Provenance

1. The Uncertain Future

In the profound unsettlement of the first post-war years, the form of the future was still largely hidden behind cloudy and angry ambiguities; and all that seemed certain was that the old order had been wrecked, the old conditions undermined, the old assumptions contradicted — DONALD CREIGHTON.[1]

THE GREAT WAR had changed irrevocably the order of things and delivered an uncertain future not only for Canada and the world but also for the Mennonite people.[2] Canada's 58,800 Mennonites[3] represented less than one per cent of that country's population, but about 11 per cent of the total Mennonite population around the world in 1921 (see Table 1). Canadian Mennonites nevertheless became the focus of an intense struggle for survival, both nationally and internationally, during the inter-war period. From abroad came desperate calls for help from a beleaguered people facing the physical and spiritual calamities of the Bolshevik revolution.[5] In Canada, the changing political, social, and economic conditions represented external threats to the traditional way of life. Internal weaknesses too, while not great enough to render the Mennonites helpless, significantly impaired their ability to deal effectively with the problems of the day.

Among the external and internal conditions essential to Mennonite continuity some were more fundamental than others. Most of all,

TABLE 1[4]

SUMMARY OF WORLD MENNONITE MEMBERSHIP
(BY COUNTRY C.1920)

COUNTRY	NUMBER
Argentina	100
Belgian Congo	200
Canada	58,800
China	10,000
Danzig	5,000
France	4,000
Germany	9,000
India	20,000
Java/Sumatra	10,000
Netherlands	70,000
Poland	2,500
Switzerland	2,000
U.S.A.	202,500
U.S.S.R.	120,000
Total	514,100

Canadian Mennonites needed good land, much good land, for themselves and for their offspring in order to make a living but also to support a way of life. Yet the best lands available in Canada were already settled. Mennonites needed compact communities, but exclusive blocks of land available to them alone were gone forever in Canada, and settlement patterns generally militated against islands of separateness such as the Mennonites had once known.

Mennonites also needed tolerant laws, tolerant political leaders, and tolerant public opinion to support their way of life, but tolerance for Mennonite pacifists, many of them German-speaking, had been seriously undermined by the propaganda and the passions unleashed by the Great War with Germany. They needed to educate their own children in their own schools, but separate schools had fallen into disfavour, at least in the prairie provinces. They needed internal solidarity and a united front to withstand societal pressures and to maintain their nonconformist values, but the Mennonite community was everywhere divided and poorly prepared for the forces that

increasingly demanded accommodation. On all of these fronts and others the times and circumstances were not the best.

While the total situation made for an uncertain future, the Mennonites were not without confidence and hope. Their religious roots were deep and their moral orientation remained strong. Some ethnic characteristics and cultural insularity contributed to cohesion and the desired separateness from unwanted influences. Their general reputation as good farmers and positive citizens, especially in Ontario, was in their favour, and some outsiders were willing to come to their defence. A very enduring linkage between them and the land had been established, and while the links could not easily be lengthened or multiplied the existing ones could not be broken.

The Need for Land

The availability of an abundance of land, preferably in parcels sufficiently large and compact to allow the formation of strong agricultural communities, was probably the most essential external condition for Mennonite continuity and the preservation of everything important to them. Such self-sufficient communities could sustain the Mennonite culture through the neighbourhood schools and nurture the Mennonite faith through the congregational fellowships. To be sure, not all Mennonites rated rural life equally high on the scale of values. While agriculture was considered essential by most, some only preferred it. Still others considered it marginal, and some business people and professionals had turned their backs on it. Generally speaking, however, there was a close correlation between Mennonite continuity and land-based community. It was as H. H. Ewert, the outstanding Mennonite educator of the day, said:

> The favourite occupation of Mennonites is farming. This suits their love for independence and their desire for leading a quiet life. City life they find too much exposed to all sorts of temptations.[6]

Mennonites, of course, were not alone in their rural base and outlook. In the 1921 census, about half of Canada's people—50.5 per cent—were classed as rural, with rural people comprising 64 per cent of the population on the prairies.[7] Mennonites, on the other hand, were overwhelmingly rural. The most urbanized parts of their

world were the Waterloo County area of Ontario and the West Reserve area of Manitoba. In both of these areas about 10 per cent of the population was urbanized, slightly more in Ontario and slightly less in Manitoba.[8] However, even the southern Manitoba Mennonite towns, like Altona and Winkler, here classed as urban,[9] really reflected the rural life and values of surrounding areas.

All of the Mennonite immigrants who had entered the country from 1786 to 1920, about 12,000 altogether, had done so as agriculturalists. Their ancestors had not all been farmers—there having been academics, professionals, craftsmen, and artisans among the sixteenth-century Anabaptist pioneers—but their repeated search for seclusion and security had always pointed in rural directions. Eventually, the Mennonite way of life had become identified as an agricultural way of life, first in various parts of Europe—the Netherlands represented a notable exception to this observation—and then in North America.[10]

The four movements of Mennonites into Canada (see Table 2) coincided with the settlement and agricultural development of the country. The first to arrive were approximately 2,000 Swiss-South German Mennonites (hereafter known as Swiss or SSG) who came to Upper Canada from Pennsylvania in the fifty years or so following the American Revolution. While they settled chiefly in the Niagara Peninsula and in the York and Waterloo counties,[12] small family groups did go farther afield so that by 1841 they were found in 30 townships, though 23 of these had fewer than 50 Mennonites each.[13] Second were the Amish, a Mennonite branch originating in Europe in the 1690s (hereafter frequently included with the Swiss), who arrived both from Europe directly and from Pennsylvania, attracted by an Upper Canada land grant designated the German Block in Wilmot township.[14] Beginning in 1824, these people too kept coming for about fifty years, though the total number did not exceed an average of about 15 a year.

As the Amish immigration was coming to an end, the Dutch-North German Mennonites (hereafter known as Dutch or DNG), began to arrive in Canada from Russia, where they had made their home since the end of the eighteenth century. They had moved to the land of the tsars from the Vistula Valley of Prussia, which had been their first permanent refuge from sixteenth-century persecution in the Netherlands. For 250 years they had lived in relative peace and

TABLE 2[11]

SUMMARY OF MENNONITE/AMISH MIGRATIONS TO CANADA
(1786–1920)

TIME PERIOD	ORIGIN	DESTINATION	NUMBER	CULTURE
1786–1836	Pennsylvania	Ontario	*c.* 2,000	SSG
1824–1874	Alsace Bavaria Pennsylvania	Ontario	*c.* 750	SSG
1874–1880	Russia	Manitoba	*c.* 7,000	DNG
1890–1920	U.S.A. Prussia Russia	Alberta British Columbia Manitoba Saskatchewan	*c.* 2,250	DNG/SSG
		Total	*c.* 12,000	

prosperity, but when the Prussian monarchs had increasingly seen fit to curtail religious liberty and economic opportunity, the Mennonites had responded positively to the invitation of Catherine the Great and her successors. The 10,000 original immigrants to Russia had increased to a population of nearly 60,000 by the 1870s. From 1874 to the close of the decade, about 7,000 immigrants transplanted the colony and village system from Russia to the East and West reserves of Manitoba, while another 11,000 chose Kansas and other midwestern American states. About 40,000 stayed in Russia.[15]

To these three basic migratory movements into Canada—the Swiss from Pennsylvania, the Amish from Alsace and Bavaria, and the Dutch from Russia—must be added a sequence of small immigrations in the three decades prior to 1920. These smaller movements involved an additional number of approximately 2,250 immigrants who arrived as individuals, family units, or small groups.[16]

Some came directly from Russia and Prussia. Most of them were people from the United States, once more seeking out the agricultural frontier. Some of these immigrants were of the Swiss Mennonite cultural family, descendants of the approximately 8,000 Swiss Mennonites who had arrived in America over a period of two centuries.[17] The majority were related to those 11,000 Dutch Mennonites who had made the American midwest their home following the emigration from Russia in the 1870s.[18]

A few of these American immigrants settled in Manitoba and British Columbia, but most took advantage of the homestead opportunities in the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. At this point in time, Ontario Mennonites were exclusively of the Swiss variety including the Amish, and Manitoba and British Columbia Mennonites were exclusively of Dutch origin. Saskatchewan and Alberta represented a mixture, the Dutch being predominant in the former and the Swiss, at least for the time being, in the latter.

The land possessed by the immigrants—the farms of the German Land Company and the German Block in Ontario, the reserves in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and homesteads in Alberta, British Columbia, and Saskatchewan—had been ploughed by them for the first time. Mennonite families were large and as the sons married, additional acreages were needed. This meant settlement farther afield already in the second generation. The Mennonite population had increased to 58,797 by 1921 (see Table 3), and the land areas under their control had likewise expanded.

The Ontario Mennonites had spread, however thinly, virtually throughout the province, although it was impossible to specify the exact location and compare the acreages held by them in the various districts. While 71 per cent of the 13,645 Mennonites and Amish in Ontario were concentrated in five electoral districts, which embraced the pioneer communities as they had expanded and consolidated through the years, 29 per cent or 4,097 were distributed in over 62 other districts (see Table 4).

This scattering, which had been characteristic of Mennonite settling in Ontario from the beginning,[21] meant the slow but sure absorption of many Mennonites into English Canada and into other religious denominations.[22] In the Niagara Peninsula this assimilation proceeded more rapidly and completely than in other places, according to Ivan Groh, as a consequence of the War of 1812.[23] British

TABLE 3[19]

MENNONITE POPULATION* IN CANADA, 1901 – 1921
(ACCORDING TO THE CANADIAN CENSUS)

PROVINCE	1901	1911	1921
British Columbia	11	189	172
Alberta	522	1,524	3,125
Saskatchewan	3,751	14,400	20,544
Manitoba	15,246	15,600	21,295
Ontario	12,208	12,828	13,645
Quebec	50	51	6
Nova Scotia	9	18	2
New Brunswick	——	1	4
Prince Edward Island	——	——	3
Newfoundland	——	——	——
Yukon and N.W.T.	——	——	1
Total	31,797	44,611	58,797

* Including non-member children and young people.

