Provenance

Flag-raising for an Empty School

14. Education: Church v. State

The rationale for the public schools was expressed with the following slogan: one king, one God, one navy, one all-British empire . . . For us it was unthinkable that we should educate our children with [such implications] — ISAAK M. DYCK.[1]

As we have seen, the Mennonites were intimately involved with opening up the western parts of Canada. This fact and the geographical scattering of their settlements had cultural implications which both Canada and the Mennonites tried to avoid. They were both interested, for their own reasons, in maximizing the agricultural opportunity, but the long-term cultural interaction, or the lack of it, could not be ignored. Because of felt national needs, the tension of an uneasy relationship mounted and reached a critical peak during the First World War. It eventually led to yet another emigration.

This clash of values reached its greatest intensity in the school struggle between the conservative-minded groups on the reserves and the governments of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. It was not limited, however, to those two provinces or to the conservatives. Progressive-minded Mennonites, who made many accommodations and accepted a degree of assimilation, were also concerned about the preservation of precious values. The confrontation of cultures could, therefore, be identified as a universal Mennonite phenomenon, with its internal as well as external manifestations.

On the surface the confrontation seemed to be merely the jealous opposition of the English and the German languages. But at its deepest levels it was much more than that. The value systems which opposed each other were nothing less than the British military imperium and a pacifist sect which believed itself to be espousing the kingdom of God and its righteousness. For Canada as a whole, it represented a first round in the long battle between Anglo assimilation and integrationists, and non-Anglo ethnic separation and religious dissent. The official Canadian policy of multi-culturalism had not yet suggested itself either to the federal or to the provincial governments, except for the short-term purpose of settling the prairies.

The Mennonite cultural problem was not limited to Canada. In Russia, for instance, the non-emigrating group had after the 1870s developed a vast and sophisticated school system as its own defence against Russification. Its people did not, however, oppose the learning of the Russian language. On the contrary, after they had been thoroughly scolded by the Imperial Council of St. Petersburg for their neglect, they turned with considerable zeal to learning Russian for its own sake and so as not to lose the respect of the tsar. Some Mennonite educators developed so great a love for certain Russian writers that they were not only read and quoted with regularity, but also translated with enthusiasm. The poet, Lermontev, for example, became a challenge to several Mennonite poets.[2]

The Russian Mennonite school system, which by 1914 included 400 elementary schools, 13 high schools, several colleges, and a variety of specialized schools, was therefore not intended to avoid the Russian language. Rather, the intention was to learn new culture while strengthening the old one. That old culture was then described as *Deutsch und Religion* (German and religion), representing the twin concepts of the Mennonite value system and consequently of education.[3] By offering in their schools a strong German curriculum of literature, language and religion, the Mennonites saw themselves surviving in the midst of the Russian influence. And if Russia, the national mother of the Mennonites, had not been opposed to Germany, their cultural parent, this formula for cultural and religious survival might very well have been adequate.

The outbreak of the First World War brought a clampdown on the public use of the German language as well as property liquidation proceedings against Russian Germans nearest the front.

Mennonites managed to escape the harsh treatment accorded to other Germans by stressing their Dutch ancestry. This *Hollaenderei*, as the Dutch lobby became known, aroused controversy among the Mennonites and suspicion in Russia generally. After all, there had been no Dutch nationality in the modern sense since the Anabaptists had first fled to Prussia in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the Low German dialects in use, especially for everyday parlance, were only a remote reflection of the Dutch language and were popular in some form in most of the north German areas. Besides, the identity with German culture, a priority for some, and Russian citizenship obligations, a priority for others, militated against any genuine *Hollaenderei*. Although *Hollaenderei* was resorted to as an expedient in times of cultural and national crisis,[4] it did have some basis in fact. It symbolized an ongoing process of acculturation despite the attempt to use language as a vehicle in the process of group maintenance and separation from the world.[5]

The Mennonites during the Prussian sojourn were initially Dutch in language and culture, and acculturated in the direction of the literary High German only under the protests of the traditionalists. For the less educated and more conservative Mennonites, the more common and less literary Low German remained the dominant language with a more cultural High German gloss appearing slowly and then only for formal occasions. The Mennonites who came to Manitoba fell into this latter category. And for their cause of maintaining separation from the world, both High and Low German were as functional in Canada as in Russia.

The educational system emerging at the college level among American Mennonites served a role similar to that of the vast network of schools in Russia. The colleges were intended to fortify Mennonite religious values so that any cultural accommodation to American society would not threaten the essential core. There was a critical difference, however, between the American and Russian Mennonites. The former, already influenced by the melting-pot, were assuming the inevitability, perhaps even the desirability, of a language transition, while the latter insisted that the cultural pressures would never make them Russian.[6] The Americans assumed that the linguistic cultural forms of Mennonitism could be changed without great peril to the content of their religion. To the Russian Mennonites, however, it was quite clear that their cultural environment could

not be radically changed without drastically affecting its religious content.

The first five Mennonite schools founded in Canada (see Table 1)[7] generally shared the American assumptions. The three Bible schools at Kitchener, Herbert and Didsbury, founded primarily for the training of church workers, represented in themselves three different positions. The Didsbury school of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, the farthest west and, of the five, the most recent, aligned itself — linguistically, culturally and, to a degree, theologically — with the denomination on the frontier of assimilation. The Institute at Kitchener likewise accepted the language transition, but in every other cultural and theological way it intended to prevent Mennonite assimilation with surrounding society. A simple life-style, nonconformity in clothing and nonresistance remained paramount. The Herbert school was influenced by recent immigrants from Russia and from the United States and was, therefore, bilingual from the beginning, though, when in doubt, it gave way to English. The strong missionary impulse of the Mennonite Brethren and the Mennonite Brethren in Christ justified an earlier anglicization at Herbert and at Didsbury respectively than might otherwise have been acceptable.

The two Mennonite high schools at Gretna and Rosthern were in a class by themselves. They were not sponsored by individual Mennonite denominations, as was the case with the Bible schools, though Bergthaler and Rosenorter people, respectively, stood at the heart of the school societies which founded them. Both schools were inspired by the American educational assumptions and drew their strong leaders from Kansas. Neither attained the college level to which they aspired.

As opposed to the Bible schools, the high schools — at first really teacher training institutions — stood at the crossroads of the Mennonite and Canadian cultures. They were intended to be substitutes for the public system; teaching a government curriculum, they partially overlapped it. As teacher training institutes, they accepted and promoted the public elementary schools but hoped to keep them as Mennonite as possible. As the name of the Rosthern German-English Academy implies, these schools assumed a cultural dualism for the Mennonites. Along with their American cousins, they accepted the English culture more strongly than the Russian Mennonites had accepted the Russian. However, they insisted much more vigorously than the

TABLE 1

EARLY POST-ELEMENTARY MENNONITE SCHOOLS IN CANADA

NAME	PLACE	DATE OF FOUNDING	CHARACTER
Mennonite Collegiate Institute*	Gretna, Man.	1889	High school and teacher training.
German-English Academy	Rosthern, Sask.	1905	High school and teacher training.
Ontario Mennonite Bible Institute	Kitchener, Ont.	1907	Bible school and training of church workers (OM).†
Herbert Bible School	Herbert, Sask.	1913	Bible school and training of church workers (MB).
Mountain View Training School for Ministers	Didsbury, Alta.	1921	Bible school and training of church workers (MBC).

