

Provenance

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Epilogue

TWENTY YEARS of history is too short a time-span on which to base any great or firm conclusions, and yet this Canadian story of the manifold Mennonite struggle for survival in the inter-war period cannot be ended without further summation and analysis. For the Mennonites, this was a time of considerable desperation, of diverse responses to the problems encountered, of strong determination to overcome those problems, and of nagging doubts about the outcome, all of which took on new dimensions when the world once again exploded with the sounds of battle.

The period began with great uncertainties. Some Mennonites doubted whether either Canada or Russia could remain a homeland for them and whether they could survive in those countries. Others wondered whether or not they had already lost or were rapidly losing the fundamental features of their faith and whether or not they could be sustained as a separate people with an alternative life style. During this period, there were major crises which raised the question of survival, but by 1939 it was clear that the Mennonites in Canada had survived. Their numbers had doubled and hundreds of their communities were firmly established (see Appendix 2).

The Second World War brought renewed tension between Mennonites and their national homeland, but at least until that time the Canadian development generally was increasingly congenial to the Mennonite experience. The racial and religious prejudices which had kept the Mennonites out in 1919 and again in 1929 had largely vanished by 1939 and with some exceptions been replaced by more complete information, understanding, and respect.

The Mennonites were no longer alone in questioning the validity of war, its objectives, and its methods. French Canadians also resisted war propaganda, the war effort itself, and conscription in particular. Under Prime Minister King, Canada insisted on its own national destiny and on shaping its own foreign policy, apart from European considerations and British desires. Like Mennonites, King applauded statesmen who took diplomatic risks for peace and, far from nurturing a jingoistic patriotism, he infused Canada with a great reluctance to go to war and to mobilize its young men for battle.

Other emerging features of the Canadian society favoured the Mennonite situation. Dissent, for instance, no longer came only from strange and poorly understood religious minority groups but also from more popular social-protest movements and from a wide range of new political parties. Canadian economic shifts from agriculture to industry and from the country to the city coincided with greater Mennonite readiness to urbanize. The lifting of trade barriers and the wider opening of the borders to the United States were also appropriate for the Mennonites and their numerous continental connections. And the shift of power from the provinces to the federal government, along with the growing sense of a federal responsibility for the welfare of all the people in all the regions, could be appreciated by those Mennonites whose greatest enemy had been not the federal establishment but certain provincial politicians and governments. The occasion of Their Majesties' visit to Canada in 1939 helped the Mennonites to assess their situation, to discover that all or most of the earlier uncertainties had been overcome, and to express renewed appreciation for their homeland in which they had not only survived but in which they were beginning to thrive.

The struggle itself, of course, could not be forgotten, primarily because it had not yet come to an end. An epilogue to this book is not complete without another look at those events and responses which in a few short years made so much momentous and fascinating history,

both for the religious minority group under study and for the national society of which they were a part.

Mennonite migrations during this time were not all like the panic-filled flight to Moscow, and yet, the movements from Canada to Latin America and to Canada from Russia were treks of great urgency. Even the resettling within Canada in places more isolated and culturally more secure or in places more urban and vocationally more promising were conditioned by a deeply felt necessity. The non-physical migrations, such as the reaching for strange ideologies and the broad acceptance of non-traditional institutions, likewise happened because there seemed to be no other way. Having come to the conclusion that Canadian public schools would mislead their children, or that the Soviet system would destroy their religious and economic culture, or that modernism in all its forms would undermine the faith, the Mennonites made desperate moves away from the perceived dangers towards the nearest promises of security.

The multiplicity of Mennonite responses to the problems they faced was due to a number of factors. Desperation was one of them. A sense of emergency is rarely accompanied by the wisdom of forethought or deliberate reflection about the outcome. When on a ship which appears to be sinking, one runs to the nearest lifeboats and worries later about their safety and destination. Mennonite pluralism was another factor. As the foregoing record makes clear, the Mennonite people were actually many peoples, at least twenty in terms of their organizations, more in terms of their viewpoints. Social forces were another factor. When a social tradition or an ideological synthesis no longer holds and needs to be altered and perhaps displaced, suggestions for change are usually not singular but plural. As it was in the Protestant Reformation, so it was in the Mennonite evolution; the separation syndrome knew no end!

In the 1920s and the 1930s, Canadian Mennonites responded in many different ways to the dangers they perceived in the changing national and international situations. Those unhappy with Canada chose either to stay or not to stay. Those who left did so voluntarily or under religious duress. Some left proudly and judgmentally, insisting that they were right and everybody else was wrong. Some left sadly, humbly, and reluctantly, though convinced that the future welfare of their children required that some of the elders act bravely and sacrificially. Those leaving chose not one but two destinations in

Latin America, Mexico in the Northern Hemisphere and Paraguay in the Southern Hemisphere. Those who chose Mexico founded not one but three colonies and bought land for a fourth. Those who chose Paraguay established not one but two congregational families in a single colony. Those resettling assumed either that they would interact with their new neighbours or that they would do everything possible to avoid the indigenous populations. Some began their new life where they left off, insisting on the status quo within their system; others tried to inject new dynamism into the old system. Some quickly endeared themselves to the authorities and enlarged the Mennonite welcome, while others disappointed those who had granted them a *Privilegium*, thereby narrowing the entrance for others also in need of that space.

Those who stayed in Canada likewise were of many minds. Some were all in favour of finding a new isolation, but in Canada, not in a foreign country. Some of the geographic isolationists insisted on private schools, while others were ready to accept "public" schools, provided those schools were theirs, run by their trustees. Others were certain that the only reasonable course of action was to fully accept the public schools. Those who did so without reservation were either indifferent or careless or they were deliberately accepting a wider citizenship and identity. Perhaps they were even secularizing. Some accepted the public schools, believing they could meet Mennonite needs if only the Mennonite trustees did their duty and if they hired Mennonite teachers who were adequately trained. A very deliberate injection of Mennonite values into public institutions was the approach of some who believed that complete isolation was not possible and perhaps not even desirable. They believed that special education for their children was the best way to strengthen them as they moved out into the world.

Those who believed that evangelism was the answer to outside danger concentrated their efforts not on non-church institutions but on non-churched individuals. For them, Mennonite problems could be resolved by the winning of Mennonite young people as well as outside converts. Some believed in missions among the neighbours close to home so that ethnic barriers would be crossed and, erroneously, for this period at least, that Mennonite numbers would be thereby increased; others preferred missions overseas, some to maintain vitality in the domestic community through foreign activity,

others to protect the ethnic integrity of the domestic community by having its converts far enough away to avoid facing the problems of Mennonite parochialism at home.

Most Mennonites feared modernism, but modernism meant different things to different people. For some, it meant modern styles, which in turn could mean many things: fancy buggies and harnesses, or flashy cars, or fancy, many-coloured clothing, or jewellery. Modernity could also mean attending public fairs, circuses, and theatres. Or it could mean fancy ideas. Those resisting ideological modernism reached for its opposite, namely fundamentalism, but not all to the same extent or with the same enthusiasm. For some, fundamentalism simply meant getting back to Mennonite fundamentals. For others, it meant the tenets of the fundamentalist movement. For still others, it was a mixture of the two. Some fundamentalists emphasized dispensationalism, some did not; some dispensationalists were pre-millennialists, some were not. Some who embraced fundamentalism lost their social ethic. Some Mennonite fundamentalists continued to believe in the importance of the Sermon on the Mount and, to that extent, in the social gospel.

Those who entered Canada from Russia also were variously motivated. Some were simply escaping an impossible situation. Some really viewed Canada as a land of great promise. Some were poor and completely dependent. Some were able to pay their own way. Some believed the best future in Canada lay in the cities, some on the land. Those who wanted land had different ideas about what land types and areas were most desirable. The greatest differentiation was between those who preferred the isolation of homestead lands even in the wilderness and those who felt best about lands already developed, even if this meant scattering and the loss of compact communities.

In terms of their cultural and religious orientation, those arriving from Russia were likewise not one of a kind. For some, Mennonite ethnicity and culture were all-important, for others less so. Some were eager to learn English, some clung to German with great zeal. Others were fanatic about High German, even to the point of disparaging Low German, on the one hand, and exalting all things German, including the *Reich* and its politics, on the other hand. Some were ready to use every religious institution, including Sunday schools and Bible schools, for the propagation of German; others

were content to let the home and the Saturday school take care of linguistic training. Some didn't care enough to make any efforts to preserve the language.

