

The Writing of Canadian Mennonite History

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Canadian Mennonites have attracted the attention of many historians. Some of those writing about the history and experiences of Mennonites in Canada were not themselves Mennonites and wrote from rather distinctive Canadian perspectives. Mennonite writers, particularly before 1945, were often preoccupied with personal reminiscences or with hagiographic accounts of individual leaders or congregations. Many were also very much influenced by the work of Mennonite historians in the United States. As a result the findings and conclusions of non-Mennonite historical writers, and those of their Mennonite counterparts, often differed greatly. It was not until the post World War II period that these two approaches were brought together and historians began to examine the experience of Mennonites in Canada in a more critical and rigorous manner, taking cognizance of and seeking to reconcile the findings and interpretations of secular historians with those provided by writers who had rather different and somewhat specialized Mennonite perspectives.

This paper will focus on what has been written about the Mennonite historical experience in Canada, both by Mennonite and by non-Mennonite historians. It will not focus on works by Canadian authors dealing primarily with Mennonite experiences elsewhere, even if these works have occasional references to Canada. Nor will it focus on the contributions by Canadian scholars to the historiography of early Anabaptism, even though these contributions sometimes changed the ways in which such scholars viewed the Canadian situation. The paper will focus on the work of all the major authors who wrote about Mennonites in Canada, some of whom were trained historians, while others were competent amateurs or the practitioners of the methodologies of other social science disciplines.

The Work of Non-Mennonite Historians Writing Before 1950

The first Mennonites to come to Canada were Pennsylvania pacifists who made their way north-westward after the American revolution to settle in several parts of present-day Ontario. They have, however, attracted comparatively little attention from Canadian historians. A check of the indexes of the four main textbooks used in introductory university classes in Canadian history¹ shows that one text does not mention the Mennonites at all, three refer to the Mennonites of Western Canada, but only one also mentions the Ontario Mennonites, and then only in a casual reference to a number of early immigrant groups. There is no comprehensive history of the province of Ontario, but historians who have written on important themes in that province's history scarcely paid more attention to the Ontario Mennonites than their national colleagues.² Local historians, particularly in the Waterloo-Kitchener area, have devoted considerable attention to the Mennonites,³ but much of their work is based on local and hearsay evidence, newspaper accounts, and Mennonite recollections heavy with filio-pietism, and on fictionalized accounts of the pioneer days. A more recent work by Blodwen Davies entitled *A String of Amber: The Heritage of the Mennonites*, presents good descriptions of folk culture of the Mennonites, Tunkers and Amish of the Markham-Waterloo area but is rather weak when dealing with the history of these peoples.⁴

Among the Ontario Mennonites the Amish have attracted more attention because of their segregated lifestyle, but as early as 1938 a popular Canadian writer and broadcaster pronounced the Ontario Mennonites fully assimilated into Canadian society. "For a time," according to John Murray Gibbon, "these formed 'block communities' unto themselves, but in later generations they have become assimilated, retaining virtues of conservatism which have made them a stabilizing element in a world of change."⁵

Such neglect or misperception by national and regional historians did not occur in western Canada. The first Mennonites who came to the West in 1874 attracted immediate attention. Observers and historians soon saw them as one of the clearest examples of the problems and challenges created by the immigration policies of the federal government. The English Canadians already in western Canada were intent on building English Canadian provinces. In this they encountered firm opposition from the French and Metis peoples who wanted to build a dualistic society similar to that of Quebec. Both English and French Canadians realized that the ultimate arbiters in their dispute would be the immigrants who would come in large numbers to settle and develop the prairies. In the 1870s both groups were keenly disappointed that neither English nor French immigrants showed much interest in coming West.

Adding to the local concern was the obvious interest of Minnesota expansionists who hoped to see Manitoba and the entire Northwest become a part of the United States. Immigrants who would help hold the province and the region for Canada were urgently needed.⁶

Russian Mennonites, at odds with Tsarist authorities over educational and military reforms, were among the few groups willing to come to Manitoba in the 1870s, but they demanded and obtained important guarantees of educational autonomy. The coming of these immigrants proved a very considerable economic and political boon to Manitoba merchants, politicians and promoters, but their segregationist and separatist tendencies and devotion to an alien culture, language and faith raised serious questions about their ability or willingness to become citizens firmly committed to Canadian values and institutions.⁷

The Mennonites of the 1870s, moreover, were only the first of a growing number of non-French and non-English immigrants who settled in western Canada and exhibited separatist tendencies. Western Canada, some feared, was rapidly becoming a hodge-podge of peoples, divided and fragmented into local rivalries and racial antagonisms creating problems similar to those threatening the disintegration of the Balkan empires of the Turks and Austro-Hungarians.⁸

The hope of the English Canadians was that the new immigrants would quickly recognize the superiority of British civilization and British governmental and cultural institutions, and become assimilated into English Canadian society.⁹ This expectation was nurtured by the obvious respect of the Manitoba Mennonites toward Canadian government officials generally and, more specifically, toward Governor-General and Lady Dufferin who visited the Manitoba colonies in 1877. The Dufferins were greatly impressed by the material advances made by the colonists, and optimistic about their place in Canadian society. Dufferin was particularly pleased to note: "When, in the name of the Queen of England, I made these people welcome to their new homes, it was not the improvement in their material fortunes that preoccupied my thoughts . . . I felt infinitely prouder in being able to throw over them the aegis of the British constitution."¹⁰ The Mennonites were good, thrifty, hardworking and loyal people who, the Dufferins believed, would quickly become good Canadian citizens.

This scheme was taken up and further emphasized by Alexander Begg, one of Manitoba's first historians and a sometime immigration agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway.¹¹ Others, however, became increasingly concerned, particularly as the conflict with the French over the future of the region became more intense. The French wanted a dual society; many of the immigrants intent on preserving their own identity appeared to be building a pluralistic society. As each group struggled to

survive the often extremely difficult pioneer years, cooperation with others of their own group and the perpetuation of old world practices and institutions which gave some continuity, significance and meaning to their struggles in a new and alien world took precedence over the learning of the English language or enthusiastic support for and participation in British cultural, linguistic or political endeavours. Assimilation was certainly not proceeding as quickly or as smoothly as many English Canadians had hoped it would. Perhaps some more forceful assistance was needed to ensure that the immigrants gained a proper knowledge of, and respect for British civilization and institutions.¹²

The public schools were seen by many English Canadians as the most effective, though certainly not the only instrument of assimilation. The determination of non-English speaking groups, particularly the French Canadians, the Mennonites and some other eastern European groups, to maintain their own schools was therefore regarded as most unfortunate. Soon serious attempts were made in all three prairie provinces to ensure that the schools, and to a lesser extent law enforcement agencies and the mainline protestant churches would become more effective instruments of assimilation.

