FAMILY, CHURCH AND MARKET:

A HISTORY OF A MENNONITE COMMUNITY TRANSPLANTED FROM RUSSIA TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1930

BY

ROYDEN LOEWEN

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

History Department

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

February 14, 1990

FAMILY, CHURCH AND MARKET:
A HISTORY OF A MENNONITE COMMUNITY TRANSPLANTED FROM RUSSIA TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1850 - 1930

BY

ROYDEN LOEWEN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ISBN 0-315-63392-1

ABSTRACT

This is a study of the family, church and market in the history of a small Mennonite group that migrated from Russia to North America in 1874 and settled in the vicinity of Steinbach, Manitoba and Jansen, Nebraska. It examines the manner in which the group's social structure and its members' life goals accommodated an increasingly urban, industrial world. This representative Mennonite sub-group, the "Kleine Gemeinde", is an especially valuable subject of study: it was sufficiently small to allow for a reconstruction of its social structure and networks; its members were articulate conservatives who have left a rich array of primary material; and this group settled in both Canada and the United States, thus enabling a comparative study of a single ethnic group in two countries.

The examination of the Kleine Gemeinde and their descendants during the three generations between 1850 and 1930 illuminates the manner in which conservative, agrarian people pursued various strategies to reproduce their lifeworlds. The everyday lives of the Kleine Gemeinde reveal that the family, which included the kinship networks, the household economic units, and the domestic sphere of women, was their primary social unit. On the community level these families were tied together by the lay-oriented church congregation; it encouraged a deep piety, ordered social relationships and defined social boundaries. This closely-knit community and the exigencies of its reproduction called for a judicious interaction with the market economy and the outside world. The factors of family, church and market thus worked together to ensure a measure of continuity in a changing environment.

It was apparent throughout these years that differing national policies on minority groups were not crucial factors in distinguishing Canadian and American Mennonite adaptation. Far more important were the social forces that accompanied the rise of an urban, industrial society. By 1930 rising wealth, land shortages, urbanization and closer integration with the wider society had divided the one-time homogeneous community into urban and rural factions; as some Kleine Gemeinde descendants opted for a more individualistic, differentiated urban existence others developed new strategies to reproduce their communal-oriented, ascetic lifeworlds in agrarian communities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MAPS AND TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study could not have been completed without the involvement of many people. I am endebted to those people who willingly shared their valuable sources and experiences to make the telling of this story possible. Delbert Plett, Henry Fast, Dave Schellenberg, the Bernard O. Kroeker Family, Corny Z. Friesen, the C.J. Loewen Family, and Peter U. Dueck are especially thanked.

The staff at the Fairbury County Courthouse, the State Historical Societies in Lincoln and Topeka, the EMC Archives in Steinbach, and the Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg have been very helpful. Professors Rudoph Vecoli, James Urry, Ted Regehr, Ross MacCormack and Roy Vogt have given valuable counsel. My advisor, Professor Gerald Friesen, has carefully coached each stage of this study and has been persistent in both encouragement and constructive criticism. I thank the Steinbach Bible College and St. Paul's College for providing office space and moral support and the University of Manitoba for a graduate fellowship.

Finally, I owe a great debt of gratitude to my parents, family and friends who have been constant sources of encouragement and support. Throughout this project my life was made enjoyable by my wife, Mary Ann, who patiently endured the preoccupation of a companion, and by my children, Rebecca, Mary Margaret and Alexander, who made for a most pleasant home environment.

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the family, church and market in the history of a small Mennonite group that migrated from Russia to North America in 1874. It examines the manner in which the group's social structure and religious values changed as it encountered an increasingly urban, industrial world. This group, the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites, was a sectarian community bound across distance by kinship, church membership and a common historical experience. Literally meaning "small congregation," the Kleine Gemeinde numbered only about 900 souls in 1874, the year of its migration to North America. As it migrated from Borosenko Colony in New Russia and settled in the vicinity of Steinbach, Manitoba and Jansen, Nebraska it accommodated to new environments. Those changes, examined over three generations, between 1850 and 1930, portray a conservative people actively devising strategies to seek the continuity of traditional values and social structure over time.

In 1850 the Kleine Gemeinde was one of many groups of Mennonite settlers living in the foreign agrarian colonies of southern, or New, Russia. Land opportunities allowed the Kleine Gemeinde to coalesce in the mid 1860s in a separate colony and to establish traditional lifeworlds centered in the family farm and in an ascetic, sectarian community. When political reforms in the 1870s undermined traditional social boundaries the Kleine Gemeinde joined a third of the Mennonite population of New Russia and immigrated to North America.

Contrary to the general trend in which the landless and more conservative Mennonite groups settled in Canada, and the wealthier and more progressive elements chose the United States, the tiny Kleine Gemeinde migrated to both countries. And in each of the two places the

Kleine Gemeinde's primary aim was to replicate their old ways of life. Transplanted social structures, kinship networks and modes of production ensured the quick realization of that aim. During the course of the first generation in North America, however, it became apparent that the economic, political and climatic realities of Manitoba and Nebraska differed significantly; the conservative Kleine Gemeinde immigrants were required to adapt to their respective environments with different, although parallel, strategies. At the end of this generation it was evident that new land sources, a revitalized religious faith, novel innovations to old community institutions and a judicious interaction with the market economy had safeguarded the immigrants' traditional life aims and social relationships during this time.

An examination of the second generation, between 1905 and 1930, however, demonstrates that the children of the Kleine Gemeinde immigrants were not equally able or willing to reproduce traditional, agrarian lives. New social realities stemming from a more urban society, a rapidly growing economy and World War I ended the homogeneity of the old communities in both countries. Because this was a time of economic take-off for the Canadian west, but one of land fragmentation and a closing economy in the American Middle West, the material conditions of life for the Canadian and American brethren became similar. The greatest differences now lay within the communities themselves; as some Kleine Gemeinde descendants devised new strategies to maintain established patterns of life others charted new, more urban, individualistic, and consumer-oriented lives. After three generations in a more and more industrialized and assimilative society community members were no longer taking a single path.

This study takes an eclectic approach to the study of group behaviour; it is problem-oriented and ties itself to no single theory. As Clifford Geertz argued a long time ago, one must get beyond the "gross dichotomous...ideal types...[and seek] a more realistic and differentiated typology." [1] A variety of social scientific precepts have been employed

in an attempt to exhibit the complexities of the lived experience of a small group of farm family immigrants. Its primary aim is to seek, in the words of James Henretta, a "phenomenological perspective that depicts the historical experience 'as it was actually lived' by men and women in the past." [2]

Such a description entails holistic analysis. Basic questions concerning the elements that tied people together and what set them apart from others must be asked. An examination of the Kleine Gemeinde members' own writings makes it apparent that the family was the central organizing unit for this Mennonite group. The family determined the settlers' mode of production, shaped their patterns of settlement, constituted their most important social networks and comprised the domain of the women. The church congregation provided organization on the level of the community; it was the lay-oriented religious brotherhood that encouraged a deep piety, articulated life's meaning, defined community, and ordered social boundaries. Typologically, Mennonites were sectarians who sought to separate themselves from "worldly society". [3] But theirs was a carefully planned separation that allowed significant interaction with wider society. Mennonites, for example, were farmers who readily adapted their farms to the demands of a global capitalist economy. During the years under study they increasingly adopted a gain mentality, produced for the market place, appropriated its technology, acquired its consumer goods, and financed their farms and land purchases through outside credit sources. Their religious ideology and family structure tempered relationships with the market place, but, reciprocally, the market also shaped Mennonite ideologies and social structures.

Indeed, the overriding preoccupation of this study is the interaction of the traditionalist-minded Kleine Gemeinde and their descendants with the urbanizing society in which it lived. This dissertation suggests that for the greater part of the period under study the Kleine Gemeinde undertook creative schemes to maintain old ways of

life, social networks and values within the new society. The study looks neither to typologies that assign the immigrant to an inextricable modernization process nor to those that argue static persistence. The theoretical framework for this study draws from a diversity of cultural constructs, including the works of Harold Isaacs, Clifford Geertz and Frederick Barth. Each of these scholars theorizes about the ability of traditional social forms to reproduce themselves within modern, progressive societies. Isaac's work on "basic group identities," Geertz's findings of "primordial attachments" coexistent with "demands for progress," and Barth's notion of integrative ethnic "social boundaries" help account for the regenerating conservativism of the Kleine Gemeinde. [4] Another set of works that outline the socioeconomic structures within which immigrant and agrarian groups replicated old lifeworlds is useful as well: Frank Thistlethwaite has written about the manner in which an Atlantic Economy precipitated an overseas migration of European craftsmen and farmers; Eric Wolf has described the subsumption of traditional economic forms under global capitalism; Harriet Friedmann has written about the symbiotic relationship of household commodity production and a world capitalist market. [5] Using different models and addressing various aspects of this problem these works have described the coexistence of Gemeinschaft-type peasant communities with more cosmopolitan Gesellschaft-type societies.

This model has been employed widely by studies of immigration of Europeans to North America's cities. Often these studies suggest that there was a dialectical relationship between established life goals of community members and the structures and pressures of the wider society. This socially dynamic relationship dictated that community members constantly had to formulate strategies that maintained old values and reproduced familiar lifeworlds in new contexts. This historiography suggests that the immigrants' social forms and self-identities in fact often served to integrate the immigrants into the receiving society, but

that modern societies were also structured in such a way as to allow old social forms to be reproduced. In her study of eastern European immigrants to Pennsylvania Ewa Morawska has described "a sustained, dynamic interpenetration of the everyday personal world and the social environment, each constituting and reconstituting the other." It is a conceptualization, she notes, that "conceives of the social environment as limiting and constraining, yet at the same time as enabling and mobilizing....[and] sees people....as creative and purposeful agents who manipulate and adjust their social environment." [6] The result was that the essentials of community were reproduced.

This is an approach that has less often been employed in the study of rural immigrant communities. [7] The growing number of works following the line of enquiry of the "new rural history" and holistically examining "human behaviour over time" has, of course, begun addressing this imbalance. [8] Histories of rural group migrants such as the Mennonites continue to deemphasize the everyday lives of their subjects. Traditionally, Mennonite histories have been confessional, emphasizing central ecclesiastical developments or those elements, such as pacifism and sectarianism, which set Mennonites off from other migrating groups. Rarely has the study of the household economy, gender roles, community social networks, lay perceptions of life, internal social stratification and changes to these realities constituted central themes in Mennonite histories. [9]

A local, microanalytical, study can provide the detail needed to portray the changing everyday lifeworlds of the Mennonites. But an examination of a small, cohesive, homogeneous group located in more than one country provides the further opportunity of isolating the essential characteristics of such a community. The advantage of studying one group of migrants located in different nations has often been noted. Thomas Archdeacon, for instance, has argued that such a study could help distinguish "the culturally innate from the circumstantial in the adaptive

behaviors of...immigrant peoples." [10] Raymond Grew, Frederick Luebke and Samuel Bailey have also underscored advantages in the study of one group in different settings; both Luebke and Bailey, for example, have documented how differences in the economic and political structures of the United States and Brazil led members of a single ethnic group in two different directions. [11]

Canada and the United States were distinctive places and a single ethnic group located in the two countries could expect to develop differently. Few scholars have advanced James Shotwell's argument that the peoples of Canada and the United States comprise a "common citizenship". [12] There is an apparent trend in recent rural social history in Canada to trace the effects of physical and economic environments on cultural discontinuities and in the United States to document the ability of traditional groups to transplant themselves on American soil. [13] Still the force of scholarship echoes the idea that while terms such as tory, communal, metropolitan, and "cultural mosaic" describe Canadian society, expressions such as whig, individualistic, frontier and "melting pot" depict American society. [14]

It is clear that the histories of the Kleine Gemeinde differed somewhat in these two contexts; however it is equally clear that their experiences were not simply variations of life in the "cultural mosaic" of Canada or the "melting pot" of the United States. As S.M. Lipset has noted, Canada and the United States shared important characteristics; both were land-rich agrarian countries that developed integrative urban-industrial societies. [15] For the Kleine Gemeinde these were important factors. These characteristics meant that the conservative Kleine Gemeinde in the two countries were often faced with analogous opportunities and restrictions. [16] By 1930 there were important parallels in the stories of the Canadian and American Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites that illuminated the ability of traditional groups to employ strategies of continuity in industrial societies.

A social history of a group as small as the Kleine Gemeinde and located in two countries is, of course, possible only with sources that are penetrating and parallel. As is the case in other studies of immigrant groups, this work has used quantitative material. A valuable source of information that offered comparable material was the official government record; that is the American population and farm census records between 1880 and 1925 and the Canadian municipal tax rolls of a similar period. But, it is a well worn truism that numerical aggregates cannot alone reconstitute the lives of common people and that social histories must reflect their subjects' own sources. Because Mennonites, who possessed a long history of lay-oriented religion and cultivated an ideology of social separation, were highly literate they have left a rich array of primary material. Letters and articles by Kleine Gemeinde members or their descendants in one of half a dozen different German-language weekly newspapers between 1850 and 1930 provided detailed descriptions of daily life and personal values. But private sources, usually handwritten in Gothic script, proved the most useful in filling in private everyday worlds, especially familial relationships, household economic strategies and personal, ambivalent reflections on life's meaning. These documents consisted of diaries kept by ordinary men and women, collections of letters between kin in different settlements, and personal memoirs of elderly community members. These sources account for this study's length; but they have also provided the opportunity of reconstituting the daily lives of a conservative agrarian people as they encountered a modern world.

PART ONE: KLEINE GEMEINDE MENNONITES IN NEW RUSSIA

INTRODUCTION

The Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites had their beginnings in the agricultural colonies of New Russia, a province in the heart of present-day Ukraine. Their story is representative of conservative Mennonites; they sought to safeguard an old way of life in a changing society. That life was rooted in both an historical identity and a social reality. Their identity reflected an inherited ideology of "separation from the world"; socially they were "free peasants" who negotiated special feudal-type agreements of separation from host societies. Like the 30,000 other Mennonites in New Russia in 1850, the tiny group of 500 Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites found political security under the "Privilegium," their particular set of agreements with the Russian government. Under this agreement Mennonites were guaranteed a high degree of political and cultural autonomy in return for economic integration with the host society. Where the Kleine Gemeinde differed from their neighbours was in their religious emphasis. Since their fathers had left the mainstream Mennonite congregations in 1812 members of the Kleine Gemeinde had become known for their particularly vigorous witness to the idea of an ascetic, sectarian community.

In 1850 the Kleine Gemeinde represented some of the most articulate of the conservative Mennonites. They actively sought to maintain an old ideology and pattern of life. However, it was an aim that was encountering increasing difficulties in a social environment characterized by a growing population, a global demand for natural resources, and an increasingly widespread "gain mentality". Land became scarce, a market place economy ordered daily activity, and new pietistic religious ideas

infiltrated the colonies. To ensure the continuation of a rural family oriented, sectarian existence the Kleine Gemeinde moved from the large Molochnaia colony to the land-rich daughter colony of Borosenko in 1865. It was located near the Dnieper River port of Nicopol, west of the two main Mennonite colonies, the Molochnaia and the Khortitsa. Here there was enough land for most households to own their own farms. But, here too, were riverports offering the Kleine Gemeinde the opportunity to sell into an export-led economy and thus procure the capital required for the social reproduction of the agrarian household.

By making these changes the Kleine Gemeinde guaranteed the survival of the traditional social make-up of the Mennonite community. The central focus of this community was the family. Land opportunities in Borosenko encouraged earlier marriages and larger families. The new settlement also permitted a degree of familial cohesiveness that had been threatened in the Molochnaia. Clan affiliation outlined the configurations of the new villages in Borosenko and family ties comprised the basic social networks. Within the household economic unit, women continued to play traditional roles as domestic producers and child bearers. Although the increasing embourgeoisement of life in New Russia sharpened a sexual division of labour, the household still brought men and women together in common pursuits as producers.

Kleine Gemeinde religiosity reflected established values as well. Despite the growing commercialization of agriculture the values of community, asceticism and separation continued. These values, rooted in a deep historical awareness and a sense of distinct peoplehood, were ardently expressed. The all-encompassing church congregation defended traditional social boundaries; its literature constantly reminded members that they were inherently different than "worldly society." These ideas were to be challenged by the religious and political changes sweeping New Russia between 1850 and 1875. Pietism espoused a more individualistic and subjective approach to religion and political reform swept away the

concept of separate rights and privileges for sub-groups in society. Mennonites were now expected to participate culturally and politically in the wider society. Plans for compulsory, universal military service and mandatory participation in civic politics were the most visible of a host of related political reforms that were undoing traditional boundaries.

The Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites had been able to preserve a degree of social continuity by relocating to Borosenko but they could not separate themselves from the political reform movement of the Russian Empire. As they encountered these changes their vision of traditional religious values - and the threat to them within Russia - became clearer; and as opportunities of settlement in North America presented themselves, the idea of a replicated society in a new land grew. The decision of the Kleine Gemeinde to migrate to North America in 1874 came as a response to the sociopolitical changes around them. Both the relocation to Borosenko in 1865 and the emigration from Russia in 1874 were manifestations of rejuvenated commitments to group survival in a modernizing society; both represented important adaptations to a modern world. Ironically, neither would have been possible without the 1861 release of the serfs, the growth of international capitalism after 1850, and the accompanying development of technology. The passing of the old order on the national level gave the conservative members of the Kleine Gemeinde a new determination to ensure the group's survival; but those very social and economic changes also gave these conservative Mennonites the structure and the means to do so.