The religious emphases and styles of the newcomers were many as well. At the one end of the continuum was a great dependence on evangelism and revivalism to achieve cataclysmic emotional conversions followed by an immersionist baptism. At the other end of the continuum was a disparagement of emotional religion and instead a dependence on the chorale instead of the gospel song, on education and a more gradualist approach to the Christian life, and on sprinkling or pouring as a more meaningful and reverent approach to baptism. In between were many variations of, and permutations on, the above themes. At the centre stood those who simply wanted spirituality and true religion without the legalism of rigid ordinances, strict liturgical styles, or inflexible modes of communication.

Nonresistance, the foremost common denominator of all Mennonites, also elicited a spectrum of approaches. At the one end were those who claimed the total traditional exemption from military service based on Mennonite identity certified by the ministry. At the other end were those reaching for some recognized, non-embarrassing, national service, if necessary with a uniform, as long as it did not involve the personal shedding of blood by Mennonite boys. In between were gradations of the non-involvement or involvement approaches. Most Mennonites represented combinations of what being a good Mennonite and also a good citizen were perceived to mean.

The kaleidoscopic response to the problems encountered, and the institutional incarnations of these responses, suggest that the Mennonite religious minority was actually many religious minorities engaged in many struggles. Readers can be excused for coming to that conclusion as a way of making sense of Mennonite confusion. In part, they are right. None the less, the common theological heritage of Anabaptism, common historical experiences especially with reference to land and the state, and a common social orientation or separation of one form or another or of one degree or another, justify the integrated inclusion of all Mennonite groups into this single story. They belong together not only because the Mennonite identity was carried by all but also, and primarily, because the common

nomenclature signified some underlying similarities, no matter how far the Mennonite groups were spread on certain issues. And no matter how great the fragmentation and how prevalent the syndrome of sectarianism, there was some structural federation, however limited, with potential for the increase of co-operation as the war threat increased.

The inclusion and integration of a Mennonite diversity as great as this volume reveals inevitably highlights ambiguities and contradictions. However, these can easily be exaggerated if one forgets that ambiguity and contradiction are human phenomena common to all national, religious, or ethnic groups. During this period, Canada too was full of diversity and full of confusion and paradox. In a more particular sense, ambiguity and contradiction are characteristics of minority groups, partly because of the inner microcosmic reality, which knows of many smaller worlds within the larger worlds, and partly because of the external perceptions or the microscopic reality, which is enamoured of, and which exaggerates, the parts rather than the whole, the eccentricities rather than the normalities.

The relationship of the parts to the Mennonite whole carries an inherent contradiction also from the perspective of survival strategy. At one and the same time, the parts were the greatest threat to Mennonite survival and also the greatest prospect of Mennonite survival. On the face of things, the smaller the islands the more they were endangered by the roaring sea. And yet, precisely because they were islands, the various Mennonite groups knew exactly where the dangers lurked, how to cope with them, for how long and at how great a price.

From this perspective the determination and, in a sense, invincibility of the various Mennonite groups is amazing. They actually believed that they could remove themselves to the dry plateaus of Mexico or to the green hell of Paraguay and survive. They actually believed that they could define alternative life styles and maintain them against all odds. They actually believed that they could leave behind a compact Mennonite system in Russia and scatter in all directions in an expansive Canada and still maintain what was dearest to them. They actually believed that nonresistance could be maintained even though no one else around them shared their faith. And as they believed, they set out to achieve.

All they needed to do was to call on God and to do their share. And

doing their part meant a willingness to make any sacrifice, to exchange better land for worse land, and to pay for new programs and institutions even in the depression. What they demanded of themselves, they also asked of their young people, who, quite possibly, were asked to pay the highest price of all, nonconformity and the resultant social ostracism by their peers, for the sake of the faith of the fathers. Clearly, values were often more important than material and social success.

At the end of the 1930s, the Mennonites had survived and were surviving. The visible continuity of the Mennonite communities, congregations, and conferences was obvious. The loyalty of the young people was impressive, in terms of both the quantity and the quality of their responses. Within and across the five main provinces in which they were now scattered, the Mennonites were tied together by informal networks and formal organizations, which contributed both to identity and to solidarity. The culture was being preserved. The faith was being taught. And every new generation was being challenged.

The doubts about continuity were not so much based on a Mennonite decline, which wasn't evident, as they were occasioned by those forces which threatened to weaken the culture and dilute the faith. The Mennonites knew instinctively that the all-pervasive influences of public education, economic forces largely outside of their control, social attitudes, political policies, and religious influences were inevitably shaping their destiny to the extent that they themselves were too weak to offset these forces. However, there were dangers even beyond those which were perceived at the time.

Historical hindsight, at least, suggests that significant chinks in the theological and cultural armour of the Mennonites were appearing, pointing to a possible disintegration of the historic Anabaptist faith and Mennonite religious culture at the core. In a variety of ways, that core, which envisioned the kingdom of God on earth, was threatened, because Mennonites were limiting, and in the process emasculating or short-circuiting, that kingdom. Such limitations included deliberate geographic and cultural segregation of the kingdom, thus withholding it from any application to the larger world; the identification of the kingdom with, and its circumvention by, religious institutions and Mennonite conferences, thus effectively removing it from the social, economic, and political spheres of life;

the reduction of the kingdom to an individual experience of salvation with its resulting irrelevance to society; the postponement of the kingdom and its ethical imperatives to a future dispensation; and the equating of the kingdom with nationalisms, either domestic or distant.

By limiting the scope and the quality of the kingdom, the Mennonites were really opening wide the floodgates of those worldly kingdoms they dreaded the most and whose waters rushed in to fill the voids that were being created in the theology and culture of their own people. So it seemed. It was too early to assess the situation with any finality. But that the end of traditional separation, with its special life-encompassing value system, and an alternative *Weltanschauung* (world view), was in sight, and that a transition of some kind was under way, there could be no doubt. Only the future could tell how far the Mennonites would go down the roads in the directions they were already choosing.

APPENDIX 1

SUMMARY OF CANADIAN MENNONITE GROUPS IN 1940

NO.	POPULAR NAMES	FORMAL NAMES	RELATED AMERICAN/ NORTH AMERICAN BODY
<i>A. Swiss Mennonite Groups</i>			
1.	Old Mennonites, OMs	Mennonite Conference of Ontario Alta.-Sask. Mennonite Conference	Mennonite General Conference
2.	Reformed Mennonites, Herrites	Reformed Mennonite Church	Reformed Mennonite Church
3.	New Mennonites	Mennonite Brethren in Christ, Ontario and North-West Districts	Mennonite Brethren in Christ Conference
4.	Old Order Mennonites, Wislerites, Horse-and-Buggy Mennonites	Mennonite Churches	Mennonite Churches
5.	David Martin Old Order Mennonites, Newborns	Mennonite Church	N/A
6.	Markhamer, Cars People, Black Bumper Mennonites	Markham-Waterloo Mennonite Conference	Weaverland Mennonite Conference
<i>B. Swiss Amish Mennonite Groups</i>			
7.	Church Amish	Amish Mennonite Conference	Mennonite General Conference
8.	Old Order Amish, House Amish, Holmsers	Amish Mennonite Churches	Amish Churches
9.	Beachy Amish	Nafziger & Cedar Grove Amish Mennonite Churches	Beachy Amish
<i>C. Dutch Mennonite Groups</i>			
10.	Conference Mennonites, Kirchengemeinden	Conference of Mennonites in Canada	General Conference Mennonite Church

APPENDIX 1 (continued)

SUMMARY OF CANADIAN MENNONITE GROUPS IN 1940

NO.	POPULAR NAMES	FORMAL NAMES	RELATED AMERICAN/ NORTH AMERICAN BODY
11.	Brethren, Brueder, MBs	Northern and Ontario Districts, Mennonite Brethren Churches	General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches
12.	Kleen-gemeenta (Low German for Kleine Gemeinde)	Kleine Gemeinde	N/A
13.	Chortitzer	Chortitzer Mennonite Church	N/A
14.	Altkolonier, Old Colony	Old Colony Mennonite Churches	N/A
15.	Sommerfelder	Sommerfelder Mennonite Churches	N/A
16.	Bergthaler	Bergthaler Mennonite Churches in Saskatchewan	N/A
17.	Rudnerweider	Rudnerweide Mennonite Church	N/A
18.	Krimmer, KMBs	Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Churches	Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Conference
19.	Bruderthaler, EMBs	Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Churches	Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference
<i>D. Dutch-Swiss Mennonite Groups</i>			
20.	Holdemaner	Church of God in Christ Mennonite	Church of God in Christ Mennonite