World War I and the patriotic hysteria it engendered among some English Canadians greatly increased these assimilationist pressures.¹³ Mennonites and others came to be regarded as a serious problem worthy of closer examination and appropriate remedial measures. Some zealots, such as the Rev. (Capt.) Wellington Bridgman, a Presbyterian missionary, utterly perverted the gospel he was ordained to preach by urging that fully 1/3 of Saskatchewan's people, including all the Mennonites, should be deported and their property confiscated and turned over to veterans and their immediate families. "It is only a matter of moral and national equity, righteousness, and justice," Bridgman wrote, "that the father and mother, and wife, brother, sister and child of the Canadian soldier request and demand that all Germans and Austrians and families of such to the last man, be removed out of the Dominion of Canada and out of our sight."¹⁴

Bridgman did not single out the Mennonites in his book, but he had clearly given up on assimilation and wanted all those which could not be assimilated to be deported. "There is no hope for the Hun or the Austrian in Canada," he wrote. "The gulf between the Canadian soldier, all his kin and the Austro-Hun, is too great ever to be spanned by any kind of sentiment or sympathy."¹⁵ Others, more rational and less deranged by wartime propaganda and the loss of a son at the front, urged forced assimilation through the school system, and quickly identified and described in detail a "Mennonite problem". The first writer to deal with this problem in historical detail was J. T. M. Anderson, a school inspector and

later Premier of Saskatchewan. Anderson wrote in 1918: "Unless we gird ourselves to this task (the education of new Canadians) with energy and determination, imbued with a spirit of tolerance, the future of our Canadian citizenship will fail to reach that high level of intelligence which has ever characterized Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the world."¹⁶ Anderson acknowledged that the Mennonites had obtained educational concessions when coming to Canada and therefore had a moral right to their own schools. Fortunately those moral rights had been granted by the federal government while education was a provincial responsibility. Therefore, while offering the Mennonites his sympathy, Anderson firmly rejected any and all special concessions they had negotiated before coming to Canada.

Anderson's treatment of the Mennonite problem was similar in tone, but rather better informed than that of Rev. E. H. Oliver, the Principal of the Presbyterian Theological College in Saskatoon and a leading figure in the movement which created the United Church of Canada. Oliver relied for much of his information about the Mennonites on unreliable hearsay evidence, but was quite ready to pontificate about appropriate solutions.¹⁷ Both Oliver and Anderson acknowledged the substantial economic achievements of the Mennonites of western Canada, but demanded "a more thorough and uniform system of dealing with the non-English situation."¹⁸ Somewhat less assimilationist interpretations are offered by C. B. Sissons and G. M. Wier, both of whom were professional educators who discussed Mennonite education problems in their more general works.¹⁹

Forced assimilation was strenuously resisted by the Mennonites and proved largely counter-productive. The most conservative elements in Manitoba and Saskatchewan emigrated while others took effective steps to ensure that, even if forced to accept English language public schools, they could control much of what took place in those schools and thus ensure the preservation of the most cherished elements of their heritage. They were helped by the fact that, once war-inflamed passions cooled somewhat, other non-Mennonite Canadian historians began to criticize the excesses of the wartime educational warriors. A new and rather different ideal of Canadian society began to emerge, which found its most picturesque and evocative expression in the term "the Canadian Mosaic."²⁰ John Murray Gibbon, who did more than any other person to popularize this concept as an alternative to forced and complete assimilation, defined it thus:

The Canadian race . . . is being made up of over thirty European racial groups, each of which has its own history, customs and traditions. Some politicians want to see these merged as quickly as possible into one standard type, just as our neighbours in the United States are hurrying to make every

citizen 100 per cent American. Others believe in trying to preserve for the future Canadian race the most worthwhile qualities and traditions that each racial group has brought with it.²¹

Assimilation, or at least integration, was still the objective, but not at the expense of harmless and perhaps even pleasing and useful remnants of old world cultures and traditions. Gibbon was particularly interested in the rich and diverse musical heritage, and in some of the specialized technological and agricultural skills of the various groups of Canadian immigrants. Like Anderson and Oliver, Gibbon was a strong supporter of English language public schools which he described as "the finest and strongest cement for the Canadian Mosaic . . . This catches the children of the newcomers when their minds readily accept the life and thought of the country which their parents have chosen for their home."²² Gibbon dealt in considerable detail with the Mennonites. Those in Ontario he pronounced assimilated, and stated that there was evidence of considerable progress among western Canadian Mennonites as well.²³

A second writer describing the western Canadian Mennonite scene in the 1930s arrived at similar conclusions.

The Mennonite group as a whole has ceased to struggle against the world, and has to a large extent even forgotten its own distinctive group character. The process of absorption proceeds almost unconsciously and is one of the whole Mennonite community rather than of individual Mennonites, as in the case in areas of scattered settlement. Through many channels the world is insinuating itself into the community life and breaking down the distinguishing characteristics of a peculiar people. Whether this assimilation will be complete 50 years hence, 100 years, or more, it is impossible at present to predict. Nor does it greatly matter, for in the interim the group will have become an integral part of the larger Canadian community and there will be no more talk of the Mennonite problem.²⁴

These were the conclusions of McGill sociologist C. A. Dawson, based on fairly extensive field case studies undertaken by one of his graduate students. Dawson reported there was still a significant cultural and economic gap between Mennonites and their fellow Canadians, but he was clearly optimistic about the future. The Mennonites, despite their separatist beginnings in western Canada, had learned enough of the English language, of British political institutions and Anglo-Saxon civilization to be acceptable as full fledged Canadian citizens. The fact that, despite this, they had still retained some distinctive values and characteristics was entirely tolerable. Indeed, it soon became a point of pride among historians of Canadian society to show that the Canadian process had been more tolerant and enlightened than was the case in the United States.

Two other authors writing in the 1930s contributed further to this interpretation. James B. Hedges wrote a major study of the colonization

policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway which had at various times been particularly helpful to the Mennonites.²⁵ His conclusions were highly complimentary to the railway and to ethnic or block settlements such as those of the Mennonites. Not to be outdone, the Canadian National Railways established its own colonization branch with a special nationalities unit headed for a time by Robert England. England also wrote books in support of group settlements and tolerant and gradualist assimilation policies.²⁶

Both Hedges and England wrote at a time when the railways were still working hard to encourage more immigrants to come and settle in western Canada, thus generating more passenger and freight traffic for the railways and a stronger market for the remaining unsold railway lands. In the late 1920s and 1930s, however, considerable opposition to further immigration developed, in part because of the increasingly difficult economic circumstances in which all western Canadians found themselves. The disastrous depression and World War II certainly disrupted railway colonization work, but they did not permanently discredit the image and the ideal of a Canadian racial and cultural mosaic.

