

Provenance

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6. *Community-Building: Congregations*

The greatest and most beautiful thing about church membership is the mutual sharing, caring and being cared for. It should be that way in the church that members of the same body serve each other, promote each other's welfare, that they feel and suffer along with the pains of individual members — DANIEL LOEWEN.¹

An integration with the established local Mennonite churches was out of the question. The common desire to worship God with one's own people and their distinct peculiarities became more and more pronounced — HERBERT P. ENNS.²

THE WIDELY scattered settlements of the immigrants, and indeed of all Canadian Mennonites, reinforced their traditional dependence on the *Gemeinde*, the local congregation, as the ongoing source of that faith and culture without which they saw no meaningful future for themselves or for their children. In the 1920s, as four centuries earlier, the congregations stood at the centre of Mennonite identity, activity, and history, not only because so many new ones were established at this time, but also because they represented to the people the spiritual salvation and social security to be found nowhere else.³ Where there was no local congregation there was no Mennonite community.

In the congregation, the Mennonites found their identity, their social status in the community, and their fellowship. Since they shunned secret societies, and all kinds and places of worldly amusements, the church and its activities was also the centre of their social life.⁴ The face-to-face primary relationships cultivated in the congregational community and the mutual caring contributed to group

solidarity, which was a strong resource in time of need and effective resistance against the encroachments of modern culture.⁵ For Mennonites, brotherhood and intimate caring for one another were of the essence of church life. As Robert Friedman has written:

. . . the real dynamite in the age of the Reformation . . . was this that one cannot find salvation without caring for his brother. . . . This interdependence of men gives life and salvation a new meaning.⁶

Every Mennonite congregation was a relatively complete social institution, with a clearly identified leadership and a well-defined membership. The expectations and roles of both the leaders and the members were understood on the basis of traditional teaching and practice. The ministers, led by an elder or bishop, a leading minister, or a pastor, were the preachers and teachers of the Word. They met the spiritual need and gave moral direction. The deacons had the special task of attending to any physical needs, such as extreme poverty or family deprivation arising from illness or death, which individuals or families were unable to handle alone. Most family events—weddings, funerals, anniversaries—were also congregational events, which had a bonding effect in the community and which gave a sense of belonging to individuals and their families.

The place of the congregation in the life of every Mennonite was understood without a written constitution, or so it had been in the past, but the times were changing. Immigration and new settlement patterns represented breaks in continuity, which meant that a common understanding had to be arrived at in a new way. The preparation and acceptance of a congregational constitution was the way in which many immigrant congregations established the basis for their new life together. The typical document outlined the foundations of the congregation, the conditions of membership, the duties of membership, the discipline, the election and duties of the leaders, and, quite possibly, also conference affiliation.⁷ It began with a scriptural motto, such as “Bear one another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ,” found in the Epistle to the Galatians.⁸ The “doctrines and truths of the Bible” were established as the foundation for faith and the guide for the Christian life of the church members. The constitution might commit the local congregation to work hand

in hand with the appropriate Canadian and North American conferences.

The essential conditions of membership were identified as baptism upon confession of faith (the form of baptism might be specified), the evidence of a Christian lifestyle, commitment to nonresistance, and perhaps also the refusal to swear an oath. Voting privileges might be spelled out to include both sexes or only men. While traditionally the brotherhood meeting included only the men, a transition was under way and some congregations already included the women. The importance of women also having the vote was defended and explained at one session of the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada by one immigrant elder who acknowledged that his position might seem strange to some.⁹ He argued that there were many single women, widows or single persons otherwise, who were heads of their households and actively involved in the work of the congregation and of the kingdom of God. There was no basis in Scripture “for keeping our sisters from participating in the election of church workers.” Besides, it was the women in many families who were the source of religious life, who understood the needs of the congregations better than the men, and whose knowledge and assessment of people equipped them better to elect church workers than many men.¹⁰

The membership responsibilities specified in a constitution included attendance at the worship services as regularly as possible, advancement of the spiritual life through prayer and work, and attendance at the service of holy communion, which could be held as often as the congregation desired. The constitution would probably specify whether or not members of other congregations could be admitted to the communion. Some congregations were very restrictive, limiting participation to particular membership, modes of faith, and forms of baptism. Others were so liberal as to allow “visitors” to participate even in congregational discussions.

A constitution also specified procedures for the discipline of wayward members, usually a two-step process according to an interpretation of Matthew 18:15–17. The first step involved loving admonition by the elder or a minister, quite possibly in the presence of other ministers or members. When this admonition failed in the desired effect, the case was brought for decision to the entire congregation, which could vote for excommunication. In practice, some congregations resorted to this ultimate step very reluctantly and

only rarely, while others considered strict disciplinary measures an essential mark of congregational spirituality and a necessary feature of congregational integrity.

Churchly communities of like-minded people were, of course, not the only institutional anchor of the Mennonites in the turbulent twenties. Not to be overlooked were the families themselves, usually larger than the average Canadian family, and in economic, social, and religious ways — many practised their own worship service in the home — more self-sufficient than most. Indeed, congregations had the character of extended families, partly because blood relatives tended to congregate in specific geographic localities and partly because the two institutions were in the Christian typology analogous and in the daily functioning of Mennonite society quite interdependent.

If the congregation was undergirded, on the one hand, by that smaller social entity known as the family, it was also strengthened, on the other hand, by the larger Mennonite world known as the conference. Measured by later standards, none of the Canadian conferences had yet attained institutional maturity, but they were growing in importance. They existed only partly for their own sake and mostly for the purpose of providing the congregations with those connections and resources which helped them, if they were weak, to survive, and, if they survived, to become strong.

In the two decades of this history, 1920 to 1940, the number of Mennonite congregational units in Canada increased from 191 to 387 (Table 26). While a total of 258 new ones were formed, 62 were dissolved for a variety of reasons, but mostly due to emigration to Latin America and to resettlement within Canada. The increase likewise resulted from a number of factors to be elaborated on later, but they included the formation of new Mennonite groups, the natural increase and expansion of the communities, as, for instance, in the case of the Bergthaler, Chortitzer, Rosenorter, and Sommerfelder, and the mission activity in Ontario and Alberta by such groups as the Old Mennonites and the New Mennonites (Table 27, p. 269).

The Different Cultural Groups

The greatest single factor contributing to the near-doubling of Mennonite congregations in Canada was the coming of the immi-

TABLE 26¹¹

A SUMMARY OF CONGREGATIONS, 1920-1940

PROVINCE	EXISTING IN 1920	FOUNDED BY IMMIGRANTS	FOUNDED BY OTHERS	DISSOLVED	EXISTING IN 1940
Ontario	88	19	17	14	110
Manitoba	34	66	26	18	108
Saskatchewan	49	48	22	12	107
Alberta	18	29	15	15	47
British Columbia	2	14	2	3	15
Totals	191	176	82	62	387

grants, who established 176 centres of worship or congregational units, only 39 of which did not endure, mostly because of the temporary nature of some settlements. This impressive number was, of course, largely due to the large number of immigrants, over 20,000, but that factor was multiplied by the numerous small and scattered settlements, and by the Mennonite proclivity to diversity, usually requiring in a given community more congregations than was necessary from the standpoint of numbers alone.

If there was one thing that the Mennonites did not possess, it was uniformity in the way they exercised their religion. Since the days of Anabaptist beginnings in the 1500s, the Christian community had been defined as autonomous and nonconformist rather than dependent and conformist, narrowly rather than broadly, in terms of smallness rather than bigness, and on the basis of a neighbourhood rather than in terms of a nation or an empire. The tradition of the intimate congregation had arisen from the biblical doctrine of the believer's church, as defined by the Anabaptists, and from their reaction to the massive national and imperial ecclesia. It had been frequently reinforced by the migrations and scatterings and the equally frequent internal divisions, which kept most Mennonite congregations from achieving memberships much above one hundred.¹² Narrowness and smallness made for the quality of intimacy and local solidarity so essential to the survival of minorities, but

they also prevented the various congregational families from forming a united front in the face of dangers threatening from the outside.¹³

The 18 congregational families previously identified (see Table 9, Chapter 1) were sufficiently different from each other to justify, at least to themselves, a separate identity, but so were the individual congregations within those groups. Each congregation had its own personality or, to use the language of the immigrants, its own uniqueness (*Eigenart*), its own way of doing things. Consequently, the congregations represented a cultural mosaic as richly patterned as the quilts designed by Mennonite women or the fields laid out by Mennonite men. Like the quilts and the fields, the congregations all resembled each other, but none of them were exactly the same. In the 1920s, this mosaic was enhanced by Mennonite multiculturalism, which the immigrants helped to expand, and by Mennonite denominationalism, which the immigrants failed, even though they tried here and there, to heal.

Speaking broadly in terms of their cultures, the Canadian Mennonites at this point in time could be divided into four groups. The immigrants of the 1920s were one group, which here will be referred to as *Russlaender*, to differentiate them from another group, the immigrants of the 1870s, which will be referred to as *Kanadier*, more precisely early *Kanadier*, for reasons that will become clear. A third group, which can be referred to as late *Kanadier*, were the broad (not numerically, but in terms of definition) grouping of Dutch Mennonites, who had arrived from America, Prussia, and Russia between 1890 and 1920. The late *Kanadier* were closer to the *Russlaender* than to the early *Kanadier* in their cultural orientation. For that reason they might best be referred to not as late *Kanadier* but as early *Russlaender*, except for the fact that they weren't all from Russia. The fourth cultural group was represented by the Swiss, both Mennonites and Amish. When the *Russlaender* arrived in Canada, the only Mennonites to be found in Ontario were the Swiss.

The geographic scattering of the *Russlaender* into numerous new areas lessened somewhat their need to come to terms with the *Kanadier* and the Swiss, but where their settlements were in the same districts there was, with very few exceptions, no easy coming together of the various elements in single congregations. There were language differences, of course, but even where they were minimal,

as with the Russlaender and the Kanadier, the gulf between the two cultures was too large to bridge.

From the beginning, the two groups identified each other as "Russlaender" and "Kaniadier," and that was probably the first injury to the relationship. The usage on both sides carried pejorative meanings. The designations were born not exactly out of profound respect, and, besides, they were only partially accurate. The Russlaender were Russians only in the sense of Russia being their country of immediate origin and of their most recent citizenship. In terms of ethnic origin, the Russlaender were Dutch. In terms of culture they had become thoroughly germanized, even though they had learned to speak, and in some cases love, the Russian language. Whatever emotion had tied them to Russia had been largely dissipated by the Bolshevik takeover of their homeland.

The Kaniadier, on the other hand, were far from being Canadian. To be sure, they had chosen Canada quite deliberately in the 1870s, and as citizens they prayed for those in authority, especially their majesties. But the general understanding of Canadianism, which in those days included patriotism and anglo-conformity, escaped them. Indeed, Canadianism was far enough removed from their hearts to allow many of them to exchange Canada for Mexico and Paraguay. Paradoxically, the Russlaender became Canadian in their hearts sooner than the Kaniadier, though the latter had a 50-year start. The Canadianization of the Russlaender was held up only by their reluctance to accept English as a primary language. Thus, the Kaniadier and Russlaender names were not altogether appropriate, yet they were sufficiently useful to become general and to find their way unavoidably into the history books.

The differences between the Kaniadier and the Russlaender can easily be made too simple and too general, since the Russlaender were not a homogeneous community and the Kaniadier were even less so. As has already been spelled out, there were important differences between the early and the late Kaniadier and also within these two broad groupings. But, speaking generally, for the early Kaniadier especially, the Russlaender were too proud, too aggressive, too enthusiastic about higher education, too anxious to exercise leadership, too ready to compromise with the state, too ready to move to the cities, and too unappreciative of the pioneering done by the Kana-

dier. As far as the Russlaender were concerned, the Kanadier were too withdrawn, too simple-minded, too uncultured, too weak in their High German because of their excessive dependence on Low German, too afraid of schools and education, and too satisfied to follow traditions, social or liturgical, generation after generation without modification and change.¹⁴

Another important difference lay in the attitudes towards the American Mennonites. The early Kanadier felt little commonality with the Mennonites south of the border. In leaving Russia in the 1870s, the two groups destined for the U.S.A. and Canada had operated with different assumptions concerning the most appropriate environment for themselves and their children. In choosing America and its open plains in the midwest, on the one hand, and Canada and the closed Manitoba reserves, on the other hand, they had determined different destinies for their communities. Only those minorities among the Kanadier who were nurtured by American Mennonite evangelists and home mission workers were pleased with the American connection. The majority feared Americanization, especially at the hand of other Mennonites, even more than they feared Canadianization.

The Russlaender, on the other hand, raised no fundamental objection to fraternization with the Americans, at least not yet. Some immigrants made their way immediately to the American Mennonite colleges, notably Bethel, Bluffton, and Tabor, and before long two Russlaender leaders in Canada, Jacob H. Janzen and A.H. Unruh, had been awarded honorary doctorates by Bethel College. Clearly, the Russlaender could not appreciate the haste with which the Americans had surrendered the German language, but the common acceptance of much formal education, private and public, reflected their kindred minds. If the Russlaender of the 1920s had migrated in the 1870s, most of them undoubtedly would have chosen America rather than Canada.

There was also no easy coming together of the Russlaender with the Swiss, for a variety of reasons. While the respective German dialects overlapped sufficiently for the two groups to understand each other if they tried hard enough, the communication gap was considerable none the less. Good intentions on both sides could not conceal the deep cultural differences separating the two groups. The two Mennonite families had developed somewhat differently during the

preceding centuries and since both groups tended to define their way of life in terms of cultural minutiae, little things were of considerable consequence. This was the case especially since the two cultures were suddenly brought into unavoidable proximity with each other, often in the context of family life under one roof.¹⁵

Various behavioural peculiarities emerged to trouble the cohabitating groups. The Swiss hosts were uneasy over what they believed to be the overly liberal tendencies of their Russlaender guests. They criticized the women for the unseemly practice of wearing flowers or small black bows in their hair. Simple prayer veils or bonnets, the Swiss maintained, were the appropriate dress accoutrements of the Christian woman. The immigrants earned further rebuke for their custom of placing crosses on their tombstones. This, it was argued, bordered too closely on the Catholic tradition. For their part, the Russlaender found their hosts to be generally pleasant, if rather plain in a cultural sense. They were amused by the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect, which they enjoyed mimicking, and which if done in disrespect caused unnecessary offence.

