to receive proper care. Inspired by the example of Mennonite community hospitals in Steinbach and Winnipeg, a hospital was opened in Winkler in 1935. During the first year it was located in a private home.[292] In the following year a new facility, Bethel Hospital, was built. It was a community project, financed without provincial, town, or municipal assistance. Individuals in Winkler and in the school districts around it were canvassed for funds. Even though this was at the height of the Depression, donations were sufficient to build a 15-bed hospital, complete with delivery and operating rooms.

In Steinbach, after the Bethesda Hospital was opened, the Vogt place was closed for some time. By 1938 Maria Vogt and her brother opened the facility as a home for invalids, including the mentally handicapped, the physically disabled, and the aged.[293] When a group of Kleine Gemeinde churches offered to buy the facility in 1946, the Vogts decided

Maria Vogt (left) with her sister Anna in Russia. Maria, together with her brother Abram, established the first hospital in Steinbach in 1928 (43).

Bethania's main building was located in a beautiful pastoral setting on the banks of the Red River north of Winnipeg (44).

Bethania Hospital in Altona was established in 1936 (45).

Table 11
Mennonite Community Hospitals and Care Facilities

Location	Name	Date Founded
Gretna	Home for the Aged	1919
Winnipeg	Concordia Hospital Bethania Mennonite Personal Care Home	1928/1931 1946
Steinbach	Vogt Maternity Hospital Bethesda Hospital Home for Invalids	1928 1930-1936 1938
Winkler	Bethel Hospital	1935
Altona	Bethania Hospital	1936

I was aware of Old Colony singing when I was growing up: my father would make us laugh by launching into a nasal braying when it was mentioned. . . . Since getting to know the remarkable skills of the Old Colony *Vorsaenger*, however, and experiencing the reverent atmosphere and powerful, strangely beautiful sound of the singing of an Old Colony Mennonite congregation, I have been trying to argue that this is a kind of music making that has its roots deep in the human psyche, and that it has wide geographical and historical association and precedents. Rather than regarding it as singing gone bad, which is the impression one gets when reading its detractors, it might be more useful to see it as a reversion to a form of musical expression that provides important insights into the way human beings make music.

(Wes Berg, *Preservings* 16 [2003]: 44-45

to move their patients to Bethania north of Winnipeg. The building in Steinbach became a home for the aged, and the present Rest Haven Nursing Home developed out of this facility.[294]

In 1945 the Mennonite Benevolent Society was organized in Winnipeg. Most of its members were from the Schoenwieser Mennonite Church, and its mandate was to own and operate a personal care home for the aged and infirm in the Mennonite community.[295] In the same year, the society purchased and renovated a large private home along the Red River north of Winnipeg. This facility came to be known as Bethania. In 1946 Maria Vogt and all 16 patients in her invalid home in Steinbach were invited to transfer to the Bethania Mennonite Personal Care Home.[296] Vogt accepted this offer since she needed a stronger financial base for her enterprise and the Benevolent Society needed patients and a matron. Maria served the Home in this capacity for 14 years.[297]

The Altona region also organized a community-wide hospital society, including teachers, businessmen, civic leaders, and two bishops, William H. Falk of the Rudnerweider Church and David Schulz of the Bergthaler Church.[298] In 1936 a hospital, called Bethania, was established in a renovated 12-room, two-story residence. For the first two years, medical services in Altona were provided by Dr. Breitenbach. He was joined by Dr. Toni, a Polish Canadian, from Winnipeg. To make hospital care affordable, the society sold contracts. The cost for a family was $15 for Mennonites and $20 for non-Mennonites.[299]

When traditional forms of health care were inadequate and governments didn't provide this service, Mennonite church and community leaders stepped forward to find solutions. Despite scarce resources they built hospitals that offered the best care available at the time. Volunteer organizations contributed many services, including rolling bandages and donating vegetables and other food. In most cases, staff took low salaries. At Concordia the matron, Magdeline Wiebe, even lent the hospital $500 to buy the equipment necessary to open the hospital.[300] In order to make the medical and hospital services affordable and to provide income for the hospitals, community health plans with minimum premiums were established. The commitment to provide this care became an important barometer of the vitality of the communities.

16
The Arts: Re-Imagining Community

During the three decades leading up to 1950, Manitoba Mennonites expanded their creative imaginative horizons. Choral singing was given a major boost by the Russlaender immigrants of the 1920s. Music ensembles, orchestras, festivals, and song fests were organized. Local groups made music with guitars, harmonicas, accordions, and pianos. In the literary arts, new magazines were published; novels, dramas, and poems were penned. There was a foray into the visual arts.

Choirs and Orchestras

In 1920 there were choirs in the Winkler Mennonite Brethren Church and at the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna, where Heinrich H. Ewert, the principal, was conductor. With these choirs, he, together with his sister-in-law Emilie Ewert, introduced choral four-part singing to the community.[301] Historically, Mennonite music had consisted of

unison congregational singing.

Wherever Russlaender settled in Manitoba, they organized new school, community, or church singing groups.[302] Choral music became a powerful way to remember the homeland and to bond people into new communities. Besides singing, practice sessions were ideal occasions for young people to meet and for romances to blossom. The Russlaender also organized community orchestras, generally composed of string instruments.[303] Guitars were used extensively in informal youth gatherings to accompany folk singing while harmonicas and mandolins were preferred for personal pleasure in homes or in groups.

Winkler and Winnipeg became the principal centres for choral and orchestral music. Three people, K. H. Neufeld, John Konrad, and Ben Horch played significant roles in these developments.[304] The most influential choral conductor was K. H. Neufeld of Winkler.[305] A printer by trade and a member of the Mennonite Brethren Church, his music making went beyond his church into the wider community. In 1924, shortly after arriving from Russia, he started an immigrant choir. Within a short while, he was conducting the Winkler Bergthaler Church choir, a community mixed choir, and a male choir. In addition, for a number of years he took the train to Altona every week to conduct the Bergthaler Church choir there. Neufeld organized choir festivals and workshops for choir conductors. He helped turn the Mennonite Collegiate Institute's annual school festival (*Schulfest*) into a festival for choirs (*Saengerfest*) in which his choirs participated for many years.[306] He frequently gathered small groups of Mennonite musicians to accompany his choirs, and he coordinated the first competitive music festivals in southern Manitoba. The orchestra in Winkler was under his direction, and he also played cello in an Enns family music ensemble in Rosenfeld.[307]

A choral group in Gretna, 1893, consisting of MCI students and people from the community, shortly after Henry H. Ewert's arrival in Manitoba. Ewert (centre) was conductor of school and community choirs until the 1930s (46).

Saengerfest *in Grunthal, 1936 (47).*

The Winkler Bergthaler Church choir, which began in 1928 under the direction of K.H. Neufeld, is pictured here in 1935 (48).

A second immigrant musician, John Konrad, a violinist, settled in Winkler in 1926. In 1931 he moved to Winnipeg. There, as well as in numerous rural communities, he continued to teach violin and conduct instrumental workshops to committed and hard-working students. He became convinced, if ever he doubted it, that Mennonite young

A high school music group in Steinbach, 1930, under the direction of C.G. Unruh (standing) (49).

Ben Horch teaching a class of choir conductors (51).

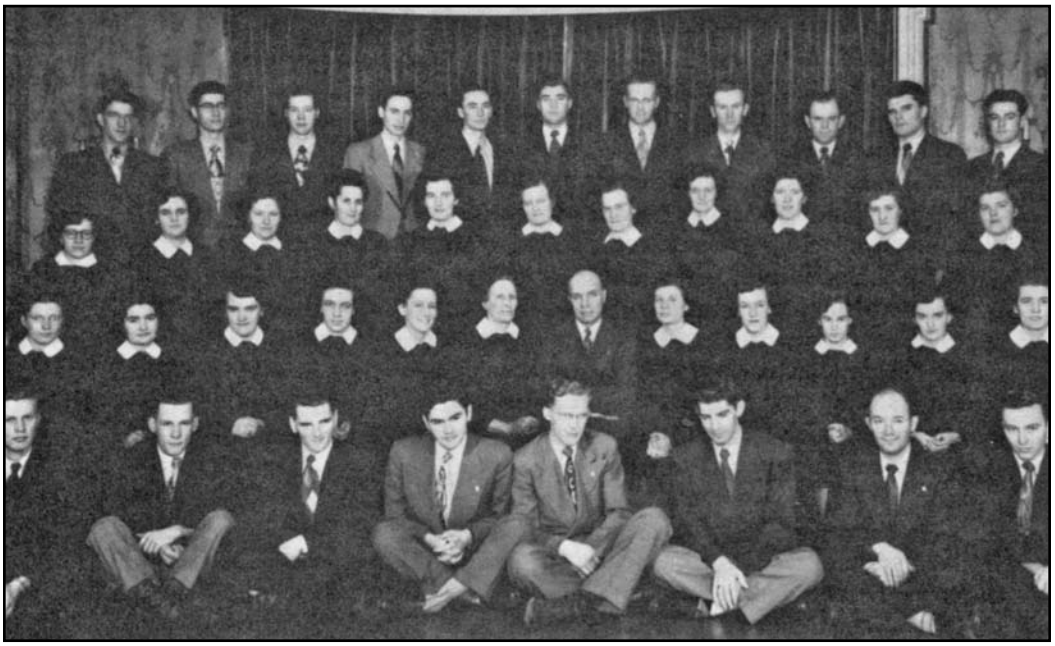
people were as gifted in music as any others. From 1934 he worked at the Bornoff School of Music in Winnipeg, and bought the school in 1950.[308] In Winnipeg, Konrad became an accomplished choral conductor. At the Schoenwieser Mennonite Church, and later as the first music instructor at Canadian Mennonite Bible College, he introduced the Mennonite community to great choral works such as Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, his favourite.[309]

A third member of this exceptional group of musicians was Ben Horch. Born in Russia of German Lutheran parents, he and his family immigrated to Winnipeg in 1909 and joined the fledgling North End Mennonite Brethren Church. Horch began his music career as a singer, but became widely known as a conductor of choirs and orchestras. He was active in workshops, not only in Manitoba, but throughout Canada, promoting good choral and orchestral music.[310] In 1944 Horch was hired by the Mennonite Brethren Bible College to found a music department.

As mentioned, this burst of musical creativity and energy was largely concentrated in Winkler and Winnipeg. Two of these musicians established music departments in the Mennonite Bible colleges in Winnipeg. Their positions at the colleges guaranteed that choral, classical, and instrumental music would be firmly entrenched in the Mennonite Brethren and the Conference of Mennonites in Canada congregations. In most of the other Manitoba Mennonite churches, however, four-part choral singing did not gain a foothold until later; traditional unison congregational singing remained the norm.

Creative Writing

The most common and prolific form of



John Konrad (second row, centre), conductor of the CMBC choir in 1951 (50).

written expression was personal letter-writing. Many Manitoba Mennonite women and men kept up an active correspondence with relatives and friends in the United States, Russia, and later Mexico and Paraguay.[311] The first novels and poems published by the 1920s immigrants expressed their experiences with the Great War, Makhno terrorism, the communist Revolution, civil war, famine, and emigration. This literature was written in the German language as well as in Low German. Since Low German was largely an oral language, the new Low German publications helped to create a more standardized orthography, and make it a more acceptable written language.

The first published poet was Gerhard Loewen, who immigrated to Manitoba in 1925 and immediately taught at the Mennonite Educational Institute in Altona.[312] At the end of the year, when the school burned down, he and his daughter moved to Stuartburn, south of Grunthal, where he lived until his death in 1946. Loewen's poetry moved from the religious, didactic, and devotional to more secular themes. It reflected a great love for nature. His poems encouraged readers to strive for cultural, aesthetic, and spiritual values, not merely materialistic and financial success.[313] And always he strove for "the beautiful, the noble and the true."[314]

The pre-eminent literary figure of the 1930s was Arnold Dyck, a native of the Chortitza Colony in Russia, who immigrated in 1924 and settled in Steinbach.[315] He initially wanted to be a painter, or even work as a commercial artist. When his lack of proficiency in the English language made this impossible, he changed careers and became a writer, journalist, editor, and publisher.[316] Dyck made important contributions in both German and Low German writings. In the German novel, *Verloren in der Steppe* (Lost in the Steppes), he wrote longingly about the lost homeland in Russia.[317] In his creatively humorous Low German stories, *Koop enn Bua*, an account of four Mennonite travellers, Koop, Bua, and their two neighbours, Wiens and Toews, he celebrated the everyday foibles of four East Reserve farmers while they travelled to Herbert, Saskatchewan, then to Toronto, and eventually to Germany.[318]

Arnold Dyck's writings were the first to provide Mennonites with an integrated literary view of themselves. The portrait was that of ordinary people struggling against great odds. He deftly depicted interpersonal struggles and rivalries as well as everyday piety and irreverence. He portrayed Mennonites as making their way in an alien world. Dyck's attempt to get others to write in the German and Low German languages was a losing battle because the change to English was unstoppable. He lamented the passing of these languages, and felt that a major creative expression of the soul of a people was being lost.[319]

Arnold Dyck and his bride at their betrothal in Russia. They settled in Steinbach, where he became the most well-known of Mennonite writers (52).

An oil painting Am Dnjepr *by Arnold Dyck (53).*

Newspapers

Three papers were widely read by Manitoba Mennonites when the 1920s immigrants arrived.[320] The most important one was *Die Mennonitische Rundschau* (The Mennonite Observer).[321] Founded in 1878 under the name *Nebraska Ansiedler* (Nebraska Settler), it served the Russian Mennonite settlers in the United States and Manitoba. For two years it ran as an insert in *Herold der Wahrheit* (Herald of Truth), a paper published in Elkhart, Indiana, by John F. Funk, a Swiss Mennonite.[322] In 1880 Funk moved the *Rundschau*

Put in simple terms, that earlier generation was a displaced generation; it had had a homeland, truly a world with its own language, along with the other infrastructure to lose and the loss of that world was, apart from everything else, an overwhelmingly traumatic experience.
(Victor G. Doerksen, "Recalling a Past Generation," Journal of Mennonite Studies 8 [1990], 154)

to Elkhart and established it as a separate paper. He had an interest in the immigrants from Russia since he had assisted them in the 1870s. In 1901 the *Rundschau* absorbed the *Herold der Wahrheit*.

The *Rundschau* carried more articles about southern Manitoba than any other paper. Correspondents from various communities submitted regular reports. The paper was avidly read in Russia and thus served as a vehicle of communication among Mennonites in Manitoba, the United States, and Russia. In 1923 the head office of the *Rundschau* was moved to Winnipeg, since the readership in Russia was lost after the Revolution and the American readership of German-language papers decreased substantially.[323] In Manitoba the paper served all Mennonite groups until 1945 when it became a Mennonite Brethren denominational paper.

Der Mitarbeiter (The Co-Worker) was founded in 1906 by Henry H. Ewert, longtime principal of the MCI in Gretna, and was the official paper of the Conference of Mennonites in Western Canada.[324] As a denominational paper, its readership was relatively small and, with the death of editor Ewert in 1934, the paper ceased publication.

Die Steinbach Post was begun in 1913 by Jacob S. Friesen and had readers in all communities.[325] After the 1920s emigration to Latin America, the readership was extended and the paper became the communication link between Mennonite communities in Manitoba, Mexico, and Paraguay. In 1924 Arnold Dyck bought *Die Steinbach Post* and became its publisher and editor. In 1936 another immigrant, George Derksen, purchased it. Despite Dyck's efforts to make *Die Steinbach Post* the paper for all Mennonites, it continued to serve largely a Kanadier readership.

The first paper established by the 1920s immigrants was *Der Bote* (The Messenger). It was founded in 1926 by Dietrich H. Epp in Rosthern, Saskatchewan. Initially it served all immigrants, but over the years became a General Conference paper. It provided a link between the immigrants from Ontario to British Columbia, and kept them connected to their compatriots in Europe and Latin America.

In January 1935 Arnold Dyck started an illustrated monthly paper called *Mennonitische Volkswarte* (Mennonite Community Paper), designed to promote artistic and cultural expressions.[326] It included original short stories, poetry, photos, and paintings. The numerous historical articles about different immigrant settlements and institutions were creatively and masterfully written. Although the language was High German, it included some Low German poems and stories. Much of the creative writing played on the themes of the lost Russian homeland. This foray by the editor, Arnold Dyck, into the creative arts was something new and suspect for Mennonites. To allay fears about this venture, Johann P. Klassen, bishop of the Schoenwieser Mennonite Church in Winnipeg, was asked to pen a dedicatory poem for the first issue. In it he expressed the hope that the *Volkswarte* would promote the noble and the good.

The printing shop and home of Jacob S. Friesen, first publisher of the Steinbach Post*, in about 1918 (54).*

The paper began boldly. In the first issue, Dyck proclaimed that the venture was not a trial effort, but something permanent. Thirty-two pages per issue were guaranteed. He invited people to submit creative writings of prose and poetry.[327] In the last issue in December 1938, four years later, Dyck conceded that the project had to fold; the time for such a paper had not yet come. In the end, only a few Russlaender immigrants subscribed. It had not become the inclusive Mennonite paper promoting the arts that he had envisioned. He concluded on the wistful note that hopefully in the future someone would be able to pick up the cause.[328]

In 1943 Dyck tried again. He published an annual paper with the ambitious title of *Warte-Jahrbuch fuer die Mennonitische Gemeinschaft* in Canada (Warte-Yearbook for the Mennonite Community in Canada). As before, he could not sustain the publication and stopped it after the 1944 issue.[329]

In 1948 the *Mennonitische Lehrerzeitung* (The Mennonite Teachers' Periodical) was founded.[330] It attempted to continue some of the literary interests of Arnold Dyck. As the name indicates, the paper was designed to further the interests of Mennonite education in general and of Mennonite teachers in particular. The editors were Victor Peters, a teacher in Horndean, and Heinrich Dyck.

The paper carried articles designed to assist teachers, and carried reports from elementary and high schools, Bible schools, and colleges. It included creative writing, paintings, and featured some of Arnold Dyck's works. The editors tried to get the support of Russlaender church groups, but despite their best efforts, the paper ceased publication after almost three years.

All of these papers dealt with themes of the lost Russian homeland and of the people's daily experiences in a new country. By publishing in German they hoped to maintain a working knowledge of the German language. In these periodicals Mennonites saw themselves as a separate people who were struggling to maintain their identity in an alien environment.

Drama

Another art form that developed in Mennonite communities was drama. Although historically Mennonites had had little interest in this area, during the 1930s drama flourished in a number of communities, both rural and urban. One of the early promoters was Elisabeth Peters, a teacher in Horndean. Some of the plays she produced were Low German ones such as *Eina mott friejen* (One Must Marry), *De Fria* (The Suitor), and *De Bildung* (Education). Others were English plays such as *Little Women*, *Music from Many Lands*, and *Child Psychology*. Dramas were also produced in other communities. Often they were centred in the schools and inspired by teachers. These events were entertaining, interpretative, and helped Mennonites see themselves in new perspectives. Students and parents were involved in promotion, making sets, and designing costumes.

In the 1930s young people at the First Mennonite Church organized the Winnipeg Mennonite Theatre.[331] It performed German plays by Mennonite writers, for example *Daut Schultebot* (A Meeting of Mennonite Village Leaders), as well as classical plays such as Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*. In 1971 the theatre became an independently incorporated company, expanded its membership, included English-language plays, and performed the occasional major musical production.

In the 1940s and early 1950s, Horndean performed numerous Low German and English dramas. This cast, under the leadership of Elisabeth Peters, presented the Low German drama, Little Women *(55).*

Historically, Mennonite artistic creativity was largely expressed in music. Communities rallied their resources to form choirs, orchestras, and used music in worship. During the 1930s, Mennonites began to develop new areas of artistic expression such as literature, poetry, art, and drama. Most were inspired by the traumatic experiences in Russia and the challenges of a new country. Although many still viewed artistic creativity as unnecessary, frivolous, and unimportant, some realized its significance for gaining insights and self-understandings.

17
Peace—and the Challenge of War

As war clouds loomed over Europe in 1939, Mennonites in both the United States and Canada met to decide how to respond if war should break out. Because of their belief that the Bible called them to a life of peace, they did not want their young men to serve in the military. In early spring American Mennonites met in Chicago, and on May 15 Canadian Mennonites met in Winkler, Manitoba.[332]

Struggle for a Unified Response

The meeting in Winkler was designed to develop a North America-wide Mennonite approach to governments on the issue of military service.[333] American Mennonites reported on their decision in Chicago. They had decided not to do military service, nor to help finance the war, and were petitioning the American government to allow their men to do non-military alternative service. American Mennonites had also offered to "aid in the relief of those who are in need, distress or suffering."[334] Since the United States government had no policy regarding conscientious objectors this proposal was breaking new ground, and American Mennonites wanted as much support as possible. Hence, they asked Canadians to adopt their stance.

Canadian Mennonites had a variety of

The 1940 order-in-council outlining the options for postponed conscientious objectors:

- A kind of work or training under military supervision, but without arms;
- Training for hospital work and to apply first aid to the wounded; this under military supervision, but may be arranged for civil supervision;
- Labour in the parks or roadwork, under civil supervision and without training.

(T. D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 49)

The registrar for Manitoba, and chair of the Mobilization Board for Manitoba, was Judge John E. Adamson. He was particularly vigorous in challenging Mennonites' views of peace. He saw his role and task to be that of dissuading as many Mennonites as possible from claiming conscientious objector status. For him conscientious objector status represented siding with Hitler. In a letter he stated, "Every man and woman, whether he or she intends it or not, is either helping Canada or Hitler."

(Ken Reddig, "Judge Adamson versus the Mennonites," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 7 [1989], 54-55)

experiences on the issue of exemption from military service. Swiss Mennonites, since the colonial days of the early nineteenth century, had been exempted from military service, along with members of other peace churches including the Church of the Brethren and Quakers. In exchange for this immunity, the government of Upper Canada had required some form of payment or non-military service. The Swiss Mennonite experience in Canada was thus essentially in line with what the Americans were offering their government.[335]

The 1870s Mennonite immigrants to Manitoba had been promised complete exemption from military service.[336] In World War I, Mennonite men had written "Mennonite" across their registration cards, church leaders had confirmed they were part of the church community, and they were released. Not even alternative service had been required. This group was reluctant to give up its complete exemption, and did not agree with the American proposal.

The 1920s immigrants, on the other hand, had done alternative service in Russia during World War I, either in forestry service or as medics under Red Cross command treating wounded soldiers. Upon immigration to Canada in the 1920s, they had been told by the government that they would not come under the exemption of the 1870s immigrants, but would be covered by the laws governing Swiss Mennonites. Based on their experience in Russia, the 1920s group was willing to agree with the American proposal and offer some form of alternative service. Most wanted this service to be under civilian control, and were willing to include work that would alleviate suffering caused by the war. A few were willing to offer medical service, even though this included military training and was under military command.[337]

Exemption or Alternative Service?

Because the delegates at the meeting in Winkler could not agree, they established a committee from the various Mennonite groups to work out a common approach to the government. In subsequent meetings, Swiss Mennonites from Ontario and 1920s immigrants came to agreement fairly quickly. However, the descendents of the 1870s immigration did not concur with the other two and held out for complete exemption.

Before the issue of military exemptions was resolved, the war started. On September 1, 1939 Germany and the Soviet Union simultaneously attacked Poland in order to recover territory they had lost at the end of World War I. Because Britain had guaranteed Poland's sovereignty, it declared war on Germany on September 3, and on September 9 Canada followed suit. Attacked from both sides, Poland was defeated within a few weeks, long before Britain could provide any assistance. There was no further land war in Europe until the spring of 1940 when Germany attacked France, Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands. These countries quickly fell to German control, Paris was captured, and the allied troops had to be evacuated from Dunkirk. After this defeat, the land war was carried on in North Africa and later in Italy. The United States was drawn in when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.[338] D-Day on June 6, 1944 brought the land war back to western Europe.

Initially, the Canadian government relied on volunteers for its military, but as the war dragged on it realized that more help would be needed. On June 18, 1940 Canada passed the National Resources Mobilization Act, giv-

Table 12
Disposition of Postponed Conscientious Objectors

Status	Number of COs
Agriculture	6,655
Miscellaneous essential industries	1,412
Sawmills, logging, and timbering	542
Packing and food processing plants	469
Construction	269
Hospitals	86
Coal mining	63
Grain handling at the Head of the Lakes	15
Alternative service camps	170
Serving jail sentences	14
In hands or being prepared for Enforcement Division	34
In hands of RCMP or agencies to locate whereabouts	201
Under review	921
Total	10,851
[Includes COs from all faiths the Mennonite portion of this total is estimated to be about 7,550]	

(T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 53)

Three of the bishops who constituted the Kanadier *committee of bishops (*Aeltesten*), plus a deacon as treasurer (from left to right): David Reimer, Kleine Gemeinde; Jacob Barkman, Holdeman: David Schulz, Bergthaler; and deacon Jacob Bartel (56).*

ing it authority to conscript or expropriate for purposes of the war.[339] The initial steps involved registration for men ages 16 to 60.

As Canada increasingly mobilized its manpower resources for war, Mennonite church leaders met repeatedly in late 1940 to try to work out a response to the government.[340] However, the two groups still could not agree. Consequently, in the fall of 1940, two Mennonite committees were established to relate to the government. One consisted of bishops from the 1870s immigrants, or Kanadier, and the other represented the 1920s immigrants, or Russlaender, and Swiss Mennonites.[341] Both groups met with government officials to work out terms of exemption from military service; both offered to help alleviate suffering caused by the war. Whereas Russlaender offered this as alternative service, Kanadier offered it as a general service and not as an obligation that resulted from the exemption.

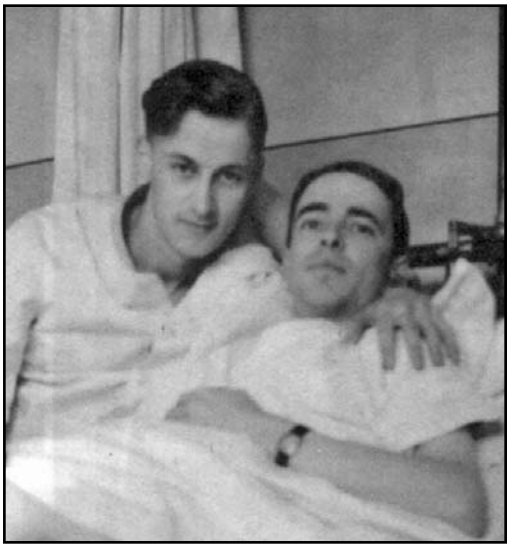
In December 1940 the government amended the National War Services Regulations 1940 (Recruits).[342] These regulations stated that conscientious objectors (COs) could apply for postponement from military service and in its place do one of three forms of alternative service.[343] Two of these were under military command and one was under civilian control.

The Kanadier option of entire exemptions was thus ignored. The government said that, despite the 1873 order-in-council granting complete exemption from military service, "it is impossible at this time to dismiss you from all service because of the agitation amongst the people."[344] Both committees accepted non-military alternative service, and the majority of the men chose this option. A few Mennonite leaders advised COs to choose medical and dental service within the military.[345]

Conscientious Objection

The government ruled that each person who applied for conscientious objector status would need to appear before a registrar who examined his personal beliefs on peace. Thirteen registrars were appointed for all of Canada, This "personal belief criterion" was quite different from the "membership criterion" employed in World War I.[346] The need to argue their own case before a judge placed a lot of responsibility on the young men, since for most English was their second language, the majority only had grade school education, and few had practice verbalizing their personal convictions. Many were hard pressed to defend their peace position when faced with tricky questions posed by skilled lawyers. Since ministers were normally not permitted to speak for the men, the ordeal could be daunting. The registrar for Manitoba was Judge Adamson who had little sympathy for COs.[347]

The government did not establish any alternative service camps until May 1941, almost a year after men were conscripted.[348] In the meantime, registrars were reluctant to grant CO status, and so some men felt forced into military service. When civilian alternative service work was finally arranged, it consisted of forestry camps in national parks.[349] The Manitoba camp was located in Riding Moun-



David Friesen, a conscientious objector from Rosenfeld, with patient in St. Boniface Hospital, Winnipeg (57).

I was eighteen years and already converted when I was drafted into service in the summer of 1943. However, since I was taking a CO stance, I had to appear before a judge and several army officers to be given a test on my status. My father, as well as a minister, were allowed in the hearing, and my status as a conscientious church worker was established by asking the minister to speak. In time I received notice that I was to report for duty to Radium Hot Springs, British Columbia. This was later changed to Banff, Alberta.

Victor Goossen, Rosenort/Morris
(John M. Dyck, *Faith under Test*, 150-151)

David P. Reimer, Kleine Gemeinde minsiter, serving as chaplain at Seebe, Alberta CO Camp. (58).

HOME NEWS

The HOME NEWS is published on the first day of each month by the Young People of Greenland, Kleefeld and Steinbach.

Editor – Frank Wiebe

Associate Editors – Herbert H. Barkman, Steinbach, Man.
Joseph Isaac, Kleefeld, Man.
Aaron R. Wiebe, Ste. Anne, Man.

Kindly send all articles to one of the Associate Editors.

Subscription rate —$.50 a year

Holdeman young people published Home News monthly during the war to connect home churches and men serving as COs (59).

I worked at a lumber camp through the winter with several other brethren. Our employer paid some of our wages to the Red Cross. When spring came, I worked for my dad and for another farmer part time. I worked at the same camp for two winters. My first train ride was to an Ontario lumber camp. Here we worked side by side with non-CO boys. We would cut down trees, pile them in one-cord piles, and skid them to the landing. Here the truckers would load our logs, and freight them to the Dryden Paper Company pulp mill. I would swamp, fell trees, debranch, etc. William Toews
(John M. Dyck, *Faith under Test,* 154, 155)

tain National Park, but Manitobans were also sent to similar camps in other provinces. In mid-1941 civilian alternative service was expanded to include farm labour.[350] Oldest or only sons, married men with dependents, and other than oldest sons who were needed on neighbouring farms were granted postponements.[351] The registrar decided whether they qualified for farm labour. When the final tallies were done at the end of the war, by far the largest number of COs did their alternative service on farms.

All the men who qualified for alternative service were formally registered as receiving postponements and not exemptions. This meant that the Canadian government retained the right to call up COs at some later time to review their status. The first of them served only three to four months, the same length of time as soldiers. But before long, their term was extended for the duration of the war. In fact, COs were not released from their obligations until 1946, a year after the war ended.[352] This delay was to allow returned soldiers first access to the job market.

A few Mennonites were not able to gain alternative service status and had to serve time in jail. John Pauls of Purves chose CO status, but the local prosecutor strongly argued against it. He was sentenced to one year in Headingley jail.[353] Another person, Peter J. Friesen, a businessman from the Manitou area and a friend of Pauls, experienced reprisals from the local legion because of his opposition to military service.[354] When he appeared for his hearing, he requested CO status but was denied and sentenced to a year in prison.

CO Camps. The CO camps, initially set up to provide employment during the Depression, were found from Ontario to British Columbia.[355] The men in these camps planted saplings, cleared fallen trees, prepared roads, and did a variety of other tasks designed to enhance the forests. Those on Vancouver Island had to fight forest fires and be ready for possible fire bombing by the Japanese. Mennonites were allowed to send ministers to the camps to provide spiritual care. They served

COs doing forestry service during World War II (60).

Cornelius Doell, Plum Coulee, served in the Canadian armed forces during World War II from May 1, 1944 to August 10, 1946. He received numerous medals (61).

with worship services, offered counselling sessions, and carried news between the COs and their families. On occasion they also interceded on behalf of COs with difficult camp officers. In February 1943 Holdeman young people from Greenland, Kleefeld, and Steinbach started a monthly paper called *Home News* for their COs. When the men returned home in 1946, it ceased publication since there was no further need for the paper.[356]

Red Cross Contributions. The Canadian government required that in exchange for being allowed to do alternative service, most of the COs' earnings had to be contributed to the Red Cross. Mennonite churches had asked that this money be used to relieve suffering and not for military purposes. They were given this assurance. In most cases 25 dollars per month was given to the Red Cross, whether the men worked in agriculture, in a hospital, or did other work. In some cases a ceiling was set on what the COs could keep; in others they could keep whatever salary was beyond the 25 dollars. By the end of the war, Canadian COs had contributed about two-and-a-quarter-million dollars to the Red Cross in this manner.[357]

Military Service

Almost 40 percent of Canadian Mennonite men either volunteered for military service or chose military service when called up.[358] Most served in the army, with a sizable number serving in the Royal Canadian Air Force. Many of those in the latter group died in the war.[359]

For the men who chose military service, the decision clashed with their faith heritage. There were conflicts within themselves, within their families, and within the churches over what to do.[360] For most, the struggles continued when they returned home.

A person who illustrates this tension was Peter Engbrecht from Boissevain, Manitoba. Engbrecht grew up in the Whitewater Mennonite Church. In March 1941, at the age of 18, he enlisted and was called up six months later. In a letter he described the process he went through before he enlisted.

> A family council was held. We finally consulted the bishop, G.G. Neufeld. My father couldn't refuse me permission to go since he had himself fought for seven years in the Russian Army and during the Revolution. The way we decided it was that Canada deserved fighting for.[361]

After his call, Engbrecht trained as a gunner on a plane. His greatest war activity was during the summer of 1944 when he saw action over Europe. He shot down eight German fighter planes and disabled a ninth.

Engbrecht received considerable media attention during and after the war. The combination of being Mennonite, thus from a pacifist church, and an expert gunner who was repeatedly decorated for his expertise, was intriguing. The Toronto Star stated about him: "The paradoxical Peter Engbrecht is, all at once, a member of a religious sect which forbids participation in wars, of pure Germanic descent, and a member of the RCAF. The 21-year-old gunner can claim an unparalleled record in the air force."[362]

In total, about 38 percent of ethnic Mennonite men eligible for service enlisted in the military. A recent study indicates that of those who enlisted many did not find the military "a congenial atmosphere."[363] Most of them returned to civilian life.

Steinbach and district World War II veterans (62).

Jacob G. Enns, raised and educated in Altona, Manitoba. Enlisted in 1941, and served in England, Holland, Belgium, and Germany with the Calgary Highlanders. Killed on 26 April 1945. Buried in Holton Canadian War Cemetery, Holland. Survived by wife and child in England.

David Thiessen, son of the Frank Thiessens, Horndean and Kane, Manitoba. Married Liddy Groening, 26 December 1941. Enlisted in the services shortly after. Trained in Canada for two years. Went overseas with the infantry in the Lanark and Renfrew Scottish Regiment of Canada. Served in Africa, Italy, Belgium, and Holland. Farmer at Lowe Farm, Manitoba.

John Thiessen, Arnaud, Manitoba. Educated in Arnaud, the MCI in Gretna, and Winnipeg. After service in the armed forces, became a teacher.
(Peter Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War,* 25, 47-48)

Norman Vogt, Gnr. H101615. Winnipeg, Manitoba. Died 17 April 1945. Geographical feature in Manitoba named Vogt Lake.

Menno Janzen, Pte. H64605. Son of Mr. and Mrs. P.P. Janzen, Plum Coulee, Manitoba. Born in Rosenfeld. Enlisted at Winnipeg in Canadian Active Army Ordinance Corps, 26 November 1943. Trained at Fort William, Ontario and Dundurn, Saskatchewan as tank driver. Directly after his marriage in October 1944, he went overseas and transferred to the infantry. He served for some months in Belgium and Holland. Died February 1945. Besides his wife who was in the CWAC at Camp Borden, and his parents, he was survived by his brothers John and Edwin, and sisters Katie, Mary and Dorothy. Geographical feature in Manitoba named Janzen Lake.

(Peter Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War,* 31, 32)

Medical Corps

Some Russlaender Mennonite leaders advocated choosing the medical corps, as Mennonites in Russia had done in World War I. They felt this type of service allowed young men to alleviate suffering caused by the war, do work that was meaningful, and still express their objection to violence and killing. What they overlooked was the different relationship to the military. In Russia the medical corps had not required military training, although it was directed by the military. In Canada the medical corps was under military command, medics had to take basic training, and in an emergency could be ordered into active combat.[364]

Some 220 Canadian Mennonite men served in the medical corps, or about 2 percent of the total number of men called up. Despite the support this option received from a number of prominent church leaders, medical corps service was ethically ambiguous, difficult to enter, and few chose it.

The experience of Nick Peters illustrates the problems.[365] His home was in Boissevain, where he was a member in the Mennonite Brethren Church. Born in 1920, he enlisted in the armed forces in 1944 as a conscientious objector and asked to serve in the medical corps. This was granted. Peters reported to numerous military training centres from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Vancouver, British Columbia, but in each centre the response was the same. "At each depot, Nick made known his stand as a CO. Refusal to do rifle drill resulted in arrest and confinement. On one occasion, refusal to handle machine guns meant doing long hours of guard and cleaning duty which produced health problems for him."[366] The red tape delayed his acceptance almost until the end of the war.[367]

Women and the War

Women were not conscripted during World War II and so did not have to make a decision about military service. In 1941 the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) was established to allow women to volunteer for military-related support jobs.[368] A few Manitoba Mennonite women participated in this service. Some whose names have been recorded are Annie Dyck of Altona, Mary Neufeld of Thornhill,[369] K. Neufeld and Elsie Dyck of Morden, and Minnie Wiebe and Agatha Wall of Plum Coulee.[370]

By far the majority of Mennonite women believed in the peace position and expressed their support by making quilts, gathering clothes, sewing blankets, and providing other materials.[371] Some served with the Canadian Mennonite Relief Committee or with Mennonite Central Committee in Europe.[372] Large volumes of relief goods were provided by Mennonite church groups during and after the war.[373] Because women were left to operate farms while husbands, sons, or other relatives were doing alternative service away from home, many had to take on unfamiliar, and often difficult, farm-related tasks.

Occasionally, wives of COs followed their husbands to the camps and lived nearby for the duration of their service. For some this was a considerable hardship; for others it provided a sense of adventure. Many wives had financial difficulties because their husbands had to give most of their earnings to the Red Cross, thus little was left to support the family. In some cases, churches set up funds to assist the women. More often, though, they were on their own. The result was that, contrary to the norm of the day, numerous CO wives worked outside the home during the war years.

Aftermath of the War

The war had specific implications for Mennonites in Manitoba. The conflicts caused by conscription and the fact that about 38 percent of eligible men had opted for military service caused soul searching within the Mennonite community. One conclusion drawn from this experience was that their peace teaching had been inadequate before the war. The desire to improve peace education was one of the factors that prompted the establishment of new Mennonite high schools and two Mennonite colleges in Winnipeg. Private elementary schools were not yet possible since the Manitoba government had tight control over elementary education.

Life also changed for the Mennonite men who chose alternative service. Some who had been teachers lost their certification. Those in forestry camps met men from different Mennonite and non-Mennonite churches, including United Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, Baptists, and Plymouth Brethren. They discovered that people in other churches had beliefs similar to their own. These inter-Mennonite and ecumenical experiences broadened their horizons and provided new perspectives when they returned to their home communities.

Not all men in alternative service came back with positive memories. Some were dissatisfied with the work they had done and considered it meaningless. Others felt that not all Mennonite COs had been committed

to peace and their lives in the camps had not been a good witness. Some who worked in mental hospitals came back convinced that it should be possible to provide better treatment for patients. This conviction contributed to the establishment of Eden Mental Health Centre in Winkler.

Perhaps the most important impact of the war on Manitoba Mennonites was the impetus it gave to service and mission. The tremendous human tragedies and needs created by the war awakened in many a desire to assist those who were suffering. The focus was not restricted to fellow Mennonites, and resulted in the development of agencies of relief and service that have continued their world-wide work until the present. The alternative service during World War II inspired a culture of voluntary service in which people dedicated part or all of their working years to serve with some agency, including Mennonite Central Committee.

For those who accepted military service, the implication of their decision followed them for the rest of their lives. Officially all churches terminated the membership of those who enlisted, even though local congregations varied in their application of this policy.[374] Upon their return, most Mennonite churches demanded an apology and confession of wrong-doing of the returned military men before they could become members. Even though they were overwhelmed by the horrors of war, and some maybe felt that their choice had not been the right one, they could not apologize for the decision they had made. The cost of joining the military had been too high and they had invested too much of themselves in the war experience. Many of the returned service men moved away from home communities, and in their new communities often did not seek out Mennonite churches, marriage partners, or friends. Walls had been built which often were not broken down throughout their lives. Even those who stayed within the home community felt the barriers. In fact, many did not join a Mennonite Church. In Altona, returned soldiers formed the United Church.[375]

During the war, some Mennonites from the 1920s immigration supported the German government and the Nazi movement. They felt Germany was a bulwark against communism; or they thought Germany might rescue their families who were suffering in Ukraine; or they had positive feelings toward Germany because it had helped them escape from communism in the 1920s. In some centres, like Winnipeg and Winkler, pro-German groups held demonstrations. Although no churches supported these groups, they also did not denounce them specifically. After the war ended, and the extent of the holocaust became evident, most Mennonites were embarrassed about these pro-Nazi sentiments.

The war impacted Mennonites in many ways. Churches did some soul searching since they realized they had not been diligent enough in teaching historical views about peace. The men who went into CO service rubbed shoulders with other Mennonites and with people of other faiths; this spawned new ecumenical initiatives. Support both for the Canadian military and for Hitler and the Nazi movement were troubling. The war raised many questions about the future character of Manitoba Mennonites.

18
Emigration and Immigration: Losses and Gains

After World War II, some Mennonites looked upon Manitoba as a threat to their Christian faith, and emigrated. Others saw Manitoba as a refuge from the horrors of Stalinism and war, and immigrated. Mennonites found it worrisome that many of their young men had done military service during the war. This seemed to prove that the public schools had succeeded in undermining their beliefs. In addition, it appeared that the rapid modernization and secularization would increasingly erode their faith and threaten their children. Worldliness was on the rise. Emigration seemed the only option. Churches were not united enough to move in total, but some leaders and members from the Sommerfelder, Chortitzer, and Kleine Gemeinde churches left Manitoba.[376] The Sommerfelder and Chortitzer moved to Paraguay, and the Kleine Gemeinde to Mexico.

Emigration

Emigration to Paraguay. In 1946 the Sommerfelder and Chortitzer, together with the Bergthaler Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan, sent a delegation to Paraguay to investigate emigration possibilities.[377] They requested that they be exempt from military service and have control of their schools. The response by the Paraguayan government was favourable on all counts, and so the delegates bought 108,640 acres of land at 2 dollars per

The last farewells were being said, the last prayers offered, and the last songs sung as a group of 450 Chortitzer Mennonites departed for Paraguay, June 23, 1948 (63).

A young family leaving by plane for Paraguay in 1948 (64).

acre.[378] The number of Manitoba Mennonites who emigrated to Paraguay totalled about 1,500 people, plus 200 from the Bergthaler Church in Saskatchewan. These emigrants took considerable cash with them, since they could sell their farms for good prices and buy land in Paraguay relatively cheaply.

In the summer of 1948 the Sommerfelder and Chortitzer emigrants departed. They chartered a train to Quebec City where they boarded a ship to Buenos Aires, and from there by train and ship to Paraguay.[379] They took along a caterpillar to clear the land, numerous tractors, and other farm machinery.

A fund was set up to assist those who could not pay their own way. Those with assets up to $5,000 were assessed 8 percent, and those with more, 10 percent. This fund was used to pay for transportation and the cost of settling.[380] The immigrants established two settlements of about equal size. The people from the Chortitzer Church founded the Bergthal Colony, and those from the Sommerfelder Church the Sommerfeld Colony.[381]

In contrast to the emigrants in the 1920s who had settled in the very dry Gran Chaco, these newcomers settled in East Paraguay which had more rainfall and better access to markets. Despite these advantages, the start was difficult and slow. Tropical diseases and the lack of proper health care resulted in many deaths, especially of children. Within a year, about 500 people returned to Canada. These departures drained the group of leadership and financial resources since often the most well-to-do left. One man who returned complained that he had lost $50,000 in the migration, thus giving an indication of the size of his financial resources.[382]

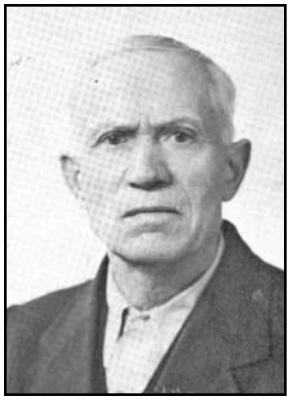
Emigration to Mexico. A group of Kleine Gemeinde, including their bishop, also decided to emigrate. After briefly considering Alaska, they opted to move to Mexico.[383] They were concerned that their young men had to do alternative service during World War II, even though they had been promised complete military exemption.[384] Some were also worried about the educational freedoms that had been taken from them.[385] Others did not agree with changes happening in the churches, including introduction of Sunday schools, Sunday evening youth services, harmony singing, non-Kleine Gemeinde visiting ministers, Steinbach Bible Academy, and high-school-educated church leaders. It was feared that these changes undermined the "ideals of humility and separation from the world."[386] The increased use of English, more revivalist preaching, and various modernizing trends caused additional concerns about their future in Manitoba.

A delegation made three trips to Mexico to look at land options and to negotiate with government officials. These negotiations were successful, and they were given the same privileges the Old Colonists had received in the 1920s, including control of their schools.[387] By February 1948, 52,700 acres of land was purchased north of the Old Colony settlements near Cuauhtemoc in the state of Chihuahua.[388] The ranch they bought was called *Hacienda Los Jagueyes* (kah-way-es), which became the name of their new settlement. Its German translation was *Quellen Kolonie*, and in English, "Springs Colony."[389]

The emigrant group consisted of Bishop

Peter P. Reimer, three ministers, three deacons, and about 700 members—some 15 percent of the membership.[390] The majority came from two churches: Blumenort near Steinbach and Rosenort near Morris, although a few people from each Kleine Gemeinde church joined them.

There was widespread interest in emigration among Manitoba Mennonites, and a number of small groups attempted to move to various other Latin American countries including Belize, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Bolivia.[391] Most of these attempts were not successful.



Peter P. Reimer, bishop of the Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba since 1926, led a group of his church members to the Quellen Kolonie, north of the city of Cuauhtemoc, Mexico, in 1948 (65).

Migration within Canada. Not all Manitoba Mennonites who were uneasy about control of schools, secularization, or military service left Canada. Some decided to move to other regions within the country in the hope that greater isolation would allow them to retain traditional beliefs and practices. They went to the Vanderhoof area of British Columbia and others to the Peace River region of Alberta.[392] A number of Kleine Gemeinde members chose Morweena, north of Arborg in the Interlake area of Manitoba.[393]

In contrast to the migrations out of the country, these moves were made by individual families over a period of time. When Mennonites moved to the Peace River area in the 1930s, they hoped they would not be subject to the Alberta government's education requirements. In this they were disappointed and, within a decade, had to accept the curriculum and teaching standards set by the province.[394]

Immigration

Immigration from the Soviet Union. From 1947 to 1953 about 6,600 Mennonites from the Soviet Union immigrated to Canada. Of this a sizable number came to Manitoba.[395] Originally from Mennonite settlements in southern Ukraine, they had experienced Stalin's brutal collectivization of the early 1930s, as well as the arbitrary arrest and exile of their men during his purges. Churches had been closed, schools taken over, and corporate religious life had ceased.[396]

For Mennonites in Ukraine, World War II began when Germany attacked the Soviet

Reflection by an emigrant

I don't know exactly who the first person was to get the idea we should move to South America. I think concerns were expressed quite often about how things were changing. A lot of schools were not teaching the German language anymore and since Mennonites in Manitoba were German speaking this was a threat. Also some of the Mennonite men had gone to join the forces during the war, and in the Sommerfelder church there was a concern that our Mennonite faith was threatened. So the idea about moving to South America where they thought they would be free from going to war and the idea that we would be able to have our own schools appealed to a lot of people.

. . . It was decided a group of twenty-five would fly [to Paraguay] by plane in April to make arrangements for accommodations for us once we arrived. After all the details had been looked after and all the arrangements made, the date for our departure was set for June 22, 1948.

. . . It [the move to Paraguay] also created tension in some marriages, because one spouse would be very much in favour of moving and the other for various reasons didn't want to move. Many families that had lived in the same neighbourhood were split up. In some families one member would prepare to move while others were strongly opposed to it, resulting in misunderstandings and for some a lifetime of friendship lost.

. . . At that time it seemed, we were going into a far away unknown country, and these goodbyes were forever, never to see our families and friends again. After one hour of handshakes, well wishes and tears and more tears, the train finally started rolling. At that time, it was a welcome feeling to finally be on the way after months and months of preparations. . . . Finally the 1,500 persons on board were heading east.

(Katherine Schroeder, *Memoirs*, 1, 3)

Our happiness was cut short when we heard the unmistakable singing of Russians right in our village. Icy fear gripped us! The Yalta agreement had mandated repatriation. They would surely capture us and freight trains would take us east again to the frozen wastes of Siberia! One day my husband's sister went into the next village with her employer to visit her host's relatives. Russian occupation was evident everywhere and the security police demanded that she show her pass. Before thinking, she asked "Why?" in Russian. "You're one of us!" the soldier shouted.

(Harry Loewen, *Road to Freedom: Mennonites Escape the Land of Suffering*, 73)

A train of wagons consisting mainly of women and children on their way from Ukraine to Germany, 1943 (66).

Union in 1941. As the German army advanced rapidly toward the Dnieper River, the Soviets feverishly deported as many as possible of the German-speaking inhabitants. The majority of Mennonites on the east side of the river were sent to central Asia before the German army overtook them. Those on the west side of the river were allowed to stay and came under German control. Mennonites looked upon the German army as liberators and for two years, 1941-1943, community and religious life revived again under the Germans.

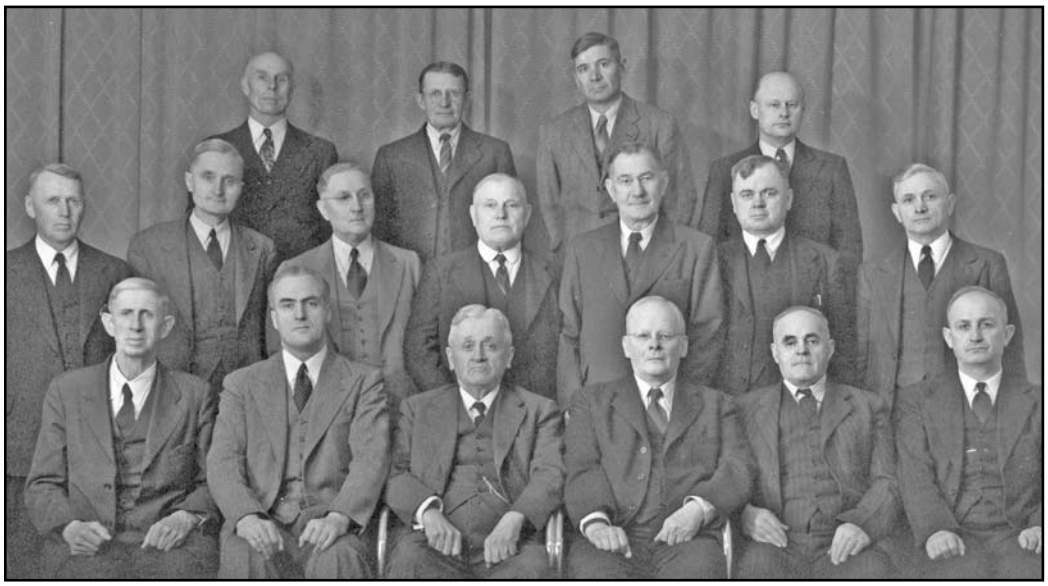
In 1943, after the German army was defeated at Stalingrad and was pushed back westward across Ukraine, German-speaking people, including Mennonites, were evacuated westward.[397] Many were settled in the Warthegau, a region in Poland that Germany claimed as its own. Those from the Chortitza Colony were sent first—by train. Those from the Molotschna settlement left later and had to go by wagon. That trek, travelled mainly by women and children with military escorts, was one of the horror stories of the war.[398]

Mennonite refugees who had settled in the Warthegau fled westward again when the war front came closer. Many were overtaken by the Soviet army and sent to concentration camps in Siberia. Others made it to the western parts of Germany, only to be handed over to the Soviets by the Americans or the British. Of the more than 35,000 Mennonites who fled to the west and were identified by the Mennonite Central Committee, only about 12,000 escaped deportation.[399]

After locating the Mennonites, MCC worked with the International Relief Organization (IRO) in Europe to arrange for transportation to Canada of about 6,600 of these refugees. The Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization worked with the Canadian government to allow them to enter the country. Most Soviet Mennonite refugees were admitted because they were sponsored by relatives.[400] MCC negotiated with the Canadian Pacific Railway for a line of credit of $180,000 to assist the refugees to their destinations. Because the IRO paid more than a million dollars to transport refugees from Europe to Canada, Canadian Mennonites had to cover only the Canadian portion of the travel costs, and so did not incur a huge travel debt like the one in the 1920s immigration.[401] Most of the refugees' costs, totalling about $1.3 million, were covered by sponsors and special donations.[402]

Mennonite refugees detrain in Bremen, Germany, en route to Canada, 1948 (67).

Most of the 6,600 Soviet Mennonite refugees who came to Canada in the years after 1947 settled in cities. By then Canada had very little good agricultural land available, and it was financially impossible for penniless newcomers to buy existing farms. In addition, since many of the immigrant families consisted of single mothers with children, starting a new life in an urban centre was less difficult. A large number came to Manitoba, settling in Winnipeg and in Mennonite towns and villages.[403] Many of the remaining refugees also wanted to immigrate to Canada but were not able to do so because of Canada's tight immigration laws. By 1948 MCC had moved about 4,300 people to Paraguay and had settled them in the two colonies of



Members of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization which arranged for the immigration of Mennonites from Europe in the 1940s: (front row, left to right) B. B. Janz, C. F. Klassen, David Toews, and (far right) J. J. Thiessen (68).

Volendam and Neuland. Many people from these two colonies moved to Canada as soon as arrangements could be made.[404] Because of relatives, a large number came to Winnipeg.