The Canadian mosaic has become the Canadian alternative to the American assimilation process. A 1979 conference on Cultural Pluralism and Canadian Unity reflected current thinking on the subject, and the federal Minister of State for Multi-Culturalism proudly declared: "It is my strong conviction that far from being a somewhat unfortunate legacy of immigration, our cultural pluralism is at the very heart and core of our uniqueness, of our identity as a nation."²⁷

It is regrettable that, once the Mennonites ceased to be a problem, non-Mennonite Canadian historians have largely ignored them and most other ethnic groups. Only those minority groups involved in radical movements seem to be getting much attention from the historians. Other aspects of minority group and ethnic studies have fallen pretty generally into the hands of the sociologists who, increasingly, are using modern social science methodologies rather than historical/descriptive methods. Some presumptuous individuals are now trying to make Ethnic Studies into a new discipline.

Historical data do not readily lend themselves to the kind of analysis and statistical verification of which social scientists seem to be growing increasingly fond. Perhaps the description by a sociologist of what he regards as the historian's problem in the field of ethnic studies best illustrates the difficulty:

Historical macro-studies, however, are subject to reliance largely on the interpretations of the data by the authors. Often there is no alternative; research of the past can no longer be designed and the limited data which is available is the only source of information. Many historians are becoming increasingly concerned about the reliability of their data.²⁸

Certainly if one looks over the names and specializations of those reading papers at Ethnic Studies conferences the small number of historians attending is noteworthy, as is the fact that, while the Canadian Historical Association has a number of special sections, there is none for ethnic studies or minority groups. There are, fortunately some exceptions, one of them being Frank Epp whose work will be discussed later. The other is Professor Howard Palmer of the University of Calgary, whose *Land of the Second Chance* and a book of readings, which he edited provide a strong historical introduction to the subject of Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism.²⁹ Some minority groups are better served than others but the number of non-Mennonite historians publishing major works about Mennonites seems rather to be on the decline.

The work of non-Mennonite historians writing about Mennonites can be summarized as being largely restricted to local histories in the case of the Ontario Mennonites. Mennonites in western Canada attracted more attention. The earliest writers, writing during the pre-World War I settlement boom, tended to be enthusiastic and uncritical, focusing largely on the material progress of the colonists. As the debate over public schools, war time patriotism and assimilation intensified historians began to urge expulsion or forced assimilation of Mennonite and other non-English western Canadians. In the 1930s there was a reaction to the excesses of the war and immediate post war period, and writers began to see more and more merit in a gradual or integrationist model. As long as they accepted tenants of Canadian citizenship, it was acceptable, perhaps even desirable, that minority groups retain other cultural and ethnic characteristics which were either harmless or might actually enrich and benefit Canadian society. It has therefore become fashionable to quote once again Lord Acton's Nation-State theory.

The co-existence of several nations under the same state is a test, as well as the best security of its freedom. It is also one of the chief instruments of civilization; and as such, it is in the natural and providential order, and indicates a state of greater advancement than the national unity which is the ideal of modern liberalism.³⁰

Canadian Mennonite Historians Writing Before 1950

No comprehensive history of the Mennonites in Canada was written by any Mennonite historians before 1950. The Mennonite perspective of that time is best expressed in the works of three contemporaries, each of whom was determined to ensure that the documents and facts supportive of the Mennonite position were made known. These are not comprehensive histories, but they all have strong interpretive lines.³¹ The closest approach to a comprehensive work during this period was the work of Paul Schaefer who prepared four booklets for use as textbooks in

Mennonite schools.³² The third of these was devoted to Mennonites in Canada, but before writing it Schaefer wrote a biography of H. H. Ewert. He thus became familiar with Ewert's work as editor and frequent contributor to the Mennonite periodical *Der Mitarbeiter* which sought to serve Mennonite teachers. The Canadian volume of Schaefer's work is based in part on the work done for the Ewert biography, and on locally available or previously published primary sources. Like the other volumes, however, the Canadian volume was really a series of class outlines followed by questions for students to answer. It is more notable for its educational and didactic, than for its scholarly, content. Somewhat earlier C. H. Wedel of Bethel College in Kansas prepared similar textbook materials for his classes,³³ although his work contained very few references to Canada. Neither Schaefer nor Wedel tried to integrate his findings with the historiography of Canada or the United States. Schaefer's work particularly, where based on material from *Der Mitarbeiter*, nevertheless is significant in expressing the ideas and attitudes of the Canadian Mennonites who came to Manitoba in the 1870s. It does reflect some American influences as well, but it helped to differentiate the thinking of the immigrants of the 1870s from that of their co-religionists who came to Canada in the 1920s.

There was some original research into the Canadian Mennonite story,³⁴ but two important circumstances during the period after 1920 strongly influenced Mennonite writing. The first of these is attributable to those Mennonites who emigrated from Russia to Canada in the 1920s, and was felt most strongly in western Canada. The second was associated with American Mennonite scholarship and had a greater impact in Ontario.

Those Mennonites who chose to stay in Russia despite the Russification programs and reforms introduced after 1870 enjoyed four decades of great prosperity, expansion and success. Distinctive economic, social, intellectual and religious traits developed within the so-called Russian Mennonite Commonwealth, but the revolution of 1917 and the ensuing civil war destroyed the very foundation of that Commonwealth leaving the people bewildered, confused and frightened. Between 1923 and 1929 approximately 23,000 were able to emigrate to Canada. These emigrants included many well educated and articulate people who very much wanted both to retain the memory of, and to account in some rational manner for the loss of their old homes and society and to come to terms with the harsh realities confronting them in Canada, particularly in the 1930s.