APPENDIX 2

MENNONITE POPULATION IN CANADA
BY PROVINCES AND CENSUS DIVISIONS
IN THE YEARS 1921, 1931, & 1941

PROVINCES Census Divisions	1921	1931	1941
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	3	2	—
NOVA SCOTIA	2	1	3
NEW BRUNSWICK	4	—	5
QUEBEC	6	8	80
YUKON AND NWT	1	—	4
ONTARIO	13,645	17,661	22,219
Algoma	2	1	3
Brant	15	1	25
Bruce	363	304	360
Carleton	3	—	14
Cochrane	Formed in 1931	223	110
Dufferin	44	28	44
Dundas	1	—	—
Durham	—	—	—
Elgin	107	111	139
Essex	2	829	1,157
Frontenac	1	7	4
Glengarry	—	—	—
Grenville	1	—	—
Grey	241	248	340
Haldimand	170	212	156
Haliburton	—	—	3
Halton	13	1	21
Hastings	11	—	—
Huron	223	213	309
Kenora	—	5	67
Kent	9	43	88
Lambton	71	74	117
Lanark	—	—	—
Leeds	3	7	—
Lennox-Addington	—	—	—

APPENDIX 2 (continued)

Mennonite Population in Canada
by Provinces and Census Divisions
in the Years 1921, 1931, & 1941

PROVINCES Census Divisions	1921	1931	1941
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ONTARIO (Continued)			
Lincoln	329	653	2,277
Manitoulin	65	99	185
Middlesex	18	20	39
Muskoka	6	3	13
Nipissing	—	—	1
Norfolk	12	140	223
Northumberland	5	—	30
Ontario	189	238	240
Oxford	699	769	847
Parry Sound	1	11	15
Peel	2	5	19
Perth	1,335	1,691	2,060
Peterborough	5	—	2
Prescott	—	—	—
Prince Edward	1	—	—
Rainy River	—	—	9
Renfrew	1	—	1
Russell	—	—	—
Simcoe	417	449	470
Stormont	—	—	—
Sudbury	1	2	46
Thunder Bay	3	1	53
Timiskaming	1	—	5
Victoria	—	—	17
Waterloo	7,130	8,752	9,398
Welland	422	340	389
Wellington	508	668	894
Wentworth	16	51	97
York	1,199	1,462	1,932
MANITOBA	21,295	30,352	39,336
Division # 1	3,815	5,727	8,798
Division # 2	16,343	17,902	20,927
Division # 3	28	942	844
Division # 4	—	598	457
Division # 5	5	159	744

APPENDIX 2 (continued)

MENNONITE POPULATION IN CANADA
BY PROVINCES AND CENSUS DIVISIONS
IN THE YEARS 1921, 1931, & 1941

PROVINCES Census Divisions	1921	1931	1941
MANITOBA (Continued)			
Division # 6	940	3,658	5,193
Division # 7	15	124	233
Division # 8	1	366	291
Division # 9	12	290	702
Division # 10	1	126	555
Division # 11	1	273	166
Division # 12	3	21	80
Division # 13	14	85	230
Division # 14	30	17	30
Division # 15	—	—	51
Division # 16	87	64	35
SASKATCHEWAN	20,544	31,338	32,511
Division # 1	57	208	35
Division # 2	24	208	180
Division # 3	163	258	333
Division # 4	744	721	670
Division # 5	17	111	48
Division # 6	43	138	115
Division # 7	4,564	6,328	5,340
Division # 8	1,616	1,903	1,839
Division # 9	39	86	494
Division # 10	126	323	371
Division # 11	909	2,974	2,970
Division # 12	1,165	1,822	1,782
Division # 13	51	258	187
Division # 14	605	876	2,338
Division # 15	10,188	12,708	11,868
Division # 16	212	1,992	2,812
Division # 17	13	421	964
Division # 18	8	3	165
ALBERTA	3,125	8,289	12,097
Division # 1	10	276	894
Division # 2	888	2,713	3,788
Division # 3	59	436	1,080

APPENDIX 2 (continued)

MENNONITE POPULATION IN CANADA
BY PROVINCES AND CENSUS DIVISIONS
IN THE YEARS 1921, 1931, & 1941

PROVINCES Census Divisions	1921	1931	1941
ALBERTA (Continued)			
Division # 4	122	161	256
Division # 5	176	609	203
Division # 6	1,330	2,503	3,155
Division # 7	119	297	225
Division # 8	38	130	191
Division # 9	14	20	133
Division # 10	180	203	372
Division # 11	89	155	392
Division # 12	—	4	20
Division # 13	9	9	4
Division # 14	—	22	22
Division # 15	1	113	234
Division # 16	90	630	690
Division # 17	—	8	438
BRITISH COLUMBIA			
Division # 1	172	1,085	5,105
Division # 2	Divisions not applicable in 1921	3	15
Division # 3		87	121
Division # 4		47	114
Division # 5		923	4,321
Division # 6		6	235
Division # 7		1	15
Division # 8		—	6
Division # 9		—	250
Division # 10		1	4
Division # 11		17	24
TOTALS	58,797	88,736	111,360

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Winnipeg, Manitoba,
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4. Conrad Grebel College Library and Archives (CGC),
University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, Ontario,
Canada.
N2L 3G6

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9th Avenue and 1st S.E.,
Calgary, Alberta,
Canada.
T2G 0P3
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12845 102nd Avenue,
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Index

- agriculture: need for land, 2, 3; availability of land in 1920s, 11–13; immigrant communities, 190; wilderness lands, 197; sugar-beet farming, 209, 211–14; berry-growing, 224–5; dairy farming, 225; collectivization, 301, 302; wheat market, 348; demise of family farm, 362; alliance between Rhineland Agricultural Society and government, 363
- Alberta: settlements prior to 1920, 6; settlements in 1921, 10, 11; public school system, 100; immigrant settlement districts, 191; early purchases of large farms in, 204–5; sugar-beet farming, 209, 211–14; immigrant settlements in, 216; Russlaender in, 263–4; Mennonite congregations in, 1920–40, 241, 285–8; negative public reaction to migration, 315; reaction to Toews delegation, 316; refused refugees, 326–7; the depression, 350; public schools, 354; beginning dates of provincial conferences, 405; Mennonite population in 1921, 1931, and 1941, 606–7
- Alberta-Saskatchewan Old Mennonite Conference, 25, 407, 471
- Alliance churches, 248, 251
- All-Russian Mennonite Agricultural Society, 300
- All-Russian Mennonite Congress, 143
- alternative service, 571, 573
- Altkolonier, 358, 425, 427
- American Mennonites: migrations to Canada prior to 1920, 6; pressures from state and society, 35; relief work in U.S.S.R., 37, 147; plans for colonization unsuccessful, 150; financial appeal to, 177; Kanadier and Russlaender attitudes, 244; description of life of, 335
- Amish Mennonite Conference, 82–3
- Amish Mennonites: arrival of, 4; summary of migrations to Canada (1786–1920), 5; position of, before 1920, 19; in Canada in 1920, 22; progressive and conservative streams, 26; conservatism of, 30; fundamentalism, 82; more progressive than Old Mennonites, 82–3; religious beliefs, 83–4; language used when Russlaender arrived, 247; Fire and Storm Aid Union, 375; literary societies, 455; Sunday schools, 451–2; singing schools, 467