Immigration from Poland, Danzig, and Prussia. After World War II, 1,132 refugees from the Prussian and Danzig (Gdansk) areas of Germany also immigrated to Canada. Some of them had come under Polish rule when the boundaries of Germany were changed after World War I.

Mennonites had lived in this region since the sixteenth century when they emigrated from the Netherlands. During World War II, when the Soviet front swept through their area, they, together with millions of fellow Prussian inhabitants, fled westward either by land or by sea. The Soviet army caused panic when it used murder and rape to intimidate the German people in their path. The intention was to use terror to drive them out.[405] After the war, Prussian and Danzig (Gdansk) lands were given to Poland and Russia, and the few remaining German owners were evicted. Mennonites were part of the millions of German refugees who had to find new homes.

Mennonite refugees applied to Canada but were at first denied entrance since they had German citizenship, and Canada was not accepting German immigrants.[406] Mennonites were able to strengthen their application for admission when they established that they were of Dutch ancestry. By 1950 Canada opened its doors to immigrants and more than 1,100 Mennonite refugees from Prussia, Danzig, and Polish regions were admitted.

Table 13
Composition of Canadian Mennonite Immigrants, 1947-1951

Type of Scheme or Work	Numbers
Close relatives scheme	6,101
Sugar-beet workers	308
Farm labour scheme	73
Domestic servant	35
Forestry workers	41
Railway workers	2
Mine workers	6
Danzig, Prussian, and German nationals after 1950	1,132
Total	7,698

(Mennonite Heritage Centre: Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization files, 1348/1109; T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 94)

Some of them settled in Manitoba, although the majority went to Ontario, Calgary, and the Fraser Valley of British Columbia.

Influence of the Immigrants. The immigrants from the Soviet Union and Germany joined existing congregations of the two largest Canadian Mennonite conferences, the Mennonite Brethren and the Conference of Mennonites in Canada. By settling in Winnipeg, they greatly augmented urban Mennonite churches. The new immigrants spoke German and thus strengthened the use of German in Mennonite communities. Very few had been church leaders in the Soviet Union, since most men in leadership had either been

exiled by the Soviets or drawn into the army by the Germans. Also, church life had not been possible for more than a decade.

Many of the refugees were women.[407] They had suffered greatly and often found little understanding or support in the Canadian churches for their difficult experiences. Some of the women were judged for the compromises they had had to make in order to save their lives and the lives of their children.[408] Those refugee women and men who wanted to remarry were prevented from doing so if they could not prove their spouses had died. Because of the separations caused by the war and because of the secrecy of the Soviet exile system, many did not know what had happened to their spouses. Manitoba Mennonite leaders often dealt legalistically with these widows, and also some widowers, in preventing them from remarrying.

Because of the rapid expansion of the Canadian economy after the war, both female and male refugees found work, bought homes, supported their families, and helped their children get an education. Many entered the work force, in particular the construction industry. Some progressed from being labourers to becoming subcontractors and contractors. Others gained an education and entered the teaching and various other professions. Since the refugees had been uprooted, had lived on two continents, and had experiences in a number of countries, they were often less afraid of the Canadian culture than were those Mennonites born in Canada. The refugees rather quickly became part of the "modern, urbanized, industrialized, and capitalistic Canadian society and economy."[409]

The emigrations and immigrations of the 1940s and '50s illustrated vividly the ongoing tension between separation from and engagement with society. Those who believed separation to be a biblical mandate were willing to make considerable sacrifices. Critics felt that those who held to this belief were even willing to compromise the welfare of their children and wives for this principle. Many of the immigrants had been forced to adjust to numerous changing and difficult circumstances in Ukraine and Germany, and were more prepared to comply and adjust to the larger society. The complexion of the Mennonite communities was becoming ever more varied.

19
Service and Politics: Expanding Horizons

While language, custom, and religion largely separated Manitoba Mennonites from the society up to the 1950s, they nevertheless began to expand their horizons beyond their immediate communities. Alternative service and other factors helped them envision new ways of relating to and serving society.

Service

Relief Agencies during the War. The largest and best-known Mennonite relief organization is Mennonite Central Committee (MCC). Based in the United States, it was formed in 1920 by various Mennonite groups to coordinate relief work in southern Ukraine. This project was designed to assist both Mennonites and Ukrainians. Many of the 1920s Mennonite immigrants who later settled in Manitoba had been recipients of this aid.

A month after World War II began, MCC applied to Germany to set up a relief program in its eastern provinces, including the former Polish region.[410] Since the United States did not enter World War II until December 1941 and was thus officially a neutral country before that, MCC was considered acceptable by the German government. Shortly after applying, permission to provide relief was granted. Even though the help was at first intended for the thousands of Mennonites living in the Prussian, Danzig, and Polish regions along the Vistula River, MCC developed a policy of non-partisan aid without regard to race or nationality.[411] This policy guided MCC throughout the war years and continued during the years of European reconstruction. It also developed a relief program in southern France for refugees from the Spanish civil war. This program had to be suspended when the United States entered the war against Germany.[412]

Since MCC's American location caused problems for Canadians during the early years of the war, it set up a Canadian office in Kitchener, Ontario, with a sub-office in Winnipeg.[413] These centres played an important role in forwarding resources to international destinations. In 1940 three local Canadian Mennonite relief agencies were established to gather money and materials. They followed

Table 14
Canadian Mennonite Relief Organizations Established in 1940

Founding Group	Name of Organization
Amish and Swiss Mennonites (Ontario)	Non-Resistant Relief Organization (NRRO)
Kanadier Mennonites	Canadian Mennonite Relief Committee (CMRC)
Russlaender Mennonites	Mennonite Central Rellief Committee (MCRC)

the divisions created by the discussions over alternative service. One agency was formed by the Amish and Swiss Mennonites in Ontario, the Non-Resistant Relief Organization (NRRO). A second, organized by Kanadier in Manitoba, was called the Canadian Mennonite Relief Committee (CMRC). A third, the Mennonite Central Relief Committee (MCRC), was established primarily by Russlaender. Its headquarters were in Saskatchewan and included the Russlaender in Manitoba.

Relief and Immigration after the War. After World War II, the three Canadian Mennonite relief and immigration organizations greatly expanded their activities. They collected non-perishable food and clothing, sent it to the Mennonite Central Committee depots in Winnipeg or Kitchener, which forwarded it to Europe. Canadian Mennonites also served under MCC in Europe.[414]

One of MCC's priorities was to assist the thousands of Mennonite refugees from the Soviet Union and from the Prussian and Polish regions of eastern Europe. Mennonites from the Soviet Union were of particular concern because many Canadian Mennonites had relatives among them. The situation of the refugees was extremely precarious since in 1945 the Soviet officials, with the active assistance of the allied armies, were rounding up Soviet citizens who had fled into western Europe and were sending them back to the Soviet Union.[415] As quickly as possible, MCC located the Russian Mennonite refugees and tried to move them to a safe place. Unfortunately, most of those they found and listed were returned to the Soviet Union.[416]

MCC also established itself as a non-partisan agency providing relief to all people, even those from former enemy countries. Large centres were set up in Germany to feed thousands of German residents and refugees, especially children. Much relief aid was sent to Poland. For a time MCC was the largest private, non-governmental relief agency operating in Europe.[417] C. (Cornelius) F. Klassen, a 1920s immigrant living in Winnipeg, worked for MCC in Europe in the post-war period.[418] Much of his work consisted of locating and rescuing Soviet Mennonite refugees in western Europe and finding new homes for them in Canada or Latin America.

Missions. Up until the 1940s Mennonite churches based in Manitoba did not have their own mission programs, but rather supported mission efforts through their membership in larger North American conferences. The North American Mennonite Brethren (MB) and the General Conference Mennonites of

German refugee women in the MCC home in Berlin, Germany, with the MCC quilt in the background; late 1940s (69).

North America (GC) had such programs in Asia and Africa. A high percentage of early Mennonite missionaries sent out to Africa, Asia, and Latin America were single women. Even though Mennonite churches in Manitoba during the 1940s did not accept women in ordained leadership roles at home, they were allowed to occupy those positions in mission settings.

The first Kleine Gemeinde missionary was Suzanne Plett who left in 1945 to work for New Tribes Missions in Brazil, a faith mission program.[419] The church encouraged its missionaries to serve with various of these programs, including the Western Gospel Mission in which it was a partner.[420] Marian Loewen, also a member of the Kleine Gemeinde, went out in 1949 to Equador under the Gospel Missionary Union, also a faith mission program.[421] Anne Penner, the first General Conference Mennonite Church missionary from Canada, went to India in 1946.[422]

Suzanne Plett, first Kleine Gemeinde (EMC) foreign missionary. She served under a faith mission agency in the Amazon River region, South America, from 1945 until her death in 1956 (70).

Anne Penner, Rosenfeld, was the first General Conference foreign missionary from Canada. She left in 1946 to serve in India (71).

In 1930 the Holdeman Church began mission activity in Mexico following some years of tract distribution.[423] The work gradually increased so that by 1946 the Holdeman Church had 17 workers in foreign service.[424] In 1946 the various district and committee mission efforts were centralized under one board and treasury.[425]

In 1944 the Bergthaler Church established Mennonite Pioneer Mission (MPM), and a year later it sent out its first mission couple, Henry and Susan Gerbrandt, to the native people in Mexico.[426] When that project did not work as planned, the church shifted its focus to northern Manitoba and established mission stations in the aboriginal communities of Matheson Island, Cross Lake, Loon Straits, Pauingassi, Bloodvein, and Manigotagan.[427]

The Emmanuel Mennonite Mission Church in Steinbach was founded in 1943 specifically to foster interest in missions.[428] It later joined the Evangelical Free Church and changed its name to Emmanuel Evangelical Free Church. It believed it needed to drop its Mennonite identification and shed the emphases of peace and service in order to be more successful in the areas of missions and evangelism.

Involvement in missions had a significant impact on Mennonites. It was one way to identify with the North American religious mainstream and thus was a form of acculturation. Missions also broadened Mennonites' horizons beyond North America and made them aware of the larger, international world. In many churches, mission work was seen as the ultimate in Christian dedication. Missionaries were idealized and highly revered. People gave generously and repeatedly to their support. The importance of mission work was implanted in young and old through regular reports, often accompanied by visual presentations.

In the early enthusiasm for mission work little attention was given to methodology. Most of the early efforts followed the pattern of Protestant missions, and transplanted the sending church's identity and patterns of church life, including music styles, prayers, order of worship, head coverings, and clothing styles. Only later did the weaknesses of this approach become evident.[429]

Politics

The first Mennonite elected to the provincial legislature in a Mennonite constituency was Dr. C. (Cornelius) W. Wiebe from Winkler.[430] He began his medical career in Winkler in 1925 and by 1932 had established a well-respected practice. He was ready for a new challenge. By successfully entering the field of politics, he pioneered a new form of Mennonite engagement with society. Wiebe was a member of the Bergthaler Church's finance committee so, before he publicly announced his intention to run for political office, he spoke to the church's leadership committee. They endorsed his intention and gave him their blessing. He was nominated as a candidate for the coalition Liberal-Progressive Party in the 1932 provincial election in the district of Morden-Rhineland and won the election. Wiebe entered the legislature

with high ideals. He hoped to model political involvement to Mennonites and show that more could be accomplished by working within the system than by criticizing from the outside. He looked forward to stimulating debates in the legislature.

Wiebe was deeply disappointed. The legislative debates were often boring and not conducive to pursuing issues. Many politicians played petty politics instead of dealing with the problems of the day. The government had no money, since this was at the depth of the Depression, and so it spun its wheels, afraid to take any new initiatives. Wiebe was mocked in the *Winnipeg Free Press* for his seemingly idealistic proposals.[431] In the 1936 election, he did not stand for office. He threw full energies into his medical practice, although he still retained an interest in politics and was president of the Lisgar Liberal Association for a number of years.

Reflecting back in later years, Wiebe felt that, although he personally had not been very successful, he had blazed a trail for Mennonites in political involvement.[432] Nevertheless, no other Manitoba Mennonites were elected to either the provincial or federal governments for the next 20 years.

The Mennonite role in society was changing. In the earlier years, engagement with government and society had largely consisted of protecting rights or keeping the influence of the society at bay. Now the focus shifted to contributing to needs outside the Mennonite community, either at home or abroad. Even though still quite consciously different from society in language and customs, Mennonites made greater accommodations and accepted some of the responsibilities of citizenship. However, despite the greater engagement, large portions of the Manitoba Mennonite community were still leery of this direction. Some emigrated in protest, while others quietly but persistently opposed it.

Summary of Part II: 1920 — 1950

During these three decades Mennonites were confronted by many difficulties and changes. The 1920s were characterized by conflicts over the issues of education, by emigration of those who felt their future was in jeopardy, and by immigration of thousands who were grateful to escape communism. The Depression during the 1930s, which brought drought, grasshoppers, and poor prices for farm produce, posed a serious threat to all, including Mennonites. The 1940s were defined by the war and its aftermath. Deciding how to respond to military service caused considerable conflict within the Mennonite community, and was followed by a new round of emigrations to Latin America and immigrations from Europe.

Facing these difficult issues gave Mennonites new vitality and confidence. They ventured into the arts, built new health care facilities, started numerous educational institutions, and incorporated new theological ideas. In the face of crushing economic problems, they proved resourceful in adapting co-op models to help them survive.

However, Mennonites continued to view themselves as a community outside the mainstream of society. This mainstream was dominated by an Anglo-Saxon elite that controlled the government, admission to professional organizations, and entry into the business establishment. This group saw itself as the local representatives of the British Empire, and shared its burden of civilizing the world, in this case, the ethnic minorities of Manitoba. Even though many Mennonites felt this sense of exclusion and condescension, it also served their interests. It confirmed that they were different from the larger society, or "the world" as they saw it. To be drawn too closely to this society would endanger their beliefs and values.

The wartime experiences, however, opened the doors for Mennonites to develop new relationships to their host society. Old patterns of separation and deferential inferiority were about to give way to new patterns of engagement. The next decades would reveal how Mennonites would negotiate these new relationships.

Part III: 1950 2000

Expanding Horizons

Part III. 1950 — 2000
Expanding Horizons

20
Urbanization and Rural Renewal

The war years set in motion changes that transformed all of Canadian society. The introduction of radio and television created greater awareness of the larger society. The mass production of automobiles at affordable prices individualized and increased travel, thus affecting communities that prized strong primary relationships. Increased mechanization pushed people off the farms. Isolation became much more difficult.

Urbanization

A result of these changes was that Mennonites were attracted to Winnipeg.[1] One of the earliest urban groups consisted of young women who worked as domestics.[2] They started work in the 1930s and continued until the late 1950s, blazing the trail for others. The young women adapted to unfamiliar surroundings, developed self-confidence, and gained experiences necessary to survive in the city. They earned cold cash, something hard to come by during the Depression.

Most of the later Mennonite refugees from the Soviet Union and Prussia settled in Winnipeg. They began to arrive in the late 1940s and continued into the 1960s. Some came directly from Europe, while others first moved to Paraguay and Uruguay.[3] Because Stalin's regime deported and executed Mennonite leaders and former landowners, a large portion of those who came to Canada were women with children. Immigrants directly from Europe were usually sponsored by relatives. While the terms of the sponsorship stipulated that they work on farms, the financial remuneration and working conditions often proved unsatisfactory, and within a year or two most moved to Winnipeg. Those who came via Paraguay or Uruguay financed their own way. Most of the post-World War II immigrants settled in the West End or in North Kildonan, and found jobs to fit their skills and interests. Men were drawn into house construction because they had the necessary skills, were attracted by the wages and, if lucky, found work with Mennonite employers who spoke their language. Many found jobs in factories, hog and cattle abattoirs, retail enterprises, and other businesses in an ever-expanding economy.[4] Others gained an education and moved into professions.[5]

Post-secondary education was often the ticket off the farm. Large numbers attended Teachers College, or Normal School as it was known, until teachers' education was transferred to the University of Manitoba. A temporary teachers' certificate initially required only one year of education after high school, and was open to both women and men. To get a permanent teaching certificate, further university education was required.

Health care professions were also attractive. Several city hospitals, Red River Community College, and the University of Manitoba offered nursing and technician programs. Arts and science programs at the University of Manitoba, or United College, later renamed the University of Winnipeg, were popular.[6] Mennonite young people trained to become doctors, lawyers, scientists, university professors, architects, or professionals in any number of other areas. Post-secondary education offered meaningful work opportunities and provided status and respect. Some enrolled full-time, but many took summer courses. Before long, Mennonites entered virtually all professions.

Within a few decades, Manitoba Men-

Table 15
Mennonites in Manitoba

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
Manitoba	30,352	39,336	44,667	56,823	59,555	63,490	66,000
Winnipeg	909	1,285	3,460	13,595	17,850	19,105	21,900
Rural & Town	29,443	38,051	41,207	34,414	41,705	44,385	44,100

Canada Census, 1981 and 1991.

nonites changed from a community in which the largest group was farmers to one in which most were urban professionals. One sociologist has described this as the "Mennonite urban professional revolution."[7] The increase in the number of Mennonites in Winnipeg was quite dramatic. In the 40 years from 1951 to 1991, it grew more than six-fold, from 3,460 to 21,900. The largest increase in absolute numbers happened during the 1950s and 1960s when the population grew by more than 14,000, from 3,460 to 17,850 (see Table 15).[8] The major portion of the increase came from rural Manitoba.

Brandon, the largest city in western Manitoba, also attracted some Mennonites. Three Mennonite churches formed there, but the total Mennonite population remained relatively small. Throughout these years, the majority of Mennonites who urbanized were drawn to Winnipeg. For many of them, life was different from what they had known on the farm. Instead of being independent operators of their own farms, or sons and daughters of farm owners, they became employees dependent on employers for hours, wages, and working conditions. Instead of working alongside family members, they worked alone or with someone unknown to them. Instead of living in a community surrounded by family and friends, many resided in areas surrounded by strangers.[9] Instead of speaking the familiar German or Low German languages, they worked and lived in an English-speaking world.[10]

However, for some who moved to Winnipeg, the disorienting effects of urbanization were minimized because they settled or found work with people of their own group. The earliest Mennonite migrants clustered together in the North End, West End, or North Kildonan. Those from Europe and Latin America and from rural areas in Manitoba congregated in relatively compact settlements in which they could create microcosms of their cultural, social, and religious life. They were able to speak Low German or German, shop in Mennonite businesses, worship in a Mennonite church, socialize with their own people, and often work for someone from their own group.[11] In some respects they created urban villages.[12]

Along with urbanization came a rise in the educational level. Canada census figures indicate a striking change for 25- to 44-year-olds for the years 1981 and 1991 (see Table 16). The number of Mennonites who had a maximum of a grade nine education decreased by almost 40 percent during this decade, while the number who had a university degree increased by about the same percentage. A study of educational levels in the five largest Mennonite conferences in North American for the years 1972 to 1989 indicates similar results.[13] The people with only elementary school education dropped by 50 percent, and those with at least some university education increased by about 70 percent.

Urbanization thus meant much more than a change in geographic location. Life in the city broadened people's horizons, created new possibilities, and provided greater personal freedom. It offered new vocations, more lifestyle options, wider circles of friends, and more choices in marriage partners. Urbanization could result in looser ties to family, community of origin, and church.[14]

Mennonites who moved to Winnipeg could have scattered and disappeared into

Table 16
Education Level of Mennonites in Manitoba (ages 25-44)

Total Population		Less Than Grade 9		Grade 9-12		Post Secondary		University Degree	
1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
15,900	19,240	3,845	2,845	5,625	7,330	4,885	6,415	1,545	2,660
		24%	15%	35%	38%	31%	33%	10%	14%

(*Canada Census*, 1981 and 1991)

Winnipeg, Main Street in the 1950s. Rural people found Winnipeg both exciting and bewildering (1).

the larger society, as was the case in many other North American cities into which Mennonites moved.[15] That this scattering did not happen, that new urban communities developed in Winnipeg, is a remarkable story.[16] Mennonites in Winnipeg literally reinvented themselves.[17] One of the most important ways they did this was to organize churches in an urban environment. These formed the social networks to support residents and welcome newcomers. Churches created familiar settings and opportunities to get involved with people of like faith, history, and language.

Other institutions followed and augmented the role of the churches. Mennonite retail businesses, factories, and construction firms were often extensions of the church communities. Mennonite high schools, colleges, elementary schools, a credit union, personal care homes, and retirement homes were additional ways in which the church communities interacted, shaped identity, and maintained group connections. The urban reinvention has continued. A number of Mennonite conferences located their head offices in Winnipeg, as did agencies such as Mennonite Central Committee, Mennonite Economic Development Associates, and the Canadian Foodgrains Bank. Events like the annual MCC sales have created a sense of community across church conference boundaries. Mennonites in Winnipeg have adapted and have recreated vibrant and functional communities.[18]

The introduction of a province-wide telephone system was an important part of the transformation that swept rural communities. Here, in 1957, the mayor of Steinbach, K. R. Barkman, is seen making the first direct phone call to Winnipeg. Earlier, some rural communities had locally operated phone systems (2).

Rural Changes

The exodus from rural areas changed the complexion of those communities.[19] As the number of children decreased, district schools closed and regional schools opened. Small mixed farms gave way to large, specialized operations. Rural centres of activity closed and were replaced with gathering points in

the towns. Although significantly affected by these changes, Mennonites adapted. They diversified and supplemented grain farming with sunflowers, corn, soybeans, canola, flax, potatoes, and, for a time, sugar beets. Many specialized in hog, cattle, poultry, turkey, or dairy operations. With this diversification, some farmers prospered even on relatively small acreages. However, occasionally one or both spouses also took jobs in town to help sustain a family farm.

Some who wanted to retain the earlier aspects of rural life moved to more remote areas such as Arborg and Riverton in the Interlake and Swan River in northwestern Manitoba. Land in these areas was more affordable, and the opportunities to shape community life greater. Others who wanted to retain a rural lifestyle left Manitoba and moved to northern British Columbia, to the Peace River district of Alberta, or to Latin America.

The adaptations allowed the farm communities to retain vigour and stability. Although smaller in number than earlier, they remain an important part of the Manitoba Mennonite community.

The Altona town councillors were jubilant when, in 1960, voters approved a money by-law to finance a water distribution system. A water system was crucial for the commercial and industrial development of towns (3).

Periodic spring floods affected virtually every town and region in the Red River Valley. In this scene from the 1950 flood, cattle near Niverville were herded through the water to higher ground (4).

Growth of Towns

During the decade of the 1950s, Mennonite rural population dropped by 7,000 to 34,000, while the number of Mennonites in Winnipeg increased by 10,000. The rural decline was reversed and, after the 1960s, rural and town populations recovered what they had lost. By 1991 the number had increased to 44,000.[20] Even though this increase is less than 10 percent, it is significant in an era of heavy migration off the farms, and at a time when many towns in the rest of Manitoba were declining.[21]

The major reason for this turnaround was the growth of towns. They prospered because of their economic strength, initially provided by the co-ops and later by private businesses. These two groups worked together to provide multiple services and amenities, and in the process offered employment for many. People found jobs in businesses, schools, health care facilities, and various other service agencies. Factories and retail businesses emerged. Libraries were established and sports facilities built. Sports leagues were organized for children and adults. Music groups, festivals, and other cultural activities flourished. Large regional secondary schools provided access to education, and universities offered extension courses.

By the end of the century, the combined Mennonite population of the four largest towns on or near the major Mennonite settlements—Steinbach, Altona, Morden, and Winkler—was almost equal to the number of Mennonites in Winnipeg. Both Steinbach and Winkler attained the status of cities.[22] These centres acquired many urban characteristics without the geographical distance from their rural roots nor the social anonymity that could come with big-city life.

In the face of change, Mennonites adapted. This meant moving to a new country for some, jobs and careers away from rural homes for others, and major changes in agriculture for still others. To date, vibrant communities dot the rural and urban landscape. Continuing to connect and vitalize these communities are family ties, churches within the same conference, a shared history, and mutual interests.

21
Churches: Beliefs and Practices

Despite the strong forces of secularization and increased mobility that have buffeted Mennonites during the past 50 years, churches continue to exercise an important role in creating Mennonite communities. Churches have changed and adapted in order to continue to serve the needs of Mennonites and others in Manitoba and throughout the world.

Manitoba Conferences and Groups

Conferences. Manitoba Mennonites are grouped into 11 church conferences or groups with a total of about 36,000 adult baptized members. In addition, there are about 27 independent congregations, with approximately 5,000 members, that have varying Mennonite connections.[23] Most relate to Mennonite Central Committee, but not all identify themselves as Mennonite. The total adult baptized Manitoba Mennonite membership is thus approximately 40,000, with a community including children that totals about 60,000.

Mennonite conferences consist of voluntary associations of congregations who work cooperatively at common programs. Typical ones are missions, evangelism, schools, camps, radio ministry, and production of hymn books and Sunday school materials. Conferences do together what congregations cannot do by themselves. They have salaried staff to carry out these tasks, and expect financial contributions from participating congregations. Within a conference each congregation is relatively autonomous to set up its own budget, hire a pastor, construct its own church building, and support charities and programs as it decides.

Historic Churches. Some Mennonite groups organize themselves according to the historical pattern of having one large church with many meeting places.[24] Even though the membership may total a couple of thousand, the commitment of members is expected to be to the whole church rather than to the local group. This is the organizational structure of the so-called conservative or conserving churches. A bishop and several lay ministers provide the preaching ministry and pastoral counselling. These leaders are elected by the whole church and serve at all meeting places on rotation. Churches that follow this historical organizational pattern usually have a minimal budget because the bishop and min-

Table 17
Manitoba Mennonite Church Groups with Membership Statistics from 2000

Mennonite Conferences and Gemeinden	Adult Baptized Members	Number of Congregations
Mennonite Church Manitoba	11,000	49
Mennonite Brethren Conference of Manitoba	5,900	33
Evangelical Mennonite Conference (Kleine Gemeinde till 1952)	4,900	32
Sommerfeld Mennonite Church	4,600	13
Chortitzer Mennonite Conference	1,500	13
Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference (Rudnerweider till 1959)	2,700	16
Evangelical Mennonite Brethren - Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches (Dropped Mennonite identity in 1989)		
Emmanuel Mennonite Mission Church - Emmanuel Evangelical Free Church (Steinbach) (Dropped Mennonite identity)		
Church of God in Christ, Mennonite (Holdeman)	1,660	15
Old Colony Mennonite Church	1,100	4
Reinland Mennonite Church	2,200	6
Friedensfelder Mennonite Church	200	1
Conservative Mennonite Church	175	4
Total Membership	35,935	186

(Based on conference yearbooks and/or records in the possession of bishops and ministers)

isters are not salaried. The main expense is the construction and upkeep of church buildings, which is usually paid for with a per member levy. The church normally has a fund for the poor which is replenished through voluntary contributions. Most of the historic churches contribute to relief and mission organizations. Usually they do not have a conference office, paid staff, nor programs. They depend on their bishops to do much of the administrative work and to set the direction of the church. When a historic church modernizes, it usually reorganizes itself as a conference.

Urban Churches. During the past 50 years, numerous Mennonite churches have been established in Winnipeg. This did not happen automatically nor without opposition. In the 1950s rural Mennonites were opposed to starting churches in the city because they feared the influence of the English-speaking, secular, urban world. The city represented the acculturating forces against which they were struggling. They were afraid that urban churches would introduce troublesome innovations, be more worldly, become autonomous of the rural-based churches, and generally be an unsettling presence in their midst.

That Winnipeg Mennonites formed churches is due to a number of factors. One was clustering, a basic ingredient to organizing a church. As Mennonites clustered they were able to control innovations and changes, and thus overcome some of the rural leaders' apprehensions. Another factor was creative and bold leadership. Both the Mennonite Brethren and the Mennonite Church had leaders, such as Johann Enns of the Schoenwieser Church, who were confident about creating urban churches.[25] A third factor was the large number of immigrants who settled in Winnipeg after World War II. They needed ministry and support. Because of their international experiences during and after the war, and the resulting expanded worldview, they strengthened urban Mennonite communities.[26]

Schoenwieser Mennoniten Gemeinde, later called First Mennonite Church, began to meet in 1925 under the leadership of Gerhard A. Peters. He served the group until 1930 (5).

A worship service in the Elmwood Mennonite Brethren Church, the successor to the North End and Winnipeg Central MB churches (6).

In 1950 there were five Mennonite congregations in Winnipeg; by the end of the century there are 45. These congregations are members of six different conferences: Mennonite Church (19), Mennonite Brethren (16), Evangelical Mennonite Conference (EMC) (5), Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference (EMMC) (2), Sommerfelder Mennonite Church (1), Chortitzer Mennonite Conference (1), and one independent congregation.[27] The EMMC, EMC, and Chortitzer conferences are in the process of establishing a joint congregation. One congregation has affiliation with both the Mennonite Brethren Conference and Mennonite Church Manitoba, and is included in both lists (see Appendix 2).

Developing Diversity: "New Mennonites." Up until the 1950s, Manitoba Mennonites consisted largely of those who had immigrat-

Table 18
"New Mennonite" Congregations

Aboriginal groups meeting at Pine Dock, Matheson Island, Pauingassi, and Bloodvein (MC)
Christian Family Centre (MB)
Cross Lake Mennonite Church (MC)
Eglise Communautare de la Riviere Rouge (MB)
Iglesia Jesus es el Camino (MC)
Korean Mennonite Group (related to Charleswood Mennonite (MC)
Laotian Mennonite Church (MC)
Manigotagan Mennonite Church (MC)
Riverton Mennonite Church (MC)
Slavic Evangelical Church (MB)
Vietnamese Mennonite Church (MC)
Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Brethren Church (MB)
Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Church (MC)

ed from Prussia and Russia and their descendents. In the latter half of the century, Manitoba Mennonites have become much more diverse. Numerous congregations of "new" Mennonites have formed. People from various religious and cultural backgrounds have joined existing urban and some rural Mennonite churches and claimed the Anabaptist-Mennonite faith heritage as their own. One conference has indicated that up to 70 percent of its members are "new" Mennonites, that is, not of historic Mennonite background.[28]

Mission work with aboriginal Canadians has resulted in a number of Mennonite groups. In 1948 the Bergthaler Mennonite Church began a program called Mennonite Pioneer Mission, later renamed Native Ministries.[29] In the latter 1950s Mennonite Church Canada, then called Conference of Mennonites in Canada, took responsibility for this program. It established mission centres on various reserves and communities in central and northern Manitoba, including Matheson Island, Cross Lake, Pauingassi, Bloodvein, Loon Straits, and Manigotagan.[30]

The mission program placed teachers on reserves, brought in nurses, and helped with local economic development. For example, a sawmill was set up at Pauingassi. Some churches were also established.[31] The result was that Aboriginals and Mennonites formed friendships, gained mutual respect, and learned from each other. While Mennonites shared the Christian gospel, they learned about aboriginal culture, spirituality, and history. Some Mennonites found this exchange enriching, others threatening. Aboriginal churches have developed in Riverton, Manigotagan, and Cross Lake. Groups in Bloodvein, Pauingassi, and Little Grand Rapids meet weekly for worship, while those in Matheson Island and Pine Dock meet once or twice a month. Most of these churches and groups continue to relate to the Mennonite Church in some way, although they have also been encouraged to form local ecumenical connections so as not to fragment their communities along denominational lines.[32]

Trudy Unrau and Helen Willms arriving at the Bloodvein Indian Reserve to do mission work on behalf of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada (7).

Part of the congregation at Pauingassi, Manitoba, including four Mennonite ministers in the back row: Jacob Owen, Spoot Owen, St. John Owen, and David Owen (8).

In Winnipeg, the oldest "new" Mennonite church is the Chinese Mennonite Church.[33] In 1974 it began as an outreach program of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada and formally organized the following year.[34] Initially the group met in the Bethel Mennonite Church, and since 1983 has been meeting in its own building.

Following the American defeat in Vietnam and the flight of many "boat" people from there, Mennonite Central Committee

Celebrating at the Winnipeg Vietnamese Mennonite Church with the pastor, Than Pham, cutting the cake. At the far left is Hoa Van Chau, the congregational leader. Most of the members were 1970s refugees from South Vietnam (9).

The Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Church treated Bethel Mennonite members to an oriental meal, March 1978 (10).

reached an agreement with the Canadian government to sponsor refugees from that country. In the late 1970s and the 1980s, rural and urban Manitoba Mennonite churches enthusiastically sponsored thousands of Chinese, Vietnamese, Hmong, and Laotian refugees. Although few of the sponsored newcomers joined existing Mennonite churches, some settled in Winnipeg and formed their own congregations. A number of these "new" congregations relate to Mennonite conferences. For example, in 1983 a group of Vietnamese and Chinese people began to meet for worship.[35] Their connection was with MCC, which had sponsored them. MCC felt the group would be better served by relating to a Mennonite conference. It was decided that the Chinese part of this group would relate to the Mennonite Brethren Conference and the Vietnamese part to the Conference of Mennonites in Canada. The Vietnamese group formally organized as a church in 1983 and the Chinese group in 1987. Both acquired their own church building.[36] A Laotian Mennonite Church, also originating out of the sponsorship programs in the 1970s, has met since 1996 in the Home Street Mennonite Church.[37]

In 1984 a Spanish-speaking group formed as the result of mission outreach by the Mennonite Brethren Conference.[38] After about 17 years, the group found it was not growing and decided to disband as a Spanish church.[39] It reorganized as the Christian Family Centre and now consists of people of many faiths and cultural backgrounds. It was independent at first, but in 2001 formally related to the Mennonite Brethren Conference.[40] This church has begun a ministry to Ethiopians who are meeting separately for worship.[41] Some in the Spanish group who wanted to continue as Mennonites organized a new Spanish-speaking church that took the name *Iglesia Jesus es el Camino*.[42] It meets at Bethel Place in south Winnipeg and relates to Mennonite Church Canada.

Baptism at L'Eglise Chretienne Evangelique de St. Boniface (11).

Two other groups formed about the year 2000 and relate to the Mennonite Brethren Conference. One is the Slavic Evangelical Church, which worships in the Russian language and has members originating in Russia and various other republics in the former Soviet Union. The Portage Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church provided support for this group in its initial stages. The other is a French church called *Eglise Communautare de la Riviere Rouge*. It rents a former Anglican church in St. Boniface, and includes French Canadians as well as people from French-speaking African countries.[43]

In the early 1990s a number of students

An estimated 32,000 people attended the closing worship service of the Mennonite World Conference assembly on July 19, 1990 at the Winnipeg Stadium (12).

Table 19
Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Churches That Relate to Mennonite World Conference (2003)

Continent and Country	Adult Membership
Africa	451,959 in 16 countries
Democratic Republic of Congo	194,119
Ethiopia	98,025
Tanzania	50,000
Kenya	31,556
Zimbabwe	29,213
Asia and Pacific	208,155 in 11 countries
India	127,348
Indonesia	71,302
Japan	3,292
Caribbean, Central and South America	133,150 in 23 countries
Paraguay (primarily of European descent)	27,693
Honduras	20,716
Mexico (primarily of European descent)	19,688
Bolivia (primarily of European descent)	13,275
Nicaragua	9,275
Europe	53,272 in 13 countries
Germany	31,677
The Netherlands	11,000
Former Soviet Union countries	5,000
Switzerland	2,500
North America	451,180 in 2 countries
United States	323,329
Canada	127,851
Total MWC adult membership	1,297,716 in 65 countries

(*Countries with largest Mennonite memberships noted.* www.mwc-cmm.org/directory)

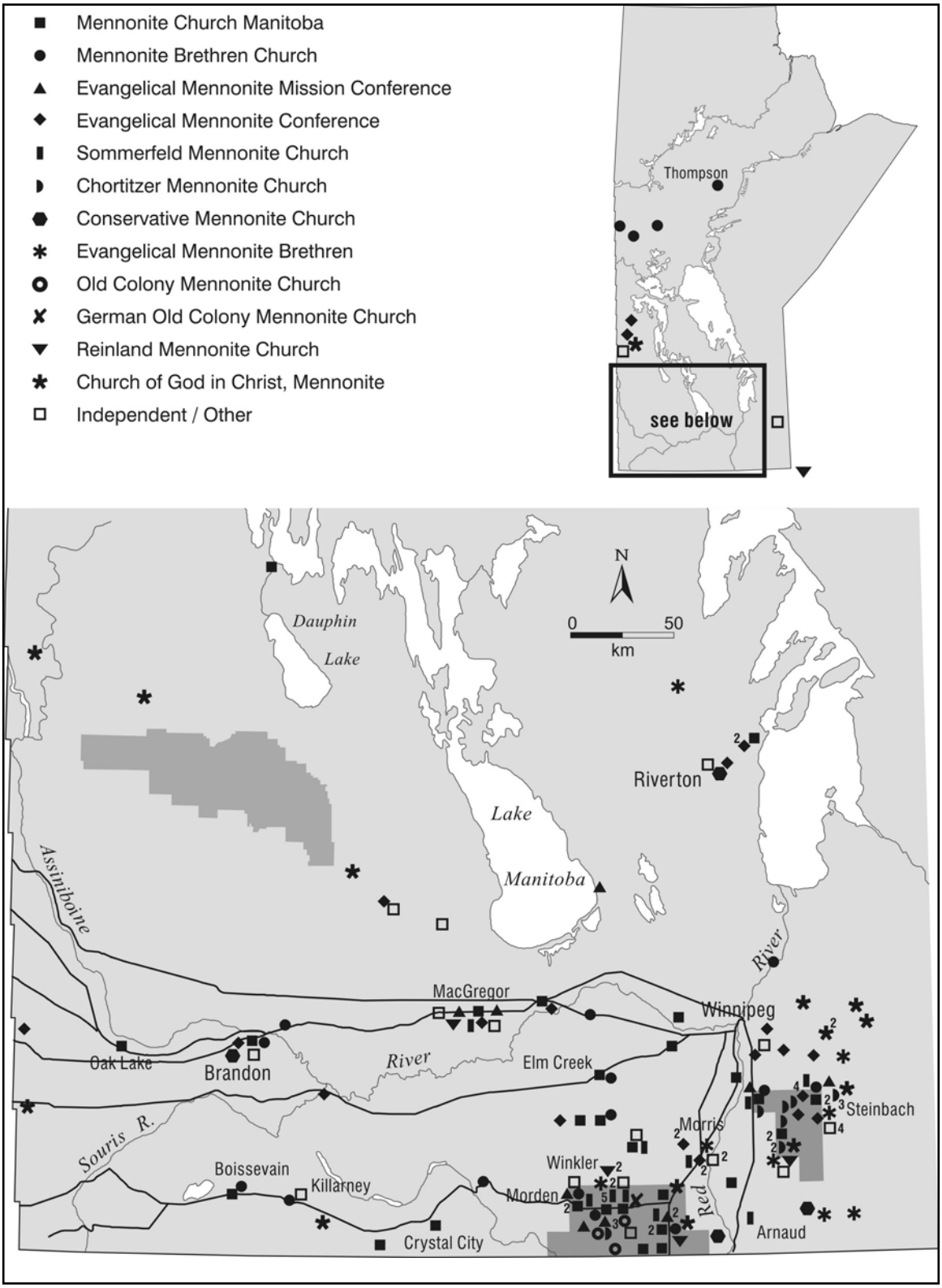
from South Korea attended Canadian Mennonite Bible College. After completing their studies, some returned to Korea and encouraged others to attend CMBC, resulting in a sizeable student group. Charleswood Mennonite Church extended an invitation to these students to worship with them. The Koreans accepted this offer, but decided also to meet separately for worship in their own language. Charleswood Church, together with the Korean group, appointed an associate pastor to minister to the Koreans (See Maps 6, 7 and 8 for the location of Mennonite churches in Manitoba and Winnipeg).[44]

The Mennonite World Conference, which in 1990 held its sessions in Winnipeg, dramatically impressed upon Manitoba Mennonites that they are part of a culturally and religiously diverse worldwide Mennonite community. Mennonites from many countries shared their stories, piety, dances, music, and colourful pageantry. At the time of the conference half the Mennonites in the world were of Asian, African, and Latin American descent.[45] No longer were the descendents of the original Dutch, German, and Swiss Mennonites the majority.[46] At this World Conference it also became evident that the religious experiences, orientations, and pieties of "new" Mennonite churches in Manitoba are often closer to third-world Mennonites than to historic Mennonite groups in Manitoba. The "new" Mennonite churches thus are taking their place in the Manitoba Mennonite community as part of a growing worldwide development.

Theological Orientations

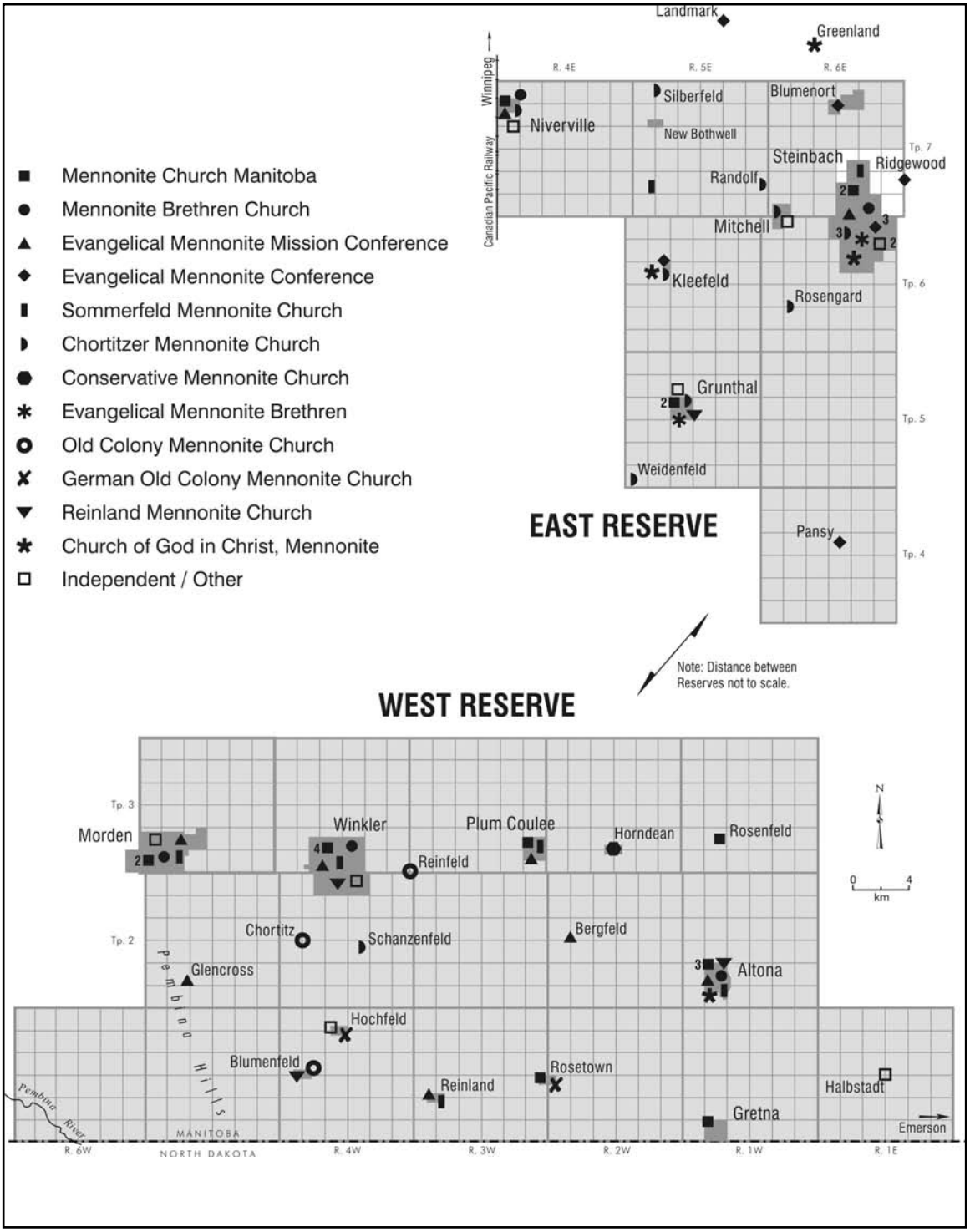
When Mennonite groups came to Manitoba, they shared a number of historic beliefs: adult baptism, a concept of church in which leaders were elected from the membership, pacifism and the rejection of military service, a view of Christian discipleship that faith needed to be lived out throughout life (including the economic), separation from the world, the importance of education and of service. Mennonites have also continuously borrowed theological concepts, and this has resulted in considerable theological diversity. Some were more pietistic and emphasized evangelism, climactic personal conversion experiences, personal and family devotional life, and missions. Others drew more on the teachings of the major theologians of the day, and looked to their trained leadership for renewal and direction. Still others were influenced by the various millennial and pre-millennial movements, emphasized the imminence of the end times, and engaged in extensive end-time speculations.

During the past 50 years, this historic diversity has been influenced further and reshaped by three theological orientations: conservative, evangelical, and Anabaptist. These three orientations have had varying influenc-

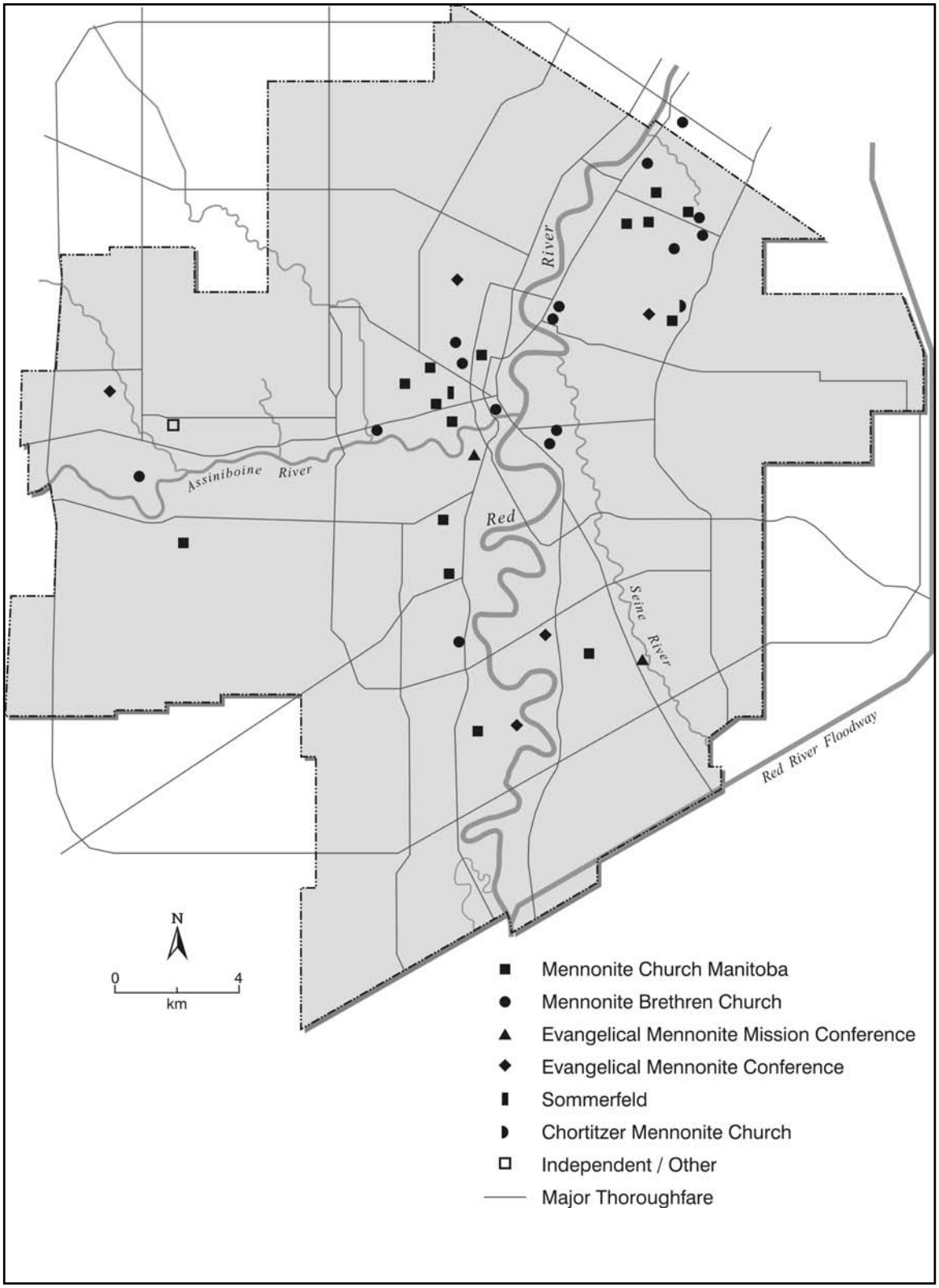


Map 6: Location of Manitoba Mennonite churches (except the city of Winnipeg), ca. 2000

(see Appendix 2 for complete list of churches)



Map 7: Location of Mennonite churches on reserves



Map 8: Location of Mennonite churches in Winnipeg, ca. 2005

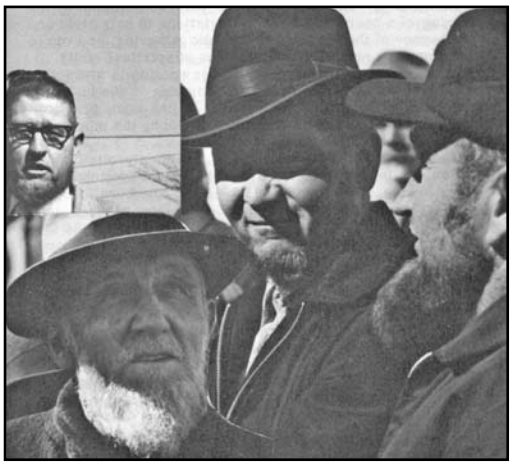
(see Appendix 2 for complete list of churches)

es upon Mennonite groups, with most groups identifying with one or a number of these. In some Mennonite groups the different emphases coexist peacefully; in others they create tensions about direction and identity.

Conservative-Conserving. Some Mennonite churches which maintain continuity with historical beliefs and practices are popularly referred to as conservative or conserving, even though they do not use this designation to describe themselves. The leaders of these groups say their concern is simply to follow the teachings of the Bible faithfully. They are seen as conservative because they believe that Christians should have a character that is different from that of the world, and thus not follow all its practices and mores.

One of the more visible ways in which they express separation from the world is in distinctive clothing. It defines a boundary between church and world, and creates a sense of belonging for those within the church. An example of distinctive clothing is head coverings for women, also called prayer veils.[47] These are seen as an expression of devotion to God as well as a sign of submission of woman to man.[48] The head coverings indicate simplicity and a rejection of that which is costly and ostentatious in favour of that which is functional and modest.[49] Holdeman men are distinguished from the larger society by wearing beards that are distinctively trimmed. Men in the Conservative Mennonite Fellowship wear straight coats, similar to those worn by Swiss Mennonites in Pennsylvania. In some churches ministers have special coats, a dark or black shirt, and no tie.

Conservatives express separation from the world in other ways as well. They believe in a humble, peaceful way of life, and normally do not sue in court of law, hold political office, or join the army or police forces. Members of Holdeman and Conservative Mennonite Fellowship churches do not vote in municipal, provincial, or federal elections. Theologically, the conservatives' intent is to follow the teachings of the Bible. Their sermons are biblical expositions. They all have Sunday schools, and these transmit the biblical stories and truths to their children. They believe that Jesus Christ is their Saviour, and those who wish to attain eternal life must come to him in faith and follow his teachings about daily discipleship. Their tendency is not to be overly verbal or expressive of their faith. To be faithful to Christ is to serve him to the end of their days. Theirs is a theology of hope in the future, a hope that will achieve the reward as promised in Revelation 2:10, "Be faithful until death, and I will give you the crown of life." They pray that by God's grace they will not stray from a life of faithfulness.



The Church of God in Christ, Mennonite (Holdeman) is one of the oldest churches on the former East Reserve and in the Rosenort area. In recent years it has established congregations in different parts of Manitoba, especially around the Duck Mountain Provincial Park (13).

The *Old Colony Mennonite Church*, was formed in 1936 when it organized under the leadership of Jacob J. Froese.[50] It established four meeting places in southern Manitoba: in the villages of Chortitz, Reinfeld, Blumenfeld, and Rosenort.[51] During the past 50 years the church has played an important role in ministering to the spiritual and financial needs of Old Colony Mennonites who have returned from Mexico.[52] In order to fulfil this ministry more effectively, the Old Colony Church changed its language of worship from High German to Low German, the language of the returnees. It established Sunday schools to provide education for the children. In the year 2000, about 90 percent of the Old Colony Church's 1,100 members had originated in Mexico.[53]

In 2003 a group of 130 members left the

Old Colony Church to form the German Old Colony Mennonite Church. This group felt its parent church was introducing too many changes and was thereby jeopardizing its ministry to immigrants from Mexico. It committed itself to retain more of the traditional Old Colony patterns, including the use of Low German in worship services. Within a year, this German Old Colony group doubled in membership. It has two meeting places, one in Rosetown south of Plum Coulee and another near the village of Hochfeld south of Winkler.[54]

The *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church* has experienced a number of divisions in the past 50 years. In 1958 some 800 members, about a fifth of its membership, left to form the Reinland Mennonite Church. Due to the unsettled conditions created by this division, many others also left the church. Sommerfelder Church membership declined by more than half, from 4,400 to about 1,900.[55] In 1985 another group of 108 members and their families left to form the Winkler Mennonite Church because they wanted more freedom in worship services and more lay involvement.[56] After each of these divisions, the church's membership recovered so that by 2000 its membership was 4,600. The gradual acceptance of change and innovation and a healthy respect for its own traditions have resulted in growth. The Sommerfelder Church has attracted many of its young people, ministered to its older members, and drawn outsiders especially immigrants from Mexico. It has initiated choral and youth programs. Most congregations have choirs that sing Sunday morning and/or at song festivals. Worship services are bilingual or English only. Its theological language has become increasingly evangelical as the language of worship has become more English. It refers to itself as both evangelical and Mennonite.

The *Chortitzer Mennonite Church*, which 50 years ago was one of the conservative churches, has undergone significant changes.[57] After the emigration of a portion of its more conservative members to Paraguay in 1948, the church felt freer to incorporate new ideas. The leaders, in particular bishops Peter S. Wiebe, who was bishop from 1932 to 1962, and Henry K. Schellenberg, bishop from 1962 to 1983, worked hard to keep a balance between innovation and conserving. Their aim was to keep the church unified.

