Provenance

9. *Federation and Fragmentation*

Hasn't the time come for us to look beyond pettiness and to reach out to each other for the sake of a more brotherly, tolerant, and effective working together so that we can view our institutions as belonging to all the people . . . ? — JOHANN G. REMPEL.[1]

THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION revealed that the general Mennonite community was too fragmented and the Mennonite organizations were too incomplete to deal with all the problems besetting the Mennonite people. This conclusion was strongest in the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, which was wrestling not only with the monumental transportation debt but also with various other needs of the immigrants. But everywhere where there were concerns about such matters as education, culture, colonization, war and peace, and Russian relief, the question was asked why a more united approach wasn't possible and whether it was really necessary and desirable that the 18 different Mennonite congregational families all went their own way rather than increasing the number of ways in which they attempted to do their work together.

In Canada and the U.S.A., there were two organizations that represented a unified approach to the tasks at hand, namely the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization and the Mennonite Central Committee, but both were inter-church committees only,

created in the 1920s to attend to tasks assumed to be temporary. As Mennonite structures, they fell far short of the General Conference and the Congress that had existed in Russia. Indeed, the Board and the Central Committee were in danger of passing into history, their immediate goals, immigration from Russia and relief for Russia, having been accomplished. David Toews and his colleagues, however, thought otherwise. In their view, the inter-Mennonite task was not ending, it was just beginning.

Thus, in 1934 the leaders of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization undertook a reorganization of that inter-Mennonite body in order to achieve greater co-operation or even task-oriented federations among Canadian Mennonites, in order to respond more adequately to the economic, educational, and cultural problems they faced. The reorganization, however, was less than successful because inter-Mennonite co-operation was a high priority with only a few leaders. The best that could be said for the effort was that it kept the Board alive and working at some unfinished tasks.

In their failure to achieve, or even to genuinely seek, any kind of wholeness, the Mennonites reflected the "immobilities of fragmentation" which, according to Louis Hortz, were common to new societies in the western world, torn from their former familiar moorings.[2] It was enough that much of the old security had been lost. Why compound the situation by creating new unknowns, such as would be represented by any closer moving together of the Mennonite parts? Thus, the Mennonites sought their identity and certainty, not in a single Mennonite entity, but rather in denominational units.

The time of increasing togetherness in the Canadian Mennonite family had not yet come. And it wasn't because there were no voices, whose calls to faithfulness transcended Mennonite denominationalism. One conference was told without equivocation that in God's heaven there would be "no Mennonites, no Methodists, no Presbyterians—indeed, no Protestants or Catholics. There [would only] be the children of God from all churches, races, cultures, languages, and gentiles."[3] The goal of all Christian churches, said one elder, should be unity, namely one flock and one shepherd. This did not mean that all denominations were bad; as deplorable as the many divisions were, some good sometimes came of them. Even so, most of the divisions wouldn't have happened—Lutheranism, Anabaptism, Mennonite Brethren, for instance—if the churches from

which the new groups came had been as spiritual before the break as they were 10 years after.[4]

Jacob H. Janzen may have spoken tongue-in-cheek, but his famous characterization of the fragmented Mennonite family had in it more truth than most were prepared to admit. Of the 17 groups of Mennonites, he said, group 1 considers itself fundamental and groups 2 to 17 modernistic. Group 2 views group 1 as too traditional or backward and groups 3 to 17 as modernistic, and thus it is through all the 17 groups. Each group considers itself fundamental, those before as backward or traditionalistic and those following as modernistic, until, at the last, group 17 likewise views itself as fundamental, and groups 1 to 16 as traditionalist or even partly modernistic.[5] Janzen's count of 17 was short by one, and before the decade was finished, two more groups were formed, bringing the total to 20. It was not a good time to place one's hopes on Mennonite unity. Mennonites were not about to move closer together until they were forced to, as, for instance, by the exigencies of another world war.

There was no single reason for this state of affairs. Historic factors contributing to Mennonite fragmentation were still at work—the Anabaptist impulse to pursue smallness, the lack of a centralized authority, the migration into diverse settings, geographic distance, varying responses to environmental pressures, and schismatic leaders—but the growth and expansion of denominational structures, simultaneous with the reorganization of the Board, was a most important factor in the 1930s. As it was with the North-West (Alberta and Saskatchewan) Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, so it was with most Mennonite congregational families. Once in twenty years they stretched their hand towards Mennonite ecumenicity—they exchanged fraternal visitors with the Mennonite Brethren[6]— but thereafter, they concentrated on maintaining fellowship and unity within their own North American family.[7]

The obstacle to the development of a comprehensive and effective inter-Mennonite organization was not opposition to institutionalism as such. On the contrary, the fundamental role of organizations and institutions in the survival of Mennonite minority groups had already been widely recognized, especially in those sectors where land and the colony no longer served as a unifying factor. Some leaders were actually striving for "institutional completeness" though that modern sociological term was foreign to them.[8] Confer-

ence systems, educational institutions, and benefit organizations had all become part of both the Swiss and the Dutch Mennonite scenes prior to the arrival of the Russlaender. Their coming reinforced and escalated the trend towards institutionalism, because the Russlaender brought with them a tradition, which embraced "complex systems of institutions involving the economic, educational, political, and cultural aspects of life"[9] and which they were anxious to implement also in Canada.[10]

Denominationalism and Provincialism

The immediate problems requiring organized initiatives were adequate aid to the needy in Russia, the collection of the transportation debt, the settlement of those still, or again, without land, the sustenance of needy people otherwise threatened with deportation, health care for the sick and education for the young, some ongoing communication and organizational linkages, and the nurture of the Mennonite cultural life. Beyond these issues was the long-term survival of the Mennonite minority itself. In other words, the end of immigration was not ending the need for an inter-Mennonite board. On the contrary, the unfinished tasks and new tasks required not only continuity but also strengthening of the inter-Mennonite organizations.[11]

Strengthening was needed for a number of reasons and could happen in a number of ways. To begin with, the Board needed a new mandate from the constituency it presumably represented. The reader will recall that the origins of the Board in 1922 had been less than propitious. Had it not been for the dogged determination of a few individuals, the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization would then not have come into being and an immigration contract would probably not have been signed. As time went on, the Board's acceptability had increased and its activity had been more widely endorsed. And its chairman, so badly maligned in the early 1920s, was now a venerated senior statesman of the Mennonite people.

That happier state of affairs, however, was also part of the problem. If unquestioning opposition at an earlier time had made an autocratic approach to the task necessary for it to be accomplished at all, uncritical support a decade later made the autocratic manner readily possible. Official Board meetings had become a rarity for a

variety of reasons. In other words, the Board was David Toews and David Toews was the Board, and this precisely was a cause for concern. Not because he wasn't competent and selfless—there probably was no one more able and willing—but because he was "now past 60, often tired and sometimes sickly."[12]

Additionally, David Toews was preoccupied with many things. Besides being leader of the Board and its relief and immigration tasks, he was bishop of the rapidly growing Rosenorter congregation, chairman of the board of the financially desperate German-English Academy, moderator of the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada, and supervisor of home missions support being dispensed to immigrant bishops by the General Conference Mennonite Church from the U.S.A. A new look at the organization was necessary for it to survive beyond the life-span of David Toews. And no one made this point more strongly than he did himself.

Strengthening the inter-Mennonite organization was necessary further for the sake of integration and realignment of certain organizational elements already in existence. In addition to the Board, and alongside of it, were two other entities relevant to the overall task. The Mennonite Land Settlement Board, which had facilitated the settlement of thousands of immigrants, had confirmed the ongoing importance in Mennonite life of the settlement function. Yet, the settlement agency had become too much an arm, not of the Mennonites but of the CPR and its Canada Colonization Association. Besides, the Association was concerned with settling immigrants on CPR lands, when what was needed was a continuous program of colonization for all the Mennonites.

Meanwhile, the immigrants had developed effective local, provincial, and interprovincial organizations. These had grown from a small central Mennonite immigrant committee, established in the Rosthern locale in 1923, to a network of district representatives, which embraced all, or most, of the immigrant communities from Ontario to British Columbia. Most impressive of all were their annual provincial assemblies, where a wide range of problems—transportation debt, relief in Russia, settlement programs, farming methods, health care, welfare work, burial societies, cultural needs, and educational challenges—were discussed. The organizational genius of the Russlaender was properly expressed in the way the immigrants went about their work.

The Board and David Toews needed all of these, the organizational gifts, the energy and drive, the network of local and provincial people, the sense of responsibility and closeness to the task represented by the Russlaender, and, last but not least, an overall sense of purpose and unity. In his own words, "In the light of the big problems facing our people, would that we would succeed more and more to gather all our moral strength so that the good reputation of our people, which they still have, not be lost."[13] Of all the problems, the mammoth transportation debt was the most serious. According to Toews:

> The problem of the transportation debt is becoming more difficult all the time with disturbing effects on our various undertakings. . . . we believe that our whole Mennonite people will have to apply its strength and its total influence to solve the transportation debt problem, so that those who put their trust in us will not be disappointed.[14]

The burdens in Canada were amplified by the responsibility felt by the Board and by David Toews towards the need in Russia. While $63,000 had been forwarded in 1932, only $21,377 had been sent in 1933. The decline was attributed partly to the depression but also to weariness and to the diffusion of the effort. Thus, Toews appealed not only for unity, but also for loyalty: "It is our duty to be loyal to our organizations."[15]

In planning and announcing the reorganization of the Board, David Toews took into consideration the tasks to be carried out, the people able to help with those tasks, and the three Mennonite bodies who had been part of the Board continuously in the past.[16] He proposed a new slate of 21 people, plus himself should his service still be required. This no one debated. The wholehearted support which he needed more of in the 1920s he now had. If the unquestioning endorsement he now enjoyed could have been interchanged with the watchful criticism of a decade earlier, both times might have been better served, but it is a human fact that people often try to catch up too late and in inappropriate ways on opportunities and obligations previously missed. The three groups which had been part of the Board in the 1920s—namely the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada, the Northern District of the Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America, and the two Canadian sections of the

Old Mennonite Church, the Mennonite Conference of Ontario and the Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference — now also participated in the reorganization.[17] A few years after reorganization, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ were also represented on the Board.[18] And the Kleine Gemeinde and the Holdemaner also showed some interest.[19] It seemed, almost, that the new Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization could and would become a Mennonite Central Committee of Canada, in which an ever-expanding circle of Mennonite groups would be represented, and by which they would service the growing number of things that they would choose to do together.[20]

The renewal of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization couldn't be delayed any longer, but in a number of ways David Toews couldn't have chosen a worse time to launch his inter-Mennonite venture.[21] Its success depended, first and foremost, on the close co-operation of the two, now the largest, Mennonite constituencies in Canada, namely the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada and the Northern District of Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America.

The 1920s had brought them closer together through the coming of the Russlaender, but the 1930s were driving them farther apart, quite possibly because of the Russlaender. Togetherness had been the result of the experience in Russia and the subsequent migration.[22] Together the two Russlaender factions had faced the gathering storm, the revolution, Makhno, civil war, famine, and Soviet rule. Together they had established the General Conference of Mennonite Congregations in Russia, the Mennonite Congress, the Mennozentrum, and the two organizations for reconstruction in the Ukraine and Siberia. Together they had fed the hungry and housed the refugees. Together their leaders had gone to Moscow in 1925 to plan the future. Together many of those same leaders had been sent into Siberian exile.

Without regard to church affiliation, B. B. Janz working in Russia had helped members of both groups to emigrate. And without regard to church affiliation, David Toews working in Canada had helped members of both groups to immigrate. In Canada, members of the two groups had together founded the central immigrant committee and its provincial and local counterparts. Several hundred settlements had been jointly founded, and many of the first worship

services in Canada had been joint services. In some places they had worshipped together for many months and years, or even, as in the case of Springstein, more than a decade.

Tribulations had brought them together and pioneering had kept them together, but not for long, quite possibly because they weren't ready yet to be together. Perhaps it was precisely the close proximity of the 1920s which had served to reveal the great difference between them with respect to religious style and outlook. And, simultaneous with the discovery that they really were not a part of each other, came the impact of the Canadian and North American conference structures on the respective Russlaender groups. Thus, B.B. Janz, who had every reason to have the relief moneys of the Mennonite Brethren sent to Russia via the Board and Rosthern—for all the immigrants the all-important inter-Mennonite centre in Canada—counselled instead that the Brethren congregations in Canada send their offerings via Hillsboro in the U.S.A., the administrative and educational centre of the Mennonite Brethren denomination.[23]

Mennonite Brethren integration of the immigrants, their leaders —B.B. Janz included—and their congregations into the General and Northern District conferences was rapid and complete. Russlaender Brethren soon knew where they belonged, and so impressive and attractive was the Mennonite Brethren sense of missionary purpose, the clarity of their doctrine, and the predictability of their church discipline that they not only won all of their own but absorbed, step by step, the Alliance churches and many individuals of the Conference churches. This happened particularly in British Columbia, where Brethren strength and Conference weakness was obvious from the earliest days of settlement. The Brethren were more numerous, had stronger leaders, and offered a more lively, committed, and simple religious experience.