* First known as Gretna Normal School, and from 1898 to 1908 as Mennonite Educational Institute. In 1908 the MEI became two schools temporarily (until 1926); the Altona school was called MEI and the Gretna school Mennonite Collegiate Institute.

† OM — (Old) Mennonite; MB — Mennonite Brethren; MBC — Mennonite Brethren in Christ.

Americans on the retention of the German culture. In that sense they were like the Russian schools, which built their hope on a strong *Deutsch und Religion* curriculum.

In their biculturalism these schools had the potential of averting, or at least diminishing, the cultural clash that was mounting between the majority of the Mennonites and the Canadian government. However, they represented only a minority Mennonite movement. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan a well-defined Mennonite majority refused to accept the Gretna and Rosthern schools. In Manitoba, particularly in the West Reserve where the school was located, the Old Colony and most of the Sommerfelder stood aloof. The Kleine Gemeinde and the Chortitzer of the East Reserve were of a similar mind, but their geographic distance made an explicit expression on the question unnecessary.

In the Saskatchewan Valley the Rosenorter supporters of the German-English Academy were joined by isolated individuals from the Mennonite Brethren, the Bruderthaler, and the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren. There too the Old Colony and the Saskatchewan Bergthaler remained bitterly opposed.

The popular interpretation of these opposing stances was, and still is, that the Old Colony and the Sommerfelder were against education. In fact they were opposed only to a certain kind of education. To be sure, they were inclined to limit elementary school to six or seven, at most eight, years. In their minds more than eight years was related to a change in quality; further formal education pointed away from the agricultural way of life. It is in this context that their own saying must be understood: "*Je gelehrter, desto verkehrter*" (more education, more confusion).[8]

Additionally, the conservatives believed that education was the responsibility of the family and the church. The moment they surrendered this responsibility to the state, they felt that they surrendered to a qualitative difference in education, to urban rather than rural values, to a vocational rather than a moral orientation, to the goals of government rather than those of the church. The Old Order Mennonites and Old Order Amish in Ontario held a similar view on education, though their quarrel with the public school system reached the breaking point many years later when it became clear to them that the creation of larger districts had wrested from them all educational control.

In the negotiations of 1873, the Mennonites arriving from Russia thought they had been permanently guaranteed a church-oriented rather than a state-oriented education. Clause #10 of the letter that John M. Lowe wrote to delegates David Klassen, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe and Cornelius Toews in 1873 had remained very precious to them. It read:

> The fullest privilege 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.[9]

The Mennonites did not know, nor were they told, that authority over schools had been given to the provinces by the British North America Act.[10] Neither were they told that three days after the Secretary of Agriculture had confirmed an agreement with the delegates it was changed by the Minister of Agriculture

and that this change, rather than the original agreement, was given the strength of law by Order-in-Council, which read as follows:

> That the Mennonites will have the fullest privileges of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever.[11]

The difference between the two statements was a fundamental one. The first, which the Mennonites thought had the force of law, entitled them to their own private schools without "any kind of molestation or restriction whatever." The second limited their freedom to such schools as would be provided for by law. As the legal provisions shifted from private to public schools, the Mennonites felt certain that their rights were being violated. The federal government may well have been acting in good faith and assumed that the provincial governments would not contradict their agreements. None the less, there is no evidence that the Mennonites were ever informed that their *Privilegium* stood on contested ground and that it was amended, perhaps quite innocently by legal clerks, to match the language of existing laws in the secret chambers of Ottawa.[12]

The repeated efforts of Manitoba government representatives since the late 1870s to introduce publicly financed district schools had, therefore, been viewed with suspicion and opposition. The financial advantages in the arrangement militated against the jurisdictional disadvantages, and it had therefore been most difficult for the Mennonites to come to a unanimous and consistent position. Most of the Manitoba Mennonites rejected the district schools some of the time. A few always rejected them, and a few were favourably disposed toward them from the beginning. This vacillation brought on governmental interference. The result was a gradual undermining of the Mennonite position and the erosion of the private school situation. As Gerhard Wiebe of the East Reserve later wrote:

> We were in Canada for only a few years when money was offered to us for the support of our schools. This however seemed hazardous to us for we feared to lose our school freedom which had been promised to us by the government; but Hespeler said, "There is no danger." Hence we agreed to accept it. We went to him with the entire lists of the

> names of our school teachers and Hespeler told us to divide our school teachers into three classes. "Why," we asked. "Well," he said, "you don't think that the government will give its money to men who are cowherds in summer and school teachers in winter." Then, the author gathered his papers together and said, "Mr. Hespeler, now we understand, we will keep to the arrangement which our deputies have made for us."[13]

A definite turning point came in 1890 with passage of the Manitoba Public Schools Act. The Act ended the denominational public schools, Protestant and Catholic, and made English the official language of instruction in the secular, state-controlled and tax-supported school system.[14] To pacify the French Catholics, certain concessions to religious and bilingual instruction were made. These benefited also the Mennonites; they could join the district school system and still cultivate *Deutsch und Religion*. If more than ten pupils in a given school — a requirement easily met in the solid Mennonite districts — had a mother tongue other than English, instruction could with official sanction be given in a limited way in that language. Religion could be taught by lengthening the teaching day.

For the progressive Mennonites these compromises were acceptable; for the conservatives they were not. They took advantage, therefore, of the loopholes in the law which left open the matter of compulsory attendance at public schools.[15] The government for its part embarked on the promotion and, as much as possible, on the institution of district public schools in all the ethnic areas of Manitoba, including the East and West Reserves. Whereas in 1879 all 36 schools had been registered with the Protestant Denomination Board, there were in 1891 only eight listed as district schools in a total of at least 100.

At that point the progressive-minded Mennonites, who had founded the Gretna school in 1889, joined their interests with those of the government, as we have seen. With the Rev. Dr. George Bryce of the Department of Education leading the way and with the encouragement of the Hon. William Hespeler, Heinrich H. Ewert of Kansas was persuaded not only to head up the Gretna Normal School which was refounded in 1891, but also to be promoter and inspector of district schools among the Mennonites.[16]

For the conservative Mennonites, Ewert's identity with the United States was in itself almost enough reason to reject him.