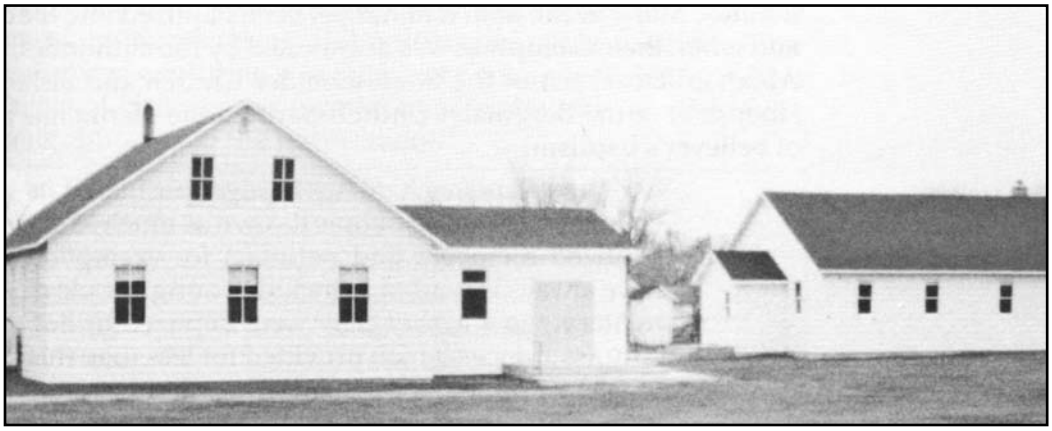
During the era of Bishop William Hildebrandt (1983-1999) the rate of innovation increased. Two events provided motivation and urgency. One was that in 1982, shortly

The Silberfeld Chortitzer Church near New Bothwell (14).

before Hildebrandt's ordination as bishop, Peter Broesky, a minister in Steinbach, left with a group of members to found the Calvary Chapel. This group wanted more change, increased use of the English language in worship, more activities for youth, and stronger evangelistic programs. It represented a part of the church that had become ever more insistent and vocal about the need for change. The other event that helped to make changes possible had been the departure of two conservative groups. In 1958 two ministers, Jacob F. Wiebe and Jacob J. Schellenberg, left with a group to join the Reinlaender Church, a conservative church that formed on the West Reserve in that year. This congregation formed in Grunthal. In 1973 a group of 17 families in the New Bothwell area left and formed a group that joined the Sommerfelder Church.[58] The reason for both departures was to retain more of the traditional ways that they felt were being threatened in the Chortitzer Church.

To stem the losses, under Hildebrandt's leadership the church adopted numerous changes, including an active youth program, bilingual worship services, worship bands, foreign missions, and evangelism. With these changes came a shift in theology. From being conservative Mennonite, many in the church now referred to themselves as evangelical Anabaptist and downplayed their Mennonite heritage. The church organized itself as a conference, with an office, paid staff, a denominational paper called *The Chronicle*, and a number of programs.

The Reinland Mennonite Church formed in 1958.[59] By choosing the name Reinland, this new group identified with the conservative character of the Reinlaender Mennonite Church which had existed on the West Reserve from 1875 until it emigrated to Mexico in the 1920s. The newly formed Reinland Church maintained traditional Mennonite patterns of worship, language, and separation from the world. This group felt that the Som-



The Reinland Mennonite Church in the village of Blumenfeld south of Winkler. At far right is the dining hall (15).

merfelder Church, even though commonly seen to be holding to traditional practices and beliefs, had introduced too many changes.[60] It believed that the bishop was not employing sufficient discipline against those who were modernizing. In addition, a clash of personalities resulted in a leadership struggle.[61] The immediate issue that caused the division was whether church buildings could be wired for electricity. How this matter was addressed became a symbol for the issues of modernization, church leadership, and discipline. In the latter 1960s Bishop Cornelius C. Nickel and several hundred Reinland Church members emigrated to Bolivia, seeking greater freedom to practice their faith and avoid modernizing trends. In particular they wanted more control of schools. Some returned to Manitoba in the next decade but the majority remain in Bolivia.[62]

In 1990 the Reinland Church in Manitoba had about 1,590 baptized members.[63] The number increased to 2,184 by the year 2000 and to 2,615 in 2003.[64] Ninety percent of its members originate in Mexico or are descendants of immigrants from Mexico. This means that most of the people who initially founded the Reinland Mennonite Church have emigrated or joined other Mennonite churches. In 1984 a group of less than 100 members who were concerned about modernizing trends left the Reinland Church to form the Friedensfelder Mennonite Church.[65] It has one meeting place in the village of Gnadenthal south of Plum Coulee. For some years it also had two small groups in the Austin and Grunthal regions that met in homes.[66]

The *Conservative Mennonite Nationwide Fellowship* is comprised of a group of churches that combine conservative and evangelical emphases. It formed in 1972 and has four congregations in Manitoba: at Roseau River, Horndean, Austin, and Riverton. Although affiliated, the groups do not form a conference. They relate to Conservative Mennonite Nationwide Fellowship congregations in Ohio and in other eastern states. The congregations in Manitoba received their theological inspiration from Mennonites in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[67] Many of its members, as well as most of the ministers, are of Evangelical Mennonite Conference background. Women wear white head coverings or prayer veils, and thereby express their belief in God's order of headship: God, Christ, man, woman. Men wear jackets that follow the straight-coat style of Pennsylvania Conservative Mennonites. Each congregation has a private school from kindergarten to grade nine or ten. The Conservative Mennonite congregations emphasize community, separation from the world, evangelism, missions, peace, humility, simplicity, and service.

A *new group of churches* has recently been formed by immigrants from Germany who began arriving in 1997. They have settled primarily in the Winkler and Steinbach areas, although some have also located in Winnipeg, Altona, Arborg, Swan River, and Beausejour. The immigrants total about 6,000 people in about 800 families.[68] The majority has roots in the scattered Mennonite communities in the former Soviet Union that resulted from Stalin's eviction of Mennonites from Ukraine. Because it was illegal to form Mennonite churches, some joined Baptist churches while others remained secular, influenced by the government's official policy of atheism.

They immigrated to Germany from the 1970s onward and are now looking for new opportunities in Manitoba. Because many had no church connection in the Soviet Union and made faith commitments after settling in Germany, they come with a vari-

ety of denominational affiliations. Most do not identify as Mennonite, although many see themselves as Anabaptist. Some have joined Mennonite Brethren or Mennonite Church Manitoba congregations. Others have formed independent Baptist, Pentecostal, Adventist, Free Evangelical Lutheran and Evangelical churches. Most congregations are strongly service- and mission-minded. Many support programs in Germany that work in Ukraine and Russia. The immigrants publish a regular newsletter. Some groups are quite conservative with distinctive dress, conservative theology, and traditional music. Others are quite liberal in theology, use worship bands, sing the most modern music, attend university, and are largely integrated into the society. It still remains to be seen how closely they will relate to the Mennonite community.

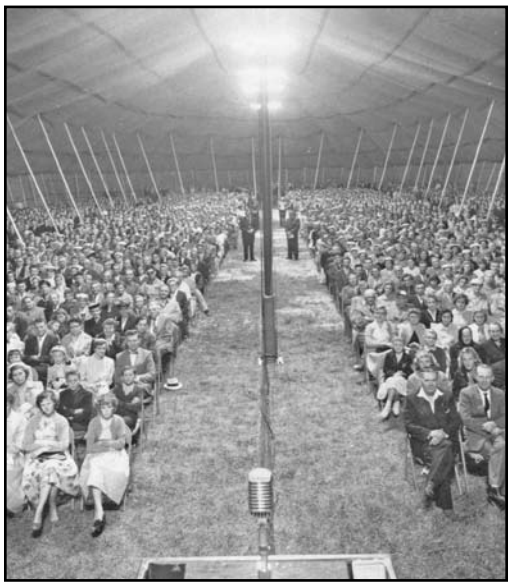
Evangelical. All Mennonite churches consider themselves evangelical according to the biblical understanding of preaching the evangel or gospel, proclaiming salvation in Christ, and inviting people to faith in God and to membership in the church. Not all Mennonite churches, however, identify with the North American evangelical movement. In Canada and the United States, this movement has developed characteristics similar to those of a denomination complete with theological orientation, organization, and affiliations.[69] The principal emphases are a personal conversion experience, assurance of salvation, evangelism, and missions. Those who do not claim a personal conversion experience are invited to become "converted." In recent years members within the evangelical movement have also organized evangelicals for peace and evangelicals for social action. These developments have been especially important among those in the Third World.[70]

Becoming evangelical often occurs as part of a larger process of acculturation. As Mennonites move into using English instead of German, the most readily available religious language is often that of the evangelicals. The language change may be accompanied by a decline in the use of distinctive dress and traditional modes of church organization. Theological clashes can also result. Much of the North American evangelical movement is closely tied to American nationalism and militarism, while Mennonites believe in pacifism and service. Some Mennonite groups manage to adopt evangelicalism without accepting the nationalism and militarism, and thus are able to integrate evangelism and peace.[71] Others are not able to accomplish this and feel they have to choose between the two which usually means they drop their views on peace and service, deciding that these are less biblical than the nationalistic interpretations of evangelicalism. Sometimes churches that adopt an evangelical identity decrease or even stop their support for Mennonite relief and service agencies such as Mennonite Central Committee.[72]

Billy Graham's more moderate evangelical movement has had a strong influence on Mennonites since the 1940s. Whereas the evangelical-fundamentalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s had emphasized biblical inerrancy, the virgin birth of Jesus, speculations about end times, and creationism, Graham stressed a warm personal piety, personal conversion, assurance of salvation, witnessing, and missions. He utilized large public evangelistic meetings or campaigns, and this style became popular among Mennonites. Revival services were held in churches as well as in large community halls or tents. In Steinbach private donors built a large "Tabernacle" specifically for evangelistic meetings. Seating up to a thousand people, it was used extensively from the early 1940s to the 1960s.[73] One historian, describing the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba, wrote that in the 1940s and following, "Evangelism was happening everywhere. There were evangelistic services in private schools, in congregations, in mission churches, at youth retreats, at children's camps, and at conferences."[74] Similar activities were repeated in other Mennonite conferences as well.

In the summer of 1957, Mennonite evangelist George R. Brunk II and his family from Harrisonburg, Virginia, toured Manitoba Mennonite communities with revival campaigns.[75] He held nightly meetings in a large tent for a number of weeks at one location. He brought his own evangelistic team and song leaders, preached revival sermons, and trained counsellors. That summer he held campaigns in Steinbach, Altona, and Winkler, returning to other Manitoba locations in succeeding years. Mennonite evangelists who followed Brunk were the Janz Brothers and Myron Augsburger.[76]

These evangelistic campaigns had a powerful influence on the theology of the Mennonite community, bringing an evangelical English theological vocabulary to a people in the midst of a language change from German to English. Instead of a German language of faithfulness, discipleship, and service, the evangelists used an English vocabulary of de-



In the summer of 1957, George Brunk preached to crowds of up to 1,900 people in tent revival meetings in a number of Manitoba Mennonite communities. At each location he held nightly services for two to three weeks (16).

cision-making, assurance of salvation, being born again, being saved, and being filled with the Holy Spirit. The campaigns also changed the way faith commitments were experienced and understood. Instead of forming faith commitments through adult baptism and instruction within a congregation, revivalists called for climactic, sudden conversions made in public under the influence of an evangelist or counsellor. For many these emphases were refreshing and renewing; for others they were offensive and problematic. These events brought about a new era of cooperation among the Mennonite churches that organized the evangelistic campaigns. However, they created tension between those who participated and those who did not. The latter felt that it was implied, or stated, that they were in need of the kind of salvation being promoted by the campaigns.[77]

Radio Southern Manitoba, namely CFAM and its affiliates and later part of Golden West Broadcasting, strengthened the evangelical influence among Mennonites. In 1957 radio station CFAM went on the air in Altona with one of its goals being to present religious fare. Programs were presented by local churches as well as by evangelical organizations, many of them originating in the United States. One of the more popular was "Back to the Bible" from Lincoln, Nebraska. Founded by Theodore H. Epp, who had left the Mennonite Church in Nebraska because he felt it was not evangelical enough, the program linked up well with Manitoba Mennonites. The radio station influenced Manitoba Mennonite theology in the direction of an evangelical identity.

During the past 50 years the Mennonite Brethren Church has been transforming itself gradually from its Mennonite-Pietist roots in Russia to an evangelical Anabaptist church with a stronger Canadian identity. The transformation was hastened by the change in language from German to English. When the church used German, Mennonite Brethren evangelism and church growth were largely restricted to the larger Mennonite community and other German-speaking groups. After it adopted English, the focus of its evangelism broadened to the larger society. Some saw Mennonite identity as a hindrance to evangelism and renamed their congregations as community churches—for them "Mennonite" signified a culture, not a theology. Many Mennonite Brethren identify their theological orientation as evangelical Anabaptist.[78]

In the 1950s two Mennonite churches took new names as a result of evangelical influences. In 1952 the Kleine Gemeinde renamed itself the Evangelical Mennonite Church, and in 1960 changed the name to Evangelical Mennonite Conference.[79] In 1959 the Rudnerweider Gemeinde became the Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference.[80] Both churches have vigorously carried on local evangelism and missions, and both continue to relate to inter-Mennonite organizations including MCC and Mennonite World Conference. However, both are also de-emphasizing their Mennonite identity and describe their theological orientation as evangelical Anabaptist.

Since World War II a number of churches that accepted an evangelical identity dropped their Mennonite connections, removed Mennonite from their name, and severed connections with MCC and Mennonite World Conference. The first to make this move was the Emmanuel Mennonite Mission Church in Steinbach which began in the early 1940s. Its

The Morweena Evangelical Mennonite Church in the Interlake region north of Arborg (17).

intention was to be more evangelical than the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren from which most of its members came.[81] Some of its leaders specifically identified "pacifism" as a Mennonite cultural characteristic that they wanted to leave now that they had become evangelical. This group eventually affiliated with the Evangelical Free Church, even though most of its members are of Mennonite background.

A recent change of identity is that of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Church which in 1989 changed its name to Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches.[82] Its original name in 1889 was United Defenseless Mennonite Brethren in Christ, specifically emphasizing pacifism. One historian described the church's decision to change its name and identity thus: ". . . in a hundred years, the renewal movement to return to the 'faith of the fathers' had gone full circle, now fully rejecting its historical heritage and moving toward mainline North American evangelicalism and fundamentalism."[83] With the change in name, the Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches dropped its affiliation with MCC and Mennonite World Conference. As a conference it decided that the historical Anabaptist-Mennonite emphases were incompatible with its main business of saving souls.[84] However, a number of congregations have not completely dropped their Mennonite identity, including the church in Grunthal that has retained its name and relates to MCC.

Numerous independent Mennonite churches are the result of people leaving established Mennonite churches to form evangelical churches, some of which continue to relate to MCC. As already noted, for some, to become evangelical means dropping Mennonite identity, de-emphasizing peace and service, changing theological identity, and severing affiliation with MCC and Mennonite World Conference. For others, evangelical theology deepens commitment to an Anabaptist theology and helps to integrate peace and evangelism, personal commitments and community efforts, service and mission. In such cases the theological orientation of evangelical Anabaptism keeps the church firmly rooted in the Mennonite community and its inter-Mennonite organizations.

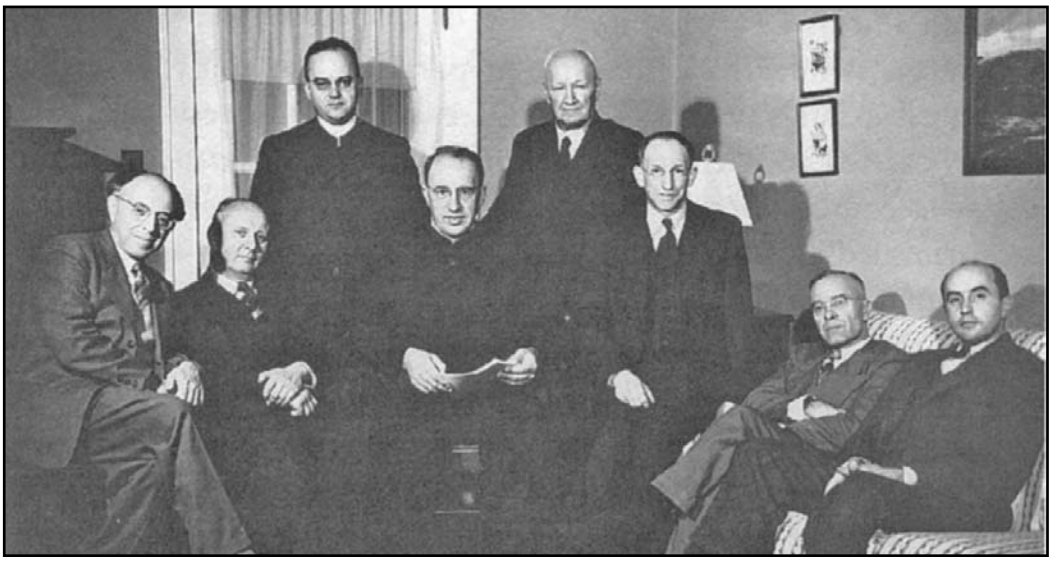
Anabaptist. Another influence that has affected virtually all Manitoba Mennonite groups is a theological formulation called Anabaptism. As a theological construct it was proposed by Harold S. Bender, a Swiss Mennonite who taught at Goshen College in Goshen, Indiana. In 1943 he outlined his ideas in an address to the American Society of Church History entitled "The Anabaptist Vision."[85]

Bender believed that the evangelical-fundamentalist and liberal theologies of the day were not serving Mennonite churches well, and proposed a theology based on the sixteenth-century Anabaptist experience. He felt that the other two theologies had lost their biblical base. Liberal theology had become largely acculturated and had accommodated itself to the values and norms of society. Its message was so assimilated that it could not provide a message of salvation and hope to the world. The evangelical-fundamentalist movement, Bender believed, was too preoccupied with defining correct dogmas on the virgin birth of Christ, inerrancy of the Bible, and speculating about end times. It was reductionist in its theology and focused too narrowly on personal conversion. In addition, it identified too closely with American militarism and nationalism and had become unfaithful to the biblical teachings of peace and non-resistance.

Bender proposed that Mennonites draw upon their sixteenth-century Anabaptist heritage to develop a third theological option. The Anabaptist "vision" he proposed included three biblically based themes: the church as a community in which believers share, support, and forgive one another; discipleship as the daily living out of the Christian faith; and peace in which the way to deal with violence and conflict is modelled on Christ's reconciling death on the cross. He felt this theology could give the needed direction for twentieth-century Mennonites, and would help them avoid the extremes and omissions of both the evangelical-fundamentalist and liberal theologies. Bender's formulation helped Mennonites see that their theology had a coherence and integrity that could stand alongside Protestant theologies. For many, this theology inspired a renewal of beliefs and actions.

Even though Bender's theology specifically addressed the American Mennonite scene, his proposal gained wide acceptance among Manitoba Mennonite churches. Virtually all have accepted it in some form. It provides a theological formulation that allows them to remain rooted in their theological heritage while retaining the freedom to incorporate new ideas. Conservatives have not publicly incorporated Anabaptism into their writings, yet various writers have shown that their theology in many respects agrees with Bender's vision.[86]

Since the 1970s scholars have challenged



Harold S. Bender with the associate editors of Mennonite Quarterly Review. *This group was important in formulating and promoting the "Anabaptist Vision" (from left to right): Robert Friedmann, Ernest Correll, John C. Wenger, Harold S. Bender, John S. Umble, Melvin Gingerich, Cornelius Krahn, and J. Winfield Fretz (18).*

Bender's "Anabaptist Vision" and have proposed revisions. Bender was critiqued for suggesting that sixteenth-century Anabaptism originated in one centre (monogenesis), namely in Zurich, Switzerland. His critics pointed out that there were a number of origins, and proposed a polygenesis that would allow for the acceptance of greater contemporary Mennonite theological diversity. Another critique of Bender was that he viewed the Anabaptist movement as too strictly religious, and failed to note how it also addressed social, political, and economic issues, hence allows Mennonites to incorporate issues of justice and economic exploitation in the contemporary agenda. A third critique was that the Anabaptist movement was not as uniformly pacifist as Bender had made it out to be. Critics argued that there was more overlap between the social rebellion of the Peasants' Revolts and Anabaptism than Bender had allowed.[87] Reformers such as Balthasar Hubmaier, although advocates for peace, incorporated into their thinking elements of a just war theology and the possibility of active participation in government. More recent scholars have begun to reconcile the views of Bender and his critics, accepting many of the critiques but acknowledging the strength of the direction in which Bender pointed Anabaptist research.[88] Both his original Anabaptist emphases as well as the revisions continue to have a strong influence on Manitoba Mennonite identity.[89]

When Bender's Anabaptist theology first appeared, a number of key Mennonite Brethren leaders, especially teachers at Mennonite Brethren Bible College, embraced it. They integrated his theology with the MB's evangelical character. This process, as noted earlier, has continued so that some MBs today refer to themselves as evangelical Anabaptist.[90] The EMMC, EMC, and Chortitzer, all influenced by both the evangelical movement and Anabaptist theology, identify themselves similarly.[91]

Mennonite Church Canada has been influenced by Anabaptist theology and describes its identity as Anabaptist-Mennonite. Sunday school material was written from this theological perspective from the 1970s onward. The theology of its Bible schools, high schools, and college was influenced by it, even though never wholeheartedly embracing it as the only identity.[92] The Mennonite Church also shows the influence of the evangelical movement in the development of its programs of evangelism and missions. Mennonite Church Canada also identifies itself as ecumenical[93] and has membership in both the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada and the Canadian Council of Churches.[94]

An expression of the continuing influence of Anabaptist theology is the formation of the Evangelical Anabaptist Fellowship. Organized in the early 1990s, it consists of individuals and congregations from a variety of Mennonite conferences. Its goal is to promote the radical discipleship of the Anabaptist movement, using the Schleitheim and Dortrecht Confessions as the base. They organize hymn-sings, have produced a video

and study materials, and put out a newsletter called *The Voice*.[95]

The theological diversity of Manitoba Mennonite churches can be described as a mosaic with many overlapping components. The various groups reflect differing interpretations and aspects of a common heritage reshaped by a variety of influences. Different groups attempt to interpret that common heritage in terms of being faithful to the teachings of the Bible.

Church Beliefs and Practices

Worship. Worship is central to Mennonite identity. Through it Mennonites express faith in God and build community. Their churches meet for weekly worship services as well as for special occasions. Anniversaries, family events, conference sessions, and other special celebrations are often structured as worship services.

Common to Mennonite worship are scripture, sermons, prayers, and hymns. Sermons consist of expositions of a selection of scripture or the development of a theological theme. In the conservative churches they are comprised of an introductory sermon of about 15 minutes, followed by the reading of a Bible text, and concluding with a longer main sermon. Hymns are included at the beginning and end of the service as well as between the two parts of the sermon. Prayers occur in the middle of the service and announcements at the end. In these churches most prayers are silent, with the congregation kneeling, facing the lean of the pew.

In other congregations, people sit or stand for prayers. In most of them additional features such as children's items and special music are added to the order of worship, and the sermon is usually shortened to have the service conclude within an hour.

Music is vital to Mennonite worship.[96] Most churches have strong congregational singing. Many use pianos and/or organs to accompany the congregation and choir. A few churches, especially the conservative ones, sing without accompaniment. Some congregations sing in four-part harmony, while others sing in unison. Many enhance their singing with worship bands that include guitars, drums, and other instruments. Music styles include traditional German and English hymns, Protestant chorales, American gospel songs, hymns from the Third World, and contemporary choruses. The latter are the most recent form of congregational music, and are particularly popular with young people.

Hundreds of youth attend the biennial Evangelical Mennonite Church youth conference, Abundant Springs (19).

For many years congregational choirs enhanced Sunday morning worship services and special occasions. During the past decade, many of these choirs have declined in membership, or have ceased functioning altogether. The Sommerfelder Church is one of the few churches that has revitalized choral singing. Most of its congregations have choirs that perform at special songfests and occasionally sing at Sunday morning worship services.

Additional features that may be included in Mennonite worship services are dramas, stories for the children, readings, offerings, and sharing of concerns or prayer requests by members of the congregation. Services may be augmented with bulletins that include the order of worship as well as announcements of activities. Some churches have their own printed periodicals.

Peace. During World War II almost 40 percent of Mennonite men, who were eligible to serve in the military, enlisted. Mennonite churches believed that this high level of enlistment was in part their fault, and redoubled efforts to teach the way of peace. Inter-Mennonite conferences were organized, ministers preached sermons, and teachers at private schools emphasized it in their classes. Peace study was included in the Sunday school curriculum.

During the Vietnam War era discussions about pacifism and conflict were often sharp and emotional. Letters to the editors in Mennonite papers indicated the depth of feeling on this issue. Some, whose families had suffered the trauma of communist rule in the Soviet Union, supported the American war effort in southeast Asia. Others argued that a peace theology was relevant in even the most difficult war situations. They said that it meant personally rejecting military service, as Mennonites had done in the past, as well as

calling nations to the ways of peace. This was God's intention for all people in the world, not only for Christians. During the Vietnam War Mennonite understanding of peace broadened from concentrating on exemption from military service to focussing on issues of poverty and of social and political injustice. Mennonites now saw this theology not only as gaining rights for themselves but also as advocating for others.

The widespread acceptance of a peace theology is indicated in a variety of ways. Most Mennonite Confessions have a section that speaks to the issue. MCC and some Mennonite conferences have appointed staff to educate and recommend concrete, practical ways for individuals and churches to express peace.[97] A peace theology has been promoted among young Mennonites through the annual Peace-It-Together (PIT) conference sponsored by Canadian Mennonite University and one of its predecessors, Canadian Mennonite Bible College. It is attended by hundreds of young people from across Canada and focuses on specific ways in which this belief can be lived in daily life.

Some resist a peace theology because it may not be popular, especially in time of war, thus making evangelism harder. Others, influenced by evangelical theology that often reduces the understanding of salvation to "saving the soul," feel that pacifism should be relegated to an optional belief or to inner piety. Peace then ceases to have its historical impact which was to motivate individuals and communities to refuse to do military service even under extreme national pressure.

Missions. As a result of the evangelical movement, mission programs have gained wide acceptance.[98] Manitoba churches that relate to larger North American conferences, namely the Mennonite Brethren, Mennonite Church Manitoba, and the Holdeman Church, send missionaries overseas. Through their bi-national agencies they provide organizational and financial support for their personnel. In each conference, financial support is strong, and many people volunteer to work for those programs. In the past number of years, with restructuring in the Mennonite Brethren and the Mennonite Church, both of their Canadian conference offices in Winnipeg have assumed greater responsibility for foreign mission programs.

The Evangelical Mennonite and Evangelical Mennonite Mission conferences established mission boards shortly after they adopted their new names in 1952 and 1959 respectively. At first the boards did not fund field workers but sent them under faith mission agencies where they had to find their own financial support.[99] More recently, both conferences are supporting some of their missionaries, even though many still go under various other agencies.[100] Before 1952 the Evangelical Mennonite Conference, as part of its mission strategy, invited small groups of members to form new settlements.[101]

In recent years the Chortitzer Church organized a mission board, but its role is to promote missions, not place or supervise workers. Missionaries go out under some other group's program, usually a faith mission. To this day the church operates a Low German radio mission program that is broadcast in southern Manitoba, Paraguay, and Bolivia. The Sommerfelder Church promotes missions but does not have its own program. Its missionaries go out under faith mission agencies. The Holdeman Church's mission program has consisted of two strategies. One is the traditional pattern of sending missionaries to foreign countries. The other is settlement evangelism in which a number of families move to a new area to found a church and invite neighbours to become part of it. In the past number of decades, new congregations have been formed in southwestern Manitoba and in the northwestern part of Manitoba around Duck Mountain Provincial Park.

The Reinland, Old Colony, and the recently organized German Old Colony Mennonite Church have not done traditional mission work. Their outreach has been primarily to help Mennonites, usually Old Colonists, to establish churches. The Reinland bishop assisted people in the Mexican Mennonite colony of Swift Current to reorganize and to form a Reinland Mennonite Church when their leaders left because of the threat of modernization. The present Reinland bishop, William Friesen, travels extensively to southern Ontario, to the Vauxhall area of southern Alberta, to the Worseley area of northern Alberta, and to the Vanderhoof area of northern British Columbia to assist immigrants from Mexico by serving communion, baptizing new members, and presiding over the election of new ministers and bishops so that orderly church life can be established. Friesen has also assisted Old Colony immigrants to the United States to organize, specifically in Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas.[102]

In 1957 Bishop Jacob J. Froese of the Manitoba Old Colony Church went to Ontario to organize a church for Mennonites who

...We Mennonites, as a "world wide brotherhood," need a common language [German] in order to remain connected with each other, to be able to help each other in spiritual and religious matters, to remain strong as a corporate body and to be able to understand each other. Because we Mennonites are a "separate people," we will not be able to retain our separateness if we accommodate ourselves to another culture so completely that we cannot be distinguished by language, customs and practices. This [accommodation] will be followed by full integration including mixed marriages. In order to maintain this separateness, the German language can be of great service.
(*Der Bote*, 7 March 1956, 5)

In 1956 Mennonite Church Manitoba voted to support the translation into German of the General Conference graded Sunday School lessons. Doing so made the lessons more expensive than the English ones, but the added expense was seen as well worth the goal of maintaining the German language.
(Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity*, 108)

had returned from Mexico. In the following decades the bishops from Manitoba continue to provide leadership and to ordain local ministers. Today the Old Colony churches in Ontario are independent and have some 4,500 members with a total faith community of approximately 9,000 people.[103]

Language Change. In the 1950s Mennonites faced a language change from German to English. Such a change is difficult because personal, group, and theological identity is closely related to language. Many Mennonites resisted the move away from the language that for generations had shaped their faith, identity, and world. To lose that seemed too large a loss.[104] The pressures to change came from various directions. Since the 1920s all Mennonite children had been educated in English-language public schools. The result was that the use of German in everyday discourse had suffered. The war years created negative feelings toward anything German. The language had been denigrated in the public schools, and children were often punished for speaking it. The advent of radio and television increased the influence of the English language. Spouses and neighbours were sometimes not conversant in German.

One response by church and community leaders was to intensify the use of the German language.[105] In the 1950s and 1960s, Saturday German schools were emphasized. Local and national German societies were organized to promote the use of German in the homes and schools. Conferences admonished parents to be more diligent in teaching and using German.[106] Despite these efforts, the change to English could not be stopped. Beginning in the late 1950s, the feelings about language were so intense that some Mennonite congregations divided over the issue. Others developed bilingual services. Still others organized two services, one German and the other English. Gradually, by the end of the century, the majority of Manitoba Mennonite churches were using English as the language of worship. A significant number, however, continue to use German. The more conservative churches use Low German, since their ministry focuses on immigrants from Mexico. Some congregations use German for part of their worship, or have separate German services to accommodate their older members or immigrants.

The various "new" Mennonite churches are experiencing similar language transitions. Most began by using their language of origin, be it Korean, Chinese, Lao, or Spanish. Over the years, those who have been in Winnipeg for a longer time feel they want to change to English, whereas the older people and new immigrants feel more comfortable with their native languages. Some congregations are beginning to face the need to translate their worship services since not all understand the same language.

Role of Women. Traditionally, in Mennonite churches leadership positions were held by men.[107] The support and assistance provided by spouses, however, was crucial. They accompanied their husbands on visitations, ran the farms when the husbands were engaged in church responsibilities, and often raised the family largely on their own.[108] As the churches changed during the past half-century, so did the role of women. Many congregations had women's sewing circles and mission groups. Women's groups provided food for various gatherings, sewed clothing and blankets for MCC, quilted, and did a multitude of other tasks. The proceeds went to support mission programs, private schools, congregational projects, and more. In some cases the first woman on a church's committee or board was a representative from a women's organization.

Some of the first missionaries sent out by Mennonite churches were single women. On the mission field they were commissioned to teach and preach, roles they did not have in their home congregations. With the establishment of Sunday schools, women assumed teaching roles. Most of the churches that changed from the traditional organizations to conferences in the 1950s and 1960s gave women the right to vote and be elected to church committees. Congregational meetings and church councils, that formerly were restricted to only men, now included women.[109] However, conservative churches do not yet include women in congregational meetings.

Anabaptist theology emphasizes the priesthood of all believers and implies that all members, including women, are called by God to use their gifts in ministry. This theology supported women in accepting public roles, although practices among churches vary. The Evangelical Mennonite Conference allows women to fill any role in the church except that of ordained minister.[110] For many years one urban EMC congregation had a woman pastor who was not ordained but was approved to perform weddings. The Mennonite Brethren Church does not allow women to be leading ministers nor to be ordained.[111] Mennonite Church Manitoba has ordained women as leading ministers.[112]

Mennonites Scatter

Mennonites, both young and old, leave Mennonite churches. Some do so because they secularize and cease to have interest in the Christian faith. Others seek different church homes because they experience Mennonite churches as too conservative or too restrictive; they may be looking for a church that appears more modern, or more evangelical, or more innovative. Some also leave Mennonite churches because they experience them as negative. The descriptions of Mennonite churches portrayed in Patrick Friesen's *The Shunning,* Di Brandt's *questions i asked my mother*, and Miriam Toews' *A Complicated Kindness* are, unfortunately, too often true. Instead of being supportive, a community can be destructive. Instead of being sympathetic and caring, leaders can be vindictive. Instead of being servants, leaders can play power games. Instead of supporting people who are hurting, a community can self-righteously cast them off. Instead of listening, communities can silence. Instead of saving people, they can destroy. Mennonite churches often may find it difficult to analyze their own practices and make corrections. Some of the conditions have existed for a long time and seem engrained in the character of the church.

Mennonite churches continue to exhibit a wide spectrum of faith expressions and practices as well as considerable commonalities in goals and identity. Although they draw inspiration from different sources, they filter these through shared experiences and beliefs. Mennonite churches are both inward looking, that is, concerned with their own beliefs and practices, and outward looking, willing to embrace people and issues in the larger society.

22
Education: Training for Discipleship

Mennonites continue to see education as important in shaping the character of young people. Although willing to work with both public and private schools, the support for private schooling by virtually all Mennonite groups has been impressive. They see education as important for the long-term health of their communities.

Public Schools—One-Room to Consolidated

By 1950 Mennonites had experienced English-language public schools for a quarter of a century. Most common was the one- or two-room country school with grades one to eight, or even up to ten. A government inspector made sure that the provincial curriculum was followed, that the language of instruction was English, that each school flew the Union Jack, and that children regularly sang the national anthems. He checked that a locally elected board was operating the school within the budget and guidelines set by the Department of Education.

In districts where the majority of students were Mennonite, school boards were allowed to arrange for half-hour German and religion classes before and after the school day. Mennonites, who lived in areas where they were a minority, often organized Saturday German schools. On specially designated days, board members and parents visited to observe the class instruction. Christmas programs were a highlight in the school year, and were often viewed by the community as an indication of how well the teacher was providing religious instruction.

This school system was also designed to instil national allegiance. A photo of King George VI, and after 1952 of Queen Elizabeth II, hung on the front wall of the classroom. Those who spoke Low German or German on school grounds were often reprimanded or punished. Libraries were stocked with English reading material and rarely included Mennonite, Anabaptist, or German books.

The everyday school experience included the three r's of reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic. Religion, the fourth "r," was taught after school hours. Pupils learned grammar, practiced penmanship, and memorized the multiplication tables. Spelling bees were popular. A sprinkling of history, health, and science classes rounded out the curriculum. The teacher spent at least a few minutes with each grade, and often encouraged older children to help the younger ones.

For many students, sports was an important part of the school experience. Recess and noon hours were used to play softball in spring, football in fall, and soccer in winter. In May and June, Friday afternoons were often spent playing softball against neighbouring schools. Teams were usually co-ed. The Mennonite community had largely accommodated itself to this public school system and generally felt that it met their needs.

During the 1960s the provincial government replaced the one- and two-room rural schools with larger consolidated schools that

One woman, Maria Funk from Steinbach, expressed her frustration with a church that was slow to give women equal roles. "The Lord seems to have endowed our church women with a special quality of love, patience and dedication. Surely he has also given them the attribute of spiritual intelligence and wisdom needed in consideration of church polity."
(Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity*, 126)

offered a wider variety of courses, provided more options, and had better equipment. The classrooms included only one or two grades. Mennonite communities initially resisted the formation of consolidated schools. The changes in curriculum, fewer school boards, minimal parental input, and lack of religious and German instruction caused concern. However, eventually these schools were accepted. In a number of areas, the response to consolidated schools was to organize locally run single- or multi-room schools. In 2002 four of these schools were still operating: Blumenfeld, Border Valley in Reinland, Hochfeld, and Schanzenfeld, all south of Winkler.[113] Their total student population was about 600. In other areas, private schools were organized. Home schooling was another option.

Elementary and High School Education

Private Elementary Schools. There are two Mennonite private elementary schools in Winnipeg, both run by the Winnipeg Mennonite Elementary School (WMES) Board. WMES began in 1981 with start-up funding by David Friesen, a Winnipeg lawyer and businessman.[114] Only a minority of its students come from Mennonite families. In the year 2000-2001 the schools had an enrolment of 485 students from kindergarten to grade eight. A number of rural private elementary schools operate on the same basis as WMES: one each in Austin, Riverton, Killarney, and Swan River. Some of these schools accept government assistance for a portion of their expenses—in 2001 this amounted to 50 percent of what public schools received—and use the regular government curriculum (see Appendix 3 for a list of private schools that receive partial government funding).

However, the majority of Mennonite-related private elementary schools, about 30 in the year 2000, do not accept government assistance, do not use government curriculum, and hire their own teachers (see Appendix 4 for private schools that receive no government funding). These schools began in the 1970s and their number has steadily increased. Many of them are organized by the Holdeman and Conservative Mennonite churches for their own members, one school for each congregation. On the former West Reserve, some families in the Reinland, Old Colony, and Sommerfelder churches also have organized private schools, although the churches do not provide financial support.[115] The two most popular curricula used by the private non-government-funded elementary schools are Christian Light Education (CLE), produced by Mennonites in Virginia, and Accelerated Christian Education (ACE).[116] Both allow students to progress at their own pace.[117]

Home Schooling. Some Mennonite parents home school their children. Distance from private schools and dissatisfaction with both public and private schools are some reasons for choosing this form of education. In a number of regions, for example south of Winkler, home school students meet for special occasions such as Christmas programs and end-of-school-year picnics, and in this respect function like a private school. In the 2000-2001 school year, with the number of home school students in the province about 1,250, more than half were Mennonite.

Home schools have three options for curriculum. One is the Independent School curriculum, essentially a correspondence program. A second option is to select one of eight Christian programs, the two most popular being the same as the non-government funded private schools use (see above). These materials are organized in modules according to grades, and students proceed at their own pace. In math, for example, there are 144 modules, twelve for each grade. The third option is for parents to create their own curriculum.

High Schools. In the early 1950s the vast majority of Mennonite high school students were attending public schools. Those parents who wanted more religious education for their children chose one of three private high schools: Mennonite Collegiate Institute (MCI) in Gretna, Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute (MBCI) in Winnipeg, or Steinbach Christian High School.[118] By the late 1950s MCI had an enrolment of more than 220 rural and urban students. In later years enrolment declined as the school faced stiff competition from well-funded public high schools. In 2001 MCI had about 130 students. MBCI in Winnipeg grew consistently through this half century, although it also faced competition from public schools. In order to grow, it attracted more non-Mennonite students and by 2001 had an enrolment of about 550 students. In 1953 the Steinbach Bible School's High School Division was reopened after being closed for a few years.[119] In the early 1990s it became a separate institution called Steinbach Christian High School with about 120 students. Different Mennonite conferences and churches have provided support through the years. In 2001 its supporting constituency consisted of the Evangelical Mennonite Con-

Table 20
Mennonite High Schools in Manitoba

Name of School	Date Founded	Enrolment (2001)
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	1889	140
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute	1945	550
Steinbach Christian High School	1947/1953	120
Westgate Mennonite Collegiate	1958	319
Total number of students		1,129

ference, the Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, and the Chortitzer Mennonite Conference.[120]

In 1958 some members from the First Mennonite and North Kildonan Mennonite churches in Winnipeg founded Westgate Mennonite Collegiate.[121]At first the school was known as Mennonite Educational Institute and located in North Kildonan. In 1964 it relocated to West Gate in the Wolseley area, hence the name. It also broadened its base and gained support from Winnipeg-area Mennonite Church Manitoba congregations. Westgate has about 330 students, which is capacity for its facilities.

All four Mennonite private high schools offer the provincial university entrance curriculum. In addition, students take courses in Bible, Mennonite history, ethics, world religion, and theology. The schools also offer music options in choirs, orchestras, and bands. In the early years teaching German was a priority, but more recently it has received less emphasis.[122] The schools receive provincial government operating grants. The size of the grants has gradually increased so that by 2000 they amounted to about 50 percent of what public high schools received. The rest of the costs are paid by tuition and by donations from the supporting constituency.

In addition to these four Mennonite high schools, some of the rural publicly funded private schools, like those in Austin and Swan River, also offer four years of high school: Senior 1-4. Most of the non-government-funded private elementary schools provide one or more years of high school education. Some of their teachers have provincial accreditation; others do not. The schools normally do not offer university entrance courses, rather they use religious curriculum produced by the same organizations that provide the curriculum for the elementary grades.

Post-secondary Education

Colleges. In 1961 the arts division of Mennonite Brethren Bible College (MBBC) affiliated with Waterloo Lutheran University, later named Wilfrid Laurier University. In 1970 MBBC became associated with the University of Winnipeg and students were able to register most of their courses with that university.[123] In 1992, after enrolment dropped and the Canadian Mennonite Brethren Conference withdrew its support, MBBC closed and reopened under a new name, Concord College. Concord was owned by a society with support primarily from MBs in Manitoba and some from Ontario and Alberta. In addition to the earlier emphases in theology and music, more attention was given to the arts. The music program expanded when Concord arranged with the University of Winnipeg to offer its music program.[124] In 1998 the Manitoba MB Conference, with support from the Alberta and Ontario MB conferences, accepted ownership of Concord.[125]

In 1964 Canadian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC) received recognition as "an approved teaching centre" of the University of Manitoba.[126] Those students who met U of M entrance requirements cross-registered with the university and earned up to one year of credit toward a BA degree. In 1970 the credit was increased to two years. With this relationship to the University, CMBC signalled that it was shifting its focus from training pastors and other church leaders to providing religious education for all young people regardless of vocation. This arrangement with the University of Manitoba remained in effect until CMBC became part of Canadian Mennonite University. CMBC was owned and operated by the Conference of Mennonites in Canada/Mennonite Church Canada.

Steinbach Bible Institute became a college in 1977. In 1991 it received accreditation from the American Association of Bible Colleges.[127] A year later the University of Manitoba extended credit to courses it approved.[128] Steinbach Bible College is owned and operated by the Evangelical Mennonite Conference,

Steinbach Bible College choir on a tour to churches in the 1990s. Touring was an important means by which Mennonite schools kept in touch with their constituencies (20).

Canadian Mennonite University's (CMU) main administration and classroom building at 500 Shaftesbury Blvd. CMU brought together Canadian Mennonite Bible College, Concord College, and Menno Simons College in Christian university education (21).

the Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, and the Chortitzer Mennonite Conference.

Menno Simons College (MSC) was founded on the University of Winnipeg campus by a group of Mennonites who called themselves "Friends of Higher Learning."[129] A Manitoba government charter was acquired in 1982, and in 1985 the college began as Mennonite Studies Centre. In 1988 it became Menno Simons College and offered two interdisciplinary programs within the University of Winnipeg: Conflict Resolution and International Development.

The latest post-secondary education development in Winnipeg is the formation of Canadian Mennonite University (CMU). In early 1995 Concord College, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, and Menno Simons College, plus Steinbach Bible College, began formal discussions about forming an amalgamated or federated school. In 1996 SBC withdrew from the process because its constituency was not ready to take this step.[130] In August 1998 the "Manitoba government proclaimed the charter for the creation of a university level, degree granting federation of Mennonite colleges."[131] In November of the same year, the three colleges formally approved the formation of the federation. Courses in the new program were offered in the fall of 1999, and in April of 2000 the new name, Canadian Mennonite University, was announced. Because CMU was now an independent degree-granting institution, Concord and CMBC gradually phased out their earlier arrangements with the two provincial universities.

The catalyst for the formation of CMU was the availability of a large Gothic-style stone heritage building on Grant Avenue across the street from CMBC. In May 1999 CMU's supporting Mennonite conferences, Mennonite Church Canada and the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Conference, purchased the building and the 23 acres of land from the provincial government. After extensive renovations of the heritage building, Concord College left its campus on Henderson Highway and, together with CMBC, moved onto the CMU campus, which included both the 500 and 600 Shaftesbury sites. Menno Simons College remains on the University of Winnipeg campus. Classes began in the fall of 2000.

Chair in Mennonite Studies. The Chair in Mennonite Studies was established at the University of Winnipeg in 1978 as the result of a major donation by David Friesen, plus a grant from the federal Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Secretariat.[132] The Chair offers students the opportunity to study the faith, culture, and society of Mennonites in Canada and around the world. The program is interdisciplinary, including courses in history, religion, sociology, anthropology, and literature as they relate to Mennonites in the past and present. To promote research and writing in these various aspects of Mennonite heritage, the Chair began publishing the *Journal of Mennonite Studies* in 1983. The first person appointed to the Chair was Harry Loewen who served until 1995. His successor is Royden Loewen.

Providence College. Although not Mennonite, Providence College, formerly Winnipeg Bible College (WBC), has had a significant impact upon Mennonite higher education in

Table 21
Manitoba Mennonite Post-secondary Institutions

Name of School	Year Founded
Mennonite Brethren Bible College Concord College	1944 1992
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	1947
Steinbach Bible Institute Steinbach Bible College	1931 1977
Chair in Mennonite Studies	1978
Mennonite Studies Centre Menno Simons College	1985 1988
Canadian Mennonite University	2000

Manitoba. Mennonites attended WBC from the days it was founded in 1925.[133] Even after MBBC and CMBC were established in the 1940s, numerous Mennonite students attended it. After WBC moved to Otterburne and changed its name to Providence, it continued to draw a large number of Mennonite students. As some of the Mennonite churches increasingly turned to an evangelical theology, they found the character of Providence attractive. Numerous graduates from Providence's college and seminary programs have become pastors or lay people in Mennonite churches.

Seminary Education. Mennonite Church Manitoba and the Mennonite Brethren have depended on their denominational seminaries in Elkhart, Indiana, and Fresno, California, respectively, for pastoral training. The other Mennonite church groups have not officially supported any seminary program, even though their pastors have received training in various schools. Since 1988 CMBC and Concord College have participated in the Winnipeg Theological Consortium, an interdenominational seminary consortium based in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Winnipeg. This program augmented, but did not replace, denominational seminaries. Some students have graduated from the consortium program while others have used it to gain credits toward a degree from their denominational seminaries.

In 1999 five Mennonite conferences entered discussions about starting a Mennonite seminary program in Manitoba: Chortitzer Mennonite, Evangelical Mennonite Mission, Evangelical Mennonite, Mennonite Church Manitoba, and the Mennonite Brethren Church of Manitoba. On June 4, 2002 these five conferences, plus four participating schools—Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary (MBBS) in Fresno, California, Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary (AMBS) in Elkhart, Indiana, Steinbach Bible College, and Canadian Mennonite University—formed an inter-Mennonite seminary with an evangelical Anabaptist identity. Initially the two seminaries, MBBS and AMBS, offered joint courses in Winnipeg. Students were able to complete half of their degree requirements for these seminaries in Winnipeg.[134]

Bible Schools. After World War I, Mennonites in the western Canadian provinces, including Manitoba, established Bible schools. After World War II, these schools gradually disappeared. Those in Winnipeg were closed when the two larger conferences established MBBC and CMBC. Steinbach Bible Institute was transformed into a college in 1977. Initially Bible schools offered education at the pre-high school, then high school level. With the general rise in the level of education among Mennonites, Bible schools moved to offer post-high school education. This put them in direct competition with Mennonite colleges and provincial universities, and their enrolments declined. Even the attempt to create programs different from those at the Mennonite colleges proved unsuccessful in attracting students.

Elim Bible School was owned by a group of southern Manitoba churches: the Bergthaler, Blumenorter, and Rudnerweider (EMMC). In 1974 it lost the confidence of its constitu-

The Winkler Bible Institute (Peniel) graduating class of 1971. The school closed in 1997 (22).

ency and was closed for a year.[135] When it reopened the following year, the EMMC withdrew its support. Elim Bible School was then taken over by Mennonite Church Manitoba, of which both the Bergthaler and Blumenorter were members. This change in ownership was designed to broaden and strengthen the support base. In order to bolster its appeal, Elim built a new campus in Altona in 1983.[136] Financial support remained strong but, despite all efforts, the student body declined. The Elim board asked the Winkler Bible Institute to merge with it. When this offer was rejected, Elim closed its doors in 1989.

The Winkler Bible School (Peniel) fared better for a number of years. It had solid financial support from the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren churches.[137] Its enrolment remained strong until the 1990s when it too began to decline. The Manitoba MB conference made various rescue attempts, but in 1997 the school closed. This was the last Mennonite Bible school in Manitoba, and with its closing an era ended.

Chortitzer Mennonite Conference young people at a retreat in 2004 at Camp Cedarwood, a Youth for Christ camp near Lac du Bonnet (23).

Campers at Camp Moose Lake on a canoe trip (24).

Church-related Religious Education

Camps. An important aspect of the educational program of Mennonite churches is summer camps. Mennonite Church Manitoba operates three camps under the name Camps with Meaning: Camp Moose Lake near the Whiteshell, Camp Koinonia south of Boissevain, and Camp Assiniboia west of Headingley.[138] Churches within the Mennonite Brethren Conference support two camps: Winkler Bible Camp and Camp Arnes on the shores of Lake Winnipeg.[139] However, both are independent camps that operate without financial support from the MB conference. The Winkler Bible Camp functions like a regional camp, attracting children from different Mennonite churches in the area. In the 1970s, Mennonite Brethren churches in the northern part of Manitoba operated day camps as part of a program of friendship evangelism.[140] The Evangelical Mennonite Conference churches in the Interlake region near Arborg and Riverton support the Beaver Creek Bible Camp on the shores of Lake Winnipeg. The EMC churches further south support a number of camps, with Red Rock the most popular for churches in the Steinbach area. Other Mennonite conferences and churches do not have their own camps.[141] Families from conferences without camps send their children to a variety of Mennonite and non-Mennonite camps.

Camps run full programs through July and August, with children usually coming for a week at a time. Camps with Meaning has about 1,000 children campers per summer, plus 250 people with disabilities. Young people from the supporting churches are trained to teach and counsel the campers. Camps influence many people both inside and beyond the Mennonite community. They sponsor a variety of retreats: seniors, mother-daughter, father-son, and the mentally and physically challenged. In addition they host school groups for day or weekend events.

Sunday Schools. When religious education was largely removed from the elementary schools in the 1920s, other ways had to be developed to provide faith formation for children. One option was the Sunday school.[142] During the 1930s and 1940s, one Mennonite conference after the other accepted Sunday schools as a way of providing Christian education for children. Initially there was opposition. Some

felt Sunday schools could lend themselves to child evangelism. This could result in child baptism which conflicted with the Mennonite practice of adult baptism. For others, Sunday schools were new and unfamiliar, and thus suspect.[143] Before long, though, Mennonites saw that they could provide sound biblical teaching and religious nurture. A number of conferences produced their own material. Eventually all Manitoba Mennonite churches accepted Sunday schools.

Mennonites entered Manitoba with a strong conviction about the importance of education for the community. After a century and a quarter, after many trials, losses, and changes in government policies, education is still important. The resources committed to education by Mennonites have never been greater. This is still seen as one of the most important influences in shaping the future mission and character of the Mennonite community.

23
Agriculture, Co-ops, Businesses, and Labour

In the pioneer years all of life, including the economic, was an integrated system under the control of the church. Land was worked semi-communally, financial institutions such as the orphans' bureau and fire insurance operated for the well-being of the local community, private business was frowned upon as too individualistic, and labour was largely farm-related and designed to provide for the necessities of life. As Mennonites ever more acculturated into mainstream Manitoba society, they entered a world of capitalist, competitive economics, where making a profit was often primary, labourers were expendable, and conspicuous consumption was celebrated. The question for Mennonites was whether their beliefs and values would be incorporated into this new economic reality.

Maintaining a Farm Economy

After World War II, one of the major changes on the farm scene was mechanization. The advent of tractors, combines, swathers, cultivators, seeders, and other machinery meant that a few workers could now do what hundreds had done before. As machines became ever bigger, farms increased in size and decreased in number.[144] In the 1990s when the federal government eliminated the

4-H clubs were important in teaching young people about good farming practices. This club from New Bothwell specialized in potato growing (25).

Sugar beets provided an important cash crop for southern Manitoba farmers for about half a century: 1940s to 1990s. Here the beets are piled beside the railway tracks, near Gruenthal south of Altona, ready for transport to the processing plant in Winnipeg (26).

As machinery became larger and more efficient, farms became ever bigger. Here, the grain harvesting near Rosenfeld in the 1970s was in full swing (27).

Crow freight rate that had subsidized grain shipments from the prairies to the seacoasts, cereal grain crops were even less profitable, and farmers were pushed to increase diversification.[145] They began producing sunflowers, corn, flax, canola, soybeans, potatoes, and lentils. Bee keeping and honey production, which began in the Kleefeld area during the war when sugar was rationed, spread into other regions of the province.[146] In Winkler market gardens flourished.[147] The sugar beet industry, which provided a strong infusion of cash into the economy since the 1940s, had to be abandoned in the 1990s due to adverse American pressure.[148] Many farmers moved

into hog, beef, dairy, turkey, and poultry production. In some areas these specialties had been staples on a smaller scale for decades, but now they were expanded to become a major part of agriculture in all areas of the province.[149] Despite the various specialties that increased the per-acre income, the average size of farms steadily increased. In some areas, two or three farmers now cultivated what up to 20 or more had done a number of decades earlier.

