THE GERMAN CANADIANS IN SASKATCHEWAN WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM, 1900-1930

A Thesis

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Kurt Tischler

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

ABSTRACT

Today multi-culturalism and multi-lingualism are encouraged by legislation and government agencies both federally and provincially. In Saskatchewan the Department of Culture and Youth has been charged with the task of getting the varied ethnic groups to work together to provide a sense of community without at the same time causing any individual group to make undue sacrifice. This conviction that the language and culture of the various ethnic groups is worthy of preservation is not new; it was held when thousands of immigrants were welcomed to Saskatchewan at the turn of the twentieth century. Special concessions were made to enable the immigrants to retain and to exercise their language and culture.

Thousands of Germans were attracted to Saskatchewan because of the prospect of being able to retain their Deutschtum (Germanism) and the availability of fertile and inexpensive land. The majority of Germans came from countries other than Germany but they had maintained their language and culture for many decades. Upon arriving in Saskatchewan these Germans began to organize themselves again so as to maintain their Deutschtum. In spite of serious obstacles such as denominational divisions and a lack of ethnic self-consciousness, the Germans were able to achieve considerable success in retaining their language prior to the outbreak of World War I.

The war had serious implications for all ethnic groups in Saskatchewan. However, the Germans were affected most since they spoke the language and appreciated the culture of the enemy. By the end of the war virtually all activities designed to foster Germanism had ceased and the

language rights the Germans had enjoyed for years had been removed through legislation. These were crippling blows to das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan. Even more critical, though, was the distrust and hatred shown the Germans during the war, especially in the "English only" controversy and through propaganda campaigns. This instilled a sense of fear into many German Canadians, aroused feelings of resentment and completely intimidated those Germans who had given leadership.

As a result, for many years after the war the Germans were indeed "the quiet in the land." The German community began to reorganize and initiate steps to strengthen their Deutschtum with great reluctance. However, by 1930 the Germans had once again made considerable gains in their attempts to maintain their language in Saskatchewan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to extend a special thank you to Dr. M. E. Hallett whose guidance and suggestions were invaluable. He gratefully acknowledges the generous and entirely free assistance of the following: the staff of the Archives of Saskatchewan, especially Mr. D. Bocking, Mr. L. Rodwell and Mr. D. Hande; the staff of the University Archives, Saskatoon, particularly Mr. S. Hanson; and Professor G. Steckhan for meticulous attention to detail in proofing the translation from German to English. He also is indebted to Miss Jeanne Trach for an excellent typing job. Finally, he wishes to thank his wife, Norma, for her patience and encouragement in this lengthy undertaking.

PREFACE

This thesis will examine the German Canadians in Saskatchewan with special reference to the efforts they made to retain their language prior to World War I. The thesis will also study the disastrous impact of the war on those efforts and the resulting language crisis, and conclude with an assessment of the extent to which recovery was possible by 1930.

Two main difficulties arose in the writing of the thesis, the lack of secondary source material and the problem of statistics. Because of errors in the Canadian census, no accurate figures on the number of Germans in Saskatchewan during the period in question can be given. There is little reliable information on the German population living in Saskatchewan's towns and cities.

Aside from Heinz Lehmann's book, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, no general secondary sources are available on the Germans in Saskatchewan; none exist in the English language. Fortunately there are several good source books on some German groups. The history of the Mennonites, for instance, has been well chronicled in books such as Mennonites in Canada and Mennonite Exodus by Frank H. Epp; sources on the German Lutherans and Roman Catholics are limited almost exclusively to church histories. This lack of secondary source material necessitated considerable use of German newspapers such as Der Nordwesten, Der Courier and St. Peters Bote and a heavy reliance on Lehmann's work. Gaps exist in these sources so that it has not been possible to present a clear picture of the Germans in Saskatchewan particularly of their involvement in Saskatchewan politics.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO SASKATCHEWAN TO 1914

Howard Kennedy, a British journalist for Montreal's Daily Witness, was a spectator to the tremendous influx of people to Western Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1907 he predicted:

> It is one of the great events of history that has just begun, the peopling of the West. Historians will one day rank it with other great migrations,--with the Aryan flood that laid the foundations of modern Europe; with the taking of England by the Angles and Saxons.[1]

Although historians generally have not ranked the settling of the Western prairies as generously as Mr. Kennedy predicted, the quarter century after 1891 has been recognized by all historians as a period of great expansion and tremendous optimism. During the period Manitoba's population rose from 152,000 to 554, 000, British Columbia's from 98,000 to 456,000 and the two new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, which held a population of under 100,000 in 1891, held over 1,000,000 in 1916.[2]

The rapid growth of population, especially in Saskatchewan, was due to a great tide of immigration from Eastern Canada, the United States, Great Britain and Continental Europe. Immigrants from Europe arrived in ever greater numbers at the turn of the century. As the Canadian Pacific Railway began to build branch lines throughout the prairie provinces, "extending its steel tracks like the tentacles of a fumbling octopus,"[3] settlements of Europeans were established near the rail lines, including various colonies of Swedes, Germans,[4] Roumanians, Danes and Hungarians.[5] Of these immigrant groups settling in Saskatchewan, by far the largest numerically were the Germans.[6]

Most of the Germans in Saskatchewan did not come directly from Germany but rather from German communities in countries other than Germany. In the 1916 Census, for instance, only 15,328 inhabitants of the prairie provinces gave Germany as their country of birth, but 101,944 persons indicated German as their mother tongue.[7] Making extensive use of Canadian census statistics, H. Lehmann, a German Sociologist, estimated that of the pre-World War I German immigrants to Western Canada, forty-four percent were from Russia, eighteen percent from Austria-Hungary, eighteen percent from the United States, six percent from Roumania, two percent from Ontario, Switzerland and other settlement areas and only twelve percent from Germany.[8]

There were several reasons why prospective immigrants from Germany did not come to Saskatchewan. First, the general public in Germany knew little about Canada. A widely held opinion at the turn of the nineteenth century was that it was a country next door to the north pole of almost perpetual ice and snow.[9] This discouraged many would-be German immigrants from coming to the prairie provinces. Instead the majority chose the more populous and developed areas of the United States, and some the climatically more suitable countries of South America.[10] The German government itself discouraged its citizens from emigrating. Since a rapidly expanding industrial nation needed an ever increasing labour force, the German government forbade the open solicitation and selection of immigrants by Canadian immigration authorities.[11]

Canadian immigration authorities attempted to attract Germans to Western Canada nevertheless. Some prominent Germans were invited to tour the West at government expense. One of these was Count Hohenlohe-Langenburg, the president of the German Colonial Association. He commented favourably upon the settlement possibilities on the prairies and highly recommended

Canada to Germans considering emigration.[12] But it was not until Sir Clifford Sifton's well-oiled immigration propaganda machine was making Western Canada known as "the last best West of America," citing the agricultural successes of the prairie region especially in wheat growing and cattle ranching, that a sizable number of German farm labourers, manual workers and tradesmen were attracted to Canada.[13]

There is no doubt that the immigration propaganda distributed by the Canadian government and transportation companies promising free land and special privileges convinced Germans from Germany itself and from the settlement areas outside Germany to emigrate. Karger, a German author and teacher, for instance, wrote that a prospectus about Canada promised:

> . . . freedom, a government ready to help and receive the immigrant with open arms, no militarism, 160 acres of free land upon payment of 10 dollars and free wood for building purposes.

The prospectus made even further promises:

> Your life and your property are as safe in Canada as in any civilized country of the world. Your language and culture will not be touched. Canada is a peaceful land and stands under the protection of the Mother country.[14]

Karger stated that he was not "taken in" by all these promises but the offer of free land influenced his decision to emigrate.

The promise of inexpensive land, exemption from military service and the freedom to retain their language and culture attracted to Canada thousands of Germans from settlement areas in Russia, Austria-Hungary and Roumania. Just at the time that Canada was offering free land and promising special privileges to attract immigrants, the Germans in these areas were losing these same privileges.

In the settlement areas of the Black Sea Region, Volhynia, and the Volga Region, Russian officials began to deprive Germans of rights they had enjoyed since the time of Catherine II and Alexander I. A Ukase of

June 4, 1871, made the Germans subject to military service, removed their right of self-administration and increased the pressure to Russianize the village schools.[15] These changes created a wave of distrust and resentment in the German communities and led many of them to emigrate to the United States, Canada and South America.[16]

It was for similar reasons that the Germans in the Austro-Hungarian settlement areas of Galicia, Bukovina and Southern Hungary began to emigrate to Western Canada beginning in 1889.[17] A shortage of land in Galicia and intense pressure to assimilate in both Galicia and Southern Hungary caused many of these Germans to leave. A shortage of land, the introduction of military service in 1883 and a severe drought in 1884 caused Germans in Roumania, especially from Dobrudja, to emigrate to Western Canada.

A large number of Germans were among the immigrant settlers who moved from the United States to Saskatchewan starting in the 1890s. They came mainly because of the lack of inexpensive, good land in the northwestern states of America. The opportunity to acquire cheaply sizable tracts of rich, virgin prairie land, with the prospect of very low taxes for years to come, caused many of them to move to the Canadian prairies. It was for the same reason that Germans moved to Saskatchewan from Eastern Canada, Ontario and Manitoba.[18]

Some Germans came upon the urgings of relatives and friends already in Saskatchewan. Others read books about conditions in Western Canada written by fellow Germans. One such author was A. E. Johann. After working for a number of farmers in Alberta and Saskatchewan, he described the difference in treatment of a farm-hand in Canada as compared to

his counterpart in Germany as follows:

> Aside from the work, I did not mind the new job at all since the position of a farm labourer here is completely different from a labourer in Germany. The distinction between Herr and labourer does not exist. I addressed the owner by his first name as he did me.[19]

In his book he romanticized his experiences during harvest time in Saskatchewan describing in detail the huge acreages threshed and the hard work involved. And although he described the prairie farmer as primitive in his life-style, he pointed to the material well-being many of them had achieved in a matter of years.

Canada, like the United States, had its Horatio Alger stories which became known in Germany and served to attract ambitious young Germans to Western Canada. Althausen, a German Lutheran minister, gave the example of Adolf Klatt, a farm labourer from Germany, who settled in Lampman in 1912. Within nine years Klatt owned his own farm, a very large one, with machines and a repair shop.[20] A farm labourer in Germany would not have been able to achieve this kind of success though he had worked hard all his life.

Some Germans emigrated from Germany because of compulsory military service. Meilicke, a German American who held large tracts of land around Dundurn, for instance, mentioned that his father left Prussia so that his sons would escape conscription.[21] No doubt many of the veterans of the Wars of Unification did not wish their sons to have to face similar hardships and found in Canada the refuge they desired.

And no doubt there were those Germans, too, who came not because of a desire for new homes or land but because of "the urge of restlessness." Niven, in his book Canada West, made a penetrating observation on why immigrants came to Western Canada from Britain and Eastern Canada which probably also held true for many Germans. He stated:

> . . . but the incentive was, generally, simply that one which sent the band of Indians called Assiniboines questing north, and questing west again. It is pleasant for youth to test itself against hardships.[22]

Aside from some Germans who came from the United States and other parts of Canada, the majority of German settlers were not well-to-do. Indeed, many had their fares paid by relatives and friends or had to borrow the necessary money. On the whole, German immigration, especially from Eastern European settlement areas, occurred in family units often with close kinship and religious ties and a tradition of mutual assistance which helped them survive the initial rigorous years of pioneering life.[23] Generally speaking, the majority of German settlers had little formal education beyond the elementary school level.[24] However, although most German immigrants lacked financial security and a formal education, they came with a willingness to work hard and to do without the normally expected cultural amenities of their day. These characteristics were absolutely essential for the successful pioneering of the bare and lonely Saskatchewan prairie.

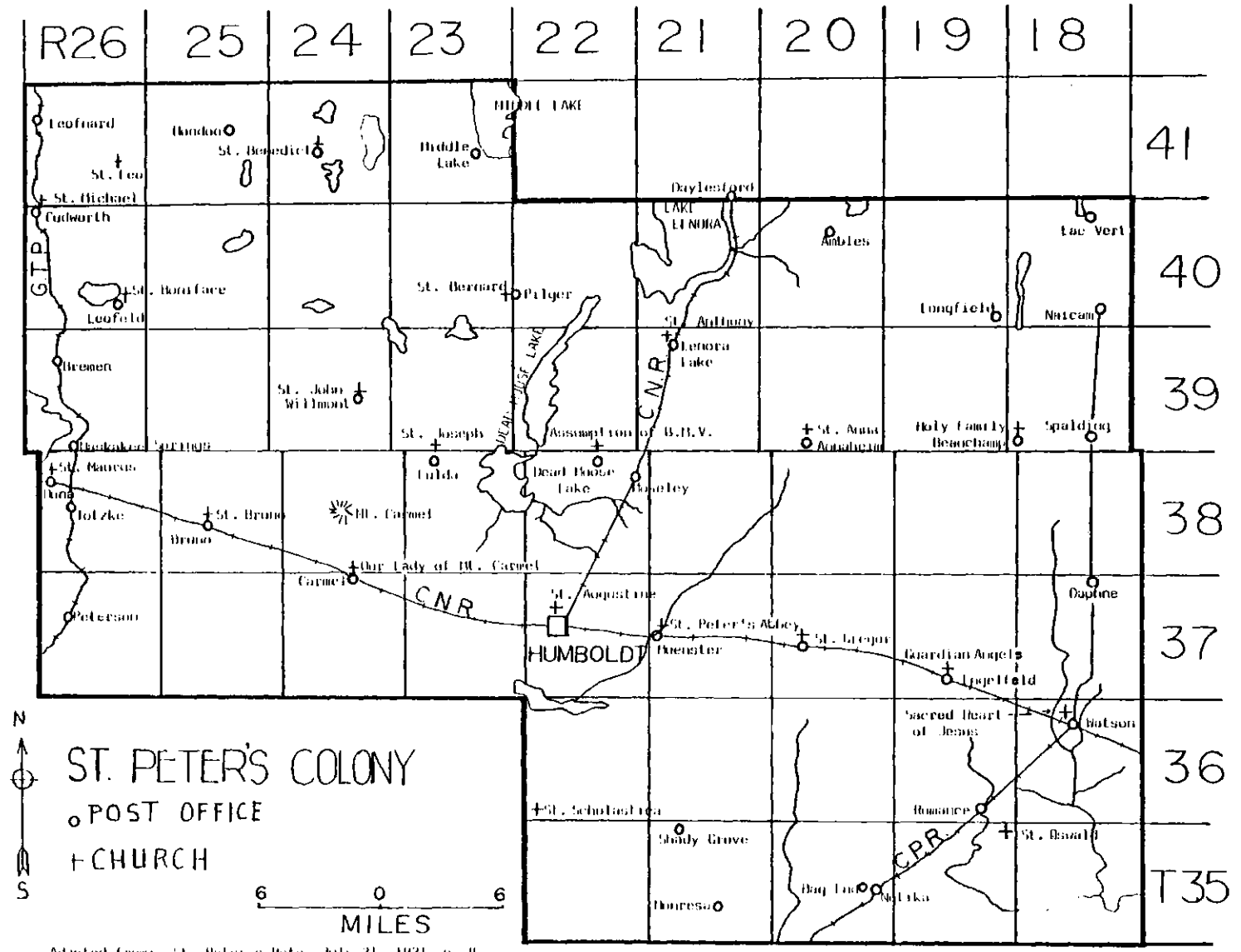
The Western Canadian homesteading system made it difficult for German settlers to establish European-style farm villages or towns. This was true even though a large number of the German immigrants from Eastern Europe were used to the village system. The difficulty of obtaining all sections in a district and the long distances that had to be travelled to farm the land because of larger acreage holdings in Canada, made the central village system unworkable unless villages were small. Only a few Mennonite and German Roman Catholic villages were established in Saskatchewan.[25]

Canadian immigration policy favoured the deliberate dispersal of immigrants in order to prevent the formation of large ethnic communities.[26]

Nevertheless several German bloc settlements were organized in Saskatchewan partly because German immigrants, especially those from Eastern Europe, placed great value on being able to settle in an area where Germans of like religious beliefs lived. They were also encouraged to settle together by their religious leaders who were anxious to provide adequate pastoral care. The result was that the Lutheran immigrant would settle with other Lutherans, the Mennonite with Mennonites, the Roman Catholic with Roman Catholics just as they had done in Eastern Europe and to some extent in the United States. A new mix was added in Saskatchewan, however. It was often the case that a German settlement might contain German Lutherans from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Germany and the United States.[27] The same held true for the other religious denominations.

One of the largest German Roman Catholic bloc settlements, which eventually encompassed an area of fifty townships in north-central Saskatchewan, was St. Peter's Colony (see map, page 8).[28] Credit for the idea of establishing such a colony in Saskatchewan belongs to the far-sightedness and wisdom of the leaders of the Benedictine monks of Collegeville, Minnesota. As the emigration of German-Americans to Saskatchewan began toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Benedictine leaders, especially Konrad Glatzmeier, decided to try to guide these settlers to form a group settlement to enable them better to keep their faith and German culture.[29] They had seen the value of the formation of group settlements in the north-central states of America.[30]

Several important steps were taken in preparation for the founding of the colony. First, the Catholic Settlement Society was formed for the purpose of advertising the project in German American newspapers.[31] At about the same time, the German American Land Company (G.A.L.C.) was created by H. J. Haskamp and M. and H. Höschen for the purpose of buying



Adapted from: St. Peter's Bote, July 21, 1921, p. 8.

the odd-numbered sections of land which were later to be sold to German Roman Catholics who wished to buy more land than their homesteads.[32] In early August of 1902, the third step was taken by the Benedictine monks, when Father Bruno Doerfler was sent to Saskatchewan and Alberta to find a suitable location for the proposed colony. After much searching Doerfler's party came to the area surrounding present-day Humboldt and decided they had found what they had been looking for:

> . . . a vast expanse of fertile farm land, with water and sufficient firewood to give the settlers a good start.[33]

Once the location of the colony had been decided, the G.A.L.C. immediately bought 108,000 acres of land from the North Saskatchewan Land Company at an agreed cost of $4.50 per acre.[34] The G.A.L.C. had the rights to settle immigrants on the odd-numbered sections as well as the free homesteads on the even-numbered sections.

The colony developed with spectacular speed. By October 11, 1902, the first group of twenty-six German Roman Catholics arrived to select homesteads.[35] After one year the Catholic Settlement Society had settled six hundred families; two thousand homesteads had been taken up. By 1904, twenty thousand acres of land were under cultivation and during 1906 the few remaining homesteads were occupied. By 1911 the G.A.L.C. had disposed of all but twenty thousand acres of land and by the fall of 1914 most of the good land had been sold.[36] At the outbreak of World War I there were close to eight thousand German Roman Catholics residing in St. Peter's Colony.[37]

The settlers came mainly from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin and Kansas. They were second generation German-Americans whose fathers had settled in the United States in the 1860s and 1870s. The Saskatoon Phoenix had this to say about them:

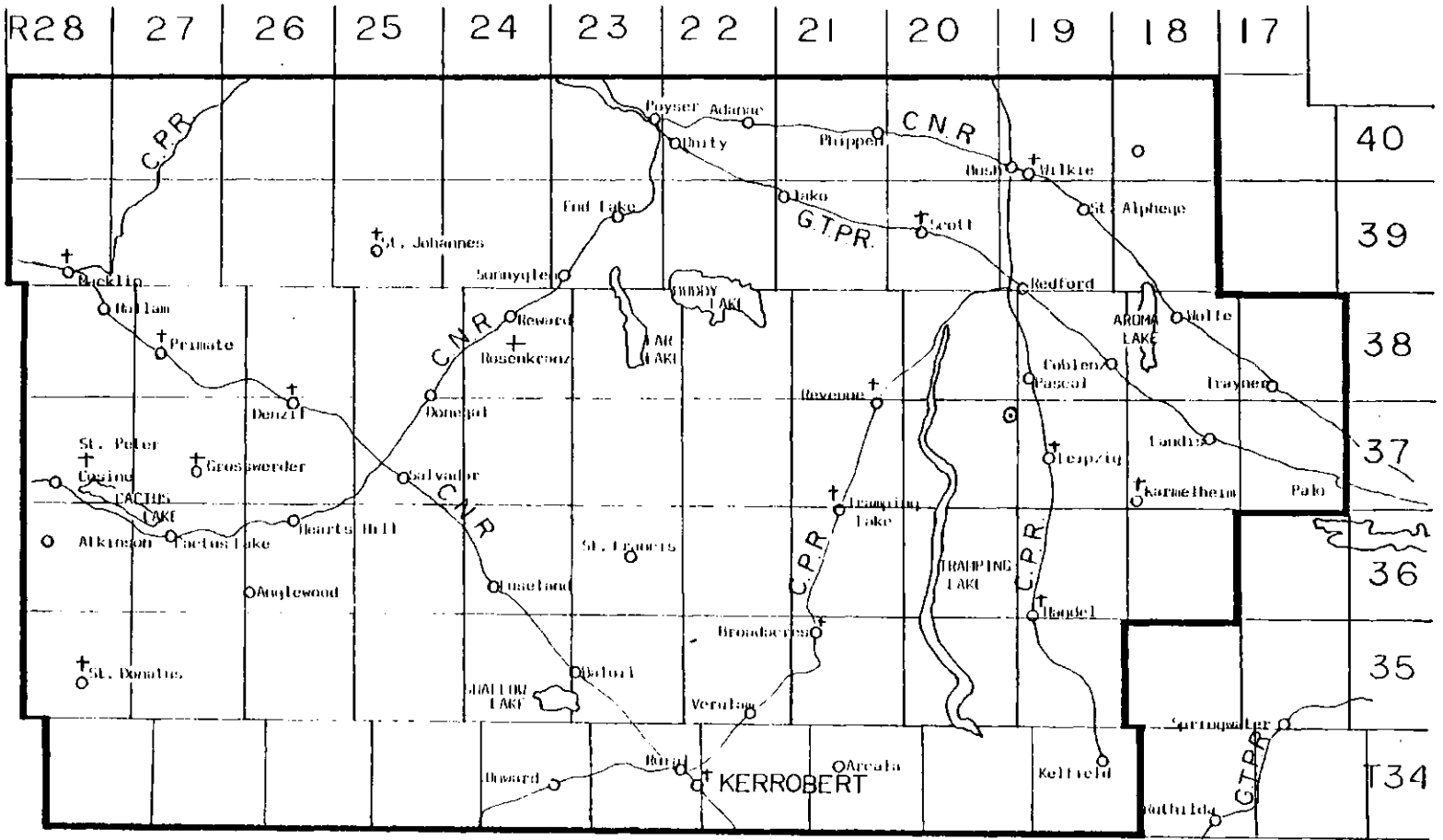
> The people which the society [Catholic Colonization Society] brings into the country are Germans from the states, mostly speaking English and German equally well, and having on the average considerable means. They are a very thrifty, intelligent, and law abiding class of settlers, very desirous of establishing good schools . . .[38]

The St. Peter's Colony had been in existence for only two years when plans were being laid for the foundation of a second, even larger German Catholic colony, a hundred miles west of Saskatoon. The individual most responsible for the founding of this colony was F. J. Lange, one of the men instrumental in the formation of the Catholic Settlement Society which had assisted in the advertising and settlement of St. Peter's Colony.[39]

As Lange became involved in searching out land for settlers in St. Peter's Colony, he often heard the complaint, especially from Germans who had come from southern Russia, that they did not like the partially bush-covered land around Humboldt; that instead they preferred the treeless, open prairie. Lange decided to look into the possibility of finding just such an area. On July 25, 1904, he began an extensive investigation of the land west of Saskatoon and found what he was looking for around Tramping Lake.[40]

Lange then conceived the idea of beginning another German Catholic colony. Originally it was to include over two hundred townships; however, government officials eventually agreed to assist Lange in the formation of a colony of seventy-seven townships to be named St. Joseph's Colony (see map, page 11).

To find settlers for the proposed colony, Lange formed the Catholic Colonization Society which began to advertise the prospects of the new colony in the United States and Russia. Probably because of lack of funds, a land company was not established. As in St. Peter's Colony, the Roman



ST. JOSEPH'S COLONY

Adapted from: Schulte, P., Bilder und Blätter zum Silbernen Jubiläum der St. Joseph's Kolonie, p. 17, 1925

Catholic leadership was involved in planning and development. In this case it was the German Brothers of the Oblate Order from Hünfeld, Germany. Closely associated with Lange during the formation of the colony were Brothers T. Schweers and P. Laufer.[41]

The actual founding of the colony occurred on May 12, 1905, near Tramping Lake.[42] The development of the colony, though rapid, was not as spectacular as that of St. Peter's Colony. The densest concentration of Germans formed around Tramping Lake. At the beginning of 1907 there were already 581 German families settled around Tramping Lake. By 1912 most of the free homesteads were taken up. By 1914 there were between seven thousand and eight thousand Germans living in the colony.[43]

As in St. Peter's Colony, the majority of settlers who came to St. Joseph's Colony were German Roman Catholics from southern Russia. Many of these were also second generation German-Americans, some of considerable means. St. Joseph's Colony received more Germans directly from Germany, Austria-Hungary and southern Russia than did St. Peter's Colony. These Germans had virtually no means at all and their first few years in the colony were very difficult indeed.[44]

The third area in which a considerable number of Germans settled was the Saskatchewan Valley between the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers north of Saskatoon. Settlement of this area by Mennonites mainly predated the establishment of St. Peter's Colony. It began on April 24, 1892, when forty-one Mennonite families arrived from Manitoba at a railroad landing called Rosthern.[45] Other Mennonite families arrived at Rosthern that summer as well as some German Lutherans from Russia. In the summer of 1894 a group of German Mennonites, under the leadership of Peter Regier, arrived directly from Germany and began a settlement at Tiefengrund

near present-day Laird.[46]

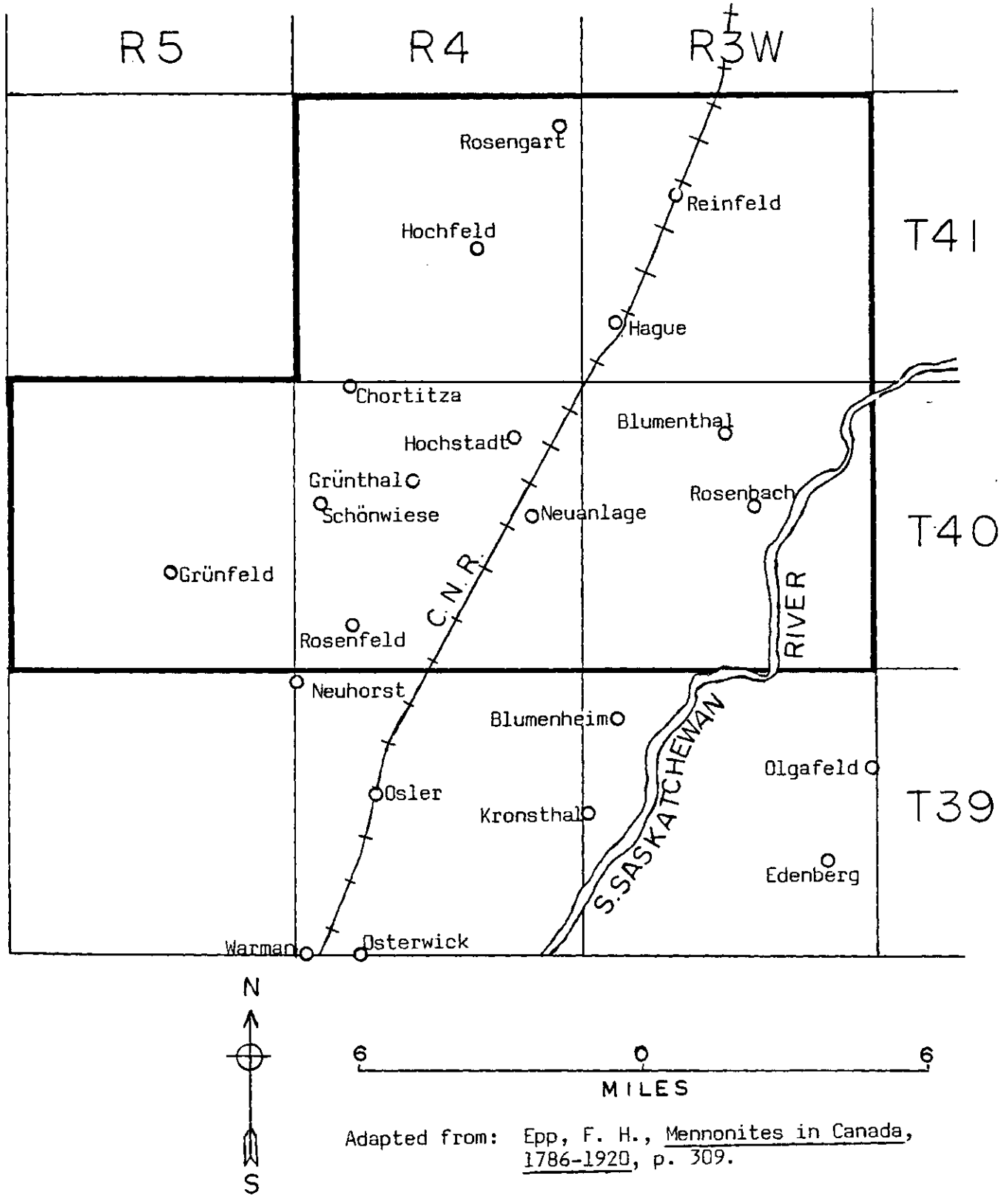
One year later, a mass movement of Old Colony Mennonites from Manitoba began.[46a] Under the guidance of Bishop Wiebe, they had petitioned the Dominion Government that four townships in the Hague-Osler area be reserved exclusively for their people. On January 23, 1895, this request was granted.[47] In May 1895 settlement began at Hague and increased so rapidly that within three years they requested and were granted an adjoining township by the Dominion Government (see map, page 14).[48]