After all, the Manitoba immigrants believed that those going to America had made a fundamental compromise in their faith and thus they did not look kindly upon American efforts to teach them a better way. Besides, they thought Ewert had been educated for too long in the schools of America. Not only had he attended the State Normal School at Emporia, Kansas, and the Des Moines Institute of Iowa, but also the theological seminary of the Evangelical Synod of Missouri. On the other hand, Ewert was not a Russian Mennonite and could be seen, therefore, as not having shared totally the identity of the Russians in the United States. He had been born in Prussia and his father, Wilhelm Ewert, had been the Prussian member of the 12-man delegation that had toured North America in 1873.[17] It could also be said that Ewert himself had made a fundamental decision not unlike that of the conservatives, by accepting the offer in Manitoba. It was clear from the beginning that he meant to identify himself with the people of Manitoba and that he had turned his back on Kansas. He and his brother, Benjamin, whom he recruited as a teacher for a district school, allowed themselves to be quickly enrolled with the Bergthaler. Soon they were both on the preaching circuit lists of Bishop Johann Funk and Benjamin was ordained a minister. They were, therefore, adaptable, but as E. K. Francis has said of the senior Ewert:

> He was also in a way a marginal man and shared the fate of the marginal man. While he was working for a compromise, he was blamed by his own people for betraying their best interest and by the Anglo-Saxons for not achieving enough.[18]

H. H. Ewert took charge of his office on September 1, 1891, and immediately made a tour of all the Mennonite settlements of Manitoba. Since he had had no immediate predecessors, there were no statistics, reports or other information available to him. Eight district schools had been in operation, four in the east and four in the west. "These schools had given good satisfaction to the people, and considered by most of them an improvement on the private schools still maintained by the vast majority of Mennonites," he said in his first report.[19] While most villages or settlements had private schools, there were several localities where no schools of any kind were maintained. The reason for this state of affairs was lack of agreement on whether the

schools would be private or public, and, if private, which church organization would be in charge.

Ewert began his task of establishing district schools precisely in those areas where outside initiative could shift public opinion, which he did in the direction of the government. An important instrument in the advancement of the district schools was the Gretna Normal School, of which he was the principal. Ewert, salaried by the government, proceeded to conduct five-week "normal sessions" for prospective teachers, who eventually were certified to teach in Mennonite schools. Ewert prepared them for the teaching profession by giving them a command of both the German and the English languages and introducing them to methods of religious instruction. The curriculum included Bible, church history, apologetics and ethics, as well as subjects outlined in the program of studies by the Department. At the beginning of the first year Ewert had eight students and this rose to 28.[20]

Very carefully and diligently Ewert worked at the task of preparing teachers for teaching, and the Mennonite people for the acceptance of district schools in which his teachers would be installed. By 1895 there were 24 district schools in operation, an increase of 16. Two of the 25 Mennonite teachers placed therein had permanent departmental certification, the others holding interim certificates. Seven of these brought teaching credentials with them from the United States, Russia and Prussia.[21] It was Ewert's conviction that the best way to preserve Mennonite values was to accept public schools for Mennonite areas but to place well-qualified teachers in them. They could supplement the government requirements with the curriculum and language of the church.

For the conservatives, however, the Ewert approach represented too much compromise and an unacceptable erosion of values. After all, the final direction and quality of education was determined by those who controlled the schools. To them the ultimate direction, if not the immediate application, of the Ewert formula was totally unacceptable. A meeting of one set of village farmers, as later recorded anonymously (perhaps by Ewert himself), reveals the flow of the conservatives' thinking:

An Older Neighbour: We do not wish to have an inspector. Our schools are good enough.
A Younger Neighbour: I believe it would be well if we could have some English in our schools.
Several Voices: What! English?

Other Younger Neighbours: Why not? We should know how to read and write English. That is necessary. Who now can really decipher the government letter that has been sent to us?

An Older Person: That is entirely unnecessary. Our schools are private schools and the government has nothing to say to them.

A Voice from the Rear: No, he must not be allowed to do that. We must treat the government with respect.

A Neighbour: Have they not promised religious freedom to us?

A Voice from the Rear: And in Canada one must know how to speak Canadian, that is English.

An Older Person: That shows the new spirit. Beware of such suggestions. That is the beginning of the end. For twenty years we have not learned English and were happy without it. But today many are getting along too well. They are becoming proud. The younger men know better than their elders the things that ought to be done.

Another Older Person: The Bible has been written in German, why then should we have to learn English. My children at least shall not do so.

A Third Elderly Person: Neither shall mine.[22]

In spite of great opposition, Ewert continued his work. He instituted teachers' conventions and introduced a travelling library, both designed to further increase the resources of the teachers and to improve their teaching. At the same time he persuaded more and more areas to accept the district school. The promise of public tax support helped. In 1902 the number of district schools had risen to 42, approximately one-third of the total number of Mennonite schools, both private and public, then in existence in Manitoba.

Not all the district schools were of equal quality. The attitudes of the trustees and the qualifications of the teachers differed a great deal. Salaries varied from $400 to $500 per annum. Some trustees continued their resistance to every innovation, while others were liberal enough to pay for the students' textbooks.[23]

Ewert's steady progress was, however, rudely interrupted by a strange combination of forces and events, both internal and external, which appeared on the scene in rapid succession in the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1903 Ewert was dismissed as inspector of schools by the newly elected Conservatives,

who had compaigned in conservative Mennonite areas with the promise to do just that. As it turned out, most of these Mennonites had not voted anyway. As the *Free Press* editorialized, the unconventionality and unpredictability of Mennonite political behaviour was a problem for every politician.

> What was to be done with the people who for years refused even to vote? What was to be done with the people superbly indifferent to the political plums that made the mouths of English-speaking constituencies water even to think of. When the travelling salesman displayed his wares to the Mennonites they turned away in disgust. Even "job" lines failed to impress them. The ordinary avenues of political approach to the foreign immigrant, were, in the case of the Mennonites, obviously out of the question.[24]

Ewert's dismissal as inspector did not mean that his work had come to an end. Members of the school association immediately pledged $25,000 to underwrite the school which in 1898 had been renamed the Mennonite Educational Institute. That fund, however, became internally divisive because it raised the issue of enlarging the school facilities, which in turn raised the question of the school's permanent location. All of these were most fundamental issues since the responsibility for the school and its principal rested clearly with interested Mennonites.

On May 22, 1905, a meeting was held at Altona to decide the issue. But unconstitutional, or at least confusing, procedures were adopted and had the effect of making every decision disputable. The constitution of the school society, adopted in 1888, had specified two-thirds majority approval for matters as important as relocation. This meeting, however, determined by a show of hands that a simple majority, rather than absolute (not to speak of two-thirds) majority, should be decisive. The result was 117 votes for locating the school in Winkler, 179 votes for Altona, and 151 for Gretna. Soon after the count had been entered in the minutes and the meeting adjourned, the decision was questioned with regard to both its constitutionality and a possible improper vote count. The meeting had awarded one vote for every $5 donation, but apparently failed to produce donor lists or to clarify the status of monetary pledges, oral or written. The result was that some questioned the voting, others the counting. Most were confused. The problems created by procedural ineptitude were compounded many times by existing Altona-

Gretna rivalries — the two towns were separated by only seven miles. There were clashes between Ewert and leading Altona families and differences of opinion between Bishop Funk and his assistant, Bishop Hoeppner (both of whom alternately, though never together, sided with Ewert and opposed him). Provincial politics may have also been involved again.[25]

The end result was that the relocation of the school in Altona was delayed until 1908. Ewert apparently supported the 1905 decision, but the endless wrangling that followed led him and his supporters to resign in the spring of 1908 when the relocation was to take place. Thus, while the Mennonite Educational Institute was transferred to Altona, the pro-Gretna group that same year founded a new society and built a new facility which became known as the Mennonite Collegiate Institute.