- Anabaptists: refusal to bear arms, 13;
 localized congregational community, 19;
 lack of centrally recognized authority, 23;
 fundamentalism, 56-7; Geiser's
 interpretation, 332; congregational
 singing, 465
- Anderson, J. T. M., 99, 104, 309-11, 313-
 14, 316, 349
- Auhagen, Otto, 305, 320
- automobiles: acceptance of, 79; during the
 depression, 349, 368; liability insurance,
 380; Old Order Mennonites, 430-1, 433
- bankruptcies, 376-7
- baptism: Russlaender congregations, 250-
 1, 266; controversy over form of, 403;
 General Conference, 404; issue of infant,
 411; Rudnerweider, 429
- Battleford Block, 197, 207
- Bender, Harold S., 572, 573, 574
- Bender, Jacob R., 448, 455
- Bergthaler Mennonite Church: origins of,
 27. *See also* Manitoba Bergthaler;
 Saskatchewan Bergthaler
- Bestvater, William J., 55, 84-5
- Bethesda Mennonite Health Society, 382
- Bible schools: rise of movement, 467-72;
 promote German and religion, 522
- bishops, 24, 71-2, 115
- book distribution centres, 481-2
- Braun, Isaac, 312-13
- Brazil, 322, 327, 330
- Brethren churches: Russlaender, 248;
 differences between Conference churches
 and, 250-1; organize in Kitchener, 252;
 new congregations in Man., 254-5; in
 Sask., 262
- British Columbia: settlements prior to
 1920, 6; settlements in 1921, 10, 12, 223-
 6; immigrant settlement districts, 191;
 Russlaender in, 264-5; Mennonite
 congregations in, 1920-40, 241, 289; the
 depression, 350; co-op movement, 361;
 Russlaender Brethren, 402; beginning
 dates of provincial conferences, 405;
 Mennonite population in 1921, 1931, and
 1941, 607
- brotherhood meetings, 267
- Brown, Gerald M., 126, 172-3
- Brownlee, J. E., 315, 316
- Bruderthaler Mennonites: origins of, 27;
 diversity within, 30-1; public schools,
 97, 98, 109; Alliance churches, 248-9;
 Brethren immigrants, 254; centre in
 Alta., 263; change of name, 422
- Brueder Gemeinde, 97, 98, 109
- burial aid societies, 382-3
- Burkholder, Lawrence J., 501, 502
- Burkholder, Oscar: fundamentalism, 65-
 7; views on education, 69; dress code, 70;
 life insurance, 379; young people, 448;
 Sunday schools, 451; literature programs,
 481
- Byers, Noah E., 59, 60
- Canada Colonization Association, 191,
 192-4, 214
- Canadian immigration policy: in 1923,
 153; recruitment by railway companies,
 154; appeals to change, 155, 308, 323-4;
 conditions for Russian Mennonites,
 162-3; medical examinations, 164, 169,
 170, 301; refused Mennonite refugees,
 306-9; jurisdiction over, 317; returnees
 from Mexico, 356
- Canadian Mennonite Board of
 Colonization: establishment of, 149, 157,
 166, 191, 331; wilderness lands, 197;
 reorganization of, 395-6, 400-1; history
 of, 398
- Canadian Mennonite Youth Organization,
 461
- Canadian Mennonites: after Great War, 1,
 2; summary of Mennonite/Amish
 migrations (1786-1920), 5; 1921 census,
 7; nonresistance and military service in
 1920, 15, 572-4; special privilege, 16-
 17; congregational families (1820-1917),
 20-1, 23-5; corporate personality, 29-
 32; pressures from state and society, 33-
 5; fundamentalist movement, 50; social
 gospel movement, 51-2; aid for Russian
 Mennonites, 37, 151, 166-7, 299;
 importance of local congregation, 237-8;
 cultural divisions, 242; congregations,
 1920-40, 240-1, 269-89; popular images
 of, 311; continued to pressure
 governments, 323; population in the
 1930s, 352; the depression, 347-52; co-op
 movement, 360-7; *Waisenamt*, 370-1;
 secularization of mutual aid
 organizations, 374-5; bankruptcy, 376-7;

- attitude towards business, 378; life insurance, 379-80; liability insurance for automobiles, 380; medical and hospital insurance, 380-1; burial aid societies, 382-3; cost of schools, 383; fragmentation, 397; world conference, 420; groups started, 1920-40, 421; young people, 447-50; literary societies, 455-8, 459; Bible school movement, 467-72; masturbation, 476-7; population increases in 1930s, 487; meaning of culture, 498-503; importance of separatism, 504; racial identification of, in census years 1931, 1941, 526; message sent to Chamberlain, 543-4; ethical separation, 547-8; pro-Germanism, 548-56; loyal citizens, 556, 575-8; summary of groups in 1940, 602-3; population by provinces and census divisions in 1921, 1931, and 1941, 604-7
- Canadian National Railways: recruitment of immigrants, 154; settlement policy, 192, 195; Peace River District, 214; Reesor settlement, 219-22
- Canadian Pacific Railway: recruitment of immigrants, 154; Russian Mennonites, 158-9, 160-4, 173-4, 177-8, 308-9; CCA, 191; Battleford Block, 197; "brush land terms," 207
- Canadian Relief Committee, 152
- Canadianization, 17, 52, 97, 99, 243
- Central Mennonite Immigrant Committee, 172, 191, 194
- Chamberlain, Neville, 543-4
- children: education gained at home, 450; Sunday schools, 451-4; summer Bible schools, 472
- China, 37, 307-8, 328
- choirs, 268, 463
- Chortitzer Mennonite Church: origins of, 27; opposition to public schools, 97, 98, 102, 105, 109; petition, 108; emigration, 120-7; Conference immigrants, 254
- Christian Endeavour Societies, 459
- Christian Monitor*, 80, 559-64, 577
- chronological or dispensational separation, 545
- Church of God in Christ Mennonite, 27
- church-sponsored schools: Ontario Mennonite Bible School, 69; criticism of, 103-4; capital and operating needs, 383; Conference Mennonites, 414; Mennonite Brethren, 415; character-building, 461-2
- Coaldale experiment: sugar-beet farming, 209, 211-14; growth of Brethren church, 263-4; school incident, 357-8; hospital, 382
- Coffman, S.F.: background of, 64; fundamentalism, 49, 55, 64-5; nonresistance, 67, 566; educational developments, 68-9; Ontario Mennonite Bible School, 69; dress code, 73-4, 75, 76, 513-14; work on behalf of Russian Mennonites, 140, 155, 156, 174-5; denominationalism, 407; literature programs, 481; interpretation of Mennonite history, 500-1
- communal land ownership, 201, 206, 223, 226
- communion, 266, 430, 431, 512, 514
- Communism, 552-4, 560-1
- Conference churches: Russlaender, 248; differences between Brethren churches and, 250-1; in Ont., 253; in Man., 254; members join Brethren churches, 402-3
- Conference Mennonites: use of term, 28; differences between Brethren and, 403; provincial conferences, 405; denominationalism, 410; given new vigour by Russlaender, 413; educational institutions, 414-16; young people, 448; musical activity, 464
- Conference of Historic Peace Churches, 568
- Conference of Mennonites in Canada: evangelists, 474; dispensationalism, 558; issues of peace and war, 568-70
- Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada: groups included in, 32, 248; the depression, 351; reorganization of the Board, 400-1; denominationalism, 406, 410-14
- congregational constitution, 238-9
- congregational families: in Canada (1820-1917), 20-1; bishop-oriented, 23-5, 26, 85; conference-oriented, 23-5, 26, 28; fragmentation in, 397
- conversion: differences among Russlaender, 250; of Jews, 557-8, 563-4
- co-operative movement: in Ont., 360; in

- B.C., 361; in Man., 361–7; opposition to, 365–6; individualism, 367–8; young people, 480
- credit unions, 365
- cultural/national separation, 545
- culture: differences among Canadian Mennonites, 242–7; Mennonite denominationalism, 420; in Mennonite way of life, 498–503; varieties of separate culture, 503–7; language, 517–22; ethnicity and racial identity, 522–9; dialects, 529–33
- David Martin Old Order Mennonites, 26, 30, 430
- deacons, 72, 238
- Dennis, J.S., 159, 160, 163–4, 192
- denominational conferences, 268
- denominationalism: provincial, 406; Conference Mennonites, 406–8, 410; Old Mennonites, 407–8; Mennonite Brethren, 408–10; educational institutions, 414–16; mental hospitals, 418; settlement policy, 419; cultural affairs, 420; emergence of new groups, 420
- Der Bote*, 484, 517, 524, 554, 555
- Der Mitarbeiter*, 411, 417
- Der Praktische Landwirt*, 300, 301
- Derstine, C.F.: fundamentalism, 63; Stirling church, 79; public opinion of Mennonites, 318; literature programs, 481; life insurance, 516; *Christian Monitor*, 559, 562; monarchy, 577–8
- dialects, 529–33
- Die Mennonitische Rundschau*, 417, 554
- disarmament, 565
- discipline of members, 239, 512, 514
- dispensationalism, 53, 54, 548, 557–8
- Doukhobors, 15, 198
- dress code: requirements, 70, 73–5, 245, 433, 510–15
- Dutch–North German Mennonites: arrival of, 4; public schools in western Canada, 17–18; in Canada in 1920, 22; congregational families, 26–7; differences between, in Canada and U.S.A., 35–6; *Evangeliumslieder*, 51; emigration to Latin America, 94–5; cultural group, 242; new community in Man., 428–9; young people, 448; *Jugendverein*, 459–60
- Dyck, Arnold, 530, 532
- Dyck, Isaak M., 355, 356
- Eastern Section irrigation lands, 214
- education: nondenominational public schools, 17; private vs. public schools, 96; freedom in matters of, 98; in private schools, 103–5, 414–16; importance of the home in, 450; character-building, 461–2; musical activity, 462–7; secondary and post-secondary, 482–6
- Eigenheim, Sask.: independence movement, 412–13
- “Eighteen Fundamentals,” 59, 64
- elder, 24
- Emmert, H.L., 200–1
- employment, 188, 479–80
- English language, 97, 449
- Enns, F.F., 257–8
- Ens, Gerhard, 151, 158, 167
- Epp, Claas, 37, 151
- ethical separation, 545
- ethnicity, 100, 522–9
- Evalenko, A.M., 159–60
- Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, 422
- evangelism, 472–4, 596–7
- Ewert, Benjamin, 449, 474, 479
- Ewert, H.H.: public schools, 96; plans for immigration, 157–8; *Der Mitarbeiter*, 412, 417; young people, 448; encouraged musical training, 463; *The Mennonites*, 500; German language, 521; ethical separation, 545–6
- excommunication, 430
- families: relationship between local congregation and, 240; education gained in, 450; *Jugendverein*, 459–60
- Fascism, 561
- Fire and Storm Aid Union, 375
- fire insurance, 374, 375
- foreign missions, 82, 334, 409
- Forke, Robert, 307, 309
- fragmentation, 396–7, 421–36
- Friesen, A.A.: work on behalf of immigrants, 140, 147, 155, 174; member of MLSB, 193; brush-land farmer, 207; Friesen-Braun trials, 312