The Russlaender presented a paradoxical image.¹⁶ They were, on the one hand, penniless and poor for the most part, still suffering emotionally from the uprootings of revolution and civil war, consequently submissive, cognizant of their dependence, and willing to learn. On the other hand, they were still very much what the years of prosperity and co-operation with the tsarist state had made them. They were culturally sophisticated, for the most part better educated, progressive in their outlook, and quite aggressive in their style, all of which suggested *Hochmut* (high-mindedness or pride) or even arrogance.

Noah M. Bearinger, one of the organizers of the Swiss hospitality, recalled an immigrant teacher saying to his host: "We have not come here to work; we are guests." To which the host replied, "Guests do not stay around so long."¹⁷ And, as their hosts perceived them, they were not only high-minded but also liberal and to some extent heretical. It would take some time for the Russlaender to explain that wartime service in the medical corps had not meant the surrender of nonresistance and that self-defence, though recognized by a minority as necessary, had, at least in retrospect, been acknowledged by the majority as wrong.¹⁸

Despite the cultural variations, the overall relations between the

respective Mennonite groups remained more cordial than strained. The Swiss were deeply impressed with the piety of their Russlaender cousins. Bible readings, audible prayers, and enthusiastic singing, all of which were commonplace among the immigrants, likewise left a favourable impression upon the Swiss. Bishop E.S. Hallman observed that "the Christian family life seems very noticeable, and the young people and the parents seem to be a unit in Christian life activities."¹⁹ The accommodation of the immigrants in the Swiss homes was intended to be temporary in duration, pending the permanent settlement of the newcomers. But it lasted long enough — in some cases over six months — to allow for the blossoming of lasting friendships. One host family testified:

We shed tears when we learned we had to take a family right into our living quarters, but we shed more tears when the time came for this family to leave.²⁰

The question arises, why did the longevity of association in the families not lead to an even minimal acceptance by the Russlaender of Swiss congregational life? Apart from the occasional membership resulting from intermarriage, the Russlaender steered clear of the Swiss congregations, even though they politely accompanied their hosts to Sunday morning worship while they were guests. The immigrants felt a strong need for their own religious gatherings, not only for reasons of essential social contact with people of their own kind, but also for the purposes of gathering new strength for their daily life and of interpreting their past experience. To achieve this, they had to find or form congregations of their own kind. The movement to Western Canada from the Waterloo-Kitchener area had as much to do with the more congenial social environment of the Russlaender as it did with the greater economic opportunities, as these were perceived. As one observer wrote:

To worship God with one's own people, outweighed all other considerations at that point. . . .²¹

Whenever and wherever services were arranged, the attendance was strong and facilities were crowded with people both sitting and standing. There was much thanksgiving for the rescue from the land

of terror and much pleading for the blessing of God in the new land.²² It was in that context of intimate reflection and projection that the Russlaender needed most to be among themselves, to speak their own language, to sing their own hymns, and to hear their kind of sermons. According to one memoir:

At first they worshipped in the churches of their hosts. However, the new language, even the Pennsylvania-Dutch dialect, presented great difficulties to them. A longing to listen again to a German sermon and to have an opportunity to share one's experiences became more and more evident.²³

Those Swiss congregations with which the Russlaender might have had the greatest cultural and theological affinity, namely the Old Mennonites and the New Mennonites, had switched to the English language a generation or more ago,²⁴ though High German was still understood and sometimes used. Those congregations which were still using High German, namely the Old Order Mennonites, the Old Order Amish, and the Amish Mennonites, used preaching and singing styles quite foreign to the newcomers. The Swiss mixing of High German with the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect was symptomatic of the deep cultural differences. The Mennonites from Russia were trying to get away from their equivalent dialect, Low German, considering it to have less cultural value. The purity of High German, not the perpetuation of Low German, had become their linguistic passion. Bringing everyday social dialects into the school — or church! — was the farthest thing from their self-understanding.

Differences Among the Russlaender

How the Russlaender related, or did not relate, to each of these cultures in their congregational life is significant, but equally significant is the problem of integration internal to the Russlaender themselves. The Russlaender were not all of the same kind either. In one immigrant community the writing of a simple constitution turned out to be “a formidable problem” because the 23 families involved represented almost as many different congregations in their Russian homeland. The churches in these communities all had their own peculiarities. Each had its own method of conducting the worship service, its own division of church offices, and its own church

rules.²⁵ As one minister later recalled, after his congregation of great initial diversity had survived its first 25 years:

They came from the various regions and localities in Russia. There were people from the Crimea, from Molotschna, from the Old Colony (Chortitza), from Orenburg, from Samara, and also from Asiatic Russia. Even if we don't easily admit that we are dependent on traditions and habits, we do know that circumstances, conditions, and customs, the educational situation, indeed the climate and soil conditions determine the character of man . . . and as these were different in different places in Russia so also the people were different in their attitudes and characteristics.²⁶

As significant as they were, the differences among the Russlaender arising from the habits of their respective regions were overshadowed by the differences arising from their denominationalism. The Russlaender represented three distinct congregational families, in other words, three distinct religious cultures, again speaking somewhat broadly. They were commonly known as *Kirchengemeinden* (they will be known hereafter as Conference churches if only for the reason that they joined the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada), *Bruedergemeinden* (Mennonite Brethren churches), and *Allianzgemeinden* (Alliance churches).²⁷

These three congregational types—Conference churches, Brethren churches, and Alliance churches—were brought to Canada by the immigrants, though in a sense they already existed in North America. Parallels for all of them were already present, and this fact prevented even greater proliferation of Mennonite congregational families. The Conference congregations found their North American church home in the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada²⁸ and, for the most part, also in the related General Conference Mennonite Church of North America,²⁹ while the Brethren groups related to the General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches in North America, either directly or through the Northern District of that Conference.³⁰

The closest North American body for the Alliance churches was a group whose popular designation was Bruderthaler Conference, after the founding Bruderthaler congregation at Mountain Lake.³¹ Established in 1889 as the Conference of United Mennonite Breth-

ren in North America, the group, which 30 years later had one Canadian congregation in Steinbach, Manitoba, and two at Langham, Saskatchewan, had changed its name and then was known as the Defenseless Mennonite Brethren in Christ of North America.³² Yet another change before 1940 named that group the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference. The people themselves, however, were known as Bruderthaler, at least for the time being.

The first Bruderthaler congregations at Mountain Lake, Minnesota, and Henderson, Nebraska, in the U.S.A. had arisen from impulses similar to those giving birth to the Alliance in Russia, namely to achieve a spirituality and a discipline greater than that which existed in the Conference churches but to allow for greater flexibility than the Brethren churches practised in such matters as baptism.³³ Founders of the Alliance were deeply troubled that the pursuit of greater spirituality among Mennonites seemed always to lead to hostility and separation rather than to mutuality and union.

While the *Allianz* was, so to speak, another *kleine Gemeinde*, a small remnant carrying a minority idea, that body represented the larger vision of the more inclusive Mennonite or Christian communion and for that reason it also carried considerable influence. It was a rare occurrence when Mennonites remembered in their respective congregations and denominations that the congregation of the Lord was more than just one's own people or one's own church. When it happened, the source of such an idea would most likely be the Alliance or the Bruderthaler. Jacob P. Schultz of the Langham Bruderthaler put it this way:

We are remembering, of course, that we as an individual congregation and as a Conference are only a fraction of the body of Jesus Christ of which he is the head.³⁴

Among Mennonites in general and the Russlaender in particular the fractions were still all-important, for reasons both positive and negative. On the plus side was the original concept, still strong, of the congregation as the best expression of the kingdom of God. On the minus side were measures of intolerance, stubbornness, and pride, which prevented full mutual acceptance³⁵ of the respective groups. The recognition of this fact was partly responsible for the emergence in Russia of the Alliance as a bridge between the two main

groups, the Conference churches and the Brethren churches, which had stood in ecclesiastical competition ever since a revivalistic movement, protesting the lack of spirituality among Mennonites generally, had given birth in the 1860s to the Brethren.

Having found many things wrong with the Conference churches, the Brethren churches, in their search for a new spirituality, had adopted a new liturgical style which included more public prayer by more people, gospel songs, and a manner of preaching which frequently climaxed in a revivalistic call, inviting the people to repent and be converted. Most significant of all, at least in terms of relationships between the two groups, was the adoption of the immersionist form of baptism, "a fitting spiritual symbol... to emphasize their distinctiveness."³⁶ Not only was it the preferred form, to Brethren church leaders it was the only acceptable form, there being no other that befitted a true born-again child of God.

For the Brethren, immersion and conversion went hand in hand, and conversion was all-important. Reacting strongly to the style of the Conference churches, which had an educational approach and catechism classes to induce faith and to prepare the young people for baptism and church membership, the Brethren introduced evangelism and the cataclysmic emotional experience as the essence of conversion. For them, immersion symbolized the radical change, the old self dying and being buried and the new self rising to a new life in Christ.

As time went on, the differences between the two groups had become less pronounced, at least so it seemed. In Russia the problems of war, revolution, civil war, famine, reconstruction, and emigration had prompted various forms of co-operative undertaking. And in Canada the problems of pioneer settlement resulted in both groups working together closely in settlement matters. In quite a few communities there were even joint worship services for a while, in a few cases for a number of years.

Some Brethren churches had learned to acknowledge, however reluctantly, styles of spirituality other than those of the revival or the prayer meeting, and some Conference churches had learned to sing gospel songs and to accept Bible study and prayer meetings as a desirable, if not essential, part of congregational life. By and large, the Conference churches also had no quarrel with the insistence of the Brethren on the faith of members being very personal and the

experience of the new birth being very real. But most of the Conference church ministers would also have argued that the new birth and personal faith could be arrived at just as well via education and the catechism as through the evangelistic meeting and the altar call.

It was less the essence than the form of things that often turned out to be a stumbling block and a barrier between the two groups, and baptismal form proved to be even more than a stumbling block. It was, very literally, a gulf to be bridged, because, very simply and bluntly put, it was the *Flusz* (river) and the *Flusztaufe* (river baptism) which separated the two groups. In the beginning there was revivalistic enthusiasm, the search for distinctive symbols, and new biblical articulation, resulting in some renewal on both sides, but in the end there was an ecclesiastical and political position so ruinous that families, villages, and congregations, having felt its divisive force, could not be repaired for decades or even generations.³⁷

If on any other occasion members of the two groups happened to meet together — weddings, funerals, Sunday worship, Bible conferences, evangelistic campaigns, prayer meetings, or mission gatherings — they would definitely separate on the day of Pentecost, one traditional day of baptism and communion. The Conference churches initiated their new members kneeling at the church altar through a baptismal form called sprinkling or pouring, while the Brethren churches met at the nearest river, natural lake, or artificial pond to completely immerse their new converts. If the respective forms of baptism symbolized to themselves everything that was right about the two church groups, to each other and to outsiders they also signified everything that was wrong. The Alliance churches represented the compromise position on baptism. Though the preferred form was immersion, they did not insist on the rebaptism of those who had been baptized by another form but who wished to join the Alliance or simply to have communion there.³⁸

Ontario and Manitoba

The spirit of the Alliance was clearly present among the immigrants who made Ontario their home, not in the sense that a strong Alliance movement was established in Ontario, for it was not, but in the sense that both the Brethren churches and the Conference churches being

established there possessed it at least to a degree. The Brethren churches were more flexible on baptismal form in Ontario than anywhere else, and the Conference churches perceived themselves to be not so many independent geographically determined units but a union (a "*Vereinigung*"), in Ontario for sure but also in Canada and throughout North America. As their leader Jacob H. Janzen, soon to be known throughout the continent, said:

Every human being and every human corporation carries within itself an unmistakable urge to survive, and we immigrants from Russia are no exception in our reluctance to surrender our individuality (*unsere Eigenart*). We would like to join together in congregations and as such have the closest possible association — but also join the conferences already in existence here in order to build the kingdom of God hand in hand together with them.³⁹

The "closest possible association," however, turned out to be very selective. Janzen did not have in mind an association with the Swiss or with the Brethren churches but rather with Conference churches elsewhere, including the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America. And the Brethren churches felt the same way. Thus, in all the Ontario communities where immigrants had settled and where worship services had begun jointly, the formal organization of congregations everywhere led to separate Conference churches and Brethren churches.

The first to organize were the Brethren on May 25, 1925.⁴⁰ They named their congregation the Molotschna Mennonite Brethren Church. Kitchener was designated as the centre. Members included persons of the Brethren as well as of the Alliance. The name "Molotschna" was very deliberately chosen. It so happened that in Russia the Molotschna Brethren had been more like the Alliance in sentiment. Molotschna was also reminiscent of the first Alliance, and thus Molotschna as a name was appropriately symbolic for embracing both groups. This meant, of course, that the newly organized Brethren church tolerated non-immersionist forms of baptism, at least when it came to accepting members already baptized. This crucial distinction from other Brethren churches would have to be resolved somehow, but for the time being that problem could be set aside.

The new congregation had its affiliated groups, which were part of the Molotschna congregation in Kitchener, but which, for reasons of geography, also conducted some activities separately. For at least seven years there would be only one Ontario Brethren church with numerous affiliates, including Hespeler with 29 members, Kitchener with 144, Leamington with 50, New Hamburg with 37, and Vineland with 27.⁴¹ The notion of a centre or mother congregation with numerous affiliates was not a new one. Historically, it had manifested itself in a number of ways but most often in congregations, where one ministry served a wider geographic area in which a single congregation with a single membership would none the less have numerous meeting places and perhaps even numerous semi-autonomous groups.