The decades of comparative prosperity and success, and then the traumatic loss of their homeland, had significantly altered the Mennonite psyche. The Russian Mennonites of the 1920s were no longer the quiet in

the land and some traditional Mennonite attributes best described by the German word "Gelassenheit" — the quiet but resilient faith which could accept whatever might come without lapsing either into a sense of hopelessness and lethargy or giving vent to impotent rage and violence — were no longer as strong among the Russian Mennonites as among other North American Mennonites. At the same time the theme of a wandering people was more pronounced among these new arrivals.³⁵

The desire of the Russian Mennonites to remember and to interpret their experience first found expression in a small newspaper, *Der Immigrantenbote* (renamed *Der Bote* in 1935), published at Rosthern, Saskatchewan after 1923, and in *Mennonitische Rundschau*, which was originally published in the United States but whose editorial offices were moved to Winnipeg, Manitoba in 1923 in order that the paper might better serve the needs and interests of the Russian Mennonites in Canada. A second avenue of expression of the ideas and aspirations of the new immigrants was opened up by Arnold Dyck, a man of extraordinary literary and creative talent whose *Mennonitische Volkswarte* was a most interesting, albeit short-lived, attempt to survey the ongoing story of Mennonite wanderings and pioneer work throughout the world. The *Volkswarte* also became the medium whereby Dyck published some of his own literary work which focused on both Canadian and Russian Mennonite experiences. Two of Dyck's best known works are five small volumes collectively known as *Verloren in der Steppe*, which painted a nostalgic picture of life in the Russian Mennonite villages, and a series of *Koop en Bua* stories which explored the idiosyncracies of two East Reserve Mennonite bush farmers.³⁷

Der Bote and *Mennonitische Volkswarte* have become important primary sources for later historians who have obtained not only factual information but also imbibed a broader historiographic perspective from these sources. While no single historical interpretation emerged among the immigrants of the 1920s the influence of Russian Mennonite economic leaders like Johann Cornies, evangelists like Eduard Wuest, the political compromise negotiated with General Todleben, the disastrous encounter with communism and the desperate struggle to become established in Canada, permeated the writings in *Der Bote* and *Mennonitische Volkswarte* and the work of later historians using those and similar sources.

This historiographic influence was significantly strengthened when, on July 3, 1944, former teachers and students of the Chortitzer Zentralschule met for a reunion made more poignant by the recent destruction of the school and indeed of the Chortitza colony by the German military forces evacuating the area after the battle of Stalingrad. D. H. Epp, the editor of *Der Bote*, and Arnold Dyck, publisher of the *Mennonitische Volkswarte*, suggested a unique memorial to the school.

They suggested that short histories of various aspects of the Russian Mennonite experience and of various settlements be written and published. A reader's club was formed with members paying a small annual fee and, in return, receiving the publications of the new society.³⁸ The new society was the Echo Verlag and its publications the *Historische Schriftenreihe*. 22 historical booklets, consisting mostly of recollections together with such documentation as the immigrants had in their possession, were published. None of these works related directly to Canada and most of the authors offered little historical analysis or interpretation. The orientation and emphasis was nevertheless quite different from that of Mennonites of Swiss background who had been in Canada or the United States for much longer periods of time. It was certainly very appropriate that one of the first books published in the *Historische Schriftenreihe* was a biography of the autocratic Mennonite economic leader and innovator, Johann Cornies. The heritage of Cornies is, in some very important respects, unique to Russian Mennonitism, and the *Historische Schriftenreihe* is permeated with that heritage. Authors of the *Schriftenreihe* also drew a great deal of information and inspiration from P. M. Friesen's massive documentary history of the Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia.³⁹ In time the perceptions of the immigrants of the 1920s were incorporated into Canadian Mennonite historiography.⁴⁰

This Russian Mennonite influence was tempered substantially by a strong American Mennonite influence.⁴¹ It was a particularly bitter controversy at Goshen College, a private Mennonite Church liberal arts college at Goshen, Indiana that helped to focus and define American Mennonite historiography. The controversy was part of a larger and very bitter debate among North American protestants in which conservative and nationalistic religious leaders, who urged a return to the fundamentals of Christianity and were therefore called Fundamentalists, entered into vigorous and often acrimonious debate with those they regarded as being too liberal in their theology. While the Mennonite conferences were generally conservative and traditionalist in outlook, some of their leaders in the early 1920s came under the influence of the Fundamentalists and thought they detected evidence of liberalism in the teaching and writing of some faculty members at Goshen College. The offending faculty members were fired or forced to resign, but the controversy grew so intense that the entire college had to be closed for the 1923-24 academic year.⁴²

When Goshen College re-opened in 1924 many of the faculty who remained or were recruited to replace the dismissed members were very uneasy about the destructive Liberal-Fundamentalist dispute. While generally conservative in outlook, most did not find in Fundamentalism a theology which was entirely in harmony with their own creeds, practices and traditions. There was a general recognition that Fundamentalism did

not incorporate some very basic Anabaptist/Mennonite teachings. The close and uncritical ties between Fundamentalism and American nationalism and militarism seemed particularly distressing. As a result a small but dedicated and very productive band of scholars undertook new studies to recover what they eventually referred to as the Anabaptist vision.⁴³ Harold S. Bender, the most influential and forceful member of this group of scholars, defined the Anabaptist Vision thus:

As we review the vision of the Anabaptists, it becomes clear that there are two foci in this vision. The first focus relates to the essential nature of Christianity. Is Christianity primarily a matter of the reception of divine grace through a sacramental-sacerdotal institution (Roman Catholicism), is it chiefly enjoyment of the inner experience of the grace of God through faith in Christ (Lutheranism), or is it most of all the transformation of life through discipleship (Anabaptism)? The Anabaptists were neither institutionalists, mystics, nor pietists, for they laid the weight of their emphasis upon following Christ in life. To them it was unthinkable for one truly to be a Christian without creating a new life on divine principles both for himself and for all men who commit themselves to the Christian way.

The second focus relates to the church. For the Anabaptist, the church was neither an institution (Catholicism), nor the instrument of God for the proclamation of the divine Word (Lutheranism), nor a resource group for individual piety (Pietism). It was a brotherhood of love in which the fullness of the Christian life ideal is to be expressed.⁴⁴

The recovery of this Anabaptist vision allowed Mennonite scholars to chart an independent course, to define clearly who they were and what they believed, and to differentiate themselves from both the Liberals and the Fundamentalists of their day, just as their ancestors had differentiated themselves from the Catholicism, Lutheranism, and in a slightly different way from Pietistic influences of their time. This was particularly important at a time when urbanization and industrialization was shaking many Mennonite communities from their traditional and hitherto seemingly secure moorings.

The attempt to recover the original Anabaptist vision and to make it relevant to the circumstances of modern America, generated an enormous volume of exceptional scholarly research and writing. A scholarly journal, *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, was established at Goshen College in 1927 and became one of the most important instruments whereby the fruit of the new research and writing was disseminated. Mennonite publishing houses also brought out a steady stream of books, many of which were certainly scholarly, but often also had devotional and didactic purposes.⁴⁵ Perhaps the most significant major work and the true capstone of the scholarship of that period was the publication of the four volume *Mennonite Encyclopedia* in the 1950s. These large volumes are a veritable treasure trove of information on all aspects of the Mennonite

experience and a basic reference tool for all future Mennonite scholarship.