Upper Canada leaders as well as London statesmen "were embarrassed by the situation" because in the Peninsula "the Palatine Germans and other aliens outnumbered the British Anglicans ten—or perhaps twenty—to one." What was more serious was the way in which the Methodist circuit riders were outwitting the Family Compact and out-converting the Anglican bishops. Mennonites and Tunkers remained aloof, but to the extent that they were open to outside influence, the Methodists were winning out. The situation had to be changed.

> The Niagara Peninsula simply had to be made British. Bilingualism was a disgrace in a British colony. Germans in the Niagara Peninsula were almost as objectionable as French in Lower Canada. The English language, British institutions, and the Anglican church simply had to dominate. The inevitable and immediate reaction was to pretend the Palatine Germans and other aliens in the Niagara Peninsula did not exist. They were left out of all the text books. It worked in the Niagara Peninsula.[24]

TABLE 4[20]

ONTARIO MENNONITE POPULATION BY DOMINION ELECTORAL DISTRICTS
(COMPARED TO THE TOTAL IN 1921)

DISTRICT	MENNONITES	TOTAL	DISTRICT	MENNONITES	TOTAL
Algoma East	66	40,618	Ontario South	108	31,074
Algoma West	2	33,676	Ottawa	3	93,740
Brant	3	20,085	Oxford North*	698	24,527
Brantford	12	33,292	Oxford South	1	22,235
Bruce North	329	20,872	Parkdale		
Bruce South	34	23,413	(Toronto City)	17	80,780
Dufferin	44	15,415	Parry Sound	1	27,022
Dundas	1	24,388	Peel	2	23,896
Elgin East	102	17,306	Perth North*	1,118	32,461
Elgin West	5	27,678	Perth South	217	18,382
Essex North	2	71,150	Peterboro West	5	29,318
Fort William &			Port Arthur &		
Rainy River	1	39,661	Kenora	2	43,300
Grenville	1	16,644	Prince Edward	1	16,806
Grey North	105	30,667	Renfrew North	1	23,956
Grey South	136	28,384	Simcoe East	15	37,122
Haldimand	170	21,287	Simcoe North	391	22,100
Halton	13	24,899	Simcoe South	11	24,810
Hamilton East	3	49,820	Timiskaming	1	51,568
Hamilton West	1	39,298	Toronto Centre	24	51,768
Hastings East	2	23,072	Toronto East	20	64,825
Hastings West	9	34,451	Toronto North	6	72,478
Huron North	10	23,540	Toronto South	2	37,596
Huron South	213	23,548	Toronto West	42	68,397
Kent	7	52,139	Waterloo North*	4,556	41,698
Kingston	1	24,104	Waterloo South*	2,574	33,568
Lambton East	52	25,801	Welland	422	66,668
Lambton West	21	32,888	Wellington North	453	19,833
Leeds	3	34,909	Wellington South	55	34,327
Lincoln	329	48,625	Wentworth	12	64,449
Middlesex East	5	27,994	York East	88	77,950
Middlesex West	13	25,033	York North	368	23,136
Muskoka	6	19,439	York South*	602	100,054
Norfolk	12	26,366	York West	30	70,681
Northumberland	5	30,512	Others (14)		- 456,743
Ontario North	81	15,420			
			Overall Totals	13,645	2,933,662

* Five districts containing 71 per cent of Ontario Mennonites.

Re-education of the people and "heavy immigration did the trick." Gradually, the Mennonites of Swiss extraction disappeared and "99 per cent of the descendants of the [Mennonite and other] pioneer Germans of the Niagara Peninsula" forgot their heritage.[25] What happened there was an indication of what could in time happen in the rest of Canada.

Manitoba was home for 21,295 Mennonites in 1921. About two-thirds (14,277) were in the Lisgar electoral district, which included the former West Reserve, and nearly another third (5,987) were in the Provencher and Springfield districts, which embraced the former East Reserve. The balance of 1,031 were already present in 12 other districts (see Table 5).

In Saskatchewan, likewise, the concentrations of Mennonites in the Saskatoon (8,631) and Prince Albert (3,393) districts accounted for earlier block settlements in the Saskatchewan Valley, while the 6,961 in the Swift Current district were essentially the inhabitants of the former Swift Current Reserve. An additional 1,559 Menno-

TABLE 5[26]

MANITOBA MENNONITE POPULATION BY ELECTORAL DISTRICTS (COMPARED TO THE TOTAL IN 1921)

DISTRICT	MENNONITES	TOTAL
Brandon	9	40,183
Dauphin	32	35,482
Lisgar	14,277	29,921
Macdonald	37	23,824
Marquette	13	41,254
Neepawa	1	28,356
Nelson	68	19,806
Portage la Prairie	713	22,254
Provencher	4,117	29,308
Selkirk	33	55,395
Souris	1	26,410
Springfield	1,870	58,870
Winnipeg Centre	42	76,470
Winnipeg North	41	62,957
Winnipeg South	41	59,628
Total	21,295	610,118

nites, to make a total of 20,544 in the province, were scattered into 13 other districts (see Table 6).

Mennonite settlement in Alberta was different from that in the other three provinces already named in that no block settlements, such as characterized the founding of communities in Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, were established in that province. On the contrary, the numerous small unattached settlements were a foreshadowing of the Mennonite scatterings of the future. In 1921, Alberta's 3,125 Mennonites were found in all 12 electoral districts, and not one of these districts had as many as one thousand in them (see Table 7). Similarly, in British Columbia, which had just barely been penetrated, the handful of 172 Mennonites was scattered over eleven districts (see Table 8).

TABLE 6[27]

SASKATCHEWAN MENNONITE POPULATION
BY ELECTORAL DISTRICTS
(COMPARED TO THE TOTAL IN 1921)

DISTRICT	MENNONITES	TOTAL
Assiniboia	66	34,789
Battleford	34	33,641
Humboldt	935	55,225
Kindersley	43	44,772
Last Mountain	19	50,055
Mackenzie	39	55,629
Maple Creek	113	56,064
Moose Jaw	3	50,403
North Battleford	233	47,381
Prince Albert	3,393	56,829
Qu'Appelle	1	34,836
Regina	32	49,977
Saltcoats	26	43,795
Saskatoon	8,631	55,151
Swift Current	6,961	53,275
Weyburn	15	35,688
Total	20,544	757,510

Within a few decades, the Alberta and British Columbia patterns would be modified somewhat, but several things were clear in 1920 with respect to agricultural settlement. The golden years of opportunity for rural conquest and agricultural expansion were, to a very considerable extent, a thing of the past. Consequently, the formation of solid, relatively compact and exclusive ethnic or religious communities had also become virtually impossible.[30] This situation, compounded as it was by a political mood and government policies which, quite understandably, favoured settlement opportunities for returning soldiers, had serious implications for the Mennonite future.

Canadian agricultural opportunities at the start of the 1920s were quite limited. Those who felt that settlement had been curtailed only on account of the war had to face other realities as well. To begin with, Canada's agricultural land was not unlimited. The horizons were distant and the prairies expansive, but not all that the eye could see was land suited for agriculture. On the contrary, according to

TABLE 7[28]

ALBERTA MENNONITE POPULATION BY ELECTORAL DISTRICTS (COMPARED TO THE TOTAL IN 1921)

DISTRICT	MENNONITES	TOTAL
Battle River	43	49,173
Bow River	375	55,356
Calgary East	664	44,995
Calgary West	370	44,341
Edmonton East	8	56,548
Edmonton West	101	74,267
Lethbridge	782	37,699
Macleod	220	34,008
Medicine Hat	165	43,179
Red Deer	133	49,629
Strathcona	3	42,520
Victoria	261	56,739
Total	3,125	588,454

TABLE 8[29]

BRITISH COLUMBIA MENNONITE POPULATION BY ELECTORAL DISTRICTS
(COMPARED TO THE TOTAL IN 1921)

DISTRICT	MENNONITES	TOTAL
Burrard	9	69,922
Cariboo	22	39,834
Kootenay East	1	19,137
Kootenay West	69	30,502
Nanaimo	1	48,010
New Westminster	13	45,982
Skeena	2	28,934
Vancouver Centre	12	60,879
Vancouver South	10	46,137
Victoria City	11	38,727
Yale	22	35,698
Others (2)	——	60,820
Total	172	524,582

estimates at that time, only about 10 per cent — 230 million acres — of Canada's land total was capable of supporting some form of agriculture. Moreover, grain crops could be grown on a mere 110 million acres, or 4.8 per cent of Canada, of which only 10 million acres were class one agricultural land.[31] In 1921, the existing farms covered nearly 141 million acres, half of which were unimproved land. The other half included both crop, fallow, and pasture lands.[32]

The extent to which the prairies had filled up in the great pre-war immigration and settlement push now became evident. In the first twenty years of the twentieth century the population of the prairies had increased nearly five times, from slightly over 400,000 in 1901 to slightly under 2,000,000 in 1921.[33] Anticipating another boom, land agents were holding blocks of good land along rail lines and near towns served by the railways in the hope that they could be sold in more profitable times.[34] However, the collapse of the wheat market, due to poor crops and low prices in the early post-war years, had the effect of curtailing for sale lands held for speculation by agents.[35]

And besides, war veterans were given the first opportunity under various soldier settlement schemes to obtain what lands were still available. The more fundamental reality, however, was that most of the good farm land was all occupied. In 1921, 50 million acres were under crop, only 12 million short of the all-time high.[36]

Conditions had changed. As one Canadian historian assessed the post-war situation, "there was very little of the 'last best west' left to go to."[37] There still was land, but the best, most accessible land had been taken. And for the Mennonites the available parcels were not laid out in sufficiently large or exclusive areas to create self-sustaining communities. While some would eagerly have accepted the further establishment of "German Blocks" or "Mennonite Reserves," most Mennonites knew that they had passed into history and could not be re-established again.

