

# Welcoming the Returning 'Kanadier' Mennonites from Mexico

**William Janzen, *Mennonite Central Committee Canada***

The Low German "Kanadier" Mennonites returning from Mexico and Latin America are becoming an ever more important part of the Canadian-Mennonite community as they continue to grow in numbers. Counting all those who have returned in the last fifty years and their descendants, their numbers come to at least 40,000, concentrated mainly in Ontario, Manitoba and in southern and northern Alberta. In fact, some estimates go as high as 30,000 in Ontario, 15,000 in Manitoba and 12,000 in Alberta. That is approximately 20% of the total number of Mennonites in Canada as calculated in the Canadian census. However, these Low German-speaking immigrants are not as well known as they should be, since relatively little has been written about them. This article is designed to cast further light on these people.

My title expresses what many of us have been trying to do over the years: namely, to reciprocate the warm welcome that many of us have received when we have traveled in the Mennonite colonies of Latin America. The better we understand these people the better we will be able to welcome them to our country. In this paper I want to discuss

four aspects of the idea of “welcome.” First is the issue of their legal status, an area in which I have long worked. Secondly, there are the social, economic and religious aspects of settling in Canada. Thirdly, there is room for growth in the self-understanding held by other Canadian Mennonites for the returning Kanadier. And fourthly, there is the need for greater understanding so that people are welcomed whether they return to Canada or stay in Mexico, Bolivia, Paraguay, or wherever

### **Gaining Secure Legal Status**

The first element is obvious. People cannot live in Canada permanently without the legal right to do so. At one time this right was easily obtained. A hundred years ago the Canadian government sent officials to different parts of the world to persuade people to come to Canada. Almost anyone was given landed immigrant status. Gradually things changed. The number of applicants began to exceed the number that Canada could accept. Some had to be screened out. In the 1960s the government set up a point system to do this. Henceforth, applicants would be given points based on their education, their knowledge of English or French, whether their skills were needed in the Canadian economy, whether they would adjust easily to Canadian society, and so on. Because of this system and other factors, the “landed immigrant” avenue became virtually closed to the Mennonites from Mexico, at least to those whose only option was in the category of “independent applicants.” The “family class” category has continued to work but it is very narrow. For example, it covers spouses and children under eighteen, but an adult sibling cannot be sponsored under this category.

Relevant to this, David Friesen, an Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference [EMMC] minister in southern Ontario, called me soon after the Mennonite Central Committee [MCC] Ottawa Office opened in 1975. He had been trying to help a certain John Hildebrand to get landed immigrant status. But Immigration officials were now telling him that that would not be possible. Hildebrand would have to go back to Mexico on his own or else be deported. Then, as an aside, Immigration officials told David that since John was of Canadian background he might have a direct claim to Canadian citizenship without first having to become a landed immigrant. He should have someone look into that, they said. With that in mind David called me.

I knew David a little. Like me, he was from Saskatchewan. And I was certainly willing to try to help. I got the details about John Hildebrand’s Canadian parental background, together with the

supporting documents to prove it, and called the citizenship office. It was a lengthy conversation. Eventually the official acknowledged that the law did not absolutely require her to refuse, but that it was their policy to do so. She also said it was not in her hands to make an exception to that policy. I then asked if I could appeal to her superior. Three weeks later I had a letter back saying that, yes, they would make an exception and issue a certificate of Canadian citizenship to Johan Hildebrand. David Friesen and I were almost as happy as he was.

Then David said he would send me a few more cases. A few weeks later a shoebox full of papers arrived. When I opened it and saw only Spanish documents, I was so overwhelmed that I closed it and left it for a week or two. Finally, I went and purchased a Spanish-English dictionary and tried to sort out the documents. Eventually, I had family trees for thirteen families, trees that connected them back to Canada. I knew, however, that presenting them would be difficult. When you act on behalf of one person you can ask for an exception; when you are dealing with thirteen families you are really asking for a change in policy. Providentially, in one of my university courses a few years earlier I had studied an area of the law that was very close to this one. I knew something about the kind of arguments that were needed. Eventually, I had a seventeen-page letter ready for the Citizenship office. A month later a Citizenship official came by our office. My letter and the box of letters had been placed on her desk and she wanted to learn more about who we were and what we were up to. This was the first of many conversations. Ten months later they decided to change the policy for a two-year period.