In the process of preparing their work Mennonite scholars found it necessary to re-define and clarify many historical/theological terms and concepts. This seemed to be a necessary part of the self-definition and differentiation process, but it has also become something of a barrier or obstacle for those not initiated into the specific meaning Mennonite scholars have attributed to their specialized terms. In 1976, on the occasion of the retirement of Guy F. Hershberger who was one of the most prolific and very influential faculty members at Goshen, his colleagues and former students prepared a *Festschrift* in his honour. The book of articles was entitled *Kingdom, Cross and Community*.⁴⁶ In the Anabaptist vision, as Bender, Hershberger and their colleagues defined it, each of these terms had a particular and rather specialized meaning. These terms, in fact, have taken on all the strengths and suffer the limitations of a specialized jargon for rather specialized scholarly work.

There was understandably very little contact between the Mennonite scholars at Goshen and the Canadian secular historians writing about the Mennonite problem in Canada. A number of young Mennonite students from Canada, however, made their way to the American Mennonite colleges and there came to understand and to appreciate the important work of Bender and his colleagues. When they returned to Canada some began to write local and denominational histories according to the model they had learned in the United States. Others, however, entered Canadian universities and a few began to think seriously of trying to bring together the finding of Mennonite scholarship and the writings of Canadian secular historians writing about the Canadian Mennonite problem.

These Canadian Mennonite scholars and, indeed, many American Mennonite scholars as well, soon discovered several limitations in the work of Bender and his colleagues. Bender himself had prepared a biography of Conrad Grebel,⁴⁷ one of the most influential of the early Swiss Anabaptists. He and his colleagues concentrated most of their research on the history and ideas of Swiss Anabaptism. Some of this work has been challenged by revisionist scholars of 16th century Anabaptism, notably Walter Klaassen, Werner Packull and James Stayer.⁴⁸ Other scholars pointed out that Anabaptists elsewhere, most notably those in Southern Germany, had viewed their Christianity rather differently and were much more Pietistic or individualistic than the Anabaptist Vision of Bender would suggest. The range and extent of the Mennonite experience and of Mennonite theology was considerably broader and more diverse than these scholars suggested.

The fact that much of the work of Mennonite scholarship in the

United States was concerned with defining and differentiating Mennonite theology and history from that of other denominations gave much of this scholarship a separatist and even isolationist character. Theological, ecclesiastical and narrowly denominational concerns rather than an examination of the broader economic, political, military and social conditions of the times predominated. This led to a failure to acknowledge and document adequately many of the quite fundamental compromises Mennonites had to make to adjust their theology and ideals to the often harsh realities of their times, except insofar as these compromises were documented in Mennonite archival sources. It was much easier to write about a vision, and about the way in which leaders tried to implement that vision in their own churches and communities than to show the complex interactions between the real world and Mennonite communities. The Mennonite vision was a means to define and differentiate the Mennonite experience from the mainstream of history. It did not integrate effectively the religious and denominational history with the insights, methods and interpretations of the secular historians.

Canadian Mennonite Historiography after 1950

The first scholar to make a serious attempt to reconcile the insights provided by the non-Mennonite Canadian authors who had dealt extensively with the Mennonite problem in Canada, and the American Mennonite scholars who were rediscovering and defining the Anabaptist vision was E. K. Francis. Francis was neither a Canadian nor a Mennonite by religious persuasion nor a historian by profession, but he wrote a book about the Mennonites in Manitoba which dealt discursively with their history and with their situation in the 1940s.

Francis had been encouraged by the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, and particularly by W. L. Morton who was a distinguished Canadian historian, to undertake this study. While field studies formed the basis of Francis' work, he thoroughly familiarized himself with the literature of American Mennonite scholars and with the work of earlier Canadian historians who had written about the Mennonites. In his acknowledgements Francis singled out Harold S. Bender of Goshen College, Professor W. L. Morton and Professor S. D. Clark, a prominent sociologist and historian who had done a great deal of work on Canadian minority and protest groups. These three represented very different approaches to the study of Mennonite history — approaches which Francis clearly tried to reconcile and incorporate in his work. His work, therefore represents a significant advance on that of earlier writers, and his conclusions were found acceptable by reviewers in both the *Canadian Historical Review*⁴⁹ and the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*.⁵⁰ These conclusions were summarized thus:

The study of the Mennonite group in Manitoba proves (what social scientists have known for a long time) that ethnic communities perform a valuable function in adjusting immigrants to the ways of their adoptive country, and in maintaining social controls during the crucial period of transition following immigration. If the Mennonites today are relatively well-adjusted to Canadian social and economic life, and constitute hardly any problem, this is largely due to the fact that they were allowed to settle in solid communities, and that these communities have been preserved.⁵¹

It is significant, however, that Francis does not refer to any substantial assistance from Mennonites who came to Canada in the 1920s. Nor does he explore the impact such Mennonites had on the Manitoba Mennonite reserves, this despite the fact that many of the immigrants of the 1920s settled on reserve farms vacated by those Canadian Mennonites who decided to emigrate to Mexico or Paraguay rather than accept the school legislation of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The perspective of the post 1870 Russian Mennonites is largely missing from Francis' work and accounts in part for the fact that his work was more widely read by both American and Canadian Mennonites. Francis successfully utilized the writings and insights of American Mennonite immigrants of the 1920s who, however, were still far more interested in chronicling their Russian rather than their Canadian experiences.

Francis spent a good deal of his research time in libraries and in field work, but very little in either Mennonite or Canadian archives. He was particularly interested in the dynamics of community life among the Mennonites. This subject also became a matter of great interest to another young American sociologist. Mutual aid and cooperation, as practiced in the small and comparatively self-contained Mennonite communities, it seemed to J. Winfield Fretz, offered some practical solutions to the enormous problems facing Mennonite and other peoples, particularly those uprooted by World War II. Fretz worked on several assignments for the inter-Mennonite relief organization — the Mennonite Central Committee — to prepare a general introduction to the subject of Mennonite colonization and to provide practical suggestions for future action.⁵² His work was by no means restricted to Canada, and what investigations he made of the Mennonite experience in Canada were rather superficial and idealistic and reflected the fact that many Mennonites believed new rural colonization schemes would best meet their problems after World War II.

