

# **The Hutterites' Story of War Time Migration from South Dakota to Manitoba and Alberta**

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John Wipf was left by his wife and child in early 1919, stranded in South Dakota without a choice in the matter. Family and friends entreated immigration officials to allow him to enter Canada with his family, but an unfortunate accident had rendered Wipf mentally handicapped, and he was therefore unwelcome. Because of his disability, he and another 'Hutterite lunatic' were initially offered temporary entry to Canada, contingent on bonds of \$10,000 and other strict conditions. Though their home colonies agreed to the conditions and the tremendous bonds, after wavering, the Canadian government ultimately barred both men. As a result, they were stranded on the U.S. side while seventy of their family members immigrated to Canada. Though seemingly fickle and capricious, Canadian immigration officials faced unprecedented domestic pressures, and the Hutterite newcomers in Canada became increasingly unwelcome, regardless of health or ability.

By 1917, the war in Europe had inculcated millions of soldiers with a burning hatred for their German enemy. The Kaiser and his *Kultur* were common objects of loathing on the home front too. While the

Canadian Expeditionary Force could take out their anger with bullets and bombs, those at home were satisfied to fight back with anti-German policies originating from all sectors of society. It is no wonder, then, that upon their return in 1918-19, Canada's veterans were shocked to discover that thousands of German-speaking Americans had slipped quietly into the Canadian prairies. Settling in colonies and villages in the hundreds, these 'enemy aliens' not only spoke German, but seemed to resist teaching their children English. Flush with American cash, they bought the best land and congregated in sheltered settlements; some veterans called the Hutterites communistic. To make matters worse the Hutterites were self-proclaimed conscientious objectors, 'slackers' occupying prime prairie land in 1918 while good Canadian boys chased the enemy across the shattered Belgian landscape. This situation welcomed Canada's soldiers when they returned home and sought jobs, land and normalcy in 1918 and 1919. It is the story of the influx of Hutterites, Mennonites, and other Russo-German Americans through those same years.

### Literature and Sources

While much literature has dealt with the Mennonites' conscientious objection, persecution and emigration, the Hutterite hegira from South Dakota has been scarcely told or understood. Short treatments of the causes of their flight from South Dakota and the anti-German sentiment greeting them upon their arrival in Canada have left out the process of immigration itself and the combined effect of Canadian and American domestic and political forces on that process. This article seeks to tell the neglected story of how the Hutterites came to Canada. Why did the Hutterites really leave South Dakota? Why was Canada a logical destination? Why and how did a war-time Canadian government, post-conscription, allow German-speaking pacifists to enter the country; when they did, how did veterans and others react? In seeking to answer those questions and telling the untold tale of the immigration of Canadian Hutterites, there are a number of significant sources, some well known and some less familiar.

Broad accounts of Hutterite history and culture have generally glossed over the immigration story. These tomes include Paul Conkin's *Two Paths to Utopia: The Hutterites and the Llano Colony* (1964)<sup>1</sup>, Victor Peters' *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life* (1965)<sup>2</sup>, and John A. Hostetler's *Hutterite Society* (1974)<sup>3</sup>. While certain details and events of Hutterite history during the Great War are touched upon, these accounts and others are generally redundant. The basic story focuses on the Hutterite 'martyrs of Alcatraz' and cases of

persecution in South Dakota, other incentives for emigration, and terse references to the 1919 Canadian orders-in-council and public opposition hindering that movement. These are book-ends, however, of the immigration story. The *Klein Geschichtsbuch*, as the official Hutterite history, should provide valuable insight into the period, having been edited and translated into English in 1998.<sup>4</sup> Its account, however, ends in the 1870s; a recent and brief addendum accounts for a North American presence but ignores the conflict of 1917-21. The *Klein Geschichtsbuch* and aforementioned histories do, however, illuminate the historical and cultural context of persecution and immigration in that time.

The narrower and neglected task is the explanation of the process of immigration itself and the specific Canadian and American issues and figures that guided that process. The official records of the various incarnations of the Canadian Department of Interior/Immigration, from 1873 onwards, are a fertile primary source. These documents, particularly those from 1917 to 1922, are rich in references to Hutterite immigration and the factors and limitations thereof.<sup>5</sup> The reports and publications of various Canadian veterans' associations are heavy with official condemnation of the Hutterites/Mennonites and are a major source of non-governmental response.<sup>6</sup> Contemporary newspapers are also a valuable record of the progression and extent of the public reaction to Hutterite immigration.<sup>7</sup> American records are also essential, especially those covering the South Dakota State Council of Defense.<sup>8</sup> Hutterite diaries and documents written by and about conscientious objection in the First World War, recently assembled in a sourcebook, describe their treatment by that council and in military camps.<sup>9</sup> These sources, particularly the Canadian immigration files, contribute to a detailed account of the combined Canadian/American story of Hutterite immigration *during* the First World War. In concert with broader studies of veteran's groups, councils of defense, conscientious objection, and Hutterite history and culture, a sustained and inquisitive narrative of that immigration may be realized.

### The Journey to America

The eighteenth-century Catholic counter-reformation in Europe forced the conversion of countless Protestants and, likewise, reduced twenty-thousand Hutterites to seventy. In response, Empress Catherine II of Russia invited the faithful to settle in part of modern-day Ukraine in 1763. As "no small number of...territories lie uncultivated," she directed Hutterites and Mennonites to settle where they liked. The Russian government paid their fare to make the journey, exempted

them from taxes and military service for thirty years, offered interest-free loans to build houses and freedom to practice their religion and live communally.<sup>10</sup> Though many accepted the offer and grew under these generous conditions, by the 1870s, Czar Alexander II's 'Russification' policy had put into question the privilege of exemption from military duties; Mennonites and Hutterites were given ten years to accept the new conditions or leave. Severe restrictions against the German language were also enacted, constraining these and other Germanic groups. Russian incentives to immigrate in 1763 bore resemblance to American/Canadian offers in 1870; just the same, patterns of dealing with Russian authorities were repeated in North America. In 1870 and 1873, the Hutterites sent delegations to the Czar to seek a continuation of their privileges.<sup>11</sup> They demanded to present their case to the Czar himself, believing local authorities would ignore them, but they were ultimately unsuccessful. Hutterite Paul Tschetter was a representative in the 1870 delegation, so when Hutterites and various Mennonite groups sent a delegation to North America in 1872 to consider alternative prospects, he was one of the chosen envoys.

With his uncle Lorenz Tschetter, Paul embarked on a trek that assessed lands throughout Canada and the United States. Having been shown a swampy stretch of land east of Winnipeg, the Tschetters cut the Canadian leg of the 1872 trip short, and leaving the Mennonite delegation, found better alternatives in the midwestern states.<sup>12</sup> The Tschetters insisted on a personal meeting with the President of the United States, as they had with the Czar the year before.<sup>13</sup> Meeting President Ulysses Grant in his summer home that year, they insisted on fifty years exemption from military service (to be followed by payment for continued exemption, as the Mennonites had done in the Civil War), as well as religious and linguistic freedom.<sup>14</sup> Grant, like the Czar before him, withheld such concessions, though U.S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, undoubtedly influenced by the post-Civil War peace, assured them on behalf of Grant that "for the next fifty years we will not be entangled in another war in which military service will be necessary."<sup>15</sup> The Hutterites were not discouraged, knowing the Pennsylvania Mennonites had been able to pay their way out of service in the Civil War. While Secretary Fish was nearly correct, in that forty-four years passed (not fifty), the time did, indeed, come in 1917 when the United States became 'entangled' in a war demanding the Hutterites' service.<sup>16</sup> Hutterian insistence on meeting personally with the Canadian authorities in 1918 initially followed this ineffective model. However, a new pattern quickly emerged whereby immigration and real estate agents, barristers and lower-level immigration officials acted on the Hutterites' behalf, allowing them concessions no top-level person could have offered in the context of war.