The most important change related to a provision in the 1947 Citizenship law about the registration of children born outside of Canada to Canadian parents. The law said that a child born abroad, either of a Canadian father in wedlock or of a Canadian mother out of wedlock, could be registered as a Canadian citizen before the child's second birthday, or in such an extended period as the Minister might authorize in special cases. In other words, the law did not absolutely require that the registration be done before the child's second birthday. There was some flexibility. The officials now agreed to use that flexibility to register people even if they were much older, though they still had to meet the other criteria. This became known as the "delayed registration" provision.

This change in interpretation would help many thousands of the Mennonites from Mexico. Still, a majority would not qualify under it. It applied only to people born after the Citizenship Act of 1947 came into force and only if such people had been born to a Canadian parent. If that parent was born outside of Canada before 1947 then, in order to be a Canadian, the parent had to be born in wedlock and of a Canadian

father. In reality, most Mennonites born in Mexico in those pre-1947 years were born of Canadian-born fathers, but technically, many were born out of wedlock because in those years Mennonites there tended to have only church marriages which had no legal standing in Mexico. Thus one of the “chain links” for a citizenship claim had been broken.

Despite certain restrictions, the decision of the Citizenship officials represented a very significant opening, but we would have to be careful with it. We wanted to help people who needed help but we did not want to persuade people to move to Canada, since many in Latin America in fact preferred to stay there. Also, we wanted to show officials that we were responsible. We needed their trust because there were more issues to work out. But this opening led us to think more broadly. Before long we had documentation workers, as we called them, in several places in Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta and in several Latin American countries helping people to obtain Canadian citizenship through this avenue. Fortunately, after the first two years the officials agreed to keep this avenue open for another two years, and then another and another. It remains open to this day. Thousands have benefited from it, including many non-Mennonites. The number of returned Kanadier would be a small fraction of what it is had it not been for this opening.

On the whole, working with these officials went very well, although it could be challenging. One time, when I was trying to help a group of families who came under a different section of the law, I prepared a letter and then called a friend in the department to ask if she would check it before I sent it to her boss. “Sure, come on over tonight,” she said. By this time I had known this woman for several years. I knew that she could be tough but I did not know how tough. Before the evening was over my seven-page letter had more red ink on it than black ink. I did not need any sleep that night. A week later I called her and asked if she would look at my revised version. “I thought you’d be back,” she said. Eventually, she allowed me to send the letter, but she left me with the feeling that it was just barely adequate. Three weeks later this woman told me that her boss had come to her and said, “We have another long letter from Mr. Janzen. Take a look at it and tell me how to respond.” Then she added: “After keeping it on my desk for a few days I went back and told him that I thought Mr. Janzen’s proposals and supporting arguments were so good that I did not see how we could refuse.”

Though sometimes the cooperation with officials was a bit rocky, on the whole it was a wonderful working relationship. This was true in Aylmer, London, Leamington, Windsor, Chatham, Sarnia, Winnipeg, Lethbridge, Ottawa, Sydney, and in other places. There was virtually no sense of an adversarial spirit. Often it seemed like a joint effort to

address a human problem. This sense of mutuality, however, did not mean that we got everything we wanted. The criteria for this “delayed registration of birth abroad” provision, as we called it, remained such that the majority of the Kanadier people in Latin America were ineligible. It must also be noted that this legal door will not remain open forever. The latest Speech from the Throne has indicated that the government will introduce a new Citizenship law. We have known about this for some time. It will place a cap on these citizenship claims after a three-year grace period. The three-year grace period is itself the result of our lobbying. In principle, we cannot oppose the idea of a cap. We cannot argue that people should be able to live outside of Canada generation after generation and retain a claim to Canadian citizenship. We will work hard to utilize this three-year grace period but I expect that gradually the flow of Kanadier people from Latin America back to Canada will decline significantly. Still, I will always be grateful that over these decades, through MCC and the generous support of the Canadian Mennonite people, we have been able to help many thousands to obtain secure legal status. This was the first essential element in extending a “welcome” to the Kanadier. (In the spring of 2004 as this article was going to press, Citizenship officials informed me that they have decided to close the “delayed registration” provision on August 14, 2004).