The writing of Mennonite history in Canada has been greatly stimulated in recent years by the celebration of a number of anniversaries, particularly the centennial of Confederation in 1967 and of the coming of the Russian Mennonites to Manitoba in 1873. Most of the centennial writings are local or community studies which offer a good deal of factual information particularly about progress and achievements, but less analysis and interpretation. The best of these centennial community studies

is Peter Zacharias' *Reinland An Experience in Community*, published by the Reinland Centennial Committee in 1976.⁵³ Others deserving special mention are Abe Warkentin's *Reflections on our Heritage*,⁵⁴ Henry J. Gerbrandt's *Adventure in Faith*, a history of the Manitoba Bergthaler Church published in 1970,⁵⁵ Orland Gingerich's *The Amish in Canada*, published in 1972 by Conrad Press,⁵⁶ and a collection of articles entitled *Mennonite Memories*, edited by Julius Toews and Lawrence Klippenstein.⁵⁷ Also to be noted in this connection is a pictorial history of Mennonites in western Canada by Walter Quiring.⁵⁸

A very significant advance in Canadian Mennonite historiography took place when the Canadian Mennonite Relief and Immigration Council commissioned Frank H. Epp to write the history of its predecessor agency, the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization. This Board, which had been the main Canadian agency for the rescue and resettlement of more than 20,000 Mennonites from Russia in the 1920s, had preserved an extensive collection of its correspondence and subject files, and Frank Epp was able to produce a work based on very extensive research in original archival materials. In his Preface Epp indicated that it was his purpose to let the story speak for itself, but he also expressed the hope that the work would serve some important didactic purposes.⁵⁹ Judging from some of the subsequent reviews the latter purpose was not altogether appreciated,⁶⁰ but that should not detract from the basic fact that this was the first major historical study of an important aspect of Canadian Mennonite history which was based on extensive archival research.

Epp's parents came to Canada from Russia in the 1920s and *Mennonite Exodus*, which focused on that migration, reflects the rather distinctive *Weltanschauung* of the post-1870 Russian Mennonites. Thus where E. K. Francis described the experience of one western Canadian Mennonite community, Epp described the experiences of a quite different Mennonite group. The two works reflected two parallel lines of Mennonite historiography which had not yet merged into a single historiographical stream.

Extensive archival research marked the strength of *Mennonite Exodus*, but that research still had some deficiencies. The rich archival resources of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization were used extensively, but other archival materials most notably those in the Public Archives of Canada and in various provincial archives, were not used to any great extent. That, and perhaps the fact that the book was published by the Mennonite printing firm of D. W. Friesen and Sons, may account for the fact that this important work received comparatively little attention from non-Mennonite Canadian historians. It was not, for example,

reviewed in either the *Canadian Historical Review* or the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*.

Of somewhat lesser importance for an understanding of the Canadian Mennonite experience, but receiving more immediate recognition, was a book by H. L. Sawatzky on Mennonite colonization in Mexico, published by the University of California Press in 1971.⁶¹ This book dealt with those Canadian Mennonites who, after 1917, found they could not accept the patriotic and educational policies of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan governments and decided to emigrate to Mexico. Sawatzky relied primarily on Mennonite archival materials, both in Canada and in Mexico, and on the extensive secondary literature, particularly the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Neither his footnotes nor his bibliography give any indication that he ever visited the Public Archives of Canada or the provincial archives in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. His work, nevertheless, clearly demonstrates the value of Mennonite archival collections for the writing of Canadian Mennonite History.

The first Mennonite historian to make extensive use of documents in the Public Archives of Canada was probably J. A. Toews who was commissioned by the Canadian Mennonite Brethren Conference to prepare a study of Alternative Service in Canada during World War II. Funded, perhaps appropriately, by a foundation established by the chief Manitoba defender of Catholic separate schools, Toews travelled to Ottawa and collected a significant number of relevant documents which then formed the basis of his study.⁶²

The Canadian centennial celebrations in 1967 provided the stimulus for the next major development. In that year the Mennonite Historical Societies in Manitoba and in Ontario established a Joint Committee which they charged with the task of having a comprehensive history of the Mennonites in Canada prepared. Frank H. Epp was commissioned to undertake this task, with the Joint Committee looking after the necessary financial and administrative matters and a widely based editorial committee providing scholarly and editorial advice. In the following years, as provincial Mennonite historical societies were established in Saskatchewan and Alberta and in British Columbia, the Joint Committee was enlarged to become the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada and given responsibility not only for the completion of the comprehensive history but also for other projects of inter-provincial interest.

From the beginning of his work it was clear that Frank Epp would use not only Mennonite archival collections and secondary sources written by Mennonites, but also rely very much on the very extensive archival materials available at the Public Archives of Canada and at numerous other provincial and private archives, and to familiarize himself thoroughly with the relevant writings of secular authors dealing with issues

and topics relevant to the Canadian Mennonite community, and with the insights provided by American Mennonite scholarship and by the immigrants of the 1920s.

The original intention was to write a one volume history, but the project quickly grew and in the early 1970s it was decided to publish more than one volume. The first volume, carrying the history up to 1920, was published in 1974,⁶³ and it quickly became apparent that many reviewers believed that the author had successfully brought together the insights to be gained from Mennonite scholarship, from Canadian historiography, and from extensive archival research, although some complained that perhaps too much space had still been devoted to the religious history of the group.⁶⁴ One of the most cherished but by no means unusual assessments of the work was offered by Senator Paul Yuzyk.

Thanks to the growing interest of the Canadian people stemming from the recognition and implementation of an official multicultural policy, and thanks to the scholarship of such able men as Professor Epp, there is a growing appreciation of Mennonite Canadian co-builders of the new Canada now emerging.⁶⁵

Conclusion

A prominent historian once observed that "Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time."⁶⁶ In Canada cultural pluralism is popular today, and recent Canadian Mennonite historiography certainly fits well into the larger vision of a nation in which diversity is cherished but in which the larger whole is not ignored. Mennonite historiography has brought together in a uniquely Canadian synthesis the insights offered by secular Canadian historians, by the scholars who helped rediscover and define the Anabaptist vision, and by those more recent scholars who have studied Canadian multiculturalism. This, however, is not the end of the road. It is but a stage in the continuing evolution of Canadian Mennonite historiography.

Notes

¹ J. M. S. Careless, *Canada. A Story of Challenge* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1953). Donald Creighton, *Dominion of the North. A History of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1944). Edgar McInnis, *Canada. A Political and Social History* (Toronto and Montreal: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1947). W. L. Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963). Revised editions of all four of these textbooks have been published, but the number of references to Mennonites remains unchanged.