Meanwhile, in Russia, the potential loss of thousands of settlers had prompted Czar Alexander II to offer civilian service as an alternative to military service. This satisfied many Mennonites, but the Hutterites were absolutists: "Our forefathers had turned such service down, and would rather have moved to other countries, leaving everything behind, rather than agreeing to serve in any occupation related to war."<sup>17</sup> From 1874 to 1877, nearly a thousand Hutterites moved to the southern part of Dakota Territory. About four hundred decided to live communally while the rest embraced private ownership and beliefs similar to some Mennonites.<sup>18</sup> The communal groups, known as the Dariusleut, Lehrerleut, and Schmiedeleut, formed three respective colonies, and are the antecedents of all those who are now known as Hutterites. They initially prospered in Dakota, with their population reaching two thousand by 1917. As a result of this prosperity three colonies had become nineteen.<sup>19</sup> It was then that various persecutions began to lead the Hutterites to find new land again, this time in Canada. Indications of such an event had already occurred in 1898 with the advent of the Spanish-American War, leading to resumed negotiations with the Canadian authorities.<sup>20</sup>

In 1898 the Dariusleut colonies sought to establish a colony in Canada to escape the possibility of military service in the Spanish-American War. In May a Canadian immigration official wrote James Smart, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, informing him that a delegation from "the Hutterische Society" were seeking to settle in Canada. He asked that a copy of the 1873 Order-in-Council granting Mennonites military exemption be sent to convince Hutterites and other groups that "Canada is the only country that offers bona fide military exemption."<sup>21</sup> Another official praised the Hutterites and asked that "any inducement possible should be made to secure them."<sup>22</sup> Though the South African War loomed, the limited and voluntary nature of Canadian involvement in that conflict precluded any significant fear regarding conscription, and Hutterite leaders seem not to have considered it.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the Canadian government was likely acting in good faith when it extended the 1873 Mennonite Order-in-Council to the Hutterites, stating: "the Brethren of the Hutterische Society settling permanently in Canada shall be exempted, unconditionally, from service in the Militia, upon the production in each case of a certificate of membership from the proper authorities of their community"<sup>24</sup> in Order-in-Council #1676 on 12 Aug 1899.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, though the Canadian government endeavored to obtain the remaining Hutterites, conscription for the Spanish-American War never occurred, diminishing their desire to leave. In addition, reports of swampy lands, failed crops<sup>26</sup> and isolation from sister colonies led the short-lived experimental colony at Dominion City, Manitoba, to

return to the United States in 1905. The groundwork had been laid, however, for future considerations; the matter of the 1899 Order-in-Council was centrally important in 1917, in light of conscription.

### Persecution

Until the First World War, the sparsely populated Dakota Territory had offered little opposition to Hutterite expansion. Though difficulty in securing large, contiguous blocks of land was potentially another impulse for the 1898-1905 experiment,<sup>27</sup> the original three colonies had grown to eighteen or nineteen by 1917, including two in Montana. There were few examples of conflict with local residents who were often newer to the area than the Hutterites. For a time, the dam for a Hutterite grist mill on Jamesville colony flooded some neighboring fields, so farmers repeatedly tore up the dam and eventually burned down the mill.<sup>28</sup> These events were rare, however, and Hutterites initially had few problems with their neighbors, particularly in the southern counties of South Dakota where most of the population was German-speaking. This began to change quickly in 1917 when the United States entered the war.

Once the U.S. declared war, "a wave of intolerance against anything German swept the country."<sup>29</sup> Their Germanic heritage and tongue, combined with pacifistic beliefs, left Hutterites and Mennonites situated uncomfortably. The German-speaking population exceeded 60% in three counties and 25% in eighteen counties of South Dakota<sup>30</sup>, and their presence led to anti-German harassment in what historian Paul Conkin has called "the most flagrant violations of civil rights in American history."<sup>31</sup> Accounts of 'unofficial' persecution are often anecdotal, but give an idea of the hostile environment in South Dakota in 1917-18. Though the Hutterites' distance from towns gave them a level of reprieve that German-American urbanites were not granted, when a young Hutterite draft evader's buggy was painted yellow, the message was clear: the absolute resister was cowardly and unwelcome.<sup>32</sup> In an attempt to frame the Hutterites as subversive Germans, someone also invaded the Bon Homme colony mill and placed ground glass shards into sacks of flour; luckily, no one was injured, but FBI agents showed up for a few days and the mill was temporarily closed.<sup>33</sup> The damage had been done and the Hutterites became subjects of suspicion. There are further accounts of a young Hutterite being beaten on colony property and wine having been stolen from colony cellars<sup>34</sup>, but the group's worst source of harassment in this period was the infamous South Dakota State Council of Defense.

In mid-1916, the U.S. government created the National Council of Defense to coordinate industry and utilize the resources of the country

for war, should they enter the European conflict. When the country joined the war in April 1917, an immediate request was made to each state's governor for a State Council of Defense. Each state council, then, immediately chose chairmen from every county to create County Councils of Defense. Until April 1918, South Dakota's State Council of Defense had no legal authority, so it was restricted to running Liberty Loan drives and organizing Registration Boards.<sup>35</sup> These limited powers, however, were enough to begin the process of sanctioning anti-German sentiment throughout the state. Hutchinson County, with a large population of Hutterites and Mennonites, was singled out early as a county that had failed to reach its fair share of Liberty Loan contributions. With their refusal to aid in the mobilization of monetary resources, the Hutterites, specifically, had earned a bad reputation. By the time of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Liberty Loan in April/May 1918, when the State Council had achieved legal authority, a 'conscription of resources' began. A troop of Yankton patriots (including the mayor), acting on behalf of the local loan committee, invaded the Jamesville Hutterite colony and rustled 1000 sheep and 100 cattle; the livestock were held for a ransom of \$10,000 of Liberty Loan contributions and \$1,000 for the Red Cross. The colony refused to set a precedent, but the animals were sold at auction and so the contributions were made anyway. Such pressure tactics became common across the state as successive loan drives demanded more and more from the populace.<sup>36</sup> Some colonies gave in and donated to the Red Cross and other charitable causes during this time, including Rockport, Rosedale, and Bon Homme colonies.<sup>37</sup> The conscription of manpower, however, was much more objectionable and met unanimous Hutterian dissent.