### **Social, Economic and Religious Aspects of Settling in Canada**

The second aspect of welcoming the returning Kanadier relates to social, economic and religious matters. Two considerations are important here: helping where help is genuinely needed and then letting the newcomers make their own way. In terms of the first, MCC has done quite a lot, often with generous governmental funding. Although I am more familiar with the work in Ontario, I believe the situations in Manitoba and Alberta are similar. In Ontario, MCC has helped with school concerns, health care issues, situations involving Children’s Aid Societies, English language classes, job skills training, and housing needs, to mention just a few. The work with the returning Kanadier has long been the largest MCC Ontario program. However, MCC programs are only one part of the story. Community organizations in various towns have also started programs for these newcomers: schools have made adjustments, public health offices have hired Low German-speaking nurses, and government employment offices have relied heavily on MCC staff.

No less significant is the assistance given by individuals on their own. For example, a family related to me came to the Elmira,

Ontario area. Alcohol had taken a heavy toll on the family, but an Old Order Mennonite couple befriended them and stood with them month after month for a number of years. Eventually the family was able to manage on its own. In the early 1970s I visited a family in the Port Rowan, Ontario area and heard the children singing lively songs. I wondered where they had learned them. It turned out that an older couple — Peter and Helen Reimer — invited the children over on Sunday afternoons and sang with them. The children loved it. In Ontario's Leamington-Chatham area a Rev. Henry Dueck, talented and well trained, who had served as a minister in large General Conference [later renamed Mennonite Church Canada] churches, chose instead to spend several years teaching in a day school run by the Old Colony church for a most minimal remuneration. That the church accepted him for this task is itself an inspiring sign of trust.

Still, what others do for the returning Kanadier is small compared to what they do for themselves. Economically, they have made their own way. In Ontario many newcomer families take their first jobs on cucumber fields. Whole families — father, mother and as many as six or even eight children — can be seen on a slow-moving wagon with a low platform wide enough to cover six or eight rows of cucumbers, inching across a field with each family member bending over and picking cucumbers. It is a sight that is unforgettable. In some years the returning Kanadier have brought in most of the harvests in some areas of Ontario. After spending some years in such work, many go on to other occupations. A number have started small businesses doing construction work, house renovations, road paving, trucking, etc. They not only earn their way but make a contribution to the Canadian economy.

In their church life their resourcefulness is even more striking. In Ontario the two largest churches are the Old Colony and the EMMC, though the Sommerfelder, Evangelical Mennonite Conference [EMC], Reinländer, and others are significant too. Both the EMMC and the Old Colony got started with some help from their counterparts in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but to a very large extent the people have taken care of things on their own, purchasing or constructing church buildings and running regular church activities. In the Ontario Old Colony church approximately two hundred young people have been baptized each spring for a number of years now. Late in the 1980s that church also set up its own school system. They now have seven schools with over a thousand students and a total of fifty-six teachers. Instead of the curriculum used in Old Colony schools in Latin America, they use the Christian Light Education curriculum developed by Swiss Mennonites in the U.S.A and accepted by the

Ontario government. Some other Mennonite and Amish groups elsewhere in Canada also use this curriculum.

That this modest group of people, nearly all of whom are at the low end of Canada's earning scale, manages to run this school system without any government funding reflects a remarkable communal commitment. That they were able to organize it without having some high-priced consultant come in and draw up a plan, points to a keen sense of knowing what they wanted. That Canada allows such groups to find their own way in the education of their children adds much to their welcome in this land. It should be noted, however, that a substantial portion of Ontario Old Colony families do not send their children to these schools for reasons of distance, cost, or simply preference. Most attend regular public schools.

None of this is to say that there are no problems. Economically, many Kanadier will remain relatively poor for many years. Our economy is less open than it was fifty years ago to people who may be hardworking but have a limited education. Unemployment and poverty are real. Educationally, parents from Mexico are often unable to help their children with homework and other school concerns. Too many get discouraged and give up. Going to a doctor's office and dealing with social services and government officials and with application forms for this and that can be bewildering for these people. And in church life the historic Mennonite readiness to split and form a new group seems alive and well. Some people go to non-Mennonite churches and quite a number do not associate with any church at all. Individually, young people struggle with different options in schooling, occupations, church affiliations, dress and other lifestyle issues, not sure from where to take guidance. So life is not always easy for the returning Kanadier, but to try to prescribe everything for the newcomers and to fit everyone into a particular mold would not be a respectful welcome either.