The place of farming within the Mennonite community changed. The historical connection between Mennonites and farming weakened as fewer people were directly dependent on the land. Communities and churches that had largely consisted of farm families struggled as numbers decreased. Those who remained in agriculture became business farm operators. They dealt with issues of finance, production, marketing, and international trade, as well as soil use, ecology, and protection of the environment.

Co-ops and Credit Unions

Co-ops, which began during the Depression, continued to operate throughout Manitoba.[150] They offered a wide range of products and services including groceries, bulk oil, gasoline, hardware, animal feed, farm supplies, and chemicals.

The credit unions, which also started during the Depression by offering much-needed credit, continued to provide this service, overshadowing banks in virtually every Mennonite community. In the towns on the former reserves and in Rosenort, Lowe Farm,[151] Landmark, Morden, and Winnipeg, credit unions have flourished. Their local presence has allowed them to be sensitive to local needs and to provide excellent resources to farms, businesses, and consumers. The largest Mennonite community-based credit union is in Steinbach, with assets of more than one billion dollars.[152]

Table 22
Credit Unions in Mennonite Communities (2000)

Steinbach Credit Union with a branch in Winnipeg
Community Credit Union with branches in Grunthal, Vita, and Sprague
Niverville Credit Union with a branch in Landmark
Rosenort Credit Union
Lowe Farm Credit Union
Aggasiz Credit Union with branches in Morris, Morden, Manitou, Miami, and Dominion City
Heartland Credit Union with branches in Winkler, Plum Coulee, and Gretna
Altona Credit Union with a branch in Emerson
Crosstown Credit Union, Winnipeg

The Lowe Farm Credit Union was the first credit union in a Mennonite community in Manitoba. This building was opened in 1973 (28).

Private Businesses

Between the 1930s and the 1950s the co-op movement led the economic recovery among Manitoba Mennonites. Since then private businesses have contributed much to the economic prosperity, providing products, services, and jobs. Despite earlier reluctance, Mennonites have wholeheartedly embraced the business world including retail, service, agribusiness, manufacturing, transportation, biotechnology, recreation, financial services, architecture, insurance, and more.

Businesses have helped to create a number of large population centres that have become dynamic communities. In southeastern Manitoba, Steinbach has become such a major centre. Its service, retail, and manufacturing industries have helped it grow to become a city with a population of 10,000 inhabitants.[153] Loewen Windows is the largest manufacturer, employing more than a thousand people and serving an international market. The automobile sales industry serves a large region, including Winnipeg. Other major businesses include Biovail Corporation International, Derksen Printers, Barkman Concrete, Big Freight Systems, and Penner International. In addition, there are hundreds of smaller businesses, each contributing in their own way.

Since the 1950s Winkler has been a strong business hub for the region. Its retail prominence was anchored by the Gladstone

The new Steinbach Credit Union was built in 1986. Its assets have surpassed one and a half billion dollars (29).

Loewen Windows, Steinbach's largest employer, has anchored the industrial development of the city. At Loewens. many young people have received their first jobs, or financed their way through school (30).

Barkman Concrete, a Steinbach business, also has a strong presence in Winnipeg (31).

store.[154] In the 1960s Winkler's manufacturing base was given a major boost with the opening of the Triple E recreation vehicle business, which attracted supply industries that further enhanced the local economy.[155] In 1980 Triple E developed the Lode-King Industries division, the largest highway transport trailer manufacturer in Manitoba,[156] with the major product being hopper grain trailers. These industries, together with a foundry (established in Winkler by Monarch Industries), a window manufacturer, and local agribusinesses have created a solid economic base. Winkler has grown rapidly in the past number of decades and has achieved the status of a city.

Altona has also developed a vibrant business centre. Its growth has impinged upon the expansion of Gretna, Rosenfeld, and Halbstadt. In addition to numerous service and retail businesses, four major companies provide a strong economic base for the community: Friesens Corporation, Canamera Foods, Loewen Manufacturing, and Radio Station CFAM with its corporate headquarters Golden West Broadcasting.[157] Friesens specializes in printing,[158] Loewens in making parts for combines, and Canamera Foods (now Bunge Canada) in processing canola and flax into vegetable oil. Radio station CFAM began in 1957.[159] Under the corporate name of Golden West Broadcasting, the company consists of a network of 17 stations in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.[160] Its strengths are community service programs, agriculture, and religious broadcasting.

Smaller centres have also flourished in recent years, due largely to vigorous business and manufacturing enterprises. These include Blumenort near Steinbach, Kleefeld, Landmark, Rosenort, Niverville, Grunthal, and Vidir, north of Arborg in the Interlake. Rosenort near Morris and Vidir have manu-

Triple E Canada has made a major impact on the industrial development of Winkler, and has provided jobs for many locals and immigrants (32).

Head office of the Red River Valley Mutual Insurance Company in Altona. The company merged with Manitoba Mennonite Mutual Insurance Company. Both firms were continuations of historical insurance companies brought to Manitoba by early settlers (33).

Loewen Manufacturing, Altona, markets its combine replacement parts in Canada and numerous foreign countries, including the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Mexico, and Argentina (34).

Vidir Machine Inc.'s main product line is carpet carousels. It is the largest manufacturer in the Vidir area, employing about 100 people. It has a second plant in Morris (35).

facturing enterprises that exemplify creative inventions. At Rosenort, Meridian Industries makes weatherproof grain bins, under the brand name "Friesens,"[161] and Westfield Industries manufactures portable grain handling equipment.[162] Vidir Machine Inc., which has more than a hundred employees, makes numerous products, including carousels for displaying carpeting.[163]

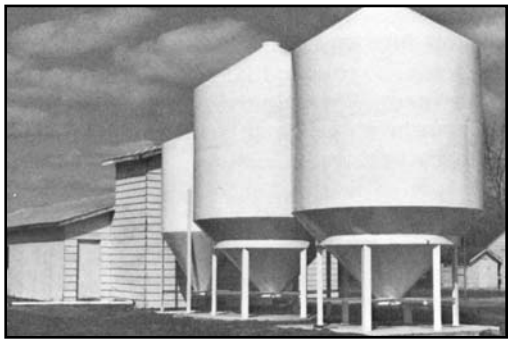
In Winnipeg, over the years the construction industry, as well as numerous Mennonite-owned businesses have flourished, including DeFehr Furniture, Redekopp Lumber, Redekop Electric, Riediger's Supermarket, Monarch Machinery, and Palliser. Many have hired Mennonite immigrants from Europe, Paraguay, and Mexico, as well as southeast Asia "boat" people.[164]

Mennonite businesses play important roles in building communities. They incorporate immigrants, create jobs, and provide services. Many contribute generously to local programs and charities. Both in Winnipeg and in the various towns, these businesses are primarily family owned and operated. In the past, many were carried on by second- and third-generation family members. More recently, a number have sold out to larger companies. Relatively few have expanded their ownership by selling shares publicly on the stock markets.

Labour and Unions

The perception of being a worker has changed. When most Mennonites were farmers, being employed was considered inferior to being your own boss. This view likely had its roots in the fact that labourers were usually poor and, in the pioneer years, had little say in community decisions. As more and more people worked in town and city, the image changed. The jobs they took in sales, construction, management, and

The cheese factory, Bothwell Cheese Inc., has provided a market for farmers since 1939. In 1941 there were 16 cheese factories in south-eastern Manitoba; today there are two, this one and the one in Grunthal. Bothwell, which began as Bothwell Coop Dairy, sold out to private owners in 2002 (36).



Meridian Industries, Rosenort, which manufactures weather-proof grain bins under the name Friesen, is one of the many industries located in rural areas that create jobs and strengthen the community (37).

factories paid well, often providing workers with a standard of living equal to, or better than, that of farmers.

In the early days of Mennonite businesses in Winnipeg, owners often treated employees as extensions of their family. It was said of John Klassen, founder of Monarch Machinery, that in the early years, "he spent much of each day working in the shop with his employees."[165] In Altona, one of the employees of D. W. Friesen & Sons in later years commented about working for the company, "[We] were very close and still are. I feel so much a part of that family." She described the Friesens as "more like relatives than employers."[166] Company owners used the image of family to describe the loyalty and commitment that workers should have to each other and to the firm. Some companies organized socials, picnics, Christmas parties, and sports events. These gatherings helped the workers bond and absorb the company's culture, work ethic, and sense of service to the community.[167] This model of the company family described the situation of most larger Mennonite businesses in the towns and in Winnipeg.

For employees the family model held both advantages and disadvantages. They could work in a relatively safe, accepting environment in which their needs and concerns would be addressed. If they did their work well and fit into the company culture, their jobs were relatively secure. However, the employer could pay wages below industry norms and make extra demands, claiming it was for the good of the company family. Rarely did employees have a collective voice, and individual voices were often weak.[168] Workplace grievances were resolved with varying degrees of satisfaction.

Despite the relative weakness of their position, workers rarely organized unions. Some viewed their formation as an unwanted intrusion into the paternalistic relationship they had as a company family.[169] Others perceived unions as potentially coercive and thus in conflict with their theology of peace and non-violence. Employers resisted them because they too realized these organizations would change the family atmosphere of the company and make greater demands regarding wages, benefits, and working conditions.

As Mennonites joined the labour force, some faced the matter of joining unions. Most teachers and nurses joined their respective associations as part of their working agreement. Those in unionized factories or other work places did so, usually without objection, even serving as stewards and other union officials. A few people objected to joining unions. In 1974 two Mennonite nurses in the Selkirk General Hospital asked for the right not to join when the union was certified.[170] They volunteered to pay an amount equivalent to the

In exchange for the loyalty and conformity of their employees, management promised to "make [employees] feel at home," to respect employees, and to provide financial security and the opportunity to develop individual talents. Management made a commitment to staff to meet their needs for "economic security, emotional security, recognition, self-expression, and self respect." "Last but not least," the company promised "the development of a healthy community through the providing of goods and services, through deepening of spiritual values, and the strengthening and stabilization of the economic base."
(Janis Thiessen, "Mennonite Business and Labour Relations: Friesen Corporation of Altona, Manitoba, 1933-1973," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 16 (1998): 187 with quotes from the company handbook)

dues to the Red Cross. The reason they gave for refusing to join was, "It just seems wrong for a nurse to strike. Goes against what I have been taught in family and home."[171] They also indicated, "[We] do not want to use force. Goes against the teachings of Jesus."[172] When the two nurses won the right to be exempted, the Manitoba government changed the legislation regarding labour unions to make exemptions more difficult.[173] To qualify, individuals now had to prove that their objection was based on their church's articles of faith.[174] This moved the basis for exemption from individual conscience to group conviction.

Mennonites have largely lost their parochialism and their hesitancy about engaging in the economic life of the province and have become part of society. In addition to seeing these involvements as necessary to provide for themselves and their families, many also see these as contexts in which they can express their faith. They have retained their sense of connection and commitment to their heritage, and express this with their skills, finances, and time.

24
Health Care: Broadening Horizons

Beginning in the 1950s Mennonites entered the health care field in large numbers. They became nurses, technicians, therapists, radiologists, doctors, teachers, pharmacists, and administrators. This was part of a larger movement by Mennonites into professions. In addition, many volunteered their time and skills in various ways from being companions for residents to serving on boards and committees at the local, regional, and provincial levels.

Active Care

All the Mennonite hospitals in Winnipeg and in rural communities were established during the 1930s and 1940s when economic conditions were difficult. The initiative to found them came from local churches and communities. The rural hospitals, although begun by Mennonites, served all the people in their areas; Concordia in Winnipeg served primarily Mennonites. Each hospital had an insurance system that made health care available to virtually everyone who needed it. When the federal government introduced universal health insurance, these local plans were disbanded. As the government gradually provided more financial support the hospitals could provide more services.

Concordia Hospital, Winnipeg, when it opened in its new location in 1974 (38).

In earlier years, the Mennonite health care institutions could not have offered care at reasonable cost without the assistance of many volunteers. Here is the Bethesda Women's Auxiliary, Steinbach, whose main activity was to provide for the linen needs of the hospital, including sheets, pillow cases, hospital gowns, bandages, and diapers (39).

In the 1950s and following, many young Mennonite women went into nursing. This provided them with financial independence and resources to pursue various interests. Here are a dozen nurses who took time from their careers to attend Canadian Mennonite Bible College in 1961-1962 (40).

Increased government funding resulted in a loss of control by the local committees that founded the institutions. The hospitals outside of Winnipeg have given over most of their control to Regional Health Authorities. A recent example is the opening in 2001 of the Boundary Trails Hospital between Winkler and Morden that replaced the hospitals in both towns. With the move to this facility, the community-based committee that supervised the Winkler Bethesda Hospital disbanded, and the new hospital operates solely under the Regional Health Authority. The hospitals in Altona and Steinbach went through a similar process of giving up local control.[175] By the end of the century, the board of Concordia Hospital in Winnipeg had still retained some control of the facility within the general governance of the Winnipeg Health Authority.

Long-term Care

Since the 1950s Mennonites have expanded their involvement in health care by establishing long-term and assisted living health care centres. In 1950 there were only two Mennonite homes for the aged, Bethania Mennonite in Winnipeg[176] and Rest Haven in Steinbach, both begun in 1946.[177] By the end of the century there were about a dozen such facilities, most having been established in the years 1956 to 1972. Many were later transformed into personal care homes (PCH). These were Greenland Home near Ste. Anne (1956),[178] Salem Home in Winkler (1956),[179] Menno Home in Grunthal (1960),[180] Eventide Home in Rosenort (1960, and closed in 1997 because of the Red River Flood),[181] Ebenezer Home in Altona (1962),[182] Tabor Home in Morden (1969),[183] Donwood Manor in Winnipeg (1970), and Maplewood Manor in

The Ebenezer Home for the Aged in Altona in 1967. Later, this facility was changed into supportive housing, and a new personal care home, Eastview, was attached to the new hospital. Ebenezer was under the control of a local committee; Eastview is managed by the Regional Health Authority (41).

Rest Haven personal care home in Steinbach. This new facility opened in 1984 (42).

Table 23
Mennonite Personal Care Homes (2000)

Name of Home	Location	Year Founded	Administering Group
Bethania Mennonite	Winnipeg	1946	Mennonite Benevolent Soc.
Rest Haven	Steinbach	1946	Evangelical Menn. Conference
Greenland Home (destroyed by a tornado)	Ste. Anne	1955-1978	Holdeman
Salem Home	Winkler	1956	Inter-Mennonite
Menno Home	Grunthal	1958	Inter-Mennonite
Ebenezer	Altona	1962-2000	Inter-Mennonite
Eastview Place	Altona	2000	Regional Health Authority
Tabor Home	Morden	1969	Mennonite Brethren
Eventide Home (destroyed by a flood)	Rosenort	1960-1997	Evangelical Menn. Conference
Donwood Manor	Winnipeg	1970	Mennonite Brethren
Maplewood Manor Greenland residents added receives no government funding	Steinbach	1970 1980	Holdeman
Bethesda Home	Steinbach	1972	Bethesda Hospital Board

(from MCC *Annual Reports*)

"I'll be happy when we can support and offer blessings and prayer for mental illness the way we do for cancer," said Ken Loewen, director of Eden Health Services in Winkler, Manitoba. (*Mennonite Brethren Herald*, 30 April 1999, 14-15)

Statement of Purpose
The purpose of Eden Mental Health Centre is to respond to a range of mental health needs, giving priority to treatment of major psychiatric disorders. Services are provided without discrimination in regard to race, nationality, religion, gender, marital status, physical handicap, sexual orientation, political belief, or family status.
(www.edenhealth.mb.ca)

Steinbach (1970). The Bethesda Personal Care Home in Steinbach (1972) and the Eastview Personal Care Home in Altona were both extensions of local hospitals.

The establishment of these homes was driven by the historic Mennonite commitment to serve those in need. In the early years in Manitoba this motivation was expressed through the church deacons and the orphans' bureaus. The latter served widows, widowers, and orphans, regulated inheritance procedures, and supervised adopted and foster-care children. After 1950 this concern was expressed through health care, usually with both strong church and community support. As happened with the hospitals, the Mennonite personal care homes also serve the larger society. These facilities are identified by the provincial government as faith-sponsored institutions.[184]

Initially, these personal care facilities were locally funded and controlled. By the 1980s the provincial government increased funding and exercised greater control. In 1996 the Regional Health Authorities Act was passed[185] and defined a new, more centralized health system for Manitoba in which Regional Health Authority (RHA) boards provided health care, both active and long-term, for their region. A section of the Act described the relationship of the RHAs to the faith-sponsored health care facilities.[186] According to the Act, they could continue in some form but would need to operate under the general direction of the RHAs. The Act was general enough that it seemed possible for the Regional Health Authorities to take over complete control of faith-sponsored health care facilities.

In the face of this danger, eleven Mennonite institutions met with Roman Catholic, Salvation Army, Jewish, United Church, and Orthodox faith-sponsored facilities to discuss concerns about the governance implications of the RHA Act.[187] These 35 institutions organized an Interfaith Health Care Association to speak to the government with a united voice. This organization negotiated an umbrella agreement with the Manitoba government under which faith-sponsored facilities could have their own board, hire staff and a chief executive officer, and develop a mission statement.[188] Despite this agreement, some Mennonite community-based facilities have given up local control and disbanded their boards. The only facility that is virtually independent of government control and funding is Maplewood Manor in Steinbach which is owned, operated, and completely funded by the Holdeman Church.

Mental Health Care

Eden Mental Health Centre in Winkler was opened in 1967 after ten years in the planning stages.[189] The initial promoters of the idea were three Evangelical Mennonite Conference ministers: Archie Penner, John

Eden Mental Health Centre main building. Eden has a community-based board that works with the Regional Health Authority to provide mental health care (43).

P. Loewen, and P.J.B. Reimer. They drew J.M. Pauls, bishop of the Winkler Bergthaler Church, into the planning process. In subsequent discussions, eight Mennonite churches in Manitoba cooperated to start this project.[190] Winkler was chosen as the site because of strong local encouragement. Eden continues to be supported by most Mennonite churches in Manitoba.

Government financial assistance was provided for Eden after the board agreed to a number of conditions. The government required that the facility be a mental health centre providing a broad range of community services instead of a custodial care facility, as the board had initially planned.[191] It had to be regional and not serve only Mennonites. The name, Eden Mental Health Centre, reflected the broader mandate. Fearing that Mennonites did not have the necessary expertise, the government required that Eden be staffed by a provincial psychiatrist.[192] This stipulation was relaxed when Mennonite professional staff became available.

Eden Health Care Services is an umbrella organization operated by a board of directors representing Manitoba Mennonite churches and the government of Manitoba. It has responsibility for five programs: Eden Mental Health Centre, a modern 54-bed facility; Eden Residential Care Services, a supportive housing complex including Linden Place and Enns Court; Trainex, a vocational training centre (closed in 2005); Recovery of Hope, a counselling service; and Eden Foundation, which engages in fundraising and development programs to support the various services. Satellite programs are offered in a number of locations, including Winnipeg, Steinbach, Altona, Morden, and Emerson.[193] The care and treatment of patients and clients at Eden Mental Health Centre is governed by the Mental Health Act of Manitoba.[194] In terms of governance, Eden comes under the agreement that the Interfaith Health Care Association negotiated with the government of Manitoba. Within this agreement Eden is able to hire staff, appoint a chief executive officer (CEO), and develop a mission statement.[195]

Mennonites continue to be active in the health care field by operating hospitals, personal care homes, supportive housing facilities, retirement homes, and a mental health institution. Their ability to maintain these facilities is based on strong community involvement and commitment. The facilities, in turn, strengthen the community because many of them require the cooperation of different groups in order to be successful. The motivation for creating them develops out of a sense of commitment to service that extends beyond their community to the larger society.

Eden Health Care Services includes:

1. Eden Mental Health Centre a community mental health outreach program and an accredited psychiatric facility
2. Eden Residential Care Services a provincially licensed community-based residence and supportive housing development
3. The Trainex Centre a provincially recognized evaluation and vocational training centre (closed in 2005)
4. Recovery of Hope a professional counselling service committed to Christian values
5. Eden Foundation engages in fundraising and program development in order to enhance existing services.

(www.edenhealth.mb.ca)

25
The Arts: Critical Re-evaluations

When Mennonites settled into their new land, a few in their midst gave artistic expression to their individual and community's experiences. The catalyst for this creativity was largely the traumatic experiences under communism in the Soviet Union. As Mennonites became more part of the Canadian society, would they give creative literary expression to this experience?

Literary Writers

Arnold Dyck, the writer of creative Low German and German works, continued to write about the lost homeland in Russia and about immigrant life in a new world. After more than two decades, he concluded his career with a number of Low German novels:

[T]o break into the space of the reader's mind with the space of this western landscape and the people in it you must build a structure of fiction like an engineer builds a bridge or a sky scraper over and into space. A poem, a lyric, will not do. You must lay great black steel lines of fiction, break up that space with huge design, and, like the fiction of the Russian steppes, build a giant artifact.
(Rudy Wiebe, "Passage by Land," in *Writers of the Prairies*, ed. Donald C. Stephens, 131)

Today [1991] most of the best Canadian Mennonite writing is coming from Western Canada, most specifically Winnipeg and Manitoba, where a close-knit circle of Mennonite writers is at work shaping the Mennonite experience into literary art by creating a sense of imaginative place and situating in it literary myths that can help us to understand ourselves more clearly, inspiring us to take a closer look at ourselves and our Mennonite values, our aspirations and claims to being a community of faith and ethnic identity.
(Al Reimer, *Mennonite Literary Voices Past and Present,* 20)

Wellkaom op'e Forstei (Welcome to the Forestry Service) published in 1950, *Onse Lied* (Our People) in 1950, and *Koop enn Bua en Dietschlaund* (Koop and Bua in Germany) in 1960.[196] An indication of the difficulty in getting creative Mennonite literary works published was that, except for the last one, he published his writings himself.

Rudy Wiebe, in his novel *Peace Shall Destroy Many,* was the first major writer to envision the Mennonite world using the English language.[197] His book was published in 1962, two years after the last of Dyck's *Koop enn Bua* books appeared. Wiebe, who lived in Winnipeg at the time, introduced Canadian themes for a new generation of Mennonite writers. *Peace Shall Destroy Many* was set in a fictitious Mennonite community called Wapiti. The novel raised important issues for Mennonites, including contradictions between belief and practice, and treated them with honesty and creativity. One critic commented:

> *Peace* was the right novel at the right time. . . . It slaughtered the sacred cows of institutionalized Mennonitism on all sides by dramatizing such issues as Mennonite isolation and the patriarchal tyranny it bred, racial bigotry as the ugly product of Mennonite pride, passive non-resistance in the time of national crisis, the German versus the English language crisis, sexual repression and the subjugation of the woman, religious formalism and the lust for land which, in league with religious formalism, becomes such a soul-numbing form of idolatry.[198]

Although Wiebe wrote numerous other novels,[199] it was the first one that proved seminal. It explored issues faced by Mennonites as an immigrant group, but from a Canadian, not Russian, perspective. It explored contradictions between confession and practice. The book generated wide discussion, opposition, and critique, especially within the Mennonite Brethren Church whose denominational paper Wiebe was editing. The result was that he was fired from his position, left the province, and continued a successful and prolific writing career.

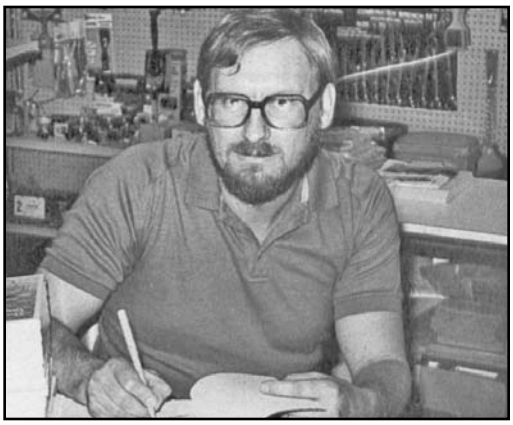
Almost two decades later, a group of young writers in Winnipeg followed the direction Wiebe had introduced. This creative literary group was unique in Canada as well as in the North American Mennonite community for its vitality, productivity, and emotion. The crucible out of which they wrote was the clash of their Mennonite world with the larger Canadian society. They agonized over the dissonance between the two and decried the hypocrisies within their comfortable Mennonite world. They felt stifled and angry and searched for new literary forms to express their feelings.

Patrick Friesen was the first of this new generation of writers. His book *The Shunning,* published in 1980, was a poetic expression of the joy, sorrow, pain, and disillusion of ordinary people struggling to survive.[200] The central motif contrasted the love that the church professed with the cruel act of shunning. Friesen portrayed the destructive results of the church's practices and showed that true love could be reborn in the tender love of wife and husband, of children at play, and in the mystery of birth.

Critique of Mennonite reality was continued in Di Brandt's writings. Also a poet and encouraged by Patrick Friesen, Brandt expressed her anger at the hypocrisy and contradictions she saw in the Mennonite community. Her first publication was *questions i asked my mother*.[201] In it, as she wrote later, she laid bare her feelings and was "dancing naked," a title she gave to a later book. One of Brandt's recurring themes was the suppression and silencing of women's voices. "The whole experience of my childhood and growing up as a woman in that community was a mute one in terms of public language; there was no language for us."[202] She felt this loss in the church, community, and family. The pain she felt for herself and for others became so excruciating that she distanced herself from all three.[203]

Numerous other Mennonite writers picked up the pen. Some were poets, others novelists. All restructured the perception of Mennonite reality. Sarah Klassen and David Waltner-Toews, although critical and analytical, did not express the anger of some of the others.[204] Armin Wiebe, in *The Salvation of Jasch Siemens,* skilfully and with humour gave literary expression to the everyday joys, sorrows, and contradictions of southern Manitoba life.[205] David Bergen in *See the Child* created a fictionalized Mennonite community through which he probed the everyday dynamics of human relationships.[206] Miriam Toews, in her novel, *A Complicated Kindness,* set in a fictional town called East Village, examined the pain, confusion, hypocrisy, and conflict within that community's church and community life as perceived by an impressionable twelve-year-old girl whose family is

Di Brandt, poet, in her home village of Reinland where she was born and raised (44).



*Armin Wiebe autographing his novel, T*he Salvation of Jasch Siemens*, in Altona, 1984. The novel was short-listed for the 1984 Stephen Leacock Memorial Medal for humour (45).*

completely torn apart. Both Sandra Birdsell, in the novel *The Russlaender,* and Al Reimer, in *My Harp Is Turned to Mourning,* re-imagined the Russian Mennonite experience as a way of shedding light on the Manitoba experience.[207]

These writers contributed powerfully to a new understanding of Mennonite reality. One person describes the accomplishments of this group as "confronting their readers with new ways of configuring what is true, and in so doing, subverting the familiar, comfortable assumptions that sustain convention."[208] A number of them have distanced themselves from the Mennonite community, feeling they can no longer identify with it. And yet, the issues they address, the world out of which they write, the community that nurtured them and which they now critique and judge are Mennonite. Their writings reflect both the joy and the contradictions of Mennonite life, and they thus make a significant contribution to the ongoing interpretation of Mennonite identity.

At the same time, it is also true that the significance of their writings, and the audience they have gained, goes far beyond the Mennonite community. It is precisely their particularity within one community that allows them to address universal themes with authenticity and passion. Their acceptance in the Canadian literary world is evident in the awards won, including the Stephen Leacock award for humour by Armin Wiebe, the Governor General's award by Miriam Toews, and the Giller Prize by David Bergen.[209]

Low German Writings

Whereas High German was the language of church and faith prior to the 1950s, Low German was the everyday language spoken by virtually all Mennonites. Its earthy vocabulary, colourful idiomatic expressions, and infectious humour shaped their view of themselves, their communities, and their relationship to the larger society. A few felt that the Low German dialect was culturally inferior, but for most it was the comfortable language of everyday discourse. After the 1950s, under the impact of English schools, the anti-German feelings during the war, and general acculturation, the use of Low German among Canadian-born Mennonites declined. However, new immigrants from Mexico and Paraguay revitalized the language.

After Dyck's writings in the 1950s, no Low German works were produced for a number of years. In the 1970s interest began to revive with occasional Low German short stories appearing in *The Mennonite Mirror,* a magazine published in Winnipeg. Two Low German dictionaries were written, one by Jack Thiessen in 1977 and another by Herman Rempel in 1985. [210] The two reflected different forms of Low German expressions and orthographies. Collections of Low German short stories were published.[211] The most ambitious project in the past number of years was the republication of the writings of Arnold Dyck in a four-volume critical edition by the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society.[212]

In many circles, interest in Low German has experienced a revival. A number of churches have switched to this language to serve immigrants from Low German-speaking communities in Latin America. A new Low German translation of the Bible was prepared by the United Bible Societies, with Ed Zacharias of Winkler, Manitoba as one of the main translators. The translation will facilitate the use of Low German in worship.[213] Productions of Low German dramas draw large audiences.

[Letter to Patrick Friesen]
In 1984, you organized the Missing Mennonite Cabaret at Act II Restaurant in Winnipeg, the first group celebration of the "new Mennonite writing" in Canada, ever. An historic occasion, whose ripple effect we are experiencing now witness *Prairie Fire's Special Issue on Mennonite Writing* last summer. The CBC came and taped part of the Cabaret, and Robert Enright interviewed several of us on Stereo Morning, a wonderful conversation about Mennonites and writing which opened up a whole new imaginative space in us. You made something happen that evening, Pat, which changed the literary map of Manitoba, and Mennonite culture, forever.
(Di Brandt, *Dancing Naked*, 6)

Table 24
Selected Published Writers of Mennonite Background with First or Major Publication

Writer	Genre	Title	Date
David Bergen	novel	*A Year of Lesser*	1996
	novel	*The Case of Lena S*	2002
	novel	*A Time in Between*	2005
Sandra Birdsell	short stories	*Agassiz Stories*	1987
	novel	*The Russlaender*	2001
Di Brandt	poetry	*questions I asked my mother*	1987
	poetry	*Now I Care*	2004
Lois Braun	short stories	*A Stone Watermelon*	1986
	short stories	*The Montreal Cats: Stories*	1995
Diane Driedger	poetry	*The Mennonite Madonna*	1999
Dora Dueck with Margaret Fast	novel	*Under the Still Standing Sun*	1989
	non-fiction	*Willie Forever Young*	1994
David Elias	short stories	*Crossing the Line*	1992
	novel	*Sunday Afternoon*	1995
Patrick Friesen	poetry	*The Shunning*	1980
	poetry	*The Breath You Take from the Lord*	2002
Sarah Klassen	poetry, novel	*Journey to Yalta*	1988
	short story	*The Peony Season*	2000
Audrey Poetker	poetry	*i sing for my dead in german*	1986
	poetry	*standing all the night through*	1992
Al Reimer	novel	*My Harp Is Turned to Mourning*	1985
Douglas Reimer	novel	*Older than Ravens*	1989
Miriam Toews	novel	*Summer of My Amazing Luck*	1986
	novel	*A Complicated Kindness*	2004
David Waltner-Toews	poetry	*The Earth Is One Body*	1979
	poetry	*The Fat Lady Struck Dumb*	2000
John Weier	poetry	*Ride the Blue Roan*	1988
	novel	*Stand the Sacred*	2004
Armin Wiebe	novel	*The Salvation of Jasch Siemens*	1984
	novel	*The Second Coming of Yeeat Shpanst*	1995
Rudy Wiebe	novel	*Peace Shall Destroy Many*	1962
	novel	*The Blue Mountains of China*	1970
	novel	*Sweeter Than All The World*	2001

Newspapers, Journals, and Magazines

Mennonites have developed an active print culture, including newspapers, journals, magazines, and denominational papers (see Appendix 5 for a list of these publications). In the 1950s three German-language inter-Mennonite papers were being published: *Die Mennonitische Rundschau* in Winnipeg, *Die Steinbach Post* in Steinbach, and *Der Bote* in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. The first one is still being published in Winnipeg; *Der Bote*, now a Mennonite Church Canada paper, has been published in Winnipeg since 1977 and serves a readership on three continents: North America, South America, and Europe; *Die Steinbach Post* ceased publication in 1966. In 1977 Mennonite Central Committee began a German-language paper called *Die Mennonitische Post*. In the introductory issue the editor stated that the paper was designed to serve the same constituency as *Die Steinbach Post* had formerly served, namely the various Kanadier, or Old Colony, groups in North, Central, and South America.

The first English-language Mennonite newspaper in Canada was *The Canadian*

Mennonite. It began in Altona in 1952 by D. W. Friesen & Sons with Frank H. Epp as the editor.[214] It not only broke new ground in publishing in English, it was inter-Mennonite and looked critically at the Mennonite community, covering both negatives and positives. It was prophetic on issues of race and war, and criticized American foreign policy on Vietnam. It raised questions about the employment and business practices of some Mennonite entrepreneurs.[215] *The Canadian Mennonite* ceased publication in 1970 due to financial difficulties.[216] A year later a successor paper was established in Waterloo, Ontario, under the name of *Mennonite Reporter*. In 1997, *Mennonite Reporter* became the denominational paper for Mennonite Church Canada and changed its name back to *The Canadian Mennonite*.

Various Mennonite conferences publish their own denominational paper. These serve to inform members, provide inspiration, and create a forum for discussing issues. In the 1950s most were published in German; today most are in English.[217]

A number of historical papers are published in Manitoba. The Mennonite Heritage Centre and the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies have jointly published *The Mennonite Historian* since 1974. This quarterly provides news and information about the two archival centres, is a forum for genealogists, and features historical articles. The Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society produces *Heritage Posting* which carries articles about local Manitoba Mennonite history and genealogies. The Hanover Steinbach Historical Society publishes *Preservings.* Edited by Delbert Plett until his death, each issue contains a multitude of historical articles in a book-length publication.

The Mennonite Mirror, founded in 1971, was an independent Mennonite periodical published by a group of Winnipeg-based Mennonites whose aim was to hold up a mirror to the complexity and richness of Manitoba Mennonite life. Roy Vogt was the publisher until it ceased publication in 1990. *The Mirror* provided a forum for literary expression, journalism, and commentary. The paper *Rhubarb*, founded by the Mennonite Literary Society and published sporadically, continues the vision of *The Mennonite Mirror*. Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA) publishes a paper called *The Marketplace,* whose aim is "to encourage a Christian witness in business."[218] Even though it is printed in the United States, it is edited in Winnipeg by Wally Kroeker.

Two academic journals are produced in Manitoba. One is *The Journal of Mennonite Studies*, published since 1983 by the Chair in Mennonite Studies at the University of Winnipeg. It is an interdisciplinary, refereed journal for scholarly Mennonite-related writings. *Vision: A Journal for Church and Theology* is produced by Canadian Mennonite University together with the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Elkhart, Indiana. Its stated intention is "to encourage theological reflection by church leaders on the identity, mission and practices of the church from an Anabaptist-Mennonite perspective."[219]

The survey of this large collection of publications by the Mennonite community, plus the weekly community newspapers in Steinbach, Altona, and Winkler, confirm that Mennonite print culture is alive and well. These publications provide a multitude of forums for maintaining, analyzing, reshaping, and reinventing Mennonite identity. Because there are many different contexts for discussion, no one Mennonite identity emerges. Of the numerous ones that are reflected, some complement, some contradict each other.

Historical Writings

In the 1940s a group, most of whom were graduates of the Chortitza Central School in Ukraine, began a series of historical books under the title *Echo Verlag* (Echo Publisher). The series, which included 14 books, dealt with the history of various settlements or groups in the Russian Mennonite experience. The motivation was to record the history of a lost world before it would be forgotten. Many of the books in this series were translated into English and co-published by the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society and CMBC Publications.

The first two major English-language studies about Mennonites in Manitoba were written in the 1950s: E.K. Francis' sociological study *In Search of Utopia,* republished in 2000, and John Warkentin's doctoral dissertation in historical geography entitled *The Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba.*[220]

The first historical writing to analyze the Canadian Mennonite experience was Frank H. Epp's *Mennonites in Canada, 1874-1920*, vol. 1. Much of the study focused on the Manitoba Mennonite story. Published for the occasion of the 1974 centennial of the Russian Mennonite immigration, it opened a new era of Mennonite historical writing in that the study was scholarly and interpreta-

tive. Volume two, also written by Epp, was published in 1982, and after Epp's untimely death, T. D. Regehr completed volume three in 1996.[221] Numerous historical studies have been published recently, from Adolf Ens' *Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925*, to Delbert Plett's voluminous publications on Kleine Gemeinde and Old Colony histories, to a multi-volume series by the Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society.[222]

The 1974 Manitoba Mennonite centennial inspired the publication of many excellent village, municipal, and town histories.[223] Also, numerous congregations and conferences have commissioned histories.[224] One of the most active areas of Mennonite research has been genealogy and family history. Hundreds of books have been published, with new volumes appearing every year. Often these family studies are the window through which people's interest in Mennonite history and beliefs is awakened.

Mennonites in Manitoba have produced a rich legacy of historical works. Some are nostalgic and commemorative. Others present primary material that was previously unavailable. The majority offer excellent scholarly analyses of Manitoba Mennonite experiences.

Scholars

Mennonites have entered virtually every field of scholarly inquiry, including biochemistry,[225] nuclear physics, economics, international development, physiology,[226] geography, history, music, and theology. Many have earned international reputations for the work they have done.

A number of biblical scholars have written volumes for the *Believers Church Bible Commentary*, an international project by Mennonite and related churches. Waldemar Janzen wrote a commentary on the book of Exodus and George Shillington on the book of Romans. Several are preparing further studies: Gerald Gerbrandt on Deuteronomy, Gordon Matties on Joshua, and Dan Nighswander on 1 Corinthians.

Harry Huebner and David Schroeder have written about the importance of church and ethics.[227] They reflect on the implications and meaning of the church for ethical thinking. "The church's worship, confession, prayer, Bible study, and singing are for the Christian the most significant moral activities."[228] Three Manitobans who have addressed ethical issues are Waldemar Janzen, Gordon Zerbe, and Gordon Matties.[229] Janzen provides Christians with a model for grasping the Old Testament's ethical message in *Old Testament Ethics: A Paradigmatic Approach.*[230] Gordon M. Zerbe writes about ethics in *Non-retaliation in Early Jewish and New Testament Texts: Ethical Themes in Social Contexts***,** in which he pays special attention to the Apostle Paul's teachings of non-retaliation.[231] Gordon Matties in *Ezekiel 18 and the Rhetoric of Moral Discourse* focuses on the book of Ezekiel and investigates the moral problems raised in it.[232]

A number of Mennonite social scientists have analyzed Mennonite reality. No one has published more than Leo Driedger, a retired professor at the University of Manitoba. Driedger paid special attention to the effects of urbanization on Mennonite life and thought. In 1991 he co-authored with J. Howard Kauffman, *The Mennonite Mosaic: Identity and Modernization*.[233] In it he analyzed the impact of modernization and urbanization on Mennonite thought. This study, done on the basis of a survey that was completed by 3,500 persons, followed a study two decades earlier entitled *Anabaptists Four Centuries Later*.[234] Driedger's conclusions in the 1991 study were that despite the secularizing force of urbanization and modernization, historic Mennonite beliefs, religious experiences, devotional practices, and service were being maintained by a significant portion of the Mennonite community.[235] When the study contrasted the influence of Anabaptist and fundamentalist-evangelical theologies, it concluded that fundamentalist-evangelical theology weakened commitment to historical beliefs and to Mennonite agencies such as Mennonite Central Committee.[236]

Mennonite academics have contributed significantly to society and to their disciplines. Many have pursued their careers in Manitoba while others have left as opportunities opened up elsewhere.

Visual Arts

Visual arts have gained increasing prominence in the past number of decades. Ever more people are taking art classes and displaying their productions in public venues. One of the most noted of Manitoba Mennonite artists is Wanda Koop whose paintings have been shown both at the Winnipeg Art Gallery and the Mennonite Heritage Centre Gallery. In August 1998 Ray Dirks, artist, was hired by the Mennonite Heritage Centre to be art curator of its gallery. Private donors provided the funding. Since that time, Dirks has

assembled many displays of art works by both local and international artists. In the past few years his signature feature has been displays from around the world, including Cuba, Africa, and Europe.

Music

Music remains a major part of Mennonite communities. Families form instrumental or vocal ensembles; communities organize choirs and orchestras; school-age children in droves take music lessons. Those so inclined continue to study and specialize in their areas at the Canadian Mennonite University or at other universities. School bands, orchestras, ensembles, as well as the Mennonite Community Orchestra in Winnipeg, provide opportunity to stimulate interest and to hone skills. Mennonites can be found as instructors, performers, composers, media music hosts, publishers, and conductors within the Manitoba and North American music scene. They are involved in sacred and secular music of every description.

Choral singing continues to be a coveted and highly appreciated form of music making. During the past half-century, Mennonite schools and colleges have produced choirs of exceptional quality. Even though the number of congregational choirs has decreased in the past few decades, a sizeable number of church, community, oratorio, radio, women's, men's and children's choirs still enhance and nurture the faith and culture of both choir members and audience.

Canadian Mennonite University, its predecessor colleges, as well as Steinbach Bible College, have made a major contribution to the development of music in Manitoba. Choral singing has been, and continues to be, an important feature of their music programs. During the past half-century, these schools have trained numerous conductors who have carried on the choral tradition.[237] The Mennonite Oratorio Choir, founded in 1965 by MBBC/Concord and CMBC, was a staple in the choral music scene. Composed of college students and singers from the community, this non-auditioned choir presented many great choral masterpieces, spanning the breadth of music from the Baroque to the contemporary. Many of the performances have included players from the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra; a number of these concerts were

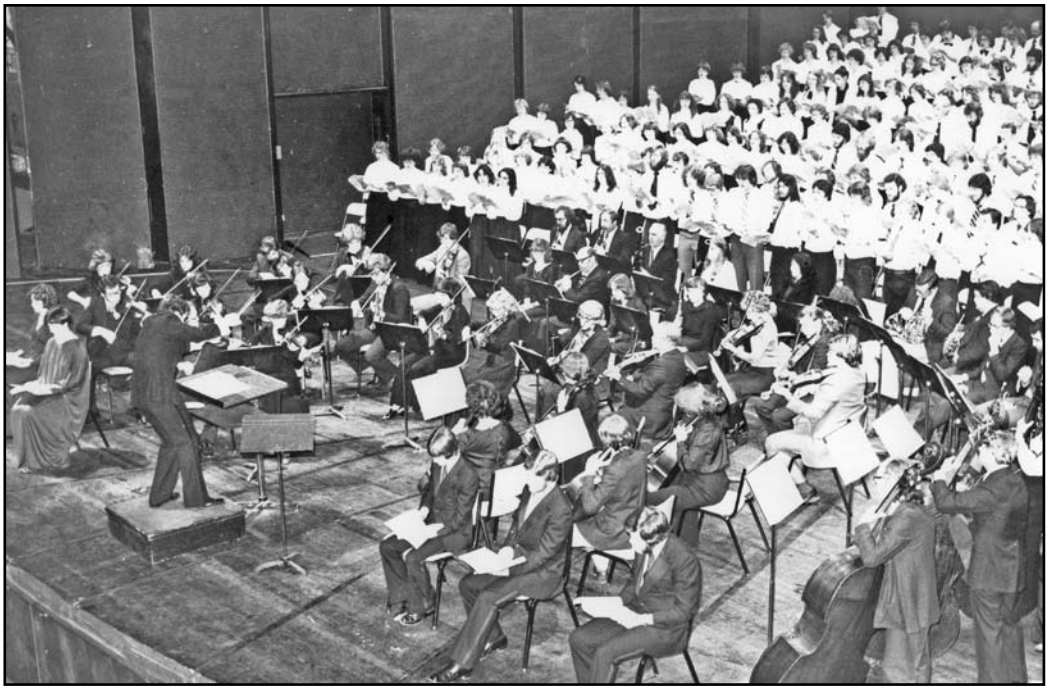
A string ensemble in Steinbach, 1953, with conductor C.G. (Neil) Unruh (third from left) (46).

Mennonite Community Orchestra in 1989 with Christine Longhurst conducting (47).

part of the Symphony's regular series. In 2003 the Mennonite Oratorio Choir discontinued. In its place a Festival Chorus was organized. It is more professional and not as broadly community based.

Numerous other choral groups flourished in Manitoba. The Winnipeg Mennonite Children's Choir has toured widely and has gained a deserved international reputation for musical excellence. For many years, the Treble Teens from Steinbach provided a choral music experience for young people.[238] Mennonite Church Manitoba's radio program, Faith and Life, organized a male and women's choir which, in addition to touring, gave regular public programs. The Southern Manitoba Oratorio Choir and the Steinbach Community Choir and Orchestra have performed major musical works.[239]

The Mennonite Community Orchestra (MCO) has been a long-time contributor to the Manitoba Mennonite instrumental music scene.[240] Numerous musicians who have gone on to professional careers received their early experience in the MCO. No person has been as closely identified with the orchestra as Ben Horch. He was its first conductor in 1925 and the conductor in 1944 when the orchestra re-



Joint CMBC-MBBC Oratorio Choir performing in the Winnipeg Centennial Concert Hall with the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra in 1979, with George Wiebe conducting (48).

Treble Teens in Steinbach at their first concert in 1963. Shirley Penner, director (back row, left) (49).

A mass choir that represented all congregations of the Sommerfeld Mennonite Church in Manitoba presented a program in the Altona Park, 1999 (50).

organized. After it disbanded for a number of years for a second time, Horch chaired the board that reorganized it in 1978.

The Manitoba Mennonite community has produced many vocalists and instrumentalists who have excelled in their fields, for example Henriette Schellenberg as soprano soloist in oratorios, Irmgard Baerg as concert pianist, Fred Penner as children's program host and performer of children's music, and Philip Ens as operatic soloist. Some of the people who have been members of the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra are Richard and Karen Klassen, clarinetist and violinist respectively; Rennie Regehr, long-time violist; Barbara Hamilton, violist; and Karl Stobbe, assistant concertmaster.

Two Manitoba composers are Esther Wiebe and Randolph Peters. Wiebe has composed and arranged numerous sacred choral works. Peters has written orchestral pieces and was composer-in-residence for a year with the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra.

Many music groups have formed among young and old, including barbershop quartets, ensembles, seniors' choirs and orchestras, gospel groups, and more. *Heischraitje & Willa Honich* (Locusts and Wild Honey), organized by Landmark-area residents, is one of the more popular and more enduring of these local groups.

Locusts and Wild Honey, a Landmark musical group that has performed for a number of decades to the delight of many (51).

Drama

Another art form which has taken hold in Mennonite communities is drama. Although historically it received little emphasis, in recent years it has become quite popular. Drama has flourished since it began in the 1930s in rural and town schools. Elisabeth Peters, a teacher in Horndean at the time, was one of the first to organize dramas. Also in the 1930s the young people's group at First Mennonite Church in Winnipeg organized the Winnipeg Mennonite Theatre[241] which performed German plays by Mennonite writers. In 1971 the theatre became an independently incorporated company, expanded its membership, included English-language plays, and performed the occasional major musical production.

Many high schools, both private and public, produce annual productions. They are frequently quite elaborate, employ extensive sets, and use well-designed costumes. Parents or community members often assist with preparations.

Mennonite expressions in the arts have blossomed and matured. The earlier themes of immigration and settlement have been supplanted by a wide array of issues. Parochial perspectives have been expanded into universal interests. From performing or writing primarily for a Mennonite audience, Menno-

nite scholars and artists now take their place on national and international stages.

26
Service and Politics: Engagement with Society

Until the 1950s Mennonites had limited involvement with the larger society. The fear that English would overwhelm the German language, that they would be acculturated, and that they might have to perform military service made them wary. The result was that Mennonites' efforts were largely directed toward group maintenance and protection from external forces.

Gradually attitudes changed. Increased levels of education, fluency in English, mechanization, mobility, CO experiences, and urbanization afforded new exposures to the wider world. As Mennonites became more familiar with the surrounding society, they felt less threatened and fearful of potential harm. Many times, interactions with the "outside" proved valuable and positive. At the Canadian centennial celebrations of 1967, Mennonites were quite at ease in celebrating Canada as their country.[242] They were a visible part of the Manitoba and Canadian scene.

An example of this changed attitude was the expanded roles of the Canadian relief and immigration committees. Before the war, these organizations were primarily concerned with the plight of Mennonites in the Soviet Union or in western Europe. After the war, and especially after MCC Canada was formed, they addressed issues of poverty, advocated for Aboriginals on land claims, provided relief and development to many areas around the world, and submitted briefs to governments on various issues. A second example of the changed attitude and subsequent greater engagement with society was involvement in the political process. Mennonites ran for, and were elected to provincial and federal political offices. In both levels of government, they sat in the front benches, holding major cabinet portfolios. Acceptance of greater engagement with the political process was indicated when MCC Canada opened an office in Ottawa to advocate and connect with federal politicians on domestic and international issues. Although at first this move was controversial, it soon gained general acceptance by Mennonites.

Service

Mennonites' greater involvement in the larger issues of the day was prompted by their history of providing service, such as orphans' bureaus and fire insurance agencies, for their own people for hundreds of years. This concern to meet the financial and everyday needs of people was now extended beyond the Mennonite community. Second, the relief, service, and development programs grew out of their historic pacifist conviction that all conflicts, including those of class, race, and economic status, should be resolved peacefully. God's will for humanity was peace, not war. The experiences during World War II contributed to this expanded horizon.

Mennonite Central Committee Canada. In 1963 Mennonite Central Committee Canada was formed as the peace, relief, immigration, service, and development agency of Mennonites and Brethren in Christ in Canada.[243] MCC with its headquarters in Akron, Pennsylvania had had offices in Canada for some time: the one in Kitchener, Ontario since World War II, and a second one for a brief time in Winnipeg. The initiative for the formation of MCC Canada came from the Canadian relief and service agencies when they decided to cooperate and form an umbrella organization. The main groups were the Non-resistant Relief Organization, the Canadian Mennonite Relief Committee, the Canadian Mennonite Relief and Immigration Council, the Conference of Historic Peace Churches, and the Historic Peace Church Council of Canada.[244] Upon the organization of MCC Canada these organizations disbanded. The head office for MCC Canada was located in Winnipeg.[245]

The groups that formed MCC Canada had local, national, and international programs. Most of these were retained in the new organization. However, since MCC, based in Akron, Pennsylvania, had a large international network of offices and programs, MCC Canada decided to channel most of its international relief and development work through that organization.[246] In the 1990s a separate MCC USA was organized for the American programs, and MCC International continued to handle the international work.

Since some of the groups forming MCC Canada had strong provincial offices, it was decided to set up MCC offices in all provinces from Ontario to British Columbia.[247] This structure has helped to keep MCC Canada closely connected to local communities. In Manitoba, contributions to and contacts with MCC start with MCC Manitoba. Some

The first Mennonite Central Committee Canada board, February 1965 (52).

Filomena Saucedos Ame and Clemente Salas Saucedos, mother, farmer and church leaders in a Mennonite church in Bolivia (53).

Dinh Thi Dong, farmer and president of a village women's union in Vietnam. MCC has provided assistance in Vietnam for many years (54).

contributions are retained for provincial programs, but most are forwarded to MCC Canada which keeps some funds for its programs. However, the bulk is sent on to the MCC International office in Akron for overseas relief and development work. In 2000 the total MCC International income was about $75 million (Cdn) of which some $40 million was generated in Canada. Manitoba contributed $7.5 million of this total. (see Appendix 6 for a list of MCC Manitoba projects).[248]

Many Manitoba Mennonites have served with MCC throughout the world and provide a resource of experienced and knowledgeable people in the constituency. International service assignments are frequently for an initial period of two years and can be extended or renewed. The SALT (Serving and Learning Together) program is a one-year term assignment designed for young people to serve in North America or overseas. Thousands of workers provide the backbone for local MCC programs such as thrift stores, Ten Thousand Villages, relief sales, and material aid centres.

Table 25
MCC International Revenues and Expenses in 1999 (US dollars)

Source of Revenue	Amount of Revenue	Percentage
Contributions	21,403,407	54.7%
Material Resources	14,269,814	36.4%
Grants (mainly CIDA)	2,168,140	5.5%
Other	1,315,067	3.4%
Total Revenue	36,156,430	
Source of Expense	**Amount of Expense**	**Percentage**
Latin America	11,265,888	30%
Asia	9,565,046	25.5%
Europe and former Soviet Union	6,274,192	16.7%
Africa	4,379,065	11.7%
Middle East	1,443,024	3.8%
Support and executive office	2,500,836	6.7%
Other	2,083,213	5.6%
Total Expenses	37,511,264	

Volunteers also process meat, stitch blankets, make soap, and gather and assemble items for relief purposes.

MCC Manitoba received the 2000 International award from the St. Boniface General Hospital and Research Foundation. About 1,400 people attended this event which celebrated the work of MCC.[249] Past recipients of this award were Dr. Jonas Salk, Mother Teresa, and Rosalynn Carter.

The first "boat people" to arrive in Altona were these Laotian family members. They came in 1979 and were sponsored by the Altona Area Refugee Assistance Committee. They were Phouvieng Nhouyvanisvong, his wife Nouthay, and children Thonekam, Phonethip, and Franc. The family later moved to Calgary (55).