The initial years were very difficult for these Mennonite settlers because their crops were damaged by frost. A very good crop in 1897, however, attracted even greater numbers of Mennonite settlers from Manitoba, Kansas, the Dakotas and Nebraska. Others continued to arrive from Germany and Russia so that development, though not spectacular, was steady. Lehmann stated that by 1901 there were 4,332 persons of German descent in Northern Saskatchewan of whom 3,683 were Mennonite.[49] By 1911 the Mennonite settlers had spilled over the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers in a westerly and easterly direction. In approximately forty-two connecting townships the German Mennonites were the majority.[50]

A second area in Saskatchewan in which a large number of Mennonites settled was around Herbert and south of Swift Current near Wymark. The first homesteads in the Herbert district were taken up in 1903. By 1905 approximately one hundred Mennonite families had settled there, most of them having come from Russia, others from the United States and Manitoba.[51]

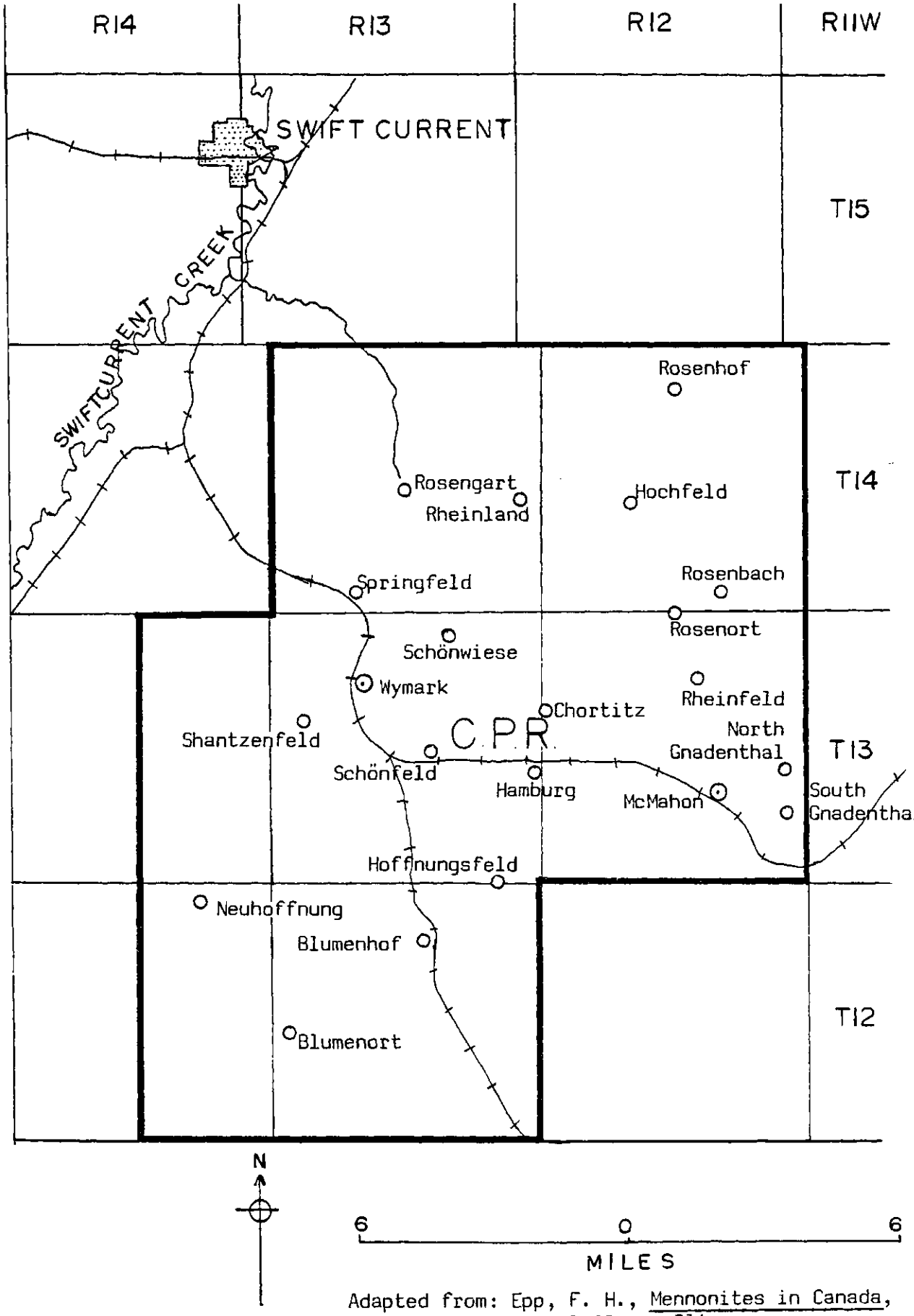
In 1904 the Old Colony Mennonite leaders from Manitoba, hoping for as much a collective movement and settlement as possible, were looking for another unified yet isolated area in which to settle. They petitioned the Dominion Government for a reservation of six townships around Wymark (see map, page 15). This request for the exclusive use of the even-numbered

HAGUE-OSLER COLONY



Adapted from: Epp, F. H., Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920, p. 309.

SWIFT CURRENT COLONY



Adapted from: Epp, F. H., Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920, p. 314.

and available odd-numbered sections was granted.[52] In 1905 the settlement expanded quickly and other Mennonites followed the Old Colony people and settled on land adjacent to the reserve. Using the 1911 Census, Lehmann estimated that in that year there were approximately 4,600 Mennonites in the Herbert and Swift Current districts.[53]

These then were the only large German colonies in Saskatchewan. The German Lutherans formed no settlements comparable to St. Peter's or St. Joseph's Colony nor any of the Mennonite Colonies. They did establish several small homogeneous settlements in Saskatchewan. Unlike the Mennonites and the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans received virtually no guidance from their spiritual leaders during the initial settlement period. That the Lutherans settled as uniformly as they did was probably due to the fact that they were church-minded and tended to settle in colonies.[54]

There were three predominantly German Lutheran settlement areas that were begun as early as 1884-85. These three centers were Straβburg, Edenwold and Langenburg. Straβburg was the first German Lutheran colony established in 1884 when twenty-two families took up homesteads under the leadership of D. W. Riedle, an immigration agent located in Winnipeg.[55] Edenwold (originally Edenwald) was founded in 1885 by German Baptists, but by 1889 many Lutherans settled there giving it a Lutheran majority. A large number of Germans from Germany, Poland, Russia and Galicia settled in the area around Edenwold. Langenburg, too, was settled by German Lutherans in 1885, also under the leadership of D. W. Riedle. Settlements surrounding Langenburg such as Landshut, Hoffnungsthal, Beresina and Landestreu, received a large influx of German Lutheran settlers from Galicia, Germany, Russia and Volhynia.[56]

By 1914 there were numerous smaller farming communities throughout

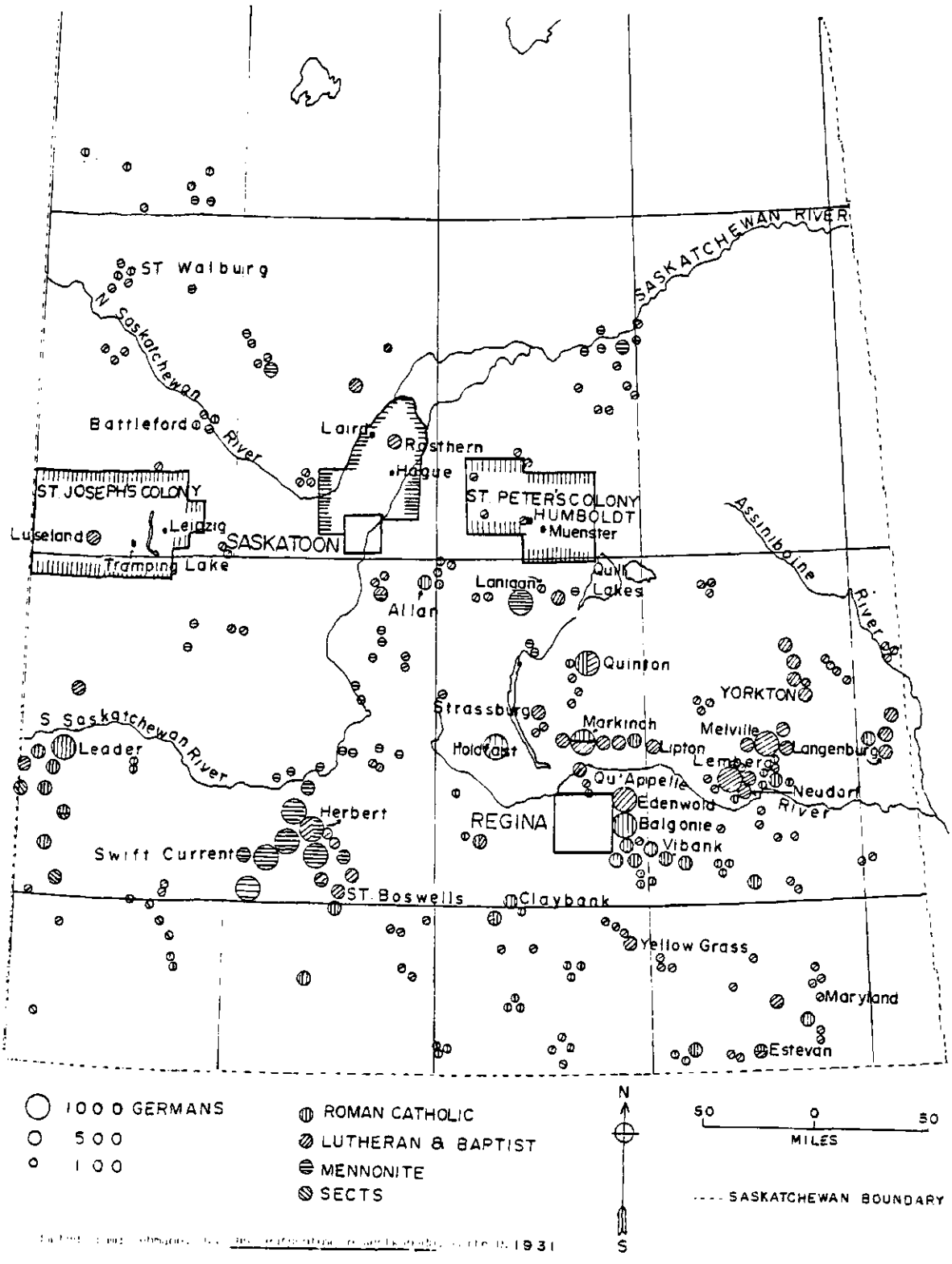
Saskatchewan where German Lutherans, Catholics and Mennonites constituted a large proportion of the population. German Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists and members of the Reformed Church also established some communities but these were generally quite small.[57]

German Swiss and German Jewish settlements were few in number. German Swiss settlers were located at Whitewood which, started in 1886, was the oldest Swiss colony in Saskatchewan. Other colonies were begun at Elbourne and Lemcke.[58] German Jewish settlements were begun near Moosomin in 1882, Hirsch (1892), south of Wapella (1888), Lipton (1901), Edenbridge (1906) and Sonnenfeld (1906). However, of these only the Lipton Colony had a sizable number of German Jewish families.[59]

The larger towns and cities in Saskatchewan also attracted German immigrants. German tradesmen and labourers, who found the demands of homesteading too rigorous, often gravitated toward the cities for an easier life. Regina and Saskatoon both had a large German population. Lehmann estimated that in 1904 there were over five hundred Germans living in Regina.[60] This figure increased rapidly in the following years as Germans from surrounding communities gravitated to Regina.[61] The German community in Regina was very active; numerous clubs, associations and church groups were formed. It was the home, too, of Saskatchewan's most read German newspaper, Der Courier. Saskatoon attracted fewer Germans than Regina and there is virtually no evidence to indicate what cultural activities the German community undertook.[62]

By 1914 Saskatchewan had received a large number of German settlers (see map, page 18).[63] Next to the English, the Germans were numerically the largest group in Saskatchewan. They were scattered throughout the province forming only some large bloc settlements and predominantly German settlement areas. There was a tendency, however, because of the encouragement

SASKATCHEWAN



of their spiritual leaders and their own preference, for several German families of like religious persuasion to take up homesteads in the same district. This clustering of Germans made survival during the initial pioneering years easier and assisted the Germans in their attempts to organize so as to retain their language and culture.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1]Howard A. Kennedy, New Canada and the New Canadians (London, 1907), p. 15.

[2]Edgar McInnis, Canada: A Political and Social History (New York, 1962), p. 369.

[3]Frederick Niven, Canada West (Toronto, 1930), p. 19.

[4]In this thesis Germans will include all individuals of German language and culture, whether they came from the political entity called Germany at the time under consideration, or from other countries.

[5]Arthur S. Morton, History of Prairie Settlement, in Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. II, edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg (Toronto, 1938), pp. 80-88.

[6]Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1916 (Ottawa, 1918), pp. 216, 248-51.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Heinz Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada (Berlin, 1939), p. 93.

[9]Karl Karger, 14 Jahre unter Engländern, Ein Auswandererschicksal in Kanada, Vol. I (Breslau, 1925), p. 2. In the minds of many Germans Canada was still a "land of ice and snow." As Karger humorously states, Germans often referred to Canada as "British Siberia, where one goes milking with a coffee cup." (Britisch Sibirien, wo man mit der Kaffeetasse melken geht.)

[10]Lehmann (Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 85) states that between 1881 and 1890, 1,342,423 persons emigrated from Germany. Of these 1,237,136 went to the United States and a considerable number chose to go to South American countries.

[11]John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times (Toronto, 1931), p. 320. The German government made an official protest to the British government when the Canadian High Commissioner in London visited Hamburg in 1898 to negotiate with several shipping companies.

Archives of Saskatchewan (hereinafter cited as A.S.) Saskatchewan Historical Society, File 211. J. M. Hamilton writing to J. Addison Reid on November 28, 1940, mentions that

> . . . there is an early report of the Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior, that refers to the difficulty encountered from the hostility of the German Government in obtaining German immigrants. Indeed, there were several instances in which

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Archives of Saskatchewan (hereinafter cited as A.S.) Saskatchewan Historical Society, File 211. J. M. Hamilton writing to J. Addison Reid on November 28, 1940, mentions that

> . . . there is an early report of the Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior, that refers to the difficulty encountered from the hostility of the German Government in obtaining German immigrants. Indeed, there were several instances in which

people of German origin, who had become domiciled in Canada, were arrested on their return to the 'Fatherland'. One such incident involved Father Zerbach, Balgonie, who had left Germany as a young man without doing military duty. Upon returning to Germany for a visit, he was arrested and imprisoned and was released only after the matter was taken up by the British and Canadian governments.

[12]Canada. Department of the Interior, Sessional Papers, 1885, Volume 18, p. 160.

[13]Morton, History of Prairie Settlement, pp. 110-19, 128-31.

[14]Karger, 14 Jahre unter Engländern, p. 21.

In diesen Prospekten war alles eitel Sonne: Freiheit, eine hilfsbereite Regierung, welche die Ansiedler mit offenen Armen empfängt, kein Militarismus, 250 Morgen Land frei gegen eine Einschreibegebühr von 10 Dollar, freies Holz zum Hausbau.

Ihr Leben und Ihr Eigentum sind in Kanada ebenso sicher, wie in irgend einem zivilisierten Lande der Welt. Ihre Sprache und Ihre Sitten werden nicht angetastet. Kanada ist ein friedliches Land und steht unter dem Schutze des Mutterlands.

[15]Joseph S. Height, Paradise on the Steppe (Tübingen, 1972), p. 245.

[16]For detailed studies of the German emigration to Russia and other East European areas and the reasons for and their subsequent emigration to the United States, Canada and South America, see: Frank H. Epp, Mennonite Exodus, The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution; Joseph S. Height, Paradise on the Steppe; Reverend P. Conrad Keller, The German Colonies in South Russia, 1804 to 1904, Volumes I and II; Heinz Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada; Karl Stumpp, The Emigration from Germany to Russia in the Years 1763 to 1862 and The German-Russians; John B. Toews, Lost Fatherland, The Story of the Mennonite Emigration From Soviet Russia, 1921-1927.

[17]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 73-85.

[18]F. H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920 (Toronto, 1974), pp. 298, 303. Epp indicates why the Mennonites moved from Manitoba.

[19]A. E. Johann, Mit Zwanzig Dollar in den Wilden Westen (Berlin, 1928), p. 51.

Abgesehen von der Arbeit, gefiel es mir auf meinem neuen Platz nicht schlecht, ist doch die Stellung eines farmhelp eine ganz andere als die eines Knechtes in Deutschland. Der Unterschied zwischen Herr und Knecht existiert überhaupt nicht. Ich redete den Besitzer genau so mit dem Vornamen an wie er mich.

The same point about workers in Switzerland is made by: Jakob Stricker, Erlebnisse eines Schweizers in Kanada (Zürich, ca. 1932), p. 68.

[20]Ernst Althausen, Zersplitterung oder Verbindung? Bilder aus dem Leben der Deutschen in Canada und Wolhynien (Berlin, 1921), p. 10.

[21]Emil J. Meilicke, Leaves from the Life of a Pioneer (Vancouver, 1948), p. 153.

[22]Frederick Niven, Canada West, p. 15.

[23]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 107.

[24]A.S., Swanson Papers, A4. Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement (Sask.) 1930. Volume II, p. 46. H. Schumacher, a graduate of Heidelberg University, stated that some University trained Germans had come to Saskatchewan but he could not say how many approximately.

[25]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 145. H. Metzger, Geschichtlicher Abriß über die St. Peters-Pfarrei und Anlegung der Kolonien Rastadt, Katharinenthal und Speyer (Regina, 1930), p. 25.

It was possible to establish villages since the settlers could perform their homestead duties under the conditions of the "hamlet clause" (Clause 37) of the Dominion Lands Act. This clause stated that if at least twenty families asked to be allowed to settle together in a village or hamlet the Minister could waive the usual homesteading residence requirement. For greater detail see Richard J. Friesen, "Old Colony Mennonite Settlements in Saskatchewan: A Study in Settlement Change" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1975), pp. 88, 89, 96.

[26]E. K. Francis, In Search of Utopia. The Mennonites in Manitoba (Altona, Manitoba, 1955), p. 180.

[27]Watson: Fifty Years of Progress, 1900-1950 (Muenster, Saskatchewan, 1950). An example of the typical mix of settlers in an area can be illustrated by using the twenty-seven German Catholic families that originally settled in Watson. Of these eight came from Minnesota, two from the Dakotas, nine from other mid-western states, two from Europe (Austria and Russia) after a brief stay in the United States and six directly from Europe (Germany, Belgium, Russia and Switzerland).

[28]The discussion of the German settlements occurs according to population size and uniformity of settlement rather than chronologically.

[29]Zum Andenken an das Silberne Jubiläum der St. Peters-Kolonie, 1903-1928 (hereinafter cited as Zum Andenken) (Muenster, Saskatchewan, 1928), p. 3.

[30]Allan B. Anderson, "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1972), p. 63. When in the mid-nineteenth century thousands of Germans from Russia emigrated to the United States, large areas of the Dakotas and Minnesota were converted into replicas of the South Russian Colonies. Anderson states the following about these American colonies:

In these settlements the homes, schools, ethnic press, volun-

tary associations, and churches all collaborated in an attempt to preserve German identity, promote a segregated German life-style, and prevent inter-marriage with non-Germans.

The strength and vitality of the German Roman Catholic Churches in the St. Cloud Diocese, which had formed around St. Peter's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, was evidence enough of the wisdom of also setting up a group settlement in Saskatchewan.

[31]Reverend Peter Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, 1903-1953 (Muenster, Saskatchewan, 1953), p. 9.

[32]Zum Andenken, p. 3.

[33]Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, p. 9.

[34]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 175.

[35]Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, pp. 9-10. The names of these first twenty-six settlers are listed by Reverend Windschiegl.

[36]In addition to the authors already cited, see the following for greater detail as to the founding and development of St. Peter's Colony: R. W. Grant, The Humboldt Story, 1903-1953; Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 173-79; St. Peters Bote, virtually all editions till 1914 have articles about the development of the colony. However, all the 1904 editions are especially useful as is the 1906 March edition No. 5 (pp. 1-3, 5 and 11) which give a history of the colony to that date.

For additional information on other German Roman Catholic settlements see the following: Paul Abele, Festschrift zur 25 Jährigen Jubiläumsfeier der Gründung der St. Pauls-Kirchengemeinde in Vibank, Saskatchewan, pp. 5, 21-22; Der Nordwesten, 1904 May, Special Edition, pp. 3-6, July 7, p. 1, 1905 January 19, pp. 4, 12, 15, January 26, p. 11, February 9, p. 14, February 16, p. 11, December 14, pp. 20-21, 1906 April 11, p. 6, 1907 February 20, p. 13; R. England, The Colonization of Western Canada, A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement (1896-1934), pp. 229-43; Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 188-97; Metzger, Geschichtlicher Abriß, pp. 14, 25; P. Johannes Pietsch, Bei den Deutschen in Westkanada, pp. 58-59; Saskatchewan Courier, January 29, 1908, p. 9; A.S., Swanson Papers, March 4, 1930, Volume 15, p. 1; Pater Andreas Zimmermann, Zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum. Die römisch-katholische Pfarrei St. Joseph bei Balgonie, pp. 7-19.

[37]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 178.

[38]The Saskatoon Phoenix, Friday, January 27, 1905, p. 1.

[39]P. Schulte, Bilder und Blätter zum Silbernen Jubiläum der St. Josephs Kolonie (Regina, 1930), p. 30.

[40]Ibid., p. 21.

[41]Ibid., p. 25.

[42]Ibid., pp. 27-30. Schulte gives the names of the seven settlers who joined Brother Schweers for Mass on that date.

[43]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 183; Schulte, Bilder und Blätter, p. 33. These figures include several hundred families who were German Lutherans and lived around Luseland.

[44]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 182.

[45]Epp, Mennonites in Canada, pp. 298, 303; Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 165.

[46]Epp, Mennonites in Canada, p 312.

[46a]Ibid., pp. 212, 321. Epp explains that the Old Colony Mennonites were also referred to as Fürstenländer or officially as the Reinländer Mennonite Church after the Russian colonies of their origin. They were the more conservative Mennonites who settled in the West Reserve in Manitoba and in the Hague-Osler and the Swift Current Reserves in Saskatchewan.

[47]Ibid., p. 312.

[48]Richard J. Friesen, "Old Colony Mennonite Settlements in Saskatchewan: A Study in Settlement Change" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1975), pp. 71-76. Friesen states that in August and October 1898 two additional requests for land were made. The first added the even-numbered sections of five townships south of the original colony; the other added twelve townships to the north. These additions were made by Departmental Order rather than Order-in-Council.

[49]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 169.

[50]Ibid., p. 170. Lehmann's estimate seems overly generous.

[51]Ibid., p. 171.

[52]Epp, Mennonites in Canada, p. 313.

[53]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 172.

[54]George O. Evenson, Adventuring for Christ: The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (Calgary, 1974), pp. 57-58.

[55]P. J. Boyle, "Early German Settlements in Saskatchewan, Langenburg and Straßburg," an essay, 1967, pp. 3, 15.

[56]For detailed information on these and other Lutheran settlements see the following: Althausen, Zersplitterung oder Verbindung?, pp. 9-35, and Denkschrift zum Silber-Jubiläum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen, 1897-1922, pp. 5-14, 28-30; Der Nordwesten 1904, May Special Edition, p. 4; Evenson, Adventuring for Christ, pp. 60-72; A. Fricke, Geschichtlicher Überblick des Zwanzigjährigen Bestehens des Canada Districts der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten, pp. 5-18; Gilbert Johnson, Seventy-five Years: A History

of Langenburg School District, 1887-1962 (1963); C. Kleiner, Festschrift zur Feier des Goldenen Jubiläums der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen, 1897-1947, pp. 54-57, 127; Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 197-218; Reverend Norman J. Threinen, A History of Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church, Landestreu, Saskatchewan, 1895-1970, pp. 5-6; Paul E. Wiegner, The Origin and Development of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, pp. 26-69.

[57]According to Lehmann (Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 197-221) German Baptists established settlements at Edenwold, Ebenezer, Serath, Fenwood, Southey and Nokomis. Seventh Day Adventists had a congregation north of Edenwold and Flowing Well. Members of the German Reformed Church established the colony of Hartfeld. He also mentions where other, smaller German evangelical groups settled.

[58]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 92, 202.

[59]A.S., Swanson Papers, Louis Rosenberg, "Jews and Agriculture in Western Canada," pp. 1-17, an article in file entitled "Immigration Miscellaneous."

[60]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 219.

[61]Ibid., p. 219. Thriving German communities surrounded Regina: Balgonie, Josephstal, Kronau, St. Peter, Vibank, Edenwold, Straßburg, Lemberg and Neudorf.

[62]Ibid., p. 220.

[63]Ibid., pp. 105-107. It is difficult to establish accurately the number of Germans who had settled in Saskatchewan by 1914. The 1911 Census indicated that of a total population of 492,432 in Saskatchewan, 68,268 were German (about 14 percent). However, Lehmann argues convincingly that there were probably 80,000 Germans in Saskatchewan; that the Census was inaccurate because of a misunderstanding of "racial origin" and "country of origin."

For a detailed discussion on the problem of the Dominion Census with regard to the German population in Canada, see L. Hamilton's book review of W. Tuckermann, Das Deutschtum in Kanada in The Canadian Historical Review, Volume X, No. 4, December 1929, pp. 352-55; Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 130-40; W. Tuckermann, Das Deutschtum in Kanada, pp. 334-39; H. Wagner, Von Küste zu Küste. Bei deutschen Auswanderern in Kanada, pp. 104-107.

CHAPTER II

THE GERMANS ATTEMPT TO RETAIN THEIR LANGUAGE TO 1914

As we have seen in the first chapter the majority of German settlers who came to Saskatchewan came from countries other than Germany. In addition to the German language these settlers also spoke languages such as Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Roumanian and Hungarian. Some, who came from other parts of Canada and the United States, already spoke English as well as they spoke German.[1]

Those Germans who had come to Saskatchewan from the Eastern European settlement areas, either directly or via the United States and other parts of Canada, had retained their German language and culture for over one hundred years, in some cases, while living beside non-German people. They had on the whole not intermingled with the indigenous people.[2] Instead they had established their own German communities which they administered. The German language and culture were maintained through thriving churches and related organizations, well organized school systems and their own cultural associations.[3] And when among other things the free use of their German language was threatened, many of these Germans decided to emigrate to Canada rather than face the threat of becoming assimilated.

The reasons for this "love" of the German language became clear in the articles and letters printed in Der Nordwesten arguing for the retention of the German language in Canada. There was a definite feeling of pride in knowing the language of a Goethe and a Schiller. The editor

of Der Nordwesten called the German language a treasure which was highly regarded in the whole world.[4] Many German settlers were firmly convinced that the loss of the German language would mean the loss of the way one viewed the world; lost would be those characteristics which were typically German (Gemütlichkeit) and one's religious beliefs.

> . . . in this land it is also important that the children learn English; it is no less important, in fact more important, to teach our children the knowledge of the German language thoroughly, because facts have proven, that with the loss of the German language, so many good German customs, indeed, also religious views are lost; . . .[5]

The argument was also used that those Germans who retained the German language as well as learning English made better citizens than those who gave it up.[6] They also believed that knowing two languages was better than knowing one; that the German language was a unifying link between parents and children; that German was the language of the Church and socializing; and, finally, that the German language should be retained to make life easier for new German immigrants.[7]

When these Germans came to Western Canada they expected to find a very liberal society with free institutions. Indeed, many of the German immigrants assumed that in Canada they would be permitted to retain their language and customs, that there would be no pressures for rapid assimilation into a dominant community.[8] There were several reasons why such an assumption was held. In the first instance this view originated in the immigration propaganda which the various agents and consuls active in continental Europe were distributing to attract settlers to Canada (see page 3). Secondly, some of the Eastern European groups, such as the Mennonites, were granted specific exemptions and accorded special privileges.[9] This, no doubt, indicated to other immigrants that in Canada not all immigrants were expected to assimilate. Then, upon arriving in Saskatchewan, the

Germans found that they were encouraged to settle with other Germans in bloc settlements. This fact, plus the lack of organization and control which the new immigrants faced upon arrival in Saskatchewan also led them to assume that there was toleration of their language and customs; that they were free to organize themselves so as to retain their language and culture.