CHAPTER 1

MENNONITE SOCIAL BOUNDARIES AND THE 'NEW WORLD' IN RUSSIA

The land in New Russia rises and falls gently; it extends, almost flat and without a break to the horizon. Deep gullies and broad valleys holding small slow rivers relieve the monotony of the steppe, their existence suggesting the presence of the Dnieper River and the Black Sea which they feed. The earth is rich black chernozem, but dry, receiving little more than 35 centimeters of precipitation from rain and snow each year. The horizon is barren except for the domesticated trees that surround and shelter orderly villages. The rivers dictate the contour of the roads. The steppe everywhere bears the mark of man. It is divided into long strips of wheat and rye and barley and into huge pastures offering sheep and cattle their nourishment. [1]

I

This was the physical setting of the Mennonite colonies. And, although less idyllic than the description above might suggest, it was a place where Mennonites were able to maintain a separate identity and organize ascetic, agrarian lives based on their families and the church. And although the Mennonites were a minority among the quarter million foreign farmers and craftsmen in New Russia, they were confident of their special place in Russian society. They were lauded for being leaders in agricultural innovation and, as foreigners with a special set of crown privileges, were allowed to maintain separate schools, local self government and military service exemptions. There was relatively little interaction with the outside world. The main association was with the crown-appointed Guardian's Committee (the overseer of foreign colonists

in Russia) and with the market place where Mennonites sold their agricultural products and craftgoods.

In a sense the Mennonites of New Russia were as separate and cohesive as any of their forebears including the Anabaptists who had shaped the left wing of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. While Anabaptists of Switzerland, South Germany and Holland had included humanist scholars, civic officials, noblemen and priests, the majority were simple craftsmen and peasants. Burdened with high taxes, frequent wars, and food shortages these classes were highly receptive to ideas of social reform. They were especially drawn to ideas emanating from city dwelling reformers who called for biblicist, lay-oriented church congregations that were separated from an overbearing central church or state. In 1525 when a group of these reformers were rebaptized they acquired the name Anabaptist as well as a symbol of separation from mainstream society. Two years later, amidst growing and often violent opposition, Anabaptists coalesced under the Schleitheim Confession. This joint statement described two kingdoms; one was the church comprised of volunteer believers who, in their everyday life, separated themselves from the second kingdom; this other kingdom was the "world of darkness", comprised of a coercive, sword wielding state and its official churches. Religious commitment thus exhibited itself in a social orientation; it involved unity within the brotherhood and separation from worldly society.[2]

In the decade following 1525 the Anabaptist movement spread across South Germany into the Netherlands where it took on a form that was often apocalyptic and chiliastic. The message of the imminent establishment of a spiritual kingdom on earth attracted thousands of Dutch craftsmen and peasants who were suffering from the ravages of war and crop failures. [3] After a period of revolutionary outbreaks and political defeat, the movement came under the influence of Menno Simons, a former priest and the namesake of the Mennonites. Between 1536 and 1560 Menno became the leading minister of Dutch Anabaptism by preaching and writing prolifically

about "regenerated men" living orderly, ascetic lives, and a "pure and holy" church enforcing strict social boundaries. [4]

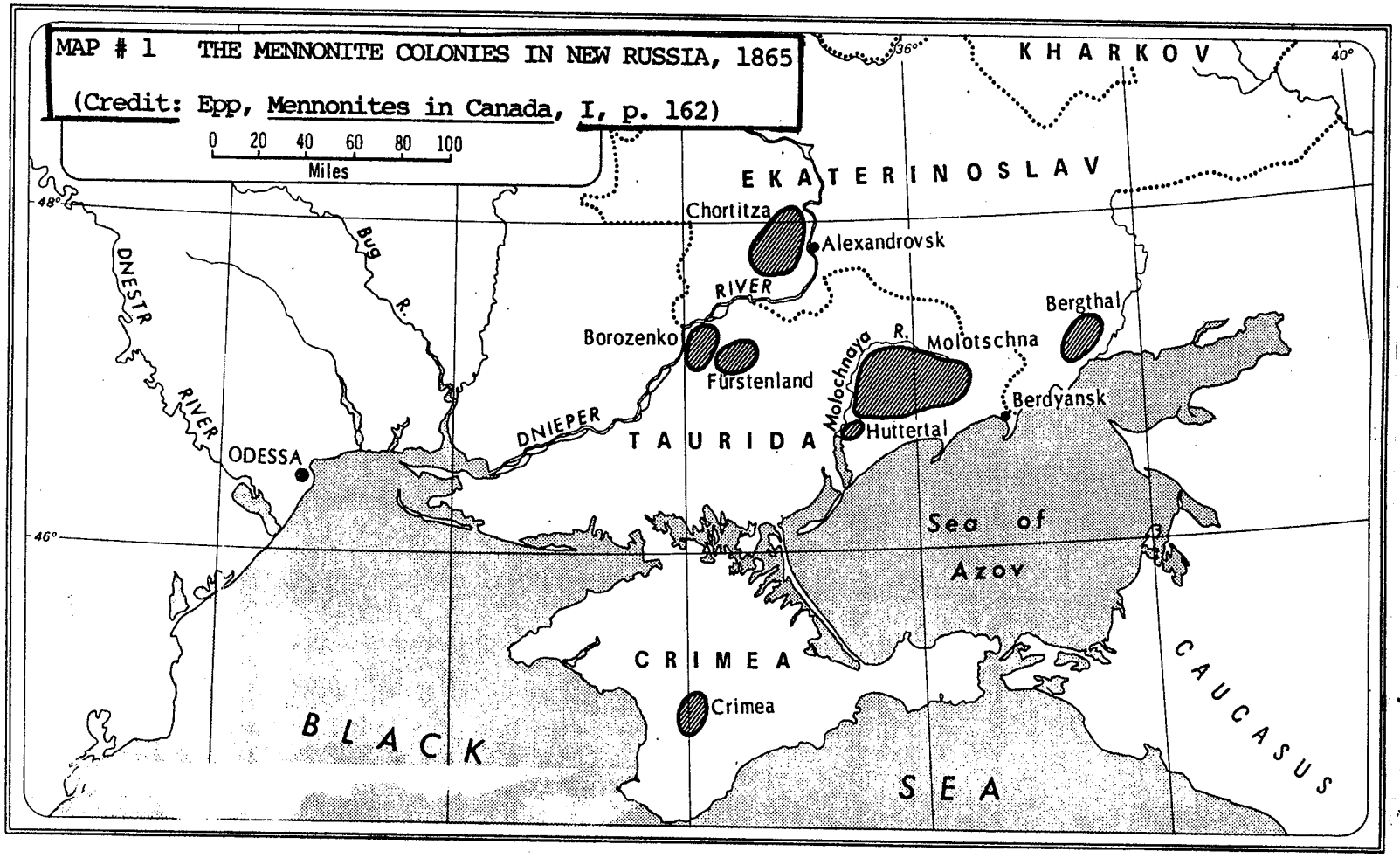
This message of separateness was reinforced by sharp reactions from Spanish authorities in the Netherlands and from both Protestant and Catholic church leaders who saw the Mennonites' refusal to acknowledge a central state church as sedition. By 1530 Mennonites were fleeing the Netherlands along Dutch trade routes to Poland's Vistula Delta. Here liberal city lords, nobles and other land owners, encouraged by the Polish kings, were negotiating special agreements with free peasants to drain their marshlands for agriculture and the establishment of rural industries. These lease agreements reflected long standing feudal practices of written contracts between peasant and lord. Different landlords set different terms, but generally the agreements stipulated that in return for land rents and land improvements, Mennonites could practice their religion, avoid military service, carry on local self-government and market their grain and craftgoods in nearby cities. Polish law forbidding inter-ethnic marriages or inter-church relationships served well the Mennonites' intention to maintain separate communities. [5]

In 1772 Poland was partitioned by the rising militaristic state of Prussia. Despite the fact that the Mennonites had exchanged their Dutch by this time for a German dialect, Low German, the Prussians soon began placing new restrictions on these pacifist farmers and craftsmen. Prussia's freeze on further Mennonite land acquisitions coincided with a program by Russia to lure foreign agriculturalists to develop a rural economy in New Russia. This province in the Ukraine had been recently consolidated under the Czar's control after centuries of Turkish and Tartar dominance. Mennonites responded and in 1789 the first contingent of settlers left for southern Russia. Emigration to Russia continued sporadically over the next 80 years. By 1850 some 30,000 Mennonites had made their homes in New Russia. The majority lived in two colonies,

Khortitsa in the sub-province of Ekaterinoslav and Molochnaia, in Taurida (see Map # 1).

New Russia proved to be an ideal place for the transplantation of an established way of life. Not only was this southern province a huge, sparsely settled, frontier, but the Russian government encouraged Mennonite insularity, self-sufficiency and semi-autonomy. Russia had long been noted for its strong central government which systematically curtailed the power of local lords. In the eighteenth century it exhibited that power by beginning to integrate Russia's separate "world economy," one which had traditionally looked east and south to China and Turkey, with the economy of Western Europe. Russia's need for western currency and its possession of New Russia catapulted it into the Western World's rising industrial economy. Russia was set to become the "ox which they are eating," a major supplier of raw material for Western Europe's industrial machine. [6]

To encourage the development of a rural economy in the south, Russia employed old methods. In 1784 it reissued an imperial manifesto encouraging foreign farmers and craftsmen to settle New Russia. While the government treated the emigrants quite differently than Russia's nobles treated their serfs the relationship was a parallel one. Russia was still typologically an "old society." Jerome Blum notes that such a society was marked by "layers of social status" in which there was no "common body of rights shared by everyone by virtue of their membership in society." [7] Each group of citizens, whether serfs, state peasants, free peasants or nobles, had different bodies of rights and duties. Mennonites were generally considered free peasants. According to Blum these were peasants in "servile lands...who enjoyed full or partial freedom from seigniorial authority." Often this status could be traced "to forebears who had settled as colonists in newly opened regions, drawn there by the promise of freedom...." [8]



MAP # 1: THE MENNONITE COLONIES IN NEW RUSSIA, 1865

This freedom was to become one of the features of the special body of rights that the Russian government negotiated with foreign agriculturalists. These rights were similar to those Mennonites had known in Poland, with the exception that in Russia they were made directly with an arm of the central government. These rights included provisions for religious freedom, military exemption, local self-government, and a separate education system. The privileges also included special land grants that were given, not to individual families, but to the Mennonite colonies. Mennonites in turn ensured that these lands would not be mortgaged, partitioned or sold to non-Mennonites. They also had to agree not to proselytize Russia's Christians . And they agreed to subject themselves to the administration of a special central government department in charge of foreign colonists. [9]

The immediate consequence of this agreement was that Mennonites were able to re-build a traditional society. It was a homogeneous, insular colony, bound by ancient ties of kin, separated from the host society, attune to a "moral economy," and subject to a particular set of rights and duties. James Urry notes that "Mennonite settlers in Russia rapidly transferred and reproduced many of the social practices they had known in Prussia" and that "the establishment of exclusive Mennonite colonies...strengthened [a] sense of community...." [10] It was not unlike the lifeworlds of many other rural societies in West Europe. Like German peasants, Mennonites were "people who wanted to own land and secure household self-sufficiency." [11] Like English peasants, Mennonite "attachment to the local community played a significant role in the day-to-day life." [12] And Mennonites, too, practiced a "moral economy", where it was believed that "marketing should be, so far as possible, direct, from the farmer to the consumer." [13] Like the work of peasants in Norway, Mennonite work patterns were shaped not by motives of gain but by the "demands of the people for sustenance, on one hand, and the 'drudgery of labour itself,' on the other." [14] Russia had given the Mennonites a

reprieve from the uncertain life in Holland and Poland; here their insular communities promised a "purer" life, revolving around the household, congregation and community. [15]

Epitomizing this intention was the Kleine Gemeinde community of Mennonites, the smallest of the congregations among the Molochnaia Mennonites. It was begun soon after settlement in Russia in 1812 by a senior minister, a carpenter and farmer, Klaas Reimer, and followers from a variety of social backgrounds. Reimer had a vision based on his readings of Menno Simons and other early Anabaptist writers of a "pure" and "disciplining" church congregation that had the will to enforce strict social boundaries. Reimer became convinced of the need for reform when, between 1807 and 1812, it seemed that local leaders were compromising traditional boundaries. There were incidents of civil punishment on the Mennonite colonies, donations of material aid to Russia's army at battle with Napoleon's forces, and ostentatious and bawdy lifestyles. When Reimer's entreaties seemed to fall on deaf ears, he and nine families withdrew from the colony church. [16]

In 1816 Reimer was ordained the Aeltester, or elder, of a separate church congregation. Because of its small size other Mennonites quickly dubbed it the "Kleine Gemeinde," the small congregation. Despite severe opposition from other Mennonites, the Kleine Gemeinde, eventually obtained official recognition from colony leaders and the Guardian's Committee. Over the years, it continued to represent an articulate voice for traditional Mennonite values. By 1850 the congregation had members in a dozen Molochnaia villages and a membership roster of some 50 families (see Map # 2). The tenor of life in the Mennonite colonies allowed it to follow traditional patterns of rural existence based on self-sufficient farming, cottage industries and village and kinship social networks. [17]

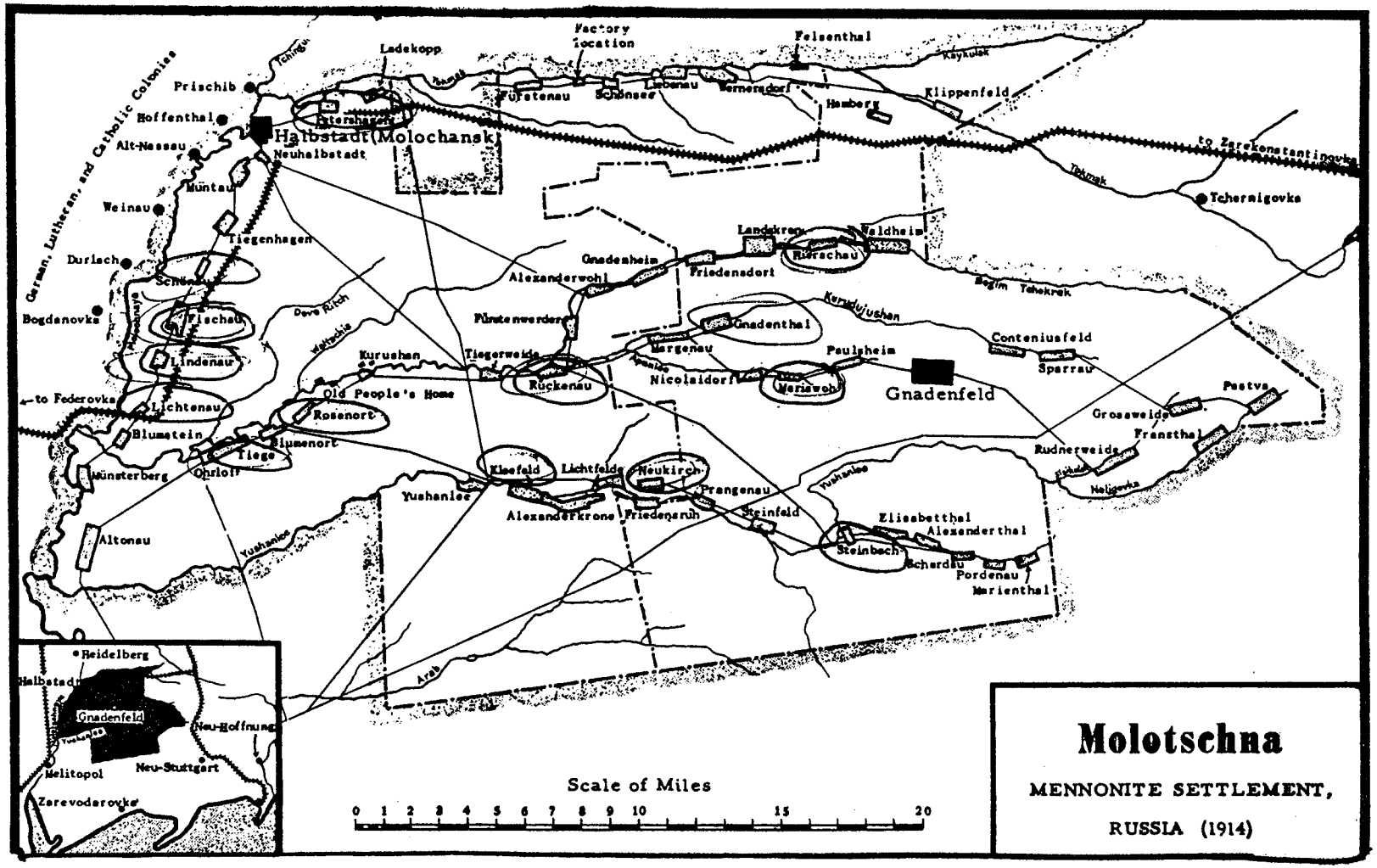
II

New Russia, however, was not a static milieu. As James Urry has argued, the century following the Mennonite migration to Russia, was a period of transformation. According to Urry Mennonite society became prosperous, industrialized, commercialized, differentiated, bourgeois, open, and individualistic. The context of this transformation was multifaceted. It included the opportunities of a frontier that contained a relative abundance of land. It also included industrialization and political reform in Russia; this was especially true after the Crimean War. And the spread of progressive ideas through the continuing immigration of Western Europeans to New Russia was also an important factor of change. We will briefly examine four elements of change, including the cultural heterogeneity of New Russia, global industrialization, local economic growth, and political reform.

The ethnic heterogeneity of New Russia was an important force for change among the Mennonite colonies as the one-time sparsely settled southern steppe became populated. By 1851 there were 1.4 million Ukrainian nobles and serfs and Western European colonists in Ekaterinoslav and Taurida alone. Over time the Molochnaia colony's neighbours included Ukrainian peasants, Nogai Tartars, Doukhobors and Hutterites from nearby settlements, and German Lutherans and Catholics from a dozen colonies. Molochnaia Mennonites also regularly encountered Jewish merchants and travelling Gypsy bands.

The Mennonites had historic reasons to think of their colonies as cultural islands. Unlike the Doukhobors, the Mennonites were lauded by Russian officials. In fact while the Mennonites regularly hosted high ranking Russian officials, the Doukhobors were persecuted for their mystical religion. In 1841 they were expelled from their own Molochnaia colony and forcibly resettled in the Caucasus. When the Doukhobors encountered the Mennonites again in the 1890s in Canada only the very old still remembered the various Molochnaia Mennonite villages. [18] Mennonites

CIRCLED VILLAGES INDICATE PLACES WITH A KLEINE GEMEINDE PRESENCE



MAP # 2 MOLOCHNAIA COLONY, 1914

(Credit, Mennonite Encyclopida, III, p. 733)

also held themselves aloof from their Ukrainian neighbours, who were either serfs or indentured state peasants, often illiterate and condemned to live a miserable existence.