On May 18, 1917, three months prior to the Canadian Military Service Act, the U.S. passed the Selective Service Act.<sup>38</sup> Starting in September, young Hutterite men, most of them married, were drafted for service. At this time, the selection boards were freely exempting married men and farm laborers; many Hutterites and Mennonites, however, were not uniformly granted these exceptions.<sup>39</sup> Altogether 56 Hutterite conscientious objectors were drafted<sup>40</sup>; as *absolutists* (refusing to wear the uniform or partake in alternative tasks in support of the military), these men declined the alternative service offered to 'members of the peace churches' and were immediately subject to legal action.<sup>41</sup> As German-speaking men with full beards, they were also easily identified and ridiculed by fellow soldiers.<sup>42</sup> Late in 1917 the Beadle County Council of Defense began proceedings against the four colonies in that county; this eventually resulted in a state-wide suit that sought to dissolve the Hutterite corporations on the grounds that they were acting simultaneously as a church and a business.<sup>43</sup> The conscription of their men and the threat of legal dissolution endangered key Hutterian

values, *Wehrlosigkeit* (pacifism) and *Gelassenheit* (communalism), and prompted Hutterite leaders to entertain the possibility of entering Canada again.

### Entering Canada

Reports in local South Dakotan newspapers stated in late December 1917 that some colonies were planning to move; that winter, delegations were sent to Canada and South America to investigate possibilities for settlement.<sup>44</sup> Earlier that year the Canadian Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior had been pressured in Parliament to obtain much-needed farm labor. In May, the Minister of the Interior W.J. Roche defended his decision to allow men of German origin to migrate, saying, "there was such a great demand for farm help in the West, consequent on the heavy enlistments from those provinces, that some steps had to be taken to get farm laborers."<sup>45</sup> To this end, his department "carried on a more extensive advertising campaign than ever before."<sup>46</sup> By October 20, 1917, W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, was beginning to refer specifically to Mennonites, counseling W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration in Ottawa, that they were "a desirable class of agriculturalists and should be encouraged to come."<sup>47</sup> Whether he was referring to Mennonites proper, or a broader category including Hutterites, is unclear. Regardless of whom they spoke, those in charge of immigration sought agricultural immigrants and were advertising in the U.S. to that effect. By the end of January 1918<sup>48</sup>, the Hutterites themselves had approached Canadian officials, intending to visit Ottawa in February. A delegation of three Hutterite leaders, accompanied by Winnipeg real estate agent Michael Scott, travelled to the capital in early February and met with Cory and possibly Arthur Meighen, then Minister of the Interior.<sup>49</sup> Scott, who had been in real estate for over twenty years, was originally from the border town of Emerson, Manitoba and understood what it would take to get the Hutterites across the border.<sup>50</sup> He was one of their strongest advocates in those years, undoubtedly with land commissions in mind, though he was also reportedly of Mennonite background.<sup>51</sup> Cory's response to the February delegation was that they *should* be exempt from the Military Service Act, but that a pending agreement between Britain, Canada and the United States might make all Americans in Canada subject to either Canadian military service or American service, through extradition.<sup>52</sup> As their fears had been assuaged by Ulysses Grant's vague terms in 1872, the mere possibility of exemption was all the encouragement the Hutterites needed in 1918. By May, Canadian immigration agents in South Dakota reported the sale of Hutterite lands and their intentions to immigrate en masse.<sup>53</sup>



In the meantime, the South Dakota State Council of Defense gave the Hutterites no reason to stay. Their plea to the President to be spared from being “disobedient to Christ and His Church,” was ignored and they were, indeed, subjected to the same “affliction, or exile, as our ancestors in the time of religious intolerance.”<sup>54</sup> As the war dragged on, State and County Councils resolved to “tender their services to the Local Boards of Exemption,” and mobilized a volunteer army to ensure draft quotas were reached.<sup>55</sup> As previously stated, over 50 young Hutterite men were thus drafted for service and so began the nightmare that culminated in the death of the ‘Martyrs of Alcatraz’.<sup>56</sup> After refusing to don the military uniform or perform alternative service, some Hutterite draftees were punished with humiliation and confinement. After two months in detention, four of these men were court-martialed and sentenced to thirty-seven years imprisonment in Alcatraz (later commuted to twenty). Months of bread-and-water starvation, beatings and exposure led to the deaths of brothers Joseph and Michael Hofer in a Texas prison<sup>57</sup> (Nov. 30 and Dec. 2, 1918, respectively).<sup>58</sup> This event marked the final ‘nail in the coffin’ for the Hutterian leadership; this was not a country in which they could live in peace.

Ironically, the destination of choice, Canada, had also enacted conscription, was court-martialing noncompliant conscripts and imprisoning some conscientious objectors.<sup>59</sup> Presumably, the Hutterites knew nothing of this, save for the conscription from which they were possibly ‘guaranteed’ exemption. The threat of a treaty that could extradite men for service was not enough to deter their movement. Though County Councils were incensed at the thought of colonies leaving with all of their accumulated wealth, the State Council and then Governor Peter Norbeck were relieved to be freed of the Hutterites and asked only that their corporations forfeit 2½% of land proceeds to buy Liberty Bonds and ½% for the Red Cross.<sup>60</sup> Predictably, the colonies lowered the price of their land by the requisite amount and left the procurement of said bonds up to the purchaser of the land. Unfortunately, there were many barriers to immigration through 1918 to 1922, so hundreds of Hutterites were in South Dakota for the September 1919 court decision enforcing the dissolution of their corporations.<sup>61</sup> Most obstacles to relocation, though, were Canadian in origin.

Since Hutterite men were still being drafted in July 1918, most colonies determined to send some members of their communities to Canada to begin settlement, leaving behind the families of draftees, colony ministers and managers, and enough laborers to harvest the year’s crop. Others stayed behind to help sell the land. This resulted in a sporadic flow of settlers, a fact that has been heretofore neglected in histories of the North American Hutterites. Documents of the Department of Immigration and Colonization provide key information

in establishing a nuanced and ample treatment of this process; contemporary newspaper accounts, too, describe the groups that entered and the public reaction thereto. The *Manitoba Free Press* of June 1, 1918 reported that the National (Dominion) Council of Women was alarmed at the influx of German-speaking people.<sup>62</sup> Within weeks, various members of Registration Boards and Grain Growers Associations, too, were anxiously asking the Immigration Department about Hutterites.<sup>63,64</sup> The *Calgary Eye Opener*, a politically charged newspaper, began its attack on Mennonite/ Hutterite immigration in October. Cartoons depicted them as 'slackers', 'shirkers', and supplanters of returned soldiers on the land. The paper reported, "the Daughters of Empire and Next-of-Kin organizations generally, are adopting resolutions of protest."<sup>65</sup> The U.S. State Department also weighed in, telling the Governor-General in June about the arrest of some Hutterite leaders who had allegedly bribed military camp officers for the release of draftees. Indeed, diary evidence confirms the event,<sup>66</sup> though these Hutterites likely saw their actions as acceptable and similar to the practices of the Mennonites during the Civil War. Nevertheless, the Canadian Government was beginning to hear murmurs of discontent from many quarters.