And no sooner had a Conference leader like C. C. Peters moved from Herbert in the Saskatchewan dust bowl to the new land of promise in the Fraser Valley than he sensed where his future and his obligations lay. In 1929, the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada, impressed with his leadership, had asked him to edit the annual report, which assignment he accepted.[24] Two years later, he submitted to rebaptism by immersion and became one of the preachers of the Yarrow Mennonite Brethren Church and of the struggling congregation at Agassiz.[25] At least in the west, his example was the

beginning of a trend. Many Conference people sought rebaptism and membership in Brethren churches.[26] Trend or no trend, elsewhere in Canada too the forms of baptism, and all they symbolized, continued to be a point of sharp differentiation between the Brethren churches and the Conference churches, coexisting in the same communities and perhaps even in the same meeting houses.

The incorporation of Alliance and rebaptized Conference Mennonites into the Brethren family did not have the effect of moderating the Brethren position. On the contrary, it was often the newly won Brethren who were the most uncompromising and the most certain that baptism by immersion was the only way. Thus, John A. Toews, Sr., of Coaldale, who came out of the Alliance tradition, became so zealous in enforcing the MB baptismal standards that more tolerant communities like Linden referred to him as Batko Toews, Batko implying patriarchal authority and enforcement from the top.[27]

The form of baptism, of course, was not the only issue separating the two communities. The Brethren placed more emphasis on doctrinal purity and cataclysmic conversions.[28] The Conference Mennonites were more open and tolerant, their young people less regulated in their social life and more likely to participate in circle games and folk dancing involving members of both sexes, a practice regarded by many MBs as worldly and sinful.[29]

Baptism was an issue not only between the conferences but also within the conferences. In Ontario, for instance, the form of baptism became a point of contention within the Mennonite Brethren Conference. The reader will recall that the Ontario Brethren churches had established themselves with a more open and tolerant approach. Theirs was the spirit of Alliance, which allowed the Brethren to accept members baptized by either immersion or sprinkling. Gradually, the Ontario Conference of MB Churches, which, because of its more liberal attitudes on baptism and communion, had stood apart from any other Canadian or North American conference, was encouraged to take an interest in, and become involved with, the General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches in North America.[30] This happened partly through H.H. Janzen, Ontario's first moderator, who had a wide preaching ministry, and partly through Jacob Dick, who had left Russia via China and ended up staying in India as a Mennonite Brethren missionary, and whose reporting itinerary took him to Ontario, where he had relatives.

In 1936, the Ontario Conference expressed interest in "a common working together" especially in missions, on condition that "you dear brethren will not coerce us but allow us our position."[31] The General Conference welcomed this initiative, but felt obligated to set some limits to the relationship owing to the differences in doctrine and practice. These limits restricted the right to do missionary work to those baptized by immersion and they also prohibited delegates from Ontario speaking to, or voting on, issues related to doctrine and practice. It would, of course, be expected that the new members would support all General Conference causes with their gifts and their prayers, in spite of the restricted rights and privileges.

The lack of full participation in the General Conference had its problems, however, especially as the Alliance character of the Ontario Conference changed, owing to the influx of people from western Canada to whom the liberal ways were not familiar and not acceptable. They strengthened the hand of those Brethren church people in Ontario who had been uncomfortable all along with the Alliance position on baptism. As a result an internal division was threatened, between those who were inclined to be tolerant and those who insisted on the traditional Brethren position. At Leamington there actually was a brief split resulting in the formation of "the true [*die richtige*] Brethren church" alongside the Alliance-minded group. The new group joined the Northern District (meaning the Brethren in the four western provinces)[32] while the old group remained a part of the Ontario District.

To prevent such splintering, and for the sake of a more perfect unity, a petition for unrestricted acceptance in the General Conference was issued along with the promise that henceforth only baptism by immersion would be practised. At the same time, the hope was expressed that the General Conference would not exclude those members who heretofore had not been baptized in the river. The General Conference, meeting in Oklahoma in 1939, expressed readiness to receive with full membership privileges the churches in Ontario but only those persons who had been baptized by immersion.

At its subsequent annual meeting, the Ontario Conference gave its consent to the conditions, but then felt obligated to clarify its relationship to its non-immersed members, whom the General Conference had set aside. The Ontario Conference explained that such persons remained members of the local congregations and of the

TABLE 31[34]

BEGINNING DATES OF PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES

PROVINCE	MENNONITE BRETHREN	CONFERENCE MENNONITES
Alberta	1928	1929
British Columbia	1931	1936
Manitoba	1929	1937
Ontario	1932	1929
Saskatchewan	1946	1929

Ontario Conference and that they were entrusted with participation in all discussions and votes. They all were also eligible to preach, be deacons, teach Sunday school, and serve as delegates to the Ontario Conference. In matters pertaining to the General Conference, however, such members were asked to abstain from voting. Also, they could not be recommended as missionaries or elected as leaders of congregations, of congregational meetings, or of the Ontario Conference, or as delegates to the General Conference.[33]

Later, in the 1940s, the Ontario District Conference joined with the other MB churches in Canada, then constituting the so-called Northern District Conference, to form the Canadian District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America. Thereby, the Ontario Conference lost its status as a "district" conference conferred by the General Conference in 1939. The Ontario "District" identity was not completely lost, however, because the district conference became a provincial conference. The formation of provincial conferences also belongs to this period, for both the Mennonite Brethren and the Conference Mennonites.

The movement to form provincial conferences began in Alberta, with the Mennonite Brethren in 1928 and with the Conference Mennonites in 1929, the latter with a difference (Table 31). While all the MB provincial conferences included lay delegates from the beginning, the CM provincial conferences began as ministerial meetings attended by elders, ministers, and deacons only. The one exception was British Columbia, and gradually all CM provincial meetings evolved to include lay delegates. In Saskatchewan, a very

active and program-oriented provincial youth organization was a form of influence, which had the effect of delaying the emergence of the Conference of Mennonites in Saskatchewan. The primary purpose of the provincial conferences was more immediate guidance and nurture of the congregations and their ministers.

Provincial denominationalism also had its effect on the inter-Mennonite structures. While the provincial conferences did not eliminate the provincial inter-Mennonite meetings of immigrants, they did have the effect of limiting the agenda and the significance of the latter. Without the denominational provincial conferences, the provincial inter-Mennonite conventions had the potential of becoming the most significant Mennonite structures, because in numbers they were large enough to be useful and in geographic area they embraced an area small enough to be functional. However, with the coming of the provincial conferences, they were relegated to a secondary, hence dispensable, status.

Denominationalism: CMs, MBs

The tendency to give priority to denominational structures and interests is well-illustrated in the three denominational groups most important for the success of the Board and inter-Mennonite structures generally. For all three groups the most important tasks of the church were denominational tasks, and since all three groups wrestled with internal difficulties, that is also where the issue of federation received its greatest emphasis, especially when the problems were viewed in the context of the North American conferences.

The Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada was by itself a federation and so was its North American counterpart, the General Conference Mennonite Church, which sought, unsuccessfully so, to include in its membership all the congregations in Canada which were a part of the Canadian Conference. And, as has in part already been illustrated, for the Mennonite Brethren in Canada the General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches in North America was their most significant Mennonite universe. The Northern (Canadian) District was not so much an autonomous conference as it was a district of the continental structure. Likewise, both Canadian district conferences — Ontario and Alberta-Saskatchewan — of the Old Mennonite General Conference were preoccupied with unity not in the

inter-Mennonite field but within their districts and within the Old Mennonite denomination.

The Mennonite Conference of Ontario, for instance, illustrates very well how difficult it was for some Mennonite groups to give priority to inter-Mennonite structures on a national basis. The Conference was distant, both in a geographical sense and in a cultural sense, from the central concerns of the Board. The Conference was happy to help in the immigration but making the Board and its concerns very important was quite another matter. Thus, S.F. Coffman, the Ontario Old Mennonite member on the Board, attended hardly a meeting in the 1930s. "There has been no close contact," he would say to his Conference, or "[I have] not attended any of the meetings of the Board."[35] The reasons are not hard to find, if one examines closely the life and work of S.F. Coffman. He was on dozens of Old Mennonite committees and busy beyond understanding in that sphere alone.[36]

The nature of the group of which he was such an important member casts further light on the situation. The Mennonite Conference of Ontario at that time consisted of 4 bishops, 28 ministers, and 23 deacons.[37] They met once or twice annually, and the executive committee, of which Coffman was a member continuously from 1903, met monthly. Both the Conference and the Executive were completely preoccupied with congregational and other internal affairs: whom to ordain to the ministry, how to reconcile a minister with his congregation and vice versa, whom to admit to communion, how to maintain nonconformity and apartness from the world, and so forth. In other words, the welfare of the congregations, as well as right teaching and right practice, were paramount issues,[38] and not how to move closer to other Mennonites, least of all to the strange people from Russia.

Apart from maintaining internal solidarity, the Mennonite Conference of Ontario was concerned about relationships in three directions close to its own heritage and geography. Fraternal relations were established and maintained with the faraway Alberta-Saskatchewan Old Mennonite Conference through the sending and receiving of fraternal delegates. And that was important, because the small and scattered congregations in the west needed above all not to be forgotten by the stronger communities in the east.[39] Steps were also taken to implement the 1931 unity resolution of the parent Old

Mennonite General Conference, which asked the districts "to seek to carry out the recommendations which General Conference has made."[40] Given the fact that the Old Mennonite Conference of Ontario had preceded by 75 years the organization of the Old Mennonite General Conference, the authority of the latter over the former was a noteworthy development.[41]

The Ontario Conference also sought closer relations with the Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference through fraternal visitations and through membership on its mission board of Amish brethren to promote "fuller co-operation between these two bodies."[42] The two groups also planned their respective Sunday school conferences so that they would not conflict with each other. They also tried to make feasible a joint automobile insurance plan. Thus, it could not be said that the Old Mennonites weren't interested in Mennonite co-operation and unity. They just pursued inter-Mennonite relations closer to home.[43]

The Northern District of Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America was tied in even more, at least for the time being, to a continental system than was the Mennonite Conference of Ontario. The Northern District was a 1910 outgrowth of, and, at this stage at least, quite dependent on, the General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America, which had been founded in 1879 following the immigration of that decade from Russia.[44] The Northern District was not yet a Canadian Conference, not in name, not in the sense of autonomy, and not in agenda. A portion of the agenda, city missions for example, included Minneapolis as much as Winnipeg.[45] Some of the most important programs—foreign missions, college-level education, and publications—were General Conference programs.

More importantly, the General Conference set the norms for all doctrinal and ethical teaching and did so with a deep sense of denominational responsibility and identity. The General as well as the Northern District sessions were closed to outsiders, except to some "persons who are close to us" and who could be admitted as "our guests" by permission.[46] And all submitted questions were revealed in advance to a committee of seven brethren so that they would be better able to provide answers in the discussions. Both the questions and the answers, as well as resolutions passed, were clear indications

of the direction expected from the conferences by the congregations and of the willingness of the conferences to give such direction.[47]

The Northern District was in many ways a regional expression of the American-based General Conference of Mennonite Brethren churches. The Northern District sessions were a way of bringing, meaning promoting, General Conference MB concerns to the various regions. What the district conference did provide was opportunity for a closer-to-home scrutiny of mission funds—all the detail was annually reported and discussed—and their jurisdiction over certain regional programs like city missions, already mentioned, and home missions, the extent of which had vastly increased with the coming of immigrants.[48] Other Mennonite groups were viewed as a proper arena for MB home and city missions activity because "it is our duty not to leave the poor souls in the dark."[49]

Foreign missions, especially, were important, and no Mennonite mission field anywhere else in the world could report the satisfying results of the Mennonite Brethren in India. In a decade of bad news, Mennonite Brethren foreign missions were a bright spot for the church. In 1936 it was reported from the India field, which covered 7,000 square miles, 2,000 villages, and one million people, that there were 6,000 church members and 200 native workers. There were four hospitals, four middle schools, four boarding schools, and one Bible school.[50]

The Northern District's tie-in to the continental General Conference placed serious limitations on the nature and degree of cooperation with, and involvement in, the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization and related inter-Mennonite projects on the part of Canadian MB congregations. For the Northern District churches there were, for instance, two channels of relief for Russia, one via the Board in Rosthern and one via the General Conference Welfare Committee in Hillsboro, Kansas.[51] There was no report from Rosthern on the Northern District agenda without also a report from Hillsboro, though there sometimes were reports from Hillsboro without reports from Rosthern. Hillsboro always took precedence, partly because of the nature of the MB Conference and partly because the ultimate channel for the Hillsboro relief for Russia, namely the Mennonite Central Committee, was chaired by a prominent Mennonite Brethren leader, P.C. Hiebert.[52] David Toews, the chairman of

the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, was highly respected by the Mennonite Brethren—and the Russlaender among them knew that they owed their immigration to Canada largely to him, but denominational loyalty for the Mennonite Brethren pre-empted those sentiments.