Even the 12 neighbouring German colonies, comprised of free peasants holding special privileges, were separated from the Mennonite colonies in the early years. [19] They too would emigrate from Russia after the reforms of the 1860s and settle in agrarian settlements in the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas and the Canadian Northwest. But in Russia, Mennonites and Germans interacted only on a secondary level. Mennonites, for one, were able to condescend to these German neighbours. The Germans were often the descendants of artisans, ex-soldiers and fugitives who were told by the Russian government to model themselves after the skilled agrarians, the Mennonites. In many cases the Germans were considerably poorer than the Mennonites. Mennonites of the Molochnaia Colony, for instance, were markedly wealthier than the Germans of the Lutheran colony just across the Molochnaia River. In 1855 the per capita income for the Mennonites was 18.8 rubles, compared to only 5.8 rubles for the Lutherans; Mennonites had 1.14 horses and 1.3 cows per working adult whereas the Lutherans had 1.08 and 0.7 respectively. [20]

If Mennonites had reasons for smugness, there were other factors by 1850 which indicated that they could not remain aloof from their neighbours indefinitely. When Mennonites, for instance, compared themselves to all 15 of their neighbouring German colonies they were forced to realize that other colonies were gaining in prosperity as well. Their own Johann Cornies could boast of a farm of 5000 desiatins of land, but the Germans had their Friedrich Fein who farmed 40 times that amount. Indeed six of the 16 foreign colonies in Taurida had a higher per capita rate of income than the Molochnaia Mennonites. Only three had a lower income than the Molochnaia Lutheran colony. [21] The growing strength of other ethnic groups is also underlined by the fact that during the

migration of the 1870s, German Lutherans and even Ukrainians successfully bid on lands being sold by Mennonite emigrants. [22]

The most direct encounters were with settlers from Western Europe who settled near the Molochnaia colony after the 1820s. Many of these were more liberal Mennonites, affected by the educational reforms of the modern Prussian state operating in the Vistula Delta. The most notable of these groups were progressive Prussian Mennonites, influenced by Lutheran pietism, who founded the village of Gnadenfeld in the Molochnaia in 1834. Gnadenfeld was distinguishable by its individualistic approach to religious faith, the use of High German, and more fashionable dress. Urry argues that this community was to become "a centre for social, cultural and religious reform" on the Molochnaia. [23] These ideas were strengthened by the spread of pietism through many of the German colonies in New Russia in the 1840s. This religious force, introduced from Germany, began to have far-reaching consequences in the Mennonite colonies in the 1860s. Indeed, the pastor at one German colony near the Molochnaia, Eduard Wuest, was to have a powerful influence in the founding of the Mennonite Brethren in 1860. [24] Mennonites by 1850 could no longer assume that they were cultural islands unaffected by social and cultural forces around them.

A second factor that brought changes to the Mennonite colonies in New Russia was the commercialization of agriculture, due both to the rise of world markets and the Russian government's policy for economic development in New Russia. The Russian government had made no secret of the fact that the Mennonite settlements were designed not to assert the merits of religious sanctuary but to establish an agricultural model for a backward peasantry and to secure the region for Russia by developing a rural economy. To ensure that this would occur the government in 1797 had placed all foreign farmers under the auspices of a special "Department of State Economy." This department pressured farmers to employ modern methods of agronomy, offered easy credit and instituted uniform local

administrative units. In 1818 this bureaucracy was reorganized and expanded into a German-speaking "Guardians Committee of the Foreign Colonists in South Russia," known to the colonists as the "Fuersorgekomitee." Through its many branch offices and inspectorates the Guardian's Committee continued the mandate to encourage economic growth. The history of this committee was one of increasing intrusion into the lives of the colonists. [25]

In 1830 the Guardian's Committee helped set up a voluntary "Landwirtschaftliche Verein," or agricultural society, on the Molochnaia colony. This society was headed by Johann Cornies, a powerful, progressive farmer, who often pressured reluctant farmers to modernize. With help from the Guardian's Committee, the society built experimental farms, introduced new crops and established building codes. The Guardian's Committee also gave Cornies power to enforce innovative agricultural methods such as the planting of shelter belts and the four crop rotation. Before long local Mennonite observers reported that "The Landwirtschaftliche Verein controls the industry of every Mennonite [and sees to it] that his fields are well worked, that he plants trees in the correct manner, that his house is in order and in all his activities he is an economic leader." [26]

The result was not only an improved economy but new attitudes. According to James Urry, Cornies was instrumental in replacing the traditional Mennonite notion of humility and egalitarianism with "Musterwirte" with its emphasis on competition and individualism. [27] In the final analysis, writes Urry, the society "became the modernizing arm of the Russian state in the colonies, taking on the features of a reformist agency in the community." [28]

The Guardian's Committee also worked to undermine traditional Mennonite structures in other ways. In 1842 and 46 it sided with the local Molochnaia temporal government when some of its leaders came under fire from the church Aeltesten for their lifestyles. During this time,

too, it took education out of the lap of the church and gave it to Cornies' Agricultural Society for reforming. Then in 1846 the Guardian's Committee came under the leadership of Evgenii von Hahn who, unlike his predecessor, believed "in personal inspection and intervention" and was "unwilling to compromise with tradition." [29] By the time Cornies died in 1848 the pattern for change and modernity among the Mennonites had been set.

That pattern, however, was strengthened by a qualitative change in global economic development after mid-century. It was at this point that Russia became closely integrated into global industrialization as a producer of commodities. E.J. Hobsbawm, Eric Wolf, Karl Polanyi and others have documented the rise of a world market system. This interconnected market came about when the links between states were "transformed from a tributary structure to a structure of support for capitalist enterprise" and after merchants began turning their capital to the use of technology and labour to produce marketable goods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. [30] The system involved "mechanization through which the old social tissue was destroyed and a new integration of man and nature..." was set in place. [31] In the end it marked "the most fundamental transformation of human life in the history of the world in written documents." [32]

Although the heart of industrialization was in England, it affected the economies of countries throughout the world. Wolf notes that "expanding outward from England in the course of the nineteenth century [the capitalist mode of production] brought the entire world under its dominance...." [33] Especially it affected commodity producing regions such as North America, New Russia and countries in the southern hemisphere. The English factory system required raw materials; these included coal and iron for the factory itself and cereal grains to feed the factories' workers. But the factory system also helped commercialized places such as New Russia where cheap factory-produced goods undercut cottage

industries, encouraging rural residents to concentrate on agricultural production. [34]

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century the world market system took-off. By 1848 England was emerging from a serious economic downturn. Steel production now rose alongside textiles as the engine of economic growth. Railroad building and ship construction increased both the international demand for commodities and made their shipments over long distances possible. Important as well was Britain's abolition of grain tariffs, the corn laws, in 1846; it was a move intended to encourage other countries to export their cereals and provide them with the capital needed to purchase Britain's manufactured goods. [35] The result was "a complex hierarchal system controlled by the capitalist mode of production, but including a vast array of subsidiary regions that exhibited different combinations of the capitalist mode with other modes." [36]

New Russia was one of the subsidiary regions. By 1850 it was Russia's most economically advanced region, ready to take advantage of the growing world market. Blum has noted how between 1800 and 1850 land prices in New Russia increased tenfold from 1.5 rubles per desiatin to 15 and 20 rubles. During the same period the number of sheep increased by 400%. [37] Grain exporting had also begun. In 1829 the Dardanelle Strait connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean was opened to British ships and during the 1830s half a dozen Black Sea ports opened. While the Crimean War stalled the development of an export economy, it quickly developed after 1860. Lyashchenko has shown that between 1860 and World War I the acreage dedicated to wheat in the black soil provinces of Taurida and Ekaterinoslav doubled. [38] This development resulted in Odessa surpassing St. Petersburg in export trade by 1881. [39] Indeed, recent studies have indicated that between 1865 and 1870 Britain imported twice as much wheat from New Russia as from the United States. [40] Wolf notes that it was chiefly wheat exports through Odessa, coupled with American cereal

exports, that "shook the foundations of European agriculture and intensified the outward flow of migrants to America." [41]

Mennonites were forced to adapt to these changes. Their transformation, however, was to be less radical than those of most producers in other Western European countries. Hobsbawm, Wolf, Hilton and others have traced how English producers were displaced by landowners who severed their ties with tenants, enclosed their holdings, and turned their lands into commercial units. Even in instances where peasants owned their own lands, agricultural producers faced upheaval. In these incidents they were forced off their small farms when their household craft production, meant to subsidize the production of their tiny land holdings, failed to compete with factory production. Usually these producers were forced to sell to wealthier producers, who by consolidating their landholdings effectively commercialized their farms. It was thus that many peasants either moved to the cities to work in factories or sought alternative lives by migrating overseas. [42]

There were parallels in the Mennonite colonies in New Russia. A class of very wealthy landowners rose in New Russia who often owned tens of thousands of acres. [43] More striking was the picture of thousands of landless Mennonites. They were placed into abject poverty by falling prices for household craft goods and kept there by wealthy and powerful farmers who refused to allow the landless to work the communal lands owned by each of the colonies. Indeed, using their power as enfranchised landowners they often monopolized their hold on communal property, leased it to themselves at a minimal rate and put it to cereal production. In 1863 the landless organized and successfully petitioned the Guardian's Committee for redistribution of the communal lands and for colony provisions for the establishment of daughter colonies. [44]

Contrasted to the "agricultural revolution" in other Western European countries, Mennonite adjustment to the new economic structures was relatively smooth. The reason, no doubt, lay in the Mennonites' long

history of adapting to new environments and producing surpluses. But the most important reason for the smooth transition was the relative abundance of land. The significance of the 1863 petition of the Molochnaia landless was that they expected to obtain land. Peasants in similar circumstances in Prussia, Hungary, Norway and Italy migrated overseas. Moreover, unlike agrarian communities in many other parts of Western Europe, at least half of the Mennonite farmers in the Molochnaia owned their land. Indeed, in about 1860, 1519 of the 3082 Molochnaia households, or 49%, owned their own land. And 77% of the landowners owned at least 65 desiatines, or 163 acres. This economic base allowed Mennonite farmers to capitalize on the availability of inexpensive nobility-controlled lands that began coming up for sale soon after the release of the serfs in 1861. Between 1862 and 1871 the Molochnaia colony founded 47 new villages on 332,000 acres. This does not include the villages founded by private endeavour such as the Kleine Gemeinde settlements in Borosenko. [45]

The majority of Mennonite households were, thus, able to adapt successfully to the commercialization of agriculture. While a few farms became large capitalistic enterprises that relied exclusively on wage labour, most were household producers. These were small family-oriented enterprises, usually owning their land, and aiming for both self-sufficiency and surplus production. The latter was sold into an export staple market. Rising land prices, a burgeoning population, the cost of labour and technology, and rising living standards made the production of cash crops imperative. Overseas markets and an infrastructure of riverports, regional towns and grain merchants made such a mode of production possible. Under these circumstances Mennonites were unable to maintain insular communities. [46]

A third change, a series of political reforms, affected the Mennonite colonies more drastically than did the economic transformation in New Russia. These reforms, introduced following the Crimean War, were meant to transform the Russian feudal state into a homogeneous, integrated

society in which no special privileges would exist for any one group. The Crimean War which pitted Russia against England and France from 1854 to 1856 proved to be an economic boon for the Mennonite colonies of New Russia. But it was a less promising affair for the Russian government which conceded defeat. It placed the blame for the loss on its own backwardness and, thus, over the course of the next decade, it set out on a deliberate course of modernization. [47]

In the very speech in which he conceded defeat, Alexander II hinted that Russia would have to overhaul the basis of its social system before it could see industrialization in all its regions. The basis for that overhaul was the release of the serfs in 1861 and that act had far reaching consequences. Blum, for instance, suggests that "the act of emancipation of...1861 is a crucial turning point in the history of the world's largest state...[for] it...swept away the basis of the then existing social order, and thereby brought to a close an era of Russian history that had lasted for centuries." [48]

Within a decade of this act other reforms had been instituted. Fiscal reform had systematized the state's economy and put a check on inflation caused by the issuing of paper money during the war; administrative reforms had established democratically elected municipal councils and local justices of peace; education reforms had theoretically opened secondary schools to all of Russia's citizens and commenced the partial russification of all regions; military reforms had abolished Russia's primitive army and replaced it with universal military service. Everywhere there were signs of the end of special privilege and the opening up of Russian society according to "non-class principles." [49]

III

Mennonites who had come to Russia with the idea of establishing strict social boundaries to safeguard their households and congregations were deeply affected by the changes outlined above. The Guardian's

Committee had, for some time, been refocusing the raison d'etre of the Mennonite colonies. From self-sufficient, insular communities, the Mennonite settlements were thrust into the forefront of agricultural innovation. The international demand for foodstuffs and New Russia's ideal position to fill that demand had given the Mennonites an unprecedented economic opportunity. And, Russia's post-war political reforms served to catapult the Mennonites into the mainstream of an increasingly pluralistic, democratic and integrated society.

Historians of Mennonites agree that the third quarter of the nineteenth century was an unusually tumultuous time as Mennonites pursued differing courses in their adjustment to a new socioeconomic context. Contemporary Franz Isaak devoted almost half of his history, Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten, to the struggle between different church groups and social classes during the 1860s. P.M. Friesen's 1911 history, Die Alt-evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland, covered 120 years of Mennonite life in Russia, but it too devoted almost half of its space to the religious upheavals of the 1860s. More recently commentators like James Urry have described how "closed" and "open" factions of the Mennonites reacted differently to the "transition to capitalism and the emergence of industrial societies and nation states...." While some sought to maintain traditional, congregational communities others embraced the more individualistic, differentiated society. [50]

This first section of the dissertation examines the conservative Mennonites who pursued carefully devised strategies to counter stratification, individualism, and a gain mentality. Other writers have described these conservative Mennonites. Harvey Dyck has noted the profound opposition to Johann Cornies and his economic and political reforms during this time. William Schroeder has chronicled how the church and village councils of the Bergthal Colony opposed Russian authorities who attempted to introduce reforms. Urry has noted how conservative Molochnaia forces centered in the Large Flemish Congregation opposed the

introduction of evangelical pietism, Cornies' educational reforms and the rising power of temporal leaders. Delbert Plett has traced in great detail the church history of the Kleine Gemeinde as it countered societal changes with Anabaptist teachings. [51]

This study focuses on the everyday lives of one of these conservative groups, the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites. Representative of the Mennonites who migrated to North America in the 1870s, the Kleine Gemeinde illustrate how one group sought to maintain old social boundaries in a changing environment. The following three chapters examine the Kleine Gemeinde's social and ideological make-up, the changes that resulted from new circumstances in Russia, and the community's strategies to ensure the continuation of old ways. The Kleine Gemeinde mode of production, social structure, and religious orientation were intricately intertwined in such a way as to safeguard established ways.

CHAPTER 2

LAND AND MARKET IN BOROSENKO COLONY

I

The years from 1850 to the global depression of 1873 marked an era of sustained economic growth in the New Russia colonies. The economic impact of the rise of the Black Sea ports and of the Molochnaia Agricultural Society's directives was clearly evident. More grain was being shipped through the ports; the demand for technology and imports of English farm machinery rose; and household artisans and a rising class of Mennonite industrialists found their services in constant demand. Even the Crimean War was a boon for Mennonite farmers whose products were in great demand. Only the crop failures of the early 1860s would interrupt this growth. The economic base of the Molochnaia colony revealed a strong and diverse economy; in 1855, for instance, the per capita income of Molochnaia adults included 4.62 rubles of grain, 4.35 rubles of wool, 4.0 rubles of beef, 2.92 rubles of butter and cheese and 2.26 rubles of silk. [1] These were the years that the Mennonites began experiencing the full force of an industrializing society.

During this time that the Kleine Gemeinde, like other conservative groups in the New Russian Mennonite colonies, vigorously pursued a strategy of economic survival. While the agrarian lifeworlds of Kleine Gemeinde farmers were intricately tied to nature's rhythms and seasons and to the old values of maintaining the economic strength of the household, new strategies had to be employed in the changing context of New Russia. During these years Kleine Gemeinde colonists made two significant changes. First, they sought new sources of arable land in the Borosenko colony located 150 kilometers northwest of the Molochnaia. Second, they

commercialized their holdings; they sold more wheat into an export staple economy, relied more on a cash economy, hired more wage labour, searched for wider credit sources, and accepted the reality of growing gaps between rich and poor.

The transition the Mennonite colonists experienced during these years, however, was not a simple matter of commercialization or embourgeoisement. Peasant farmers, of course, did not wake up one morning with the realization that they were capitalists. Traditional modernization and Marxist studies chart the inevitable replacement of peasant production with capitalistic production. [2] Studies of English agriculture in particular tell the story of the displacement of the rural peasant by wealthy capitalistic farmers who enclosed their property or purchased small holdings and hired their former owners as wage labourers on commercialized farms. [3] More recent studies have questioned this model and have emphasized the compatibility of traditional economic modes of production with industrial capitalism. Eric Wolf argues that the "capitalist world economy is an articulated system of capitalist and non-capitalist relations of production....[in which] the central sectors and regions are governed directly by...the capitalist mode, [but] social arrangements built up in the kin-ordered...modes may be...maintained...in auxiliary...areas." [4]

This analysis has been employed particularly in the study of peasant histories. Allan Greer, for one, has examined how the "encounter of merchant capital and feudal peasantry" in three rural Quebec parishes between 1740 and 1840 actually "reinforced [feudal] exploitation and economic backwardness." [5] Greer's study, however, focused on "feudal peasantry," which was a qualitatively different social type from Mennonite farmers. Like the French Canadians, Mennonites of New Russia were self-sufficient, land-owning, household agricultural producers. However, Mennonites were also bent on the building of commercialized farms; they pursued economies of scale, grew surpluses for export, acquired

mechanization, mortgaged their farms, and integrated into a cash economy. Neither the term peasant nor capitalist adequately describes their mode of production.

