UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

This volume is the property of the University of Saskatchewan, and the literary rights of the author and of the University must be respected. If the reader obtains any assistance from this volume, he must give proper credit in his own work.

This Thesis by ....I. I. FRIESEN.....
has been used by the following persons, whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above restrictions.

Name and Address	*Date*

THE MENNONITES OF WESTERN CANADA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO EDUCATION

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
OF THEUNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWN IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION.

Submitted by
I. I. Friesen, B. A.,
Saskatoon, Sask.,
April, 1934.

88357
20-11-47

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Chapter		Page
I.	The Mennonites in Europe.....	1
	Growth of the Mennonite Church out of Anabaptism.	1
	The Mennonites in the Netherlands.	6
	The Mennonites in Prussia.	9
	The Russian Mennonites.	14
	The Development of Schools Amongst the Russian Mennonites.	19
II.	The Mennonite Immigration to Canada and the United States.....	26
	Causes for the Immigration.	26
	Correspondence Leading to the Immigration from Canada.	29
	The Visit of the Mennonite Delegates to Canada and the Privileges Given to them by the Canadian Government.	41
	Effort of the Russian Government to Keep the Mennonites in Russia.	47
	The Number of Mennonites Coming to the United States and Canada.	50
	Mennonite Groups Coming to Canada.	51
III.	The Mennonites in Manitoba.....	55
	Government Loan to the Mennonites.	55
	The East Reserve.	57
	Scratching River Colony.	59
	The West Reserve.	60
	Lord Dufferin's Visit.	60
IV.	Early Customs and Usages of the Mennonites..	68
V.	The Extension of Mennonite Settlements into Saskatchewan and Alberta.....	74
VI.	Mennonite Church Divisions.....	76
	Reasons for the Division and Statistical Information about Each Division.	76
	The General Conference of Mennonites of North America.	79
	The Conference of Mennonites of Middle Canada.	79
	The Bergthaler Mennonites.	80
	The Sommerfelders.	83
	The Kleine Gemeinde.	84
	The Church of God in Christ or the Holdemanites.	84
	The Bruderthalers.	85
	The Mennonite Brethren.	85
	The Krimmer Brethren.	86
	The Old Mennonites.	87
	The Old Colony Mennonites.	87

Chapter		Page
VII.	Early Mennonite Schools in Canada.....	94
	Early Mennonite Schools in Russia before 1874.	94
	Description of the Early School System of the Mennonites.	95
	Early Development of Public Schools.	97
VIII.	Educational Developments Among the Mennonites During the Offices of Inspectors H.H. Ewert, Henry Graff, J.M. Friesen, and A. Willows.....	100
	The Work of the Rev. H.H. Ewert as Mennonite School Inspector.	100
	The Work of Inspectors Graff and Friesen Among the Mennonites.	106
	The Flag-Flying Policy of the Manitoba Government.	107
	Opposition to Public Schools by the Various Mennonite Groups in Manitoba.	109
	The Work of Inspector A. Willows.	111
IX.	Bilingualism in Mennonite Schools.....	113
	Effectiveness of Bilingualism Among the Mennonites.	113
	Reasons for Discontinuance of Bilingualism.	114
	Reaction of the Mennonites to the New Educational Policy of the Government.	116
X.	Effect of the Coming of the Hutterites on the Mennonite School Question.....	119
XI.	Decision of the Manitoba Court of Appeals on the Mennonite School Question.....	122
XII.	Mennonite Petitions to the Manitoba Government with reference to the School Question.	126
XIII.	The Old Colony Mennonites.....	129
XIV.	The Mennonites in Saskatchewan.....	136
	Where Settlements Have Been Made.	136
	Inspector Cram's Letter to the Old Colony Mennonites.	136
	Enforcing the School Laws in Saskatchewan.	138
	Movement of the Old Colony Mennonites to Mexico.	140
	Inspector Gallaway's Report on Present Condition of the Schools Amongst the Old Colony Mennonites.	141

Chapter		Page
XV.	Educational Work Among the Progressive Mennonites	147
	The Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, Manitoba.	147
	The German-English Academy at Rosthren, Saskatchewan.	149
	Statistical Survey of Mennonite Schools in the United States and Canada.	151
	Religion and German in the Public Schools.	152
XVI.	The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, 1923-1930	154
	Economic, Social and Educational Development of Mennonites in Russia up to 1914.	155
	The Mennonites in Russia During the War and Revolutionary Period from 1914-1920.	166
	The Immigration to Canada.	169
XVII.	The Bible Schools Among the Mennonites of Western Canada	173
	General Information.	173
	The Winkler Bible School.	174
	The German Bible School at Winnipeg.	180
	The Winnipeg Mennonite Bible School.	180
	The Bethany Bible School at Hepburn, Saskatchewan.	181
	The Tabor Bible School at Dalmeny, Saskatchewan.	182
	The Swift Current Bible School.	183
	The Bible School at Aberdeen, Sask.	183
	The Bible School at Herbert, Sask.	183
	The Bible School at Rosthern, Sask.	184
	The Bible School at Gem, Alberta.	184
	The Bible School at Rosemary, Alberta.	184
	The Bible School at Coaldale, Alberta.	185
	The Bible School at Yarrow, British Columbia.	185
XVIII.	University Education	187
XIX.	Conclusion	188
Appendix.		
Bibliography.		

CHAPTER I--THE MENNONITES IN EUROPE.

Growth of the Mennonite Church out of Anabaptism.

The Mennonites trace their origin back to the Anabaptist movement in Middle Europe during the 16th century. This movement was the result of a desire for a more radical departure from the fundamentals of the Catholic system than was ultimately favoured by Zwingli and Luther. The movement was at first spontaneous and had no particular leaders. "There were about forty sects, all of whom agreed on many essential points."[1] The opposition to the Zwinglian movement began in Zurich, Switzerland, where soon after 1523 a group of radicals dissatisfied with the half-way measures of Zwingli met regularly in private homes for worship and Bible study with a view to establishing an independent church according to New Testament principles. The church really began in 1525 when some of the leaders, Grebel, Blaurock, Brodli, Manz, Hottinger, Thoman and others met in a private home and launched the new independent church by submitting to adult baptism on confession of faith, thus separating themselves from the other churches which held to infant baptism. Consequently, they have been called Anabaptists by their opponents. The common fundamental propositions of Anabaptism have been summed up by Smith;[2]

1. "The Church is an independent, voluntary group of believers banded together for the purpose of worship. Separation of Church and State, and religious toleration

1. Hartzler--Education Among the Mennonites of America.
2. Smith--The Mennonites: P. 39.

are logical corollaries of the independent Church.

2. "Infant baptism, the sign of initiation into the universal state church, has no place in the voluntary institution. Adult baptism administered to believers must be the initiatory symbol.

3. "The Bible is the only guide of faith and practice. The majority of the Anabaptists preferred the New Testament to the Old as a source of authority. The primitive Church especially became the model for all the practices of the new Church; the Sermon on the Mount quite literally interpreted furnished the program. Among some with more fanatical tendencies the Old Testament, especially the Prophetic books, were prized above the New, and the inner light or direct revelation from God played a conspicious part as a source of religious faith and knowledge.

4. "The office of magistrate cannot be filled by the Christian. Government is a divine institution ordained to protect the righteous and punish the wicked. It is made necessary because of the existence of the unrighteous and can be exercised only by them. In other words it is a sort of a necessary evil. The Christian must be obedient to his rulers, pray for them and pay taxes to support the Government. Not all held quite this theory, however. Hubmeier contended that a Christian might be a magistrate, but could not use his office in the interest of religious persecution.

5. "The Christian cannot take up the sword. Love must be the ruling force in all social relations. It is wrong to kill as an individual, or by either judicial process or military force. Hubmeier, however, taught that it was permissible to use the sword though not to enforce religious belief. Hut came near teaching the necessity of force to inaugurate the kingdom of the elect.

6. "Most of the Anabaptist groups regarded themselves as rather a select people and were inclined to live a life secluded from the outside world.

7. "Church discipline is to be secured through the Ban, used to exclude the disobedient from the rights and privileges of membership.

8. "The Lord's Supper is to be regarded merely as a memorial of the death and suffering of Christ, and not as containing the Real Presence.

9. "It is wrong to take an oath. Christ taught His disciples to say, "Yea, yea; nay, nay."

In every place these people had to suffer the most severe persecutions both from the Catholic Church as well as from the Reformed Church.

In Zurich, Zwingli was determined to force all into his state system and to this end he persuaded the Zurich Council to pass mandate after mandate, each more severe than the preceding, with the view of utterly crushing out the move-

ment, which was considered dangerous to the permanency of the Church.

On March 7th, 1526, it was ordered that those who insisted on disobeying the mandates of the Council were to be imprisoned for life on a bread and water diet "until they rot."[1] No one was to give shelter or food to the Anabaptists.

As a result of the Zurich persecution the movement spread very rapidly throughout Northern Switzerland, Southern Germany, Moravia, and the Lower Rhine. Some got to the Netherlands, Bavaria, Alsace, the Palatinate, and Hessia. The time for such a movement seemed to be ripe, but everywhere persecutions followed them. Cornelius, a reliable Catholic historian, pays these martyers this tribute:

> "The blood of these poor people flowed like water. But hundreds of them, of all ages and both sexes, suffered the pangs of torture without a murmur, refusing to redeem their lives by recanting, and went to the place of execution with joy and singing psalms."

"The reformation not only made itself felt at the foot of the Alps and in middle Germany but also in the Netherlands. Between 1523 and 1531 more than twenty-five editions of the Bible appeared in the Netherlands mostly translation of the German version of Luther."[2] Due to this and other influences the Anabaptist fugitives found these people very receptive to their teaching. This soon drew persecutions on the order of Charles V.

1. Smith-- The Mennonites, Page 19.
2. Brons-- Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten, Page 56.

In 1531 the Provincial court of Justice in Friesland announced that Sicke Frerichs, a respected and honest man, was to be beheaded with the sword because he had allowed himself to be baptized a second time. This was the first execution for an offense of this kind, and provoked consternation among the people. Menno Simons, a priest of West Friesland, publicly took a stand against this. He became one of the main leaders of the Mennonite Church, after whom they are called Mennonites. Other leaders were Dirck Philip, Obbe Philip, and Leonhard Bouwens.

At this point it might be wise to give some of the main facts in the life of Menno Simons. The exact year of his birth is still a matter of conjecture, but most recent authorities are inclined to accept the year, 1496.[1] His birthplace was Witmarsun a small village near the West coast of Friesland, one of the provinces of the Netherlands. He was educated for the priesthood and assumed the duties of his office at the age of twenty-eight in the village of Pinjun, near his birthplace. Like many of the priests of his day, he knew little of the Bible and his religious duties sat rather lightly upon him. Being endowed with an open mind, however, and an earnest desire to know the truth he could not long remain entirely oblivious to the revolutionary doctrines that were shaking the countries of Middle Europe even to the remotest corners. We know that copies of Luther's writings

1. Smith--The Mennonites, Page 44.

had fallen into his hands at this time. In January, 1536, at the age of forty he publicly renounced the Catholic church. This decision required no small degree of physical and moral courage. It meant a life of humiliation, poverty, and persecution.

Late in 1536 or early in 1537 he formally cast his lot with the Anabaptists. Recognizing his ability as an organizer, and in view of his early training and also in view of the need for leadership, a group of Anabaptists soon came to Menno urging him to assume some responsibility in building up the Anabaptist cause in Northern Germany and the Netherlands. For twenty-five years he worked amid many trials with very little remuneration, preaching the Gospel, organizing new churches or reviving old ones, and writing in defence of his faith.

The Netherlands.

In spite of persecutions the movement made more progress in the Netherlands and North-Western Germany than in any other region. The Netherlands at the time constituted part of the Spanish domain. Both Charles V and his successor, Philip II, were devout Catholics and did their utmost to root out the anti-Catholic sentiment from their possessions. For three-quarters of a century, men, women and children were condemned to the most cruel forms of torture and death, because they asked the right to worship in the way that seemed right to them. "It is perhaps not too extravagant to say that from 1531 to 1594, the dates of the first and last executions, between 1,500 and 2,000 Anabaptists and Mennonites were sent to a martyr's grave."[1]

1. Smith--The Mennonites: P. 66.

These persecutions continued until William of Orange became the Stadtholder of the northern provinces. In 1578 he granted the Mennonites a limited toleration. Bracht's "Martyr's Mirror" contains hundreds of names of martyrs.

After Calvinism replaced Catholicism in the Netherlands, the Reformed state Church took up the role of persecutor; for the Mennonite doctrine of the separation of State and Church and the voluntary congregational church organization was as distasteful to the Reformed Church as it had been to the Catholics, since these principles, if adopted, would put an end to all established churches. Services were held behind dikes, on small islands, or any secret places. No bells, or musical instruments, were used in order not to draw the attention of others upon them.

Due to the fact that they followed a strict code of morals, lived a simple secluded life, and withdrew from participation in public affairs they could devote themselves with great energy to their earthly calling and consequently often became very well-to-do. They were industrious, conscientious, and thorough in all they undertook. So great was their passion for honest genuineness that "Mennisten infign" (mennonite fine through and through) became synonymous for the best grade of any kind of material.[1] In their dress, houses, and ships, they did not believe in unnecessary adornment nor were they extravagant.

They did not have a trained ministry even though their

1. Smith--The Mennonites, Page 74.

first leaders like Menno Simons, Hans Denck, Felix Manz, Balthasar Hubmeier, and Conrad Grebel had been trained men. They felt that learned theological discussions had little profit and so they preferred to keep to certain fundamental principles based on the Bible, which resulted in practical Christianity. Their spiritual leaders were chosen from among their own midst. Before leaving their history in the Netherlands it must be pointed out that divisions arose among themselves over questions of doctrine and practise. The tendency toward division has been characteristic of Mennonite history from its earliest beginnings. Among other reasons the following may be suggested:

1. Mennonitism is the essence of individualism. The individual is to interpret the Bible for himself. He is to worship as he pleases and to obey only his own conscience in all matters of religious faith. Persecution in the early days made secrecy necessary, and common organization impossible. Each congregation was a self-governing unit.

2. A spirit of exclusiveness, characterized the early Anabaptist movement as well as the later Mennonites. This feeling was engendered by the conception that the true Christian must live a life separated from the world and was re-inforced by the fierce persecutions through which they passed.

3. Coupled with this spirit of exclusiveness there was a provincialism or sectionalism which would lead each group to

look with suspicion upon the opinions and practices of other groups, if they differed from their own.[1]

Prussia.

"Dutch and Moravian Anabaptists had found shelter near Danzig as early as 1530. In the year immediately following and especially as the result of the fierce persecutions in the Netherlands during the middle of the century, Mennonites came in large numbers by way of the East Sea Coast and settled by permission of the Polish king and upon the invitation of the owners of waste and swamp lands along the lowlands of the Vistula and the Noget rivers in the vicinity of Danzig and Elbing. The Dutch Mennonites were experts in the art of reclaiming swamp lands by means of dikes and canals and so because of their economic worth they were given a hearty welcome where otherwise they might have expected serious religious persecution."[2]

At first living in isolated groups on lands hitherto but sparsely populated, they were able to lead a quiet and unmolested life. But in time their numbers grew and the Mennonite settlements were extended up the river in the region of Marienwerder, Graudenz, Swets and Culm. While the lowland congregations were composed almost exclusively of Dutch refugees, the inland colonies contained a liberal sprinkling of Moravians, German and Swiss. The Dutch farmers became prosperous and aroused the jealousy of the native citizens who objected to their foreign tongue and proscribed religion.

1. Smith--The Mennonites, P. 66.
2. Ibid--P. 103.

As early as 1550 the citizens of Elbing complained to the Polish king that "these Anabaptists were taking the bread out of their mouths;" whereupon the king was prevailed upon to order them out of town within fourteen days. A few of them left but the town council intervened in their behalf. They were frequently threatened with expulsion but it was always their economic value that saved them and ultimately secured them their privileges. "The Polish Kings in the main, unless pressed by special interests, maintained the promises made to the first settlers, and faithfully guarded their privileges. Charters guaranteeing these privileges were frequently confirmed by successive Kings all through the 17th and 18th centuries. A typical confirmation is that of the charter of 1732 granted by August II. This charter renewed the guarantees given by former Kings in 1650, 1660, 1694, and 1699, and promises the Mennonites all the rights they had been granted in the beginning, including their right to worship in their public houses, to control their own schools and teachers, to baptise freely their own children, and to bury their dead in their own cemeteries."[1] By 1772 according to a census taken the Mennonite population had increased to 13,000.

In 1772 Polish Prussia was united with East Prussia under Frederick the Great. This meant a more stable government than that of the weak Polish kings. The next year the following concessions were given by the king:

1. Full freedom of worship in accordance with their confession of faith.
2. The privilege of building churches.

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, p. 13.

3. The right to teach their children in their own schools.
4. Freedom from military service.
5. The privilege of discarding the oath and using the declaration "yea" and "nay".
6. The privilege of engaging in any industry open to their countrymen, and the right of buying, selling, and holding property.

These privileges lasted for only a brief period. The growing spirit of militarism in Europe during the later part of the century made Prussia look to the strengthening of its military power, which they feared would be weakened by further growth of the Mennonite settlements, which did not believe in war.

Furthermore the state church, which was Lutheran, insisted that the Mennonite privileges, especially of buying land, be curtailed. Since the clergy were supported by a tax upon the land of the members, the sale of lands to non-Lutherans greatly reduced their revenue for church and school purposes.

After the death of Frederick, the new King Frederick Wm. II was induced in 1789 to issue an edict to the effect that Mennonite owners of landed property formerly belonging to Lutherans were forced to support Lutheran churches, schools, and parish houses. The children of mixed marriages were to be brought up in the faith of the non-Mennonite parent. "No more Mennonites were to be permitted to purchase homes in Prussia; but if a proposed settler owned property to the value of 2000

thaler he might locate in certain restricted districts with the consent of the King."[1]

It was evident that both State and Church were determined to stop the further growth of Mennonitism. Hampered by heavy taxes, unable to secure new homes for their growing young people, and fearful of the future, the Prussian Mennonites began to look about for a new home where they might be free to live up to their convictions without governmental restraint. After considering several possibilities, including America, they finally decided to accept the invitation which had been extended to them just a few years before in 1786 by Catherine of Russia. In the years immediately following, about one-half of the whole Prussian Church, somewhat over 6,000 souls, left their old homes in the fertile deltas of the Vistula to start life all over again in the fertile, though desolate, steppes of southern Russia, along the lower Dnieper and the Molotschna.

"The Prussian Mennonites, especially those of the city of Danzig, kept in close social contact with their brethern in Holland until far into the 18th century; and they retained for a long time many of the customs and practices which they brought with them from their original Dutch homes. It was not until near the close of the century that the Dutch gave way to the German in the pulpit, and to the Low Dutch (Plattdeutsch) in the home and on the street. The Plattdeutsch has been preserved among the Mennonites of Western Canada to this day as the language of the home. It was their characteristic pride of ancestry, no doubt, that prevented

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, Page 17.

them from learning the language of the laboring man of their adopted land--Polish."[1]

"In many respects the Prussian Mennonites, living as they did in compact groups, isolated from their Polish neighbors by a distinct language, and a forbidden religion, in charge of separate schools, formed a self-sufficing social and economic as well as religious unit. They were thus better able to perpetuate their religious and social ideals, and to maintain their identity,--a fact which explains much of the history of their children in Southern Russia"[2] and also in Western Canada.

With reference to education Dosker writes: "During the Reformation period the Mennonites had among them their quotas of highly educated men. When a few generations had passed, however, and the masses of people had gravitated, because of persecutions, to the less conspicuous sections of the country, leaving the cities and communities of educational advantages, such as these were at the time, and building their homes in rural and mountainous districts, there developed not only a neglect of education but an opposition against it. It must be remembered, however, that there were always individuals among the Mennonites who saw the error in this attitude and who availed themselves of every educational advantage."[3]

J.P. Wickersham says "The chief grounds for their opposition to education are evident. The institutions of learning (400

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, Page 17.
2. Ibid, Page 19.
3. Dosker, H.E.--The Dutch Anabaptists, Page 268.

years ago) were either under State or Church control. They looked upon schools as State, political or ecclesiastical agencies. Because of the attitude of state and established state churches they had reasons to fear both. Learned men from both state and church had been the chief enemies of Mennonitism and were instrumental in urging and executing persecutions. The Mennonites naturally concluded that the further away from education, State and Established Church they could get the better. Higher education appeared to them as full of worldliness, pride, boasting as well as bigotry and persecution. Theological schools and colleges were discarded. The simple life of the Galilean fishermen was preferred."[1] "They considered that 'human learning' did not qualify for the ministry and they did not allow their children to go to the University, lest they should be injured in their spiritual life."[2]

The Russian Mennonites.

Just about the time when the Mennonites were experiencing their greatest need in Prussia the attractive invitation, already referred to, appeared from Catherine II of Russia. She was very anxious to secure the Mennonites as colonists for her lands in the south since she knew them to be excellent farmers. She extended to them the following privileges on March 3rd, 1788:

1. Complete religious toleration.
2. 65 dessiatines (about 175 acres) of land for each family.
3. Free use of Crown forests.

1. Wickersham--The History of Education in Pennsylvania; P. 62.
2. Barclay, R.--The Inner Life of Religious Societies of the Commonwealth; P. 84.

4. An entire tax exemption for ten years.
5. No Crown dues after that, but an annual fee of fifteen kopeks (¢7½) per dessiatine.
6. A monopoly of the distilleries and breweries within the settlement (otherwise granted only to the nobility).
7. Exemption from military service.
8. Free transportation from Prussia to their new homes.
9. A loan of five hundred rubles ($250.00) to each family.
10. Support for each family at the rate of ten kopeks per day for each person.

The first settlement was made on the Chortitz, a small branch of the Dnieper, about fifty miles below the present town of Ekaterinoslav. In the summer of 1789 about 228 families settled here. Their lot at first was a hard one. In 1796 Catherine II of Russia died. The colonists fearing lest her successor Paul I might forget the promises made by his mother secured from him in 1800 a written Charter signed by himself confirming in perpetuity all other previous promises made. This guarantee caused the opening of a new colony of West Prussian Mennonites south of Chortitz in 1803 along the Molotschna a small stream flowing into the sea of Azov. During the first year 342 families arrived from Prussia forming a settlement of 18 villages along the Molotschna. The

Molotschnaites, unlike their brethren the Old Colonists coming from the wealthier classes in Prussia, prospered from the beginning. These two large pioneer colonies in course of time founded many daughter colonies. The enclosed map shows the situation of these colonies.

Smith says that between the year 1788 and 1874 about 8,000 Mennonites came to Southern Russia from Prussia and elsewhere. Of these at least 6,000 located in the Chortitz and Molotschna Colonies and perhaps 7,000 or more were Prussians. The original 8,000 had increased by 1874 to approximately 45,000.

It can thus be seen that the Mennonites of Russia were given privileges far above those of the native Russian subjects because of Catherine's desire to get industrious German colonists. They were granted almost complete autonomy in such matters as local government, school control and religious worship.[1] The Mennonites grouped themselves into small farm villages of from 20 to 30 families each as they had been accustomed to have in Prussia. The leading occupation during the early years was stock raising, especially sheep breeding, dairying and general farming. Later the energies of the people were turned almost entirely to wheat growing. Up to 1830 farming methods were quite primitive. After this date improved methods were introduced partly through the influence of a

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, Page 32.

semi-official agricultural commission voluntarily organized in the Molotschna colony but given government support and of which a man by the name of Johan Cornies was the leading spirit and first president. Cornies remained the head of this organization until his death in 1848 and introduced many agricultural improvements. He also became influential in raising the educational standards among the Mennonites. He built model schools and finally had the administration of the schools turned over to the society. Similar societies to the one in the Molotschna were formed in the other colonies and in some cases functioned up to the time of the last war. Thus, the colonies maintained a steady economic growth. A traveller passing through the Mennonite villages of the Molotschna in 1874 speaks of them as follows:

> "The dwelling houses were large brick structures with tile roofs, a flower garden between the street and the house, and a well-kept vegetable garden in the rear, the stable with splendid work horses of every build, and a shed with vehicles of every description, among them family coaches and all kinds of farming machinery. They were certainly the best appointed farming communities I had seen anywhere. Scattered over the country were large isolated estates, with buildings reminding one of the feudal baronial castles of Western Europe. Their owners were millionaire Mennonites who had acquired

large tracts of land by private purchase. One of these owns more than a million sheep scattered in flocks all along the Black Sea."

This prosperity soon aroused the jealousy and suspicion of the native Russians. The special religious and political privileges which had been granted them at their immigration intensified this feeling. In addition to the military exemption enjoyed by the Mennonites all Germans in Russia were still more or less under the political guardianship of Prussia, and thus enjoyed privileges denied to the native Russians.

Petition after petition was sent to the Russian Government importuning the authorities to withdraw these privileges and it soon became evident that the Czar intended to Russianize these German subjects as soon as possible.

By this time the original settlements along the Dnieper had spread into the Crimea eastward, near the coast of the Sea of Azov, and along the Kuban River, at the foot of the Caucasus. Other settlements had sprung up along the Volga, near the cities of Saratov and Samara and also in the provinces of Volhynia and Bessarabia. The German colonies had grown in wealth and opulence; wheat was their staple product and the cities of Odessa, Cherson, Berdiansk and Taganrog grew into ports from which English ships carried the wheat to Liverpool and London.

The Development of Schools Among the Russian Mennonites.

At first educational interest was at a very low ebb. Up to 1843 the St. Petersburg government had left the matter of education entirely in the hands of the local churches, but in that year the Agricultural Commission, which has been referred to previously, was granted a limited jurisdiction by the government over the schools among the colonists. The president of this Commission, Johan Cornies, used his authority greatly to improve the educational standards of the colony. In order to bring the conditions existing in the schools at that time to the attention of the village congregations and teachers he sent a letter to them on March 5th, 1846, in which he describes a school of that date. There may be somewhat of an exaggeration in his description, although Franz Isaac, a Mennonite historian thinks it to be true to facts. The description is partly given below.

"In the school at X the school-master teaches in the same room of a miserable house, as the one in which he and his wife and children live. He has on a white linen jacket and a night cap and a tobacco pipe is often in his mouth. He is surrounded by soiled books, papers and instruments of punishment of all kinds. His pupils are without any division into classes, according to ability or progress. On the walls of the narrow, dark room, hang saws, planes, shoe-

maker's stirrups, and other tools or house implements. The baby is crying in the cradle which is being rocked by a pupil at the command of the teacher. A hen with her chicks and some pigeons are promenading between the feet of the children. The teacher has no time-table and takes up the subjects in any order. Of preparation for his classes he knows nothing. A book of sermons of the 17th century, some fables, and a book on ciphering are his entire library. And since the teacher knows no way of arousing the attention of the youth, and even less of holding it, the pupils find little pleasure in learning, and naturally fall into a thousand pranks. The teacher scolds, curses, shouts, makes them kneel on peas; hangs the picture of a jackass on their necks, boxes their ears, and calls his action necessary discipline. Teaching is started by learning the alphabet and acquiring the ability to spell. This takes from two to three years. The small children learn nothing besides this except a mechanical repetition of the Lord's prayer with several other prayers and the ten commandments. Hereupon follows reading which is done monotonously without any reference to punctuation. Almost each pupil has a different book which doubles the difficulty of reading instruction. One child after another has to come to the teacher and recite. With such individual instruction each pupil receives only two to three minutes instruction per day.

The rest of the school day is entirely lost for him."[1]

In order to describe what a school should be he wrote a letter to the village officials on April 6th, 1846. Some of the main statements in this description are as follows.

"In the school situated at A the school-room is dry, light and roomy. The exterior of the building draws the attention of the passer-by and shows the high purpose for which it is intended. The class room is entirely separated from the living room of the teacher and consequently the pupils are alone with the teacher, and are divided into classes according to sex and ability, and are seated on suitable benches with their faces towards the teacher. Well dressed (as he would have his pupils be), the teacher stands before them with dignity and friendly earnestness. He notices and observes them all and sometimes walks up and down the aisles, and seldom sits in his chair. He is always active in order to keep his pupils active. The white walls are entirely bare, except for a time-table and a black-board on which to write wrong sentences. The hard and easy subjects alternate with each other. The teacher prepares himself out of books bought with the money saved out of his small income which others would have used for buying beer. Thus, he continually increases in ability, insight and knowledge.

"If a child makes a mistake the teacher points out

1. Isaac, Franz, Die Molotschnaer, Mennoniter, 1908. P. 278

the error in a kindly and fatherly manner. Very seldom will he use instruments of punishment. The teacher speaks with his pupils as a friend and above all things he seeks to increase their interest in the things which are around them, and tries to correct wrong conceptions which they may have.

"The teacher asks questions of them in such a way as to make them think he wishes to be taught by them. The teacher's questions lead the pupils from the known to the unknown in such a manner as to make them think they have made the discovery themselves. His questions cause the pupil to think, and give him the ability to differentiate between truth and falsehood, certainty and superstition.

"The pupils learn the truths of religion, and the duties of church membership for purposes of future benefit.

"In order to secure natural intelligent reading the use of the German language is fundamental and all instruction should be in this language. Statements should be made clear by a natural and lively representation of concrete objects. Stories should illustrate the lesson. Easily understood, religious songs should be sung. The classes should be taught in groups with the same kind of books. According to this way of teaching youth will derive the greatest benefit from a knowledge of writing and reckoning, which they will be able to make use of throughout life. This way of

instruction brings pupils to a knowledge of God either by way of natural religion or by human reason rightly used. Hereupon follows a history of Christ and the Gospel. Everything is explained and made intelligible in such a way as to aim at the culture of the head and the heart of the youth. In this manner Christian thoughts and principles are inculcated in them, as well as reverence, worship of an overruling gracious God, with an earnest desire to fulfill His will.

"N.B. The fear of God cannot be talked into children, hence all detailed analysis and divisive catechisition cannot attain this end."[1]

On January 26th, 1846, Cornies issued the following Course of Studies:

1. A, B, C on the black-board.
2. Dividing into syllables and spelling.
3. Reading. Bible reading with proper accentuation.
4. Writing.
5. Ciphering.
6. Mental arithmetic.
7. Singing according to notes out of the church song book.
8. German language.
9. Memorizing of scripture passages, prayers and verses of songs.
10. Letter writing.
11. Beginnings of Geography out of the national primer.
12. Bible stories, Geography, natural history, Church history, dictation.[2]

It must be remembered that both Cornies' description of a model school and his proposed course of studies were ideals towards which to work. They are valuable as indicative of

1. Franz Issac--Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten, 1908, Page 277.
2. Ibid--Page 290.

the future trend of education among the Russian Mennonites, but do not describe the conditions of that time. Smith describes the Russian Mennonite schools of that date as follows:[1]

> "Teachers were ill prepared and poorly paid. Often they were worn out old workmen who converted their workshops into combination schools and work rooms with school desks and work benches side by side. Frequently the winter teacher was also the summer herdsman, thus giving him an all year job, which enabled him to eke out a scant existence. His chief task as a schoolmaster was to hear the children recite their lessons and to keep order. Thus, progress was slow and several years were required to master the elements of the alphabet and the art of writing. With this accomplished the school period for many closed. Those who remained longer might learn a little more of ciphering and memorize a few more Scripture verses. The primary aim of the whole system was to perpetuate the German language and to save the children for their father's religion. The curriculum, therefore, consisted of the three conventional R's with a 4th added, Religion, and also some attention to singing."

The dominant control was in the hands of the elders and ministers but of effective supervision there was very little. The distinctive school furniture consisted of a long table through the center of the room, with the boys on one

1. Smith: The Coming of the Russian Mennonites. P. 39.

side, the girls on the other, and the teacher at the end. The rod was freely used as an incentive to good scholarship. The teachers, with the exception of those that were imported from Prussia, had no special preparation for their work, and the medium of instruction was Platt-Deutsch. [1]

Among the reforms introduced by Cornies to raise the educational standard were the erection of model school houses in each village, licensed teachers, compulsory attendance, training schools, teacher's conferences, and uniform text books. However, in every case religion was to come first. Cornies said "First implant the fear of God in the child and the biblical virtues. When that is done you can teach him his A B C and other things."

"In Chortitz similar reforms were introduced. There, too, an Agricultural Commission modelled after the one at Molotschna was founded, and it too assumed control over the schools of the colony. The Chortitz Central Schule founded in 1840 and the Gnadefeld Brudderschule organized in 1857 as well as the Ohrloff Vereinschule in the Molotschna were all strong forces in elevating the educational and spiritual interests of both colonies. In 1859 all these institutions received government recognition as proper schools for training Mennonite teachers. By 1870, the Mennonite schools were superior to those of the other German colonies, and far above the native Russian system. By 1881 all the German colonists lost their special school and political privileges; after that, school administration was completely taken over by the Russian Government." [2]

1. Ibid--Page 39.
2. Ibid--Page 41.

CHAPTER II--THE MENNONITES IMMIGRATION TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES. (1874-1880)

Causes for the Immigration.

There will be occasion to return to the later development of education among the Mennonites of South Russia in order to understand the educational outlook of the 21,000 Russian Mennonites who have come to Canada since 1923. At this point we need to consider the reasons that led to the immigration of the Russian Mennonites to America between the years 1874 and 1880.

From a consideration of the privileges granted the Mennonites we can see that they were enabled to form a distinct and compact group within the Empire. Catherine II had hoped that they would intermarry with the native Russians but of such affiliations there were none whatever. "They were separated from the natives by social, political as well as religious barriers and held firmly together as a group by ties of language, religion, racial pride, consciousness of a superior culture, and by special political and civil privileges."[1] All This made them a veritable state within a state.

Consequently as indicated above there was a strong agitation by native Russians that these conditions be changed. Up to 1870 Prussia had held a kind of guardianship over the Germans in Russia, which assured them the retention of their privileges. During the Franco-Prussian

1. Ibid--Page 43.

war the Czar and Bismarck agreed that Germany would withdraw this guardianship providing Russia remained neutral in the war Prussia was engaged in with France. The condition attached to this agreement was that those Germans who did not wish to become full-fledged Russians were to be given ten years to sell their property and emigrate to another country. The Mennonites in Russia were kept in ignorance of this agreement and they would have found themselves a few years later as Russian subjects, their children compelled to go to Russian Schools under the control of the orthodox church and their sons drafted into the imperial army had it not been for one man, Mr. Cornelius Jansen, at one time Prussian Consul at Berdiansk, a Mennonite himself, but owing to his official position fully in touch with the outside world.

When the Mennonites heard of the situation they were greatly disturbed. Accordingly delegates were sent from the various colonies to St. Petersburg to interview the government and ask for the retention of their privileges. Neither Elder Suderman, spokesman of the Molotschna party, nor Elder Dueck of Chortitz were able to speak Russian, a fact which drew the criticism of the President of the Imperial Council before whom they appeared. Although the delegates were received in a friendly way, no definite promises could be secured. Since opposition to war was such a fundamental part of their faith and the use of the German language and

The control of their schools were themselves bound up with their religious system and since all of these privilges were being threatened they began to cast about for a suitable refuge in case emigration should become inevitable.

Smith speaking of the causes for the immigration says; "The military question, of course, was not the only issue involved in this movement. This is proven by the fact that not only Mennonites, but German Lutherans and Catholics as well, none of whom shared the Mennonite peace principles, had decided to leave their adopted country for America during this time. The program of Russianization which the Government had adopted would ultimately deprive all these privileged colonies of the special status which they had enjoyed up to this time, with exclusive control over their schools, the use of their native language, and almost entire control over local government under a special German commission. This commission was now to be abolished; the schools placed under the direct control of the Russian government, and the Russian language to be taught side by side with the German. To the Mennonites especially there seemed a close connection betwwen their distinctive Mennonitism and their Deutschtum. It was a matter of grave doubt to many whether it would be possible for them to retain their religion without their German culture and language. Then, too, in all the colonies, Mennonite and otherwise, there were those who decided to cast their lot with the religious absolutists for economic reasons. In every westward movement in past history there has been a large contingent of the landless. And they were not absent here. All these motives must be taken into

consideration when seeking for the ultimate causes back of the emigration movement."[1]

Among the countries that came to their attention in their search for a new home was America. Mennonites had already gone there before then. In 1683 as a result of the religious persecutions and great economic distress in north-western Germany a colony of Mennonites had settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania. This settlement was made on the invitation of Wm. Penn who desired the Mennonites to settle there because of the close resemblence between the Mennonite and Quaker faith. At the close of the American Revolution in 1786 some of these had come to Canada. Their reason for doing so was partly due to their loyalty to the crown and partly because of population pressure in Lancaster, Bucks and Montgomery counties where their ancestors had settled. They selected for their home the fertile region in Ontario in what is now known as Waterloo county.

Correspondence Leading to the Immigration from Canada.

The Russian Mennonites desiring more information about the possibility of their going to America directed two letters to Mr. Zehrab who happened to be the British Consul at Berdiansk in South Russia. These letters initiated negotiations with the Canadian government which lasted for nearly two years.

On January 3rd 1872 Leonard Suderman, one of the Elders of the Mennonite Church addressed a letter to Mr. Zehrab, in which he makes enquiries about the privileges which the Canadian Government would be willing to give the Mennonites

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: P.96.

in case of an immigration to that country. The letter is found in the appendix as letter no. I. In this letter Mr. Suderman refers to the new law of June 4th, 1871 which is to deprive the Mennonites of their military exemption but which allows them ten years to emigrate in case they cannot comply with these arrangements. Should their petitions to the Russian Government to have this law changed be ineffective, he asks for information on the following questions.