In Ontario, the Conference immigrants organized in June 1925 under the leadership of Jacob H. Janzen, a minister-teacher who was ordained as an elder to sanction fully his permanent leadership role. The first name chosen was The Mennonite Refugee Church in Ontario.⁴² The refugee church embraced individuals and groups in whatever places immigrants were settling, such as Essex County, Hespeler, Kitchener, New Hamburg, Reesor, Vineland, and Waterloo, and Janzen was the *Reiseprediger*, or itinerant preacher, who ministered to them all. Very soon, the refugees did not want to be known as such any more, and so the name was changed to United Mennonite Church in Ontario.⁴³

The formation of the Russlaender congregations effectively ended the formal interaction with the Swiss. Congregations emerged where there were no Swiss, but even where there was geographic proximity the cultural differences, familial relations, and love of individuality made separation inevitable. Yet all was not lost of that forceful and intimate coming together of the Swiss and the Russlaender. Seeds were sown, which for now lay dormant in the ground, quietly awaiting the day of germination and awakening.

In any event, the differences in Ontario between the Russlaender and the Swiss immediately became less pronounced because there was no ongoing testing of the relationship in formal interaction between the two communities. This was not the case in western Canada, where the immigrant and the indigenous communities could not avoid each other. While the differentiating features between the Russlaender and the Kanadier were fewer than between the Russlaender and the

Swiss, the tension between the former two groups actually increased with time.

In Manitoba, the question of integration with the Kanadier came up most in the former reserve areas east and west of the Red River and in communities adjacent to them. Both the Conference and the Brethren churches recorded successes and failures when it came to relating to congregations already in existence. In the Grunthal area, for instance, the Conference immigrants at first attended the Chortitzer worship service. For a time it even seemed that they should unite with them, for the immigrants were settling on the lands of the Chortitzer emigrating to Paraguay, and the remnant needed reinforcing. However, the Chortitzer aversion to four-part singing and to free preaching in contrast to the traditional reading from a written sermon "in a monotonous tone of voice" soon made union unlikely.⁴⁴ Only about a dozen immigrants did become Chortitzer.⁴⁵

Some Conference people were next drawn to the Holdeman services through a member who also happened to be the local agent of the Intercontinental Land Company, and, while the requirements of free preaching and four-part singing were met here, the insistence on male members wearing beards and other such unaccustomed practices made integration there impossible as well.⁴⁶

The Brethren immigrants likewise "joined" the Kanadier closest to their spiritual heritage, namely the Bruderthaler in Steinbach, but this liaison was of short duration, even though the cultural gap, as in music or liturgy, was not as wide. The Bruderthaler had cultivated four-part singing since their beginning a generation earlier and, like the Brethren, were characterized by an evangelistic style.⁴⁷ But theological and liturgical affinity did not always overcome psychological and cultural barriers, even when it came to relating Brethren who were Russlaender and Brethren who were Kanadier. The different backgrounds caused "friction and misunderstanding" to arise rather easily.⁴⁸

In Manitoba, most of the new Brethren settlers had no choice but to found new congregations, because they settled where there were none, twelve of them between 1924 and 1930.⁴⁹ One of them was at Arnaud, which very briefly was an Alliance church. The two existing Brethren groups, Winnipeg and Winkler, however, became happy homes for the Russlaender, the former because the city missionary assisted immigrants with housing and employment, and the latter

because the immigrants arrived with such strength and leadership that their “many gifted and devoted ministers, leaders, teachers, and men qualified in practical affairs” soon assumed the dominant role in the congregation.⁵⁰

Winkler, the home of the first permanent Brethren church in Canada,⁵¹ became even more of a “mother church” for the Brethren than it had been before, because immigrant teachers led by one of the Russian church’s most renowned Bible teachers, Abram H. Unruh, founded the Peniel Bible School.⁵² Unruh personified the attributes of the old-time pedagogue for whom teaching was not just an occupation but the very reason for his being. He had taught at the Crimean Bible School until 1924, when he decided to emigrate to Canada, hopefully to establish another school there. His dreams were realized in October 1925 when Unruh started Bible classes in two rooms of a Winkler house. The student body totalled a modest six, but by Christmas the ranks had almost doubled to eleven.⁵³ Encouraging student increases in the following years justified the building of a large one-storey school building; by 1928, the enrolment had risen to 70.⁵⁴

The Winkler school was not the only such centre founded with the coming of the immigrants, but it became one of the most influential in the training of ministers and Sunday school teachers.⁵⁵ Peniel’s philosophy placed the accent on readying students for ministerial and other church work, while the Herbert Bible School, established by late Kanadier Brethren in Saskatchewan, placed the emphasis on preparation for missions.⁵⁶ Whatever the particular thrust of the schools in terms of training ministers, missionaries, or Sunday school workers, the curriculum offered studies in Bible doctrine, Old and New Testament exegeses, theology, church history, Mennonite history, and German grammar, literature, and music.

The school was popular also outside of Brethren circles. For a while it seemed that the Brethren would even co-operate in the venture with the Bergthaler. Bergthaler bishop Jakop Hoepfner actually donated the land for the Winkler school and publicly praised its good work.⁵⁷ Hoepfner’s successor, David Schulz, who had taken classes at Peniel, felt that his church’s support could continue, but only if the Bergthaler could add some of their own teachers to the Winkler staff.

This proposition apparently fell through, but this did not discour-

age the Bergthaler from co-operating with other Russlaender. In 1929, a Bible school was established by the Bergthaler at Gretna in co-operation with the Blumenorter, a Conference congregation, whose Russlaender members had settled in the village homes of Kanadier leaving for Mexico. Together, the two church elders, J.P. Bueckert and David Schulz, recruited J.H. Enns, a Russlaender minister-teacher to conduct the classes.⁵⁸ The school was initially located in the upstairs reading room of Gretna's Mennonite Collegiate Institute and later transferred to Altona.⁵⁹

In Manitoba, the Bergthaler represented the only Kanadier congregation, which fraternized a great deal with the Russlaender and which did so at several levels. The co-operation with the Blumenorter in the founding of a Bible school has already been noted. The Bergthaler made a serious attempt at bridge-building, partly because several of its members, including H.H. Ewert and P.P. Epp, had played a leading role in the immigration and partly because of its charter membership in the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada of which most of the Russlaender Conference churches became members. In a number of places, as at Graysville,⁶⁰ Russlaender joined existing or emerging Bergthaler congregations, or they became the dominant element, as at Morden⁶¹ where Russlaender J.M. Pauls and J.J. Wiens were elected minister and deacon, respectively.⁶²

Morden was unique in a number of ways. In Morden, the Sunday school was a joint effort of three groups: the German Lutherans, who owned the building and used it for worship only once a month; the Bergthaler, who used it once a month; and the Brethren, who used it twice a month. Bergthaler and Brethren worked together in Morden's Alexander Hall until the 1930s, but, as happened in all communities where Conference and Brethren people co-operated and worked together in time of need, they separated once they felt their independent strength.

As in the case of the Brethren, so also with the Conference people, the largest number of immigrant communities in Manitoba were in entirely new settlement areas where the question of relating to existing congregations could not come up.⁶³ To ensure that such groups were served, whether organized as congregations or not, several elders and ministers were appointed *Reiseprediger* and given monthly allowances by the home mission board of the General

Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America. This happened without much delay, usually upon the recommendations of David Toews, who was chairman of the immigration board, as well as Canadian representative on that U.S.A.-based General Conference home mission board. Such appointments meant that uprooted and unsalaried elders, who had lost in Russia the economic base for their manifold ministries and who could regain such a base only by neglecting the ministry, had an income, however small it might be — the average monthly allowance was \$50.⁶⁴ It also meant that the new settlements, especially the small ones, had the essential services of the ministry made available to them, at least occasionally.

Two of the most active Manitoba *Reiseprediger* were F.F. Enns, who became the elder of the Whitewater Mennonite Church, and J.P. Klassen, who became the elder of the Schoenwieser Mennonite Church. Together they served a large number of affiliated groups, as well as non-affiliated groups, until they became fully independent, something which occurred if and when these groups elected their own elders.⁶⁵ Although Enns and Klassen served somewhat overlapping territories — some groups actually experienced tensions because of divided preferences — Enns's primary responsibility was along the CPR line in southern Manitoba while Klassen, working first from Starbuck and then from Winnipeg, served groups in all directions from Winnipeg but mainly along the western rail lines extending to the Saskatchewan border.⁶⁶ At the peak, the Schoenwieser church and its elder served 37 groups.⁶⁷

In the case of F.F. Enns, his appointment meant travelling to such distant settlements as Reesor in Ontario and Namaka in Alberta and to such nearby communities as Whitewater, Boissevain, Clearwater, Crystal City, Manitou, Mather, Ninga, and Rivers. He would serve with communion, with baptism, and, where the groups were ready, with ordinations of deacons and/or ministers.⁶⁸ After his first fourteen months as itinerant minister, he recorded in his notebook the following summary of his activity:

Preached 192 times at 69 places
 Communion to 1267 souls at 16 places
 Baptism for 32 souls at 4 places
 Ordained 3 preachers and 1 deacon
 Attended at 3 elections — election of 5 ministers
 and 1 bishop

Worked away from home 206 days
 Visited 424 families at 69 places
 Travelled 1596 miles by wagon and sleigh
 Travelled 5832 miles by train
 Travelled 27 miles in Ontario on foot
 Four marriages
 Gave medicines to 273 persons⁶⁹

While such data was recorded, it was customarily not publicized. Publicity, it was believed, subtracted from the reward which would some day come to the loyal servant in heaven. But the secrecy also subtracted from the rewards on earth, because very few congregations were fully aware of their leaders' manifold ministries. Enns also withheld permission for others to have anything published "in the newspaper about my work" because "it goes against the grain to do so" if the groups themselves "have nothing to report."⁷⁰

In due course, Enns and his wife left their married children at Lena and made their home in Whitewater, the centre of the largest of the immigrant groups in southwestern Manitoba. Thus, the groups he could conveniently include in the immediate geographic circuit came to be part of the larger multi-branch congregation called Whitewater Mennonite Church, named, as was frequently the custom, after the central locale of the congregation, which usually also was the residential home of the elder.

J.P. Klassen's congregation was named after Schoenwiese, the home village in Russia near Alexandrovsk, later Zaporozhje, from where he and the core of his congregation had come. Klassen was unique among immigrant ministers for his oratorical gifts, his ability to inspire and win people, and also his liberalism in many respects, arising in part from his emphasis on "the spirit of the Bible" as distinct from the dependence on the biblical letter.⁷¹ Thus, he allowed, even encouraged, a rich social life for city young people, which included mixed folk games and the theatre. Otherwise, he avoided defining all the social prohibitions, including smoking, a frequent target for much preaching in both the Conference churches, where it was criticized but tolerated, and the Brethren churches, where it meant excommunication. Indeed, Klassen was known to "light up" in public following morning worship services.⁷² He also went farther than anybody else in practising open communion, and when the German Lutheran members of his audience at Graysville

chose to leave just before communion was served, he successfully invited them to stay:

Good friends, whoever believes in Christ may come to the communion. If you think as I do, then I will serve you with great joy. You are our brothers and sisters.⁷³

Between and among the well-defined territories of the various Russlaender congregations, Conference and /or Brethren, and Kanadier congregations were settlement groups that represented a mixture of people. Such groups would be served upon invitation by ministers from various sources. At Graysville, for instance, prior to the group's becoming an affiliate of the Bergthaler, the Schoenwieser, Brethren, Sommerfelder, Bergthaler, and others all worshipped together in a Presbyterian church building, which had become vacant owing to the 1925 union.⁷⁴ At Morris, the Schoenwieser were joined by people from the Brethren, the Bergthaler, and the Kleine Gemeinde, though only for a while.⁷⁵ And before the Schoenwieser had assumed the initiative, Morris had temporarily been an outpost of the Lichtenauer from St. Elizabeth.

Conference and Brethren people worshipped together in the early years of settlement in numerous places—at Vineland they even elected ministers together⁷⁶—but eventual separation seemed to be the destiny of all such groups. Exceptions were in the rarest of cases where one group absorbed, replaced, or eclipsed the other, as for instance the Conference church at Winnipegosis⁷⁷ and the Brethren churches at Newton⁷⁸ and Gem.⁷⁹ Places where co-operation was followed by separation included Springstein,⁸⁰ Niverville,⁸¹ North Kildonan,⁸² Arnaud,⁸³ Steinbach,⁸⁴ and others. When separation came, often the only co-operative link remaining was in the context of burial societies.⁸⁵

Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia

More integration of the Russlaender into Kanadier congregations took place in Saskatchewan than in any other province,⁸⁶ and that for several reasons. The settlements in Saskatchewan, being more recent, were more scattered, thus touching more of the Russlaender areas than in Manitoba, where the two reserves and adjoining territory left much of Manitoba untouched until the Russlaender

came. Furthermore, most Saskatchewan settlements of relevance to the Russlaender were settlements of the late Kanadier, that is, immigrants from the U.S.A., Prussia, and Russia in the years 1890 to 1920. Most of these late Kanadier congregations had already joined the two Canadian and North American conferences, to which the Russlaender would also relate. There was, in other words, a great deal of commonality between the late Kanadier and the Russlaender.