With these expectations, it was not surprising that the majority of Germans envisaged a society in Western Canada which would allow them to retain their language, customs and beliefs; in turn, they were willing to be loyal and law-abiding citizens and to learn the English language. As soon as they arrived in Saskatchewan they began to work toward achieving just such a society. As already indicated, most of them had had previous experience in organizing themselves. In fact many of them arrived in Saskatchewan in large groups under the direction of a teacher, minister and/or chosen leader.[10] Thus right from the start they were prepared to continue their efforts to retain their language. These efforts can best be seen in the establishment of their schools, societies, newspapers and churches, and, to some extent, in their political involvement.

Schools

In 1875 the Government of Canada laid down some general principles with respect to public instruction in the North-West Territories. It was enacted that

> . . . so soon as any system of taxation should be adopted . . ., the Lieutenant Governor and Council or Assembly should pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education, . . .[11]

Provision was made for the establishment of separate schools in a district if a minority of ratepayers desired such a school.

Between 1875 and 1901 a number of ordinances and regulations were passed which gradually provided a framework for a system of education

in the North-West Territories. A curriculum was set up, inspection of schools provided for, standards of teacher education laid down and the size of school districts established. Religious exercises and instruction in separate or public schools was limited to an opening prayer and closing half-hour. Children between the ages of seven and twelve had to attend school at least sixteen weeks in a year.[12] Should the parents not be satisfied with instruction in a public school they were free to send their children to a private school. The relevant legislation read:

> . . . and every parent, guardian or other person who does not provide that every such child under his care shall attend school or *be otherwise educated* shall be subject to the penalties hereinafter provided.[13]

The language of instruction was limited to English and French until 1901. The legislation read:

> All schools shall be taught in the English language but it shall be permissible for the board of any district to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language.[14]

In 1901, however, a new regulation, introduced to the Legislative Assembly by F. W. G. Haultain, then Commissioner of Education, on June 11, came into effect. It granted permission to any Board to hire a teacher to instruct students in any language other than English for one hour a day. The regulation stated:

> Subject to the provision of section 136 of the School Ordinance the board of any district may employ one or more competent persons to instruct the pupils attending school in any language other than English. Such instruction shall be given between the hours of three and four o'clock in the afternoon of such school days as may be selected by the board and shall be confined to the teaching of reading, composition and grammar. The text books used shall be those authorized by the Commissioner of Education.[15]

Such in brief was the school system and the legislation governing the teaching of languages other than English when the Province of Saskatchewan came into being in 1905. And although there were some changes in

legislation regarding school laws in 1905, these concerned themselves mainly with the relations of Church and State.[16] There were no further legislative changes concerning the teaching of German until 1917.

However, as thousands of settlers arrived in Saskatchewan at the turn of the century, government officials were in no position nor had they the wherewithal to assist them in establishing schools let alone enforcing school laws. The settlers were usually thrown on their own resources to provide even the rudiments of an education for their children.

Many of the German settlers brought with them their ideas on the purpose of education, ideas which varied considerably. Those Germans who had come from the Eastern European settlement areas had organized and operated their own educational system.[17] Second generation Germans from the United States and Eastern Canada had been educated in either their own schools or in a public school system and were, therefore, familiar with a system similar to that in Western Canada. When these Germans arrived in Saskatchewan, they took the initiative in setting up their own schools or pushing for the establishment of public schools.

In the very early development of many German settlements, the economic hardships were such that no schooling was provided for the children. Only in those settlements where the spiritual leaders or teachers accompanied the settlers, such as some of the Roman Catholic, Baptist and Mennonite colonies, was school begun almost immediately. Such was the case in the founding of St. Joseph's Colony where six months after the first settlers had arrived, Father Schweers taught twenty-five children in his own house. He taught the catechism in German and gave some instruction in the English language.[18] But once the settlers had established themselves and the worst economic hardships were over, more permanent schools were set up. The kind of school that was established depended

largely upon the purpose the settlers thought education should serve, the supply of teachers and the availability of finances.

Protestant and Roman Catholic German settlers had the right to establish separate schools as already noted. However, since separate schools were subject to the same regulations as public schools as to curriculum, inspection and teachers' certificates, not many separate schools were formed. By 1912 only fourteen Roman Catholic and two Protestant separate schools had been established in Saskatchewan.[19] No doubt some of these were German separate schools but it has been impossible to establish the exact number.

Much more popular with the German settlers, Protestant and Catholic, was the often costlier but independent private school. German Baptists, Lutherans, some Mennonites and Roman Catholics established private schools in districts settled predominantly by Germans. Since there would be no demand for a public school in such districts, raising the necessary funds for the private school usually did not become a problem. There were two main reasons why the private school was preferred. First, because they were free to choose their own curriculum and the language of instruction, and, secondly, because they could provide religious instruction. As well, the schools were not subject to government inspection as to adequate facilities, texts and suitably trained teachers.

The thinking behind the establishment of German private schools in Saskatchewan can perhaps be illustrated best by giving the views of the Roman Catholics, Lutherans and the more conservative Mennonites. The Catholic view was well stated by Reverend Father Bruno Doerfler when he wrote to Premier Scott on January 19, 1916:

> These [German-speaking] people had an ideal. It was, that their children should become true Canadians without losing that precious treasure, the language of their forefathers. Their

> aspiration was that their children should become true bilingualists in the best sense of the word. The public schools of the then North-West Territories did not seem adapted to the purpose. Hence they founded several private schools.[20]

Further light is shed on the Catholic view by the following resolution which was passed by the German Catholic Association at its annual convention held from June 23-25, 1914, in Humboldt:

> 3. Declaring religion the fundamental basis of all education, the purpose of the school to be the moral education of the child as well as its intellectual training, and stating its adherence to strictly religious schools.[21]

Although Father Bruno Doerfler stated that the reason they wished to retain the German language was because of their love for it, there seems to be some evidence from which one can conclude that the Catholic leadership saw advantage in retaining the German language because it helped to keep the Germans in the church.[22] Officially, though, there was no statement to this effect.

The German Lutherans also established private schools. As soon as the German Lutheran pastors arrived in a German settlement they began to gather the children for school.

> Right from the beginning the pastors were very diligent about setting up schools so as to impart to the children above all religious and German language instruction.[23]

Like the Roman Catholics the Lutherans tried to ensure that the children learned the English language in their private schools. And also like the Roman Catholics the Lutheran pastors had a real love for the German language and tended to associate the retention of language and religion with the safekeeping of morals and character.[24]

It is much more complex to state the Mennonite view of education because one must distinguish between two views that gradually emerged among the Mennonites in Saskatchewan--a liberal and a conservative view. An early general view of education of all Mennonites was that the school was essen-

tially the responsibility of the church and family, that the school was the "nursery of Christianity" in which a knowledge of the Bible would be acquired and that therefore the main objective of the school was "religious instruction and moral education in addition to the teaching of the three R's."[25] Tied in to the importance of "religion" in education was that of German language. German and religion were almost synonymous in the minds of the Mennonites.

However, in Manitoba as in Saskatchewan a number of Mennonites began to accept the English language, arguing that this would not necessarily result in the loss of their religion. They were willing to accept the public school and the English language while at the same time continuing to stress the German and religion curriculum.[26] To many of the Mennonites in Saskatchewan, however, this view was totally unacceptable. For the Mennonites of the Hague-Osler and the Swift Current Colonies,

> . . . the language of the outgroup meant dangerous avenues and channels through which strange and undesirable ideas would find entrance into the religious and social life of their flock.[27]

For this reason the conservatives established private schools so that education would continue to be the responsibility of the church and the family so as to retain their rural values and moral orientation. The language of instruction in the schools continued to be German.

As stated, the private schools could establish their own curriculum. Most German private schools emphasized instruction in the German language and in religion and, except for those of the conservative Mennonites, taught English as well. Since textbooks did not have to be approved by the Department of Education, a wide variety of texts was used--from the Bible to texts printed in Germany and the United States. Although it is impossible to give an accurate figure of the number of German private schools in existence by year from 1900 to 1914, it is possible to give an

estimate by using the School Inspector's Reports which, after 1916, gave details of the teaching of German in public schools and German private schools. Using the 1916 to 1922 reports, one can estimate that between sixty and seventy German private schools were in existence when World War I broke out.[28]

The majority of German children attended public schools even in those areas that were settled primarily by German Canadians. Such was the case in the village of Josefstal in St. Joseph's Colony four miles east of Balgonie. The first German Catholic settlers arrived in 1886. In 1888 a mud-brick church was erected which also served as a school house, the teacher being Father Fehrenbach. St. Josefsschule, a public school, was built in 1903 and in 1906, Mr. George Newman became the teacher. He was English and taught school in English but learned German so as to teach the children the catechism in German.[29] The same held true in some Mennonite districts. In his Annual Report to the Department of Education in 1903, Inspector E. B. Hutcherson stated this of the Mennonites in Division 4, Saskatchewan:

> The Mennonites are most anxious to have their children educated. Twenty-two districts are now organized among them with fifteen in operation. Their schools are the better built and more fully equipped than any others in my inspectorate and the people are most desirous of meeting any suggestions. . . . All instruction in the higher grades is given in English. . . .[30]

The majority of Lutherans also did not oppose the establishment of public schools in their districts. The Lutheran pastors, however, made every effort to provide instruction in religion in the German language on Saturdays and during the summer months while children were on holiday.

Although the majority of the German settlers welcomed the public schools in their midst in which their children received instruction in English, they nevertheless wished to take advantage of the legislation which allowed them the right to teach German for one hour daily between

the hours of three and four. A figure for 1914 as to the number of schools teaching German is not available. In 1918, replies from Inspectors to a special questionnaire regarding instruction in foreign languages in accordance with Section 177, Regulation 10, of the School Act, revealed that German was taught in seventy-four schools.[31] This figure no doubt was higher in 1914 since several inspectors reported that some schools had ceased teaching German only recently. Many more schools would probably have taken advantage of the privilege to teach German for one hour a day had teachers with the ability to teach German been available.

There were those Germans who realized almost as soon as the legislation regarding the privilege to teach one hour of German a day was passed that without well qualified teachers to teach German the advantage gained by this legislation would be minimized. A proposal was made as early as 1903 that a teacher training center be built to fill the need for qualified teachers in their public schools who could teach German. On January 24, 1903, Elder Peter Regier of Tiefengrund met with four other men to begin planning for such a training center.[32] Although this initial impetus came from the Mennonites, the discussion ranged much farther and received enthusiastic support from Der Nordwesten which printed numerous letters and articles concerning the development of the school and called for a spirit of unity in "this important enterprise."[33]

On March 7, 1903, an organizational meeting was held in Eigenheim at which it was agreed to proceed with the establishment of a teacher training center. But it was not until November 14, 1905, that the school opened with an enrolment of six students. In 1909 the German-English Academy of Rosthern was incorporated by the Government of Saskatchewan. A letter written to the Saskatchewan Courier in 1912 confirms that the Academy by then was fulfilling its purpose:

> The Academy in Rosthern can point to some fine results in that several of the students already are working as teachers in district schools. For these teachers a very important question now is the retention of the German language and the implanting of our simple yet precious faith. . . .[34]

Enrolment increased gradually. In 1919 it stood at an all-time high of eighty-two students.[35] A 1926 prospectus of the Academy claimed that the school had produced seventy teachers.[36]

The German Lutherans were next to establish two training centers, one in Melville and one in Saskatoon. The 1910 convention of the Canadian District of the Ohio Synod adopted the following resolution:

> Since we recognize that our work in Canada will flourish only after we can supply our congregations with pastors from Canada, we petition the general synod to grant us an academy for Canada.[37]

But it was not until May 30, 1913, that sod-turning ceremonies were held in Melville for the construction of a three-storey brick building. In September of that year Professor H. Schmidt, then pastor at Neudorf, was appointed principal of the new school and when the academy opened on January 30, 1914, thirty students were in attendance.[38]

Although the Luther Academy was mainly established to prepare students for the ministry, it also took in students interested in studying German or English at the High School level. As well, short courses were available to farmers in Botany and Agriculture during the winter months; a business course was also offered. In 1915 school started on September 29 with an enrolment of thirty-two students.[39] Eighteen students graduated from the academy in 1917.

Within a year after the establishment of Luther Academy at Melville, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and Other Provinces laid the cornerstone of Luther College in Saskatoon. Already in 1911 at a general meeting of the Synod, agreement had been reached to look into the possibility of building a training center. Meager, make-shift beginnings

were made in 1912 in Spruce Grove, Alberta, then shifted to Edmonton in 1913 and finally to Saskatoon.[40] In February 1915 six students and two teachers moved into the new building.

Like the Luther Academy, Luther College was geared to prepare students for the pastoral ministry. But here, too, students were accepted to finish their High School to Grade XI so that teacher (Class II) or University entrance examinations could be written. In an article in Der College-Freund (The College Friend) the two-fold purpose of the College was stated in this manner:

> . . . to train the spiritual leaders of our faith and the teachers and preservers of our mother tongue.[41]

However, the enrolment in the College increased very slowly. By 1919 twenty-five students were in attendance but probably only half were from Saskatchewan since students attended from Alberta and Manitoba.

The German Roman Catholics did not establish a college until June 28, 1920, when the cornerstone of St. Peter's College was laid at Muenster. The reason for the delay in building a College was because German Roman Catholics did not need to train their own teachers as early as did the other groups. In the early days of St. Peter's Colony and St. Joseph's Colony the Benedictine monks and the Oblate Fathers looked after the teaching of the German language and the catechism in these settlements. Later they were assisted by the Ursuline Nuns from convents in Cologne, Haselüne and Dorsten, Germany. By the end of 1914, fourteen Sisters were teaching in parochial schools in the two colonies.[42] Much later, in 1926, German Arme Schulschwestern (Notre Dame Sisters) from their Canadian Convent in Waterdown near Hamilton, Ontario, arrived to teach children in Leipzig and Tramping Lake.[43]

Other efforts were made to secure teachers for the German communi-

ties. In an editorial in 1905, Der Nordwesten called on the Eastern Canadian German newspapers to encourage German English-speaking teachers to move to German settlements in Saskatchewan. The editor reasoned they should be willing to come to help maintain das Deutschtum in Canada.[44]

The Government of Saskatchewan, of course, also saw the need to train teachers from the various ethnic groups. It established the Regina Training School for Foreign Students in 1909. For several years the school was housed in the old Legislative Buildings but in the fall of 1914 was placed in the Normal School, Regina, under the supervision of the principal.[45] In the 1915-16 academic year, thirteen of the fifty students enrolled were German.[46]

By 1914, then, the German Canadians in Saskatchewan had made considerable progress in establishing schools and teacher training centers in an attempt to retain their language and religion while generally at the same time teaching their children the English language. But in those years of beginnings the school facilities and the quality of teaching often left much to be desired. Yet German parents were not always willing to put up with a German teacher who was doing a bad job. On June 20, 1906, Der Nordwesten printed a letter from a reader in Mariahilf in which he complained bitterly that the present teacher could not speak a word of German. He expressed the view that the former trustees would not have allowed this to happen. However, on July 4, another letter was printed from Mariahilf. It stated that the previous teacher, a Mr. Golzen, a German, had been a terrible teacher and that the people had refused to pay him.[47] The attendance also was generally not very good as the following indicates:

> Owing to the fact that it was harvest and threshing time when I visited these schools the attendance in most cases was very small, and during the whole summer irregularity was a characteristic feature. The Germans are specially negligent in this matter.[48]

Before the War the effect of the school system on the loss of the German language was probably minimal. Few solely English-speaking teachers were willing to go into non-English districts and a shortage of teachers generally gave them considerable choice. Even in those districts where German children were taught their subjects in English during the few short summer months, they tended to forget much of what they had learned over the long winter months when they were at home where only German was spoken. The influence of the home was still much stronger than of the school.[49] But by the outbreak of the War many of the German settlements were almost out of the pioneer stage and in a position to hire teachers, provide better facilities and take some steps to improve attendance. The War, however, was fatal to much of what they had achieved during the pre-War years.

The German Press

A consideration of the development and influence of the German press in Saskatchewan in the three decades prior to World War I must include the press from Manitoba. The larger newspapers, both secular and religious, were read widely in all three Western provinces. Their influence on the attempts to create a German cultural group transcended provincial boundaries. This study will therefore include not only the major newspapers established in Saskatchewan but also several from Manitoba.

The oldest and for a long time the most widely read newspaper in Saskatchewan was Der Nordwesten begun in Winnipeg in 1889. The two men most responsible for the founding of the paper were Heinrich C. Schmieder, a German Lutheran Pastor, and Wilhelm Hespeler, who served as an immigration agent for the Dominion government.[50] The first few years of the paper were very difficult and it was not until 1897 when the paper came under the management of Hugo Carstens, also an immigration agent, that the

circulation increased rapidly. The increased circulation was due to the large influx of German settlers to the prairie provinces. In 1901 Der Nordwesten was able to afford the services of an editor.[51]

Until 1911 the paper was totally owned and operated by Germans. However, in that year Carstens, who had been sympathetic to the Federal Liberals, sold the paper to a consortium backed by the Conservative Party of Manitoba. The paper changed hands several times after that but was never again owned by Germans. All the editors had emigrated to Canada directly from Germany. By 1914 Der Nordwesten reached its highest circulation; it had a weekly run of twenty thousand copies.[52]

The largest German newspaper in Saskatchewan and the second largest in the prairie provinces was the Saskatchewan Courier started in 1907. Unlike Der Nordwesten, the Saskatchewan Courier was actively supported by the Liberal Party from the beginning. The founder and first manager of the paper was Paul Bredt who had immigrated to Edenwold, Saskatchewan, from Germany in 1894.[53] Except for the period from 1920 to 1923 the editors were all Reichsdeutsche. On September 9, 1914, the paper changed its name to Der Courier to make its name more acceptable to Germans all across Canada. By 1911 the paper already boasted seven thousand subscribers.[54]

In 1907 Father Joseph Cordes of the German Catholic St. Joseph's Church, Winnipeg, was instrumental in starting the paper West-Canada. The editors were all Oblate Fathers who had come from Germany. And although the paper was to be the voice of German Catholics in Canada, it was more a political paper than a religious one in that it attempted to protect the rights of Roman Catholics in the political arena.[55] The paper may have reached a run of eight thousand copies by 1912 and was more widely read in Saskatchewan than in Manitoba. West-Canada ceased publication toward the end of 1918.[56]

In addition to these three large secular newspapers, there were several others which sprang up of which little is known and, for some, no copies are available. In 1907 the Manitoba Conservative Party established the German paper Germania in Winnipeg. The Germania did not become very popular but managed to survive until Der Nordwesten was purchased by the Conservatives, at which time it fused with Der Nordwesten.[57] In 1901 a German newspaper called the Rundschau was published in Regina. However, when the Saskatchewan Courier was started in 1907, the Rundschau ceased publication.[58]

There were several ethnic German weeklies which appeared in the prairie provinces. The various ethnic groups maintained their own press "partly in order to supplement religious instruction, partly to preserve the German language and culture, and also to strengthen social ties between scattered German settlements."[59]

The oldest German religious weekly read in Saskatchewan was the Mennonitische Rundschau which originated in the United States in 1877 as the Nebraska-Ansiedler, published in Elkhart, Indiana. In 1908 it moved to Scottdale, Pennsylvania. Shortly thereafter (1909), this paper was sold in Winnipeg as the Mennonitische Rundschau.[60] But it was not until 1923 that the paper was sold to a publishing company in Winnipeg.[61]

In 1913 another Mennonite weekly was founded, this time in Steinbach, Manitoba. Initially it was called Der Volksbote, then Steinbach-Post and later Steinbacher-Post. This paper had most of its subscribers in Manitoba.[62]

The St. Peters Bote, a German Roman Catholic weekly newspaper, made its appearance on February 11, 1904. It was edited and printed (starting on September 5, 1905) by the Benedictine monks of St. Peter's Colony at Muenster.[63] Although no subscription figures are available for

1914, St. Peters Bote had a run of over two thousand copies.[64] In addition to the general aims of the religious papers already mentioned, St. Peters Bote actively supported and encouraged Roman Catholic cultural associations such as the Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken (Association of the German Canadian Catholics) and political parties or candidates who were likely to champion German Roman Catholic causes.

The German Lutherans in Saskatchewan did not have a periodical of their own until March, 1914, when Der College-Freund was published in Saskatoon. It appeared somewhat irregularly, about every three months, giving mainly news about the College in Saskatoon. Lead articles tended to stress the importance of the German language and culture and of their religion.[65]

Before discussing the ethnic-political aims of the secular German press in Saskatchewan, it will be helpful to gain some insight as to the general content of the German newspapers. As might be expected there was a difference in content between the secular and the religious newspapers. Whereas Der Nordwesten and Der Courier used about half of their space for news, the Mennonite and Roman Catholic newspapers devoted less space to news coverage but much more to religious matters. The table on the following page, adapted from H. Lehmann, is revealing (expressed in percentages of total paper space).[66]

The main aim of the secular German press in Saskatchewan was twofold: to further the immigration of German-speaking people to the prairie provinces and to unite them organizationally into one cultural group. The latter aim included three factors which can be theoretically stated but which were practically interwoven in the editorials and lead articles of the various papers.[67]

Firstly, the papers saw their task to be the retention and

CONTENT	Der Nordwesten and Der Courier	Mennonitische Rundschau and Steinbach-Post	St. Peters Bote
Leading article	1.8%		
News:			
1. German and East European Settlement areas	27.8%	15.2%	16.8%
2. Canada and U.S.A.	23.2%	31.2%	13.2%
Articles about Agriculture	6.3%	1.0%	1.1%
Cultural:			
1. Family news	2.9%	-	13.9%
2. Religious	2.2%	6.2%	24.6%
3. Literary	15.8%	18.5%	10.8%
4. Denominational news	-	8.4%	4.5%
Ads	15.2%	15.7%	7.7%
Other: Science, sport, theatre, etc.	4.8%	3.8%	7.4%

> furthering of the German language and culture, Germanism; secondly, it had to be made clear to the German people who had immigrated from the most varied countries and who belonged to various denominations, that they all belonged together since their roots were in this culture; and, finally, that they had to be united organizationally to become a powerful group, so as to be able to achieve their rights.[68]

It is difficult to assess just how successful the papers were in attracting Germans to Western Canada. Most of their readers were already in the prairie provinces. However, the papers did try to obtain readers in the U.S.A. and in Germany. In fact Der Nordwesten for a time printed a special edition for Russia.[69] All papers, however, had special editions which described in detail the German settlement areas in Saskatchewan. They requested from readers names and addresses of relatives or friends in their home countries to whom the special editions were sent. In addi-

tion the Canadian immigration authorities regularly asked for copies of these special editions to use as part of their immigration propaganda. Indeed, the government became a regular subscriber of some papers. For example, in 1906 the Dominion government subscribed to a thousand copies of each week's run of Der Nordwesten.[70]

The newspapers were much less successful in uniting the Germans into a strong cultural group. The papers certainly wrote a lot about the importance of retaining the German language and culture, of acting together so as to achieve certain rights at the various levels of government. But it was not until March, 1913, that the Deutschcanadischer Provinzialverband von Saskatchewan (German Canadian Provincial Association of Saskatchewan) was finally formed. And, as we shall see in the next section, although this Association seemed to draw its membership from almost all the German groups, its ability in achieving any political gains was never really tested. After the War broke out, the activities of the Association were curtailed voluntarily.

Nevertheless, Der Nordwesten and Der Courier both encouraged Germans to establish organizations and clubs which would further things German in Saskatchewan. The papers established regular columns to report news sent in of the activities of the various associations in existence or being formed. The papers also took an active interest in encouraging the Germans to vote for particular political parties and candidates. Only Der Nordwesten until 1911 was politically neutral and independent enough to be an honest broker in encouraging the Germans to vote for candidates or parties who were likely to take a pro-German stand. After 1911, not surprisingly, both papers tended to advocate the policies of the parties who owned them.

As the Great War began, the German press in Saskatchewan can be described as strong and vigorous. At that time it was predominantly the

German newspapers, not the English, that the German farmer, labourer and craftsman read. These papers provided virtually the only means of communication available to the German settler and often the only contact with the outside world. One reader writing to Der Nordwesten expressed the importance to him of that particular paper in this manner:

> During the first year on my homestead, fifty miles from a railway station, Indians . . . as my nearest neighbors, for days, weeks not another soul nearby--that allows time for thought. And then one's thoughts usually cling to the content of Der Nordwesten which keeps me in contact with the outside world.[71]

Cultural Associations

A German proverb states the following:

> Whenever three Germans are together, they establish two associations.[72]

This proverb certainly did not apply to the Germans in Saskatchewan. Most of the German settlers, especially farmers from the Eastern European settlement areas, were quick to organize churches in their midst but other associations were established only gradually. Generally the organization of clubs and associations occurred only in larger towns and cities and there mainly among Reichsdeutschen. If such clubs and associations were established in the rural areas, it was also among Germans who had come directly from Germany. Straßburg was such an exception.[73]

The proverb, however, has another possible interpretation which definitely applied to the Germans in Saskatchewan. Rather than work together to establish one, strong association for the purpose of achieving a common goal, the Germans could not get along and tended to form several clubs.[74]

The composition of the Germans in Saskatchewan and the numerous dialects they spoke were added factors which affected their working together toward attaining a common goal. The German farmers, who came to

Saskatchewan from the Eastern European settlement areas lived a lifestyle, which, although admirably suited for the pioneering of the Saskatchewan prairie, was unacceptable to the German labourer who had come directly from Germany. One such labourer, who worked for a German farmer, found the custom of the whole family washing in one basin of water, drying with one towel and using one comb intolerable.[75] Nor did the German labourers have a high regard for the Plattdeutsch (low German) many of these farmers spoke.[76] The German farmers, on the other hand, did not think highly of the Reichsdeutschen many of whom were willing to give up the German language all too readily. These cultural differences and attitudes made co-operation between these two groups difficult. These factors were extremely important in that the leadership of the clubs and associations generally came from among the Reichsdeutschen.[77]

German clubs and associations, however, were established. Der Nordwesten and Der Courier are the only good general sources of information of their establishment mainly because these papers repeatedly encouraged such activity and printed free of charge any club news submitted to them. For some associations little information is available probably because many of them folded almost as rapidly as they were organized.

One of the first German clubs was established in 1903 in Regina. A notice was printed in Der Nordwesten alerting all Regina Germans interested in forming a Deutscher Verein (German Club) to a meeting planned at Gratton School. It stated:

> The purpose of this club will be to represent the interests of Germanism, to provide a centre for social activities for all Germans and further to raise their social standard generally.[78]

The next issue of Der Nordwesten stated that the meeting was held as scheduled with twenty people in attendance. An executive was elected and it was agreed that a German should run for alderman in the next civic elec-

tion. On January 12, 1905, Der Nordwesten carried a summary of all the German associations in existence in Western Canada. The German club in Regina was still in existence as well as a branch in Balgonie. The editor also mentioned that Rosthern had a literary society.

In January, 1906, Der Deutsch-Katholische Männerverein (the German Catholic Men's Club) was started in Regina with the three-fold purpose of uniting Catholic men in Regina, protecting the interests of religion and Germanism and assisting each other in brotherly love.[79] A few months later a branch of the Alldeutschen Verband (All German Association) was established in Regina. This association had been started in Winnipeg with the intention of uniting all Germans in Western Canada in one association. However, when it was discovered that Rudolf Klein, its organizer, had personal gain in mind rather than the welfare of the Germans, this association fell into oblivion.[80] In a very short time,though, Klein had done great harm since future attempts at setting up an association to unite all German associations were greeted with suspicion and scepticism.

Between 1906 and 1910 a number of German clubs, societies and associations were started, most of them in Regina. No doubt German clubs were organized in other larger centers as well but the information concerning them is scarce. Even of the clubs formed in Regina, Der Courier and Der Nordwesten often carried very brief news items. The German clubs started in Regina were as follows: Deutsche Vereinigung (German Union), June, 1907; Deutscher Verein Teutonia (German Teutonia Club), February, 1908; Frisch Auf (Let's Be Lively), March, 1908; Verein der Deutschen Liberalen (German Liberal Club), May, 1908; Idealer Deutscher Volksverein (Ideal German Association), May, 1908; Deutsche Ansiedlungs-Vereinigung (German Colonization Association), May, 1909; Verein der Deutschen Oesterreich-Ungarns (Club of the Germans from Austria-Hungary),

November, 1910.[81]

All of these German organizations were initially organized with much enthusiasm but most of them had great difficulty maintaining momentum. The Idealer Deutscher Volksverein, for example, had a membership of 125 after the first meeting and began a vigorous campaign to obtain work for unemployed Germans in Regina. A choir and a Kapelle (band) were also organized. Yet by May 1910, the club was already dissolved. The Deutsche Ansiedlungs-Vereinigung with its ambition to help German settlers find good land, establish German-controlled saw mills, flour mills and banks in the four western provinces, never did go beyond the organizing stage. Only the Deutscher Verein Teutonia was still holding meetings regularly at the outbreak of World War I.