### Barriers at the Border

On July 13, 1918, the Regina Leader broke the news that "9 Mennonite colonies from the United States [had] purchased a big farm at Benard, Man...formerly owned by Senator Aime Benard. The colony will include from 1600 to 2000 people."<sup>67</sup> By July 18<sup>th</sup> seventy-nine people from James Valley and Huron colonies were issued permits to cross into Manitoba.<sup>68</sup> In September, portions of Spring Creek and Tschetter colonies entered Alberta.<sup>69</sup> About 100 people from Rosedale colony had already gone to Manitoba.<sup>70</sup> In early October the first barrier to crossing was experienced: Order-in-Council #23 of January 7, 1914 prohibited the entrance of immigrants whose indirect route through other countries was not part of a continuous journey. Many of the first Hutterites to settle in the U.S. in the 1870s never became official citizens, probably to avoid of the oath of allegiance (they were opposed to taking all oaths), and were therefore still Russian citizens. As Russian citizens whose journey to Canada had taken over 40 years, nearly everyone over the age of 45 was barred entry to Canada; this included nearly all of the managers, ministers and other leaders.<sup>71</sup> Border Agent John Colvin, having encountered this situation at the crossing at North Portal, SK, entreated Immigration Superintendent W.D. Scott to waive the Order-in-Council in the case of these Hut-

terites.<sup>72</sup> Initially Scott refused, writing: “we cannot any longer afford to encourage the settlement in Canada of a class of people who are not prepared to become citizens and fulfill all the obligations that such citizenship ordinarily entails.”<sup>73</sup> The idea of an ‘undesirable class’ persisted to its official enactment in June 1919, but in the meantime Superintendent Scott became increasingly lenient. By the end of October 1918 Minister J.A. Calder, in view of the Order-in-Council #1676 of 1899 (which exempted Hutterites from military duty), authorized that “P.C. 23 shall [not] be applied so as to operate against the admission of bona fide settlers...[who are] mentally, morally and physically desirable.”<sup>74</sup> The departments of the Interior and Immigration, in outright defiance of the government’s earlier decree, favored, instead, their own goals. Clearly, the desire to acquire “a desirable class of agriculturalists” was greater than the need for the same class to “fulfill all the obligations that...citizenship ordinarily entails.”

### Public Reaction

Meanwhile, another 98 Hutterites had crossed the international boundary from James Valley and Huron colonies.<sup>75</sup> In fact, by the end of the year, up to two-thirds of all Hutterites (approx. 1200 of 2000) had entered Canada;<sup>76</sup> by April 1919 there were approximately 1700 living on at least fifteen new colonies in Alberta and Manitoba.<sup>77</sup> During the fall and winter of 1918 this mass movement became obvious to the public and greater barriers to immigration were demanded. Small parties continued to trickle in through the winter, likely due to the release of 40 of the 54 Hutterite draftees from U.S. military camps in December.<sup>78</sup> Public opposition that emerged in the summer of 1918, therefore, had become a full-blown flood of outrage by spring 1919. With the Armistice in November, the overseas contingent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force began to return home. An article in *Vancouver World* in November posed the question: ‘How will returning soldiers react to the settling of Mennonites on the best lands, thereby alienating land from the soldiers themselves?’<sup>79</sup> The stream of veterans entering the country throughout the winter correlated uniformly with a rise in opposition to Hutterite immigration. Veteran’s groups like the Great War Veteran’s Association (GWVA), with a growing membership, answered the *World’s* question in their constitution with a resolution against the Mennonites that explicitly includes Hutterites. It asked the government to prohibit Mennonites from teaching German in their schools, from purchasing land that might be used by soldiers, and from continuing to enter the country, pending further investigation of the group.<sup>80</sup> While the Dariusleut and Lehrerleut branches of Hut-

terites settled exclusively in Alberta, the Schmiedeleut established six colonies near Elie, Manitoba only thirty miles west of Winnipeg. They purchased the land in July 1918 from Senator Aime Benard,<sup>81</sup> a wealthy man who had twenty years of accumulated assets in Manitoba.<sup>82</sup> In *All Things Common*, Victor Peters guesses that they chose to settle in Elie, a largely French community, because French-Canadian sympathy for both conscientious objectors and non-English immigrants would have created a more hospitable atmosphere.<sup>83</sup> However, about two-thirds of the surnames on an August 1919 Elie-area petition against Hutterite settlement were French.<sup>84</sup> The GWVA had their own theory, one that would prove to be politically explosive.

As early as November 1918, the GWVA began making a list of all those who sold land to Hutterites. The list included Raymond Knight (a wealthy and celebrated Lethbridge businessman and rancher)<sup>85</sup>, John McIntyre, Sen. Aime Benard, and others. In fact, allegations were made that Arthur Meighen sold the Hutterites land indirectly by first selling to Sen. Benard—the fact remains unproven, but the frustration and force of accusations the veterans were leveling were significant nonetheless.<sup>86</sup> On April 6, 1919 GWVA's Winnipeg branch demanded the deportation of all Hutterites and that anyone involved in aiding their immigration be relieved from office; their intention was clear as copies were forwarded to Senator Benard and other members of Parliament. The Canadian Club of Winnipeg issued a public ultimatum to the government the same day: all further immigration of Hutterites would be barred or the club would invite veteran's associations and other public bodies to cooperate with them in a unified fight.<sup>87</sup> The Department of Immigration and Colonization had been deliberately intransigent on the issue to this point, but the public reaction was becoming too large to ignore. On April 8, 1918 Order-in-Council #768 was passed, cancelling the 1899 Order-in-Council that promised military exemption; this affected Hutterites who entered after April 9<sup>th</sup>.<sup>88</sup> The Order was deemed insufficient by the veterans, however, and GWVA resolved that "the members are not satisfied with the rescinding of the order-in-council."<sup>89</sup>

The GVVA then pressed the government to bar completely the entry of all Hutterites and Mennonites. On April 11<sup>th</sup> a group of soldiers set up pickets at Emerson, Manitoba to physically enforce this on a party of potential Hutterite immigrants.<sup>90</sup> Indeed, numerous GWVA branches had threatened the use of force. The acting president of the GWVA warned acting Prime Minister Thomas White that he could not accept responsibility for the actions of his members.<sup>91</sup> The Canadian Club and GWVA decided to send a joint delegation to Ottawa to ask for a Royal Commission into the matter.<sup>92</sup> They organized a meeting held in Winnipeg on April 21<sup>st</sup> and invited the participation of the Army

and Navy Veterans Association, the Imperial Veterans, Rotary club, Kiwanis club, Grain Growers Association and Women's Canadian Club. They all voiced, to varying degrees, their opposition to the Hutterite/Mennonite 'invasion'. At least four Members of Parliament were present, including Major George W. Andrews, who carried this view of the Hutterites back to Parliament.<sup>93</sup> The veterans were raising a serious uproar; in response, G.A. Cook, a Canadian immigration agent in Watertown, South Dakota wrote on April 14, asking the Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg if the returned soldiers were 'running the country and taking government into their own hands'.<sup>94</sup>