- Friesen, Henry P., 312-13
 Friesen, John K., 483-4
 Friesen-Braun trials, 311-13
 fundamentalism: influence of, 49; rise of, in U.S.A., 52-6; dispensationalism, 53, 54; Mennonite Brethren, 55; Great War, 55; Old Mennonites, 56-63; appeal of, to Mennonites, 56, 59; in Ont., 63; S.F. Coffman, 64-5; Oscar Burkholder, 65-7; Amish, 82; inter-war period, 597
 Funk, John F., 55, 57
 General Conference Mennonite Church of North America: origins of, 28; fundamentalist movement, 51; "Eighteen Fundamentals," 59; Stirling church, 79; baptism, 404
 General Conference of Mennonite Brethren in North America, 403, 404, 408-9
 General Conference of Mennonite Congregations in Russia, 300
 General Society of Anabaptists, 333
 geographic separatism, 503, 504, 545
 George VI, 576-7
 Gerbrandt, Jacob, 211, 213
 German language: corporate Mennonite personality, 29; Old Mennonites, 62-3; use of, by Russlaender, 247, 528; preservation of, 517-22; dialects, 529-33
 German Mennonite Aid, 168, 171, 330
 German-English Academy, 18, 95, 383-4, 414
 Germanism, 518, 528, 548-56
 Germany: decline of nonresistance, 14; Mennonites in post-war, 38; occupation of Ukraine, 145; refugees, 305, 319, 320-2, 324, 328; Mennonites in, 333; appreciation of, 548-50; under Hitler, 550-3
 girls' homes, 474-5
 Goshen College, 482
Gospel Herald, 57, 377, 510
 government annuities, 380
 Great Depression, 347-52, 395
 Great Purge, 329
 Great War: effect of, 2, 594; decline of nonresistance in Europe, 14; Canadianization following, 17; fundamentalism, 55; discriminatory measures against Mennonites in U.S.S.R., 142
 Grove, Levi, 432-3
 Harbin group of refugees, 307-8, 328
 hate literature, 555
 Herbert Bible School, 84, 255
 Herbert Board, 194
 Hiebert, Gerhard, 194, 381
 Hildebrand, J.J., 196, 218, 221, 448
 Hindenburg, Paul von, 549
 Hitler, Adolf, 548, 550-6, 561
 Holdemaner: origins of, 27; conservatism of, 31; public schools, 97; Peace River District, 218; Conference immigrants, 254
 Home Defence, 146
 Home Evangelist, 473
 Horch, Ben, 464-5
 Horsch, John: editor, 58; modernism, 59; fundamentalism, 60; nonresistance, 62; *Der Bote*, 484
 House Amish, 26
 Hutterites, 15, 201
 Immigration and Naturalization Act, 153
 India, 37, 334, 409
 institutional separation, 545
 Intercontinental Land Company: foreclosure action, 369-70
 inter-Mennonite organizations: need for, 397-9; provincial conferences, 405; provincial denominationalism, 406; denominational tasks of each group, 406; educational institutions, 414-16; mental hospitals, 418; cultural affairs, 420; world conference, 420
 international affairs: message sent to Chamberlain, 543-4; *Christian Monitor* articles, 562-3
 Irrigation Farms Colonization Board, 211
 isolated settlements, 33, 358, 449
 Janz, B.B.: work on behalf of Russian Mennonites, 140, 162, 163, 168; background of, 149; detained immigrants, 170; family emigrated, 178; Coaldale experiment, 212, 213; Union of Citizens of Dutch Ancestry, 300; helped groups emigrate, 174, 401, 402;

- settlement policy, 419; National Socialism, 554–5; loyalty to Canada, 575
- Janzen, Henry H., 403, 566
- Janzen, Jacob H.: All-Russian Mennonite Congress, 143; Reesor settlement, 219, 222; honorary doctorate, 244; leader of Conference immigrants, 253; itinerant minister, 265; characterization of fragmented Mennonite family, 397; background of, 484–5; *Tales of Mennonite History*, 501; positive features of Mennonitism, 502; German culture, 528–9; literary figure, 530–2; Hitler's rise to power, 551; dispensationalism, 558; opposed participation in war, 566; military service, 574
- Jews, 553, 555, 557–8, 563–4
- Jugendverein*, 459–60
- Kanadier: Russlaender, 243–4, 353, 417; American Mennonites, 244; in Man., 254; in Sask., 259–60; young people, 448–9; monarchy, 576–7
- Kauffman, Daniel, 58, 60
- King, William Lyon Mackenzie: support from, 16, 17; approached to change immigration policy, 156, 309; basis for Ottawa's co-operation, 325; war, 594
- Kitchener, Ont.: dress code controversy, 74–81; Molotschna congregation, 252
- Klassen, C.F.: All-Russian Mennonite Agricultural Society, 300; transportation debt, 385; settlement policy, 419; world conference, 420; ethnic identification, 575
- Klassen, J.J., 479, 569
- Klassen, J.P., 168, 257, 258
- Kleine Gemeinde: origins of, 26; discipline of, 30; public schools, 97, 109; changes in, 422
- Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, 29, 33, 98
- Ku Klux Klan, 314
- kulaks*, 301, 329
- lay delegates, 83
- life insurance, 379–80, 515
- linguistic separatism, 503
- literary societies, 455–8, 459
- literature: programs, 481–2; Mennonite writers, 530–3
- local congregations: Anabaptist beliefs, 19; importance of, 237–40; summary of, 1920–40, 241; uniqueness of each, 242; Russlaender, 246–7, 265–8; Molotschna in Kitchener, 252–3; description, 261; needy widows and senior citizens, 380; fees payable, 383
- Loewen, Daniel, 449, 480
- Magladery, T., 569–70
- Manitoba: settlements prior to 1920, 6; settlements in 1921, 9; public schools, 17, 95, 96–7, 101, 110; fundamentalist-modernist debate, 85; attempts to crush resistance, 101–2; school petitions, 108; Mennonite immigrants to Latin America, 122; immigrant settlement districts, 191; early purchases of large farms in, 203–4; relationship between Russlaender and Kanadier, 254–9; ministry services to new settlements, 256–7; Mennonite congregations, 1920–40, 241, 275–80; Toews delegation, 315; approved entry of refugees, 327; the depression, 350; co-op movement, 361–7; individualism in, 369; beginning dates of provincial conferences, 405; fragmentation in southern, 421–9; division of Sommerfelder church, 428; Mennonite population in 1921, 1931, and 1941, 605–6
- Manitoba Bergthaler: origins of, 28; public schools, 97, 109; relationship with Brethren, 255; *Waisenamt*, 371–2; differences between Sommerfelder and, 423
- Manitoba Free Press*, 126, 318
- Markham, 432–6, 448
- Markham-Waterloo Conference, 434–5
- marriage, 478
- Martin, Ezra, 432, 434
- McRoberts, Samuel, 120, 123
- medical and hospital insurance, 380–1
- medical corps, 571, 573
- medical examinations, 164, 169, 301
- Mennonite Aid Union, 374–6
- Mennonite Brethren in Christ: position of, 18–19, 81, 84; elder, 24; conferences in 1920, 26; distinguished from Old Mennonites, 26; congregational family, 28; evangelical fundamentalism, 32;