### **A Place for the Kanadier in Canadian-Mennonite Self-Understanding**

The third element of "welcome" relates to the question of whether there is room in the self-understanding of the larger Canadian Mennonite family to include the Kanadier. Or is the self-understanding of the Kanadier so different that it makes little sense to talk of one Mennonite family? Certainly, those who migrated to Mexico in the 1920s had their own self-understanding. In reading Bishop Isaac M Dyck's, *Auswanderung der Reincländer Mennoniten Gemeinde von Canada nach Mexico*, I was struck by how he identified

the church and its exodus from Canada with the children of Israel being called out of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Not that Mexico was the Promised Land; rather, all of earthly life was a pilgrimage toward the Promised Land. They were a wandering and a pilgrim people called to persevere in the face of hardships. Not surprisingly, like Moses, Bishop Dyck was critical of those who complained and looked back longingly to Canada. Using the words of Moses, Dyck said their hearts yearned for the fleshpots of Egypt. [Exodus16:3].

Another indication of a different self-understanding comes from George Reimer, a long-time worker in Mexico. He grew up in the Sommerfelder church near Winkler and in the early 1970s went to Bolivia for MCC. He was assigned to work with the Spanish-speaking Bolivians, but he looked up people from the Reinländer church who had moved from Manitoba to Bolivia in the 1960s after their church had “split” from the Manitoba Sommerfelder. George had been a good friend with these people in Manitoba, having attended the same country school they did; but when he had met them in Bolivia, only a few years later, they had wanted to keep their distance. They had not wanted him to get too close. Gradually he had realized that there was now a difference, that they had given themselves to a direction in life that was different from his. They had said good-bye to Manitoba in a way that he had not. They had decided to make Bolivia their earthly home; he had not. They had committed themselves to a different form of faithful Christian living than he had. They were not quite on the same ground. It had taken George a while to realize this. George told this story in order to say that even though we may speak Low German and have relatives and friends among the Kanadier people of Latin America, we should not assume too quickly that we understand their orientation and commitment.

However, to say that the Kanadier people living in Latin America have, or have had, a different self-understanding is not to say that those who have come back still have the same one. Certainly, those who have come back and joined EMC or EMMC churches have shown with their feet that they are taking a different course. But Old Colony ministers in Ontario have also said very clearly: “We are not using the Old Colony churches of Mexico as our model. We were helped in getting started by the church in Manitoba, not by those in Mexico. We know that we have to do many things differently here.” But those ministers also say that they cannot simply go along with Canadian society or do things the way other churches in Canada do them. Finding the right path somewhere in the middle is a challenge, but they are finding that path step by step. Their path is different from the one that many of us have chosen, so the question remains: Can we



and they both have a place in one self-understanding? Some signs at the local level say yes; other indicators are not so clear.

A few years ago the Mennonite Historical Society of the Essex and Kent counties in Ontario produced a book about the Mennonite churches in those counties. They included all the long established Russländer churches begun by immigrants from the Soviet Union in the 1920s as well as the newer churches of the returned Kanadier. The historical society seemed intent on saying, "We are one family." In 1976 Peter Zacharias produced his award-winning book *Reinland: An Experience in Community*. It is about the village of Reinland in southern Manitoba and it includes the story of those who left for Mexico in the 1920s, along those who stayed and the new ones who came from Russia around that time. They all had a place in one story. Similarly, in the MCC committees that supervise the work with the returning Kanadier in Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta, the different churches cooperate quite well. These are indications that at the local level the returning Kanadier have a place in the self-understanding of the more established Canadian Mennonites.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes, however, the historical picture is less than clear. In the 1970s, when I was doing research for my university studies, I came across school records from Saskatchewan showing the amounts of money that had been paid in fines around 1920 by the villages in which my father and mother grew up — Neuanlage and Blumenheim. My parents had sometimes talked about how their parents had paid \$15.00 per month for every school age child who was not in public school. This was an all-consuming issue in those villages at the time. People sold land and cattle to pay those fines and a good number of them became very poor as a result. To see the official records was a very moving experience for me. At the same time I was doing research on problems relating to exemption from military service. On this issue, David Toews, the gifted and renowned bishop from the nearby town of Rosthern, was a key figure. In the middle of this research work I went to Mexico to work on the citizenship issues referred to earlier. There I met my uncle, Jacob B Wiebe. One of the questions I asked him was where David Toews had been when this school controversy was raging in the Hague-Osler reserve. Had he tried to mediate or even shown any sympathy for the Old Colony people? Surely he did not encourage the government in its harsh stance? My uncle believed that David Toews had remained neutral.