Both schools faced difficult times. The Altona school had the advantage of a larger constituency — even the Sommerfelder bishop supported it — and government support. The new inspector of Mennonite schools was located there. But Gretna had the strong-willed, single-minded, completely dedicated lifetime principal in its favour. Thus, while principals came and went in Altona, Ewert continued his steady forward plodding, seizing every opportunity to advance the educational cause. In his own words: "Men may come and men may go, but I go on forever."[26] When the Altona school burned down 18 years after its founding, never to be rebuilt, Ewert once again had the field to himself.

Meanwhile, the number of Mennonite elementary schools in the public sector had again diminished. Some school trustees had previously been persuaded to go public because Ewert was the inspector. It had taken a long time, but gradually some conservatives had come to the conclusion that Ewert could be as sincere about Mennonite values as they were, though following a different approach. When he was removed, their interest in the public school also vanished.

Another reversal for the public school came with the 1907 election campaign. The election manifesto of Premier Rodmund P. Roblin announced his intention to "inculcate feelings of patriotism" and to blend "together the various nationalities in the province into a common citizenship, irrespective of race and creed."[27] Subsequently, he decreed that the Union Jack, the symbol of the British Empire, be flown over public buildings and raised in public schools daily. This, Roblin suggested, would help the young people to become "filled with the traditions of the British

flag" and in their manhood willing and able to defend those traditions. Roblin's patriotism coincided with British imperial overtures to its various colonies to participate in strengthening the British armed forces. The use of the classroom for the nurturing of such sentiments, however, was precisely what the Old Colony and other conservative Mennonites feared. Militarism, including the German militarism against which the British were arming themselves, had its roots in the classroom. As Bishop Isaak Dyck explained years later:

> We could hear the peoples and nations of this world preparing anew for war, more vigorously than ever before, to counteract the unprecedented military might of Germany . . . That might itself have originated in the classrooms where militarism and the arts of war were implanted in the students with unquenching zeal . . . And this example Canada wanted to follow . . . The rationale for the public schools was expressed with the following slogan: one king, one God, one navy, one all-British empire.[28]

Other parts of the Canadian Mennonite world were aware of the imperial power-play of the times, the increased militarism and jingoism. In Ontario, church leaders were disturbed by Great Britain's attempt to persuade Canada to develop an indigenous defence force. This force would have close military ties to Great Britain and would allocate troops to a special imperial reserve. This reserve "would be under the control of the imperial government, and available for employment in any part of the world."[29]

In 1909, a peak year for the imperial defence conferences, the Mennonite Church of Ontario, in session at Vineland from May 26 to May 28, took note of "much agitation and excitement among the citizens of our land and neighbouring countries, owing to the many rumours of war." The conference resolution commended "the peaceable attitude and friendly relationship which our Dominion sustains toward all nations" but criticized the "strong demand made upon our government and upon the people of this country, to take steps to defend our country and the empire by extensive naval and military establishments." Steps had already been taken to introduce military training in the public schools and military expenditures had increased enormously, all of which was noted with sorrow:

> [We] regret the steps taken to inculcate the spirit of militarism in the minds of the rising generation, and . . . we

> hereby express ourselves in favour of inculcating the principles of peace and good will to all men in the minds of our children, using every means to spread the cause of peace. . . .[30]

A copy of the resolution was sent to the government through W. L. Mackenzie King, the young Member of Parliament since 1907 for Waterloo North. A native of Berlin, he promised to do everything in his power "to further the wishes of the Mennonite Church in safeguarding this country from the evils of militarism, and in restricting expenditures in the matter of defence, to such point only as may be necessary for our security and as a nation having a like protection and responsibilities within the empire."[31]

Apparently King was well aware of the possible political effects for him of the Liberal defence policies. When he was defeated in 1911, a confidential letter to Governor General Lord Grey stated that his riding had very large numbers of Mennonites who were opposed to war and the government's naval policy. Many believed that it was King's support of these policies that contributed to his defeat. Twice he said he had denied the false reports that he was furthering militarism, but his denials, he complained, had not been noted by the press.[32]

There were other indications of the strength of Mennonite opinion. Between 1906 and 1909, a Mennonite "peace and arbitration association" was formed with headquarters in York County. The association was founded on the principle "that war is contrary to true religion and morality, and the best interests of humanity." Its object was "the promotion of universal and permanent peace, by means of arbitration and by cultivating the spirit of peace and good will among men."[33] Perhaps it was precisely this association which promoted individuals such as Isaak Wideman and L. J. Burkholder, in private correspondence with the Prime Minister, to "regret the continued education for increased military practice in the schools in Canada," and "to discourage this false military spirit and all jingoism."[34] They and the conservative leaders of Manitoba shared this sensitivity about militarism in the schools, though the former had accepted the public schools while the latter had not.

The flag legislation in Manitoba produced an immediate Mennonite reaction. Eleven schools which had gone public immediately reverted to private status. Others, which had considered going public, had their minds made up. Where the public schools were closed down by local Mennonite trustees, they were forcibly

kept open by the government under its own official trustee. But the results were the same in that the parents refused to send their children. The experience of the teacher at Altbergthal near Altona, where a school was kept open by the government, was typical. The appointed district teacher, who all year long had not a single student, wrote:

> When I hoisted the flag on the first of September, there wasn't a child in school. The old people got together, fixed up a log cabin and hired a private teacher for the 45 children of the district. They paid him the salary I was getting, $80 a month, but I stuck to it and hoisted the flag every one of the 202 days but I did not have one pupil.[35]

The *Free Press*, quite consistently opposed to the Conservative government, blamed the "pig-headedness, blusteringly manifested in that connection" for the loss of the schools "to the national system."[36] Everyone knew that Mennonites would not be coerced and that any attempt in that direction was very unwise. The Winnipeg daily newspaper warned that undue pressure could lead to the emigration of these people:

> It is asserted quite positively that the conservative people, who constitute the large majority of the people, are to this day so tenacious of their principles that if any attempt should be made on the part of the government to force public schools upon them or even to force them to teach English in their private schools — not that they have any conscientious scruples against learning English, but because they resent all outside, that is government, interference — they would leave the country in spite of the large material interests which they have there.[37]