One of the most successful German associations in Saskatchewan during the pre-World War I period was the Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken (Association of the German Canadian Catholics) with its related Katholikentag (Catholic Day). Actually the first Katholikentag was organized by Prior Bruno on July 29, 1908, in Muenster before the Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken was established. The Katholikentag was an annual big rally of German Catholics at which questions of interest were discussed with the purpose of fostering the family spirit and extending it over the whole province of Saskatchewan.[82] At the next Katholikentag held in Winnipeg on July 15, 1909, the Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken was founded.

According to the constitution and by-laws of the association its aims were as follows:

> . . . to defend the religious rights, to protect the mother tongue, to insist upon Christian principles in the public life of our country.

To attain these aims the association would:

> . . . unite all German-speaking Catholics, educate them more thoroughly in religious and moral principles to be applied in public life, and imbue public life with Christian principles.[83]

The work of the association was carried out by a Board of Directors, General Executive, District Organizations and Local Branches.

The Volksverein grew very quickly so that by June 25, 1914, there were fifty local branches and a membership of between 4,500 and 5,000.[84] It set up a travelling library to provide its members with appropriate German reading material and distributed its own pamphlets and circulars. In 1911 it sent out 13,800 copies of various publications including two pamphlets and six circulars.[85]

The success of the Volksverein was probably due to two main factors. First, that it was tied closely to the Roman Catholic Church which provided leadership and organizational skills. Secondly, the official position of the association discouraged German Catholic men from joining other German social organizations. One of the pamphlets sent out by the association outlined the relationship of the Volksverein to other non-Catholic organizations:

> As long as the aims such associations follow are social, we will have nothing to do with them since, according to a decision made by the Holy Father, a catholic may join only catholic associations for the purpose of social activities. Where they support the same cause as the Volksverein, such as defending the rights of our mother tongue, we will gladly go hand in hand with them, as long as such cooperation does not run counter to the main aim of the association, namely, the defense of our religious rights and freedoms.[86]

It was not surprising then that the Volksverein refused to join with two associations formed in 1913 which were to unite all German associations in Saskatchewan. The first of these was the Deutsch-Kanadischer Nationalbund (German Canadian National Union) which was started in Winnipeg on January 27, 1913. Its aim was to organize the German Canadians politically to achieve greater representation at all levels of government so that in turn

changes favourable to the Germans could be brought about.[87] However, when its organizers decided to use Der Nordwesten as the official organ of the Nationalbund, the Saskatchewan Courier refused to support its establishment in Saskatchewan. The Saskatchewan Courier argued correctly that such a Bund should be free of the support of any one particular party. The result was that the Nationalbund did not gain widespread support in Manitoba or Saskatchewan and died when another association with similar goals was formed in Saskatchewan.

In March 1913, under the direction of Conrad E. Eymann, the Deutschcanadischer Provinzialverband von Saskatchewan (German Canadian Provincial Association of Saskatchewan) was formed. Eymann carefully avoided the error made by the Nationalbund and pointed out immediately that the Provinzialverband did not support any political party or religious view and that it wished the support of all German newspapers in achieving its aims.[88] The purpose of the association was two-fold: first, to further and cultivate all German interests in Saskatchewan; and, to unite all German associations in every Canadian province. Under Eymann's wise leadership, the Provinzialverband grew rapidly. Already in October of 1913 fifteen local branches of the association had been formed. One year later, when the association held its first general meeting, seventy-five delegates represented a membership of close to four thousand. The Provinzialverband gained the support of all the Germans in Saskatchewan except for the German Catholics and also some conservative Mennonites. It seemed as if the Germans in Saskatchewan were finally going to achieve the unity of purpose the German press had been advocating for years. However, the outbreak of World War I quickly shattered any hope of success the Provinzialverband may have had.

Political Activities

The Germans in Saskatchewan did not achieve the kind of influence in provincial politics one might have expected in view of the fact that they were, next to the British, numerically the largest group. A strong political influence would only have been possible had the Germans been more active politically and had they been able to organize themselves to act together. But the Germans were unable to achieve either of these conditions.

Why were many Germans politically inactive? The majority of them were farmers and were content to be just that. They were in a new country, for many the language was unfamiliar, the pioneering conditions were often very harsh and they had little interest in politics. In fact, some of the more conservative Mennonites were suspicious of any political involvement. The editor of the Saskatchewan Courier (June 11, 1913) assessed the attitude of the typical German towards politics in this manner:

> If the average German has a decent livelihood . . . , if one does not push him around too much, then he is satisfied and at home. A mania for participation in public affairs and political ambition is foreign to the average German. His main motive is Gemütlichkeit.[89]

If the Germans had been able to organize themselves to act together in politics, perhaps many of the German farmers could have been persuaded to become active in the politics of the day. However, as already indicated, the Deutschcanadischer Provinzialverband von Saskatchewan, the association formed to draw the Germans together, was not organized until 1913. And although the association was popular and grew by leaps and bounds, it would not have received the support of all Germans on all political issues. The German Roman Catholics, for example, would only have given their support on issues which agreed with their aims and objectives. In any case, war intervened and the Provinzialverband did not have the

opportunity to demonstrate its effectiveness in uniting the Germans in political action.

In local politics the Germans were more active. In areas where the majority of settlers were German, the positions of school trustees were usually taken up by Germans. Their long-standing interest in matters of school and church probably accounted for their willingness to serve in this capacity. Trustees from German areas attended School Trustee Conventions in good numbers and participated in their deliberations.

Those Germans who were active in provincial politics were able to achieve some benefits for the retention of the German language. One of the earliest demonstrations of this occurred with regard to the legislation introduced to the Territorial Legislative Assembly by F. W. G. Haultain on June 11, 1901, granting permission to teach German for one hour a day in all public schools.

The person most responsible for the introduction of this legislation was David Toews of Rosthern. On January 31, 1901, he had printed in Der Nordwesten, a petition to be presented to the North-West Territorial Assembly in Regina which asked that the teaching of German be permitted in public schools.[90] In an accompanying article, Toews encouraged Germans in the Territories to circulate copies of the petition and then present these to their representatives requesting total support in the Assembly. He wrote as follows:

> In this undertaking let us also be a 'united people of brothers'. We all have cause to be proud of our language and nationality. The German language is too precious to be thrown into the junk room. Let us not shy away from any effort when it comes to our Deutschtum.[91]

Toews did not leave the matter there but undertook a trip to Regina on May 4, 1901, to further the cause of the petition. He met with six representatives of the Assembly from those districts which had a large

German population, each of whom by that time had received several petitions.[92] Toews also arranged an interview with Premier F. W. G. Haultain. Haultain, who had also received many letters and petitions, told him this privilege could not be granted to the Germans alone. The next day Toews met with the six representatives and they agreed to change the wording of the petition from the 'German language' to 'foreign languages'. A committee was formed to meet again with Premier Haultain. The meeting with Haultain occurred on June 8. Haultain was favourably inclined to the new wording of the petition and agreed to introduce the appropriate regulation in the Assembly.[93] When Haultain introduced the regulation concerning language of instruction to the Assembly on June 11, 1901, there were no unfavourable comments. The wishes of the Germans were completely fulfilled.[94]

The credit for the introduction of the regulation which allowed German to be taught for one hour per day belongs to Toews. This success should have alerted the Germans to the political power they possessed if they acted together with determination and skill. However, it seems to have escaped them for during the next thirteen years no comparable successes were achieved through direct legislation. But additional gains were made in several other matters which were important in the long run for the retention of the German language.

As early as May 13, 1901, R. S. Lake (Grenfell) asked Premier Haultain in the Assembly what steps the government had taken to translate into German the most important laws. Haultain replied that an agreement was about to be reached with the Federal Government which would make provision for the translation of North-West Territorial laws into foreign languages. He stated that no laws had as yet been translated into German but promised to take the necessary action very soon.[95] Haultain must have

dragged his heels in this matter because on October 26, 1905, the editor of Der Nordwesten complained that Haultain had not kept his promise. The editor took the initiative and wrote to Walter Scott, newly-elected leader of the Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, prior to the 1905 election to ask what his position was with respect to the translation of laws into the German language. Scott, in an open letter to Der Nordwesten, stated that his government would publish the important laws in those languages spoken by a considerable number of people in the province.[96]

Scott kept his promise. The Saskatchewan Courier proudly announced on March 25, 1908, only six months after its formation, that it had received the government contract to print several laws in German and these would soon be available for distribution. The paper mentioned that its editor, P. M. Bredt, had to do some digging to get the government to act in this matter. By April 1908, five laws translated into German had been published. The January 13, 1909, edition of the Saskatchewan Courier announced that another five laws had been translated, published and were available free upon request.[97]

The number of Germans elected to either the Territorial or Legislative Assemblies was indeed small. A. S. Rosenroll (Wetaskiwin) was the only German elected to the North-West Territorial Assembly from 1903 to 1905. In the Saskatchewan Provincial elections, 1905, Gerhard Ens was elected in the Rosthern constituency with an overwhelming majority. It is very difficult to estimate how influential these men were in furthering things German in Saskatchewan. However, Ens remained the only German member of the legislative assembly until his resignation in 1914.

The Germans could have done much better, of course. According to Der Nordwesten the Germans could have elected representatives in nine out of the twenty-five constituencies in 1905.[98] This is hard to verify. But

the German population in these constituencies did have the deciding vote as to whether a Liberal or a Conservative candidate would be elected. Scott realized this and made a point of releasing a letter in the Saskatchewan Courier (September 2, 1908) after the 1908 elections to acknowledge his debt to their overwhelming support for his party.

In municipal and city politics the Germans were barely noticeable. Only the occasional news item can be found to indicate that they were active at all and this mostly in Regina.[99] The Saskatchewan Courier printed a letter from a reader in Yorkton (November 20, 1907) which, though an appeal, indicated what the Germans were doing in municipal elections and where the problem lay:

> The municipal elections are again before us, and now, German citizens, show that you are German and elect, wherever possible, a German mayor and German councillors. It is really a disgrace for us, when in German districts and towns, Englishmen are elected as officials. Let us in such matters lay aside all personal prejudices and act as true German men.[100]

Churches

From the discussions in the previous sections of this chapter, it has already become evident that the church played a vital role in the lives of the German settlers. In fact, one can hardly over-emphasize the importance of the local church and its ministers to the success of the great majority of German settlements in Saskatchewan and to their efforts to organize themselves to retain the German language. In those very difficult starting years, it was the church which provided for the settler's spiritual and social needs and sometimes even his physical needs; it provided him with a purpose in life and regularly, if only briefly, drew him out of the dull, rigorous routine of early pioneering life.

For the majority of German settlers the church had been an integral part of their existence before immigrating to Saskatchewan. It was,

therefore, quite natural for them to hold church services on Sundays and religious holidays as soon as the very basic necessities of accommodation had been provided in Saskatchewan. Many of them brought with them their prayer and hymn books and services were often held even though a minister was unavailable. But quite often the spiritual leaders were with the founding families of a settlement; they began to provide for the settler's spiritual needs immediately.[101] The Mennonites and the German Baptists usually emigrated under the leadership of their preachers or elders who saw to it that congregations were organized as soon as possible after settling in Saskatchewan. Generally this was not the case for the Lutherans or those Catholics coming directly from European settlement areas. But here, too, there were those organizations which regarded the German settlers in Saskatchewan as their mission field and followed the settlers to provide leadership. These were the German-Lutheran Synods and the Benedictines from established settlements in the United States and the Oblates who were active in Western Canada among the Indians at the time settlement took place.[102]

Many of the German settlements went through three distinct stages of development in the organization of their churches. Initially settlers would gather of their own accord to hold services in someone's home. They might be visited by an itinerant minister, often on a regular basis. The itinerant minister would perform baptism, confirmation and wedding ceremonies.[103] In the next stage, a congregation would be officially organized having a minister to serve it but the church would be financially supported by the denomination or Order. Finally, the church would become financially independent by supporting its own minister.

All of the church services in the predominantly German settlements were conducted in German. The order of service which the various

denominations had followed for years was followed here in Saskatchewan. The settlers found in the church service something familiar which provided a sense of continuity in a new and often hostile land. The services were usually followed by a time of visiting and sharing of a meal. This opportunity to socialize was very important for the early settlers as such occasions were rare especially for the women who had even fewer chances than the men to visit with neighbours. For most of the German families before 1914 the church was the first important and often the only form of organization to which they belonged.

The German pastors, priests and elders played a crucial role in the retention of the German language by the German settlers. Many of them shared the rigors of pioneering life with the settlers and earned their respect and gratitude. The example set by the religious leaders with respect to the German language would certainly be followed by the settlers.

Most of the ministers and priests before World War I had come from and received their training in Germany or in German settlement areas in Eastern Europe. The majority of the Oblate Fathers and a few of the Benedictine monks came directly from Germany. Among the Lutherans, the Manitoba-Synod and the American Lutheran Church received the majority of their pastors from Germany. The pastors of the Missouri-Synod were generally American-born and trained.[104] But even those pastors and priests who were trained in the United States or in Eastern Canada still had an interest in fostering the German language. This interest in the retention of the German language was not just because of their love for the language or things German as such, but also because of fear that if the young people lost their mother tongue they might also abandon their religious beliefs.[105]

It was therefore from the ministers, priests and elders of the various denominations that a major impetus for the retention of the German

language came. It was they who organized and encouraged German immigrants to settle as much as possible with other German immigrants of like religious persuasion. They conducted the church services in German, gave the children religious instruction in German on Saturdays and on holidays and, in the absence of organized schools, taught the children as best they could. Later, they were influential in the organization of schools, parochial, public and private, and continued to be the schoolmasters. Once teachers were available, they faithfully continued to teach the German language and catechism after regular school hours.

As the living conditions of the settlers improved, substantial church buildings were erected, often at considerable sacrifice, and the functions of the churches became more complex. All the denominations gradually involved their congregations in church-related activities. Among the Mennonites, where traditionally a real sense of community existed, nearly every congregation organized weekly prayer meetings, choir practices, youth meetings and sewing circles.[106] Yearly song festivals were organized which brought singers from several areas into contact. The Roman Catholic leadership, with good success, tried to involve its parishioners totally in church-related activities. In every parish there were clubs for men, women and young people and many churches had a library and a clubhouse with some recreational facilities. The German Lutherans, Baptists and even the smaller evangelical groups all organized Sunday School classes--even Saturday School in many Lutheran congregations--choirs, mission circles and youth groups.

As has already been pointed out, some of the spiritual leaders with foresight recognized the value of newspapers edited in German, the language most settlers understood. The Benedictines established the St. Peters Bote as early as 1904 and used the paper to supplement religious

instruction and to strengthen social ties between scattered settlements. Numerous articles appeared in the Bote reminding its readers of the value of retaining the German language in school and church and the importance of speaking German at home. The Mennonites used the Mennonitische Rundschau for similar purposes.

The role that the churches played before World War I in ensuring that their followers retained their language was paramount. Not only did they see to it that the actual church services were conducted in German but they organized schools, clubs and associations and published newspapers to strengthen the faith and language of their members. Indeed, in some of the denominations, namely the Roman Catholic and the Mennonite, provision was made for the settlers' total needs.

In spite of the predominantly positive assessment of the role the churches played in the retention of the German language, some negative influences should not be withheld. The tendency of the Germans to quarrel and to form splinter groups was especially evident among the churches. It occurred, first of all, within individual denominations. The German Lutherans can be used as an example. It was often the case that a small town had two German Lutheran churches belonging to different synods. This resulted in unnecessary competition, division and quarrelling which often caused newly-arrived German immigrants not to join either congregation. Attempts at unifying the Lutherans under a single organization failed repeatedly.[107]

At the denominational level, the ties individuals felt for their denomination invariably hindered the organization of an overall German cultural group. Thus the German Roman Catholics would have nothing to do with the formation of an association of Germans in Saskatchewan; the more conservative Mennonites were equally as reluctant to be involved.[108] Rea-

soned appeals by Der Nordwesten and Der Courier to the Germans to rise above their denominational biases to achieve political influence in Saskatchewan fell on deaf ears.

In conclusion it can be stated that just prior to the outbreak of hostilities in World War I the Germans in Saskatchewan were relatively content with their place in the society that was gradually emerging. Many had achieved a measure of prosperity. They were generally content with the school system which allowed them to organize public, private or separate schools and permitted instruction in the German language in public schools. They were free to publish their own newspapers in the German language or to subscribe to German newspapers from outside Saskatchewan or Canada; to organize clubs, associations or societies for social, cultural or political purposes; to worship freely; and to join in political activities if they wished.

They looked to the future with even greater optimism. The speed with which the Deutschcanadischer Provinzialverband von Saskatchewan was gaining membership promised a growing cultural awareness which would surely have resulted in increased political interest and, eventually, influence. However, the war years were to bring about a profound change that was to shatter their hopes for the future.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1] Saskatoon Phoenix, Friday, January 27, 1905, p. 1. Referring to the settlers which the Catholic Colonization Society brought into Saskatchewan, the Phoenix stated that they spoke English and German equally well.

[2] Anderson, "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan," p. 147; Leo Driedger, "A Sect in Modern Society—A Case Study of the Old Colony Mennonites of Saskatchewan" (M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1955), p. 109. Anderson and Driedger hypothesize on the reason why the Mennonites lost the Dutch language in their move to Germany but not the German language in their move to Russia. They speculate that when a minority exists where the majority is considered by the minority to be more advanced in culture and education, the minority will become linguistically assimilated. However, when the minority considers its own culture to be superior to that of the majority, they will retain their language.

[3] Karl Stumpp, The German Russians (Trostberg, 1971), pp. 28-29.

[4] Der Nordwesten, March 4, 1900.

[5] Ibid., March 22, 1900, p. 4.

> ". . . hierzulande ist es auch notwendig, daβ die Kinder die englische Sprache erlernen; es ist aber nicht minder notwendig, ja noch wichtiger, unsern Kindern gründliche Kenntnisse der deutschen Sprache beizubringen, denn Tatsachen beweisen, wie mit dem Verlust der deutschen Sprache so viele gute deutsche Sitten, ja auch Religionsanschauungen verloren gehen; . . ."

Excerpt from a speech made by H. H. Ewert, Inspector of Schools, at a general school meeting in Altona, Manitoba, March 5, 1900.

[6] Ibid., February 7, 1901, p. 1.

[7] Ibid., March 22, 1900, p. 4.

[8] Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Grinding in the Mill or Breaking the Crust: The Western Canadian Schools Version of the Melting Pot," paper given at the University of Saskatchewan, January 1976, p. 7.

[9] Ibid., p. 8.

[10] The establishment of St. Peter's Colony and the Old Colony Mennonite settlements can be cited as examples.

[11] C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto, 1959), p. 254.

[12]Ibid., pp. 258-59.

[13]Ordinances of the North-West Territories 1901 (Regina, 1903), Chapter 29, Section 144. (The italics are mine.) Section 146 clarified Section 144 as follows: It shall be the duty of the justice of the peace to ascertain as far as may be the circumstances of any party complained of for not sending his child or children to school or otherwise educating him or them and he shall accept any of the following as a reasonable excuse:

(1) That the child is under instruction in some other satisfactory manner;

[14]Ibid., Chapter 29, section 136(1).

[15]Ibid., Chapter 29, section 136, Regulation 25.

[16]Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, p. 275.

[17]Height, Paradise on the Steppe, pp. 209-18. Height states that although the organization of an educational system was painfully slow in most German colonies, by 1890 illiteracy had virtually disappeared in all German colonies. He points out that the Mennonites led the way in establishing High Schools and Teacher Training Institutions.

[18]Schulte, Bilder und Blätter, pp. 36-40.

[19]Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, p. 277.

[20]A.S., Scott Papers, Doerfler to Scott, January 19, 1916, p. 34665.

[21]Canadian Annual Review (Ottawa, 1915), p. 630.

[22]J. W. Brennan, "A Political History of Saskatchewan, 1905-1929" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1976), p. 688.

[23]Denkschrift zum Silber—Jubiläum der Evangelisch—Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen, 1897-1922 (hereinafter cited as Denkschrift) (Winnipeg, 1922), p. 15.

> Von Anfang an wurde auch von den Pastoren groβer Fleiβ auf die Schule verwandt, um den Kindern vor allem religiöse Unterweisung und auch deutschen Sprachunterricht zu erteilen.

[24]Paul Abele, Festschrift zur 25 Jährigen Jubiläumsfeier der Gründung der St. Pauls—Kirchengemeinde in Vibank, Saskatchewan (Regina, 1929), p. 53. In his conclusion Abele called on the young people "Never to forget that they are Germans" (Vergeβt nie, daβ Ihr Deutsche seid). He stated:

> Je offener und unerschrocken Ihr an Eurer Religion und Sprache festhaltet, desto länger bewahrt Ihr Moral und Charakter. (The more openly and intrepidly you hold fast to your religion and language, the longer you safeguard your morals and character.)

[25]Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 163.

[26]Ibid., p. 168; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, pp. 336-37.

[27]Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 168; A.S., Latta Papers S.J.M5 6 Proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry, p. 73. The evidence given by Bishop Wiens of the Hague-Osler Reserve supported this conclusion.

[28]A.S., Department of Education, 12(a), Inspector's Reports 1916, 1917, 1918; Ibid., 12(e), Private Schools, 1922; Ibid., 27(a), Inspector's Annual Reports, 1920.

[29]Pater Andreas Zimmermann, Zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum. Die römisch-katholische Pfarrei St. Joseph bei Balgonie, Saskatchewan (1936), pp. 12, 19.

[30]A.S., Department of Education, 2, Annual Report 1903, p. 50.

[31]Ibid., 12(a)(2), Inspector's Reports, 1918, pp. 219-69.

[32]F. H. Epp, Education with a Plus. History of Rosthern Junior College (Waterloo, 1975), p. 20. The meeting occurred in Rosthern. Peter Regier met with William Abrams, David Toews, Herman Fast and C. H. Gloeckler.

[33]Der Nordwesten, February 5, 1903, p. 1. This issue carried the first letter of the discussions that were held in Rosthern regarding a teacher training center. The paper publicized the organizational meeting which was held on March 7, 1903. From then on articles or letters appeared regularly highlighting the school's progress (March 19, April 2 and 9, May 27, June 3, 10 and 17, March 10, 1904, p. 13, etc.).

[34]Saskatchewan Courier, March 6, 1912, p. 11. Mr. A. A. Dick wrote the letter to the editor.

> Die Fortbildungsschule in Rosthern darf auf schöne Resultate hinweisen, indem mehrere der Schüler schon als Lehrer in Distriktschulen arbeiten. Jetzt ist die Erhaltung der deutschen Sprache und die Einpflanzung unserer einfachen aber köstlichen Religion eine besonders wichtige Frage für diese Lehrer, . . .

[35]Epp, Education with a Plus, p. 39. Please see Epp's excellent book for much greater detail. Epp mentions that non-Mennonites attended the school. In 1919, for instance, the enrolment included seven Doukhobors, two Baptists, one Lutheran, one Catholic and one Jew. All students were expected to take German and religion. The heavy accent on German was borne out by the fact that in the school's seventeenth year of operation, forty-three of the one hundred and fifty weekly classes of instruction, including those in religion, were still in German (p. 67).

[36]Ibid., p. 47. Epp mentions that according to the curriculum established at that time, those students who passed second class examinations (which was the equivalent of Grade XI) were considered graduates of the school and that they qualified as teachers. They were referred to as

Class II teachers. Epp does not mention what teaching methods, if any, were taught to these students.

[37]Evenson, Adventuring for Christ, p. 76. Evenson obtained the quote from 1910 Verhandlungen C. D., p. 31.

[38]Ibid., p. 77.

[39]Der Courier, August 18, 1915, p. 5. The article states that a regular course cost $140.00; a business course $160.00; books $8.00 more; washing and food came to $2.00 per month.

[40]Denkschrift, p. 18.

[41]Der College-Freund (Winnipeg, 1920), Numbers 3 and 4, p. 9.

> Es . . . sollen dort . . . Geistliche unseres Glaubens und Lehrer und Erhalter unserer Muttersprache ausgebildet werden.

[42]Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, p. 55. Windschiegl states that:

> The news that the Ursuline Sisters had arrived in Muenster to teach in the parochial school aroused the desire to have them take over schools in other parishes.

[43]Schulte, Bilder und Blätter, p. 52; Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 349. Their mother convent in Germany was located in Munich.

[44]Der Nordwesten, January 12, 1905, p. 4.

[45]A.S., Department of Education, 2, Annual Reports of the Department of Education, 1914, p. 38; D. G. S. Calder, An Abbreviated Historical Outline of the Department of Education, Province of Saskatchewan, 1884-1954, Department of Education, 1955, p. 10.

[46]A.S., Department of Education, 2, Annual Reports of the Department of Education, 1915, pp. 58-60.

[47]Der Nordwesten, June 20, p. 10, July 4, 1906, p. 10.

[48]A.S., Department of Education, Inspector's Annual Reports, 1911, p. 53.

[49]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 342.

[50]Werner Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas auf die Organisationsbestrebungen des dortigen Deutschtums 1888-1939" in Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch, Volume II (Toronto, 1975), p. 96.

[51]Ibid., p. 96. The first editor was Pastor M. Ruccius (1901-04) followed by Friederich Liebermann (1904-06), Rudolf Bach (1906-09), Gotthard Maron (1910-13), Albert Markwitz (1913-14) and, again, Gotthard Maron (1914-20) and Agnes Schröder (1920-25).

[52]Ibid., pp. 96-98.

[53]Ibid., p. 98; Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 320. The editors of the Saskatchewan Courier and Der Courier were Johann Hensen (1907-11), Conrad Eymann (1912-20) and Bernhard Bott (1923-34).

[54]Saskatchewan Courier, January 18, 1911, p. 1.

[55]Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 97.

[56]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 322.

[57]Ibid., p. 322. The Manitoba Conservatives in 1904 had unsucessfully attempted to purchase Der Nordwesten and the Rundschau (Regina).

[58]Ibid.

[59]Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 269.

[60]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 321.

[61]Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 269.

[62]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 321.

[63]Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, p. 34.

[64]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 321. The estimate of two thousand copies is based on Lehmann's statement that in 1934 St. Peters Bote had twelve hundred subscribers. The 1914 figure was higher because by 1934 St. Peters Bote had lost many subscribers and published an English edition named The Prairie Messenger.

[65]Der College-Freund, March 1914, Number 1.

[66]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 324. Lehmann points out that these percentages are not reliable as they are based on only a few sample newspapers in each case (summer, 1933). However, they do serve to indicate the approximate content of these papers.

[67]Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," pp. 100-102.

[68]Ibid., p. 102.

> Einmal sahen die Blätter ihre Aufgabe darin, die deutsche Sprache und Kultur, das "Deutschtum," zu erhalten und zu fördern; zweitens mußte den deutschsprachigen Menschen, die aus den verschiedensten Ländern eingewandert waren und verschiedenen Glaubensbekenntnissen angehörten, klargemacht werden, daß sie alle zusammengehörten, da sie in dieser Kultur wurzelten; und schließlich sollten sie organisatorisch zusammengefaßt werden, um einen gewissen Machtfaktor darzustellen und ihre Rechte durchsetzen zu können.

[69]Ibid., p. 100.

[70]Ibid., p. 101.

[71]Der Nordwesten, March 5, 1913, p. 3.

> Im ersten Jahre auf meiner Heimstätte, fünfzig Meilen von der Bahnstation, als nächste Nachbarn die Indianer . . . , tagelang, wochenlang keine Seele in meiner Nähe--das gibt Zeit zum Nachdenken und da klammern sich die Gedanken gewöhnlich an den Inhalt des Nordwesten, der mich mit der Außenwelt verbindet.

[72]As quoted in Metzger, Geschichtlicher Abriß über die St. Peters-Pfarrei, p. 51.

> Es ist ein Sprichwort: wenn drei Deutsche irgendwo zusammen sind, so bilden sie zwei Vereine.

[73]Der Nordwesten, May Special Edition, 1904, p. 4. Straßburg is referred to as the 'happy colony' (lustige Kolonie) because they had established a gymnastic association, a choir and a literary club. They also organized picnics in the summer and dances during the winter. Most of the Germans in Straßburg had come directly from Germany.

[74]Wagner, Von Küste zu Küste, p. 117. Wagner makes this point saying that the Germans in Saskatchewan were, after all, just people who brought with them the problems the Germans faced everywhere, namely, a tendency to be incompatible and to splinter (die Unverträglichkeit und die Zersplitterung der Deutschen).

[75]Ibid., p. 116.

[76]Anderson, "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan," p. 146. The Mennonites spoke several low German dialects, some of which could not be understood by those Germans who spoke Hochdeutsch (High German).

[77]Wagner, Von Küste zu Küste, p. 117.

[78]Der Nordwesten, October 1, 1903, p. 1.

> Der Zweck des Vereins soll sein, die Interessen des Deutschtums zu vertreten, einen geselligen Mittelpunkt für die Deutschen zu schaffen, ferner, ihre gesamte Lage in sozialer Beziehung zu heben.

[79]Ibid., February 1, 1906, p. 13. The club formed a choir, and organized assistance for its members in case of death or sickness.

[80]Ibid., May 23, 1906, p. 14. Also Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 107.