Harriet Friedmann and others have argued that the term "peasant" does little to describe the manner in which household producers are integrated into the industrialized world. Friedmann argues that "the term peasant must give way to analytical specifications of forms of production based on internal characteristics and external characteristics of the social formation." [6] She suggests that the term "simple commodity producer" is the most appropriate for small cash cropping farmers; it designates a household economic unit, highly self-sufficient in labour and consumption, but one which must produce for the market place in order to secure the means to reproduce its mode of production. Capital is required to purchase land which rises in value as households compete for it and to acquire technology to ensure that wage labour requirements are kept to a minimum. Household commodity producers thus are, as Friedmann puts it, "not survivors in any sense from the sixteenth century." [7] They represent adaptations to the capitalistic structure and exist because they have proven themselves more competitive than large capitalistic producers; the reasons for this are that they are more mobile, are not tied to fixed labour costs, are not dependent on profits, and are easily adaptable to technological innovations.

Mennonite farmers fit the description of household commodity producers. Three possible problems arise with associating New Russian Mennonites with Friedmann's designation. First, Friedmann's study notes that small commodity producers arose after the 1873 world depression. Yet it is clear that this mode of production was firmly rooted in commercial grain growing areas such as New Russia prior to 1873. Second, it also appears that in regions such as New Russia where technology was dear, farmers were forced to rely on wage labour in order to reproduce their household farms. Strictly speaking the reliance on wage labour designates

producers as capitalists. Friedmann notes that on the American plains farmers hired wage labour only when their own children were quite young and that the family generally provided 80% of their own labour needs. [8] Although the reliance of New Russian Mennonite households on wage labour is difficult to quantify, evidence indicates that hired hands often provided at least 50% of the farm's labour requirements. Still, because the purpose of this labour was to reproduce the household economic unit, and not to accumulate profits or engage in conspicuous consumption, one cannot designate Mennonite farmers as capitalists. A third problem is that Mennonite farmers tended to be both competitive and communally oriented. Friedmann notes that peasants become "small commodity producers" only once the "individualization of the household...result[s in the] transformation of communal...relations...into competitive and universalistic ones." [9] Yet, the strong sense of religious community, bequeathed to the Mennonites from a common religious mythology rooted in the sixteenth century and concretized after centuries of minority status and special religious privileges, was not easily undone.

On balance, it can be argued that Mennonites in New Russia, including the Kleine Gemeinde farmers, were household commodity producers. Indeed, the Kleine Gemeinde were intricately involved in the economic transformation of Russian and Mennonite society. Despite their social and religious separation, which we shall consider later, they participated fully in the economic activities of the Molochnaia. P.M. Friesen, a frequent critic of Kleine Gemeinde asceticism, wrote in 1911 that "the Kleine Gemeinde, in spite of its unhealthy Mennonite narrowness and severity, never came into conflict with the Agricultural Society....The yards, fields, gardens and cattle of the Kleine Gemeinde belonged to the best of the colonies [sic]." [10]

Other sources substantiate Friesen's observation. The agricultural reports in the Odessa based Unterhaltungsblatt, for instance, named Kleine Gemeinde farmers among the Molochnaia's leading farmers in the years

around 1850. One article written by two German agricultural students noted Isaac Loewen of Lindenau, a Kleine Gemeinde deacon, as a "Lehrmeister" in the field of silkworm farming. Other Kleine Gemeinders were listed as being the top silk producers in their respective villages in 1851. One of these was Johann Friesen of Neukirch, the newly elected church Aeltester and another was Johann Toews of Fishau, the author of the Kleine Gemeinde religious tract, Das Wachsame Auge Gottes. In the same year Johann Warkentin, who would later establish an estate farm north of Borosenko, was named the owner of the second most productive dairy herd on the Molochnaia. The Unterhaltungsblatt reported that he owned three cows whose average milk production came to more than 14 Russian quarts a day. [11] Finally, young Kleine Gemeinde farmers could be found as landowners in the newly established villages of Hierschau and Kleefeld in the eastern section of the Molochnaia, indicating that they belonged to well-to-do families who had the means to purchase land at a time when the majority of colonists did not.

Kleine Gemeinde households were also among the victims of economic modernization; they were particularly faced with land shortages associated with a rising population and faltering cottage industries. The land squeeze was evident from rising land prices. Lyashchenko writes that in the western provinces of Russia, land prices rose from an average of 12.69 rubles per desiatin in 1860 to 20.44 rubles by 1870. By the early 1860s the number of landless residents on the Molochnaia was rapidly growing as only those farmers possessing 2000 rubles in cash were given permits to establish new farms on vacant land. David Rempel writes that although this regulation ensured that a farm could be established and operated in a manner "demanded of a model farmer...the sons of the poorer farmers were forced either to rent land, or take up some trade, or...hire themselves to the wealthy farmers." [12] For the Molochnaia colony this meant that half of the population did not own farms by 1860.

No congregation or village was without its "landless." The Kleine Gemeinde was no exception and after 1850 its members increasingly were entering trades despite their falling profitability and an associated stigma attached to non-landed activity. [13] Cornelius Plett, whose father was poor, made "wooden parts for the manufacturing of wagons" until he was able to purchase a farm in the newly founded village of Kleefeld in 1854. [14] In Pragenau, Jacob Wiebe's father helped him purchase a treadmill at the time of his marriage in 1856. [15] John B. Toews, who as a boy left Russia in 1874, reflected back years later and recalled that "besides a small farm, my father owned an oil press, for custom work." [16] Johann Esau recalled that "financially unable to buy land, father became a tradesman...and soon started his own shop, manufacturing combs, horns for sausage making and other articles which were made of animal horns." [17] Cornelius Fast worked as a blacksmith for the estate of David Kornis and died in the course of this work when an old cannon he was cleaning exploded. [18] Klaas Reimer, the grandson of the founder of the Kleine Gemeinde and the son of one of the Kleine Gemeinde's poorest families, was forced to leave home at age 12 to work and learn a trade. In 1857 when Klaas married he opened a blacksmith shop in Kleefeld and rented some land. The crop failures of the early 60s, however, left him with 1400 rubles debt by 1863. [19]

These individual accounts indicate that landlessness was a problem for the Kleine Gemeinde as it was for other groups. The accounts point to the fact that for an increasing number of young Mennonites in the 1850s and 1860s the traditional livelihood of farming was not possible. Increasingly they were forced to find work in agricultural support services or household industry. Landlessness had political, religious and economic implications. Only the landed, for instance, had a right to vote in the village councils. The ideological implications for a group which saw non-agricultural commerce with suspicion has already been noted. Finally, the falling profitability of cottage industries placed the

economic health of many households at risk. Urry notes that by the late 1850s "social inequalities became more marked and possession of land became a crucial factor in the ability of people to secure a future for their families." [20] Clearly a new strategy was required in the 1860s to ensure the continuity of a traditional way of life.

II

That strategy for the Kleine Gemeinde was the relocation, beginning in 1865, to the new colony of Borosenko in the province of Ekaterinoslav (see Map # 1, p. 17). The Molochnaia colony did not have sufficient land reserves for a group committed to agriculture and the reproduction of agrarian households. In a sense the migration of 1865 was to be as significant as the move to North America a decade later; Borosenko was to ensure the survival of the agrarian household and the separated sectarian community in a context of industrialization in a similar fashion sustained by the move to North America in 1874. In the sense that Borosenko allowed for more commodity production and encouraged the view of land as a commodity it also introduced the Kleine Gemeinde to economic realities they would face again in North America.

The most significant element of the Borosenko move was that it provided Kleine Gemeinde households with the land required to reproduce traditional lifeworlds. Peter Toews, one of the two church Aeltesters in the late 1860s, recalled how in 1863 "the poorer brethren of the Gemeinde...submitted a petition to the [church] ministerial requesting that the Gemeinde...purchase land to help the 'landless.'" [21] Other writers echo this concern and effect. Johann Toews, the son of a Kleine Gemeinde farmer, wrote that in the mid 1860s "as farmland became scarce, and the family increased, the church ....bought a tract of land from a certain landlord named [Borso], and a number of families....settled [there] in seven villages." [22] Johann Esau's family reported a similar perception: "when opportunity to buy land arose," wrote Esau, "our parents moved

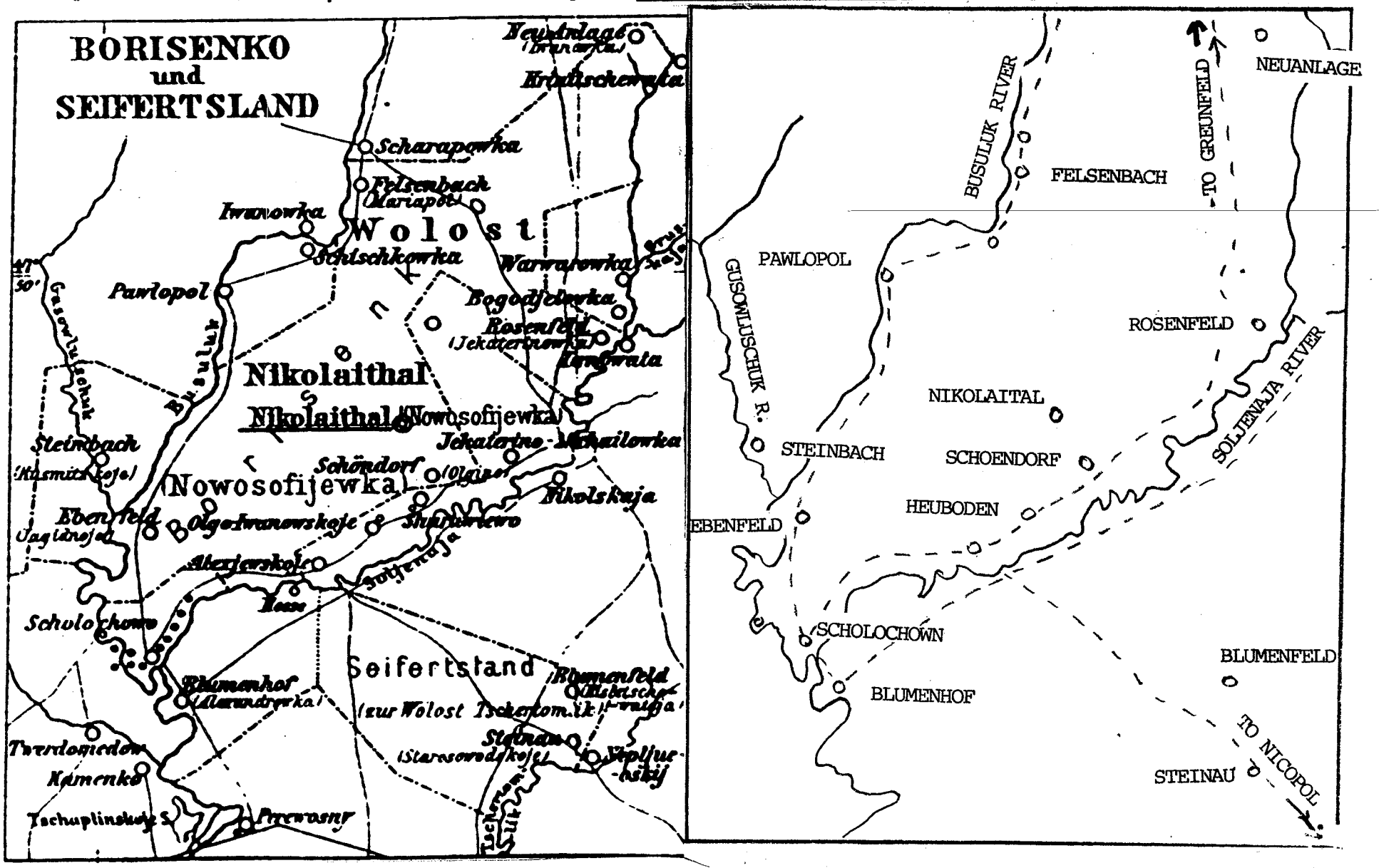
to...Yekaterinaslav, District of Bersenko...." [23] Gerhard Goossen was a schoolteacher until the time of the move to Borosenko at which time he became a farmer for the first time in his life. [24]

That these Mennonite craftsmen and schoolteachers were able to purchase farm land came as a direct result of Alexander II's act to release the serfs in 1861. Throughout Russia noblemen, finding themselves without free labour with which to work their inefficient farms, began selling land. Between 1861 and 1905 these landowners sold some 26 million desiatins of land, 14 million during the 1860s alone. [25] The Kleine Gemeinde, along with many other German Lutheran and Mennonite groups, moved quickly to purchase such lands. [26] In 1865 it negotiated a deal with nobleman Borso of Ekaterinoslav for the purchase of 6137 desiatins of land for 30 rubles a desiatin, a price similar to other colonies being founded by Molochnaia emigrants during this time. [27]

Because the decision to purchase Borosenko was a congregational initiative and not one undertaken by the larger Molochnaia colony, almost the entire Kleine Gemeinde congregation made the relocation. The move was a serious one. It involved relocating 150 kilometers northwest, in an unknown region across the Dnieper River. Here on Borso's estate, lying on the banks of the Busuluk, and Soljenaja Rivers, 120 Kleine Gemeinde families settled in six villages. [28] These villages included, Heuboden, Rosenfeld, Blumenhoff, Neuanlage, Annafeld and Steinbach and each was founded within a two year span from 1865 and 1867 (see Map # 3). [29]

Borosenko continued attracting more families after 1867. In 1870 a number of Kleine Gemeinde families moved from Markusland, a frontier settlement located just to the north of the Khortitsa colony. The lease on this land, which had been negotiated by well-to-do Isaac Harms in a private resettlement scheme, was in effect for only five years. Instead of returning to the Molochnaia upon the lease's termination these families joined their kin in Borosenko. During these years as well a constant trickle of Molochnaia families found its way to Borosenko. These families

MAP # 3: BOROSENKO COLONY, cal890 (According to: Petermann's Mitteilungen 44 (1898), p. 169)



often found land outside the initial boundaries of the colony. At least two Kleine Gemeinde and three Khortitser villages could be found just to the north of Borosenko by 1870 and three Khortitser villages to its south.[30]

The result was that greater Borosenko was hardly a compact Kleine Gemeinde colony. The 131 square kilometre area, containing 12,000 desiatins of land also contained settlements of Khortitser people. Indeed, in the years after 1865 Khortitsers founded no fewer than six villages; these included Nikolaithal, Schoendorf, Ebenfeld, Felsenbach, Eigengrund and Neuhochstaedt. There were small towns comprised of former Ukrainian serfs and state peasants. The most notable of these towns was Sholochown, known to the Mennonites simply as Schalak, located at the confluence of the Busuluk and Soljenaja. [31] And as travel laws in New Russia were liberalized after 1861, Jewish merchants and craftsmen could be found setting up shop in several Mennonite villages. [32]

The dearth of official records makes a comprehensive survey of society at Borosenko difficult. The evidence of several diaries and memoirs of the settlers in this unofficial colony, however, suggests that, except for the greater availability of land, the economy and day to day activities varied little from that of the Molochnaia. Once again there are signs of a modern agrarian economy coexisting within traditional social structures. The costliness of machinery, the difficulty of climate, and the traditional method of settlement ensured a high degree of continuity with established ways. The strong international demand for grain, the availability of cheap community credit, agronomic innovation, the ready supply of wage labour, and the ethnic mix of the new settlement, however, ensured that these Mennonites could not remain aloof from an increasingly pluralistic and industrial society. The growing number of households owning land, the rising land prices and internal stratification were signs that the traditional minded Kleine Gemeinde were becoming integrated in a new economic environment. It was at Borosenko that a coexistence of tradition and capitalism evolved.

With the exception of two extended families that owned their own estates, the Borosenko settlers lived in agrarian villages such as those they had left in the Molochnaia. These villages were, however, somewhat smaller, usually containing between 12 and 22 family farms. The farms, too, were smaller, usually containing only 50 desiatins of land, rather than the 65 they were accustomed to in the Molochnaia. [33] The villages had prescribed farmyard, building, garden plot and arable plot sizes. [34] Each farmyard, for instance, was to contain five desiatins. The land around the village was organized as an open field that was divided into regions with each region further divided into strips so that each "full" farmer received an equal allotment of poor and good land. A tax of around 10 kopecks/desiatin was levied on land to plant trees in the village. [35] One or several of these regions was designated common land for the purpose of haying or pasturing. [36]

A picture of the village of Blumenhoff is available from the memories of Johann W. Dueck, a schoolboy in the village: "a small stream...[the] Soljenaja lay behind the row of houses in Blumenhoff. [It] was a village of one and a half rows of [farmyards], as a number of houses were built in a row perpendicular to the main street at the lower end of the village....From inside the school one could see a high red bank by the...Soljenaja which...[was] said to have iron ore underneath it...." Another account indicates that although wood was used for some construction it was clay, bricks and straw that were the most common construction materials. The house owned by Peter L. Dueck of Friedensfeld, for instance, "had a wall of mortared clay, approximately one and a half feet thick and had a roof covered with straw." The Kleine Gemeinde church building in Blumenhoff was described as "a beautiful school house...built in the middle of the village, of kilned bricks and the roof was covered with plates made of kilned clay." [37]

A traditional lifeworld was guaranteed not only by the re-establishment of a familiar spatial environment, but by the continuation

of a life closely in tune with nature's cycles. Indeed, life followed closely the varied seasons of the continental climate in Russia. While temperatures were less severe than they would be in Canada, the seasons were distinct and the temperatures extreme. Weather charts for the Molochnaia in 1851 indicate that temperatures fluctuated from 38 degrees in July to minus 18 degrees in January. However, a mild (24.6 degree) mean temperature in July, and a moderate (-7.5) mean temperature for January, coupled with 248 frost free days translated into moderate climate. [38] These temperatures also reflect those on the Borosenko colony. Although there are no official records available for Borosenko, the reports of Abram Reimer, an elderly record keeper who took the temperature at 6 A.M. and noon of each day between 1870 and 1873 are adequate. The reports for 1870 establish a mean temperature for July of 24.6 and for January of -7.8. While the first recorded frost for 1870 was on September 23 (September 11 Julian) and the first heavy snowfall arrived on November 18, the River Busuluk still flowed on December 17. It was only on December 30 that Reimer noticed "frost on the door window for the first time." [39]

If the temperature was more moderate than in the Canadian prairies, the winds and irregular precipitation made it a less desirable climate. Frequent hot dry east winds blew from central Asia in summer and fall, and in spring strong south winds whipped up mighty clouds of dust before bringing a deluge of rain from the Black Sea. "There was so much wind," wrote Abram Reimer in July 1873, "that it seemed as if the house would break apart and so much dust that one could not see five paces ahead." While Reimer's diary has many entries reading "beautiful sunny day" this serene picture is inevitably interrupted by entries such as "east wind and very dismal" or "strong south wind with much rain and lightning." The 12 inches of annual precipitation came in frequent violent thundershowers that often flooded parched land and sent creeks overflowing their banks. Muddy roads and submerged bridges could put a halt to all travel. The

occasional snow storm could bring enough snow to force the poor to enter their sod huts through the chimney. The unreliable precipitation, the short-lived snow cover, the strong winds and varying temperatures shaped the agrarian lifeworlds in Borosenko.