Meanwhile, the government, recognizing its own folly, or pursuing still another expediency, had reappointed Ewert as inspector of Mennonite schools in May of 1908 only to drop him, again for political reasons, three months later. It was a time of severe trial and testing for Ewert. Less than a month before his dismissal Ewert had received a letter from the Minister of Education "expressing full confidence in his ability and promising to support him in every legitimate way."[38]

During this time Ewert's strong commitment to education was bearing fruit in the second generation of his own family. Every one of his four sons and his daughter Elma moved on to advanced

schools after graduation from the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, the latter to Royal Victoria Hospital in Montreal. The two oldest sons, Paul and Karl, were becoming medical doctors and Wilhelm, the youngest son, a dentist. Receiving the greatest recognition and distinction was Alfred, third son in the family. At the age of 20, Alfred Ewert was selected Manitoba's Rhodes Scholar. Moving on to Oxford he distinguished himself not only as a brilliant student but also as a professor of Romance languages from 1921 until the day of his retirement nearly 40 years later. On the occasion of his being awarded the Rhodes Scholarship, the *Winnipeg Free Press* lauded not only the many gifts of the young man and the service record of his father, but also the people from which he had sprung:

> In his second year his record was even better. On the total standing in the spring examination he had led his year in the university, being the only student to secure a 1A standing . . . His devotion to sports had gained him a robust constitution, which had stood admirably the strain of continuous and severe study. In other departments of college life he has been equally prominent. He is a clear and forceful speaker, and is this year president of the University Debating Union. He has also served as treasurer of the college literary society, and is the organizer and leader of the college orchestra. He has a great love for music, and is a skilled pianist. He has unusual powers of imagination and expression, and recently won a prize for verse in a college competition. Mr. Ewert is remarkably fortunate in having an absolute command of the two languages which afford access to the greatest intellectual wealth of the modern world — England and Germany. A former student of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, his appointment gives representation to a people of high intellectual powers, from whom no Rhodes scholar has previously been chosen.[39]

Such achievements and accolades established a reputation for educational excellence not only for the Ewert family but also for the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, thus helping to vindicate H. H. Ewert's steadfastness of purpose, which his progressive critics had mistaken for a stubborn streak. None the less, for the most conservative critics the Ewert family record proved their point. Education led the young people far away from the Mennonite community, its way of life and its value system. The inevitable destiny of young university students was the non-Mennonite

world. Paul Hiebert, the award-winning 1916 University of Manitoba chemistry graduate, later the famous author of the best-selling *Sarah Binks*, was a case in point. The rural, agrarian, German-speaking and often legalistic Mennonite community was not about to follow the students; nor did the students want it to follow. Connections between farm and city, village school and university, pious sermon and learned lecture, and agrarian simplicity and urban sophistication were for the most part nonexistent. Decades would pass before these gaps would begin to be closed.

Meanwhile, the Mennonites in Alberta and Saskatchewan were also responding in varied ways to the surrounding pressures of Canadian culture. In Alberta, the community involvement of the Didsbury pioneers, and the election to the provincial legislature of their best representatives, generally set the pace. From the beginning the district school was accepted as inescapable and not undesirable even at Mayton and Tofield, where Old Order and Amish Mennonites had settled. The same was true in Saskatchewan except on the two reserves, Hague-Osler and Swift Current, where the Old Colony bishops, like their colleagues on the West Reserve of Manitoba, insisted on the private elementary school under the control of the church leaders. Here and there were small exceptions. At Herbert, for instance, a group of 12 Mennonite families in 1905 appealed to the federal government for permission to establish their own school "because we are called *deutsche Mennoniten* [German Mennonites] and this is what we want to be before God and the highest governmental authorities . . ." Should their wish have been granted, the petition read, "we [will be] the quiet in the land."[40] The federal government referred such matters to the provinces, whose jurisdictional authorities covered education. These Mennonites had difficulty understanding such referrals because they had in 1873 made what to them was a fundamental agreement with the federal government.

The year of that request was the birth year of the Province of Saskatchewan and of the German-English Academy at Rosthern, Saskatchewan. Like the Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, the Academy represented the attempt of the progressive-minded Mennonites to preserve as many of the best values of the past as possible, while accepting the future. Thus, with the acceptance of the public school, came a concerted effort to equip those schools in the Mennonite districts with bilingual teachers who could also teach a religious curriculum.

In Rosthern, one man came to symbolize the school and the progressive spirit. He was David Toews, who, like H. H. Ewert of Gretna, was the second man in the school. (The first was Herman Fast, "the man with the beard," as he became known, one of the Mennonite Brethren missionaries to Russian-language immigrants in the Saskatchewan Valley.) Also like Ewert, Toews had Manitoba, Kansas and Europe in his background. He had been born at the Trakt settlement in the Middle Volga province of Samara in Russia in 1870, one year after his parents, Jacob and Maria Toews, had migrated from Prussia to escape military service for their sons. Ten years later the Toews family joined the notorious Claasz Epp, Jr., who was leading a band of followers to a *Bergungsort* (place of refuge) for Christians in the Turkestan of Central Asiatic Russia, where Christ was to meet them all. The two-year trek turned out to be a very tragic one; hardships were many, the millennium did not arrive, and Claasz Epp became more unbalanced in his claims, finally insisting on his own identity with the divine trinity. After a twenty-month stay at Khiva below the Aral Sea, the Toews family, along with 20 others, decided that their salvation lay in the west rather than the east. Via their Samara homeland, Moscow, and Berlin, the Toews family migrated to Kansas where they arrived in October of 1884.

Toews studied at Halstead under H. H. Ewert, and in 1893 he followed him to Manitoba as one of a number of American teachers whom Ewert was attracting to his newly established district schools. After three years in the Gretna district school, Toews studied for a year in Winnipeg, and, after another teaching year in rural Manitoba, moved on to Saskatchewan where he was afforded a field of opportunity nearly as wide as that which Ewert had in Manitoba.[41] In a sense his opportunity was even wider. Toews had married into the Rosenort community, his wife being from the Friesen family recently arrived from his own parental home in Prussia. Toews became both a teacher and a homestead farmer and in 1900 a Rosenort minister. Within thirteen years he would succeed Peter Regier as bishop of the church. So outstanding and widely recognized was his leadership ability that he became not only the moderator of the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada in the first year of the First World War, but also the unofficial "bishop of Canada" for the Mennonites in the west.