The theological and structural nature of the Mennonite Brethren gave unusual strength to that denomination for what were perceived to be the fundamental tasks of the church, evangelism and missions, but that perception also dictated a weak response to inter-Mennonite co-operation and a limited commitment in 1934 to the reconstituted Board of Colonization. At the Northern District Conference of that year, the relief reports began with P.C. Hiebert and Hillsboro, followed by David Toews and Rosthern.[53] With respect to reorganization of the Board, the Conference recognized the need to complete the liquidation of the transportation debt and for relief of needy immigrants, but no obligatory financial or other commitments were assumed. Moral support was necessary to bring the work to a blessed conclusion, and to that end the refusal to pay the transportation debt by any of its members was regarded "as a serious sin."[54]

The debt was taken seriously as a moral duty, but all other projects of the Board, and of the Mennonite people as a whole, were relegated to a secondary position, if not excluded altogether. This did not always happen with complete unanimity, and there were some exceptions. Before these can be reported, however, the place in inter-Mennonite affairs of the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada must be more clearly identified.

Denominationalism: Conference Mennonites

The Conference of Mennonites in Canada had been founded in 1903 as a relatively loose association of like-minded Saskatchewan and Manitoba congregations. By 1920, seven congregations had become members, six in Saskatchewan and one in Manitoba. All of the Saskatchewan congregations and none of the Manitoba ones had become members of the General Conference.[55] This Canadian Conference membership was greatly increased as the Russlaender congregations joined the Conferences in the 1920s. The Conference saw itself as a resource to church workers in such matters as aids to

sermon preparation[56] and to the congregations in such matters as home missons, the care of the poor, publication, and education.[57]

The Conference had made the Mennonite problem resulting from scattering and isolation,[58] as well as the congregational fragmentation resulting from ambition, factious spirit, disunity, and narrowness,[59] its overriding passions, and most of its Conference themes and programs all had to do with congregational survival and nurture. A monthly publication, *Der Mitarbeiter*, facilitated communication. The committee for home missions ensured that the small and scattered settlers, as well as urban dwellers, received occasional ministerial visits. The committee for the care of the poor supplemented, whenever necessary, congregational activity in this area. The program committee sought to design the annual programs in such a way as to make the Conference a congregational resource.[60]

In working for solidarity and unity,[61] the Conference had also committed itself to uphold the congregational principle and thus not to interfere or become involved in the internal affairs of a congregation if not requested to do so by such a congregation. The Conference was seen as a consultative, rather than a legislative, body, striving for unity not so much in external forms and customs but in a common love, faith, and hope, as well as in the common task.[62] The founding formula had been a good one, and at the 20th conference in Winkler, when eight congregations were already members, it was noted that no effort at uniting the congregations in a common task had been as successful as the Conference.[63]

The congregational principle was put to its most severe test by the issue of infant baptism and whether or not the Conference could accept or tolerate members, congregations that is, who themselves accepted or tolerated persons who had been baptized only as infants. No Mennonite congregation practised infant baptism, but there was enough intermarriage between Mennonites and others, Lutherans in particular, for a general problem to develop in this regard.

The matter came to a head in the Conference when the Eigenheim congregation near Rosthern and Russlaender congregations with such cases sought membership in the Conference. Understandably, there were some strong feelings on this matter, because the baptism of voluntary believers rather than infants had been one of the foundational principles of the whole Anabaptist movement. H.H.

Ewert, for instance, did not believe that so fundamental a matter could be decided by individual congregations alone. In *Der Mitarbeiter* he wrote, "A biblical tolerance can never demand of us that to please others we go against our own convictions."[64]

The Eigenheim congregation, it should be clarified, had been a member of the Conference since 1903 as a branch of the Rosenorter church. As the Rosenorter congregation and its numerous outposts had grown, however, the question of the Rosenorter remaining a single organization under a single elder inevitably arose. The workload of the elder, the unwieldiness of the system, the desire of some groups to be independent, rivalries among the ministers, and other such factors would cause the issue to surface. Normally, the elder would not be the first to suggest an independence movement among the branch, but in this case the matter of changing the system was raised publicly by the elder himself, David Toews, his reason being his own heavy workload.[65]

The "independence" movement took hold in Eigenheim, quite possibly because of the size of its membership, the strength of its leadership, the proximity to the mother-church, and interpersonal tensions.[66] The problem of Eigenheim was freely and openly discussed, and, by the end of the 1920s, it was agreed that Eigenheim should become an independent congregation with its own elder. Thus, the Eigenheim intention to "build ourselves as an independent church in co-existence with the mother church"[67] was legitimized and blessed. However, the change of status for Eigenheim required independent acceptance into the membership of the Conference, if that is what Eigenheim wanted.

That is what Eigenheim wanted and precisely at the time the issue of infant baptism was being hotly debated both in the Conference and at Eigenheim. The focus was on Herman Roth, who had grown up with the Moravians, who had married a Mennonite, and who wanted to join the congregation without rebaptism. Having debated the baptism issue occasionally over a period of two decades, the 1928 Conference at Rosthern decided in a "closed session of the delegates" to abide by its historic position and to accept "only members who have been baptized on the confession of faith."[68] Notwithstanding the Conference decision, the Eigenheim church agreed "to make concessions in a case like this one, where it affects a whole family. . . ." The congregational vote registered 85 per cent in favour of the action,

and Roth was admitted without rebaptism.[69] In spite of this congregational action, clearly against a declared position of the Conference, the Conference accepted the Eigenheim congregation into its membership in 1929. The congregational principle had triumphed over conference legislation.

It wasn't always easy to observe the congregational principles because the principle of congregational autonomy and the spirit of liberality had two effects. The positive effect was that it made the Conference possible at all. The negative effect was that congregations, left on their own, were themselves fractured when some outside help could have moderated and mediated congregational conflicts. The Conference had its share of such conflicts. In Manitoba, especially at Oak Lake and Rivers, there was some shifting of loyalties between the Schoenwieser and Whitewater churches, both members of the Conference, as people expressed their preferences for either the more liberal ways of the Schoenwieser church or the conservative ways of Whitewater.[70] At Didsbury, there was a split over the question of baptism, one minister taking the immersionists with him.[71] At Morden, an outside evangelist ended up rebaptizing 13 Bergthaler persons and forming an independent congregation.[72] This loss was made up by the remnant of the nearby Herold congregation joining the Morden Bergthaler after Michael Klaassen, the Herold minister, died in 1934. The group had become too small to carry on alone. Klaassen, who like David Toews had been on "the great trek" in Russia in the early 1880s, had led his flock up from Oklahoma during the Great War.[73]

In spite of never-ending internal troubles, the Conference Mennonites showed new signs of vigour near the end of their third decade and the beginning of the fourth, partly due to the quantitative and qualitative strengthening provided by the Russlaender. The publication of annual reports was begun.[74] The constitution was printed for wide distribution.[75] A confession of faith was adopted.[76] And steps were taken to produce two of the materials most essential for the educational and liturgical life of the congregation: a new hymnbook and a catechism.[77] Financial support for church workers in newly organized congregations and church buildings was authorized if needed.[78]

The relationship of the Canadian Conference to the General Conference remained an ambiguous one, with the pendulum moving

to and fro between greater and lesser identification. This is evident, for instance, in two conference name changes within a decade. In 1932, the Conference dropped "Central" as in "Central Canada" and at the same time added "General" to make the full name read "General Conference of Mennonites in Canada."[79] The dropping of "Central" reflected the inclusion of Ontario congregations in addition to those from the prairies and British Columbia, which joined as a body of United Mennonite Churches in 1937.[80] This name change reflected the idea, eventually unacceptable, that the Canadian Conference was, like district conferences in the U.S.A. (Pacific, Western, Northern, Central, Middle, and Eastern), a district of the General Conference, a notion which was gaining some credence in Canada.[81] In due course, the more traditional position, more to the liking of the Bergthaler as well as others, won out and the name "General" was dropped from the Canadian name in less than a decade.[82]

Co-operation Attempted and Failed

The Conference Mennonites, while concerned with problems of unity within the denomination, none the less were more open to a wider Mennonite identity and co-operation than were the other two conferences. To the Conference Mennonites the agenda of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization was very important, as was the future of the two preparatory schools for Mennonite teachers at Gretna and Rosthern. While both schools had been cradled by conference-related constituencies, the Conference wanted them to enjoy general support and ownership among all Mennonites. The Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna and the German-English Academy at Rosthern were basically boarding schools for high school students, but the purpose of their founding, namely to prepare bilingual teachers, equipped also to teach religious subjects in the public schools, had not been forgotten. Indeed, the notion that one went on to high school in order to become a teacher was still strong and was strengthened by the influx of the Russlaender, among whom were scores of teachers who needed Gretna or Rosthern to learn the English language in order to obtain Canadian certification.

The 1930 Conference envisioned the establishment of an inter-Mennonite and interprovincial commission responsible for the

development and financing of the Mennonite educational institutions, meaning Gretna and Rosthern.[83] However, such a commission never came into being. The subsequent attempt to get all the Mennonite churches in Manitoba to assume responsibility for the school in Gretna also met with failure. This is somewhat surprising given the fact that the student population came in fairly proportionate numbers from the Brethren, the Bergthaler and other Conference churches, the Sommerfelder, the Rudnerweider, and the Kleine Gemeinde.[84] Most of the congregations were approached in 1930–31 on the basis of a 50-cent-per-member levy, but only $800 was raised in the first year. Contributors had been the Bergthaler, the Sommerfelder, most of the Russlaender Conference churches, one congregation of the Brethren, and one section of the Kleine Gemeinde.[85]

By 1932 a Manitoba School Conference had been established to support the school, but the Kanadier congregations were not a part of it.[86] And a few years later it was acknowledged that the Brethren churches were really not a part of it either, thus justifying transference of the support base from the intended inter-Mennonite School Conference to the newly formed denominational Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba.[87]

The withholding of support by the Mennonite Brethren to the extent that it was withheld was again largely due to their North American connection and the search for a unified program within the denominational context, one that met the need for the perpetuation of the denomination and its special doctrines. Thus, the Canadian Mennonite Brethren felt obligated to relate to, and support, Tabor College, the school at Hillsboro, Kansas, which was a college of the General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America. Canadian Mennonite students were also going to Bethel College and to North Newton, Kansas, and to Bluffton College in Ohio, but these General Conference Mennonite schools were not denominational schools for General Conference people in the same structural sense that Tabor College was a school of the Mennonite Brethren of North America or that Goshen College was a school of the Old Mennonites of North America.

The cause of Tabor College—Bible school and academy as well as college—was forcefully presented to the Northern District in 1931.[88] The continued existence of the school was then in doubt,

owing to an accumulated deficit in spite of spending cuts and a reduction in the faculty. Leaders expressed the view that "... this school may not be closed because then our church would suffer irreparable damage."[89] In 1932, Tabor College again had a deficit, but closing the school was unthinkable, because of the need in the land for fundamental Christian schools.[90]

The principal of the newly established Peniel Bible School at Winkler was the most vigorous proponent in Canada of the Tabor option, partly no doubt because the Winkler students could go on to Tabor, get academic credit for many of the subjects taken in Winkler, and graduate with a bachelor of theology degree within two years. And A.H. Unruh saw no reason why young people from Canada could not prepare for teaching by going to Winkler and Hillsboro as well as by choosing either Gretna or Rosthern.[91] However, the brethren did not all think alike, and repeatedly the support of Rosthern and Gretna was encouraged. In response to one such suggestion in 1933, the Northern District Conference resolved that the adequate training of teachers should receive more attention, but once again Tabor College headed the list of schools making a contribution towards that end.[92]

Gretna and Rosthern were included in the list but the more concrete steps of support, namely the taking of offerings, benefited Tabor College more than the other schools. Gradually, however, the sentiment for Gretna and Rosthern increased, not sufficiently to achieve unequivocal endorsement but sufficiently to ward off unequivocal opposition.[93] Indeed, when two brethren used unusually harsh words with respect to the Rosthern Academy, the Conference insisted on an apology as it condemned such "sharp, unwise judgements."[94] At the same time, the Conference's Committee for Schools gave a high rating to the Gretna and Rosthern schools as institutions to which one could "entrust the training of teachers for the public schools."[95] Even so, the longer-term trends separated the Brethren from both of these schools.