The RNWMP (later renamed the RCMP) filed reports on the incident at Emerson<sup>95</sup> and the government appeared to resist public pressure, contending that the Paris Peace Conference was just then dealing with the issue of immigration restrictions based on religion or race.<sup>96</sup> Within weeks, however, the government capitulated. In April 1919 the mood in Parliament had turned from suspicion to indignation. Many members called for the deportation of all Hutterites, Mennonites, and Doukhobours. Western members, particularly those whose ridings were now populated by Hutterites and Mennonites, were the most outspoken, including: Major G.W. Andrews (Winnipeg Centre), W.A. Buchanan (Lethbridge), Daniel Redman (East Calgary), R.L. Richardson (Springfield), T.M. Tweedie (West Calgary) and A.P. Whidden (Brandon).<sup>97</sup> Member of Parliament. J.W. Edwards (Frontenac) railed against the Hutterites and other conscientious objectors, calling them 'cattle' and insinuating a Quaker Member of Parliament was an 'ass' for defending them.<sup>98</sup> Inevitably and assuredly, under the War Measures Act, Order-in-Council #923 was enforced on May 1, acquiescing to 'a widespread feeling':

[O]wing to conditions prevailing as the result of war, a widespread feeling exists throughout the Dominion, and more particularly in Western Canada, that steps should be taken to prevent the entry of all persons who may be regarded as undesirable because, owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of living and methods of holding property, they are not likely to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time...Hutterites...are of the class and character described...On and after the second day of May, 1919, and until further ordered, the entry to Canada of immigrants of the Doukhobor, Hutterite and Mennonite class shall be... hereby prohibited.<sup>99</sup>

### Immigration, Nonetheless

'Public opinion' had won the battle, but the Department quietly continued to allow the entry of many Hutterites. Responding to the Order, Hutterites and their advocates had greatly increased their protests to the Immigration Department. Many returned to the United States prior to the Order to gather up the rest of their possessions and sell their land, only to be barred entry upon their return. Shepherd, Dunlop & Rice, barristers/solicitors from Lethbridge, were among the first to appeal this state of affairs.<sup>100</sup> Superintendent W.D. Scott quickly responded that all previously landed immigrants were allowed to return to Canada.<sup>101</sup> Peter Entz of New Elm Spring Colony, Magrath, Alberta, objected that members of his colony were also detained at the border, requiring a Canadian group to go tend to their accompanying livestock freight.<sup>102</sup> Superintendent Scott's response to Entz marks a departmental departure from the spirit of the Order-in-Council. He allowed that not only previously landed immigrants (which ended up being anyone who set foot in Canada prior to May 1919) should be permitted, but also, if these were male heads-of-families, then their wives and minor children should also be granted entry.<sup>103</sup> These concessions allowed many of the Hutterites remaining in the United States to enter. Still, the discharged draftees and other men who had never entered Canada (and their families), children of landed immigrants who were over the age of 21, and the sick and disabled remained stranded. In most cases these groups sought dispensations of special permission, and they were usually granted. The case of Zacharias Waldner and John Wipf, however, is an important and particularly offensive example of the Department of Immigration's willingness to discriminate.

Alexander Adams, of Tupper, McTavish, Foley & Tupper, barristers and solicitors, was another Winnipeg advocate for Hutterite immigration. Working alone and in concert with real estate agent Michael Scott, Adams sought special permits for many individuals and groups. In March 1919, prior to the April and May Orders-in-Council, Adams requested permission for the entry of one John Wipf, married with one child, and another, Zacharias Waldner, along with seventy other Hutterites. At this point, no restrictions existed save for 1914 Order-in-Council #23 which barred those of Russian citizenship. Wipf and Waldner were both American, but they were also mentally handicapped – Waldner from birth and Wipf from an accident after marrying. On behalf of the Hutterites, Adams offered the government a guarantee that neither man would ever have children, that they would be cared for, and that they would "never be allowed to become a public charge."<sup>104</sup> At first, Superintendent Scott rejected their entry, but changed his mind and issued them six-month permits on a bond of

\$10,000 each.<sup>105</sup> If the Hutterites proved they could care for these men, the permits would be extended or the bonds refunded. However, the events of April and May made all of this far too public. Reporting on the GWVA picket at Emerson in April, the Manitoba Free Press objected that too many 'mentally defective immigrants' were filling up Canadian mental institutions.<sup>106</sup> On May 10, assuming the permits would still be valid, Adams informed Superintendent Scott that the two 'lunatics', accompanied by three men from the Canadian colonies, were going to cross the border.<sup>107</sup> Scott denied entry, partly on the basis that the need for three chaperones might indicate that these men were violent or uncontrollable.<sup>108</sup> This issue was raised again in July, but they were still denied entry. By this time, their families were in Canada and the men were alone with the sparse contingent left in South Dakota. Wipf and Waldner remained stranded from their families for some time and it is unclear from immigration records if or when they were finally admitted.

Though many individuals, including Zacharias Waldner and John Wipf, were excluded for up to three years, the vast majority of Hutterites had crossed by early 1919 and much of the remainder had come by 1922. The court-ordered dissolution of the South Dakota colonies in September 1919 provided impetus to finish the movement of colonies.<sup>109</sup> In advance of this court decision, six draftees, who had actually been discharged in December 1918,<sup>110</sup> applied with their families for a 'visit' in August 1919.<sup>111</sup> They were allowed three months in Canada on a \$1000 bond,<sup>112</sup> but wild rumors quickly circulated that the group had purchased 5000 acres with plans to buy 100,000 acres and that they had a \$300,000 line of credit at the Emerson Bank.<sup>113</sup> The story had its roots in a veteran's publication and presumably stood for a larger GWVA reaction to the continued immigration of Hutterites despite the Order-in-Council.<sup>114</sup> This publication charged that the 'visit' was intended to be permanent, and though that was likely true, these exaggerations discredited the veterans' case. Thomas Gelley, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, responded to the GWVA that the rumors were entirely untrue.<sup>115</sup> In October, Minister J.A. Calder chided G.G. MacNeil, Secretary-Treasurer of GWVA Canada, saying that the organization had been making resolutions and allegations without any evidence.<sup>116</sup> The voice of the veterans was beginning to be taken less seriously by immigration officials, especially as their main reasons for barring immigration had already been met by the orders-in-council.

### Resistance Wanes

Joseph Kleinsasser, manager of Milltown colony, wrote from South Dakota in September 1919 that "some of the officers of the GWVA have

been visiting them [Hutterites in Manitoba] lately, and have changed their attitude regarding them, entirely."<sup>117</sup> In *All Things Common*, Victor Peters asserts that opposition to the Hutterites quickly ended and even the veterans "modified their stand." Indeed, W.C. Angus of GWVA Manitoba had visited a colony that year and was sufficiently impressed with their way of life.<sup>118</sup> However, J.A. Calder responded to Kleinsasser, complaining that the Hutterites were not assimilating and were causing trouble with their schools, and therefore, due to public opinion, were still barred entry.<sup>119</sup> Clearly, Calder's willingness to permit immigration was not constant or predictable, partly due to the rise and fall of controversies. The schools were one of these bones of contention, but Kleinsasser, other Hutterites, and their advocates consistently maintained their willingness to build public schools that would be conducted in English. The commotion caused by a Mennonite refusal of the same was often confused with the Hutterite approach. Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education in Manitoba, tried to clarify the situation in September 1919, declaring that there was no 'school question' or 'language question' regarding the Hutterites. He reported that all the colonies were building schools at their own expense<sup>120</sup> and that the children were performing at the same level as others their age.<sup>121</sup> Children from Bon Homme colony actually went with French-Canadian children to the local public school until the colony's own school was built in 1919.<sup>122</sup>