As principal of the German-English Academy he was the rallying point for progressives in the Saskatchewan Valley in

much the same way that Ewert was in Manitoba. Toews had determined that the Saskatchewan Board of Education had the power to authorize a half-hour period at the end of a school day for German-language instruction and to prescribe the texts to be used in such instruction. Since, however, the two-hour noon recess was unnecessarily long for farm children, who brought their lunch and stayed all day, Toews recommended that the hour from one to two o'clock be utilized for classes in the German language. This would leave the half-hour at the end of the day for religion, also in German. In other words, there were unusual opportunities for teachers properly trained by the German-English Academy:

> Anyone can see that an able and diligent teacher can achieve much in the present circumstances. Friends of education can draw their own conclusions. We need teachers from among our *Volk* [people] whose heart-felt desire it is to serve our *Volk*. For these reasons do not become weary in support of the Academy.[42]

Dissenters among the conservatives not only sent their children to public schools and to his Academy, but they were also starting to join his church. If they came from the Old Colony reserve at Hague-Osler, however, this presented special problems. Bishop Jacob Wiens excommunicated those families who left the private school and otherwise adapted to modern ways. The loss of Old Colony membership in itself was not serious, because a new church home could always be found in the Rosenorter melting-pot. But excommunication among the Old Colony meant economic boycotts and social ostracism as well, and this affected the merchants who, as townspeople, were the first to make accommodation to the education system and the general culture.

Leading a group of about 30 dissident families were two merchants, one by the name of Isaac P. Friesen, who later became a minister and evangelist in the Rosenort church, and Jacob J. Friesen. Both were placed under the ban. The latter Friesen was the son of another Jacob Friesen, whom Hespeler had once appointed as the first organizer of district schools in Manitoba.[43]

In a letter of excommunication, Bishop Wiens regretted that repeated efforts to bring about repentance from worldliness and reconciliation had been ignored and that the only way open to him was "to separate you from our community as you have separated yourself from us through your disobedience."[44] Jacob Friesen undertook to take his own grievances and those of his

group to Hon. J. A. Calder, Saskatchewan Minister of Education. Reminding Calder that a dominion election was nearing and that he had always been a supporter of liberalism, Friesen asked the government to do something about his plight:

> Having the future welfare of my children in view I took the necessary steps to join a more progressive branch of the Mennonite church. As soon as the leaders of the Old Colony Church got notice of my steps they excommunicated me and forbade all the members to have any more dealing with me. The consequence was that I had to give up my home, my business, and everything for the sake of giving my children a better education and this in a land of the free. Now my dear Mr. Calder, don't you think that existing conditions are an insult to our liberal constitution.[45]

The government expressed interest in saving the Mennonites from each other but only after the autumn by-elections. Meanwhile, Premier Walter Scott suggested to Calder that he inform "the Mennonite heads . . . unless they leave free those of their people who wish to use the public school we will deprive them of the legal right to solemnize marriages."[46]

The warning fell on deaf ears and the provincial government launched a full investigation into the Old Colony educational system and attitudes. Meeting at the Warman schoolhouse, the Commission of Enquiry on December 28–29, 1908, heard over 100 pages of testimony from Old Colony leaders and teachers, as well as from the excommunicated and their teachers.[47] There were few immediate results, but the long-term consequence was a stiffening of the various positions. On the government side, a case was slowly being built up for the introduction of public schools in all the areas and the enactment of legislation requiring compulsory attendance, which came during the war. Newspapers helped with headlines such as "Progressive Mennonites 'Barred from heaven and cursed forever' by Bishop of the Sect in Saskatchewan."[48] The *Regina Leader* editorialized on "Mennonites and Excommunication" by linking the Saskatchewan events to an excommunication incident in Ontario. Apparently a Mennonite at Altona, Ontario, by the name of Lehman, had taken another to court for seducing his under-age daughter and successfully sued for the support of her child. The church elders threatened Lehman with excommunication for taking a case against a brother to court. Said the *Regina Leader*:

> . . . there must appear to all right-thinking men something radically wrong in the tenets of a church which, while looking upon an action at law as a heinous crime, for the commission of which a member of the church runs a risk of losing his own soul, appears to look with comparative lenience upon the seduction of a child . . . In no country in the world is greater tolerance shown towards people's religious beliefs than in Canada, and we would be slow to recommend interference with the church policy of any sect. Such a case, however, as is under review would seem to call for the modification of that tolerance as being subversive both of morality and common justice . . .[49]

The story was not altogether correct, for among Mennonites few sins were as unforgivable as adultery and seduction. Disciplinary actions, however, were undertaken in private. Taking brothers to courts of law was also a sin because the church had its own way of dealing with disputes between brethren. Bishop Jacob Wiens and his colleagues paid dearly for their intransigence and for their reluctance to defend themselves in court. Jacob Heinrichs of Osler, who had been excommunicated by Wiens, successfully sued him for $1,000 for "conspiracy resulting in the loss of business." Five Old Colony leaders subsequently went to Ottawa to complain about this and other infringements on their religious principles. The Solicitor General offered only to appoint counsel on their behalf and at their expense "to guard against unjust action at law of any kind against our people."[50] All of this activity became public knowledge and severely damaged the image of all Mennonites.

The negative publicity was bound to increase with the coming of the First World War. Public concerns about enemy aliens, pacifism, German culture and private schools comprised a single cause against which British patriotism and Anglo-Saxon culture had to take a firm stand. The schools were one place where a firm stand could be taken, and the first to experience this were in Manitoba where less than 58 per cent of the population were of British origin. A premonition of things to come was provided by the election campaign, which led the Liberals under T. C. Norris to defeat Roblin and his Conservatives. At the pre-election convention, Norris had demanded "national schools, obligatory teaching of English in all public schools and compulsory school attendance."

Fearing the worst for their schools, the Mennonites had begun to coordinate their efforts. Under Ewert's leadership a *Schulkom-*

mission (school commission) had been organized in 1913. Consisting of official Bergthaler, Sommerfelder and Brethren representatives, the Commission set as its task the encouragement of instruction in German and Bible in all Mennonite schools, district or private, and the negotiation with the authorities to this end.[51] Very soon the Commission confronted both Conservatives and Liberals. The first meeting was with the Premier. To him the Commission expressed gratitude for the continued right to have their own private schools and to teach German and religion in the public district schools. Promising to encourage better attendance at the latter, the Commission explained its main goal as follows:

> Our main task, however, is to see to it that religious instruction in all our schools be thorough and adequate and that our right to teach German in all our schools be exercised everywhere.[52]

The Hon. Valentin Winkler, southern Manitoba representative in the legislature, was advised by the Schulkommission that the majority of Mennonites had hitherto placed their trust in the Liberal party, that they had consistently returned a Liberal member to the provincial legislature, but that this would change should they find school legislation unsatisfactory. The Mennonites were not asking for special privileges but rather the simple continuation of the existing laws, which the Liberal government had no mandate to abrogate.[53]

As adverse legislation threatened, however, representatives of all the congregations, with the exception of the Old Colony, banded together on the educational question under the auspices of the School Commission in an unprecedented display of unity (see Table 2).[54] Meeting in Winnipeg with the Premier, they laid before him and his ministers the high value Mennonites placed on the education of their children. They contended that the norms of this education could not be established by outsiders because Mennonites considered themselves responsible to God alone in this matter, that instruction in religion and the German language were indispensable ingredients in the right instruction of the children and that education provided continuity of spiritual fellowship between the generations. To reinforce the strength of their conviction on this matter they expressed readiness to emigrate rather than surrender these values, in spite of the fact that they were otherwise fond of Canada as a homeland.[55] In all these ways they were really expressing Old Colony