1. Whether an entire exemption from military service would be given, to the Mennonites equal to that given to the Society of Friends in Canada.

2. Whether the Mennonites coming to Canada might hope for a free grant of land, or for a cheap purchase of the same, and also in case of necessity for an advance from the Government, to help those who because of circumstances arising out of the emigration out of Russia might need such assistance.

3. Whether it would be advisable to send a deputation to the Government in London and also to Canada to secure special requests and make arrangements for the immigration.

These requests in Mr. Suderman's letter were seconded by another received by Mr. Zohrab from representatives of the Fürstenau Colony in the Molotschna. This letter is dated January 13, 1872 and is signed by Peter Lohrens and eighteen others. After stating that they fully agree with the three questions set forth in the petition above, they ask that their

affair be recommended to H.M's Government in order that they may receive a definite answer as soon as possible to these requests. They also state that a pamphlet in the German language, giving information about Minnesota has been forwarded to them, and they would like, if possible, to get something similar about Canada. This is letter no. 2 in the appendix.

The above documents together with a despatch of his own, (appendix letter no.3) Mr. Zohrab forwarded to Lord Granville on February 3, 1872. In his own letter Mr. Zohrab refers to the privileges given to the Mennonites on their coming to Russia. He says;

> "The Government decreed that the immigrants were not to be interfered with by the Russian authorities in any way. That each colony was to be self governing; that the Prussian nationality was to be preserved; that all communication between the Government and Colonies was to be carried on through a representative of the Colonies to reside in Odessa; that the Colonies were to be exempted for ever from every kind of Military service and that they were to be perfectly free in the exercise of their religion and in the government and control of their schools. The Russian Government adhered to these conditions up to 4/16 July 1870, when by an Imperial Ukase it was decreed that the agency at Odessa should be abolished, the direction of the German school to be assumed by the Russian authorities, the study of the Russian language made compulsory and that all Colonists after a certain date were to submit to military service and to the Conscription."

He says the Mennonite deputations sent to St. Petersburg have not been able to secure changes in the new law and consequently they now wish to take advantage of the clause which permits them to leave the country. "In selecting Canada as their future home," he continues, "they have been guided by the favourable accounts they have received of its fertility and salubrity and its being a British possession." Speaking of the German colonists who are thinking of emigration he states:

> "The departure of the Germans will, undoubtedly, be a serious loss to the country for they are not only much greater proficients in agriculture than the native population, and consequently produce heavier crops and finer qualities, but they are very hardworking and therefore, in propertion to each man, they bring a much larger quantity of land under cultivation and thus increase the produce of the country. They employ large numbers of Russian peasants as farm labourers and their villages are patterns of cleanliness and good order."

These enquiries were forwarded by the Secretary of State for the colonies to the Dominion Government at Ottawa, and were replied to by Hon. J. H. Pope, Canadian Minister of Agriculture. The letter dated April 23, 1872 is as follows;[1]

"Referring to the despatch of the Right Honourable, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated March 7th last, covering certain enquiries made to Her Majesty's Consul at

1. From a thesis on the Mennonites by A. Willows University of Man.

Berdiansk, by German Mennonites established in Russia, as to the terms on which they can obtain lands in Canada, the undersigned has the honour to recommend that they be informed that a free grant of 160 acres of best land in the possession of the Dominion, in the province of Manitoba, or in other parts of the North West Territory, will be made to any person among them, or to as many persons as may apply over the age of 21years, upon the condition of settlement, and further that in the other Provinces of the Dominion, either free grants of land may be obtained or purchases made on easy terms and at merely nominal prices. The settlers may obtain contiguous lots of land, so as to enable them to form their own communities."

"As relates to their enquiry touching a possible application for aid he respectfully recommends that they be informed it is not the policy of the Dominion Government to grant aid to any settlers in Canada."

"As relates to the information with which they ask to be furnished, he recommends that a supply of the several publications of the Provinces and of the Department of Agriculture containing information for intending emigrants, be sent to them."

"And further, that in view of the proposed large movement of population, that they should be invited to send to Canada one or two persons from among themselves in whose statements they would have confidence, in order to see the Country in general and the localities

in particular, in which they could obtain lands for settlement, and the terms on which they could obtain them, the Department of Agriculture paying the expenses of such persons while engaged on such mission."

Hon. Geo. E. Martin, Minister of Milita and Defence, answered their enquiry as to military exemption as follows:[1]

"With respect to that part of the enquiries made to H. M.'s Consul at Berdiansk by the German Mennonites, established in Russia, relative to their Military Services in Canada, the undersigned has the honour to state that that body of Religionists, is by Statute put on the same footing as Quakers, and begs respectfully to direct attention to the 17th Section of the "Act respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada" by which it is enacted that "any person bearing a Certificate from the Society of Mennonists shall be exempt from Military Service when balloted in time of peace, or war, upon such conditions and such regulations as the Governor in Council may, from time to time prescribe."

Information regarding this proposed emigration reached Ottawa, at about the same time from another source. Wm. Hespeler a Canadian Immigration agent of German birth, but resident at Winnipeg, while on a visit to his old home in Baden in the summer of 1872 learned from Count Menchikof of Southern Russia that a large number of Mennonites were considering emigration to North America. Hespeler forwarded the information to the

1. From a thesis on the Mennonites by A. Willows University of Manitoba.

Canadian Immigration Department and was authorized by the Minister of the Interior to proceed to Southern Russia and assure the Mennonites of a hearty welcome to Canada. In the meantime another enquiry[1] had been sent to the Governor General of Canada by Mr. Cornelius Janzen, asking for a further explanation of the statement, "The Mennonites like the Quakers are not liable to forced Military Service, excepting such as the Governor General may feel compelled to impose." He says, "From this there arises a general apprehension here that upon alleged necessity, we also might with full legality be drawn into Military Service, wherein there would only be a repetition of what is also considered as pressing necessity here in Russia and Germany."

This letter was enclosed with another letter from Zohrab in which the latter also asks for a clearer explanation of the sentence referred to by Mr. Janzen. This is letter no. 7 in the appendix. Mr. Zohrab says:

> "The Conscription drove the Mennonites from Prussia, the Conscription they are now threatened with is driving them away from Russia, and from the country to which they look forward as a peaceful home, doubt comes on the very same point. They wish to have the doubt explained before they take further steps."

Both Mr. Janzen's letter and the Despatch from Mr. Zohrab were sent to the foreign office in England and were forwarded by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Earl Dufferin, the Governor General of Canada. The letter from the Secretary with which the above letters were enclosed

1. Appendix letter no.6.

is found as letter no. 7A in the appendix.

In order to make their military exemption very clear to the Russian Mennonites, a report was made to the Minister of the Interior by a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, and approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on September 25th, 1872.[1] In this report it is stated that;

> "The Mennonites are absolutely free and exempted by the law of Canada, from military duty or service, either in time of peace or war." The phrase, "upon such conditions and such regulations as the Governor in Council may, from time to time prescribe,"[2] provides only, if necessary, for the registration of the exempted persons in such manner as to prevent persons belonging to any other denominations than those specified in the section of the Act above quoted from avoiding military services under false pretences."

Mr. Wm. Hespeler arrived at Berdiansk in South Russia, on July 25 1872, and visited the various Mennonite settlements in that region. He recounts his experiences in a report made on August 28, 1872 to Hon. J. H. Pope, Canadian Minister of Agriculture.[3] In spite of the danger of being arrested by the Russian police for attempting to promote emigration, he visited the various colonies and by being careful not to make his purpose known, outside the leading parties, he was successful in delivering his mission. He travelled from place to place, until after twelve days he had reached the last Colony.

1.Appendix letter no.8.
2.Appendix letter no.5.
3.Appendix letter no.9.

"The greatest number," he says, "I found living on Crown lands, about 180 acre lots, and quite a number on their own lands, which consist in many cases of plantations from 4 to 10,000 acres, raising principally sheep, cattle and horses."

Speaking of the Mennonites themselves, he says;

"They are a hardy industrious, orderly and intelligent race, and they would prove a valuable acquisition to Canada, their villages are patterns of order and industry, large orchards and gardens sprang up where originally could not be found a tree: their intention is, to obtain contigious lots of land, so as to form their own communities."

During this time Mr. Zohrab, the British Consul, had been ordered to preserve a strict neutrality in the emigration affairs, in order to, "give no cause for suspicion or offence to the Russian Government by encouraging or appearing to encourage by any word or act, the departure of the Mennonites."[1] he says, "I shall not fail to be very careful on these points."[1] In a letter written to the Foreign office he asks for instructions as to the attitude which he should observe in regard to this movement when the Russian Government have once granted permission to the Mennonites to emigrate. This letter was forwarded by Viscount Enfield to the Under Secretary of State on November 19th, 1872, and is referred to in the appendix as letter no. 10.

1. Appendix letter no.10.

After Hespeler had returned to Canada he sent in another report to Ottawa[1], referring to his visit of the Mennonites in South Russia. This report dated March 1st, 1873 repeats much of the information already given in his report previously referred to, of August 28th, 1872. In this latter report he says that he is expecting the arrival of the delegates from Russia at any time and expresses the opinion, "that if the delegates are pleased with Manitoba that a large influx of their people will flow in, provided the means of transport is made easy, permanent and direct."

The delegation referred to by Mr. Hespeler arrived in the spring of 1873 but a deputation of four young Mennonites from the Molotschna had already visited the Western States on an adventure of their own during the previous year. One of these delegates together with J. Y. Schantz, an immigration agent, toured Manitoba during the fall of 1872 at the request of the Canadian Government. After having visited these new lands both made a report to the government at Ottawa. The report made by Mr. Schantz was printed by the Department of the Interior as an official report on the resources of Manitoba. Mr. Warkentin's report is found as letter no 12 in the appendix. He says, "Although the winter is a little harder and about four to six weeks longer here than in South Russia, I cannot say that this would be a hindrance to accept the offer of the Canadian Government. As regards the lands which I have seen I must acknowledge that they are very well adapted for

1.Appendix letter no.11.

agricultural purposes and in quality are above my expectations. It will be desirable, that when the deputation of my friends next spring will arrive, larger tracts as these which we have seen should be shown to them. The notes which I have taken during our journey, I shall send immediately at home." The above is a translation, made at the time of Mr. Warkentin's letter.

On April 26th, 1873, just prior to the coming of the main delegates from Russia, Hespeler directed a letter[1] to Hon. J. H. Pope in which he asks that a document be drawn up setting forth the privileges offered to the Mennonites, and which could be geven them on their arrival in Canada. He says the document should be signed and sealed in the manner they are in the habit of seeing such and should state the precise conditions the Canadian Government has determined upon, and should be about as follows;

1st "The exemption from Military Service."

2nd "The reserve of the townships in the Province of Manitoba, as passed by Order in Council on the 3rd of March 1873."

3rd "The free grant of ¼ Section - 160 Acres to actual settlers, over twenty-one years of age, and the right to purchase ¾ Section additional, from the Government, at the price fixed upon in the Dominion Lands Act."

4th "Patents granted for free grants, after having been settled upon for three years and the right

1. Appendix letter no. 14.

"to sell again after having fulfilled settlement duties."

5th "The issue of Patent" as Stated in No 11 - "When parents die without divisings as in No. 12 in paragraph 33 under homestead rights on free grant lands, Dominion Lands Act."

6th "The privilege of exercising there religious principles according to there denomination, also the same, as regarding religious instruction in there schools."

7th "Privilege of affirming, in place of making affidavit.

8th "Stating the offers your Government is prepaired to make for bringing them out to this country."

Hespeler states that;

" Some of the suggestions that I have recommended to you, as the replies to some of them are given in the general Statutes, and in the Dominion Lands Act, but knowing the people they are intended to be submitted to, and understanding the value they place in some simple points, I consider it good policy to state the offers in the way I propose, as I know they will be asked for before they leave this country."

The document finally given to the delegates on July 23, 1873, which sets forth the privileges officially conceded to them, corresponds closely with the suggestions made by Mr. Hespeler after having been in conference with the Mennonite delegates already in Canada.

The Visit of the Mennonite Delegates to Canada and the Privileges Given to Them by the Canadian Government.

The mission of the delegates that arrived in the spring of 1873 was to make a tour of investigation through western America with a view of finding a suitable place for a large settlement. The Molotschna colony was represented by Elder Jacob Buller and Elder Leonhard Suderman. The congregations near Volhynia and Poland selected Elder Tobias Unruh. The Swiss group in Volhynia was represented by Andreas Schrag. Wilhelm Ewert represented several Prussian congregations which were also interested in the proposed emigration. The Bergthal colony selected Heinrich Wiebe and Jacob Peters. The delegates of the Kleine Gemeinde were Elder Cornelius Toews and David Klassen, while the Hutterite representatives were Paul and Lawrence Tschetter. Cornelius Buhr, a rich farmer, accompanied the delegates at his own expense.

"The frontier line of America in the early seventies, where cheap or free lands were still to be had in quantities for large settlements, ran from Winnipeg south through the Red River Valley, across the south-eastern corner of the territory of Dakota; through central Nebraska and Kansas down into Texas. This was the region therefore, that our delegates were interested in. Some of the prospective colonists were well-to-do, but many were poor. They desired to live together. Consequently they were interested only in such regions where even the poorest might become possessed of some land."[1] On June 9th, the delegates met at Fargo, Dakota, the head of navigation on the Red River and after a few days them embarked on the Hudson Bay steamboat "Interna-

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: P. 52.

tional" on a voyage of some 400 miles down the Red River to Winnipeg from where they were to make a tour through the province of Manitoba. On arriving at Winnipeg the delegates were introduced to the Provincial officials and after drinking a toast to the Queen's health were given five teams and light wagons by the Minister of Public Works for a tour through a government reservation of eight townships of uninhabited prairie land some 40 miles south-east of the city of Winnipeg. The low almost swamp-like lands did not make a favorable impression on most of the delegates. Wm. Ewert summed up his objections under the heads--too many half-breeds, grasshoppers, mosquitoes, wet land and cold winters. Only the Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde delegates decided to settle in Canada and in doing so they were moved not so much by the nature of the land reserved for them as by the fact that they represented a more conservative and poorer group in Russia. The absolute guarantee of military exemption appealed to them as did the grant of free lands in Manitoba; both of these conditions being less favorable in the United States than in Canada. On the way back to Winnipeg the Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde delegates accompanied by Wm. Hespeler met with an experience that might have resulted disasterously for the entire immigration movement to Canada. Due to a quarrel between one of their drivers and several half drunken half-breeds, during which one of the latter was injured, the delegates were driven to cover in a tavern at White Horse Plains by a band of half-breeds that had turned

out to stand by their companion. "All night they tried to break into the room where the delegates had taken refuge, while Hespeler with pistol and sword stood guard at the door. A messenger had been despatched to Winnipeg in the meantime, and the next day a troop of cavalry came to the relief of the besieged party. Had the delegates received serious injury at this time it is not at all unlikely that Canada would have received but few of the immigrants during the following years. As it was, however, in spite of this unpleasant experience, the Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde delegates had both decided to recommend Manitoba to their brethren for settlement."[1]

These delegates left Winnipeg on July 6th and after visiting the Ontario Mennonites proceeded to Ottawa and made the following report to the Government in which they stated their views as to the settlement in Manitoba. The report was written in German and was signed by the Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde delegates, David Klassen, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe and Cornelius Toews.

> "In accordance with your kind invitation which has been delivered to us through Mr. Hespeler to visit Canada, and in particular the Province of Manitoba, we have done so, and in particular the 8 townships which you have reserved for us for the purpose of settlement.
>
> We beg to say that we have found the said Pre-

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, Page 62.

vince to answer for our future homes and, if it is the wish of God, we will, joined by our Colonists, go to Manitoba and make it our future home. Your liberal offers with which you are favouring us, we hope will turn out with the support of God, beneficial to us and equally beneficial to the land of our adoption. We hope by next Spring (1874) to begin with the first immigration; and in the probable number of two hundred families. Should we after the arrival of the first Immigrants, think that another location than the present one which you have reserved for us, would suit us better, then we hope that you will exchange the reserve to such parts as we should find preferable, providing such parts should not by that time be taken up by other settlers or by the Railway."[1]

From government officials the delegates received "the written assurance that all their requests would be granted and that they might reproduce on the prairies of Manitoba practically the same type of settlements they had enjoyed in Russia up to that time."[2] They received the following document from the Minister of Agriculture.[3]

"I have the honour, under the instruction of the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture, to state to you in reply to your letter of this day's date the following facts relating to advantages offered to Mennonites, which are established by the Statute Law of Canada, and

1. Appendix letter No. 15.
2. Smith: The Coming of the Russian Mennonites--Page 67.
3. Appendix letter No. 16.

by Order of his Excellence Governor General in Council, for the information of German Mennonites having intention to emigrate to Canada via Hamburg;

1. An entire exemption from any military service is by Law and Order in Council granted to the denomination of Christians called "Mennonites."

2. An Order in Council was passed on the 3rd March last, to reserve eight Townships in the Province of Manitoba for free grants on the condition of Settlement as provided in the Dominion Lands Act, that is to say; "Any person who is the head of a family, or has attained the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to be entered for one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof."

3. The said reserve of eight Townships is for the exclusive use of the Mennonites and the said free grants of one quarter section to consist of 160 acres each, as defined by the Act.

4. Should the Mennonite Settlement extend beyond the eight Townships set aside by the Order in Council of March 3rd last, other Townships will be in the same way reserved to meet the full requirements of the Mennonite Immigration.

5. If, next spring, the Mennonite settlers, on receiving the eight Townships set aside for use, should prefer to exchange them for any other eight, unoccupied Townships, such exchange will be allowed.

6. In addition to the free grant of a ¼ section or 160 acres to every person over 21 years of age on the condition of settlement, the right to purchase the remaining ¾ of the section at $1.00 per acre, which is the largest quantity of land the Government will grant a patent for one person.

7. The settler will receive a patent for free grant, after three years residence in accordance with the terms of the Dominion Lands Act.

8. In the event of the death of the settler, the lawful heirs can claim the patent for the free grant, upon proof that settlement duties for three years have been performed.

9. From the moment of occupation the settler acquires a homestead right in the land.

10. The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, is by law afforded to the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privileges to education of their children in schools.

11. The privilege of affirming instead of making affidavits is afforded by law.

12. The Government of Canada undertakes to furnish passenger warrants from Hamburg to Fort Garry for Mennonite families of good character for the sum of

$30.00 per adult person; under eight years, half price of $15.00 and for infants under one year $3.00.

13. The Minister especially authorized me to state that this arrangement as to price, shall not be changed for the seasons, 1874, 1875 and 1876.

14. I am further to state that if it is changed thereafter, the price shall not up to the years 1882, exceed $40.00 per adult, and children in proportion, subject to the approval of Parliament.

15. The Immigrants will be provided with provisions on the portion of the journey between Liverpool and Collingwood, but during other portions of the journey, they are to find their own provisions."

By the middle of August all the 12 delegates again met in New York and set sail on August 20th to report on conditions as they had found them in the new land. As a result of their favorable report great interest was aroused throughout the Mennonite Colonies of South Russia; and soon preparations were being made everywhere preparatory to an emigration out of Russia. But the difficulties in the way of such a movement were very great. Now that everybody wanted to sell his land it was difficult to get even half of its value from the purchasers, besides passports permitting emigration from the country were hard to secure and demanded heavy fees from those who wished to have them.

Effort of the Russian Government to Keep the Mennonites in Russia

While this agitation was going on, the government officials at St. Petersburg began to realize that there was strong like-

lihood of losing some 40,000 of the countries most industrious farmers in South Russia. Consequently the Czar sent a member of his ministry, Adjutant General Von Todtleben, as a special agent among the Mennonites to persuade them not to leave the country. He met the Mennonite leaders in May, 1874, and offered them the choice of several forms of civil service in place of compulsory military serivce. At the same time he tried to discourage the emigration movement by painting America in its darkest colors. He pointed out the hardships of the journey, the difficulty of draining swampy land before it could be cultivated, and the uncertainty of military exemptions in America, since at that time war with England was inevitable. The exemption in favour of the Mennonites which the Czar was willing to give them was as follows.[1]

> "Mennonites were to be exempt from military service, in lieu of which they were to be assigned to duty in hospitals, munition factories, or especailly in forestry service, where they were to be permitted to work in compact and exclusive groups. These concessions were to apply in times of war as well as in times of peace; but were offered only to the original Mennonite settlers in Russia and their descendants. Immigrants coming into Russia, or outside accessions coming into the church after the passing of the law were not to be included."

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: Page 96.

The majority of the Mennonites accepted these conditions and remained in Russia, selecting the Forestry service in lieu of military service which was soon demanded of all young men of Russia. To a large minority, however, the promises of Von Todtleben were not convincing. To this class belonged many of the more scrupulous and some of the poorer families. To these, Forestry service seemed little better than Military service. Elder Issac Peters, one of the staunchest defenders of this position, expressed himself as follows:

> "Although the Forestry Service in and of itself, embodied nothing that can be called contrary to the Scriptures, it nevertheless always means or stands for Military Service on the Statute Books, and it is not consistent with our non-resistent confession, since this always implies alliance or connection with military life and affairs, where the soldier is taken and trained and is subject to the army officials, yoked together with them and the profession they represent. Besides this, the Forestry Service is for the present limited to twenty years and thus the government keeps the back door open for the introduction of new things at any time, and may, perhaps, assign the soldier at any time to service in any one of the branches named in the provisory clauses of the new Military Law, all of which are designed to foster war."

The Number of Mennonites Coming to the United States and Canada.

Although several families had left Russia in 1873, it was not until the late summer of 1874 that the breaking up of the large colonies in Russia began in earnest. In some cases whole colonies migrated as a body as for example the Alexanderwohl congregation in the Molotschna settlement which went to Kansas and the Bergthal congregation which came to Manitoba enmasse. From 1874 practically right up to the summer of 1880, there was a steady arrival of Mennonites for both Canada and the various States. During 1874, according to a report of the Mennonite Board of Guardians 1,275 families came over from Russia. These were distributed as follows:

Dakota--200 families;

Manitoba--230 families;

Minnesota--15 families;

Nebraska--80 families;

Kansas--600 families;

Remained in the East--150 families.

According to Smith, counting about five persons to each family, the entire number of souls emigrating the first year was about 6,375, a little over a third of the entire number who came during the whole period. This includes, of course, those who went to the United States as well as those who came to Canada. In 1875, whole vessels were chartered. By 1879, J. Y. Schantz reports that 7,383 had come to Manitoba. During the period following

1874, Smith estimates that about 18,000 came to America of whom 10,000 located in the United and 8,000 in Manitoba.

Mennonite Groups Coming to Canada.

The Mennonites who came to Canada were largely from three colonies--Bergthal, Fuerstenland and the Kleine Gemeinde group at Borsenko, besides scattered additions from Chortitz and other regions. The Kleine Gemeinde colony was the first of these to leave, in the year 1874. They travelled over Hamburg, and arrived in due time at Montreal. After passing through the Ontario settlement of Mennonites they continued their journey to Moorehead, Minnesota, from where they went down the Red River on the International as their delegates had done during the previous year. After several days on the Red River they landed their goods at the mouth of the Red River, some twenty miles below Winnipeg. Seven miles from here, immigrant sheds had been prepared for them near the present town of Niverville, on the south-western border of the eight townships that had been reserved for them. Some sixty families arrived in a group, about thirty families having gone to Nebraska during the same year. In order to understand this group, it might be well to say a few things as to their history. They were the first group to separate from the main body of Mennonites in Russia.

The division, in 1820, was the result of a controversy over a question of church discipline. They favored a more rigid discipline in matters of religion by means of the ban than was being used by the church as a whole. They also did not believe that the local authorities should exercise police powers against fellow Mennonites which were necessary to maintain local order. That is, they did not believe in the use of force against fellow Mennonites to enforce local temporal regulations, this being inconsistent with the historic faith and practice of Mennonitism. In spite of the protests of the main body of Mennonites these people organized themselves into a church of their own called the Kleine Gemeinde or "the little church." Their number was never great and they preferred to remain a small group basing their desire on the scripture--"Fear not little flock, it is the Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom." The group as a whole is still quite conservative in its church beliefs and practices, and has not changed much since its origin. At present there are about 2,000 persons in Manitoba belonging to the Kleine Gemeinde.

The Bergthal colony, the second group, decided to emigrate as a body, and also chose Manitoba as their future home. They take their name from the place where they lived in Russia, a community with five villages and

having a population of over 2,000 people at that time. They were a daughter colony of the original Chortitz settlement but lived in an isolated spot considerably removed from the older colonies, having settled there between the years 1836 and 1852. Their reasons for choosing Canada, according to their elder Gerhard Wiebe, were three-fold. They desired to live under the protection of the Queen of England. They believed that military exemption could be retained longer in Canada, and finally they had the promise of complete control over their churchs and schools in this country. They came to Canada in three parties since only by so doing could they dispose of their property in Russia. The first party leaving in 1874, was to leave without their property being sold, the second and last parties coming in the years 1875 and 1876 were to bring the sale money with them when they came. In 1874 nearly 1,400 came to Manitoba, all settling on the east reserve. In Russia this group had retained an isolated and independent position being surrounded by three or four other confessions. On the west their neighbors had been Russians, on the north Catholics, on the east Greeks, and on the south Cossacks, but with these there was very little intercourse. They were a self-sufficient unit, religiously and economically as well as socially. In Manitoba they tended to retain this isolated position. Next to the Fuersten-

land colony they were the most conservative of the Canadian Mennonites. They opposed strongly both the introduction of the public schools and the loss of the German as a means of instruction in schools.

The Fuerstenland colonists have usually been called the Old Colonists in Canada. They constituted the third group and came from Grossfuerstenland in Russia, which was located on the Grand Duke's private estate near Melitopol in the province of Taurien. This settlement had been started in the year 1864 and was a daughter colony of Chortitz. They came to Canada under the leadership of their Elder Johann Wiebe but did not leave Russia until the year 1875. Instead of going to the east reserve these colonists began the settlement west of the Red River adjacent to the American boundary, which became known as the West Reserve. Their number was about equal to that of the Bergthal colonists. They have been the most conservative of all groups that have come to Canada and their beliefs and practises of today are much the same as they were at the time when they first started their settlement in 1875. It is with this group that the most serious opposition to schools and outside influences has been experienced. It will be necessary therefore to give special study to their peculiar customs, traditions, and outlook on life in order to understand their reaction to these questions.

CHAPTER III--THE MENNONITES IN MANITOBA

Government Loan to the Mennonites.

Before continuing our discussions about the beliefs and practices of the above groups, let us see how these colonists fared during their early sojourn in Canada. Their pioneer experience on the prairies of Manitoba was not an easy one. Many of them had been forced to sell their lands in Russia without receiving any money, and arriving during the years when grasshoppers were doing great damage to any crops, they might put in, they were reduced to a situation in which they had to receive help from some source. This help came to them in the form of a loan made by the Canadian government bonded by the wealthier Mennonites in Ontario. The bill introduced in February, 1875, asked for a loan of $100,000 for the benefit of the new Mennonite colonists. The bill was submitted by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie, and started a debate in which many members of the House expressed their opinions of the Mennonites. Most of the speakers had only the highest praise for the Mennonites as pioneers in the development of the West. A certain Mr. Laird praised their thrift and industry. He said he had become acquainted with the first group that had come to Manitoba, and that after their arrival they immediately set off to their lands. The next weeks some of them were back in Winnipeg selling butter. Mr. Trow, another member, said that with reference to the proposed

loan to the Mennonites that he was as certain as he was of anything that it would all be repaid principal and interest, for their word was as good as their bond, and moreover the Government was offered the very best security, the security of men in the County of Waterloo each worth fifty to sixty thousand dollars. The bill finally passed the house with the stipulation that the money was not to be repaid until they had secured a good foothold in their new country. "In 1891 the entire principal with interest amounting in all to $130,386.58 had been repaid."[1] In answer to this fact the Minister of Interior for Canada at that time stated:

> "In all the history of our country there is not to be found a case in which a company or individual has more faithfully met his obligation to the government than has been the case here.....Not a single instance is known where one of the settlers or of the men who had given security made any attempt to withdraw from his obligations. It is moreover very pleasing to be able to add that as far as I know neither the persons who received the loan nor the citizens of Waterloo (Mennonite bondsmen) at any time made any attempt or even expressed a desire to have the conditions changed or the time of payment postponed, as is so frequently the case where loans are made by the government."[2]

1. Die Bergthaler Mennoniten--Klass Peters: P. 45.
2. Smith--The Coming the Russian Mennonites: P. 190.

The East Reserve.

This reserve of eight townships was situated between the present towns of Niverville on the west and Giroux on the east with the Rat river passing the reserve on the south-west. It is twenty-five miles south-east of Winnipeg and is known today as the Municipality of Hanover. "The land for the most part was low and swampy, with a sandy ridge of somewhat higher ground crossing the southern tier of townships. To the east were found numerous small groves of poplar and pine which for many years furnished both fuel and building material."[1]

Naturally the colonists built up such civil and religious institutions as they were accustomed to in their native land. They grouped themselves in villages consisting of from fifteen to twenty families each. These villages were scattered irregularly over the reserves, and sometimes two or three were built quite close together and then in other parts they were far apart. The most important village on the reserve was Steinbach, which has become a town by this time and remains the main trading centre of the community to this day. Their houses, the first year, were dug half in the earth, for the nearest timber was from ten to twenty miles away. Later, however, they were made of oak logs covered with prairie grass. Mr. J.Y. Schantz passing through the colony in 1877 described one of these villages as follows:

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: P. 177.

"The houses are built on both sides of the street, about 100 feet back from the street, giving ample space for trees, etc., between the houses and the street. The houses are built on a line with the street about 200 feet apart and all with the gable end towards the street, giving them a regular and handsome appearance."

According to another writer in the "Family Almanack" of 1896 there was frequently a mill and nearly always a blacksmith shop in every village. In addition, there was always the village school house, which sometimes was used as a place of worship. Sometimes this building had an extra room or rooms in which the teacher resided. In the larger villages, there were separate buildings for religious services. Mr. H.H. Ewert in an address given before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba on April 18th, 1932, described the village system as follows:

"From 15 to 25 farmers would agree to a more or less common usage of their homesteads. On one quarter or half a quarter the village was laid out. A quarter or two at the end of the village was reserved for a common pasture. The remaining quarters were divided into strips, so that each farmer would cultivate a strip in each quarter, the idea being that good and poor land should be shared equally by all of them. Nothing was held in

common. In each village was built a school house in which school was kept for 7 or 8 months. Within a few years there were about 110 villages built, 45 in the Eastern and 65 in the Western Reserve. But in the course of time most of these villages disbanded or organized themselves on a plan where each farmer could till his own land."

The privations suffered by the earlier settlers on the east reserve due to floods, grasshoppers, poverty, poor means of communication and general pioneer conditions were very great. The only way to get to Winnipeg, a distance of about 30 miles, was to go either by oxen or to walk and since the oxen could not be spared from their farm labour it often became necessary to trudge this distance over swampy lands with the necessary supplies strapped to one's back.

Scratching River Colony.

Another Mennonite settlement was started on the west side of the Red River along the Scratching river by about thirty families of the Kleine Gemeinde, who did not like the wet lands of the Eastern Reserve. This settlement occupies about a township and is north-west of the present town of Morris. They gradually increased in prosperity and remained religiously united with their Kleine Gemeide brethern on the other side of the Red River.

The West Reserve.

Due to unsatisfactory conditions on the east reserve a migration started between the years 1878 and 1881 to the larger reserve composed of 17 townships west of the Red River. The Fuerstenland group had located here in 1875 but the eastern portion of the reserve had not yet been settled. Consequently about one-half of the colonists moved to the west reserve. This reserve extended from Emerson on the east to Morden on the west. Here, also, the village system was introduced, but while all the villages on the east reserve have now disappeared except Steinbach there are still a number of them on the west reserve. The following are more or less complete to this day: New Bergthal, Altona, Sommerfeld, Blumenort, Reinland, Kronstal, Rosenort, Schoenwiese, Gnadental, Rosengart, and New Horst. The last eight of these have been occupied by Old Colony Mennonites and owe their existence to the conservative ways of this group which still cling to the old customs connected with the village system. The west reserve today is known as the Municipality of Rhineland.

Lord Dufferin's Visit.

A most significant event in the early history of the Mennonites in Canada was the visit in 1877 of Lord Dufferin,

the Governor-General of Canada, and is described by Smith as follows:

> "Dufferin's party, which included his wife and several other ladies of high rank, and the leading Provincial officials, all mounted on horses, spent the first night of the journey about half way between Winnipeg and the Reserve. The next afternoon as they approached the place designated for the formal reception, the party was met by a cavalcade of young Mennonites on horses who escorted the visitors to the place of meeting which was on a raised elevation from which twelve of the Mennonite villages could be plainly seen. A platform had been erected for the reception ceremonies, covered with an arbor of evergreen trees, and a background of white against which was placed in red letters the word Willkommen. All about were displayed beautiful flowers and the various products of the prairie farms. Above all floated the German and Canadian flags side by side.
>
> "Upon the arrival of the party at this platform they were first met by a group of young girls dressed in white, who gave each member a glass of tea seasoned with lemon according to the Russian fashion. After all were seated Jacob Peters, the Mennonite spokesman, read a speech prepared in German, and translated into English by Hespeler who acted as

interpreter for the occasion. In this brief address of welcome Peters summarized the reasons for the coming of the Mennonites to Canada. He spoke of the visit made by Hespeler to Russia in 1872; and the tour through Canada of the Committee of Twelve in 1873. These representatives, he said were not slow in deciding in favor of Canada; for they were well pleased with the land, and especially grateful for the liberal promises of religious freedom made by the Canadian government. There are now one thousand and seventy-two families here, he said, and more are expected the coming year."[1]

The reply made by Lord Dufferin and translated by Hespeler into German for the benefit of the audience is given below.

"Fellow citizens of the Dominion, and fellow subjects of Her Majesty, I have come here today in the name of the Queen of England to bid you welcome to Canadian soil. With this welcome it is needless to say that I should couple the best wishes of the Imperial government in England and the Dominion government at Ottawa, for you are well aware that both have regarded your coming here with unmitigated satisfaction. You have left your own land in obedience to a conscientious scruple, nor will you

1. Smith--The comming of the Russian Mennonites, P. 181.

have been the first to cross the Atlantic under the pressure of similar exigency. In doing so you have made great sacrifices, broken with many tender associations, and overthrown the settled purposes of your former peacefully ordered lives; but the very fact of your having manfully faced the uncertainties and risks of so distant an emigration rather than surrender your religious convictions in regard to the unlawfulness of warfare, proves you to be well worthy of our respect, confidence and esteem. You have come to a land where you will find the people with whom you associate engaged indeed in a great struggle, and contending with foes whom it requires their best energies to encounter, but those foes are not your fellow men, nor will you be called upon in the struggle to stain your hands with human blood--a task which is so abhorrent to your religious feelings. The war to which we invite you as recruits and comrades is a war waged against the brute forces of nature; but those forces will welcome our domination, and reward our attack by placing their treasures at our disposal. It is a war of ambition--for we intend to annex territory after territory--but neither blazing villages nor devastated fields will mark our ruthless track; our battal ions will march across the illimitable plains which stretch before us as sunshine steals athwart the ocean; the

rolling prairie will blossom in our wake, and corn and peace and plenty will spring where we have trod. But not only are we ourselves engaged in these beneficent occupations--you will find that the only other nationality with whom we can ever come into contact are occupied with similar peaceful pursuits. They like us are engaged in advancing the standards of civilization westwards, not as rivals, but as allies; and a community of interests, objects, and aspirations has already begun to cement between the people of the United States and ourselves what is destined, I trust, to prove an indissoluble affection. If, then, you have come hither to seek for peace--peace at least we can promise you. But it is not merely to the material blessings of our land that I bid you welcome. We desire you to share with us on equal terms our constitutional liberties, our municipal privileges, and our domestic freedom; we invite you to assist us in choosing the members of our Parliament, in shaping our laws, and in moulding our future destinies. There is no right or function which we exercise as free citizens in which we do not desire that you should participate, and with this civil freedom we equally, gladly offer you absolute religious liberty. The forms of worship you have brought with you, you will be able to practice in the

most unrestricted manner, and we confidently trust that those blessings which have waited upon your virtuous exertions in your Russian homes will continue to attend you here; for we hear that you are a sober-minded and a God-fearing community, and as such you are doubly welcome among us. It is with the greatest pleasure that I have passed through your villages, and witnessed your comfortable homesteads which have arisen like magic upon this fertile plain; for they prove indisputably that you are expert in agriculture, and already possess a high standard of domestic comfort. In the name then of Canada and her people, in the name of Queen Victoria and her empire I again stretch out my hand to you, the hand of brotherhood and fellowship, for you are as welcome to our affection as you are to our lands, to our liberties and freedom. In the eye of our law the least among you is the equal of the highest magnate in our land, and the proudest of our citizens may well be content to hail you as his fellow countrymen. You will find Canada a beneficent and loving mother, and under her fostering care I trust your community is destined to flourish and extend in wealth and numbers through countless generations. In one word, beneath the flag whose folds now wave above us, you will find protection, peace, civil and relig-

ious liberty, constitutional freedom and equal laws."

On returning to Winnipeg the citizens and officials of that city gave a farewell banquet to the Governor-General. During the course of a speech given on this occasion Lord Dufferin paid the following tribute to the Mennonites as reported in the Winnipeg Free Press.