- fundamentalism, 55; opposition to Russian migration, 165; English language, 247; Russlaender, 248; integration of immigrants, 402; differences between Conference Mennonites and, 403; Alliance spirit in Ont., 403; provincial conferences, 405; denominationalism, 408-10; educational institutions, 415-16; young people, 448; musical activities, 463; evangelism, 472-3; cultural change, 505-6; dispensationalism, 558; peace and military matters, 567; alternative service and medical corps option, 571; monarchy, 577
- Mennonite Central Committee: relief work in U.S.S.R., 37, 148, 300, 320-1, 330; settling refugees in Paraguay, 322
- Mennonite Church and Modernism, The*, 59, 61
- Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 18, 95, 414
- Mennonite Colonization Board, 177, 313
- Mennonite Conference of Ontario: origins of, 25; fundamentalism, 63, 67; "Constitution and Discipline," 71; dress code, 70, 74-81; denominationalism, 407-8; evangelism, 473; high schools and colleges, 482
- "Mennonite Contract," 202
- Mennonite Educational Institute, 95
- Mennonite Executive Committee for Colonization, 150, 177
- Mennonite General Conference. *See* General Conference Mennonite Church of North America
- Mennonite Hospital Concordia, 381
- Mennonite Immigration Aid, 194-6, 307
- Mennonite Land Settlement Board, 191, 193-4, 197, 399
- Mennonite Mutual Benefit Association, 380-1
- Mennonite periodicals, 57-8, 60, 166, 417, 517, 559
- Mennonite Refugee Church in Ontario, 253
- Mennonite Welfare Board of Ontario, 378
- Mennonites: world population of, in 1921, 2; summary of foreign missions, 334
- mental hospitals, 418
- Mexico: Reinlaender emigration to, 113-20, 122, 127-8, 596; Russian Mennonites, 150-1, 177; returnees from, 355-7
- migrations: to Canada (1786-1920), 4-6; public school system, 109; land-seeking delegations, 110-15, 120; to Mexico, 113-20, 122, 127-8; to Paraguay, 120-7; consequences of, for those who remained, 123-4; of Russian Mennonites, 139, 155-79; U.S. quota system, 150; inter-war period, 595, 596
- militarism, 52, 564-71
- military service: exemption from, 13; Russian Mennonites emigrating to Canada, 157; exemptions in U.S.S.R., 301; returnees from Mexico, 355-6; discussions of, 565-71; inter-Mennonite meeting, 572-4
- Miller, Alvin J., 148, 200, 370
- Miller, Orie O., 148, 378
- ministers: duties of, 72; *Reiseprediger*, 253, 256; upgrade qualifications, 486
- minority groups: provincial education policies, 99; public school system, 110
- mission activity: reading circles, 458; Bible schools, 471-2; of committees, 473
- Mississippi: Reinlaender emigration, 111-12
- modernism: social gospel movement, 52-3; Horsch's attack on, 59; Burkholder's opposition to, 67; Derstine's view, 80; inter-war period, 597
- modernization: Old Order Mennonites, 430
- Molotschna Brethren, 252
- Munich Agreement, 544
- musical instruments, 436, 466, 515
- mutual aid organizations: *Waisenamt*, 370-1; commercial insurance company, 374; secularization of, 374-80; medical and hospital care, 380-1; burial aid societies, 382-3
- National Socialism, 548, 552-6
- Netherlands: decline of nonresistance, 14; Mennonites in post-war, 38; aid for immigrants in Brazil, 330; General Society of Anabaptists, 332-3
- Neufeld, K.H., 463-4
- New Mennonites. *See* Mennonite Brethren in Christ
- nonconformity: importance of, 62-3;

- prescribed manner of dress, 70, 510–15;
- Old Order Mennonites, 431;
- Markhamer, 436; doctrine of, 507–9;
- negative aspects of, 509; protection of worship service, 515; worldly amusements, 515; life insurance, 515; labour unions, 516; certain businesses off limits, 516; misrepresentation in business, 516–17; Old Mennonites' emphasis on, 517
- nonresistance: Anabaptist beliefs, 13; decline of, 14; distinguished from pacifism, 62; S.F. Coffman, 67; Home Defence, 146; discussions of, 554, 564–71; inter-Mennonite conference, 574; inter-war period, 598
- Non-Resistant Relief Organization, 568
- North American Bruderthaler Conference, 27
- North Kildonan, Man.: emergence of, 189
- Northern District of Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America:
 - reorganization of the Board, 400, 401, 408–10; Sunday schools, 453; evangelists, 473; issues of peace and war, 570–1
- Old Mennonite Conference of Ontario:
 - outline of, 407–8; unionism, 516; dispensationalism, 558–9
- Old Mennonites: position of, 18–19, 30, 81; conferences in 1920, 25; fundamentalism, 50, 56–63; Goshen College, 60, 61; dress regulations, 70; gains from Old Order Mennonites, 79; congregations in western Canada, 81–2; Amish Mennonites more progressive than, 82–3; public schools in Sask., 98; English language, 247; denominationalism, 407–8; Sunday schools, 451; singing schools, 467; literature programs, 481; cultural change, 506–7; nonconformity emphasis of, 517; militarism and disarmament, 565–6
- Old Order Amish, 26, 30, 247
- Old Order Mennonites: position of, 18–19, 81; conferences in 1920, 26; conservatism of, 30; language used when Russlaender arrived, 247; mutual aid, 376; resistance to change, 429–31; location of, 432; in U.S.A., 433
- Ontario: settlements prior to 1920, 6; settlements in 1921, 6–7, 8; encroachment of worldly culture, 18; fundamentalism, 63–9; Russian Mennonites, 175–6; resistance to urbanization, 188; immigrant settlement districts, 191; Reesor, 219–22; Russian Mennonite settlements in, 222–3, 224; Russlaender in, 251–3; Mennonite congregations, 1920–40, 241, 269–74; the depression, 350; co-op movement, 360; beginning dates of provincial conferences, 405; fragmentation in southern, 429–36; Mennonite population in 1921, 1931, and 1941, 604–5
- Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference, 408
- Ontario Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 403–4
- Ontario Mennonite Bible School, 69, 471
- Paraguay: emigration to, 120–7; refugees settle in, 322–3, 327; colonies founded in, 596
- peace movements, 61–2
- Peace River District, 214–18, 354–5
- Peniel Bible School, 255, 416
- Plymouth Brethren, 53, 54
- Predicted Departure from the Faith, The*, 67
- Priestley, Norman F., 315, 357
- private schools. *See* church-sponsored schools
- prohibitionist movement, 52
- prosecutions: school attendance, 103
- provincial conferences, 405
- provincial denominationalism, 406
- public opinion: towards migration, 309–15; negative response of provincial governments, 318; understanding of Mennonite culture, 499
- public schools: in Man., 95, 96–7, 101; in Sask., 98, 103; Canadianization, 99; objections to, 100; in Alta., 101, 354; minority groups, 110; distorted popular perceptions, 313; incident in Coaldale, 357–8; climate for change, 425–6; inter-war period, 596
- Quiring, Walter, 522, 551, 552, 553–4
- racial identification: with Germany, 524–5; of Canadian Mennonites in census

- years 1931, 1941, 526; delegates at international conference, 527
- radios, 436
- Railways Agreement, 154
- reading circles, 458
- Reesor, Ont., 155, 219-22, 359
- Reformed Mennonites, 26, 30
- Reimer, C. W., 215-17
- Reinlaender: origins of, 27; opposition to public schools, 97, 98, 102, 109; purpose of their schools, 105; land-seeking delegations, 110-12; emigration to Mexico, 113-20; liquidation of holdings, 118-19; consequences for those who remained, 124; returnees from Mexico, 355-7; church remnants in Man. and Sask., 424-5
- Reiseprediger*, 253, 256
- Reiseschuld*, 384-5
- relief work: for Mennonites in U.S.S.R., 37, 147-8, 300, 330; during the depression, 350-1
- religious beliefs: need for land, 2, 3; refusal to bear arms, 13; educational autonomy, 17; localized congregational community, 19; corporate personality, 29-32; social gospel movement, 51-2; fundamentalist movement, 53-4, 57; nonconformity, 62; Amish, 83-4; Reinlaender, 115-16; intimate congregation, 241
- Rempel, Cornelius, 113-14
- Rempel, Johann G., 500, 527
- Rhineland Agricultural Society, 362-4
- Rhineland Consumers Co-operative Ltd., 364
- Rosenorter, 28, 98, 260-1
- Rosthern Board. *See* Central Mennonite Immigrant Committee
- Roth, Herman, 412-13
- Royal Visit of 1939, 576-7
- Rudnerweider, 428-9, 448
- Russia. *See* Soviet Union
- Russian Mennonites: effect of Russian Revolution, 37, 142, 144; relief work for, 37, 147-8, 300, 330; achievements of, in U.S.S.R., 141-2; German occupation, 145; reign of terror, 145-6; Home Defence, 146; typhus, 146-7; Study Commission, 147; Union of Citizens of Dutch Ancestry, 149; U.S. efforts, 150; Mexico, 150-1, 177; Canada's suitability, 152; Canadian efforts on behalf of, 156; interest of CPR in, 158-9; contracts with CPR, 160-2, 173, 177-8; conditions of immigration, 162; delays, 163-4; reasons for opposition to, 166-7; problem of detained, 170-1; adjustment to new life, 172-3; of lesser means, 174; Ont.'s contribution, 175-6; emigration policy changed, 178; cash and credit passengers, 178; employment, 188; agricultural communities, 190; immigrant settlement districts, 191; CPR settlement policy, 192; CNR settlement policy, 195-6; competition for, 196-7; settlement in wilderness lands, 197; former Mennonite reserve lands, 198-9; purchase of large farms, 200-6; Battleford Block, 207; immigrant settlements in Man., 208-9; Coaldale experiment, 209, 211-14; immigrant settlements in Sask., 210-11; Peace River District, 214-15; immigrant settlements in Alta., 216; settlement at Reesor, 219-22; immigrant settlements in Ont., 223-3, 224; immigrant settlements in B.C., 223-6; effect on Canadian Mennonite population, 241; conditions for, in U.S.S.R., 298-302; *kulaks*, 301; flocked to Moscow, 303-6, 319-20, 327; Germany helped refugees, 320-2; Paraguay, 322-3; approved entry in western Canada, 327-8; physical and psychological hardship, 329; Great Purge, 329; appreciation of Germany, 549; inter-war period, 597
- Russian Revolution, 37, 142, 144
- Russlaender: Kanadier and, 243-4, 417; American Mennonites, 244; Swiss Mennonites, 244-7; differences among, 247-8; congregational types, 248; differences between Conference churches and Brethren churches, 250-1; in Ont., 251-3; in Man., 254-9; in Sask., 259-63; in Alta., 263-4; churches in settlements, 264; in B.C., 264-5; description of congregational life, 265-8; threat presented by, 353; co-op movement, 360-1, 367; foreclosure action by National Trust, 369-70; universal levies, 383; institutionalism, 398; developed effective organizations, 399; co-operation