Unfortunately, at a time when the two schools most needed the full support of an inter-Mennonite constituency, they came to symbolize not only the widening gulf between Mennonite Brethren and Conference Mennonites but also between Russlaender and Kanadier. In the Gretna and Rosthern schools, the Russlaender students soon represented numerical majorities, and what was even more signifi-

cant, both schools had Russlaender principals before the decade was out.[96]

This "takeover" of Mennonite institutions by the aggressive Russlaender could be observed on every hand. With Ewert's decease came also the death, a second death, of *Der Mitarbeiter*. Once a monthly Conference paper, *Der Mitarbeiter* had lost its status as such in 1925, allegedly for financial reasons.[97] Yet the Ewert brothers, H.H. as editor and Benjamin as business manager, though drawing no remuneration whatsoever for their work, doggedly continued the publication while they waited year after year for the Conference to pay the outstanding bills of 1925 still owing in 1930.[98] *Der Mitarbeiter*, probably one of the best-edited and most intellectually stimulating Mennonite perodicals of the day—every issue dealt with educational matters in some way—passed into history because the Conference, also dominated by immigrants, looked to *Der Bote*, founded by immigrants at Rosthern in 1924, as the semi-official Conference paper.[99] It was a sign of the times that the Bergthaler Church in Manitoba, basically a Kanadier group, then proceeded to establish its own *Bergthaler Gemeindeblatt*.[100]

Elsewhere, too, the literary dominance of the Russlaender became manifest. *Die Mennonitische Rundschau*, a weekly, which had moved from Scottdale to Winnipeg in 1923 because its German readership was now concentrated in the Manitoba Kanadier, also had a Russlaender editor.[101] And the *Steinbach Post*, begun in 1913 by Kanadier for the Kanadier, also fell into the hands of Russlaender publishers and editors.[102] Little wonder that the Kanadier felt and sometimes said that there were too many Russlaender around and that they tended to be somewhat bigmouthed.[103] It wasn't an easy time for those Kanadier who had made every effort to make the Russlaender feel welcome and to co-operate with them. And whenever the more liberal attitudes of the Russlaender with respect to nonresistance surfaced, Bishop David Schulz of the Bergthaler wondered whether he was in the right camp or not. But he continued to build bridges, as did his colleague J.N. Hoeppner, who admonished those who kept alive the differences and the tensions between Russlaender and Kanadier.

> I don't think this is so much the case among the church workers as among the individual members, where one can still

> hear, "That is a Russlaender" with an emphasis that at times does not evoke trust. Also there are warnings that the new immigrants will arrange and run everything according to their own style, and from the other side that they are being hindered in coming into their own. It should not be that way. . . .[104]

Another test of inter-Mennonite co-operation was the proposal of the Colonization Board's welfare committee that a *Nervenheilanstalt* (mental hospital) be founded in western Canada.[105] The Board had made itself responsible for all immigrant cases in the first five years who were liable to be deported should they become public charges.[106] In 1934, there was a total of nine patients in mental hospitals for whom the Board was paying from 50 cents to one dollar per day, depending on the province. There were other Mennonite patients in such institutions—one count says 61 Russlaender alone in 1931[107]—but having been in Canada for five years before becoming ill, they were not in danger of deportation.[108]

A Mennonite mental hospital was seen as an economy measure, but more importantly, as a health move. It was clear to the relatives and to the ministers making pastoral calls that housing in alien institutions of those "sick with the nerves" tended to contribute to more ill health rather than to healing. The founding of an all-Mennonite mental hospital, however, was problematic from the beginning. Admittedly, the times were tough, but the Welfare Committee of the Board was suggesting that five cents a month per member was all that was needed. A questionnaire sent to 200 congregations, however, yielded only 46 positive returns and an income projection of only $270 a month, insufficient to get the hospital started.[109] When the Committee asked for voluntary offerings, only one-fifth of the churches responded.[110] And when provincial field workers were authorized to promote the cause and collect funds, the right persons couldn't be found.[111] There was also disagreement on the best structure for such an institution.[112]

Perhaps the greatest problem of all, underlying all others, was the lack of enthusiasm for inter-Mennonite endeavours. Some Mennonite Brethren had already established a private institution near Vineland in Ontario,[113] begging the question why there should be an additional mental hospital, one owned by all the Mennonites. Additionally, the infighting between the Conference and the Brethren camps in the Winnipeg-based Concordia Hospital Society had fur-

ther dampened interest for inter-Mennonite work, especially on the part of the Brethren. As that institution's historian has written:

> Those who were dissatisfied were clearly in the minority and the most outspoken critics were also members of the Mennonite Brethren Church. . . . It became more and more obvious that the division between factions was taking place along denominational lines. . . . Attempts at reconciliation failed and this was reflected in the deep suspicion which prevailed between the two major Mennonite denominations. . . .[114]

Johann G. Rempel, one of the strongest believers in the proposed institution publicly lamented "the mutual distrust between the conferences":

> It is as if a dark shadow affects every project which is to belong to all the Mennonites, regardless of whether they are schools, hospitals, or other welfare institutions. Where in our communities can we find breadth of heart . . . ![115]

For a variety of reasons, the settlement committee fared little better than the welfare committee. The problem of the "landless families" was a serious one, among both Kanadier and Russlaender, serious enough for the Conference of Mennonites to elect its own committee.[116] But the preference was to work at the land question in the inter-Mennonite context of the Board and its connection with the colonization branches of the CPR and the CNR.[117]

But even then, solutions didn't come easily because only homesteads in "wilderness lands" were recommended, as at Swan River in Manitoba, at Bredenbury, Foam Lake, and Swan Lake in Saskatchewan, at Blue Ridge in Alberta, and on Vancouver Island in British Columbia. Even homesteads couldn't be established without cash and nowhere were there areas large enough for the Mennonites to form compact settlements—"there are everywhere many Ukrainians."[118] The biggest problem of all, however, was the lack of unity to move forward together on settlement questions. While people like C.F. Klassen felt that much could be gained from a network of local settlement committees working together with the Board, B.B. Janz in withdrawing from the Board's settlement committee felt that it could only function as an information service and that everything else had to be left to private initiative.[119]

The cultural affairs committee suggested a rather broad front of activity, including assistance to the Mennonite churches in Canada with respect to their religious, moral, and educational endeavours as through Sunday schools, *Jugendvereine*, libraries, Saturday schools, and summer schools. The committee saw itself providing instructional directives and arranging for appropriate courses.[120]

The ambitious plans were challenged and clipped, however, as once again the Mennonite denominationalists had their way. Religious training like Sunday schools was the business of the conferences and the churches, not of an inter-Mennonite organization like the Board, they said, and insisted that the respective spheres of activity be clearly delineated.[121] The cultural affairs committee could serve as the most economical source of German literature, as a protection against *Schundliteratur* (evil literature), and as a source of information about cultural affairs in the land.

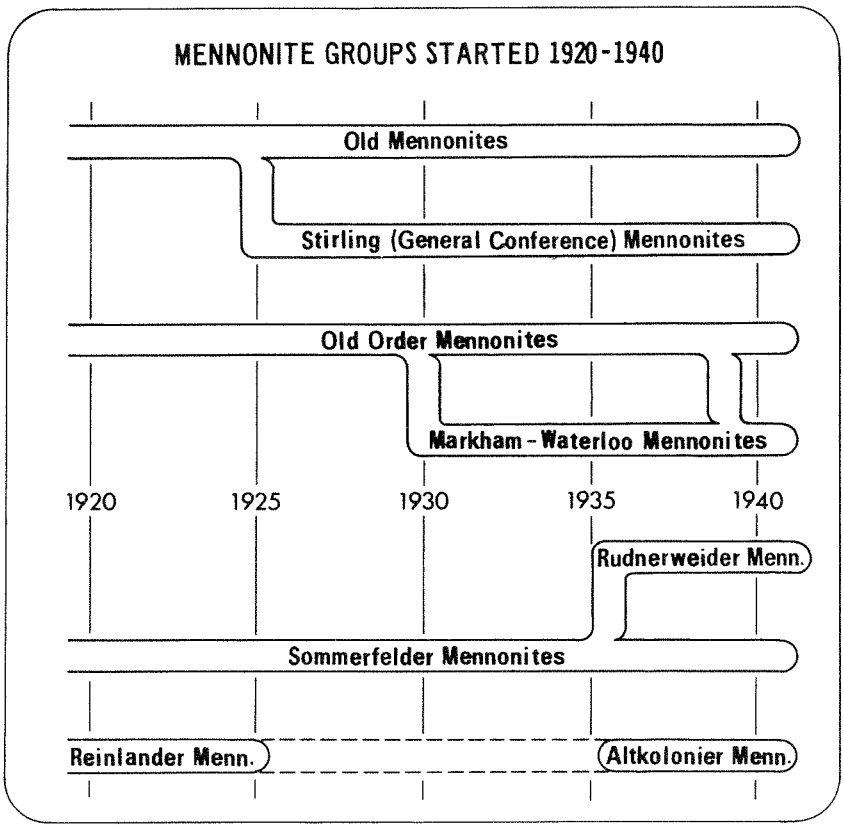
In the end, the cultural affairs committee of the Board was a warehouse for literature, a warehouse provided by the returns of a 19-week fund solicitation in the U.S.A. by David Toews.[122] In due course, this project became a Canadian branch of the General Conference Mennonite Church bookstores.[123] But in 1938 it was still serving on a broad front, having in one year distributed 388 manuals for religious instruction, 787 manuals for German instruction, and 890 other books, including 500 copies of J.H. Janzen's *Bible Stories*.[124]

Virtually nothing of consequence could be structured as inter-Mennonite activity, though one important matter must not be overlooked. The representation of the Mennonites in Canada at the world conference in Amsterdam was arranged through the Board in consultation with leaders of the conferences. It was understood that David Toews and C.F. Klassen, the two delegates chosen, would represent not their conferences but all the Mennonites in Canada.[125] This happened in 1936, but only in 1936.

A breadth of heart among Mennonite people was a rarity indeed. Mennonite separatism and denominationalism in the 1930s manifested itself also in the emergence of two new Mennonite groups, one of them in the Dutch Mennonite community of southern Manitoba and one in the Swiss Mennonite community of southern Ontario. While there was no obvious connection between the two developments, relatively simultaneous, they resembled each other in that

CHART 2

MENNONITE GROUPS STARTED 1920–1940



both were movements away from more conservative forms of Mennonitism. And, while both appeared to fracture particular Mennonite bodies, the divisions actually brought peace and unity as ways were found for different points of view to exist side by side in a more harmonious way in the respective communities. Fragmentation, rather than federation, revealed itself as the easier course of action.

Fragmentation in Southern Manitoba

The reshaping of Mennonite religious life in southern Manitoba actually involved a resurgence among the Kanadier groups of both

conservative and progressive forces, in both the West and East Reserve areas. In the latter region, the Kleine Gemeinde was once again threatened by the Bruderthaler, the Mennonite urbanizers in the Steinbach area since the turn of the century. Always evangelistic, they were now adopting the name of Evangelical Mennonite Brethren. Having been constituted originally from Kleine Gemeinde dissenters and defectors, the new face renewed the appeal to a new generation of Kleine Gemeinde people. An effort had to be made, therefore, to make some accommodation without losing the basic orientation.

In Steinbach the Kleine Gemeinde, for instance, could no longer resist the ways already adopted much earlier by the Bruderthaler and still hope to keep their young people.[126] Very carefully, the Sunday school was introduced and then the Sunday school became an umbrella to bring in other traditionally questionable activities like choirs and other innovative youth activities. In due course, the publication of a paper was begun and the town church even changed the seating arrangement from the house church style to the cathedral style, with the pulpit on the platform at the far end.