> "Although I have witnessed many sights to give me pleasure during my various progresses through the Dominion, seldom have I beheld any spectacle more pregnant with prophecy, more fraught with promise of an astonishing future than the Mennonite settlement. (Great applause) When I visited these interesting people they had been only two years in the Province, and yet in a long ride I took across the prairies which but yesterday was absolutely bare, desolate and untenanted, and the home of the wolf, the badger and the eagle, I passed village after village, homestead after homestead furnished with all the conveniences and incidents of European comfort and a scientific agriculture; while on the other side of the road were cornfields already ripe for harvest, and pastures populous with herds of cattle stretching away to the horizon (Great cheering). Even on this continent, the peculiar theatre of rapid change and progress, there has nowhere, I imagine, taken place so marvelous a trans-

formation (renewed cheering): and yet when in your name and in the name of the Queen of England, I had these people welcome to their new homes, it was not the improvement in their material fortunes that preoccupied my thoughts. Glad as I was to have the power of apportioning them so ample a portion of our teeming soil which seems to blossom at a touch (continued applause) and which they are cultivating to such magnificent advantage, I felt infinitely prouder in being able to throw over them the aegis of the British constitution (loud cheering), and in bidding them freely share with us our unrivalled political institutions, our untrammelled personal liberties (renewed cheers). We ourselves are so accustomed to breathe the atmosphere of freedom that it scarcely occurs to us to consider and appreciate our advantages in this respect. It is only when we are reminded by such incidents, as that to which I refer of the small extent of the world's surface over which the principles of parliamentary government can be said to work smoothly and harmoniously that we are led to consider the exceptional happiness of our position. (Hear, Hear)"

Of course, some of this enthusiasm may have been the result of the good repast provided by the citizens of Winnipeg for the Governor as well as the cheering and the applause with which his speech was received. Nevertheless, it shows that on the whole the Mennonites had made a very good impression on him and that he was quite confident of their future success in this country.

CHAPTER IV--EARLY CUSTOMS AND USAGES OF THE MENNONITES.

The villages referred to previously were duplicates of those in Russia, from where the colonists had come, and because of this showed many signs of their Russian origin. It was not long, however, before most of the Mennonites realized that this system was not adapted to successful farming in Canada, and hence most of the villages were disbanded between the years, 1890 and 1905. Some have, however, remained to this day, especially among the Old Colony Mennonites. These villages had their own form of local government to take the place of the municipal system in vogue in other parts of the Province and throughout Canada. In 1887, when the villages had reached their greatest development, Mr. Peter Wiens, who was himself an immigrant from Russia, described their form of government in the Rhineland Colony, which at this time consisted of about twenty-five villages. This description was printed in the Herold of Truth and is typical of the system of government used in all the villages.

> "In matters concerning the church, there is one bishop for the whole settlement, and seven ministers, which are elected for life, and preach the Word of God in their public meetings. In the management of

affairs of the church, the bishop occupies the highest position and is looked to first in deciding and settling difficulties that may arise in the church. The bishop and preachers are chosen by lot by the church for life.

For the management of their temporal affairs, to see after roads, bridges, etc., the colony has a district office in Reinland. To fill this office the whole colony elects a general superintendent, each village a director and two assistants. A secretary for the district office is hired for a year. The general superintendent or director and the village directors or superintendents, as they are sometimes called, and their assistants are elected for two years. The general superintendent and the village superintendents are each paid a small salary.

The general superintendent gives all general orders, or when anything is to be done, the order is given through the secretary of the district to the superintendents of the villages who in turn make it known to the village. When matters of importance are to be attended to, the general superintendent through the secretary calls the village superintendents to a general conference in which all the village superintendents in the district must appear in Reinland, and sometimes also the bishop of the

church takes part in the councils. The general superintendent, when considered necessary, makes known the proceedings of the council through the secretary to the superintendent of the villages, who in turn makes it known to the villages. Ofttimes also when the proceedings are short and they can remember them without difficulty, the proceedings are delivered verbally to the village superintendents.

So long as everything goes on in peace, and all are obedient, the general superintendent and the village superintendents have only to give the needful instructions, but if any become disobedient and refuse to obey the instructions of the general village superintendent, they are, after they have been exhorted several times, given over to the bishop of the church. He again exhorts them to obedience. If they hear him, all is again well. If, however, they refuse to hear him, the bishop and general superintendent together visit them several times in order if possible to adjust the difficulties, sometimes also some of the ministers go with them to assist in settling the difficulty. If they hear these, all is well again; but if they refuse to hear them, they are called into the church before the whole congregation where the bishop is director of the meeting. The bishop presents the matter to the congregation and makes the necessary inquiries of

them, and if the whole congregation agrees, when these disobedient persons are not willing to hear after the matter has been again seriously and solemnly presented to them, then these disobedient persons are excommunicated from the church until they become obedient, acknowledge that they have done wrong and ask for forgiveness. When an excommunicated person comes again in this manner penitent and sorry, he is presented before the congregation, and when he there makes his confession, he is again, according to the Word of God, received into the church.

The entire colony has an office for the care of the orphans, to fill which two persons are elected for three years. These have in charge all money of the orphans, widows and other weakly persons, which they loan out at five per cent. on good security and are required to keep a correct account of all their transactions.

The colony has a fire office to which a fire-overseer is chosen. In this office every family is secured, and a record is kept of the amount of property that each family has secured. When a fire occurs, the fire overseer makes an estimate of the percentage of the loss. He then reports to the village superintendents who collect the money and hand it over to the fire overseer who pays it to the person who sustained the loss. Each village also,

has a school teacher who is employed for a year at such a salary as they can agree upon. The bishop and ministers receive no pay.

The above is briefly an account of the manner in which our colony is conducted."

From this description it can be seen that the church officials had a close connection with matters that were purely temporal. There was no sharp distinction between things that were to be controlled by the church and those that come under the jurisdiction of the civic officials.

Due to the people's respect for spiritual authority it was frequently the church officials that had the deciding influence in all matters of importance. The only way to enforce civic obligations as well as church regulations was by the use of the church ban. This was an effective way of securing obedience from most individuals. If a person was banned it meant that he was socially ostracized by his fellows. They would have no dealings with him, would not eat with him, would not shake hands with him and would generally "avoid" him though he might belong to their own family. The writer remembers an instance in which an excommunicated member attended a church service of the Old Colony Mennonites, whereupon the whole congregation left the church as a body leaving him to occupy the church by himself. Of course, an effort was made to control the individual member by kindly persuasion, but if this had

no influence the ban was the only thing that could be resorted to to bring the wayfarer to repentence.

"The farm buildings, house, barn, stables and sheds, were usually built under one roof, with the house gable end facing the street occupying the front part of the long structure. Kitchen and stable were often uncomfortably near each other, though both were kept scrupulously clean. The house was a story and a half structure, with a steep roof beginning eight feet from the ground, and enclosing a spacious attic. The ceiling was often supported by heavy wooden beams because for a time the attic served as a granary where the farmer stored his wheat and rye for the winter.

Within, the house was divided into at least three rooms, after the Russian fashion, including a big living room known as die grosse Stube, and such rooms as the size of the family demanded. Everywhere one met familiar Russian household utensils and conveniences: the big linen chest, usually placed in a convenient corner of the grosse Stube; the big wall clock, often a family heir-loom; the spacious brick Ziegelofen, built within the walls so as to heat three rooms and usually fed from the kitchen; the generous but cumbersome coffee mill; and in the kitchen highly polished copper kettles and platters in profusion."

CHAPTER V--THE EXTENSION OF MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS INTO SASKATCHEWAN AND ALBERTA.

In time the Mennonites grew not only in material prosperity but also in numbers. The time is long past when the confines of the original reserves could contain the entire Mennonite population.

> "Most of the surplus population went to Saskatchewan and Alberta. The emigration to Saskatchewan began in 1893, when a few settlers from Manitoba settled near Rosthern, north of Saskatoon. Others followed from various groups in Manitoba including a large company of Old Colonists from the Reinland district, who settled near Hague. In 1906, a colony of nearly 500 Reinlanders located south of Swift Current. In the meantime Mennonites of various branches of the denomination from both eastern Canada and the United States have settled in this same general region."[1]

All these other branches, have however, not shown the same conservative tendencies that were more evident among the Manitoba Mennonites. Attracted by the free homesteads to be had in Saskatchewan, a considerable number of Mennonites came to Canada, in 1899 and the years immediately following, from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska and Kansas. These settled in Saskatchewan in the region of Dalmeny, Hepburn, Waldheim and Laird. Most of these belonged to the

1. Smith "The Coming of the Russian Mennonites." Page 192.

Brethren church. At the same time, immigration was continuing from South Russia and also from Prussia. Some of these European Mennonites would first stay a year with their co-religionists in Manitoba before proceeding to take up pioneer work on their Saskatchewan homesteads. During these early days the Mennonites of Manitoba often found it necessary to support their brethern farther west with the necessities of life since here too beginnings were difficult.

CHAPTER VI--MENNONITE CHURCH DIVISIONS.

Reasons for the Division and Statistical Information About Each Division.

The fact that there are some twelve branches of the Mennonite church in Canada shows the tendency towards innumerable divisions that has been characteristic of the church during its past history. It must be remembered, however, that these many branches still agree in the fundamental and characteristic beliefs of the Mennonite church. The differences which have kept them apart have mainly been small and insignificant. The following reasons have been given for these divisions:

> "In the first place the Mennonite faith has always fostered an extreme individualism. This spirit may make for strength of character, but at the expense of uniformity often. In the second place, the congregational form of church government and the lack of regular unifying conferences permitted scattered congregations to develop certain slight differences which later presented points of dispute when uniformity of action was desired for any particular purpose. Mennonites as a class were rural people coming

> from the humble and simple walks of life, and not trained to subordinate non-essentials to the broader and more important interests of life. Several divisions, too, were caused by the pure stubborness of certain self-willed individuals of a quarrelsome disposition."[1]

Statistical information on each of these divisions has been compiled by Mr. Benjamin Ewert, a travelling missionary of long years experience in work amongst the Mennonites. The figures, as given on page 75, are for the year 1932.

In studying the above groups it will not be necessary to refer to those which are only represented in Ontario, as for example the Amish Mennonites, the Wisler Mennonites, the Mennonite Brethern in Christ and the Reformed Mennonites. It is also necessary to remember that these statistics include about 21,000 Mennonites that have come over from Russia since 1923, as well as other groups that have come from Germany, Russia and the United States since 1899.

1. Smith-- The Mennonites: Page 241.

Table 1.

Statistical Information with Reference to the Different Mennonite Church Divisions in Canada. 1932.

Divisions	Souls	Members	Families
GENERAL CONFERENCE MENNONITES	18224	9367	3908
In Ontario	1649	915	367
In Manitoba	6712	3701	1687
In Saskatchewan	8047	3976	1530
In Alberta	1616	695	288
In British Columbia	200	80	36
SOMMERFELDER & OLD COLONY MENNONITES	14700	6210	2884
In Manitoba, East Reserve	2450	1043	374
In Manitoba, West Reserve	9800	4000	2000
Saskatchewan at Herbert, etc.	1200	567	250
Saskatchewan at Hague, etc.	900	450	200
Saskatchewan by Lost River	350	150	60
KLEINE GEMEINDE MENNONITES	1932	872	341
In Manitoba, East Reserve	1365	603	251
In Manitoba, West Reserve	567	269	90
CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST	1290	591	204
In Manitoba, East Reserve	765	297	111
In Manitoba, West Reserve	193	94	31
In Alberta	332	200	62
BRUDERTHALERS	1050	570	200
In Manitoba	400	200	75
In Saskatchewan	500	310	100
In Alberta	150	60	25
MENNONITE BRETHREN	9723	4327	2012
In Manitoba	4000	1848	900
In Saskatchewan	3000	1540	750
In Alberta	1500	400	145
In British Columbia	500	200	80
In Ontario	723	339	137
KRIMMER BRETHERN	690	395	180
In Saskatchewan at Waldheim	260	175	80
In Saskatchewan at Herbert	137	52	15
In Alberta	293	168	87
OLD MENNONITES	5900	2873	1200
In Saskatchewan	224	132	60
In Alberta	676	347	140
In Ontario	5000	2394	1000
AMISH MENNONITES (ONTARIO)	3000	1624	800
WISLER MENNONITES (ONTARIO)	1400	700	350
MENNONITE BRETHERN IN CHRIST (ONTARIO)	3000	1000	450
REFORMED MENNONITES (ONTARIO)	1000	500	250
SUMMARY:			
Mennonites in Ontario	15772	7472	2854
Mennonites in Manitoba	26262	12055	5519
Mennonites in Saskatchewan	14618	7352	3043
Mennonites in Alberta & B.C.	5267	2150	863
TOTAL	61919	29029	11779

The General Conference of Mennonites in North America.

This conference unites many of the Mennonites in the United States with those in Canada. A large propertion of this conference is made up of Russian Mennonites, although it also includes those of Prussia and Swiss origin. The aim of the conference is to unite different groups of Mennonites in a common program of constructive church work, while at the same time allowing each congregation to be a self-governing unit following its own peculiar practices and customs. It is an endeavor to unite the congregations for a common effort in education, publication enterprises and missions. The attitude of the Conference is progressive and it has done much to advance education especially among the American Mennonites. Bethel College at Newton, Kansas, is supported by the members of this conference.

Conference of Mennonites of Middle Canada.

Practically all of the congregation in western Canada that belong to the General Conference which meets every three years also belong to the Conference of Mennonites of Middle Canada meeting once a year. The views of the two bodies are the same. The members of the latter conference support the two secondary schools at Gretna and Hesthern and do not object to sending their children to public schools. All the congregations in the Conference of Middle Canada still conduct their services in German

and are trying to do what they can for the retention of this language. According to Mr. Ewert there were 16,575 Mennonites (including children) in Western Canada belonging to the General Conference in 1932 and consequently about the same number would belong to the Conference of Mennonites of Middle Canada, the largest groups being in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The actual church membership in the West is 8,452.

The Bergthaler Mennonites.

Their coming to Canada in 1874 has already been referred to as well as their independent and isolated position in Russia which they sought to retain in Manitoba. Between the years 1878 and 1881 about half of them had moved to the West Reserve due to their dissatisfaction with the swampy land on the eastern reserve. Their first elder was Gerhard Wiebe, who has written an account of the emigration of his church from Russia into Canada. He was decidedly conservative and in order to understand his attitude to educational matters, it may be well to refer to a few incidents he mentions in his book. He describes for example an incident in Russia which took place at a church conference at Alexanderwohl,,which he visited with some others.

> "A worldly-wise person stood up in front of the whole audience and asked the whole gathering, if it would not be well to take the Bibles and Testaments out of the schools, especially for children that could not read very well as yet, for it was

much too bad, and also sinful, that the Holy Scriptures be torn by the school children, and instead of this, fine reading books could be bought, and this would also be a more of an incentive to learning for the children. I believe, that at that time, the large majority were terrified by this speech, and my eyes were directed to the old elders, and to God's praise, it can be said, there were still watchmen in Zion. Elder Batzlaff and Elder Wedel now spoke and said: God has given commandments, laws, and the holy scriptures to the children at Mount Sinai and has said to them. This you shall teach your children from their youth up and impress upon them from generation to generation."[1]

In this way, he says the man in question was put to shame and perhaps also humbled. Elder Wiebe refers to another incident which happened a few years after the Bergthalers had come to Canada.[2]

"We were in America for only a few years when money was offered to us for the support of our schools. This, however, seemed hazardous to us for we feared thereby to lose, our school freedom, which had been promised to us by the government; but Hespeler said, there is no danger. Hence we agreed to accept it. We went to him with the entire list of the names of our school teachers and Hespeler told us to divide

1. Wiebe, G.--Ursachen und Saschichte der Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika, 1897: P. 17.
2. Ibid--P. 43.

> our school teachers into three classes. Why, we asked. 'Well,' he said 'you don't think the government will give its money to men who are cowherdsmen in summer and school teachers in winter.' Then, the author gathered his papers together and said 'Mr. Hespeler, now we understand, we will keep to the arrangement, which our deputies have made for us'."

Mr. Wiebe continues to say how Mr. Hespeler smoothed over the matter, and how they actually received money for some time for their schools, but since they saw the directions things were going, they hastily retreated and took no more money. "Oh, how willingly," he says "we would liked to have seen the Kleine Gemeinde' act in a similar manner."

These quotations illustrate the conservative attitude of the first bishop of the Bergthaler group in Manitoba. That, however, all his church members did not agree with him is shown by a church split, which took place about 1891 among the Bergthalers west of the river, because of the school question. About one-quarter of the congregation, under Elder John Funk, were in favour of better schools; the other three-quarters led by Elder Abraham Doerksen, living in Sommerfeld organized a spearate congregation. It is because of this fact that most of the Bergthalers, who moved to the west reserve, are now called Sommerfelders. The progressive fourth, about 600, has joined the Conference of Middle Canada.

Sommerfelders.

It must be remembered that the Bergthalers were represented both on the east and west reserve. On the latter reserve the progressive fourth separated from the others taking the original name of the group (Bergthal) with them. The large group remaining, however, on the west reserve and the equally large group on the east reserve have retained their religious fellowship with each other, but have taken other names. The congregations on the east reserve now call themselves--"The Chortitz community of the Mennonite Church" whereas those on the west reserve are called "The Sommerfelders." Both these groups have been strongly opposed to the introduction of public schools and the loss of the use of the German language in the schools. A petition, having reference to schools, from the Chortitz Community to the Manitoba government is attached to this thesis.[1] It is dated January 13th, 1920. Another joint petition from the Sommerfeld Congregation and the Chortitz Congregation, dated October 14th, 1921, is also attached.[2] These petitions will be discussed later. Both these groups have become somewhat more liberal in educational matters in recent times, but this has not prevented about 1,500 Sommerfelders from Manitoba and about 250 from Saskatchewan in leaving for Paraguay during the year 1926, because of a deep desire to retain control

1. Appendix letter No. 17.
2. Appendix letter No. 18.

over their school system and the future members of their church.

The Kleine Gemeinde.

These were the first Mennonites to come to Manitoba in 1874. They have never been a very large group and their history in Russia has already been referred to. They were also a conservative group but due to their smaller number have not had such an influence on educational matters as the other groups already mentioned. In 1932, the group had 872 church members.

The Church of God in Christ or the Holdemanites.

This group was originated by John Holdeman, a Mennonite layman, in 1858 in Wayne county, Ohio. "The old church, he maintained, had departed from the truth as first taught by Menno Simon; and his organization was now the true church of God, which had maintained the lineage of the saints from the days of the Apostles through Menno Simon and the early Mennonites. He departed very little from the fundamentals of early Conservative Mennonitism."[1]

His followers only grew very gradually, but in 1885 a number of the Kleine Gemeinde group joined his ranks in Manitoba. Although they keep themselves separate from the other denominations, let their beards grow and dress severely plain, their attitude to schools and education has been quite favourable. They are found in the east

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: P. 257.

and west reserves as well as in Alberta, there being 591 actual church members in 1932.

The Bruderthalers.

This group had its origin in Mountain Lake, Minnesota, in 1888, and was led by a man named Aaron Wall. They have certain distinctive practices as feet-washing at their Communion service, and baptizing in a stream but not by immersion. They believe in revival activities, Sunday Schools and mission work and have offered no opposition to the introduction of public schools amongst them. They have a church membership of 570 and have congregations in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

The Mennonite Brethren.

They are often called the Mennoniten Brueder Gemeinde and trace their origin back to Russia, where in 1860 they separated from the main body of Mennonites because they were "dissatisfied with the rather formal, ritualistic and unemotional religious life that prevailed among the Molotschna Mennonites at that time, and influenced largely by a strong spirit of emotional evangelism that was sweeping over the German colonists of South Russia, withdrew from the Mennonite body to organize a church of their own."[1] At the time of the Russian immigration their number was less than a thousand, but was continually growing. They did not come to America as a group, but those who did

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites; P. 254.

came in scattered numbers. They soon gathered together and started an organized church in Kansas. Since they believe in aggressive evangelism they soon increased their numbers in America. At present they have 3,988 church members in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Some of these have been recruited from other Mennonite churches and some have come in from the United States, as has already been indicated. They are all united under one Conference for the purpose of promoting the missionary, evangelistic and educational activities of the church. In 1908 they founded Tabor College at Hillsboro, Kansas, which has been supported by them ever since. During recent years they have done much to support the Bible Schools, which have started in over a dozen places in western Canada. They are strong believers in the value of education, specially when the religious development of the pupil is also provided for.

The Krimmer Brethren.

The Krimmer Brethren are closely related to the Brueder Gemeinde. They both baptize by immersion and are highly evangelistic. The Krimmer Brethren had their origin in the Crimea in Russia, where they had separated from the Kleine Gemiende in 1869, because they felt that a more ardent expression should be given to their faith than was being practised by the members of this church. This group migrated to Kansas as a body in 1874, and now has two small congregations in Saskatchewan and another one in Alberta.

Due to their close resemblance to the Mennonite Brethren they have united with them in the support of Tabor College. They also have a preparatory school at Inman, Kansas. Their present church membership in Saskatchewan and Alberta is 395.

The Old Mennonites.

Although the greater number belonging to this group can be found in Ontario, there are also two settlements in the west, one in Alberta and one in Saskatchewan. They are called the Old Mennonites because they were the first to settle in America in 1683. Their first settlement was in Pennsylvania from whence their expanding population went to Ontario, as has been indicated previously. They are the only Mennonite group in the west that does not use German in its church services, since it has been replaced by English during the course of their longer sojourn in North America. In Saskatchewan, their settlement is around Guernsey. Many of their Pennsylvania customs are still retained by this group, but they offer no educational problem, since they have been used to sending their children to public schools for a long time. They have a church membership of 2,394 in Ontario, 347 in Alberta and 132 in Saskatchewan.

The Old Colony Mennonites.

This has been the most conservative group of Mennonites in the West and as such have most frequently drawn public attention upon themselves. In the statistics given, they are grouped with the Sommerfelders, no doubt

because both have been opposed to the introduction of public schools within their settlements. Their combined church membership is given as 6,210. The Old Colonists came, as we have noted, from the Grossfuerstenland settlement in Russia. This was a daughter colony of Chortitz, the oldest and the most conservative settlement in Russia. They came to Canada in 1875 before the schools in Russia had taken the upward swing that they did in the last quarter of the 19th century. Their leader at the time they came to Canada was Elder Johann Wiebe, who exerted a very strong influence, and did not spare any effort to persuade his people to follow his way of thinking. Those who were unwilling he dismissed from the church. At the beginning of his career he adopted the policy of purging, saying that his people had been going too much with the world and that they must return to the conditions of their fathers. A number of the people left the church and he then had the remainder under his control, and could do what he pleased. In this way he put a distinctive stamp on his community.

When they settled on the West Reserve in Manitoba, they grouped themselves in villages as the other Mennonites had done. This way of living has been preserved by most of them to this day, even though the other branches of Mennonites have long since disbanded their villages and moved on to their own quarter sections. Their reason for living in villages was because they could enforce their

church discipline better in this way. Those who left the villages, either to live on farm homesteads or to move to the towns on the outskirts of the settlement were excommunicated. Many of those who left joined the Bergthal group, who were not quite so conservative in this respect. Thus, the Old Colony Mennonites living in a compact settlement, having their own language, and having very little knowledge of English, cut themselves off from any influences which might tend to assimilate them to their surroundings.

> "Religious affiliations with other Mennonite bodies there was none whatever. Participation in the civil and political life that centered in the railway towns that had grown up along the outskirts of the settlements was unknown. Church members were even forbidden to take up their dwelling in these towns or engage in business. All such religious or social affiliation was regarded as being unequally yoked with the world, and hence to be strictly avoided. Public schools as we saw were tabooed, and the German language insisted upon. All these regulations were enforced by means of a strict application of the church ban, to which was added the practice of "Avoidance" or Meidung as it was called in German. This latter practice demanded that all such as were excommunicated for any reason must also be ostracised by their fellows

> in all domestic, social and business relations as well as in religious fellowship. According to the conservative confession of faith adopted at Dortrecht in 1632 the reason for this practice was 'that we may not be defiled by intercourse with him--and that he may be made ashamed, and thereby amend his ways.' Civil office, modern clothing, modern houses, the English language, Sunday schools, public schools, higher schools of any sort, prayer meetings, salaried ministers, telephones, authomobiles, which they called 'hell-wagons,' and numerous other institutions which are usually regarded as symptoms of progress--all these were considered as of the 'world,' and to be given a wide berth by all those who wished to be true Christians."[1]

It has already been stated that due to an expansion of population two daughter colonies of Old Colony Mennonites were founded in Saskatchewan. One large colony settled around Hague in the early nineties, whereas another body of nearly 500 located south of Swift Current. Here, also, they grouped themselves in villages as they had been accustomed to do in Manitoba. Dr. Oliver[2] visited these colonies in 1915 and gives us the names of the villages found at that time in the neighbourhood of Hague:

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: P. 263.
2. Dr. Oliver is Principal, St. Andrew's Theological College, Saskatoon, and Vice-President, Saskatchewan Public Education League.

1. Ostervich, 2. Kronsthal, 3. Blumenheim, 4. Reinland, 5. Neuanlage, 6. Rosenfeld, 7. Blumenthal, 8. Hochfeld, 9. Chortitz, 10. Gruenthal, 11. Schoenwiese, 12. Gruenfeld, 13. Neuhorst, 14. Edenburg, 15. Olgafeld, 16. Hochstadt, 17. Reinfeld.[1]

These found in the district south of Swift Current were: 1. Rosenhof, 2. Rosenfeld, 3. Reinfeld, 4. Rosenbach, 5. Neuendorf, 6. Rosenort, 7. Blumenhof, 8. Schoenfeld, 9. Chortitz, 10. Reinland, 11. Schanzenfeld, 12. Blumenort, 13. Schoenwiese, 14. Springfeld, 15. Gnadenthal.[2]

The church services of the Old Colony Mennonites are still carried on in a very conservative way. The writer visited one of these services on a Sunday morning during the fall of 1933. Their meeting house was severely plain, was unpainted and had no decorations of any kind. Inside there was a large room in which the services were conducted. The floors, seats, walls and ceiling were made of plain lumber. Only the doors, windows, and the pulpit were painted with a dull gray color. The windows for the most part had no shades or curtains, only a piece of plain cloth was stretched across a few to keep out the glowing sun. Everything in the church could easily have been made by any one who was capable of doing rough carpentry. The seats had no backs and were long plain benches reaching half-way across the church. A wide aisle separated the men,

1. The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan--Dr. E.H. Oliver, P. 7.
2. Ibid.

who sat on the one side of the church, from the women, who sat on the other. The women were all dressed in long black dresses with shawls, while the men likewise refrained from adornment by avoiding the use of collars and neckties.

Since these Old Colony services are long, sometimes lasting for about three hours, and since there are no backs to the seats many members of the audience secure rest by having their heads supported on the palms of their hands with their elbows on their knees. During the service there is a continual going in and out on the part of both men and women, which no one seems to mind.

The preacher does not seem to look at the audience nor does the congregation look much at the preacher. In spite of the long service only one speaker, addresses the audience during the whole time. The preacher and his assistants sit on a raised platform in front of the congregation. They are dressed in black shirts, long dark coats, reaching to their knees, with the trousers tucked in high topped boots. The minister reads his sermons in German from a book of manuscripts, changing however, to "Plattdeutsch", when he wishes to especailly emphasize a point. The subject of the sermon is an exhortation to live a better life in this wicked and adulterous world in which we live. There is a complaining of our present evil day and a longing for redemption. Emphasis is placed on a retention of moral standards and values.

In their singing they use a hymn book imported from their old homes in Prussia. The Hymns are without notes and no musical instruments are allowed in the church to guide in the singing. The singing, which is like a slow dirge, is led by several men called Vorsinger, who catch up the song when the others have let it die down, and who carry it through melodies, which an outsider would find it practically impossible to imitate. It may take close to twenty or twenty-five minutes to sing a song.

CHAPTER VII--EARLY MENNONITE SCHOOLS IN CANADA

Early Mennonite Schools in Russia Before 1874

Since the first Mennonites to come to Western Canada were those who settled in Manitoba in 1874 and the years following, it will be necessary to start our study of Mennonite schools in this province. Reference has already been made to the type of Mennonites that settled here and also the homes in Russia from where they came. They were for the most part very conservative and had been induced to come to Canada because of the greater privileges offered them by the Canadian Government as compared with those offered by the United States. Most of them came from Bergthal and Fuerstenland, both of which were daughter colonies of Chortitz, the first Mennonite settlement in South Russia. Consequently, their educational development had been hindered by frequent migrations and accompanying pioneer experiences. By 1870 even the schools in the Mother Colony had not reached a high stage of development. Nevertheless, they were themselves responsible for whatever education was given to their children since the Russian Government allowed them almost complete control over their own schools.

> "There was practically no interference from the Government in regard to either the subject matter of the curriculum or the language in which it was presented. The Bible and German consequently were both important subjects of study. The Russian language received scant attention in the schools before 1870. School and church were closely connected, the former being considered the handmaid of the latter; and the course of study was largely based on that assumption. The teachers were often ministers, and the ministers were usually recruited from the teachers. The prospects of losing this control over their schools with the exclusive use of the German language was one of the strong contributory factors to the emigration movement in the early seventies."[1]

Description of the Early School System of the Mennonites.

During their pioneer days the Mennonites did not have much time to devote to education, and when they did do so they introduced the same kind of schools they had been used to in Russia. The curriculum taught in the schools was dictated by the demands of the church, and was intended as a preparation for church membership. There were four

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: P. 213.

classes: first, the German primer from which the child learned his ABC's; second, the catechism; third, the New Testament; and fourth, the Old Testament. A little arithmetic was added to enable the pupil to make simple calculations necessary to farm life. The instruction was often given in a mechanical way and was not effective in developing the powers of the child's mind. The multiplication tables were sometimes sung by the school as a whole in order to impress them on the minds of the children by mechanical repetition. The children were not to read fables or similar stories; neither must they sing any songs whose tunes are too lively. There was no time devoted to geography, history, civics, or hygiene.

At first, the children met in private homes, but later each village built its own school house. The equipment in these schools left much to be desired. The seats were long backless benches on which half a dozen children were seated together. The light often entered from the front in such a way as to dazzle the eyes of the pupils. There was an absence of maps, globes, pictures and charts, but sometimes there was a blackboard, 3 feet by 4 feet. Text books were also very much limited in number.

The teacher frequently lived in one end of the school house, itself, and devoted the other end to instructional purposes. The qualifications demanded of him were not high. If he could read and write and keep fairly good

discipline, if necessary with an ample use of the rod, that was all that was required of him. Of course, during the first years of their settlement in Manitoba teachers were engaged that had received a fair training in Russia, but during the second generation the only teachers available were those who had received no preparation except that given in these elementary schools. Consequently, the educational standards dropped accordingly. All the instruction was at first given in German, since none of the teachers could speak the English language. Their salaries were paid partly by tuition and partly by a levy on the farm property of the villagers. The teachers might receive from $100 to $200 a year, together with a certain amount of grain, hay or fuel. They were usually married and were required to work out in summer in order to eke out their winter wages. Women were not allowed to teach.

The school lasted from the 15th of October to seeding time with another month of schooling in summer, after the seeding operations had been completed. The girls attended school from the ages of 6 to 12, whereas the boys attended one or two years longer. One teacher might have from 40 to 70 pupils depending on the number of children in the village.

Early Development of Public Schools.

In the early days this system of schools was common throughout the Mennonite communities. In later years, it was only retained by the most conservative branches of the

church. During the early eighties some of the Mennonites petitioned the government for schools, since they lacked the necessary resources for the upkeep of their own schools. As a result four schools were established on the west side of the Red River and four on the east side. These schools, however, were established under the old Manitoba law, which recognized separate schools and consequently there were no restrictions put on the time devoted to religious teaching nor on the time devoted to German. Nevertheless, the church teachers were hesitant in receiving government aid since they feared that it would involve a sacrifice of their right to control their own schools. By 1890, the majority of the communities had withdrawn from the public school system due to the influence of the elders of the church. In this year, also, the separate school system was abolished in Manitoba. In order to explain the new law to the Mennonites and if possible to turn them back to the public schools, the provincial government sent Rev. Dr. George Bryce to the Mennonite leaders accompanied by Mr. Wm. Hespeler. The outcome of this meeting with the more progressive members of the Bergthal church living in the eastern end of the West Reserve, was the formation of a voluntary Association for the training of Mennonite teachers at Gretna, Manitoba. Dr. Bryce's attention was also drawn to the Mennonite settlement in Kansas, where more development had already

been made in edu[illegible] matters. He visited this settlement and induced [illegible] H. Ewert, a Mennonite teacher, in the school at [illegible]d, Kansas, to come to Manitoba and accept the position of inspector of Mennonite schools.

The first reaction of some of the Mennonites to the appointment of a school supervisor amongst them has been described in a booklet written by Novokampus, in 1924, in commemoration of their settlement in Manitoba fifty years ago.[1] The description referred to gives an imaginary conversation of the village officials, after a letter from the government has brought this matter to their attention. The author shows the resistance of some of the elder men to the idea of government supervision of schools and also the reaction of those more favourably inclined to the idea. This material is referred to at the end of the appendix.

1. Kanadische Mennoniten Jubilaums jahr, 1925. Rundschau Publishing House, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

CHAPTER VIII--EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE MENNONITES DURING THE [illegible] OF INSPECTORS H. H. EWERT, HENRY GRAFF, [illegible]IESEN AND A. WILLOWS.[1]

[illegible]Rev. H. H. Ewert as Mennonite School Inspector.

Mr. Ewert came to Manitoba in 1891 and remained school inspector for a period of twelve years during which time his main task was to increase the number of public schools on the reserves. He, also, was given the principalship of the teacher training school at Gretna, a position which he has held from 1891 to the present, a period of forty-three years. During these many years, Mr. Ewert has been one of the outstanding leaders in education among the Manitoba Mennonites. The task, he had undertaken, was not an easy one, for he had to persuade people for the most part strongly averse to the idea of public schools, to consent to the establishment of such schools. His first report to the department of education was as follows:

> "The inspectoral division assigned to me comprises the district schools within the Mennonite settlements of this province. I took charge of my office September 1st, 1891. There having been no immediate predecessor in this office, I found no statistics, reports or any papers of information regarding the condition of schools in the Mennonite settlements except what was furnished me by the

1. Much of the information on Mennonite schools contained in this chapter and the one following has been taken from a series of eight articles printed in the Manitoba Free Press between February 4th and February 12th, 1913. The articles are the result of a study of conditions on the Ground by a Free Press Staff Correspondent.

Department of Education. To get a proper insight into the conditions of education in my district, I made an extended trip through Mennonite settlements, endeavoring to come into personal contact with teachers and officers of district schools.

"I found that there had been eight district schools in operation during the previous years--four in the settlements east and four in the settlements west of the Red river--and that these schools had given good satisfaction to the people, and were considered by most of them an improvement on the private schools still maintained by the vast majority of Mennonites. All teachers expressed themselves very much pleased with the prospect of having normal sessions provided for them, some only regretting that they were not able at the present to spare time and money for attending the same, as they were obliged to supplement their income from their professional work by outside earnings in order to support their families.

"There are several localities in my inspectoral division where no schools of any kind are maintained. The cause of this seems to be a disagreement of the people as to what kind of schools to establish, some favoring district schools, others private schools. In some localities, even where they would all prefer

a private school, they disagree as to which church organization should have control of it. It affords me pleasure to observe though, that in some quarters the propriety of establishing school districts is being actively discussed, and that in one instance at least, preliminary steps are being taken towards organizing a school district.

"Besides inspecting schools I am commissioned by the Department of Education to make arrangements for the training of teachers. To carry out this provision, I assumed charge of the Gretna Normal school, an institution built and supported by an association of Mennonites. I opened a five weeks normal session on September 21st, which was attended by twelve students, three of whom received permits from the Department of Education to teach in Mennonite schools. After one week's vacation another session was opened for less advanced students. The enrollment at present has reached twenty-four with prospects of an increase after New Years."

It is estimated that in 1891 there were 150 private schools within the two Mennonite Reserves and only 8 organized public school districts. With Mr. Ewert's coming, there began an advent of educational progress which has continued with temporary set backs up to the present. A report made by the inspector in 1895 indicates that by that

time there were 21 public schools and that several new up-to-date buildings had been erected. Seven were equipped with "patent," desks, while the rest still used home-made furniture. Many of the teachers had pursued courses at Gretna, although only two had government licenses.

In 1903, Mr. Ewert reported that there were 41 organized school districts, and 16 Mennonite teachers, who had received government licenses, while those teaching on permits had received some preparation for their profession. Some of the teachers had been secured by Mr. Ewert from the Mennonite settlements in Minnesota and Kansas. His report for the year 1903 is given below.

> "The number of school districts in my division is forty-one. Two new districts were organized within my territory during the year, but these have not commenced operations yet. Twenty-nine districts possess good schoolhouses, the rest have either unsuitable or insufficient school-room accommodation. But I am glad to be able to report that in some of these cases steps are being taken for erecting new buildings or remodelling the old ones. All the better schools have sufficient blackboard accommodation, good seats and whatever else constitutes a proper equipment of a school.
>
> The largest school in my division is that at Winkler. It employs three teachers. Four other districts--Burwalde, Plum Coulee, Altona and Stein-

bach, employ two teachers each. Two districts have two schools each but the separation of pupils is not along national or religious lines. The arrangement has been made simply to suit the convenience of the ratepayers.