TABLE 2

EMERGENCY DELEGATION ON EDUCATION TO MANITOBA GOVERNMENT

CHURCH GROUP	REPRESENTATIVES
Chortitzer	Bishop Joh. K. Dyck
	Rev. Heinrich Derksen
	Rev. Joh. Schroeder
	Mr. Jacob Kehler
Kleine Gemeinde	Bishop Peter R. Dyck
	Mr. Jacob Reimer
Holdemaner	Rev. Jakob T. Wiebe
	Mr. Johann Barkman
Bruderthaler	Rev. Peter Schmidt
Sommerfelder	Messrs. H. J. Friesen
	Joh. D. Klassen
	H. Friesen
Bergthaler	Rev. H. H. Ewert
	Rev. Benj. Ewert
	Mr. B. Loewen
Mennonite Brethren	Rev. P. H. Neufeld
	Mr. J. M. Elias

sentiments, differing only in degree and in the basic acceptance of district schools.

Their efforts availed little against the tide of patriotic public opinion and the government's determination. A School Attendance Act was passed on March 10, 1916. The Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 was thereby repealed, English was made the sole language of instruction in all public schools, and children aged 7–14 were compelled to attend public schools unless satisfactory private education was provided. Saskatchewan followed Manitoba with similar legislation in 1917. The legislation once again reversed the trend to public schools, a trend which remained unchecked to the end of the war. A new inspector of Mennonite schools in Manitoba, a German from Ontario by the name of A. Weidenhammer, had made considerable progress since 1909 in establishing district schools. His years of greatest progress were 1909–1913, when the number of district schools advanced from 37 to 64 and attendance from 1,124 to 1,858.

Following passage of the Attendance Act, 20 ministers and

deacons of the Bergthaler and Sommerfelder churches met immediately under the chairmanship of Sommerfelder Bishop Abraham Doerksen and together agreed *in groeszter Einmuetigkeit* (in the spirit of complete unity) to work for a return of all district schools to the private school system.[56] Subsequently, the representatives of the 2,500-member Sommerfelder church unanimously endorsed the program. The 500-member Bergthaler church was more divided, though the majority wanted a return to private schools. The Mennonite Brethren delayed a decision on the matter pending the formulation of curriculum and a plan for the financing of private schools.[57]

Private schools, it must be remembered, were still permitted, though they faced the prospect of being judged unsatisfactory and being closed for that reason. Also, the Mennonites were not the only ones thus to react to unilingualism in education. The French Catholics likewise "believed that the language, religion, and nationality were closely tied together and that religious instruction was largely defeated unless it was imparted through the medium of the pupil's mother tongue."[58]

The new policy was argued in the courts but without success. One Judge Curran, of Irish descent, expressed the hope "that the government will never yield one jot or tittle of its determination to make the teaching of English alone prevalent in our public schools." Judge Pendergast, of French ancestry, countered: "If such a solemn binding agreement as the Laurier-Greenway settlement can be so lightly violated, why should our soldiers go away to fight because another agreement was violated by Germany."[59]

In Ontario, and more particularly in Waterloo County, the question of German in the schools had been a difficult one throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, but by 1900 a successful compromise had been adopted. German became an additional subject of study "within the school system, but on a voluntary basis, and supervised by the parents themselves."[60] Anti-German sentiments connected with the war weakened the voluntarism necessary to keep German studies going and gradually they faded altogether. Such anti-Germanism was strong enough to effect a change of name, in 1916, for the former Ebytown from Berlin to Kitchener. It was strong enough to eclipse all remaining enthusiasm for the German language.

The loss of the German language, however, did not mean diminution of the religious values of the Ontario Mennonites. On the contrary, military conscription, which started in 1917, demon-

strated that the anglicization of the Ontario Mennonites did not mean their militarization and that not all the traditional ingredients of the Mennonite cultural package were essential to it. It was different on the reserves in the west. The more the government tied anglicization, patriotism, militarism and education together in a single cultural package, the more the Mennonites were convinced that German, religion, and the private school also belonged together, inseparably linked.

FOOTNOTES

1. Isaak M. Dyck, *Die Auswanderung der Reinland Mennoniten von Canada nach Mexico* (Cuahtemoc, Chihuahua, Mexico: Imprenta Colonial, 1970), pp. 43–4.
2. H. Goerz, "Wenn in des Lebens Angst und Not," in *Gedichte* (Winnipeg: published by the author, n.d.), 62 pp.; Gerhard Loewen, "Gebet," in *Feldblumen* (Steinbach, Man.: Arnold Dyck, 1946); G. H. Peters, "Das Gebet," in *Blumen am Wegrand* (Gretna, Man.: published by the author, n.d.), 270 pp. The Peters book contains five translations from Russian poetry.
3. Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution* (Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1962), p. 25.
4. The Hollaenderei argument will appear again in Canada in the late 1930s and early 1940s and in post-Second World War Europe.
5. Joshua A. Fishman, *et al.*, *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (The Hague: Mouton & Company, 1966).
6. It is true, of course, that the American Mennonites also had a whole series of German Preparatory Schools, the links between the public elementary schools and the Mennonite colleges, sometimes the forerunners of the latter. Americanization came fast, however, and the parochial preparatory high school declined rapidly in favour of the American school system and the English-language Mennonite colleges. See J. E. Hartzler, *Education Among the Mennonites of America* (Danvers, Ill.: Central Mennonite Publication Board, 1925), 195 pp.
7. P. J. Schaefer, *Heinrich H. Ewert: Lehrer, Erzieher, und Prediger der Mennoniten* (Gretna, Man.: Mennonite Youth Organization, 1945); P. J. Schaefer, "Mennonite Collegiate Institute," *Men-*

nonite Encyclopedia, III, p. 617; J. G. Rempel, "Rosthern Junior College," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, pp. 362–63; O. Burkholder, "Ontario Mennonite Bible School," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, IV, p. 66; J. G. Rempel, "Herbert Bible School," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II, p. 708; E. R. Storms, *History of the United Missionary Church* (Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing Company, 1958), pp. 162–67; Frank H. Epp, "The Story of Rosthern Junior College" (unpublished manuscript, 1970); A. J. Klassen, *The Bible School Story: Fifty Years of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools* (Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1963), 20 pp.