Even with all of this positive feedback and some members changing their minds, the Winnipeg branch of GWVA passed a resolution on September 24, 1919, asking for the registration of all Hutterites and deportation of any who had illegally entered. By then, however, most of the American colonies had already or nearly completed emigrating. A few eligible members (previously landed Canadian immigrants and their families) had yet to cross, but were permitted to do so if they chose. The rest of those left behind (who were technically barred and without recourse to loopholes) made the best of the situation: Bon Homme colony still had half of its members in South Dakota, so they stayed and are the only original colony to have kept a permanent settlement in the U.S. Alexander Adams, seeking entry of 170 remaining Hutterites in 1920, boasted: "A great number of persons (including many returned soldiers) have told me of having visited the settlement of these people in Manitoba, and without exception have had nothing but praise and approval of what they saw. I have been assured by men of the soldier associations...that, no action will be taken by them to prevent the entry of these one hundred and seventy persons."<sup>123</sup> Milltown colony had left about half of its members behind,<sup>124</sup> but when the gates to immigration were opened again in 1922 by Order-in-Council #1181<sup>125</sup>, they joined their Canadian brethren. At the time of that order



parts of Old Elmspring, Rockport, Wolf Creek, Spring Creek and Bon Homme colonies still existed in the U.S., but by 1934, these had also entered (except Bon Homme).<sup>126</sup>

Why did a war-time government allow German-speaking pacifists to enter Canada? A review of the internal documents and correspondence of the Department of the Interior/Immigration & Colonization reveals a number of striking patterns that contribute to the answer. The Department consistently displayed a desire to obtain entry of a 'desirable class of agriculturalists', in spite of any decrees debarring them. In the face of great public pressure, particularly from the GWVA and other veterans groups, the resolve of immigration officials to permit Hutterites was remarkable. Even as the issue was debated in Parliament, a level of departmental independence allowed the immigration to continue. 'It's easier to ask forgiveness than permission' seems to have been the *modus operandi* of the Department of Immigration & Colonization. The commissions offered to Canadian immigration agents in the U.S. must also have influenced the type of information they sent the Department when decisions were pending. Money was also a factor for Hutterite advocate and real estate agent, Michael Scott, and for sugar baron Raymond Knight, Senator Aime Benard, and others who sold land to the Hutterites. Whatever influence these men had, immigration officials responded with a significant level of determination to permit the entry of the Hutterites, 1917-1921. The new King government could take credit in 1922 for reversing these particular restrictive immigration policies, but the Borden administration was the necessary catalyst in securing entry for nearly all of the American Hutterites, most of them at a time of war. The acquiescence to public pressure in the Orders-in-Council of April/May 1919 is seemingly incongruent with the Department's earlier obstinacy, but the continued entry of Hutterites thereafter shows that the Orders were mostly 'face-saving' measures.

The Hutterites left South Dakota because its citizens and Councils of Defense were making life difficult and threatening their key values of non-resistance and communal living. Canada was a potential destination in 1873, a real destination in 1898. In 1918 Canada promised to honor its commitments to exempt Hutterites from military service. Despite these guarantees, the Wartime Measures Act allowed the government to pass knee-jerk Orders-in-Council when opposition to this immigration became too great. Nevertheless, Hutterites were permitted to enter, some in overt defiance of these Orders. On the books the government was preventing the entry of undesirables, but owing to its own desire for agricultural labor, attempted to quietly permit them anyway. The atmosphere throughout the war and after was hostile to all things German and to all those unwilling to defend the nation; this empowered the government to pass discriminatory legislation that

disenfranchised, censored, and barred immigration of ‘undesirables.’ In spite of this, other pressures and goals of settling the West caused the Immigration Department to undermine some of that legislation in practice. Col. A.M. Forbes, Vice President of GWVA Canada, wrote in the April 1919 *Veteran*: “The question of the rehabilitation of our returned soldiers on our agricultural lands is not a matter of providing them with land or occupation. It is a question of settling on our farm lands those who have shown themselves to be among our best citizens, thus ensuring the future stability of...our Canadian ideals of democracy.” Nevertheless, ninety years later, the Hutterites remain and with upwards of 500 colonies and 40,000 members in North America, they continue to be ‘a desirable class of agriculturalists’.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Paul K. Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia: The Hutterites and the Llano Colony*, (Lincoln, NE: The University of Nebraska Press, 1964).
- <sup>2</sup> Victor Peters, *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965).
- <sup>3</sup> John Andrew Hostetler, *Hutterite Society*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).
- <sup>4</sup> *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren, v. 2, known as Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Bruder*, trans. & ed. by The Hutterian Brethren, (Altona, MB: Friesen Printers, 1998), 1581ff.
- <sup>5</sup> These documents are available at Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC) in RG76, vol. 173-6, file 58764, pts. 1-6; this material is available on microfilm at LAC, mcr nos. C-7329 & C-7330.
- <sup>6</sup> *Great War Veterans Association of Canada Southern Alberta yearbook 1919*, (Calgary: GWVA Calgary Branch, 1919), Peel Library MCR #2667, Macodrum Library, Carleton University (CU); *What is The Great War Veteran's Association of Canada?*, (Ottawa: George H. Popham Ltd., 1917), CIHM MCR #86831, CU; other references in *Manitoba Free Press*, *Calgary Eye Opener*, and RG76, v. 173-6, file 58764.
- <sup>7</sup> Including the *Calgary Eye Opener*, *Lethbridge Herald*, *Manitoba Free Press*, *Montreal Daily Star*, *Regina Leader*, *Winnipeg Evening Telegram*, *Winnipeg Tribune*, *Vancouver World*, and others.
- <sup>8</sup> Including: *Report of the South Dakota State Council of Defense*, (Pierre, SD: The Council, 1920), available from South Dakota State Library; Donald W. Grebin, *The South Dakota Council of Defense, 1917-1919*, (MA Thesis, University of South Dakota, 1967); Darrell R. Sawyer, “Anti-German Sentiment in South Dakota During World War I,” in *South Dakota Historical Collections* 38 (1976).
- <sup>9</sup> *Hutterite CO's in World War One: Stories, Diaries and other accounts from the United States Military Camps*, (Hawley, MN: Spring Prairie Printing, 1999).
- <sup>10</sup> *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren, v. 2*, 835-40.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 671-703.
- <sup>12</sup> Leonhard Suderman, *From Russia to America: In Search of Freedom* (diary), trans. Elmer F. Suderman, (Steinbach, MB: Derksen Printers, 1974), 15-7. This is particularly unfortunate, as the 1873 Order-in-Council offering Mennonites military exemption did not include Hutterites. While the Hutterites received

the same assurances in 1899, only the 1873 Order-in-Council concerning the Mennonites withstood the Great War.