[81]Der Nordwesten provided information for Deutsche Vereinigung, June 5, 1907. The Saskatchewan Courier provided information for Deutscher Verein Teutonia, February 26, 1908; Frisch Auf, March 25, 1908; Idealer Deutscher Volksverein, May 13, 1908; Verein der Deutschen Liberalen, May

8, 1908; Deutsche Ansiedlungs-Vereinigung, May 26, 1909; Verein der Deutschen Oesterreich-Ungarns, November 23, 1910.

[82]Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, p. 39.

[83]A.S., B.A., V.93, Volksverein, Sechzehntes Flugblatt des Volksvereins, p. 13.

[84]Ibid., p. 1.

[85]Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, p. 41.

[86]A.S., B.A., V.93, Volksverein, p. 4.

> So lange solche Vereine gesellschaftliche Zwecke verfolgen, haben wir nichts mit ihnen zu tun, da nach einer Entscheidung des Heiligen Vaters ein Katholik zum gesellschaftlichen Verkehr sich nur einem Katholischen Verein anschließen darf. Wo sie für dieselbe Sache eintreten wie der Volksverein, wie zum Beispiel, in der Verteidigung der Rechte unserer Muttersprache, gehen wir gerne mit ihnen Hand in Hand, so lange solche Mitarbeit nicht dem Hauptzweck des Volksvereins, der Verteidigung unserer religiösen Rechte und Freiheiten zuwiederläuft.

[87]Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 111.

[88]Ibid., p. 114.

[89]As quoted, Ibid., p. 94.

> . . . Wenn der Durchschnittsdeutsche seinen anständigen Erwerb hat . . . , wenn man ihm nicht gerade zu starke Püffe verabreicht, dann ist er zufrieden und zu Hause. Dem Durchschnittsdeutschen ist Sucht nach öffentlicher Betätigung und politischer Ehrgeiz fremd. 'Gemütlichkeit' ist sein Leitmotiv.

[90]Der Nordwesten, January 31, 1901, p. 4.

[91]Ibid.

> Laßt uns auch in dieser Angelegenheit sein 'ein einig Volk von Brüdern.' Wir haben alle Ursache, stolz zu sein auf unsere Sprache und auf unsere Nationalität. Die deutsche Sprache ist zu schade, in die Rumpelkammer geworfen zu werden. Laßt uns keine Anstrengung scheuen, wo es unser Deutschtum gilt!

[92]Ibid., May 30, 1901, p. 1. The representatives from the German districts Toews talked to were: A. S. Rosenroll (Westaskiwin), G. H. Brown (Regina), R. S. Lake (Grenfell), and M. McCauley (Edmonton). Toews spoke to seventeen of the thirty representatives of the North-West Territorial Assembly regarding this matter.

[93]Ibid., June 12, 1901, p. 1.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Ibid., May 23, 1901.

[96]Ibid., October 26, 1905.

[97]Saskatchewan Courier, April 1, 1908, p. 1; January 13, 1909, p. 4.

These laws were available in German: Das Wege-Verbesserungs-Gesetz; Die Verordnung betreffs entlaufener Tiere; Die Pferdezüchter-Verordnung; Das Ergänzungs-Einkommen-Gesetz; Die Verordnung betreffs schädlichen Unkrauts; Die Herden-Verordnung; Die Zaun-Verordnung; Das Schulgesetz; Die Verordnung betreffs ländlicher Telephone; Die Verordnung zur Amendierung des Wege-Gesetzes. Two pamphlets: Schwindsucht and Diphtheritis. One book: Noxious Weeds on Farm and Ranch. Translation of laws into German and their publication continued until 1915. See Der Courier, January 20, 1915.

[98]Der Nordwesten, November 16, 1905, p. 1. The editor suggested that the Germans could have had control of the following nine constituencies: Rosthern, Lumsden, Regina City, South Regina, South Qu'Appelle, Grenfell, Wolseley, Saltcoats and Yorkton.

[99]Saskatchewan Courier, October 30, 1907: Alderman Kramer presented a petition to Regina City Council from residents in Germantown (east part of the city) requesting that police officer Burrows be removed because he was uncivil to residents. They asked for a German-speaking policeman. June 3, 1908: Kramer again presented a petition asking City Council to do something for the many unemployed Germans in the city. October 21, 1908: the City Library agreed to establish a German section as a result of a petition started in April, 1908. On November 18, 1909, a mass meeting of Germans was held to oppose abolition of the ward system.

[100]Ibid., November 20, 1907, p. 7. J. Z. Walters wrote from Yorkton as follows:

> Die Munizipalwahlen sind wieder vor der Tür, und nun deutsche Bürger, zeigt, daß ihr deutsch seid und erwählt wenn irgend tümlich, einen deutschen Bürgermeister und deutsche Councillors. Es ist doch eine Schande für uns, wenn in deutschen Bezirken und Orten Englische zu Beamten gewählt werden. Laßt uns in solchen Dingen alle persönlichen Vorurteile beiseite legen und als echt --deutsche Männer handeln.

[101]Schulte, Bilder und Blätter, pp. 30-31. Father Schweers was among the first group of settlers which left Saskatoon for Tramping Lake. They arrived on May 11, 1905. The next morning he held Mass in a tent for the seven men there.

Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, pp. 7-19. Father Bruno Doerfler was one of the four men who decided on the location of St. Peter's Colony. The Benedictines were there to establish a monastery as the settlers arrived.

[102]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 270.

[103]Schulte, Bilder und Blätter, pp. 36-40. In 1907 Father Schweers served two organized churches west of Tramping Lake as well as five meeting places within a circumference of forty miles.

[104]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 272-73.

[105]This point has already been made under the section on Schools.

[106]Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 259. However, as Francis correctly points out, not all of the Mennonite churches allowed Sunday Schools or youth clubs to meet.

[107]Wagner, Von Küste zu Küste, p. 123.

[108]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 275.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPACT OF WORLD WAR I ON THE GERMAN PRESS, ASSOCIATIONS AND CHURCHES

In the pre-war years there existed among English Canadians a strong popular dislike of non-British immigrants. In fact the dislike of foreigners was so widespread that J. S. Woodsworth, "a crusader for social justice in Canada," set out to refute in his study, Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians, the common prejudice that foreigners dug sewers and were continually in trouble with the law.[1]

The attitude towards Germans, however, was generally favourable. The English Canadians regarded the German as thrifty, industrious and loyal; one who fit into the community and was anxious to educate his children; one who, because he came from a northern race, was freedom-loving and able to adapt to the parliamentary system.[2] J. S. Woodsworth made this distinction when he wrote that the Germans did not form a distinct class in Canadian society and even those people who detested foreigners made an exception in their case and classified them as "white people like ourselves."[3] The Premier of Saskatchewan, the Honourable W. Scott thought highly of the German settlers. Even after war had been declared, he stated:

> The German colonist, has, I think, always been regarded as a good type and numbers of the most successful settlers in this country have come from the German Empire.[4]

However, in the early twentieth century there were already those who expressed serious reservations about the suitability of German immi-

grants. A reader of Der Nordwesten claimed that at a Conservative convention in 1903 the Mennonites were categorized as 'undesirable' and that the Germans would be more desirable in the steppes of Russia.[5] On November 30, 1905, the editor of Der Nordwesten commented that the Germans were often put in the same category as Doukhobors but that the Grenfell Sun had gone one step further and compared them to "heathen Chinese." Speaking in a church in Regina on December 15, 1907, Oliver Darwin, Superintendent of Missions for the Methodist Church, estimated that in the previous five years 160,000 immigrants of various nationalities had come to Canada and that they would soon be receiving the vote. He stated that unless these people were "converted to Christianity" Canada would be faced by a national calamity.[6] Needless to say, the editor of the Saskatchewan Courier was astounded and suggested that a study of the immigration figures revealed only a few thousand Hindus, Chinese and Japanese had entered Canada during that period. And with regard to voting rights, Mrs. W. J. Brown of the Daughters of the Empire, Toronto, told an audience that the law which allowed foreigners to vote after three years' residence should be changed. In her view foreigners were pawns in the hands of politicians: 'the vote of an irresponsible foreigner cancels the vote of a Canadian.'[7]

Feelings of resentment about Germans among some groups were prevalent prior to the outbreak of the war though these were expressed only occasionally. As feelings of nationalism were heightened during the war, the Germans were subjected to the brunt of increased resentment now expressed more readily. Those very characteristics, "thrifty, intelligent, industrious, sober, thorough, loyal," considered attributes prior to the war now were regarded as detrimental. However, this was understandable because as the war effort called for united action, attention was fixed on those immigrants in their midst who spoke the language and

appreciated the culture of their enemy.[8] There arose within many English Canadians a determination that the German immigrants should become assimilated.

Soon after the war broke out official pronouncements from both the Federal and Saskatchewan Governments had a calming effect on the Germans. At a special war session of Parliament both Prime Minister Borden and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Leader of the Opposition, expressed their belief in the loyalty of the German Canadian community.[9] At the regular sitting of the Saskatchewan Legislature, Premier Scott and W. B. Willoughby, Leader of the Conservative Opposition, stated the Germans were desirable and hard-working citizens of the province. They expressed the belief that the Germans would continue to be loyal and the English citizens should show some understanding of their German neighbors.[10]

During the first few months of the war, aside from the immediate dismissal of some German employees from the railways, for instance, there was an amazing tolerance of the Germans. However, as the war progressed greater demands were made on the Canadian public for men and money, and the number of Germans arrested and interned grew as did public ill-will and intolerance.[11]

The Germans in Saskatchewan were not prepared organizationally for the onslaught of adverse public opinion. The Provinzialverband, barely one and one-half years old at the outset of the war, spoke for only a minority of Germans. The Provinzialverband was not yet well known among the Germans let alone by government officials. The mechanism for developing a united approach to the problems that now threatened their language rights was missing. However, because of the intensity of the anti-German feeling during the latter stages of the war, it would have been highly unlikely that even united action on the part of the Germans could have

prevented the passage of legislation detrimental to the retention of their language.

The war affected the Germans in every facet of their life--their newspapers, associations, churches and schools. The degree of impact in each area, primarily as it related to the German language, varied considerably.

The German Press

The declaration of war did not have an immediate adverse effect on the German newspapers. Editions of Der Nordwesten, Der Courier and St. Peters Bote appeared in their usual format at the normal time. The papers' first concern seemed to be what action the Germans in Saskatchewan might take. Der Courier, in its first edition after the declaration of war, commented in an article entitled An unsere Landsleuten (To Our Fellow Countrymen) as follows: "In this present crisis, the German Canadians have their first duty to their adoptive land. They should remain quiet and not retaliate against provocation."[12]

Within a short time both Der Courier and Der Nordwesten made public their position in regard to the war. Der Courier stated it had taken a definite 'German Canadian' position and repeated its earlier stand of complete loyalty to Canada. But the editor went one step further and declared that this did not mean "giving up our German feelings or our German Volkstums."

> When we hear and read how our German brothers in our homeland are called barbarians and "Red Indians of Europe," how the German Kaiser is ridiculed, and how Germany is described as the refuge of all reactionary forces, then we deem it our duty to oppose offshoots of such unknowledgeable and hateful news reporting.[13]

However, Der Courier and Der Nordwesten were unable to fulfill their resolve to oppose unfair reporting by the English press and to pre-

sent the facts. Already on August 31, 1914, the Commissioner of the Royal North-West Mounted Police reported to Ottawa that Der Courier was decidedly anti-British, printing false news and saying the English press could not be relied upon. The Commissioner recommended suppression of Der Courier.[14] Indeed regulations were in preparation providing for the censorship of enemy alien newspapers.[15] On September 30, 1914, Der Courier carried an article in which the editor complained that censorship was so strong most news items received were under the heading "The Censor Has Forbidden It." Two months later, the papers were officially informed

> . . . that as of this date [November 5, 1914], newspapers which print articles, news or correspondence that might in any way influence a segment of public opinion against British interests will immediately be suppressed. . . .[16]

The newspapers were allowed to continue publication without serious interference until 1918. The editors gradually became more reserved in their comments, and coverage of war news became very limited after 1915. German newspapers entering Canada from the United States and elsewhere were closely scrutinized by the dominion press censor. By November 25, 1914, several papers from the United States were banned from Canada and anyone caught with these papers in their possession could face fines of up to $5,000.[17] In one six-month period alone no fewer than sixty-seven German-oriented papers were barred from Canada.[18] It would be difficult to estimate, of course, how many of these newspapers were read in Saskatchewan and how much of a hardship their exclusion proved to be for the Germans.

In 1918, the freedom the newspapers had been enjoying to publish in German came to an abrupt end. In May Borden asked C. H. Cahan, Director of Public Safety, to investigate evidence pointing to propaganda being carried on in various parts of the country by German agents or with German support. Cahan undertook a detailed study of the matter

and reported to the Honourable Charles J. Doherty, Minister of Justice, that there was no cause for alarm. However, he did recommend among other things that no newspapers should be permitted to be published in Canada in any language other than English or French.[19] Borden received a copy of Cahan's Report on September 17, 1918, and noted that the recommendations would receive immediate and vigorous action.[20]

Pressure on the Dominion Government to prohibit publication of newspapers within Canada in any enemy alien language came from the Great War Veterans' Association. In early September 1918 at a convention in Toronto the Great War Veterans' Association had passed a resolution demanding that all newspapers publish in English only. On September 10 the executive of the Winnipeg branch of the Veteran's Association approved a similar resolution and sent the following telegram to Borden:

> This association requests that all papers now being published in the language of enemy countries be suppressed unless the publishers promise to publish these papers in English. Request Order-in-Council be immediately passed for this purpose otherwise cannot be accountable for actions of returned soldiers who threaten to smash up these German publishing houses.[21]

Borden asked the Honourable J. A. Calder, Minister of Immigration, who was then in Winnipeg, to check into the problem. On September 20 Calder informed Borden that he was convinced suppression of the German newspapers should take place "otherwise from information received look for serious trouble in Winnipeg."[22] Within a few days, September 25, the necessary Order-in-Council was approved prohibiting publication of newspapers, tracts, pamphlets, books or any other kind of publication in Canada in enemy alien languages effective October 1, 1918.[23]

The only German paper that raised strenuous objections to the Order-in-Council was Der Nordwesten. Its editor, G. L. Maron, had written Borden on September 5, 1918, as soon as the Great War Veterans' Associa-

tion in Toronto had passed its resolution regarding the use of enemy alien languages, arguing against such a restriction.[24] Several other letters followed, all to no avail. Borden had asked Calder to visit Maron while he was in Winnipeg to explain the Government's position. Nevertheless, Maron objected strenuously to the legislation when passed. He wrote to Borden on October 22, 1918, as follows:

> . . . the Order-in-Council . . . has caused great consternation not only among the publishers, . . . but also among those people who are thus deprived of the only medium between them and their adopted country and the world at large. I may frankly state that the general opinion of our people is that a great injustice has been done them by the Government by passing such a drastic measure. Scores of our subscribers have expressed this opinion and have added that the injustice is all the greater, since the German farmers are contributing to a very large extent to the production of foodstuffs, . . .[25]

Objections to the regulations also came from the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. These organizations wished the right to print their constitutions, by-laws and notices of meetings in the prohibited languages. Their objections were met by the provision that special licenses would be issued to those making application to use the prohibited languages for the above purpose.[26]

Thus on October 16, 1918, Der Nordwesten appeared as The Northwestern in English only. Similarly West-Canada, St. Peters Bote and the Steinbach Post all published in English. Almost a month earlier than Der Nordwesten, on September 18, Der Courier had decided to begin publishing in English. An explanation of why this step was taken read as follows:

> . . . most of our English speaking fellow citizens and especially some influential organizations hold the view, that a continuance of the foreign language press in Western Canada constitutes a hindrance in the way of accomplishing assimilation and a speedy adoption of the English language, regarded as absolutely essential and desirable in the interests of building up a strong national life. While we believe that the language question might well be a subject of argument and that

> there is more than one side to this question, the shareholders of the company realized that the present time calls for the putting forth of every effort of the nation in perfect harmony rather than for the carrying on of arguments concerning internal questions however important they may be.[27]

The only German papers exempted from the Order-in-Council were those which were "standard works of religious, artistic, literary and scientific reference."[28] Since the censor defined matters of "a religious character" very narrowly, the only German publication which qualified was Der College-Freund.

The impact of these regulations for the German newspapers was severe. Both Der Courier and Der Nordwesten complained that their subscribers cancelled subscriptions en masse. Maron of Der Nordwesten claimed that two-thirds of its subscriptions were cancelled. Indeed, by August 26, 1919, the paper had suspended publication and was for sale.[29] This occurred even though the paper tried to print the literary and religious articles in German. Der Courier tried to publish a literary and scientific supplement entitled Der Plauderer (The Talker) but it appeared only once (April 30, 1919). Maron repeatedly wrote to Borden after the armistice asking for permission to publish in German, only to be refused. It was not until December 22 that permission was given to print the news in parallel columns, one English and one German. Shortly, thereafter, on January 7, 1920, all papers received permission to publish completely in German.

There were several aspects to the government policy regarding the restrictions which must have been particularly galling and disheartening for the editors of the German press and the German populace. In a letter to Borden in 1919, Maron raised some of the glaring inconsistencies of the government policies. Maron mentioned that while the German papers in Canada were not permitted to appear in German, the Canadian postal author-

ities were distributing German papers from the United States; that the Government had broken its own censorship laws by publishing and distributing pamphlets in the German language during the Victory Loan and the War Savings Stamps campaigns; and, that all other newspapers in foreign languages had been allowed to publish for upwards of a year while the German papers were still restricted.[30]

German Associations

Not unlike the newspapers, the German associations adopted a very conciliatory stand at the outbreak of the war. The majority of the associations announced they were voluntarily cancelling all public meetings for the duration of hostilities between Germany and Great Britain. The Provinzialverband made the following announcement:

> . . . that no public meetings shall be held during the war. . . . Out of a love for peace, we Germans here in Canada must avoid everything which might give our neighbors and governments grounds for offence and cause dispute. A serious conflict in Canada would spell our ruin.[31]

Similarly, the Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken restricted its activities. An official pamphlet of the Volksverein summarized its position:

> Even though we have as Canadian citizens, complete freedom in exercising our religious rights, even in the preservation of our precious mother tongue, most locals decided not to hold regular meetings, at least during the first year of the war, in order to prevent unnecessary suspicion or hostilities from our fellow citizens of other nationalities. Also, the printing and distribution of pamphlets in the German language was stopped.[32]

Other associations decided to suspend all activities. Thus the executive of the Regina-based Deutscher Verein Teutonia agreed to dissolve since the holding of meetings, even of a social nature, might give rise to disturbances of the peace.[33]

Although the Provinzialverband had called on all its locals to

refrain from holding public meetings, its own executive continued to meet regularly. It also kept its membership informed through a weekly column in Der Courier. It was probably because of the influence of the editor of Der Courier, C. Eymann, who was the organizer of the Provinzialverband, that its official position on the war was very similar to Der Couriers On September 2, 1914, the executive stated that the Germans in Saskatchewan owed their first loyalty to their adoptive land but that it was also their duty to raise their voice against the disparaging remarks made by the English language press against the Germans.[34]

The executive of the Provinzialverband took immediate action on the latter matter. On September 21 they submitted a petition to Prime Minister Borden and Premier Scott asking these governments, among other things, to restrict the English language press for "not doing justice to German civilization and for stirring up hatred and race feeling."[35] In reply Borden and Scott both stated it was not government policy to control the press but they would use their personal influence to moderate the tone of the press.[36]

Two weeks later the Provinzialverband wrote to Borden again submitting a resolution adopted at its first and only annual convention held in March, 1914. The resolution read as follows:

> Resolved that this convention instruct the executive of the "German-Canadian Provincial Alliance of Saskatchewan" to petition the Dominion Government to have the more important Acts passed by the Dominion Parliament printed in German, especially those of interest to the German Canadian farmers, and further to provide for distribution amongst the German speaking population.[37]

Why the executive waited seven months before submitting this resolution is not clear. But of interest is the fact that it forwarded the resolution even though war had already been declared. In any case, the Dominion Government did act to translate certain laws into German but not in

response to the above resolution. The Federal Government was planning to print some laws in German even before the resolution was sent.[38] A letter written by Fortescue, the Comptroller of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, to Borden stated:

> Steps have already been taken for the printing of the Order-in-Council relating to arms and explosives, in the German and Austrian language.[39]

With this "seeming" success in hand, the executive of the Provinzialverband began to support a development among German Canadian farmers in Saskatchewan with some astounding results. Had this development occurred during peace time, the benefits to the retention of the German language might have been far-reaching.

Already in 1909 an attempt had been made to organize the German farmers when the Deutsche Ansiedlungs-Vereinigung (German Colonization Agency) was formed. Because the organizers had only personal gain in mind this organization did not receive the support of German farmers.[40] Three years later there was another call for the German farmers in Saskatchewan to unite under an organization called the Deutsch-Canadischer Farmerbund (German Canadian Farmer Association).[41] From discussions in the Saskatchewan Courier regarding the forming of this association, it became clear that many of the German farmers had joined the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association by 1912 and were now not willing to consider any fragmentation of farmer unity.[42] As a result the organization of the Farmerbund did not materialize.

After the Provinzialverband had been organized in 1913, many of its locals had formed Deutsche Getreidebauer-Verbände (German Grain Growers' Locals) with the encouragement of the executive of the Grain Growers' Association.[43] At its annual convention the executive of the Provinzialverband was instructed to

> . . . communicate with the leaders of the Grain Growers' movement in order to obtain literature regarding the farmers' movement in this province printed in German.[44]

At its annual convention in 1915 the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association agreed to receive this resolution "with pleasure."[45] In August of that year Der Courier announced that a pamphlet in German on the Grain Growers' Grain Company Limited was available for distribution.[46]

That this resolution was acted upon by the Grain Growers' Association in 1915 was surprising. But further developments were of even greater interest. Shortly after the 1915 convention the Grain Growers' Association established a so-called "Foreign Department" under the direction of a German named William Bielschowsky from Moose Jaw to assist German locals of the Association.[47] And as the 1916 annual convention drew nearer several German locals began to circulate a petition, which was presented to the executive of the Grain Growers' Association, calling for the setting up of a Deutschen Tag (German Day) at the next convention in Saskatoon. The purpose of the "German Day" was to enable German delegates representing German locals, who did not understand and speak English, to discuss the important problems of the organization.[48]

However, this petition did not reach the floor of the next Grain Growers' convention. The executive of the Provinzialverband apparently heard through its own contacts that the executive of the Grain Growers' Association was not going to allow discussion of the petition regarding the "German Day" at the next convention. As a result the Provinzialverband denounced the executive of the Grain Growers' through the pages of Der Courier. Several weeks later Der Courier carried an article under the Provinzialverband news column saying it had received a letter from the executive of the Grain Growers' Association regarding the request for a "German Day." The Provinzialverband apparently discussed this letter,

which was not made public, and declared that the stand of the Grain Growers' Association was satisfactory. All charges previously made against the executive of the Grain Growers' Association were withdrawn.[49] The reason for the refusal to discuss the petition to have a "German Day" is not hard to establish. It was probably similar to a statement made by William Bielschowsky in a letter to Der Courier in which he suggested that it "would be asking a lot under the present circumstances to have a German Day at the convention or to have immediate translation of the most important addresses or discussions."[50] Instead, Bielschowsky announced attempts would be made to have the most important resolutions and discussions summarized in German and explained, in separately arranged meetings, for those who had not mastered English. Apparently this was done during the annual convention of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association held in Saskatoon February 15-18, 1916.

Although the locals of the Provinzialverband continued to support the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, no requests for special consideration in terms of the German language were made during the remainder of the war and the immediate post-war years. Indeed, the rather vigorous activities carried out by the executive of the Provinzialverband during the early years of the war were about to come to a sudden halt.

In August 1916, the Provinzialverband released an appeal in Der Courier asking for contributions toward a so-called "fighting fund." At the same time a pamphlet was circulated explaining the purpose and aims of the fund. The main purpose of the fund was to get more representatives into the Provincial and the Federal Governments, to work toward a solution of the school and language question, and to educate the German population in Canadian citizenship and the democratic way of life. To carry on this propaganda approximately ten thousand dollars were needed.[51]

However, the Chief Press Censor, Lt. Colonel Ernest J. Chambers, saw the matter quite differently. On April 29, 1917, he wrote to Conrad Eymann as follows:

> It is represented to me that the attempt to organize or extend the activities of such an organization [Provinzialverband] during the present war is calculated to arouse suspicion and ill-feeling throughout Saskatchewan. . . . It is further represented that the tenor of this pamphlet is such as to create in the minds of German-Canadians a suspicion that they are . . . unfairly treated . . . Consequently, the issuing of this circular is in my opinion calculated to cause disaffection to His Majesty.[52]

In his reply on May 15, Eymann expressed his disappointment over the official assessment of the pamphlet and then stated:

> As soon as we learned that even our so carefully worded circular seemed to become a cause for misunderstanding, we stopped our propaganda, and have up to date collected only about $500. And we will not place any candidates in the field at the coming elections.[53]

After this particular exchange of letters the Provinzialverband curbed its activities considerably and became less visible. Its logo and lengthy association news column disappeared from Der Courier and in its place appeared a column entitled Unsere Organisierten Getreidebauer (Our Organized Grain Growers). The activities of German clubs and associations in Saskatchewan were now at a virtual standstill.

The final blow to any organized activities by German associations was delivered on September 28, 1918, with the approval of an Order-in-Council which stated:

> No meeting or assemblage of any kind except church meetings or meetings for religious services only, shall be held in Canada during the present war at which the proceedings or any part thereof are conducted in the language or any of the languages of any country . . . with which Canada is at war, . . .[54]

This Order-in-Council was drawn up to curb communist activities within Canada as well as to control the Germans. Correspondence between C. H. Cahan, Director of Public Safety, and Charles J. Doherty, Minister

of Justice, made this clear.[55] Nevertheless, the Order-in-Council effectively put an end to the activities of any German Canadian associations which may still have been going on, such as those of the Provinzialverband in Saskatchewan.

The German Churches

The war had the least impact on the Germans' attempt to retain their language in their church services and related activities. Congregations held their services in German throughout the war.[56] The church leaders faced no opposition in their efforts to involve their members in youth meetings, Sunday and Saturday Schools, choirs, mission circles, and picnics. At all these functions German was used freely. Some of the denominations continued to hold their annual conferences at which large numbers of delegates gathered. Proceedings here, too, were conducted in German without arousing undue resentment.[57] The German Roman Catholics, however, decided not to hold their annual provincial Katholikentag.

The lack of interference was probably due to the very nature of the German church services and related activities. They concerned themselves with matters not connected to the war and were attended only by Germans, thus arousing little suspicion. Generally, too, the ministers did not state openly their position as far as the war was concerned even if their sympathies were pro-German. However, there were some exceptions. In a letter to Commissioner A. B. Perry, Royal North-West Mounted Police, October 13, 1914, Scott revealed the following:

> There has been brought to my attention some reports which the Department of Education has received from its School Inspectors concerning cases of Germans, mostly clergymen, who have been employed in some capacity by the School Boards who have expressed extreme pro-German sentiments.[58]

As a result of incidents such as these the Lutheran Church was to

face difficulties later in the war when it desired to bring in German-speaking ministers from the United States. The President of the Canada District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Other States wrote to Borden in August 1916, asking permission to bring to western Canada two ministers from the United States. Borden asked A. Meighen, the Solicitor General, for an opinion on the matter. Meighen advised Borden not to allow the two ministers to come to Canada because

> . . . upon investigation we have found that the loyalty of German Lutheran clergymen is decidedly pro-German . . .[59]

One area in which the churches were affected was in the matter of religious publications. Very early in the war the Chief Press Censor included religious newspapers from the United States in the list of those papers barred from entry into Canada. Lutheran as well as Mennonite publications were affected. Thus, the Christliche Bundesbote (Messenger of Christian Union), a weekly paper of the General Conference Mennonites published in the United States, was prohibited from entering Canada because it contained objectionable matter.[60] In fact the Chief Censor considered the Mennonite church papers "the most dangerous media" for causing disaffection among the foreign population in Canada.[61] The pacifist views expressed in these papers may have contributed to this assessment.

In 1918 when the Order-in-Council prohibited the publication of papers in enemy alien languages, all the German religious publications in Saskatchewan and Manitoba were included in the ban. The only exception was Der College-Freund which met the censor's definition of "standard work of religious reference."

There was no massive outcry from the German population in Saskatchewan against the wartime regulations preventing their newspapers, both secular and religious, from being published in German and from coming into

Canada; nor was grave dissatisfaction expressed when the activities of their associations were curbed and regulations were introduced which eventually prohibited their meeting. Instead, the Germans showed their resentment and frustration against these restrictions by discontinuing their subscriptions to the German papers. This form of protest had grave repercussions for the newspapers themselves but accomplished little in terms of informing the government of the unpopularity of their decisions with the German people.[62] The extent of the anti-German feeling which developed during the war had understandably silenced the Germans.