There was one important exception to this observation, namely in the Swift Current area. For at least a decade the Conference had sent itinerant ministers to serve scattered groups of early Kanadier. This activity was intensified when the emigration of the Reinlaender to Mexico left those who stayed behind without any spiritual care. A number of small groups thus became part of the Emmaus congregation, whose centre was Swift Current. The coming of the immigrants meant augmentation of both the centre and the affiliates.⁸⁷

Another congregational meeting place of the early Kanadier and the Russlaender was formed where persons of both groups joined congregations of the late Kanadier, such as the Rosenorter in the Rosthern area. Numerous Russlaender of the Kirchengemeinde variety found their way into the Rosenorter church of which David Toews was the leader. But this development could not be taken for granted even where geographic proximity suggested such integration, as in the villages near Hague, where Russlaender were settling on land vacated by the emigrating Kanadier. It so happened that these new settlers were, for the most part, from Chortitza in Russia. A new congregation of such people (that is, from Chortitza) had organized at Hanley under the leadership of Johann J. Klassen. He was a strong and aggressive leader and soon his Nordheimer congregation had many affiliates. Indeed, so large did Klassen's field of activity become — 22 groups, some of which were as far away from Hanley as 150 miles — that his election as elder could be facilitated only by a series of local elections and the mailing of sealed envelopes to Rosthern, where they were counted by a pre-selected group of brethren.⁸⁸

This then was the dilemma of immigrants settling in the Hague area. Geographically, they were closer to the Rosenorter congregation, which had meeting places in Hague and nearby villages. Culturally, they were closer to the Nordheimer, which represented their own kind from Russia. Most of the Rosenorter not only had arrived 35 years earlier, but had never been to Russia, having come

directly from Prussia. None the less, most of the immigrants decided to join the Hague Rosenorter group. This move was partly due to the influence of D.H. Rempel, a minister in their midst, who had corresponded from Russia with David Toews and who keenly felt the need to express some solidarity with Toews. On one occasion, Toews had made known his disappointment that although the immigrants were "willing to receive the Canadian physical bread, they were not as ready to accept the spiritual."⁸⁹

Thus, the Rosenorter became the most cosmopolitan of Mennonite congregational groups, partly because of the cosmopolitan David Toews and partly because the Rosenorter, having Prussian roots, did not cultivate the narrow allegiances and habits which were more characteristic of those from Russia, be they early Kanadier, late Kanadier, or Russlaender. Needless to say, those more open among the latter groups found the Rosenorter to be a congenial prairie church home.⁹⁰ If, on the one hand, the Rosenorter are credited with openness and tolerance, it must be said, on the other hand, that some others were not far behind. It was in the nature of widely scattered congregations like the Nordheimer—or like the Ebenfelder in the Herschel area or the Hoffnungsfelder in the Rabbit Lake area—to be accommodating of different views and styles.

The church chronicle (*Gemeinde-Chronick*) of the Ebenfelder church illustrates rather well the typical beginnings, development, and experiences of congregational life. Founded at Herschel on Easter Monday, April 13, 1925, the congregation's first 34 members were settlers at the Lamborn, Ramsey, and Meyers farms who had the mutual desire "to nurture a more active spiritual life."⁹¹ The worship services were held at first in the main building of the Lamborn farm under the leadership of Elder Jacob B. Wiens and his brother, Gerhard B. Wiens, likewise a minister, both ordained in Russia. The chronicle of events tells the rest of the story:

18 March 1926: the death of the oldest member at age 69 followed by burial three days later.

24 May 1926: baptism of the first young people, 12 in all, after an extended period of instruction.

6 June 1926: the election by majority vote of two ministers, Kornelius Jacob Warkentin and Hermann Lenzmann, and one deacon, Heinrich Penner. Lenzmann, however, declined to accept.

6 July 1925: admittance to the membership of Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada.

22–29 August 1926: admittance to General Conference Mennonite Church of North America.

1 August 1927: start of construction of a new building with an \$800 loan from the General Conference, interest free for two years and thereafter at four per cent.

1926–1930: incorporation into the Ebenfeld congregation of various settlement groups—including Truax with 12 members, Springwater with 8, Glidden with 16, and a trans-border group Provost (Alta.)-Marklin (Sask.), with 47—and the separation in 1928 of the largest of these, across the border in Alberta, as a separate independent congregation for reasons of size and distance.

14 June 1936: congregational celebration for Jacob B. Wiens of 25 years as elder and 35 years in the university.

28 July 1936: twenty-fifth wedding anniversary of the Gerhard B. Wienses.

25 February 1937: death by his own hand of church member Kornelius Franz Funk.

4 July 1937: death by drowning of a youth Gerhard B. Wiens.

31 March 1939: death by poisoning of infant Mary Martens.

22 May 1939: death of Elder Jacob B. Wiens in Saskatoon City Hospital at age of 68.

Many of the Russlaender Brethren settling in Saskatchewan found their new congregational homes in Brethren churches already established, though “amalgamation of the Kanadier and Russlaender in a local church was not always easy.”⁹² In the Main Centre Mennonite Brethren Church, founded in 1904 by families from Manitoba, Russia, and the U.S.A., 78 immigrant members were received in the years 1924 to 1926, but in the next two years alone, 32 of these immigrants left, and in 1927 they founded a new congregation.⁹³ Thirteen other new Brethren groups emerged in Saskatchewan, with clusters around Herbert, where a Bible school already existed, and around Hepburn, where a Bible school then was founded.

One new immigrant congregation, the one at Watrous, identified itself as being of the Alliance, and immediately established a relationship with the other Bruderthaler congregations in Saskatchewan. There were two of these at Langham, the north and south wings of

the congregation having formally divided in 1925 on the question of baptism.⁹⁴ A new one at Fairholme arose as the result of evangelistic work in a community which included a variety of Mennonites without a church home: Bergthaler, Bruderthaler, Brueder, and Sommerfelder.⁹⁵ These developments in Saskatchewan and similar growth in Alberta led the Bruderthaler to establish two Canadian districts, one for Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and one for Alberta, later also including British Columbia.⁹⁶

The Bruderthaler centre in Alberta was the Lane Farm at Namaka, where the Alliance and Conference people worshipped together until the former built its own meeting house.⁹⁷ It was in Alberta where the Alliance established its strongest presence, though it did not endure, as will later be seen. The Namaka Alliance had several Alliance affiliates, including Gem, where the group referred to itself as the Free Evangelical Church.⁹⁸ The role of Namaka in nurturing Alliance groups at Gem, Linden, Munson, and Crowfoot was largely due to their leader, Aaron A. Toews, who had been the leading minister of the Alliance church in Lichtfelde, Molotschna.⁹⁹

The Brethren church, which eventually integrated with itself all of the Alliance groups, had no congregation at all in Alberta until the immigrants arrived. Then its largest congregation was established at Coaldale, which became the strongest Alberta Mennonite centre, partly because the economy attracted so many immigrants and partly because of the leadership which people like B.B. Janz exerted. As time went on, Coaldale illustrated rather well how congregation-centredness helped develop a strong community and a sense of mission, as well as an excessive local patriotism for which Mennonite parochialism was well suited. A sense of special privilege, consequently a special calling and a special obligation, was part of the Coaldale experience and emphasized repeatedly throughout its early years, as the following sermon excerpt suggests:

Coaldale has very special opportunities, more than any other congregation in Alberta and beyond: so many special visiting ministers, so many special meetings, including conferences, song festivals, youth festivals, ministerial courses, Bible and high schools, or Sunday school courses. . . . Coaldale is receiving manifold blessings, and the Lord will expect much of Coaldale.¹⁰⁰

The blessing was evident in the rapid growth of the Coaldale Brethren church. The congregation built the first meeting house

(32'×52') with an annex (20'×32') in 1929. Another addition (30'×30') was constructed only three years later. A decade later all this was replaced by a "large sanctuary" (60'×104') just in time to host the 30th annual Northern District Conference, which brought delegates and visitors from all over Canada and the U.S.A. who wanted "to see the 'Russlaender' and their church" in Coaldale. It was a great moment for the congregation, for at last its members felt they had been fully accepted. The Coaldale church "had come of age and stood equal in rank with the older 'churches.'" ¹⁰¹

Coaldale, like many other Russlaender settlements, had a Conference church as well as a Brethren church. This duplication, so characteristic of the new settlements, happened also at Tofield, in the Peace River district, and at Namaka and Rosemary. At Rosemary and Tofield, the Conference and Brethren congregations were added to the Swiss groups that had already been in existence a quarter of a century or more. The Westheimer congregation at Rosemary was somewhat of a mother church for Conference groups in Alberta, for its elder served groups far and wide until they either dissolved or became independent. Only at Didsbury did the Conference Russlaender integrate with a congregation already in existence, namely the Bergthaler who had resettled from Manitoba at the turn of the century. ¹⁰²

The development of new churches in British Columbia paralleled to some extent the situation in Alberta in that there was one very strong congregation which overshadowed all the rest. The Coaldale of British Columbia was Yarrow where the Brethren churches expanded very rapidly after the beginning of settlement in 1928, though it must not be forgotten that there were other Mennonite beginnings in the West Coast province, however small. Since 1913, *Reiseprediger* had serviced a small Conference group at Renata in the Okanagan Valley. ¹⁰³ At Vanderhoof in the B.C. interior, the Great War had produced a Brethren church settlement in 1918. ¹⁰⁴

These remote beginnings, however, were soon forgotten as the Mennonite discovery of the Fraser Valley led to a veritable settlement rush in the depression years. The Brethren moved to the West Coast earliest and strongest, paralleling somewhat the migrations of the American Brethren from the midwest to the west coast. Yarrow and other parts of the valley attracted leaders like J. A. Harder and C. C. Peters, who found that berry gardens and small dairies were more compatible with ministerial duties than the large mixed farms of the

prairies. In Yarrow the Brethren swallowed up the Alliance, as in Alberta, and overshadowed the Conference churches, not only because the Brethren were established first but also because there were many defections from the Conference churches.

Yet, the Conference churches survived and remained a struggling minority in almost every settlement in the Fraser Valley, Greater Vancouver, and Vancouver Island, though not without a great deal of outside help. When Jacob H. Janzen came to British Columbia as an itinerant minister, he applied the same concept of a provincial United Mennonite church already operative in Ontario. Thus, all the Conference settlement groups were part of a single congregation, the parts of which drew strength and inspiration from each other. As a unit they joined the Canadian and General Conferences when the time came.

Congregational Life

Wherever they were founded, the new congregations met in homes, at first almost everywhere, in schoolhouses, in implement sheds, in barns, in haylofts, in grocery stores or lumber businesses, in community halls, and in the vacant buildings of various denominations. To give a few examples, the new congregations met in the vacant buildings of the Presbyterian church at Graysville and Whitewater, the United at Lena, the Lutheran at Starbuck, the Anglican at Oak Lake, and the Reformed in Winnipeg.¹⁰⁵ As soon as they could, the congregations put up simple buildings of their own. In the first decade, 47 congregations purchased or erected their own buildings at costs ranging from \$200 to \$6,000.¹⁰⁶ The effort required, and the sacrifices made, especially as the depression came, are indicated by the experience at Gem, where a structure measuring 32'×40' was begun by the Brethren churches at an estimated cost of \$400.¹⁰⁷ People contributed on the basis of farm produce: one dozen eggs brought 3 cents, one week's sale of cream 50 cents, one bushel of wheat 23 cents, and one fat two-year-old steer 24 dollars. This was supplemented by an appeal to 80 congregations, mostly in the U.S.A., which yielded the "exceedingly gratifying" results of \$208.01. Such solicitation had been authorized by the 1924 and 1927 sessions of the General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches.¹⁰⁸

The ingredients of congregational nurture, which typified many

Russlaender congregations, were those common also to other Mennonite churches. On Sundays and holidays, there always were preaching services. Special festival days in the Christian calendar were New Year's, Epiphany, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, and Christmas. At Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, there were normally two days of worship services. Once every fall, during or after the harvest, there was an all-day thanksgiving and mission festival.¹⁰⁹ Occasionally, there were prayer and Bible study meetings and annually, a two- or three-day Bible conference usually led by visiting ministers. Outside evangelists were invited to give evangelistic services three to five evenings a week every year.

The baptism festival was a high point in the life of every congregation, because it marked the formal induction, after a period of evangelism or catechetical training, of the young into the membership of the congregation. Becoming "a full-fledged member of a church through baptism" was experienced by those seeking it, usually in their late teens, as "an important and serious step." According to the memoirs of one, who had been baptized at age 19:

I had joined the church of our Lord and all of its members were my brothers and sisters. . . . The venerable ministers of the church, the choristers with their strong voices, the [worshipping] congregation, . . . the mysterious communion service; all these left a lasting impression on me. All this spoke to me of God's great mercy, which seemed to reach out and give me inner peace.¹¹⁰

The festival of the Lord's supper, observed to commemorate the suffering and death of Christ as well as fellowship of the believers with each other and with Christ, was taken most seriously. The communion service was a time to get closer to God through Christ, because of His life, death, and resurrection, but also for church members to get closer to each other. It was a time for enmity and strife to end and for reconciliation to take place. To facilitate this a preparatory sermon, with admonitions towards that end, would be given usually a Sunday in advance. That would give everybody an opportunity to make things right with their neighbours. The communion service was viewed as the family feast of a congregation.

Where is there a meal time on earth where rich and poor, those of high and low station, have such intimate fellowship?

Everywhere there is separation and division, hate and envy of the various classes. But here the poor domestic sits next to the fashionable woman and the simple worker next to the learned. And both partake from the same dish. Therein lies a deep social significance.¹¹¹

All believers, baptized and penitent, were expected to attend, and believers from other congregations were sometimes welcome too. The Conference churches tended to be most open in their communion practices, the Brethren churches most closed, and the Alliance churches held the moderate ground between the open and the closed systems. Careful records were kept both of the communion services themselves and of the number of participants, the latter being determined by calculating the number of thimble-size pieces of communion bread consumed.¹¹² Participation was viewed both as a holy obligation and a high privilege. Non-participation for whatever reason symbolized the breakdown of a relationship between the member and the congregation. Practices like foot-washing at communion services had not been uniformly practised in Russia and thus were recognized as an optional ordinance, especially in congregations where different traditions were represented.

The highest authority in the congregation, at least theoretically, was the brotherhood meeting (*Bruderschaft*), in which all the male members made the decisions important for the life of the congregation. The female members were gradually included in the franchise, beginning with such special occasions as the election of an elder or leading minister, minister, or deacon. These elected spiritual leaders met as a group and represented the spiritual authority of the congregation.¹¹³ Paralleling the ministerial body, responsible for spiritual matters, was a lay body of about three members, a church council responsible for all the business matters of the congregation.¹¹⁴ The operating expenses of a congregation were handled through freewill offerings or levies of one kind or another. In some congregations the annual levy was partly based on membership, at 50 cents per person, and partly on land ownership, at 75 cents per quarter section (or 160 acres).¹¹⁵

The most important duty of elders, ministers, and deacons was the spiritual nurture of the members, referred to as caring for the soul (*Seelsorge*).¹¹⁶ *Seelsorge* had to do with the most important aspect of human existence, for to be damaged or to sustain the loss of one's soul

was the greatest human loss of all. Thus the work of *Seelsorge* was fundamental in the nurture of a congregation. It was also very rewarding, because nothing enriched life as much as interpersonal relations. It was important, of course, to remember that every human being was an individual, and that not every individual needed the same kind of care or intervention in order to be right with God. It was also true that no person involved in *Seelsorge* was "sovereign or possessing the infallibility of a pope."¹¹⁷ The motivation of all *Seelsorge* had to be love and compassion for the needy and the lost.¹¹⁸

The chorister was a common institution in most immigrant congregations. It was his duty to select hymns, announce them, and lead out in singing from his place in the pew or, in larger congregations, from up front, where he sat with ministers and deacons. The chorister was not a conductor, only a singer with a loud voice and enough musical sense to get a song and the congregation started on the right pitch. While the Russlaender were not opposed in principle to the use of pianos or other musical instruments, it was some time before many congregations could afford them. Unless, of course, the congregation was as fortunate as the one at Waterloo, which purchased not only an elegant Presbyterian sanctuary left vacant by the Union of 1925 but also a pipe organ to go with it.