Table 26
MCC Manitoba Revenues and Expenses in 1999

Source of Revenue	Amount of Revenue
Thrift Stores	1,412,813
Designated Donations	1,406,337
Donations	1,062,596
Grants	871,340
Canadian Foodgrains Bank	763,936
Ten Thousand Villages	750,116
Material Aid	427,203
Relief Sales	356,008
Provincial-Designated	350,610
Memorials and Bequests	103,930
Total Revenue	7,504,879
Source of Expense	**Amount of Expense**
Forwardings	5,167,025
Provincial Programs	1,237,648
Ten Thousand Villages	724,142
Administration	258,588
Other Organizations	79,882
Total Expense	7,495,977

Thrift Stores. MCC thrift stores originated in Manitoba. In 1972 a group of four women in Altona—Linie Friesen, Selma Loewen, Sara Stoesz, and Susan Giesbrecht—came to the director of MCC Manitoba with a proposal to set up a store selling used goods.[250] It was becoming increasingly difficult for MCC to send used clothing overseas, and their sale locally could turn that resource into cash for the support of MCC's work. Although MCC was initially reluctant, the idea found support and the first store was established. In the year 2000 there were 17 thrift stores in Manitoba, operated by about 2,500 volunteers, which contributed almost $1.5 million dollars for MCC programs. There were a total of 54 thrift stores in Canada and 47 in the United States.[251] In 2001 the MCC Manitoba thrift store volunteers received the International Cooperation Award from the Canadian Council for International Cooperation. In the same year, the thrift stores also received the Manitoba Premier's Voluntary Service Award.[252]

Canadian Foodgrains Bank. Another MCC-related program that originated in

Table 27
Thrift Stores in Manitoba in 2000 (total of 17)

Name of Store	Location
MCC Thrift and Gift Store	Altona
MCC Community Thrift Centre	Austin
Brandon MCC Thrift Store	Brandon
MCC New to you Home Furnishings	Brandon
Carman MCC Shop	Carman
Community Thrift Store	Grunthal
MCC Used Furniture Store	MacGregor
Morris MCC Thrift Store	Morris
MCC Thrift Store Furniture	Morris
Niverville MCC Thrift Store	Niverville
MCC Gift, Thrift & ReUzit	Riverton
MCC Thrift Shop	Steinbach
MCC Community Store	Winkler
Sargent MCC Thrift Store	Winnipeg
Selkirk MCC Thrift Store	Winnipeg
Kildonan Community Thrift Store	Winnipeg

The women in Altona who in 1972 organized the first MCC Thrift Store in North America: (left to right) Linie Friesen, Selma Loewen, Susan Giesbrecht, Sara Stoesz, committee members, and a volunteer, Helen Martens (56).

Manitoba is the Canadian Foodgrains Bank (CFGB). It began in 1976 on the initiative of Mennonite farmers and businessmen.[253] Since farmers had surplus grain that was desperately needed in many parts of the world, they wanted to find a way to make donations possible. The Canadian government through CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) agreed to match grain donations on a four-to-one basis. A donation of one bushel thus became five bushels.

The Canadian Foodgrains Bank became popular with Mennonite donors almost immediately. In 1983, as other church groups were invited to join the program, it reorganized and changed its name to its present form to reflect the Canada-wide, interdenominational support.[254] In the year 2000 the CFGB was an independent organization with 13 church groups as members.[255]

Food products are sent to the needy in all parts of the world. More than 20,000 metric tons of grain are donated each year. Grain and cash donations are worth some $6 million annually with the Mennonite constituency contributing about a third of the CFGB's total grain and cash. In 1999, together with contributions from CIDA and drawing upon investments, the CFGB was able to ship $25 million worth of commodities to needy areas. Wheat and peas were the major food items shipped, but corn, beans, lentils, cooking oil, flour, and others were also included.

Table 28
Commodities Shipped by Canadian Foodgrains Bank in 1999

Commodity	Percentage
Wheat	30%
Peas	30%
Wheat Flour	10%
Corn/Maize	8%
Edible Oil	8%
Cornmeal	5%
Beans & Lentils	5%
Other	4%

Mennonite Disaster Service. Mennonite Disaster Service (MDS) is a binational agency that provides an opportunity for volunteers to rebuild and restore the homes and lives of people who have suffered losses due to a natural disaster.[256] It is supported by virtually all Mennonite, Amish, and Brethren in Christ churches in Canada and the United States.[257] Except for a few staff members at its headquarters in Akron, Pennsylvania, and its office in Winnipeg, the organization and its work are operated by volunteers.

MDS was founded in 1950 at a church picnic in Hesston, Kansas, by a group of men who had been conscientious objectors during World War II.[258] They asked what they could do constructively for people in their country during times of peace as well as in war. They decided to found a service agency and MDS was born. For most of its history MDS was a section of MCC. In 1963, when MCC Canada was founded, the Canadian arm of MDS was accepted as part of its program.[259] In 1993 MDS was incorporated separately. It divided Canada and the United States into five regions, each with its own organization. Canada is Region V. The Canadian region in turn has organized provincial chapters from Ontario to British Columbia.

MDS's largest Canadian project to date was the 1997 Red River Flood. It provided 1,822 volunteers who contributed almost 15,000 person days of help. MDS set up a revolving fund of $2.2 million that provided over $3 million of bridge financing to flood

In the 1997 Flood of the Century, the Red River spread up to 30 miles in width. Rosenort was protected by a ring dike. The houses nearby were surrounded with sandbag dikes. After the flood, Mennonite Disaster Service was a major player in the reconstruction effort (57).

MEDA's Mission
The mission of MEDA is to bring hope, opportunity and economic well-being to low income people around the world through a business-oriented approach to development.
(www.meda.org)

MEDA's Product Lines
• Community Economic Development: includes a Compassions Development fund
• Investment Fund Development: includes a Saraona Global Investment Fund
• Microfinance: provides access to savings and financing
• Production-Marketing Linkages: provides access to products and markets
• Member Services: includes publishing *Marketplace*
(www.meda.org)

victims until they received their flood assistance money from the government.[260]

MDS volunteers freely cross the international border. Throughout its history, Canadians have provided more assistance in the United States than Americans have provided in Canada.

Mennonite Economic Development Associates. Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA) was founded in 1953 by a small group of eight Mennonite businesspersons from Canada and the United States. [261] Its purpose was to help Mennonite refugees from the former Soviet Union who had settled in Paraguay. To address the long-term needs for employment and economic infrastructure, it helped the settlers set up a dairy.[262] This modest beginning has expanded into a program that is active in many countries. MEDA's Canadian head office is located in Winnipeg and operates through local chapters. The Winnipeg/Manitoba chapter, one of twelve in Canada, has been very active both locally and internationally.

MEDA's aim is to offer affordable credit, together with marketing and business training, to low-income entrepreneurs in North America and around the world. Its target groups are the poorest of the economically active in the developing world. Each year MEDA creates or sustains about 10,000 jobs around the world.[263] In 1999 it created the Sarona Global Investment Fund to give investors an opportunity to "put their savings to work" to help low income people in the developing world.[264] It has a similar program called ASSETS (**A** **S**ervice for **S**elf **E**mployment **T**raining and **S**upport) to provide assistance to low-income entrepreneurs in North America.[265]

One of MEDA's goals is education. It helps Christians connect their faith with their workplace and deals with issues faced by both employers and employees. The education program is accomplished through its annual

Olga Torres, metal worker, was able to take financial risks in developing her business with loans at reasonable rates from Mennonite Economic Development Associates (58).

Eduard Shoo (far right) was able to hire staff to make pushcarts in Dar es Salaam, with loans from Mennonite Economic Development Associates (59).

conferences and by its publication called *The Marketplace*.[266]

Politics

The shift in Mennonites' attitudes to political involvement began in the 1950s as can be seen in the number of candidates who ran and were elected (see Appendix 7 and 8 for lists of candidates).[267] The editor of the *Canadian Mennonite* wrote, "Most of our Mennonites are taking active part, and I think wisely, at all levels if by no other way than by voting."[268] In the decades following, the number of elected members continued to increase. By the turn of the century, most Mennonite churches affirmed holding political office and voting. Two exceptions are the Holdeman and the Fellowship of Conservative Mennonite Churches which follow the traditional pattern of discouraging both activities.[269]

Voting Patterns. For decades rural areas with large Mennonite populations have been known as solid Progressive Conservative regions in both provincial and federal elections. The only significant exception was the constituency of Rhineland where Jacob M. Froese won four consecutive provincial elections from 1959 to 1973 as the Social Credit candidate.[270] This same area was included in the federal riding of Lisgar-Marquette and Portage-Lisgar that elected Jake E. Hoeppner, a Reform Party candidate, in 1993 and 1997. These two instances may indicate that conservative protest candidates had some appeal to the Mennonite voters on the former West Reserve, which was part of these ridings.

For decades those Mennonites who immigrated in the 1920s strongly supported federal Liberals because it was a Liberal government that passed the legislation which allowed them to enter Canada. However, over the years support for Liberals has declined. This party is seen as favouring eastern interests, especially those in Quebec; its gun registration legislation is unpopular; and it is perceived as too liberal on social issues. The result has been that rural Mennonites have voted Progressive Conservative for many years. They see this party as being fiscally prudent, of addressing rural concerns better than other parties do, and of being cautious about introducing new social legislation. Many Mennonites are opposed to enacting bills that redefine the family, approve abortions, and give additional rights to gays and lesbians. On these issues both the Liberals and the New Democratic Party (NDP) have been seen as suspect.

The NDP have not gained wide support in rural Mennonite areas. Some see them as socialist or even communist, favouring unions, promoting liberal social programs, and having an urban bias.[271] More recently, rural Mennonite voters have provided strong support for the Reformed, Alliance, and the new Conservative parties.

Mennonite voting patterns in Winnipeg are harder to gauge because Mennonites live scattered throughout the city. However, a recent study sheds new light on the subject.[272] By analyzing voting polls in the Mennonite areas of North Kildonan for the provincial elections from 1958 to 1977, the study concludes that Mennonite voting patterns are mixed. The area studied was part of the riding of Kildonan-Transcona, then it became Kildonan, and more recently Rossmere. Mennonite support for marginal parties such as the Social Credit was strong in a number of elections, but also swung to the NDP in 1969 when Premier Ed Schreyer ran in the riding.[273] Support for him remained strong in the next two elections, even though his opponent was a Mennonite running for the Conservatives. No study has been done of Mennonite voting patterns in other areas of the city.

Election to Federal and Provincial Offices. After Dr. C. W. Wiebe of Winkler was elected as an MLA from 1932 to 1936, no Mennonite held elected office in Manitoba until 1958 when Steve Peters won as the CCF candidate in the Elmwood riding in Winnipeg.[274] Including Peters, the first three members elected to the Manitoba Legislature were members of a Western Canadian protest party: J. M. Froese for the Social Credit in Rhineland in 1959 and John DeFehr for the same party in Kildonan in 1962.

The first two Mennonites to win an election as provincial candidates for one of the major parties were Leonard Barkman and Harry Enns. Barkman won in 1962 as a Liberal in Carillon, which included the Steinbach area; Enns was elected in 1966 as a Progressive Conservative in Rockwood-Iberville in the Interlake area. In June 2001 Harry Enns was honoured for 35 years of continuous service as an MLA during which time he held numerous cabinet positions, including deputy premier. In provincial elections from 1962 to the 1999, 51 Mennonites were elected. Of these, 39 were members of the Progressive Conservative party. Since 1977, four to eight Mennonites have been elected in each election.

In 1962 Siegfried Enns, brother to Harry Enns, was the first Manitoba Mennonite

If Jesus had intended for Christians to vote, hold public office, or serve in law enforcement and on juries, He would have given instructions in those duties. Christians are rather to "come out from among them, and be separate" (2 Corinthians 6:17). (Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, *Adult and Youth Sunday School Lessons* 37, no. 2, 61).

Formal decisions by the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, showing the change in attitude to political office holding:

1878: Brethren are not to serve in any government office.
1890: Members of the church should refrain from participation in the contentions of politics, but are permitted to vote quietly at elections, and may also vote for prohibition.
1966: We believe it is proper for Christians to vote, to exert influence on government officials provided that neither means nor ends are un-Christian, and also under special conditions to stand for office, if neither the attempt to gain the position nor exercising of its functions, requires a compromise of Christian ethics.

(John Redekop, "Decades of Transition," 20-21)

elected to the federal government.[275] He was a candidate for the Progressive Conservative party and won three consecutive elections in the riding of Portage-Neepawa, a constituency that has relatively few Mennonite voters.

Jake Epp, the second Manitoba Mennonite elected to the federal government, was the longest serving Mennonite politician in Ottawa.[276] In the 1972 federal election he was elected as a Progressive Conservative in Provencher, a constituency that includes both Steinbach and Altona. He served for 21 years and held senior cabinet portfolios in both the Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney governments. He bowed out of elected office at the end of Brian Mulroney's era.[277]

In the 2000 federal election, Vic Toews won the constituency of Provencher for the Alliance party. His victory continued the pattern that, in federal elections, rural Mennonite voters tend to elect candidates from either the Progressive Conservative party or one of the western protest parties. A party's conservative stance on social issues may often be the deciding factor. A recent exception to this pattern was in the two elections after the Mulroney years when Liberals won the Provencher constituency.

Jake Epp and family celebrate at the victory party in the 1972 election when he was first elected to Parliament (60).

Mennonites have run as candidates for most of the parties in provincial and federal elections, including the Communist and the Rhinoceros parties.[278] They have fully embraced political involvement and are willing to advocate for issues and causes through the political process. The early attitude of separation has largely given way to engagement.

Summary of Part III: 1950 — 2000

The past half-century has been a time of rapid and significant change for Manitoba Mennonites. For most, the language of everyday conversation and worship changed from Low German and German to English. Many left farming, urbanized, and entered virtually all professions, trades, and occupations. Traditional reluctance to engage in business, join unions, and enter politics gradually gave way to involvement in all of these areas. Plain dress and frugality gave way to greater fashion awareness and more affluent lifestyles. Increased mobility and introduction of wider selection of goods in stores allowed Mennonites to adopt a more Canadian lifestyle. The traditional house-barn architecture largely disappeared in favour of modern architecture for private dwellings, church buildings, and businesses. Up-to-date vehicles dot town and countryside. Thousands travel globally for business or pleasure.

How have Mennonites been changed by all of this? Have the challenges of modernity undermined community? Has secularism blunted the faith character of the people? Has interest in historical beliefs and values been destroyed? Has integration into society blurred the ability to see issues from a biblical perspective?

Mennonites' response to acculturation has varied. Those called the conservatives have emphasized the importance of primary communities and have erected some visible barriers to acculturation. The barriers are selective but significant in that they witness to the conservatives' conviction that to be Christian is to be in the world but not of the world.

Churches have made changes to meet the needs of the times, including in language, leadership, programs, worship styles, and more. Schools have been organized from primary to university levels. These schools have forged strong links within the community and have reached out to serve the larger society. Mennonite scholars have re-evaluated and reformulated the heritage within new categories, including conservative, evangelical, and Anabaptist.

Creative literary writers have re-imagined and critiqued Mennonite experiences and confessions of faith and community.

The complexion of the Mennonite community has changed to include other historic and geographic groups. Sponsorship programs for "boat people" and for those from war-torn places around the planet have expanded Mennonites' vision across cultural and religious boundaries in unpredictable and unexpected ways. Host groups have been challenged to re-examine their beliefs and values and to become more adept at verbalizing and demonstrating their faith heritage.

Relief, service, development, and volunteer programs have been created. They have expanded interest in international matters and have drawn the larger world in a little closer. To enhance the quality of community life and to serve the larger society, numerous health care facilities have been created, including hospitals, personal care homes, assisted living institutions, retirement homes, and a mental health centre.

During the past 50 years there has been an increased sense of cooperation among Mennonites. The formation of Mennonite Central Committee (Canada) and MCC (Manitoba) are primary examples, but there are also others. A number of educational programs are organized by groups of churches, for example Steinbach Bible College, Canadian Mennonite University, and the Evangelical-Anabaptist Seminary program. This spirit of cooperation has extended beyond the Mennonite community with a number of conference groups participating in ecumenical circles.

Perhaps most challenging has been the task of conveying the faith heritage to those closest of all, namely, to the children. The influence of secularism has blunted the faith character of many, but strong family ties and values and the ability of communities to change have modelled the essence and dynamic of faith.

Mennonites have shown resilience and ingenuity in transforming themselves. From conservative to more evangelical and liberal, all have reshaped their faith communities in dynamic and creative ways. If the past 50 years are an indication, Mennonites can look forward to a bright future.

Epilogue

What will the future hold for Manitoba Mennonites? Let me indicate some directions in which I believe Mennonites are moving, and some of the characteristics that they seem to embody as they go forward. Should one be optimistic or pessimistic about the future of Mennonites in Manitoba? I am optimistic. During more than 125 years in Manitoba, Mennonites have faced many challenges successfully, and I think they will continue to do so. After all, they have proven to be adaptable and resilient survivors.

Churches are the fundamental shapers of Mennonite identity in both rural and urban settings. It is through churches that faith is shaped, where personal networking happens, and where organizations are created. Churches carry forward the vision and hope of the initial settlers: that Manitoba would provide a hospitable home for them to live their Christian faith.

A major challenge that Mennonites have faced is secularization. Because they understood that faith applied to all areas of life—including the way they farmed, organized their communities, operated their schools, and worshipped—Mennonites felt that any changes would threaten the fabric of their identity. However, as one after another of these areas was removed from the domain of the church, many Mennonites responded by migrating; but those who stayed, adapted and revised their theology to fit the new situation.

Mennonites continue to make a contribution to the way of peace. They came to Manitoba as pacifists. During both world wars they maintained that witness, even though in World War II about a third of eligible men served in the military. They have continued to teach the biblical way of peace, and have expressed it through programs such as offender ministries, relief work, and disaster assistance.

Mennonites express their faith in personal discipleship, as well as collectively through institutional structures in areas such as health care, counselling services, and inner city ministries. Globally these expressions of faith are extended through various inter-Mennonite and denominational organizations. Areas of discipleship and service will likely expand with the increased use of technology and through harnessing the considerable wealth in the community.

What will the future hold for Mennonite unity? In the past considerable fragmentation has occurred, as attested to by the existence of twelve conferences and *Gemeinden* (church groups) [see Appendix 9 for a record of divisions among Mennonite groups]. Will groups cooperate, divide, or merge? If the past is an indication, some may well cooperate more, as has happened in the formation of Steinbach Bible College and Canadian Mennonite University. In other cases, groups may divide for various reasons. Will they merge? Perhaps, but again based on past experiences, those instances will likely be few.

What will be the commonalities that bind Mennonites in Manitoba into one community? In the past, common faith affirmations, along with historical origin, geography, and language provided such bonds. Now, with greater diversity, faith affirmations will become ever more significant. They will shape identity as they are expressed through common efforts in inter-Mennonite organizations such as Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), Mennonite Disaster Service, and Mennonite World Conference.

Mennonites have moved from being parochial to being part of the global world. They have an amazing array of international connections. Any one congregation may well have ties to half a dozen, or more, countries in the world through its members who are serving with mission programs, MCC, voluntary service, and other agencies. These connections help keep the vision of the churches global and outward looking. Many congregations are comprised of members from various ethnic and religious backgrounds. Approximately fourteen Mennonite churches have been formed by East Asian, African, Latin American, or Aboriginal Canadians. As the Mennonite community develops, its cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and theological diversity may well become its greatest strength.

Who will give voice to the genius and creativity of the Mennonite heritage in the future? In the recent past it is the more acculturated groups that have seen themselves as taking the leading role in giving voice to the heritage. They have the largest numbers, the most education, and take initiative to form organizations and schools. But they are also the ones who are part of a process of reductionism; that is, gradually reducing the areas to which the Christian gospel applies. Over the years the more acculturated have largely removed the application of Christian faith from lifestyle issues, from farming (the village pattern), from the economic sphere of life (cooperative community enterprises), and, for many, from a peace witness.

In these areas the more acculturated have increasingly accepted the mores and standards of society. This direction has been bolstered by the influence of evangelical theology. The result has been that, as Mennonites have become more acculturated, more part of the Canadian evangelical community, and more overtly evangelistic, they have less and less to be evangelistic about. Their gospel is largely being reduced to saving the soul and to nurturing an inner spirituality. It may well be that the so-called conservatives—those who have a sense of the "otherness" of the gospel—will in the future give the strongest witness to the biblical gospel as expressed by Mennonites historically.

Paul J. Schaefer, the late teacher and principal of Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna, and author of the Mennonite history series *Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten* (Mennonites: From Where? to Where?), frequently used the saying, "*Was du ererbt von deinen Vaetern, erwirb es, um es zu besitzen*." (Nurture that which you have inherited from your forebears, so that it may become your own.) This book has been written within the spirit of that motto. It has been written with the hope that Mennonites may understand each other better and appreciate their own faith roots, and that those who are not Mennonite may get a glimpse into a dynamic community which has become part of the fabric of Manitoba.

Appendices

Appendix 1
Letter from John Lowe to the Mennonite Delegates from Russia to Manitoba

(They considered this the legal document which spelled out their Privilegium.)[1]

Gentlemen:
I have the honour under the instruction of the Honourable, the Minister of Agriculture, to state to you in reply to your letter of this day's date the following facts relating to advantages offered to settlers, and to the immunities afforded to Mennonites, which are established by the statute Law of Canada and by orders of His Excellency, the Governor in Council, for the information of German Mennonites having intention to emigrate to Canada via Hamburg.

1. An entire exemption from military service is by Law and Order in Council granted to the denominations of Christians called Mennonites.
2. An Order in Council was passed on the 3rd of March last to reserve eight townships in the province of Manitoba for free grants on the condition of settlement, as provided in the Dominion Land Act, that is to say: "Any person who is the head of a family, or has attained the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to be entered for one-quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands, for the purpose of securing a homestead in respect thereof."
3. The said reserve of eight townships is for the exclusive use of the Mennonites, and the said free grants of one-quarter section to consist of 160 acres each, as defined by the Act.
4. Should the Mennonite settlement extend beyond the eight townships set aside by the Order in Council of March 3rd last, other townships will in the same way be reserved to meet the full requirements of Mennonite immigration.
5. If next spring the Mennonite settlers on viewing the eight townships set aside for their use should prefer to exchange them for any other eight unoccupied townships, such exchange will be allowed.
6. In addition to the free grant of one-fourth section or 160 acres to every person over 21 years of age on the condition of settlement, the right to purchase the remaining three-fourths of the section at One Dollar per acre is granted by law so as to complete the whole section of 640 acres, which is the largest quantity of land the government will grant a Patent for to any one person.
7. The settler will receive a Patent for a Free Grant after three years' residence, in accordance with the terms of the Dominion Land Act.
8. In event of the death of the settler the lawful heirs can claim the Patent for the Free Grant upon proof that settlement duties for three years have been performed.
9. From the moment of occupation, the settler acquires a "homestead right" on the land.
10. The fullest privileges of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever; and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools.
11. The privilege of affirming instead of making affidavits is afforded by law.
12. The Government of Canada will undertake to furnish passenger warrants from Hamburg to Fort Garry for Mennonite families of good character, for the sum of thirty dollars per adult person over the age of 8 years; for persons under 8 years, half price, or fifteen dollars; and for infants under one year, three dollars.
13. The Minister specially authorized me to state that this arrangement as to price shall not be changed for the seasons 1874, 1875 and 1876.

Continued on next page

Appendix 1 (*continued)*

14. I am further to state if it is changed thereafter, the price shall not, up to the year 1882, exceed forty dollars for an adult and children in proportion, subject to the approval of Parliament.
15. The immigrant shall be provided with provisions on the portion of the journey between Liverpool and Collingwood; but during other portions of the journey they are to find their own provisions.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
John Lowe
Secretary of Department of Agriculture

Messrs. David Klassen
Jacob Peters
Heinrich Wiebe
Cornelius Toews
Mennonite Delegates from Russia

[1] William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony,* rev. ed. (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 1986), 256-257.

Appendix 2
Mennonite Churches and Groups in Manitoba, ca. 2000

(*membership numbers are approximate*)

Conference/Church Group	Name of Church	Location in Manitoba
Mennonite Church Manitoba (MCM) —total membership 11,000	Altona Bergthaler Mennonite	Altona
	Altona Mennonite	Altona
	Arnaud Mennonite	Arnaud
	Bethel Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Blumenort Mennonite	Gretna
	Carman Mennonite	Carman
	Charleswood Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Covenant Mennonite	Winkler
	Crystal City Mennonite	Crystal City
	Douglas Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Elim Mennonite	Grunthal
	Emmanuel Mennonite	Winkler
	First Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Fort Garry Mennonite Fellowship	Winnipeg
	Glenlea Mennonite	Glenlea
	Grace Mennonite	Brandon
	Grace Mennonite	Steinbach
	Grace Mennonite	Winkler
	Graysville Mennonite	Graysville
	Gretna Bergthaler Mennonite	Gretna
	Home Street Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Hope Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Iglesia Jesus es el Camino	Winnipeg
	Jubilee Mennonite (dual with MB)	Winnipeg
	Korean Mennonite group (related to Charleswood Mennonite)	Winnipeg
	Laotian Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Lowe Farm Bergthaler Mennonite	Lowe Farm
	Morden Bergthaler Mennonite	Morden
	Niverville Mennonite	Niverville
	Nordheim Mennonite	Winnipegosis
	North Kildonan Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Oak Lake Mennonite	Oak Lake
	Pembina Mennonite	Morden
	Plum Coulee Bergthaler Mennonite	Plum Coulee
	Portage Mennonite	Portage la Prairie
	River East Menno Gemeinde	Winnipeg
	Riverton Fellowship Circle	Riverton
	Rosenfeld Bergthaler Mennonite	Rosenfeld
	Sargent Avenue Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Schoenfelder Mennonite	St Francis Xavier
	Seeds of Life Community	Altona
	Springfield Heights Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Springstein Mennonite	Springstein
	Steinbach Mennonite	Steinbach
	Sterling Mennonite Fellowship	Winnipeg
	Thompson United Mennonite	Thompson
	Trinity Mennonite	Mather
	Vietnamese Mennonite	Winnipeg

Continued on next page

Appendix 2 *(continued)*

Mennonite Brethren (MB) —total membership 6,000	Boissevain Mennonite Brethren	Boissevain
	Centro Famaliar Spanish	Winnipeg
	Community Fellowship	Newton
	Crossroads Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
	Eastview Community	Winnipeg
	Eglise communautaire de la rivier-Rouge	Winnipeg
	Elm Creek Mennonite Brethren	Elm Creek
	Elmwood Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
	Faith Works	Winnipeg
	Flin Flon Mennonite Brethren	Flin Flon
	Fort Garry Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
	Fourth Avenue Bible	Niverville
	Friends Community	Carman
	Grace Church of the Menn. Brethren	Cranberry Portage
	Jubilee Mennonite (dual with MCM)	Winnipeg
	Justice Mennonite Brethren	Justice
	Lakeview Mennonite Brethren	Killarney
	La Salle Community	La Salle
	Manitou Mennonite Brethren	Manitou
	McIvor Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
	North Kildonan Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
	Portage Avenue Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
	River East Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
	Richmond Park Mennonite Brethren	Brandon
	Salem Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
	Selkirk Community	Selkirk
	Snow Lake Christian Centre Fellowship	Snow Lake
	South Park Mennonite Brethren	Altona
	Steinbach Mennonite Brethren	Steinbach
	The Meeting Place	Winnipeg
	Thompson Christian Centre Fellowship	Thompson
	Westside Community	Morden
	Westwood Community	Winnipeg
	Winkler Mennonite Brethren	Winkler
	Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Brethren	Winnipeg
Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference (EMMC) —total membership 2,700	Altona EMM	Altona
	Austin EMM	Austin
	Bagot Community Chapel	Bagot
	Bergfeld Mennonite	Altona
	Elim Mennonite	Niverville
	Glencross Mennonite	Morden
	Gospel Fellowship	Steinbach
	Gospel Mennonite	Winnipeg
	Lakeside Gospel	St. Laurent
	Morden EMM	Morden
	Morrow Gospel	Winnipeg
	Plum Coulee EMM	Winkler
	Reinland EMM	Winkler
	Richmond Gospel Fellowship	Winnipeg
	Winkler EMM	Winkler

Continued on next page

Appendix 2 *(continued)*

Evangelical Mennonite Conference (EMC) —total membership 4,900	Aberdeen EMC	Winnipeg
	Anola Fellowship Chapel	Dugald
	Arden Community Bible	Arden
	Birch River Christian Fellowship	Birch River
	Blumenort EMC	Blumenort
	Braeside EMC	Winnipeg
	Brandon EMC	Brandon
	Community Bible Fellowship	Swan River
	Crestview Fellowship	Winnipeg
	Fort Garry EMC	Winnipeg
	Kleefeld EMC	Kleefeld
	Kola EMC	Kola
	MacGregor EMC	MacGregor
	Mennville EMC	Riverton
	Morris Fellowship Chapel	Morris
	Morweena EMC	Arborg
	Pansy Chapel	Pansy
	Pleasant Valley	Rosenort
	Portage Evangelical Chapel	Portage la Prairie
	Prairie Grove Fellowship Chapel	Lorette
	Prairie Rose	Landmark
	Ridgewood	Steinbach
	Riverton Gospel Chapel	Riverton
	Roseile EMC	Roseile
	Rosenort EMC	Morris
	Rosenort Fellowship Chapel	Rosenort
	St. Vital EMC	Winnipeg
	Steinbach EMC	Steinbach
	Steinbach Evangelical Fellowship	Steinbach
	Steinbach Stony Brook	Steinbach
	Treesbank Community Chapel	Wawanesa
Sommerfeld Mennonite Church —total membership 3,500	Altona Sommerfeld Mennonite	Altona
	Kronsweide Sommerfeld Mennonite	Morris
	MacGregor Sommerfeld Mennonite	MacGregor
	Morden Sommerfeld Mennonite	Morden
	New Bothwell Sommerfeld Mennonite	Niverville
	Plum Coulee Sommerfeld Mennonite	Plum Coulee
	Reinland Sommerfeld Mennonite	Winkler
	Rudnerweide Sommerfeld Mennonite	Rudnerweide
	Sommerfeld Mennonite	Lowe Farm
	Sommerfeld Mennonite	Dominion City
	Steinbach Sommerfeld Mennonite	Steinbach
	Stuartburn Sommerfeld Mennonite	Stuartburn
	Winkler Sommerfelder Mennonite	Winkler
	Winnipeg Sommerfelder Mennonite	Winnipeg

Continued on next page

Appendix 2 *(continued)*

Chortitzer Mennonite Church (CMC) —total membership 2,000	Callsbeck Fellowship Chapel Grunthal CMC Mitchell CMC Niverville CMC Randolph CMC Rosengard CMC Silberfeld CMC Steinbach CMC Weidenfeld CMC Winkler Zion Mennonite Corey Helverson	Winnipeg Grunthal Mitchell Niverville Steinbach Steinbach New Bothwell Steinbach Grunthal Winkler Kleefeld
Conservative Mennonite (Nationwide Fellowship of Churches) —total membership 200	Borderview Conservative Mennonite Conservative Mennonite Conservative Mennonite Conservative Mennonite	Roseau River Horndean Austin Arborg
Evangelical Mennonite Brethren/ Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches —total membership 750	Christian Fellowship Chapel Cornerstone Bible Dallas Community Gospel Fellowship Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Faith Evangelical Bible Hodgson Bible Richer Fellowship Stuartburn Gospel Chapel Valley Bible Fellowship Vita Bible	Winnipeg Steinbach Dallas Grunthal Winkler Hodgson Richer Stuartburn Morris Vita
Old Colony Mennonite Church —total membership 1,100	Blumenfeld Old Colony Mennonite Chortitz Old Colony Mennonite Reinfeld Old Colony Mennonite Rosetown Old Colony Mennonite	Winkler Winkler Winkler Plum Coulee
Reinland Mennonite Church —total membership 2,600	Altona Reinland Mennonite Winkler Reinland Mennonite Blumenfeld Reinland Mennonite Grunthal Reinland Mennonite Austin Reinland Mennonite Rainy River Reinland Mennonite	Altona Winkler Winkler Grunthal Austin Rainy River ON

Continued on next page

Appendix 2 *(continued)*

Church of God in Christ, Mennonite —total membership 1,800	Altona Congregation Beausejour Congregation Cartwright Congregation Grandview Congregation Greenland Congregation Kleefeld Congregation Mountainview Congregation Roblin Congregation Rosenort Congregation Rosewood Congregation Sinclair Congregation Steinbach Congregation Swan River Valley Congregation Twin Rivers Congregation Whitemouth Congregation	Altona Beausejour Cartwright Grandview Ste. Anne Kleefeld Birnie Roblin Rosenort Ste. Anne Sinclair Steinbach Swan River Elma Whitemouth
Independent/Other	Abundant Life Christian Fellowship Bethel Bergthaler Mennonite Chosen Land Christian Fellowship Church, Mennonite Community Bible Elim Mennonite Evangelical Fellowship First Nations Community Gladstone Mennonite Good News Mennonite Grain of Wheat Community Grace Fellowship Grunthal Bergthaler Mennonite Halbstadt Bergthaler Mennonite Interlake Mennonite Fellowship Jubilee Mennonite Killarney Mennonite Lichtenau Mennonite Lowe Farm Emmanuel Gospel MacGregor Mennonite Morris Mennonite New Beginnings Pinawa Christian Fellowship Pembina Mennonite Fellowship Prairie Wind Shalom Family Worship Centre Swan River Valley Mennonite Vietnamese Mennonite Gospel Fellowship Winkler Mennonite	Grunthal Winkler Sidney Steinbach Arden Niverville Steinbach Winnipeg Gladstone Winnipeg Winnipeg MacGregor Grunthal Halbstadt Arborg Brandon Killarney Morris Lowe Farm MacGregor Morris Winnipeg Pinawa Morden Steinbach Steinbach Kenville Winnipeg Iles de Chene Winkler
Total membership in 2001: 35,000 (plus membership of the independent churches)		

Appendix 3
Private Schools Receiving Partial Government Funding
2000-2001

Name of School	Location	Grades Served	Enrolment
Austin Christian Academy	Austin	K-S4	29
Community Bible Fellowship Christian School	Swan River	K-S4	80
Lakeside Christian School	Killarney	K-8	36
Mennville Christian School	Riverton	K-S2	55
Winnipeg Mennonite Elementary School (Agassiz site)	Winnipeg	K-6	148
Winnipeg Mennonite Elementary School (Bedson site)	Winnipeg	K-8	337
Total number of students			**685**

Appendix 4
Private Schools Receiving No Government Funding
2000-2001

Austin Mennonite School	Austin	1-S1	21
Borderview Christian Day School (CM)	Stuartburn	1-S1	21
Countryview School (H)	Steinbach	2-S1	21
Daystar Christian Academy	Lorette	K-S4	12
Edrans Christian School	Austin	K-S2	19
Grace Christian Academy	Austin	2-S3	10
Grace Valley Mennonite Academy	MacGregor	1-S3	46
Greenland School (H)	Ste. Anne	1-S2	61
Horndean Christian Day School	Horndean	1-S1	33
Interlake Mennonite Fellowship School	Arborg	1-S3	108
Lake Centre Mennonite Fellowship School	Arborg	1-S1	27
Living Hope School	Neepawa	1-S1	10
Mennonite Christian Academy	Grunthal	1-S4	31
Morweena Christian School (EMC)	Arborg	K-S4	96
New Hope Christian School	Kleefeld	1-S3	49
Parkland Christian School (H)	Roblin	1-S1	38
Pine River Christian School (H)	Pine River	1-S1	12
Poplar Grove School (H)	Grandview	1-S1	19
Prairie Mennonite School (OC, R)	Plum Coulee	1-S1	65
Prairie View School (H)	Rosenort	1-S3	51
Riverdale School (H)	Kenville	1-S1	39
Riverside School (H)	Elma	1-S1	45
Rock Lake School (H)	Cartwright	1-8	29
Shady Oak Christian School (H)	Birnie	1-S1	41
Stony Creek School (H)	Sinclair	1-S1	45

Continued on next page

Appendix 4 *(continued)*

Sunflower Valley Christian School (H)	Altona	1-S1	18
Twin Rivers Country School (H)	Elma	1-S1	33
Valley Mennonite Academy (OC, R, Som)	Winkler	K-S4	99
Wild Rose School (H)	Kleefeld	1-S1	19
Willow Grove School (H)	Beausejour	1-S1	11
Total number of students			1,129
Grand total of students in private schools			**1,814**

Appendix 5
Periodicals, Newspapers, and Magazines Published by Mennonites in Manitoba

Name	Publisher
English Denomination-Related Papers	
The Canadian Mennonite (Altona and Waterloo) 1953-1971	Independent (D.W. Friesens)
The Mennonite Reporter 1971-1997	Mennonite Publishing Service
Canadian Mennonite 1997-present	Mennonite Publishing Service
Mennonite Pioneer Mission 1945-1962	Bergthaler Mennonite Church
Intotemak	Mennonite Church Canada
Messenger of Truth 1907-present	Church of God in Christ, Mennonite
Mennonite Observer 1955-1961	The Christian Press
The M.B. Herald 1962-present	Mennonite Brethren Church of Canada
The EMC Messenger 1963-present	Evangelical Mennonite Conference
The EMMC Recorder 1964-present	Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference
The Chronicle 1980-present	Chortitzer Mennonite Conference
German-Language Papers	
Bergthaler Gemeindeblatt	Bergthaler Church
Botschafter der Wahrheit	Kleine Gemeinde (later EMC)
in Hillsboro 1897-1936	
in Steinbach 1937-present	
Christlicher Familienfreund 1935-1984	Church of God in Christ, Mennonite
Bote des Heils 1983-present	Church of God in Christ, Mennonite
Die Steinbach Post 1913-present	Private
as *Volks-Bote* 1913-1916	
as *Steinbach Post* 1916-1928	
as *Die Post* 1928-1931	
as *Steinbach Post* 1932-1964	
as *Die Post* 1964-1971 (moved to Omaha)	
as *Mennonitische Post* 1977-present	Mennonite Central Committee
Der Bote 1924-present	General Conference Mennonite Church and Mennonite Church Canada
in Rosthern 1924-1968	
in Saskatoon 1968-1977	
in Winnipeg 1977-present	
Die Mennonitische Rundschau	
as *Nebraska Ansiedler* 1878-1880	Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart
as *Die Mennonitische Rundschau*	
in Elkhart 1880-1923	
in Winnipeg 1923-present	Rundschau Publishing House (later Christian Press); since 1960 Mennonite Brethren Church Canada
Historical Papers	
The Mennonite Historian 1975-present	Center for M.B. Studies & Mennonite Heritage Centre
Preservings 1993-present	Hanover-Steinbach Historical Society; since 2005 D.F. Plett Mennonite Historical Research Foundation, Inc.
Heritage Posting 1999-present	Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society

Continued on next page

Appendix 5 *(continued)*

Journals	
Journal of Mennonite Studies 1983-present	Chair in Mennonite Studies, University of Winnipeg
Vision: A Journal for Church and Theology 2000-present	Canadian Mennonite University, Winnipeg, with Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart
Other	
Conscientious Objectors to WWII 1981-1984	George Kroeker, Winnipeg
The Marketplace (Winnipeg) 1971-present	Mennonite Economic Development Associates
Mennonitische Volkswarte 1935-1936	Arnold Dyck, Steinbach
Mennonitische Warte 1937-1938	Arnold Dyck, Steinbach
Warte Jahrbuch fuer die mennonitische Gemeinschaft in Canada 1943-1944	Arnold Dyck, Steinbach
Mennonitische Lehrerzeitung 1948-1950	Heinrich Dyck and Victor Peters, Horndean
Mennonitische Welt 1950-1952	Victor Peters, Horndean
Mennonite Mirror 1971-1991	Mennonite Literary Society
Preserving Our Heritage 1993-2003	Mennonite Heritage Village
Village Review 2005-present	Mennonite Heritage Village
The Voice 1998-present	Evangelical Anabaptist Fellowship

Appendix 6
Mennonite Central Committee Manitoba Projects

- Aboriginal Community Development Program – assists First Nations to find ways of allowing young people to work at meeting social and cultural needs.
- Northwest Ontario Community Development – supports community-driven projects which provide opportunities for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to interact.
- Northern Flood Agreement (Cross Lake) – assists the Cree Nation (Cross Lake) to receive fair treatment according to the terms of the 1977 Northern Flood Agreement.
- Community Economic Development – works to provide jobs, quality affordable homes, safe healthy communities, and economic opportunities for the marginalized.
- El'Dad Ranch – a residential treatment program for adult men who face social, mental, and emotional challenges and who are in conflict with the law.
- International Visitor Exchange Program – accepts young people from other countries to live and work in North America for a year.
- Canadian Ecumenical Jubilee Initiative – uses the biblical Jubilee texts to call for sharing generously with the poor and changing the economic foundations of society.
- Material Resources – provides handmade blankets, layettes, school, health and sewing kits, soap, cash and other products for people who have suffered a disaster.
- Open Circle – a prison visitation program that works to bring about restorative and transformative justice.
- Refugee Assistance – promotes refugee sponsorship within churches in Manitoba and addresses the needs of refugee newcomers.
- Ten Thousand Villages – provides vital, fair income to Third World people by selling their handcrafts and telling their stories in North America.
- Thrift Stores – makes good used clothing, furniture, and other items available at very low prices and thereby enables many low income people to buy needed items.
- Voices for Non-Violence – serves to empower the Manitoba Mennonite community to respond effectively to family violence and sexual abuse.
- Voluntary Service Program – provides local service organizations with skilled workers who are willing to commit to a task and to do so on a voluntary basis.
- Mennonite Disaster Service – provides an opportunity for volunteers to rebuild and restore the homes and lives of people who have suffered a natural disaster.

Appendix 7
Manitoba Candidates of Mennonite Background for Election to the Manitoba Legislature [1]

(Those in bold print were elected as Members of the Legislative Assembly [MLAs])

Abbreviations

C – Conservative
CCF – Co-operation of Commonwealth Federation
COR – Confederation of Regions Party
Comm – Communist
Ind – Independent
L – Liberal
L-P – Liberal-Progressive
LPM – Libertarian Party of Manitoba
ManPrg – Manitoba Progressive
NDP – New Democratic Party
PC – Progressive Conservative
SC – Social Credit
WIP – Western Independence Party

Election Date	Electoral Division	Candidate	Party
1892	Rosenfeld	Erdman Penner	PC
7 March 1907	Rhineland	Cor. Bergman	C
16 June 1932	**Morden and Rhineland**	**C. W. Wiebe, M. D.**	**L-P**
22 April 1941	Morden-Rhineland	L. Kruger	Ind
8 June 1953	Carillon Dufferin Emerson Ethelbert Iberville Portage la Prairie	K. T. Kroeker G. Loeppky J. J. Friesen H. Dyck C. F. Rempel B. H. Rempel	SC SC SC SC SC SC
16 June 1958	**Elmwood** Rhineland	**Steve Peters** A. Enns	**CCF** PC
14 May 1959	Carillon **Elmwood** Kildonan	Peter J. Thiessen **Steve Peters** C. K. Huebert	PC **CCF** L-P
26 November 1959 (bye-election)	**Rhineland** Rhineland	**Jacob M. Froese** David K. Friesen	**SC** L-P
14 December 1962 (all 3 Rhineland candidates were Mennonite)	**Carillon** Carillon **Elmwood** **Kildonan** **Rhineland** Rhineland Rhineland	**Leonard Barkman** Peter J. Thiessen **Steve Peters** **John DeFehr** **Jacob M. Froese** Abram J. Thiessen J. H. Penner	**L** PC **NDP** **SC** **SC** PC L

Continued on next page

Appendix 7 *(continued)*

7 July 1966	**Carillon**	**Leonard Barkman**	**L**
	Kildonan	Henry W. Redekopp	SC
	Osborne	Howard J. Loewen	L
	Pembina	Frederick Hamm	SC
	Rhineland	**Jacob M. Froese**	**SC**
	Rhineland	Alf Loewen	L
	Rock Lake	Jacob Harms	SC
	Rockwood-Iberville	**Harry J. Enns**	SC
	Souris-Lansdowne	Irene Bauman	NDP
	Turtle Mountain	Peter H. Sawatsky	SC
25 June 1969	Emerson	Jacob Wall	SC
	Lakeside	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	La Verendrye	**Leonard Barkman**	**L**
	La Verendrye	Elmer Reimer	NDP
	Morris	Henry W. Funk	SC
	Osborne	Win Loewen	L
	Pembina	David Harms	SC
(3 of 4 Rhineland candidates were Mennonite)	**Rhineland**	**Jacob M. Froese**	**SC**
	Rhineland	Henry D. Hildebrand	PC
	Rhineland	Jacob W. Heinrichs	NDP
	St. Matthews	Rudy Peters	L
28 June 1973	Fort Garry	Henry Janzen	L
	Fort Rouge	Samia Friesen	NDP
	Lakeside	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	La Verendrye	**Robert Banman**	**PC**
	La Verendrye	Leonard Barkman	L
	Pembina	Paul Klassen	NDP
(all 5 Rhineland candidates were Mennonite)	**Rhineland**	**Arnold Brown**	**PC**
	Rhineland	Jacob M. Froese	SC
	Rhineland	Jacob Heinrichs	NDP
	Rhineland	Henry Friesen	L
	Rhineland	John Epp	Ind
	Rossmere	Alfred Penner	PC
	Seven Oaks	Henry Froese	L
11 October 1977	**Emerson**	**Albert Driedger**	**PC**
	Lakeside	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	La Verendrye	**Robert Banman**	**PC**
	La Verendrye	Robert Rempel	L
	Minnedosa	John Martens	NDP
	Pembina	Vic Epp	L
(all 4 Rhineland candidates were Mennonite)	**Rhineland**	**Arnold Brown**	**PC**
	Rhineland	Jacob M. Froese	SC
	Rhineland	Ray Hamm	L
	Rhineland	Jacob Heinrichs	NDP
	Rossmere	Henry P. Krahn	PC

Continued on next page

Appendix 7 *(continued)*

17 November 1981	**Emerson**	**Albert Driedger**	**PC**
	Emerson	Jack Thiessen	ManPrg
	Gladstone	Abe Suderman	L
	Inkster	Bill Dueck	PC
	Interlake	C.N. (Neil) Dueck	PC
	Lakeside	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	Lakeside	John Huebert	ManPrg
	La Verendrye	**Robert Banman**	**PC**
	Rhineland	**Arnold Brown**	**PC**
	Rhineland	Jacob M. Froese	ManPrg
	Rossmere	**Vic Schroeder**	**NDP**
	Rossmere	Merv Unger	ManPrg
	St. Johns	Henry Koslowski	L
	Sturgeon Creek	John Epp	L
18 March 1986	Arthur	Peter J. Neufeld	COR
	Emerson	**Albert Driedger**	**PC**
	Kirkfield Park	Irene Friesen	L
	Lakeside	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	La Verendrye	**Helmut Pankratz**	**PC**
	La Verendrye	Walter Hiebert	L
	Pembina	Abe Giesbrecht	COR
	Pembina	Eduard Hiebert	NDP
	Pembina	Lynn Rempel	L
	Rhineland	**Arnold Brown**	**PC**
	Rossmere	**Vic Schroeder**	**NDP**
	Rossmere	Harold Neufeld	PC
	Seven Oaks	Harold Dyck	Comm
26 April 1988	Elmwood	Russ Letkeman	LPM
(3 of 4 Emerson	**Emerson**	**Albert Driedger**	**PC**
candidates were	Emerson	Kurt Penner	NDP
Mennonite)	Emerson	Jake Wall	COR
	Gladstone	Brian Hildebrandt	COR
	Kirkfield Park	Irene Friesen	L
	Lakeside	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	Lakeside	Eduard Hiebert	NDP
	La Verendrye	**Helmut Pankratz**	**PC**
	La Verendrye	C.E. Goertzen	L
	Niakwa	**Harold Driedger**	**L**
	Pembina	Abe Giesbrecht	L
	Portage la Prairie	Darlene Hamm	COR
(all 3 Rhineland	**Rhineland**	**Jack Penner**	**PC**
candidates were	Rhineland	Walter Hiebert	L
Mennonite)	Rhineland	Reg Loeppky	NDP
	Riel	John Hiebert	COR
	River East	Michael Dyck	NDP
	River East	Neil Friesen	WIP
	Rossmere	**Harold Neufeld**	**PC**
	Rossmere	Vic Schroeder	NDP
	St. Vital	Trevor Wiebe	LPM
	Sturgeon Creek	Len Sawatsky	NDP

Continued on next page

Appendix 7 *(continued)*

11 September 1990	Elmwood	Vic Toews	PC
	Emerson	**Jack Penner**	**PC**
	Lakeside	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	Lakeside	Eduard Hiebert	NDP
	Niakwa	**Jack Reimer**	**PC**
	Pembina	Bert Siemens	NDP
	Portage la Prairie	Darlene Hamm	L
	Rossmere	**Harold Neufeld**	**PC**
	Seine River	Harold Driedger	L
	St. James	Len Sawatsky	NDP
	St. Norbert	Andrew Sawatsky	NDP
	Steinbach	**Albert Driedger**	**PC**
	Steinbach	Cornelius Goertzen	L
25 April 1995	**Emerson**	**Jack Penner**	**PC**
	Gladstone	Joyce Penner	NDP
	Kirkfield Park	Vic Wieler	L
(3 of 4 Lakeside candidates were Mennonite)	**Lakeside**	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	Lakeside	Gary Bergen	LPM
	Lakeside	Eduard Hiebert	NDP
	Morris	Bill Roth	L
	Niakwa	**Jack Reimer**	**PC**
	Pembina	**Peter George Dyck**	**PC**
	Pembina	Walter Hoeppner	L
	Rossmere	**Vic Toews**	**PC**
	Rossmere	Harry Schellenberg	NDP
	St. Norbert	Pat Peters	NDP
(all 3 Steinbach candidates were Mennonite)	**Steinbach**	**Albert Driedger**	**PC**
	Steinbach	Cornelius Goertzen	L
	Steinbach	Peter Hiebert	NDP
	Transcona	Richard Bueckert	PC
1 September 1999	**Charleswood**	**Myrna Driedger**	**PC**
	Emerson	**Jack Penner**	**PC**
	Emerson	Ted Klassen	L
	Fort Whyte	**John Loewen**	**PC**
	Kirkfield Park	Vic Wieler	L
	Lakeside	**Harry J. Enns**	**PC**
	Minto	Duane Poettcker	L
	Minto	Harold Dyck	CPC-M/ Comm
	Morris	Herm Martens	L
	Pembina	**Peter George Dyck**	**PC**
	Portage la Prairie	Gary Bergen	LPM
	River Heights	Peter Reimer	NDP
	Rossmere	**Harry Schellenberg**	**NDP**
	Rossmere	Vic Toews	PC
	Seine River	Jake Pankratz	PC
	Southdale	**Jack Reimer**	**PC**
	Steinbach	**Jim Penner**	**PC**
	Steinbach	Peter Hiebert	NDP
	Steinbach	Rick Ginter	L

Continued on next page

Appendix 7 *(continued)*

3 June 2003	**Charleswood**	**Myrna Driedger**	**PC**
	Emerson	**Jack Penner**	**PC**
	Fort Whyte	**John Loewen**	**PC**
	Pembina	**Peter George Dyck**	**PC**
	River Heights	Linda Goossen	Green
	Rossmere	**Harry Schellenberg**	**NDP**
	Southdale	**Jack Reimer**	**PC**
	Steinbach	**Kelvin Goertzen**	**PC**
		Bonnie Schmidt	NDP
		Connie Jantz	Green
	Wellington	Jon Penner	PC

[1] John Redekop, "Decades of Transition: North American Mennonite Brethren in Politics," in Paul Toews, ed., *Bridging Troubled Waters: The Mennonite Brethren at Mid-Twentieth Century* (Winnipeg: Kindred Productions, 1995), 52-58. Revised with additions from recent elections.