Changes of this nature in the Kleine Gemeinde represented a paradox, however, and it became necessary therefore to pull things together again from time to time. This happened in 1937, for the first time in 31 years, when the bishops, ministers, and deacons got together to re-establish the normative religious teachings and practices of the Kleine Gemeinde.[127]

The set of rules and regulations then adopted forbade voluntary departure from the church to avoid church discipline, discouraged the use of musical instruments, including gramophones and radios, endorsed singing practices provided only the old hymnal was used and singing was only in unison, allowed high school education for only those young people "in whom the church would have the necessary confidence," encouraged more visiting of scattered families and groups, insisted on close examination of all applicants for membership, agreed not to make public "confessed secret sins which have nothing to do with public need," allowed the playing of ball and such entertainments to children but not to believers, recommended excommunication of erring members "after three unsuccessful admonitions," described "as unbecoming" the display of personal photographs on walls and furniture, opposed life insurance "defin-

itely" but not "a protective church society," expected "a uniform headcovering for the sisters," cautioned against invitations to preachers of other denominations, labelled as indecent the "mixed bathing of males and females," provided for excommunication "after considerable patience and examination" in cases of premeditated avoidance of attending communion for a length of time, and suggested greater solemnity at wedding festivities, which were becoming bigger and noisier all the time.

Mennonite religious groupings in the West Reserve area at the time had grown to five in number.[128] Two represented to a very large extent the Russlaender influence. One of these, the Blumenorter congregation of the Conference variety, was hardly involved in the events here to be described, but it supplied a number of influential public school teachers to the area, notably J.D. Adrian of Reinfeld village.[129] The Brethren church of Winkler and its surrounding area was not purely of Russlaender vintage—converts among the Kanadier in the 1880s were the founders—yet through the Winkler Bible School and such village congregations as Gnadenthal, their particular evangelical form of church life had generated a certain amount of appeal beyond Brethren church borders.

The two strongest Kanadier groups were the Bergthaler and the Sommerfelder Mennonites, whose parting of the ways had come after 1890 over the issue of public schools in Mennonite communities and the support of a preparatory school for teachers being founded at Gretna at the time.[130] The differences, very significant at the time, had been reinforced through the years in the sense that a coming together of the two bodies was unthinkable. Both had their own network of congregations, often in the same localities, and both had their own bishops and ministerial infrastructures. The essential differences lay in their degree of resistance to the religious and economic cultures surrounding them and in their degree of accommodation. The Bergthaler had joined the Conference of Mennonites in Canada as a founding member, accepted the Sunday school, four-part singing, the *Jugendverein*, a freer style of preaching, and evening services.

The Sommerfelder had entertained none of these, and yet it could not be said that they were culturally immobile. After all, some Sommerfelder had been strong supporters of the Mennonite Educational Institute in Altona until it burned down in 1926, never to be

rebuilt. After that, Sommerfelder students and offerings had also been sent to the MCI at Gretna, as we have already seen. Besides, the Sommerfelder in southern Manitoba had chosen not to join their more conservative Sommerfelder brethren in the resettlement to Paraguay and Mexico in the 1920s. Yet, their stance was a conservative one, which offered stronger resistance to outside influences, of which the incorporation of the *Waisenamt*, cited in the previous chapter, was one example.

The Sommerfelder elder since 1931 was Peter A. Toews, one of the most colourful bishops southern Manitoba had ever seen. He had begun his leadership career as chairman of the MEI school board and as a reeve of the Rural Municipality of Rhineland.[131] A progressive among conservatives, he promoted education and sought passage of a provincial bill that would have created a Mennonite school division, only to see the proposal defeated by Mennonites themselves. Then he became a Sommerfelder minister and a year later an elder.

It was not an easy time to be the leader of the Sommerfelder church, because that sizeable congregational family with about 5,000 members was torn in two directions. On the one hand, it was under the influence of progressivism, owing partly to the Bergthaler, Blumenorter, and Brethren around them, and partly to their own choices, particularly the one not to emigrate. Pulling and pushing in the other direction was a clear sense that the revivalistic style, increasingly characteristic of the so-called progressives, was a borrowed and superficial religious form. An additional pull in the conservative direction was the fact that much of the leaderless Reinlaender remnant in Manitoba had begun to move in the Sommerfelder direction. The liturgical styles of the two groups were similar. In both congregations the sermons were read and the same song book was used, though the Sommerfelder would tend more and more to sing those hymns which had the fewer verses.[132]

The Reinlaender church remnants in Manitoba and Saskatchewan had been struggling without a clear sense of direction ever since 75 per cent of their number—3,340 out of 4,526 in Manitoba; about 5,180 out of 7,182 from the two reserves in Saskatchewan—with the three bishops had left for Mexico.[133] Thus, while the Sommerfelder were losing members to the Bergthaler because they were not progressive enough, they were gaining Reinlaender because they (the Sommerfelder) were conservative enough and close enough spacially and culturally to be attractive. The Sommerfelder bishop knew this

and for that reason alone would have been foolish to innovate, though the failure to do so threatened the loss of more progressive-minded Sommerfelder, especially the young people.

In due course, the Reinlaender remnants had made up their mind not to allow the disintegration to proceed any further. A new organization, the Altkolonier Mennonitengemeinde (or Old Colony Mennonite Church), was struck, new membership registers were begun, because the old ones were now in Mexico, and new bishops were chosen in the Hague-Osler area of Saskatchewan and the West Reserve area of Manitoba. In the Swift Current area, the Reinlaender remnant had disintegrated to the point where reorganization was no longer possible, the people having either joined the Sommerfelder or mission outposts of other conferences or just drifted away.

As already indicated, the new bishop of the Altkolonier at Hague-Osler since 1930 was Johann Loeppky, ordained to that office by the neighbouring Bergthaler(S) bishop. In 1936, Loeppky came to Manitoba to ordain as bishop for that group of Altkolonier Jacob J. Froese, a man of unusual gifts and a prosperous farmer in the village of Reinfeld.[134] There was consultation with the parent body in Mexico before the reorganization, but the two groups "remained aloof from each other," partly because those who had stayed were considered by those who had left to have gone with the world, and partly because the Manitoba remnant welcomed with open arms those returning from Mexico, thus making easier the unwanted defections in Mexico.[135]

The establishment of the Altkolonier in southern Manitoba reduced the pressures on the Sommerfelder to be conservative enough to make themselves acceptable to the traditionalists, but this did not mean that the Sommerfelder were ready to accommodate other pressures and influences. On the contrary, those influences had become so strong and their carriers among them so radical that the breaking point was near. The new openness caused greater participation in the events of other Mennonite communions, the Bergthaler in particular, including such family events as funerals and weddings and church services, mornings and evenings on Sundays. Of special interest were *Jugendvereine*, missionary reports, and Bible-teaching services as well as evangelistic services. The participation in these events, however small and sporadic, brought new influences which indirectly affected more than just those who had the direct contact.[136]

Other sources of new influence were the public schools, the

teachers and the students themselves, now exposed to an English-language curriculum, including new books, new songs, new games, new ideas, and new attitudes. While the schools themselves did not represent the substance of the religious renewal that came, they helped to create a general climate for change and forward movement.[137] New forms of religious instruction became acceptable and eagerly sought after. Sunday schools for the teaching of Bible stories were introduced, and classes for the study of the catechism as well as the Bible itself attracted not only the young people but also the older folk. All of this produced much questioning, more searching, and the gathering of small groups who wanted more truth and also more fellowship around the common experience of truth.

In due course, such groups wanted additional nurture from outside speakers, and thus it happened that I.P. Friesen, a Saskatchewan evangelist with Manitoba roots, came from his home in Rosthern to his former village of Reinfeld, where close relatives helped to arrange a series of evangelistic meetings in the local schoolhouse with the co-operation of the aforementioned J.D. Adrian. Friesen had joined the migration to Saskatchewan in the 1890s as a Reinlaender, but he did not survive in that communion very long. For him, the frontier had meant not only the settlement of virgin lands, but the exploration of new life styles and acceptance for his children of the public school. Last but not least, the entry into the world of business had changed many things for him. As a lay preacher, he had developed a style so free that his poetic gifts sometimes resulted in spontaneous verse in the course of his pulpit presentations. Eventually, he published two volumes of his poems entitled *Im Dienste des Meisters*. His experience of the wider world made him a member of the General Conference Mennonite Church Missions Committee, and on his own he travelled to the Middle East, about which he had written in *Meine Reise nach Palastina*.[138]

Thus, Friesen offered to eager people fresh, and interesting, often emotional, presentations which were already known in revival-minded denominations as *Erweckungspredigten* (literally, sermons of awakening).[139] After several meetings in Reinfeld intended to awaken the people, Friesen invited decisions for the Lord. People responded. Word was spread abroad that something was happening in Reinfeld. The meetings extended from one week to two weeks and owing to lack of space were transferred after that time from Reinfeld to Winkler. There too the facilities were crowded, and thus there was

a shift again after a few weeks from the smaller church of the Bergthaler to the larger meeting house of the Brethren. According to one chronicler:

> Brother Friesen preached and the people were converted. . . .
> Many found peace and testified concerning their experiences.
> From near and far people came to take part in the blessings.[140]

According to Isaac P.F. Friesen, a nephew of the evangelist and one of the participants, later a leading preacher in the movement, there was a spiritual movement such as Manitoba had not seen before.[141] Even the business community noticed and Sirluck, a merchant in Winkler, was said to have observed, "What Preacher Isaac P. Friesen has done here in Winkler, all the policemen together could not have done." Apparently, many citizens came to confess theft or to pay old debts.

Not all Sommerfelder and Altkolonier in southern Manitoba were caught up by the new movement. On the contrary, they felt called to resist the new styles, which in their opinion were not so much spiritual as they were sensational. The result was a great deal of disharmony in the organized Sommerfelder congregations where ministers and members were of a different mind. According to J.D. Adrian, the first historian of the phenomenon, "Discord and disagreements of all kinds appeared. These had to do also with the style and manner of work to be done for the members in the congregation."[142]

The new approach to the young people brought a ready response, but they in turn expected innovation on other fronts. The new life now required that the Sommerfelder church officially institute, or at least allow, Sunday schools, choir practices, *Jugendvereine*, and even evening services. If necessary, the Bible was invoked, as for instance the nighttime visit with Jesus of Nicodemus, as justification for the holding of evening services.[143] The way the Bible was being used became one of the most contentious issues in the ministerial meetings. The older brethren felt that the traditions of the church were solidly grounded on moral and biblical principles, but the younger brethren, touched by the revivalistic spirit and its fundamentalist-type reasoning, resorted to proof-texting to defend and advance their new styles.

The matter of evening meetings became the focal point of conten-

tion, and discussions for this purpose were held in five meeting houses: Grossweide, Kronsweide, Rudnerweide, Sommerfeld, and Waldheim, but positions had already hardened. Some had made up their minds in favour of evening services and some against. A meeting of the older ministers by themselves concluded that the one church could no longer contain the two points of view and that the cause of unity and harmony would be better served by a clear separation of the two positions and of the ministers and members who represented them. Consequently, they asked all the families to either stay with the older ministers or go with the group of the four young ministers, hoping, no doubt, that most of the people would stay with them.

The four younger ministers, one in particular, had had no intentions of founding a new church. They wanted only to renew the old one, but they felt their position had become untenable. P.S. Zacharias held out "until the elder accused him of just trying to be contentious and then his mind was made up too."[144] The four ministers resolved not to cultivate any enmity against the Sommerfelder elder or ministers so as to avoid any further falling out, and some communication was in fact maintained so that some time later some Sommerfelder ministers attended a Rudnerweider ministerial meeting to discuss matters of mutual concern. "Such working together," it was said at the time, "can bring us closer together."[145] However, the end result of the realignment was that 1,200 baptized members, with 1,600 unbaptized young people and children, decided to go with the younger ministers advocating revival and reform.[146]

The division of the Sommerfelder church into two groups was complete, except for the formal essentials, which included "organization," of which the most important elements were a membership list and the election of a bishop. According to tradition, a church required a bishop who was selected and ordained if at all possible in the presence of another bishop. There were three possibilities — P.A. Toews of the Sommerfelder, D. Schulz of the Bergthaler, or J.P. Bueckert of the Blumenorter. Bishop David Schulz was chosen. He agreed, and on January 8, 1937, W.H. Falk was elected and a month later, on February 4, ordained as bishop of the newly named Rudnerweider Mennonite Church, the name being derived from the village in which all of these events took place.

Most of the Rudnerweider innovations were in the context of the former tradition. There was no new doctrinal statement and some of the old practices, like baptism by pouring and the use of the catechism in preparation for baptism, were accepted. On the other hand, the Rudnerweider used non-fermented juice instead of wine at communion since "the tendency to excess among the ministers in the old traditions had been more than repulsive to the young 'ministers.' "[147] The instruction of the young took on a personal character. Candidates for baptism were visited personally by a minister, repeatedly if necessary, to give "counsel concerning the Christian life and . . . sex problems."[148] The Rudnerweider preaching style was extemporaneous without a manuscript written into a scribbler or notebook, as had been the tradition among the Sommerfelder.