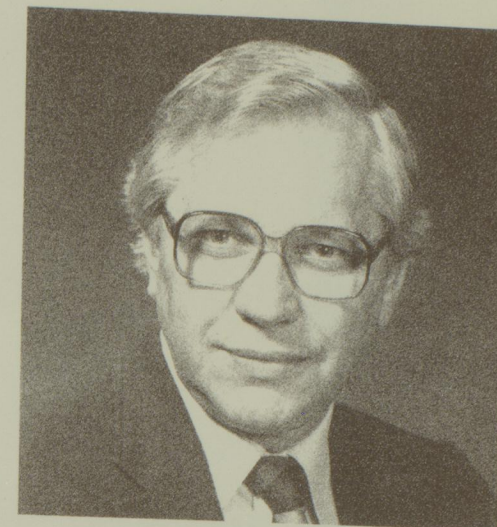
- between families, 401; integration of Brethren, 402; new vigour among Conference Mennonites, 413; literary dominance by, 417; young people, 448; Sunday schools, 452; literary societies, 459; musical activities, 462-4; venereal disease, 476; masturbation, 476; archives, 503; preservation of German language, 517-18, 528; use of Russian and Ukrainian, 519; German ethnic or racial connection, 522-9; political dimension of pro-Germanism, 548-56; alternative service, 573
- salesmanship, 516-17
- Saskatchewan: settlements prior to 1920, 6; settlements in 1921, 9, 10; public schools, 17, 98; fundamentalist-modernist debate, 85; school attendance prosecutions, 103; school petition, 108; Mennonite immigrants to Latin America, 122; Russian immigrants, 172-3; immigrant settlement districts, 191; early purchases of large farms in, 204; immigrant settlements in, 210-11; Russlaender and Kanadier, 259-63; Mennonite congregations in, 1920-40, 241, 281-5; negative public reaction to immigrants, 309-10; Friesen-Braun trials, 311-13; Ku Klux Klan, 314; Toews delegation, 315; approved entry of refugees, 327; the depression, 348, 349; beginning dates of provincial conferences, 405; Mennonite population in 1921, 1931, and 1941, 606
- Saskatchewan Bergthaler: origins of, 27; clash of conservative and progressive forces, 31; public schools, 98; land-seeking delegations, 120; emigration to Paraguay, 120-7; attitude towards Russlaender, 353
- Saskatchewan Relief Commission, 350
- Saskatoon Phoenix*, 126, 172-3
- secularization: of Mennonite mutual aid organizations, 374-80
- Seelsorge*, 267-8
- separatism: forms of, 503, 545; inter-war period, 595, 596
- settlement policy: CPR, 192; CNR, 195; wilderness lands, 197; former Mennonite reserve lands, 198-9; purchase of large farms, 200-6; "Mennonite Contract," 202; brush land, 206-7; Coaldale experiment, 209, 211-14; Peace River District, 215; Northern Ontario, 219-22; inter-Mennonite endeavours, 419
- sex education, 475-8
- Siemens, J.J., 363-6, 480-1
- Simons, Menno, 13, 51, 299, 332
- singing schools, 467
- Snider, Jonas, 76, 78
- social gospel movement, 51-2, 61-2
- social separatism, 503
- Society Concordia, 381-2
- Sommerfelder Mennonite Church: origins of, 27; clash of conservative and progressive forces, 31-2; public schools, 97, 98, 109; legal proceedings, 107; land-seeking delegations, 120; emigration to Paraguay, 120-7; *Waisenamt*, 372-3; differences between Man. Bergthaler and, 423; resisted new movement, 427; division of, 428
- Soviet Union: Reinlaender emigration from, 117; achievement of Mennonites in, 141-2; refused to admit doctors, 164, 168; attitude towards emigration changed, 178; communal features of settlements, 201; conditions for Mennonites in, 298-302; shift of mind on refugees, 305-6; physical and psychological hardship for Mennonites, 329; Great Purge, 329
- Steinbach Post*, 417, 517, 532
- Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church, 78, 79
- suffrage movement, 52
- Sunday schools, 451-4
- Swiss-South German Mennonites: arrival of, 4; encroachment of worldly culture, 18; in Canada in 1920, 22; congregational families, 25; connection between, in Canada and U.S.A., 36; cultural group, 242; Russlaender, 244-7; leaders try to correct public opinion, 318; new community in Ont., 432-6; young people, 448; Sunday schools, 451; Young People's Bible Meeting, 454-5; congregational singing, 465
- Tabor College, 415-16
- telephones, 79, 430-1
- temperance movement, 52
- Toews, David: fundamentalist-modernist

- debate, 84; work on behalf of Mennonites in U.S.S.R., 140, 156, 299; background of, 151; military exemption for Russian Mennonites, 157; plans for immigration, 157-8; obligations of contract, 161-2; antagonism towards, 166, 167-8; detained immigrants, 170-1; appeal to Ont., 175; CNR settlement business, 195; services of ministry for new settlements, 257; Rosenorter congregation, 261; approached King about changing immigration policy, 309; Friesen-Braun trials, 312; efforts to convert attitudes of provincial governments, 315-16; report on immigration, 324; international relief, 331; German-English Academy, 383; reorganization of the Board, 399, 400-1; highly respected by Mennonite Brethren, 409-10; independence movement in Eigenheim, 412; cultural affairs committee, 420; world conference, 420; young people, 448; appreciation of Germany, 549; military service, 572-3; loyalty to Canada, 575
- Toews, John B., 56, 144
- Toronto: dress code controversy, 73-4
- total abstinence, 515
- trachoma, 171
- tracts: distribution of, 472
- transportation debt, 197, 384-5, 400
- Tucker, Joseph R., 323
- Turner Statement, 566
- typhus, 146-7
- Ukraine, 141, 145, 556
- Union of Citizens of Dutch Ancestry, 149, 300
- unions, 52, 516
- United Church of Canada, 50, 212-13, 484
- United Mennonite Church in Ontario, 253
- United States: fundamentalism in, 52-6; immigration policy, 150
- Unruh, Abram H., 244, 255
- Unruh, Arthur H., 196, 221, 448
- Unruh, Benjamin H.: work on behalf of Russian Mennonites, 140; All-Russian Mennonite Congress, 143; leader of Study Commission, 147; obtained permission from German government, 168; cause of refugees presented in Berlin, 305; proponent of German ethnic or racial connection, 522-3
- urbanization: dress codes, 73-4; resistance to, in Ont., 188; emergence of North Kildonan, 189; young people, 474
- venereal disease, 476
- Victoria Daily Times*, 126, 318
- voting privileges: in Russlaender congregations, 239, 267
- Waisenamt*, 370-4
- Weaverland Conference, 433-4
- Weber, U.K., 74-5, 78
- Western Canada Colonization Association, 191
- Winnipeg Board. *See* Mennonite Immigration Aid
- women: suffrage for, 52; dress code, 70, 73-5, 511-12, 514; voting privileges in Russlaender congregations, 239, 267; dress of Russlaender, 245; "Queen Victoria bonnet," 433; contribution as mother, 450; reading circles, 458; marriage, 478
- world conferences, 332-6, 420
- worldly amusements, 515
- worship service: protection of, 515
- Yoder, Edward, 507, 546-7
- young people: approaches to winning, 447-50; importance of home life, 450; description of young men's society, 454; Young People's Bible Meeting, 454-5; literary societies, 455-8, 459; reading circles, 458; *Jugendverein*, 459-60; movements, 460-1; character education, 461-2; musical activities, 462-7; Bible schools, 469-72; missionary activity, 471; evangelism, 472-4; distribution of tracts, 472; girls' homes in cities, 474-5; sex education, 475-8; marriage, 478; vocations for, 479-80; literature programs, 481-2; secondary and post-secondary education, 482-6; assessment of efforts to keep, 487
- Young People's Bible Meeting, 454-5