The diary of Abram Reimer offers a vivid picture of a man in tune with nature's rhythms. January's intermittent frost and thawing forced farmers to capitalize on the cold days. Sleighs came out, grain was hauled to market and household goods were purchased. By February, spring was present everywhere; cows and sheep gave birth, cattle were released onto pasture land and by the end of the month there was always the news of the first settler who had planted potatoes or plowed his land. By the end of March the whole colony was a hum of activity as "there was plowing everywhere" and the excitement of "the first grain...already sprouting" was contagious. During April there was more new life on the Reimer farm as "the brown mare gave birth to a foal" and "our pig had six piglets" and "the grain has all germinated." In May the sheep were gathered and sheared and put out to summer pasture, the manure accumulated over the winter was spread onto the summerfallow, the schools of fish in the Busuluk were netted, and the hay harvest was begun. June was the "heavenly month" when the weather was perfect with "everything very green."

By the first of July the garden's potatoes, cucumbers, and beans were ready for consumption. More importantly, this was the time that reapers were hired and sent out to the fields with the scythes to cut and tie up the sheaves. By the end of the month much of the grain had been hauled home to threshing floors on the farmyard. During the hot windy days of August farmers threshed. Intermittent and often violent rain showers made this a stress filled task, baiting some to carry this task into hot, sunny Sundays. [40] Once the wheat was harvested portions of it had to be sold to generate cash to pay debts and the winter supply of flour could be ground by the local miller. The balance was bagged, carried

upstairs, from where it was taken when market prices seemed right or when more flour was required. August was also the month that the watermelon ripened, a welcome reward for the farm labourers.

During September if the right rains came to soften the earth the stubble was plowed to prepare for the fall seeding of rye and winter wheat. October and November were the months to fill the larder. Neighbours gathered on successive days to butcher pigs which had been "fatted" on grain since August. The fatter the pig the better was the slaughter; indeed a vital statistic associated with pig slaughtering was the thickness of the fat on the pork belly. The lard from the fat of the pig provided more work in December, especially for the women. The cold days of December signalled to farmers that the time had come for the settling of accounts in time for the holiday season of Christmas.

If the whims of weather ordered the activity of the settler it also played with his spirits. No land was richer than the black soils of southern Russia. Estate owners on the grey soils in the Moscow area could not hope to produce enough grain for export and when they tried they frequently faced bankruptcy. [41] Yet the irregular and dismal amount of precipitation kept the economy of southern Russia in check. David Rempel suggests that the greatest variable in causing grain yields to vary by as much as 500% from year to year was precipitation. The bumper crop of 1874, for instance, brought Cornelius Jansen of Steinfeld 15 bushels of wheat per acre and 31 bushels barley: the crop failure of 1875 resulted in 3.3 bushels of wheat per acre and 7.2 bushels of barley. [42]

According to the same source the average yield of wheat on the Molochnaia colony during the 1860s ranged from 8 bushels an acre in one year to 22 bushels an acre in another. The same volatility of yields was reported in 1855 by the president of the Agricultural Society, Philip Wiebe; he noted that the Molochnaia harvested a dismal crop of 63,000 chetvert that year, 100,000 units less than in the previous year. [43] These irregularities are reflected in the crop reports of two Kleine Gemeinde

teachers who farmed small acreages of land to supplement their wages. In 1872 Abram R. Friesen noted in his diary that he anticipated more than 30 bushels of barley per acre; in 1873 Dietrich Friesen reported that he had harvested only 8.3 bushels of barley per acre. [44]

III

Despite this dependence on nature's cycles there were signs that Borosenko farmers were not resigned to the immutability of things or aloof from the general commercialization of agriculture in New Russia. Kleine Gemeinde farmers engaged in new levels of scientific agriculture, wage labour, cash cropping, and indebtedness. German speaking farmers had for some time been recipients of the ideas of agronomists like Albrecht Thaer who in his widely read 1809 publication, Grundsaetze der rationellen Landwirtschaft, asserted that "the object of agriculture is to produce a profit...." [45] Then, too, it was the Russian government's intention that the German colonists, Lutheran and Mennonite, should be productive farmers and experiment with more productive methods. [46] Thus, it was that the Guardian's Committee had provided the Molochnaia Agricultural Society with the administrative powers to implement mandatory reforms. Cattle breeding, sheep raising, silk worm farming, shelter belt planting and loans to encourage manufacturing were only a few of the innovations. [47] Among the changes which most affected the grain economy was the mandatory cultivation of 25 of the 65 desiatins of land, the replacement of green fallow with black fallow as a measure to build up moisture, and the implementation of a four crop rotation system. [48] This last measure ended the traditional and inefficient three field system used throughout the arable manors of Europe. [49] The old three field system put a full third of all arable acreage out of production each year and prescribed a uniform winter crop and summer crop on the other two fields. In the Agriculture Society's four field system, writes Rempel, "black fallow, barley, wheat and rye or oats comprised the...rotation." [50] By all accounts the Borosenko

farmers continued this method and at times even reduced their fallow area to one sixth of the total cultivated area.

The small, but marked, increase in farm mechanization during the 1860s was another indicator of change. In Borosenko, as in other German speaking colonies, threshing for the most part was carried out without the use of threshing machines. Although reports indicate that by the mid 1860s Peter Lepp of the neighbouring Khortitsa colony was building 115 threshers a year, these machines were obviously priced out of the range of most farmers. [51] The Turner threshing machine which was built in England, for instance, was available in Odessa in 1861 at prices from 550 to 1550 rubles. [52] So long as a farmer could contract to have his grain cut, bound and threshed by itinerant Russian workers for around six rubles a desiatin or simply cut, bound and transferred for 2.5 rubles a desiatin it was uneconomical for him to consider such a purchase. [53] The Odessa newspaper, the Unterhaltungsblatt, thus reported in 1857 that "the threshing of grain in the government districts of Taurida and Ekaterinoslav is carried out mostly with the use of stone threshing wheels." [54] Rempel suggests that until the 1890s most Mennonites in Russia threshed using "the primitive system of running a stone roller over the grain on the threshing floor." [55]

This analysis holds true for the Borosenko farmers as well. Johann Dueck, the son of a young Borosenko farmer, recalled that the only farmer he knew who had a threshing machine was his wealthy uncle, Jacob Penner of the neighbouring settlement of Friedensfeld. Dueck reports that the average farmer used a threshing stone pulled by a pair of horses on a specially constructed threshing floor, a round shaped spot packed hard with straw worked into it. And according to Dueck, only "the large estate owners...had specially built sheds" allowing them to extend threshing into winter. [56] The personal diaries of Abram Reimer and Abram Friesen are filled with reports of "hauling the wheat home" and then "driving it out."

If the weather cooperated, up to 10 layers of grain could be threshed in a day and cleaned, bagged and carried into the attic the next. [57]

If threshing machines were owned only by the upper class of "Gutsbesitzers," steam engines were owned by even fewer farmers. Although English steam engines were also available in Odessa their price tags of up to 2400 rubles for a transportable Klayton steamer made them highly impractical. Mechanical reapers, introduced into Russia at this time, were similarly unpopular. Wiebe, of the Agricultural Society, did report in 1856 that the "grain cutting machines have operated in many villages this year and proved their usefulness." [58] However, at a price of 260 rubles the reaper too was out of reach of many farmers. [59] In fact, according to Lyashchenko, the importation of farm machinery into Russia did not take off until the late 1870s when 1.17 million rubles worth of implements were imported compared to .26 million in the early 70s - a five-fold increase within a decade. [60]

There were innovations, however, which Mennonites did accept. For fall and spring plowing there was the "Bukker," a three or four share steel plow which improved the seed bed, preserved moisture and proved more time efficient than the single furrow, deep wooden plows. [61] At least one Kleine Gemeinde blacksmith made quite a profit from building these plows. Klaas Reimer writes that between 1864 and 1868 he hired "two men [to] increase the activity in the smithy [because] at that time there was a great demand for three and four bottom plows. I [happened] to be quite good at making these, attracting several blacksmiths to come and see [how I] made every plow work with precision." [62]

Other pieces of equipment referred to in the accounts of Borosenko farmers are harrows, wagons and even an occasional seeder. [63] Each was constructed by local craftsmen. The harrow was usually a wooden implement although the increasing number of blacksmiths during this period would indicate that many were made of steel. The wagons were heavy wooden vehicles reinforced with steel plates with small wheels suited for the

smooth, dry roads of southern Russia. [64] Larger covered wagons known as "Gedeckwagon" were also used. [65] Two wheeled riding wagons, "Zweiraeder," once frowned on by the ascetic Kleine Gemeinde were introduced in Borosenko, especially to make the long journey back to the Molochnaia. Many farmers also possessed cleaning mills required to clean poorly threshed grain. The grain picked up from the threshing floor after the straw had been removed had a high percentage of chaff as well pieces of earth and the manure from the animals that had pulled the threshing stones. [66] Cleaning this grain was an important task for the farmer. Dry weather was required and so was a good set of arms. Abram Reimer of Steinbach writes in an entry of August 17, 1870 that "I was in bed till noon [resting up] from turning the cleaning mill [the previous day]." [67]

Because of the emphasis on grain growing few Mennonite settlements were without a local custom mill which, in the absence of steam power, relied on wind, water or animal driven treadmills. Custom mills were operated by Peter Barkman of Rosenfeld, Abram Friesen of Gruenfeld, Peter Thiessen of Neuhalbstadt and Peter Toews of Steinbach. Although many mills were powered by horse-driven treadmills the Barkman mill erected in 1868 was a "large Holland-type windmill" as were the mills of Peter Buller and Peter Ens from Steinbach. Indeed the size of Buller's mill may be conjectured from the fact that it was sold in 1873 for 575 rubles; the size of Ens's mill may be determined by the fact that it was transferred from Steinbach, Borosenko on eighteen wagons. And while most mills ground flour with grind stones, the Friesen mill was a roller mill. [68]

The more striking indicator of farm commercialization, however, was the degree to which Kleine Gemeinde farmers marketed surplus grain by the 1860s. Gemeinde members like Peter L. Dueck of Gnadenthal and Peter Isaac of Schoenau wrote about memorable trips from the Molochnaia to the seaport of Berdyansk in the 1850s; here they delivered grain, visited relatives en route and tried to withstand the temptations of the cities' public houses. [69] After the move to Borosenko, Kleine Gemeinde farmers began

hauling a substantial portion of their grain to Nicopol, a riverport located 250 kilometers upstream from the Black Sea port of Kherson.

In 1870, for instance, Johann Reimer a 32 year old farmer from Steinbach made the two day return voyage to Nicopol approximately once a month. Often he would go alone, taking with him 24 bushels of wheat or barley, and returning the next day with the 28 to 34 rubles or merchandise for that amount. Sometimes he would travel in convoy accompanied by his brother Klaas or Peter or his brother-in-law Peter Toews or Abram Friesen. Once he went in with his wife, Anna Warkentin. Inevitably he returned with news of the latest Odessa price for wheat which during that year fluctuated between 7.20 rubles and 8.50 rubles per chetvert. [70]

A growing demand for wheat to feed Europe's mushrooming cities sent prices as high as 12 rubles a chetvert, $1.04 a bushel, during these years. The fact that wheat prices were only about 10% higher in the months from April to the end of August than during the remainder of the year suggests a continued demand for the product. [71] But it is also indicates that farmers were reevaluating the traditional "subsistence economy" and playing the market, keeping enough wheat back to deliver it over the year thus hedging their losses. [72] Farmers also listened to the encouragement by grain traders to grow wheat. Johann Dueck, the son of a Borosenko farmer, wrote that "when one went to Nicopol with a load of wheat one would be met by wheat dealers in large numbers before one even was in the city. Each one of the wheat dealers wanted to buy the wheat and had to try to outbid the other." [73] Sometimes these dealers even made their rounds in the villages pressing farmers to pre-sell their wheat and hedge on the futures market. Dueck writes that "on such occasions, once the parties had reached an agreement, a deposit was paid...to validate the transaction. Later the wheat...had [only] to be delivered to the purchaser [who would pay out the agreed upon price] without regard to [current] price...." [74]

The records of Abram Reimer, an elderly Steinbach resident, who regularly described his sons' agricultural activities suggests that farmers were profitably committing large percentages of their farms to wheat in Borosenko. In 1873, for instance, Reimer's son, Klaas, seeded 86 acres of wheat, 27 acres of barley, 13.5 acres rye and 5 acres of oats on his farm. [75] At least three of Reimer's poorer neighbours, Johann Reimer, Heinrich Brandt and Peter Toews each seeded at least 54 acres of their 135 acre farms to wheat in 1873 as well. The profits from wheat were significant. The net revenue from Klaas's fields in 1873 was greater than the very price of the land when the Kleine Gemeinde first moved to Borosenko eight years earlier. The net income for Klaas's 49 desiatins in 1873 when wheat rose above 12 rubles a chetvert came to 1526 rubles; the price of 49 desiatins in 1865 would have been 1470 rubles. [76]

So prevalent was the practice of exporting wheat from the region that local demand sometimes sent prices higher than the export market price. In the fall of 1868 Cornelius Loewen sold five chetverts of wheat to his brother David for 10.50 rubles when grain traders were paying 8 rubles a chetvert. In April, 1870 Peter Reimer hauled his wheat to Nicopol and on his return discovered that he could have made 2 rubles per chetvert more in the neighbouring village of Heuboden. In October of that same year Reimer received 8.20 kopecks per chetvert at a local annual fair when the price in Nicopol averaged around 7.60 rubles. [77]

The primacy of wheat as the cash crop for the Borosenko farmers was underlined by the relative insignificance of other products during the 1860s. Sheep farming in New Russia had been declining for some time. Only one Kleine Gemeinde farmer is known to have had a sizeable sheep herd in Borosenko. Klaas Reimer of Steinbach was raising 300 sheep within a year of his move to Borosenko in 1868; but even he sold at least half of these to neighbours, presumably for household consumption. Other products were sold at regional fairs, the "Jahrmarkten," but incomes from this source paled in comparison to wheat sales. Cornelius Loewen of Gruenfeld,

Borosenko sold 45.50 rubles of butter during the first six months of 1872 but this represented less than 12% of his grain income during a similar period. Other Mennonite farmers regularly supplemented their grain sales with sales of wool, eggs, meat and vegetables into the local market. Abram R. Friesen's diary indicates that a slaughtered pig bearing three inches of fat could bring seven rubles; eggs in spring seven kopecks a dozen; mutton seven kopecks per Russian pound; beef five kopecks; butter 20 kopecks a pound in winter and 15 in summer; lambs 1.75 rubles a piece; weanlings 70 kopecks a piece. But, once again these represented supplements to a wheat economy.

Wheat sales gave rise to a money economy that permeated every aspect of farming in Borosenko. Cash was required to purchase additional land. In the 1860s land prices ranged from 20 to 53 rubles per desiatin and rents from two to four rubles a desiatin. Klaas Reimer purchased his land in Borosenko for 20 rubles per desiatin in 1865 and rented additional land for two rubles a desiatin. Cornelius Loewen, who purchased land in Borosenko in 1868 rented an additional 7.5 desiatins for 4.5 rubles per desiatin in 1872. A year later he increased his farm by 25 desiatins, paying 53 rubles a desiatin. Cash was also required to pay for draft horses, new stocks of cattle and sheep, and implements that were purchased from neighbours or at the annual fairs.

Significantly, cash was also increasingly required to purchase consumer goods. During the days of the Molochnaia Agricultural Society's drive for modernization money had been required to purchase wood and bricks for housing, and the services of local millers, blacksmiths and carpenters. In the 1860s and early 1870s cash was also used to purchase merchandise in Nicopol, the grain depot, and from travelling merchants. Travelling Jewish peddlers, like young Johann Hushof of Nicopol often visited the Mennonite villages in Borosenko. And he often demanded cash for his cotton, linen, boots, shoes, tools, pails, baskets, pots, candles and cutlery. For medicinal and the occasional social purposes brandy,

wine, whiskey and beer were brought from Nicopol. [78] Sugar, apples, coffee and vinegar headed the list of foodstuffs that colonists sometimes purchased at the riverport. Amenities such as a "bell clock," hats, aprons and other finished clothes were also bought. [79]

The presence of a money economy is also indicated by the frequency with which settlers loaned and borrowed money from each other. In the absence of prominent banking houses, individuals who had cash on hand regularly lent money at interest rates of five and six percent which was usually compounded annually. Klaas Reimer, the blacksmith and sheep farmer, incurred a debt of 1400 rubles during the drought stricken years of the early 1860s. He was finally able to pay his creditors in the late 1860s after capitalizing on the demand for plows. Cornelius Loewen borrowed more than 1800 rubles over 16 years from 10 different sources to help finance the purchase of land, stock and implements on his new farm in the Molochnaia and his new operation in Borosenko. The lenders were a variety of people: they included Loewen's father and brothers, wealthy members from within the congregation and outsiders like non-Kleine Gemeinde village mayors and acquaintances from the Molochnaia. Other farmers borrowed money from the church congregation which had first borrowed it from wealthier farmers in the community. [80] There was an irony here: the community no doubt profited tremendously from the lenders who loaned their money at a relatively low rate - a rate prescribed no doubt by ancestral teaching against usury. The result was that farmers could enter into a capitalist economy.