The possibility of uniting with another group, rather than remaining a separate denomination, was considered. Overtures were made in two directions, the Bergthaler and the Kleine Gemeinde, but the former group could not guarantee the acceptance of the ministers as Bergthaler ministers and the latter group denied the visiting ministers, seated on the platform, the right to participate in communion.[149] Discussions were held and exploratory visits were made by Rudnerweider ministers with respect to joining the Manitoba Mennonite Conference or the Conference of Mennonites in Canada, but the ministers were not unanimous on the issue and so the matter was postponed year after year until it wasn't an issue any more.[150] The Rudnerweider agreed to support the MCI in 1940 and the Elim Bible School a year later.[151]

Fragmentation in Southern Ontario

Meanwhile, a movement for change was working itself out also among one branch of the Swiss Mennonites in Ontario, namely the Old Order Mennonites. The Old Order Mennonites, it will be remembered, were those Mennonites who in the late nineteenth century resisted not only the rapid acculturation allowed by the New Mennonites, but also the more moderate accommodation tolerated by the Old Mennonites. The resistance phenomenon at the time was general in both Ontario and several American states. The "Old Order" designation was never official but it became a popular, and as

time went on, unavoidable, label to describe those who followed the "*alte Ordnung*" (old order), meaning the traditional style of life, including the religious and liturgical, the cultural and linguistic, and the economic and agricultural aspects of life.

The Old Order Mennonites had literally "frozen" their cultural norms and forms as they were at the time of the break with the Mennonite Conference of Ontario in 1889. The Old Mennonites had changed their religious language from German to English, had adopted the Sunday school, four-part singing, and other innovations, and had accepted some forms of modernization like the automobile and the telephone. But the Old Order Mennonites had successfully resisted all of these. They continued to be a rural people exclusively, to send their children to school at most through the eighth grade or age 14, whichever came first, and to elect only lay ministers, who served without any remuneration whatsoever. And, what was most pertinent for the tensions of the 1930s, they travelled by horse and buggy or by public transportation only. Any members who purchased an automobile or who installed a private telephone were not admitted to communion. They were said to be out of fellowship.

Not all of the believers could draw the line of their nonconformity to the world so precisely. Thus, some succumbed to these convenient methods of transportation and communication and, knowing that they were causing offence, stayed away from communion. Such abstinence from the ordinance was, of course, not a long-term solution to the problem. Eventually, the entire church would have to move in the direction of the dissidents or they would have to leave altogether and seek membership in a more tolerant congregation.

In the Waterloo area at least, only the latter option existed. As we have seen, it had happened already in the 1920s that Old Order people bought cars and/or installed telephones, stayed away from communion, and eventually joined another church. The rapid growth of the sister Floradale and St. Jacobs congregations during this time and the founding of the Old Mennonite congregation in Elmira were partly attributable to this movement. And it was partly the fear that the whole Old Order body would go in that direction that caused a smaller but even stricter Old Order group, the so-called David Martin group, to take its uncompromising stand. With the David Martin Old Order, deviations from the accepted norms meant not only the denial of communion but also the immediate forfeiture of membership, in other words, excommunication.

The Old Order Mennonites in Waterloo County were really not in immediate danger, because the majority held fast to the principle that nonconformity meant not having telephones and cars. The minority that felt otherwise, however, was never exhausted. Every year and, as we shall see, every decade saw additional people coming to the conclusion that buying into new ways of doing things was not necessarily a sign of pride or a moral succumbing to the world, but only a practical and convenient way of living one's life, as well as overcoming the "hypocrisy" of using other people's phones and driving in other people's cars.

One such person was Ananias Martin, a farmer just north of Waterloo, who was troubled by the fact that his neighbours, who had a telephone, were not allowed to take communion.[152] Yet, they of all people served all their neighbours best of all by receiving and transmitting messages for others and generally being the centre of a community communications network. The paradox of such ostracism also became Martin's experience. During the week he and his kind served the neighbours with their transportation and communication needs, but on communion Sunday they could not be part of the fellowship with those same people. After he bought a new Chevrolet car in 1929—"with four-wheel brakes and back fenders"—his service to the community multiplied by the month, but he couldn't take communion. He, of course, also proved what the opposition feared most about the car, namely that it would become a connection with unwanted influences. The Ananias Martin family, like others in their situation, began to attend revival meetings and Sunday school elsewhere. By 1934, they had "stood apart" long enough and so the entire family joined the St. Jacobs Old Mennonite Church.

While the Old Mennonites were a convenient option for the Ananias Martins, this did not prove to be the case for others. By that time the cultural gap between the Old Order Mennonites and the Old Mennonites had widened further, making it increasingly difficult to make the move from one to the other all in one step. In the 1930s, Ananias Martin was the exception to the rule. There were few like him, who had already put himself on the voters' list during the war in order to vote against conscription and who was now ready to put a piano in his home for the musical education of his children. The implication of this action was greater even than he realized, because the piano in his house became, eventually, the cornerstone of a county-wide Mennonite choral group.[153]

Others, not at all inclined to modernize to that extent and looking around for other possibilities, discovered they could take communion with Mennonites at Markham, where the Old Order bishop and his entire church had followed a less rigid and conservative course since the 1920s. It must be pointed out that the Old Order Mennonites at that time were located, as they had been at the time of the division in 1889, not only in Waterloo (chiefly Woolwich Township) County, but also in York (chiefly Markham Township) and Haldimand counties.[154] The annual conferences of the Old Order were held alternately in these three districts.[155] It so happened that those in Woolwich were stricter about modernization than were all the others. As indicated, members there could be ostracized for installing a telephone or buying a car, and in fact in 1930 about 10 families were thus affected and knew not where to go, since the Old Mennonites were too modern even for them.

This was not the case in York and Haldimand, where a gradual acceptance of both the telephone and the car had occurred without the users being censured in any way. Indeed, for the sake of the young people, even the English language was already being used. In 1931, Woolwich Bishop Ezra L. Martin concluded that the difference between the Waterloo and the Markham Old Order groups was too great for them to continue working together.[156] Under the leadership of Bishop Levi Grove at Markham, supported by his ministers and deacons, the group of Old Order progressives now identified themselves as the Markham Conference, which assumed responsibility also for small remnants of Old Order members at Rainham and Cayuga in Haldimand County, a total of about 88 members.[157] This left a few Old Order families, not inclined to go along with the Markhamer, who "came to Woolwich for communion for the remainder of their lives."[158]

Through Bishop Grove the Markham Conference accepted into its fellowship the non-communicating Old Order members at Waterloo and an affiliation was also established with like-minded groups in Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, where there also had been a gradual, though sometimes not so gradual, shift away from tradition. As a matter of fact, in the same way that the Old Order identity was first established in the States, so the departure therefrom, in the form of moderate adjustments, occurred there first. Thus, in Indiana and Ohio, a break between the orthodox and the moderates had already come in 1907.[159] The former were called

"horse-and-buggy" Mennonites and the latter "black-bumper" Mennonites. The "black-bumper" designation arose from the practice by the moderates of painting black all the chrome of the new cars, as a way of fighting pride or at least the appearance thereof, much chrome on cars apparently being a status symbol at the time.

It should not be assumed, however, that the Canadian Old Orders took all their cues from the U.S.A. On the contrary, one aspect of cultural adjustment on their part, namely a more stylish bonnet as headgear for the women, was never accepted among the American Old Orders because it was "too fancy." The bonnet, which was normative in Ontario, was simply the so-called "Queen Victoria bonnet," which had been copied from English and Scottish neighbours at a time when such cultural borrowing was not a sign of pride or indicative of any other sin.[160] Now it was an altogether appropriate style because the Old Orders were still living essentially in the Victorian age.

Bishop Levi Grove at Markham was also a step ahead of his "black-bumper" counterparts in the U.S.A., particularly in Pennsylvania, where he happened to be present "when the idea of a chromeless car was introduced." Not only was the car to be chromeless, but of the open, touring-automobile style, in other words, more like the black open buggy. Unacceptable were "late model cars, at that time referring to solid tops and glass windows."[161] Bishop Grove found himself in the embarrassing position of driving an unacceptable car, a closed car with windows and a solid top, unacceptable, that is, to the "black-bumper" (Weaverland Conference) people in Pennsylvania, whose fellowship and support he craved. According to Leonard Freeman:

> It is said that Bishop Levi Grove had to change autos to coincide with this decision. It has also been recalled that because touring cars were no longer manufactured auto dealers imported some from other states to Pennsylvania to fill the demand there among the Mennonites, and that touring cars became quite expensive so that by 1935, when Weaverland Conference decided to accept solidly closed cars, but only *out of style* models, these auto dealers were left with some very expensive cars on their lots, with no sale for them.[162]

The adjustment allowed Bishop Grove to be "in fellowship," meaning that he and his ministers were admissible to the pulpits of

the Weaverland Conference and the Weaverland bishops and ministers were "in fellowship" with the Markham Conference. All of this was already happening when the formal break between Markham and Waterloo Old Order bishops came in 1931. The considerable geographic separation of the two groups made the ecclesiastic separation less painful, but pain there was none the less, because once again, Mennonite division meant the separation of some families.[163]

The formal 1931 "severance" gave to Waterloo families with automobiles—there were about 10 immediately—the option of taking communion and membership at Markham, and by the same token "horse-and-buggy" Mennonites still remaining at Markham could, and did, take communion in Woolwich. The traffic, however, was more in the other direction, and by 1939 the Markham Conference had 51 members in Woolwich.

Meanwhile, the Old Orders in Woolwich had selected by lot and ordained Jesse Bauman as bishop to assist Ezra Martin, who had been partly disabled by a farm accident and who was also showing his age. Jesse Bauman, however, had already distinguished himself as a nonconformist preacher, his style having partly been determined by the fact that Old Order young people were being attracted to another religious option, namely the evangelical gatherings of the Plymouth Brethren, sponsored from Guelph at Wallenstein and Hawkesville.[164] The *frema geisht* (strange spirit) of Bauman was troublesome, but Ezra Martin pacified critics of Bauman's preaching, giving the wise counsel "that the same ideas were preached by Jesse as the other ministers but a different wording was used."[165] When Ezra Martin died on March 22, 1939, leaving Bishop Jesse Bauman alone, the differences that had developed—"a row of automobiles, owned by non-communing members, was parked outside the fence at nearly every worship service"[166]—could no longer be reconciled. Three sessions of the ministerial meeting—Bishop Bauman, the ministers, and the deacons—produced no consensus.[167]

Bishop Bauman withdrew from the Old Order just in time "to serve as bishop and minister in the Waterloo area" for the Markhamers, who were in the process of forming their own congregation. Shortly after, in June, the Markham-Waterloo Conference came into being formally, as the Waterloo and Markham "black-bumper" groups recognized each other. Bauman's pilgrimage, however, had not yet come to an end. The Waterloo section of the Markham-

Waterloo Conference was not all of one mind. Two sets of motivations and expectations were present, inasmuch as two types of modernization were at work. Bauman and his followers from the Old Order wanted prayer meetings and Bible study and hoped to find those innovations in the Waterloo group of the newly established Markham-Waterloo Conference. But the group they were joining wanted cars and telephones. As the group's historian wrote:

> [one group] wanted more modern conveniences than the Old Order allowed, and one group wanted more spiritual activities than the Markham-Waterloo Conference had agreed to.[168]

Bishop Abraham Smith, successor in 1936 to the deceased Levi Grove, supported by other "black-bumper" ministers from Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, sided with the Markham tradition already established. Consequently, Jesse Bauman's position became untenable and before the end of the year Smith discharged Bauman, who proceeded with about 100 followers to take one more step. Fortunately for the Mennonites, the Bauman people did not form another new group, though some joined the Plymouth Brethren. Instead, most found a new home in the Elmira and St. Jacobs congregations of the Mennonite Conference of Ontario.[169]

Thereafter, the situation normalized for the Markham-Waterloo Conference, though a pattern of Mennonite ecclesiastical migration had now been established. And the Old Order couldn't have been entirely unhappy with the situation, because once more unity and harmony existed within the group. More importantly, a formula had been found for dealing in a non-disruptive way with every new group of nonconformists. The presence of two conservative bodies in the area, one less so than the other, provided a convenient and continuous release valve for dissenting members, the emergence of which was never-ending.