The Importance of Tolerance

Next to land, perhaps before land, Mennonites held certain other conditions essential to the survival of their way of life, their faith, and their culture. In 1920, the principle of nonresistance, popularly known as pacifism, was an indispensable part of their faith. To live that faith without too much difficulty, the Mennonites needed governmental recognition and legal protection of their desire to be exempted from military service. And, besides favourable laws, they needed empathetic political leaders and the goodwill of the people.

The refusal to bear arms in defence either of themselves or of the social order had been one of the distinguishing characteristics of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists,[38] of which the main surviving subgroup was later called Mennonites after an early leader, Menno Simons (d.1561). These radical reformers took Jesus' admonitions not to resist evil quite literally. According to their understanding, Christian disciples were called to absorb wickedness through suffering love and to return evil with good. Christ's kingdom was to be advanced not by alienating or even killing the enemies but by loving them and turning them into friends. This conviction and the refusal to bear arms made the Mennonites unpopular at first, but in due course various countries, including Canada, guaranteed them exemption from military service.

In post-war Europe, the Mennonites in Germany, the Nether-

lands, and Switzerland no longer attached great significance to such guarantees. Over the centuries the doctrine of nonresistance had fallen into benign neglect and, as Mennonites increasingly had joined their compatriots in performing military duty, special concessions had become unnecessary. As one historian observed, "nonresistance as a doctrine and practice is a dead letter among most of the European Mennonites."[39]

In 1898, for instance, the Dutch Parliament had passed a new military service law which did away with earlier provisions for exemption or the hiring of substitutes, and the Mennonites had raised no objections. According to C. Henry Smith, Mennonite members in the States General at the time were in fact "the most outspoken in their opposition to any exemption clause for religious scruples."[40] In the church, there was some interest among church members in the Anabaptist position, but a return to the original faith remained the exception among the *Doopsgezinde* (Anabaptists) rather than the rule.[41] During the Great War, only one of the Mennonites called up for military duty in the Netherlands was known to have been a conscientious objector.[42]

Universal military conscription had also come to Switzerland and Germany in the nineteenth century, and while the Mennonites there tried to escape the full implications through noncombatant service, participation in the armed forces soon followed. During the Great War, one-third to one-half of all males in the German Mennonite congregations went to war and about 10 per cent of them were killed in action.[43]

The decline of nonresistance in Europe was not without its good explanations. In the first place, the religious convictions of the Mennonites in Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Germany were effectively weakened by the emigrations to east and west of those most committed to this religious principle. After their departure, there no longer existed groups large enough or persistent enough to resist the further erosion of the nonresistance principle. Secondly, the European Mennonites in their respective homelands were part of the national culture in all other ways. They lacked the element of foreignness, which tended to postpone their absorption into, and full participation in, the prevailing ethos. Whereas an "alien" culture protected those who had moved to Russia and North America for several more generations, for those who stayed in their native

cultural environments there was no such protection. It remained to be seen whether the Mennonites of Canada, the U.S.A., or the U.S.S.R. would retain their nonresistant stance any longer in those countries than the Mennonites of Western Europe had retained theirs.

In 1920, however, the preservation of nonresistance as a doctrine, and the exemption from military service as a law, remained as high a priority for Mennonites in Canada as it had ever been. They were in fact, along with other North American Mennonites, "unconditionally opposed to war-participation."[44] And in some ways they had nothing to fear. The laws which late in the eighteenth century guaranteed recognition to Mennonites, Quakers, and Tunkers and late in the nineteenth century to Doukhobors, Hutterites, and Mennonites had been generalized—specific groups were no longer named—but the basic statutes had not been changed in their fundamental nature. And the Canadian government, during the war at least, had "shown a high regard for the tender consciences of Mennonites."[45]

What was worrisome, however, was that the popular and political support for such recognition had eroded and that this erosion had become evident in various governmental measures and administrative procedures during and after the war. The Mennonite press had been censored under provisions of the War Measures Act.[46] All conscientious objectors had lost the franchise under the Wartime Elections Act,[47] and there had been confusing interpretations and unfair applications of the Military Service Act.[48] Worst of all, the immigration into the country of all Mennonites, as well as Doukhobors and Hutterites, had been prohibited by a 1919 Order-in-Council following a great public outcry[49] which confused the identity of the three groups to the disadvantage of the Mennonites, who tended to be viewed somewhat more favourably than either the Doukhobors or the Hutterites.[50]

To be sure, the Mennonites had not lost all their friends. In the House of Commons, among the people, and even among the Royal North West Mounted Police there were vigorous defenders of the Mennonite people and of the law protecting them.[51] And, what turned out to be most fortuitous for them, the politician who succeeded Wilfrid Laurier as leader of the Liberal Party and Conservative leader Arthur Meighen as prime minister in 1921 was their

friend. William Lyon Mackenzie King knew them, and they had known him ever since 1908 and his first election to the House of Commons for the riding of Waterloo North. Mennonites in other areas also made his acquaintance following his election in York North in 1921 and in Prince Albert in 1926. The mutual support and respect that developed served the Mennonites well, for King influenced or even dominated Canadian politics either as prime minister or as Opposition leader for the entire period of this history.[52]

Understanding and goodwill on the part of ruling authorities had been important to the Mennonites ever since the sixteenth century. Although the persecution that attended their beginnings sometimes strengthened the movement, the Mennonites soon learned that tolerance and friendship at the highest levels of government were quite important to their survival. Fortunately for them, they found such acceptance with many heads of state. Among those who most endeared themselves for the measures of freedom they afforded were William I (d.1584)[53] and William III (d.1702)[54] of Orange, both stadholders of the Netherlands; Frederick the Great of Prussia (d.1786);[55] Catherine II of Russia (d.1796);[56] George I (d.1727)[57] and George IV (d.1830)[58] of England. Several British governors, most notably William Penn[59] of Pennsylvania and John Graves Simcoe[60] and Sir Peregrine Maitland[61] of Upper Canada, were also known for the practical steps they took to make Mennonites feel welcome in their respective lands.

In Canada, the sympathies and benefactions of such leaders as Simcoe, Maitland, and Mackenzie King helped to open wide for them the doors of Canadian immigration and to create the essential climate of public acceptance. Not only were such leaders responsible for favourable provisions in the law, but they helped to moderate and guide the popular mood in more positive directions when there were attempts to undermine or overrule the law. Be that as it may, the historic relationship between benevolent rulers and the Mennonites had generally profited both parties. During Canada's pioneering years, for instance, concessions were made to the Mennonites in order that the state might gain from them the service of agricultural pioneering in particular and the domestication of the land in general. The problem confronting the Mennonites in 1920 was that their earlier bargaining power had largely vanished. The country, having received from them what it had hoped to gain, could now presumably

get along without them. The granting of special privilege was no longer necessary to attract immigrants, as settlers or as workers.

Prime Minister King promised to remove discriminatory immigration restrictions, and he succeeded in other ways in creating a more favourable climate for minority groups. But he could not restore the educational and cultural autonomies, which had been irretrievably lost during the Great War. Patriotic fervour among the populace and the rhetoric of politicians had made essential and irreversible the "Canadianization" of hundreds of thousands of foreign immigrants who had made Western Canada their home in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[62] Even if it had been in the prime minister's power to recreate an earlier situation, it is unlikely that he would have disregarded the strong sentiment to the contrary that swept the land.[63]

Canadianization meant many things, but above all it meant the anglicization and integration of the many ethnic conclaves strung across the prairies. Its foremost instrument of promotion was the public school.[64] This use of the elementary school to foster a particular national identity hit the Dutch Mennonites in Western Canada hard, for one of the conditions of their entry into Canada in the 1870s, according to their understanding, had been complete freedom in matters of education. Educational autonomy had lessened gradually, as the provincial governments, exercising their constitutional prerogatives in matters of education, had set about establishing comprehensive nondenominational public school systems.[65]

The Mennonites in Western Canada had viewed these developments with some concern, but those who considered the church-directed elementary school indispensable to their survival did not really feel threatened until the patriotic heat of wartime caused first Manitoba and then Saskatchewan to pass adverse legislation. The new laws made it compulsory for children to attend either public schools where English was the language of instruction or private schools which could pass government inspection. Most were considered substandard and failed the test. The result was that at least 10 per cent of the Mennonites then in the country were having second thoughts about Canada as an abiding dwelling place.[66] A country which could not allow them their own schools was not for them.

Emigration to another country, which would once again offer the desired autonomy in school matters, was one option under serious

consideration. Accepting the public school and the socialization of the young in the Canadian context without much question was another option, allowed by those who felt that the home and church should and would make up for any deficiencies in the public system. A third option was pursued by those who thought that the public schools might be acceptable if they were staffed with empathetic teachers who could supplement the regular curriculum with daily ethnic and religious additives, such as the German language, Bible stories, and appropriate music.[67]

Those who found this last option most appealing believed they could combine the best of both worlds: the tax base and curriculum of the public system and the input of Mennonite ethnic and religious values by Mennonite teachers. For the training of such teachers three special schools had been founded: in Manitoba the Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna and the nearby Mennonite Educational Institute at Altona, and in Saskatchewan the German-English Academy at Rosthern. This approach, however, was no answer for those who had rejected the state schools, on the one hand, or for those who lived on the fringes of Mennonite culture and religion, on the other hand. For the latter group, the acceptance of the public school was taken for granted.