The principals of the graded schools, those in the municipalities of Rhineland, Morris and Stanley, do not, of course, all keep even pace. The many factors that go to make up a good school are not everywhere equally distributed; yet faster here or slower there, some progress is everywhere discernible. The teacher is usually given a free hand in managing his school. The trustees and the ratepayers take an active interest in the schools. Many districts are so liberal in the way of expenditures for the school that they supply free textbooks for the pupils.

In the school work as such, most progress has been made in the teaching of arithmetic. Routine work is giving way to rational development. As to language, German is usually predominant in the lower grades and English in the higher. Pupils are not as early as possible taught to think in the language in which they are speaking. They do not learn their second language by means of translation, but very much in the same way that a child acquires its mother tongue. Translation exercises are had only for developing the ability of turning thought wit

facility from one language into the other. Above the middle grades the English language is the medium of instruction in all the common school branches and German is spoken only when that language is taught.

Very few schools in rural districts have classes adapted to, or find time for, the study of geography or history. Very little is also done in drawing and composition. Writing and singing receive a fair amount of attention."

It must be remembered that all the Mennonite public schools operating at this time did so under the so-called Bilingual system introduced by the Government of Sir Wilfred Laurier in 1896. The provision for instruction in another language is contained in clause 10 of the "memorandum re school settlement" generally known as the Laurier-Greenway settlement, which bears date November 16th, 1896, and was signed by Wilfred Laurier, representing the Dominion Government, and Clifford Sifton, representing the province of Manitoba. It reads:

"When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system."

This accounts for the reference in Mr. Ewert's report to the use of the German language in the lower grades.

A comparison of the two reports given by Mr. Ewert shows that considerable progress had been made during this period. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Ewert's aggressive efforts to get the Mennonites to accept public schools had made him unpopular with the conservative Mennonites, who could not see the necessity of his educational reforms. This opposition was taken advantage of by one of the political parties of that day. Heping to get the political support of this large conservative section at the coming elections, they secured the dismissal of Mr. Ewert from his post. This dismissal was not because of any incompetency on the part of Mr. Ewert for there was no complaint that his work had not been done satisfactorily. The advantages hoped for by the politicians did, however, not materialize. The unprogressives, whose political support it had been hoped to secure, were shortly afterward vigorously enjoined by the church not to vote or to take part in elections.

The Work of Inspectors Graff and Friesen.

Mr. Ewert's successors in the inspectorship were Henry Graff, 1904-1905, and J.M. Friesen, 1905-1909, but little or no progress was made under their inspectorates.

From the annual reports of Henry Graff, we secure the following information:

1904--"Three new districts were organised, viz:
Rosenheim, Alt Bergthal and Kronsfeld."

1905--No mention made of new districts.

Inspector J.M. Friesen reports as follows:

1906--"No school district has been formed during the past year."

1907--"No new districts have been organized, neither have any new school houses been built. The reason for this lies obviously in the apathy maintained toward the public school."

1908--"No new districts were organized during the year, but I am pleased to report that almost all the districts in Stanley, Rhineland and Montcalm municipalities, are again peacefully in operation, those that for a time returned to the private school system having once more adopted the public school programme and complied with the regulations of the department." An explanation of this reversion to private schools will be given later.

1909--"No changes of importance can be reported, since the work of the various schools went on progressing slowly as is characteristic of any German school."

Flag-Flying Policy of Manitoba Government.

It was during Mr. Friesen's inspectorship in 1907 that the Roblin Government introduced its compulsory flag-flying policy. They required that the flag be flown over each school from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. Many of the Mennonite districts,

already organized, misunderstood the purpose of this act. They regarded the flag as a military emblem and believed that this was the thin edge of the wedge which, if consented to, would finally mean the loss of their military exemption in Canada. Special objection was raised by the Holdemanites and the Kleine Gemeinde, who had already had 8 or 9 district schools organized amongst themselves. These schools, therefore with some others went back and became private schools as soon as flag-flying became compulsory. Eleven schools in all left the public school system as the result of this policy.

The Winnipeg Free Press of November 26th, 1910, gives the names of the bilingual school districts at that time as well as those who went back to the private school system in 1907.

"The names of all the German-English bilingual school districts that have been organized at various times are as follows: In the municipality of Rhineland--Strassberg, Houston, Halbstadt, Edenthal, Edenburg, Altona, Kleinstadt, Langevin, Amsterdam, Hoffnungsthal, Rosenfeld, Weidfeld, Steinfeld, St. Peter, Plum Coulee, New Kronsthal, Grossweide, Greenfarm, Schantzenfeld, Kronsthal, Bloomfield. In the municipality of Stanley--Winkler, Edward, Rosenbach, Burwalde, Rosewell, Queen Centre, Blumstein, Zion, Valleyfield, Wakeham. In the municipality of Morris--Whitehaven, Lowe Farm, Rosenhof, Rosenort,

Leabank, Poersch, Brunkild, Hiebert (Lutheran district). In the municipality of Hanover--Steinbach, Blumenort, Blumenhof, New Anlage, Greenland, Hochstadt, Gruenfeld, Glan Cross. Total 50. The eleven of these which have reverted to the private school system are: New Kronstadt, (Rhineland); Rosenhof, Rosenort, (Morris); Steinbach, Blumenort, Blumenhof, New Anlage, Greenland, Hochstadt, Gruenfeld, (Hanover). The following six have been organized or taken over from other inspectoral districts since 1903: Kronsthal, (Rhineland); Valleyfield, (Stanley); Whitehaven, Brunkild, Hiebert, (Morris); Glen Cross, (Hanover). Thus, while nine districts have been added since 1903, eleven have gone back and ceased to be public schools."

Opposition to Public Schools by the Various Mennonite Groups in Manitoba.

From a previous discussion of the church division in Manitoba we know, that while there was among the Mennonites a general prejudice against public schools, as something essentially worldly, this prejudice was by no means evenly distributed. The hardest group to impress educationally was the Old Colony division, living on the West Reserve and at that time making up about one-third of the total Mennonite population in Manitoba. This group continued to live in villages long after they had been given up by the other

Mennonites. In this way it was easier for them to enforce their church discipline. They disciplined parents who permitted their children to attend the public schools. Their own school system agreed with that already described and had not been changed from the time they first came into Manitoba in 1875. They claimed that they had the right to control their schools entirely according to their wishes. This right they based upon the privileges given them in 1873 by the federal government. The clause referred to is number 10 in the letter of privileges given them on July 23rd, 1873.

> "The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, is by law afforded to the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privileges to education of their children in schools."

This clause has been the bone of contention in all the controversy that has taken place over the school question. It will be necessary, therefore, to refer to it again, in a later discussion of the subject.

The second group, "the Sommerfelders", was also about as large as the Old Colony division. They lived on the West reserve, east of Altona. As has been indicated previously they were a division of the Bergthal group but separated from the progressive wing because of their attitude to the public schools of the province. Hence they were a

conservative church, but their leaders did not seem to be as strong and consistent as those of the Old Colony group. The members were enjoined by the ministers not to vote or take part in elections, and not to organize district schools, still a large number of them did both; a considerable number voted and quite a few district schools were found amongst them.

The remaining third of the Mennonite population residing chiefly near Morris and in the Municipality of Hanover, east of the river, was divided among four ecclesiastical divisions. Two of these, the "Mennonite Brethren" and "The Bergthalers" were entirely in favour of schools. The remaining two, the "Kleinegemeinde" and the "Holdeman Church", originally one, were distinctly conservative in their views. They changed their district schools into private schools as the result of the flag-flying policy already referred to.

The Work of Inspector A. Willows, (1910-1916).

During the time of the inspectorates of Mr. Graff and Mr. Friesen educational progress in the Mennonite settlements was practically at a standstill if it had not actually made retrogression. Three new districts had been organized under Inspector Graff in 1904, three or four others from other inspectorates had been transferred to the Mennonite inspectorate but eleven had seceded from the public school system owing to the government's flag-flying policy. Consequently, though Mr. H.H. Ewert had reported 41 public school districts in 1903, there were only 37 on January 1st, 1910.

[illegible]ector Willows, who had come from one of the German [illegible]ents of Ontario, took charge of these schools on January [illegible] 1910. [illegible] his tenure of office, which lasted till Au[illegible] [illegible] 1[illegible] [illegible]siderable progress was made in establishi[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]tricts among the Mennonites. According [illegible] J.M. [illegible]'s report for 1909 there were 1,124 pupil[illegible]led i[illegible] Mennonite public schools at that time. In 1916 [illegible]er the schools had been in charge of Mr. Willows for six and a half years, there were 2,593 pupils enrolled. In 1909, forty teachers had been employed in the public schools; in 1916, there were eighty.

There were, however, still many private schools in existence on the reserves. In a few of these, English was taught during part of the day; in others, by far the greater number of them, there was no English at all. Smith estimates that by 1916, "The entire number of schools among the Canadian Mennonites of Russian descent had reached about 200, nearly equally divided between Manitoba and Saskatchewan,"[1] to which latter province many of the conservative Mennonites had migrated in the preceding years.

It must also be observed that most of the new schools organized by Mr. Willows were in the towns and villages on the outskirts of the Old Colony settlement, where the population was mixed and not entirely Mennonite. The Old Colony, as a body, still consistently refused to have anything to do with the public school system.

1. Smith--The Coming of the Russian Mennonites; P. 233.

CHAPTER IX--BILINGUALISM IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS

Effects of Bilingualism Among the Mennonites.

At the time of the late war the Manitoba government had adopted a liberal educational policy. They had tried to encourage the organization of school districts as much as they could, but public schools were no where made obligatory. In the Manitoba public schools that were in existence among the Mennonites, the bilingual system of instruction was used. In a government survey made of these schools in 1915, we find the following statement;

> "In the public schools in the German communities, with a few exceptions, the pupils speak English fairly well. This seems particularly true in the towns. English is the language of instruction, though the mother tongue is frequently used with beginners. On the average, one hour a day is given to the teaching of German."[1]

Prof. C. B. Sissons in his book "Bilingual Schools in Canada" refers to the 1915 report made by special inspectors sent out by the Department of Education to investigate the condition of the Manitoba Bilingual schools. He says; "Those in the french Bilingual Schools are generally unfavorable, and the same is true of the Polish and Ruthenian Bilingual schools, while the words 'Very well,' 'Very well, indeed', 'fluently', appear quite frequently in the description of those among the Germans." It may thus be seen that the bilingual public schools on the reserves were doing quite satisfactory work.

1. Manitoba Free Press January 21, 1916.

In [illegible] private schools, existing among the [illegible] Mennonites, English was taught part of the [illegible], but in most of them no English was taught at all. Inspector Willows reports that "As matters stood in 1915, although 2600 children were attending public schools, there were at least 1,000 more, only a few of whom were receiving instruction in English part of the time and the others none at all."[1] We thus have two types of schools existing among the Mennonites at this time--the bilingual schools and the private schools. Both of these received a severe blow when, as a result of various influences, drastic laws were passed both in Saskatchewan as well as in Manitoba forbidding the use of any other language than English both in public and in private schools. Saskatchewan did not have the bilingual system that had been introduced into Manitoba in 1896, nevertheless it had not interfered with the private schools among the conservative Mennonites that had located in that province.

Reasons for Discontinuance of Bilingualism.

Dr. R. S. Thornton, Minister of Education, in a speech given in the Manitoba legislature on January 12, 1916, gave his reasons for the discontinuance of bilingualism. He said that one-quarter of the rural schools of the province were bilingual schools. There were 126 French bilingual schools, 61 German bilingual schools and 111 Ruthenian and Polish schools. One-sixth of the total enrolment of the whole province was in these rural bilingual schools. He maintained that bilingual teaching

1. Thesis on the Mennonites by A. Willows, University of Manitoba.

was not necessary; that it was ineffective, and that it put English in second place. In conclusion, he says:

> "These are the results obtained in about twenty years after the passing of this clause, and barely ten years after it has been in active operation. The condition is becoming more aggravated, and will continue to do so as long as the clause stands in the act as a weapon by which reactionary forces can urge their demands. There should be one common school, teaching the things which are common to all, and leaving to individual effort those matters which are of private concern. There should be one standard of teacher, eligible to teach in all the schools of the province. There should be a normal training to which all teachers should measure up. There should be a school inspector, eligible to inspect every school under the government. This is the ideal which, during all these years, seems to have been lost sight of."

It will thus be seen that since many of the bilingual schools were ineffective in giving the necessary English training to the pupils, it became necessary to discontinue all of them, as it was impossible to give privileges to special classes, like the Mennonites, even though the survey of the government had shown their bilingual schools to be doing satisfactory work. Nevertheless, the entire abolition of the German language spread consternation among both the conservative and the progressive Mennonites.

During the past two centuries or more German had been the language used in their religious worship and social intercourse and had received a very prominent place in their schools. It had become so vitally connected with their religious and social heritage that to be suddenly entirely deprived of it, was a blow that was felt very keenly indeed.

Reaction of the Mennonites to the New Educational Policy of the Government.

For several years the government adopted a policy of watchful waiting to see how the Mennonites would react to the new law. Finally, some of the Mennonites, who had district schools already, thinking that the law would not be so strictly enforced in the private schools as in the public school system began to revert to the former system. Hon. Dr. Thornton, Minister of Education, described the situation in the Manitoba Legislature as follows:

> "The situation became acute in 1918. Early in that year a campaign was inaugurated to destroy our public school system in the rural districts. Meetings were held, urging the ratepayers to give up the government grants and run the schools as private schools. To meet this movement a special agent, Mr. Frank Greenway, was appointed. Trustees and ratepayers were notified personally and in writing to leave the public schools alone, but the campaign persisted. In every case when the public school was abandoned the district was placed under Mr. Greenway as official trustee, and the school continued to operate as a public school. Ten districts

were thus taken over before the agitation was stopped.

"Our next step was to revive a number of public schools which had been managed as private schools for varying periods of time. There were fourteen of such districts with sixteen classrooms, all of which have been revived and are operating as public schools, sixteen private schools having been eliminated in the process. We now have a public school operating in every public school area and, for the most part, satisfactorily."

"There remains now to be dealt with the private school areas where no public school districts had ever been created. The Act was amended at the last session giving the department authority to create these districts without petition of the residents. A survey was made, various districts were mapped out, and the erection of the buildings begun. A policy, of passive resistance was pursued by the reactionary element. They declined to sell land for a school site, making it necessary for us to expropriate. The local lumber merchant who had agreed to supply building materials cancelled his agreement under a threatened boycott by the community. Contractor and materials had to be got from Winnipeg, involving increased cost to the school

district, but notwithstanding these and other vexatious obstacles, our official trustee carried on steadily, exercising no undue haste trying to secure the co-operation of the people, and in due course had four schools completed, two of them opening in October and two in December. The patience and tact of the trustee, together with the assistance of the teachers whom he has placed in these schools, have borne good fruit. The people have now accepted the situation, the private schools in these districts have been closed, and the children are regularly attending the public school. Where, for forty-five years, there have been only private schools teaching little or no English, we have now four public schools giving education solely in English. During the next summer the building programme will be resumed, and the present attitude of the people indicates that there will be co-operation between them and the department."

CHAPTER X--EFFECT OF THE COMING OF THE HUTTERITES ON THE MENNONITE SCHOOL QUESTION

Another factor that aggravated the situation in 1918 was the coming of the Hutterites from the Dakotas into Canada. This group is not usually classified with the Mennonites, although it also believes in pacifism and has had a like origin with the Mennonites in the Anabaptist movement of the 16th century.

> "These Hutterites had migrated from South Dakota as a result of harsh treatment during the war at the hands of local Council of Defense. Although not usually known as Mennonites, they now emphasized their Mennonite affiliation in order to share with the latter in Canada the exemptions the latter enjoyed there. The immigration of more Mennonites just at this time when feeling was already running strong against them because of their special privileges and German extraction, brought to the surface all the latent opposition to their privileged status, which had been gathering force all through the war."[1]

Severe protests were accordingly made, especially by members of the Great War Veterans Association and also the public press. The "Swift Current Sun" writing in 1918 says:

> "The loyal Canadian feels that the Mennonites are slackers; they will not learn English, they have a distinctive religion, and they will not assimilate with Canadians."

1.Smith "The Coming of the Russian Mennonites." Page 235.

quently has been disregarded by the conservative Mennonites since they said it was not in the document which was at first handed to them. In the judgment handed down by Justice Cameron, he bases his conclusions, however, in part on this expression and says:

> "What it means is that the Mennonites are to have unhampered and unrestricted privilege of educating their children in the schools as provided by the laws of the country in which they propose to settle. In my judgment this undertaking is in no wise interfered with by the compulsory provisions of the act in question."

The act referred to is the Compulsory Attendance Act.

Another reason given by Justice Cameron for his decision was the federal authorities had no right to give this privilege, whatever it meant, since education was to be entirely in the hands of the province. He states;

> "This province came into being on the 12th of May, 1870, by virtue of the Manitoba Act Cap. 3, 33 Vict., confirmed by the Imperial Act Cap. 28, 34 and 35 Vict. By section 22 of that Act it is provided that 'in and for the province the said legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education.' Nothing can be plainer. The Dominion Parliament, itself, could and can pass no legislation affecting education in this province, save in the circumstances indicated in sub-sections 2 and 3 of Section 22, which have absolutely no application here; and if that cannot be done by

The Hon. Arthur Meighen replying on April 8th, 1919 to a question of Fred Davis, Neepawa, in the house said;

"The government had received protests respecting the immigration of Mennonites and Hutterites from the United States. The protests were based mainly on the grounds that the people were conscientious objectors to military service and would claim exemption; that they claimed special school and language privileges for their children, and would resist the enforcement of the school laws of the several provinces in which they resided; that they lived in communities and were a detriment to other settlers residing in the same neighborhood."

Mr. Meighen said that the great majority of these citizens were citizens of the United States.

"They are seeking homes in Canada as all American citizens have a right to do under existing laws and regulations. The government is not encouraging this particular movement of settlers to Canada and has not granted to these settlers any special privileges, as regards schools or language."

"Under the provisions of an order-in-council, dated October 25, 1918, all Mennonites entering Canada are subject to military service, as provided by existing laws for all residents or citizens of Canada. Such immigrants are not now, and never have been entitled to the special privileges granted to Mennonites who settled in Western Canada, under provisions of an order-in-council dated August 13, 1873."

"Under the provisions of an order-in-council, dated August 12, 1899, Hutterites who entered Canada as settlers any time thereafter, were given the fullest assurance of immunity from military service. This order-in-council has been cancelled as regards Hutterites entering Canada in future."

"The government proposes to submit to parliament at an early date a bill, the provisions of which will debar all immigrants entering Canada in future from claiming exemption from military service on conscientious grounds." [1]

As a result of this agitation a Order-In-Council was passed on June 9th, 1919, prohibiting in future the landing in Canada of any Hutterites or Mennonites.

In the schools likewise the provincial authorities enforced the school laws more rigorously which prohibited the use of German during school hours. The unorganized territory among the Old Colony Mennonites was also being mapped out into districts and placed in charge of Mr. Greenway as official Trustee.

1. Manitoba Free Press, April 9th, 1919.

CHAPTER XI--DECISION OF THE MANITOBA COURT OF APPEALS ON THE MENNONITE SCHOOL QUESTION.

Since much of the opposition to the schools was due to the belief of the Mennonites that they had a legal right to their own schools because of the agreement made with them in 1875, a test case was carried to the Manitoba Court of Appeals in order to determine the scope and validity of this agreement.[1] The case was against John Hildebrand, who was accused of not having sent his child, named Maggie, who was of school age, to some public school as provided by the School Attendance Act. The case was tried before Chief Justice Cameron, Judge Haggart and Judge Fullerton on August 12th, 1919. A synopsis of the case is given under three questions.

"Question 1--Had the Government of the Province of Manitoba the power to pass 'the School Attendance Act,' being chapter 97 of the Statutes of Manitoba, 1916?"

Answer--Yes.

"Question 2--If the Government of the Province of Manitoba had the power to pass the said Act, is it binding upon the accused, John Hildebrand, a Mennonite, who came to this country in or about 1874 with his parents, who were members of the Community referred to in the exhibits filed in the case?"

Answer--It is.

"Question 3--Had the Government of the Province power to legislate as to schools, school attendance or education, in so far as the accused or any

1. Rex, vs. Hildebrand, 30 Manitoba Reports-149.

Mennonite coming from that part of Russia, referred to in the evidence, was concerned?"

Answer--It had and has.

In reviewing the documents dealing with the school privileges given to the Mennonites, we find three variations of the reference made to education.

1. There is a letter from the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture dated July 23rd, 1873. Clause 10 of this letter is as follows:

> "The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Mennonites without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools."

This was the promise given to the delegates when they first came to Canada and it is the promise which has been used by the Mennonites to justify their present action.

2. The form as contained in clause 10 of the Order-in-Council dated August 13th, 1873, is:

> "That the Mennonites will have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever."

3. The synopsis in the annual report of the Department of Agriculture for the calendar year 1873:

> "The privilege of religious schools of their own."

The expression "as provided by law," it will be noted, is not contained in the first agreement and conse-

quently has been disregarded by the conservative Mennonites since they said it was not in the document which was at first handed to them. In the judgment handed down by Justice Cameron, he bases his conclusions, however, in part on this expression and says:

> "What it means is that the Mennonites are to have unhampered and unrestricted privilege of educating their children in the schools as provided by the laws of the country in which they propose to settle. In my judgment this undertaking is in no wise interfered with by the compulsory provisions of the act in question."

The act referred to is the Compulsory Attendance Act.

Another reason given by Justice Cameron for his decision was the federal authorities had no right to give this privilege, whatever it meant, since education was to be entirely in the hands of the province. He states;

> "This province came into being on the 12th of May, 1870, by virtue of the Manitoba Act Cap. 3, 33 Vict., confirmed by the Imperial Act Cap. 28, 34 and 35 Vict. By section 22 of that Act it is provided that 'in and for the province the said legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education.' Nothing can be plainer. The Dominion Parliament, itself, could and can pass no legislation affecting education in this province, save in the circumstances indicated in sub-sections 2 and 3 of Section 22, which have absolutely no application here; and if that cannot be done by

> a Statute of Canada, how is it possible that it could be accomplished by an order of the Governor-General-in-Council or by the letter of an official of the department of the Dominion Government?"

Thus the Old Colony Mennonites apparently had no legal right to their private schools, unless they imparted a knowledge of English and secular education corresponding to that given by the public schools. Yet during the entire time they had been in Canada they had been allowed to retain their private schools and had grown confident that this right was guaranteed to them by the government authorities. Under these circumstances the drastic measures undertaken by the government, largely at the instigation of war propagandists was hardly justified. A little tact and patience would have eventually solved the problem in a way that would not have necessitated the loss of several thousand of Canada's thriftiest farmers. The entire abolition of the German language and the arbitrary building of public schools amongst them managed by outside trustees was too big a dose for them to take at one time.

CHAPTER XII--MENNONITE PETITIONS TO THE MANITOBA GOVERNMENT WITH REFERENCE TO THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

In order to preserve their school privileges at least two other Mennonite communities beside the Old Colony Group sent petitions to the government. These groups were not as conservative as the latter but wished to retain, if possible, a place for German and Religion in their schools. On January 13th, 1920, the Chortitz Community of the Mennonite Church, previously called the Bergthalers, and living on the East Reserve in the Niverville District sent a petition which is found as letter no. 17 in the appendix. Article three of the petition reads:

> "As a matter of conscience, your Petitioners cannot delegate to others the all important responsibility of educating their children, convinced as they are, that instruction in other than religious schools would result in the weakening and even loss of faith, and would be generally detrimental to the moral and spiritual welfare of the children."

In Article five we find these words:

> "Your Petitioners are convinced that the aims of the Government can be accomplished, and the desires of the Community carried into effect, by continuing the education of the Children in the present private schools, by retaining teachers of the Mennonite faith, by requiring these teachers to qualify for Normal school certificates, and by bringing into effect high standards of education and more efficient

instruction in English. In short, it is proposed to commence at once to bring these private schools up to public school standards in every respect within the shortest possible time."

On October 14th, 1921 a combined petition from the Chortitz Community on the East Reserve and the Sommerfelder Congregation on the West Reserve was submitted to the Manitoba Government. The latter part of the petition (also found in the appendix) reads as follows;[1]

"The gospel as we understand it does not permit us to neglect our children without culpable consequences, but it teaches us that it is useful when our children know the holy writ from their earliest childhood, 'which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' II Timothy, Chapter 3,15.

Our fathers have always taken a very decided stand on this question, as a biblical foundation, the command of holy Isaiah, chapter 45, II, was holy to them above everything--and we interpret it to this day in the same way as our fathers did. Ever since we immigrated into Manitoba we have always clung to the promise of the Ottawa Government in our privileges of the year 1873, because, as we understood it, it granted us the right to maintain our own schools without limitation or

1. Appendix letter no. 18.

molestation. The new school law of the year, 1916, meant a new decree also for the Mennonite schools, the promise of Ottawa being entirely set aside. This fact creates a serious situation for your Petitioners on account of their faith. If we are entirely deprived of Christian religious instruction in our schools, we as Mennonite congregations cease to exist, because we know that the church will become what the school is. And if the restrictions and the pressure under which the Mennonites at present suffer, continue, we shall be compelled to seek another home, where we and our children may live according to our faith.

III. But we would leave Manitoba with a heavy heart, because we love our homes here which, through the providence of God, had become to us a refuge and a sanctuary and where we under the protection and the good will of the Provincial Government have enjoyed so much good for which we thank God and the Government."

CHAPTER XIII-- THE OLD COLONY MENNONITES.

Most of the groups of Mennonites in Manitoba after several years of petitioning to the government and vain appealing to the courts, finally bowed to the inevitable and conformed to the Provincail laws. The Old Colonists, however, in both Manitoba and Saskatchewan refused to submit to these laws.

In dealing with the Old Colony Mennonites and their stubborn resistance to the district schools, there are certain things that need to be taken into consideration. Their opposition was not due to sheer obstinacy. They were fighting for a principle which had been great enough, in their opinion, to cause their fathers to emigrate out of Russia. As a matter of fact all the wanderings of the Mennonites in the past, had been caused by an adherence to fundamental principles more than to the securing of personal advantages of a material kind.

They had no desire to evade or oppose any law that could be reconciled with their religious outlook on life. They were an industrious and law abiding people. During their 45 years sojourn in Canada this was the first time they had clashed with the government authorities. Hardly ever was one of their number found in the law courts of the province. It was a part of their religion to settle all such quarrels amongst themselves.

With them there was no disturbing question of nationality. They had no desire to perpetrate on Canadian soil the racial attitudes of another country. Even though they came from Russia, they did not regard it as a fatherland which still had a claim to their allegiance. Similarly their retention of the German language did not mean, for them, loyalty to the German state. During the 100 years they had lived in Russia they had segregated themselves from the Slavic element around them. This separation was demanded of them by the Greek Orthodox church, and in the agreement under which they had come to Russia it was expressly stated that under no conditions were they to exert a religious influence upon the native Russian population. This separation was also satisfactory to the Protestant Mennonites who did not desire to mix with the Russian Catholics. The desire therefore not to be influenced by the other was mutual. In the language used by the Old Colony Mennonites today there are hardly a dozen words of Russian origin. Thus, in the interests of both their religion and their language they had learned to resist influences that might tend to assimilate them to their surroundings.

They came to Canada before the Mennonite schools in Russia had started toward the high development which they reached later. It was the last quarter of the 19th century which witnessed the development of Mennonite Russian schools. At the time they came here, many of them could

hardly read or write and hence they had little conception of what education really involved.

Another consideration in the question was the strong conservative leadership under which the Old Colony Mennonites had stood while in Canada. A liberal use of the ban by the church leaders had prevented any progressive element from gaining a foothold in their midst.

Of course, they believed also that due to the privileges given them in 1873 they had the legal right to conduct their schools as they wished. This, at least, had been the right that had been given them up to the time of their migration, by the Russian Government, and they believed sincerely that their Canadian privileges were the same as those enjoyed by them in Russia.

Finally, they also believed that the German language was an essential part of their religion. The two were so closely related that they believed one could not be perpetuated without the other. The loss of their language meant a loss of their religion and religious system. Mistaken as they were in their contention that, "the kernel of Mennonitism can be preserved only in a German shell," they were nevertheless honest and sincere in their belief. The following petition prepared by them through McLeod, Black and Company, Barristers of Morden, for submission to the legislature may help to explain their attitude more fully.

"We immigrated to this country wholly on account of having received the privileges given us by the government. And believing then as we do now that the word of the government is inviolate because the government is ordained of God, we started our own schools right from the beginning, although we had to go through many hardships to do so. And we have continued to build and maintain our own schools ever since in good faith and without asking assistance.

"Our children are educated in our schools in the three main branches of learning--reading, writing, and arithmetic, and they are well educated so that they are able to read intelligently and understand both religious and secular writings; and to write plainly and legibly; and to cipher so that they can do their business calculations and keep their own business accounts efficiently. In short, they get in our schools, just the schooling which is required by them in the rural life we lead.

"Our schools are twenty-two in number. The teachers are all sufficiently educated men of character The schools are open about seven months in the year. The clergy assume the duty of requiring the parents to send their children to school regularly and to see that the schools are efficiently conducted.

"In teaching our children in our schools we have the duty in our conscience to teach them both religious and secular truth as part of one whole, that they may be holy and good and loyal and diligent and unselfish and co-operative in all their relations to God and to their fellow men. Thus we aim to fit our children for their duties to God and man and for their place and work in the world. We are a rural community, we live on the land and till the soil and our schools are designed to fit the children to be good rural community citizens, progressive, diligent, frugal, given to hospitality, charity and good works towards all men.

"Our children are taught loyalty and submission to the King and his governments as being ordained of God, and our people are deeply loyal to the government of this country under which we have hitherto enjoyed such great liberty of conscience. Our children are taught to live the rural life and our people from generation to generation continue to lead the simple life on the farm and they do not tend to go to the towns or the cities.

"Our children are taught to live the community life, to cohere together and to co-operate with one another and with their neighbors in all the duties and relations of life, and they carry this teaching into practice. We work together in the ordinary activities and labors of life--we co-operate in

in advancing the material well-being of the individual- we make provisions for giving assistance to all who require it to establish themselves in farming on their own account.

"We take care of the poor, the sick, the suffering, the feeble, the weak-minded, whoever or whatever they may be, and we would not knowingly have any of our people dependent on the charity of others. We believe that we are little or no expense to the government in the administration of justice or in the matter of courts or hospitals or jails. We have been greatly prospered in material well-being and we have always been and are now ready, willing and anxious to bear our full share and more of the burden of taxation to maintain the country and the government, and we have during the war sought to give substantially and freely to every national cause in order to show our gratitude for the liberty of conscience that has been accorded to us.

"We would ask to you to kindly make an independent and unprejudiced investigation into the social, economical and moral conditions of our community and base your opinions of us and our school system on the facts as you find them. There is just one favor we would ask of you in this connection, that

is not to examine the details of our school system, we may say, the machinery of our schools, and condemn it because it differs in some respects from that of the state school, without considering the results we obtain through our schools. We respectfully ask you before breaking in on any of the privileges we have under the Convention of 1873, to make a full, fair and unprejudiced investigation of the results of our educational system as seen in the life of our people. We respectfully submit that the convention has been a great blessing and benefit to us and through us to the country at large and that it has not been an injury to the country in any respect or to any people of the country. We take it for granted that the people of the province of Manitoba will honor and fulfil the obligation entered into by the Dominion government towards us and that we may continue to enjoy the liberty of keeping on as we have done heretofore."

The above petition was prepared for submission to the Manitoba legislature during the year 1919, when legislation affecting the Old Colony Mennonites was being passed, but apparently was not submitted because, according to their claim, they did not receive notice when to attend. The petition was printed in the Manitoba Free Press on May 18,1920.

CHAPTER XIV--THE MENNONITES IN SASKATCHEWAN.

Where Settlements Have Been Made.

As has been shown previously the Mennonites in Saskatchewan came from various places. Many had come from Manitoba, some direct from Russia and Prussia and also a number had come in from the United States. There are extensive settlements around Herbert, Swift Current, Rosthern, Hague, and Drake. With the coming of the last Russian Mennonites they have settled in larger or smaller groups all over the Canadian West. There are settlements in Alberta and also in British Columbia.

Inspector Cram's Letter to the Old Colony Mennonites.[1]

The majority of the Mennonites of Saskatchewan have offered no resistance to schools. The main opposition has come from the conservative Mennonites who have come here from Manitoba namely the Old Colony Mennonites. Their settlements are situated around Hague and South of Swift Current. In Saskatchewan the trouble over the school question developed practically at the same time that it did in Manitoba and with practically the same results. Mr. W. S. Cram, who was at this time Inspector of Schools in Swift Current District directed a letter to the parents among the Old Colony Mennonites. After referring to the judgment given by the Court of Appeal in Manitoba he says,

> "There is no doubt that if the School Attendance Act of the Province of Manitoba is binding on the Mennonites in that province, the School Attendance Act of the Province of Saskatchewan is binding on the Mennonites in this province, in virtue

1. Department of Education, Regina, Saskatchewan.

of the Saskatchewan Act, which declared Saskatchewan a province in the year 1905.

Your own private schools lay emphasis on religious teaching, but give no instruction in the English language, or in special subjects which we require in this country in the education of the child. I can assure you that it is not the intent of our school system to interfere with the exercise of your religious principles. In fact, by section 178 of The School Act of this province, any religious instruction "permitted or desired by the board" may be given during the last half hour of the school day. In the public school you may have prayers, sacred songs and the reading of the Bible. The main point, however, whether in a private school or a public school, is the character and ability of the man or woman who has charge of the boys and girls in that school.

The aim of our schools is not to make soldiers. The aim of our schools is through the life of the teacher to build up character and to give to each child the opportunity to develop himself in accordance with his best ability and talents. If any young man, with the interest of his country at heart decides in time of war to protect that country, which grants him a home and grants him protection, I personally feel that it is greatly to his

credit that he thinks so. You are quite aware of the fact, however, that the exemption from military service granted to your people was, in the recent Great War, respected by the Dominion Government.*

Inspector Cram recommended that the above letter be mimeographed and sent to the parents among the Old Colony Mennenonites. The files of the Department of Education, at Regina Saskatchewan, do not indicate whether or not Mr. Cram's recommendation was acted upon. The letter is dated January 9th, 1920.

Enforcing the School Laws in Saskatchewan.

As has been referred to, the government was erecting schools amongst the Old Colony Mennonites. Taxes were levied among them to pay for these schools, official trustees were appointed, and then results were awaited. The children, however, did not come and to enforce attendance the government fined and jailed the parents. A newsitem from Hague appearing in the Steinbach Post on March 31st, 1921, stated that a short time before sixty Mennonites had paid a fine of $1,000.00 and that one had just been given a thirty-day jail sentence in Prince Albert. Rev. Mr. Wall, who represented the Old Colony church around Hague, and those who were summoned to court with him were fined in a body. Premier Martin in a letter which was read in court, stated that private schools

would not be recognized, and that all Canadians, irrespective of race or creed, would receive the same treatment. Premier Martin had personally visited many of the private schools belonging to the Old Colony Mennonites in Saskatchewan, and in a letter addressed to Rev. Jacob Wiens he speaks of them as follows:

> " After seeing the schools that were being conducted in the Mennonite colonies, I came to the conclusion that it was high time that some improvement should take place, and I now desire to advise you that it is the intention of the Department of Education to enforce the Provisions of the School Attendance Act insofar as they can be enforced among your people. The teachers you employ in your schools are not, in many instances, qualified to teach and have no standing insofar as the law is concerned. No instruction in English is given. If you desire to retain your private schools you must have these schools conducted according to the standard of efficiency of the public schools and the teachers employed by you, must be recognized by the Department of Education, and the authorized text books of the Department of Education must also be used. I shall be glad to hear from you to the effect that you intend to act along these lines."[1]

1.Justice Martin, Regina Saskatchewan.

In Saskatchewan the means used to enforce the school laws seem to have been more severe than in Manitoba. A Justice of the Peace, who was sentencing these people at Hague said that sometimes the enforcement was more in the nature of a persecution than a prosecution.

Movement of the Old Colony Mennonites to Mexico.

When the movement in search of a new home began, delegations were sent to Mexico, the Argentine Republic, the United States, and to other countries. The Old Colony Mennonites finally decided to go to Mexico. This movement began in 1922. The following clause is a clause in a letter directed by Vicente Guerrero of the State of Durango, Mexico to the Old Colony Mennonites. It contains the Privileges offered to them with reference to schools:

> "You are further expressly authorized to organize schools as you think fit, and therein to educate your children in such a way as you think will be most efficient and fitting, with the assurance that the government will not hinder the course of your schools."[1]

According to Elder Leeppky, head of the Old Colony Mennonites still remaining around Hague, 800 went to Durango, Mexico from around Hague. Fifteen hundred went to Chiwawa, Mexico, from Swift Current and from 3200 to

1.Appendix letter no. 19.

to 3300 went to Chiwawa from Manitoba. This left from 3500 to 3600 at Hague, 1200 at Swift Current and 800 in Manitoba. The reason that so many more went from Manitoba is due largely to the fact that they were more prosperous there, than in Saskatchewan. Many of the others stayed simply because they were too poor to emigrate. Elder Loeppky stated in an interview with the writer in the fall of 1933 that they were still opposed to public schools but had been forced to submit to them. Nevertheless, he said he was not badly pleased with the progressive Mennonite teachers who were teaching school amongst them. He said that they were willing to discontinue any practice which they felt would offend their religious scruples. The village system, he also stated, which had previously been a bulwark for maintaining their system was now working in the opposite way, since it was now easier for new ideas to spread, living as they did in such compact groups. In the meantime all their private schools had been closed.