² Particularly surprising is the absence of any reference to Mennonites in Lillian F. Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968). There is only one reference to a Mennonite land purchase in Charles M. Johnston, *The Valley of the*

Six Nations (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1964). Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

³ Ezra E. Eby, *A Biographical History of Waterloo Township: A History of the Early Settlers and their Descendants*, 2 Vols. (Berlin, Ontario: Eby, 1895). W. V. Uttley, *The History of Kitchener, Ontario* (Kitchener: The Chronicle Press, 1937). L. J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites In Ontario* (Markham, Ontario: Mennonite Conference of Ontario, 1935). Luella Creighton, *High Bright Buggy Wheels* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1951). Mabel Dunham, *The Trail of the Conestoga* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1942).

⁴ Blodwin Davies, *A String of Amber: The Heritage of the Mennonites* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1973).

⁵ John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Mosaic. The Making of a Northern Nation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1938), p. 176.

⁶ E. K. Francis, "A Bibliography of the Mennonites of Manitoba," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3 (July 1953), p. 238-48. For a more general historiography of the Canadian West see Hartwell Bowsfield, "The West," in J. L. Granatstein and Paul Stevens, eds., *Canada Since 1867. A Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), p. 87-107, and T. D. Regehr, "Historiography of the Canadian Plains after 1870," in A. Allen, ed., *A Region of the Mind. Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains* (Regina: Canadian Plains Studies Centre, 1973), p. 87-102.

⁷ The most detailed accounts of the arrival of the Russian Mennonites in Manitoba are to be found in Lawrence Klippenstein and Julius Toews, eds., *Mennonite Memories. Settling in Western Canada* (Altona, Manitoba: Friesen, 1977), and in 1974 centennial editions of the *Mennonite Mirror* and *Mennonite Life*.

⁸ Norman Macdonald, *Canada. Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966), Chapter 11.

⁹ One of those clearly expressing this hope was the Morden, Manitoba, newspaper editor, J. F. Galbraith, *The Mennonites in Manitoba, 1875-1900* (Morden, Manitoba: The Chronicle Press, 1900). Others offering a similar interpretation are John Warkentin, *The Mennonite Settlements in Manitoba*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1960, and Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920. The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974).

¹⁰ As quoted in E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia. The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen and Sons, 1955), p. 81. For a less partisan account see J. B. McLaren, "The North-West: The Mennonites," in G. M. Grant, ed., *Picturesque Canada Vol. I*, 1882.

¹¹ Alexander Begg, *History of the North West*, 3 Vols. (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1894-5), and *Ten Years in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: Times Printing and Publishing House), 1897.

¹² Writers at that time used the term assimilation in a rather imprecise way. Sociologists have tried to bring much greater precision to the term in recent years. In this essay, however, I am using the term in the way the writers of the time used it, rather than in the way it is used today by sociologists. Donald Avery, *Canadian Immigration Policy. The Anglo-Canadian Perspective*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1973. Morris Mott, *The Foreign Peril, Nativism In Winnipeg, 1916-1923*, M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970.

¹³ John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War. The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), Chapter 4.

¹⁴ Rev. (Capt.) Wellington Bridgman, *Breaking Prairie Sod* (Toronto: Mussen, 1920), p. 197.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ J. T. M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian. A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem* (London and Toronto: Dent, 1918), p. 240.

¹⁷ E. H. Oliver, *The Country School in Non-English Communities in Saskatchewan*, Saskatoon: Saturday Press and Prairie, n.d.; "The Institutionalizing of the Prairies," *Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions*, 3rd series, Vol. XXXI, (1937), sec. 2, p. 1-21, and *The Canadian North West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records*, 2 Vols., Ottawa: King's Printer, 1915. Kurt Tischler, *The German Canadians and the Language Problem*, M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1979.

¹⁸ Anderson, p. 240.

¹⁹ C. B. Sissons, *Bilingual Schools in Canada* (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1917), and G. M. Weir, *The Separate School Question in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1934).

²⁰ The term was first used in a substantial publication by Kate Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: The Dominion Council, Young Women's Christian Association, 1926).

²¹ Gibbon, p. viii.

²² Gibbon, p. 425. See also John Murray Gibbon, "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden," *Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions*, 3rd series, Vol. XVII, (1923), sec. 2, p. 119-129.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 176-186.

²⁴ C. A. Dawson, *Group Settlement. Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), p. 171.

²⁵ James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), and *The Federal Railway Land Subsidy Policy of Canada* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934).

²⁶ Robert England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1929), and *The Colonization of Western Canada. A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement, 1896-1934* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1936).

²⁷ Hedi Bouraoui, *The Canadian Alternative. Cultural Pluralism and Canadian Unity* (Downsview, Ontario: ECW Press, 1979), p. 14.

²⁸ Leo Driedger, ed., *The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic. A Quest for Identity* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 341.

²⁹ Howard Palmer, *Land of the Second Chance. A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta* (Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald, 1972), and Howard Palmer, ed., *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1975).

³⁰ As quoted in Martin L. Kovacs, ed., *Ethnic Canadians, Culture and Education* (Regina: Canadian Plains Studies Centre, 1978), p. 135.

³¹ Gerhard Wiebe, *Ursachen und Geschichte der Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Nordwesten, 1900). Klaas Peters, *Die Bergthaler Mennoniten* (Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1925). J. H. Doerksen, *Geschichte und Wichtige Dokumente* (Steinbach, Manitoba, 1923).

³² Paul Schaefer, *Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten! Lektionen fuer den Unterricht in der Mennonitengeschichte* (Altona: Man. Rhineland Agricultural Society (Vol. 1) Mennonite Agricultural Advisory Committee (Vol. 2 & 3) Verlag des Mennonitischen Historischen Vereins, (Vol. 4), 1942, 1946 and 1953).

³³ C. H. Wedel, *Abriss der Geschichte der Mennoniten*, Vier Teile (Newton, Kansas: Schulverlag von Bethel College, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904).

³⁴ See particularly Ernest Correll ed., "Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba: Sources and Documents, 1872-1873," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XI (July 1937) p. 196-227, (Oct., 1937) p. 267-283, Vol. XXII, (January, 1948) p. 43-47. "Sources on the Mennonite Immigration From Russia in the 1870s," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXIV (Oct. 1950), p. 329-352. "The Mennonite Loan in the Canadian Parliament, 1875," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XX (Oct. 1946), p. 255-275. "Canadian Agricultural Records in Mennonite Settlements, 1875-1877" *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXI (January 1947), p. 34-46, and George Leibbrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VI (Oct. 1932), p. 205-226; VII (Jan. 1933), p. 3-41.

³⁵ The historical literature referring to the Russian Mennonite experience is very extensive. The latest and most scholarly as well as most interpretive work is John B. Toews, *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites* (Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1982).