8. E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1955), p. 168. See also "Memorandum Concerning Mennonite Schools" in Calvin Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), pp. 245–50.
9. PAC, *Immigration Branch*, Record Group 76, 1, Vol. 173, 58764. Copy of letter of John M. Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, to David Klassen, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe and Cornelius Toews, July 23, 1873.
10. See BNA Act, Sect. 95; the Manitoba Act, 33 Vict. chap. 3, Sect. 22; Imperial Act, 35 Vict. chap. 28, 34–5.
11. PAC, *Order-in-Council*, Record Group 2, 1, 957, July 28, 1873.
12. See letter by William Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, May 11, 1950, to John J. Bergen, reproduced in "An Historical Study of Education in the Municipality of Rhineland" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1959), Appendix M, "Communication with Dominion Archivist," pp. 135–36.
13. Gerhard Wiebe, *Ursachen und Geschichte der Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika* (Winnipeg: Druckerei der Nordwesten, 1900), p. 17.
14. W. L. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890–1923," in D. G. Creighton, *Minorities, Schools, and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 10–18.
15. Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
16. "The Bi-lingual Schools of Manitoba," *Manitoba Free Press*, February 5, 1913; see also Bergen, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
17. P. J. Schaefer, "Heinrich H. Ewert — Educator, of Kansas and Manitoba," *Mennonite Life*, III (October 1948), pp. 18–23; see also P. J. Schaefer, *Heinrich H. Ewert; Lehrer, Erzieher, und Prediger der Mennoniten, op. cit.*
18. Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
19. Manitoba, *Report of the Department of Education, 1891*, p. 37.
20. Bergen, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
22. "A Description of the First Reaction of the Conservative Men-

nonites to the Appointment of a Mennonite School Inspector as given by Novokampus," in *Kanadische Mennoniten — Zum Jubilaeums-jahr*, quoted in I. I. Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada with Special Reference to Education" (M. Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1934).

23. Bergen, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–7.
24. "The Bi-lingual Schools of Manitoba," *Manitoba Free Press*, February 5, 1913, p. 3.
25. See P. J. Schaefer, *H. H. Ewert . . . , op. cit.*, pp. 65–7, and H. J. Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith* (Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1970), pp. 253–72.
26. As recalled by G. H. Peters, Ewert's successor, and remembered by the author from the days when he was Peters' student.
27. Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
28. Dyck, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Compare W. L. Morton, *op. cit.*
29. George F. G. Stanley *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1960), p. 449.
30. PAC, *Mackenzie King Papers,* M.G. 26, J. 1., Vol. 12, 11886–11884.
31. *Ibid.*; W. L. Mackenzie King to Noah Stauffer, Moderator, Conference of Mennonite Churches in Ontario, August 4, 1909.
32. PAC, *Mackenzie King Papers,* M.G. 26, J.1., Vol. 17, No. 15652–15653, Letter of W. L. Mackenzie King to Lord Grey, Governor General.
33. CGC. "Constitution of the Mennonite Peace Arbitration Association," from L. J. Burkholder papers.
34. PAC, *Laurier Papers*, M.G. 26, G. 1a., c-900, Vol. 668, p. 18168, Letter of L. J. Burkholder and Isaak Wideman to Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, February 20, 1911.
35. Bergen, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
36. *Free Press News Bulletin*, November 26, 1910.
37. *Ibid.*
38. "The Bi-lingual Schools of Manitoba," *Manitoba Free Press,* February 7, 1913. See also Bergen, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
39. Elizabeth Bergen, "Rhodes Scholar from Gretna," *Red River Valley Echo*, January 10, 1973, p. 4, as quoted from *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 30, 1912.
40. PAC, *Privy Council Dormants,* Record Groups 2, 3, Vol. 155, P.C. 2302. Letter from P. W. Harder and Peter H. Penner, Herbert, Saskatchewan, to "Geehrter Herr," December 11, 1905.
41. Epp, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–92.
42. David Toews, "Etwas ueber die Schulverhaeltnisse in Saskatchewan," *Der Mitarbeiter*, VIII (February 1914), pp. 36–7; David Toews, "Wie koennen wir versuchen durch unsere hoeheren

Schulen den Beduerfnissen unseres Volkes mehr zu entsprechen," *Der Mitarbeiter*, VIII (August 1914), p. 83, and VIII (September 1914), pp. 93–4.

43. Andrew Willows, "A History of the Mennonites, Particularly in Manitoba" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1924), p. 102.
44. SAB. Letter of Bishop Jacob Wiens to Friend Jacob Friesen, January 20, 1908.
45. SAB. Letter from Jacob J. Friesen, Rosthern, to Hon. J. A. Calder, Regina, October 1, 1908.
46. SAB. Memorandum from Premier Walter Scott to Hon. J. A. Calder, Regina, September 2, 1908.
47. SAB. "Proceedings of Commission of Inquiry at Warman," December 28–29, 1908.
48. *The Regina Leader*, January 5, 1909, p. 3.
49. "Mennonites and Excommunication," *The Regina Leader*, January 20, 1909, p. 4.
50. PAC, *Borden Papers*, M.G. 26, H. RLB 1167 (C-342), 121065-121078a.
51. C. Krahn, "Manitoba School Commission," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, III, p. 467.
52. "Uebersetzung der Schrift, welche die Beamten der mennonitischen Schulkommission der Regierung vorgelegt haben, February 18, 1914," *Der Mitarbeiter*, VIII (March 1914), pp. 43–5; H. H. Ewert, "Schulzwang in Manitoba," *Der Mitarbeiter*, VIII (May 1914), pp. 62–3.
53. B. Ewert, "Bericht von der Spezialsitzung der mennonitischen Schulkommission, abgehalten Freitag den 7. Januar, 1916," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (January 1916), pp. 2–4.
54. Joh. D. Klassen, "Bericht ueber die Taetigkeit der mennonitischen Schulkommission . . . ," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (March 1916), pp. 1–4.
55. *Ibid.*; H. H. Ewert, "Ansprache als einer der Wortfuehrer der mennonitischen Delegation an die Regierung," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (March 1916), pp. 4–6; H. H. Ewert, "Schulzwang in Manitoba," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (February 1916), p. 4; H. H. Ewert, "Die Aussichten fuer das fortbestehen der zwei-sprachigen Schulen in Manitoba," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (February 1916), pp. 4–5.
56. "Bewegung unter den Mennoniten Manitobas zur Abschaffung der Distriktschulen in ihrer Mitte," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (May 1916), pp. 2–3; "Bericht von der Zusammenkunft und Beratung der beiden Lehrdienste der Sommerfelder und Bergthaler Gemeinden in Angelegenheit unsere Schulen," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (May 1916), pp. 2–3.
57. B. Ewert, "Bericht ueber die abgehalten Bruderschaften einiger Gemeinden in Manitoba in Angelegenheit der Privatschulen," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (June 1916), p. 3; H. H. Ewert, "Warum die

Mennoniten-Gemeinden in Manitoba wieder zu den Privatschulen zurueckheben," *Der Mitarbeiter*, X (July 1916), p. 4.

58. G. M. Weir, *The Separate School Question in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1934), p. 7; Bergen, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
59. "Judges of King's Bench Clash on Bilingualism," *Winnipeg Tribune*, February 6, 1916.
60. Patricia McKegney, "The German Schools of Waterloo County, 1851–1913," *Waterloo Historical Society*, LVIII (1970), pp. 54–61.