The Swiss in Ontario shared with the Dutch Mennonites in the west the struggle to survive in the midst of strong influences to integrate and assimilate. However, the focus of their struggle was not so much the public school or the German language as it was the general encroachment of "worldly culture" upon their communities. They were much more exposed to outside influences because of settlement patterns, because of their presence in the country for more than 100 years, because of the language transition already accomplished in many areas, and because Ontario was more urbanized than were the prairie provinces. It was precisely the greater exposure which provoked the greater concern and reaction.

Before 1920, three basic directions had already been charted among them by nineteenth-century schisms: namely, the acceptance of newness and adaptation; the stubborn resistance to accommodation; and the middle-of-the-road position, which emphasized both, keeping the best that tradition had to offer and allowing adjustments which were believed to be necessary and useful but not threatening to the faith. The New Mennonites, since 1883 known as Mennonite

Brethren in Christ, the Old Order Mennonites, and the Old Mennonites represented these various options, respectively. The latter two positions were alive also among the Amish, among whom an Old Order Amish faction was also clearly identified.

Confronted by outside influences on an unprecedented scale, the Ontario Mennonites and Amish were now moving farther in the directions already chosen in order to maintain themselves. Some accepted the cultural traits of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours readily, others resisted any accommodation with great determination. Still others would try very hard to remain progressive in some ways and conservative in other ways. Whatever the direction, none of the groups was free from anxiety, in spite of the fact that all were convinced that their way was better than all the others.

The Lack of Solidarity

The divergent Mennonite responses to the societal pressures were part of the overall Mennonite problem of survival. There was no unified approach because the Mennonites lacked solidarity on almost every social question, except perhaps military service and the importance of land, and even there the consensus showed early signs of trouble ahead. Moreover, the fragmentations resulting from varying approaches were many times augmented by the geographical scattering already referred to, and by the structural separation of the 58,800 Mennonites into no fewer than 18 autonomous and independent congregational families, 8 of them among the Swiss, 9 among the Dutch, and one of them mixed, being both Swiss and Dutch (see Chart 1, Table 9, and Appendix I).

There was, of course, a good explanation for this apparent fragmentation of the Mennonite society. The localized congregational community had been the ideal from the time of Anabaptist beginnings in the 1520s. The Anabaptists rejected the Roman Catholic view, also accepted by the Reformers, that the church was synonymous with civil society as a whole. Rather, they believed the church was an intimate, disciplined community of voluntarily committed believers, who had been baptized not as infants but upon personal confessions of faith after reaching maturity. For them the Kingdom of God proceeded not from hierarchical institutions but from small groups of disciples.[69]

TABLE 9[68]

MENNONITE CONGREGATIONAL FAMILIES IN CANADA

NO.	NAME	DATE[1]	PROVINCE	TYPE[2]	ORIGIN[3]	UNITS OR CENTRES[4]	MEMBERSHIP[5]
1.	Old Mennonite Church						
	Mennonite Conference of Ontario	1820	Ontario	C	SSG	25	1638
	Alta., Sask. Mennonite Conference	1907	Alta., Sask.	C	SSG	6	273
2.	Amish Mennonite Churches[6]	1824	Ontario	B	SSG	5	1379
3.	Reformed Mennonite Churches[6]	1825	Ontario	B	SSG	6	300
4.	Kleine Gemeinden[6]	1873	Manitoba	B	DNG	6	629
5.	Mennonite Brethren in Christ						
	Ontario District	1874	Ontario	C	SSG	25	1435
	Northwest District	1908	Alta., Sask.	C	SSG	21	349
6.	Chortitzer Mennonite Church	1874	Manitoba	B	DNG	12	955
7.	Reinlaender Mennonite Churches[6]						
	West Reserve Area	1875	Manitoba	B	DNG	8	1893
	Hague-Osler Area	1895	Saskatchewan	B	DNG	4	1135
	Swift Current Area	1905	Saskatchewan	B	DNG	4	880
8.	Church of God in Christ, Mennonite	1881	Man., Alta.	C	DNG, SSG	4	346
9.	Old Order Mennonite Churches[6]						
	Waterloo Area	1889	Ontario	B	SSG	5	370
	Markham Area	1889	Ontario	B	SSG	4	95
	Niagara Area	1889	Ontario	B	SSG	4	38
10.	Old Order Amish Churches[6]	1891	Ontario	B	SSG	2	120

11. Sommerfelder Mennonite Churches[6]							
West Reserve Area	1892	Manitoba	B	DNG	11	2692
Herbert Area	1900	Saskatchewan	B	DNG	3	483
12. Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Churches[6]	1899	Sask., Alta.	C	DNG	3	115
13. Bruderthaler Mennonite Churches[6]	1897	Man., Sask.	C	DNG	3	250
14. Beachy Amish Churches[6], [7]	1903	Ontario	B	SSG	2	313
15. Bergthaler(S) Mennonite Churches[8]						
Hague-Osler Area	1902	Saskatchewan	B	DNG	3	483
Carrot River Area	1908	Saskatchewan	B	DNG	1	65
16. Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada	1903	Man., Sask., Alta.	C	DNG	21	2022
17. Mennonite Brethren Churches, Northern Dist.	1910	Man., Sask.	C	DNG	20	1553
18. David Martin Old Order Mennonite Church	1917	Ontario	B	SSG	1	50

Notes:

[1] First date of the body in question is used; in some cases individual congregations precede this date, as in the case of the Mennonite Conference of Ontario, whose first congregation was formally established in 1801; the Mennonite Brethren, whose first Canadian congregration appeared in 1888; or the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada, whose Bergthaler Church was established in 1874. See Table 29 for founding dates of congregations.

[2] C—Conference-oriented; B—Bishop-oriented.

[3] SSG—Swiss-South German; DNG—Dutch-North German.

[4] Meeting places and/or congregrational groups or congregations.

[5] Baptized persons only. Figure given is the one available closest to 1920.

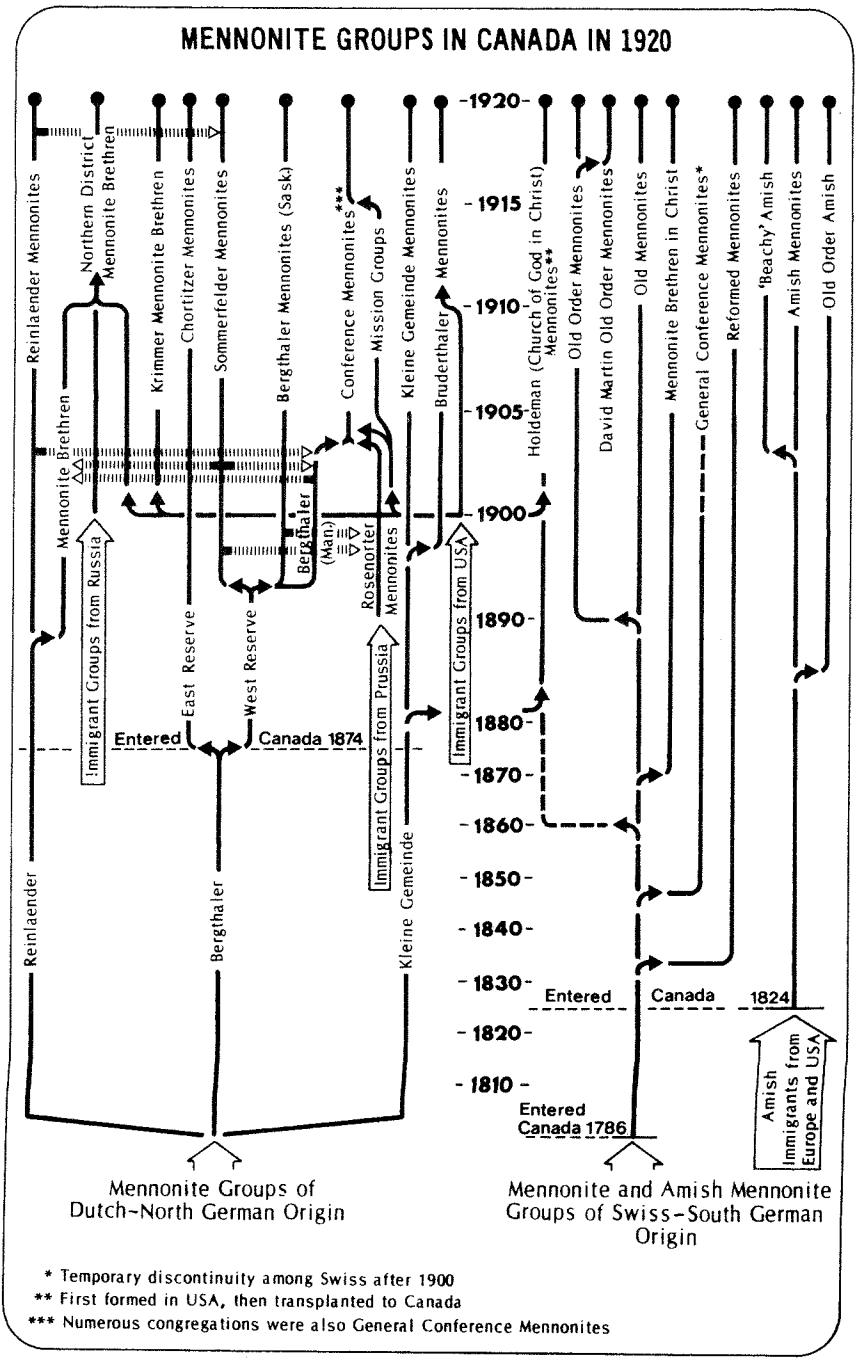
[6] Use of plurals indicates more than one congregation, each with a bishop or leading minister.

[7] Beachy was a name that came into use in the late 1920s.