Inspector Gallaway's Report on Present Condition of the Schools Amongst the Old Colony Mennonites.

A Picture of the condition in the Old Colony Mennonite schools today has been given by Inspector J. M. Gallaway, in a special report made to the writer of this

thesis in the early part of 1934. Inspector Gallaway has been in charge of about twenty of these schools lying in a block between Warman and Hague. He first visited them in 1925 and has witnessed their development up to the present. He gives the following statistical information about the number of teachers in these schools, the number of pupils enrolled and the number of pupils present during his inspections.

Table 2.

Year	No. of Teachers	No. of pupils enrolled	No. of pupils prese
1925	10	241	185
1931	19	751	618
1933	19	738	578

"One of the factors in bringing about this increase was the School Attendance Act, but during 1933 legal compulsion was very little used, owing to the prevalence of hard financial conditions, making it a real difficulty for many families to provide clothing for sending their children to school. I feel that during 1933 the attendance at these schools was practically voluntary and that the chief motives keeping these children in school are interest in and appreciation of the education which the schools are providing. If the School

Attendance Act were abolished today it would make very little difference in the attendance at these schools. In 1925 half of the pupils enrolled in this whole area were in schools operated by an official trustee. The chief reason for this was that as a protest against public schools, such men in these districts as were qualified to act as trustees would not do so. About 1929, however, they were all prepared to manage their own school affairs and consequently boards of trustees were elected in all districts where an official trustee had been in charge.

At first many of the parents were forced to send their children to school because they could not continue to pay the fines imposed on them by the School Attendance Act. Some men who paid monthly fines regularly for as long as four years finally succumbed to financial pressure and sent their children to school. In 1932 I could report that there were no children in all this area that were being kept out of school because of parental resistance to public school education."

Of course, those who could not become reconciled to the idea of the public schools had left the country in the meantime.

"One of the most important factors, in overcoming this opposition to the public schools was the steady

and silent influence of the Mennonite teachers coming from the more progressive Mennonite sections."

In speaking of these teachers, Inspector Gallaway says:

> "They display commendable devotion to their work and responsibilities, and in most cases are ready to pay the price for success in hard work. Their eagerness for the advancement and welfare of their pupils along all lines is that of the missionary, parent and teacher combined. Their enlightened point of view and their professional standards set them steadfastly in the right directions in their educational efforts; at the same time, their own background of experience as children in such homes as those from which their pupils are coming, their experience as pupils in Mennonite schools and their familiarity with the views and attitudes of Mennonite parents and ratepayers, give them a sympathy and understanding which are invaluable to them in dealing with many school problems. Moreover, I find that on the whole, parents confide more readily in one of their own people as teacher than in another."

He believes, however, that exceptions are possible in this case also, especially where there is a non-Mennonite teacher who takes the trouble to win the confidence of these people.

In speaking of the pupils, he mentions certain attitudes which have come to them as a result of their social environment.

> "The whole social religious and traditional background of these people has been more humanistic than scientific, and less influenced by philosophic and scientific movements than in the cases of Canadian and other Anglo-Saxon peoples. This background fosters a respect for books and traditional statements. As a result Mennonite students concentrate more upon their studies and in general direct their energies into somewhat fewer channels than do pupils that have been reared in a different environment."
>
> "Another direction in which this somewhat simple social environment and this attitude of respect toward accepted authority, and fear toward national civic authority displays itself is in the matter of pupil management and discipline. This is scarcely a problem in the Mennonite schools, at least it is a much less frequent problem than in my other schools. My explanation of this is that one of the chief factors in the home training of children is insistence on obedience to parental and religious authority, with the consequent restrictions upon child initiative, freedom and spontaneity. Pupils coming from homes where these two phases of training are reversed will

> naturally present many more problems in management and discipline at school."

Inspector Gallaway does not wish to be thought of as appraising these two systems. He states that the modern educational philosophy is tending in the direction of placing greater importance upon the latter attitude than the former. He thinks, that not withstanding the opposition to education by the Old Colony Mennonites, they are:

> "fundamentally interested in education and that the things they most feared in our education are features against which there is general disapproval among most parents and educationists; viz. irreligion and the fostering of military attitudes and practices. The Mennonite people held exaggerated ideas as to the influences of our schools along these lines, hence their pronounced fears regarding them. But when their views were set right on these points, their attitude altered."

Before leaving our discussion of the ultra-conservative branches of the Mennonite church we need to mention that as a result of the government school policy a considerable number of Sommerfelders also left Canada during the year 1926. Mr. Benjamin Ewert estimates that 1500 went from Manitoba and 250 from Saskatchewan. These people went to Paraguay in South America where they also were induced to do pioneer work in return for certain privileges given them by the government of this country. The school question in their case followed the same course of development as it did with the Old Colony Mennonites.

CHAPTER XV--EDUCATIONAL WORK AMONG THE PROGRESSIVE MENNONITES.

In order not to get a disterted view of the attitudes of the Mennonites to education we need to remember that the large majority of them were in favour of public schools, though in almost all cases they regretted the loss of the German language, and are still doing what they can to retain this heritage for their children. There are two schools which have been active among the progressive Mennonites for a considerable time. The first of these is the School at Gretna founded in 1891 under the leadership of Rev. H.H.Ewert and the School at Rosthern founded in 1906 under Rev. D. Teews. Both of these schools are conducted in two languages, English and German. They give the regular high school course in the prescribed time together with courses in German and Religion. Their purpose was to act as training schools for prospective teachers in Mennonite schools and to be institutions dominated by a religious atmosphere in which young people were to get a knowledge of Mennonite traditions and the German language. Pupils not desiring to enter the teaching profession were also welcomed by the institutions.

The Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, Manitoba.

After an unsuccessful attempt at a training school for Mennonite teachers in 1881, the present Mennonite Collegiate Institute was founded at Gretna, Manitoba, in 1891 and has been under the direction of Rev. H. H. Ewert ever since. Mr. Ewert came to this school from Halstead, Kansas, where he had been principal of a similar school among the Russian

Mennonites in that district. According to Mr. Ewert, the purpose of this school is first: the preparation of young men and women for the teaching profession, second: the equipping of them with a full command of the German and English languages, third: imparting to them the knowledge necessary for giving religious instruction in schools, and fourth: the training of young people so they can render intelligent service as members of a church.

He states that about one-quarter of the school day is devoted to German whereas three recitations per week are given to religious instruction. This is done beside carrying out the full four year collegiate course up to and including Grade XII.

In German, reading, grammar, composition and literature are taught while in religious instruction, which is also given in German, bible stories, church history, bible reading, apologetics and ethics are taught.

The school year begins September 15th and ends June 15th.

The attendance has varied greatly during the years ranging between 20 and 86. About one-quarter of the students have been girls. During the first few years there was only one teacher; then two or three at other times; in one or two cases also four. Until 1931 the school was maintained by a private association. At present it is run by a conference of churches. The school, a three story building was erected at a cost of $20,000 and has three classrooms, a chapel, a

laboratory, a library with 1700 books, and 26 rooms for lodging the students. In the basement there is a kitchen and a dining room. On the first floor are the class rooms, the chapel and the library. The second and third stories contain the living rooms for the students. The men students live in residence while the women students are in private homes. The tuition fees for 1933 were $32 per year for Grade IX, $42 for Grade X, $52 for Grade XI, and $62 for Grade XII. Students in residence had to pay $100 for Grade IX, $110 for Grade X, $120 for Grade XI, and $130 for Grade XII. This included board, room, tuition and science fees.

A few years ago a rival Mennonite training school duplicating the work of the Gretna school was started in the neighboring town of Altona. Since the field was not large enough for the two institutions, the Altona school has had to suspend its operations.

The German-English Academy at Rosthern, Saskatchewan.

This school started on November 14th, 1905, after the Mennonite settlement had felt a need for securing teachers with more adequate training to teach in their schools. This school therefore had a similar purpose to the one in Gretna. The object was to train young men and women in Religion, German, and in all the English subjects taught in the regular high schools. The school began with one teacher and 24 pupils. In 1906 Rev. David Toews, took over the principalship of the school and continued teaching in the school together with other teachers for a period of 11 years. The school had two teachers for some time, then three, and since 1926 there

have been four teachers. In German--grammar, literature, composition, and fluent German conversation are aimed at. In Religion--Church History, Mennonite History, Bible stories, Catechism, Apologetics, and Ethics are taught. The present school building was dedicated on January 5th, 1910, and is a brick two story structure. In the basement there is a class room and a laboratory. The first story has two class rooms. The second has another class room, a library and some rooms that are used for lodging some of the students. Another building, called the dormitory, is also used as a residence for the students.

The attendance during the years the school has been in operation is as follows. It was not possible to secure the figures between 1906 and 1911 but the average attendance during these years must have been around 50.

Table 3.

Attendance at the German-English Academy.

Year	No. in attendance	Year	No. in attendance
1905-1906	24	1922-1923	73
1911-1912	50	1923-1924	63
1912-1913	42	1924-1925	40
1913-1914	--	1925-1926	52
1914-1915	53	1926-1927	59
1915-1916	61	1927-1928	69
1916-1917	49	1928-1929	78
1917-1918	74	1929-1930	75
1918-1919	82	1930-1931	60
1919-1920	53	1931-1932	51
1920-1921	52	1932-1933	54[x]
1921-1922	65	1933-1934	42[xx]

x The Bible School Attendance for this year was 10.
xx The Bible School Attendance for this year was 12.

The school has produced close to 100 teachers who have been teaching in the various Mennonite schools of Saskatchewan during this time. The school was incorporated on December 18th, 1909. Since 1929 the school has been inspected yearly by a high school Inspector for the province. In 1930 Inspector A. B. Ross says in his report:

> "The school is so organized that the physical, intellectual and spiritual welfare of the students is being well looked after. Both in summer and in winter suitable games are provided at considerable expense. Regular Bible instruction is given daily."

The school is directed by a school Association which raises the necessary funds partly by school tuition but mostly by contributions made by different friends of the school. Since 1932 a special Bible Department has been added to the school for students who wish to take only Bible training. This department opens on November 1st and closes March 31st. In 1932 there were 10 in this department and in 1933 there were 12.

Statistical Survey of Mennonite Schools in the United States and Canada.

Mr. Silas Hertzler has made an annual statistical study of the attendance in Mennonite schools and colleges in the United States and Canada since 1928. Since some of the teachers teaching in the Gretna and Rosthern schools have come from American colleges and since the table gives a more comprehensive view of the whole field of Mennonite education the statistics for 1931-1932 are given below. This table does not include the numerous Bible Schools which have started

in the Canadian West within recent times and which will be discussed later.

Table 4.

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1931-1932.

School	Total Enrollment	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.
Bluffton College	360	316			44[1]
Bethel College	281	244			37[5]
Goshen College	265	236	18	11	
Eastern Mennonite School	206	34	110	44	18[2]
Tabor College	158	45	28	5	80[7]
Hesston College	107	20	64	15	8[2]
Ontario Men. Bible School	165[6]			165	
Corn Bible School	75		73		2[3]
Freeman Junior College	74	33	27	10	4[8]
Rosthern	51		51		
Okla. Bible Academy, Meno.	48		48		
Gretna	48	16	29		3[9]
Zoar	33		33		
Hillsboro	31		31		
Henderson	10		10[4]		
Beatrice	9			9	
Mt. Lake	7				7[9]
Totals	1928	944	522	259	203

1. 40 Music and 4 Art Students.
2. Summer School Students.
3. Correspondence Students.
4. The School closed in November, 1931.
5. 18 Music Students and 19 specials.
6. This School is in session 12 weeks annually.
7. 21 Music Students; 14 Art Students; 45 Summer School Students.
8. Music Students.
9. Sub-Academy.

Religion and German in the Public Schools.

Both in Manitoba and Saskatchewan the government allows the last half hour of the school day to be used for religious instruction. In the case of the Mennonite schools this religious instruction is usually given in German, since apparently there is nothing in the school laws which says in

what language religious instruction is to be given. Frequently another half hour is added to the school day for more specific instruction in the German language. In Manitoba a complete course has been worked out which Mennonite teachers can use as a guide in giving religious instruction. It is proposed that the following subjects be taught.

1. Bible Stories--2 periods a week.
2. Bible reading--1 period a week.
3. Psalms and hymns--occasionally.
4. Catechism--1 period a week.
5. Church History--1 period a week.

Mr. H.H. Ewert says that all of the 150 Mennonite Schools in Manitoba give instruction in Religion and German. In Saskatchewan most of them give such instruction but some do not. In order to promote the study of the German language, the German speaking people of Manitoba have also organized a German Trustee Convention which meets once a year. Some of these trustees are German-speaking Lutherans but the great majority are Mennonites. The teachers have organized themselves into a German Teachers Conference meeting once a year with local conferences meeting every 2 or 3 months. In spite of the efforts being made by the Mennonites to preserve their German they find it slipping away on them, since in the small amount of time they can devote to its study the children cannot get any adequate knowledge of the language. The coming of a large number of Mennonites from Russia in 1923 and later has, however, given the language a new lease on life, since these people have had the advantage of good German schools in Russia.

CHAPTER XVI--THE COMING OF THE RUSSIAN MENNONITES, 1923-1931.

In order to get an idea of the number of Mennonites who came to Canada at this time, the following table is submitted.[1]

Table 5.

Mennonite Immigration to Canada, 1923-1932.

	Date of Movement	Number
1. Movement 1923.	July 18, 1923--June 29, 1924	2,759
2. Movement 1924.	June 29, 1924--Sept. 3, 1925	5,048
3. Movement 1925.	Sept. 4, 1925--Mar. 14, 1926	3,772
4. Movement 1926.	Mar. 15, 1926--Apr. 22, 1927	5,940
5. Movement 1927.	Apr. 23, 1927--Apr. 22, 1928	847
6. Movement 1928.	Apr. 23, 1928--Apr. 25, 1929	511
7. Movement 1929.	Apr. 26, 1929--Apr. 24, 1930	1,014
8. Movement 1930.	Apr. 25, 1930--Jan. 1, 1931	269
9. Movement 1931.	Jan. 2, 1931--May 8, 1932	5
10. Movement 1932.	May 9, 1932--Dec. 1, 1932	6
	TOTAL.	20,171

The above table was prepared by the Secretary of the Mennonite Colonization Board at Rosthern. There are however some Mennonites who came over from Russia without registering with this board. Besides this 278 individuals were brought over by a company in which Abram A. Buhr, Winnipeg, was a prominent member. Thus the total number that came may be between 21,000 and 22,000. These have distributed themselves in Canada as follows: 2,000 in Ontario; 8,000 in Saskatchewan; 8,000 in Manitoba; 2,000 in Alber and 700-800 in British Columbia. This large immigration has grown out of a very dark experience which came over the Mennonit of South Russia since the days of the Great War in 1914. Since the educational outlook of these immigrants is so entirely different from that of the Mennonites who came in 1874 and the years following, it will be necessary to go back to their homes in Russia and trace the course of their development up to the time of their coming to Canada.

1. Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization: Rosthern, Sask.

Economic, Social and Educational Development of Mennonites in Russia up to 1914.

As has been noted previously when the Mennonites came to Russia they received for the first time in their history the right to develop their institutions in the way they chose, without any outside molestation or restriction. They were given a new page on which they could write whatsoever they wished. Consequently they have developed characteristics which have almost given them the appearance of belonging to a separate nation even though the term Mennonite itself has but a religious significance. They have lived in Russia now, for period of nearly 150 years and up to the time of the last war were allowed to continue a course of peaceful development. From the beginning they have been knit together by many ties and even though they came to be scattered over many parts of Russia they felt themselves to be but one people. Their early persecutions as well as the many sacrifices they were forced to make for the common good may have done much to create this feeling. Besides this they were drawn together by many co-operative efforts that were made for the good of the society as a whole. They had their own schools, hospitals, orphanages, old people's homes, mental hospitals, and also supported their young men on the forestry farms, an expense involving three million rubles in 1914. When they made their first settlements in Russia the land was equally divided amongst them, but in such a way that a considerable portion (over 32,000 acres) became common property of the group. With the proceeds obtained from the use of this land, new settlements were

purchased for the expanding population. Schools were also supported by the money obtained from this source.[1] This arrangement was halfway between communism and complete private ownership, thus giving scope for individual efforts and also giving consideration to the good of the society as a whole.

All of the schools in their midst were supported entirely by themselves. This, however, did not free them from the necessity of paying taxes for the support of the other Russian schools around them. They took on this extra burden so that they could keep control of their youth and raise them in the spirit of their community. The development in education has been especially marked since the time of Johann Cornies, who initiated educational reforms amongst them, as has already been stated.

During the early sojourn of the Mennonites in Russia all the German colonies of South Russia were under the supervision of a Commission (Fuersorge-Komitee), usually headed by a German, stationed at Odessa, and directed by the Department of the Interior. This Commission also supervised whatever schools were in existence at that time. For up to the seventies of the last century, country schools were almost unknown in Russia. Up to 1861 the Russian peasants were regarded as serfs and as such had no right to an education. The Mennonites, however, had already had schools for some time, and even though they were as yet very imperfect, they nevertheless represented a considerable advance when compared to the conditions of the Russians around them.

1. The information given about the Russian schools in the following pages has been secured through D. Enns, a teacher of many years experience in Russia and now living in Rosthern, Saskatchewan.

Consequently the members of the commission regarded these schools, for the most part, with favour. In order to promote the interests of education the Mennonites formed school councils (Schulraete), whose duty it was to inspect the schools and supervise the teaching of all the subjects in them as well as improve educational standards in general. This condition lasted up to the seventies of last century when Alexander II started his reforms, abolished the Fuersorge-Komitee and brought all the Russian schools directly under government control. It became obligatory to teach Russian in all the schools. During this time the immigration to Canada started which has already been described. These early immigrants did not like the idea of learning the Russian language and besides this they were also afraid of losing their military exemption by the new military law proposed. Concessions were, however, made to the Mennonites with regard to their schools. They were allowed to teach German and religion for one-third of the school time, leaving two-thirds for instruction in which the Russian language was used. The government also appointed Russian Inspectors who supervised the Russian subjects, thus leaving only the supervision of German and Religion to the Mennonite School Councils.

The Mennonites of Russia lived in small villages having from 30 to 50 families in each. In this way their community life could be promoted more easily and it was also advantageous in school affairs. Each village had a school in its centre,

so that none of the school children had very far to go. The course of studies in these elementary schools was at first prescribed by the religious leaders of the community. The subjects were like those already referred to in the early Canadian Mennonite schools, namely: the ABC's, bible reading, catechism and arithmetic. In the course of time, however, as the result of the efforts of the school councils and teacher's conferences, the program came to include the following in a six year course.

1. Religion:

   (a) Lower division--first 3 years.
   Bible Stories.
   (b) Upper division--last 3 years.
   Bible Stories, Catechism.

2. German:

   (a) Beginners--first year.
   Reading, Writing, Conversation.

   (b) Lower division--second and third year.
   Reading, Dictation, Conversation, Composition, Grammar.

   (c) Upper division--last 3 years.
   Literature, Reading, Composition, Grammar.

3. Russian:

   (a) Beginners--first year.
   ½ year conversation, ½ yr. reading and writing.

   (b) Lower division--second year.
   Reading, Writing, Conversation and Grammar.

   (c) Second division--third and fourth year.
   Reading, Writing, Compostion and Grammar.

   (d) Upper division--fifth and sixth year.
   Literature, Reading, Composition, Grammar.

4. Arithmetic:

A division for each of the six years.
Elementary Arithmetic and Business Forms.

5. Geography:

(a) Lower division--second and third year.
The home, village, province and immediate surroundings.

(b) Upper division--fourth and sixth year.
Russia, Europe, and other continents, elements of astronomy.

6. History:

(a) Upper division--last three years.
Russian History. Main facts of Mennonite History given in the German periods.

7. Nature Study:

(a) Lower division--second and third years.
In combination with geography.

(b) Upper division--last three years.
Plants and animals of the vicinity.

8. Singing--with the whole school.

Up to the time of the war this program was taught in over 400 Mennonite village schools in Russia. These schools were supported partly by small fees collected from the students and partly by a levy distributed equally over the land owned by the Mennonite farmers. As has been stated there were no government grants.

The second group of schools supported by the Russian Mennonites were the so-called Central Schools (Central Schulen). The first of these was established at Ohloff in the Molotschna Colony in 1882. It had for its purpose the training of teachers for the elementary village schools, for it was realized that this was the first step necessary

in raising the educational standards of the lower schools. In the course of time a number of Central schools were established. The program of studies in them also underwent a process of development. Beginning with the present century, it was a four year course and approximated the course given in our high schools here in Canada. The subjects taught were as follows:

1. Religion:

   (a) First Year--Historical books of the Old Testament Church History.

   (b) Second Year--Wisdom books of the Old Testament Church History.

   (c) Third Year--Prophetic books of the Old Testament Church History.

   (d) Fourth Year-- New Testament
   The Mennonite Catechism and Confession of Faith

2. German:

   A continued course through the four years in Grammar, Literature, History of Literature, Composition German classics.

3. Mathematics:

   (a) First Year-- Arithmetic

   (b) Second Year--Arithmetic
   Geometry -plain

   (c) Third Year-- Geometry -plain
   Algebra

   (d) Fourth Year- Geometry -solid
   Algebra

4. Russian;

   A continued course through four years in Grammar, Literature, History of Literature, Composition, Russian Classics.

5. Geography:

(a) First Year-- General geography
Physical geography
Geography of parts out side of Europe.

(b) Second Year--Geography of Europe

(c) Third Year-- Geography of Russia

6. History:

(a) First Year-- Ancient History

(b) Second Year- Mediaeval History

(c) Third Year-- Modern History

(d) Fourth Year- History of Russia and Current Events

7. Natural Science:

(a) First Year-- Zoology

(b) Second Year- Botany and Physics

(c) Third Year-- Mineralogy, Chemistry and Physics.

(d) Fourth Year--Chemistry, Physics, Anatomy, Hygiene.

By the year 1914, 19 of these schools had been established among the Russian Mennonites. Some of these were supported by the proceeds coming from the use of the common lands owned by the district, others by special associations that had felt the needs of establishing extra schools of this type amongst themselves. Some of these associations were made up of well-to-do landowners who gave the financial backing needed for this purpose. In 1914 a Central School costing 80,000 rubles was built by an association at Ohrloff where the first Central School had been founded. These central schools were only for boys. The girls had a similar course offered to them in six girls schools, two of which were in the Chortitza settlement and four in the Molotschna settlement.

For Village Schools--There were two teacher training schools. One founded at Halbstadt, in the Molotschna in 1878, and the other at Chortitza in 1890. These two schools have supplied the teachers for the Mennonite settlements in all parts of Russia. To enter these schools one had to be a graduate either of a Central school or a Girls school (Mädchen Seule). Part of the course was academic and part was professional.

The subjects taught were:

Religion

German--old and modern literature.

Mathematics--Natural sciences, psychology.

Pedagogy--History of Education.

Teaching methods for giving instruction in:

(a) Religion;

(b) German and Russian language;

(c) Arithmetic and Geometry;

(d) History and Geography.

Practice teaching.

Central school teachers were trained in the Teachers Institutes at St. Petersburg and the large centers. The course took three years and only university graduates or experienced teachers in the village schools could enter. The course given was partly academic and partly professional.

Of special help in the advancement of education were the teachers conferences held by the Mennonite teachers twice a year. At these conferences questions concerning the curriculum, teaching methods, text books, etc., were discussed. Papers were read on different school problems, lessons were taught

by some of the teachers and criticized by the others. The teachers had the power to incorporate the results of their findings in the curriculum which thus was undergoing constant revision.

Besides these larger conferences having around sixty teachers in attendance there were smaller local gatherings of the teachers each month, at which the teachers from six or seven schools would be present. Here also papers were read and lessons taught to pupils present at the meeting. The smaller groups gave more opportunity for a discussion of the industrial problems of the teachers.

Once a month also teachers were given the opportunity of visiting other teachers and seeing them while actually engaged in the work of teaching.

The following table gives a summary of the schools and other institutions supported by Mennonites in Russia.

Table 6.

Schools and Other Institutions Supported by Mennonites in Russia.[1]

Schools and Other Institutions	Number
1. Elementary village schools	400
2. Central schools (Central Schuler)	19
3. Girls schools (Madchen Schulen)	6
4. High schools giving commercial training (Handelschulen)	2
5. Business college (Kommerz Schul)	1
6. Teachers training schools	2
7. Deaf and Dumb school	1
8. Bible school	1
9. Hospitals	3
10. Mental Hospital	1
11. Old Peoples' Homes	2
12. Orphanage	1

1. Die Mennoniten-Gemeinden in Russland während der Kriegs- und Revolutions jahre, 1914-1920. P. 31.

This system built up at the cost of great effort has, however, not been allowed to stand since the Soviet regime has assumed power in Russia. There could hardly be a greater contrast than there is between the Mennonite and the Communistic conception of education; one puts religion first, the other regards it as an opiate for the people. As a result of the clash between them, the Mennonite system has been completely destroyed. One teacher ~~from these~~ says, "Only the dilapidated buildings remain, many teachers have been exiled, some have emigrated, many have been killed."

To see the reason for the coming of these people to Canada since 1923 in such large numbers, we must consider briefly the political developments in Russia which led up to the immigration to Canada.

By the time of the Great War the Mennonites of South Russia had reached an enviable development. Out of the four original mother colonies, Chortitza (1789), Molotschna (1804), Am Trakt (1853), lying on the Volga River and Alt Samara (1861), thirty-six daughter colonies had been established. Table 7 on Page 165 gives a conception of the land owned by the Mennonites in Russia.[1]

Besides being farmers, the Mennonites had also gone into industry having twenty-six factories, some being larger than others. In some of these, agricultural implements were made and distributed all over Russia. In peace times one of these factories would make 15,000 reapers, 3,000 threshing machines and 1,000 plows per year.[2]

1. Die Mennoniten-Gemeinden in Russland während der Kriegs- und Revolutions jahre, 1914-1920. P. 28.
2. Ibid, P. 24.

Table 7.

Land Owned by the Mennonites in Russia.[1]
(Classified according to Provinces).

Province	No. of villages	Population	Land owned in dessiatines
Taurien	88	36,000	342,000
Jekaterinoslaw	64	30,000	282,000
Cherson	18	4,500	24,700
Stawropol	4	2,000	8,500
Kuban	2	1,000	6,500
Terek	15	3,400	28,800
Woronesch	2	435	8,670
Charkow	3	450	5,400
Saratow	7	1,600	9,500
Samara	36	6,750	65,400
Orenburg	22	4,700	36,580
Turkestan	7	1,500	8,000?
Ufa	--	500	9,000
Omsk	29	5,000	400,000
Tomsk	50	6,000	50,000
Semipalatinsk	14	2,000	14,000
Jenisseysk	4	400	4,000
Total	565	106,255	1,299,000

In some provinces the possessions of large land owners is not included. It is estimated that with these added the total amount of land owned by the Mennonites of South Russia would have amounted to 1,400,000 dessiatines.

1. Die Mennoniten-Gemeinden in Russland während der Kriegs- und Revolutionsjohre 1914-1920 P.30

Such prosperity naturally excited the envy of the native Russians. Besides this, the Mennonites had privileges not even enjoyed by the native Russians themselves. At the outbreak of the war in 1914 feeling began to rise against the Mennonites, especially when they refused to do military service like the other Russians were forced to do. It was forgotten that this exemption had been guaranteed to them over one hundred years ago by the Russian Government. Since they spoke German and refused to fight, were they not traitors to their country in harmony with their enemy Germany. In spite of the fact that about six thousand of them risked their lives caring for the sick and wounded,[1] and six thousand other young men did forestry service, they were looked on with suspicion. The press worked up a feeling against them and since they were so different from the Russians, nationally, religiously and socially, they came to be regarded as an inner foe to their country. As a result of this agitation the government began to pass laws against the Mennonites, even before the end of 1914. German was prohibited in their daily intercourse, also in schools and churches. The smallest offence in this respect was punishable by heavy fines or a banishment to Siberia.

On December 13th, 1914, and February 2nd, 1915, liquidation laws were passed whose ultimate purpose was to take away the land owned by these foreign colonists. This process had, however, not yet run its full course before the revolution came in March, 1917, when the Czar was forced to abdicate. At

1. Ibid, P. 35.

first there was a provisional Government under Kerensky, who stopped the execution of the liquidation laws but was not strong enough to put them aside entirely. Under him the persecution of the Mennonites ceased for a short time and new hopes of a great democracy arose in the minds of these people. Kerensky, however, could not hold his position against the radical party, the Bolsheviks. These took military possession of the Congressional building in St. Petersburg and in November, 1917, declared a Government dictated by the wishes of the Soviets or Workers' Councils. This was the beginning of a period of Civil War in Russia, and was to result in a time of extreme suffering for the Mennonites. The Soviets were also introduced among the Mennonites, but these councils could not be adequately controlled by the Government at Moscow and looked more to a satisfaction of their desire for power and money than to a fulfilment of the ideals of Bolshevism. To make matters worse, hordes of bandits started to rove the country and there seemed to be no power in the land to stop them from plundering and robbing wherever they went. The uprooting of an old order had started, but a new one had not yet begun. This lasted till the German Occupation of South Russia in April, 1918. It was only natural that after the trying times, the coming of the German army should be welcomed by the Mennonites. The Germans at least guaranteed them safety for property and life.

When the Germans left the country in November, 1918, the bandits had organized themselves under a Siberian convict called "Machno" and started to pillage the country, spreading

havoc wherever they went. It was then that the Mennonite youth made an exception to their pacifist principles and organized a guard to protect their homes and people against these outrageous attacks. They were outnumbered, however, and had to withdraw; the bandits taking bloody revenge in many cases for this resistance. The bandits now instituted a reign of terror. Each week over one hundred death sentences were passed, among whom were many Mennonites. In one Mennonite village, (Eichenfeld) eighty-one men and four women were killed in one night.[1] Besides typhoid fever and contagious diseases were brought in so that about one-tenth of the population died. Finally, the Bolshevists again gained control, but were opposed by an army gathered under General Wrangel. The Mennonite villages lay right in the path of the opposing armies, and some of them changed possession as often as twenty times. It is impossible, here, to go into a detailed account of the suffering which this state of affairs brought to the Mennonites. Those who came from there say that only those who have gone through this experience can speak intelligently about conditions that existed in Russia at that time. Rev. D. Toews, who, as head of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, has been one of the most active individuals in bringing over some twenty-one thousand of these people, said in an address given in August, 1926, before the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America at Berne, Indiana:

1. Ibid, P. 91.

"All this suffering, however, would not have been able to induce our people to leave their homes in Russia. But when the communistic system was being introduced into the schools, and the children and young people were to be put under the influence of anti-religious propaganda at the instigation and under the protection of the government, it became evident that the hearts of the children and young people were to be diverted from the faith of their fathers."

This state of affairs resulted in an eager search of the Mennonites for another home. They were glad to leave a country in which they had received such harsh and unkind treatment.

The Immigration to Canada.

Since many of their coreligionists were already in America, the Russian Mennonites sent delegates to different countries in America to study the possibilities of an immigration to these countries. Delegates were sent to Mexico, United States, and Canada.

"Mexico in every respect, its laws and regulations and the mode of living on the part of the lower classes reminded too much of Russia. The United States were closed to immigration especially if immigrants were to be brought over by organized efforts. No possibility was seen to overcome these difficulties. Canada especial was thought suitable as a country that might be recommended for settlement, although even here it was hardly possible to arrange compact settlements the same as our brethern had in Russia. But even in Canada there was a

law against the immigration of Mennonites. In 1919 an Order-in-Council had been passed by which the doors of Canada were closed to our people. There were three reasons for enacting this prohibitory law. First, our young people during the war had not done any kind of military service. Secondly, many young men from the U.S. had come to Canada in 1917 to avoid military service. And thirdly, our Old Colony people were leaving Canada because they believed in "German only in the schools." It may be easily understood that this must conflict with the anti-Germany spirit in all English-speaking and many other countries in those days.

"At our Canadian Conference in the year 1921 it was resolved to send a delegation to Ottawa in order to induce the Government to open the doors to our people. Canada then stood in the midst of an election campaign, and we could not expect a favorable result at that time on the eve of an election. Both parties were more or less afraid of arousing public sentiment against themselves. But when later in the Fall of 1921 the Liberal Government got into power with W.L. Mac Kenzie King as Prime Minister another delegation was sent to Ottawa. In the new cabinet there were especially three ministers with whom our delegates had to confer. Mr. King, Prime Minister, Mr. Stewart, Minister of

Immigration and Mr. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture. Mr. King had passed his young days in Waterloo County and had grown up among Mennonites. Mr. Stewart who had formerly been a resident of Ontario was also intimately informed about them. Mr. Motherwell was a Western man and he had knowledge of the Mennonites who immigrated in the earlier years. All these three ministers were very friendly to our people and promised that the Order-in-Council would be rescinded. On June 2nd, 1923, the following Order-in-Council was passed: 'His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the Recommendation of the Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization is pleased to order that the Order-in-Council of the 9th of June 1919 (P.C. 1204) prohibiting the landing in Canada of any immigrants of Dukhobor, Hutterite or Mennonite class shall be and the same is hereby rescinded as respects Hutterites and Mennonites, Sgd. Rodolphe Boudreaus.' This message was sent to us on the 10th of June. The doors of Canada were again open to our people. This having been accomplished, the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization was formed which is composed of ten members from four different sections of the Mennonite Church."[1]

Consequently most of these immigrants have come over under the above Board. The Canadian Government asked for the following guarantees from this Board:

1. Rev. D. Toews' speech in Report of the 24th Session of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of N.A., 1926. P. 292.

1. That the Mennonites who would be admitted to Canada would find shelter and support here.
2. That they would be placed on land in Canada, since Canada wished only farmers as immigrants.
3. None of the immigrants were to become a public charge.

The immigrants were brought over under the Colonization Department of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Colonel J.S. Denis, who as a young man had been on the first "International" that sailed down the Red River in 1874 laden with Mennonites, was the head of this department. Up to January 1st, 1934, the Canadian Pacific Railway had extended a credit of $1,770,243.64 for bringing over these people, much of which has been repaid. The extension of this credit to the Mennonites is another indication of the trust that has been placed in them.

On 21st of July, 1923, the first long train carrying 600 of the Russian immigrants arrived at Rosthern.[1] Since them many others have come, as has already been shown in the statistics given at the beginning of the chapter. All these people were clothed, sheltered and provided for by Mennonites that had come here in previous years. Such help was given to them until they might be able to secure a foothold in the new country to which they had come.

1. Ibid, P. 296.

CHAPTER XVII--THE BIBLE SCHOOLS AMONG THE MENNONITES OF WESTERN CANADA.

General Information.

Before concluding this work it is necessary to mention an educational movement which has developed among the Mennonites of Western Canada mainly since the coming of the last Mennonites from Russia, although it already had a start some time before this date. This reference is to the Mennonite Bible Schools of which there are about fourteen in the western provinces. The Mennonites have always been known as a people that have gone forth to make their conquests with "The Bible in one Hand and a Plow in the Other." This movement, therefore, is in harmony with their past traditions and religious principles. It will be remembered that in Russia they had up to the time of the Great War the right to devote one-third of their school term to German and Religion. Here in Canada, these subjects have very little place on the curriculum of the public schools. Consequently, the Mennonites are making what efforts they can to remedy the situation. The purpose of all of these schools is to give the students a deeper knowledge of scriptural truths, to promote their knowledge of the German language and to prepare the young people to do Sunday school and other religious work in their churches and elsewhere. The writer sent questionnaires to all of these schools and in the following pages a brief outline will be given of the work that is being done in these schools. The subjects taught are very similar in all. They are of a theological nature and are

designed to preserve a Christian outlook on life and fortify the faith of the students. Both German and English are being used for instruction purposes although most of the work is done in the former language. The schools have been run on a very economical plan so that the youth will not be hindered in attending because of financial reasons. The spirit in these schools seems to be a happy one and the students enjoy their work thoroughly. All the students entering are supposed to be at least fifteen or sixteen years old. There is no upper age limit. A summary of some of the facts about each school is given in the following tables, 8 and 9. Other facts not included in the summaries are given in the individual references to each school given below.

The Winkler Bible School.

One of the leading schools of this group is established in Winkler, Manitoba. It had its origin in South Russia and has been transplanted to Canadian soil. Practically all the teachers were teaching in a similar school in Russia before they came here. The school offers five courses:

1. A general course of four years.
2. A ministers course of one year.
3. A Sunday school course of two years.
4. A music course of one year.
5. A post graduate course of one year.

Students have attended from all the western provinces of Canada, also Ontario and North Dakota. The attendance at this school is given in Table 10.

Table 8.

SUMMARY OF FACTS CONCERNING MENNONITE BIBLE SCHOOLS.