Appendix 8
Manitoba Candidates of Mennonite Background for Election to the Canadian House of Commons [1]

(Those in bold print were elected as Members of Parliament [MPs])

Abbreviations
Alliance
CP – Canada Party
CCF – Co-operative Commonwealth Federation
(31 July 1961 changed the name to NDP)
CHP – Christian Heritage Party
Comm – Communist
C – Conservative
CPC – Communist Party of Canada
CRWP – Confederation of Regions Western Party
G – Green
Ind – Independent
Lab – Labour
L – Liberal
NDP – New Democratic Party
Nat – National Party of Canada
PC – Progressive Conservative
Ref – Reform Party
Rhino – Rhinoceros Party
SC – Social Credit

Election Date	Constituency	Candidate	Party
27 June 1949	Lisgar	Diedrich Heppner	PC
10 August 1953	Provencher	Abram J. Thiessen	PC
31 March 1958	Provencher	Jake J. Siemens	CCF
18 June 1962	**Portage-Neepawa** Provencher Springfield Winnipeg North	**Siegfried Enns** John P. Loewen Rempel DeFehr	**PC** SC SC SC
8 April 1963	Lisgar **Portage-Neepawa** Winnipeg North Centre	George Loeppky **Siegfried Enns** Willms	SC **PC** SC
8 November 1965	Lisgar **Portage-Neepawa** Provencher Provencher Winnipeg North Selkirk	George G. Elias **Siegfried Enns** Gordon Barkman George Loeppky Willms Epp	Ind **PC** L SC SC SC
25 June 1968	Dauphin Lisgar Portage	Dean Whiteway George G. Elias Siegfried Enns	SC Ind PC
30 October 1972	Lisgar **Provencher** Provencher Selkirk	John Harms **Jake Epp** Jake Wall Dean Whiteway	SC **PC** SC PC
6 October 1974	Lisgar Lisgar **Provencher** Provencher **Selkirk** Winnipeg South	Frank Froese Jacob M. Froese **Jake Epp** Jake Wall **Dean Whiteway** Harold James Dyck	NDP SC **PC** SC **PC** CPC

Continued on next page

Appendix 8 (*continued)*

22 May 1979	**Provencher** Provencher Winnipeg-Birds Hill Winnipeg-Birds Hill	**Jake Epp** Howard Loewen Dean Whiteway Harold J. Dyck	**PC** L PC Comm
18 February 1980	Lisgar Lisgar **Provencher** Winnipeg-Birds Hill Winnipeg-Birds Hill	Herman Rempel Geo. G. Elias **Jake Epp** John Froese Honest Don Bergen	NDP (n/a) **PC** PC Rhino
4 September 1984	Lisgar Portage-Marquette **Provencher** Provencher Winnipeg-Birds Hill	Peter Hiebert Abe Suderman **Jake Epp** Wally Rempel Honest Don Bergen	NDP L **PC** L Rhino
21 November 1988 (3 of 6 Provencher candidates were Mennonite)	Brandon-Souris Dauphin-Swan River Lisgar-Marquette **Provencher** Provencher Provencher	Abe Neufeld Peter J. Neufeld Geo. G. Elias **Jake Epp** Wes Penner John Wiebe	CHP Ref CRWP **PC** L CRWP
25 October 1993	Brandon-Souris **Lisgar-Marquette** Portage-Interlake Provencher Provencher Winnipeg North Winnipeg South Winnipeg South Winnipeg South Centre Winnipeg South Centre	Abe Neufeld **Jake E. Hoeppner** Don Sawatzky Martha Wiebe Owen Wes Penner Mike Wiens Shirley Loewen Bill Martens Bill Loewen Lloyd Penner	CHP **Ref** Ref NDP Nat Ref Nat CP Nat NDP
2 June 1997	**Portage-Lisgar** Provencher Provencher Winnipeg North Centre Winnipeg North-St. Paul Winnipeg North-St. Paul	**Jake E. Hoeppner** Clare Braun Martha Wiebe Owen Mike Wiens George Wall Dave Reimer	**Ref** PC NDP Ref PC CHP
27 November 2000	Portage-Lisgar **Provencher** Provencher Provencher Winnipeg Centre	Jake E. Hoeppner **Vic Toews** Henry C. Dyck Peter Hiebert Harold Dyck	Ind **Alliance** PC NDP Comm

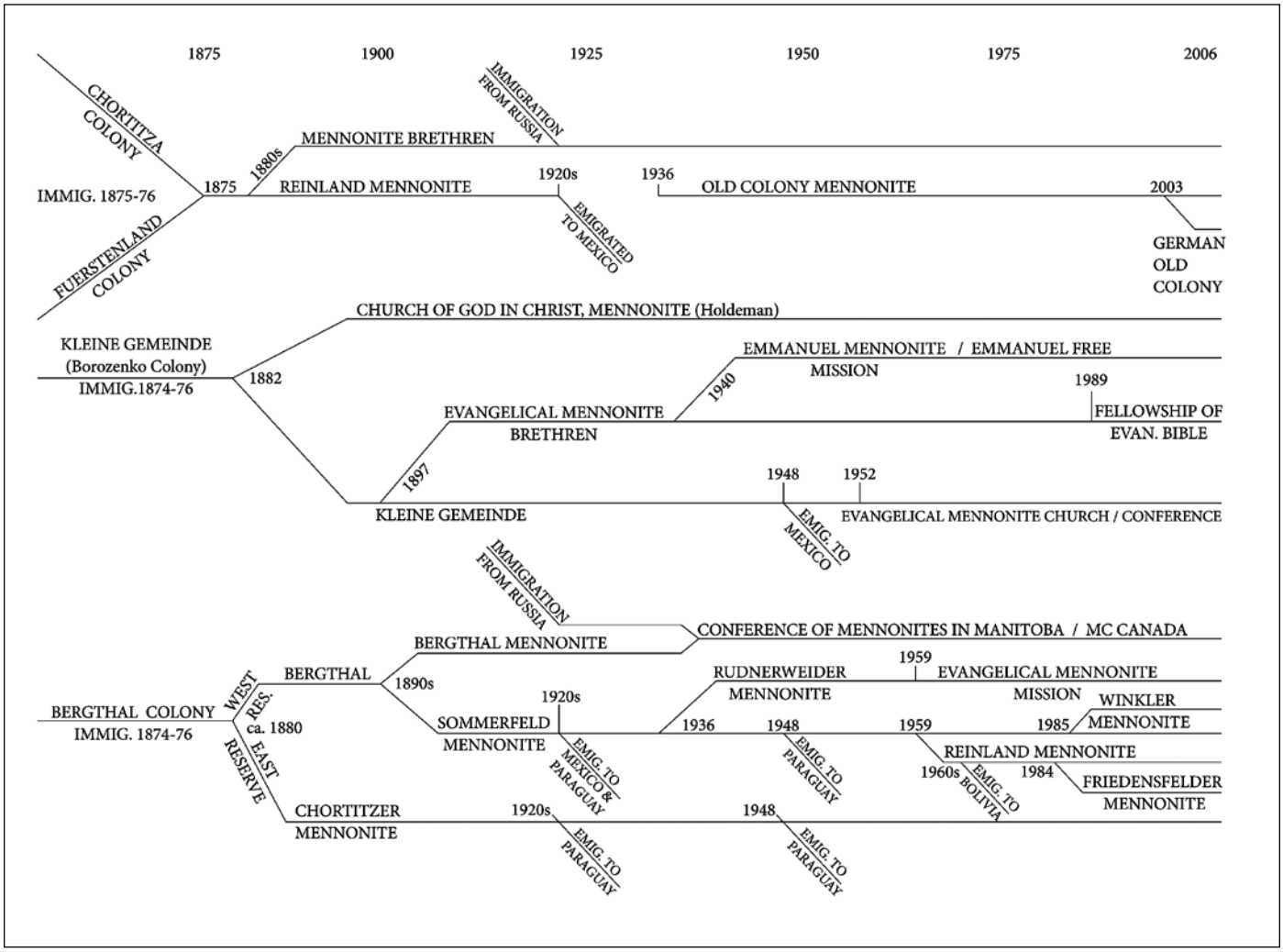
Continued on next page

Appendix 8 (*continued)*

28 June 2004	Kildonan-St. Paul Kildonan-St. Paul Portage-Lisgar Provencher **Provencher**	Jacob Giesbrecht Katharine Reimer David Reimer Peter Epp **Vic Toews**	G CHP CHP L **C**
23 January 2006	Kildonan-St. Paul Portage-Lisgar Provencher **Provencher** Winnipeg South	Eduard Hiebert David Reimer Wes Penner **Vic Toews** Heidi Loewen-Steffano	Ind. CHP L **C** CHP

[1] John Redekop, "Decades of Transition: North American Mennonite Brethren in Politics," in Paul Toews, ed., *Bridging Troubled Waters: The Mennonite Brethren at Mid-Twentieth Century* (Winnipeg: Kindred Productions, 1995), 52-58. Revised with additions from recent elections.

Appendix 9
Record of Divisions among Mennonite Groups



Notes

Part I: 1870 — 1920

1. Mennonites Inspect the Land

[1] C.J. Dyck, ed., *Introduction to Mennonite History: A Popular History of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites*, 3rd ed. (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1993), 33-150. For a popular discussion, see Harry Loewen and Steven Nolt, *Through Fire and Water: An Overview of Mennonite History* (Scottdale PA; Waterloo ON: Herald Press, 1996), 83-143. For the standard scholarly work on sixteenth-century Anabaptism, see George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Kirksville MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publications, 1992).

[2] In the sixteenth century one part of the peaceful Anabaptist movement in the Netherlands used the self-designation *Doopsgezinde* instead of Mennonite. By the early nineteenth century, after a series of unions, the whole Dutch church called itself *Doopsgezinde.*

[3] Most of the studies of Mennonites in Poland/Prussia are written in German. The best history is the two-volume set by Horst Penner, *Die ost- und westpreussischen Mennoniten in ihrem religiösen und sozialen Leben in ihren kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Leistungen*, 2 vols. (Weierhof, Germany: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1978, 1987). An older English language book is William I. Schreiber, *The Fate of the Prussian Mennonites* (Goettingen, Germany: Goettingen Research Committee, 1955).

[4] Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Die Wehrfreiheit der altpreussischen Mennoniten* (Marienburg, 1863).

[5] For a discussion of Mennonites in Russia, see John Friesen, ed., *Mennonites in Russia 1788-1988: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lohrenz* (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 1989); and James Urry, *None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia 1789-1889* (Winnipeg MB: Hyperion Press Limited, 1989). For a summary of the terms of condition for immigration, see Peter M. Friesen, *The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia 1789-1910,* translated from the German (Fresno CA: General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1978; originally published in 1911), 119-120.

[6] Urry, *None But Saints*, 104.

[7] Urry, *None But Saints*, chapters 2 & 3; J. Friesen, *Mennonites in Russia*, chapter 1.

[8] Gerhard Wiebe, trans. Helen Janzen, *Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America* (Winnipeg MB: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981; originally published in 1900).

[9] W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History,* 2nd ed. (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 166.

[10] Donald Purich, *The Métis* (Toronto ON: James Lorimer and Company, 1988), 49.

[11] Purich, *The Métis*, 49.

[12] Purich, *The Métis*, 49.

[13] Gerhard J. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 9, 12.

[14] G. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*, 140.

[15] G. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*, 12.

[16] Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 118; Purich, *The Métis*, 49.

[17] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 118.

[18] Purich, *The Métis*, 52.

[19] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 122.

[20] Morton, "Begg's Journal," in *Manitoba: A History*, 76.

[21] Purich, *The Métis*, 55-56.

[22] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 111.

[23] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 125-126.

[24] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 126.

[25] G. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland*, 170.

[26] For a map of the lands included in the various treaties with aboriginal peoples, see J.M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-Confederation History,* 2nd ed. (Don Mills ON: Oxford University Press, 2004), 41.

[27] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 140-141.

[28] See Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925* (Ottawa ON: University of Ottawa Press, 1984), 11-21; and Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto ON: Macmillan of Canada 1974), 183f.

[29] Angelika Sauer, "Ethnicity Employed: William Hespeler and the Mennonites," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 18 (2000): 86f.

[30] For discussions of the migration to Manitoba, see: Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*; William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, rev. ed. (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 1986). For a discussion of the emigration of the Kleine Gemeinde, see Delbert Plett, ed. and trans., *History and Events: Writings and Maps Pertaining to the History of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde from 1866-1876* (Steinbach MB: D.F. Plett Farms Ltd., 1982), 111f.

[31] For a further discussion of Shantz, see Samuel J. Steiner, *Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz* (Winnipeg MB: Hyperion Press, 1988).

[32] Leonhard Sudermann, trans. Elmer F. Suderman, *From Russia to America: In Search of Freedom* (Steinbach MB: Derksen Printers, 1974), 14, 15; Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 64.

[33] Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 69.

[34] Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 70.

[35] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 191.

[36] This comment by Heinrich Wiebe, the Bergthaler delegate, was recorded by Paul Tschetter, one of the Hutterite delegates, in "The Diary of Paul Tschetter, 1873," ed. and trans. J. M. Hofer, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 5 (July 1931): 199.

[37] Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 70.

2. Immigration and Settlement

[38] For discussion of the emigration, see Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, chapter 8; A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, chapter 1; Peter D. Zacharias, *Reinland: An Experience in Community* (Reinland MB: Reinland Centennial Committee, 1976); and Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 72f.

[39] For statistics of how many people moved, see A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 45.

[40] Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 73.

[41] Delbert Plett, ed., *Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1874* (Steinbach MB: DFP Publications, 1987), 9f.

[42] Gregorian calendar.

[43] Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 73.
[44] Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 73-83.
[45] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 14.
[46] Laverna and Lawrence Klippenstein, *A Mennonite Community: Rosenort, Book One: Its Background and Beginnings* (Morris MB: The Morris-Macdonald School Division, 1975), 24-25.
[47] Smaller numbers came from the recently established settlements of Borozenko (1865), Iasykovo (1869), Nepluievka (1870), and Baratov (1871). A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 67.
[48] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 23.
[49] Gerhard John Ens, V*olost & Municipality: The Rural Municipality of Rhineland 1884-1984* (Altona MB: The R.M. of Rhineland, 1984), 57.
[50] The history and size of this settlement requires more detailed research.
[51] Donovan Giesbrecht, "Métis, Mennonites and the 'Unsettled Prairie,' 1874-1896," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 19 (2001): 103-111.
[52] John Warkentin, *The Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba* (Steinbach MB: Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 2000; reprint of Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1960), 129-132.
[53] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 129. For a discussion comparing Ukrainian and Mennonite settlements in Canada, see Frances Swyripa, "Ancestors, the Land, and Ethno-religious Identity on the Canadian Prairies: Comparing the Mennonite and Ukrainian Legacies," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 21 (2003): 43-70. For photos of the two churches in Sarto, see Lydia Penner, *Hanover: One Hundred Years* (Steinbach MB: The R.M. of Hanover, 1982), 44-45.
[54] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens*?, 27-30.
[55] G. Ens, *Volost & Municipality*, 57-60.
[56] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens*?, 24; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 200-202.
[57] For a discussion of the relative wealth or poverty of the Mennonite immigrant groups, see Delbert F. Plett, "'Poor and Simple?': The Economic Background of the Mennonite Immigrants to Manitoba 1874-79," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 18 (2000): 114-128.
[58] Steiner, *Jacob Y. Shantz*, 93-110.
[59] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 24.
[60] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 25-27.
[61] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 26.
[62] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 212; and Steiner, *Jacob Y. Shantz*, 93-110.
[63] Roy Loewen, *Blumenort: A Mennonite Community in Transition, 1874-1982* (Steinbach MB: Royden K. Loewen, 1983), 248-250.
[64] R. Loewen, *Blumenort*, 469-471.
[65] William Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith: The History of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church* (Winnipeg MB: Kindred Press, 1989), 35-36.
[66] *Lowe Farm: 75 Anniversary, 1899-1974* (Altona MB: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1974); *Lowe Farm Schools: Fiftieth Anniversary Year Book 1899-1949* (n.p., [1949]).
[67] *Kane: The Spirit Lives On, 2000* (Rosenort MB: Country Graphics, 2000). See also Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith: The Background in Europe and the Development in Canada of the Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba* (Altona MB: Bergthaler Mennonite Church, 1970), 195-208.
[68] J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada*, 28.
[69] For a discussion of some of the justice issues involved in the opening up of the west to settlement, see Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada*, 38-48; and Leonard Doell, "Young Chippewayan Indian Reserve No. 107 and Mennonite Farmers in Saskatchewan," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 19 (2001): 165-167.
[70] E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba,* 2nd ed. (Steinbach MB: Crossways Publications, 2001), 144-148; A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 85-103; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 304.
[71] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 86; Richard J. Friesen, "Old Colony Mennonite Settlements in Saskatchewan: A Study in Settlement Change" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1975), chapter 4; and Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, chapter 13 discuss Mennonite settlements in Alberta and Saskatchewan.
[72] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 87.
[73] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 306f.
[74] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 306.
[75] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 310.
[76] Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 87f.
[77] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 313.

3. Community Life

[78] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 31.
[79] For an excellent study of the settlement of immigrant communities in western Canada, including Manitoba, see G. Friesen, "Immigrant Communities 1870-1940," in *The Canadian Prairies*, 242-273.
[80] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 65.
[81] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 35, 36.
[82] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 31.
[83] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 31; William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 125.
[84] These long narrow strips of land were called *Kagel.*
[85] The German word for mayor was *Schultz* or *Vorsteher*, in Low German it was *Schult*.
[86] See Zacharias, *Reinland*, 153-156 for a discussion of the role of the village herdsman.
[87] Jake Peters, T*he Waisenamt: A History of Mennonite Inheritance Custom* (Steinbach MB: Mennonite Village Museum (Canada), 1985), 15f.
[88] Peters, *The Waisenamt*, 10.
[89] Peters, *The Waisenamt*, 11-12.
[90] Peters, *The Waisenamt*, 13-14.
[91] Peters, *The Waisenamt*, 15-20.
[92] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 286f.
[93] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 133-134.
[94] The German word for the fire supervisor was *Brandaeltester*.
[95] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 133f; Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 286.
[96] Abe Warkentin, ed. and comp., *Reflections on Our Heritage: A History of Steinbach and the R.M. of Hanover from 1874* (Steinbach MB: E. Derksen, 1971), 263.
[97] Schroeder,*The Bergthal Colony*, 54-55.
[98] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 262-263.
[99] H. Leonard Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico* (Berkley CA: University of California Press, 1971), 268.
[100] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 286; A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 262.
[101] "History." http.www.redrivermutual.com. In 1965 the Red River Mutual Insurance Company also absorbed the Canadian Mennonite Insurance Company. The latter had been organized by a group of Mennonite businessmen for the purpose of insuring businesses instead of private dwellings.
[102] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 65.
[103] In a recent article, Alvin J. Esau, professor of law at the University of Manitoba, has argued that even though the Mennonite landholding pattern was an informal arrangement, if it had been contested in a court of law, it would likely have been upheld. See Alvin J. Esau, "Law and Property: The Establishment and Preservation of Mennonite Semi-communalism and Hutterite Communalism in North America, 1870-1925," unpublished paper.
[104] In some villages, e.g., Blumenhof and

Weidenfeld, local people remember that the village disbanded when residents simply moved onto their own land.

[105] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 139.

[106] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 140f.

[107] Francis, *In Search of Utopi*a, 105.

[108] R. Loewen, *Blumenort*, 242-264.

[109] Francis, *In Search of Utopi*a, 107.

[110] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 103; J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 139.

[111] For a study of Mennonite architecture in Russia-Ukraine, see Rudy P. Friesen with Sergey Shmakin, *Into the Past: Buildings of the Mennonite Commonwealth* (Winnipeg MB: Raduga Publications, 1996); and Rudy P. Friesen with Edith Elizabeth Friesen, *Building on the Past: Mennonite Architecture, Landscape and Settlements in Russia/Ukraine* (Winnipeg MB: Raduga Publications, 2004).

[112] For photos and descriptions of early Manitoba Mennonite architecture, see David K. Butterfield and Edward M. Ledohowski, *Architectural Heritage: The MSTW Planning District* (Winnipeg MB: Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, Province of Manitoba, 1984).

[113] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 87.

[114] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 93.

[115] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 98.

[116] The Low German name for these pull-out benches was *Schlopbenkj*. Herman Rempel, *Kenn Jie Noch Plautdietsch?: A Mennonite Low German Dictionary,* rev. ed. (Winnipeg MB: Mennonite Literary Society, 1984), 104. Jack Thiessen, *Mennonitisch-Plattdeutsches Woerterbuch=Mennonite Low German Dictionary* (Steinbach MB: Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, n.d.), 374, spells it *Schlop'beintj*.

[117] Long-term care homes were nonexistent.

[118] Henry Schapansky, "From Prussia to Russia," *Preservings* 14 (June 1999): 9.

[119] For a discussion of family life in pioneer days, see Delbert Plett, "Family Life," *East Reserve* 125 (1 August 1974), 36-37.

[120] For a discussion of different aspects of early life in the village community, see Zacharias, *Reinland*, 279-308.

[121] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 279f.

[122] For a discussion of the letters that were sent around in villages to invite people to common tasks, see Delbert Plett, "The Veeda Droag, Bergthal, 1862 and 1874," *Preservings* 16 (June 2000): 131-132.

[123] D. Plett, "Family Life," 36.

[124] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 64.

[125] Royden K. Loewen, Family, *Church and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850-1930* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 101.

[126] R. Loewen, *Family, Church and Market*, 102.

[127] See Royden Loewen, *From the Inside Out: The Rural Worlds of Mennonite Diarists, 1863-1929* (Winnipeg MB: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

[128] For a discussion of early Manitoba Mennonite wedding customs, see Zacharias, *Reinland*, 290-292.

[129] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 292.

[130] R. Loewen, *Family, Church and Market*, 36-37.

[131] Linda Buhler, "Mennonite Burial Customs, Part Two," *Preservings* 8 (June 1996): 48.

[132] Buhler, "Mennonite Burial Customs, Part Two," 48. See also Linda Buhler, "Mennonite Burial Customs," *Preservings* 7 (December 1995): 51-52; *Preservings* 10, Part II (June 1998): 78-80.

[133] Buhler, "Mennonite Burial Customs, Part Two," 48, 50.

[134] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 304.

[135] Buhler, "Mennonite Burial Customs, Part Two," 50.

[136] Bill Redekop, "Mennonite view of death revealed in new exhibit," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 20 June 2005, A7.

[137] Buhler, "Mennonite Burial Customs, Part Two," 50.

[138] Eleanor Hildebrand Chornoboy, *Faspa: A Snack of Mennonite Stories* (Winnipeg MB: Interior Publishing and Communication Ltd., 2003), 75-77, 162, 169.

[139] Victor Carl Friesen, *The Windmill Turning: Nursery Rhymes, Maxims, and Other Expressions of Western Canadian Mennonites* (Edmonton AB: The University of Alberta Press, 1988), 91f. Translations by the author.

[140] V. Friesen, *Windmill Turning*, 94 f.

[141] V. Friesen, *Windmill Turning*, 97 f.

[142] V. Friesen, *Windmill Turning*, 101 f.

[143] Veleda Unger, *De Goldene Schlut: A Coloring Book and Collection of Low German Nursery Rhymes* (Steinbach MB: Derksen Printers, 1974), 41. Translation by the author.

[144] V. Friesen, *Windmill Turning*, 62f.

4. Churches

[145] For a detailed account of the various families which immigrated, of village plans, and of extensive genealogical information, see Delbert Plett, *Pioneers and Pilgrims: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba, Nebraska and Kansas, 1874 to 1882* (Steinbach MB: D.F.P. Publications, 1990).

[146] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 212.

[147] For a history of the Kleine Gemeinde in Russia, see Delbert Plett, *Saints and Sinners: The Kleine Gemeinde in Imperial Russia, 1812-1875* (Steinbach MB: Crossway Publications, 1999).

[148] Peter D. Zacharias, "Aeltester Johann Wiebe (1837-1905)," in Adolf Ens, Jacob E. Peters and Otto Hamm, eds., *Church, Family and Village: Essays on Mennonite Life on the West Reserve* (Winnipeg MB: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 2001), 56; Delbert F. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada, 1875 to 2000* (Steinbach MB: Crossway Publications, 2001), 51.

[149] Zacharias, "Aeltester Johann Wiebe (1837-1905)," 62; Adolf Ens and John Dyck, "Obervorsteher Isaak Mueller (1824-1912)," in Ens, Peters and Hamm, *Church, Family and Village*, 67-79.

[150] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 283-300.

[151] Bishop Johann Wiebe tells about the move to Manitoba in his memoirs, *Johann Wiebe, Die Auswanderung von Russland nach Kanada, 1875, in Form einer Predigt* (Cuauhtemoc, Chihuahua, Mexico, 1972). The booklet has not been translated into English.

[152] Adina Reger and Delbert Plett, *Diese Steine: Die Russlandmennoniten* (Steinbach MB: Crossway Publications, 2001), 569.

[153] For a study that indicates the respect many people had for Bishop Johann Wiebe, see Zacharias, "Aeltester Johann Wiebe (1837-1905)," 53-66. See also Zacharias, *Reinland*, 185-195. For additional articles about Johann Wiebe, see Peter D. Zacharias in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 45-59. This section also includes two short pieces by Delbert Plett about Wiebe.

[154] For a discussion of the immigration of the Bergthaler into Manitoba, see William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*. See also Henry Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, chapters 5-7; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 283-300; and John Dyck, *Oberschulze Jakob Peters, 1813-1884: Manitoba Pioneer Leader* (Steinbach MB: Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1990), 60.

[155] For his memoirs, see Gerhard Wiebe, *Causes and History of the Emigration of the*

Mennonites from Russia to America.

[156] Peter Bergen, *History of the Sommerfelder Mennonite Church: That is, the Background and First Hundred Years of the Sommerfelder Mennonite Church* (Altona MB: Sommerfelder Mennonite Church, 2001), 26, says that shortly after Mennonites arrived in 1874, Emerson built a ferry on the Red River. In 1880-1881 a bridge was built at Emerson, and two ferries were placed on the Red River in the vicinity of Morris. After the rail lines were laid on the West Reserve, travel between the two reserves was also possible by rail via Winnipeg.

[157] Lawrence Klippenstein, "Aeltester Johann Funk (1836-1917)," in Ens, Peters and Hamm, *Church, Family and Village*; 217; Zacharias, *Reinland*, 57. The Chortitzer bishop seems to have retained some authority on the West Reserve into the 1890s.

[158] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 84.

[159] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 74-75 says that on the West Reserve during the 1880s the designation Bergthaler came to mean "worldly" or "secular." The Chortitzer Church wanted to disassociate itself from this negative reputation.

[160] The membership meetings were called *Bruderschaft* (brotherhood) meetings because only men attended.

[161] The German term Mennonites used for ministers was *Lehrer* (teachers), thus highlighting the primacy of their role as teachers in the community.

[162] See the diaries of immigrants in chapter 1 above.

[163] The black lace head covering was called a *huew*.

[164] The song leaders were called *Vorsaenger*, literally those who "lead out" in singing.

[165] The long version of singing was called *Lange Wies*. For a discussion and analysis, see Wesley Berg, "Old Colony Singing," *Preservings* 16 (June 2000): 44-45; and Zacharias, *Reinland*, 191-192. See also Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 287 for a detailed discussion of the conflict over music.

[166] This catechism was widely accepted and used in Mennonite and Amish churches in North America, South America, and Europe.

[167] H. S. Bender, J. C. Wenger, C. Neff, "Confessions of Faith," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist Mennonite Movement*. In 5 volumes (Hillsboro KS: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1955-1990), I, 684.

[168] Bender, et al., "Confessions of Faith," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, I, 685.

[169] D. Plett, "Johann Wiebe (1837-1905)," in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites*, 59.

[170] For the text of this confession, see Howard John Loewen, *One Lord, One Church, One Hope, and One God: Mennonite Confessions of Faith* (Elkhart IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1985), 181-190.

[171] For a detailed discussion of the publication and use of other confessional and devotional literature in Manitoba, see Delbert Plett, "Print Culture of the East Reserve 1874-1930," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 68 (October 1994): 524-550; also John Dyck, ed., *Historical Sketches of the East Reserve, 1874-1910: Villages, Biographies, Institutions* (Steinbach MB: Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1994), 686-715.

[172] For a fuller story of the formation of the Holdeman Church in Manitoba, see Clarence Hiebert, T*he Holdeman People: The Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, 1859-1969* (South Pasadena CA: William Carey Library, 1973), 125-147.

[173] For a history of the early years of the Holdeman Church, see C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People.*

[174] R. Loewen, *Family, Church and Market*. See D. Plett, *Pioneers and Pilgrims*, 533-587 for correspondence reflecting the discussion in the Holdeman-Kleine Gemeinde split.

[175] For a Kleine Gemeinde view, see P. J. B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee: Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1812-1962* (Steinbach MB: The Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1962), 23; and Harvey Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful: The Story of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference* (Steinbach MB: Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1996), 114-116. For a discussion of the Holdeman story of this division and its effects, see C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People*, 142-148.

[176] For a discussion of the formation of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Manitoba, see Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 23-37.

[177] Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 23.

[178] For a helpful discussion of the differences in religious outlook between the two groups, see David Schroeder, "Evangelicals Denigrate Conservatives," in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites*, 33–34; and David Schroeder, "Salvation," *Preservings* 17 (June 2001): 32-35.

[179] Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 30.

[180] Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 31.

[181] Paul's conversion story is recorded in Acts 9:1-9, and the encouragement to Timothy in 2 Timothy 1:5.

[182] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 103-113.

[183] See the chapter on education for a fuller discussion of the founding of the schools.

[184] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 107 and note 9, 157.

[185] For a discussion of this division from the perspective of the Bergthaler Church, see Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 86f. For a discussion from the perspective of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, see Gerhard Ens, *"Die Schule muss sein:" A History of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 1889-1989* (Gretna MB: Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 1990), 16f. For a discussion from the perspective of the Sommerfelder Church, see Peter Bergen, *History of the Sommerfelder Mennonite Church*, 44f.

[186] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 92-93 indicates 57 families. Lawrence Klippenstein in "Aeltester Johann Funk (1836-1917)," in Ens, Peters and Hamm, *Church*, *Family and Village*, 222 says about 61 families remained with Funk.

[187] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 295.

[188] Calvin W. Redekop, *Leaving Anabaptism: From Evangelical Mennonite Brethren to Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches* (Telford PA: Pandora Press; Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1998), 35f.

[189] Years later, in 1964, an EMB church also formed in Grunthal, Manitoba. Redekop, *Leaving Anabaptism*, 83.

[190] Adolf Ens and Leonard Doell, "Mennonite Swedenborgians," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 10 (1992): 101-117.

[191] Ens and Doell, "Mennonite Swedenborgians," 108.

[192] F.G. Enns, *Gretna: Window on the Northwest* (Gretna MB: Village of Gretna History Committee, 1987), 125-127.

5. Education

[193] Zacharias, "Aeltester Johann Wiebe (1837-1905)," 65.

[194] For a discussion of the importance of setting up schools even in the first winter in Manitoba, see Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 19, 24. See *Gnadenthal, 1880-1980* (Winkler MB: Gnadenthal History Book Committee, 1982), 15 for a floor plan of an early West Reserve village school and teachers' residence.

[195] A restored early Mennonite village school from the village of Blumenhof, east of Gretna, is located at the Mennonite Heritage Village in Steinbach, Manitoba.

[196] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 163.

[197] The German name for the primer was *Fibel*.

[198] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 163.

[199] For the text of the general school regu-

lations for the Chortitzer schools, see John Dyck, ed., *Working Papers of the East Reserve Village Histories 1874-1910* (Steinbach MB: The Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1990), 125. Note that the regulations were signed by the bishop and ministers of the Chortitzer Church.

[200] Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 25.

[201] Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 25.

[202] For a list of teachers on the East Reserve in the early years, see Jacob Doerksen, "Chortitzer School Teachers 1879-81," *Preservings* 8 (June 1996): 4.

[203] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 165; Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 25.

[204] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 164-165.

[205] Francis, *In Search of Utopi*a, 162f; A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 163.

[206] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 105-106.

[207] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 62.

[208] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 165.

[209] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 64.

[210] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 65.

[211] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 167-168.

[212] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 106.

[213] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 217.

[214] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 121.

[215] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 110-111.

[216] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 218.

[217] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 217-218; Morton, *Manitoba: A History,* 249-250.

[218] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 111.

[219] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 9.

[220] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 11f.

[221] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 65; Zacharias, *Reinland*, 247f.

[222] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 16, 17.

[223] See Paul J. Schaefer, *Heinrich H. Ewert: Lehrer, Erzieher und Prediger* (Gretna MB: Verlag der Manitoba Jugendorganisation der Mennoniten-Konferenz von Canada, 1945); translated by Ida Toews, *Heinrich H. Ewert: Teacher, Educator and Minister of the Mennonites* (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 1990).

[224] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 109.

[225] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 108-109; G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 16f.

[226] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 37.

[227] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 20f.

[228] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 20-21.

[229] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 73-74. For a discussion of the role Ewert played in the Kleine Gemeinde, see Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 25.

[230] For the Bergthaler view of the split, see Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 92-93. For the Sommerfelder view, see Bergen, *History of the Sommerfelder Mennonite Church*, 44-47.

[231] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 111; Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 87.

[232] Schaefer, *Heinrich H. Ewert: Teacher, Educator and Minister*, 34.

[233] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 110f.

[234] For a discussion of the Anglo-Saxon Canadians' fear of the corrupting influence of immigrants in the years from the 1880s to 1914, see J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada*, 160-163.

[235] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 111-113. R. Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 219 writes, "But the majority in the congregation see this [flying the flag] as very wrong for us and for our descendents."

[236] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 113.

[237] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 60f.

[238] The German name for the school was *Die Mennonitische Lehranstalt*. G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 69.

[239] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 113; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 344-345.

[240] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 271.

[241] John Dyck, "Helena Penner Hiebert (1874-1970): True Pioneer," *Preservings* 10 (June, 1997): 7-10.

[242] J. Dyck, "Helena Penner Hiebert," 10.

[243] Mrs. Gerhard Hiebert, "Granny Stories," Mennonite Heritage Centre, vol. 3768 (Mrs. Gerhard Hiebert is Helena Penner.)

[244] F. G. Enns, *Gretna: Window on the Northwest*, 180-181.

[245] Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada*, 190.

[246] Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada*, 201-202.

[247] See A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 122 for a negative government report about English instruction in Mennonite schools.

[248] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 123.

[249] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 121.

[250] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 120-121.

[251] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 120.

[252] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 121.

[253] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 120-122.

[254] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 120.

[255] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 125.

[256] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 125.

[257] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 126-131.

[258] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 185. A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 144 says that the fines were not imposed "on a wholesale way," but selectively.

[259] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 127.

[260] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 120 quotes H. H. Ewert as saying that he had a hard time believing that a promise by the government of Canada would be considered by the province as "a mere scrap of paper."

[261] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 217.

[262] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 258; A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 202f.

[263] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 121.

6. Agriculture and Business

[264] Urry, *None But Saints*; and James Urry, "Mennonite Economic Development in the Russian Mirror," in John Friesen, *Mennonites in Russia*, 99-126.

[265] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba,* 119-122.

[266] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 24. For detailed discussion of the economic status of Mennonites when they immigrated, see D. Plett, "Poor and Simple," 114-128.

[267] J. F. Galbraith, *The Mennonites in Manitoba, 1875-1900: A Review of Their Coming, Their Progress, and Their Present Prosperity* (Morden MB: The Chronicle Presses, 1990), 28.

[268] Galbraith, *Mennonites in Manitoba*, 35.

[269] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 220.

[270] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 122.

[271] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 124-128.

[272] See R. Loewen, *Blumenort*, 242f. for a discussion of the factors that led to the dissolution of a number of Kleine Gemeinde villages.

[273] See Zacharias, *Reinlan*d, 145-166 for the discussion of a village which retained its *kagel* (*koagel*) system until the migration of many of its inhabitants to Mexico in the 1920s.

[274] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 176.

[275] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 53.

[276] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 90.

[277] [John J. Friesen, John F. Toews and Elsie Janzen, eds.,] *Grunthal: History (*Grunthal MB: Grunthal History Book Committee, 1974), 30f. J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 109-110.

[278] J. Friesen, et al., *Grunthal: History*, 31-35.

[279] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 176.

[280] Gerhard John Ens, *The Rural Municipality of Rhineland, 1884-1984* (Altona MB: R.M. of Rhineland, 1984), 42.

[281] Zacharias, *Reinland*, 119, 78-80, 129-133.

[282] G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 42; *Morden, Mort Cheval, Pinancewaywinning, Lake Agassiz* (Morden MB: Morden Centennial Committee, 1981), 5, 6.

[283] G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*,

42; J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 110-112.
[284] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 116.
[285] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 107.
[286] G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 178f.
[287] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 107.
[288] G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 42; Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 154.
[289] G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 42.
[290] F. Enns, *Gretna*, 29-54.
[291] G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 70
[292] G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 103.
[293] Esther Epp-Tiessen, *Altona: The Story of a Prairie Town* (Altona MB: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1982), 53: Ben Remple, comp., *Winkler: A Proud Heritage* (Winkler MB: Winkler Home Coming Committee, 1982), 1; Frank Brown, *A History of the Town of Winkler, Manitoba, 1892-1973* (Winkler MB: F. Brown, 1973), 12-13.
[294] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 186.
[295] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 351.
[296] F. Enns, *Gretna*, 32.
[297] F. Enns, *Gretna*, 39-40.
[298] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 107-108.
[299] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 171-172.
[300] For discussions of Erdman Penner and his business enterprises, see F. Enns, *Gretna*, 58, 63-66.
[301] Francis, I*n Search of Utopia*, 156.
[302] "Jakob Wiens Descendants," in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 100; Brown, *History of the Town of Winkler*, 13.
[303] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 179.
[304] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 179.
[305] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 179.
[306] [Arla Nitikman Strauss, Martin Buchwald, and Harold Buchwald, comps.], *Honouring the Pioneer Jewish Settlers of Winkler: The Heads of the Fifteen Families Who Settled in Winkler between the Early 1890s and 1914, and Their Children* (Winkler, n.p., 2002), 6f., 65f.; G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 18; Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 66.
[307] Nitikman, *Honouring the Pioneer Jewish Settlers of Winkler*, 6
[308] Nitikman, *Honouring the Pioneer Jewish Settlers of Winkler*, 6.
[309] For statistics of Jews in Plum Coulee in 1901, see G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 71.
[310] F. Enns, *Gretna*, 116.
[311] *Niverville: A History, 1878-1986* (Niverville: Niverville and District History Committee, 1986), 67f.
[312] For a discussion of some of the families in Plum Coulee, see *Plum Coulee: A Century Plus, 1901-2001* (Plum Coulee MB: Town of Plum Coulee, 2001), 49, 53, 266. For a list of some of the Jewish families in Altona, see Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 66.
[313] G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 108.
[314] *Morden*, *Mort Cheval*, 51.
[315] Nitikman, *Honouring the Pioneer Jewish Settlers of Winkler*, 75.
[316] Nitikman, *Honouring the Pioneer Jewish Settlers of Winkle*r, 6.
[317] Ernest Sirluck in Nitikman, *Honouring the Pioneer Jewish Settlers of Winkler*, 77.

7. Health Care

[318] "Jakob Fehr (1859-1952) Journal," *Preservings* 16 (June 2000): 14.
[319] John Dyck, *Historical Sketches of the East Reserve*, 104.
[320] For a list of the ingredients of home remedies, see R. Loewen, *Blumenort*, 221.
[321] For additional stories about midwives, see "Aganetha Barkman Reimer," *Preservings* 6 (June 1995): 23-24; Elizabeth Rempel Reimer—Immigrant Woman," *Preservings* 7 (December 1995): 2-3; "Helena Eidses' Medical Bag," *Preservings* 9, Part II (December 1996): 53.
[322] Lenore Eidse, ed., *Furrows in the Valley: A Centennial Project of the Rural Municipality of Morris, 1880-1980: A History of the Municipality and Its People* (Morris MB: The History Book Committee, 1980), 328.
[323] Eidse, *Furrows in the Valley*, 328.
[324] R. Loewen, *Blumenort*, 219
[325] For additional stories of female midwives, see Delbert Plett, "Pioneer Women of the East Reserve," *Preservings* 10 (June 1997): 13f.
[326] R. Loewen, *Blumenort,* 220.
[327] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 214-216.
[328] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 215.
[329]A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 216-217.
[330] In Low German she was referred to as *Docta Thiesche*.
[331] S. Bergen, "Glimpses into the Life of 'Dr. Thiessische' (Katherina Born)," Mennonite Heritage Centre, vol. 4588, #4.
[332] Marjorie Wiebe Hildebrand, "Agatha Wiebe (1887-1979) Registered Nurse," *Preservings* 14 (June 1999): 80-81.
[333] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 223.
[334] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 289-290.
[335] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 290.
[336] R. Loewen, *From the Inside Out*, 72.
[337] Peter R. Dueck, in R. Loewen, *from the inside out*, 213, 218, 220, and 225.
[338] F. Enns, *Gretna*, 143, 177.
[339] Irene Friesen Petkau and Peter Petkau, *Blumenfeld: Where Land and People Meet* (Winkler MB: Blumenfeld Historical Committee, 1981), 92 indicate that one of the doctors in Morden who served Mennonites was Dr. Menzies.
[340] Mavis Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe, A Beloved Physician: The Story of a Country Doctor* (Winnipeg MB: Hyperion Press, 1983), 20.
[341] *Plum Coulee: A Century Plus*, 231.
[342] G. Ens, *Rural Municipality of Rhineland*, 169.
[343] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 73-74.
[344] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*. 74
[345] Brown, *Winkler*, 43.
[346] Petkau and Petkau, *Blumenfeld*, 93 indicate that Dr. Landry from Walhalla came to Blumenfeld during the 1919 flu epidemic.
[347] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 223-224.
[348] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 224.
[349] Abe J. Dueck, *Concordia Hospital, 1928-1978* (Winnipeg MB: Christian Press, 1978), 2-6.

8. Political Involvement and Nonresistance

[350] The German title for civic administrator used by Mennonites was *Obervorsteher* or *Oberschulz*.
[351] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 23; John Dyck, *Oberschulze Jakob Peters*, *1813-1884*.
[352] A. Ens and J. Dyck, "Obervorsteher Isaak Mueller," 67-80.
[353] A. Ens and J. Dyck, "Obervorsteher Isaak Mueller," 67-80.
[354] The German term for the local civil office was the *Gebietsamt*.
[355] J. Dyck, *Oberschulze Jakob Peters*, 77.
[356] J. Dyck, *Oberschulze Jakob Peters*, 78.
[357] F. Enns, *Gretna*, 39.
[358] A. Ens and J. Dyck, "Obervorsteher Isaak Mueller," 78, 79.
[359] The two groups that did not accept lo-

cal civic office holding were the Kleine Gemeinde and the Holdeman Church.
[360] G. Ens, *Rural Municipalty of Rhineland*, 99f. See also A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 174.
[361] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 274. For a discussion of a few people who ran for office, but were not elected, see James Urry, "Mennonites in Politics," *Preservings* 14 (June 1999): 55.
[362] Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 95-109.
[363] Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 99.
[364] A. Ens and J. Dyck, "Obervorsteher Isaak Mueller," 76.
[365] Lydia Penner, *Hanover: 100 Years*, 7.
[366] Penner, *Hanover: 100 Years*, 7.
[367] Penner, *Hanover: 100 Years*, 7-11.
[368] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 68.
[369] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 70.
[370] A. Ens and J. Dyck, "Obervorsteher Isaak Mueller," 77.
[371] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 70-71.
[372] A. Ens and J. Dyck, "Obervorsteher Isaak Mueller," 77.
[373] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 76.
[374] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 193.
[375] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 172-173. See also Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 93-110, 365f.
[376] An exception was Peter W. Friesen from Steinbach who did volunteer for military service. For his story see "From Steinbach to Flanders Fields," *Preservings* 13 (December 1998): 49.
[377] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 369; William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1990), chapter 8.
[378] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 369.
[379] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 374.
[380] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 379-382. There was also an attempt by the federal government to restrict who was Mennonite to only the most conservative, namely those who had not associated with the larger society, had refused to patronize the public schools, and had used only German in their private schools. This restriction was threatened but not applied. Janzen, *Limits on Liberty*, 182.
[381] J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada*, 163.
[382] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 183.
[383] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 183-184.
[384] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 185.
[385] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 186.
[386] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 187.
[387] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 187.
[388] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 188.
[389] John W. Arn, T*he Herold Mennonite Church: 70th Anniversary, 1899-1969* (North Newton KS: Mennonite Press, 1969), 13f.; Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 184f.
[390] John A. Hostetler, *Hutterite Society* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 129f.
[391] *Hutterite COs in World War One: Stories, Diaries and Other Accounts from the United States Military Camps* (Hawley MN: Spring Prairie Printing, 1999), 29f.
[392] Hostetler, *Hutterite Society*, 130-131.
[393] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 316.
[394] Hostetler, *Hutterite Society*, 131-132.
[395] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 406, 407.
[396] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 406; A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 201.
[397] Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 274. For an additional study of immigrant groups and their history in western Canada, see G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, especially the chapter on immigrant communities, 1870-1940, 242f.
[398] Morton, *Manitoba*, 276.
[399] Morton, *Manitoba*, 300.
[400] Morton, *Manitoba*, 226.

Part II: 1920 — 1950

9. Emigration

[1] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, 407. In a speech in Parliament on April 30, 1919, Member of Parliament John Wesley Edwards made repeated reference to Mennonites as cattle.
[2] Johann Wiebe, *Die Auswanderung von Russland nach Kanada*, 19: "Und noch dazu uns unter solche Obrichkeit hast kommen lassen, die uns ganz frei nach deinem Wort und Geboten leben laesset." Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Toronto ON: Macmillan of Canada, 1982), 108f.
[3] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 124f.
[4] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 145, quoting E.K. Francis. See also G. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 463-464.
[5] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 110, 111.
[6] H. Leonard Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country,* 34, says that it has never been established exactly why the Reinlaender representatives were turned back. He surmises it may have been because their papers were not in order.
[7] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 34. A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 203f. On pages 203 and 204 Ens lists the dates and destinations of twelve Reinlaender land-seeking delegations. See Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 108-124 for additional lists of Manitoba Mennonite land-seeking groups.
[8] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 207f. H. Leonard Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 35f. For a recent study of the land-seeking trips to Quebec, see Charlotte McCallum, "Quebec's Reactions to the 1920 Manitoba Mennonite Search for Land," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 20 (2002): 43-58.
[9] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 37.
[10] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?,* 211-212.
[11] See A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 250-251 for a translation of the text of the "Mennonite" *Privilegium.*
[12] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 63-64.
[13] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 53-54.
[12] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 63-64.
[13] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 53-54.
[14] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 45f.
[15] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 118.
[16] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 46f.
[17] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 47.
[18] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 49.
[19] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 117.
[20] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 49.
[21] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 122; A. Ens, Subjects *or Citizens?,* 214.
[22] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?,* 209. Some evidence suggests that this submission should be dated 1921. See A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?,* 227, note 59.
[23] A. Ens*, Subjects or Citizens?*, 211.
[24] For the text of the Sommerfeld Mexican *Privilegium*, see A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 250-251.
[25] Peter Bergen, *History of the Sommerfelder Mennonite Church,* 99 and 101. Out of a total group of 6,870, 428 moved to Mexico.
[26] Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country*, 52. Because the Sommerfelder Church was less cohesive than the Reinlaender group, its members did not all settle in the Santa Clara area, but formed a number of settlements.
[27] A. Ens*, Subjects or Citizens?*, 214. The Bergthaler in Saskatchewan joined these two groups in Paraguay. See Leonard Doell, *The Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Saskatch-*

ewan, 1895-1975 (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 1987), 27-34.
[28] A. Ens, Subjects *or Citizens?*, 211.
[29] A. Ens, Subjects *or Citizens?,* 214.
[30] Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church,* 101.
[31] Based on statistics in A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?,* 214.

10. Immigration

[32] Based on Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites since the Communist Revolution* (Altona MB: Published for Canadian Mennonite Relief and Immigration Council by D. W. Friesen, 1962), 105 and 307; and A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 214.
[33] The term Russia is used for the era prior to the Communist Revolution in 1917. After the Revolution, the term Soviet Union refers to the union of various soviets, including the two largest, Russia and Ukraine. At times, the terms Russia or Ukraine are used for the era after the 1917 Revolution to indicate the specific region.
[34] Peter Braun, "The Educational System of the Mennonite Colonies in South Russia," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 3 (July 1929): 180-181.
[35] Adolf, Ens, "Mennonite Education in Russia," in J. Friesen, *Mennonites in Russia*, 75-98; John B. Toews, *Czars, Soviets & Mennonites* (Newton KS: Faith and Life Press, 1982), 31-46.
[36] Peter Braun, "Education among the Mennonites in Russia," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* II, 157.
[37] Ens, "Mennonite Education in Russia," 92.
[38] C. J. Dyck, *Introduction to Mennonite History*, 182.
[39] The value of a ruble was roughly equal to one Canadian dollar at the time.
[40] Toews, *Czars, Soviets & Mennonites*, 58f.
[41] Urry, "Mennonite Economic Development," 113.
[42] Urry, "Mennonite Economic Development," 116-117.
[43] Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 3rd ed. (New York NY: Oxford University Press, 1977), 451f.
[44] John B. Toews, "Communism and Peoplehood," in J. Friesen, *Mennonites in Russia,* 266-267.
[45] Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 505.
[46] Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 511.
[47] Toews, *Czars, Soviets & Mennonites,* 86f.
[48] Toews, *Czars, Soviets & Mennonites,* 111-112.
[49] Toews, *Czars, Soviets & Mennonites,* 270-271.
[50] Toews, *Czars, Soviets & Mennonites,* 270-271. John B. Toews, *Lost Fatherland: The Story of the Mennonite Emigration from Soviet Russia, 1921-1927* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1967), 84-85 and 111.
[51] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 44f.; and Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 147.
[52] James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America 1890-1930, The Mennonite Experience in America*, vol. 3 (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1989), 249f.
[53] Toews, *Lost Fatherland*, 51. On the formation and history of MCC, see John D. Unruh, *In the Name of Christ: The History of Mennonite Central Committee and Its Services, 1920-1951* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1952); Wesley J. Prieb, *Peter C. Hiebert: He Gave Them Bread* (Hillsboro KS: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1990.)
[54] Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., *From the Files of MCC, The Mennonite Central Committee Story: Documents*, vol. 1 (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1980), 10-22; John D. Unruh, *In the Name of Christ,* 11-25.
[55] Toews, *Lost Fatherland*, 51.
[56] Geraldine Gross Harder, *When Apples Are Ripe: The Story of Clayton Kratz* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1971).
[57] Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War*, 251; Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 59.
[58] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 61.
[59] Dyck, *From the Files of MCC,* 23f.
[60] Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War*, 251.
[61] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 102-105.
[62] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 72.
[63] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 155.
[64] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 156.
[65] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 105.
[66] See the biography of David Toews by Helmut Harder, *David Toews Was Here, 1870-1947* (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 2002).
[67] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 107.
[68] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 111-112.
[69] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 111-112.
[70] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 165.
[71] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 115.
[72] For a biography of B. B. Janz, see John B. Toews, *With Courage to Spare: The Life of B. B. Janz, 1877-1964* (Winnipeg MB: Christian Press, 1978).
[73] Toews, *Lost Fatherland*, 54f.
[74] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 140.
[75] Toews, *Lost Fatherland*, 98.
[76] Toews, *Lost Fatherland*, 99; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 163.
[77] Toews, *Lost Fatherland*, 100.
[78] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 168.
[79] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 140-141.
[80] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 142-143.
[81] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 172.
[82] Peter Ketler, "Reiseerinnerungen," *Steinbach Post*, 29 August 1923, 3.
[83] Peter Ketler, "Reiseerinnerungen," *Steinbach Post,* 12 September 1923, 2-3.
[84] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 147.
[85] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 131f.
[86] *Steinbach Post*, 27 June 1923, 1.
[87] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 132f., 156f.
[88] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 167.
[89] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 229.
[90] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 229.
[91] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 221f.
[92] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 223f.
[93] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 249-250.
[94] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 239.

11. Settlement

[95] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 105.
[96] Formally, the reserves were ended by the government in the 1890s. However, the regions continued to be referred to as West and East Reserves. The designations became ever less precise, though, as Mennonite land holding spilled beyond the boundaries of the former reserves.
[97] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 188.
[98] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 193.
[99] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 196f.
[100] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?,* 214; Martin W. Friesen, *Kanadische Mennoniten bezwingen eine Wildness: 50 Jahre Kolonie Menno—erste mennonitische Ansiedlung in Suedamerika (*Paraguay: Menno Kolonie, 1977*).*
[101] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 196f.; *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* III, 43, 44.
[102] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 42.
[103] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 190.
[104] For a list of land purchases in Manitoba, see Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 203-204.
[105] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 194.
[106] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 194.
[107] See Gerhard G. Neufeld, *Die Geschichte der Whitewater Mennoniten Gemeinde in Manitoba, Canada, 1925-1965* (Altona: D.W. Friesen & Sons, 1967), 75f.; Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* (Winnipeg MB:

CMBC Publications, 1996), 39; W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 43.

[108] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith;* Is. Klassen, *Dem Herrn die Ehre: Schoenwieser Mennoniten Gemeinde von Manitoba, 1924-1968* (Winnipeg MB: Schoenwieser Mennoniten Gemeinde, 1969).

[109] For a complete listing of the churches in the Schoenwieser group of churches, see *Jubilate: 60 Years First Mennonite Church, 1926-1986* (Winnipeg MB: First Mennonite Church, 1991), 19f.

[110] [Karl Fast and C.G. Unruh, eds.], *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Mennonite Settlement in North Kildonan, 1928-1978* (Winnipeg MB: Anniversary Committee, 1978), 30-31.

[111] Fast, *Mennonite Settlement in North Kildonan*, 29, 30.

[112] Fast, *Mennonite Settlement in North Kildonan*, 31.

[113] Marlene Epp, "The Mennonite Girls' Homes of Winnipeg: A Home Away from Home," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 6 (1988): 100-114. W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 41.

[114] M. Epp, "Mennonite Girls' Homes," 102.

[115] M. Epp, "Mennonite Girls' Homes," 102f.

[116] M. Epp, "Mennonite Girls' Homes," 112; Leo Driedger, *Mennonites in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg MB: Kindred Press, 1990), 24-25.

[117] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 247-248.

12. The Church

[118] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 242.

[119] Abe Dueck, "Mennonite Churches 1850-1914," in J. Friesen, *Mennonites in Russia*, 171-173; "Allianz," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, I, 62.

[120] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 237f.

[121] The reason for the higher percentage of Mennonite Brethren is hard to establish. Partly, it may be due to the fact that the immigration leaders in Russia were mainly Mennonite Brethren. It may also be because many of them were teachers or had other professions that made them landless, or had been very rich and had had their property confiscated, hence were also landless.

[122] Anna Ens*, In Search of Unity,* 43.

[123] A.H. Unruh, *Die Geschichte der Mennoniten-Bruedergemeinde, 1860-1954* (Hillsboro KS: The General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, 1955), 495-497.

[124] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 66. See page 43 for a list of immigrant Mennonite Brethren groups in Manitoba.

[125] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 66-67.

[126] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 59.

[127] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 51.

[128] Anna Ens*, In Search of Unity,* 63-65.

[129] G. G. Neufeld, *Whitewater Mennoniten Gemeinde*, 6-7.

[130] Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity,* 36-40. Ens notes that David Toews asked both J. P. Klassen and F. F. Enns not to tie themselves down to farming, but to be available to minister to the immigrant groups. Both became leaders of large groups of churches, Enns of the Whitewater Church and Klassen of the Schoenwieser Church.

[131] The church's bishop was Johann P. Klassen. The name of the church, Schoenwiese, was taken from Klassen's home village in Russia.

[132] I. Klassen, *Dem Herrn die Ehre*; *Jubilate: 60 Years First Mennonite Church, 1926-1986.*

[133] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 257.

[134] G.G. Neufeld, *Whitewater Mennoniten Gemeinde,* 75-186, identifies the groups as Crystal City, Mather, Lena, Ninga, Manitou, Rivers, Whitewater, and Boissevain.

[135] G.G. Neufeld, *Whitewater Mennoniten Gemeinde,* 75f.

[136] Peter D. Zacharias, *Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church* (Gretna MB: Blumenort Mennonite Church, 1985), 23f.

[137] Zacharias, *Footprints of a Pilgrim People,* 42.

[138] Zacharias, *Footprints of a Pilgrim People,* 45-70.

[139] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940,* 268.

[140] John A. Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church: Pilgrims and Pioneers,* ed. A.J. Klassen (Fresno CA: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1975), 200-202.

[141] Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church*, 98.

[142] Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church*, 105.

[143] Abe Rempel, "Manitoba Old Colony Mennonite Church," in A. Ens, et al., *Church, Family and Village,* 243-252.

[144] Leonard Doell, "Hague-Osler Old Colony Mennonite Church," in Delbert F. Plett*, Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 142-151.