[8] Bergthaler(S) meaning Bergthaler(Saskatchewan), as distinct from the Bergthaler in Manitoba and the Bergthaler in Alberta, the latter groups both members of the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada.

CHART 1

MENNONITE GROUPS IN CANADA IN 1920



These companies of believers or congregations were not only small, but relatively independent and autonomous. Since their leaders—a bishop or elder, ministers, and deacons—were chosen from the ranks of the believers and since they served without remuneration, the congregations were self-sufficient also in that sense. If and when the geographic area of a community or the numbers became too large, additional self-sufficient and autonomous congregational communities would be formed.

Still another characteristic of the original Anabaptists contributed to ongoing divisions among the Mennonites, namely their lack of a centrally recognized authority other than the Scriptures. Some common confessions of faith had been fashioned, as at Schleitheim and Dordrecht, but since all believers were "priests," free to read and interpret the Scriptures for themselves, there were frequent differences of opinion, some of which could be accommodated only by divisions in the community.

The theology, organization, and discipline of the Anabaptists laid the foundation for their ongoing fragmentation. Severe persecution, periodic migrations, and diverse settlement patterns reinforced and perpetuated such fragmentation. Frequent personality clashes among leaders, the inability to resolve conflicts amicably, and divisive renewal movements of all kinds internally and externally influenced, confirmed the so-called "Anabaptist sickness" as a permanent condition.

The local congregation was a fundamental fact of the Mennonite landscape in 1920, but it was possible also to speak of congregational families, which united in various ways and to various degrees like-minded groupings of congregations. The very nature of the congregational principle and the uniqueness of each of these congregational families make broad and neat categorizations somewhat problematic. Yet, at the risk of oversimplification, one can identify two kinds of Mennonite congregational families in existence in 1920. The first of these types was traditional and included those congregational units whose essential linkage was through a common congregational membership and the ministry of one bishop plus a number of subordinate ministers and deacons. The second kind of congregational family, largely a late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century development, linked local congregational communities through so-called conferences. The general evolution of the Mennonite movement was from

the first type to the second, and vestiges of the former could often be found in the context of the latter. Both types were strongly represented on the Canadian Mennonite scene.

The words "bishop-oriented" and "conference-oriented" will be used to identify the two congregational families, mainly because bishop and conference were the important identity symbols in the common understanding and not because of any intention, at this point at least, to characterize the respective structures as either authoritarian or democratic. Some of the bishops were authoritarian, to be sure, but others were quite humble and subservient. Others acted as little more than articulators of a common, usually unwritten, consensus or guardians of a rather stable tradition. Some of the conference moderators, on the other hand, were really super-bishops with immense powers until constitutional revisions progressively reduced their roles, mostly by limiting their terms.

The use of the word bishop requires some explanation, because another translation of the word *Aeltester*, from which it is derived, was in use, namely elder. Both terms, bishop and elder, were employed, sometimes interchangeably, though the former connoted a more authoritative role. Among the Swiss, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ employed the term presiding elder, and the more progressive of the Dutch groups preferred elder over bishop as well.

The conference-oriented congregational family usually began in its evolution where the bishop-oriented congregational family left off. At first, the decision-makers in a conference might be only the members of the ministry, namely the bishops, ministers, and deacons, as they had been traditionally in the bishop-oriented congregational family. At a later stage, elected representatives constituted the decision-making body. These elected people tended to be members of the ministry until the election of some lay delegates was encouraged or even required. At first, such lay delegates were only men, but later, usually much later, women were also included.

Both types of congregational families took on several forms. The bishop-oriented congregational family could involve a single meeting-place or numerous units with numerous meeting-places within a limited geographic area. These units could be tied in very closely to a centre or they could be semi-independent with their own membership lists, local ministers, and some local decision-making. The latter condition existed wherever numbers, distance, local initiative and/or

the bishop's encouragement allowed it to happen. A bishop-oriented congregational family, with numerous semi-autonomous units, would begin to develop the characteristics of a conference whenever representatives of the local groups came together for central decision-making.

Generally speaking, bishop-oriented congregational families were a single congregation, however many might be its local units, while conference-oriented congregational families were a collection of autonomous congregations. The former were limited in their geographic scope to areas no larger than was practical for the bishop to traverse with the prevailing modes of transportation. The conferences, on the other hand, embraced provinces, the country, or even the continent. The bishop-oriented congregations tended to be identified as "conservative" in the sense of resisting innovation and the conference-oriented ones as "progressive" in the sense of being more open to change. But again it would be misleading to attach one or other of the two labels, as defined, to the various congregational families because conservatism and progressivism were matters of definition and degree, and all the Mennonite congregational families could in fact be found somewhere along a continuum, most characterized by diverse mixtures of conservatism and progressivism. Other features further distinguished the two groups, but these will appear at later points in the narrative. Both kinds of congregational families were found among both the Swiss and the Dutch Mennonites.

The three main Swiss Mennonite congregational families in Ontario were, to use the popular names for purposes of characterization, the Old Mennonites, the New Mennonites, and the Old Order Mennonites. In 1920 the Old Mennonites in Ontario were represented by the Mennonite Conference of Ontario, which had been meeting for about a century, but whose delegate body still included bishops, ministers, and deacons only.[70] Its counterpart in Western Canada was the Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference, founded in 1907 to serve the new congregational communities, one in Saskatchewan and five in Alberta.[71] The North American body embracing these two Canadian Old Mennonite conferences was the Mennonite General Conference organized in 1898.[72] This body, with its 16 district conferences and more than 25,000 members, was the largest of the North American congregational families, and

occasional reference will be made to this larger body because of its influence on the two Canadian districts.

Equal in numerical strength to the Old Mennonites in Ontario were the more "progressive" New Mennonites, or Mennonite Brethren in Christ, as they were officially known after 1883. Like the Old Mennonites, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ were represented by two Canadian conferences, one in Ontario and one in the Northwest (meaning Alberta-Saskatchewan) and were linked to their counterpart American districts in a North American conference.[73] The New Mennonites distinguished themselves from the Old Mennonites chiefly in their willingness to neglect Mennonite organizational, doctrinal, ethical, and cultural traditions for the sake of a missionary outreach.

Completely opposite the New Mennonites in their cultural outlook were bishop-oriented Swiss congregational families who were very zealous about the heritage. The largest of these were the Old Order Mennonite churches, which were confirmed in 1889 when a number of bishops concluded that the Old Mennonites were adopting too many of the ways of the New Mennonites.[74] The David Martin Old Order Mennonite group, an ultra-conservative offshoot from the main body, emerged a generation later.[75] A similar traditionalist orientation held for the Reformed Mennonites, whose origins dated back to 1812 in the United States but whose strength in Ontario was beginning to wane.[76]

The Swiss Amish, like their Mennonite counterparts, included "progressive" and "conservative" streams. Representing the latter were the Old Order Amish, also known as House Amish because of their refusal to go along with the building of church buildings in the 1880s.[77] Between the "progressive" Amish and the Old Order Amish there were several congregations with a middle position, who, like the Old Order Amish, were a minority movement. All were bishop-oriented in their organization. The more progressive majority Amish were calling themselves Amish Mennonites and taking the first steps leading to the formation of a conference.[78]

In 1920 the congregational families of the Dutch tradition still included the original three groups that had come to Manitoba in the 1870s, but some offshoots and modifications now existed as well. The Kleine Gemeinde, which had arisen in 1812 in Russia as a conservative protest[79] and which had been transplanted to Manitoba,

became the population base for two other new Canadian groups. One of these was the Church of God in Christ Mennonite, members of which were also known as Holdemaner after John Holdeman, the Swiss Mennonite evangelist who had come from the U.S.A. to revive them. The Holdemaner were the first group to include both the Dutch and Swiss Mennonites, as both migrated to Alberta from Manitoba, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Oregon to form a single community, and as the Canadian Holdemaner joined their American counterparts in a North American conference in 1921.[80]

The Holdeman schismatics from the Kleine Gemeinde remained rural and conservative while eliminating the bishop and adopting revivalism. But another Kleine Gemeinde offshoot, begun by the American evangelists of the Bruderthaler Mennonites, represented town culture and readiness to make cultural adaptations in the evangelical context. Later, the Bruderthaler of Manitoba were joined in Canada by Bruderthaler immigrants from the U.S.A. who settled in Saskatchewan. All were part of a North American Bruderthaler Conference.[81]

The Reinlaender made up a second immigrant congregational family from Russia. Originally concentrated in the West Reserve in Manitoba, this group had expanded to become three separate bishop-oriented congregational families with the establishment of two additional reserves in Saskatchewan, one north of Saskatoon and the other south of Swift Current.[82]

A third immigrant congregational family, the Bergthaler Mennonite Church,[83] had been transplanted from Russia as a single colony. By 1920 it had undergone several permutations. In the East Reserve, the Bergthaler, who had declined to follow others to the West Reserve, had quickly become an autonomous congregational family called Chortitzer Mennonite Church,[84] after the village of their bishop, Gerhard Wiebe. In the West Reserve, they had divided into Bergthaler and Sommerfelder Mennonite Churches over education issues, with the majority Sommerfelder, named after the village of their new bishop, opting for the more conservative course.[85] Those Bergthaler who were moving on to Saskatchewan retained that name, though they were in their orientation really Sommerfelder.

Thus, the Saskatchewan Bergthaler had to be differentiated from the Manitoba Bergthaler, not only because of their different outlook but also because they were independent of each other in organization.

A third group carrying the Bergthaler name was represented by the settlers who had moved from Manitoba to Didsbury, Alberta. The Saskatchewan Sommerfelder, like the Saskatchewan Reinlaender, founded independent bishop-oriented congregations in their respective regions, while retaining a loose association with their Manitoba counterparts.