An essential resource to the congregations were the denominational Conferences, which helped the congregations financially, with personnel, and through the provision of program materials. More importantly, they gave to the congregations a wider fellowship. Through the Conferences, also, the congregations were linked to the international work of missions and relief, either directly or indirectly through such mediating agencies as the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization and the Mennonite Central Committee. This connection was timely, because events unfolding elsewhere in the world, especially in the U.S.S.R., required of the congregations that they extend their normal, quite limited, borders to minister to the needs of the world and especially to Mennonite people elsewhere in distress. Thus, even as the Russlaender were settling into their parochial congregations to preserve their individuality, they were rudely reminded that their brothers and sisters in faraway Russia were struggling with their very survival.

TABLE 27¹¹⁹
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS¹ IN CANADA

(including those in existence in 1920 and those established between 1920 and 1940)

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
<i>A. ONTARIO</i>					
Altona		See Stouffville			
Arkona	1868	Reformed M	RM	S	15
Aylmer	1900	Aylmer MBC	MBC	S	56
Ayr	1822	Detweiler M	OM	S	24
Baden	1824	Steinman Amish M	AM	S	550
	1840	Shantz M	OM	S	91
	1844	Hostetler's Reformed M	RM	S	New Hamburg
	1855	St. Agatha Amish M	AM	S	Steinman
	1913	Baden M	OM	S	M
Bloomingtondale	1824	Bloomingtondale M	OM	S	55
Bothwell	1874	Bethel M	OM	S	26
Breslau	1815	Cressman M	OM	S	170
	1882	Breslau MBC	MBC	S	51
Bright	1938	Bright Mission	OM	S	M
Cambridge		See Hespeler and Preston			
Collborne	1936	Prospect MBC	MBC	S	15
Collingwood	1897	Collingwood MBC	MBC	S	42
					Wellesley

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
			<i>A. ONTARIO (continued)</i>		
Dunnville	1835	South Cayuga M	OM	S	20
	1889	South Cayuga M(1932) ⁸	OOM	S	—
	1930	South Cayuga M(1940)	MWC	S	—
Elmira	1853	West Woolwich M	OOM	S	Waterloo
	1924	Elmira M	OM	S	160
	1939	Elmira M	MWC	S	125
Elmwood	1875	Elmwood MBC	MBC	S	48
Fisherville	1825	Rainham Reformed M	RM	S	10
Floradale	1889	Floradale M	OM	S	105
Gormley	1891	Gormley MBC	MBC	S	169
Hanover	1903	Hanover MBC	MBC	S	50
Harrow	1920s	Harrow United M	CM	R	Leamington
Hespeler	1829	Wanner M	OM	S	60
	1927	Hespeler MB	MB	R	27
	1927	Hespeler UM	CM	R	Waterloo
	1898	Hespeler MBC	MBC	R	69
Kitchener	1807	First M	OM	S	384
	1842	Weber M	OM	S	86
	1877	Bethany MBC	MBC	S	343

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
		<i>A. ONTARIO (continued)</i>			
Palmerston	1901	Wallace MBC	MBC	S	38
Petrolia	1920	Petrolia MBC	MBC	S	39
Pickering	1889	Reesor M(1932)	OOM	S	—
	1930	Reesor M	MWC	S	115
Poole	1903	Mornington Amish M	BA	S	160
	1874	Poole Amish M	AM	S	215
Port Colborne	1883	Reformed M	RM	S	50
Port Elgin	1868	Port Elgin MBC	MBC	S	33
Port Rowan	1926	Port Rowan United M	CM	R	20
	1926	Port Rowan MB	MB	R	51
Preston	1804	Hagey M	OM	S	94
Rainham	1930	Rainham M	MWC	S	20
		See also Selkirk			
Reesor	1925	Reesor United M	CM	R	60
Riedsville	1937	Riedsville Outreach	OM	C	M
St. Catharines	1899	St. Catharines MBC	MBC	S	40
St. Jacobs	1844	St. Jacobs M	OM	S	366
	1889	Conestoga M	OOM	S	Waterloo
St. Thomas	1897	Zion MBC	MBC	S	29

Selkirk	1836	Rainham M	OM	S	45
	1889	Rainham M(1932)	OOM	S	—
		See also Rainham			
Sherkston	1800s	Sherkston M(1931)	OM	S	—
	1835	Stevensville Reformed M	RM	S	50
	1889	Bertie M(1926)	OOM	S	—
Singhampton	1893	Shrigley MBC	MBC	S	25
	1885	Mt. Pleasant MBC	MBC	S	27
Spring Bay	1890	Salem MBC	MBC	S	47
Stayner	1881	Stayner MBC	MBC	S	73
	1890s	Sunnidale MBC	MBC	S	77
Stouffville	1852	Altona M(1889)	OM	S	—
	1872	Altona MBC	MBC	S	60
	1889	Altona M(1930)	OOM	S	—
	1903	Stouffville MBC	MBC	S	167
	1935	Glasgow M	OM	S	16
	1930	Altona M	MWC	S	Pickering
Stratford	1906	Stratford MBC	MBC	S	49
Tavistock	1837	East Zorra Amish M	AM	S	750
	1935	Cassel Amish M	AM	S	125
Toronto	1897	Banfield Memorial	MBC	S	99
	1899	Grace MBC	MBC	S	72
	1907	Danforth M	OM	S	36
		See also Scarborough			
Unionville	1858	Almira M	OM	S	24
	1889	Almira M(1932)	OOM	S	—
	1930	Almira M	MWC	S	Pickering
	1801	The First M	OM	S	80
Vineland	1881	Vineland MBC	MBC	S	130

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
		<i>A. ONTARIO (continued)</i>			
	1889	Meyers M(1928)	OOM	S	—
	1927	Vineland MB	MB	R	156
	1927	Vineland United M	CM	R	208
Virgil	1934	Niagara MB	MB	R	249
Wallenstein	1901	South Peel M	OOM	S	Waterloo
	1917	David Martin M	DM	S	70
Waterloo	1837	Erb St. M	OM	S	262
	1889	Martin M	OOM	S	850
	1924	Waterloo-Kitchener United M	CM	R	281
	1939	Martin M	MWC	S	150
		See also Kitchener			
Wellesley	1850	Kingwood Reformed M	RM	S	New Hamburg
	1859	Mapleview Amish M	AM	S	420
	1886	Wellesley Amish M	OOA	S	95
	1886	Mornington Amish M	OOA	S	100
	1911	Cedar Grove Amish M	BA	S	190
Windsor	1927	Windsor United M(1940)	CM	R	—
Woodbridge	1824	Schmitt M(1923)	OM	S	—
Zurich	1837	Zurich M	OM	S	100

1848	Blake Amish M		AM						50
1889	Stanley M		OOM						Waterloo
<i>B. MANITOBA</i>									
1926	Griswold MB		MB						68
1908	Bergthaler M		CM						2735
1918	Sommerfelder M		SM						2500
1927	Altona MB		MB						36
1936	Rudnerweider M		Rud						1211
1935	Bergthaler M		CM						Altona
1925	Arnaud EMB/MB ⁹		EMB/MB						120
1925	Arnaud M		CM						50
1936	Rudnerweider M		Rud						Altona
1926	Schoenwieser M(1930s)		CM						—
1874	Kleine Gemeinde		KG						811
1923	Blumenort M		CM						236
1928	Boissevain MB		MB						58
	See Winnipeg Schoenwieser								
1876	Chortitz M		ChM						1364
1880s	Reinlaender M(1920s)		ReM						—
1927	Whitewater M		CM						Whitewater
1926	Domain MB		MB						—
1892	Bergthaler M		CM						Altona
1940	Rudnerweider M		CM						Altona
1930	Elie MB(1930s)		MB						—
1925	Elm Creek MB		MB						59
1926	Schoenwieser M(1930s)		CM						—
1931	Schoenwieser M		CM						Winnipeg

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
<i>B. MANITOBA (continued)</i>					
Glencross	1936	Rudnerweider M	Rud	EK	Altona
Glenlea	1925	Schoenwieser M	CM	R	—
Gnadenthal	1923	Blumenort M	CM	R	Blumenort(W)
	1929	Gnadenthal MB	MB	R	51
Graysville	1927	Schoenwieser M	CM	K/R	—
Griswold		See Alexander and Oak Lake			
Grossweide	1896	Grossweide MB	MB	R	88
	1890s	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
Grunthal	1882	Chortitzer M	ChM	EK	Chortitz(E)
	1927	Elim M	CM	R	216
Halbstadt		See Edenburg/Halbstadt			
Headingly		See Pigeon Lake			
High Bluff	1924	Schoenwieser M	CM	R	Winnipeg
Holmfield	1928	Holmfield and Smith Hill MB	MB	R	55
Homewood	1938	Bergthaler M	CM	EK	Altona
Justice	1928	Brookdale MB	MB	R	34
Kirkella	1926	Schoenwieser M(1930s)	CM	R	—
Kirkfield Park		See Winnipeg Schoenwieser			
Kleefeld	1874	Kleine Gemeinde	KG	EK	Blumenort(E)

	Holdemaner M	1881	CGCM						442
Kronsgart	Kronsgart MB	1896	MB			EK			56
Kronswiede	Sommerfelder M	1890s	SM			EK		Altona	
Landmark	Kleine Gemeinde	1920	KG			EK		Blumenort(E)	
LaSalle	LaSalle MB	1925	MB			R		42	
Lena	Whitewater M	1926	CM			R		Whitewater	
	Lena MB	1928	MB			R		Holmfield	
Lindal	Lindal MB Mission	1935	MB			R		M	
Lorette	Schoenwieser M(1935)	1925	CM			R		—	
Lowe Farm	Sommerfelder M	1892	SM			EK		Altona	
	Bergthaler M	1900	CM			EK		Altona	
	Manitou MB	1927	MB			R		73	
Manitou	Manitou MB	1927	CM			R		Whitewater	
	Whitewater M	1927	CM			R		—	
Manson	Schoenwieser M(1930s)	1926	CM			R		—	
Marquette	Marquette MB	1925	MB			R		Winnipeg North End	
	See also Pigeon Lake								
	See Crystal City								
Mather	Rudnerweider M	1940	Rud			EK		Altona	
Mayfield	Rudnerweider M	1926	CM			R		—	
McAuley	Schoenwieser M(1930s)	1926	CM			R		—	
Meadows	See Pigeon Lake					R		90	
Melita	Melita MB(1936)	1932	MB			R		Altona	
Morden	Morden MB	1928	MB			R		—	
	Bergthaler M	1931	CM			EK/R		—	
Morris	Lichtenauer M(1930s)	1920s	CM			R		—	
	Schoenwieser M	1938	CM			R		Winnipeg	
New Bergthal	Rudnerweider M	1937	Rud			EK		Altona	
Newton Siding	Newton MB	1926	MB			R		93	
Niverville	Niverville MB	1926	MB			R		89	
	Schoenwieser M	1926	CM			R		—	

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
<i>B. MANITOBA (continued)</i>					
North Kildonan	1936	Chortitzer M	Ch	EK	Chortitz(E) 175
	1928	North Kildonan MB	MB	R	Winnipeg
Oak Lake	1928	Schoenwieser M	CM	R	Winnipeg
Osterwick	1927	Schoenwieser M	CM	R	Altona
Petersfield	1920s	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Winnipeg
Pigeon Lake	1937	Schoenwieser M	CM	R	—
	1925	Schoenwieser M(1939) ⁹	CM	R	96
	1939	Schoenfelder M	CM	R	Altona
Plum Coulee	1897	Bergthaler M	CM	EK	Altona
	1917	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
	1937	Rudnerweider M	Rud	EK	Altona
		See Lorette			
Prairie Rose	1936	Altkolonier M	OC	EK	390
Reinfeld	1870s	Reinlaender M(1920s)	ReM	EK	—
Reinland	1892	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
	1923	Blumenort M	CM	R	Blumenort(W)
	1937	Rudnerweider M	Rud	EK	Altona
Rivers	1929	Schoenwieser M(1939)	CM	R	—
	1939	Whitewater M	CM	R	Whitewater

Rosefarm	1937	Rudnerweider M	Rud	EK	Altona
Rose Isle	1920s	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
Rosenbach	1920s	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
Rosenfeld	1937	Bergthaler M	CM	EK	Altona
Rosengard	1937	Rudnerweider M	Rud	EK	Altona
Rosenort (near Morris)	1930	Chortitz M	ChM	EK	Chortitz(E)
Rosenort(W)	1874	Kleine Gemeinde	KG	EK	334
	1881	Holdemaner M	CGCM	EK	Kleefteld
	1880s	Reinlaender M(1920s)	ReM	EK	—
	1923	Blumenort M	CM	R	Blumenort(W)
	1937	Altkolonier M	OC	EK	Reinfeld
Rudnerweide	1936	Rudnerweider M	Rud	EK	Altona
Ste. Anne	1890	Greenland Holdeman M	CGCM	EK	Kleefteld
	1920	Schoenwieser M(1932)	CM	R	—
St. Elizabeth	1920s	Lichtenauer M	CM	R	166
Schoenthal	1890s	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
Silberfeld	1890s	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
Sperling	1928	Sperling MB	MB	R	18
	1928	Schoenwieser M(1930s)	CM	R	—
	1924	Springstein MB	MB	R	Winnipeg North End
	1924	Schoenwieser M(1938)	CM	R	—
	1938	Springstein M	CM	R	85
Starbuck	1924	Schoenwieser M	CM	R	Winnipeg
Steinbach	1874	Kleine Gemeinde	KG	EK	Blumenort(E)
	1881	Holdemaner M	CGCM	EK	Kleefteld
	1897	Bruderthaler M	EMB	EK	274
	1923	Steinbach MB	MB	R	213
	1923	Schoenwieser M	CM	R	Winnipeg