When I received a copy of the fine biography of David Toews, the first thing I did was page through it to see if it had any references to the Old Colony school controversy.<sup>3</sup> I did not find any, although it does have a few references to Old Colony people. And yet I strongly believe that Toews was troubled by that controversy. The train that he took on

his many trips to places near and far went right through that Old Colony reserve and right by the central Saskatchewan village of Neuanlage. And he knew some of the ministers from his work on the conscription issue in World War I. I can easily imagine that he had sympathies on both sides, since he was both eager to promote education and eager to assert a strong church influence on that education. I would like to believe that if he had not had so many other obligations, and if certain pressures in his own church had been different he might have tried to mediate so as to help another Mennonite group in a difficult situation. Some of the pressures might have come from people in his church who had been excommunicated by the Old Colony church. As it is, we have the David Toews story and the story about the Old Colony school controversy as if they are entirely separate from one another. I'm sorry about that and wish that some links had been made. Both issues should have a place in the self-understanding of the Canadian-Mennonite family.

The three-volume historical series *Mennonites in Canada*, published by the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada, is also pertinent to our discussion here. The first volume, covering the period from 1786 to 1920, has the sub-title *The History of a Separate People*.<sup>4</sup> The second, covering the period from 1920 to 1940, is subtitled *The Struggle for Survival*.<sup>5</sup> During that period, survival was uncertain in many ways. Mennonites in Russia were threatened with physical survival while Old Colony Mennonites in Canada felt that they were threatened with spiritual survival. When work on the third volume — Canadian Mennonite history from 1940 to 1970 — began, the historians got together and decided that the main theme for this period was “A People Transformed.”<sup>6</sup> In many ways it was a fitting sub-title. In those years many Canadian Mennonites were transformed. They changed from German to English, from rural to urban life, from getting by on elementary school education to acquiring university degrees, from farming into a range of professions and businesses, and from being on the outside of Canadian society to being on the inside in many ways. To a large extent the sub-title *A People Transformed* was accurate but it does not fit the returning Kanadier very well. They have not been similarly transformed. What then is their place in the self-understanding of the Canadian Mennonite family? Is there such a family?

I point to these questions because I want to believe that there is such a family and I hope that we will try to see ourselves in that way. What would happen if we all gave up on that hope? Would we become like fragments drifting ever farther apart from one another? Would we fade away into the larger Canadian society, some with a church identification and some without? That could happen. A key person

who hoped that it would not be the late Frank H. Epp. In the 1950s he started a newspaper called *The Canadian Mennonite*. It was meant to serve all Canadian Mennonites, not just those from a certain denomination. He was also a key person behind the formation of MCC Canada in 1963, not just to run service programs for needy people at home and abroad, but to get leaders from the different Canadian Mennonite groups to talk with each other about the issues of our time. He was also a key person in getting the *Mennonites in Canada* history series going. I once heard him say, "When I write Canadian Mennonite history I try to write in such a way that every group can see itself in a somewhat positive light." He wanted us to see one another not as being the same but as belonging to one family.

In 1973, preparatory to the centennial year of the arrival of Mennonites in Manitoba, Adolf Ens gave an address entitled "A Second Look At The Rejected Conservatives."<sup>7</sup> In it he examined the early struggles over schools and the migration of the twenties and the positions that the conservative Mennonites had taken on the various issues. In conclusion he stated: "I am amazed at some of the insights of our 'conservative' brethren... The tragedy is that they were not permitted to carry them out, or were unable or unwilling to do so. Our increasing separation from them has cut us off from the benefit of their convictions and them from the help we might have given them in implementing these convictions."<sup>8</sup> He made a plea for a second look at the "rejected conservatives."

Adolf pointed in the right direction, but one could say that many parts of this subject have not even received a first look, though in recent years a little more has been written and published about it. Consider, for example, the dozen or so returned Kanadier settlements in the USA, some of which are said to have thousands of people. We know almost nothing about them. Consider also why it was that the Sommerfelder who moved to Paraguay in the 1920s found a different path than most Old Colony groups that moved to Mexico. This question could be explored with the help of the data accumulated in the twenty-five-year run of *Die Mennonitische Post*, published in Steinbach, Manitoba. There is a lot of history in those pages. Consider then the records of the several Mennonite mission boards that have sent workers to the colonies. They should be studied and many older people should be interviewed. Finally, consider why it is that some people who have come to Canada, lived here for years and prospered in many ways, still feel pulled back to Latin America. This merits reflection.