The Manitoba Bergthaler congregation, still bishop-oriented, had joined together with the Saskatchewan Rosenorter church, a bishop-oriented congregational family from Prussia,[86] to form the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada. Other congregations in Saskatchewan, recently immigrated from the U.S.A., and the Bergthaler in Alberta likewise joined that Conference after its founding in 1903.[87] The Conference's Saskatchewan congregations, mostly of Prussian and American origin, also joined the American-based General Conference Mennonite Church of North America.[88] This was true also of the Bergthaler congregation at Didsbury, Alberta.

Since not all congregations of the Canadian Conference joined the American-based General Conference, they will hereafter be known not as General Conference Mennonites, this being the common though not quite accurate term, but simply as Conference Mennonites or as the Canadian Conference. The Rosenorter, for instance, joined the General Conference; the Bergthaler in Manitoba did not. The General Conference Mennonite Church, dating back to 1860, was the second-largest North American congregational family and included in the U.S.A. both Swiss and Dutch traditions. The Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada would, with the immigration of the 1920s, become the largest of the conference-oriented congregational families in Canada.

Destined to become the second largest, though in 1920 it was still very small, was the Mennonite Brethren conference-oriented congregational family. The Mennonite Brethren traced their beginning in 1860 to a renewal movement which swept the South Russian colonies.[89] In Canada they were first organized as the Northern District of the General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America and included among their members converts from the Reinlaender and Sommerfelder in Manitoba and immigrants from the U.S.A. and Russia in Saskatchewan. The North American body of Mennonite Brethren was becoming the third-largest North

American congregational family. The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, a conference originating in the "Krim" or Crimea of Russia, had two congregations in Saskatchewan. Both were transplanted from the U.S.A.[90]

Diversity Within a Corporate Personality

As already indicated, the various bishop- and conference-oriented congregational families represented a great diversity of approaches and styles, but in spite of that diversity, there also existed a commonality, a corporate Mennonite personality, which identified and separated Mennonites from other Christian denominational groups. Its characteristics included a degree of social withdrawal tempered by a general readiness to assist needy strangers, a wariness of the state modified by a strong sense of obedience in most matters, a refusal to swear an oath of loyalty while regularly and sincerely praying for those in authority, great familiarity with the land and agricultural processes, a love of family and children, and at least some degree of ethnic culture. The German language remained the first or the second language for most. Almost all spoke a dialect, either Pennsylvania German as among the Swiss or Low German as among the Dutch.

Also belonging to this corporate personality was a deep religious devotion. At the heart of Mennonite faith were a voluntary confession leading to baptism, a disciplined community, though interpretation of community and application of discipline fluctuated widely, a lifestyle guided by the Sermon on the Mount, and a commitment to nonresistance as taught and exemplified by Jesus of Nazareth. Mennonite ordinances were few and the forms of worship generally simple. There was among all Mennonites a sense of obligation to other people, though the understanding of that obligation differed.

The differences among Mennonites arose from the multifarious applications of that faith and those values, which had been of such great importance to them since their beginnings. In 1920 most groups adhered basically to the same doctrines, but they did so with different emphases, varying degrees of zeal, divergent understandings of the role of cultural forms, variant liturgies and symbols, and distinctive notions of what it meant to be in the world but not of it. Thus, as a minority religious group the Mennonites demonstrated

that the minority syndrome has no ending; that is to say, every minority has other minorities in it, just as every part of the human body or the universe is constituted of even smaller parts.

All Mennonites were conservative compared to the rest of society, when it came to preserving religious and cultural forms, but none were quite so consistent in their rural lifestyle and determined to avoid modernistic influences in their congregations as were the Old Order Mennonites and the Old Order Amish. They demonstrated best of all that all forms of outside influence could successfully be resisted and that alternative societies could function with a great degree of self-respect.

All Mennonites practised some form of discipline to check doctrinal error and moral deviance among their members, but none were so particular, consistent, and legalistic about it as were the Reformed Mennonites, the Kleine Gemeinde, and the David Martin Old Order Mennonites. This did not necessarily mean an authoritarian congregational culture or the heavy hand of discipline on children and young people. What it did mean was group discipline for those who had voluntarily confessed the faith, joined such a group, and submitted to its norms as well as to the discipline.

All Mennonites could be characterized as the quiet in the land. All resisted noise, spectacle, and showmanship. All had a sense of the humble and exemplary life, but few succeeded better in remaining unnoticed than did the Amish Mennonites. They were "conservative" enough to be "quiet" but not so stubborn or extreme in their conservatism as to draw attention to themselves. Quietly they went about their task of tilling the soil, raising their families, and being the kindest and gentlest Mennonites of all to their neighbours, including the Catholics, with whom their leaders had positive relationships, more so than any other Mennonites.

All Mennonites still saw the best prototypes of the Kingdom of God in small, voluntary communities of believers, but none exemplified this smallness as much as did the Krimmer and the Bruderthaler, the former in the rural setting and the latter at least partly as urbanizers. Actually, the Bruderthaler exemplified how fine Mennonite distinctions could be drawn, for few in number as they were in their Canadian congregations, they were of several kinds. At Steinbach in Manitoba they emerged because of the urbanizing thrust, which separated them from the Kleine Gemeinde heritage,

and because of the desire nonetheless to remain Mennonite with an acceptable evangelical piety. At Dalmeny in Saskatchewan, on the other hand, the Bruderthaler were rural immigrants from Minnesota, the North American birthplace of this conservative evangelical group. The Dalmeny group, being rural, thus tended to be more "retentionist," while the Steinbach group, being urban, was more "accommodationist." For both groups, this represented a reversal of roles, since in the immigration of the 1870s those going to Minnesota had been more liberal than those going to Manitoba. And, as if to say that cellular breakdown knows no end, the Dalmeny group had become two Bruderthaler groups to accommodate differences of opinion on the form of baptism.

Few Mennonites were incapable of some sense of compromise, adjustment, and tolerance. But few were so diligent in steering a middle course as were the Old Mennonites. For several generations they occupied the delicate middle ground between the New Mennonites and the Old Order Mennonites, hoping to avoid losing too many to the former by being sufficiently progressive, while making it possible to gain some of the latter by being sufficiently conservative. Actually, most Mennonites were middle-of-the-roaders, viewed either subjectively or objectively, for most felt themselves to be somewhere in between the extremes, and in every separate collection of Mennonites some actually were. Among the Amish the minority middle order, "Beachy" Amish, stood between those more progressive and those more conservative.

Whenever there was borrowing and adjustment, most Mennonites arrived at a new synthesis in the context of some mode of conservatism. Few groups combined in their congregational life the conservatism of the rural, nonconformist way of life and the conservatism of evangelical piety as well as did the Holdeman people. Their preachers were revivalists who wore beards, at the time a sure sign of conservatism.

All Mennonite congregations experienced internal divisiveness due to the clashing of so-called conservative and progressive forces around them and among them, but few were caught in between as painfully as were the Sommerfelder of Manitoba and their cousins the Bergthaler of Saskatchewan. They were torn, on the one hand, by the isolationist mentality of the Reinlaender and, on the other hand, by the "accommodationist" mentality of the Manitoba Bergthaler or

the Saskatchewan Rosenorter. Like all Mennonites, the Sommerfelder were ready to confront society and state on some matters and to pay the price of such confrontation, but no Mennonites, including most Sommerfelder, were so determined and so ready to sacrifice material advantage as were the Reinlaender and Chortitzer in matters of education.

All Mennonites believed in conversion and the new birth, though few used the born-again vocabulary as much in their liturgy, their preaching, and their teaching as did the Mennonite Brethren, and some hardly used the language at all. All Mennonites had a tradition of evangelical passion, of biblical literalism, and of saving souls, but no group borrowed these images from North American evangelical fundamentalism as heavily as did the Mennonite Brethren in Christ.

All Mennonites were troubled, to a greater or less degree, by disunity in the congregations or in the wider Mennonite family, but few worked so hard at building bridges and tying together the many isolated and fragmented Mennonite communities as did the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada, which embraced such distant groups as the Rosenorter from Prussia, who had settled in Saskatchewan in the 1890s, and the Bergthaler from Russia, who had settled in Manitoba in the 1870s.

A common problem facing all the Mennonites was the survival of so many small and widely scattered congregational communities, surrounded as they were by other communities with different cultures and values and by Canadian society at large. But there was little Mennonite solidarity even in the individual settlements. Almost every Mennonite community was thoroughly fragmented by Mennonite congregationalism.[91] United, the Mennonites might have had less reason to fear the onslaught of external culture via the public school, social influences generally, and the mass media. But standing against those pressures as a divided people was quite another matter.

A good omen of what could be expected as a result of Mennonite scattering was suggested by the recently established settlements in the Grande Prairie district of Alberta's Peace River country and at Vanderhoof in British Columbia's Nechako Valley. Both communities had received Mennonite immigrants from the U.S.A. during the Great War. Both had made strong settlement starts. Both faced early extinction.

At its peak the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren community north-

west of Grande Prairie had 60 members, some of whom were converts from among the local populace.[92] Soon after their arrival from Kansas in 1917 the Krimmer realized that they could have a future only if they expanded their population base either through more immigration of Mennonites or through the evangelism of non-Mennonites. The brave homesteaders and evangelizers showed early signs of strength, but the end of the community could be foreseen almost from the beginning. Isolation from other Mennonites, intermarriage and integration with the local evangelical community, and the militaristic and nationalistic attitudes assumed by the district's populace contributed to the extinction of the congregation.

The community west of Vanderhoof and east of Engen was begun in April of 1918 and reached a peak of about 100 before it disintegrated before the end of 1920.[93] Consisting largely of Mennonite Brethren from various points in the U.S.A., chiefly Minnesota, as well as southern Manitoba, the settlement was motivated to a very high degree by the desire to escape military conscription. The settlers established themselves on both sides of the Nechako River and were connected only by a ferry.