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
			<i>B. MANITOBA (continued)</i>		
Stonewall	1925	Schoenwieser M	CM	R	Winnipeg
Stuartburn		See Gardenton			
Viriden		See Oak Lake			
Waldheim	1890s	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
Weidenfeld	1938	Chortitzer M	ChM	EK	Chortitz(E)
Westbourne		See High Bluff			
Whitewater	1925	Whitewater M	CM	R	427
Willen	1926	Schoenwieser M(1930s)	CM	R	—
Wingham	1920s	Blumenorter M	CM	R	Blumenort(W)
Winkler	1888	Winkler MB	MB	R	379
	1895	Bergthaler M	CM	EK	Altona
	1937	Rudnerweider M	Rud	EK	Altona
	1900s	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	Altona
Winnipeg	1907	North End MB	MB	K/R	345
	1928	Schoenwieser (First)M	CM	R	692
	1936	South End MB	MB	R	126
	1938	Bethel M	CM	EK	60
		See also North Kildonan			
Winnipegosis	1931	Nordheimer M	CM	R	65

C. SASKATCHEWAN

Aberdeen	1902	Bergthaler (S)M	BM			Rosthern
	1906	Aberdeen MB	MB	EK	109	
	1907	Rosenorter M	CM	LK		Rosthern
Alsask	1910	Alsask MBC	MBC	EK/LK	43	
Arelee	1903	Arelee MB(1930s)	MB	S	—	
Beaverdale	1931	Immanuel M	CM	LK		Meadow Lake
Beaver Flat	1913	Bethania MB	MB	K/R	79	
Beechy	1925	Friedensheim MB	MB	LK	37	
Blumenhof	1906	Blumenort MB	MB	R	38	
Borden	1904	Borden MB	MB	E/K	123	
Bornemouth	1927	Hoffnungsfeld M	CM	LK		Rabbit Lake
Capasin	1931	Rosenorter M	CM	R		Rosthern
Carrot River	1908	Bergthaler (S)M	BM	K/R	75	
	1926	Hoffnungsfeld M	CM	EK	77	
	1926	Carrot River MB(?)	MB	R	—	
Compass	1933	Immanuel M	CM	R		Meadow Lake
	1938	Northern Evangelical	MB	K/R	20	
Dalmeny	1901	Ebenezer MB	MB	K/R	230	
	1904	Dalmeny Bible	EMB	LK	500	
	1907	Neu Hoffnung MB	MB	LK	21	
Drake	1906	North Star M	CM	LK	286	
Duck Lake	1934	Horse Lake Rosenorter M	CM	LK		Rosthern
Dundurn	1924	Nordheimer M	CM	K/R	319	
Elbow	1927	Nordheimer M	CM	R		Dundurn
	1927	Elbow MB	MB	R	11	
Erwood	1936	Hebron M	CM	R	74	
Eyebrow	1929	Eyebrow M	CM	R	59	
Fairholme	1927	Bruderthaler M(1930s)	EMB	R	—	
				K/R		

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
<i>C. SASKATCHEWAN (continued)</i>					
Fiske	1925	Ebenfeld M	CM	R	Herschel
Fitzmaurice	1930s	Parkerview M	CM	K/R	30
Flowing Well	1907	Gnadenau MB	MB	LK	81
Foam Lake	1937	Foam Lake MB	MB	R	51
Fox Valley	1914	Fox Valley MB(1930s)	MB	LK	—
Frontier	1934	Eastbrook MB(1939)	MB	R	—
Garthland	1931	Rosenorter M	CM	K/R	Rosthern
Gilroy	1920s	Gilroy MB	MB	R	20
Glenbush	1927	Hoffnungsfelder M	CM	R	Rabbit Lake
	1928	Glenbush MB	MB	R	120
Glidden	1927	Ebenfeld M	CM	R	Herschel
Gouldtown	1926	Gouldtown M	CM	R	25
Great Deer	1912	Bethel M	CM	LK	140
Greenfarm	1913	Greenfarm MB	MB	LK	81
Guernsey	1905	Sharon M	OM	S	120
Gull Lake	1930	Kildron M	CM	R	25
Hague	1895	Reinlaender M(1920s)	ReM	EK	—
	1903	Rosenorter M	CM	LK	Rosthern
	1924	Hochfeld Rosenorter M	CM	R	Rosthern

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
		<i>C. SASKATCHEWAN (continued)</i>			
McMahon	1927	Reinfeld MB	MB	R	71
	1930	Emmaus M	CM	K/R	Swift Current
Meadow Lake	1930	Immanuel M	CM	K/R	118
Morse	1920s	Glen Kerr M	CM	R	20
Mullingar	1927	Mullingar MB	MB	R	41
Neville	1914	Pella Emmaus	CM	K	Swift Current
Osler	1928	Osler M	CM	R	50
Oxbow	1931	Oxbow MB(1933)	MB	R	—
Petaigan	1931	Hoffnungsfeld M	CM	R	96
Pierceland	1931	Immanuel M	CM	K/R	Meadow Lake
	1939	Pierceland MB	MB	R	25
Pleasant Point	1924	Nordheimer M	CM	R	Dundurn
Rabbit Lake	1926	Hoffnungsfeld M	CM	R	134
Rosthern	1891	Rosenorter M	CM	LK	1654
	1892	Eigenheim Rosenorter M(1928)	CM	LK	—
	1928	Eigenheim M	CM	LK	217
	1901	Bergthaler(S) M	CM	LK	906
Saskatoon	1932	First M	BM	EK	147
	1937	Saskatoon MB	CM	R	136
Schoenfeld	1935	Emmaus M	CM	R	Swift Current
				K/R	

Speedwell	1930s	Fairholme MB	MB	K/R	86
Superb	1925	Ebenfeld M	CM	R	Herschel
Swift Current	1904	Reinlaender M(1920s)	ReM	EK	—
	1904	Sommerfelder M	SM	EK	556
	1914	Emmaus M	CM	E/K	210
	1914	Swift Current MB	MB	E/K	27
Syke's Farm	1927	Emmaus M	CM	R	Swift Current
Truax	1933	Ebenezer M	CM	R	15
	1934	Truax MB	MB	R	18
Turnhill	1901	Bruderfeld MB	MB	LK	25
Waldheim	1899	Salem KMB	KMB	LK	250
	1899	Brotherfield MB	MB	LK	122
	1909	Zoar M	CM	LK	186
	1918	Waldheim MB	MB	LK	100
Warman	1932	Warman M(1939)	CM	EK	—
	1939	Warman MB	MB	EK	M
	1903	Bergthaler(S) M	BM	EK	Rosthern
Watrous	1927	Philadelphia EMB(1932)	EMB	R	—
	1932	Watrous MB	MB	R	112
	1932	Bethany M	CM	R	27
Wingard	1935	Rosenorter M	CM	K/R	Rosthern
Woodrow	1909	Woodrow MB	MB	LK	61
Wymark	1927	Emmaus M	CM	K/R	Swift Current
<i>D. ALBERTA</i>					
Acadia Valley	1908	Acadia Valley M	OM	S	8
Bergen	1933	Bergen MBC	MBC	S	37
Berrymoor	1931	Berrymoor MBC	MBC	S	7
Bucks Creek	1935	Bucks Creek MBC	MBC	S	2

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
<i>D. ALBERTA (continued)</i>					
Carstairs	1901	West Zion M	OM	S	67
Castor	1906	Markham MBC	MBC	S	43
Chinook-Naco	1927	Neukirchner M	CM	R	31
Coaldale	1926	Coaldale MB	MB	R	494
	1926	Coaldale M	CM	R	140
Condor	1933	Condor MBC	MBC	S	2
Countess	1927	Countess MB(1930s)	MB	R	—
	1927	Countess M(1930s)	M	R	—
		See Rosemary Westheimer			
Cremona	1932	Cremona MBC	MBC	S	21
Crooked Creek	1929	Rosedale Holdemaner M	CGCM	EK	Linden
Crowfoot		See Namaka and Rosemary			
Didsbury	1894	Didsbury MBC	MBC	S	214
	1903	Bergthal M	CM	EK/R	126
Duchess	1916	Duchess M	OM	S	56
Galahad	1921	Gleichen MBC	MBC	S	21
Gem	1927	Gem EMB	EMB	R	61
	1929	Gem MB	MB	R	154
	1929	Gem M	CM	R	20
		See also Namaka			

Gimlet	1933	Gimlet MBC	MBC	S	16
Gore	1908	Gore MBC	MBC	S	23
Graindale	1915	Graindale MBC	MBC	S	21
Grande Prairie	1918	Bear Lake KMB(c.1930)	KMB	LK	—
	1927	Hoffnungsfeld M	CM	R	106
Grassy Lake	1928	Grassy Lake MB	MB	R	30
	1891	Mount View M	OM	S	57
Hoadley	1934	Hoadley MBC	MBC	S	11
Hussar		See Rosemary Westheimer			
James River	1925	James River MBC	MBC	S	9
	1920s	Lacombe M	CM	R	25
LaCrete		See also Rosemary Westheimer			
	1936	LaCrete Altkolonier M	OC	EK	150
		Two meeting houses at Rosenort and Blumenort			
La Glace	1930s	LaCrete Bergthaler(S) M	BM	EK	50
	1927	La Glace MB	MB	R	73
Lindbrook	1928	Lindbrook MB	MB	R	58
	1902	Holdemaner M	CGCM	EK/S	358
Linden	1929	EMB of Linden	EMB	R	35
	1927	Lymburn M(1930s)	CM	R	—
May City	1906	May City MBC	MBC	S	38
Mayton	1901	Mayton M(1920s)	OM	S	—
Munson		See Namaka			
Namaka	1927	Landskroner M(1937)	CM	R	—
	1927	Namaka EMB	EMB	R	60

The Namaka Allianz (EMB) group was somewhat of a "mother church" for EMB *Filiale* at Crowfoot, Gem, Linden (Swalwell), Munson, and Ryley, all of which disappeared (Crowfoot, Munson, Ryley) or merged with the MBs (Gem, Linden, Namaka) in the 1940s.

TABLE 27 (continued)
 MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

PLACE ²	DATE ³	NAME ⁴	CONGREGATIONAL FAMILY ⁵	CULTURAL IDENTITY ⁶	MEMBERSHIP IN 1940 ⁷
		<i>D. ALBERTA (continued)</i>			
Pincher Creek	1928	Blumenthaler M	CM	R	47
Reist	1911	Clearwater M(c. 1930)	OM	S	—
Rosedale	1920s	Rosedale M(1930s)	CM	R	—
Rosemary	1930	Westheimer M	CM	R	312
		Rosemary Westheimer was somewhat of a "mother church" in varying degrees for various groups, some of which dissolved as groups or settlements (Countess, Crowfoot, Seven Persons, Hussar), joined Rosemary (Namaka), or became independent (Gem, Latcombe, Tofield).			
Ryley	1930s	Rosemary MB(1930s)	MB	R	—
Seven Persons		See Namaka			
Stettler	1909	See Rosemary Westheimer			
Sundre	1934	Stettler MBC	MBC	S	10
Sunnyslope	1909	McDougall Flat MBC	MBC	S	13
Tofield	1910	Sunnyslope MBC	MBC	S	17
	1910	Salem M	OM	S	231
	1929	Schoensee M	M	R	96
Vauxhall	1933	Vauxhall MB	MB	R	64
	1937	Vauxhall M	M	R	39
Youngstown	1910	Youngstown M(1930s)	OM	S	—



Mennonites from Russia embarking on the S.S. *Bruton* at Libau, Latvia, 1923.



Members of the new Stirling congregation in Kitchener excavating for a new meeting place.



Kanadier Mennonites
 leaving for Paraguay
 from Altona in 1926.

THE DAILY RECORD

KITCHENER-WATERLOO, FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 1922.

The Kitchener-Waterloo *Daily Record* announces the removal of the ban on Mennonite immigration in 1922.

Mennonites Now Free To Come Into Canada

Order-in-Council passed by Union Government Forbidding Mennonite Immigration Into This Country Has Been Annulled By King Government As Result of Steps Taken By W. D. Euler M. P.

WAS INJUSTICE TO DESIRABLE PEOPLE

(Exclusive to Record.)

OTTAWA, June 9.—The order-in-council promulgated by the Union Government during the war restricting all Mennonite immigration into Canada has just been annulled by the Liberal government as a result of the efforts of W. D. Euler M. P., according to information received by Record's press gallery representative at Ottawa. The Mennonites are now as free to enter Canada as the adherents of any other faith. This announcement will be received with considerable pleasure by the thousands of Mennonites in Kitchener, Waterloo and the county.

MEMBERS OBJECTED

In 1919 the Union Government passed an order-in-council forbidding Mennonite immigration into Canada. This was done in spite of the vigorous protests of W. D. Euler M. P., I. E. Pedlow, M. P., of South Renfrew and others. The member for North Waterloo held that the regulation was unfair and offensive to many of the people of Waterloo county and elsewhere, the sons and daughters of its pioneers who are admittedly the most desirable citizens.

REMOVES DISCRIMINATION

As soon as the King government took office, the member for North Waterloo immediately took steps to have this objectionable regulation repealed. As a result the government has annulled the order-in-council which removes the discrimination against the Mennonite people. The objectionable regulation interfered with visits of American Mennonites with their Canadian relatives and friends. This particularly objectionable feature has been removed in the annulling of the order-

MENNONITES PLEASED

The announcement of the repeal of the order-in-council restricting Mennonite immigration into Canada will be received with a great deal of pleasure by the Mennonite people of North Waterloo, according to a statement made to the Record today by D. B. Betzner of this city, when informed by the Record of the annulling of the restrictions. The news, Mr. Betzner said, will be a matter of extreme satisfaction to the Mennonites of Canada.