³⁶ *Der Bote*, until 1935 *Der Immigrantenbote*, published originally at Rosthern, Saskatchewan, and more recently at Winnipeg, Manitoba. A complete set of back issues is available at the Mennonite Heritage Centre, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, Winnipeg, Manitoba. The *Mennonitische Rundschau* traces its history to 1880 when a paper named the *Nebraska Ansiedler* was published although the name was quickly changed to *Mennonitische Rundschau*. The publication office was in the United States until it was moved to Canada in 1923. In 1945 the *Mennonitische Rundschau* was sold to members of, and became an official organ of, the Mennonite Brethren conference.

³⁷ *Mennonitische Volkswarte*, Herausgegeben and geleitet von A. B. Dyck, 1935-1938. Published monthly. For more information and a complete bibliography of the works of Arnold Dyck see Elizabeth Peters, *Der Mennonitendichter Arnold Dyck in seinen Werken*, University of Manitoba, 1968.

³⁸ The most detailed account of the establishment of the Echo Verlag is in Abram Berg, ed., *Dietrich Heinrich Epp, Aus seinem Leben, Wirken und selbstaufgezeichneten Erinnerungen* (Saskatoon: Heese, 1973).

³⁹ David H. Epp, *Johann Cornies, Zuege aus seinem Leben und Wirken* (Rosthern, Sask., and Steinbach, Manitoba: Echo Verlag, 1946). P. M. Friesen, *Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland (1789-1910)*, Halbstadt, Taurien: Raduga Verlag, 1911. Translated and published in English under the title *The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910)* (Fresno, Calif.: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1978).

⁴⁰ It is significant that the two most distinguished Canadian Mennonites dealing with the history of their people, Frank H. Epp and John B. Toews, are both descendants of those who came to Canada from Russia in the 1920s.

⁴¹ H. S. Bender, "Historiography VII: North American Mennonites," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, p. 767-69.

⁴² Theron F. Schlabach, "To Focus a Mennonite Vision," in John R. Burkholder and Calvin Redekop, eds., *Kingdom, Cross and Community. Essays on Mennonite Themes in Honour of Guy F. Hersherberger* (Scottsdale, Pa., and Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1976), pp. 15-50.

⁴³ Guy F. Hersherberger, ed., *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1957).

⁴⁴ Harold S. Bender, *The Anabaptist Vision* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1944), p. 33-34.

⁴⁵ A scholarly but favourable review of the work of Harold S. Bender, together with a complete list of his writings can be found in the April 1964 (Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2) issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. A similar review of the work of Robert Friedman can be found in the April 1974 (Vol. XLVIII, No. 2) issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. The work of Melvin Gingerich is reviewed in the April 1978 (Vol. LII, No. 2) issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Assessments of the work of Guy F. Hersherberger are given in John Richard Burkholder and Calvin Redekop, eds., *Kingdom, Cross and Community. Essays on Mennonite Themes in Honour of Guy F. Hersherberger* (Scottsdale, Pa.: and Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1976). A critical reassessment of the work of Bender and his colleagues can be found in the paper presented at a problems of Anabaptist History Symposium, held on October 17, 1978, in St. Louis, Missouri, and published in the July 1979 (Vol. LIII, No. 3) issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*.

⁴⁶ John Richard Burkholder and Calvin Redekop, eds., *Kingdom, Cross and Community. Essays on Mennonite Themes in Honour of Guy F. Hersherberger* (Scottsdale, Pa. and Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1976).

⁴⁷ Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel, c. 1498-1526. The Founder of the Swiss Brethren Sometimes Called Anabaptists* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1950).

⁴⁸ Walter Klaassen, *Anabaptism: Neither Catholic nor Protestant* (Waterloo, Ont.: Conrad Press, 1973, revised edition 1981). James M. Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword* (Carvience, Kansas: Coranado Press, 1972). James M. Stayer and Werner O. Packull, *The Anabaptists and Thomas Müntzer* (Toronto, Ont.: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1980).

⁴⁹ Watson Kirkconnel gives some of the details about the writing of Francis' book in his review published in *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 38, (March 1957), p. 60-61. Others are given by Francis himself in several of the articles he published in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* before his book was published.

⁵⁰ Watson Kirkconnel's review of E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia. The Mennonites in Manitoba*, published in *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 38, (March 1957), p. 60-61. William Klassen's review of E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia. The Mennonites in Manitoba*, published in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXX, (Oct. 1956), p. 294-297, together with a comment by Cornelius Krahn.

⁵¹ E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia. The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1955).

⁵² J. Winfield, Fretz, *Mennonite Colonization. Lessons From the Past For the Future*, (Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee, 1944), and *Christian Mutual Aid. A Handbook of Brotherhood Economics* (Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee, 1947). Fretz was also involved with the publication of Robert R. Meyer, *The Spirit of the Post Road. A Study of Self-Help Communities* (Altona and Winkler, Manitoba: Federation of Southern Manitoba Cooperatives, 1955).

⁵³ Peter D. Zacharias, *Reinland. An Experience in Community* (np: Reinland Centennial Committee, 1976).

⁵⁴ Abe Warkentin, *Reflections on our Heritage* (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, 1971).

⁵⁵ Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith. The Background in Europe and the Development in Canada of the Berghaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba* (Altona, Manitoba: Berghaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba, 1970).

⁵⁶ Lawrence Klippenstein and Julius Toews, eds., *Mennonite Memories. Settling in Western Canada* (Winnipeg: Centennial Publications, 1977). Many of the items appearing in this book were first published, together with several others dealing specifically with Manitoba themes, as *Manitoba Mennonite Memories, A Century Past but not Forgotten* (Altona and Steinbach, Manitoba: Manitoba Mennonite Centennial Committee, 1974).

⁵⁸ Walter Quiring, ed., *Mennonites in Canada: A Pictorial Record* (Altona, Manitoba, D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1961).

⁵⁹ Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus. The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution* (Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen & Sons, 1962), p. xii.

⁶⁰ Walter Quiring, the editor of the German language Mennonite tabloid *Der Bote* was particularly critical of Epp's work.

⁶¹ Harry Leonard Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country. Mennonite Colonization in Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971).

⁶² J. A. Toews, *Alternative Service in Canada During World War II* (Winnipeg: Canadian Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church, 1959).

⁶³ Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920. The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974).

⁶⁴ Victor Peters' review of Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, in the June 1976 issue of *The Canadian Historical Review*.

⁶⁵ Paul Yuzyk's review of Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920*, in the July 1975 issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*.

⁶⁶ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of History," as quoted in Fritz Stern, ed., *The Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956).