- <sup>13</sup> Rod Janzen, *The Prairie People: Forgotten Anabaptists*, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 25
- <sup>14</sup> 26 July 1873, Paul & Lohrenz Tschetter to President Ulysses Grant, in Gertrude S. Young, "A Record concerning Mennonite Immigration, 1873", *American Historical Review* 29 (1924): 518-22.
- <sup>15</sup> *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren*, v. 2, 743-4.
- <sup>16</sup> 5 Sep 1873, Sec. of State Hamilton Fish to The Mennonite Delegation of Russia to America, in Gertrude S. Young, "A Record concerning Mennonite Immigration, 1873", *American Historical Review* 29 (1924): 518-22.
- <sup>17</sup> *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren*, v. 2, 745.
- <sup>18</sup> Non-communal Hutterites are known as Prairieleut and are no longer understood or classified as Hutterites. Many Prairieleut were integrated into the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren church, though the persistence of Hutterite names in Mennonite communities is a modern reminder of their roots. See Janzen, *The Prairie People: Forgotten Anabaptists*, passim.
- <sup>19</sup> Hostetler, *Hutterite Society*, 126.
- <sup>20</sup> Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia*, 52.
- <sup>21</sup> 20 May 1898, W.F. McCreary, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg to James A. Smart, Dep. Min. of Interior, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 1, Library and Archives Canada (LAC).
- <sup>22</sup> 6 July 1898, W.H. Rogers to Sec. of Dept. of Interior, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 1, LAC.
- <sup>23</sup> Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925*, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994), 173.
- <sup>24</sup> 12 Aug 1899, Wilfrid Laurier to Governor General, *Privy Council Minutes*, 8 August-12 August 1899, RG2, Series 1, Volume 807, LAC, accessed 4 Oct 2008 at <[www.collectionscanada.ca](http://www.collectionscanada.ca)>.
- <sup>25</sup> 18 Aug 1899, John R. Hall, Acting Sec. of Dept. of Interior to W.F. McCreary, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 1, LAC.
- <sup>26</sup> Hostetler, *Hutterite Society*, 126.
- <sup>27</sup> 20 May 1898, W.F. McCreary, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg to James A. Smart, Dep. Min. of Interior, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 1, LAC.
- <sup>28</sup> Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia*, 54.
- <sup>29</sup> Sawyer, "Anti-German Sentiment in South Dakota During World War I", 443.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 444-5.
- <sup>31</sup> Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia*, 55.
- <sup>32</sup> Janzen, *The Prairie People: Forgotten Anabaptists*, 138.
- <sup>33</sup> Norman Thomas, "The Hutterian Brethren," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 25 (1950): 277, in Sawyer, "Anti-German Sentiment in South Dakota During World War I," 458-9
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 502; Gerlof D. Homan, *American Mennonites and the Great War 1914-1918*, (Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1994), 96.
- <sup>35</sup> Grebin, *The South Dakota Council of Defense, 1917-1919*, 6-10.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, 46-7.
- <sup>37</sup> Sawyer, "Anti-German Sentiment in South Dakota During World War I," 468.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 448.
- <sup>39</sup> Homan, *American Mennonites and the Great War 1914-1918*, 95, 118-9.
- <sup>40</sup> *Hutterite CO's in World War One*, 2-4.
- <sup>41</sup> Amy Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada during the First World War*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 30.
- <sup>42</sup> Homan, *American Mennonites and the Great War 1914-1918*, 118-9.
- <sup>43</sup> Sawyer, "Anti-German Sentiment in South Dakota During World War I," 502-4.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid*.

- <sup>45</sup> 25 May 1917, *Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons, 7<sup>th</sup> Session, 12<sup>th</sup> Parliament* (1917), (Ottawa: J. de LaBroquerie Tache, 1918), 1748.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 1739.
- <sup>47</sup> 20 Oct 1917, W.W. Cory, Dep. Min. of Int. to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immig., RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 1, LAC.
- <sup>48</sup> 30 Jan 1918, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg to W.D. Scott, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 1, LAC.
- <sup>49</sup> 5 Feb 1918, Michael Scott to W.W. Cory, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 1, LAC.
- <sup>50</sup> *Henderson's Manitoba, Northwest Territories and Western Ontario Gazetteer and Directory for 1893*, (Winnipeg: Henderson Publishing Co, 1893), and the same publication for 1894, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1900; *Henderson's Winnipeg City Directory for 1908*, (Winnipeg: Henderson Directories Ltd, 1908) and the same for 1918.
- <sup>51</sup> 21 Oct 1918, W.D. Scott to Mr. Crerar, Acting Min. of Immigration & Colonization, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 2, LAC. "I understand that Michael Scott himself belongs to one or another of the branches of the Mennonite faith."; Scott is not a Mennonite name, so pending further evidence, this is an unconfirmed fact.
- <sup>52</sup> 7 Feb 1918, W.W. Cory to Michael Scott, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 1, LAC.
- <sup>53</sup> 2 May 1918, M.J. Johnstone, agent for Canadian Government Agency to W.J. White, Inspector of U.S. Agencies, Can. Dept. of Interior, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>54</sup> Letter quoted in Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia*, 55.
- <sup>55</sup> 9 Aug 1917, "Exemption Boards," in *Report of South Dakota State Council of Defense*, (Pierre, SD: The Council, 1919), 36.
- <sup>56</sup> J.G. Ewert, "Hutterian Brothers and Conscription: Their suffering in America during the World War," in *Der Pflug (The Plough)* 2.2 (1939): 40-4.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>58</sup> *Hutterite CO's in World War One*, 148.
- <sup>59</sup> Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience*, 116-7.
- <sup>60</sup> *Report of South Dakota State Council of Defense*, (Pierre, SD: The Council, 1919), 62-6.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, 67.
- <sup>62</sup> 1 Jun 1918, *Manitoba Free Press*, "Speaker Tells of Great Influx of German Born".
- <sup>63</sup> 13 Jun 1918, E.B. Robertson, Assis. Supt. of Immig. to G.M. Murray, Office of Canada Registration Board, RG76, v. 174, file 58764, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>64</sup> 20 July 1918, Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association to Dept of Immigration, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>65</sup> 5 Oct 1918, *Calgary Eye Opener*, p. 2.
- <sup>66</sup> "Jakob Waldner's Diary", trans. Ilse Reist and Elizabeth Bender, in *Hutterite CO's in World War One*, 54-6.
- <sup>67</sup> 13 July 1918, *Regina Leader*, "Mennonites Purchase Big Tract of Land."
- <sup>68</sup> 18 July 1918, M.J. Johnstone, Canadian Government Agency agent to W. J. White, inspector of U.S. Agencies for Dep't of Interior, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>69</sup> Alex R. McTavish, schoolteacher, Cardston, AB to Dept of Imm & Col, RG76, file 58764, vol. 174, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>70</sup> Sawyer, "Anti-German Sentiment in South Dakota During World War I," 505.
- <sup>71</sup> 21 Oct 1918, Michael Scott to J.A. Calder, Min of Immig & Colon, RG76, file 58764, vol. 174, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>72</sup> 9 Oct 1918, John Colvin, border agent, to W.D. Scott, RG76, file 58764, vol. 174, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>73</sup> 10 Oct 1918, W.D. Scott to J.A. Cote, Dep. Min. of Interior, RG76, file 58764, vol. 174, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>74</sup> 31 Oct 1918, W.D. Scott to J. Bruce Walker, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, RG76, file 58764, vol. 174, pt. 2, LAC. Apparently, Calder had discussed the matter with C. Sifton, A. Meighen and T. Crerar, and they had all agreed to ignore the Order-in-Council, as it restricted the Russian Hutterites.