TEA AND SUGAR PRICES ADVANCE

Two Increases in Sugar Yesterday No Hope for Relief From Higher Prices This Year

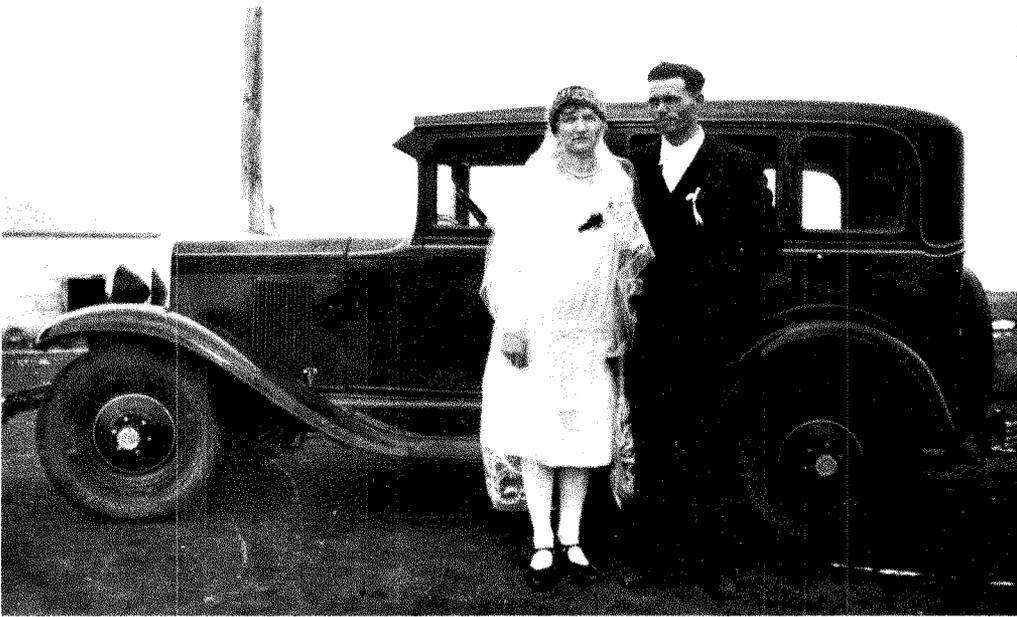
The prices of two commodities are soaring. Noted advances in the prices of tea and sugar have occurred within the last few days. Tea prices have gone up from 45 to 46 cents. Sugar prices yesterday went up 50 cents, two advances occurring in one day. The wholesale price is \$9.93 a cwt. On June 2 the price went up 10 cents cwt. The Record learned from George Scholt, grocer, today that there is no

JOHN H. ENNS



The first ditched road leading from the CNR tracks at Reesor in Northern Ontario to the new settlement there.

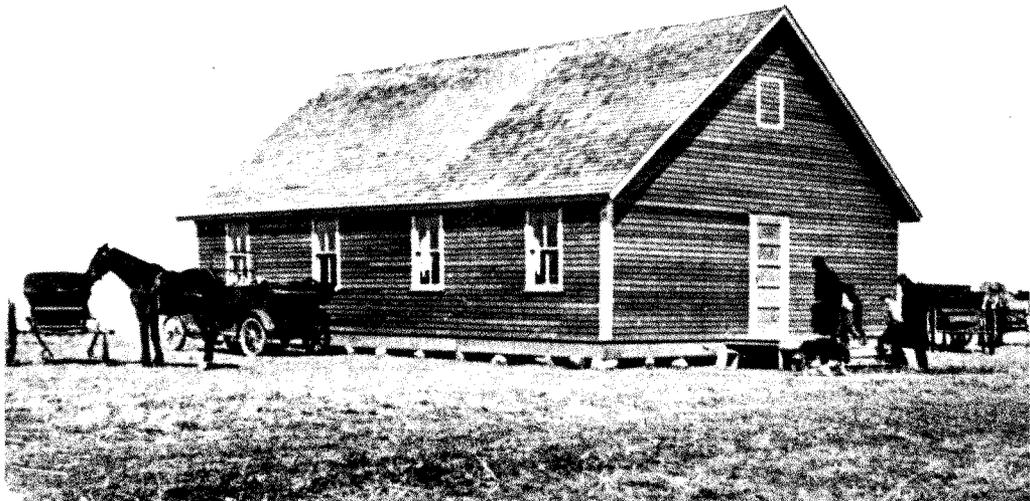
L. F. ISHMAN



The wedding of Liese Wall and John Harder in Saskatoon in 1929.

JOHN H. ENNS





The new meeting house of the Nordheimer built at Hanley in 1929.





A 1931 baptism ceremony of the Kitchener Mennonite Brethren congregation.



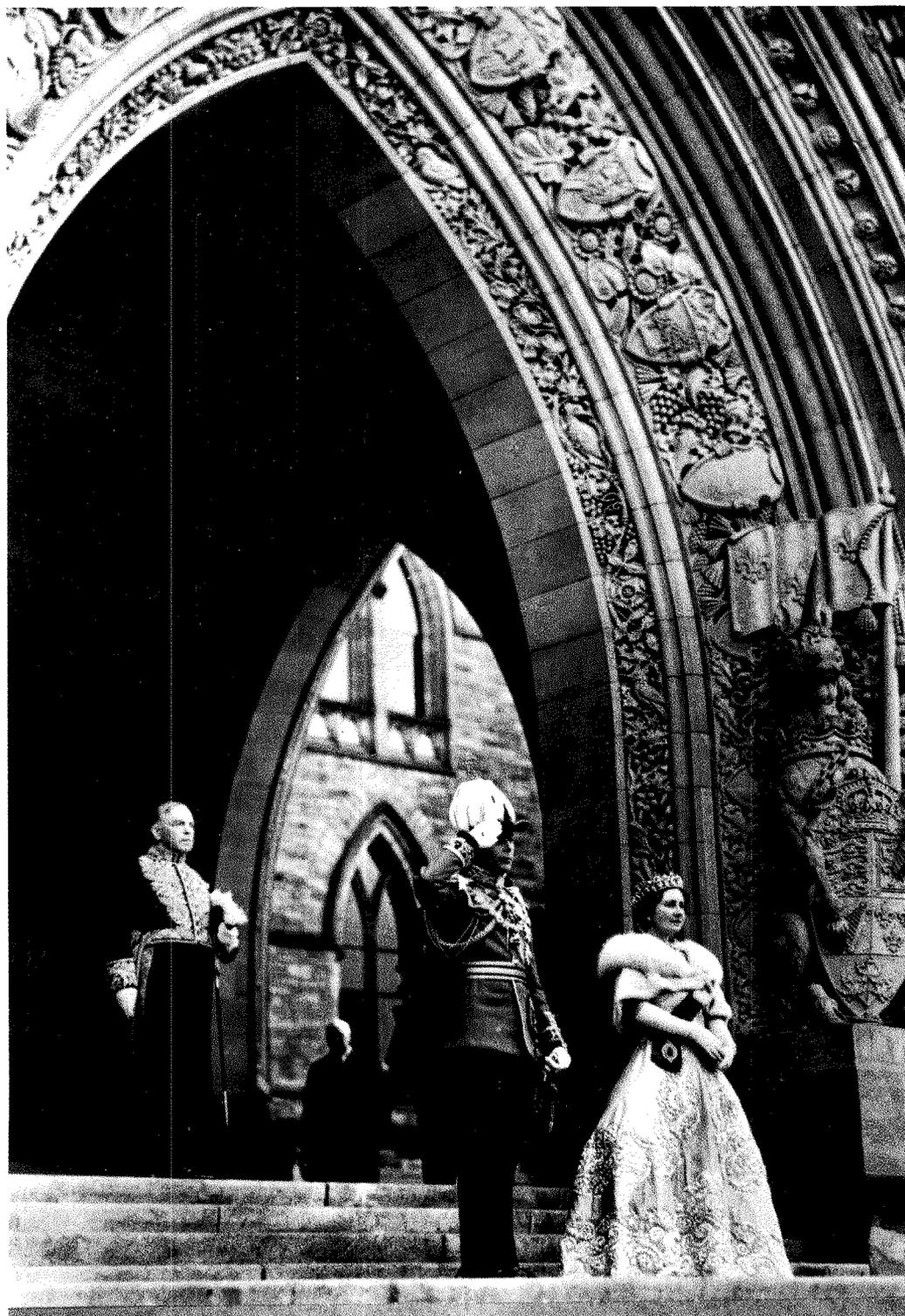
Like many others during the Depression, the destitute Abraham C. Fehr family from the Hague, Saskatchewan, area tried unsuccessfully to make a new beginning in the Peace



Young people, like these led by J. C. Fretz in 1938, went by the hundreds into various communities to teach community Bible schools.



Teachers J. B. Martin, S. F. Coffman, Oscar Burkholder, and C. F. Derstine (centre group in front row), surrounded here by cooks, maintenance staff, and students of the Ontario Mennonite Bible Institute in 1934, contributed much to the preserving of the



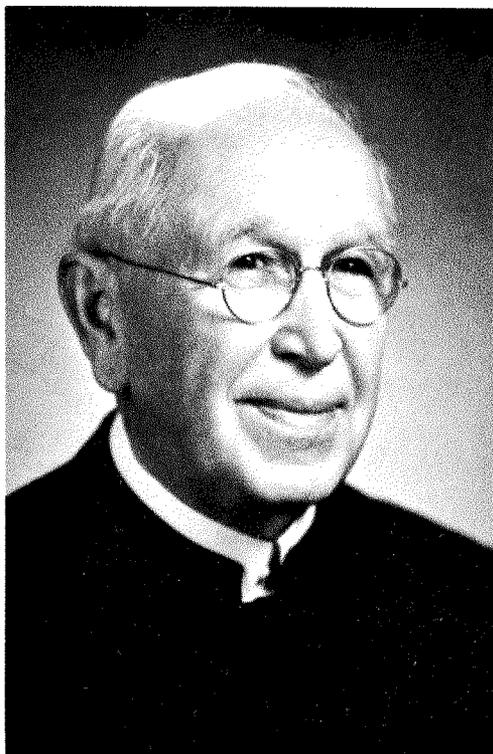
Mennonites expressed their loyalty as citizens by paying tribute to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, seen here under the Peace Tower in Ottawa with Prime Minister



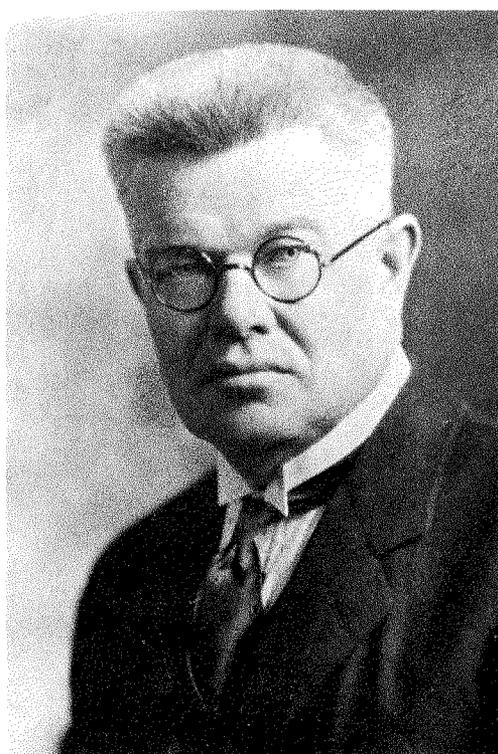
David Toews.



B. B. Janz.



BARBARA COFFMAN



E. BRITISH COLUMBIA

Abbotsford	1939	North Abbotsford MB	MB	R	60
	1932	South Abbotsford MB	MB	R	255
	1936	Abbotsford M	CM	K/R	72
Agassiz	1932	Agassiz MB(1930s)	MB	R	—
Aldergrove	1934	United M. of Coghlan	CM	K/R	46
Black Creek	1934	Black Creek United M	CM	R	28
	1934	Black Creek MB	MB	R	45
New Westminster	1938	New Westminster M	CM	R/K	25
Oliver	1936	United M	CM	R/K	17
Renata	1907	Renata M	CM	K	10
Sardis	1929	First M	CM	R	36
	1930	Sardis MB	MB	R	149
Vancouver	1935	First United M	CM	R	60
	1936	Vancouver MB	MB	R	188
Vanderhoof	1918	Vanderhoof MB(<i>c.</i> 1920)	MB	LK	—
Yarrow	1928	Yarrow MB	MB	R	434
	1930s	Yarrow EMB(1930s)	EMB	R	—
	1938	United M	CM	R	42

Notes:

¹ "Congregations" in the usage of this table includes also congregational units, meaning all the meeting places, if known, of a congregation. "Missions," as distinct from organized congregations with memberships, are identified with "M" in the membership column. Every effort has been made to make this table accurate and complete. Any errors should be reported, so that subsequent editions can be corrected.