Since dissent had somewhere to go and the Old Order Mennonite community was now for all practical purposes limited to one geographic area, Waterloo County north and adjacent areas, it could build itself without disturbance and maintain its way of life without major interruptions in the years to come. And almost as if the presence of the Markhamer was welcomed, the Old Order readily agreed to share several of its meeting houses for use on alternate

Sundays, Martin's and Elmira immediately and North Woolwich a while later. One Sunday the "cars people" would meet and the next Sunday the "teams people" would meet.[170] Once again, division and separation had brought unity and peace.

The new conference grew rapidly in both areas. In Waterloo in 1940, about 300 persons attended communion. In that year, 43 young people were baptized, and three were ordained to the ministry. At Markham, "more young people were baptized . . . than they had ever experienced before, and . . . many young couples were married in the church."[171] Even people of non-Mennonite background were attracted, though not all stayed. Once inside, "they thought discipline was too strict and wanted more spiritual activity and freedom in dress and other restrictions, such as radio or record players."[172] But the liberalizers rarely all withdrew. Thus, the seeds were planted once again for tensions—and disintegration—in the years to come.

The Markhamer, while modernizing, definitely drew a line beyond which their own nonconformity did not permit them to go. Radios and musical instruments, for instance, were forbidden on the grounds that radio fostered frivolous thinking, undermined reverence, conditioned the personality for sensual living, reduced resistance to temptation, promoted a materialistic way of life, and instilled hatred towards certain classes and nations of people.[173]

Apart from the allowance of automobiles and telephones, the Markhamers were not much different from other Old Orders. Simplicity and modesty of life style remained a fundamental value, on Sundays and every day. The ministers continued to be chosen by lot from among the brethren, all or most of them farmers. The communion service remained central to the fellowship, and the inquiry service preceding it was still the time to process any conflicts and complaints. The young people of the Markhamer were encouraged not to seek their entertainment outside but to have their own gatherings for singing and games, harmless ones such as crokinole. Steady dating before there was any clear intention of marriage was discouraged. Fairs, shows, theatres, commercial transactions on Sundays, ornamentation on cars, life insurance, and other such practices of the world also were not tolerated.[174]

Thus it happened that new groups like the Markhamer and Rudnerweider confirmed and reinforced the essential nature of the

Canadian Mennonite reality, namely parochialism and denominationalism in the extreme, already so well-entrenched. Fragmentation, rather than federation, had the upper hand. In the context of denominationalism, most leaders assumed they could best keep the faith and the young people, and not, as David Toews felt, in a substantial increase in inter-Mennonite activity and federation.

FOOTNOTES

1 Johann G. Rempel, "Bericht ueber die zu gruendende Nervenheilanstalt," *Jahrbuch*, 1937, pp. 78–79.

2 Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada, and Australia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. 3.

3 P.P. Tschetter, "Die Einheit der Kinder Gottes," *Jahrbuch*, 1935, p. 74.

4 J.B. Wiens, "Unser Verhalten andern Gemeinschaften gegenuber," *Jahrbuch*, 1934, p. 33.

5 J.H. Janzen, "Modernismus—eine Gefahr fuer unsere Gemeinden," *Jahrbuch*, 1931, p. 62.

6 *Conference Journal* (NW), 1920, p. 14. The MBC also participated in Mennonite Mutual Fire Insurance in Alberta. *Conference Journal* (NW), 1939, p. 10.

7 In 1929, Presiding Elder A. Traub reported on his experiences at the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Conference at Albertown, Pennsylvania: "So far as any aggressive forward movement was concerned, to our minds and from the standpoint of the smaller Conferences, there was nothing done. Unless General Conference changes its attitude, we may as well make up our minds that we shall have to continue to fight our own battles, solve our own problems and root or die." The suggestion from the North-West and Nebraska conferences that the Mennonite name be dropped was poorly received: ". . . others jumped onto it with both feet, evidently feeling that the poor ship would sink if its name was changed so the proposition was lost." *Conference Journal* (NW), 1929, pp. 14–15. See also *Conference Journal* (NW), 1936, pp. 18–19.

8 Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *The American Journal of Sociology* 70:193–205; L. Driedger and G. Church, "Residential Segregation and Minorities," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 11:30–52.

9 Abe J. Dueck, *Concordia Hospital, 1928–1978* (Winnipeg: Mennonite Hospital Society Concordia, 1978), p. 1.

10 A good example of this phenomenon is the Russlaender community of Coaldale. See Ted D. Regehr, "Mennonite Change: The Rise and

Decline of Mennonite Community Organizations at Coaldale, Alberta," *Mennonite Life* 32 (December 1977):13–22.

11 CMCA, XXII-A, Vol. 1389, File 1534, Minutes, Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, 14–15 November 1934.

12 Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution* (Altona: D. W. Friesen & Sons, Ltd., 1962), p. 297.

13 David Toews, "Immigration and Nothilfe," *Jahrbuch*, 1934, p. 75.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

16 David Toews, "Neuorganisation der Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization," *Jahrbuch*, 1934, pp. 75–77.

17 The initial members were as follows: Conference of Mennonites in Canada: D.H. Epp, Rosthern; J.J. Dyck, Laird; J.J. Thiessen, Saskatoon; J.G. Rempel, Langham; J.J. Klassen, Dundurn; Jakob Gerbrandt, Drake; G.W. Sawatsky, Carman; J.P. Bueckert, Reinland; B.B. Wiens, Waterloo; Peter P. Epp, Morden; Peter J. Dyck, Starbuck; D.P. Enns, Rosthern; J.H. Janzen, Waterloo; Northern District of Mennonite Brethren Churches: B.B. Janz, Coaldale; P.P. Thiessen, Saradis; J.P. Wiebe, Herbert; Jakob Lepp, Dalmeny; C.F. Klassen, Winnipeg; C.A. De Fehr, Winnipeg; F.C. Thiessen, Winnipeg; Mennonite Conference of Ontario: S.F. Coffman; and the Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference: Alvah S. Bowman.

18 *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 88.

19 CMCA, XXII-A, Vol. 1389, File 1534, Minutes, Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, 14–15 November 1934.

20 Mennonite Central Committee (Canada) did not come into being until 1963. At that time the relief, peace, immigration, and related elements of the Mennonites and Brethren in Christ were amalgamated into the one MCC (Canada) with a wide mandate and representatation. Its provincial counterparts brought together annually in representative assemblies all, or almost all, the Mennonite and Brethren in Christ congregations of the provinces. The proposed reorganization and CMBC, MLSB, and ZMIK foreshadowed much of this later development.

21 See references to the decline of the Board as an inter-Mennonite organization in Esther Ruth Epp, "The Origins of Mennonite Central Committee (Canada)," (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1980), pp. 29–30.

22 "Die Einheit der Kinder Gottes," *Unser Blatt* 1 (April 1926):141–42. The quote is a paraphrase of the editorial.

23 John A. Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church* (Fresno, Cal.: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1975), p. 136.

24 *Jahrbuch*, 1929, p. 10. See also C.C. Peters, "Suendenbekenntnis," *Jahrbuch*, 1929, pp. 33–42.

25 CGC, XV-31.2, Abe Stobbe, "The Agassiz Settlement," February 1975.

26 The author, having lived in British Columbia, remembers this only too well. There was a period of about 15 years when the thing for "spiritual-minded" people to do was to join the Mennonite Brethren Church. This period began with the rebaptism of C.C. Peters in 1932 and crested about 1947 when Victor Adrian was baptized by the Brethren. The son of a prominent CM family, he became a prominent MB leader.

27 Based on T.D. Regehr. CGC, XV-31.2, "1930-Coaldale."

28 John A. Toews, pp. 369, 370.

29 Some Conference congregations also emphasized cataclysmic conversions and some Brethren were known for their tolerance in social matters, but the characterization of the two groups none the less applies in a general way.

30 I.H. Tiessen, ed., *Er Fuehret . . . Geschichte der Ontario M.B. Gemeinden, 1924–1957* (n.p., 1957), pp. 10–13.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

32 *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1939, p. 37.

33 Protokoll (Ontario District Conference of M.B. Churches), 1940, p. 15.

34 Alberta, MB: CMBS, BA 100, "Register of Archival Materials Created by the Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of Alberta and Housed at the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, Fresno, California"; CM: David P. Neufeld, "Mennonite Conference of Alberta after Twenty-Five Years," *Mennonite Life* 9 (April 1954):57; British Columbia, MB: CMBS, BB 100, Protokoll, 21 June 1931; G.H. Suckau, "British Columbia Provincial Mennonite Brethren Conference," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* 1:431; CM: *Jahrbuch*, 1937, p. 12; Manitoba, MB: CMBS, BC 100, Protokoll, 14 June 1929; CM: Lawrence Klippenstein, ed. *In Quest of Brothers: A Yearbook Commemorating Twenty-Five Years of Life Together in the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba, 1946–71* (Winnipeg: Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba, 1972), p. 3; Ontario, MB: CMBS, BD 100, "Protokoll der Bruderberatung der Vertreter der Mennoniten Bruedergemeinden in Ontario: von Hespeler, New Hamburg, Port Rowan, Vineland, Leamington (Essex) und Kitchener, Ontario am 31. January 1932"; CM: Johann Wichert, "Entstehung und Entwicklung der Vereinigten Mennoniten-Gemeinden in Ontario," in *Jahrbuch der Vereinigten Mennoniten Gemeinden in Ontario, Canada*, 1949 (Conference of United Mennonite Churches in Ontario, 1949), p. 15; Saskatchewan, MB: CMBS, BF 310, "Protokoll von der ersten Saskatchewan Provinzial

Konferenz der MB Gemeinde, abgehalten am 11. Juni 1946 zu Saskatoon, Saskatchewan." It is important to note that North and South Saskatchewan conferences had existed since *c.* 1899 and *c.* 1909, respectively, and that they continued to exist until *c.* 1964; CM: *Jahrbuch*, 1939, p. 75. Note also that the Alberta, Ontario, and Saskatchewan dates for Conference Mennonites represent the founding of provincial ministerial conferences, from which the delegate conferences evolved.

35 *Calendar of Appointments*, 1935, p. 16; S.F. Coffman, "The Mennonite Board of Colonization," *Calendar of Appointments*, 1938, n.p.; S.F. Coffman, "Immigration and Colonization Board," *Calendar of Appointments*, 1940, p. 21.

36 John S. Weber, *History of S.F. Coffman, 1872–1954: The Mennonite Churchman* (graduate research paper, University of Waterloo, 1975), pp. 156–70.

37 *Calendar of Appointments*, 1934, p. 27.

38 CGC, II-2.1.2.2.2, Mennonite Conference of Ontario, Secretary's Records; a close reading of the Conference and Executive Committee Minutes leaves this strong impression. See also *Calendar of Appointments*, 1927–28, p. [18].

39 E.S. Hallman, "Winnipeg the North-West," *Mennonite Year-Book and Directory*, 1924, pp. 16–17; C.F. Derstine, "A Five Thousand Mile Evangelistic Tour in the Canadian North-West," *Christian Monitor* 21 (November 1929):340–41; *Calendar of Appointments*, 1941–42, p. [11]; Oscar Burkholder, "The Churches in the Canadian North-West," *Mennonite Year-Book and Directory*, 1931, pp. 24–26.

40 CGC, II-2.1.2.2.2, Mennonite Conference of Ontario, Secretary's Records, Simon Gingerich, Secretary, Mennonite General Conference, to Gilbert Bergey, 6 October 1931.

41 The founding date of the Mennonite Conference of Ontario is *c.* 1820. Its *Calendar of Appointments* goes back only to 1834. The Mennonite General Conference was established in 1896. See *Calendar of Appointments*, 1941–42, p. [21].

42 *Calendar of Appointments*, 1926–27, p. [15]; CGC, II-2.1.2.2.2, Mennonite Conference of Ontario, Secretary's Records, Letter to Ontario A.M. Conference, 12 June 1934; C.F. Derstine, "The Canadian Field During 1928," *Mennonite Year-Book and Directory*, 1929, p. 21.

43 It should also be noted that the Conference had admitted the River Brethren into the Mennonite Aid Union (*Calendar of Appointments*, 1917, p. 15), but a similar request from the Mennonite Brethren in Christ was denied (*Calendar of Appointments*, 1920–21, p. [15]).

44 John A. Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church* (Fresno, Cal.: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1975), pp. 195, 200–2.