The impact of the war on the publication of German newspapers, on the effectiveness of their associations and on their church activities was serious. The restrictions imposed in these areas were temporary; shortly after the war ended the restrictions were removed and a near return to pre-war conditions was possible. However, the war had a profound impact on the attempts of the Germans to retain their language in their schools. The restrictions imposed in this area through legislation toward the end of the war were to be permanent. All attempts at regaining the language rights the Germans had enjoyed prior to the war ended in failure.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1]Klaus P. Stich, "Canada's Century: The Rhetoric of Propaganda," in Prairie Forum, Vol. I, No. 1 (April, 1976), p. 27.

[2]Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in Peter Russell, Nationalism in Canada (Toronto, 1966), pp. 12-17.

[3]J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians (Toronto, 1909), p. 100. Also quoted in J. A. Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921" (Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1965), pp. 16-17.

[4]Public Archives of Canada (hereinafter cited as P.A.C.), Canada Immigration Records, Film No. 2.524, Volume 30, File 674-682. Premier Scott writing on October 22, 1914, to Mr. John Appleton, editor of the Financial Post of Canada.

[5]Der Nordwesten, December 22, 1904, p. 10.

[6]Saskatchewan Courier, January 1, 1908, p. 4.

[7]Der Nordwesten, May 13, 1914, p. 1.

[8]Epp, Mennonites in Canada, p. 366.

[9]Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1914, Special Session, pp. 10, 14, as quoted in Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada," p. 30.

[10]Der Courier, September 23, 1914, p. 2.

[11]See Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada", for greater detail.

[12]Der Courier, August 12, 1914, p. 2.

[13]Ibid., August 26, 1914, p. 1.

> Wenn wir nun hören und lesen, wie unsere deutschen Brüder in der alten Heimat als Barbaren und "Rote Indianer Europas" verschrien werden, wie der deutsche Kaiser beschimpft und das Deutsche Reich als Hort aller Reaktion hingestellt wird, so erachten wir es als unsere Pflicht, derartigen Auswüchsen einer unwissenden und verhetzten Berichterstattung entgegenzutretten.

[14]P.A.C., Borden Papers, RLB 662-675 (file 674). On August 31, 1914, A. B. Perry, Commissioner of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, Regina, writing to L. Fortescue, Comptroller of the Royal North-West

Mounted Police.

[15]Ibid., September 4, 1914, Fortescue to Borden.

[16]Der Nordwesten, November 11, 1914, p. 1. I. B. Steele, Commander-in-Chief of Military District No. 10 wrote to Der Nordwesten:

> . . . daß von heute an Zeitungen, welche Artikel, Nachrichten, oder Korrespondenzen veröffentlichen, die auf irgend eine Weise einen Teil der öffentlichen Meinung gegen die Interessen Groß Britannien beeinflüssen könnten, sofort unterdrückt werden . . .

[17]Ibid., November 25, 1914, p. 1. Der Nordwesten listed the following papers as having been banned: New Yorker Staatszeitung, The Fatherland, The Vital Issue, and The Truth About Germany.

[18]Epp, Mennonites in Canada, p. 393.

[19]P.A.C., Borden Papers, File OC/519, "Enemy Aliens," pp. 56658, 56677.

[20]Ibid., p. 56683.

[21]Ibid., File OC/454, September 16, 1918.

[22]Ibid., September 20, 1918. Calder writing to Borden from Regina.

[23]Canada Gazette, Order-in-Council 2381, Section 3, paragraph 1.

[24]P.A.C., Borden Papers, File OC/519, September 5, 1918, p. 48121, Maron to Borden.

[25]Ibid., October 22, 1918, p. 48160, Maron to Borden.

[26]Ibid., October 29, 1918, Cahan to Borden.

[27]Der Courier, September 18, 1918. One of the influential organizations referred to was the Great War Veterans' Association.

[28]Epp, Mennonites in Canada, p. 394.

[29]P.A.C., Borden Papers, File OC/519, August 26, 1919, Maron to Borden.

[30]Ibid., November 27, 1919, Maron to Borden.

[31]Der Courier, August 29, 1914, p. 7.

> . . . daß während des Krieges keine öffentlichen Versammlungen abgehalten werden sollen. . . . Aus Friedensliebe müssen wir Deutsche hier in Canada Alles vermeiden was unseren englischen Nachbaren und den Regierungen Anlaß zu Zwistigkeiten und Anstoß geben könnte. Ein Streit in Canada müßte unseren Ruin bedeuten.

[32]A.S., B.A., V.93, Volksverein, 1917, p. 3.

> Trotzdem wir als canadische Bürger volle Freiheit in der

Ausübung unserer religiösen Rechte und selbst in der Bewahrung unserer lieben Muttersprache besitzen, beschlossen die meisten Ortsgruppen, um unnötigen Verdacht oder Feindseligkeiten von Seiten unserer Mitbürger anderer Nationalitäten zu vermeiden, keine regelmäßigen Versammlungen mehr abzuhalten, wenigstens während des ersten Kriegsjahres. Auch das Drucken und Verteilen von . . . Flugschriften in deutscher Sprache wurde eingestellt . . .

[33]Der Courier, August 19, 1914, p. 16.

[34]Ibid., September 2, 1914, p. 2.

[35]P.A.C., Borden Papers, RLB, file 674, J. R. Russak to Borden, September 21, 1914.

[36]Ibid., Borden to J. R. Russak, October 3, 1914; A.S., Scott Papers, MI IV 18(a), Scott to Schmitz, p. 59538.

[37]P.A.C., Borden Papers, RLB, file 674, J. R. Russak to Borden, October 7, 1914.

[38]Ibid., Borden to J. R. Russak, October 15, 1914.

[39]Ibid., Fortescue to Borden, October 22, 1914.

[40]Saskatchewan Courier, June 30, 1909, p. 7. Also see July 21, p. 8; August 11, p. 7; August 18, p. 8; August 25, p. 8; October 6, p. 8; October 27, p. 10; November 3, p. 7 and June 29, 1910, p. 10.

[41]Saskatchewan Courier, February 29, 1912, p. 10. This association, like its predecessor, included among its reasons why it should be supported, the retention of "das Deutschtum" in Saskatchewan.

[42]Ibid., March 13, 1912, p. 10.

[43]Ibid., January 13, 1915, p. 4.

[44]A.S., Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, B2, Annual Convention, February 9-12, 1915, I, Minutes and Reports, p. 28.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Der Courier, August 25, 1915, p. 4.

[47]Ibid., January 19, 1916, p. 5.

[48]Ibid., January 5, 1916, p. 5.

[49]Ibid., January 19, 1916, p. 5; February 9, 1916, p. 5.

[50]Ibid., January 26, 1916, p. 5.

[51]Ibid., August 2, 1916, p. 5.

[52]P.A.C., Record Group 6, E, Volume 19, File No. 119-C-1. As quoted in Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 118.

[53]Ibid., p. 119.

[54]Canada Gazette, Order-in-Council No. 2384, Section 9, published on September 30, 1918.

[55]P.A.C., Borden Papers, File OC/519, p. 56665. In a letter to Doherty on September 14, 1918, Cahan presented a lengthy argument for the extension of wartime regulations to include Russians, Ukrainians and Finns and the banning of associations such as the "Industrial Workers of the World," "The Social Democratic Party of Canada," and "The Ukrainian Revolutionary Group" to prevent "foreign propagandists from advocating and organizing revolution in Canada."

[56]Canada Gazette, Order-in-Council No. 2384, Section 9. In this Order-in-Council "church meetings or meetings for religious services only" were not included in the ban forbidding meetings to be conducted in enemy alien languages.

[57]Der Courier, July 14, 1915, p. 3. The Vereinigung deutscher Baptisten Saskatchewans (Association of German Baptists in Saskatchewan) hosted a national conference of German Baptists, June 16-20, in Regina.

[58]A.S., Scott Papers, MI IV 59(a). Scott to A. B. Perry, October 13, 1914, p. 59569.

[59]P.A.C., Borden Papers, RLB, File 674, Reel C-313, August 18, 1916.

[60]Epp, Mennonites in Canada, p. 393.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Der Courier and Der Nordwesten had great difficulties making ends meet; West-Canada ceased publication altogether. The cancellation of subscriptions was massive.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF WORLD WAR I ON THE GERMAN SCHOOLS - THE "ENGLISH ONLY" CONTROVERSY

As World War I progressed, the area in which the Germans in Saskatchewan saw the greatest expression of resentment and ill-will was in their schools. The demand for the abrogation of their right to teach German for one hour per day in the public schools and for as much time as they wished in the private schools was so forceful that all opposition to it was swept away. And even though other ethnic groups were also affected by this episode, its impact on the Germans was more serious because they were not only aliens but enemy aliens during the war. The teaching of the German language in Saskatchewan schools aroused particular controversy.

Opposition to the teaching of languages other than English in Saskatchewan schools antedated World War I. As early as 1892 Mowat, a member of the Territorial Legislative Assembly, attempted to introduce a bill which would have required that all schools in the Territories be taught in the English language.[1] Six years later the Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction, North-West Territories, the Chairman of which was F. W. G. Haultain, included the views of one of the Superintendents of Education on "the most serious and pressing educational problems arising from the settlement among us of so many foreign nationalities."

> Only through our schools getting an early hold of the children of these settlers can we hope to train them to live according to our social system, and to understand and appreciate the institutions of [this] country. . . . A common school and a common tongue are essential if we are to have a homogeneous citizenship.[2]

In 1912 Norman F. Black, School Inspector and Principal of Regina Normal School, completed the book English for the Non-English in which he recommended strongly that in all elementary schools the language of instruction be English.[3]

The call of some politicians and educators for the use of English as the only language of instruction in the schools of the North-West Territories was shared by most Anglo-Saxon Protestant clergy. They believed that the influx of so many immigrants to Western Canada, most of whom had no heritage of political liberty and were either cut off from their churches or were Roman Catholic, threatened Canada's morally upright, loyal, and liberty-loving society.[4] Yet they did not wish to ban immigration since more people were needed in Western Canada. Therefore the task was to Canadianize the newcomers in government public schools which, in their view, were essential for the training of good citizens. To most clergy Canadianization meant melting the newcomers into an "Anglo-Saxon mould." "They were to become one hundred percent Canadian and British,and little distinction was made between the two."[5]

If Saskatchewan government officials shared the view that immigrants should be Canadianized, they did not act upon it with any degree of urgency prior to the outbreak of war. Indeed, the government of Premier Walter Scott followed an unofficial policy of "gradualism." His government allowed the special privileges granted to immigrants in terms of language instruction to continue, agreed to the translation of the most important laws into their languages, and decided to follow a policy of forcing school districts gradually to adhere to departmental regulations. To some extent such a policy was dictated by necessity because of the speed with which settlement had occurred in Saskatchewan, the large number of immigrants who had come, and a lack of funds for educational purposes.

However, in 1915 Scott's government took a bold step partly in response to concern expressed about the state of Saskatchewan's educational system at the 1915 School Trustees' Association convention. In June of that year, Scott inaugurated the "better schools" movement. The school system in Saskatchewan, largely organized along the lines of Ontario's, had expanded by leaps and bounds.[6] Scott suggested the time had come when the school system should undergo a thorough overhauling to provide an educational system which would meet the conditions of the chief industry of the province--agriculture. To launch this reform movement Scott called for a wide, popular and non-partisan discussion of the educational needs of the province. A specialist in rural education, Dr. A. H. Foght of Washington, D.C., was hired to investigate the school system and to report to the Legislature.[7]

The English press participated in the discussion of the "better schools" movement through editorial comment and reporting of related news items. Der Courier also joined the discussion for better schools with considerable enthusiasm. It invited the Germans to join hands with their fellow citizens of English origin in an effort to make the schools give better service. Every week for over a year, approximately two columns in Der Courier were devoted to matters relating to schools. A special effort was made to alert the school trustees to their duties and to inform them of school laws and regulations. Norman F. Black, in a speech to the delegates gathered for the 1918 School Trustees' Association convention, stated that, in his view, Der Courier was probably the one paper in Saskatchewan which had kept the school reform movement most persistently and intelligently before its readers.[8]

In addition to the press which kept the discussion for better schools before the public, organizations such as the Saskatchewan Public

Education League, Regina, were formed specifically for the purpose of discussing this issue. Some prominent individuals also took an active part in the discussions which in turn sparked a larger response. One such individual was Rev. E. H. Oliver, Principal of the Presbyterian Theological College, Saskatoon. On September 22, 1915, Oliver delivered a speech before the Public Education League, Regina, in which he traced the development of the Saskatchewan school system and assessed its effectiveness especially in relation to the Germans and French. Oliver charged that there were at least forty-five German private schools in Saskatchewan in the majority of which little or no English was taught and whose teachers had little or no professional training. The facilities of these schools were usually inadequate.[9] Oliver claimed to have visited some schools personally. He estimated there were approximately twelve hundred German children in the province who were not under the control of the Department of Education. He asked:

> Are we to be a homogeneous people on these plains or are we to repeat the tragic sufferings of a polyglot Austria? This question must be solved in our elementary schools. And we must solve it now.[10]

This speech raised considerable interest and received wide coverage in the press. Oliver himself as a result was in demand as a speaker.[11]

The 1916 School Inspector's Reports verified Dr. Oliver's observations about some of these German private schools. W. S. Cram noted that the private school he had visited in the Mennonite Reserve south of Swift Current

> . . . compared very unfavourably with our public schools. The work in the school was lacking in any British national coloring and no English was being taught . . .[12]

The inspector's report about the Mennonite private schools in the Hague-Osler district was even more damning.

> I am confident hundreds of German children . . . are growing up in ignorance of everything but the very elements of German and English, especially English. The schools are over-crowded, poorly equipped and ventilated and the teachers unqualified while the public schools are practically empty. . . .[13]

However, not all of Dr. Oliver's statements were to go unchallenged. After an account of an address delivered by Dr. Oliver in Saskatoon appeared in the Saskatoon Phoenix on December 15, 1915, quoting him as saying that "Germans north of Humboldt were flouting the educational ideals of the Department of Education," Rev. Father Bruno Doerfler of Muenster wrote a letter to the Saskatoon Phoenix challenging Dr. Oliver to provide some facts for his charge. Doerfler stated that upon inquiry he had determined that Dr. Oliver had never visited any of the schools in question during school hours nor had personally examined any of the children who attended these schools. Doerfler wrote:

> As it certainly would not be worthy of a gentleman of Dr. Oliver's reputation to make such sweeping charges against a whole class of people merely upon hearsay, I think it due to the Doctor himself, to the German-speaking people of the Humboldt district, and to the public in general, that he enlighten us upon the sources of his information.[14]

The Saskatoon Phoenix delayed printing Doerfler's letter until January 11, 1916. Dr. Oliver ignored the challenge presented by Doerfler.[15] Doerfler then wrote a letter to Premier Scott concerning German schools in the Humboldt district including copies of his correspondence with the Saskatoon Phoenix. Scott acknowledged Doerfler's letter, noting he could not understand why Saskatoon's papers refused to give "ready and full publicity to the facts as presented by both sides."[16]

Although sympathetic to Doerfler's problem with the press, Scott himself had raised the suspicion of many Anglo-Saxons toward the "foreigners" and the language issue. In May, 1915, he had introduced an amendment to the language clause of the School Act (Section 177, sub-section 3).

In 1901, when permission had been granted to teach in any language other than English during the last hour of the school day, it was stipulated that one or more competent persons could be employed to provide such instruction. However, the cost of employing a competent person who was not the teacher normally in charge of the school would be borne by a special levy on the parents of the pupils receiving such instruction.[17] Scott's amendment read:

> Provided that if the regular teacher is competent to conduct such course of instruction the board shall not be required to impose and collect such special rates.[18]

This in fact had been the practice in many of the public schools in German districts where the regular teacher could teach German as well as English.

In the debate on the Consolidated School Act, this amendment was criticized by the Conservative leader, W. B. Willoughby. He argued that the amendment should be withdrawn because it introduced bilingualism into the schools. Scott defended the amendment saying it was ridiculous for anyone to suspect or link the government to a policy of bilingualism. Nevertheless, fearing this suspicion might spread, he moved that the amendment to the language clause be withdrawn. The legislature agreed.[19]

However, the matter did not end there. The Evening Province and Standard, which had strongly opposed the amendment when it was first introduced, reported the debate fully and claimed some credit for its removal.[20] Later in the year the Reverend Murdock MacKinnon, the minister of Regina's Knox Presbyterian Church, who earlier had opposed Scott's position on separate schools, denounced the intent of the amendment from the pulpit.[21]

Thus by 1916 Dr. Oliver's criticism of German private and separate schools as providing inadequate instruction in English and the suspicion aroused by Scott's attempted amendment of the language clause of the School Act had focused attention on the teaching of foreign languages in Saskat-

chewan's public schools. The discussion engendered by the "better schools" movement had isolated other issues as well which required attention.[22] The war, however, intensified conflicts and because the Germans were a large minority group and now enemy aliens as well, certain influential groups began to agitate seriously for a change in language legislation.

On January 5, 1916, at the annual meeting of the Saskatoon Conservative Association, a resolution was adopted which found Scott's government remiss in its duties for not having seen to it that the children of this province received adequate training in the English language.[23] One month later delegates at the convention of the powerful Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association passed a resolution requesting that every child in Saskatchewan be taught the English language, that all schools be brought under government control and inspection, and that an effective system of compulsory education be enacted.[24] Discussion on this resolution was limited and generally favoured the Germans but its passage did indicate a considerable shift in opinion among the Grain Growers from the previous year. In March delegates at the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association annual meeting in Regina voted in favour of a resolution to amend the School Act so that in all school districts nothing but the English language would be taught during school hours to the pupils of Grades 1-5 inclusive.[25]

The adoption of this resolution at the School Trustees' convention was not without incident, however. When it was announced that the majority favoured the resolution, delegates from the non-English school districts left the convention hall in protest and met separately to draw up a petition which charged that the resolution had been forced through unfairly and the votes counted incorrectly. During the discussion of the petition, the chairman ruled the matter closed since the resolution had been passed

by a vote of 206 to 145.[26] The editor of Der Courier concluded that the leaders of the convention were unfriendly to Germans and had purposely manipulated the voting procedures on this resolution.[27]

Also in March, the convention of the Rural Municipalities' Association passed a resolution calling for English to be the only language taught in the public schools and that councillors be able to read and write English.[28] A month prior to the convention, the Rural Municipality of Shamrock had circulated a resolution among other municipalities asking for their support of a petition to the government requesting that "all instruction in the schools in this province be given in the English language only, and that all teachers must pass an examination in English before being appointed to any school district."[29] The Secretary-Treasurer of the Shamrock municipality wrote to Premier Scott in June stating that of the thirty-four replies received, twenty-nine favoured the resolution.[30]

The discussion of the language question continued in 1917 though somewhat abated. The usual round of conventions was held and resolutions dealing with the language issue considered. In February, over fourteen hundred delegates at the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association convention wanted to be put on "record as being in favour of compulsory education and that English be the language of instruction in our public schools."[31] The Saskatchewan School Trustees' Convention, held on February 28 and 29, also considered a resolution on the language question. The resolution read:

> That whereas the textbooks authorized by the Department of Education include 1. Alexandra Readers; 2. Canadian Catholic Readers; 3. Bi-lingual Series of Readers; 4. Eclectic Series of German Readers;
>
> Therefore be it resolved that in the opinion of this convention a uniform system of school readers printed in the English language be authorized in the province of Saskatchewan.[32]

Much to the surprise of the English-speaking delegates, P. M. Friesen's motion that the resolution be tabled was secured by a vote of 330 to 321.[33] The numerical strength of delegates from foreign-speaking districts was further demonstrated in the election of the Association's slate of officers. P. M. Friesen was elected President by a margin of 130 votes and four other German Canadians and one French-Canadian delegate were elected to the executive.[34]

J. F. Bryant of the Regina School Board charged that the convention had been packed. However, Norman F. Black was probably more accurate in his assessment when he stated that the large attendance of delegates from non-English districts was due to a genuine interest in the improvement of their schools and that systematic steps had been taken by the ethnic press to encourage their delegates to attend.[35] Indeed, weeks before the convention Der Courier and St. Peters Bote were encouraging trustees to make every effort to be present.[36] The editor of Der Courier argued that trustees should become involved since the opinions expressed by the convention would be regarded by the government as the opinion of the majority of trustees, that since the whole educational system was under review their views mattered a great deal, and that this was an opportunity for the Germans to demonstrate they understood and wished to be involved in the democratic process.[37]

In the 1917 provincial election the language question became an issue. William M. Martin, who had succeeded Walter Scott as Premier in October, 1916, called the election for June 26. The Conservative party tried to use the language issue to its advantage by accusing the Liberals of encouraging poly-lingualism and of hiding "behind the foreign elements in the province."[38] The Liberals, on the other hand, played down the issue and called for tolerance on the language question. The editor of the

Saskatoon Phoenix, for instance, thought that both parties were more subdued in their position on the language issue.

> There has been some extreme expressions [sic] of opinion regarding the education of the foreign born element in the province, but the more sober views now prevail, as expressed on the platforms of *both* political parties.[39]

There is no doubt the parties realized the importance of the "foreign" vote in determining the outcome of the election.

Der Courier was totally supportive of the Liberals a fact which was not unexpected in light of its Liberal bias. However, it stressed heavily the position Martin took on the language issue as being the correct one, namely, that the non-English Canadians would learn English and even insist on it if they were shown some leniency with regard to their mother tongue.[40] Der Courier, therefore, urged the German voter to cast his ballot for Liberal candidates.

The Liberal party considered the support of the foreign language press for its policies to be somewhat of a drawback. Some Liberals feared that their opponents might use the alliance between them and immigrants from enemy lands to portray the Liberal party as "consorting with the enemy and on the edge of disloyalty."[41] Although this did not happen to any extent during the 1917 election, there were some proponents of immigrant disfranchisement during the provincial election campaign.[42]

The election returned the Liberals with a fifty-one seat majority. The Conservatives did not improve their representation by stressing the language issue.[43] However, the Liberal victory "could not be regarded as a referendum on the educational issue."[44] The 1917 election year was the "lull before the storm" as far as the language question was concerned.

In 1918 the "English only" controversy reached its climax. On the surface it appeared as if the controversy was one of language--English

against German primarily, even though French and all other immigrant languages were also under attack. But as we have seen, it represented much more. Not only did it point to an inadequate educational system, it also showed that the Canadianization of immigrants was proceeding much too slowly, especially among certain German Canadians. There was a fear that the large alien born population in Saskatchewan somehow threatened the very roots of Anglo-Saxon society. The public school was seen to be the one place where an acceleration of the Canadianization process could be achieved most quickly.

The war continued to highlight the fact that the Germans in Saskatchewan were enemy aliens. That these Germans should resist the use of English in their private schools and attendance at English-language public schools seemed intolerable to the majority of the Anglo-Saxon population. The exemption of the Mennonites from military duty, and the prosperity of many German immigrants during the course of the war also helped to inflame Anglo-Saxon emotions. By 1918, emotions were so high and patriotic sentiment so strong that any moderation of the demand to remove the right to teach German in private or public schools was out of the question.

The pressure on the government to change the legislation so that English would be the only language of instruction in Saskatchewan schools continued to grow in 1918. At a meeting of the Soldiers' Wives' and Mothers' League held on February 8, 1918, it was unanimously resolved to endorse fully the resolutions passed by the Sons of England Benefit Society. These stated that English be the language of instruction in all elementary schools and that German textbooks used in elementary, high and normal schools be prohibited after June 30.[45] As in 1917, the delegates at the Grain Growers' Convention adopted a resolution favouring compulsory educa-

tion and English as the language of instruction in the public schools.[46] The debate on the language question was longer and livelier than in previous years. The Grain Growers' Association was encouraged by the executive of the Regina Great War Veterans' Association to take a firm stand on the language question. The executive forwarded a resolution which stated that they viewed with alarm the problem of language within this province and were convinced that English and English only should be taught in Saskatchewan's public schools.[47] This resolution was also forwarded to the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association Convention held on February 20-21.

The meetings at the School Trustees' Convention demonstrated clearly that for the majority of Anglo-Saxons the language issue had become a highly emotional subject with little room for compromise. Several weeks before the convention the editor of Der Courier complained about "certain groups" who were trying to ensure that the majority of delegates attending the 1918 Convention would be prepared to ban languages other than English from the school system and elect an executive sympathetic to this view. These "groups" did not wish to see a repetition of the 1917 School Trustees' Convention. He added that, regrettably, they were making their appeal on racist and nationalistic grounds through the medium of several Saskatchewan newspapers.[48]

This was indeed the case. Prior to the convention, the Daily Post, Morning Leader, and the Saskatoon Daily Star all carried editorial comment and articles which encouraged English-speaking delegates to attend the convention to make certain English became the language taught and used in Saskatchewan's schools.[49] L'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan became so alarmed at this "great offensive" directed against bilingualism that its executive appealed to the sense of fair play

of English-speaking trustees through an open letter released to the English press.[50]

In order to offset the work of these "certain people" the editor of Der Courier encouraged all German-speaking trustees to be present at the convention.[51] Der Nordwesten and St. Peters Bote also carried articles which discussed the importance of the Trustees' Convention. According to Der Courier over nine hundred trustees from German Canadian school districts responded--a remarkable turnout. The total attendance of over three thousand delegates at the convention exceeded by a large margin even the most optimistic estimates, and presented unusual problems to the organizers. When Third Avenue Methodist Church could not accommodate the delegates, Knox Methodist Church was rented and two separate sessions held. Speakers shuttled back and forth between the two churches. And because of the large number of delegates, registration procedures on the morning of February 20 proved completely inadequate. Many delegates could not register and therefore did not receive voting cards; hundreds of delegates were delayed when their train stalled between Regina and Saskatoon. As a result it was agreed no business would be undertaken until the second day of the convention.[52]

The mood of the English-speaking delegates during the first day of the convention was such that it seemed to the German-speaking trustees that the purpose of the convention was to terrorize them. They feared there might be some "bloody heads" before the end of the convention.[53] In the evening of February 20, the German, French and other non-English speaking delegates held a separate meeting to agree on plans for the next day. After a lively debate, it was agreed that all delegates should vote for the "English only" resolutions "as it was clear there would be a fight with the fanatics if they did not do so, and in order to teach the English

a lesson in patience and Canadian spirit."[54] However, it was agreed that the French, and some German delegates, would at least voice their opposition to the resolutions during the debate. Those present at the meeting also agreed on a slate of nominees to be put forward next day during the election of executive officers for the Association, nominees who would receive the support of all the delegates at the convention opposed to the "English only" idea. It was suggested that of the slate of nine nominees, at least seven could be elected "if we stick together."[55]

Most of the sessions on the following day were tumultuous indeed and at times dominated by mob psychology. Emotions against Association executive members who were Germans ran high. Mr. P. M. Friesen, president of the Association, had received such a hostile reaction to his call for a compromise on the language question the previous day, that he did not make an appearance at Third Avenue Church on the second day of the convention. The second vice-president, also a German Canadian, was hooted off the stage after half an hour of chairing the meeting at Third Avenue Church on February 21.[56] It was not surprising, therefore, that not one man with a foreign name was elected to a position on the new executive of the Association in spite of the careful preparations the foreign-speaking delegates had made the previous evening.

The most hectic sessions during the convention took place during the discussion of the resolutions requesting that, to be eligible to be elected as a trustee, a person had to be a British subject and able to read and write English, that no language other than English be used as a language of instruction in any elementary school in the province, and that no language except English be taught during school hours.[57] German and French-Canadian trustees such as Dr. J. M. Uhrich of Hague and l'abbe Sinnett of Lanigan, who argued that an additional language did not affect

one's loyalty and that the people in a country could speak more than one language and still be united, were heckled and laughed at. Trustees who spoke in favour of the resolutions were cheered and applauded.[58] The resolutions were passed almost unanimously, the majority of the foreign-speaking delegates voting for the resolutions.

The 1918 Trustees' Convention was a keen disappointment to the majority of French, German and other non-English speaking delegates. The French language press was very outspoken; Le Patriote de l'Ouest described the convention "as an orgy of fanaticism" and the resolutions as certain to be divisive and therefore not in the best interest of the people of Saskatchewan.[59] The Germans also bitterly resented what they considered to have been a direct blow to their language and, for some, their religion. But unlike the French, the German language press was subdued in its criticism of the events at the Trustees' convention. St. Peters Bote presented detailed reports of the convention sessions and commented that the results of the convention could have been much more serious had resolutions been passed calling for the abolition of German private and separate schools and the right for German Canadians to be elected as trustees.[60] This sigh of relief on the part of St. Peters Bote indicated the degree of apprehension and fear that had gripped the German-speaking school trustees. Der Courier and Der Nordwesten also reported the convention proceedings in detail but did not make any stronger statements than to say it was regrettable so little tolerance was shown. They argued the teaching of German for one hour a day had not been detrimental to the learning of the English language.[61]

Many of the trustees in French-Canadian districts sent a protest resolution to Premier Martin. Several German trustees sent the same resolution. It complained that English-speaking trustees, who represented

non-English speaking districts, did not have a mandate to vote against the express wishes of their ratepayers. The resolution stated further:

> That we came home from that disgraceful convention more than ever determined to stand for our rights, to give our children a thorough education in the English language and in our mother tongue according to the present School Act.[62]

The resolution concluded by saying that they would never again honour the Trustees' convention with their presence.