MENNONITES IN CANADA, 1940

Compared to Population in General, by Census Divisions

(Census Divisions known by numbers in Western Canada and by County names in Ontario)



Born in 1929 at Lena, Manitoba, of Mennonite parents who were of Dutch-German stock and recent émigrés of the Russian Revolution, Frank H. Epp is a well-known Mennonite of international stature. He was founding editor of both *The Canadian Mennonite* and the *Mennonite Reporter*. Dr. Epp has been a newspaper reporter, radio broadcaster, church pastor, and university professor. His broad range of interest and experience is reflected in his travels and in his writing. His journalistic and research trips have taken him to Vietnam and other Asian countries, Latin America, Indonesia, the Middle East, and most recently, Poland. Dr. Epp's books include *Whose Land Is Palestine: The Middle East Problem in Perspective*, and *The Israelis: Portrait of a People in Conflict*. He received an honorary doctor of laws degree in part for writing the first volume of this Mennonite history, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People*. Dr. Epp is Past President and tenured Professor of History at Conrad Grebel College, University of Waterloo. He is currently a member of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism and has recently been appointed chairman and chief executive officer of the Mennonite Bicentennial Commission, which is planning observances in 1986 of the two-hundredth anniversary of the Mennonite immigration to Canada.

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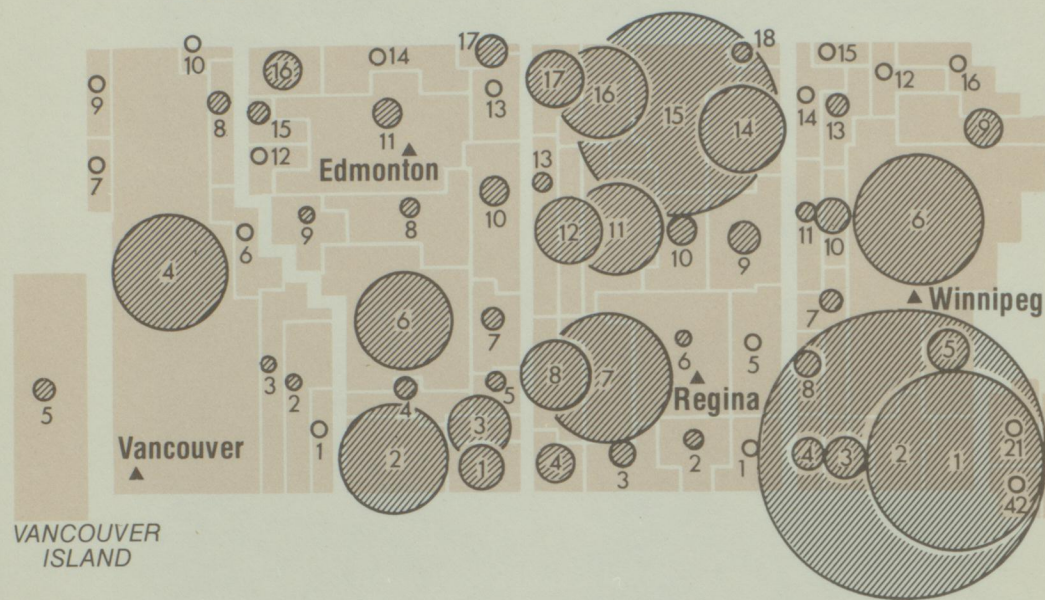
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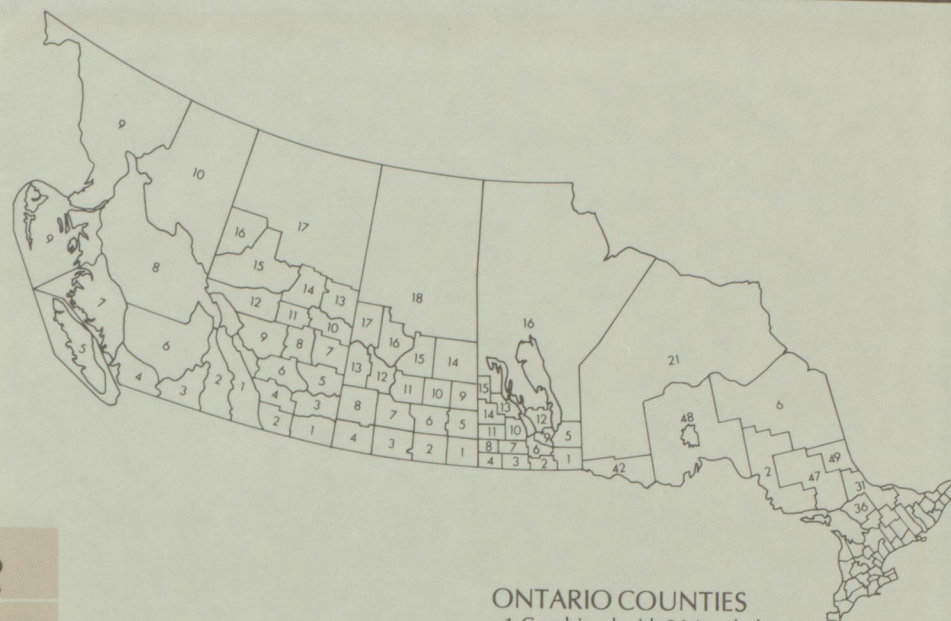
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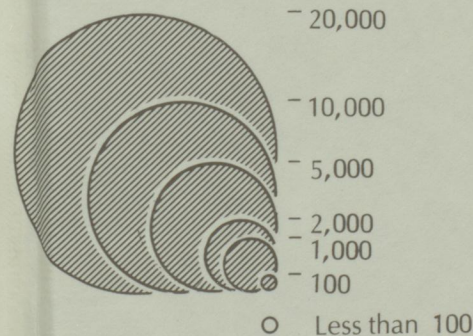
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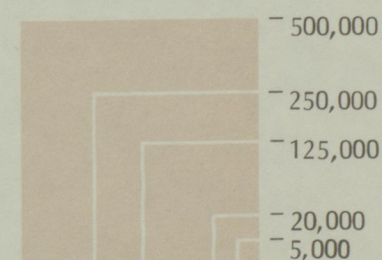
ONTARIO COUNTIES

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------|----------------|
| 1 Combined with 26 (see below) | 24 Lanark | 42 Rainy River |
| 2 Algoma | 25 Leeds | 43 Renfrew |
| 3 Brant | 26 Lennox and Addington | 44 Russell |
| 4 Bruce | 27 Lincoln | 45 Simcoe |
| 5 Carleton | 28 Manitoulin | 46 Stormont |
| 6 Cochrane | 29 Middlesex | 47 Sudbury |
| 7 Dufferin | 30 Muskoka | 48 Thunder Bay |
| 8 Dundas | 31 Nipissing | 49 Timiskaming |
| 9 Durham | 32 Norfolk | 50 Victoria |
| 10 Elgin | 33 Northumberland | 51 Waterloo |
| 11 Essex | 34 Ontario | 52 Welland |
| 12 Frontenac | 35 Oxford | 53 Wellington |
| 13 Glengarry | 36 Parry Sound | 54 Wentworth |
| 14 Grenville | 37 Peel | 55 York |
| 15 Grey | 38 Perth | |
| 16 Haldimand | 39 Peterborough | |
| 17 Haliburton | 40 Prescott | |
| 18 Halton | 41 Prince Edward | |
| 19 Hastings | | |
| 20 Huron | | |
| 21 Kenora (including District of Patricia) | | |
| 22 Kent | | |
| 23 Lambton | | |

MENNONITE POPULATION



GENERAL POPULATION



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By Frank H. Epp

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