Another indication of a highly developed capitalistic economy at Borosenko was a growing economic stratification. Just as the prosperity in the Molochnaia had created a wide chasm between the rich and poor, the strong grain economy and expensive land at Borosenko ensured a continued economic stratification. [81] However, the ready availability of land at Borosenko and the Gemeinde practice of underwriting the debts of poorer members meant that social differentiation could be kept in check. In

fact, there are a number of examples of upward mobility associated with the exodus from the Molochnaia. The story of young Klaas Reimer is illustrative. In the Molochnaia he had been a highly indebted land renter and blacksmith; in Borosenko he owned a full farm of 50 desiatins on which he raised 300 sheep a year and 32 desiatins of wheat, the yield of which he regularly shipped to Nicopol.

Still many settlers were not as fortunate as Reimer. The fact that the Borosenko land had been relatively expensive broken land and that the farmers had access to an export economy meant that the well-to-do could most easily capitalize on Borosenko's new opportunities. There were indeed gaps between the rich and poor. An existing fire insurance assessment list of the 12 residents in Annafeld indicates, for instance, that while one household had an inventory assessment of 500 rubles, seven were assessed at between 300 and 200, and four at 100 or less. [82] Moreover, church records indicate that certain members were regular recipients of mutual aid and personal financial records indicate that certain farmers tended to be borrowers of money while others were creditors. Other sources indicate that even in Borosenko some of the Gemeinde members never owned their own land; they were forced to farm on rented land. [83] Others were even less fortunate and made their living as wage labourers. Dietrich Friesen, a 20 year old man in 1870, worked and boarded at the farm of Klaas Reimer in Steinbach before he married in that year and became a schoolteacher in the settlement. Tobias Ratzlaff was an older Polish Lutheran who found employment as a teamster for Abram Loewen of Gruenfeld. Abram F. Reimer, the diarist, worked at odd jobs, sawing wood and helping neighbours with their harvests.

A final indication of a modernizing economy was the farmers' increasing dependence on wage labour. Indeed, one resource which Borosenko farmers had that they would not have in America was an abundance of relatively inexpensive labour provided by free Russian peasants and former serfs. Many were the children of former state peasants who

comprised 80% of the native population in Ekaterinoslav and a few were former serfs who in 1858 had comprised 16% of the population in the province. [84] Another labour source was the corps of young local Mennonite men and women whose labour at a particular point in their family's life cycle might be redundant. A third source came from migrant German Lutherans seeking work. [85]

Soviet historians have argued that "households employing day labourers [in the 19th century] could be found chiefly among the well-to-do peasantry." [86] Records from Mennonite colonies would indicate that the practice of hiring labour was more common than the Soviet analysis might indicate. In 1856, for instance, fully 8% of the Molochnaia population was comprised of common labourers who boarded with their employers. Indeed, it appears from examining the diaries of Borosenko families that most Mennonite households, no matter how well to do, had at least one male farmhand in year round employment to help with the harvest and sheep herds, and one maid to help with the raising of large young families and the milking of cows. One of the poorest men in the settlement, supported to a large extent by handouts from the church, wrote on February 17, 1870 that he had hired a "Russian till Easter for seven rubles." The schoolteacher at Blumenhoff, too poor to own his own land, nevertheless was able to hire a servant to help with the harvest on his rented land. Klaas Reimer, the blacksmith who sold a ham in 1864 to buy materials for his sod hut turned to hired help two years later when a demand grew for his plows. Cornelius Plett who rented 270 acres of land in 1872 hired "wagons full of Russian labourers" to help bring in his crop. [87]

The importance of Russian wage labour among Mennonites is apparent from several sources. According to Philip Wiebe's report to the Mennonitische Blaetter in 1856 more than half of the labourers on the Molochnaia Colony for that year were non-Mennonites and the vast majority of these were Russians. They included 737 Mennonites, 180 Germans, and 681 Russians. But the importance of non-Mennonite labour is also apparent

from personal diaries. These records astutely note when these labourers were hired, and note particularly occasions when Mennonite farmers were stranded without wage labour. Abram Reimer of Steinbach kept information of this sort in his diary. Typical of his entries was the one for October 21, 1870, which noted that Klaas Reimer's "Russian maid" and farm hand had broken their terms of employment by eloping. Another entry for January 13, 1873 noted that "Johann Reimer's Russian has left them, also Peter Toews' Russian maid...has finished her term of service." [88]

These entries reflect a highly paternalistic attitude toward these native servants. Blum writes that the serfs and peasant workers in Russia were universally seen as inefficient and lazy and that resorting to the whip was seen as the only way to get "the work moving." [89] One Mennonite writer to the Odessaer Zeitung in 1864 warned his readers that because of the grave difficulty in finding German workers, farmers would have to resort to hiring Russians and when this occurred one would have to be "very obliging." [90]

It was a common practice for Mennonites to provide room and board to their workers and to negotiate a binding agreement stating the terms of the employment. To ensure that the servants would stay their time they were infrequently given money during their tenure. Sometimes a down payment representing around 10% of the annual salary was paid outright, payment in kind amounting to up to 70% of the total salary was paid during the year and at the end of the term the servant received the balance. Payment in kind included wheat and boots and pants for the men; cotton and linen and brandy for the women. Small cash allowances were given out for the Russians to travel to see their families on holidays. [91]

During the time of employment strict rules of behaviour were set down for the workers. It was expected that workers would not marry during their term of employment and stories abound about young couples having to wait until their employment contract had expired before they could marry. When workers disobeyed, Mennonites readily resorted to the whip to punish

offenders. Even the strictly pacifist Kleine Gemeinde resorted to the whip from time to time. During the 1860s at least three farmers were publicly admonished in their church congregations for having beaten either their farmhands or maids. [92] Settlers were expected to resort to wit, treats and cajoling to keep their servants in line. Abram Reimer, a blacksmith from Blumenhoff, gained a reputation for controlling his servant by publicly embarrassing him; in one instance Reimer challenged the servant to a test of physical strength after the labourer had acted in an arrogant manner. [93] Cornelius Plett, the wheat farmer from Blumenhoff, passed around the whiskey bottle before hauling the wagon full of singing Russian reapers to the field. [94]

The cost of labour was cheap. A survey of some of the German colonies in 1861 indicated that the average annual salary for a male farmhand was 40 rubles with board and 64 rubles without board. Male day labourers were paid 30 kopecks in summer and 20 kopecks in winter. These wages reflect the price Borosenko farmers were prepared to pay for work. Cornelius Loewen of Gruenfeld, for instance, paid his male workers, Zwirith and Mischie, from 30 to 43 rubles a year between 1870 and 1873. The difference in wages seems to have depended on the labourer's experience, age, and the outcome of the grain yield. While Loewen paid Johann Broeski, his Polish Lutheran day worker, 40 kopecks a day, Abram R. Friesen, of Lichtenau, Molochnaia paid a herdsboy 20 kopecks per day in 1871. That these prices were inexpensive is borne out by the fact that Kleine Gemeinde schoolteachers during these years reported receiving between 150 and 190 rubles a year, plus grain and land. Then, too, wage labour in New Russia was considerably cheaper than it was to be in North America; there Mennonite immigrants were quickly compelled to pay up to four times the Russian rates for day wage labour. [95]

IV

By the time the Kleine Gemeinde left Russia in 1874 for North America they had entered fully into New Russia's growing commercial agriculture. Their traditional values favoured farming as a livelihood and sent them searching for new sources of farmland at a time when the Molochnaia colony was rapidly industrializing. Their new home, Borosenko, ensured them a high degree of continuity. Spatial patterns of open fields and "Strassendoerfer" resembled those in the Molochnaia. Farming was once again the occupation of the vast majority of Kleine Gemeinde members. Daily lifeworlds were closely tied to the rhythms of nature, each season demanding different tasks and weather patterns directly affecting the economic strength of the household. Mechanization remained limited, and the work of farming was filled with drudgery. Highly important, too, was the fact that the availability of farmland in Borosenko meant the household economy could continue.

Borosenko, however, was not isolated from the economic growth in New Russia. Global grain prices, a transportation system linking the Nicopol region to the Black Sea, and aggressive grain buyers enabled and compelled farmers to commercialize their operations. With high grain prices, came inflating land prices and a growing variety of household consumer products. There was also a gain mentality as farmers purchased more wagons and cultivating equipment, and were willing to spend more on buying and renting land. The signs of farm commercialization were everywhere. There were more frequent trips to the Dnieper riverport of Nicopol. There were more Russian, German Lutheran and young Mennonite wage labourers working the land and making sure that surpluses could be produced in these pre-mechanization days. Gaps between the rich and poor, slowed somewhat by the availability of land in Borosenko, were still very apparent. And as farms were re-located and expanded there was more borrowing from a diversity of credit sources within the community.

Economic strength, however, did not fundamentally disrupt the Kleine Gemeinde social structure and value system. Instead it allowed these farmers to improve their abilities to reproduce their household units and put them in a position to exercise the option of emigration when political reforms began to threaten their communities in new ways in the 1870s.

CHAPTER 3

KINSHIP, MARRIAGE AND WOMEN'S WORK

In 1868 60 year-old Abram Reimer and his 54 year-old wife, Elisabeth, moved from Tiege, in the Molochnaia colony in Taurida province, to Steinbach, in the Borosenko colony in Ekaterinoslav. The Reimers were poor and elderly, but they were assured a place on the farmyard of their son Johann and his wife Anna. In Steinbach the Reimers lived side by side with the families of their other married children. They included: son Klaas, the blacksmith and sheep and wheat farmer; and daughter Elisabeth, the wife to farmer and teamster, Peter Toews. Twelve kilometers south along the shallow, winding Buluk River, past the Russian town of Scholochown, lay the large Mennonite village of Blumenhoff. Here the Reimers' sons Peter and Abram and their families farmed. Clear across the Borosenko Volost, 27 kilometers east north east of Steinbach, past the seat of the Volost council in Nikolaithal, lay Gruenfeld. Here the Reimers' two youngest daughters, Margaretha and Elisabeth lived with their husbands Abram Penner and Abram S. Friesen.

Despite the distances the Reimers were a closeknit clan. Few Sundays passed but that the daughters and their husbands came from Rosenfeld for the afternoon "Faspa." Through the week the boys came from Blumenhoff to help their father and brother shoe horses, to assist in setting up a barn, or to return a borrowed cleaning mill. Once a month several sons and sons-in-law would drive in wagon caravans to Nicopol to market their wheat and return with wood and other merchandise. Father Reimer spent many days throughout the year dropping in on his children in any of the three villages if a ride happened to be available or if he heard that some of them needed wood chopped or a hand with the harvest.

Mother Reimer travelled the dusty roads as much as her husband. But she was younger and more vivacious and her contacts were as much medical as social. She knew that her place was at the side of a daughter in childbirth and at the service of her grandchildren when their mothers lay sick. [1]

I

The intricate familial social network described here was indicative of the way in which the Kleine Gemeinde ordered their lives. Mennonites have traditionally asserted that the central institution providing social order and a common identity among the Mennonites was the church congregation. [2] While this may be true for the public arena of community politics, it does not hold true for village life as a whole. The most important institution was the family. It ordered one's very life; it determined the people one would interact with most often and intensely during the course of life; it influenced the important decisions in life; and very often, too, it determined the nature and configuration of church leadership and membership.

Despite the fact that anthropologists like Hildred and Clifford Geertz have debunked the all encompassing, universal "kinship system" theory in a study of the Bali in Indonesia others find the family unit useful for understanding values, economic activities and social networks. [3] Rudolph Vecoli has argued that in Italy "it was the family which provided the basis of peasant solidarity...[and] precluded allegiance to other social institutions." [4] Peter Laslett has written that in England "time was when the whole life went forward in the family, in a circle of loved, familiar faces...." [5] David Sabean has observed that in Germany "where kinship is examined, some kind of consistent mapping exercise takes place, distinguishing between affinal and bold relatives...between friend and enemy." [6] In this regard the Mennonites of Russia were no exception. Here original villages were founded along kinship lines, marriages were planned

strategically to enhance social advantages, and the public politics which pitted one church group against another often had their roots in the private sphere of clan interaction. [7]

It is true that in the world of nineteenth-century Mennonites there were avenues of social intercourse which bypassed the family. Local barn raising bees and village council meetings brought villagers together. Church and colony affairs such as school conferences established important social networks. Market places took colonists out of the Molochnaia, north to the annual fairs at Tokmak and Prischib and south to the seaport of Berdyansk and the land-rich Crimean Peninsula. Newspapers widened the world to include the Mennonites of Prussia, Pennsylvania and even Canada and told them about the wars in Germany and the United States and about missionaries in Java and believers in Palestine.

Still, the Molochnaia of the 1850s and Borosenko of the 1860s were very much familial societies. Kinship ties, for instance, figured importantly in church politics and Gemeinde formations. While there were more than 35 different family names represented in the Kleine Gemeinde at the time of migration to North America, one family name, Friesen, accounted for almost 25% of all members and the vast majority of the other members were represented by less than 10 different family names. Kinship ties were also important in determining church leadership. The first three bishoprics in the congregation which spanned more than 50 years were held by the brothers-in-law Klaas Reimer and Abram Friesen and their nephew Johann Friesen. One of the factions resulting from the Kleine Gemeinde church schism of 1866 was predominantly comprised of the relatives of Aeltester Johann Friesen and was for a time known as the "Friesen Gemeinde."

Despite the exclusivity of the Kleine Gemeinde and its well-articulated social boundaries, kinship ties often seemed more important than congregational lines in the composition of social networks. The family of Cornelius Jansen, the Prussian proconsul and Mennonite grain

trader in Berdyansk, is said to have migrated to Russia in the 1850s because his wife, Helena, was closely related to many Kleine Gemeinders including its Aeltester from 1850 to 1866, Johann Friesen. [8] One Kleine Gemeinde member recalled the close ties his father had with his brother who had joined the Brethren; "even though they were not of one mind in religious matters [Uncle Bernard and father] mutually encouraged and enriched one another [through many letters]." [9] Another recalled that his uncle Peter who served as a school inspector and likely belonged to the large Flemish Gemeinde was "very sociable...and visited often at my parents' place." [10] Several letters are extant from a correspondence between two sisters, Mrs. Katherina Fast of Groszwiede, Molochnaia and Mrs. Sara Janzen of Steinbach, Borosenko. A typical letter is one which begins with the words "it is truly a precious thing that sisters can speak to one another through letter writing...." [11] Church boundaries did little to hamper such kinship networks.

II

The importance of the family is most clearly revealed in the internal dynamic of household reproduction. The crucial moments in the life of the Mennonite colonists coincided with crucial moments in the lifecycle of the family; the seasons of birth, marriage and death; the definitions of childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age; the age of leaving home, of establishing one's own place, of vacating it for one's grown children - these were the grist not only of the family but of life itself. [12]

The life cycle of a Mennonite family member did not differ substantially from that of other Western European agrarian groups. Childhood, described by Philippe Aries as "a sort of quarantine before [the child] was allowed to join the adults," [13] was a special time when young Mennonites were socialized both within the family and in the village school. For Mennonites in Russia this "time" was increasingly spent in

the German-language village schoolhouses which, after the Johann Cornies educational reforms of the 1840s, emphasized orderliness, morality, civility, literacy and arithmetic ability. The aim was to train boys between the ages of seven and twelve to become good community members and farmers. Girls also attended the village schools where they took the same curriculum as the boys but they usually ended their formal training at age 11. [14]

During the next decade the children entered the age of servanthood. For the members of the poor this was a time away from home - a time to earn a wage for their family and a time to learn a trade. [15] For the others it was a time to assist in the building of family equity which would someday be required to assist in the establishing of new homes. James Henretta has suggested that sudden increases in the size of family farms in rural societies in early America came as a result of a strategy to re-establish the family farm and not as result of capitalist values. [16] Indeed, the correlation between farm size and the number of children between 12 and 25 in Kleine Gemeinde communities is striking. Cornelius Plett, of Kleefeld, Molochnaia, for example, increased his arable acreage from a normal 45 desiatins of a "full farmer" in Borosenko to 100 desiatins in 1871 at a time when he was 51 and his seven children were between 12 and 25 years old. [17]

Hard work did not, however, translate into automatic social conformity. If childhood had been discovered by this time in Europe, adolescence with its awkward, complying innocence had not. Joseph Kett's description of hardworking but non-conforming "troublesome, rash and heedless" teenagers in rural, nineteenth century America fits the description of Russian Mennonite youth. [18] This was a period of social "laissez faire" when youth were expected to sow their "wild oats." Card playing, smoking and drinking, jesting and "charivari" were the order of the day. Abram Klassen's testament is typical: "though my parents had raised me in the fear and discipline of the Lord...I went astray and until

the age of 20 [in 1870] lived like a worldling without concerning myself with spiritual things." [19]

Worldliness, however, had its bounds and rarely involved premarital sex. Community members excused youthful rowdiness but not promiscuity. In fact when youths indulged in sexual looseness their parents were held accountable by the church community. In the fall of 1871 a respected Kleine Gemeinde couple from Borosenko left their grown son home with their maid during a lengthy trip to Molochnaia on church business. When they returned they discovered that a sexual liaison between the son and maid had developed. The maid, who had been a church member, was promptly excommunicated and banned for one month. But she was not the only one punished. The son's father was publicly admonished for neglecting his unbaptized children and for "not having been watchful enough." Two years later another church man was charged with "careless[ness]...with respect to his daughter, [and told] that he was at fault that she had stayed out for [a] night with the Russians and now had gone with them." [20]

The period of youth ended with the rites of passage into adulthood: baptism, courtship and marriage came around the age of 21 and usually in quick succession within a few weeks. Dietrich Friesen, the young servant of Johann Reimer in Steinbach, was baptized on May 3, engaged to be married on May 4, visited his relatives on the 7th and 8th with his fiancee, and was married on the 12th at his parent's place in Annafeld. [21] Marriage partners often met through servanthood; young men and women sometimes married the sons and daughters of their employers and names like Wohlgemuth and Schierling, Juhnke and Broeski, Geerki and Radinzel within the Kleine Gemeinde spoke of the presence of Prussian Lutheran workers. Unlike other European agrarian groups, cultural mores among the Mennonites proscribed prenuptial sexual relations and couples did not associate until after their baptisms and parentally sanctioned betrothals. [22] Before marriage, betrothed men and women were allowed to associate only in public

as they presented each other to their respective clans of uncles and aunts for scrutiny and approval.