Some of the English newspapers voiced satisfaction with the events of the convention.[63] Mr. J. F. Bryant, newly-elected President of the Trustees' Association, wrote as follows to Premier Martin:

> In view of the fact that the Convention was so representative we feel the Department can take these resolutions as expressing the sentiments of the province of Saskatchewan.[64]

He urged the Department to prepare the necessary legislation to amend the School Act accordingly.

Martin's view of the language question had changed since he had assumed office. That he had agreed with Scott's policy of "gradualism" in the Canadianization of immigrants is clear from a letter he wrote to the Chairman of the Saskatoon Public School Board in 1916. He stated:

> Undoubtedly the war has emphasized certain conditions, . . . conditions that are steadily improving from the point of view of education . . . Patience surely is needed in these troubled times. In educational matters changes can only be made slowly, . . . because education does not deal with material things but with spiritual forces.[65]

Five months later Martin reaffirmed this view in respect to the assimilation of non-English speaking Canadians.

> The virility of the Anglo-Saxon civilization, however, should not lead it to impose itself unsympathetically and too hastily on those races which have been invited to share its blessing.[66]

Other members of the Department of Education and the Cabinet agreed. The Deputy Minister of Education believed that:

> Improvements in the situation with regard to the language teaching will continue under policies already in operation and I do not think that agitation can in any way accelerate the improvement.[67]

The Minister of Agriculture, the Honourable W. R. Motherwell, stated the view that English should be the language of the schools but he was not sure that English subjects could be made out of the non-English by the "lionizing process of squeezing their mother tongue out of them all."[68]

As the demand for "English only" in Saskatchewan schools intensified, the Department of Education had increased the number of school inspectors. From 1916 to 1918 the inspectors' annual reports included summaries of the number of schools teaching a foreign language and assessed whether or not the children were receiving an adequate education.[69] These reports indicated that the teaching of German posed no serious problems except in the case of Old Colony Mennonite private schools and some German Roman Catholic private schools. Some inspectors recommended that these schools be brought into line with other schools under government control.[70]

No doubt the inspectors' reports had an influence on Martin's thinking as did the Foght report with its recommendation that all private schools be placed under competent Government inspection, that in all separate and private schools German, as a medium of instruction, be reduced to a minimum, and that all public schools be allowed to teach German only after regular school hours.[71] The force of the 1918 School Trustees' resolutions, therefore, came at a time when Martin, as Premier and Minister of Education, was thinking that a solution to the language question would have to be found.

The pressure placed on Premier Martin to act on the language issue continued to grow following the School Trustees' convention. The Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities, the Baptist Conference and the

Anglican Synod all requested that English be the 'sole medium of instruction.'[72] In August, the Loyal Orange Lodge and the Sons of England of Saskatoon passed a joint address demanding the adoption of "English only."[73] In September they began to circulate petitions and to organize a letter campaign asking the public to demand a solution to the language question. The result of this concentrated campaign was that Premier Martin's government received thousands of letters and petitions; one petition from Saskatoon and district alone was signed by 1,843 voters.[74] The campaign to eliminate languages other than English from Saskatchewan schools had grown tremendously.

The French Canadians were able to bring considerable pressure to bear on Premier Martin to retain the constitutional guarantees of the French language through two cabinet ministers, W. R. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture, and W. F. A. Turgeon, Attorney-General. The German Canadians, on the other hand, were unable to influence the decisions being made regarding the fate of the German language. There were no German members in the government, let alone in the cabinet. Since Gerhard Ens' resignation in 1914, no German had been elected to the legislature. The German language press was silent on the language question at this time; not only was it facing stringent censorship because of the war, they feared imminent government restrictions. The action taken by the individual Germans to influence the government on their behalf was feeble indeed.

Only a few examples of Germans taking open exception to the proposed legislation can be found. In response to the campaign by the Sons of England and the Loyal Orange Lodge which asked all the councils of the various municipalities to support the "English only" movement, the Herbert Town Council wrote to Martin as follows:

> . . ., we the Town Council of Herbert go on record as being

> satisfied with the present laws that we have with regard to Education.[75]

David Toews of Rosthern also wrote to Martin stating that the German people were "anxious" with all the talk about passing strict legislation with regard to school matters. Toews wondered if there was any need for drastic measures on the language question. He argued that the spirit of tolerance of the school ordinances had been a strong inducement for the Germans to establish public schools. He concluded by stating "it was better to be led than driven."[76]

In his reply to Toews, Martin agreed that drastic measures were not in the best interest of the people at that time. However, he did not think anyone should

> . . . object to the language of our country being used in the schools during school hours, and I believe it is in the interest of the rising generation that this should be done.[77]

By this time Martin was convinced he could no longer safely ignore the demand to eliminate the "foreign" languages from the schools. On December 17, 1918, he introduced Bill No. 31, An Act to Amend the School Act. English was to be the sole language of instruction in all schools during school hours except that French could be used as the language of instruction in Grade 1 but not beyond the first year of a child's attendance at school. A school board could still provide for the teaching of one hour of French reading, grammar and composition.[78]

The story of the struggle within Martin's cabinet before agreement was reached on the content of the language amendment and the tempestuous debate on Bill 31 which occurred in the legislative assembly were ample proof of the excited state of public opinion regarding the language question.[79] But at no time during this story was there any question that the German language would be banished as a language of instruction in

Saskatchewan schools. Bill 31 went into effect on May 1, 1919.

There were no immediate protests from the Germans to the passing of legislation removing their right to use German in their schools. At first glance the lack of a response was surprising in view of the gains the German Canadians had made in retaining their language before World War I. Had the 1919 language restrictions been passed in 1914 before the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Great Britain, there is little doubt that the German community would have resisted strongly such legislation. For a partial explanation of the lack of a response from the Germans to the 1919 legislation, one must look at the impact the events of World War I had upon their will to struggle for the retention of their language rights in Saskatchewan.

As has been indicated, the initial reaction of many German associations to the declaration of war, was to restrict voluntarily their activities and comments so as not to arouse the hostilities of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. The German press asked all Germans to remain calm and to avoid confrontation. Official statements by both federal and provincial government representatives similarly tried to calm the Germans as well as the Anglo-Saxon population. The Germans were told there was nothing to fear as long as they went about their usual business; the appeal to the Anglo-Saxon population was for understanding and moderation during a time of crisis.

Aside from the dismissal of some German employees, the arrest and detention of others, and unfounded rumours of Germans buying arms and explosives in various places in Saskatchewan, the first few years of the war were calm.[80] The English Canadians did indeed act in moderation towards their German neighbours. However, as the war dragged on and the need for a more intensified war effort arose, patriotic fervour increased

to the point where patience and feelings of moderation for the Germans began to disappear. In their place grew emotions of resentment and hatred as the casualty lists lengthened and conscription of men became necessary for lack of volunteers. Tensions were heightened by the conscription crisis which pitted the French against the British--the historical dual split. Now, however, there was a third element, the European immigrant, who played a critical third role in political affairs. This was an unacceptable situation for the British from whom the demand arose for the imposition of tighter controls upon the European immigrants and the withdrawal of privileges and rights to guarantee the removal of the third element through assimilation.

Federal legislation reflected this demand for tighter controls and withdrawal of privileges. The 1917 War Time Elections Act disfranchised the majority of Germans.[81] And, although conscription did not threaten the Germans directly, there was fear among many Germans in Saskatchewan that there might nevertheless be a conscription of their wealth.[82]

Even more traumatic for the Germans were the Orders-in-Council of September and October, 1918, which forbade the use of the German language in their publications and prevented them from holding meetings other than those of a purely religious nature.

This federal legislation, some of which was passed for their protection, was nevertheless resented by the Germans since it indicated they were no longer trusted. At the provincial level, the Germans in Saskatchewan faced even greater pressures. As the "English only" controversy gained momentum, the massive anti-German feeling displayed at various conventions in 1918, especially during the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Convention, and through the English press, instilled a sense of fear into

their hearts. There was the fear, too, that worse was to come. It was not popular to be a German during the latter years of the war. The Germans' will to resist the passage of legislation which removed their right to teach German in their schools was overwhelmed by this fear for their general welfare.

A letter to Premier Martin on December 18, 1918, just during the time when pressure on Martin regarding the language question was greatest, illustrates this view. The pastor of a German Lutheran Church in Rosthern wrote saying he had been asked by some Liberal constituents to go to Martin to talk over the matter of language and school legislation. However, the pastor decided against visiting Martin lest his going be construed as a "pro-German act."[83] No doubt other prominent Germans feared the same results if they spoke in favour of things German.

Nor was it any easier to speak out for the retention of German language rights in early 1919, by which time the war was over. The pressure to be quiet was even greater then since the returned soldiers were even less willing than those who had not been directly involved in the war to tolerate things German in Saskatchewan. The Orders-in-Council regarding the printing of newspapers in the German language were kept in force till early 1920 partly because of the danger of violence from returned soldiers.[84]

Although there was no immediate response from the Germans in Saskatchewan to the language legislation of 1919, there were some long term responses which indicated to what extent certain groups within the German community were in disagreement with the legislation. The Germans of St. Peter's Colony were one group sorely unhappy with the results of the "English only" controversy. Their objections were expressed with great reserve in 1918 and it was not until 1920 that the Volksverein asked all

German Roman Catholics not to attend that year's Saskatchewan School Trustees' Convention.[85] Like the French-Canadian, the German Roman Catholic trustees were convinced that they could no longer remain within the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association since assistance could not be expected from that body in their attempts to regain the right to teach German in their schools.[86] After lengthy discussion of this matter through the pages of St. Peters Bote in 1921 and 1922, a discussion which highlighted the importance of the German language and the continued opposition of the Grand Orange Lodge to separate schools, the decision was made to break away from the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association. On December 6, 1922, the St. Peter's Colony School Trustees' Association was organized.[87]

For the Old Colony Mennonites in the Hague-Osler and Swift Current areas, the "English only" controversy and the resulting legislative changes had serious consequences. Their stubborn opposition to government measures to implement the School Act in their midst resulted in untold suffering and marks one of the more unpleasant chapters in Saskatchewan history.

Even before Dr. E. H. Oliver had made known his findings on the Old Colony Mennonite schools, the Department of Education had gathered evidence that these schools were generally unsatisfactory. As a solution to the problem posed by the Old Colony Mennonite private schools, one of the school inspectors suggested that public schools be established among the Mennonites and that attendance be enforced.[88] Premier Martin agreed with this suggestion after he visited several Old Colony Mennonite schools personally.[89] Although attendance legislation existed, new and more stringent compulsory attendance regulations came into force on May 1, 1917.[90] Provincial attendance officers were appointed to enforce the law.

By the fall of 1919 several public schools had been built and staffed in the Hague-Osler and Swift Current Old Colony settlements. However, few children attended these schools. To enforce attendance, parents who refused to send their children were fined or jailed. As a result some families were reduced to destitution and faced extreme hardship. In one case bacon was taken from the home to satisfy a fine; in another, a team of horses sold for $26.00 when ordinarily its value was $200.00.[91]

Rather than submit to the public school system, the Old Colony Mennonite leaders decided to emigrate. They argued that if they stayed their children would lose the German language which would result in the loss of their religion.[92] However, the search for suitable land in a country which would guarantee the privileges they insisted upon turned out to be a protracted one.[93] Eventually about two thousand Old Colony Mennonites left the province of Saskatchewan for Mexico or Paraguay.[94] Those who remained could not afford to leave because of their impoverishment from heavy fines. They gradually accepted the public school system.

There was little sympathy in most of Saskatchewan for the Old Colony Mennonite position. Der Courier carried the occasional article giving the Mennonites guarded support. In 1923, however, as the Mennonites were leaving, the editor stated:

> . . . Not only are the Mennonites tough and persevering, but also strong minded and willing to sacrifice when a principle is at stake. They see that the local school system almost manages to eradicate the German language from among the first generation that is born and educated here. But their mother tongue is more precious to them than all other earthly goods and because of that they are sacrificing hearth and home.[95]

No doubt the readers of Der Courier read between the lines of this editorial and reflected on their own lack of response to the government's language restrictions just a few years earlier.

The "English only" controversy had become a highly emotional issue for the people of Saskatchewan. It led to the passage of legislation which made English the only language of instruction in Saskatchewan schools (French was granted a partial exemption). Because Canada was at war with Germany, the Germans in Saskatchewan felt the full force of feelings of bitterness and hatred which accompanied the controversy. Indeed, the Germans were so totally intimidated by fear for their safety, that no concerted effort to prevent or protest against the removal of their language rights was made. Although attitudes toward them gradually softened with the passage of time after the war ended, the Germans were never able to regain all the language rights they had enjoyed before 1914.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1]Anderson, "Assimilation in the Bloc Settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan," p. 290.

[2]A.S., Annual Report, Ed. 2, Council of Public Instruction, North-West Territories, 1898, p. 12. D. J. Goggin, Superintendent of Education, wrote the article from which the quote originates.

[3]Norman F. Black, English for the Non-English (Regina, 1913), p. 79.

[4]M. Vipond, "National Consciousness in English-Speaking Canada in the 1920's: Seven Studies," Volume I (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1974), p. 169. Vipond argues that the impulse for the organic union of the Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists into the United Church of Canada came not so much from the practical difficulties in the West as from the arrival of great numbers of European immigrants which threatened the churches' conception of the Canadian nation.

[5]Ibid., p. 173.

[6]Calder, An Abbreviated Historical Outline of the Department of Education, pp. 12-13. In 1912 alone 381 school districts were organized. In 1905, 1,011 teachers were employed as compared to 5,677 ten years later.

[7]Ibid., p. 13.

[8]Saskatoon Daily Star, February 21, 1918 (second edition), p. 14.

[9]E. H. Oliver, "The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan," Saskatchewan Public Education League, Regina, 1915, pp. 6-12.

[10]Ibid., p. 7.

[11]Saskatoon Phoenix, December 16, 1915, p. 3; Daily Star, January 7, 1916, p. 4.

[12]A.S., Education 12(a)(1). 1916 School Inspector's Reports, p. 89.

[13]Ibid., Inspector A. J. McCulloch, Watrous, p. 93.

[14]A.S., Scott Papers, M1 IV. Doerfler to Scott, January 19, 1916, p. 34667.

[15]Ibid., p. 34666.

[16]Ibid., p. 34669.

[17]North-West Territories, Ordinances 1901, Chapter 29, section 136.

[18]Evening Province and Standard, May 26, 1915, as quoted in R. Huel, "The French Canadians and The Language Question, 1919," in Saskatchewan History, Volume XXIII, No. 1 (Winter 1970), p. 2.

[19]This brief summary of the debate on the Consolidated School Act is taken from Huel, "The French Canadians," p. 2.

[20]Ibid., p. 3.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Other issues which received serious attention were compulsory education or an effective truancy act, larger units of administration in rural districts, medical inspection of rural districts, and adult and over-school-age education.

[23]Saskatoon Daily Star, January 5, 1916, p. 1.

[24]Grain Growers' Guide, February 23, 1916, p. 29.

[25]Morning Leader, March 3, 1916, p. 6.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Der Courier, March 22, 1916, p. 4.

[28]Keith A. McLeod, "Politics, Schools and the French Language, 1881-1931," in Politics in Saskatchewan, edited by N. Ward and D. Spafford, (Lindsay, 1968), p. 136.

[29]A.S., Martin Papers, M4, 53, p.17530.

[30]Ibid., C. J. Henry to Scott, p. 17577.

[31]Grain Growers' Guide, February 21, 1917, p. 46.

[32]A.S., Education, 29, Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association, 1917, Resolutions, p. 560.

[33]Der Courier, March 14, 1917, p. 2.

[34]Ibid. The German-speaking delegates elected were: P. M. Friesen (Rush Lake), J. D. Brown (Rosthern), Adam Huck (Vibank), C. P. Unruh (Hague), and John Betz (Langenburg). Mr. Gravel of Gravelbourg was the elected French Canadian delegate.

[35]Saskatoon Daily Star, February 21, 1918 (second edition), p. 14.

[36]Der Courier, February 14, 21, 1917; St. Peters Bote, February 14, 1917.

[37]Der Courier, February 21, 1917, p. 2.

[38]Huel, "The French Canadians and The Language Question," p. 4.

[39]Saskatoon Phoenix, June 4, 1917, p. 4. (The italics are mine.)

[40]Der Courier. June 20, 1917, p. 2. Der Courier quoted Martin from a speech made at the Moose Jaw Liberal convention.

[41]Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada," p. 53.

[42]Ibid., p. 76. Boudreau states that one of the loudest proponents of immigrant disfranchisement was Reverend Murdock MacKinnon of Knox Church in Regina.

[43]In 1912 the voters elected eight Conservatives; in 1917 only seven. A.S., Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory 1905-1970 (Regina, 1971).

[44]Huel, "The French Canadians and The Language Question," p. 4.

[45]A.S., Martin Papers, Mrs. E. Sutton to Martin, February 8, 1918, p. 17641.

[46]Grain Growers' Guide, February 20, 1918, p. 54.

[47]Morning Leader, February 13, 1918, p. 18.

[48]Der Courier, February 6, 1918, p. 2. The editor does not identify the 'group' nor name the newspapers.

[49]Huel, "The French Canadians and The Language Question," pp. 6-7.

[50]Ibid., p. 6.

[51]Der Courier, February 13, 1918, p. 1.

[52]Saskatoon Daily Star, February 20, 1918, pp. 3, 4, 13.

[53]St. Peters Bote, February 27, 1918, p. 4. According to the account of the convention by Mr. Philipp Funke, the General Secretary, Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken.

[54]Ibid., p. 4.

[55]Saskatoon Daily Star, February 21, 1918 (second edition), p. 1.

[56]Ibid., p. 13. Mr. J. D. Brown was second vice-president of the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association.

[57]A.S., Education 29(1), Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association 1918, Resolutions, p. 507.

[58]Saskatoon Daily Star, February 21, 1918, p. 1.

[59]Huel, "The French Canadians and The Language Question," pp. 8-9.

[60]St. Peters Bote, February 27, 1918, p. 4; April 3, 1918, p. 4.

[61]Der Courier, February 27, 1918, p. 1.

[62]A.S., Education 12(a)(2), School Trustees to Martin, p. 141.

[63]Saskatoon Daily Star, February 22, 1918; Daily Post, February 22, 1918.

[64]A.S., Education 29(1), Bryant to Martin, March 26, 1918, p. 508.

[65]A.S., Martin Papers, Martin to Sparling, March 8, 1916, p. 14808.

[66]Ibid., Martin to Kerr, August 9, 1916, p. 14828.

[67]A.S., Motherwell Papers, Ball to McNab, March 29, 1916, p. 5377.

[68]Ibid., Motherwell to Dr. A. G. Hopkins, August 25, 1916.

[69]A.S., Education 12(a)(1), Inspector's Reports; Education 24(1), Educational Survey and Inspector's Reports.

[70]A.S., Education 12(a)(1), A. J. McCulloch, Watrous, pp. 91-93, and W. S. Cram, Swift Current, pp. 89-90, are two school inspectors who made this recommendation.

[71]H. W. Foght, A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan (Regina, 1918), p. 154.

[72]Huel, "The French Canadians and The Language Question," p. 138.

[73]McLeod, "Politics, Schools and the French Language," p. 138.

[74]A.S., Martin Papers, DeGeer to Martin, December 11, 1918, p. 18201.

[75]Ibid., Sawatzki to Martin, December 10, 1918, p. 18196.

[76]Ibid., Toews to Martin, December 12, 1918, p. 18337.

[77]Ibid., Martin to Toews, December 14, 1918, p. 18338.

[78]Statutes of Saskatchewan 1918-1919 (Regina), chapter 48.

[79]See Huel, "The French Canadians and The Language Question," pp. 11-14, for greater detail.

[80]Canadian Annual Review, 1916, p. 433. The commissioner of the Royal North-West Mounted Police reported in 1916 that the first year of the war was "singularly quiet and orderly" and the five hundred men added to the force to take care of any emergency that might arise were not needed.

[81]Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada," p. 69, for details.

[82]P.A.C., Borden Papers, RLB, Reel C321, File 1414, July 10, 1917. In the Lumsden district the Germans actually began to draw their money out of the banks so great was their fear of conscription of men and wealth.

[83]A.S., Martin Papers, M4, I, 53, Schormann to Martin, December 18, 1918, pp. 18396-99.

[84]P.A.C., Borden Papers, File OC/454, Maron to Borden, November 27, 1919. One of the arguments Maron used to obtain Borden's permission to publish Der Nordwesten in German again was that, although the government had taken the threat of violence against German publishing houses by returned soldiers into consideration when they had introduced legislation removing the right to print in German, there would be no objection from the returned soldiers now.

[85]St. Peters Bote, February 18, 1920, p. 6.

[86]The French Canadian trustees had formed l'Association des Commissaires d'Ecole Franco-Canadiens de la Saskatchewan in 1918.

[87]St. Peters Bote, December 14, 1922, pp. 4-5.

[88]A.S., Martin Papers, M4, I, 54, W. S. Cram to Martin, December 15, 1916, p. 18835.

[89]I. I. Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada with Special Reference to Education (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1934), p. 139.

[90]Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1917 (Regina), Chapter 19, section 3, and Chapter 18, sections 11 and 12. The legislation forced parents, on penalty of fine or imprisonment, to send their children to school, during ages seven to fourteen, for a minimum of 190 days in districts in which there were at least ten children residing and for a minimum of 210 days in districts in which there were at least twelve children residing within a mile and a half of the school.

[91]A.S., Martin Papers, M4, 154, Cooper to Martin, November 22, 1919, p. 18912. In 1920, 874 cases netted $7,834 in fines; in 1921, 1,472 cases resulted in $13,150 in fines.

[92]Ibid., Peters to Martin, April 13, 1920, p. 18943.

[93]For a detailed study of the difficulties encountered in the departure of the Old Colony Mennonites, please see H. L. Sawatzky, They Sought a Country (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 31-55.

[94]Francis, In Search of Utopia, pp. 192-93. There is some disagreement as to the exact number of Old Colony Mennonites who left Saskatchewan.

[95]Der Courier, July 11, 1923, p. 1.

> . . . Die Mennoniten sind nicht nur zähe und aushaltened, sondern auch willenstark und opferbereit, wenn es sich um ein Prinzip handelt. Sie sehen, daβ das hiesige Schulsystem es fertig bringt, bereits bei der ersten hier geborenen und erzogenen

Generation die deutsche Sprache auszurotten. Ihre Muttersprache ist ihnen aber heiliger, als alles andere irdische Gut und darum opfern sie Heimat und Herd.

CHAPTER V

POST-WAR RECOVERY

The events which accompanied World War I had serious implications for das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan. Virtually all the activities which the Germans had organized to make it flourish prior to the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Canada had come to a grinding halt: German newspapers had to be published in English; clubs and associations could not meet publicly; German could no longer be used as a language of instruction in Saskatchewan schools; only religious activities could be carried on as usual. Efforts to revive these activities immediately after the war were generally undertaken with reluctance. A decade later, however, renewed vigour had seeped into attempts to further the German language and hopes for maintaining das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan ran high.

The anti-German feelings engendered by the events of World War I were prevalent in Saskatchewan for several years after war's end. The return of thousands of veterans coupled with worsening economic conditions helped maintain if not heighten feelings of bitterness and resentment toward Germans. When returned soldiers had difficulty finding jobs, there was talk again of discharging German workers "owing to a patriotic preference to Canadian labour." Rumours that the teacher at Willow Lake School was teaching the children German in the summer of 1919 resulted in an uproar and the demand that the job should be given to a returned soldier.[1]

Occasionally more drastic action was taken to ensure that the

Germans were kept in their place. Upon hearing reports that the chairman of a Board of Trustees, a German, had attacked the character of a teacher in a school twenty-five miles from Moose Jaw, the Veterans' Association in Moose Jaw carried out a "trench raid." Some eighteen veterans held a "little meeting" during which the chairman resigned and apologized to the teacher concerned. The veterans assured the German residents of the district that, unless everything went all right in the future, another raid would be organized "after which there would not be any Germans left."[2]

The pressure the Saskatchewan government faced during the latter stages of the war to implement measures designed to Canadianize the "foreigners" persisted during the immediate post-war period. The passage of the language legislation in early 1919 was the first response to that pressure. Other measures followed. In January, 1919, Dr. J. T. M. Anderson was appointed Director of Education Among New Canadians, a newly created post.[3] Dr. Anderson spent much of his time recruiting and encouraging his "Trail Blazers," teachers especially trained to teach in foreign settlements. But night schools for the education of adults were also set up. By the fall of 1920 some seventy-four night schools were in operation with an attendance of over 1,830.[4] In addition to these efforts special lectures, lantern slide shows, picnics, fairs and clubs, such as Boy Scouts, were organized in foreign settlements.

In this post-war agitation for and the implementation of measures designed to Canadianize the "foreigners" in Saskatchewan, the Germans were not singled out. Rather it was an attempt to make the people in Saskatchewan an homogeneous group.

By 1922 the trend of public opinion in Saskatchewan seemed to be swinging away from the demand to Canadianize the "foreigners" at all speed. The Saskatoon Phoenix quoted Mr. Ball, the Deputy Minister of Education,

as saying that the prosperous conditions on the prairies and the vigorous educational measures "had achieved a degree of assimilation of the foreign-born which could be matched anywhere on the North American continent."[5] In view of the good progress made in assimilating the foreign-born, some individuals suggested that perhaps the time had come to ease the speed with which newcomers were being Canadianized. Dr. E. H. Oliver, Principal of the Presbyterian College, Saskatoon, expressed this view:

> These people are the soil-loving people this country needs, and it would be unwise to force our customs on them. They should be assimilated by time and we should not attempt to outline any definite program for Canadianizing.[6]

That government officials were thinking along similar lines can perhaps be gathered from the fact that in November, 1922, Dr. J. T. M. Anderson was appointed Inspector of Schools at Saskatoon and the position of Director of Education Among New Canadians was abolished. The Honourable Mr. Latta, Minister of Education, explained that "Dr. Anderson's work was finished and the schools he had established were functioning satisfactorily."[7] Thus by 1923 public and official opinion had softened toward the foreign-born in Saskatchewan.

In view of intense anti-German feeling during the war and its continuation in the immediate post-war period as evidenced by the implementation of programs designed to Canadianize the foreign-born, it was not surprising the Germans in Saskatchewan made few special efforts to retain their language and culture. Indeed, it was not until public opinion in Saskatchewan began to soften towards them that consideration was once again given to possible ways the German language could be strengthened. But the process was painfully slow as will become evident by a consideration of what was accomplished in each of the following areas by approximately 1930: education, the press, churches, associations and politics.

Education

Efforts by the Germans to retain their language in their schools were hard hit by the 1919 language legislation. Not only did the legislation prohibit the teaching of German for one hour per day in the public schools, it also affected the German private schools. They were now required to follow the curriculum as set out by the Department of Education for public schools. This removed the incentive for private schools especially as the government built public schools in all districts regardless of whether or not a private school was there. The cost of maintaining a private school under these circumstances became prohibitive. As a result most private schools closed. In the Humboldt district, for example, only two private schools, out of a total of thirteen, were operating in 1928.[8]

There were those Germans who had hoped that once the war ended and the anti-German feeling abated, it would be possible to work toward a return of pre-war language rights. As soon as the Deutschcanadischer Provinzialverband von Saskatchewan was re-organized after the war, it began to call for the reintroduction of the right to teach German in the public schools.[9] However, this demand was never met. Indeed, a further setback occurred in December of 1929 when the Conservative government of Dr. J. T. M. Anderson removed the right to teach one-half hour of religion.[10] In many of the German districts the religious instruction had been given in German. English had now in fact become the only language of instruction in all public schools in Saskatchewan.

Some efforts were made following the war, however, to teach German after school hours in public and separate schools, on Saturdays and Sundays, during school holidays and in those private schools that were still in existence. These efforts were carried out at some sacrifice and

were usually only possible in areas that were almost totally German and in schools which were fortunate enough to have a teacher or minister capable of teaching German.

The majority of Mennonites, though they had not opposed the establishment of public schools in their midst, had seen the need for training their own teachers. As has been shown, the German-English Academy was established in Rosthern for that purpose. Approximately seventy teachers had graduated from the Academy by 1926 making it possible for almost all public schools in Mennonite districts to have a Mennonite as teacher.[11] The thorough training in German these teachers had received at the Academy enabled them to teach German after school hours.