The community soon discovered that isolation from other Mennonites and geographic scattering even in the new settlement represented distinct obstacles to survival. Roads were bad, making the two Model T Fords practically useless. Additionally, markets for agricultural products were far away, local job opportunities were scarce, and communications with the outside world were almost nonexistent. Drownings and influenza took their toll, and the end could be foreseen when Elder Heinrich Voth, the leader, died of heart failure. One by one the settlers returned to their former homes in the interests of material and spiritual survival.

As has already been pointed out, the common Mennonite problem —new pressures from the state and society—did not predicate a common Mennonite response. On the contrary, the Mennonites in Canada—and in other countries as well—were reacting in diverse ways to their dilemmas. Basically, and speaking generally, the Mennonite response pointed in one of two directions: one allowed certain kinds and degrees of accommodation; the other was characterized by certain kinds and degrees of isolation, resistance, and withdrawal. Neither of these positions was absolute, except in extreme manifestations. Most Mennonites found themselves some-

where between the two extremes. Those accommodating themselves to state and society were not without selective resistance; and those resisting state and society were not entirely free from selective accommodation.[94]

Accommodation was of several kinds and degrees. It could have reference only to cultural habits, or to language, or to urbanization, or to professionalization, or to acceptance of evangelical Protestant forms and structures, or to ideological acculturation to the point of dropping pacifism as a basic tenet. Resistance to accommodation, or deliberate withdrawal and isolation, likewise manifested itself in divergent ways and variant degrees. Some Mennonites, depending on their location in the world, wanted to resist every aspect of americanization, anglicization, or russification; others were quite selective and limited in their resistance.

Generally speaking, the Mennonites in Canada had devised two approaches to, and two distinct models for coping with, Canadian society, the vast Canadian geography, and the possibilities of scattering and absorption. The one formula emphasized the Mennonite colony, the rural life, the most solid communities possible, strong reliance on tradition, ethnic peculiarities, the German language, and well-understood congregational norms interpreted by the bishops. The other formula stressed the Mennonite conference and other institutions, as a means of linking the congregations and home mission stations in the cities.

Except in their extreme manifestations, these two formulas—the Mennonite colony and the Mennonite conference— were not mutually exclusive. As the Canadian Mennonite community developed, both could often be seen existing side by side. Both still had in common a primary attachment to the land. Both were concerned with keeping the Mennonite community intact. The emphasis placed on the one formula or the other would vary from group to group, from time to time, and from situation to situation. As the 1920s began, both formulae had their champions. Some sought salvation for the Mennonites in the restoration of the Mennonite colonies, some in the expansion of the Mennonite conferences.

The basic orientation determined the response to a whole range of issues which the Mennonites faced in the years just ahead: whether or not to accept the public school as a vehicle for educating the children; whether or not to establish supplemental private schools; whether to

remain farmers or to become business people and to enter the professions; whether or not to consider a future in the cities; whether to insist on German culture and language or to succumb to anglicization; whether or not to make a determined effort to maintain the traditional identity; whether to adopt new technologies and modernization generally or whether to resist; whether or not to participate in political processes; whether to build communities along the lines of the co-operative movement or to accept capitalistic competition as the norm; whether or not, or to what degree, to accept innovations in church life, new styles of liturgy, and new forms of ministry; whether to win the young through careful nurture and education or to adopt revivalistic styles and the methods of evangelism.

The International Connections

The Mennonites in Canada were scattered in their settlements, fragmented in their organizations, and separated in their approach to problems, but they were not completely isolated and parochial. They were not totally islands unto themselves, nor were they without any international connections. Indeed, for people as separatist and withdrawal-oriented as they were, the Mennonites were remarkably international in their experience and cosmopolitan in their outlook. Not only were Canadian Mennonites as a whole being affected by international upheavals, but they themselves were touching the world's distant places, either as lonely missionaries or as delegates planning further migrations or as relatives of desperate co-religionists in the U.S.S.R.

The American Mennonites were in many ways closest to the Canadian Mennonites, but there were also some important exceptions, especially with respect to the Dutch. The pronounced differences between those who had chosen Manitoba for their home and those who had settled in the American midwest after the 1870s migration, coupled with the different socio-political realities of their respective environments, resulted in different degrees and forms of cultural adaptation.[95] The Dutch in the U.S.A. had begun to give up the German language; their counterparts in Canada had no such intentions.[96] The Americans were also swifter to accept many of the values and cultural traits of the American environment.[97] There were other differences as well. While the American Mennonites were

already building colleges, the Canadian Mennonites were still resisting or only cautiously accepting the high school.

The situation was considerably different for those Dutch who had migrated to Canada from the U.S.A., who were tied into conferences whose base was the U.S.A., or who in other ways were quite dependent on American sources for their ongoing nurture and activity. The congregations of the Bruderthaler, the Krimmer, the Holdemaner, and the Brueder were all tied into American-based conferences organizationally in a primary sense, the Brueder through a Northern District Conference. The same was true of certain congregations of the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada, the Saskatchewan Rosenorter, for instance, to name the largest of such groups, who were tied into the General Conference Mennonite Church of North America. For all of the above groups the U.S. connection represented a tie-in with foreign missions, Sunday school materials, other publication efforts and educational resources, as well as leadership and additional financial resources.

The connection between American and Canadian Mennonites was strongest for the Swiss, be they of the New, Old, or Old Order Mennonite and Amish varieties. They kept moving across the international border as though it were not there, reinforcing each other in their common life and in their search to maintain purity of doctrine and a nonconformist lifestyle.[98] Leadership and literature in many forms originating in the U.S.A. was supportive of the Swiss in Canada.[99] Together they faced the threats to their faith. Together they also addressed their national leaders on the spirit of militarism and compulsory military service in the immediate post-war era. That message of the Old Mennonites read, in part:

> The experience of the past few years has brought about a change in the minds of many with reference to maintaining a large army and making military training compulsory and universal. This, according to our faith, would require of us service which, we believe, would involve the violation of a principle of the Gospel of Christ whose teachings we regard as our rule of life and conduct.[100]

This common witness of the word was reinforced by the common deed. Partly to appease the critical public sentiment, which arose during the war years out of their refusal to take up arms, the

Mennonites in the U.S.A., joined by some from Canada, became actively involved in relief work abroad. Volunteer workers went to give aid in Western Europe (Germany and France) and in the Near East (Syria and Turkey), and large amounts of money were raised to alleviate famine conditions in China and India.

The main arena for relief, however, for all North American Mennonites was Russia, where 120,000 Mennonites were suffering the effects of revolution, civil war, disease, and famine.[101] In 1920 a delegation from that country arrived in the U.S.A. and Canada to interpret the needs. As a minimum, its members wanted immediate and direct famine relief, as a maximum a new homeland. The immediate result was the organization that same year of all the relief committees that had emerged in the U.S.A. during the war into a Mennonite Central Committee.[102] Food, clothing, and tractors, sent over in large quantities in co-operation with the American Relief Administration, saved many people from starvation.

So great, however, were the disruptions of the Russian Revolution that thousands of Mennonites were coming to the conclusion that a better future must await them elsewhere, preferably in Canada. Almost any other place would be better than Soviet Russia, perhaps even Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa, and soon some would be leaving the country via the North Sea, the Black Sea, or overland through China or India.[103]

At that time there were Mennonite congregations already in two of these countries. Though the missions in India and China were started from North America, the Russian Mennonites had also become quite conscious of Asia. Not only had they been subjected to Asian influences in their settlements in the Ukraine and in the Caucasus, but these settlements had expanded to Asiatic Russia. Besides, and perhaps most importantly, missionaries from Russia had been going to Java and Sumatra for half a century and to India for three decades.[104]

The notion of Class Epp—a radical millennialist of the 1880s—that Christ could meet his people in the East as well as in the West had never been lost, though Epp himself had been discredited and his particular fanaticism rejected.[105] To be sure, Mennonites in Russia, eyeing a better future, usually looked north and west, but some saw their salvation to the east and to the south. The delegation that came seeking relief soon targeted Canada as the most desirable place to go

and pursued that possibility, in spite of the 1919 Order-in-Council barring immigration which stared them in the face.[106]

Some Mennonites had already been separated from their Russian homeland by that time owing to the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. A small group of churches located in Russian Poland were severed from the Soviet state when Poland once again became a nation on the basis of pre-partition boundaries. The reconstitution of Poland from its Russian, Prussian, and Austrian parts had other effects on the Mennonite community. A large number of German Mennonites, for instance, were lost by Germany, partly because they were now in Poland and partly because they were in the newly created Free City of Danzig, which alone included 5,000 Mennonites within its borders.[107]

Germany also lost Mennonites on its western flank, where the transfer of Alsace-Lorraine to France doubled the Mennonite population in that country. Thus, Germany lost half her Mennonite people to France, Poland, and Danzig. But in an effort to maintain these co-religionists in the German fellowship, the German Mennonite Conference adopted "Conference of German-Speaking Mennonites" as its name.[108] The reasoning behind the name-change was that even though the German national borders had to be reduced, this need not happen to the ecclesiastical and cultural boundaries of the Mennonites.

The Conference name-change foreshadowed or reflected the new German internationalism, which would assert itself in the inter-war period. Much restricted by geography, the greater Germany would appeal to a cultural pan-Germanism in order to embrace Germans all over the world, including Canada, where some Mennonites were a ready target. Like the German Mennonites, the defeated German nation could not and would not easily forget the fragmentation resulting from the loss of territory and people.