TABLE 27 (continued)

MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS IN CANADA

2	“Place” has reference to post office, except in the case of some villages in former Mennonite reserve areas in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.
3	“Date” usually means the first date in the life of the group — in other words, the beginning of services. In some cases this date may coincide with the date of founding or organization or with the opening of the first building.
4	Every “Name” has been abbreviated to conserve space. The word “Church,” a part of every name, unless replaced by a term like “Mission,” is omitted. “M” stands for Mennonite, and other symbols appearing in this column are explained below. It should be pointed out that the emergence of congregations with symbols MWC, OC, and Rud is chronicled in Chapter 9 of this book.
5	The abbreviations used for “Congregational Family,” meaning denomination, stand for the following, presented here in the order of their appearance (the reader is referred to the following parts of the book for further elaboration: Chapter 1, Chart 1, Table 9; Chapter 9, Chart 2; and Appendix 1):
RM	Reformed Mennonite Churches
MBC	Mennonite Brethren in Christ Conferences
OM	Mennonite Conference of Ontario and Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference (now known as Mennonite Church Region 1)
AM	Amish Mennonite Conference
CM	Conference of Mennonites in Canada
MB	Mennonite Brethren Churches in the Ontario and Northern (Western Canadian) District Conferences
MWC	Markham-Waterloo Mennonite Conference
OOM	Old Order Mennonite Churches
GC	General Conference Mennonite Church (the single usage in this table had only unofficial and informal meaning at this time)
OOA	Old Order Amish Churches

DM David Martin Old Order Mennonite Church
 BA Beachy Amish Churches
 EMB Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference
 SM Sommerfelder Mennonite Churches
 Rud Rudnerweider Mennonite Church
 KG Kleine Gemeinden
 ChM Chortitzer Mennonite Church
 ReM Reinlaender Mennonite Churches
 CGCM Church of God in Christ Mennonite
 OC Altkolonier (Old Colony) Mennonite Churches
 BM Bergthaler(S) Mennonite Churches
 KMB Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Conference

⁶ “Cultural Identity” symbols refer to concepts described in this chapter. “S” stands for congregations and missions originating in, or sponsored by, Mennonites of Swiss–South German origin and identity; the symbol “D” for Mennonites of Dutch–North German origin and identity is not used here, but the following are all subdivisions of “D”: “K” — an inclusive term for Kanadier; “EK” — Early Kanadier; “LK” — Late Kanadier; “R” — Russlaender. “Membership” does not include unbaptized children and young people and is given for 1940 or nearest date for which information is available. In a few cases, guestimates have been made. In most cases, the membership figure applies only to the particular entry. Sometimes, however, a composite figure is given for all the “units” in a particular congregational family. Related entries refer the reader back to the composite figure by giving the place and allowing the reader to check for the appropriate group symbol within the place category. Example: the membership of Hostetler’s Reformed Mennonite Church is found under New Hamburg (Ont.), where it is included in North Easthope Reformed Mennonite Church.

⁸ Brackets and dates indicate dissolution.

⁹ Some congregations changed identity in terms of congregational family during this period. This is indicated in one of two ways: (1) through double symbols EMB/MB; or (2) by consecutive entries in which the date of “dissolution” in the first entry coincides with the date of “founding” in a subsequent entry.

¹⁰ (E) and (W) have reference to former East Reserve and West Reserve areas, respectively.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Daniel Loewen, "Wert und Notwendigkeit der Gemeindegemeinschaft," *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 59.
- 2 Herbert P. Enns and Jacob Fast, eds., *Jubilee Issue of the Waterloo-Kitchener United Mennonite Church* (Waterloo, Ont.: W-K United Mennonite Church, 1974), p. 9.
- 3 Erland Waltner, "Anabaptist Concept of the Church," *Mennonite Life* 5 (October 1950):40-43.
- 4 J. Winfield Fretz, "Mutual Aid Among Mennonites I," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XIII (January 1939):58.
- 5 H.S. Bender, "Editorial," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XVIII (January 1944):5.
- 6 Robert Friedman, "On Mennonite Historiography and on Individualism and Brotherhood," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 18 (April 1944):121.
- 7 Based on "Statuten der Whitewater Mennoniten Gemeinde," in G.G. Neufeld, *Die Geschichte der Whitewater Mennoniten Gemeinde in Manitoba, Canada, 1925-1965* (n.p., 1967), pp. 160-61, which in turn were adapted from the constitution of the Schoenwieser church.
- 8 Galatians 6:2, RSV.
- 9 F.F. Enns, "Gemeindegemeinschaft," *Jahrbuch*, 1928, pp. 30-39.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 11 Based on Table 29.
- 12 See Table 29 for examples. Exceptions were some bishop-oriented congregations in Russia and Canada where one membership and ministry covered several villages or districts and a number of meeting places.
- 13 Elder Peter Enns of St. Elizabeth in a report entitled "Our mode of living, or, how I have learned to know and love Mennonitism," quoted in Hank Unruh et al., *Of Days Gone By* (St. Elizabeth, Man.: St. Elizabeth Mennonite Community Centennial Reunion Committee, 1970), p. 99.
- 14 These observations are based largely on oral tradition transmitted to the author, as a descendant of the Russlaender and as a longtime resident among the Kanadier in southern Manitoba. See also E.K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites of Manitoba* (Altona, Man.: D.W. Friesen & Sons, 1955), pp. 212-13. A further source on relations and comparisons is Hildegard Margo Martens, "The Relationship of Religions to Socio-Economic Divisions among the Mennonites of Dutch-Prussian-Russian Descent in Canada," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977). Of special interest is the suggestion by a Russlaender that the Kanadier had "verhunzt" (spoiled or murdered) the German language. See *Jahrbuch*, 1933, p. 44.

- 15 CGC, XV-30, J. Winfield Fretz, "Two Mennonite Cultures Meet," 1 June 1974.
- 16 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. 187.
- 17 CGC, XV-31.2, "1920-Immigration," Notes of Interview with Noah M. Bearinger, 30 July 1969.
- 18 Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, pp. 122, 328.
- 19 E.S. Hallman, "The Mennonite Immigration Movement into Canada," *Mennonite Year-Book and Directory*, 1927, p. 29.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 21 Herbert P. Enns and Jacob Fast, p. 8.
- 22 G.G. Neufeld, p. 29.
- 23 Herbert P. Enns and Jacob Fast, p. 8.
- 24 There actually was some fraternization between the two groups. See, for example, "Verhandlungen der zehnten Noerdlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten Bruedergemeinde von Nord-Amerika, abgehalten in der Gemeinde zu Hepburn, Saskatchewan, vom 21. bis zum 25. Juni, 1919," reproduced in *Verhandlungen der 34. Bundes-Konferenz der Mennoniten Bruedergemeinde von Nord Amerika, 1919*, pp. 138-39.
- 25 David Adrian, ed., *Marvellous Are Thy Ways: A Brief History of the Rosemary Mennonite Church* (n.p., 1961), p. 4.
- 26 Franz J. Friesen quoted in *Gedenk und Dankfeier des 25-jaehrigen Bestehens der Coaldale Mennoniten Bruedergemeinde*, p. 39.
- 27 The *Allianzgemeinden* were a minority movement representing perhaps one per cent of the 100,000 Mennonites in Russia prior to the Great War (author's estimate), the *Bruedergemeinden* about 20 per cent (P.M. Friesen, *Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland [1789-1910]* [Halbstadt: Radugu, 1911], p. 728), and the *Mennonitengemeinden* the rest. The influence of both *Allianz* and *Brueder*, however, far exceeded their number.
- 28 J.G. Rempel, *Fuenfzig Jahre Konferenzbestrebungen 1902-1952: Konferenz der Mennoniten in Canada*: 2 vols. (n.p., 1952).
- 29 Samuel Floyd Pannabecker, *Open Doors: A History of the General Conference Mennonite Church* (Newton, Kans.: Faith and Life Press, 1975), pp. 146-67.
- 30 J.A. Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church: Pilgrims and Pioneers* (Fresno, Cal.: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1975), pp. 161-74.
- 31 H.F. Epp, "Evangelical Mennonite Brethren," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 2:262-64.
- 32 G.S. Rempel, ed., *A Historical Sketch of the Churches of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren (1889-1939)* (n.p., 1939), pp. 5, 9-11, 17-20, 49-51.
- 33 H.F. Epp, p. 262.

- 34 Jacob P. Schultz, "Die E.M.B. Gemeinde zu Langham" in G.S. Rempel, p. 51.
- 35 For an assessment of relationships and attitudes between the two groups in Russia around the turn of the century, see P.M. Friesen, pp. 439-82, German edition.
- 36 Peter J. Klassen, "The Historiography of the Birth of the Mennonite Brethren Church," in Abraham Friesen, ed., *P.M. Friesen and His History: Understanding Mennonite Brethren Beginnings* (Fresno, Cal.: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1979), p. 124.
- 37 Franz Enns spoke about an "unholy war" on the question of baptism among Mennonites. See Franz Enns, "Die biblische Taufe," *Jahrbuch*, 1932, pp. 53-56.
- 38 Cornelius Krahn, "Evangelische Mennoniten-Gemeinden," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 2:268.
- 39 Jacob H. Janzen, "Siedlungsmoeglichkeiten in Ontario," *Der Bote* 2 (25 November 1925): 2.
- 40 I.H. Thiessen, ed., *Er Fuehret... Geschichte der Ontario MB Gemeinden, 1924-1957* (n.p., 1957), pp. 7-9.
- 41 *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13.
- 42 Herbert P. Enns and Jacob Fast, pp. 9-16.
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 David Wiens, "The History of the Elim Mennonite Church" (research paper, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1980), pp. 1-2.
- 45 Interview with Chortitzer Bishop H.K. Schellenberg, Steinbach, Manitoba, 18 April 1980.
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 Isaak Klassen, *Dem Herrn die Ehre* (Winnipeg, 1969), p. 54.
- 48 J.H. Lohrenz, *The Mennonite Brethren Church* (Hillsboro, Kans.: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1950), p. 193. See also Peter Penner, "By Reason of Strength: Johann Warkentin, 1859-1948," *Mennonite Life* (December 1978):9.
- 49 J.A. Toews, p. 161.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 Arnie Norman Neufeld, "The Origin and Early Growth of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Southern Manitoba" (M.A. thesis, Mennonite Brethren Bible Seminary, 1977).
- 52 See H.P. Toews, *A.H. Unruh, D.D., Lebensgeschichte* (Winnipeg: Christian Press, 1961), pp. 31-32.
- 53 See George David Pries, *A Place Called Peniel: Winkler Bible Institute, 1925-1975* (Altona, Man.: D.W. Friesen & Sons, 1975), p. 68.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- 55 Scores of church workers from many Mennonite groups attended this school.
- 56 J.A. Toews, p. 259.

- 57 Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith: The Background in Europe and the Development in Canada of the Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba* (Altona, Man.: D.W. Friesen & Sons, 1970), p. 274. The author has based this conclusion on oral tradition.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 275.
- 59 Frank Isaac, *Elim 50th Anniversary, 1929-1979* (Winnipeg, 1979), pp. 1-11.
- 60 Isaak Klassen, p. 43.
- 61 Jake I. Pauls, "A History of the Morden Mennonite Bergthaler Church" (research paper, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1966), pp. 6-7.
- 62 *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9, 11.
- 63 CGC, XV-31.2, Frank H. Epp, "Directory of Mennonite Congregations," in progress.
- 64 Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, pp. 312-14.
- 65 See, for example, Elim at Grunthal, in G.G. Neufeld, p. 13.
- 66 J.H. Enns, "Vorwart" in Isaak Klassen, pp. v-vi.
- 67 Isaak Klassen, p. 4.
- 68 G.G. Neufeld, pp. 6-7.
- 69 F.F. Enns, *Elder Enns* (Winnipeg: By the Author, 1979), p. 65.
- 70 Franz Enns to David Toews, 5 November 1927, reproduced in F.F. Enns, p. 62.
- 71 Isaak Klassen, p. 80 ff.
- 72 CGC, XV-31.2, "1920-Whitewater," Letter from a retired Manitoba elder to the author, 2 June 1980.
- 73 Isaak Klassen, pp. 42-43.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 75 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
- 76 *Fuenfundzwanzig Jahre: Vineland Vereinigte Mennonitengemeinde, 1936-61* (Vineland, Ont.: Vineland Vereinigte Mennoniten Gemeinde, 1967), pp. 5-6.
- 77 Heather Baerg, "History of the Nordheim Mennonite Church of Manitoba, Winnipegosis, 1931-1978" (research paper, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1978), p. 2.
- 78 CMBS, A.A. Dyck, Sr., "History of the Newton MB Church, July 1978."
- 79 J.P. Doerksen, ed., *Gem Mennonite Brethren Church, 1929-1979*, (n.p., 1979), pp. 10-11.
- 80 Isaak Klassen, p. 12.
- 81 Otto Loeppky, "Niverville Mennonite Church" (research paper, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1965), pp. 3-4.
- 82 *North Kildonan Mennonitengemeinde, 1935-1975* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1975), p. 4.
- 83 Hank Unruh, pp. 95-96.
- 84 Isaak Klassen, p. 55.
- 85 G.G. Neufeld, p. 112.

- 86 Frank H. Epp, "Directory of Mennonite Congregations."
- 87 Ernie Sawatsky, "The History of the Emmaus Mennonite Church of Swift Current and South" (research paper, Goshen College Biblical Seminary, c. 1961); Judy Epp, "Emmaus: Church of the Swift Current Reserve" (research paper, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972).
- 88 Esther Patkau, *Nordheimer Mennonite Church of Saskatchewan, 1925-75* (Hanley, Sask.: Nordheim Mennonite Church, 1975), p. 2.
- 89 John D. Rempel, *A History of the Hague Mennonite Church, 1900-1975* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 19-20.
- 90 J.G. Rempel, *Die Rosenorter Gemeinde in Saskatchewan in Wort und Bild* (n.p., 1950), pp. 5-11, 21-22, 44, 70 ff.
- 91 CMCA, vol. 844, "Gemeinde-Chronik," Kirchenbuch der Ebenfelder Mennoniten Gemeinde, p. 1.
- 92 J.A. Toews, p. 163-64.
- 93 *The History of the Main Centre Mennonite Brethren Church, 1904-1979* (n.p., 1979), p. 7.
- 94 G.S. Rempel, p. 10.
- 95 *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 98 J.P. Doerksen, p. 17.
- 99 J.A. Toews, p. 166.
- 100 B.B. Janz, "Das Eben-Ezer der MB Gemeinde," in *Gedenk und Dankfeier des 25-jaehrigen Bestehens der Coaldale Mennoniten Bruedergemeinde*, p. 25.
- 101 *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Coaldale Mennonite Brethren Church, May 23, 1976* (n.p., 1976), pp. 7-8.
- 102 Jacob D. Harder, "Causes of Change in the Socio-Religious Structure of the Bergthal Mennonite Community" (research paper, Wayne State University, 1969).
- 103 J.G. Rempel, "Renata," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 4:300.
- 104 *Verhandlungen* (GC), 1919, p. 137. See also J.A. Toews, pp. 140, 308.
- 105 Isaak Klassen, pp. 4, 33, 42, 67; G.G. Neufeld, p. 156.
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