Name	Date of first session	Length of School Term	Number of Students 1933-1934	Organization that controls School
Winkler Bible School (day school)	November, 1925	Last week in October to end of March	73	Private undertaking of the teachers
German Bible School at Winnipeg, (evening school)	October, 1929	October to May	56	A school association
Winnipeg Mennonite Bible School (evening school)	November 8, 1933	First of October to first of April	38	Schoenwieser Mennonite church
Bethany Bible School at Hepburn, Saskatchewan (day school)	November 1, 1927	October 23rd to March 28th	72	Bethany Bible School Association
Tabor Bible School at Dalmeny, Saskatchewan (day school)	November 13, 1928	Last of October to end of March	34	School Association
Swift Current Bible School (evening school)	November 1, 1933	November 1st to April 1st	14	Private undertaking of teachers.
Aberdeen Bible School (day school)	November 1, 1930	November 1st to March 29th	6	Committee of three
Herbert Bible School (day school)	November, 1916	October 30th to March 30th	Not given. Some 500 students have attended since 1916.	School Association

Table 8 (continued).

Name	Date of first session.	Length of School Term	Number of Students 1933-1934	Organization that controls School
Rosthern Bible School (day school)	November 1, 1932	November 1st to March 31st.q	12	School Association
Bible School at Gem, Alberta	November 11, 1933	November 1st to April 1st.	10	Mennonite Church at Gem
Bible School at Rosemary, Alberta	1932	November 1st to April 1st.	13	Mennonite Church at Rosemary
Bible School at Coaldale, Alberta	October 29, 1933	November 1st to April 1st.	56	Mennonite Church at Coaldale
Bible School at Yarrow, British Columbia.	November 3rd, 1930	Beginning of December to beginning of February.	10	Mennonite Church at Yarrow

Table 9.

SUMMARY OF FACTS CONCERNING MENNONITE BIBLE SCHOOLS.

Name	Sources of revenue	Students fees	Years needed to complete course	Time devoted to English and German subjects
Winkler Bible School (day school)	95% of revenue from student fees; 5% from donations.	$25 per student per year	4 years and 1 year post graduate work	3 teachers for German subjects; 1 teacher for English subjects
German Bible School at Winnipeg (evening school)	student fees	$1.50 per month and $3.50 per month depending on course taken	With one evening session per week, six years.	German to English in the relation of 8½ to 2.
Winnipeg Mennonite Bible School (evening school)	student fees and donations	25¢ per month	A two year course and also a three year course	All in German.
Bethany Bible School at Hepburn, Saskatchewan, (day school)	student fees and donations	$15 per student per year	4 years	8 hours a week for English.
Tabor Bible School at Dalmeny, Saskatchewan, (day school)	student fees and donations	$3 per month	3 years	Mostly German, some English.
Swift Current Bible School (evening school)	student fees	$1.20 per month	No definite curriculum as yet	5 hours German and 1 hour English per wk.

Table 9 (continued).

Name	Sources of revenue	Students fees	Years needed to complete course	Time devoted to English and German subjects.
Aberdeen Bible School (day school)	Student fees	$1 per month	1 year	26 periods a week in German; 1 period a week in English.
Herbert Bible School (day school)	Fees and donations	$4 per month	3 years	32 hours a week in German; 8 hours a week in English.
Roathern Bible School (day school)	Fees and donations	$15 per year	2 years	25 hours a week in German; 2½ hours a week in English.
Bible School at Gem, Alberta	Fees and donations	$2 per month	No definite curriculum as yet	24 hours a week in German; 6 hours a week in English.
Bible School at Rosemary, Alberta	Fees and 50¢ from each church member	$1 per month	3 years	24 hours a week in German; 6 hours a week in English.
Bible School at Coaldale, Alberta	Fees and donations	$3 per month	3 years	German to English in ratio of 9 to 2.
Bible School at Yarrow, British Columbia.	Fees and donations	$2 per month	Not given	Only in German.

Table 10.

Attendance of the Winkler School.

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1925-1926	10	15	25
1926-1927	16	22	38
1927-1928	21	27	48
1928-1929	24	36	60
1929-1930	30	52	82
1930-1931	25	45	70
1931-1932	21	43	64
1932-1933	21	47	68
1933-1934	24	49	73

There were two teachers in 1925, three in 1926 to 1928 and four from 1928 to 1934. Three of these teachers had all their academic and professional training in Russia while one has received his education here. Their salaries in this school have ranged from forty dollars to sixty dollars per month.

The subjects taught in the four year general course are as follows:

1. Bible reading
2. Bible stories
3. Biblical geography
4. Elements of general geography
5. Natural history and the Bible
6. Archaeology
7. Dogmatics
8. Biblical introduction
9. Ethics
10. Exegesis
11. Church history
12. World history
13. Christian evidences
14. Elements of Anatomy and Physiology
15. Elementary introduction to Astronomy
16. Singing
17. Theology
18. English Bible Study
19. German language
20. Composition and literature.

Those taught in the two year Sunday School Course are:

1. Biblical introduction
2. Dogmatics
3. Christian Evidences

4. Pedagogy
5. New Testament Exegesis
6. Missions
7. Archaeology
8. Biblical Geography
9. Psychology
10. Christian Ethics
11. Personal Work
12. Department Specialization
13. Child Study
14. Sunday School Administration
15. Bible Reading and Spelling

Although the work in the other Bible schools is not as thorough as the work given in Winkler, nevertheless the courses given have a great similarity in the different schools. Hence it will not be necessary to make reference to the courses given in each of the schools mentioned hereafter.

The German Bible School at Winnipeg

This is an evening school and gives instruction to young people engaged in other work during the day. This school meets Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday evening. A special course is given to girls doing domestic work who can only come on Thursday evening. The tuition fees for the first course are $3.50 a month, for the second $1.50 a month. In the first two years after 1929 the school had one teacher, in the third year there were two and during the last year 1933-1934 there were three. In the year 1932-1933 there were fifty-eight girls and five boys in attendance and during 1933-1934 there were forty-seven girls and nine boys. Two teachers were trained in Russia and one in Canada.

The Winnipeg Mennonite Bible School

This also is a night school. There is only one teacher receiving a salary of $80.00 a month. His training was received in Russia and all instruction given in the German language.

The attendance was as follows:

Attendance of the Winnipeg Mennonite Bible School

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1932-1933	27	3	30
1933-1934	37	5	42

The Bethany Bible School at Hepburn Saskatchewan

The school meets during the day from nine A.M. to twelve A.M. and from one P.M. to four P.M.,nevertheless the school also has night class five days a week. The Association directing the school owns its own school building valued at $4000. The number of teachers each year has been as follows:

1927-1928-- One

1928-1929-- Two

1929-1930-- Two

1930-1931-- Two

1931-1932-- Three

1932-1933-- Three

1933-1934-- Three

Two of the teachers teaching this year have been trained in Russia and the other has been trained in Bible Schools here. They secure a salary of $50.00 per month. The attendance has been as follows:

Attendance at the Bethany Bible School at Hepburn Saskatchewan

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1927-1928	11	12	23
1928-1929	19	20	39
1929-1930	23	20	43
1930-1931	25	32	57
1931-1932	34	35	69

Attendance at the Bethany Bible School at Hepburn Saskatchewan.(Cont)

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1932-1933	32	43	75
1933-1934	31	41	72

Tabor Bible School at Dalmeny Saskatchewan

The school meets during the day, and has no night classes. The cost of the school building including the lot and also a dormitory is $12,000. The number of teachers have been as follows:

1928-1929--One

1929-1930-- Two

1930-1931-- Two

1931-1932-- Two

1932-1933--Three

1933-1934--Three

Two of this year's teachers came from Russia where they received their training, the other is a graduate of Bible Schools in the United States. Their salaries, depending on the number of pupils they have, vary s from $35.00 to $100.00 per month. The past attendance has been:

Attendance at the Tabor Bible School at Dalmeny Sask.

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1928-1929	26	16	42
1929-1930	31	30	61
1930-1931	31	24	55
1931-1932	17	16	33
1932-1933	24	27	51
1933-1934	11	33	34

Swift Current Bible School

Sessions are held only in the evening three times a week from eight to ten P.M. in a rented building. This is the first year the school has been in operation, and there has been an attendance of eleven girls and three boys. The teachers both come from Russia. One has received all his training there, while the other has received his training in Canada as well as in Russia. So far the teachers have received practically nothing for their labours. They regard the work as a missionary effort on their part.

Bible School at Aberdeen Saskatchewan

The school session lasts from ten A.M. to three-thirty P.M. There is one teacher who has attended schools both in Russia and in this country. The attendance has been as follows:

Attendance of Bible School at Aberdeen Saskatchewan

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1930-1931	--	4	4
1931-1932	--	8	8
1932-1933	--	7	7
1933-1934	3	3	6

Bible School at Herbert Saskatchewan

This was the first Bible School started in the west during the year 1916. The school is controlled by an association and owns its own school building worth $10,000. The number of teachers employed have varied from four to two according to the number of students present. During 1933-1934 there were two teachers. One has a Canadian teacher's certificate and the other has a B.A. degree from Kansas. The salaries have varied between $50.00 and $100,00 per month. The attendance at the school was not given

but it was reported that some five hundred students have attended the school from its beginning of whom about forty percent have been girls.

Bible School at Rosthern, Saskatchewan

About two years ago it was thought advisable to open up a Bible school as a special department of the German English Academy at Rosthern. Students attending devote their full time to Bible study, but many also take academic subjects if they so desire. The school meets in the day during regular school hours. There is only one teacher, who has a teachers certificate from Russia and receives $225.00 a year plus board and room. The attendance has been as follows:

Attendance of Bible School at Rosthern Sask.

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1932-33	5	5	10
1933-1934	6	6	12

Bible School at Gem, Alberta

This is the first year the school has been in operation. There are ten pupils and one teacher who has had high school training in Russia and four years Bible School training in Canada. His salary is $20.00 per month. This school meets during regular school hours from nine A.M. to three-thirty P.M.

Bible School at Rosemary Alberta

The school meets daily in the teachers residence for which he receives $5.00 per month rent. During 1932-1933 there was one teacher. In 1933-1934 a lady student gave instruction in English while she was taking classes herself. The male teacher

had a teachers diploma from Russia while the lady teacher was a high school graduate from Alberta. He gets $15.00 a month whereas she gets free board and tuition. The attendance has been as follows:

Attendance of Bible School at Rosemary, Alberta

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1932 (2 months)	4	8	12
1932-1933 (3½ months)		8	8
1933-1934 (5 months)	2	11	13

Bible School at Coaldale, Alberta

This is a day school having three teachers, two of which have been trained in Russia and one in Manitoba. The amount of the teacher's salary was not given. The following attendance was reported:

Attendance of Bible School at Coaldale, Alberta

Year	Number of Pupils
1929-1930	13
1930-1931	55
1931-1932	77
1932-1933	75
1933-1934	56

Bible School at Yarrow, British Columbia

This is a day school held in a church at Yarrow. The number of teachers employed have been as follows:

1930-1931--Two

1931-1932--One

1932-1933--One

1933-1934--Two

Instruction is only given in German and both teachers have received their training in Russia. One has also visited the Herbert and Winkler Bible Schools here. The attendance is given:

Attendance of Bible School at Yarrow, B.C.

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
1930-1931	5	24	29
1931-1932	2	11	13
1932-1933	2	12	14
1933-1934	4	6	10

CHAPTER XVIII--UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

For a long time Mennonites have not been in favour of higher education. Mr. H.H. Ewert, even though two of his children are medical doctors, one a dentist, another a trained nurse and another a Rhodes scholar who became a don at the University of Oxford in England says, "We do not favour a University education, although we do not oppose it." The main objection to an education at a University has been that it estranges the youth from their own people and separates them from the faith of their fathers. The number of Mennonite students has, however, greatly increased since the coming of the Russian Mennonites in 1923. During the year, 1933-1934, there were nineteen Mennonite students at the University of Saskatchewan, twelve of whom were Mennonites that had come to Canada since 1923. These newer immigrants, because of the schools which they had in Russia, are as eager to secure the best educational training they can get in Canada as are any other groups found in this country.

The other groups still show varying degrees of opposition to such education, from those who are favourable to it, to those who, like the Old Colony Mennonites, would be entirely opposed to it. Their future attitude to higher education will be determined largely by the influence of their own students who return to them from these higher institutions of learning.

CHAPTER XIX--CONCLUSION.

The Mennonites were the first foreign settlers to take up their residence on the prairies of Western Canada. What contributions, we may ask, have they made to the development of the West. If we look back over their history we see that, because of their industry and thrift they have always been an economical asset to the country in which they have lived. It was because of their economical value that they were tolerated in Prussia, at a time when, because of their opposition to the State Church they would certainly have been expelled from the country. It was also because of this reason that they were asked to settle in Russia, and the wealth they created on the steppes of that country showed that the confidence put in them by the Russian government had not been misplaced. Their settlement developed into the granary of Russia and the centre of a flourishing industry with over 25 large factories and workshops. On the Canadian prairies they have also shown their thrift and industry and in spite of early hardships have in many cases become prosperous and well-to-do farmers. Consequently, governments have always tried to prevent the Mennonites from leaving their country, when, in order to remain true to their religious convictions, they were forced to do so. This was true when they left Prussia and was also true when they emigrated from Russia where the government made special concessions to them, to keep them in the land. In other words the economic value of the Mennonites

as settlers has always been recognized by the various countries in which they have lived.

Furthermore, they have been honest and law-abiding citizens of this country. It is a part of their faith to have respect for the authority of the State and obey the laws of the land in which they live. It is very seldom that they have been hailed before the law courts of this country, for crimes among them are comparatively few in number. In case of a dispute, they feel that it should be possible to settle the matter among themselves without having to appeal to the law courts of the land. They make few debts and usually pay them well, if at all possible. The complete payment of the loan made to them in 1875 by the federal government drew very favorable comment from the Minister of the Interior as has already been indicated. The recent extension to the Mennonites of a credit of over a million dollars by the Canadian Pacific Railway in order to bring them to Canada is another practical proof of the faith that has been placed in them. They emphasize the sanctity of a man's word. A person's simple yea or nay should be as binding on him as the taking of an oath. Hence they do not believe in taking any oath to confirm their statements. Of course, this is based on the scriptural injunction, "Let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."

It is only when they cannot reconcile the laws of the State with the fundamental doctrines of their faith that they have refused obedience, preferring rather to pull up their stakes and move to another country, where, for the time being at least, they could obey the laws of God rather than those of men.

In their fundamental belief of non-resistance and abhorrence of warfare they have held a belief which has been centuries ahead of their times. The world has only gradually come to their way of thinking, since the use of force or war has never yet fully settled any dispute. By suffering the severest persecution for this belief they have shown that it was not cowardice on their part which prompted their adherence to this doctrine, but a conviction that the use of armed force was futile, indecisive and unscriptural.

In order to understand them better we need to consider some of the factors that have determined their outlook on life during the past. The term Mennonite, as we have seen, has not a national significance, but refers to a religious denomination that started during the sixteenth century at the time of the Reformation in middle Europe. Although at times the Mennonites have almost given the appearance of belonging to a separate state, it is the religious factor which has been basic in determining their outlook on life.

Their schools, their customs, their relations to the outside world, and all their social institutions were closely linked up with their religious and church life. According to Johann Cornies, the man who started educational reforms among the Mennonites of South Russia, religion must come first in the schools. After this has been attended to, all other things necessary may be taught to the children. Consequently each of the 1,000 Mennonite teachers of Russia started the school day with a period of religious instruction, and one-third of the time was given to religion and German. In Canada, this principle has continued to operate. In practically all of the rural Mennonite public schools in Western Canada, advantage is taken of the last half hour of the day for giving religious instruction to the children. The schools at Rosthern and Gretna give one-third of their time to the teaching of religion and German, and the various Bible schools devote their time almost entirely to these subjects.

In their religion they have stressed a practical Christianity, rather than theory or dogma. The different theories and philsophies of the past have had very little effect upon them. Although living in the same locality as Kant, the German philosopher, it is not evident that his philosophy had any effect on their religious thinking. Thus also, they have not been greatly affected by the changes in

thought brought about by the efforts of modern science. They think that the intricate philosophic arguments of the learned are useless and prefer rather to follow the practical truths of Christianity as they find them in the Bible and especially as contained in the "Sermon on the Mount." One way in which their religion has expressed itself is the great willingness with which they have helped each other, wherever a group in any country was in particular need. During the last war, many thousands of dollars have been sent to Russia from the Mennonites in America to relieve the great need of their brethren in that country. Likewise all those who have recently come to Canada have been at first sheltered, clothed and fed by the Mennonites here, in order that the new comers might not become a public charge.

Another factor, which has developed amongst them because of the early persecution they had to suffer because of their religion, is a certain insularity of outlook on life. Due to these persecutions they were forced to live apart from others. They had to flee to the places where they would attract least attention. They worshipped in out of the way places, and felt there was little room for them in this evil world. They felt that they were pilgrims and strangers, who had no right to expect an easy time during their sojourn here. They sought for their compensations in some future abode. Besides this, they were told to "Come ye out from

among them and be ye separate." They were to separate themselves from the world and to have nothing to do with it, since it was essentially wicked. They were to be in the world, but not of it. At first this segregation was forced on the Mennonites, but later they began to prefer such a way of living. Consequently they took very little interest in the political and social development of the country in which they lived. All they asked for was the right to live according to the principles of their faith and to let whoever would take charge of the government, since after all government was only a necessary evil. During the early period of their stay in Canada, the conservative Mennonites were asked by the church not to vote or take part in elections, since such things were of the world and therefore not to be desired. In Russia, as has been said previously, this feeling of segregation and separation from surrounding communities was strengthened by the fact that they were surrounded by people belonging to another faith, speaking another language, and inferior to them in economic and social development. This separation has enabled them to preserve their language, their religion, their identity as a people, but has also helped to narrow somewhat their outlook on life, and to make them suspicious of any influences which might destroy their position as a separate people. In Canada the Old Colony Mennonites have shown this idea of isolation in its most extreme form. One of the chief causes

for their opposition to public schools was an exaggerated fear of the worldly influence that such an institution would have on their children.

Such separation has led to another factor which has been very noticeable among the Mennonites. This is an extreme individualism. Thus there is not only a separation of the group from its surroundings but also a separation of the individual from the group. Such a spirit may make for strength of character, but often at the expense of uniformity, and consequently many divisions have arisen among the Mennonites themselves. Since in most cases the reasons for the divisions have been insignificant, they could have been avoided if the individuals concerned had been willing to subordinate non-essentials to the broader and more important interests of life. The divisions have kept themselves separate not only from the world, but also from each other, and there is very little fellowship between them. In matters of education they find it very difficult to cooperate with the other divisions in maintaining a common school in which all the Mennonite youth would be trained. In recent times there has been a reaction against this by the educated youth who have tried to break down the provincial barriers between the groups.

In studying the Mennonites, it must also be remembered that they have, during the last centuries, been almost entirely engaged in agricultural puruits. They have tilled the soil and have been happy in doing so. They enjoyed the

independent life of the farmer and felt that it agreed most perfectly with their whole outlook on life. Indeed, some think that Mennonitism would be destroyed if they ceased to be an agricultural people. This close contact with the land has developed many characteristics in the Mennonites which are found lacking in those who pursue their calling in the towns and larger centres of population. On the other hand, many of the social influences and movements of thought that are felt by the city people have passed them by, entirely untouched.

They have also favoured the simple life. Simplicity of living and of dress, a simple church life and simple houses and furnishings have always been characteristic of the Mennonites since the days of the Anabaptists.

The Mennonites of the past have also tended to show great respect for authority whether civic, or religious. The motives behind this have ranged from fear to reverence. The early persecutions no doubt induced an attitude of fear towards the state, while their religious beliefs induced a respect for their church leaders, and those things connected with their worship. Because of this respect for religious authority church leaders have often wielded a great influence over the actions of their people. This sometimes resulted disastrously, especially if the leadership given was not of a wise kind. It has also been the fear of losing this leadership which has caused men to do strange things. One reason why the Old Colony leaders induced their people to

leave for Mexico, was that they feared the loss of their leadership if new influences be allowed to enter. In the homes parental authority is also emphasized, to a much greater extent than is done in homes influenced by more modern methods of child training. Hence the Mennonite children going to school present much less of a problem in discipline than is the case with children raised under a different home environment. Among the Old Colony Mennonites, the children must not appear in the room in which the parents are entertaining their guests.

When we consider their schools we see their ideas in this field have corresponded with their characteristic outlook on life. They have felt that in view of their past history they have a heritage which is worth passing on to their children. Their heritage involved their religion, their morals and their language. These were so closely interwoven that the loss of any one of them meant for them the loss of the others. As has been stated, the conservative Mennonites could not see how their religion could be preserved for them if the medium through which they had practised it for centuries, namely the German language, was to be taken away from them. Even though the other Mennonites have not shared the views of the ultra-conservatives they have, nevertheless, placed a high value on the use of the German language, and have done what they could to preserve this heritage for their children. In this respect, they have been more conservative than their brethren across the boundary,

who came to America at the same time as they did in 1874 to 1880. In the United States the German language has been dropped by most of the churches and all the services are conducted in English. In Canada, these services are still conducted in German. The German instruction given in the home, in the public schools, and in the Sunday Schools has made this possible, where otherwise the children would only know the English language. In spite of these efforts the German language was fast slipping away prior to the last Russian Mennonite immigration. These new comers, having had the advantage of good German schools in Russia, have given the language a new lease on life. All the teachers, giving German instruction in the Bible Schools, have at least had part of their education in Russia, which means that practically all have come to Canada since 1923. But even these immigrants admit that it is only a matter of time when English will have replaced the German languagg in the homes and the social intercourse of the Canadian Mennonites. It must be admitted that the final results of German instruction given to Mennonite children has not been detrimental to their knowledge of the English language. Their knowledge of the English language has been as good as that of children in non-Mennonite school districts, nor does their knowledge of German give them an accent in speaking the English as is sometimes apparent in children coming from other non-English homes. Hence their efforts in preserving their mother tongue deserve the encouragement of other Canadian

citizens who desire that the best heritage of all the different peoples of Canada, be preserved in making the future citizen of the country.

At present conditions confronting the Mennonites are so varied that one cannot fairly see the problem without paying attention to these variations. With respect to schools we need to see that it was only the Old Colony Mennonites and a part of the Sommerfelder branch who were entirely opposed to the introduction of public schools. Elder J. Leeppky of the Old Colony Mennonites stated that 5,500 Old Colony Mennonites had left for Mexico, and Mr. Benjamin Ewert, Mennonite statistician, says 1,750 Sommerfelder Mennonites left for Paraguay, because of their opposition to the school laws. In 1932, there were still 14,700 Sommerfelder and Old Colony Mennonites in Canada according to Mr. B. Ewert (see Table 1). All of these have since accepted the public school system and all private schools have been discontinued among them. This leaves a total of 47,219 Mennonites in Canada who have never offered any opposition to the public schools. The main difficulty has been experienced with the conservative Mennonites living in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In Alberta and British Columbia their number was never large enough to constitute a special problem to the government of these provinces. The General Conference Mennonites and the Mennonite Brethren of whom there are 18,224 and 9,723 respectively, have always been thoroughly in favour of the public schools, and have also shown the most progressive tendencies in education among the Mennonites

in Canada.

As to future tendencies among the Mennonites it may be said that they are finding it increasingly difficult to preserve a position of isolation among the people of Canada. They are constantly being thrown into contact with outside forces in a way to which they have heretofore been unaccustomed. Most of the 21,000 immigrants who have settled in Canada since 1923 have not been able to settle in closed communities but have been scattered all over the Canadian West. The table given at the back of the appendix gives the names of the many towns in Canada around which they have settled in comparatively small groups.

Compulsory school laws are compelling children to stay in school, and after such education, they are frequently unwilling to follow the agricultural pursuits of their fathers. An increasing number of young people are attending high schools and entering the professions or pursuing some form of work in the cities and towns.

Books and magazines are at present not greatly in demand among the Mennonites. In many cases there are only the Bible, a few religious books and the church papers printed in German. The younger people, however, are beginning to read more and in doing so it is inevitable that many ideas held previously may be rudely jarred. It is very necessary that during the days ahead, the Mennonites be given a wise

leadership so that the young people may preserve the sterling qualities of their fathers, while adjusting themselves to the new conditions which surround them.

-o-0-o-

Appendices

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 1.

COPY

Leonard Sudermann and Others to Mr. Zohrab.

Translation.

Berdiansk.
3/15 January 1872

Hond. Sir

You are aware that the introduction of the new law of 4/16 June, 1871, the so-called Mennonites residing in about a hundred villages, also in various estates and localities round about, as well as we who are established in this town are to be deprived of the right of conscientiously abstaining from the use of arms, which has hitherto been enjoyed, and are to be employed in military services for the army. But all who will not or cannot submit to these arrangements are allowed to emigrate freely within ten years.

As, unless H.M. the Emperor alters this our present distressed condition and graciously complies with our petitions for a special law thoroughly to secure for the future the liberties which we have hitherto enjoyed we shall soon have to consider the important question of life for us and our children, and seek and secure in the best possible way a new home. In making the choice America is of impertance to us and the inclination may be partly for Canada, and partly for the United States, we therefore apply to you Hon'd Sir, with the respectful request that you will kindly obtain information for us on the following questions:-

1. Might our Community which like the Society Friends (Quakers) decidedly refuses on principles founded on the Word of God to take any part direct or indirect in Military service obtain from H.M. the Queen and the Gov't of Canada a special legal position like that of the Society of Friends, that is entire exemption from all military service in reach of the law of defence? We are not unaware that under the Gov't of Her Majesty the Queen no one can be forced to serve as a soldier, nevertheless the special concession, the subject of this request is of the greatest importance to us.

2. Whether the emigrants to Canada might hope for a grant of land there, or for cheap purchase of the same, also in case of necessity for an advance from the Government? For although we are now here from the most part in good circumstances for our position yet a general emigration, especially as the land is looked upon as Crown property and thus the practical and often expensive dwelling houses and other buildings become almost of no value, must occasion a considerable average loss, and our present fraternal position requires that the poor also should be enabled to emigrate.

3. Whether, both for special requests and also for the arrangements of regulations, a deputation would be advisable to the Gov't of H.M. the Queen in London, and also to Canada, and what kind of credentials would be necessary for this purpose.

We the undersigned, some of whom are personally known to you Hon'd Sir, confidently hope that you, who know our circumstances and also the industrial services of the Mennonites in this Country, will interest yourself for us in our present oppressed position, and recommend us to the Gov't of her Royal Majesty.

Sd. Leonhard Suderman & 32 others.

Mr. J. Zohrab, H.B.M. Consul at Berdiansk.

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 3.

COPY
Consul Zohrab to Lord Granville
Berdiansk,
3rd February, 1872.

No. 2

My Lord

I have the honour to transmit a letter, in original, which has been addressed to me by the Elders of the German Mennonites residing in this town and the surrounding district and also copy of a letter from the Chiefs of the Mennonite Germans of Molotschna and other villages requesting information as to how the Mennonites, now in this part of Russia, could proceed to Canada, colonize there on what terms they could obtain land and on what conditions they would be admitted.

Not being sufficiently acquainted with German to make translations of these documents, I am obliged to enclose them as sent to me.

In 1800, the Mennonites were invited by the Russian Govt. to proceed to New Russia and establish colonies. Numbers accepted the invitation and from the beginning of this century up to 1870 there was a considerable yearly immigration. To each family on entering was given sixty-five dessatones (?) (175 Acres) of land free of charge. The Govt. decreed that the immigrants were not to be interfered with by the Russian authorities in any way. That each colony was to be self-governing; that the Prussian nationaltiy was to be preserved; that all communication between the Govt. and Colonies was to be carried on through a representative of the Colonies to reside in Odessa; that the Colonies were to be exempted for ever from every kind of Military service and that they were to be perfectly free in the exercise of their religion and in the government and control of their schools.

The Russian Government adhered to these conditions up to 4/16 July 1870, when by an Imperial Ukase it was decreed that the agency at Odessa

should be abolished, the direction of the German schools to be assured by the Russian authorities, the study of the Russian language made compulsory and that all Colonists after a certain date were to submit to military service and to the Conscription.

A period of ten years is granted by this Ukase to the Germans, dating from its issue, to elect whether they submit to its conditions or quit the Country.

On the publication of the Ukase, a deputation from the Mennonites preceeded to St. Petersburgh to try and get some changes made in their favour. The deputation was kindly received by Count Hadyn and other members of the Military Commission and an assurance was given that though the law could not be altered, their religious opinions would be respected and some concessions made in their favour, and that when their position was taken into consideration they would be invited to send deputies to explain what they required. Well satisfied with the assurance, the deputation returned to Berdiansk.

A year however passed without any intimation from the Government being received, the Mennonites became apprehensive and instituted enquiries at the Capital. They were informed that not only would no steps be taken to mitigate the law in their favour but that every arrangement had been completed to carry out the law in its original form, and the signature of the Emperor alone was wanted to make everything complete.

That part of the Ukase which makes Military service obligatory becomes law in 1873 - while the clause which makes the conscription compulsory on all classes will come into force in 1881.

Persuaded that there is no remedy for them, the Mennonites are now most anxious to take advantage of the clause which permits them to leave the country between this and 1880 and as their numbers are considerable they say there is no time to be lost if the desire is to be realized con-

sidering that the emigration of thousands of families has to be organized.

In selecting Canada as their future home they have been guided by the favorable accounts they have received of its fertility and salubrity and its being a British possession.

Their object in addressing me the letters I enclose is to obtain every possible information regarding Canada; and what engagements they will have to fulfill in regard to the Government.

It is very probable that if your Lordship considers it necessary to afford them the information they require, and they regard it as favourable, that during 1873 - two of three thousand Mennonite families will quit (?) this country and they will speedily be followed by thousands of others, and from what I have been able to learn, I doubt not the departure of Mennonites would be rapidly followed by that of Germans of other denominations, who are now, I am informed, watching the course pursued by the Mennonites with the object of following if it is successful.

The population of the Mennonite Colonies in this part of Russia is estimated at from 60,000 to 80,000 souls.

The departure of the Germans will, undoubtedly, be a serious loss to the Country for they are not only much greater proficients in agriculture than the native population, and consequently produce heavier crops and finer qualities, but they are very hardworking and therefore, in proportion to each man, they bring a much larger quantity of land under cultivation and thus increase the produce of the country. They employ large numbers of Russian peasants as farm labourers and their villages are patterns of cleanliness and good order.

Seven years' residence in this country has enabled me to acquire a good knowledge of them and I am personally acquainted with many of their Elders. I feel no hesitation therefore, in saying that these Germans would

prove a valuable acquisition to any Country they may select as their future home. If they find difficulty in proceeding to Canada, they will seek refuge in the United States to which Country their attention has already been directed, but as I have already stated their first choice falls on British soil, and though their determination to quit this Country is fixed, yet from what I can learn, they will do so with regret if they have to leave for any Country other than Canada.

Should your Lordship forward me any printed details for their information I would suggest that all such information be in German.

I would also respectfully beg an immediate acknowledgement of this despatch so that I may be assured that it has safely reached you.

Sd. Jas. Zohrab

The Rt. Hon.
The Earl Granville K.G.

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 5.

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville,
St. Petersburg,
April 16th, 1873.

My Lord:

At an interview I had with M. de Westmann on the 14th inst. H.E. stated that he had been instructed by Pr. Gortchakow to speak to me on a subject of some delicacy.

He stated the Imperial Ministry of the Interior had received from the Governor General of Bessarabia a report referring to attempts being made by Foreign Agents to induce the German Mennonite Colonists to emigrate, that a Prussian subject names Jansen had for this reason been sent out of the Country, and that Mr. Zohrab, H.M. Consul at Berdiansk, was likewise reported as being implicated in these attempts to induce Russian subjects to emigrate.

M. de Westmann had learnt from Prince Gortchakow that I had spoken at once to H.H. last year, when the question was raised, and H.H. was good enough to express his appreciation of the loyal and straight forward communication I had then made to him. He therefore charged M. de Westmann to bring to my knowledge the circumstances regarding Mr. Zohrab and to request me to warn him against being mixed up in any way in these attempts to induce the German Mennonite Colonists to leave Russia.

I told M. de Westmann that Mr. Zohrab had received the most positive instructions from your Lordship as well as from myself to keep entirely aloof from any interference with regard to the Emigration of the German Mennonites.

He was further instructed to hold no communication with the Chiefs of that body on the subject of their emigration, and to give no aid or assis-

I may observe to your Lordship that the Leaders of the German Mennonites are on the one hand endeavouring to exercise a pressure on the Imperial Govt. by a threat of Emigration in order to obtain the fulfillment of their wishes whilst, on the other hand, they are simultaneously in communication with the Govts. of Canada and of the United States with a view in case of failure with the Imperial Govt. to secure the best conditions for their future emigration.

Under these circumstances it would be advisable in my opinion for the Canadian Govt. as well as Mr. Zohrab to maintain an entirely passive attitud e.

All necessary information relating to the reception of the German Mennonites as Emigrants in Canada has been doubtless afforded them through Mr. Hespeler - The Canadian Agent; and I consider that any further action taken in the matter by Mr. Zohrab may lead to complications with the Imperial Government.

The suggestion of Mr. Hespeler that H.M.s Consul should be charged with the management and direction of this Emigration movement will place him in a false position and may possibly compromise him with the Imperial authorities who will look upon him as an Emigration Agent endeavouring to induce a large population of Russian subjects to quit the Russian boundary.

I cannot therefore concur in the opinion expressed by Mr. Zohrab that it would be advisable for him to proceed to Canada as soon as possible with a view to making arrangements for the reception of these Emigrants and for their journey to Canada. I am of the opinion that any such application for assistance should emanate from the Emigrants themselves when they have once fully announced their intention, and have received the permission of the Imperial Govt. to leave Russia. From the concluding paragraph of Mr. Zohrab's despatch No. 21, it would appear that this is the view taken by

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 5(a).

Lord A. Loftus to Earl Granville,
St. Petersburg,
18th August, 1872.

Re Consul Zohrab
Nos. 21 & 22.

My Lord:

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith two despatches as marked in the margin - which I have received under flying seal from H.Ms Consul at Berdiansk on the subject of the proposed German Mennonite Emigration.

In the first despatch Mr. Zohrab reports the arrival and departure of an Agent of the Canadian Govt. his opinion on the intended emigration of the German Mennonites and the desirableness of the Canadian Govt. acquiring this valuable population in the event of their deciding finally to emigrate from Russia. Mr. Zohrab further reports that the Canadian Agent intended to suggest to the Candian Govt. the advisability of leaving the management and direction of the movement entirely to him (Mr. Zohrab) as from his position and personal knowledge, he possessed an influence which no other person could immediately acquire.

In his second despatch Mr. Zohrab states that a last appeal was on the eve of being made by the German Mennonites to the Imperial Govt. and that a deputation would be sent for that purpose to St. Petersburg in September on the result of which the future course of the Mennonites will depend.

From private information which has reached me I am inclined to believe that the Imperial Govt. will be disposed to grant such a relaxation of the future military law of Service as may satisfy the religious scruples of the German Mennonite Colonies, and that consequently their intended emigration will be abandoned.

tance to any foreign Agents in the matter of such emigration. From what I knew I felt convinced that Mr. Zehrab was in no way implicated in any manoeuvres of Emigration Agents, but that in conformity with the request of Pr. Gortchakow I would address a letter of warning to him, reminding him of your Lordship's instructions.

I have accordingly addressed an instruction to Mr. Zehrab of which I have the honor to enclose a Copy.

M. de Westmann stated that the sole motive alleged for the wish of the German Mennonites to leave Russia was that their religious principles prevented them from entering the Military Service, and that their wish to emigrate was solely attributed to the obligatory Military Service about to be introduced into Russia.

His Excellency said that no exemption could be made for any class of the Russian subjects, that theyHad been promised that only those born after the publication of the law should be subjected to it which would give them at least 18 years of liberation and secondly that although enrolled in the Army, the Mennonites would have allotted to them such Military Service as would not oblige them to engage in active warfare.

The Russian Gov't H.E. said would extremely regret the loss of a large well conducted and industrious population, and they would not therefore see with indifference foreign Agency at work to induce the population to leave the Empire.

I trust that the instructions I have now addressed to Mr. Zehrab will impress on him the necessity of renewed caution and discretion on his part, in order that he may not subject himself to the serious consequences of an infraction of the Russian law.

Sd. A. Loftus.

The Earl Granville.

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

the Germans themselves, for he states that "In the event of the Deputation to St. Petersburg being unfavourable, the Mennonites will at once send a delegation to America to examine the Country both in the United States and in Canada."

I am of the opinion therefore that Mr. Zehrab having informed the German Mennonites of the willingness of the Canadian Govt. to receive them and the terms on which they will be received as Emigrants he should abstain from making any further advances to them. They appear to have a keen eye for their own interests, and should they finally decide to Emigrate (which I very much doubt) will be governed in the selection of their future home by the advantages which may be offered them.

Sd. Augustus Loftus.

Source--A. Willows' thesis on the Mennonites--University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 6.

COPY

Mr. Janzen to the Governor General of Canada.

Berdiansk,

Translation. 7th June, 1872.

Excellency,

The answer given to us by Mr. Zohrabs, the British Consul here, has been thankfully received, but the sad experience of the present time respecting our refusal to take part in Military Service, induces us to request respectfully that Your Excellency will be kindly pleased to inform us by return if possible how the expression is to be understood saying - "The Mennonites like the Quakers are not liable to forced Military Service, excepting such as the Governor General may feel compelled to impose."

From this there arises a general apprehension here that upon alleged necessity, we also might with full legality be drawn into Military Service, wherein there would only be a repetition of what is also considered as pressing necessity here in Russia and Germany.

By direction of the Community here, I beg most respectfully that Your Excellency will not look upon this request as distrustful, but that you will be pleased to have a clear answer sent to us upon the subject.

Most respectfully,

(sgd.) Cornelius Janzen.