We should also note that in a way the government at one time supported inter-Mennonite mission work. I am referring to the General Conference and Mennonite Brethren teachers who in the

1930s, 40s and 50s served in the one-room public schools in communities like the one where I grew up. Some did a lot in those communities by planting seeds that still bear fruit. There are many stories to be told that could add to the self-understanding of the Canadian Mennonite family as a welcoming place for all.

### **Building a Welcome in Latin America**

In the pages above I have indicated that it will probably not be possible, for legal reasons, for a large number of additional Kanadier Mennonites from Latin America to move to Canada. The future for many will be in Latin America and leads to the question as to whether it is possible to do anything to make Latin America a more welcoming place for them. To start with, we need to consider what factors hinder Latin America from being as welcoming for them as it could be. One thing we have learned, in the last decade especially, is that the economic wellbeing of the colonies in Mexico is strongly influenced by outside factors. The North America Free Trade Agreement, by allowing cheap American agricultural products into Mexico, has deprived the Mennonites of a significant market. It has hurt them badly. This is but one sign that if at the beginning the colonies were isolated and insulated, that is no longer the case. The world is pressing in and their population growth is pressing out. If they cannot deal with the world constructively then more and more of the people will become its helpless victims, some of them destitute and discouraged. We should no longer pretend that this is not happening.

One basic and oft-stated step that would help them would be to learn the language of the larger society and to learn something about its ways. It would make them less vulnerable and help them to interact with the larger society in freer and fuller ways, whether it is in a doctor's office or with government officials or wherever. It would also enable them to be of service in more ways; and it would help them to build mutual understanding with the people around them. Learning the language would not, by itself, solve all the problems but it would help. Some groups are doing it; many are not. To do so would not automatically turn the Latin American societies into more welcoming places, but it would help the Mennonites to deal more effectively with those societies and to be more at home within them. It would be like building a welcome from the inside out.

In the late 1970s when Canadian MCC organizations began to work with the Kanadier on citizenship matters with service programs in Ontario and Manitoba, as well as launching *Die Mennonitische Post*

(to which Abe Warkentin has rendered outstanding service as editor), I sometimes thought that ours was the last generation that could do this kind of work. Mennonites of my generation could still speak Low German but my children would not. My generation still knew about the migrations to Latin America but the next generation would not. I felt it was almost like a sacred trust for my generation to act. Now, after twenty-five years, although our energies seem not to be fading; the ideas are still coming and new groups are getting involved -- witness the Amish efforts in Mexico, for example. Also, the Kanadier who have come back to Canada in recent years are likely to become more involved in the work in Latin America in the years ahead. A good number are already involved. At the same time, the needs have not diminished. Of course, there will be debates about approaches and strategies, as there should be; the needs are certainly not the same in every place, but in my view there is no doubt that in many areas the needs are serious.

We can be inspired in our task by noting some theological references. In Genesis we read of the Garden of Eden as a welcoming place for Adam and Eve. In Isaiah we read of people sitting under their own vines and fig trees and no one making them afraid. In Revelations we read about the City of God and the healing of the nations. These are beautiful images of welcoming places. Surely it is God's will that this world should be a welcoming place for all people, that in our self-understanding there should be room for others, that there should be legal rights for all and that we should all speak a language of mutual understanding and respect. I am confident that the deeper understandings we are gaining about the Kanadier will enable us to make ever more valuable contributions to at least one portion of that eternal vision.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Isaak M. Dyck, *Die Auswanderung der Reinlaender Mennoniten Gemeinde von Kanada nach Mexiko* (Cuauhtemoc, 1970).
- <sup>2</sup> Victor D. Kliewer (ed.), *The Mennonites in Essex and Kent Counties: An Introduction*, Leamington, ON, Essex-Kent Mennonite Historical Association, 1997. Peter Zacharias, *Reinland: An Experience in Community*, (Altona, MB: Reinland Centennial Committee, 1976).
- <sup>3</sup> Helmut Harder, *David Toews was Here, 1870-1947* (Winnipeg: CMBC Press, 2002)
- <sup>4</sup> Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974).
- <sup>5</sup> Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982).
- <sup>6</sup> T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> Adolf Ens, "A Second Look at the Rejected Conservatives," reproduced in, *Mennonite Reporter* (25 November 1974): 36-37.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.