- <sup>75</sup> 15 Oct 1918, M.J. Johnstone to W.D. Scott, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>76</sup> Willms, "The Brethren Known as Hutterians," 393.
- <sup>77</sup> 12 Apr 1919, Michael Scott to W.D. Scott, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>78</sup> *Hutterite CO's in World War One*, 142-54.
- <sup>79</sup> November 1918, *Vancouver World* newspaper clipping in Dept of Imm & Col files, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 2, LAC.
- <sup>80</sup> *Great War Veterans Association of Canada Southern Alberta yearbook 1919*, (Calgary: GWVA Calgary Branch, 1919), 13, 195.
- <sup>81</sup> Peters, *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life*, 49.
- <sup>82</sup> *Henderson's Manitoba, Northwest Territories and Western Ontario Gazetteer and Directory for 1899*, (Winnipeg: Henderson Publishing Co, 1899).
- <sup>83</sup> Peters, *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life*, 49.
- <sup>84</sup> 2 Aug 1919, *Winnipeg Evening Telegram*, "Hutterites Still Coming Despite Order-in-Council".
- <sup>85</sup> Farmer 'Ray' Knight and 'Raymond' Knight, a director of the Knight Sugar Co., both lived in Raymond, AB; see *Henderson's Alberta Gazetteer and Directory for 1911*, (Calgary: Henderson Publishing Co, 1911). Newspapers make it clear they are the same man; numerous articles of the *Lethbridge Herald* celebrated him as the "largest sheep rancher" (11 Oct 1917, p. 4) in Canada, the area's wealthiest man, and the namesake of the town of Raymond. Knight Sugar Co. owned hundreds of thousands of acres of land, which it sold through Knight & Co. Real Estate. The real estate firm even advertised in the *Great War Veterans Association of Canada Southern Alberta yearbook 1919*, (Calgary: GWVA Calgary Branch, 1919), p. 166. Knight endeavoured to sell his land in 1917 to work in Salt Lake City for his father, Jesse Knight, the wealthiest man in Utah (17 Sep 1917, *Lethbridge Herald*, p. 1, 4). The Hutterites were able to secure 5000 contiguous acres from him; see 8 Sept 1920, John E. Wipf, Hutterite, to Dept of Imm & Col, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 6, LAC; 2 Nov 1918, *Montreal Daily Star*, "Stir Over Sale of Land to Mennonites", which called the seller of the land 'Ray' Knight. Knight's sale of the land to Hutterites is also controversial as the Mormons tended to be large supporters of the war effort.
- <sup>86</sup> 2 Nov 1918, *Montreal Daily Star*, "Stir Over Sale of Land to Mennonites".
- <sup>87</sup> 9 April 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*, pp. 5, 9.
- <sup>88</sup> 8 April 1919, "P.C. 768", circulated around Dept of Imm & Col, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>89</sup> 12 April 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*, p. 1, "Government Considers That Exclusion of Hutterites Would Involve Grave International Difficulties."
- <sup>90</sup> 11 Apr 1919, unknown newspaper clipping circulated in Dept. of Imm & Col, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>91</sup> 11 April 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*, p. 5, "Two Hutterites and Effects at Emerson"; Thomas White was acting prime minister while PM Borden attended meetings related to the Paris Peace Conference.
- <sup>92</sup> 16 April 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*, p. 11.
- <sup>93</sup> 21 April 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*, p. 1, "Support in Opposing Hutterites Assured".
- <sup>94</sup> 14 April 1919, G.A. Cook, agent for Canadian Government Agency at Watertown, SD to Percy Reid, Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>95</sup> 22 April 1919, Comptroller of RNWMP to W.D. Scott, Supt. of Immig., RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>96</sup> 12 April 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*, p. 1, "Government Considers That Exclusion of Hutterites Would Involve Grave International Difficulties."
- <sup>97</sup> 30 April 1919, *Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons, 2<sup>th</sup> Session, 13<sup>th</sup> Parliament* (1919), (Ottawa: J. de LaBroquerie Tache, 1920), 1912-41.
- <sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, 1929; referring to South Renfrew MP Isaac Pedlow, a Quaker.

- <sup>99</sup> 1 May 1919, "P.C. 923", circulated around Dept of Imm & Col, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>100</sup> 6 May 1919, Shepherd, Dunlop & Rice, barristers, Lethbridge, AB to J.A. Calder, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>101</sup> 14 May 1919, W.D. Scott to Shepherd, Dunlop & Rice, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>102</sup> 8 May 1919, Peter J. Entz of New Elm Spring colony, AB to Dep Min of Imm & Col, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>103</sup> 6 Jun 1919, W.D. Scott to Peter J. Entz, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>104</sup> 10 Mar 1919, Alexander Adams of Tupper, McTavish, Foley & Tupper, barristers & solicitors, Winnipeg to Percy Reid, Acting Commissioner of Immig. at Winnipeg, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>105</sup> 26 Mar 1919, W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory, Dep Min of Imm & Col, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>106</sup> 11 April 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*, p. 8.
- <sup>107</sup> 10 May 1919, Alexander Adams to W.D. Scott, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>108</sup> 10 May 1919, W.D. Scott to Alexander Adams, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 3, LAC.
- <sup>109</sup> *Report of the South Dakota State Council of Defense*, 67.
- <sup>110</sup> *Hutterite CO's in World War One*, 142-54.
- <sup>111</sup> 21 Aug 1919, T.J. McConnell, immig. agent at Emerson to W.W. Cory, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>112</sup> 21 Aug 1919, F.C. Blair, Sec. of Dept of Imm & Col to T.J. McConnell, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>113</sup> 15 Sept 1919, G.G. MacNeil, Dominion Sec-Treas of GWVA Canada to F.C. Blair, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>114</sup> "Are Hutterites Being Spirited Across the Border?" *Manitoba Veteran* (Sept 1919), copy in RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>115</sup> 22 Sept 1919, Thomas Gelley, Commissioner of Immig at Winnipeg to G.G. MacNeil, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>116</sup> 21 Oct 1919, J.A. Calder to G.G. MacNeil, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>117</sup> 6 Sept 1919, Joseph Kleinsasser, Office of Milltown colony, Parkston, S.D. to J.A. Calder, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>118</sup> Peters, *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life*, 48-9
- <sup>119</sup> 15 Sept 1919, J.A. Calder to Joseph Kleinsasser, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>120</sup> 22 Sept 1919, *Winnipeg Tribune*, "Says Hutterite Children Go To Public Schools."
- <sup>121</sup> 22 Sept 1919, *Manitoba Free Press*.
- <sup>122</sup> Solomon Stahl, *The History of Bon Homme Colony, MB Canada*, (Fordville, ND: Forest River Bookbindery, 2001), 34.
- <sup>123</sup> Undated, 1920, Alexander Adams to Dept of Imm & Col, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 6, LAC.
- <sup>124</sup> 26 Sept 1919, Thomas Gelley to W.W. Cory, RG76, vol. 174, file 58764, pt. 4, LAC.
- <sup>125</sup> Willms, "The Brethren Known as Hutterians," 394.
- <sup>126</sup> John Francis Ian Melland, *Changes in Hutterite House Types: The Material Expression of the Contradiction Between 'Being-on-the-colony' and 'Being-in-the-world'*, PhD Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1985, (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1986), 270.