His Excellency

The Governor General of Canada.

Source--Elder John Leeppky, Osler, Manitoba, Head of the Old Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 7.

Mr. Zohrabs to Earl Russell.
Berdiansk,
26th July, 1872.

COPY

Circular No. 17.

My Lord:

I have the honour to transmit, herewith, a letter addressed by Mr. Cornelius Janzen, on the part of the Mennonites here, to the Governor General of Canada, requesting an explanation of that part of the Report of the 26th of April, from the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council of Canada which states that,

"Any person bearing a Certificate from the Society of Mennonites shall be exempt from Military Service when balloted in time of Peace or War upon such conditions and such Regulations as the Governor in Council may from time to time prescribe."

The Mennonites are anxious to know clearly to what extent the Regulations regarding themselves could be changed or modified by the Governor General in Council, whether they would be exempt from Military Service under all circumstances or whether Military Service could be imposed on them by an Order in Council.

They are desirous to have these points clearly defined as they are to them of the greatest importance, hence the letter now addressed to Mr. Janzen.

The Conscription drove the Mennonites from Prussia, the Conscription they are now threatened with is driving them away from Russia and from the Country to which they looked forward as a peaceful home, doubt comes on the very same point. They wish to have the doubt explained before they take further steps.

To the Rt. Honourable,
the Earl Granville, K.G.

I have etc.
Sgd. Jas. Zohrabs.

Source--Elder John Loeppky, Osler, Manitoba, Head of Old Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 7(a).

The Secretary of State for the Colonies
to the Governor General.

COPY

Downing Street,
27th August, 1872.

Canada No. 63.

My Lord:

With reference to Lord Lisgar's Despatch No. 114 of 26th April, enclosing a Report to the Privy Council of Canada in reply to enquiries made by certain German Mennonites established in Russia with respect to exemption from Military service, I transmit to Your Lordship a letter received through the Foreign Office from Mr. Cornelius Janzen, with a translation of it, asking on behalf of the Mennonites for an explanation of part of the report.

I also annex a copy of the Despatch from Mr. Zohrabs, the Consul at Berdiansk to Lord Granville, in which Mr. Janzen's letter was enclosed-

17th July, 1872.

26th July, 1872.

I have etc.

Sgd. Kimberley.

Governor General,
The Rt. Honourable
The Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B.

Source--Elder John Loeppky, Osler, Manitoba, Head of the Old Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 8.

COPY

Ref. 187,924 on 3129 (No. 1)

Certified copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the 25th September, 1872.

The Committee of Council have had under consideration a despatch from the Right. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated August 23rd ultimo, covering a letter from Mr. Zahrabs, Her Majesty's Counsul at Berdiansk, dated July 26th last, and a letter from Mr. Cornelius Janzen, of Berdiansk, dated June last, addressed to Your Excellency.

The Hon. the Minister of Agriculture, to whom the above despatch and enclosures were referred, reports that it is expedient to give the German Mennonites in Russia the fullest assurances of absolute immunity from military service if they settle in Canada.

That a sub-section, of Section 17, of the Act 31 Victoria, chapter 40, is as follows:

"Any person bearing a certificate from the Society of Quakers, Mennonists or Tunkers, or any inhabitant of Canada, of any religious denomination, otherwise subject to military duty, but who, from the doctrines of his religion, is averse to bearing arms and refuses personal military service shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace or war, upon such conditions and under such regulations as the Governor in Council may, from time to time, prescribe".

That under this section all the persons above mentioned and the Mennonites are expressly included, are absolutely free and exempted by the law of Canada, from military duty or service, either in time of peace or war.

That the Governor General in Council cannot prescribe any conditions or regulations under which, under any circumstances, the persons referred to in the above quoted section can be compelled to render any military

service.

That the intention of the Act in conferring upon the Governor General in Council the power of making conditions and regulations was to enable the Government to provide, if necessary, for the registration of the exempted persons in such manner as to prevent persons belonging to any other denominations than those specified in the section of the Act above quoted from avoiding military duty under false pretences.

That the Constitution does not confer upon the Governor General in Council any power to over-ride or set aside, under any circumstances, the plain meaning of statute law, and he recommends that this explanation be conveyed to the Mennonists in Russia.

The Committee concur in the foregoing report, and advise that a copy of this Minute be transmitted by Your Excellency to the Earl of Kimberley.

(Sgd.) John J. McGee.
Clerk, Privy Council.

To the Honourable
The Minister of the Interior.

Source--Elder John Loeppky, Osler, Manitoba, Head of the Old Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 9.

COPY

No. 6800

Wm. Hespeler, Special Immigration Agent.
Report of his proceedings in Russia re Emigration of Mennonites.

Strassburg, 28th August, 1872.

Hon. J.H. Pope,
Minister of Agriculture,
Ottawa.

Dear Sir:

I arrived at Berdiansk (S. Russia) on the 25th of July last, and my first call was upon the British Consul Mr. Zohrab as directed by you.

His (Mr. Zohrab's) first question was - if I was in possession of instructions to him from Lord Granville?- which question I had to answer in the negative - to which he replied, that he shall deem it his duty to keep quite seperate from me, as a contrary cause could bring him in a very difficult position, which he could not assume without Lord Granville's direct orders.-

Of course by that I was no little surprised, as I expected that he (the Consul) had received instructions from the foreign office in regard to me and my mission,- He advised me to leave Russia without delay, as on account of a telegram I had addressed to him, my object was known to the authorities (having had signed myself, "Agent for the Canadian Government") and I would certainly be arrested, in which case he could do nothing for me.- I know very well that in Russia the penalties imposed upon such, who further Emigration, are very severe, but after having once made that long and tedious voyage, I felt not enclined to give up, and return without having made an effort, and felt determent to risk the consequences.-

Not being pleased with the Consuls conduct, especially as I had reason to fear, that he had also some other object in keeping me away, I begged him for directing me to one of the leading Mennonites in the town, to which he complied.- My first acquaintance was with a Mr. Jansen who is residing

in Berdiansk, where there are only a limited number, and by him I was received in a most welcome manner.-

Mr. Jansen took me to all the other members of there congregation, and by every one I was treated with the greatest attention - after having seen all the principal parties, all of which took the greatest interest in my mission, I thought it advisable to leave town, and go to the Colonies where these Menonites are spread over hundreds of miles pursuing agriculture.- I was recommended from place to place, and for the greatest part accompanied by one or two of there members - in this way I travelled for twelve days, until I reached the last Colony. The greatest number I found living on Crown Land, about 180 Acre lots, and quite a number on there own lands, which consist in many cases of plantations from 4 to 10,000 Acres, raising principally sheep, cattle and horses.-

As in those extensive Colonies the Police is limited in numbers, and being carefull not to make my cause known, outside the leading parties, I was successful in delivering my mission; by bringing them the exemption from Military service, the advantages offered by the Canadian Government as regards free grants of land, and in giving all further information in my power respecting the prosperity awaiting them in Canada.- My offers and information were most favourable received, and I received the assurance from all sides, that the selection of Canada for there future home is the most favourable one in view.- The offer to send two members from among themselves, to visit Canada on the expense of your Department, made an impression of great confidence, and as soon as the next deputation which is going to be sent to St. Petersburg in October next, with a petition to the Emperor, should return, (as expected) with a refusal to there prayer, they will decide at once, and nothing will prevent them from leaving there well established homes. In such case they will take advantage of the offer made by your department, and will send a deputation of two of there members to

Canada, to report upon the localities and advantages the Dominion offers.- They will write to me at the proper time for me to furnish them letters to your Department, and to give them all other necessary informations.- If they return with a favourable account, there will be hundreds of the most wealthy families ready to leave next summer.- The majority are still in hope that the Government in St. Petersburg will deside in there favour, but the leading men seem to be fully persuaded that the decition will turn against them,- in the latter case, they will get the privilege to emigrate up to the year 1882.- They are a hardy industrious, orderly and intelligent race, and they would proof a valuable acquisition to Canada, there villages are patterns of order and industry, large orchards and gardens sprang up where originally could not be found a tree; there intention is, to obtain contiguous lots of land, so as to form there own comunities.-

I called there attention in particular to Manitoba, which Province I am convinced, through my experience I gained amongst them, would suit them best, as the country they are now living in, is entirely level, and they are not accustomed to the use of the axe.-

Some three weeks before I left for Russia, I forwarded a large case filled with German Pamphlets to my address to Berdiansk, but, they never arrived, and it is now certain that the Russian Government ceased them, as they came across there line, which I very much regreted, as it deprived me of a great advantage - I have however since, sent a number of Pamphlets to the leading parties by mail which perhaps may reach there destination.-

They have promised to keep me informed of there movements as soon as there deputation returns from St. Petersburg, and I have assured them of rendering them all possible assistance and information.

The long distance from that part of Russia to the Atlantic Ocean will be a matter of great inconvenience to the Emigrants, and I think it will be necessary to send steamers from Liverpool to the Black Sea, as the poorer

classes could not afford the very expensive land voyage - this is however a matter to arrange, when once they have decited to emigrate.-

I was informed by Mr. Jansen (one of the most zealous) that a few days before my arrival there, he had handed to Consul Zehrab a letter addressed to the Governor General of Canada, asking for information -(referring to the report from the Minister of Militia and Defence, dated Ottawa 16th April 1872, 17th section of the Act - respecting the Militia & Defence of the D. of Canada) - what is understood by saying in the above mentioned report "by which they are exempted from Military Service, when balloted in time of peace or war, upon such conditions and such regulatiens as the Government in Council may from time to time prescribe" - this to them a very important question, was put to me for explanation from all sides, and my answer to it was that, the guarantee offert to them in the stated report, grants them full exemption from Military service in time of peace or war, and that the words, "Upon such conditiens and such regulations as the Government in Council may from time to time prescribe" only mean, that in time of war, or through the results of war they can be called upon by the Government to contribute and assist in a pecuniary measure.- Please inform me if I was correct or entitled in giving such an explanation - at the same time I promised to give them a fuller account and explanation upon this, to them, very important point, as soon as I received your reply.-

I received a letter a day or two ago from one of there chief members, whom I met when there, advising me of his intented visit to the north of Germany, where there are a number of Menonites living, which in the event of there emigrating, would, to the greatest part follow there brethren, he proposes to meet me thre, as by that time the deputation to St. Petersburg will have returned.-

I arrived here on the 17th inst. and my delay in writing to you sooner, is caused by the trying visitation, which has since my return befallen me-

the death of my beloved and dutyful wife - I have taken up my mission in Elsass and Lothringen, where apparently the flow of Emigration will soon seace for the present year, but my experience has taught me, that in order to induce intenting Emigrants to go to a country of which they have formerly heard nothing, or very little, it is necessary to bring the advantages endusements of such country before them, some time before there departure, and as there will be a large emigration by next spring from these Provinces, and I am fully convinced that the months of October, November and December are the most suitable for preparing people to choose and select the country for there future home - and as I was drawn from my labour in these Provinces just after I had gained knowledge of locality and had made valuable convictions at the time when you instructed me to proceed to Russia, I think I can fully earn, and doubly overtake and bring to good account the time and money spent during the first months of my labour here.- Should your views be in accordance with mine on this point, you will please give me your instructions.

Sd. Wm. Hespeler, Sp. Em. Agent.

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 10.

Viscount Enfield to the Under Secretary of State.

Copy
(Confidential)

Foreign Office,
November 19th, 1872.

Sir:

With reference to previous correspondence on the subject of the Emigration of German Mennonites from Russia to Canada, I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you confidentially to be laid before H.M.s Secretary of State for the Colonies, a copy of a memorandum by Mr. Zohrab, H.M.s Consul at Berdiansk, asking for instructions as to the attitude which he should observe in regard to this movement when the Russian Govt. have once granted permission to the Mennonites to emigrate, and I am to request that you will move His Lordship to inform Lord Granville what instructions should be given to Mr. Zohrab for his guidance in this matter.-

Sd. Enfield.

The Under Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

MEMORANDUM

Copy
(Confidential)

The Mennonites.

Is their Emigration to Canada to be favourably regarded or discouraged? The Canadian Government are evidently anxious to see them settle in Canada, but as I can only be guided by the views of the Secretary of State, I should like to know confidentially what those views are.

I am well aware that it is of the first importance that I should give no cause for suspicion or offence to the Russian Govt. by encouraging or appearing to encourage by any word or act, the departure of the Mennonites, and I shall not fail to be very careful on these points. My instructions, if I properly understand them are to be quite neutral. Is this neutrality to be so carried out as to discourage the people from going to Canada or is it solely to prove to the Russian Govt. that no British influence is being

exercised to induce the people to quit Russia?-

If the Mennonites are discouraged from going to Canada they will probably proceed to the United States.

The question appears to me to be this: whether the acquisition of a large number of industrious thrifty agriculturists by one of our Colonies is a matter of sufficient importance to make it worth while trying to prevent their being absorbed by the United States.

The necessity of explaining the advantage of going to Canada instead of to the United States, does not at present arise, but it will do so when the departure from Russia is finally decided upon in Council by delegates of the people is reported to the Russian Govt. and is officially permitted by the Russian Govt.

Till then without doubt no action can be taken in the matter, and any expression of opinion or explanation of advantage would be dangerous - But once the departure is decided on & permitted by the Russian Govt. will it be prudent on my part, and will the object be of sufficient importance to use influence to induce them to proceed to Canada - ?

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 11.

No. 8005

Wm. Hespeler
Report of his Mission to Germany & Russia
Waterloo, Ont.
March 1st, 1873.

The Hon. J.H. Pope
Minister of Agriculture
Ottawa

Sir

I beg to submit the following report of my mission to Germany and Russia.

According to instructions received from you in February 1872, I proceeded via London, where on my arrival I introduced myself to Mr. Dixon the chief Emigration Agent in Europe.- At the same time I made an application to the Colonial Office, asking for a letter of introduction to the British Embassy at Berlin, which was furnished to me through the Foreign Office.-

In due course I proceeded to Berlin, where I called upon the British Ambassador Mr. Otto Russell, who gave me a letter of introduction to the Chancellor of the German Empire, Herr Delbruck, which I addressed to him, enclosing an application, stating my mission, and praying for an interview, which was subsequently granted to me.-

At the interview, I asked for permission and concession to enable Canadian Government Emigration Agents to canvass for Emigrants throughout the Empire, but especially in the lately ceded Provinces Alsace and Lauraine. The answer to my request was:- that the Government did not feel inclined to assist Emigration in any shape, and the only concession they could grant, was that, allready given to Agents of Steam Ship Emigration Lines, of which there are Agencies in every town and village in Germany.

Each of these Steamship Agencies are compeled to deposit with the Government a large sum of money as security, for the fulfillment of passage contracts entered into with Emigrants.-

I was also informed that I should meet with no interference as long as

I keep within the jurisdiction of the laws of the country, which in itself forbid the encouragement of there people to Emigrate, or to create a feeling of dissatisfaction with there Country and homes, which destroys the possibility of holding public meetings or canvass the Country,- consequently I found myself restricted to the circulating of Pamphlets and newspaper articles, stating the advantages of our Country.-

Finding myself restricted to a very limited field of operation, I proceeded to Alsace and Lauraine, where on my arrival I called upon Baron Von Moeller, the President of the Provinces, at the request of the Chancellor of the Empire. After stating my Business, the Chancellor took quite an interest in my mission, and promised me every protection, as long as I restricted my labours to those of there subjects, who had expressed themselves desirous of leaving the Provinces,- and such people could only be meet at the Steamship Agent's Offices as they came in, to contract for passages.-

I experienced great difficulty in influencing people to come to Canada, via England to Quebec, as the lines of travel are much more direct from German and French Seaports to New York, Baltimore and New Orleans.-

I made the aquaintance of a large number of influential people, and it is partly due to there assistance that I have from the 15th of June to the 1st of July succeeded in sending 42 Emigrants to Canada, who mostly all went to Montreal, as they were all aquainted with the french language.-

I have reason to be very grateful to Mr. Simmers the German Consul, Toronto, who had kindly given me an official letter, which paved the way to people in authority, and of great service to me. Considering the many disadvantages that I laboured under, I think that I have every reason to look upon my short mission in Germany, as being highly satisfactory.

On the 2nd of July I started for the south of Russia, according to your instructions, and reached Berdiansk on the sea of Azof on the 25th.- On my

arrival I called upon the British Consul Mr. Zehrab, stationed at Berdiansk, who at once refused to receive me in my official capacity, and desired me to keep seperate from him, as a contrary course would bring him in a most difficult position, which he could not assume without Lord Granville's direct orders, also showing me a copy of a letter, that he had written to Lord Granville a few days previous to my arrival, on the receipt of a telegram I had sent to him, advising him of my expected arrival, and inquiries I made of him, regarding the Cholera, which was at the time very prevalent throughout the South of Russia.- In his letter to Lord Granville he stated the impossibility of receiving or assisting me in my mission, as it would bring him in a most dangerous collition with the Russian Authorities. Mr. Zohrab advised me to leave Russia without delay, as I might be arrested before evening, and in such a case, he could not afford me any protection.-

Being in possession of the names of two Mennonites residing in Berdiansk Messrs. Jansen and Buhler, I was determined not to leave the country without having called upon them, and thanks for there many kindnesses bestowed upon me; they gave me the best of information, pointed out how to avoid danger, and showing me how to reach and have intercourse with the Mennonite Colonies, with the least possible risk of being detected by the authorities.-

I consequently left Berdiansk at once, starting in a north westerly direction for the interior, and after a two days journey, accompanied by Mr. Buhler, I reached the first Colony, having travelled over the Stepps and through villages settled by natives living in mud huts, to the number of from two to four thousand souls in each village, but finding that the Cholera was very bad amongst them, and in fear of raising suspicion at the Passport Stations, I in future avoided travelling through these places, and took to the byways. I travelled from Colony to Colony- (in all six) mostly accompanied by one of the Mennonites, calling upon all leading members, and on as many others as was prudent, avoiding suspicion with the authorities.

The number of German Mennonites living in the South of Russia is estimated from eighty to one hundred thousand souls, of which number, it can be fairly counted, that seven eights will eventually emigrate, and the cause of there leaving there present homes, is on account of the Russian Government withdrawing there personal and religious privileges they have hitherto enjoid as Colonists, of which the new obligatory military Service imposed upon all Russian Subjects without exemption is the most effectual.-

A period of ten years has been granted by the Ukase to the German Mennonites, giving them the choice to submit to the changes or leave the country during that time.-

These people began emigrating from Germany to Russia in the year 1800, and from that time there was a yearly immigration up to about 1850.- Each family on entering, was given sixty-five (65) dessatines (175 acres) of land, free of charge, and as they are a hardworking, sober, moral and intelligent people, a great number have accumulated large means, and are owners of from ten to fourteen thousand acres of land, which they apply partly to the growing of grain and stock raising.- They are superior agriculturists, occupy excellent dwellings and have good farm buildings, all erected of brick. In there towns, which excel in order and cleanliness, I found prosperous merchants, manufacturers and mechanics.-

They duly acknowledged the inducements held out to them by the Canadian Government, which you intrusted me to deliver. The assurance of an entire exemption from all military service, the free grant of 160 acres of land to each male adult; and the promise of establishing a line of Steamers to the Black Sea, to afford them a cheap and direct voyage, has secured a strong desire to avail themselves of your offers, and they are now disposed to give Canada the preference over the neighbouring States, should the deputation I invited to visit Canada find the country otherwise advantageous, and I have

no doubt but what an emmense Emigration will flow to this country, consisting possibly of the very best class of immigrants that can come into a new country.-

Before leaving Russia I visited a number of other Colonies in Bessarabia, Cherson and the Crimia, settled by German Lutherans in all, numbering over one hundred thousand souls, but there my movements were harrased by the watchfulness of the Police, and so much so, that I had to restrict my intercourse to a very limited number. I found that these people are equally desirous to emigrate, and with proper facilities for there conveyance to this country, the bulk of these Colonies will in all probability follow the Mennonites.

In the face of the Russian Government refusing the opening of Emigration steam ship offices in there Country, which will render the direct removal of Emigrants from Russian Ports impossible, it will be necessary to establish a central Bureau at some place (neutral Port) on the Black Sea on some such plan as already suggested by me.

Since I left Russia, I have kept up correspondence with several leading Mennonites, and with two of the principal parties living in the last named Colonies, and they state that a general Emigration movement, is on foot, and that they are about electing there deputation, which will come out this Spring to look at the country and that there is no doubt that what the Lutheran Germans will follow the Mennonites.

My impression since leaving Russia is, that if the Delegates are pleased with Manitoba that a large influx of these people will flow in, provited the means of transport is made easy, permanent and direct.

I am weekly expecting letters informing me of there (the Deputation) departure from Russia, and upon there arrival I will advise you.-

Sd. Wm. Hespeler.

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, Manitoba University.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 12.

No. 7389

Bernhard Warkentin
(Mennonite Delegate)
Report on his visit to Manitoba (Translated by W. Wagner)

To the Hon. J.H. Pope,
Minister of Agriculture,
Ottawa.

Sir:

By the report of my friend J.Y. Schantz you will have seen that we have returned from our journey through Manitoba which we have made in company of Mr. Hart and Mr. Wagner and as regards the probability of an emigration of my Russian friends to this Province I beg to say.

Although the winter is a little harder and about four to six weeks longer here than in South Russia I cannot say that this would be a hindrance to accept the offer of the Canadian Government.-

As regards the lands which I have seen I must acknowledge that they are very well adapted for agricultural purposes and in quality are above my expectation. It will be desirable, that when the deputation of my friends next spring will arrive, larger tracts as those which we have seen should be shown to them. The notes which I have taken during our journey I shall send immediately at home.

Sd. Bernhard Warkentin

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 18.

No. 7388

J.Y. Schantz
Report of visit to Manitoba with Mennonite delegate
(Copy made for Govr. General)

Winnipeg, Nov. 28th, 1872.

Honorable J.H. Pope

Dear Sir:

Having now returned from a trip of 200 miles through the Province of Manitoba, to Winnipeg again having been accompanied by the Surveyors Inspector Mr. Hart, who was able to give a great deal information of the Country and also Mr. Wagner, a gentleman who is also well acquainted with the Location of the Country and also with a verry great many of the inhabitants, who takes a verry great interest also in regard of Imigration and welfare of the country. I am astonished to find the Country so much settled, as I did not expect to find near so much Cultivated Land, and the crops were good, this year all Grains are good on an average, vegetables I never saw such in any other Country, Turnips I saw at several places from 15 to 20 pounds a piece. Potatoes, Union, and Mangels, accordingly so that I am convinced that the soil and Climate is good and exceedingly rich and has many advantages for a good Farming Country although it is cold, and a long winter. Mr. Warkentin my Russian friend also likes the country as you will see in his own letter. We are rather slow getting through with our Trip, as we met with much delay when we came to Moorehead in Minisota we was delayed one and a half day waiting for a stage after it came from Brakenrich. The snowstorm came and it took us five days through to Fort Garry were it should have taken only three days, we were stuck in snow banks four times so that we had to shovel a track through. (This was through Decota) when we came to the boundary of Manitoba there was scarcely any snow and at Fort Garry none at all there is about an inch of snow now.

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

After starting in the country from here we had a other delay as we got out thirty miles our carriag broke and the Teamster had to return and get another wich delaid us two days again now we wood start on return to morrow but there is no stage going out until Sunday at best, perhaps later, so we intent to take another trip in the country to morrow and next day.

If we had been one week earlyer the cars yet run down to Redlake River about 100 miles north of Moorhead but they are taken off now for this winter, and the boats had made their last trip on the Red River the week before we got there, Nov. 30th, 4 O'clock, having returned from our trip through the Old Settlement saw some fine farms, and a fine thickly settlement country of the Natives. It is snowing to day not verry cold snow now 3 or 4 inches deep, scarcely sleighing yet, we been out with the carriag but sleigh goes best now. Question, Would you wish that I should make a report, in German. If so write to me to Berlin so that I may know when I come home. I do not know wether it would accomplish any advantage or not. The Germans are scattered all throug the Western State, and these you will find from all parts of Germany, and as they have no knowledge of the Northwest, and if they aare told of it, there is a great Pregidise by their Friend in the states against the country being to Coald, also by a great many against the Government by misrepresentation, another against the Hudson Bay Co. wich I think is an advantage to Setlers. Another against the Natives (Half Bread) wich I also think are an advantage because there is enough land besides their Reserves and just as good, and they are not much of Farmers therefore setlers can get them to work. Another preference we have to the Western States as our good Land extents so much further, and is larger so we also have the advantage of Imigration so much more and longer, another advantage that the setler can get the land werever he wish, and in the States the Railway Co. have from 10 to 20 miles on each side of the Road which they sell according to Location and value from 2 to 10 Dollars per acre and there free grants are always far back.

sd. Jacob Y. Schantz.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 14.

No. 8138 Wm Hespeler
What inducements do Government offer for
Mennonite Immigrants to Manitoba?

Waterloo, April 26th, 1873.

Hon. J.H. Pope
Minister of Agriculture
Ottawa

Dear Sir

I am in receipt of yours of the 21st inst.-

The points I referred to in my last letter regarding the Immigration from Russia, and which according to my judgment should be settled upon, before the arrival of the next Delegation, are consisting of a number of Questions, which the Delegates' already here, have put before me.

The answers as also the inducements, offered by your Government, they expect to receive in shape of a written Document, direct from the Government, confirming the Statements I verbaly delivered to them last summer.

As the next Delegation is coming out via New York, towards the middle or latter part of next Month (May), I think it of the greatest importance, to have such Document ready on there arrival, showing the earnestness of your Government, especially as I expect some 20 families coming out with them, who, as I have every reason to suspect, will also be met on there arrival, by some American Agents, and therefore every effort should be made, to over balance the inducements they can bring before them.- I therefore beg to propose; that you should furnish me with credentials drawn out by you in a manner (signed & sealed) as they are in the habit of seeing such - stating the precise condition the Canadian Gov't has determined upon - and it should be about as follows, stating,

1st The exemption from Military Service.

2nd The reserve of the townships in the Province of Manitoba, as passed by order in Council on the 3rd of March 1873.

3rd The free grant of ¼ Section - 160 Acres to actual settlers, over twenty-one years of age, and the right to purchase ¾ Section additional, from the Government, at the price fixed upon in the Dominion Lands Act-

4th Patents granted for free grants, after having been settled upon for three years and the right to sell again after having fulfilled settlement duties.

5th "The issue of Patent" as Stated in No. 11 - "when parents die without divising" as in No. 12 in Paragraph 33 under homestead rights on free grant lands, Dominion Lands Act.

6th The privilege of exercising there religious principles according to there denomination .also the same, as regarding religious instruction in there schools.

7th Privilege of affirming, in place of making affidavit.

8th Stating the offers your Government is prepaired to make for bringing them out to this country.

In regard to the last question I see serious difficulties - firstly, that the Russian Government will put obstacles in the way to ship the emigrants from there ports direct; secondly, that the shipping from aney of the neighboring neutral ports, may meet with maney obstructions, on account of Cholera which invariably prevails there during the summer months, and which necessitates quarantine to all neutral ports; and should these difficulties not excist, I see that great delays would arise in congregating a sufficient number at a neutral port, to make a full cargo for an Ocean Steamer.- My suggestion would be; to make arrangements with the different Railway Companies, from the black Sea, to one of the German Sea ports, and then offer the Emigrants passage at a fixed reduced rate, from Odessa to Quebec, or better, to Manitoba, providing the Russian Government can be induced to allow such passage tickets to be issued, and I think such a

concession could be obtained, if rightly gone about.- However this question, how to bring them out, ought to be arrived at, and positively stated; there may be questions in connection with this proposition, to which I might be able to give you a fuller explanation if you think favourably of it - at aney rate, the time is very short, as I am advised that the Delegation will leave there homes between the 24th and 28th inst.-

Some of the suggestions that I have recommended to your consideration, may appear unnecessary to you, as the replies to some of them are given in the general Statutes and in the Dominion Lands Act, but knowing the people they are intented to be submitted to, and understanding the value they place in some simple points, I consider it good policy to state the offers in the way I propose, as I know they will be asked for before they leave this country.

S. Wm. Hespeler

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 15.

No. 8753 Mennonite Delegation
Report of their proceedings and stating their views re Settlement in Manitoba.
(Translation) Ottawa, 23 July 1873.

Dear Sir

In accordance with your kind invitation which has been delivered to us through Mr. Hespeler to visit Canada, and in particular the Province of Manitoba, we have done so, and in particular the 8 townships which you have reserved for us for the purpose of settlement.

We beg to say that we have found the said Province to answer for our future homes and, if it is the wish of God, we will, joined by our Colonists, go to Manitoba and make it our future home. Your liberal offers with which you are favouring us, we hope will turn out with the support of God, beneficial to us and equally beneficial to the land of our adoption. We hope by next Spring (1874) to begin with the first immigration; and in the probable number of two hundred families. Should we after the arrival of the first of our Immigrants, think that another location than the present one which you have reserved for us, would suit us better, then we hope that you will exchange the reserve to such parts as we should find preferable, providing such parts should not by that time be taken up by other settlers or by the Railway.

Sd. David Klassen
delegate Heuboden Colony
Jacob Peters
delegate Bergthal Colony
Heinrich Wiebe
delegate Bergthal Colony
Cornelius Toews
delegate Gruenfeld Colony

All in Southern Russia.

The Honorable Minister of Agriculture

Source--Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 16.

COPY
Department of Agriculture
Immigration Branch.

Ottawa, 23rd July, 1873.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour, under the instruction of the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture, to state to you in reply to your letter of this day's date the following facts relating to advantages offered to Mennonites, which are established by the Statute Law of Canada, and by Order of his Excellence Governor General in Council, for the information of German Mennonites having intention to emigrate to Canada via Hamburg;

1. An entire exemption from any military service is by Law and Order in Council granted to the denomination of Christians called "Mennonites."

2. An Order in Council was passed on the 3rd March last, to reserve eight Townships in the Province of Manitoba for free grants on the condition of Settlement as provided in the Dominion Lands Act, that is to say; "Any person who is the head of a family, or has attained the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to be entered for one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof."

3. The said reserve of eight Townships is for the exclusive use of the Mennonites and the said free grants of one quarter section to consist of 160 acres each, as defined by the Act.

4. Should the Mennonite Settlement extend beyond the eight Townships set aside by the Order in Council of March 3rd last, other Townships will be in the same way reserved to meet the full requirements of the Mennonite Immigration.

5. If, next Spring, the Mennonite settlers, on receiving the eight Townships set aside for use, should prefer to exchange them for any other eight, unoccupied Townships, such exchange will be allowed.

6. In addition to the free grant of a ¼ section or 160 acres to every person over 21 years of age on the condition of settlement, the right to purchase the remaining ¾ of the section at $1.00 per acre, which is the largest quantity of land the Government will grant a patent for one person.

7. The settler will receive a patent for free grant, after three years residence in accordance with the terms of the Dominion Lands Act.

8. In the event of the death of the settler, the lawful heirs can claim the patent for the free grant, upon proof that settlement duties for three years have been performed.

9. From the moment of occupation the settler acquires a homestead right in the land.

10. The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, is by law afforded to the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privileges to education of their children in schools.

11. The privilege of affirming instead of making affidavits is afforded by law.

12. The Government of Canada undertakes to furnish passenger warrants from Hamburg to Fort Garry for Mennonite families of good character for the sum of $30.00 per adult person; under eight years, half price or $15.00 and for infants under one year $3.00.

13. The Minister especially authorized me to state that this arrangement as to price, shall not be changed for the seasons, 1874, 1875 and 1876.

14. I am further to state that if it is changed thereafter, the price shall not up to the years 1882, exceed $40.00 per adult, and children in proportion, subject to the approval of Parliament.

15. The Immigrants will be provided with provisions on the portion of the

And due to the influence and interference of Her late Majesty, the beloved Queen Victoria of England, the Russian Government granted our fathers a respite of ten years to wind up our affairs there and to carry out the difficult task of the emigration of our people.

Your Petitioners respectfully pray and confidently trust that the Governments of Canada and Manitoba will grant to our people the same privilege and liberty which the Russian Government shows towards our fathers.

ALL OF WHICH IS RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED.

Abraham Doerksen,
Johann K. Dueck.
Lor. Friesen,
Johan W. Swatzky,
Peter Dyck,
Abram Friesen,
Jacob Schroeder,
David Friesen,
Peter W. Dueck,
David M. Stoesz,
Johann Schroeder, Sr.
Johann Schroeder, Jr.
Wm. Friesen,
Gor. Stoeczy,
Abr. E. Giesbrecht,
Peter Toews,
T. Stoesz,
H.J. Friesen,
Heinrich Doerksen,
C.T. Friesen,

Source--Department of Education, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 16 (a).

COPY

Dept. of Agriculture, Ottawa,
Aug. 5th, 1873.

An'r sent
Have no word of Mr. Jansen's arrival
sd. J.L. Sec'y D.A.

P.C. 957

(Copied from Dept. of Agriculture files)

Certified copy of a report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 13th August, 1873.

"The Committees of Council have had under consideration the annexed memorandum dated July 28th, 1873, from the Honourable the Minister of Agriculture, stating that he has made an arrangement with certain delegates from the Mennonites settled in South Russia in view of their formal announcement to him of their intention to settle, together with the Mennonite colonists whom they represent, in the province of Manitoba, and submitting for Your Excellency's approval the terms of the said arrangement as set forth in the said annexed memorandum.

The Committee advise that the arrangement so made be sanctioned

Sd. Rodolphe Boudreau
Clerk of the Privy Council

(SECRET)

The undersigned has the honour to report that he has made an arrangement with the following named delegates from the Mennonites settled in South Russia, in view of their announcement to him in their joint letter of the 23rd July, instant, of their intention to settle together with the Mennonite colonists whom they represent, in the province of Manitoba: David Klaasen, delegate of the Heuboden colony, Jacob Peters, delegate of the Bergthal colony, Heinrich Wiebe, delegate of the Bergthal colony, Cornelius Toews, delegate of the Gruenfeld colony:-

The arrangement made is to the following effect:-

1st. That an entire exemption from any military service, as is provided by Law and Order in Council, will be granted to the denomination of Christians

called Mennonites.

2nd. That eight Townships will be reserved, under the Order in Council passed on the 3rd March last, in the province of Manitoba, for free grants on conditions of settlement, as is provided in the Dominion Lands Act, that is to say: "any person who is the head of a family or has attained the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to be entered for one-quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands, for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof".

3rd. The said reserve of eight townships to be for the exclusive use of the Mennonite settlers, and the free grants of one-quarter section to consist of 160 acres as provided by the Act.

4th. That should the Mennonite settlement extend beyond the eight townships set aside by the Order in Council of 3rd March last, other townships will be reserved to meet the full requirements of Mennonite Immigration.

5th. If next spring the Mennonite settlers, on viewing the eight townships set aside for their use, should prefer to exchange them for any other eight townships unoccupied, such exchange will be allowed.

6th. That, in addition to the free grant of one-quarter section to every person over 21 years of age, on condition of settlement, the right to purchase the remaining three-quarters of the section at one dollar per acre is granted as provided by law, so as to complete the whole section.

7th. That the Mennonite settler, will receive a patent for a free grant after three years' residence, in accordance with the terms of the Dominions Lands Act.

8th. That, in the event of the death of the settler, the lawful heirs can claim the patent for the free grant, upon proof that settlement duties for three years have been performed.

9th. That from the moment of occupation the settlers acquire a "Homestead Right" in the land.

10th. That the Mennonites will have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever.

11th. That they will have the privilege of affirming, instead of making affidavit, as is provided by law.

12th. That the Government of Canada will undertake to furnish Passenger Warrants from Hamburg to Fort Garry for Mennonite families of good character for the sum of $30. for every person over the age of eight years, half price, or $15, for persons under the age of eight years, and for infants under one year, $3.

13th. That the arrangement as to price shall not be changed during the seasons of 1874, 1875, and 1876.

14th. That, if such arrangement is changed after the year 1876, the price shall not, subject to the approval of Parliament, for a period to extend to the year 1882, exceed $40 per adult, and for children in proportion.

15th. That the immigrants shall be provided with provisions during the portion of the journey between Liverpool and Collingwood, but that during other portions of the journey they are to find their own provisions".

He respectfully recommends that the arrangements as hereinbefore recited with the Mennonite delegates be concurred in.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Sgd. J.H. Pope
Minister of Agriculture.

Department of Agriculture,
Ottawa, 28th July, 1873.

Source--A. Willows' Thesis on the Mennonites, University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 17.

COPY

To the Government of the Province of Manitoba;

The Petition of the members of the CHORTITZ COMMUNITY OF THE MENONITE CHURCH Niverville District, Manitoba, respectfully shewth that;-

1. This Community was established more than forty-five (45) years ago in pursuance of an arrangement made with the Government of Canada, which granted to the Menonites "The privilege of religious schools of their own".

2. From the foundation of this Community until the latter part of 1919, the education of the children was carried on in religious or private schools exclusively. These schools it is submitted, were and are strictly within the spirit, if not the letter of the above mentioned arrangement. It is further submitted that in these schools there have been maintained, standards of education which have heretofore protected the material welfare of the children in a reasonable manner, and which, until recent years, were acceptable to the Government of this Province.

3. As a matter of conscience, your Petitioners cannot delegate to other the all important responsibility of educating their children, convinced as they are, that instruction in other than religious schools would result in the weakening and even loss of faith, and would be generally detrimental to the moral and spiritual welfare of the children.