45 John A. Toews, p. 198; see *Stadtmission* (city mission) reports in *Verhandlungen* (ND) in the 1930s for references to Minneapolis.
46 *Verhandlungen* (GC), 1921, p. 5; *Verhandlungen* (GC), 1927, pp. 66–69; *Verhandlungen* (GC), 1921, p. 54; *Verhandlungen* (GC), 1930, pp. 59–60.
47 *Verhandlungen* (GC), 1927, pp. 66–68.
48 See, for example, *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1931, pp. 14–30, 34–42, 44.
49 *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1933, p. 26. The reference here, in all probability, is to Old Colony Mennonites in the Saskatoon area, but the attitude expressed had a general application.
50 "Aeussere Mission," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1936, pp. 16–17.
51 *Verhandlungen* (ND) 1933, pp. 10, 58–66. Even B.B. Janz, who understood better than any other MB the crucial role of the Board, represented the position that relief for Russia and China could be sent via Hillsboro, though he recognized the work of the Board in helping extremely needy cases in Canada. See "Hilfeleistung," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1931, p. 42.
52 Note that David Toews was given a welcome hearing, but relief *actions* were directed via Hillsboro. See "Hilfeleistung," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1935, pp. 39–47.
53 "Hilfswerk," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1934, pp. 62–76.
54 *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1936, p. 79.
55 Samuel Floyd Pannabecker, *Open Doors: The History of the General Conference Mennonite Church* (Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1975), p. 121.
56 Jakob Gerbrandt, "Was die Konferenz gewirkt hat und noch wirken sollte," *Jahrbuch*, 1932, p. 32.
57 P.A. Rempel, "Die Konferenz—ein Mittel zur Bewahrung unserer Gemeinden," *Jahrbuch*, 1932, pp. 45–48.
58 J.G. Rempel, *Fuenfzig Jahre Konferenzbestrebungen, 1902–1952*, p. 142.
59 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
60 These committees reported annually. See, for example, J.G. Rempel, p. 172.
61 *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.
62 *Ibid.*
63 *Ibid.*, pp. 146–47.
64 *Ibid.*, pp. 194–95.
65 H.T. Klaassen, *Birth and Growth of the Eigenheim Mennonite Church, 1892–1974* (n.p., 1974), p. 43.
66 *Ibid.*, pp. 42–45.
67 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
68 H.T. Klaassen, pp. 46–47. See also J.G. Rempel, p. 209.
69 H.T. Klaassen, p. 47.
70 G.G. Neufeld, *Die Geschichte der Whitewater Mennoniten Gemeinde*

(Boissevain: The Author, 1967), p. 148 ff. Letter from a retired Manitoba elder to the author, June 1980. Isaak Klassen, p. 80 ff.

71 Helena M. Brown, *Bergthal Church: 1903 - 1978* (Didsbury, Alta.: Anniversary Committee, 1978), pp. 7, 10.

72 Jake I. Pauls, "History of Morden Bergthaler Mennonite Church" (research paper, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1966), pp. 18-20.

73 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

74 The first issue was entitled *Konferenz-Bericht der 26. Konferenz der Mennoniten im mittleren Canada, Rosthern, Sask., den 2., 3. und 4. Juli 1928.*

75 "Konstitution der Konferenz der Mennoniten im mittleren Canada," *Jahrbuch*, 1931, pp. 3-4.

76 *Jahrbuch*, 1931, p. 7.

77 *Jahrbuch*, 1935, p. 21; *Jahrbuch*, 1937, pp. 82-83; *Jahrbuch*, 1938, pp. 27-28. See also S.F. Pannabecker, pp. 348-50.

78 *Jahrbuch*, 1929, pp. 8-9.

79 *Jahrbuch*, 1932, p. 18.

80 *Jahrbuch*, 1937, p. 12.

81 John G. Rempel easily integrated the two conferences in his own experience. He was longtime secretary of the Canadian conference and also a member of several committees in the General Conference (Peace and Gesangbuch, for instance). For him, the Canadian conference was a natural forum for reporting the latter.

82 *Jahrbuch*, 1940, pp. 15, 16.

83 *Jahrbuch*, 1930, p. 26.

84 D.D. Klassen, "Schulbericht von Manitoba," *Jahrbuch*, 1939, pp. 57-59. The 1938-39 statistics showed the following: Brueder 18; Conference Churches 20 (including Schoenwieser 6; Bergthaler 4; Blumenorter 3; Whitewater 3; Lichtenauer, Herold, Elim, and Misc. each 1); Sommerfelder 5; Rudnerweider and Kleine Gemeinde each 3; and Lutheran 1.

85 G.H. Peters, "Bericht ueber die Arbeit des von der Konferenz zu Winkler gewaehlten Komitees zwecks Vorbereitung der Gemeinden fuer die Uebernahme der mennonitischen Bildungsanstalten," *Jahrbuch*, 1931, pp. 47-49.

86 G.H. Peters, "Bericht des Schulkomitees von Manitoba fuer das Jahr 1931-32," *Jahrbuch*, 1932, p. 59.

87 J.H. Enns, "Ueber die Mennonitische Lehranstalt zu Gretna," *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 74.

88 "Schulsache," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1931, pp. 31-34.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

90 "Die Schulsache," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1932, p. 48.

91 "Schulsache," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1937, p. 19; *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1938, p. 22.

92 "Die Schulsache," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1933, p. 76.

93 J.A. Toews, "Die Schulbestrebungen im Noerdlichen Distrikt der Mennoniten-Bruedergemeinden Canadas," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1939, pp. 24–27.
94 "Regelung einer gewissen Angelegenheit," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1941, pp. 56–57.
95 *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1941, pp. 15–17.
96 David D. Klassen, "Schulbericht von Manitoba," *Jahrbuch*, 1935, p. 78; "Bericht ueber die Rostherner Fortbildungschule," *Jahrbuch*, 1939, p. 55.
97 J.G. Rempel, p. 175.
98 *Jahrbuch*, 1930, p. 26.
99 *Jahrbuch*, 1935, p. 20. It was the gracious Benjamin Ewert who suggested that *Der Bote* become the official paper.
100 H.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, Ltd., 1970), p. 117.
101 Frank H. Epp, "An Analysis of Germanism and National Socialism in the Immigrant Newspaper of a Canadian Minority Group, the Mennonites, in the 1930s" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1965), p. 309.
102 E. Derksen, "So wurde unsere Post: 50 Jahre Zeitungsgeschichte," *Die Post* L (31 December 1963):1–3.
103 See *Der mennonitische Immigranten-Bote* 5 (25 July 1928):1.
104 J.N. Hoeppner, "Wie steht es mit der Nachfolge Jesu in den Gemeinden?" *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 52.
105 *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 15; *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1937, pp. 61–65; *Jahrbuch*, 1937, p. 17. See also A.D., "Unsere werdende Nervenheilanstalt," *Warte-Jahrbuch*, 1943, pp. 50–55; Henrich Wiebe, "Ein Heim fuer harmlose Geisteskranke," *Warte-Jahrbuch*, 1943, pp. 55–56.
106 *Jahrbuch*, 1935, pp. 87–88.
107 Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, p. 309.
108 David Toews, "Immigration and Nothilfe," *Jahrbuch*, 1934, p. 67.
109 Johann G. Rempel, "Bericht ueber die zu gruendende Nervenheilanstalt," *Jahrbuch*, 1937, pp. 77–81.
110 "Unterstuetzung der Geisteskranken," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1939, pp. 64–65.
111 *Jahrbuch*, 1939, p. 14. Some optimism in this regard was reported a year later. See *Jahrbuch*, 1940, pp. 41–42. Another year later, 1941, the Northern District encouraged "warm support" and an annual collection for the proposed institution. See "Nervenheilanstalt," *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1941, pp. 50–51.
112 *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 15; David Schulz, "Die Nervenheilanstalt," *Jahrbuch*, 1939, pp. 62–64.

113 John A. Toews, p. 173.
114 Abe J. Dueck, *Concordia Hospital, 1928–1978* (Winnipeg: Mennonite Hospital Society Concordia, 1978), pp. 13–15. The 1934 Northern District Conference did encourage the support of Concordia. See *Verhandlungen* (ND), 1934, p. 48.
115 Johann G. Rempel, pp. 77–81. It should be noted that the Northern District encouraged "warm support" and an annual collection for the project in 1941, but this encouragement did not have the strength of other authorized collections, as for instance, with respect to Tabor College. In other words, encouragement to hold a collection did not mean that a collection would be held. Besides, by 1941, other priorities had pushed this project far into the background.
116 *Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 7.
117 CMCA, XXII-A, Vol. 1389, File 1534, Minutes, Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, 14–15 November 1934, pp. 1, 2.
118 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
119 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
120 CMCA, XXII-A, Vol. 1389, File 1534, Memorandum, "Kulturabteilung," presented to Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, 14 November 1934.
121 CMCA, XXII-A, Vol. 1389, File 1534, Minutes, Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, 14–15 November 1934, p. 3.
122 David Toews, "Bericht ueber die Publikationssache," *Jahrbuch*, 1937, pp. 90–91.
123 *Jahrbuch*, 1938, pp. 38, 41, 55.
124 *Jahrbuch*, 1938, p. 38.
125 *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 83.
126 P.J.B. Reimer, *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee: Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1812–1962* (Steinbach: The Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1962), p. 31 ff.
127 *Ibid.*, pp. 32–35.
128 For a review of religious developments arising from the immigration in the 1870s, see "The Church Struggle in Manitoba" in Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786–1920* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), pp. 283–300.
129 Gerhard Ens, "Johann D. Adrian," *Der Bote* 57 (17 December 1980):4.
130 Henry J. Gerbrandt, pp. 81, 91.
131 Henry J. Gerbrandt, "Wealth Is Rooted in People," *Mennonite Mirror* 1 (May 1972):11–12.
132 CGC, XV-31.2, "1930—Rudnerweide Mennonite Church," Isaac P. F. Friesen, "Kurzer Ueberblick ueber die Anfangsgeschichte der Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference" (November 1979): 2.

133 Cornelius Krahn, "Old Colony Mennonites," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* 4:41.
134 The ordination sermon of Bishop Jacob Froese appears in Calvin Wall Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), pp. 253–56. See also CMCA vertical file for a paper on Jacob Froese.
135 Ron Sawatsky, "The History and Theology of the Old Colony Mennonites" (research paper, Conrad Grebel College, 1979), p. 39.
136 J.D. Adrian, *Die Entstehung der Rudnerweider Gemeinde* (Winnipeg: J.D. Adrian, 1958), pp. 8–9.
137 *Ibid.*
138 John G. Rempel, "Isaac P. Friesen," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* 2:405.
139 J.D. Adrian, p. 10.
140 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
141 Isaac P.F. Friesen, p. 3.
142 J.D. Adrian, p. 12.
143 Norman Friesen, "Revival Fires in Manitoba" (research paper, Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1968), p. 13.
144 Walter Sawatsky, "History of the Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference" (research paper, Goshen College, 1967), p. 8.
145 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
146 J.D. Adrian, pp. 14–15.
147 Frank Zacharias, quoted in Walter Sawatsky, p. 16.
148 Walter Sawatsky, p. 22.
149 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
150 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
151 *Ibid.*, p. 39.
152 Interview by the author with Ananias Martin, 18 April 1976.
153 Abner Martin, the founder of the Menno Singers in the 1950s, was the son of Ananias. Another choral group, called the Nightingale Choir, was led by Harold Schiedel.
154 L.J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* (Markham, Ont.: Mennonite Conference of Ontario, 1935), p. 199.
155 CGC, VIII-2.1, Isaac G. Martin, "The Story of Markham-Waterloo Mennonite Conference," p. 12.
156 *Ibid.*
157 Aden Frey, "The Markham-Waterloo Conference of Ontario" (research paper, Conrad Grebel College, 1972):4.
158 Isaac G. Martin, p. 12.
159 From notes by Leonard Freeman on Markham-Waterloo Conference. CGC, XV-31.2, "1930—Waterloo-Markham."
160 Leonard Freeman, p. 4.
161 *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

162 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
163 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
164 Glenn Brubacher, "The Frema Geisht" (research paper, Eastern Mennonite College, n.d.), pp. 5–11; Allan G. Felstead, "A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Sectarian Divisions in the Mennonite Church of Waterloo County, 1849–1939" (M.A. thesis, University of Waterloo, 1978), p. 98.
165 Glenn Brubacher, p. 14; Leonard Freeman, p. 12.
166 *Ibid.*
167 Isaac G. Martin, p. 14.
168 Leonard Freeman, p. 13.
169 Glenn Brubacher, p. 18.
170 CGC, XV-31.2, "1930—Waterloo-Markham," Lecture at CGC by Noah Martin, 16 March 1972.
171 Leonard Freeman, p. 11, 13.
172 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
173 Aden Frey, p. 11.
174 *Ibid.*, pp. 29–40.