[145] Abram G. Janzen, *Aeltester Johan M. Loeppky, 1882-1950: As I Remember Him* (2003).

[146] Abraham E. Rempel, "Old Colony Mennonite Church in Manitoba," in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 139-141; Netha Froese Dyck, "Aeltester Jacob J. Froese (1885-1968), Reinfeld," in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 134-136.

[147]Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Bethel: Pioneering in Faith, 50 years 1937 to 1987* (Winnipeg MB: Bethel Mennonite Church, 1988), 14-15.

[148] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 36f. says the first meetings were in 1907. Abe Dueck, "Winnipeg Beginnings," *Mennonite Historian* (December 2001), 5 argues that the meetings began earlier, likely in 1905 or 1906.

[149] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 36-37; J. A. Toews, *History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 156-157.

[150] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 212f.

[151] Gerbrandt, *Bethel,* 12-13.

[152] Driedger, *Mennonites in Winnipeg*, 39.

[153] Gerbrandt, *Bethel*, 17f.; Driedger, *Mennonites in Winnipeg,* 38-39.

[154] Gerbrandt, *Bethel*, 23.

[155] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 428-429.

[156] Jack Heppner, *Search for Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweider/Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, 1937-1987* (Winnipeg MB: Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, 1987), 48.

[157] For a firsthand account of the formation of the Rudnerweider Church, see Rev. I.P.F. Friesen, "The Beginnings of the Rudnerweider Mennonite Church," in A. Ens, et al., *Church, Family and Village,* 229-242.

[158] Like Bishop Henry Friesen before him, Peter A. Toews was reeve of the municipality before being elected bishop of the Sommerfelder Church. Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church*, 123.

[159] Jack Heppner, *Search for Renewal,* 39-56; Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church*, 114 and 217 says that about 1,200 members left to form the Rudnerweider Mennonite Church.

[160] See I.P.F. Friesen, "The Beginnings of the Rudnerweider Mennonite Church," 229-242.

[161] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 209.

[162] Leland Harder, *Steinbach and Its Churches* (Elkhart IN: Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 1970), 52; A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 209; R. Loewen, *Family, Church and Market,* 240-241.

[163] Jerry Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders: A History of Steinbach Bible College, 1936-1996* (Steinbach MB: Steinbach Bible College, 1997), 21. Harder, *Steinbach and Its*

Churches, 54, says that the church was also briefly called Evangelical Mennonite Free Church.

[164] It is ironic that members of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren wanted to leave the teaching of nonresistance, since, in its earliest form, the church was called Defenseless Mennonite Brethren. See C. Redekop, *Leaving Anabaptism*, 50f.

[165] R. Loewen, *Blumenort*, 427-431.

[166] R. Loewen, *Blumenort,* 427-431; P. J. B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 29-38.

[167] P.J.B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee,* 30-31.

[168] Harvey Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful,* 136f; P.J.B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee,* 37f. There was general unhappiness with the Kleine Gemeinde name, and in 1942 the Steinbach church took the name First Mennonite Church. It dropped this name in 1952, and accepted the same one adopted by the conference.

[169] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 115-117.

[170] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith,* 117, 158-159.

[171] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 325.

[172] C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People*, 268-269.

[173] C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People*, 275.

13. Education

[174] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 221.

[175] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 217.

[176] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 217-218.

[177] A. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?*, 218-220. As late as 1930, a dozen elementary schools were still under the control of the official trustee.

[178] Gus Dueck, *History of the Chortitzer Mennonite Church* (typed and photo copied), 182.

[179] George D. Pries, *A Place Called Peniel: Winker Bible Institute, 1925-1975* (Winkler MB: Winkler Bible Institute, 1975). See also David Ewert, *Stalwart for the Truth: The Life and Legacy of A. H. Unruh* (Winnipeg MB: Board of Christian Literature, 1975).

[180] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 171f.; "Tchongrav," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* IV, 690; J. A. Toews, *History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 259-260.

[181] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 274; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 255; J. A. Toews, *History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 259f.; W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 171f.

[182] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 274.

[183] Frank K. Isaak, *Elim: 50th Anniversary, 1929-1979* (Winnipeg MB: Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba, 1979), 16.

[184] *Jubilate: 60 Years First Mennonite Church*, 43f.

[185] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 180.

[186] Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders,* 9.

[187] Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders,* 9-15.

[188] Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders*, 50.

[189] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein,* 103.

[190] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 120.

[191] G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein*, 123-124.

[192] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 180f.

[193] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 183f.

[194] Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders*, 42f.

[195] *Canadian Mennonite University Calendar 2001-2002* (Winnipeg MB: Canadian Mennonite University, 2002), 6.

[196] For a list of the two dozen Mennonite Bible schools formed in Canada to the 1940s, see *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* I, 332.

[197] T. D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 262.

[198] *Twenty Fifth Anniversary Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1944-1969* (Winnipeg MB: Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1969), 14; Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 260-62.

[199] *Canadian Mennonite University Calendar 2001-2002,* 6; Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 262-265.

[200] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 262.

[201] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 262.

[202] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 260-61.

[203] Ewert, *Stalwart for the Truth,* 81-82.

[204] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 265.

14. Economic Life

[205] The Mennonite Low German term for someone who did not own land and worked for wages was *uetoabejda*, which means "someone who works for others." This term was not only descriptive, but had a negative connotation, denoting a person who did not own his own farm but was dependent on others for his income.

[206] Robert Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road: A Story of Self-help Communities* (Altona MB: Federation of Southern Manitoba Co-operatives, 1955), 5.

[207] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba* , 212.

[208] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 213f.

[209] W. L. Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times*, 2nd ed. (Toronto ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 460, says that wheat prices sank to 38 cents a bushel. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940*, 348.

[210] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 150-155.

[211] Jake Peters, *The Waisenamt,* 17-20. The Bergthaler *Waisenamt* was closed in 1931 and the Sommerfeld one in 1936. At dissolution, the depositors in the Bergthaler *Waisenamt* were paid about 10 cents on the dollar and those in the Sommerfelder one about 50 cents on the dollar. See Epp-Tiessen, *Altona,* 155-157.

[212] Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 128-129.

[213] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 11 and 12.

[214] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 12.

[215] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 7; Francis, *In Search of Utopia,* 233.

[216] Francis, *In Search of Utopia,* 234.

[217] Lydia Penner, *Hanover:* poultry 75f., dairying 61f., hogs 83f.

[218] Francis, *In Search of Utopia,* 224-225.

[219] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 12; Hans Werner, "Sacred, Secular, and Material: The Thought of J.J. Siemens," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 17 (1999): 194-210.

[220] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 13.

[221] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona,* 159f.

[222] Paul J. Schaefer, D. P. Esau, *Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten!: Lektion in den Unterricht in der Mennonitengeschichte* (Altona MB: Rhineland Agricultural Society, 1942); Paul J. Schaefer, *Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten! 2 Teil, Die Mennoniten in Russland und den Vereinigten Staaten* (Altona MB: Rhineland Agricultural Society, 1942); Paul J. Schaefer, *Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten! 3 Teil, Die Mennoniten in Canada* (Altona MB: Rhineland Agricultural Society, 1946); Paul J. Schaefer, *Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten! 4 Teil, Die Mennoniten in Mexico und in Suedamerika* (Altona MB: Des Mennonitischen Historischen Vereins, 1953).

[223] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 34.

[224] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 23.

[225] Ian MacPherson, *The Co-operative Movement on the Prairies, 1900-1955* (Ottawa ON: The Canadian Historical Association Booklets, no. 33), 3f.

[226] MacPherson, *The Co-operative Movement on the Prairies,* 4-8.

[227] "J.S. Woodsworth." http://www.timelinks.merlin.mb.ca/reference.

[228] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 24-25.

[229] Ian MacPherson, "United Farmers of Manitoba," in *Canadian Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (Edmonton AB: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1988), 2216.

[230] Eidse, *Furrows in the Valley*, 348.

[231] Eidse, *Furrows in the Valley,* 348. See also, *Lowe Farm: 75 Anniversary*, 9
[232] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 39; Epp-Tiessen, *Altona,* 160f.
[233] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 28.
[234] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 39.
[235] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 39.
[236] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road,* 50.
[237] Eidse, *Furrows in the Valley,* 349.
[238] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 74.
[239] For the co-op store in Reinland, see Zacharias, *Reinland*, 167-174; and for the various stores and businesses in Blumenfeld, see Petkau and Petkau, *Blumenfeld*, 163f.
[240] Muriel Clements, *By Their Bootstraps: A History of the Credit Union Movement in Saskatchewan* (Toronto ON: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1965).
[241] John Dyck, *Crosstown Credit Union Limited: Serving the Mennonite Community: The First Fifty Years, 1944-1994* (Winnipeg MB: Crosstown Credit Union Ltd., 1993), 12.
[242] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 76; *Lowe Farm 75 Anniversary*, 10-11.
[243] J. Friesen, et al., *Grunthal: History,* 142-143.
[244] *Niverville: A History*, 53-54.
[245] L. Penner, *Hanover,* 63.
[246] L. Penner, *Hanover,* 99; Zacharias, *Reinland,* 167-174. The Reinland co-operators founded the Reinland Co-op Dairy Society, the Reinland Credit Union Society, Sunrise Co-op Store, and Pembina Co-op Canners.
[247] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 230.
[248] Zacharias, *Reinland,* 173-174.
[249] Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road,* 114f. Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 206-212.
[250] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona,* 206-212.
[251] Meyers*, Spirit of the Post Road,* 121.
[252] Francis, *In Search of Utopia,* 221-222.
[253] Zacharias, *Reinland,* 167f.
[254] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona,* 175-176; Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road*, 16-17.
[255] This was the view of J.J. Siemens and the co-op group in Altona.
[256] J. Warkentin, *Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba*, 224; Brown, *A History of Winkler*, 67-68.
[257] Brown, *A History of Winkler,* 63.
[258] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 252.
[259] "It's a long way from Rosenfeld: A.J. Thiessen and buses," *Mennonite Mirror* (May 1979): 15-16.
[260] R. Loewen, *Family, Church and Market*, 209.
[261] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage,* 94.f; Hilda Matsuo, "A long way from lumberyard to millworks," *Mennonite Mirror* (Summer 1978): 7, 10.
[262] R. Loewen, *Blumenort*, 375-376.
[263] Leo Driedger, *Mennonites in Winnipeg*, 48-49; "50 Years of a family business," *Mennonite Mirror* (November 1975): 13.
[264] Roy Vogt, "John Klassen," *Mennonite Mirror* (September 1982): 4.
[265] Driedger, *Mennonites in Winnipeg,* 50.
[266] Driedger, *Mennonites in Winnipeg,* 52.
[267] Hilda Matsuo, "After years of hard work, leaving a tidy wake behind [Henry W. Redekopp]," *Mennonite Mirror* (December 1979): 13-14.
[268] Fast, *Mennonite Settlement in North Kildonan* (Winnipeg MB: 1978), 54-56.
[269] "Company History." http://www.palliser.com.
[270] Bob Hummelt, "Four decades later, Riediger's store maintains a commitment to its community," *Mennonite Mirror* (October 1988): 9-10.

15. Health Care

[271] R. Loewen, *Blumenort*, 221.
[272] J. Thiessen, *Mennonite Low German Dictionary*, 447; H. Rempel, *Kjenn Jie noch Plautdietsch?*, 123.
[273] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 214. See chapter 7 above for additional discussion about "bonesetters."
[274] For stories about midwives who served during the first half of the 20th century, see A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 218-219; R. Loewen, *Blumenort,* 219.
[275] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe, Beloved Physician*.
[276] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, 24
[277] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, 28.
[278] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, x.
[279] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, 34.
[280] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 289.
[281] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith,* 289.
[282] Abe J. Dueck, *Concordia Hospital*, 1-6. Even though Kroeker had served as a doctor in the Bethania Mental Hospital in the Chortitza Colony in southern Russia, he was unable to do so in Manitoba because he had not completed his Manitoba medical training.
[283] Dueck, *Concordia Hospital*, 3, 6.
[284] Dueck, *Concordia Hospital*, 6.
[285] Dueck, *Concordia Hospital*, 9.
[286] Dueck, *Concordia Hospital*, 8.
[287] Dueck, *Concordia Hospital,* 9.
[288] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage,* 225f.; [Isaac Unger], *50 Years of Caring and Sharing, 1945-1995: The Story of Bethania* (Winnipeg MB: The Mennonite Benevolent Society and Bethania Mennonite Personal Care Home, 1996).
[289] Unger, *The Story of Bethania,* 15.
[290] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage,* 229.
[291] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, 53.
[292] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, 54.
[293] Unger, *The Story of Bethania*, 18.
[294] [Dave Schellenberg, ed.], *". . . Great Is Thy Faithfulness:" Fifty Years of Rest Haven, 1946-1996* (Steinbach MB: Rest Haven Nursing Home, 1996), 10.
[295] Unger, *The Story of Bethania*, 21f.
[296] Unger, *The Story of Bethania,* 35.
[297] Unger, *The Story of Bethania*, 43.
[298] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 176f.
[299] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona,* 179.
[300] Dueck, *Concordia Hospital,* 6.

16. The Arts

[301] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 302-303; G. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein,* 82.
[302] Wesley Berg, *From Russia with Music: A Study of the Mennonite Choral Singing Tradition in Canada* (Winnipeg MB: Hyperion Press, 1985), 56f.
[303] Berg, *From Russia with Music*, 71.
[304] Berg, *From Russia with Music*, 65f.
[305] Berg, *From Russia with Music*, 68f.
[306] The *Saengerfest* is still an annual event at the MCI, even though now only the school's choirs perform.
[307] Berg, *From Russia with Music*, 71.
[308] Berg, *From Russia with Music,* 74.
[309] Berg, *From Russia with Music*, 74.
[310] Berg, *From Russia with Music*, 77f.
[311] R. Loewen, *Family, Church and Market*, 6.
[312] Harry Loewen, "Gerhard Loewen (1846-1946): Early Mennonite Poet and Teacher in Russia and Canada," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 9 (1991): 91-103.
[313] H. Loewen, "Gerhard Loewen," 94.
[314] H. Loewen, "Gerhard Loewen," 94.
[315] Al Reimer, "The Role of Arnold Dyck in Canadian Mennonite Writing," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 9 (1991): 83-90; Harry Loewen, "Mennonite Literature in Canada: Beginnings, Reception and Study," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 1 (1983): 119-132; Al Reimer, "Innocents Abroad: The Comic Odyssey of Koop enn Bua opp Reise," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 4 (1986): 31-45; "'Derche Bloom Raede':" Arnold Dyck and the Comic Irony of the Forstei," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 2 (1984): 60-71.
[316] Al Reimer, "The Role of Arnold Dyck in Canadian Mennonite Writing," 83.
[317] Arnold Dyck, *Verloren in der Steppe* (Steinbach MB: Published by the author, 1944-1948).

[318] Victor G. Doerksen, George Epp, Harry Loewen, Elisabeth Peters, Al Reimer, eds. *Collected Works: Arnold Dyck Werke,* vol. II (Winnipeg MB: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1986). Volume III in this series also included mainly Low German works.

[319] Al Reimer, "The Role of Arnold Dyck in Canadian Mennonite Writing," 89.

[320] For a more detailed discussion of print culture among Mennonites, see Delbert Plett, "Print Culture of the East Reserve," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 68 (October 1994): 524-550.

[321] H. S. Bender, "Die Mennonitische Rundschau," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, 647-648.

[322] H. S. Bender, "Herald of Truth," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II, 707; "Herold der Wahrheit," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* II, 711.

[323] Bender, "Die Mennonitische Rundschau," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, 648.

[324] Cornelius Krahn, "Der Mitarbeiter," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, 719.

[325] Cornelius Krahn, "Steinbach Post," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, 626. For some time the paper was simply called *Die Post.*

[326] Cornelius Krahn, "Mennonitsche Volkswarte," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, 648-649.

[327] *Volkswarte* I, no. 1 (January 1935): inside front cover.

[328] *Volkswarte* IV, no. 47, 48 (November-December 1938): 414.

[329] Cornelius Krahn, "Warte-Jahrbuch," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* IV, 891.

[330] H. S. Bender, "Mennonitische Lehrerzeitung," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* III, 647.

[331] *Jubilate: 60 Years First Mennonite Church*, 46-47. The organization involved was the *Jugendverein.*

17. Peace—and the Challenge of War

[332] David P. Reimer, *Experiences of the Mennonites of Canada during the Second World War, 1939-1945 (*Altona MB: Printed by D.W. Friesen & Sons, [1951]), 37f.; Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 37-38.

[333] D. Reimer, *Experiences of the Mennonites,* 37f.

[334] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 38.

[335] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 38-43. Mennonites, Brethren in Christ, Amish, and Quakers formed the Conference of Historic Peace Churches (CHPC) to represent them before the government.

[336] For the text of the John Lowe letter of 1873, see Appendix 1.

[337] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 39.

[338] Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, Frank M. Turner, *The Western Heritage,* 7th ed. (Upper Saddle River N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001), 1012, 1013.

[339] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 41.

[340] For minutes of the meetings, see D. Reimer, *Experiences of the Mennonites,* 56f.

[341] J. A. Toews, *Alternative Service in Canada during World War II* (Winnipeg MB: Mennonite Brethren Church, 1959), 34. The Kanadier Committee was called the Committee of Bishops (*Aeltestenkomitee*) since it was composed of bishops of the Sommerfelder, Chortitzer, Bergthaler, Rudnerweider, Holdeman, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, and Old Colony churches. For a discussion of the Kanadier Committee and its resolutions, see [David P. Reimer], *Erfahrunger der Mennoniten in Canada waehrend des zweiten Weltkrieges, 1939-1945* (n.p., n.d), and the English translation, *Experiences of the Mennonites of Canada during the Second World War.*

[342] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 49.

[343] For government legislation and regulations regarding postponement of military service and alternative service, see J.A. Toews, *Alternative Service in Canada,* 41f.

[344] W. Janzen, *Limits on Liberty*, 210.

[345] B.B. Janz, a Mennonite Brethren bishop from Coaldale, Alberta, was the most vocal advocate of medical and ambulance service in the military. See Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 48, 50.

[346] W. Janzen, *Limits on Liberty*, 210.

[347] Ken Reddig, "Judge Adamson versus the Mennonites of Manitoba during World War II," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 7 (1989): 51-70. See also Kenneth Wayne Reddig, "Manitoba Mennonites and the Winnipeg Mobilization Board in World War II" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1989).

[348] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 51.

[349] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 51, 52.

[350] D. Reimer, *Experiences of the Mennonites*, 28.

[351] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 51.

[352] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 53.

[353] Lawrence Klippenstein, ed., *That There Be Peace: Mennonites in Canada and World War II* (Winnipeg MB: The Manitoba CO Reunion Committee, 1979), 74.

[354] Klippenstein, *That There Be Peace,* 74.

[355] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 51.

[356] Frank Wiebe, "Editorial," *Home News* 1, (February 1943): 9-10.

[357] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 53.

[358] See T.D. Regehr, "Lost Sons: The Canadian Mennonite Soldiers of World War II," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (October 1992): 461-480.

[359] This observation is made on the basis of names in Peter Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War, A Double-Edged Sword: Canadian Mennonites in World War II* (Deloraine MB: DTS Publishing, 1997), 32f.

[360] For a discussion of the mixed emotions caused when Mennonite men decided to do military service, see Hildebrand Chornoboy, *Faspa,* 145-152.

[361] Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War*, 17.

[362] Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War*, 18.

[363] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 56.

[364] For a study of the Russian Mennonite experience, see Lawrence Klippenstein and Jacob Dick, *Mennonite Alternative Service in Russia: The Story of Abram Dueck and His Colleagues, 1911-1917* (Kitchener ON: Pandora Press, 2002).

[365] Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War*, 21.

[366] Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War*, 21, 22.

[367] Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War*, 22.

[368] *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, vol. I, 352.

[369] Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War,* 45.

[370] Lorenz Neufeld, *Mennonites at War,* 49.

[371] Lorraine Roth, "Conscientious Objection: The Experiences of Some Canadian Mennonite Women during World War II," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (October 1992): 539-545.

[372] Henry Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 295.

[373] Marlene Epp, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall," in A.J. Klassen, ed., *Alternative Service for Peace in Canada during World War II, 1941-1946* (Abbotsford BC: Mennonite Central Committee (BC), Seniors for Peace, 1998), 7-10.

[374] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 57.

[375] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 278.

18. Emigration and Immigration

[376] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 128f.

[377] Leonard Doell, *The Bergthaler Mennonite*

Church of Saskatchewan, 60f.

[378] Joseph Winfield Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay: The Story of Mennonite Colonization in South America* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1953), 49.

[379] Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay,* 48.

[380] Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay,* 50.

[381] Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay,* 50.

[382] Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay,* 51.

[383] P.J.B Reimer, "From Russia to Mexico: The Story of the Kleine Gemeinde," *Mennonite Life* 4 (October 1949): 28-32.

[384] P.J.B. Reimer, "From Russia to Mexico," 31.

[385] R. Loewen, *Blumenort,* 475.

[386] R. Loewen, *Blumenort,* 474-475.

[387] P. J. B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 110. Harry Leonard Sawatzky, *Sie Suchten eine Heimat: Deutsch-Mennonitische Kolonisierung in Mexiko, 1922-1984* (Marburg, Germany: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1986), 63.

[388] The Kleine Gemeinde settled on about two-thirds of this land, with Old Colonists from Saskatchewan settling on the remainder. P.J.B. Reimer, "From Russia to Mexico," 31.

[389] Loewen, *Blumenort,* 478; Arden M. Dueck, Myron P. Loewen, Leslie Plett, and Eddy K. Plett, comps., *Quellen Kolonie* (Coahuila, Mexico: Impresora Colorama, 1998).

[390] P.J.B. Reimer, "From Russia to Mexico," 32.

[391] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 128f.

[392] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 129.

[393] P.J.B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee,* 67.

[394] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 129-130.

[395] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 84f.

[396] See John B. Toews, "Communism and Peoplehood," 265-298.

[397] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 357f.

[398] For a history of this era and the experiences of numerous participants, see Harry Loewen, ed., *Road to Freedom: Mennonites Escape the Land of Suffering* (Kitchener ON: Pandora Press, 2000).

[399] For a novel of the account of one such escape from Berlin, see Barbara Smucker, *Henry's Red Sea* (Scottdale PA; Kitchener ON: Herald Press, 1955); for an account by MCC workers dealing with refugees, see Peter and Elfrieda Dyck, *Up From the Rubble: The Epic Rescue of Thousands of War-ravaged Mennonite Refugees* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1991).

[400] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 92.

[401] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 92-93.

[402] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 95.

[403] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 95.

[404] For a discussion of the economic plight of the settlers in Paraguay, see Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 428f.

[405] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970, 84f.*

[406] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 84f.

[407] For a study of immigrant women see, Marlene Epp, *Women without Men: Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 2000). For a novel about this era, see Ingrid Rimland, *The Wanderers: The Saga of Three Women Who Survived* (St. Louis MO: Concordia, 1977).

[408] M. Epp, *Women without Men, 48f.*

[409] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 100.

19. Service and Politics

[410] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 66.

[411] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 66.

[412] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 66.

[413] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 66.

[414] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 68-69.

[415] In a meeting with Stalin at Yalta, Franklin D. Roosevelt, president of the United States, and Winston Churchill, prime minister of Britain, had agreed that their troops would assist in repatriating all Soviet nationals.

[416] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 363f.

[417] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 68.

[418] Herbert and Maureen Klassen, *Ambassador to His People: C. F. Klassen and the Russian Mennonite Refugees* (Hillsboro KS: Kindred Press, 1990).

[419] P. J. B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 131-132; H. Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful*, 138.

[420] P.J.B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee,* 132; H. Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful*, 139. Missionaries who served with faith mission programs had to find their own financial support. This was in contrast to denominational mission programs in which the denomination provided salary, benefits, and financial support for the mission endeavour.

[421] H. Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful*, 139.

[422] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 336. Anne Penner was a Bergthaler Mennonite from Rosenfeld, Manitoba, who served in India under the General Conference Mennonite mission board.

[423] C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People*, 346f.

[424] C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People*, 347.

[425] C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People*, 347.

[426] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith,* 333.

[427] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith,* 340-341.

[428] J. Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders*, 21.

[429] For an example of a missionary questioning the pattern of simply transplanting a North American church into another culture, see C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People,* 359-360.

[430] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, 41-51.

[431] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, 46.

[432] M. Reimer, *Cornelius W. Wiebe*, 51.

Part III: 1950 — 2000

20. Urbanization and Rural Renewal

[1]Leo Driedger, "Ethnic Urban Dominance: Demographic, Ecological and Institutional Patterns," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 4, no. 2 (1956): 207-228. This article notes the urban Mennonite population in Winnipeg as well as in numerous other Canadian cities. For a similar study, see Leo Driedger, "Canadian Mennonite Urbanism: Ethnic Villagers or Metropolitan Remnant," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 49 (July 1975): 226-241; Leo Driedger, "Post-War Canadian Mennonites: From Rural to Urban Dominance," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 6 (1988): 70-87.

[2] M. Epp, "Mennonite Girls' Homes of Winnipeg, 100-114; Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 175-177.

[3] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 79-100.

[4] For a discussion of Mennonites moving to cities in Canada, see Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 169f. Other studies about urbanization include: Leo Driedger, *Mennonites in Winnipeg*; Leo Driedger, J. Winfield Fretz, and Donovan E. Smucker, "A Tale of Two Strategies: Mennonites in Chicago and Winnipeg," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 52 (October 1978): 294-311; J. Howard Kauffman and Leo

Driedger, *Mennonite Mosaic, Identity and Modernization* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1991), 33f.; Leo Driedger, "A Perspective on Canadian Mennonite Urbanization," *Mennonite Life* 23 (October 1968): 147-152.

[5] John Friesen, "Manitoba Mennonites in the Rural-Urban Shift," *Mennonite Life* 23 (October 1968): 152-159.

[6] Leland Harder in *Fact Book in Congregational Membership* (Newton KS: General Conference Mennonite Church, 1971), 31 notes that of Mennonite professionals, 43.9 percent were teachers and 15.9 percent were nurses.

[7] Leo Driedger, "From Martyrs to Muppies: The Mennonite Urban Professional Revolution," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 58 (October 1993): 304-322.

[8] See Table 15. For further discussion, see L. Driedger, "Post-War Canadian Mennonites," 70-88.

[9] Otto Driedger, "Mennonite Family Stresses in the City," *Mennonite Life* 23 (October 1968): 176-178.

[10] Victor Doerksen, "Language and Communication among Urban Mennonites," *Mennonite Life* 23 (October 1968): 182-185.

[11] For a brief survey of some of the effects of urbanization, see Leo Driedger, "Urbanization of Mennonites in Canada," in Henry Poettcker and Rudy Regehr, eds., *Call to Faithfulness: Essays in Canadian Mennonite Studies* (Winnipeg MB: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972), 143-155.

[12] L. Driedger, et al., "A Tale of Two Strategies: Mennonites in Chicago and Winnipeg," 303.

[13] Kauffman and L. Driedger, *The Mennonite Mosaic*, 37-38.

[14] For a discussion of the effect of urbanization on beliefs, see Leo Driedger, "The Anabaptist Identification Ladder: Plain-Urbane Continuity in Diversity," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 51 (October 1979): 263-281.

[15] L. Driedger, et al., "A Tale of Two Strategies: Mennonites in Chicago and Winnipeg," 294-311.

[16] See Hans Werner, *Integration in Two Cities: A Comparative History of Protestant Ethnic German Immigrants in Winnipeg, Canada and Bielefeld, Germany, 1947-1989* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 2002).

[17] The term "reinvent themselves" is used by Royden Loewen in the video, *Manitoba Mennonites*.

[18] L. Driedger, "Canadian Mennonite Urbanism," 226-241.

[19] For excellent discussions of the impact of the shift in government policy from family to corporate farms, see Roger Epp and Dave Whitson, *Writing off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Communities* (Edmonton AB: The University of Alberta Press, 2001).

[20] L. Driedger, "Ethnic Urban Dominance, 207-228.

[21] For a discussion of the general decline of Manitoba towns during these years, see Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 477.

[22] Sociologists use various definitions of what is meant by "urban." L. Driedger, in "A Perspective on Canadian Mennonite Urbanization," 149 says that urban centres are those with inhabitants of 5,000 or more. In 1988, in "Post-War Canadian Mennonites," 74 Driedger says that an urban centre is a town with a population of 1,000 or more.

21. Churches

[23] See Appendix 2 for a list of Mennonite churches and independent congregations.

[24] The German term used for this historical pattern is *Gemeinde.*

[25] For a discussion of Johann Enns' ministry, see *Jubilate: 60 Years First Mennonite Church*; and I. Klassen, *Dem Herrn die Ehre*.

[26] For a brief study of the impact urbanization had on Mennonite beliefs and views on social concerns, see Leo Driedger, "Alert Opening and Closing: Mennonite Rural-Urban Changes," *Rural Sociology* 60, no. 2 (1995): 323-332.

[27] The Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches, the former Evangelical Mennonite Brethren conference, which has a number of congregations in Winnipeg, dropped its Mennonite identification around 1990.

[28] Herb Kopp, in a class lecture, 12 November 2003, regarding the Mennonite Brethren Church of Manitoba.

[29] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 332f.

[30] Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith,* 341; Henry Neufeld and Elna Neufeld, *By God's Grace: Ministry with Native People in Pauingassi* (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 1991), 111; [A. Monkman], *Loon Straits: Looking Back* (n.p., 1999).

[31] Neufeld and Neufeld, *By God's Grace;* Jake Unrau and Johann D. Funk, *Living in the Way: The Pilgrimage of Jake and Trudie Unrau* (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 1996).

[32] Information about the specific aboriginal church groups from interviews with Norman Voth, Mennonite Church Manitoba, 15 June 2004, and Henry Neufeld, 17 June 2004.

[33] "Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Church (Winnipeg MB)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).* www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/W5713.html. See also Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity*, 194-195.

[34] "Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Church (Winnipeg MB)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).*

[35] "Winnipeg Chinese Mennonite Brethren Church (Winnipeg MB)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).* See also Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity,* 195-196.

[36] "Vietnamese Mennonite Church (Winnipeg MB),"in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).*

[37] Interview with Norman Voth, 15 June 2004.

[38] Interview with Elton DaSilva, pastor of Christian Family Centre, 17 June 2004.

[39] Interview with Elton DaSilva, 17 June 2004.

[40] Interview with Herb Kopp, Mennonite Brethren Conference office, 16 June 2004; interview with Elton DaSilva, 17 June 2004.

[41] Interview with Elton DaSilva, 17 June 2004.

[42] Interview with Elton DaSilva, 17 June 2004.

[43] Interview with Herb Kopp, 16 June 2004.

[44] Interview with John Braun, pastor of Charleswood Mennonite Church, May 2004.

[45] Dieter Goetz Lichti, ed., *Mennonite World Handbook: Mennonites in Global Witness* (Carol Stream IL: Mennonite World Conference, 1990).

[46] The increase in the number of Christians around the world is even greater than the increase in the number of Mennonites. For a discussion of the size and the implications of this shift, see John H. Redekop, "Personal Opinion: Lessons from the General Assembly [World Evangelical Fellowship]," *Mennonite Brethren Herald* 36, no. 11 (30 May 1997), 29, 31.

[47] A text that is used to admonish women to have their heads covered as a sign of prayer and devotion is 1 Corinthians 11:5, "but any woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled disgraces her head." The Conservative Mennonite Fellowship refers to their head coverings as prayer veils. Interview with Don Brandt, August 2000.

[48] 1 Corinthians 11:2-7 can be read to imply that with a head covering, a woman accepts that man is head of the woman as Christ is head of the man.

[49] C. Hiebert, *The Holdeman People*, 433f; Linda Boynton Arthur, "Clothing Is a Window to the Soul: The Social Control of Women in a Holdeman Mennonite Community," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 15 (1997): 11-30.

[50] A. G. Janzen, *Aeltester Johan M. Loeppky*.

[51] Abe Rempel, "Old Colony Mennonite Church in Manitoba," in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 139-141.

[52] For a general discussion of Canadian Mennonite churches, including the Manitoba groups, see Margaret Loewen Reimer, *One Quilt, Many Pieces: A Reference Guide to Mennonite Groups in Canada* (Waterloo ON: Mennonite Reporter, 1990).

[53] Interviews with Abe Rempel, minister in the Old Colony Church, August 2001 and August 2002.

[54] Interview with Abe Rempel, 18 August 2004.

[55] Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church*, 163.

[56] Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church,* 219.

[57] Gustav Dueck, *Chortitzer Mennonite Conference, 1874-1900* (Steinbach MB: Chortitzer Mennonite Conference, 2004); and an interview with Cornie Martens, Chortitzer Conference minister, 1 November 2004.

[58] The New Bothwell Sommerfelder Church grew so rapidly that in 1987 its members in the Steinbach area organized as a separate church. Both groups are flourishing. See Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church,* 211-212.

[59] According to the Reinlaender Church's statistics in the possession of Bishop William Friesen. See also "Reinland Mennonite Church (Manitoba)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).*

[60] "Reinland Mennonite Church (Manitoba)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).*

[61] Bergen, *Sommerfelder Mennonite Church,* 217.

[62] Interview with William Friesen, August 2002; "Reinland Mennonite Church (Manitoba)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).*

[63] "Reinland Mennonite Church (Manitoba)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).*

[64] William Friesen letter, October 2004.

[65] "Reinland Mennonite Church (Manitoba)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).*

[66] Interviews with Abe Rempel, July 2004, and William Friesen, May 2000.

[67] Interviews with Don Brandt, 2 November 2000 and 18 August 2004.

[68] Information on this section is provided by Adele Dyck and Rev. Abe Rempel, both from Winkler.

[69] For studies of North American and Canadian evangelicals, see Roland Nash, *Evangelicals in America: Who They Are and What They Believe* (Nashville TN: Abingdon Press, 1987); Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1994); Sam Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States* (Montreal QC: McGill-Queens University Press, 2003).

[70] J. Redekop, "Personal Opinion," 29.

[71] See Nelson Kraybill, "Our Future Is Evangelical," *The Canadian Mennonite* 6, no. 3 (11 February 2002), 6-7 for an attempt to see the evangelical movement without its usual accompanying militarism and nationalism.

[72] The Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Church is an example of this. See C. Redekop, *Leaving Anabaptism*.

[73] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 212.

[74] Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity*, 111.

[75] James O. Lehman, *Mennonite Tent Revivals: Howard Hammer and Myron Augsburger, 1952-1962* (Kitchener ON: Pandora Press, 2002), 129.

[76] For a discussion of the techniques and impact of Mennonite evangelists, see Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 208f.

[77] For a discussion of evangelicals' view of conservatives, see David Schroeder, "Evangelicals Denigrate Conservatives," in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 33-34.

[78] For a recent study of the Mennonite Brethren Conference in Manitoba, see W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith.*

[79] P. J. B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee*, 37; H. Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful*, 119.

[80] Heppner, *Search for Renewal*, 173-174.

[81] See A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage,* 208-209*;* Leland Harder*, Steinbach and Its Churches,* 51f.

[82] For a fuller discussion of the theological transition from Anabaptist-Mennonite to an evangelicalism that caused it to reject its own pacifist and Anabaptist heritage, see C. Redekop, *Leaving Anabaptism.*

[83] C. Redekop, *Leaving Anabaptism,* 178.

[84] C. Redekop, *Leaving Anabaptism,* 163.

[85] H. S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," in Guy F. Herschberger, ed., *Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision: A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute to Harold S. Bender* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1957), 29-56.

[86] Among others, see Reger und D. Plett, eds., *Diese Steine*; and D. Plett*, Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*.

[87] For discussions about the relationship between Anabaptism and the Peasants' Revolts, see James M. Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword* (Lawrence KS: Coronado Press, 1972); James M. Stayer and Werner O Packull, trans. and eds., *The Anabaptists and Thomas Muentzer* (Dubuque IA: Kendall/ Hunt Publishing Company, 1980); James M. Stayer*, The German Peasant's War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

[88] See C. Arnold Snyder, *From Anabaptist Seed: The Historical Core of Anabaptist-related Identity* (Kitchener ON: Pandora Press for Mennonite World Conference, 1999); and J. Denny Weaver, *Becoming Anabaptist: The Origin and Significance of Sixteenth-century Anabaptism* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1987.)

[89] The principal critique of Bender was developed by Stayer, in *Anabaptists and the Sword*. Werner Packull and Claus Deppermann followed Stayer's lead and have also written extensive critiques of Bender.

[90] Abe Dueck, "Canadian Mennonites and the Anabaptist Vision," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 13 (1995): 75f. Dueck indicates that Anabaptist theology largely supplanted dispensationalist theology at Mennonite Brethren Bible College.

[91] J. Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders*, 25. See also Ben Hoeppner, ed., *Know These People* (Steinbach MB: EMC Board of Education and Publication and EMMC Board of Education and Publication, 1974).

[92] For the influence of Anabaptist theology on Canadian Mennonite Bible College, see A. Dueck, "Canadian Mennonites and the Anabaptist Vision," 81.

[93] Dan Nighswander, "Our Future Is Ecumenical," *The Canadian Mennonite* 6 (23 September 2002), 8-10.

[94] Becoming a member in both organizations was finalized at the Mennonite Church Canada annual assembly in Winkler, July 2004.

[95] Based on an interview with Bernie

Loeppky, Winkler, 14 September 2004.

[96] A recent collection of essays about Mennonite music and worship was edited by Bernie Neufeld, *Music in Worship: A Mennonite Perspective* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1998).

[97] For a collection of MCC documents related to peace, see C. J. Dyck, *The Mennonite Central Committee Story,* volume 3*: Documents, Witness and Service in North America* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1980), 9-79.

[98] For a discussion of the many mission programs begun by Mennonites after World War II, see Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 364f.

[99] H. Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful,* 140

[100] Heppner, *Search for Renewal,* 249f.; H. Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful*, 136f.

[101] P.J.B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee,* 48.

[102] William Friesen letter, October 2004.

[103] Peter Dyck and Henry Friesen, "Old Colony Mennonite Church in Ontario," in D. Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 163-167.

[104] Most of the denominational histories include a section on the difficulties encountered in changing language from German to English. See C. Redekop, *Leaving Anabaptism,* 124f.; Heppner, *Search for Renewal,* 155f.; Gerry C. Ediger, *Crossing the Divide: Language Transition among Canadian Mennonite Brethren 1940-1970* (Winnipeg MB: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 2001); Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity*, 118-119.

[105] See Heppner, *Search for Renewal,* 155f. for a discussion of William H. Falk's efforts to retain the German language in the Rudnerweider Church.

[106] J.A., "Deutsch in Heim und Gemeinde," *Der Bote* (7 March 1956), 5; Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity*, 108.

[107] For a study of the role of Mennonite women in pastoral leadership in Canada and the United States, see Leo Driedger and Dorothy Nickel Friesen, "Mennonite Women in Pastoral Leadership," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (October 1995): 487-504.

[108] Anna Ens*, In Search of Unity*, 112-114.

[109] *Jubilate: 60 Years First Mennonite Church*, 112-113.

[110] H. Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful,* 150.

[111] In 2004 the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Conference asked the Canadian MB Conference to open all ministry positions to women. See *Mennonite Brethren Herald* 43, no. 5 (9 April 2004), 3.

[112] Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity*, 237-239.

22. Education

[113] *Schools in Manitoba 2000*, Manitoba Education and Training, 39.

[114] The school was initially organized under the Mennonite Benevolent Society. Unger, *The Story of Bethania*, 27.

[115] A.E. Rempel, "Old Colony Mennonite Church in Manitoba," 141.

[116] A.E. Rempel, "Old Colony Mennonite Church in Manitoba," 141.

[117] Other programs used by Mennonite private schools are Rod and Staff, and Pathway.

[118] Gerhard J. Ens, *Die Schule muss sein;* Irvin J. Kroeker, *The Year of Jubilee: Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 1945-1995* (Winnipeg MB: Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 1995); J. Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders.*

[119] *Steinbach Bible College Catalogue 2002-2003*, 3.

[120] *Steinbach Bible College Catalogue 2002-2003,* 4.

[121] "Westgate Mennonite Collegiate: School History." http://www.westgate.mb.ca.

[122] K. Fast, *Mennonite Settlement in North Kildonan*, 61.

[123] See Herbert Swartz, *Twenty-fifth Anniversary Publication of Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1944-1969* (Winnipeg MB: Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1969).

[124] See the calendars of Mennonite Brethren Bible College and Concord College.

[125] *Canadian Mennonite University Calendar, 2003-2005,* 6.

[126] *Canadian Mennonite University Calendar, 2003-2005,* 6.

[127] J. Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders,* 77-79.

[128] J. Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders,* 79.

[129] *Canadian Mennonite University Calendar, 2001-2002,* 7.

[130] *Canadian Mennonite University Calendar, 2003-2005,* 6.

[131] *Canadian Mennonite University Calendar, 2001-2002,* 7.

[132] Pamphlet, Chair in Mennonite Studies.

[133] "Home page." www.providence.edu.

[134] Minutes of June 4, 2002 meeting of the Evangelical Anabaptist Seminary Program board.

[135] Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity*, 215.

[136] Lawrence Klippenstein, "Elim Bible Institute (Altona MB)," in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online (GAMEO).*

[137] For a discussion of Peniel (Winkler Bible Schools) see W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 176f. Also see Pries, *A Place Called Peniel;* and [A. J. Klassen, ed.], *The Bible School Story, 1913-1963: Fifty Years of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools in Canada* (Clearbrook BC: Canadian Conference of MB Churches, Board of Education, 1963).

[138] Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity,* 137-141.

[139] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 128-129.

[140] W. Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith,* 120-121.

[141] Heppner, *Search for Renewal*, 200.

[142] Heppner, *Search for Renewal,* 197-198.

[143] Ens, *In Search of Unity,* 112.

23. Agriculture, Co-ops, Businesses, and Labour

[144] For a discussion of Mennonites and agriculture in Canada, see Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 125-147.

[145] For discussions of the effect of the elimination of the Crow rate, see Epp and Whitson, *Writing off the Rural West*, 3-20.

[146] Lydia Penner, *Hanover*, 89.

[147] For a discussion of agriculture on the West Reserve, see Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 218.f; G. Ens, *Volost & Municipality*, 60f., 100f., 181f., 186f., 201f., 231f.

[148] Heather Robertson, *Sugar Farmers of Manitoba: The Manitoba Sugar Beet Industry in Story and Picture* (Altona MB: Manitoba Sugar Beet Growers Association, 1968).

[149] T. D. Regehr and Ken Norrie, "The Crow's Nest Pass Agreement," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia Online*. http://www.thecanadianencylopedia.com.

[150] Henry Dyck, "Jacob John Siemens and the Co-operative Movement in Southern Manitoba, 1929-1955" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1982).

[151] The Lowe Farm Credit Union is the oldest existing credit union in Manitoba, founded in 1938. "Credit Union History." http://www.creditunion.mb.ca.

[152] "History. Steinbach Credit Union." http://www.scu.mb.ca.

[153] See A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage,* 71.

[154] See Brown, *A History of Winkler*.

[155] "Triple E History." http://www.tripleerv.com.

[156] "About Lode King: History." http://www.lodeking.com.

[157] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 244f.

[158] Janis Thiessen, "Mennonite Business and Labour Relations: Friesens Corporation of

Altona, Manitoba 1933-1973," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 16 (1998): 237-249.
[159] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona,* 248.
[160] *CFAM Program Guide* April–September 2003.
[161] "Meridian Industries/Wheatland Bin Company History." http://www.meridian industries.com.
[162] "Ag Growth Industries L.P.-Wheatland Industries." http://www.aggrowth.com. West field was sold to a larger company in 2000.
[163] "Vidir Manufacturing-Company on a roll." http://www.vidir.biz.
[164] Mary E. Enns, "From Russia's steppes to Canada's unlimited opportunities—Martin Bergen," *Mennonite Mirror* (June 1981): 9-11.
[165] Roy Vogt, "John Klassen," *Mennonite Mirror* (September 1982): 4.
[166] Janis Thiessen, "Friesens Corporation," 189.
[167] Janis Thiessen, "Friesens Corporation," 186-187.
[168] Janis Thiessen, "Friesens Corporation," 196
[169] Janis Thiessen, "Friesens Corporation," 196.
[170] Harold Jantz, "Conscience doesn't count, says Labour Board," *Mennonite Mirror* (Summer 1974), 22.
[171] Harold Jantz, "Conscience doesn't count," 22.
[172] Harold Jantz, "Conscience doesn't count," 22.
[173] This legislation was passed by the Manitoba government in August 1977.
[174] R[oy] V[ogt], "Conscientious objections in Manitoba government," *Mennonite Mirror* (Summer 1976), 22.

24. Health Care

[175] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage*, 234.
[176] Unger, *The Story of Bethania*, 21f.
[177] Schellenberg, "*. . . Great Is Thy Faithfulness,* 233.
[178] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage,* 234.
[179] Brown, *A History of Winkler*, 78.
[180] A. Warkentin, *Reflections on Our Heritage,* 234.
[181] Eidse, *Furrows in the Valley*, 334.
[182] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 332.
[183] *Morden, Mort Cheval*, 42.
[184] This is the term used in section 29.3 in the Regional Health Authority Act of November 1996.
[185] Province of Manitoba Health (RHAs), "Regional Health Authority Act." http://web2.gov.mb.ca.
[186] This is defined in section 29.3 in the Regional Health Authority Act of November 1996.
[187] Interview with Bernie Loeppky, 17 June 2004.
[188] Interview with Bernie Loeppky, 17 June 2004.
[189] Gerhard John Ens, "Eden," in Vernon H. Neufeld, ed., *If We Can Love: The Mennonite Mental Health Story* (Newton KS: Faith and Life Press, 1983), 207-225.
[190] G. Ens, "Eden," 207.
[191] G. Ens, "Eden," 213-215.
[192] G. Ens, "Eden," 213.
[193] "Community services department." http://edenhealth.mb.ca.
[194] "Manitoba's Mental Health Act." http://www.gov.mb.ca.
[195] Interview with Bernie Loeppky, 17 June 2004.

25. The Arts

[196] Arnold Dyck, "*Wellkaom op'e Forstei!" Szenen aus dem mennonitschen Forsteileben in Russland in plattdeutscher Sprache* (Winnipeg MB: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1950); *Onse Lied, en ola Tied* (Steinbach MB: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1952); *Koop enn Bua en Dietschlaund* (Steinbach MB: Derksen Printers, 1960). Dyck's writings were republished in their entirety in a four-volume set, complete with introduction and footnotes.
[197] Rudy Wiebe, *Peace Shall Destroy Many* (Toronto ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1962).
[198] Al Reimer, *Mennonite Literary Voices* (North Newton KS: Bethel College, 1993), 24.
[199] Rudy Wiebe, *The Blue Mountains of China* (Toronto ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1970); *The Temptations of Big Bear* (Toronto ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1973); *My Lovely Enemy* (Toronto ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1983); *Stolen Life: The Journey of a Cree Woman* (Toronto ON: Knopf, 1998); *Sweeter Than All the World* (Toronto ON: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2001).
[200] Patrick Friesen, *The Shunning* (Winnipeg MB: Turnstone Press, 1980).
[201] Di Brandt, *questions i asked my mother* (Winnipeg MB: Turnstone Press, 1987).
[202] Di Brandt, in Janice Williamson, *Sounding Differences: Conversations with Seventeen Canadian Women Writers* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 34.
[203] In a recent article, "The Poet and the Wild City," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 20 (2002): 89-104, Brandt reflects more positively on her Mennonite past, expressing appreciation for the sense of community, rootedness, the rhythm of the seasons, and connection to the earth which she experienced in the village where she was born.
[204] For example, Sarah Klassen, *Journey to Yalta* (Winnipeg MB: Turnstone Press, 1988); *Singing at the Fire: Voices of Anabaptist Martyrs* [sound recording] (Newton KS: Faith and Life Press, 1998); David Waltner-Toews, *Endangered Species* (Winnipeg MB: Turnstone Press, 1988), and *The Impossible Uprooting* (Toronto ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1995).
[205] Armin Wiebe, *The Salvation of Jasch Siemens* (Winnipeg MB: Turnstone Press, 1988).
[206] David Bergen, *See the Child* (Toronto ON: HarperCollins, 1999).
[207] Sandra Birdsell, *The Russlaender* (Toronto ON: McClelland & Stewart, 2001); Al Reimer, *My Harp Is Turned to Mourning* (Winnipeg MB: Hyperion Press, 1985).
[208] Hildi Froese Tiessen, *Liars and Rascals: Mennonite Short Stories* (Waterloo ON: University of Waterloo, 1989), xi.
[209] Morley Walker, "Bergen reaps fruits of Mennonite discipline," *Winnipeg Free Press* (12 November 2005), C6.
[210] Herman Rempel, *Kjenn Jie Noch Plautdietsch: A Mennonite Low German Dictionary* (Winnipeg MB: Mennonite Literary Society, 1984; 2nd ed., Rosenort MB: Prairie View Press, 1995); Jack Thiessen, *Mennonite Low German Dictionary: Mennonitisches Woerterbuch* (Marburg, 1977); Jack Thiessen, *Mennonite Low German Dictionary, Mennonitisches Woerterbuch* (Steinbach MB: Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1999).
[211] Al Reimer, Anne Reimer, Jack Thiessen, *A Sackful of Plautdietsch: A Collection of Mennonite Low German Stories and Poems* (Winnipeg MB: Hyperion Press Limited, 1983); Victor Peters and Jack Thiessen, *Plautdietsche Jeschichten: Gespraeche-Interviews-Erzaehlungen* (Marburg, Germany: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 1990).
[212] Victor G. Doerksen, George K. Epp, Harry Loewen, Elisabeth Peters, Al Reimer, eds., *Arnold Dyck: Collected Works/Werke,* 4 volumes (Winnipeg MB: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1985-1990).
[213] *De Bibel, Plautdietsch* (Winnipeg MB: Kindred Press; Miami FL: United Bible Societies, 2003).
[214] Epp-Tiessen, *Altona*, 253.
[215] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 387.

[216] Leo Driedger, "Call of the City: Rediscovering Anabaptism," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 20 (2002): 116.

[217] The first Mennonite Brethren English-language paper came out in 1955 and was called *The Mennonite Observer.* In 1962 it was replaced by the *Mennonite Brethren Herald.* The Evangelical Mennonite Conference publishes *The EMC Messenger*, Evangelical Mennonite Missions Conference the *Recorder,* and the Chortitzer Mennonite Conference *The Chronicle.*

[218] Each issue of *The Marketplace* states that "the dual thrust of MEDA is to encourage a Christian witness in business and to operate business-oriented programs of assistance to the poor."

[219] *Vision: A Journal for Church and Theology* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2001): cover page.

[220] The latter was written in 1960 and published in 2000.

[221] Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto ON: Macmillan of Canada, 1974); Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Toronto ON: Macmillan of Canada, 1982); T. D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

[222] This series includes the *Reinlaender Gemeinde Buch: 1880 Village Census of the Mennonite West Reserve*, and *Church, Family and Village.* The Hanover Steinbach Historical Society has published a number of books, including *Bergthaler Gemeinde Buch* and *Historical Sketches of the East Reserve.* John Dyck edited most of the books in both series.

[223] One of the earliest was Peter D. Zacharias, *Reinland: An Experience in Community*, which also included much of the history for the region. Village histories of Blumenfeld and Gnadenthal followed. Other fine studies included Gerhard John Ens' of the Rhineland municipality, F. G. Enns' of Gretna, and Esther Epp-Tiessen's of Altona. Royden Loewen in *Family, Church, and Market* used the methodology of social history to investigate new dimensions of the Manitoba Mennonite experience.

[224] Jack Hoeppner, *Search for Renewal: Rudnerweider/EMMC;* Harvey Plett, *Seeking to Be Faithful: The Story of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference;* William Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith: The History of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church;* Anna Epp, *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba;* and Peter D. Zacharias, *Footprints of a Pilgrim People: . . . Blumenort Mennonite Church* are only a few examples of a long list of excellent congregational and conference studies.

[225] Dr. Albert (Bert) Friesen, as the first full-time employee and president of the Winnipeg Rh Institute, oversaw the development and initial pharmaceutical approval of WinRho. Friesen is now president of Genesys Venture which specializes in the commercialization of health and biotechnology. "About Us." www.genesysventure.com.

[226] One of the most illustrious in this field is Dr. Henry Friesen, head of the department of physiology, University of Manitoba. His discovery of the human pituitary hormone prolactin and its role in health and disease, defining it as a major cause of infertility, and his collaboration with others in the introduction of new therapies resulted in the effective treatment of tens of thousands of women worldwide. "Henry Friesen, Endocrinologist Combatting Infertility." http://collections.ic.gc.ca/heirloom_series/volumn6/44-45/htm.

[227] Harry Huebner, ed., *The Church as Theological Community,* published in 1990, is a collection of essays in honour of David Schroeder, a long-time New Testament professor at CMBC. Similar themes are included in a volume written by Harry Huebner and David Schroeder, entitled *Church as Parable: Whatever Happened to Ethics* (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 1993).

[228] Huebner and Schroeder, *Church as Parable,* xi.

[229] All three teach or have taught at Canadian Mennonite University.

[230] Waldemar Janzen, *Old Testament Ethics: A Paradigmatic Approach* (Louisville KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994).

[231] Gordon M. Zerbe, *Non-retaliation in Early Jewish and New Testament Texts: Ethical Themes in Social Contexts* (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1993).

[232] Gordon H. Matties, *Ezekiel 18 and the Rhetoric of Moral Discourse* (Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1990).

[233] Leo Driedger and J. Howard Kauffman, *The Mennonite Mosaic.*

[234] J. Howard Kauffman and Leland Harder, *Anabaptists Four Centuries Later: A Profile of Five Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Denominations* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1975).

[235] L. Driedger and Kauffman, *Mennonite Mosaic,* 252.

[236] L. Driedger and Kauffman, *Mennonite Mosaic,* 253f.