Marriage was not immediately equated with an independent household. Indeed, it was seen as a mark of dishonour if parents did not have the means to provide the young couple with shelter and employment for the first years. According to Peter Isaac who married in 1867, it was only "poverty [that] might compel the young person to leave [the parental household after marriage] and learn a trade." Those couples who had parents of means stayed around for the opportune time when father would assist his "children" in establishing their own place and their own livelihood. Jacob Wiebe, for example, worked for his father after marriage until father helped son buy a treadmill, used for custom work. Abram Klassen received 25 desiatins of land from his father after working for him as a young married man. [23]

After marriage infants came quickly and often. Genealogical records indicate that the vast majority of first children were born between 10 and 14 months after marriage. Prenuptially conceived children were rare but so, too, were children conceived after periods of birth control. Malthusianism was not a cause of concern and families were large. It was not unusual for families, despite high mortality rates, to raise 10 or 12 children to adulthood. A growing economy ensured that many mouths could be fed and many hands ensured that farms could continue to grow. Large families also safeguarded an unbroken lineage and it was with pride that sons and daughters bore the names of their parents and grandparents. It was not only paternal lineage that was crucial; maternal lineage revealed its importance in the fact that each child bore as its second name the family name of its mother and few sons were known publicly without an allusion to the first letter of that maternal designation.

It was only after the couple had their first child that they left the parental household and established their own place. As children married and started their own families, the energies of the grandparents

were focused more and more on guaranteeing that the young household unit was firmly established. Mothers attended the births of their daughters' children with strict regularity; fathers loaned money, purchased land and counselled their sons through the first years of their farming careers. Because Russian law stipulated impartibility of the colonist farms and yet Germanic tradition espoused partibility of estates, fathers made a concerted effort to assist their sons, and their daughters if they married men of poorer families, onto their own farms before the parents themselves reached retirement. [24]

Thus, the sights of aging parents were focused on the day in which all their children had their own places, the youngest son could operate the family farm on his own and they had established a retirement cottage in the backyard of the old farm place. From here they could encounter their grandchildren and counsel them with visits and letters to "have one spirit, be peaceful...so [that] God will give...love and peace...." [25] Casting ones eyes back over life, the elderly, no doubt, took great satisfaction when they realized that the main efforts of their lives, re-establishing the household for the next generation, had been fulfilled.

III

The times of economic growth had a profound effect on the family in Russian Mennonite society. Some studies of Mennonites have argued that agricultural commercialization and industrialization in New Russia increased the level of individualism and social differentiation. [26] This was true only in a sense, for even the most progressive groups such as the Mennonite Brethren and the wealthy "Gutsbesitzer", saw family, kinship and clan as important variables. James Urry has shown how wealthy Mennonite land owners and industrialists planned the marriages of their children to maximize family strength; church groups such as the Mennonite Brethren and Templers were formed along family lines. [27] Studies by Clifford Geertz and

others have argued for some time that few traditional groups assimilated in unilinear fashion into modern industrial society. [28] The new economic forces of capitalism, for instance, did not produce nuclear families or individualistic entrepreneurs in the manner described in classic works by Talcott Parsons and Max Weber. Kinship networks and sectarian community remained the primary social networks of Mennonites in the modernizing context of New Russia. However, this was true only because Mennonite families actively pursued strategies to ensure the survival of traditional, agrarian households in the increasingly dynamic and disparate New Russian society.

Industrialization, demographic and urban growth, and the commercialization of agriculture left families in few European subsocieties untouched. Hans Medick has shown how "the social context of production, reproduction...[and] power relationships" changed with industrialization; Jon Gjerde has described the falling marriage age and number of illegitimate children in a Norway in transition; Eugene Weber has described the change in worldview as fathers left the farms to work France's factories, as children attended school and as women bore fewer children. [29]

The growing difficulty of re-establishing the household economic unit in the Molochnaia where cottage industries were failing and land was a scarce commodity has been described in Chapter 1. The Kleine Gemeinde's decision to re-locate in Borosenko to ensure the survival of the agrarian household has also been noted. That there was a primary concern for the integrity of the family in the relocation to Borosenko can be ascertained from the demographic characteristics of the new settlement.

One of the most striking features of the new colony was the relationship of village configurations to kinship units. Life in the Molochnaia had almost inevitably meant the dispersion of extended families throughout the 60-village colony. Young farmers were usually compelled to establish their own enterprises in new villages in the far eastern part

of the colony. The young landless had to settle where a demand for their trade could be expected. The six Kleine Gemeinde villages in Borosenko presented an unprecedented opportunity for familial coalescence. In Hochfeld only one family was not related to the Warkentin clan. In Rosenfeld the majority of villagers were members of the Toews or Rempel families. Abraham Rempel (1798-1878), for instance, saw the families of three sons-in-law, and five grandsons set down roots in the village. In Steinbach, eight of the fourteen residences were directly related to Abram Reimer (1808-1892). Gruenfeld was the centre of the Loewen, Toews and Isaac families. Blumenhoff was a Plett and Reimer enclave, and Heuboden was dominated by the Friesens.

The move to Borosenko also provided the opportunity for traditional household economies to be reproduced more easily. It is interesting to note that the majority of the Kleine Gemeinde families who chose not to relocate to Borosenko were at a particular stage in the life cycle. Of the 16 Kleine Gemeinde families that remained in Molochnaia, only one was not headed by a father between the age of 31 and 49, a time when the pressure to establish oneself on a farm of one's own or to look for land for sons approaching marriage is not yet acute. The villages in Borosenko had a far higher rate of 20 year old and 50 and 60 year old farmers. In the village of Steinbach, for instance there was only one active farmer older than 31 in 1865; in Blumenhoff only three; in Rosenfeld half of the 18 farmers were in their 20s in 1874. It is apparent that for many the move to Borosenko came at a crucial stage in the family cycle when households faced decisions about reproducing themselves for the next generation.

In part, the success of the Borosenko strategy to reproduce the agrarian household is revealed in changing marriage ages. Those ages were considerably lower than those of other Western European agrarian communities, where men often married around age 28 and women at 27. [30] However, the marriage ages among the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites had been

rising until the establishment of Borosenko, reflecting restricted economic opportunity. Marriage ages, for instance, rose from 23.6 for males and 21.3 for females before 1850, to 24.4 for men and 22.0 for women after 1850. These figures demonstrated that it was increasingly difficult for young people to establish household units in the Molochnaia social environment. After the relocation to Borosenko, the respective marriage ages dropped an average of more than one year to 23.1 for men and 21.2 for women. The availability of land also seems to have had an effect on the number of marriages in the small Kleine Gemeinde community. During the drought stricken and epidemic ravaged years of the Crimean War, for instance, there was an annual average of 1.8 weddings in the Kleine Gemeinde. In the decade after the war this number rose to 3.3 marriages a year; 5.3 marriages were consummated during the bumper crop years and 2.6 during the years of drought in the early 1860s. However, after the majority of the Kleine Gemeinde had relocated to Borosenko by 1867 this number rose to an average of 8.6 marriages per year. [31] While these figures reflect the generally rising population among the foreign colonies of New Russia, which at a rate of 2.34% annually were doubling every 30 years, they also reflect lower marriage ages. [32]

IV

A study of the family in Mennonite society also illuminates the lifeworlds of women. Because most histories of the Mennonites in Russia have been confessional and have focused primarily on the activities of male church leaders, Mennonite women in Russia have received scant attention. [33] Even social histories of Mennonites have similarly focused on the institutions of men. [34] The reason for this omission reflects more than a particular historiographical bent; it reflects woman's position in Mennonite society. Her domain was a private world and it is not surprising that she does not appear in the diaries describing church elections and politics and within the account books describing business

transactions. Indeed one of the only public duties reserved for women was the attending of births and the washing and dressing of the deceased. [35] While some women's missions and mutual aid organizations existed in Prussia, none were to be found in Russia at this time. [36] Comparatively few women seem to have kept diaries of daily life or to have reflected in writing on their childhoods in Russia. Unfortunately Russian Mennonite women are like Eric Wolf's peasants; a "people without history." Their story must be told through the eyes of men and through statistical analysis.

The modern economic forces which transformed peasants into commodity producers also improved diets and medicine, increased the number of children and dramatically affected the place of women in society. Weber's description of French rural women as "beasts of burden seldom set to rest" or Jerome Blum's depiction of female serfs forced to marry "to provide the proprietor with a natural increase in his labour force" did not hold true for the New Russian German colonies. [37] Here, in a rapidly expanding economy, large families determined that women were spending more and more time in the homes and less time as field labourers. By the 1850s sod hovels had in most cases been replaced by wooden frame houses in which women scrubbed floors and washed windows, to maintain a clean and even antiseptic environment. Most activities reflected a gender-based division of labour. Women cleaned the houses; men marketed commodities. Women were the sustenance gatherers in the farmyard; men were the cultivators of the fields. Women tended the gardens and cooked; men repaired and crafted the field equipment. Women nurtured the children; men constructed farm buildings. Women visited their sisters and daughters; men attended brotherhood and village council meetings.

The fact that healthy women rarely remained single and the fact that large families were extolled meant that most women were pregnant for a third of the time during their 25 child-bearing years. And when they were not pregnant they were nursing infants or recovering from childbirth or

caring for sick children. Child rearing was an all consuming life for the quarter century after marriage. Diaries kept by men do not often provide a sense of what such a life may have been like for women. In fact births are often recorded without mention of the women involved: typical entries read: "On the 9th a son came into the world at Kor. Kornelsons" or "Sunday, the 18th; a son Abram born at A. Enns." [38] The diary of elderly Abram Reimer is unique in that it describes the activities of his daughters and daughters-in-law in great detail. An examination of this source for 1870, a year in which five infants were born into the extended Reimer family, reveals that the round of child bearing and illness was a very difficult stage in the woman's life. Romantic narratives of an ideal life in Russia during these years were not written by women.

Reimer's diary for 1870 indicates that sometimes birthing was a process without complication. On June 16 when his son Peter's 25 year old wife, Elisabeth, went into labour at their home in Blumenhoff, her mother-in-law and sister-in-law rushed over from Steinbach, 10 kilometers away. During the course of the night a daughter was born. A day and half later Elisabeth was up and about. Similarly in August, Johann Reimer's 26 year old wife Anna delivered a son without complication. "It was an odd occasion," writes Grandfather Reimer, "only in that she was entirely alone and had it while walking about in the room." Grandmother Reimer was hurriedly fetched from Gruenfeld, 27 kilometers distant, where she was visiting her two expectant daughters; but she arrived an hour too late.

Three days later Grandmother Reimer was rushed back to Gruenfeld where her 18 year old daughter, Margaretha Penner, gave birth to her first child, a daughter, after three hours of hard labour. Margaretha was less fortunate than her sisters-in-law and spent many days in bed, exhausted, "very sick" and afflicted with mastitis. This affected not only her baby but her sister-in-law Anna's baby for whom Margaretha had been serving as a wet nurse. Anna's baby died a week later and Margaretha remained sickly for the rest of the year. Only two days after Grandmother Reimer had

travelled to Gruenfeld to attend the birth of Margaretha's child she was summoned to Blumenhoff. Here her son Klaas's 34 year old wife, Katherina, gave birth to her seventh child, a son. This too was a difficult delivery as Reimer writes that she "was very weak and sick."

But the most difficult time in the Reimer family that year was when 20 year old daughter, Katherina Friesen, gave birth to her second son on October 23. Although she was "peaceful and enduring" for two days, her condition worsened and on the 31st the relatives were summoned as it appeared that Katherina, whose feet and hands were quite cold and who could not speak, was dying. However, she recovered. But a week later Reimer reports that she was again near death. She had a burning fever and refused all food and water. Again she recovered but it was to be a month from the time of the birth before she was finally able to "walk from the bed to the resting bench." No one could have taken her recovery for granted for during the next month two women within the Reimers' congregation, ages 26 and 37, died in childbirth.

The birth of children was symptomatic of woman's life in another way: to a great degree it defined her world. While the majority of Mennonite women worked as servants sometime during their youth, this work was highly domestic and focused on child rearing. Although women usually did the milking and took care of the barnyard animals and vegetable gardens this work was directed to the subsistence of the family. [39] Only occasionally did farmers' diaries refer to women assisting in the generation of capital: Johann Isaac is said to have been able to purchase a farm in 1852 because his wife "contribut[ed] her share of the work without stint" and Elisabeth Rempel Reimer is said to have been "a seamstress [who] was often called away from home on business." [40] Just as infrequently is there mention of Mennonite women assisting in the fields or the harvest. When such events are recorded it is usually an isolated incident when labour was in short supply and before children were born. Dietrich Friesen, for instance, threshed oats and cut wheat with his wife,

Katherina, in the summer of 1873 a year before the birth of their first child and just after Friesen had "released the maid." [41]

The presence of children was not the only reason for a division of labour in the Mennonite household. The other was the availability of wage labour. The work of milking and of binding sheaves which had for centuries been regarded as women's work remained women's work but it was poorer Russian and Lutheran women who now more often fulfilled those tasks. During the harvests in the early 1870s, recalled one Mennonite man, "everything was cut down with a scythe, bundled together and bound by hand for which work Russian women were hired." [42] Another described how during July of 1872 he hired two Russian men to reap wheat but that when it came to the actual threshing he turned to hire "Ballen's Johann and widow Rahn." [43] Women who worked the farm were highly valued and at least one source indicates that they were paid a wage almost equivalent to that of male farm hands. While the Odessaer Zeitung reported in 1861 that summer time female day labourers were paid 30 kopecks, 10 less than men, and that those with year long contracts received 12 rubles, a scant one third the 38 rubles paid for men, other sources present a different picture. Cornelius Loewen of Gruenfeld, Borosenko paid his male workers Zwirith and Mischie from 30 to 43 rubles annually and his female servants Parawska and Jedoche 30 to 45 rubles. The fact that the Loewen household also employed a young girl named Marianna for eight rubles a year may indicate that the older women had duties of economic responsibility such as caring for Loewen's dairy herd. [44]

It was, thus, rare for Mennonite women to work the farm. But it was even more uncommon for them to manage it. Occasions such as the one in the early 1870s when Elisabeth Reimer Toews "with the assistance of hired help...ran the farm" during her husband's frequent absences as a teamster appear to be uncommon. [45] Few widowed women operated the farms for long periods after a husband's deaths. Within a year or so they turned it over to one of their sons or sold it. Peter Isaac recalled that

when he was 17 his father died and so his brother "Johann took over the farm and with mother...carried on for three years." During this period Johann married and when he left to establish his own place, Widow Isaac sold the farm. Peter Isaac explained that "since I was too young and ignorant to carry on farming with mother...the whole property was sold by auction...[and] mother [went to] stay with the Johann Isaacs in their newly built home...." [46] After Peter married he went to work for his father-in-law. A similar story was that of Anna Harms Ratzlaff whose husband died at age 44 in 1864. Two years later she sold the farm for 5000 rubles, helped her married son Heinrich establish a farm at Borosenko, and built a cottage on his farm. [47]

Despite the fact that the church arranged for accommodation for some widows, poorer women sometimes liquidated their property, sent their children out to work and went to work as domestic servants. [48] In a sad and ironic case 38 year old Aganetha Thiessen Giesbrecht paid 25 rubles toward her husband's 200 ruble debt to the church in 1863, the year of his death. As there is no record of her receiving money from the church it can only be assumed that she worked as a domestic servant. [49]

V

If few women involved themselves in managing and running farms and most kept themselves to the private sphere of the home, this is not to say that they were entirely domestic. Women did hold some important public positions as was illustrated by their birthing and funeral duties. The most important public position that women filled was that of medical practitioner. One Borosenko farmer, for example, travelled 100 kilometers to Alexanderwohl, Molochnaia, to see a certain Mrs. Bergen because "she was the best doctor." [50] Women most often, however, restricted their influence to the private arena of the family. While Mennonite society was increasingly patriarchal, household decisions were not automatically the husband's to make. Matrilocality, the practice of the husband going to

live with the people of his wife, was a common occurrence. [51] This was particularly true if the husband was of poorer background than his wife.

Nor did the domesticity of women create an overriding social hiatus between men and women. Martine Segalen has written that in rural France, women were "generally seen as having authority in domestic matters and as their husbands' equals as far as the division of labour relating to the management of the farm was concerned...." [52] Mennonites were aware of distinctions between social classes. The internal separation of sex and class, however, was secondary to the separation between Mennonites and the world. Mennonite folklore espoused familial togetherness. Heart wrenching stories tell of the brother and sister who met after 40 years of separation; of the nine year old daughter who disappeared after being sent from home by an unaffectionate stepmother; of the mother and her two daughters who drowned in the Dnieper on their way to visit grandmother. [53]

Contemporary letters exhibit the same familial values without regard to sex, age or class. A letter by a grandfather to his granddaughter refers to their relationship as one of "good friends" and he asks her to "think the best of me" and prays that "they will find each other in the eternal fatherland of peace." [54] Youth stop to listen to the counsel and proverbs of grandmothers. [55] Sisters debate the merits of leaving Russia and bemoan the decision of the Russian government to disregard the "Freiheiten" given during "Paulzeiten." [56] Husbands despair when wives turn sick. When one woman began suffering from periodical mental disorientation her husband wrote, "I often wept with her...oh, how I often despaired, not knowing which way to turn....I had [wanted to take her to a certain doctor] but she did not want to go...." [57] Other husbands note their deep emotional attachment to their wives in their private diaries: "I finally arrived...at home," writes Peter Toews in 1870 after a week long trip to Molochnaia, where "I had the...love of my wife and children which I had...anticipated with...great longing." [58]

Church politics was a male arena only in the sense that it was the public expression of discourse and tension begun in the private sphere. Women often spoke openly of their religiosity, they exhorted their husbands to live simply, and they requested special communion and received it. Sometimes they also questioned leadership decisions. One Aeltester wrote that "only few [women]...are obedient [to the admonitions against adorning] as they would rather emulate the magnificent women of which you read in the Revelation of John." Another Aeltester was confronted by a woman who questioned a church decision to admonish her and her husband for their son's pre-marital promiscuity. So incensed was she, that during her visits with other women in her village, she openly opposed the church's censure. The church leaders responded by paying her a visit. The visit, however, was fruitless and served only to turn her husband against the church as well. The Aeltester himself bemoaned the fact that many of the villagers now lacked confidence in him. In fact, villagers openly questioned the church's suggestion that the couple's lifestyle had resulted in the misconduct of their other children. [59]

These expressions against the male leadership of the church, however, were exceptional. Women exerted their influence within the domestic sphere where they worked as child rearers, sustenance gatherers and made important decisions including the place of residence of the family. However, the commercialization of agriculture in New Russia's German colonies meant that she played a less vital role in the household economic unit than her forebears may have. High birth rates, the availability of Russian female workers, and income directed to more comfortable lifestyles were beginning to ensure an increasingly domestic role for women. Through these changes, however, women retained a high measure of influence; their domain, the family, remained the central social institution in the village.