Although the German Roman Catholics did not establish their own teacher training center in Saskatchewan until 1921 when St. Peter's College was constructed at Muenster, they were fortunate in having the assistance of the Notre Dame and Ursuline Sisters.[12] The Sisters taught German and religion at public and private schools. Lehmann estimated that in 1927 there were forty-six Ursuline nuns teaching approximately one thousand children in eight communities.[13] Not unlike the Mennonites the Roman Catholic hierarchy believed that preserving the German language of the German immigrants was the best means of preserving their faith.[14]

The German Lutherans had very few public and private schools after the war in which the German language and catechism were taught. In the majority of cases the local Lutheran minister taught German. As before the war, the Lutheran ministers often taught German and catechism on Saturdays or during the summer holidays. In the summer of 1920, for example, the Lutheran minister at Straßburg taught eight students in his home five days a week, four hours per day. For the previous five years he had faithfully taught the catechism and Bible history in the German

language.[15]

There is some evidence that as the Germans began to realize that the teaching of German in the school system was lost to them, they directed their efforts toward teaching the children German at the kindergarten level and after leaving school. Kindergarten classes, for example, were established in Regina and Rosthern about 1930.[16]

The Mennonites began to organize Bible Schools for the purpose of religious education and preparation of their ministers. Such a Bible School was established in Herbert as early as 1916. Most of the instruction at Herbert Bible School was given in German and students were admonished to speak only High German while on school grounds.[17]

While all these efforts to retain the German language were praiseworthy, the results varied greatly. In most cases it enabled the children to read German literature and write letters. It certainly was not sufficient to offset the influence of the English public school which by 1930 had indeed become the assimilating agent for the Germans.

The Press

When toward the end of 1919, the Borden Government lifted the language restrictions that had been applied against the German press, Der Courier, Der Nordwesten, Steinbach Post, Mennonitische Rundschau and St. Peters Bote again appeared in German. Aside from the Roman Catholic West-Canada, which had to cease publication in 1918, all the other newspapers had survived the war albeit in a very battered condition, in spite of severe news censorship, language restrictions and loss of subscribers.

The immediate task confronting the papers was to regain those readers who had cancelled their subscriptions after the papers were forced to appear in English and to broaden their readership as well. The

St. Peters Bote began to stress the importance of the Catholic press and encouraged all locals of the Volksverein to elect a Pressevertreter (press representative) whose prime responsibility would be to encourage every Catholic family in his district to subscribe to the St. Peters Bote.[18] Der Courier launched a year-long competition in 1921 offering a new car as first prize to the person who signed up the largest number of new subcribers.

The attempts to regain their pre-war circulation indicated a new vigour and a positive approach to problems that faced the newspapers. It did not indicate a return to the boldness with which the papers had defended and promoted things German before the war. Indeed, they showed a remarkable reserve in their comments on those issues which had affected the Germans adversely during the war and on post-war developments which still showed a decidedly anti-German bias. Thus all the papers simply reported as news items events such as the Great War Veterans' Association Conventions without raising any serious objections even though the conventions adopted resolutions which called for a total ban on the immigration of all Germans. It was not until 1925 that Der Courier and Der Nordwesten began to be noticeably bolder in their comments and criticisms of events.

Der Couriers stand on issues in Saskatchewan was affected by a change of ownership which occurred in 1920. The Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken had become interested in reviving the German Catholic, Winnipeg based newspaper, West-Canada. It supported the West Canadian Publishing Company financially when it was formed to begin publishing West-Canada in Regina.[19] Within a short time the Volksverein made the decision to form the Western Printers' Association Ltd. which purchased ninety percent of the stock of the Saskatchewan Courier Publishing Company Ltd. and all its facilities.[20] Conrad Eymann, the very successful editor

of Der Courier since 1912 was now replaced by the Reverend P. Peter Habets. With the acquisition of Der Courier, the Volksverein abandoned its plans to revive West-Canada since it had achieved its objective of owning a paper in Regina.

As could be expected, Der Courier gradually became the organ of the Volksverein. The new editor tried to reassure the readers of Der Courier that few changes would occur in the format of the paper and that Der Courier would continue to fight for das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan. He stated:

> That is for us a tremendous stimulus, to place all our energies in the future to the service of Germanism here, to fight fearlessly for its rights and interests.[21]

The editor even promised that Der Courier would be non-partisan in its view.

However, Der Courier quickly became Roman Catholic in its views and continued to support the Liberal party. The format of the paper changed, too. In an attempt to keep the Volksverein and Roman Catholic influences separate, half of Der Courier appeared as the Volksvereinsausgabe (Volksverein edition).[22]

These alterations must have resulted in reader criticism and a drop in subscriptions because in 1924 abrupt changes occurred. Reverend P. Peter Habets, the editor, was replaced by Bernard Bott, recently arrived from Germany.[23] Der Courier gradually returned to its pre-1920 format. The Volksvereinsausgabe was abolished and in its stead appeared Der Katholik (The Catholic), a bi-weekly, German Roman Catholic newspaper.[24]

Beginning in 1925 both Der Courier and Der Nordwesten began to be more outspoken on issues which affected the Germans and to encourage the re-activation of German clubs and associations. Der Courier, as be-

fore the war, did its best to further the work of the Deutschcanadischer Provinzialverband von Saskatchewan.[25] Both papers published lengthy articles written by Professor Alfred Rehwinkel, Concordia College, Edmonton, which argued that if the Germans wished to retain their Deutschtum, they would have to become politically active.[26] Der Courier continued its support of the Provinzialverband in Saskatchewan while Der Nordwesten began to call for the organization of a German association which would span all the provinces of Canada and organize the Germans for political action. Little came of this urgent call for united action.

In addition to the Roman Catholic paper Der Katholik, one other major German weekly was established in the immediate post-war period. In 1923 Der Bote began to be published in Rosthern.[27] Der Bote, like all the other newspapers, was very supportive of German immigration to Western Canada in the post-war period. The Manitoba-Synod continued to publish Der College-Freund in Saskatoon until 1929 from which time on it was published in Winnipeg as the Synodalbote (The Synod Messenger).[28]

By 1930 all these newspapers provided the necessary news coverage for the majority of Germans in Saskatchewan. Only a small proportion of the Germans read the large English dailies in Saskatoon or Regina. However, many German farmers subscribed to newspapers such as the Free Press, Prairie Farmer and the Country Guide.[29]

Associations

The war had effectively put an end to the activities of virtually all German clubs and associations in Saskatchewan. It was a blow from which they were never able to recover fully. Indeed, for several years after the war a great void existed and it seemed no one was willing or able to initiate the process of reorganization. So traumatic had the war

been for the leaders of the associations in Saskatchewan that the first steps were taken by Dr. Ludwig Kempff, the German Consul General, Montreal, who accepted his post in 1921. In the fall of 1923 Dr. Kempff undertook a lecture tour of Western Canada during which he aroused some Germans to action.[30]

The Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken was the first to be active following the war. Although the Volksverein had curbed its activities during the war, its executive had never completely disbanded. Thus, following the 1918 Trustees' convention, the executive of the Volksverein had spoken out against the events of the convention and called on all German Catholic trustees to write to the Trustees' Association to say they no longer wished to belong to it.[31] The Volksverein continued to be visible by occasionally having its logo and a news item appear in the St. Peters Bote until 1920, when it called for the reorganization of all its locals.[32] Gradually the Volksverein gained strength through increased membership and a vigorous involvement in the press and through its purchase of Der Courier. The Volksverein continued to organize yearly Katholikentage, became involved in the placement of German Roman Catholic immigrants and continuously opposed attempts to tamper with the status quo of private schools or religious instruction in the public schools. By 1930 the Volksverein was the largest German Canadian association in Saskatchewan with probably thirty-six active locals.[33]

Unlike the Volksverein, the executive of the Deutschcanadischer Provinzialverband von Saskatchewan had disbanded toward the end of the war. And since it lacked the equivalent of the spiritual leadership which the Volksverein enjoyed, the Provinzialverband was very slow in getting back on its feet. Already in 1920 Der Courier had called for the reactivation of the association[34] but it was not until April 26, 1924, that the execu-

tive was reorganized.[35] The executive, through an article in Der Courier, called on all locals to become active again but the response was almost negligible. Only gradually did some of the pre-war locals become reestablished. In 1928 the Provinzialverband changed its name to the Deutsch-canadische Verband von Saskatchewan.[36] The Verband, as in pre-war years, continued to stress as its main aim the retention of the German language in the home and in the community. It therefore attempted to work toward the reintroduction of the right to teach German for one hour per day in the public schools but was unsuccessful. The Verband grew considerably after 1930.[37]

By 1930 the organization of the Germans in Saskatchewan was beginning to match the level achieved in 1914. Numerous small clubs, musical groups, gymnastic associations, and literary associations, organized since 1922, were active throughout Saskatchewan. In the fall of 1929 the Deutsch-Kanadische Zentral-Komitee was formed in Regina for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of the various clubs.[38]

Following the release of the articles by Professor Rehwinkel in Der Courier and Der Nordwesten , an attempt was made to organize an umbrella organization to co-ordinate the activities of all German associations in Canada. With the encouragement of Der Nordwesten and under the able leadership of Professor Rehwinkel the Deutschcanadische National-verband was begun in October, 1926, in Edmonton.[39] The Nationalverband was to have a short life. When Professor Rehwinkel left Canada in 1928, the alliance folded, to be briefly resurrected in the 1930s. No locals of the Nationalverband were organized in Saskatchewan.

A good indicator of the level of organization the Germans in Saskatchewan had reached by 1930 was the Deutschen Tage (German Days) held in Regina that summer for the first time; Winnipeg and Edmonton had held

them since 1928. Approximately five thousand Germans from all over Saskatchewan gathered in Regina for two days of activities including speeches, adoption of resolutions, sports competitions, folk dances, singing, and displays of German handicrafts.[40] The purpose of these days was to strengthen the feeling that all Germans belonged together, to improve relations between Germans and government officials, and to stir the Germans to greater involvement in organizational activity.[41] Since these Deutschen Tage attracted Germans who were not involved in any clubs or associations and since government officials from all levels attended and spoke to large rallies, some of the aims outlined were probably achieved.

Information is scarce on the efforts undertaken in Germany to further das Deutschtum in foreign lands. As early as 1881 the Allgemeine Deutsche Schulverein (General School Association of Germany) was founded for the purpose of strengthening Germanism abroad.[42] The Schulverein released articles in Der Nordwesten giving advice and encouragement to German associations.[43]

In 1917 another organization, the Deutsche Auslandsinstitut (The German Institute for Foreign Lands) was established in Stuttgart. Its aims were three-fold: to inform the German public of the achievements of Germans abroad; to maintain contact with emigrated Germans for the purpose of assisting them in maintaining their language and culture; and, to gather information and to keep records of Germans in foreign lands.[44] Like the Schulverein, the Auslandsinstitut began to release articles in Der Nordwesten. These articles provided detailed information on the work the Auslandsinstitut was doing and gave guarded encouragement to German associations to resume their work once the war ended.[45] After ten years of operation, the institute was able to boast of a large library in Stutt-

gart containing information on the emigration of Germans to all parts of the world, and of its own newspaper Der Auslanddeutsche.[46]

It is difficult to assess how effective these organizations were in fostering das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan. More information needs to be accumulated. Both the Schulverein and the Auslandsinstitut were able to resist the political influence of the German Reich until 1930. In the 1930s Hitler's Nationalist Socialist party began to use organizations such as these to further the aims of Nationalsozialismus.[47]

Churches

The war least affected the attempts of the Germans to retain their language in their churches. Although there were those who wanted to go so far as to suppress even the holding of religious services in German, government officials did not seriously consider implementing such a measure.[48] There was some harassment of German churches immediately after the war ended, particularly of the Mennonites because of their pacifist views. In one incident a group of veterans forced entry into the Rosthern Mennonite church, cursed, hurled the pulpit Bible between the benches and hung a black flag from the church steeple.[49] Fortunately, this kind of activity was limited and the churches were free to continue their work without interruption.

In the post-war period the churches continued to play a very significant role in maintaining das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan. As the post-war immigration restrictions were lifted in 1923, all the major German denominations became involved in bringing to Canada primarily Germans of like religious belief and/or assisting in their settling in Western Canada.[50]

The most vigorous and successful immigration activities were

undertaken by the Mennonites in order to assist fellow Mennonites who had become destitute and homeless because of the Russian Revolution. The Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization was formed in 1922 under the able leadership of David Toews with headquarters in Rosthern.[51] Between 1923 and 1932 the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization was able to bring approximately 22,000 Mennonites to Canada of whom about 8,000 settled in Saskatchewan.[52]

The Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada was started in 1923, also for the purpose of bringing to Canada German Lutheran refugees who had fled to Germany from Poland and Russia. By 1930 about 10,573 German Lutherans were brought to Canada of whom 3,080 settled in Saskatchewan.[53] All the immigrants were assisted in settling in Saskatchewan by Lutheran pastors so as to ensure their settling near a German Lutheran congregation.

The Catholic Immigration Aid Society, officially established in 1928, did not assist Catholic immigrants to come to Canada but rather helped them settle once they arrived. Prior to 1928 the work had been carried on by the Volksverein. The Catholic Immigration Aid Society did not restrict its activities only to German Catholics. Most of the immigrants who received help had arrived directly from Germany.[54] The German Baptist Immigration and Colonization Association claimed to have brought to Canada approximately 10,000 German settlers many of whom settled in Saskatchewan.[55]

The influx of several thousand German immigrants in the 1920s strengthened das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan. A definite effort was made by the Mennonites and Lutherans to settle the new immigrants in existing German communities. As well, in the case of the Mennonites, the newcomers were, on the whole, well educated, and many, who had stayed in Germany for several years as refugees, had developed strong emotional ties to Ger-

many.[56] Once in Saskatchewan, these Mennonites were willing to join those organizations which were attempting to retain the German language and culture.[57] Many of them, too, became influential in Saskatchewan Mennonite communities as ministers and teachers.

The language used in the majority of church services and related church activities in German communities in 1930 was still German. As already noted, a great many pastors, especially in the Lutheran congregations, made special efforts to teach the children the catechism in German. Colleges and Bible Schools were also organized to ensure that the pastors of the future would know and value the German language. However, a few German churches in some denominations were already beginning to offer some English during regular services. According to a 1936 statistical summary provided by the Missouri Synod, Manitoba-Saskatchewan District, out of a total of fifty-three congregations, thirty were using some English.[58]

Politics

Of all the areas in which the Germans in Saskatchewan were active in an attempt to retain their language, they were probably least successful in the provincial political arena. In the immediate post-war years the Germans were not able to improve their political influence significantly from what it had been before the war began.

The majority of Germans continued to support the provincial Liberal party. In the 1921 election two German Liberal candidates were elected to the provincial legislature. They were Dr. J. M. Uhrich for the Rosthern constituency and H. N. Therres for the Humboldt constituency. Anton Huck was elected as a Liberal candidate in the South Qu'Appelle constituency in the 1925 election. All three German members of the Legis-

lative Assembly were Roman Catholics.[59]

The most influential of these three politicians was Dr. J. M. Uhrich. Premier Dunning appointed him to his cabinet in 1922 as Provincial Secretary and when the portfolio of Department of Public Health was created in 1923, Uhrich was appointed its first Minister.[60] Under Premier Gardiner, Uhrich retained the above portfolios and in October, 1926, assumed the portfolio of Public Works as well.[61]

Dr. Uhrich, who was born in Ontario of German parents, moved to the Rosthern district some time after 1908 to practice medicine. He spoke out forcefully for the retention of the German language in the public schools at the hectic 1918 School Trustees' Association Convention and over the years gained a strong personal following in the Rosthern area.[62]

How successful Uhrich and Therres were in influencing the Liberal government in Saskatchewan is difficult to determine. No doubt they played their part in bringing about a softening of attitudes toward the restrictions imposed on German immigration and toward the urgency of assimilating the newcomer. There was possibly one other area in which they might have had an influence. Brennan speculates that the abolition of J. T. M. Anderson's post, Director of Education Among New Canadians, may have been due in part because "of pressure from those New Canadians whose electoral support had helped to keep the Liberals in office."[63] No doubt Uhrich and Therres served as spokesmen for that kind of pressure.

By 1930 the Germans in Saskatchewan had become alive again to their Deutschtum. Their efforts at retaining their language and culture nearly equalled the level reached before World War I. Their expectations for the development of das Deutschtum in the future were high not knowing of the gathering storm of severe depression and another world war--a war which would repeat the trauma from which they had just recovered.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1]A.S., Martin Papers, M4, I, 53, Royal North-West Mounted Police Report to Martin, July 30, 1919, p. 18761.

[2]St. Peters Bote, June 11, 1918, p. 8. The Bote quoted this article from the Moose Jaw Times dated June 3, 1918, but made no comment.

[3]M. P. Toombs, "The Control and Support of Public Education in Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to 1905 and in Saskatchewan to 1960" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1962), p. 376.

[4]M. F. Smeltzer, "Saskatchewan Opinion on Immigration from 1920-1939" (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1950), p. 132.

[5]Saskatoon Phoenix, April 19, 1922, as quoted in Smeltzer, "Saskatchewan Opinion on Immigration," p. 137.

[6]Saskatoon Phoenix, December 14, 1922, as quoted in Smeltzer, "Saskatchewan Opinion on Immigration," p. 138.

[7]Smeltzer, "Saskatchewan Opinion on Immigration," p. 138.

[8]A.S., Education 12(e)(2). A. H. Ball to E. H. Oliver, August 11, 1928, pp. 315-20.

[9]Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 119.

[10]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 346.

[11]Epp, Education With a Plus, p. 119.

[12]Windschiegl, Fifty Golden Years, pp. 64-67. The Volksverein Deutsch Canadischer Katholiken contributed $1,000 toward the founding of a German Chair at St. Peter's College to ensure that the German language would be taught adequately. The Volksverein also continued its work of sending German books in a travelling library from local to local.

[13]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 349.

[14]Brennan, "A Political History of Saskatchewan," p. 688.

[15]A.S., Martin Papers, M4, I, 53, Constable Brown to Ball, June 23, 1920, p. 18800.

[16]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 354.

[17]Ibid., p. 355. Lehmann estimated that approximately five hundred students attended Herbert Bible School between 1916 and 1936. Other Bible Schools begun by 1930 were located in Hepburn in 1927 (seventy-two students), Dalmeny in 1928 (thirty-four students) and Aberdeen in 1930 (six students).

[18]St. Peters Bote, February 18, 1920, p. 6.

[19]Ibid., May 6, 1920.

[20]Ibid., May 27, 1920, p. 4.

[21]Der Courier, September 22, 1920, p. 2.

> Das ist für uns ein mächtiger Ansporn, auch in Zukunft all unsere Kraft in den Dienst des hiesigen Deutschtums zu setzen, furchtlos für seine Rechte und Interressen zu kämpfen.

[22]Ibid., September 22, 1920, p. 2.

[23]Ibid., May, 1924.

[24]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 320. Der Katholik was similar to West-Canada in that it tried to protect the rights of Roman Catholics in the political arena. It was published from 1924-1931.

[25]Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 119.

[26]Ibid, p. 120.

[27]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 323. The editor was Dietrich Epp. Der Bote had a weekly run of about two thousand copies.

[28]Ibid., p. 323.

[29]Ibid., p. 325.

[30]Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 103.

[31]St. Peters Bote, April 3, 1918, p. 4.

[32]Ibid., February 18, 1920, p. 6.

[33]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 295.

[34]Der Courier, March 17, 1920, p. 2.

[35]Ibid., April 30, 1924, p. 5.

[36]Entz, "Der Einfluß der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 119.

[37]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 295. Lehmann estimated

that in 1934 the Verband had twenty-eight active locals. Some of these were in: Edenwold, Estevan, Fiske, Gull Lake, Herschel, Kelstern, Langenburg, Maple Creek, Medicine Hat, Medstead, Middle Lake, Quinton, Regina, Rosthern, Saskatoon, St. Boswells, StraBburg, Waldeck, Weyburn.

[38]Ibid., p. 296, for details.

[39]Entz, "Der Einfluβ der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 123.

[40]Ibid., p. 126.

[41]Ibid., p. 125. See also Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, pp. 301-305 for greater detail.

[42]Entz, "Der Einfluβ der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 127. In 1908 it changed its name to Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland (The Association for Germanism Abroad).

[43]For an example see Der Nordwesten, May 29, 1907.

[44]Ibid., June 1, 1921, p. 1.

[45]Ibid., June 24, 1925, p. 5.

[46]Ibid., February 2, 1927, p. 9.

[47]Entz, "Der Einfluβ der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," p. 127.

[48]Brennan, "A Political History of Saskatchewan," p. 391.

[49]F. H. Epp, Mennonite Exodus, The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution (Altona, Manitoba, 1966), p. 99.

[50]P.A.C., Canada Immigration Branch, Film 2.523, Vol. 29, File 653, p. 27176. On June 9, 1919, the Federal Government had issued an Order-in-Council which prohibited entry to Canada of immigrants of German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian or Turkish race or nationality.

[51]See Epp, Mennonite Exodus, for a detailed account of the heroic efforts made to enable the Mennonites from Russia to come to Canada.

[52]Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada," p. 154.

[53]A.S., Swanson Papers, A4, January 31, 1930, p. 24. Evidence given before the Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement (Saskatchewan) 1930 by Professor H. W. Harms, President of the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada, Western Branch.

[54]Ibid., March 25, 1930, p. 102.

[55]Ibid., February 21, 1930, p. 26.

[56]Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 207.

[57]Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, p. 280.

[58]Ibid., p. 287.

[59]St. Peters Bote, May 19, 1921, p. 1.

[60]Brennan, "A Political History of Saskatchewan," p. 532.

[61]Ibid., pp. 638, 642.

[62]Ibid., p. 539.

[63]Ibid., p. 586.

CONCLUSION

In the opening years of the twentieth century thousands of immigrants of German origin settled in Saskatchewan. Next to the British the Germans became numerically the largest ethnic group. They immigrated to Saskatchewan for a variety of reasons but primarily because they saw the opportunity to improve their economic situation and because the majority believed there would be no interference with their language and customs.

There were several positive influences which assisted the German settlers in their attempts to retain the German language. First, a considerable number had previous experience in organizing themselves so as to retain their language. German Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Mennonites and Baptists from Eastern European settlement areas had lived beside non-Germanic peoples but had not intermingled. Instead, they had organized their own schools, churches and communities through which the German language had been maintained. Upon arrival in Saskatchewan, often under the leadership of their own ministers or teachers, these people were well prepared to organize themselves so as to maintain their Deutschtum. In many instances church services and school facilities were organized as soon as possible after settlement was started.

Secondly, the German immigrants were able to establish several large bloc settlements and many smaller settlement areas in which Germans of like religious persuasion were the majority. This facilitated the setting up of schools and churches in which the German language could be fostered. As well, these settlements provided a German milieu which

reduced settler contacts with English Canadians and facilitated the establishment and maintenance of cultural associations.

A third factor which assisted the German immigrants in the retention of their language was the welcome accorded them by most English Canadians even though there existed a strong popular dislike of most non-British immigrants. The Germans were looked upon as thrifty, industrious, loyal and clean and as members of the northern race were regarded as freedom loving and able to adapt to the parliamentary system. Prior to World War I there was no fear that the Germans would not assimilate quickly and no threat was seen in their desire to retain their Deutschtum.

Finally, the German settlers benefitted from the fact that at the time they immigrated to Saskatchewan the province was in the pioneering stage of its development. The provincial government was in no position to provide the schools and teachers needed for a very rapid influx of settlers. Thrown onto their own resources many German settlements organized and staffed their own schools as best they could. The education that was provided often left much to be desired but an attempt was usually made to teach both English and German.

In view of the large number of Germans who settled in Saskatchewan and the positive factors which assisted them in their efforts to foster the German language, one might have expected a high degree of success. However, this was not to be the case. The advantages the Germans had were offset by a number of negative influences which tended to work against the retention of das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan from 1900 to 1930.

One very important negative factor was a lack of ethnic self-consciousness on the part of many German settlers. The majority of German immigrants came from countries other than Germany and were descendants of Germans who had been removed from events in Germany for over a hundred

years in some instances. This lack of contact with the mainstream of German culture and thought led to the gradual loss of German consciousness. Surrounded by non-German people they had maintained their language and customs but often only to keep themselves separate, to retain their faith and not because they wanted to be German. This was true particularly for some of the Mennonites. However, not only had these Germans been isolated, but the bulk who came to Saskatchewan were from the farming and labouring class with very little formal education. Few were imbued with a vibrant German consciousness and fewer still were able to express it meaningfully. Indeed, second or third generation German settlers arriving in Saskatchewan from the United States and Eastern Canada were even less conscious of their Deutschtum than those coming directly from Eastern Europe; these Germans had already been exposed to Anglo-Saxon culture and the English language and the process of assimilation had already begun.

That many of the German immigrants were indifferent to their being Germans was borne out by the fact that invariably the major impetus for the retention of das Deutschtum came from the Reichsdeutschen, those who had come to Canada directly from Germany (such as the editors of Der Nordwesten and Der Courier) and those who had received a higher education (Lutheran, Baptist and Mennonite ministers, Roman Catholic priests and teachers). German clubs and cultural associations generally thrived where a number of Reichsdeutschen had settled.

The second major obstacle which hindered attempts to maintain and strengthen das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan was denominationalism and a tendency toward divisiveness among the German settlers. Although the churches were crucial to the retention of the German language and culture, they nevertheless were a main obstacle to any united action under a single cultural association. It was with extreme reluctance that denominations sub-

sumed their interests for the sake of a common goal. The Roman Catholic leadership for example tried to provide for the total needs of their parishioners and discouraged its members from becoming involved with any German clubs or associations other than the Volksverein. Some of the Mennonites refused to be involved in any cultural associations and completely avoided involvement in provincial politics.

Another form of division occurred along lines of dialect and custom. Many Reichsdeutsche immigrants looked upon the German farmers who had come from Eastern European settlement areas as boorish and unrefined because of the Plattdeutsch these farmers spoke and because of some of their customs. The farmers on the other hand had no patience for the immigrant from Germany because of his insistence on living a "cultured" life and tendency to adopt Anglo-Saxon customs all too readily.

The Germans found it difficult to bury old prejudices and differences so as to work toward a common goal. This was very evident in that numerous clubs and associations were formed but then lagged because of minor disagreements. Similarly, it often happened that in a predominantly German area the only non-German candidate running for election of office would be successful because several German candidates insisted on standing for election, thus splintering the German votes.

These negative influences were serious obstacles to the retention of the German language but ones which were partially being overcome prior to the outbreak of World War I as evidenced by the formation and rapid acceptance of the Provinzialverband. However, the event which influenced the retention of das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan most profoundly and permanently was World War I.

In the first instance the war destroyed the feelings of goodwill that existed between the Anglo-Saxon Canadians and the German immigrants.

Although immigrants were generally not highly thought of prior to the war, an exception was made in the case of the Germans; they were regarded as desirable settlers. But because of the atrocities of the war, the propaganda that accompanied it and the fact that many Germans were conscientious objectors, the image of the Germans changed in the minds of many Anglo-Saxon Canadians. Serious doubts arose as to their ability to assimilate and their suitability as citizens in a democratic society.

The Germans, too, began to view the Anglo-Saxon Canadians in a different light. Many had chosen to emigrate to Canada on the assumption that in Canada their language and culture would not be interfered with; that British fairplay and justice would prevail. Some of the events of the war proved that this was not the case. The disfranchisement of most German Canadians, the internment of thousands of their countrymen, the suppression of their newspapers, the removal of their language rights in the school system and the suspicion, distrust and hatred shown them by fellow Canadians, especially through the press, were regarded as injustices and were keenly resented. It was to take many years to heal the wounds thus inflicted.

The war also created the demand that the process of assimilation of the foreign-born be accelerated rapidly. The need for a united war effort highlighted the fact that the policy of gradual assimilation had not been effective in melting the foreign elements to fit the Anglo-Saxon mould. The demand arose during the war that this situation be remedied by a more rapid assimilation of all foreign elements. The school was seen to be the place where the quickest results could be achieved. As a result tremendous pressure was placed upon the provincial government to ensure that all children in Saskatchewan received an adequate education in the English language. And although all ethnic groups were under attack during

the "English only" controversy, the Germans bore the brunt of the attack because they were not only alien but enemy alien as well. Because of this concentrated effort to assimilate all foreign elements, requests for special privileges to retain the language or customs of any ethnic group were now out of the question.

Finally, the war extensively disrupted the organizational framework the Germans had gradually established in their attempts to retain their language. As soon as war was declared, most German clubs and associations voluntarily ceased all their public activities lest these be grounds for antagonism. Some associations such as the Volksverein and the Provinzialverband found it increasingly difficult to continue functioning even at the executive level as the war progressed. Before the war ended all organized cultural activities had come to a standstill. This was a serious blow to das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan. Perhaps even more serious was the fact that the events of war, the distrust, the hatred, the propaganda campaigns had completely intimidated those Germans who provided leadership to the Germans in Saskatchewan.

In spite of the traumatic effects of the war, once the anti-German feelings engendered by the war waned and once German immigrants were again regarded as desirable, the Germans once more showed an interest in attempting to strengthen das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan. From 1925 to 1930 good progress was made in re-establishing the vigour of the German press and regaining renewed vitality in organizing German clubs and associations. The holding of the 1930 Deutschen Tage in Regina was evidence of the renewed interest in maintaining das Deutschtum in Saskatchewan.

The cycle had nearly repeated itself by 1930. As in 1914 prior to the outbreak of World War I, the Germans in Saskatchewan looked to the future with some optimism. However, the gains made toward the retention

of das Deutschtum following World War I were again soon to be shattered by World War II, a blow from which the German community has not recovered to this very day--a time when attempts at retaining the language and culture of any ethnic group receive encouragement and financial assistance from all levels of government.

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