[237] Leading choral teachers are George Wiebe at CMBC from the 1950s to 1990s, William (Bill) Baerg at MBBC/Concord from the 1960s to the 1990s, and Rudy Schellenberg at Steinbach Bible College in the 1980s and, since the 1990s, at Canadian Mennonite University. Bernie Neufeld and Henry Engbrecht, both from Boissevain, have made significant contributions to choral music, Neufeld at CMBC and Engbrecht at the University of Manitoba. Howard Dyck, a native of Winkler and one-time teacher at MBBC, has for years been CBC Radio's national choral voice.

[238] For a photo of the Treble Teens, as well as photos of other music groups in the Steinbach area, see Gerald Wright, *Steinbach: Is There Any Place Like It?* (Steinbach MB: Derksen Printers Ltd. 1991), 125f.

[239] *Steinbach 1946-1996—So Much to Celebrate* (1997), 96.

[240] Bertha Elizabeth Klassen, *Da Capo: "Start Once From the Front:" A History of the Mennonite Community Orchestra* (Winnipeg MB: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1993).

[241] *Jubilate: 60 Years First Mennonite Church*, 46-47.

26. Service and Politics

[242] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970*, 411.

[243] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 393. Frank H. Epp, *Partners in Service: The Story of the Mennonite Central Committee, Canada* (Winnipeg MB: MCC [Canada], 1983).

[244] "About Us." www.mcc.org/manitoba/aboutus.html.

[245] Epp, *Partners in Service.*

[246] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970,* 393.

[247] Epp, *Partners in Service,* 21.

[248] MCC annual reports located in the MCC offices, Winnipeg. The total of 40 million dollars is arrived at by combining the cash and material aid contributions with CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) assistance and Canadian Foodgrains Bank donations. All of these contributions come from Canadian sources.

[249] Information brochure about the event at the MCC offices, Winnipeg.

[250] *Canadian Mennonite* 6 (22 April 2002), 27; David G.Friesen, *Altona Community Self Help Centre—MCC 1972-1987* (Altona MB, 1987).

[251] Information taken from the annual reports by the thrift stores to MCC, located in the MCC offices, Winnipeg.
[252] Information taken from brochures and notices in the MCC Canada files, Winnipeg.
[253] "About Us." http://www.foodgrainsbank.ca. and Canadian Foodgrains Bank brochures.
[254] "About Us." http://www.foodgrainsbank.ca.
[255] "About Us." http://www.foodgrainsbank.ca.
[256] Information taken from annual reports and brochures in the MCC, Winnipeg file. Also see "Our 54-year History." http://www.mds.mennonite.net for reports about the latest activities.
[257] Lowell Detweiler, *The Hammer Rings True: Photos and Stories from Fifty Years of Mennonite Disaster Service* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 2000).
[258] Detweiler, *The Hammer Rings True,* 20.
[259] Epp, *Partners in Service,* 21.
[260] Detweiler, *The Hammer Rings True,* 87.
[261] "About MEDA." http://meda.org.
[262] "About MEDA." http://meda.org.
[263] "About MEDA." http://meda.org.
[264] "About MEDA." http://meda.org.
[265] "About MEDA." http://meda.org.
[266] "About MEDA." http://meda.org.
[267] See Appendix 7 and Appendix 8 for a list of candidates who ran and were elected in provincial and federal elections.
[268] *The Canadian Mennonite* (22 January 1954), as quoted by Joe Friesen, "'It's not that the Tories are closer to God, they're furthest from the Devil': Politics and Mennonites in Winnipeg, 1945-1999," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 21 (2003): 176.
[269] John Redekop, "Decades of Transition: North American Mennonite Brethren in Politics," in Paul Toews, ed., *Bridging Troubled Waters: The Mennonite Brethren at Mid-twentieth Century (*Winnipeg MB: Kindred Productions, 1995), 19-84, revised, with additions from recent elections.
[270] J. Redekop, "Decades of Transition" 52f.
[271] T. D. Regehr, *Peace, Order & Good Government: Mennonites in Politics in Canada* (Winnipeg MB: CMBC Publications, 2000), 66-68.
[272] J. Friesen, "'It's not that the Tories are closer to God, they're furthest from the Devil'", 175-190.
[273] J. Friesen, "'It's not that the Tories are closer to God, they're furthest from the Devil'", 181.
[274] The question about who is a Mennonite is a difficult one to resolve. John H. Redekop in "Three Kinds of Mennonites," *Mennonite Brethren Herald* (12 February 1982), 12 argues that there are three definitions of Mennonite: ethnic, ethnic religious, and religious. Regehr in *Peace, Order & Good Government,* accepts these definitions. This study also uses this inclusive understanding.
[275] For a discussion of his career in politics, see Regehr, *Peace, Order & Good Government,* 104f.
[276] For a discussion of Jake Epp's political career, see Regehr, *Peace, Order & Good Government,* 118f.
[277] Epp realized that he had lost the support of his constituency when as a cabinet minister he had to vote for a pro-abortion bill, a bill strongly opposed in his constituency.
[278] See the list of candidates in Manitoba provincial and federal elections in J. Redekop, "Decades of Transition," 39-46, 53-58.

Bibliography

Barkman, Albert. *Home News: World War II Alternative Selective Services, 1943-1946.* Rose nort: Prairie View Press, 1998.

Berg, Wesley. "From Piety to Sophistication: Developments in Canadian Mennonite Music after World War II." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 6 (1988): 89-99.

_____. *From Russia with Music: A Study of the Mennonite Choral Singing Tradition in Canada.* Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1985.

_____. "Gesangbuch, Ziffern, and Deutschtum: A Study of the Life and Work of J.P.Claszen, Mennonite Hymnologist." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 4 (1986): 8-30.

_____. "Music among the Mennonites of Russia." In *Mennonites in Russia, 1788-1988,* ed. John Friesen, 203-219. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1989.

_____. "Old Colony Mennonite Singing." In *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada, 1875-2000*, ed. Delbert F. Plett, Q.C., 23-24. Steinbach: Crossway Publications, 2001.

Berg, Wesley, and Carol Dyck. "Musicians as Strangers: Mennonite Church Musicians in the 1990s." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 12 (1994): 156-168.

Biesecker-Mast, Susan, and Gerald Biesecker-Mast, eds. *Anababtists and Postmodernity.* Telford: Pandora Press U. S., 2000.

Block, Jacob H. *1874-1967: Beitrag zur Geschichte Grünthals.* Grunthal, 1967.

Brandt, Di. "how i got saved." In *Why I Am a Mennonite: Essays on Mennonite Identity,* ed. Harry Loewen. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1988.

_____. "that questioning self." In *Sounding Differences: Conversations with Seventeen Canadian Women Writers*, ed. Janice Williamson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Braun, John L. *Lowe Farm: 75th Anniversary, 1899-1974.* Altona: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1974.

Brown, Frank. *A History of the Town of Winkler.* Winkler: Frank Brown, 1973. *Canadian Men nonite University Calendar 2000-2001.* Winnipeg: CMU, 2000.

Carlyle, W. J. "Mennonite Agriculture in Manitoba." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 13, no. 2 (1981): 72-97.

Chiel, Arthur A. *The Jews in Manitoba: A Social History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Chornoboy, Eleanor Hildebrand. *Faspa: A Snack of Mennonite Stories*. Winnipeg: Interior Publications and Communications Ltd., 2003.

Doerksen, Victor G. "From Jung-Stilling to Rudy Wiebe: 'Christian Fiction' and the Mennonite Imagination." In *Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural and Literary Essays Dealing with Mennonite Issues,* ed. Harry Loewen. Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1980.

_____. "In Search of a Mennonite Imagination." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 2 (1984): 104-112.

_____. "New Voices, New Issues in Mennonite Poetry." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 5 (1987): 138-143.

_____. "Recalling a Past Generation: Some Observations on German-Canadian Mennonite Writing." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 8 (1990): 146-155.

Driedger, Leo. "Alert Opening and Closing: Mennonite Rural-Urban Changes." *Rural Sociology* 60, no. 2 (1995): 323-332.

_____. "The Anabaptist Identification Ladder: Plain-urbane Continuity in Diversity." *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 51 (October 1977): 278-291.

_____. "Canadian Mennonite Urbanism: Ethnic Villagers or Metropolitan Remnant?" *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 49 (July 1975): 226-241.

_____, ed. *Mennonites in Urban Canada: Proceedings of the 1968 Conference on Urbanization of Mennonites in Canada, Winnipeg.* Reprinted from *Mennonite Life* 23 (October 1968): 147-152.

_____. *Mennonites in Winnipeg.* Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1990.

_____. "A Perspective on Canadian Mennonite Urbanization." *Mennonite Life* 23 (October 1968): 147-151.
_____. "Post-War Canadian Mennonites: From Rural to Urban Dominance." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 6 (1988): 70-88.
_____. "Urbanization of Mennonites in Canada." In *Call to Faithfulness: Essays in Canadian Mennonite Studies,* ed. Henry Poettcker and Rudy Regehr, 143-155. Winnipeg: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972.
Driedger, Leo, J. Winfield Fretz, and Donovan E. Smucker. "A Tale of Two Strategies: Mennonites in Chicago and Winnipeg." *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 52 (October 1978): 294-311.
Dueck, Abe J., ed. *Canadian Mennonites and the Challenge of Nationalism.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1994.
_____. *The Concordia Hospital, 1928-1978*. Winnipeg: Mennonite Benevolent Society, 1978.
Dueck, Gus. *History of Chortitzer Mennonite Church.* N.p., n.d.
Dyck, Cornelius J. *An Introduction to Mennonite History: A Popular History of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites.* Scottdale: Herald Press, 1967.
_____. *The Mennonite Central Committee Story.* Vol. 1, *From the Files of MCC.* Scottdale: Herald Press, 1980.
_____. *The Mennonite Central Committee Story.* Vol. 2, *Responding to Worldwide Need.* Scottdale: Herald Press, 1980.
_____. *The Mennonite Central Committee Story.* Vol. 3, *Witness and Service in North America.* Scottdale: Herald Press, 980.
_____. *The Mennonite Central Committee Story.* Vol. 4, *Something Meaningful for God.* Scottdale: Herald Press, 1981.
_____. *The Mennonite Central Committee Story.* Vol. 5, *MCC Experiences: Issues and Choices*. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1982.
Dyck, Henry. "Jacob John Siemens and the Co-operative Movement in Southern Manitoba: 1929-1955." M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1982.
Dyck, John, ed. *Bergthal Gemeinde Buch.* Steinbach: The Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1993.
_____. *Crosstown Credit Union Ltd.: The First Fifty Years, 1944-1994*. Winnipeg: Crosstown Credit Union, 1994.
_____. *Historical Sketches of the East Reserve, 1874-1910.* Steinbach: The Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1994.
_____. *Oberschulze Jakob Peters, 1813-1884: Mennonite Pioneer.* Steinbach: The Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1990.
_____, ed. *Working Papers of the East Reserve Village Histories, 1874-1910.* Steinbach: The Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1990.
Dyck, John, and William Harms, eds. *1880 Village Census of the Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba, Canada.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1998.
Dyck, John, and William Harms, eds. *Reinlaender Gemeinde Buch, 1880-1903, Manitoba, Canada.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1994.
Dyck, John M. *Faith under Test: Alternative Service during World War II in the United States and Canada.* N.p., 1997.
Dyck, Netha Froese. "Aeltester Jacob J. Froese (1885-1968), Reinfeld." *Preservings* 16 (June 2000): 41-43.
Eidse, Lenore, ed. *Furrows in the Valley—R. M. of Morris, 1880-1980.* Winnipeg: Intercollegiate Press, 1980.
Enns, F. G. *Gretna: Window on the Northwest.* Altona: D. W. Friesen Ltd., 1987.
Enns, Mary M. "From Russia's Steppes to Canada's Unlimited Opportunities—Martin Bergen." *Mennonite Mirror* 10 (June 1981): 9-11.
Ens, Adolf. *Becoming a National Church: A History of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada.* Winnipeg: CMU Press, 2004.
_____. "Mennonite Education in Russia." In *Mennonites in Russia*, *1788-1988*, ed. John Friesen, 75-98. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1989.

_____. *Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994.
_____. "Vorsteher Isaak Mueller: Community Builder." In *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada, 1875-2000*, ed. Delbert Plett. Steinbach: Crossway Publications, 2001.
Ens, Adolf, Jacob E. Peters, and Otto Hamm, eds. *Church, Family and Village: Essays on Mennonite Life on the West Reserve.* Winnipeg: Mantoba Mennonite Historical Society, 2001.
Ens, Anna Epp. *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba.* Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1996.
Ens, Gerhard John. *The Rural Municipality of Rhineland, 1884-1984: Volost and Municipality.* Altona: Rural Municipality of Rhineland, 1984.
_____. *"Die Schule muss sein:" A History of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 1889-1989.* Gretna: Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 1990.
Epp, Frank, H. *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites since the Communist Revolution.* Altona: Canadian Mennonite Relief and Immigration Council, 1962.
_____. *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974.
_____. *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982.
_____. *Partners in Service: The Story of the Mennonite Central Committee Canada.* Winnipeg: MCC [Canada], 1983.
Epp, Marlene. "The Mennonite Girls' Homes of Winnipeg: A Home Away from Home." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 6 (1988): 100-114.
_____. "'United We Stand, Divided We Fall:' Canadian Mennonite Women as COs in World War II." *Mennonite Life* 48 (September 1993): 7-10.
_____. *Women without Men: Mennonite Refugees of the Second World War.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
Epp-Tiessen, Esther. *Altona: The Story of a Prairie Town.* Altona: D. W. Friesen, 1982.
_____. "The Origins of Mennonite Central Committee (Canada)." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1980.
Ewert, David. *Stalwart for the Truth: The Life and Legacy of A. H. Unruh.* Winnipeg: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of the M. B. Churches of North America, 1975.
[Fast, Karl]. *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Mennonite Settlement in North Kildonan.* Winnipeg: The Anniversary Committee, 1978. (German and English)
Francis, E. K. *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba.* Altona: D. W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1955; reprinted 2001.
Fretz, J. W. *Pilgrims in Paraguay: The Story of Mennonite Colonization in South America.* Scottdale: Herald Press, 1953.
Friesen, David. *Journey of Faith: Winkler Bergthaler Mennonite Church, 1895-1995.* Winkler: Winkler Bergthaler Mennonite Church, 1995.
Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
Friesen, Gerald, and Royden Loewen. "Romantics, Pluralists, Postmodernists: Writing Ethnic History in Prairie Canada." In *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History,* ed. Gerald Friesen. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996.
Friesen, Gerhard, K. "Fritz Senn's Poems: 'Der Brief' and 'Der sterbende Ilya Repin.'" *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 9 (1991): 104-112.
_____. "Fritz Senn's Poems: 'Drei Bauern' and 'Russisches Liebespaar.'" *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 8 (1990): 131-145.
_____, trans. and ed. "'The Purple Pulpit:' A previously unpublished prose text by Fritz Senn." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 7 (1989): 84-95.
Friesen, Joe. "'It's not that the Tories are closer to God, they're furthest from the Devil:' Politics and Mennonites inWinnipeg." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 21 (2003): 175-190.
Friesen, John, ed. *Mennonites in Russia, 1788-1988: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lohrenz.* Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1989.
_____. *Mennonites through the Centuries: From the Netherlands to Canada.* Steinbach: Mennonite Village Museum, 1985.

Galbraith, J. F. *The Mennonites in Manitoba, 1875-1900: A Review of Their Coming, Their Progress, and Their Present Prosperity.* Morden: Printed by Chronicle Presses, 1900.
Gerbrandt, Henry J. *Adventure in Faith: The Background in Eu rope and the Development in Canada of the BergthalerMennonite Church of Manitoba.* Altona: Published for the Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba by D. W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1970.
Giesbrecht, Donovan. "Metis, Mennonites and the 'Unsettled Prairie.'" *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 19 (2001): 103-111.
Giesbrecht, Herb. "O Life, How Naked and How Hard When Known!: A Comprehensive Review of a Controversial Novel that Destroyed the Peace of Many." *Canadian Mennonite* 11 (22 March 1963), 5, 8-9.
Gnadenthal, 1880-1980. Winkler: Gnadenthal History Book Committee, 1982.
". . . Great Is Thy Faithfulness:" 50 Years of Rest Haven. Steinbach: Rest Haven Nursing Home, 1996.
Grunthal History, 1874-1974. Grunthal: Grunthal History Book Committee, 1974.
Guenther, Bruce. "A Road Less Traveled: The Evangelical Path of Kanadier Immigrants Who Returned to Canada." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 22 (2004): 145-166.
Gundy, Jeff. "Separation and Transformation: Tradition and Audience for Three Mennonite Poets." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 4 (1986): 53-69.
Gutkin, Harry. *Journey into Our Heritage: The Story of the Jewish People in the Canadian West.* Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys Ltd., 1980.
Hamm, H. H. *Sixty Years of Progress—The Rural Municipality of Rhineland: Diamond Jubilee, 1884-1944.* Altona: D. W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1944.
Harder, Leland. *Steinbach and Its Churches.* Elkhart: Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 1970.
Hiebert, Clarence. *The Holdeman People: A History of the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, 1859-1969*. Hillsboro: Tabor College, 1973.
Hiebert, Susan. *Morden, Mort Cheval, Pinancewaywinning, Lake Agassiz.* Morden: Morden Centennial Committee, 1981.
Hildebrand, Jerry. *Training Servant Leaders: A History of Steinbach Bible College, 1936-1996*. Steinbach: Steinbach Bible College, 1997.
Hildebrand, Menno. "The Sommerfelder Mennonites in Manitoba." *Mennonite Life* 25 (July 1970): 99-107.
Hoeppner, Jack. *Search for Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweider/EMMC, 1937-1987.* Winnipeg: Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, 1987.
Hostetler, Sheri. "Models of the Mennonite Religious Imagination in Rudy Wiebe's 'Mennonite' Novels." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 12 (1994): 197-213.
Huebert, Helmut, Harold Jantz, and John Longhurst, eds. *A Commemoration Collection of Photos and Writing to Mark the Centennial Celebration of Mennonite Brethren in Manitoba, 1888-1988.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Centennial Committee, 1988.
Isaac, Frank K. *Elim: Fiftieth Anniversary, 1929-1979.* Winnipeg: Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba, 1979.
Janzen, William. *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite and Doukhobor Communities in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
Kaita, Fred, ed. *Niverville: A History, 1878-1986.* N.p., 1986.
Keith, W. J., ed. *A Voice in the Land: Essays by and about Rudy Wiebe*. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981.
Klassen, A.J., ed. *Alternative Service for Peace in Canada during World War II, 1941-1946*. Abbotsford BC: Mennonite Central Committee (B.C.), Seniors for Peace, 1998.
_____, ed. *The Bible School Story: Fifty Years of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools in Canada, 1913-1963.* Clearbrook BC: Canadian (MB) Board of Education, 1963.
Klassen, Bertha Elizabeth. *Da Capo: "Start Once from the Front:" A History of the Mennonite Community Orchestra.* Winnipeg: Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1993.
Klassen, John C., and Jake Krueger. *Alternative Service Memoirs.* N.p., 1995.
Klippenstein, Frieda Esau. "Doing 'what we could:' Mennonite Domestic Servants in Winnipeg, 1920s to 1950s." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 7 (1989): 145-166.
_____. "Gender and Mennonites in T.D. Regehr's *Mennonites in Canada.*"

Journal of Mennonite Studies 15 (1997): 142-149.
Klippenstein, Lawrence. "Canadian Mennonite Writings: A Bibliographic Survey, 1970-1980." *Mennonite Life* 37 (March 1982): 9-13.
_____. *David Klassen and the Mennonites*. Agincourt: The Book Society of Canada Ltd., 1982.
_____. *Mennonite Artist: Insider as Outsider: An Exhibition of Visual Art by Artists of Mennonite Heritage*. Winnipeg: Main/Access Gallery, 1990.
_____. *Mennonites in Manitoba: Their Background and Early Settlement.* Winnipeg: The Morris-Macdonald School Division and the Department of Education, Manitoba, 1976.
_____. *Rosenort: A Mennonite Community*. Winnipeg: The Morris-Macdonald School Division and the Department of Education, Manitoba, 1976.
_____. *That there be peace: Mennonites in Canada and World War II*. Winnipeg: The Manitoba CO Reunion Committee, 1979.
Klippentein, Lawrence, and Julius G. Toews, eds. *Mennonite Memories: Settling in Western Canada*, 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Centennial Publications, 1977.
Loewen, Harry. "The Birth of a New Journal." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 1 (1983): 4-5.
_____. "Gerhard Loewen (1863-1946): Early Mennonite Poet and Teacher." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 9 (1991): 91-103.
_____. "A House Divided: Russian Mennonite Nonresistance and Emigration in the 1870s." In *Mennonites in Russia, 1788-1988,* ed. John Friesen, 127-146. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1989.
_____, ed. *Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural and Literary Essays Dealing with Mennonite Issues.* Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1980.
_____. "Mennonite Literature: Beginnings, Reception and Study." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 1 (1983): 119-132.
_____. "Mennonite Literature in Canada: Beginnings, Reception and Study." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 1 (1983): 119-132.
_____. "The Mennonite Writer as Witness and Critic." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 2 (1984): 113-123.
_____. *Road to Freedom: Mennonites Escape the Land of Suffering.* Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2000.
Loewen, Harry, and Al Reimer, eds. *Visions and Realities: Essays, Poems and Fiction Dealing with Mennonite Issues.* Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1985.
Loewen, Harry, and Al Reimer. "Origins and Literary Development of Canadian Mennonite Low German." *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 61 (July 1985): 279-286.
Loewen, Royden. *Blumenort: A Mennonite Community in Transition, 1874-1982.* Blumenort: The Blumenort Historical Society, 1983.
_____. "Cars, Commerce, Church: Religious Conflict in Steinbach, Manitoba, 1905-1930." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 11 (1993): 111-134.
_____. *Family, Church and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds, 1850-1930.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
_____, ed. *From the Inside Out: The Rural Worlds of Mennonite Diarists, 1863-1929*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.
_____. *Hidden Worlds: Revisiting the Mennonite Migrants of the 1870s*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001.
Lohrenz, Gerhard. *The Fateful Years, 1913-1923: The story of a young Mennonite of southern Russia, in the forestry service, in a Red Cross Unit, and in the Selbstschutz (self-defence) movement.* Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1977.
_____. *Heritage Remembered: A Pictorial Survey of Mennonites in Prussia and Russia*, 2nd ed. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1977.
_____. *The Lost Generation and Other Stories*. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1982.
_____. *The Odyssey of the Bergen Family.* Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1978.
_____. *Stories from Mennonite Life.* Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1980.
Lorenz, Peter, and Elsie Neufeld, eds. *Mennonites at War: A Double-edged Sword: Canadian Mennonites in World War II.* Deloraine: DTS Publishing, 1997.
MacPherson, Ian. *Each for All: A History of the Co-operative Movement in English Canada, 1900-1945.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979.
Matsuo, Hilda. "A Long Way from Lumberyard to Millworks: The Story of C.T. Loewen's

Steinbach Business." *Mennonite Mirror* 7 (Summer 1978): 10.
Meyer, Robert R. *The Spirit of the Post Road.* Altona: Federation of Southern Manitoba Cooperatives, 1955.
Mills, Rachel. "Masculinity, Entrepreneurship and Religion: Lumberman C.T. Loewen of Steinbach, Manitoba." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 23 (2005): 213-230.
Morden Souvenir Booklet (Celebrating Morden's Centennial: 1882-1982). Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1982.
Morton, W. L. *Manitoba: A History*, 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
Neufeld, G.G. *Die Geschichte der Whitewater Mennoniten Gemeinde in Manitoba, Canada, 1925-1965*. N.p., 1967.
Neufeld, Vernon H. *If We Can Love: The Mennonite Mental Health Story.* Newton: Faith and Life Press, 1983.
Neufeld, William. *From Faith to Faith: The History of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church.* Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1989.
Pauls, Peter. "Mennonite Poets Possess Potential to Rank with Canada's Best." *Mennonite Mirror* 5 (October 1975): 11.
Penner, Lydia. *Hanover: One Hundred Years.* Steinbach: R. M. of Hanover, 1982.
Penner, Victor, ed. *Altona: A Pictorial History.* Altona: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1990.
Peters, Gerhard I. *Remember Our Leaders: Conference of Mennonites in Canada, 1902-1977.* Clearbrook BC: Mennonite Historical Society of British Columbia, 1982.
Peters, Jacob. "Organizational Change within a Religious Denomination: A Case Study of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada, 1903-1978." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Waterloo, 1986.
Peters, Jake. *Mennonite Private Schools in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 1874-1925.* Steinbach: Mennonite Village Museum, 1985.
_____. "The Sommerfelder *Waisenamt*: Origins, Development and Dissolution." *Mennonite Life* 35 (December 1980): 8-14.
_____. *The Waisenamt: A History of Mennonite Inheritance Customs.* Mennonite Village Museum Historical Series, no. I. Steinbach: Mennonite Village Museum, 1985.
Peters, Klaas. *Die Bergthaler Mennoniten und deren Auswanderung aus Russland und Einwanderung in Kanada.* Translated from the German by Margaret Loewen Reimer, with a biography of Klaas Peters by Leonard Doell. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1988.
Petkau, Irene Friesen, and Peter Petkau. *Blumenfeld: Where Land and People Meet.* Winkler: Blumenfeld Historical Committee: 1981.
Plett, Delbert F. *Diese Steine: Die Russlandmennoniten*. Steinbach: Crossway Publications, 2001.
_____. *Dynasties of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Imperial Russia and North America.* Steinbach: Crossway Publications, 2000.
_____. *East Reserve 125: Hanover Steinbach, 1874-1999: Celebrating Our Heritage.* Steinbach: Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 1999.
_____. *The Golden Years: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Russia (1812-1849).* Steinbach: D.F.P. Publications, 1885.
_____. *History and Events: Writings and Maps Pertaining to the History of the Kleine Gemeinde from 1866-1876.* Steinbach: D.F. Plett Farms Ltd., 1982.
_____. "Johann Wiebe (1837-1905), Publisher, 1881." In *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada, 1875-2000*, ed. Delbert F. Plett. Steinbach: Crossway Publications, 2001.
_____. *Leaders of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Russia, 1812 to 1874.* Steinbach: Crossway Publications, 1993.
_____, ed. *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada, 1875-2000*. Steinbach: Crossway Publications, 2001.
_____, ed. *Pioneers and Pilgrims: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba, Nebraska and Kansas, 1874-1882.* Steinbach: D.F.P. Publications, 1990.
_____. "Poor and Simple?:" The Economic Background of the Mennonite Immigrants to Manitoba, 1874-79." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 18 (2000): 114-128.
_____. "Print Culture of the East Reserve." *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 68 (1994): 524-550.
_____. *Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1874*. Steinbach: D.F.P. Publications, 1987.

_____. *Storm and Triumph: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde, 1850-1875.* Steinbach: D.F.P. Publications, 1986.
Plett, Harvey. *Seeking to Be Faithful: The Story of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference.* Steinbach: Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1996.
Plum Coulee, 75th Anniversary, July 7, 1976. Altona: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1976.
Plum Coulee—A Century Plus, 1901-2001. Plum Coulee: Town of Plum Coulee, 2001.
Pries, George David. *A Place Called Peniel: Winkler Bible Institute, 1925-1975.* Winkler: Winkler Bible Institute, 1975.
Reapers of the Valley, 1882-1982: History of the R. M. of Montcalm. Letellier: Montcalm History Group, 1982.
Redekop, Calvin H. *Leaving Anabaptism: From Evangelical Mennonite Brethren to Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches.* Telford: Pandora Press, 1998.
Redekop, Calvin W., and Benjamin W. Redekop, eds. *Entrepreneurs in the Faith Community: Profiles of Mennonites in Business.* Scottdale & Waterloo: Herald Press, 1996.
Redekop, Calvin, Victor A. Krahn, and Samuel J. Steiner, eds. *Anabaptist/Mennonite Faith and Economics.* Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1994.
Redekop, Calvin, Stephen C. Ainlay, and Robert Siemens. *Mennonite Entrepreneurs.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
Redekop, John. "Decades of Transition: North American Mennonite Brethren in Politics." In *Bridging Troubled Waters: The Mennonite Brethren at Mid-Twentieth Century*, ed. Paul Toews. Winnipeg: Kindred Productions, 1995.
Reddig, Kenneth Wayne. "Judge Adamson versus the Mennonites of Manitoba during World War II." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 7 (1989): 51-70.
_____. "Manitoba Mennonites and the Winnipeg Mobilization Board in World War II." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1989.
Regehr, Ted D. "The Economic Transformation of Canadian Mennonite Brethren." In *Bridging Troubled Waters*, ed. Paul Toews, 97-116. Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1995.
_____. "From Agriculture to Big Business: Canadian-Mennonite Entrepreneurs after 1940." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 6 (1988): 60-69.
_____. "The Influence of World War II on Mennonites in Canada." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 5 (1987): 73-89.
_____. "Lost Sons: The Canadian Mennonite Soldiers of World War II." *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (October 1992): 461-480.
_____. "Mennonites and Entrepreneurship in Canada." In *Anabaptist/Mennonite Faith and Economics*, ed. Calvin Redekop, Victor A. Krahn, and Samuel J. Steiner, 127-152. New York: University Press of America, 1994.
_____. *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970: A People Transformed*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
_____. *Peace, Order and Good Government: Mennonites and Politics in Canada.* Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 2000.
Reimer, Al. "Koop and Bua Go Traveling" (translation of chapters 1 and 2). *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 7 (1989): 71-83.
_____. *Mennonite Literary Voices Past and Present.* North Newton: Bethel College, 1992.
_____. "'A Nest of Singing Birds:' New Work by Mennonite Women Poets." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 11 (1993): 244-250.
_____. "One Foot In, One Foot Out: Themes and Issues in Contemporary Mennonite Writing." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 10 (1992): 151-164.
_____. "The Role of Arnold Dyck in Canadian Mennonite Writing." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 9 (1991): 83-90.
_____. "Who's Afraid of Mennonite Art?" In *Embracing the World: Two Decades of Canadian Mennonite Writing: A Selection of Writings from the* Mennonite Mirror, ed. Ruth Vogt. Winnipeg: Mennonite Literary Society, 1990.
Reimer, Al, Anne Reimer, and Jack Thiessen. *A Sackful of Plautdietsch: A Collection of Mennonite Low German Stories and Poems.* Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1983.
Reimer, David P. *Experiences of the Mennonites of Canada during the Second World War, 1939-1945*. Altona: David P. Reimer, 1951.
Reimer, Gustav E., and George R. Gaeddert. *Exiled by the Czar: Cornelius Janzen and the Great Migration, 1874.* Newton: Mennonite Publishing House, 1956.

Reimer, Margaret Loewen. *One Quilt, Many Pieces: A Reference Guide to Mennonite Groups in Canada.* Waterloo: Mennonite Reporter, 1990.
Reimer, Mavis. *Cornelius W. Wiebe: Beloved Physician.* Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1983.
_____. "'Literary and Artistic Voices' in T. D. Regehr's *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*: A Response, Two Observations and Some Questions." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 15 (1997): 116-123.
Reimer, P. J. B. "From Russia to Mexico: The Story of the Kleine Gemeinde." *Mennonite Life* 4 (October 1949): 28-32.
_____. *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee: Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1912-1962.* Steinbach: The Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1962.
Rempel, Ben. *Winkler: A Proud Heritage.* Winkler: The Winkler Homecoming Committee, 1981.
Rempel, Elfrieda. "An examination of where and how Winnipeg Mennonites earn their living." *Mennonite Mirror* 10 (March 1981): 7-8; (April 1981): 7-8; (May 1981): 25-26.
Rempel, G. S., ed. *A Historical Sketch of the Churches of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren.* Rosthern: Epp, 1939.
Reuber, G. L., and F. Roseman. *The Takeover of Canadian Firms, 1945-1961.* Ottawa: Economic Council of Ontario, 1970.
Robertson, Heather, with the assistance of Clark Hopper and Verna Neufeld. *Sugar Farmers of Manitoba: The Manitoba Sugar Beet Industry in Story and Picture.* [Altona]: Manitoba Beet Growers Association, 1968.
Sawatzky, Harry Leonard. *They Sought a Country: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
Schaefer, Paul J. *Heinrich H. Ewert: Teacher, Educator and Minister of the Mennonites,* trans. Ida Toews. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1990.
Schmiedehaus, Walter. *Die Altkolonier-Mennoniten in Mexiko.* Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1982 (first published by the author in 1948)
_____. "New Mennonite Settlement in Mexico." *Mennonite Life* 4 (October 1949): 26-27, 33.
Schroeder, Katherine. *Memoirs: Moving to South America,* unpublished.
Schroeder, William. *The Bergthal Colony*, rev. ed. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1986.
Schroeder, William, and Helmut T. Huebert. *Mennonite Historical Atlas*. Winnipeg: Springfield Publishers, 1990.
Siemens, J. J. "Sunflower Rebuilds Community." *Mennonite Life* 4 (July 1949): 28-32.
Siemens, Lloyd. "On Being Professional without Being Elite." *Mennonite Mirror* 4 (October 1974): 10.
Steinbach: A Look at 40 Years of Growth, 1946-86. Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1986.
Steinbach, 1946-1996: So Much to Celebrate. Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1997.
Stoesz, Dennis. "A History of the Chortitzer Mennonite Church of Manitoba, 1874-1914." M. A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1987.
Suderman, Elmer. "Mennonites, the Mennonite Community, and Mennonite Writers." *Mennonite Life* 47 (September 1992): 22.
_____. "Universal Values in Rudy Wiebe's *Peace Shall Destroy Many.*" *Mennonite Life* 20 (October 1965): 172-173.
Suderman, Leonard. *Eine Deputationsreise von Russland nach Amerika.* Elkhart: Mennonitische Verlagshandlung, 1897.
_____. *From Russia to America: In Search of Freedom*, trans. Elmer F. Suderman. Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1974.
Swartz, Herbert. ed. *Twenty-fifth Anniversary Publication of Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1944-1969.* Winnipeg:Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1969.
Thiessen, Jack. "Canadian Mennonite Literature." *Canadian Literature* 51 (1972): 65-72.
Thiessen, Janis. "Mennonite Business and Labour Relations: Friesens Corporation of Altona, Manitoba, 1933-1973." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 16 (1998): 181-202.
Tiessen, Hildi Froese, ed. *Liars and Rascals: Mennonite Short Stories.* Waterloo: University of Waterloo Press, 1989.
_____, ed. Special issue of the *New Quarterly* 10, nos. 1 and 2 (Spring/Summer 1990) on "Mennonite/s Writing in Canada."

_____, ed. Special issue of *Prairie Fire* 11 (Summer 1990) on "New Mennonite Writing."
Tiessen, Hildi Froese, and Peter Hinchcliffe, eds. *Acts of Concealment: Mennonite/s Writing in Canada.* Waterloo: University of Waterloo, 1992.
Todd, D., and J. S. Brierley. "Ethnicity and the Rural Economy: Illustrations from Southern Manitoba, 1961-1971," *The Canadian Geographer* 21, no. 3 (1977): 237-249.
Toews, J. A. *Alternative Service in Canada during World War II.* Winnipeg: Canadian Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church, 1959.
Toews, J. B. *Pilgrimage of Faith: The Mennonite Brethren Church, 1860-1990*. Fresno: Kindred Press, 1993.
Toews, John A. *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church: Pilgrims and Pioneers.* Fresno: General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1975.
Toews, John B. *Czars, Soviets & Mennonites.* Newton: Faith and Life Press, 1982.
_____. *Selected Documents: The Mennonites in Russia from 1917 to 1930.* Winnipeg: Christian Press, 1975.
[Unger, Isaac]. *The Story of Bethania, 50 Years of Caring and Sharing, 1945-1995*. Winnipeg: The Mennonite Benevolent Society and Bethania Mennonite Personal Care Home Inc., 1996.
Urry, James. *Mennonites, Politics, and Peoplehood: Europe—Russia—Canada, 1525-1980.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2006.
_____. *None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia, 1789-1889.* Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1989.
[Vogt, Roy], "Entrepreneurs, Labourers, Professionals and Farmers: A Response to *Mennonites in Canada: A People Transformed.*" *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 15 (1997): 134-141.
_____. "50 Years of a Family Business (C.A. DeFehr)." *Mennonite Mirror* 5 (November 1975): 13.
_____. "It's a Long Way from Rosenfeld: A. J. Thiessen and Buses." *Mennonite Mirror* 8 (May 1978): 15-16.
_____. "John Klassen: Whose Unique Personality and Vision Transcended His Achievements." *Mennonite Mirror* 12 (September 1982): 4.
_____. "The Myth of the Anomalous Mennonite Entrepreneur: A Review of Recent Books on Economics." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 15 (1997): 228-233.
Vogt, Ruth, ed. *Embracing the World: Two Decades of Canadian Mennonite Writing: A Selection of Writings from the* Mennonite Mirror. Winnipeg: Mennonite Literary Society, 1990.
Warkentin, Abe, ed. *Reflections on Our Heritage: A History of Steinbach and the R. M. of Hanover from 1874.* Steinbach: Derksen Printers Ltd., 1971.
Warkentin, John H. *The Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba.* Rosenort: Hanover Steinbach Historical Society, 2000.
Werner, Hans. "Integration in Two Cities: A Comparative History of Protestant Ethnic German Immigrants in Winnipeg, Canada and Bielefeld, Germany, 1947-1989." Ph. D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 2001.
_____. *Living between Worlds: A History of Winkler*. Winkler: Winkler Heritage Society, 2006.
_____. "Sacred, Secular and Material: The Thought of J. J. Siemens." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 17 (1999): 194-210.
Wiebe, Gerhard. *Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America,* trans. Helen Janzen. Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981.
Wiebe, Rudy. "Where We're at . . . in Our Understanding and Use of the Arts." *Canadian Mennonite* 19 (19 February 1971), 14.
Woelcke, U. "Winnipeg Mennonite Theatre." *Mennonite Mirror* 2 (September 1972): 29.
Wright, Gerald. *Steinbach: Is there any place like it?* Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1991.
Zacharias, Peter D. *Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church.* Gretna: Blumenort Mennonite Church, 1985.
_____. *Reinland: An Experience in Community.* [Reinland]: Reinland Centennial Committee, 1976.

Illustration Credits

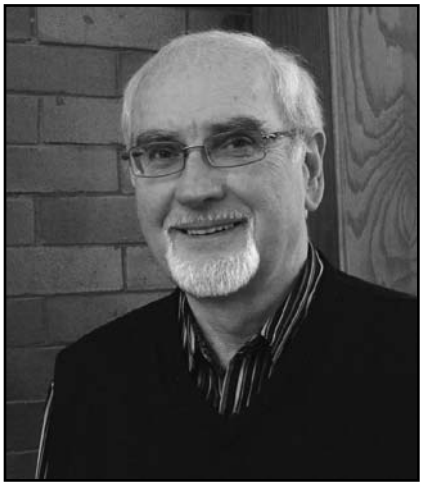
(*References following the sources below are to numbered photos in the text. A complete list of photo sources, including page numbers, is available at Mennonite Heritage Centre, Winnipeg.*)

1. *Altona Celebrates 100 Years, 1895-1995* (Altona: Red River Valley Echo, 1995). Part III: 34
2. *Arnaud: Through the Years* (Arnaud: Arnaud Historical Committee, 1974). Part II: 12
3. Barkman, Albert. *Home News* (Rosenort: Prairie View Press, 1998). Part II: 59
4. Berg, Wesley. *From Russia with Music: A Study of the Mennonite Choral Singing Tradition in Canada* (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1985). Part II: 50, 51
5. Bergen, Peter. *History of the Sommerfeld Mennonite Church* (Altona: Sommerfeld Mennonite Church, 2001). Part III: 50
6. Braun, John L. *Lowe Farm: 75th Anniversary, 1899-1974* (Altona: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1974). Part II: 32
7. *Chronicle, The.* 24 (March 2004). Part III: 23
8. *CMBC Yearbook 1962* (Winnipeg: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1962). Part III: 40
9. Detweiler, Lowell. *The Hammer Rings Hope: Photos and Stories from Fifty Years of Mennonite Disaster Service* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 2000). Part III: 57
10. Dueck, Abe J. *Concordia Hospital, 11928-1978* (Winnipeg: Christian Press, 1978). Part II: 42; Part III: 38
11. Eidse, Lenore, ed. *Furrows in the Valley—R. M. of Morris, 1880*-1980 (Winnipeg: Intercollegiate Press, 1980). Part II: 33; Part III: 28, 37
12. *Elmwood Mennonite Brethren Church* (Winnipeg: Christian Press, 1970). Part III: 6
13. Enns, F.G. *Gretna: Window on the* Northwest (Gretna: Village of Gretna History Committee, 1987). Part I: 36, 40, 46, 47, 56; Part II: 46
14. Ens, Anna Epp. *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in* Manitoba (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1996). Part III: 8, 9, 10
15. Ens, Gerhard John. *"Die Schule muss sein:" A History of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 1889-1989* (Gretna: Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 1990). Part I: 37, 38
16. _____. *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). Part I: 6
17. _____. *The Rural Municipality of Rhineland, 1884-1984: Volost and Municipality* (Altona: Rural Municipality of Rhineland, 1984). Part I: 42; Part III: 26, 27
18. Epp, Frank H. *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites since the Communist Revolution* (Altona: Canadian Mennonite Relief and Immigration Council, 1962). Part II: 11
19. _____, ed. *Partners in Service: The Story of Mennonite Central Committee . . . 1963-1982* (N.p., 1983). Part III: 52
20. Epp-Tiessen, Esther. *Altona: The Story of a Prairie Town* (Altona: D. W. Friesen, 1982). Part II: 31, 45; Part III: 33
21. Friesen, David. *Journey of Faith: Winkler Bergthaler Mennonite Church, 1895-1995* (Winkler: Winkler Bergthaler Mennonite Church, 1995). Part II: 48
22. Friesen, John J., photo collection. Canadian Mennonite University, Winnipeg. Part III: 14, 30, 36
23. *Gnadenthal, 1880-1980* (Winkler: Gnadenthal History Book Committee, 1982). Part I: 33; Part II: 10
24. *". . . Great Is Thy Faithfulness:" 50 Years of Rest Haven* (Steinbach: Rest Haven Nursing Home, 1996). Part III: 42
25. *Grunthal: History, 1874-1974* (Grunthal: Grunthal History Book Committee, 1974). Part I: 26, 34
26. Harder, Helmut. *David Toews Was Here, 1870-1947* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 2002). Part II: 7

27. [Heinrichs, Cleo, ed.]. *Horndean Heritage* (Winkler: Horndean Reunion Committee, 1984). Part II: 55
28. Heinrichs, Kevin. Canadian Mennonite University photo collection. Part III: 21
29. *Heritage Collections: Histories from New Bothwell and District* (New Bothwell: New Bothwell History Book Committee, 1994). Part III: 25
30. Hiebert, Clarence. *The Holdeman People: A History of the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, 1859-1969* (Hillsboro: Tabor College, 1973). Part III: 13
31. Hiebert, Weldon. University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg. Part I: 17
32. Hildebrand, Jerry. *Training Servant Leaders: A History of Steinbach Bible College, 1936-1996* (Steinbach: Steinbach Bible College, 1997). Part II: 27; Part III: 20
33. Hoeppner, Jack. *Search for Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweider/EMMC, 1937-1987* (Winnipeg: Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, 1987). Part I: 58; Part II: 22, 23
34. Isaac, Frank K. *Elim: Fiftieth Anniversary, 1929-1979* (Winnipeg: Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba, 1979). Part II: 25
35. Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, Winnipeg. Part I: 50
36. *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 18 (2000). Part I: 23
37. *Jubilate: 60 Years First Mennonite Church, 1926-1986* (Winnipeg: First Mennonite Church, 1991). Part II: 26; Part III: 5
38. Keim, Albert N. *Harold S. Bender, 1897-1962* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1998). Part III: 18
39. Klassen, A.J., ed. *Alternative Service for Peace in Canada during World War II, 1941-1946* (Abbottsford: Mennonite Central Committee (B.C.), Seniors for Peace, 1998). Part II: 56, 57
40. Klassen, Bertha Elizabeth. *Da Capo: "Start Once from the Front:" A History of the Mennonite Community Orchestra* (Winnipeg: Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1993). Part III: 47
41. Klassen, Peter J. *A Homeland for Strangers: An Introduction to Mennonites in Poland and Prussia* (Fresno: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1989). Part I: 3
42. Klippenstein, Lawrence. *David Klassen and the Mennonites* (Agincourt: The Book Society of Canada Ltd., 1982). Part I: 10
43. Klippenstein, Lawrence and Julius G. Toews, eds. *Mennonite Memories: Settling in Western Canada*, 2d ed. (Winnipeg: Centennial Publications, 1977). Part I: 29, 35
44. [Kroeker, Irvin J.]. *The Year of Jubilee: Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 1945-1995* (Winnipeg: Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 1995). Part II: 28
45. Loewen, Royden. *Blumenort: A Mennonite Community in Transition, 1874-1982* (Blumenort MB: The Blumenort Historical Society, 1983). Part I: 24, 31; Part II: 34, 58, 65
46. Lohrenz, Gerhard. *Heritage Remembered: A Pictorial Survey of Mennonites in Prussia and Russia*, 2d ed. (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1977). Part I: 4; Part II: 5, 6
47. *Marketplace, The.* (March/April 2000). Part III: 59
48. *Marketplace, The.* (September/October 1992). Part III: 58
49. Marr, Lucille. *The Transforming Power of a Century: Mennonite Central Committee and Its Evolution in Ontario* (Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2003). Part II: 69
50. Mennonite Church Manitoba: Camps with Meaning, Winnipeg. Part III: 24
51. Mennonite Heritage Centre (MHC), Winnipeg. Part I: 2, 5, 8, 9, 27, 55; Part II: 9, 16, 17, 21, 24, 30, 47, 66, 68, 71; Part III: 7, 12, 48
52. Mennonite Heritage Village (MHV), Steinbach. Part I: 30; Part II: 60, 64
53. *Mennonite Mirror* 5 (March 1974). Part II: 52
54. *Mennonitische Volkswarte* 1 (January 1935). Part II: 53
55. Neufeld, William. *From Faith to Faith: The History of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church* (Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1989). Part I: 32; Part III: 11
56. Penner, Lydia. *Hanover: One Hundred Years* (Steinbach: R. M. of Hanover, 1982). Part I: 14, 41; Part III: 51
57. Penner, Victor, ed. *Altona: A Pictorial History* (Altona: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1990). Part I: 20, 39; Part II: 3, 36, 38; Part III: 3, 32, 41, 45, 55, 56
58. Peters, Jake. *The Waisenamt: A History of Mennonite Inheritance Customs* (Steinbach: Mennonite Village Museum, 1985). Part I: 19
59. Petkau, Irene Friesen & Peter A. Petkau. *Blumenfeld: Where Land and People Meet* (Winkler: Blumenfeld Historical Committee, 1981). Part III: 15
60. Plett, Delbert F. *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada, 1875-2000* (Steinbach: Crossway Publications, 2001). Part II: 20
61. Plett, Harvey. *Seeking to Be Faithful: The Story of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference* (Steinbach:

Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1996). Part II: 70; Part III: 17, 19
62. *Plum Coulee—A Century Plus, 1901-2001* (Plum Coulee: Town of Plum Coulee, 2001). Part I: 25, 51; Part II: 61
63. Pries, George David. *A Place Called Peniel: Winkler Bible Institute, 1925-1975* (Winkler: Winkler Bible Institute, 1975). Part III: 22
64. Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Winnipeg. Part I: 7, 12, 13, 18, 57; Part III: 1
65. Quiring, Walter & Helen Bartel. *Mennonites in Canada: A Pictorial Review* (Altona: D.W. Friesen, 1961). Part II: 39, 40
66. *Rainbow, The: MBBC Yearbook 1947* (Winnipeg: Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1947). Part II: 29
67. Reimer, Mavis. *Cornelius W. Wiebe: Beloved Physician* (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1983). Part II: 41
68. Rempel, Ben. *Winkler: A Proud Heritage* (Winkler: The Winkler Homecoming Committee, 1981). Part I: 16, 48, 54; Part II: 1, 14, 15, 37; Part III: 43
69. Schroeder, Andreas. *The Mennonites: A Pictorial History of Their Lives in Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990). Part II: 13, 67; Part III: 16
70. *Steinbach: A Look at 40 Years of Growth, 1946-86* (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1986). Part III: 2, 29, 49, 60
71. *Steinbach, 1946-1996: So Much to Celebrate* (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1997). Part III: 31
72. Stoesz, Edgar & Muriel T. Stackley. *Garden in the Wilderness: Mennontie Communities in the Paraguayan Chaco, 1927-1997* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1999). Part II: 2, 19
73. Toews, John B. *With Courage to Spare: The Life of B.B. Janz, 1877-1964* (Fresno: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of M.B. Churches, 1978). Part II: 8
74. Toews, Julius G. & Lawrence Klippenstein, eds. *Manitoba Mennonite Memories: A Century Past But Not Forgotten* (Altona: Manitoba Mennonite Centennial Committee, 1974). Part I: 21
75. [Unger, Isaac]. *The Story of Bethania, 50 Years of Caring and Sharing, 1945-1995* (Winnipeg: The Mennonite Benevolent Society and Bethania Mennonite Personal Care Home Inc., 1996). Part II: 43, 44
76. van Braght, Thieleman J. *Martyrs' Mirror* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1998). Part I: 1
77. Warkentin, Abe, ed. *Reflections on Our Heritage: A History of Steinbach and the R. M. of Hanover from 1874* (Steinbach: Derksen Printers Ltd., 1971). Part I: 15, 44, 45, 49, 53; Part II: 35, 49, 54, 62; Part III: 4
78. Wiebe, Menno, photo collection, Winnipeg. Part III: 8
79. Wright, Gerald. *Steinbach: Is there any place like it?* (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1991). Part I: 43; Part II: 63; Part III: 39, 46
80. www.vidir.biz. Part III: 35
81. Zacharias, Peter D. *Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church* (Gretna: Blumenort Mennonite Church, 1985). Part I: 22, 28; Part II: 18
82. _____. *Reinland: An Experience in Community* ([Reinland]: Reinland Centennial Committee, 1976). Part I: 11; Part II: 4; Part III: 44
83. Zehr, Howard & Charmayne Denlinger Brubaker, eds. *A Dry Roof and a Cow: Dreams and Portraits of Our Neighbours* (Akron; Winnipeg: Mennonite Central Committee, 1994). Part III: 53, 54

Index



John J. Friesen has taught Mennonite history at Canadian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC) and Canadian Mennonite University in Winnipeg for 37 years. He grew up on a farm near Rosenfeld, and graduated from the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna and CMBC.

After further study at Bethel College and Mennonite Biblical Seminary, he received his Ph.D. in history and theology from Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Travel and research took him to areas where Anabaptism began, and to former Mennonite communities in Poland, Ukraine, and Russia.

John and Dorothy have three married children and five grandchildren. They have been members of Fort Garry Mennonite Fellowship, Winnipeg, since 1970, where John has been church council chair and lay minister.

In this nicely crafted, insightful, and probing history, Friesen masterfully presents the complex history of Manitoba's Mennonite community. Not since the writings of E.K. Francis and John Warkentin at mid-century has such a comprehensive study of this important North American group been written. Friesen shows how, over time, these communities increased in diversity. In an even handed manner, he accounts for evangelical, conserving, and Anabaptist impulses in this history. The author also reveals how entrepreneurs, artists, women, migrants, church leaders, and other intersecting groups of Mennonites responded to these dynamic changes.—*Royden Loewen, Chair in Mennonite Studies, University of Winnipeg*

This is unequivocally the finest book on Mennonites in Manitoba ever written. Set within the context of Aboriginal, Métis, and Canadian history, readers will quickly understand who these diverse Russian Mennonite groups are and their place within Manitoba's colourful history. Easily read with many fine pictures, illustrations, and fascinating sidebars, this is one book I highly recommend to both non-Mennonite and Mennonite readers. Friesen has written one of the best ethno-religious histories that I have ever read.—*Ken Reddig, Director, Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies in Canada, Winnipeg*

Friesen should be commended for his extensive research and wonderful job in writing this history of the Mennonites in Manitoba. The preservation of history is important and can easily be lost if not put in writing; and history once lost is gone forever. Many important events in Mennonite history have had both direct and indirect impact on our lives; many lessons can be learned from the past. This book contains a vast amount of information, including numerous helpful statistical charts. It is written in a non-biased way and contains interesting material for both Mennonite and non-Mennonite readers.—*Rev. Abraham E. Rempel, German Old Colony Mennonite Church, Winkler*

A book of this nature, which examines the changing religious, political, economic, and social history of Mennonites in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Manitoba, is long overdue. Friesen's survey will be appreciated by educators and students at both secondary and post-secondary institutions for its exploration of subjects, including labour and the arts, that heretofore have received little discussion in popular Mennonite history.—*Janis Thiessen, Westgate Mennonite Collegiate, Winnipeg*

Anyone interested in the history of the Mennonites in Manitoba should read this book. As a Mennonite history teacher, Friesen has researched this subject extensively, taught it for many years, and now has written an unbiased account. This is the story of Mennonites who migrated to Canada from Russia from the 1870s to the 1950s, including the group from the 1920s who experienced the Russian civil war and anarchy, plus the group that lived through both World Wars. Friesen gives an account of their social and religious life in its different facets, and of their struggles to remain faithful yet different from the mainstream worldly culture. This book is an easy read; very interesting and educational. I recommend it.—*Rev. Abe Wiebe, Minister, Sommerfelder Mennonite Church, Winkler*

This long-awaited volume provides Manitoba Mennonites and their neighbours with a survey of the rich variety that makes up the collective descendants of the sixteenth-century Anabaptist movement. And the section on new churches provides a glimpse into a still more culturally diverse future. This book makes a good read now and will be an indispensable reference for some years to come.—*Adolf Ens, Professor Emeritus of History and Theology, Canadian Mennonite University, Winnipeg*

Building Communities is an important contribution to Canadian Mennonite studies as well as to Manitoban history. Friesen's richly descriptive account of over a century of Mennonite life in Manitoba, threading together religious, social, political, and economic themes, it reveals how different groups of Mennonites were transformed in Manitoba, and how a province in turn was impacted by their presence.—*Brian Froese, Assistant Professor of History, Canadian Mennonite University, Winnipeg*