In Europe, only the Netherlands and Switzerland provided relative stability for the Mennonite people, the former because its borders remained unchanged, the latter because it had managed to maintain its neutrality. This was a fortunate circumstance because once again the *Doopsgezinde* (Anabaptists) in the Netherlands would be called upon to exercise their traditional role of extending relief and aid to their brothers and sisters in distress. And the *Taufgesinnten* (Anabaptists) in Switzerland, who had provided the cradle for the

movement, would become the hosts for the first world gathering of Mennonites on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the movement's founding. This too was a timely role because such a Conference sought to help Mennonites everywhere, not only in their physical distress but also in their spiritual need. In Europe the faith had fared almost as poorly as the people and the territories. As one historian observed:

> It is a regrettable fact that European Mennonites had, except in Russia, practically dropped the principle of non-resistance. . . [and also in Russia there was] this flagrant violation of the principle of non-resistance.[109]

There was, therefore, no place on earth where Mennonites in 1920 were not confronted by questions of survival, for either internal or external reasons. The Mennonite body was sorely threatened only in some places. The Mennonite soul, however, was everywhere endangered by outside influences or by internal reorientations, or by both.

As previously suggested, Canada became a focal point in the ensuing struggle. For their own good reasons some Mennonites in Canada felt compelled to leave the country. Others, for equally good reasons, were determined to find in it their promised land. Among those who stayed, some sought stubbornly to resist societal encroachments; others were ready to accept the world and to accommodate themselves to it; the majority tried to find a setting for survival somewhere in the middle. The stage was set for restless Mennonites everywhere to move simultaneously in numerous directions in search of their uncertain future, hoping to make it more secure for themselves and for their children.

FOOTNOTES

1 Donald Creighton, *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1957), p. 455.

2 Speakers at the 1919 Conference in Hepburn of the Northern District of Mennonite Brethren Churches reflected this general sense of uncertainty. Nikolai Janz spoke about "this modern time" in which everything is becoming "so dark." Jakob Ewert described the times as "gruesome." See *Verhandlungen* (NK), 1919.

3 Population figure based on *Census of Canada, 1921*, 5 vols. (Ottawa:

King's Printer, 1925), 1:568. Exact figure of 58,797 includes Hutterites.

4 Statistics for Europe and North America include nonbaptized family members. This is not the case for Africa, Asia, and Latin America for the following reasons: it is less likely for family members to be part of the Mennonite congregation (most converts being first generation), and the unavailability of statistics. The author recognizes the conceptual discrepancy arising from these different applications of "Mennonite," the "ethnic" definition being allowed in the former case. But this dualism is a reflection of Mennonite realities at this point in history. Argentina: an estimated figure, for 1920, recognizing organization of mission in 1919 and establishment of Conference in 1923; see "Argentina," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 1:154; T.K. Hershey, "History, Growth, and Activities of the Mennonite Church in the Argentine," *Mennonite Year-Book and Directory, 1923*, pp. 21–22, counts 67 members and 40 applicants for membership in two congregations. Belgian Congo: 1923 statistic; A. Neuenschwander, "Congo Inland Mission," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 1:690. Canada: *Census of Canada, 1921*, 1:568; the baptized membership would be about 21,800, calculated on the basis of comparing 1911 census with 1912 membership figures, the former being about 2.7 times greater (not 2.4 as stated in Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786–1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), p. 321 [hereafter referred to as Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786–1920*]) than the latter. China, India, Java/Sumatra: H.S. Bender, "Asia," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 1:176–77. Danzig, France, Germany, Netherlands, Poland, and Switzerland: based on Ernst H. Correll, *Das Schweizerische Taeufermennonitentum* (Tuebingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1925), p. 23. Russia: Cornelius Krahn, "Russia," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 4:388. United States of America: based on 1925 report by H.J. Krehbiel in *Bericht ueber die 400 Jaehrige Jubilaeumsfeier der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten*, p. 11. Compare with P.M. Friesen, *Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Brudershaft in Russland (1789–1910)* (Halbstadt: Raduga, 1911), pp. 774–76.

5 See Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution* (Altona: D.W. Friesen & Sons, 1962); John B. Toews, *Lost Fatherland: The Story of the Mennonite Emigration from Soviet Russia, 1921–1927* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1967); *idem*, ed., *Selected Documents: The Mennonites in Russia from 1917–1930* (Winnipeg: Christian Press, 1975); Gerhard P. Schroeder, *Miracles of Grace and Judgment* (Lodi, Cal.: By the Author, 1974).

6 H.H. Ewert, "The Mennonites," an address given under the auspices of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 18 April 1932. CGC, XV-31.2, "1910–H.H. Ewert."

7 *Census of Canada, 1921*, 1:346.
8 *Ibid.*
9 The 1921 census does not classify Altona as an urban centre since it was not yet incorporated. However, because its population was very similar to that of Winkler, it may be considered urban for all practical purposes.
10 The exception was found in Europe where many of the Mennonites of Amsterdam, Danzig, Elbing, and other cities had been involved in commerce and the professions for generations. See Horst Penner, *Die Ost- und Westpreussischen Mennnoniten in ihrem Religioesen und Sozialen Leben in ihren Kulturellen und Wirtschaftlichen Leistungen* (Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1978).
11 *Ibid.*, pp. 56–63, 80–81, 200, 306–18.
12 Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786–1920*, pp. 56–63. See also CGC, Ivan Groh, "United Empire Loyalists and Mennonite Pioneers of the Niagara Peninsula"; CGC, Ivan Groh, "The Swiss-Palatine-German-Pennsylvania-'Dutch' Pioneers of the Niagara Peninsula."
13 Frank H. Epp, *ibid.*, p. 72.
14 *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.
15 *Ibid.*, pp. 183–206.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 303–31. Little has been written about this immigration compared to others, but the following memoirs are useful: *Memoirs of Ernest A. Jeschke* (Goshen, Ind.: Marlin Jeschke, 1966) tells the story of a family leaving Poland and settling in Volhynia, then a province in Russia, in 1875, then migrating to North Dakota in 1909 and to Saskatchewan in 1912; Jacob Klaassen, "Memories and Notations About My Life: 1867–1948" covers migration from Prussia to Oklahoma in the 1870s and to Saskatchewan during the Great War; *Personal Diary of Peter Neufeld: 1917–18* (Surrey, B.C.: J.V. Neufeld, 1980) tells the story of movement from Manitoba and the U.S.A. to Vanderhoof, B.C., during the Great War.
17 Frank H. Epp, "The Migrations of the Mennonites," in Paul N. Kraybill, ed., *Mennonite World Handbook* (Lombard, Ill.: Mennonite World Conference, 1978), pp. 10–19.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 12; see also C. Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: An Episode in the Settling of the Last Frontier, 1874–1884* (Berne, Ind.: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927).
19 *Census of Canada, 1921*, 1:568–69.
20 *Ibid.*, 1:588–97.
21 Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786–1920*, p. 72.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 234; see also Chapter 10 of this present volume.
23 CGC, Ivan Groh, "The Swiss-Palatine-German-Pennsylvania-'Dutch' Pioneers of the Niagara Peninsula," pp. 44–45.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
25 *Ibid.*

26 *Census of Canada, 1921*, 1:597-98.
27 *Ibid.*, 1:599-600.
28 *Ibid.*, 1:600-1.
29 *Census of Canada, 1921*, 1:602-3.
30 The Hutterites were an exception, because they bought blocks of land, not because they were granted such blocks. Their solid, relatively compact, and exclusive colonies in Canada, except for the original ones, were all formed after 1920. See, for instance, John Ryan, *The Agricultural Economy of Manitoba Hutterite Colonies* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977).
31 Government of Canada, Department of Agriculture, Eugene F. Whelan in an address to the Rural Ontario Municipal Association, 6 February 1979.
32 M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley (eds.), *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1965), p. 352.
33 M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, p. 14. See also Robert England, *The Colonization of Western Canada* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1936), p. 71.
34 James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), p. 351. The federal Department of Natural Resources estimated land held by speculators to be about twice that actually occupied.
35 J. Bartlet Brebner, *Canada: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960), pp. 427-29.
36 M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, p. 352.
37 J.M.S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963), p. 357.
38 Guy Franklin Hershberger, *War, Peace and Nonresistance* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1946).
39 C. Henry Smith, "Mennonites and Culture," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 12 (April 1938):78.
40 C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, Ind.: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941), p. 231.
41 *Ibid.*, pp. 239-43.
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43 Ernst Crous, "Nonresistance in Germany," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 3:907.
44 Smith, "Mennonites and Culture," p. 78.
45 *Ibid.*
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47 Canada, Statutes, 7-8 George V, ch. 39, sec. 154(f).
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27–35; Adolf Ens, "Mennonite Relations with Governments: Western Canada, 1870–1925" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1979), pp. 296–301.

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101 John D. Unruh, *In the Name of Christ: A History of the Mennonite Central Committee and Its Service, 1920-1951* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1952), pp. 11-40. See also P.C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller, eds., *Feeding the Hungry: Russia Famine 1919-1925* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Central Committee, 1929).

102 Guy F. Hershberger, "Historical Background to the Formation of the Mennonite Central Committee," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 44 (July 1970): 213-44; Hiebert and Miller, pp. 27-54.

103 Harold S. Bender, "Asia," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* 1:177. For the story of one group's escape from Siberia to Manchuria, see Abram Friesen and Abram J. Loewen, *Die Flucht ueber den Amur* (Steinbach, Man.: Echo-Verlag, 1946). See also Chapter 4 of this present volume.

104 Gerhard Lohrenz, "The Mennonites of Russia and the Great Commission," in Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., *A Legacy of Faith* (Newton, Kans.: 1962):171-91.

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106 See Chapter 4.
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108 Heinold Fast, *Die Vereinigung der Deutschen Mennonitengemeinden, 1886–1961* (Weierhof: Vereinigung der Deutschen Mennonitengemeinden, 1961), pp. 28–30.
109 John Horsch, "Post-War Conditions Among European Mennonites," *Mennonite Year-Book and Directory, 1922* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1922), p. 22.