4. The aims of the Government of the Province, and of the Department of Education in particular, with regard to efficient instruction in the English language and to general standards of Education, not alone in public schools, but in all private schools as well, while understood and accepted with approval by many of your Petitioners for some time past have not until quite recently, been either understood or appreciated by others of your Petitioners. However, a campaign carried on throughout the Community during the past few months with a view to bringing about a better understanding of your desires, and the motives thereof, in regard to education, has resulted in the elimination, in practically all quarters, of doubt and suspicion, has brought about a

much truer understanding and appreciation of your aims and has inspired a feeling of confidence and security without which real and effective co-operation would be impossible. Your Petitioners desire it to be understood therefore, that with some few exceptions, the members of this Community are now wholly in accord with the policy of the Government in regard to the teaching of English and also in regard to general standards of education. Your Petitioners further wish it to be known that they have never desired to oppose or evade the law, their only purpose being to maintain their just liberties and to respec the law.

5. It has been assumed by your Petitioners that the sole question of importance is reaching and maintaining proper standards of instruction and education. It has further been assumed that the place of instruction is not a matter of importance to your Government; That so long as proper standards are maintained, it matters not whether the instruction is carried on in the home, in private schools or in public schools. Your Petitioners are convinced that the aims of the Government can be accomplished, and the desires of the Community carried into effect, by continuing the education of the Children in the present private schools, by retaining teachers of the Mennonite faith, but requiring these teachers to qualify for Normal school certificates, and by bringing into effect higher standards of education and more efficient instruction in English. In short, it is proposed to commence at once to bring these private schools up to public school standards in every respect within the shortest possible time. Public school standards maintained to the satisfaction of the Department of Education in many private schools in the Province. What has been accomplished in these schools, can be accomplished in ours. The determination of practically our whole community to remove all cause for dissatisfaction and complaint, is a guarantee of success.

6. Your Petitioners hereby undertake to give complete and whole-hearted co-operation to the Department of Education in the work of

(a) Introducing immediately in all our private schools, the widest and most complete use of and instruction in the English language, and the highest standards of education which it is possible to attain under our Menonite teachers with their present qualifications.

(b) Making provision by which all our teachers shall continue their education and shall attain Normal School standing with the minimum of delay.

(c) Making a systematic effort to attract to the teaching profession, those of our students who appear best qualified for this vocation and assisting them to attain Normal School standing.

(d) Endeavoring in every way possible to cause all our schools, within the shortest possible time, to afford an education at least equal to the standard of public schools of the Province.

(e) To facilitate, as frequently as may be desired, an enquiry by the Department of Education into the qualifications of the teachers and the standards of education of our schools.

(f) Generally, placing our schools beyond just criticism.

YOUR PETITIONERS THEREFORE PRAY, that the foregoing undertaking may meet with your approval and that they may receive the same hearty co-operation from the Government which it is their intention to accord to it in overcoming the existing difficulties.

AND YOUR PETITIONERS WILL EVER PRAY.

DATED this 13th day of January, A.D. 1920.

Signed on behalf of the members of the Chortitz Community of the Menonite Church, Niverville district, Manitoba, by;-

Johann K. Driver,	C. Friesen,
Peter Giesbrecht,	Mr. E. Giesbrecht,
Peter K. Toews	Johon W. Sawatzky,
Heinrich Friesen,	David Friesen,
Heinrich Doerksen,	Diedrich Wiebe.

Source--Department of Education, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus". II Tim. chap. 3, 15.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 18.

COPY

October 14, 1921.

P E T I T I O N.

RESPECTFULLY submitted to the GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA by the Sommerfeld Congregation, Altona District, and the Chortitz Congregation, Niverville District;-

Your Petitioners of the above named congregations have passed a resolution with reference to our schools, according to which we beg to place once more our grievances and our request before the Provincial Government.

1. On January 13th 1920 the Petitioners of the Chortitz Congregation of the Niverville District have petitioned the Provincial Government and have stated in part 3 of said petition as follows;

"As a matter of conscience, your Petitioners cannot delegate to others the all important responsibility of educating their children, convinced as they are, that instruction in other than religious schools would result in the weakening and even loss of faith, and would be generally detrimental to the moral and spiritual welfare of the children".

Your Petitioners as Christians, called Mennonites, solemnly believe that the instruction and education of their children in the schools form the first educational institution and general foundation for the Kingdom of God .. 1st Cor. Chap.3, 11 and Psalms chap. 78, 608.

The great command of our Lord Jesus Christ is;- "But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you"; Matth. chap. 6, 33. "And ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord". Eph. chap. 6,4.

The gospel as we understand it does not permit us to neglect our children without culpable consequences, but it teaches us that it is useful when our children know the holy writ from their earliest childhood, "which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus". II Tim. chap. 3, 15.

Our fathers have always taken a very decided stand on this question, as a biblical foundation, The command of holy Isaiah chap. 45, 11, was holy to them above everything -- and we interpret it to this day in the same way as our fathers did.

II. Ever since we immigrated into Manitoba we have always clung to the promise of the Ottawa Government in our privileges of the year 1873, because, as we understood it, it granted us the right to maintain our own schools without limitation or molestation. The new school law of the year 1916 meant a new decree also for the Mennonite schools, the promise of Ottawa being entirely set aside. This fact creates a serious situation for your Petitioners on account of their faith. If we are entirely deprived of Christian religious instruction in our schools, we as Mennonite congregations cease to exist, because we know that the church will become what the school is. And if the restrictions and the pressure under which the Mennonites at present suffer, continue, we shall be compelled to seek another home, where we and our children may live according to our faith.

III. But we would leave Manitoba with a heavy heart, because we love our homes here which, through the providence of God, had become to us a refuge and a sanctuary and where we under the protection and the good will of the Provincial Government have enjoyed so much good for which we thank God and the Government.

On behalf of the congregations your Petitioners pray that your Government be considerate towards those of our people who may wish to emigrate, to assist them in their difficult object and not to cause them to do anything which may be against their conscience.

The emigration of our fathers from Russia involved very heavy sacrifices. At that time the Lord, His mercy and grace and the good will of the Canadian Government assisted our fathers to carry through their difficult problem.

And due to the influence and interference of Her late Majesty, the beloved Queen Victoria of England, the Russian Government granted our fathers a respite of ten years to wind up our affairs there and to carry out the difficult task of the emigration of our people.

Your Petitioners respectfully pray and confidently trust that the Governments of Canada and Manitoba will grant to our people the same privilege and liberty which the Russian Government shows towards our fathers.

ALL OF WHICH IS RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED.

Abraham Doerksen,
Johann K. Dueck.
Lor. Friesen,
Johan W. Swatzky,
Peter Dyck,
Abram Friesen,
Jacob Schroeder,
David Friesen,
Peter W. Dueck,
David M. Stoesz,
Johann Schroeder, Sr.
Johann Schroeder, Jr.
Wm. Friesen,
Gor. Stoeczy,
Abr. E. Giesbrecht,
Peter Toews,
T. Stoesz,
H.J. Friesen,
Heinrich Doerksen,
C.T. Friesen,

Source--Department of Education, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 19.

Following is a copy of the letter directed by Vicente Guerrero, of the State of Durango, to the Old Colony Mennonites.

Jacob Loewen, Julius Loewen and members, Klaas Heide, Bernard Penner and Abraham Klaassen, Esq.:

Here:

In answer to your presentation of June 30th, 1921, I have the honor to inform you that the government of the State of Durango has no doubt but that the privileges asked for the members of the deputation of your church will be acknowledged in case you settle in this state and devote yourselves to the agricultural industry, as those privileges are not contrary to the general constitution of the republic; consequently and with the direction of the legal governor of the state for the information of yourselves and the members of the deputation to which you belong, I wish to state: First--In rendering of military services from you, nor in any case to deliver an oath;

Secondly--The members of your church will in any case enjoy the most far-reaching privileges to exercise their religious principles within their churches, without any restrictions or molestations whatsoever;

Thirdly--You are further expressly authorized to organize schools as you think fit, and therein to educate your children in such a way as you think will be most efficient and fitting, with the assurance that the government will not hinder the course of your schools; and in conclusion, with regard to the handling and managing of property and the interest of widows and orphans which you mentioned, I wish to inform you that the laws of our country are so liberal that you are at full liberty to control over your property (no matter what it may consist of) according to the system you may adopt of your own free will.

In addition to what I have said before, I can inform you that the state government will render all facilities and assistance within their power, to the members of your congregation for she appreciates in the highest degree the honesty, diligence and industriousness which the new inhabitants of this state shall bring with them.

I assure you my fullest and most far-reaching esteem.

Sufragio effectivo--No reeleccion,

Victoria De Durango, July 8th, 1921.

El Secretario Int., Del Despacho.

Signed,

Vicente Guerrero.

Source--Free Press Evening Bulletin, Winnipeg, September 17th, 1921.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 20.

A petition of the Mennonite Delegation to the Government at Ottawa, in regard to military service. January 8th, 1917.

As our people, the Mennonites of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, are somewhat uncertain regarding our relation to military service, we were requested at different meetings to go to Ottawa in order to get definite information relating to questions that agitate the minds of our people.

We were induced to take this step by the fact that conflicting reports and letters reached us from men in authority. Also through the registration cards that we received. We are not quite clear as to their real significance. Our people would like to get clear on points that have always been so very important to them.

The honorable gentlemen will kindly pardon us if we very briefly refer to the history of our people in order to show how much in earnest they have always been regarding the question of rendering military service.

The Gospel as we understand it does not allow us to shed blood or participate in war. The Mennonites always took a very decided stand regarding this question and we now take the same stand as our fathers before us.

It was under pressure like this question that our ancestors migrated from Holland to Germany in the sixteenth century. They were promised free exercise of their religion in the latter country. In the latter part of the eighteenth century however this privilege was revoked and the Mennonites were to be compelled to do military service. Russia then offered freedom from service in the army and our people without hesitation left their homes in Germany and went to those foreign lands

and joyfully did their share in helping to transform the wildernesses of the Russian steppes into habitable abodes. They did everything in their power for the country which offered them a home and the free exercise of their religion. After about a hundred years Russia also revoked the privilege given to the Mennonites. Again they were called upon to serve in the army and again they looked around for a country where they might serve God according to the dictates of their own conscience. They looked to America, the land of liberty. Some also thought of Asia and afterwards migrated to the uninviting plains of Russian Asia.

It was during these critical times when a delegate from the Canadian Government, Mr. Wm. Hespeler, came to Russia and invited our fathers to make their homes on the virgin plains of western Canada. A deputation was sent out in the year 1873 and when they came back and gave their report a great number of our people resolved to emigrate to America. Many of them went to the United States because of more favorable climatic conditions, thinking the system prevailing there offered a sufficient guarantee for freedom from military service. A good percentage went to Canada. What made them decide for Canada was the definite promise which we received that we would never be drawn into military service. The following sentences are taken out of the written document dated July 23rd, 1873, and signed by the Minister of Agriculture as an inducement to come to Canada:-

1. An entire exemption from any Military Service is by law and Order in Council granted to the denomination of Christians called Mennonites."

10. "The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is afforded to the Mennonites without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever; and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools."

A portion of a report of a committee of the Honorable the Privy Council approved by His Excellency, the Governor General in Council on the 25th September, 1872, reads as follows;

"That--the Mennonites are absolutely free and exempted by the law of Canada from military duty or service, either in time of peace or war.

"That the Governor General in Council cannot prescribe any conditions or regulations under which, under any circumstances, the persons referred to in the above quoted section can be compelled to do any military service."

It was in 1877 on the 21st of August when His Excellency, the Governor General, Lord Dufferin, paid a visit to these pioneers of the Red River Valley. Our people had under very discouraging conditions worked hard to cultivate the soil. Attempts were being made to induce our people to leave for the United States. In the memorable address of Lord Dufferin to these settlers, the following passages will always live in their memory:

"You have come to a country where the people with whom you are associated are engaged in a great battle"-------The enemies in this battle are not human beings"------"The battle to which we invite you is the battle against the wilderness"-------"You will not be required to shed human blood"------- "You have come, seeking for peace and peace at least we can promise you."

We have conscientiously tried to help to cultivate the plains of southern Manitoba and we did our share in cultivating the soil of Saskatchewan and Alberta. We have tried to fulfil our part of the contract and we sincerely trust that what we were so generously promised will not be taken away from us.

A further consideration that leads us to petition you, honorable gentlemen, is the circumstance that many of our brethern in Russia will be looking for new homes after the war is over. Many private letters tell us this. We earnestly petition you also in their behalf, to continue to allow us the free exercise of our religious principles. On our part we will do all we can to help them when the time comes. Preliminary steps have already been taken to help them when we will be permitted to do so.

In conclusion we would assure you of our unflinching loyalty to the land that we love as our home. We wish to express our gratitude for the consideration which we were shown up to the present and we sincerely trust that also in the future we will be free from military service.

If now, you honorable gentlemen, would kindly consent to give us of the continued exemption from military service you would ever oblige your humble petitioners,

the Mennonites of Canada.

Source--Wichtige Dokumente betreffs der Wehrfreiheit der Mennoniten in Canada, 1917. Gedruckt in B. Ewerts Druckerei, Gretna, Man.

APPENDIX LETTER NO. 21.

Written reply to the Petition of the Mennonite Delegation, given in Appendix letter No. 20.

Ottawa,
8th January, 1917.

Dear Sirs:

Referring to your interview this morning with the Honourable Robert Rogers, and Colonel Clark, Under Secretary of State for Internal Affairs, representing the Federal Government and myself. I now have to confirm in writing the statements that were then verbally made to you.

1. The terms of the Order-in-Council under which the Mennonites settled in Canada, guarantee their freedom from Military Service. Canada will respect to the utmost its obligations under that Order-in-Council.

2. Members of the Mennonite communion are requested to fill in correctly and return promptly National Service Cards, and it is suggested that they should write across the face of each card the word "Mennonite" as indicating their religious faith. It is unnecessary to explain in detail why these cards should be returned. In general it is sufficient to observe that it is important that the State should have the fullest possible information as to the number of men between the ages of 16 and 65, who, by reason of their religious obligations, are available only for agricultural and industrial work.

3. Every member of the Mennonite communion is expected, in fact it is his duty, to devote his energies to the utmost of his ability in increasing the production of agricultural products in Western Canada during the present year. In that way he can render National Service, which while not essential to the success of our cause, is as important as military service, for the reason that armies cannot exist without food.

4. In event of any member of the Mennonite communion having joined an overseas battalion under misapprehension or otherwise, and desiring to be released, if he will make an application to the colonel of his battalion, stating that he is a Mennonite, and desires to be discharged, immediate action will be taken to that end. The application must be made in writing and signed by the applicant himself. Application on his behalf by another person will not be sufficient. While Mennonites are free from Military Service, there is, of course, nothing to prevent any member of the communion from becoming a volunteer if he so desires.

I think I have covered the questions submitted.

Yours faithfully,

Sgd. R.B. Bennet.

Director General of National Service.

Rev. Abraham Doerksen,
Rev. Heinrich Doerksen,
Rev. David Toews,
Mr. Klaas Peters,
Rev. Benjamin Ewert,
Representatives of Mennonite Settlers, Western Canada.

Source--Wichtige Dokumente betreffs der Wehrfreiheit der Mennoniten in Canada, 1917. Gedruckt in B. Ewerts Druckerei, Gretna, Man.

Settlements of Mennonites,[1]

who immigrated from Russia to Canada
in 1923 - 1933.

O N T A R I O .

Districts	Number of families.
Cottam	20
Guelph	8
Harrow	10
Hespeler	20
Kingsville	24
Kitchener	150
Leamington	127
New Hamburg	35
Port Rowan	27
Point Pelee	7
Pelee Island	18
Petersburg	9
Ruthven	39
Reesor	73
Stratford	11
Vineland	99
Windsor	12
Wheatley	16
Waterloo	77

1. Source--Statistics given for the following provinces were obtained from the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, Rosthern, Saskatchewan.

Settlements of Mennonites,

who immigrated from Russia to Canada
in 1923 - 1933.

M A N I T O B A

Districts.	Number of families.
Altona	44
Arnaud	84
Alexander	31
Brookdale) Moorepark)	14
Brunkild	3
Blumenfeld-Haskett	6
Blumenort - P.O. Gretna	12
Burwalde - P.O. Steinbach	15
Brandon	12
Buller	3
Beulah	2
Bannermann	1
Boisejour	1
Boissevain	22
Barkfield	17
Carman	6
P.O. Chortitz	49
Chortitz - P.O. Winkler	15
Culross	18
Crystal City & Clearwater	17
Croll	6
Carrol	5
Dominion City	6
Darlingford	2
Dugald	1
Elva	3
Elgin	3
Eichenfeld, P.O. Haskett	5
Elie	10
Elkhorn	4
Elm Creek	15
Foxwarren	23
Fannystelle	14
Fork River	16

MANITOBA

Districts.	Number of families.
Gretna	16
Gnadental, P.O. Plum Coulee	40
Gruenthal	41
Gnadenfeld, P.O. Gruenthal	16
Gridwold	13
Glenlea, St. Agathe & Howden	19
Glencross	1
Grande Pointe	3
Goodlands	1
Giroux- St. Anne	1
Headingly	13
Highbluff	5
Horndean	11
Hochfeld	20
Holmfield	13
Halbstadt	4
Killarney	21
Kleefeld	6
Kenton	5
Kelwood	3
Lena	35
La Salle	30
Landmark	6
Lowe Farm	7
Margaret	13
Manitou	50
McAuley	23
Morden	42
Marquette	12
Meadows	8
Myrtle	16
Morris	17
Mather	12
Melita	17
Mountainside	11
Neuenburg	5
Neuhorst	5
Niverville	67
Newton Siding	25
Osterwick	8
Osborne	10
Oak Bluff	15
Oak Lake	31

M A N I T O B A

Districts.	Number of families.
Pigeon Lake	13
Plum Coulee	12
Portage La Prairie	4
Reinland	12
Roseisle	7
Reinfeld - P.O. Winkler	10
Rivers	11
Rapid City	10
Rosenort	10
Rosenfeld	17
Rosengard	20
St. Elisabeth	25
Springstein	17
Schoenwiese	10
St. Anne	19
Steinbach	64
Starbuck	18
Sperling	16
Stuartborn	4
Spenser	13
Stonewall	9
Whitewater	50
Winnipeg	93
Winkler	86

Settlements of Mennonites,

who immigrated from Russia to Canada
in 1923 - 1933.

S A S K A T C H E W A N .

Districts	Number of families.
Aberdeen	32
Annaheim	5
Ardath	3
Allan	2
Abernethy	2
Beechy	38
Blumenhof	27
Borden	15
Brederick	4
Braddock	6
Balgonie	7
Bredenbury	2
Beverley	3
Blaine Lake	2
Bruno	1
Biggar	2
Bournemouth	19
Colonsay	16
Central Butte	7
Cabri	12
Carnduff	4
Carrot River	2
Cactus Lake	8
Dundurn	56
Dalmeny	22
Drake	78
Duff.	6
Dafoe	4
Davidson	8
Eyebrow	50
Elbow	12
Eastbrook	10
Fiske	22
Flowing Well	11
Fleming	8
Foam Lake	10
Fairholme	21

S A S K A T C H E W A N .

Districts.	Number of families.
Guernsey	25
Gouldtown	8
Gilroy	28
Glenbush	43
Gull Lake	19
Humboldt	10
Hague	44
Hanley	45
Herschel	41
Herbert	66
Hepburn	60
Harris	10
Hillsley	3
Indian Head	6
Jansen	8
Kelstern	11
Laird	41
Langham	25
Lucky Lake	8
Lockwood	8
Lost River	18
Lanigan	10
Luseland	6
Main Centre	21
Mayfair	26
Mullingar	25
Mc Mahon	13
Macklin	10
Mennon	4
Neidpath	5
Osler	34
Osage	7
Rosthern	81
Rush Lake	24
Regina	14
Rabbit Lake	57

S A S K A T C H E W A N .

Districts.	Number of families.
Saskatoon	65
Swift Current	33
Springwater	18
Superb	17
Truax	16
Tomkins	5
Viscount	5
Waldheim	55
Watrous	45
Wymark	17

Settlements of Mennonites,

who immigrated from Russia to Canada
in 1923 - 1933.

A L B E R T A .

Districts	Number of families.
Acme	17
Beaverlodge	22
Coaldale	196
Crowfoot	20
Chinook	26
Carstairs	18
Castor	15
Coronation & Hilda	5
Calgary	16
Countess	27
Cowley	5
Didsbury	23
East Coulee	6
Grassy Lake	16
Gem	49
Glenwoodville	5
Hussar	10
Hythe	24
Lacombe	4
La Glace	23
Munson	7
Macleod	5
New Brigden	39
Namaka	42
Olds	7
Provost	32

A L B E R T A .

Districts	Number of families.
Rosedale	7
Rosemary	70
Sunny Slope	11
Swalwell	7
Stavely	10
Springridge	11
Tofield	16
Wembley	28
Willow Creek	4

Settlements of Mennonites,

who immigrated from Russia to Canada
in 1923 - 1933.

B R I T I S H C O L U M B I A .

Districts	Number of families.
Abbotsford	18
Agassiz	9
Huntingdon	8
Pitt - Meadows	8
Sardis	82
Vancouver	11
Yarrow	112

Census Giving Number of Mennonites (including Hutterites) in Canada, 1931.

Province	Mennonites including Hutterites
Prince Edward Island	2
Nova Scotia	1
New Brunswick	-
Quebec	8
Ontario	17,661
Manitoba	30,352
Saskatchewan	31,338
Alberta	8,289
British Columbia	1,085
Yukon	-
Northwest Territories	-
Total in Canada	88,736

This table does not agree with the statistics gathered by Mr. Benjamin Ewert previously given in Table 1. This is due to the inclusion of the Hutterites in the above figures. It may also be due in part to Mr. Ewert's inability to get complete returns from all Mennonite sections in Canada.

Source--Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

A Description of the First Reaction of the Conservative Mennonites to the Appointment of a Mennonite School Inspector as Given by Nevekampus.

A Meeting of the Village Fathers.

Place-- Somewhere Near the American Boundary.

Time-- About 1896.

A Neighbor-- Superintendent, I suppose the discussion has ended?

Supt.-- I think it has.

Second Neighbor, (Turning to the Supt.)-- I believe you mentioned certain school matters to-day, didn't you?

Supt.-- O yes! I had almost forgotten.

A Third Neighbor-- What has come up in this regard?

Supt.-- The Government wishes to appoint a School Inspector to look after our schools.

Several Voices, (In unison) -- The Government? Our Schools?

Supt.-- The Government has sent us a letter. I cannot read English very well. If I understand correctly, they ask us if we would have some person to suggest.

An Old Neighbor-- We do not wish to have an Inspector. Our schools are good enough.

A Younger Neighbor-- I believe it would be well if we could have some English in our schools.

Several Voices-- What? English?

Other Younger Neighbors-- Why not? We should know how to read and write English. That is necessary. Who now can really decipher the Government letter t hat has been sent to us?

An Older Person-- That is entirely unnecessary. Our schools are private schools and the Government has nothing to say to them, (to the Supt.) You can write that to the authorities.

A Voice from the Rear-- No, he must not be allowed to do that. We must treat the Government with respect.

A Neighbor-- Have they not promised religious freedom to us?

Another Neighbor-- Is the Government attacking our religion?

The Previous Speaker-- It amounts to that. If they first gain control of our schools, then it won't be long before they tell us what to believe.

Another-- But we are in Canada and not in Russia. For twenty years we have had no reason to complain. Should we now become suspicious? Is that the way we would express our thankfulness.

An Older Person-- We also got along well in Russia for a long time until the Government interfered. Then everything was at an end.

A Younger Person-- Have things then turned out so badly in Russia? It seems that the Mennonites there are not sorry that they have re - mained. They are getting along very well according to what they write.

The Older Person-- Do you know that there they are already teaching Russian in their schools.

The Younger Neighbor-- Yes, but the Mennonites themselves regard it as necessary. They say: In Russia one must know how to speak Russian.

A Voice from the Rear-- And in Canada one must know how to speak Canadian, that is English.

An Older Person-- That shows the new spirit. Beware of such suggestions. That is the beginning of the end. For twenty years we have not learned English and were happy without it. But to-day many are getting along too well. They are becoming proud. The younger men know better than their elders, the things that ought to be done.

Another Older Person-- The Bible has been written in German, why then should we have to learn English. My children at least shall not do so.

A Third Elderly Person--Neither shall mine.

A Voice from the Rear-- Supt., does the letter speak of the introduction of the English language into our schools.

The Supt.-- I cannot understand it very well. As far as I understand it speaks about the appointment of a school supervisor. Perhaps some- body else can read the writing more intelligently than I can?

-Braun, you try and read the letter.

Braun-- I cannot read English. Let Rempel read it to us.

Rempel-- Neither can I read it.

Supt.-- Who can translate the letter?

(all are silent-- finally the silence is broken)

Several Voices-- Braun you can do so.

Braun-- No.

Voices -- Yes you can. Just try. We know you can do it.

Supt.,(handing the letter to him)-- Take it.

Braun-- See, now you need some one that knows English. But you do not wish to have our children learn the language. I have not learned the little English that I know in school. (He takes the Government letter and studies it for a long time). The others wait for some time. Since he does not say anything for a considerable time they begin to speak quietly to each other, which finally grows into a loud murmuring.

Supt.-- Neighbors, let Braun speak!

Braun-- There is no mention of the introduction of the English language in the letter. It seems to me the letter speaks only of the appointment of a school supervisor.

Several Voices-- We have school supervisors. They are, our ministers.

Braun-- Yes, but it is supposed to be a man who knows more about school matters.

An Older Person-- There we have it! One who knows more! What does that mean? Innovations? Does it not? These we certainly do not wish to have. We are to have nothing in common with the world. If the school teaches the Scripture; what more do we want?

A Younger Person-- But we do not understand the Bible well enough. One could perhaps learn to know it better. There are men who have made

a special study of the Bible. I heard some one in the States, who had not studied in vain. When he spoke, I believed, that all of us really knew very little of the Bible, and that we really know our language very imperfectly.

Another-- Yes it is true: We not only do not know English, but we also do not know German. If someone is chosen to act as a minister, does he not always make the excuse, that he does not know high German well enough? Neighbors, you always find my ideas too severe and harsh, but is it not true; we really know neither German nor English; we can only grow wheat. But man does not live by bread alone.

Supt.-- Whom do we wish to suggest to the Government as school superviser?

Another-- I do not know of any one among us. None of us can converse with the Government about these matters. There is also no one among the teachers, who can tell the Government, how they can improve their teaching.

A Voice-- Oh! (all laugh)

The Previous Speaker-- Perhaps you can do so, Kasdorf?

Supt.-- Shall I write the Government that we have no one to suggest. -(general silence).

An Older Person-- (breaks the silence) Write them, we need no superviser, (he stands up and goes out.) One after the other gets up and leaves the room. Finally only three men and the Supterintendent remain.

One of Them-- Supt! What is to be done with the schools? What are you going to write the Government?

Supt.-- I think, all wished me to say, that we needed no Supervisor.

The First-- So? You did not ask for a vote.

Supt.-- Were they not all in favour of this?

The First Speaker-- Not I. Perhaps others were also opposed.

Supt.-- You have said nothing.

First Speaker-- No, I wished to express my opinion by voting against it.

Supt.(turning to the other two, who are quietly speaking to each other)-- Was the thing not settled?

One of the Two-- Which thing?

The Former-- O, you are still speaking about the school matter. Yes, how did the matter stand?

First Speaker-- We should have voted on the matter.

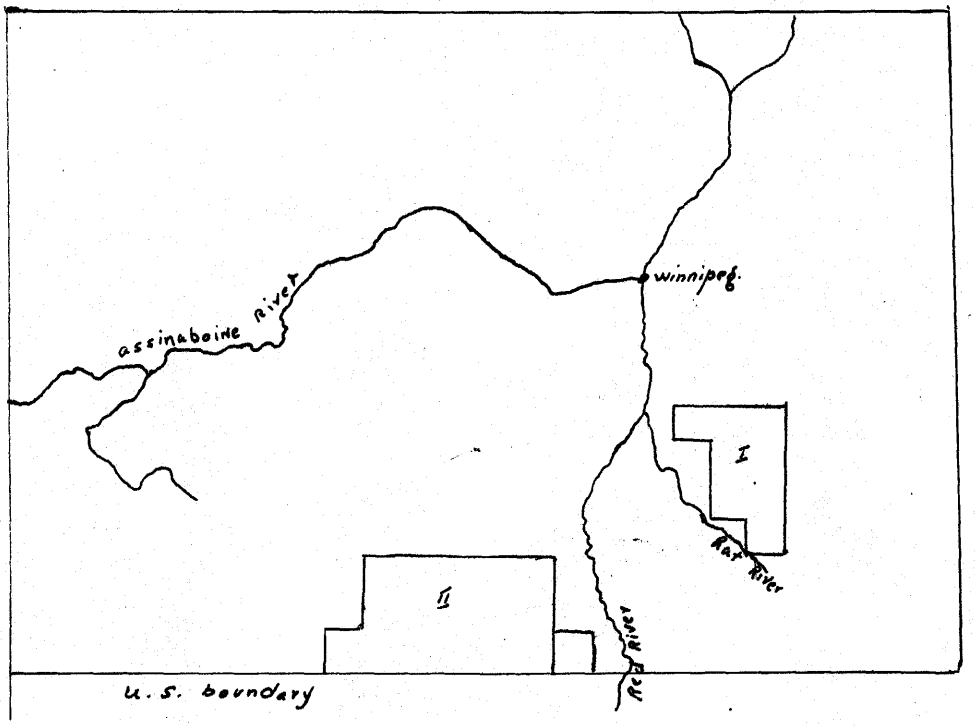
Second Speaker-- Yes, that is true, the thing was not voted upon; (after a small pause), Friend, that is not such a serious offense in this case. In important matters, of course, a vote should always be taken.

Supt.--What shall I do now?

The Third Speaker-- It is best you obey the wishes of the older men. To be sure the school is not such a tremendously important thing, as some imagine. (They leave the room). The Supterintendent sits at the table and wishes to write. He speaks to himself--Well, then I must write in English. How does one begin? I can understand some English, but when one wishes to write it, that is entirely different. The Englishmen do not write in the way they speak. (He thinks, then speaks angrily), I will not write at all; The one who censures me for not doing so, can write himself. O, it is a shame to have been in Canada for twenty years and not to be able to write a letter to one's authorities.

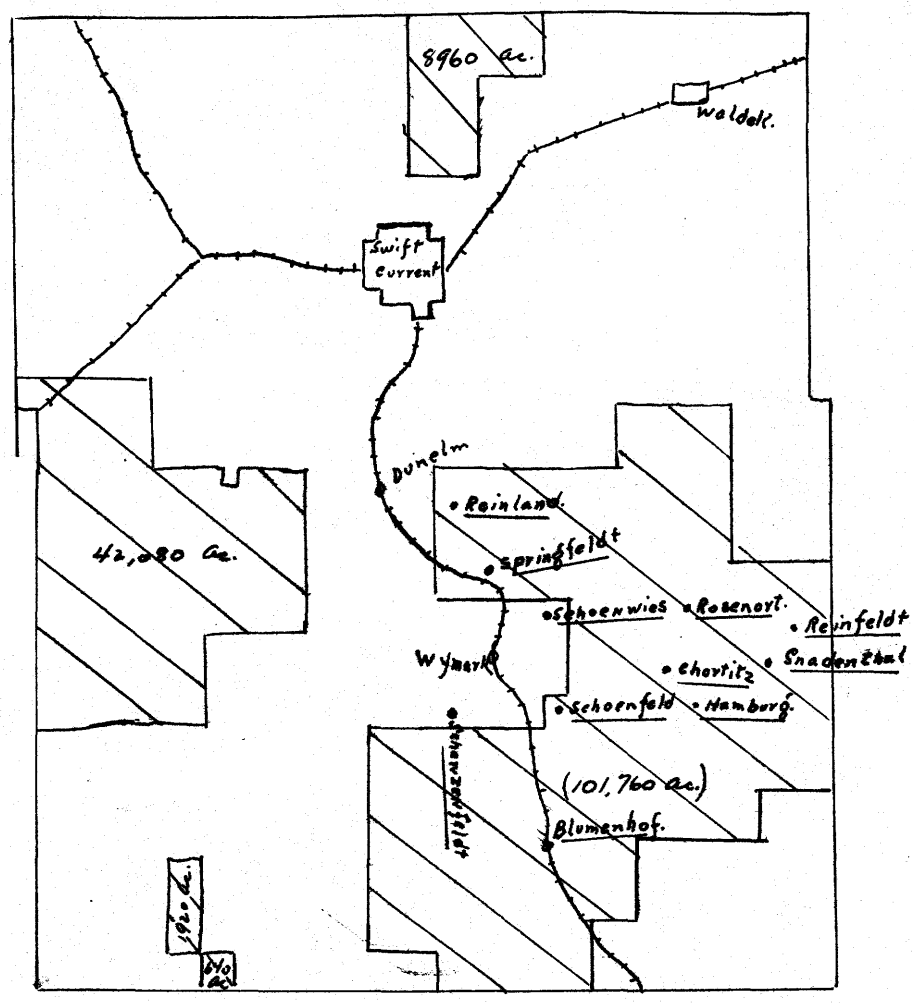
Source-- Kandische Mennoniten- zum Jubilaumsjahr (1924).
Rundschau Publishing House, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Mennonite Reserves in Manitoba.



I = East Reserve

II. West Reserve.



Old Colony Settlement South of Swift Current. (1917)

shaded portion shows districts not organized for school purposes.

names of villages under lined.

railways

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Brons, A. Ursprung, Entwickelung und Schicksale der Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten. Norden: Druck von Diedr. Soltau, 1884. 447 pp.

Die Mennoniten Gemeinden in Russland während des Krieges und Revolutionsjahre, 1914-1920. Kommissions-Verlag der Mennon. Flüchtlingsfürsorge, Heilbronn a. Neckar, 1921.

Epp, D.H. Die Chortitzer Mennoniten. Odessa, Russia; Druck von A. Schultze, Langeron Strasse 36, 1889. 195 pp.

Friesen, P.M. Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Brüderschaft in Russland (1789-1910). Halbstadt, Taurien; Verlagsgesellschaft "Raduga" 1911. 930 pp.

Hartzler, J.E. Education Among the Mennonites of America. Danvers, Illinois; Central Publishing Board, 1925. 195 pp.

Isaac, Franz. Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten. Halbstadt, Taurien; Kommissionsverlag und Druck von H.I. Braun, 1908. 354 pp.

Krehbiel, H.P. History of the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America. Canton, Ohio, Published by the author, 1898. 504 pp.

Novokampus. Kanadische Mennoniten. Bunte Bilder aus dem 50 jährigen Siedlerleben zum Jubiläumsjahr, 1924. Verlag; Rundschau Publishing House, Winnipeg, Manitoba. 1925. 74 pp.

Peters, Klaas. Die Bergthaler Mennoniten. Hillsboro, Kansas, Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1924. 45 pp.

Smith, C. Henry. The Mennonites. Berne, Indiana; Mennonite Book Concern, 1920. 340 pp.

Smith, C. Henry. The Coming of the Russian Mennonites. Berne Indiana; Mennonite Book Concern, 1927. 296 pp.

Wedel, C.H. Abriss der Geschichte der Mennoniten. Newton, Kansas; Schulverlag von Bethel College, 1904. 4 vols.

Wiebe, Gerhard. Ursachen und Geschichte der Auswanderung der Mennoniten aus Russland nach Amerika, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Druckerei des "Nordwesten." 58 pp.

Miller, L.L. Thesis on Religious Education in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges. University of Chicago, 1918.

Willows, A. Thesis on the Mennonites. University of Manitoba. About 1923.

Official Minutes and Reports of the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America.

Konferens Berichte der Mennoniten im mittleren Canada.

Conference Reports of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Canada.

Bericht über die 400 jährige Jubiläumsfeier der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten. Verlag Bibelheim Themashof, Karlsruhe Karlstrasse 26.

College Records. Goshen,College, Goshen, Indiana.

Bethel College Monthly. Bethel College, Newton, Kansas.

Catalogues and Records of the German-English Academy at Rosthern, Saskatchewan.

Catalogue and Records of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba.

Articles from the Manitoba Free Press, Winnipeg, Manitoba:[1]
(Referring to Bilingual Schools in Manitoba)
Article No. 30--The Mennonites. February 4, 1913.

Article No. 31--The Mennonites and the Public School. February 5, 1913.

Article No. 32--The Work of Rev. H.H. Ewert as Mennonite School Inspector. February 6, 1913.

Article No. 33--How the Mennonite Public Schools Suffered from Political Intrigue. February 7, 1913.

Article No. 34--How the Mennonites Suffered a Short Lapse from Political Independence. February 8, 1913.

Article No. 35--The Work of Inspector Weidenhammer (Willows) Amongst the Mennonites. February 10, 1913.

Article No. 36--The Mennonite Schools and the English Language. February 12, 1913.

Article No. 37--Review of the Mennonite Position with regard to Public Schools. February 13, 1913.

Article in the Free Press News Bulletin--The Mennonites of Manitoba. November 26, 1910.

Petition of the Old Colony Mennonites to the Manitoba Legislature. Winnipeg Free Press. May 18, 1920.

Petition of the Chortitz Community of the Mennonite Church to the Manitoba Legislature, Department of Education, Winnipeg.

Petition of the Sommerfeld Congregation and the Chortitz Community to the Manitoba Legislature, Dept. of Education, Wpg.

1. A study of conditions of the ground by a Free Press Staff [illegible]