Indeed, the primacy of the family in Kleine Gemeinde Mennonite society was evident. Agriculture commercialized on the strength of the

household economic unit; large families provided much of the labour requirements and domestic labour allowed farms to operate with a high degree of self sufficiency. Other aspects of the family remained important as well. Kinship ties determined village settlement patterns in the new colony of Borosenko and shaped the day to day social networks. Family cohesiveness that was threatened somewhat in the disparate Molochnaia colony strengthened after the Kleine Gemeinde pursued new strategies to ensure the primacy of the family in Mennonite society. As they found new land sources and greater economic opportunities in Borosenko, marriage ages dropped and family sizes increased. The relocation to Borosenko in 1865 was clearly a strategy to ensure the survival of land-owning family farms for a new generation. Only the far reaching political changes in Russia were to disrupt these plans.

CHAPTER 4

PIETY AND CHURCH IN NEW RUSSIA'S SOCIETY

I

As in most traditional agrarian societies it was the parish which defined community and drew together its various families. The parish for the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites in Borosenko, however, was not a sub-unit of a hierarchical national church led by an appointed educated elite. The Mennonites' tradition of anti-clericalism and lay-centered religion dating to the sixteenth century, meant that the Mennonites of New Russia paid allegiance neither to an authority outside their body nor to a central figure within. The religious unit which gathered Mennonites was the "Gemeinde," or church congregation. It was a locally organized body of adult members led by a democratically elected "Aeltester" or elder and a team of lay ministers and deacons. These officers comprised the governing body, the "Lehrdienst" or ministerial which was responsible to the "Bruderschaft," the general assembly of all male members.

The Gemeinde, however, was more than an organization. It was the all encompassing community and articulator of culture: it developed the historical myths which gave members a common identity; it articulated the mercies and judgments of God and gave meaning to daily disasters and fortunes; it legitimized social arrangements which structured community and defined boundaries; it built social networks across distances; and it set the agenda for discourse, debate and conflict. It extolled the virtues of an envisioned yesterday and it confronted ideas and trends which threatened that vision. Religion was the very heart and soul, the fundamental language of Mennonite community and culture.

For social historians to disregard religion and the religious community is to carve the soul and spirit out of their subject. Whether a particular religion falls into the primitive, historic, or modern typologies, it is central to the social make-up of society and the ideologies of its members. [1] Clifford Geertz has defined religion as "a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful... motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence [in such a way that] they seem uniquely realistic." [2] Donald Tuzin has argued that religion is "a symbolic system...[which] creates for the individual-in-society a source of highest meaning that is mystically true and compelling." [3] Randall Miller and Thomas Marzick have argued that for Eastern Europeans in America "religion was intertwined and imbedded in the psyche, the folk life, the very identity of each immigrant." There was a "mutability between religious ideas and their social and cultural environment." [4]

Nor should religion be viewed as a static force which is synonymous with a tradition that breaks down when new social and economic forces arise. Thomas O'Dea argues "that systems of religious thought not only may serve to legitimate existing social arrangements but...can help break the chains of custom by...declaring a transcendant ethic not identifiable with any existing...social institution." [5] One example of this is the millenarianism which J.F.C. Harrison suggests arose during the transition of pre-industrial to industrial society. In this case traditional "stability was upset...[and] there was a need for a new ideology to take account of the change...[and legitimize the looking] forward to a future which would be completely new." [6] Reflecting the same functionalist approach is Timothy Smith's argument that "religion does not lose its force in [new urban and industrial] environment...[but] may by that very circumstance acquire enlarged vitality, develop...new models of winning adherents, sustain...new patterns of association...." [7] In another writing

Smith suggests that acts of social "uprooting [often]...became for the participants a theologizing experience...." [8]

The adaptation of religious ideas to new social realities is one of the main themes in the work of James Urry on the nineteenth century Russian Mennonites. He writes that in the period of economic take-off after the Crimean War "new attitudes towards business, material concerns and a desire for wealth and achievement radically altered many Mennonite visions and attitudes." Included in these changing visions was a new "religious view of the world which was not dependent upon the community, but on a personal system of faith." According to Urry this new system emphasized a "personal inward faith," which stressed "change and adaptation," "individualism, sometimes verging on subjectivism," and the creation of "new personal contacts directly with God." [9] The individualized religious perspective, in this view, permitted Mennonites to make a quick transition to the highly competitive nature of industrial capitalism.

The essence of the new religious system was German pietism which had been born in Jacob Spener's seventeenth-century protest against Lutheran formalism. Various authors have noted the influence of pietism on the lay-oriented Mennonites in Switzerland, Holland and the United States. [10] Russia was no exception. Here pietism was introduced by mid-century Mennonite immigrants from Germany and by Mennonites who associated with some of the neighbouring German Lutheran colonies. During the 1860s it gave birth to the Brethren movement and changed the emphasis in many other church bodies that were dominated by those who had new wealth or had entered into non-agrarian careers.

If religious groups often change to reflect the shape of new social realities, they sometimes react to those realities in an attempt to cultivate a sense of continuation with the past. They develop new strategies to attempt to consolidate visions of continuity and increase the energies expended toward the articulation of traditional ideas. Often

they are successful in maintaining or renewing a traditional way of life in a new social environment. They need not be locked into a blind adherence to tradition, but may actually rework traditional values in the light of new realities. The theoretical frameworks of Geertz, Barth and Isaacs which were noted in the introduction illustrate how such a phenomenon is possible. Moreover, the studies of Rudolph Vecoli on Italian Catholics, Jon Gjerde on Norwegian Lutherans, and Allan Greer on French Canadian Catholics relate the experiences of groups who reproduced traditional social views within new contexts. [11]

In New Russia the community-oriented, stoic and ascetic Kleine Gemeinde actively developed strategies to counter the pressures of change in an industrializing society. They successfully adapted to capitalism without adopting wholesale the ideas of Pietism or becoming socially and politically integrated into the broader society. The deep religious piety of the Kleine Gemeinde was sometimes expressed in the language of the Pietists; but throughout the Kleine Gemeinde's last generation in Russia the importance of established ways were emphasized. The Kleine Gemeinde spoke of the church as a visible body of devoted adults, ensuring corporate purity and thus serving as the main instrument of God on earth. They articulated a separation from the "world" with its values of material accumulation, higher learning, and comfortable living. They viewed life almost stoically, seeing it as a passage way, a proving ground, and a narrow rocky road to heaven. And they insisted on a deep rooted pacifism which avoided military service, state political participation and the assertion of individual rights alike. By the time the Gemeinde migrated to North America in 1874 and 75 it was a larger, more articulate and more self-conscious group than it had been a generation earlier.

II

The religious piety of traditional Mennonite groups such as the Kleine Gemeinde reflected the realities of everyday life. God was seen

in daily activities. James Urry's suggestion that for Low German speaking Mennonites "the language of faith was not that of everyday discourse" cannot be supported from the experience of the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites. [12] When crops failed, children died, cattle fell to rinderpest, storms threatened lives, farmsteads burned, wives became ill, and governments abolished special privileges, members of the Kleine Gemeinde conceded and uttered, "what God does he does well" or "He takes all and gives all." When debts were paid off, when crops swayed promisingly in the wind, when parents returned safely from Molochnaia or the Crimea, and when children were born without complication, it was "God [who] had let it be so." [13]

Men and women lived their lives with a powerful awareness of eternity. They remembered well the first question and answer in the catechism book: "What should be our chief aim in this life?" The answer was "To live in God's fellowship and...obtain eternal happiness hereafter." Salvation from eternal punishment was not to be attained through ritual or doctrinal affirmation; rather, it was something to be hoped for through a godly life of devotion, humility and self giving. "What do we gain if we can live here in respectability, good fortune and pleasure," wrote Johann Toews in 1850 after an almost fatal illness, "if in the hereafter our lot shall be as it was with the rich man...in the torment of hell...." When Peter Baerg wrote to affirm the election of Peter Toews as Aeltester in 1866 he expressed his fear of "the most wicked enemy in our flesh...which seeks to bring us into certainty [complacency] and...[a life of] indulge[nce]" and called for Toews to "crucify our flesh...in order that we do not forfeit eternal bliss." When Gerhard Goossen lay on his death bed in September 1872 he is said to have "declare[d] his joy of having worked [out] his salvation in days when he was still well, for he should be unable to do so now." [14]

The context in which this salvation was to be "worked out" was the Gemeinde, the church community. No action by a member was exempt from the scrutiny of others. They claimed that they had a scriptural mandate

to develop a church "without spot or wrinkle" and knew that the actions of any individual might disparage all others. Kleine Gemeinde Aeltester Johann Friesen wrote in 1855 that all candidates for membership in his congregation were thoroughly questioned so "that they would not become a stumbling block or spot of shame to the Gemeinde." The sins of one's youth were confessed; and the financial debts of bad business were disclosed. A later Aeltester, Peter Toews, wrote in 1872 that the sacrament of communion was offered to members only after "impurities and other sins have first been settled." His diary indicates that the Gemeinde leadership was in constant interaction with all members, shaping and shepherding the community, scolding and banning the offenders and praising and visiting the faithful. Of particular concern were those members who threatened the social foundation of the community by breaching the integrity of the family, pursuing economic activities and relationships contrary to churchly precepts, and contravening traditional social and ideological boundaries. [15]

One of the most important concerns of the church was the family, the stability of which it viewed as essential to the well-being of the congregation. Peter Toews's church diary for the 1870s, for instance, reveals that the church involved itself in a host of familial matters. It forbade a man to marry his deceased wife's sister. It admonished another man who was interfering with his widowed father's intention to remarry and scolded a couple for being a bad example to their children. It excommunicated for a short period a young woman who confessed to premarital sexual relations and another woman, a wife and mother, for being unfaithful in her marriage. And it mediated in an internal family dispute over a mother's estate. [16]

Economic conflict within the church community represented another concern. This was particularly a churchly concern in situations in which it was deemed that a member was "conducting himself according to his own nature and not according to love." In the 1870s the church acted when the

"Gruenfelders and Annafelders" could not agree on the ownership of a piece of land, when Klassen became tardy in paying his debts to Wiebe, when Enns moved to break his contract with Loewen, when young Friesen had committed theft, and when Goossen accused his village council of not allocating to him his rightful measure of land. [17] No one was exempt from the community's scrutiny. The realities of economic and social stratification did not always translate into privilege. Church leaders, for instance, who were usually among the well-to-do, came under continual examination. Deacon Klaas F. Reimer was defrocked in 1852 for the questionable handling of church accounts, Aeltester Johann Friesen in 1869 for being involved in a botched lumber deal, Rev. Isaac Friesen in 1870 for antagonizing his neighbours by allowing cattle to stray, and Rev. Gerhard Schellenberg in the same year for cutting hay beyond his own boundary. [18] Similarly members with means were not exempt from community scrutiny: in 1865 two senior members were censured for having whipped their herdsboys and in 1866 another well-to-do member was excommunicated for beating his maid and breaking a labour contract with a farm hand. [19]

The community also attempted to offset potential economic conflicts with preventive measures. According to Aeltester Toews, the Gemeinde treasury was not to be used only to assist the poor when they "no longer had anything left. Instead the poor man should be given support so that he...could continue his occupation...." [20] The high cost of land in Russia and low level of wages often meant that some young farmers and physically or mentally handicapped members found themselves at the bottom rung in a stratified community. To maintain the peace the Gemeinde was compelled to provide material aid. It listened to the request of its landless members in the mid 1860s for assistance in the purchase of land and financed their relocation to Borosenko. It committed itself to underwrite the debts of financially bankrupt members when Klaas Reimer's farm failed in 1863 and when Abram Klassen's store became insolvent in 1866. [21] It undertook to support young farmers, widows, orphans, the ill, the

handicapped and the elderly who came from the poorer rungs in the community with loans and sometimes with outright gifts of money. [22]

It especially attended to the economic needs of young families. In fact the greatest percentage of aid from the Kleine Gemeinde treasury went for the repayment of farm debts of young farmers, aged 25 to 38. The second largest category was for food items such as rye, wheat flour and bacon. Other contributions included money for: fuel, including stoves and heat ducts; fees to cover fire insurance, taxes, land rent, and doctor's bills; building supplies for houses and barns and sometimes for the outright purchases of houses; farm necessities such as cows, seed wheat and fertilizer; travel and cash for the annual fairs; and cloth, linen and clothing. In the decade before the end of the Crimean War the church paid out 2839 bank rubles to assist four families and over the 15 years from the end of the war to 1873 on the eve of the migration 418 silver rubles to assist eight families. And when migration became imminent in the early 1870s, it solicited funds from the wealthier members to help the poor make the relocation to America. [23]

Boundary maintenance represented a third major social concern for the church community. Repeatedly members were warned against "all forms of imitation of the world, namely pride and ostentation." Forms of "worldliness" could include everything from worldly "vehicles and embellished clothes" to "house trimmings" and "gables...of burned brick." [24] Secondary relationships in the world of business and commerce were not a particular concern for the Gemeinde so long as the purpose of those relationships was the economic welfare of the family. There was no apprehension when Gemeinde members engaged in contracts with merchants from Nicopol or Berdyansk, when Jewish book sellers and German doctors visited the village and stayed the night, when members sought medical help in distant places like Prussia, when schoolteachers met those of other church groups to discuss new methods of pedagogy, or when children learned Russian from boarding workers. [25]

Primary relationships involving one's familial or religious life were another matter and were closely monitored. Endogamy was encouraged with the result that despite the many Russian and German Lutheran workers in the Kleine Gemeinde communities, Peter Toews' 1874 membership roster includes only seven non-Mennonite names. Interaction with neighbouring German Lutheran churches despite their common language, lay piety, literary acumen, tradition of anti-militarism and similar relationship to the Russian government, was frowned upon. [26] Interaction with other Mennonite church groups was also carefully controlled and usually restricted to an official level. Both Johann Friesen, Aeltester from 1849 to 1868, and Peter Toews, Aeltester from 1870 to 1881, cultivated relationships with other church leaders. Friesen, for instance, worked closely with other Mennonite leaders in the 1850s to help settle some of the bitter church disputes in Molochnaia and maintained a close relationship with Aeltester Johann Harder of the progressive Ohrloff Gemeinde. Toews was in regular communication with other church groups during the years of migration, read inter-Mennonite newspapers such as the Prussian Mennonitische Blaetter and the American Herald der Wahrheit, and corresponded regularly with the latter's publisher Johann Funk. [27]

Yet there was a pervading self consciousness in the Kleine Gemeinde. Johann Friesen involved himself in the Molochnaia church disputes only after protesting that the Kleine Gemeinde be "spared" involvement as it was wrong "to judge those who are without us...." According to a letter which Friesen wrote to a Swiss Mennonite in 1855 the Kleine Gemeinde was to be distinguished from other groups in its small size of 200 members and in the fact that "in the little flock, the members are taught and directed to the continual battle against sin." Peter Toews expressed similar sentiments when he wrote Johann Funk in 1872 that "we seek to remain distant from all those who think less strongly," particularly those "revenge seeking and fallen Mennonites" who compromise with the world and consider us a "sect." [28]

While it was not unusual for the children of the Kleine Gemeinde to join neighbouring churches at the point of marriage, it was a particularly bitter pill to swallow when members left the Gemeinde for other churches. There are stories of fathers disinheriting sons when they married Lutheran women. [29] But the same reaction often came when sons married Mennonites of other Gemeinden. The story of Heinrich Loewen, the son of a church deacon, is particularly apt in this regard. In October, 1862 32 year old Heinrich's wife died. Shortly thereafter he was reprimanded for "loose living during his time as a widower." But Heinrich, having "cast his eyes upon a young lady who did not belong to the Gemeinde," renounced the Kleine Gemeinde, joined the church at Halbstadt and married Maria, the young lady. The Kleine Gemeinde wrote him, pleading with him to change his mind and his father is said to have "almost despaired from sorrow...when he heard that his son had renounced the Gemeinde." Two weeks after the wedding, Heinrich took holy communion in his new church and that afternoon, while sitting between two men in a house, he was killed by a bolt of lightening. The community saw this as no coincidence and reeled in shock. Poems were penned about the intransigent brother and a book was written about the insolent son. Heinrich's father wrote to Maria, the young widow, and told her sorrowfully that it was her marriage and the fact that Heinrich had left the church that had brought on the punishment. [30]

As the commercialization of agriculture began restructuring Mennonite society and as new ideas of religiosity were introduced, conservative groups such as the Kleine Gemeinde stepped up their activities. Their actions of censure, admonition and excommunication of members reveal a set of strongly articulated social boundaries and deeply held religious beliefs. The Gemeinde was all too aware that continuity with the past could not be assumed; an ongoing dialectic with the new society characterized the history of the Kleine Gemeinde between 1850 and 1874.

The sense of separation and self-identity was also maintained through literary devices. James Urry has noted that the literacy of the Mennonites, developed over centuries of exclusion from the rest of society and maintained in all groups by the requirement that candidates for membership read and memorize the catechism, made them a distinctive group among Europe's peasants. [31] Delbert Plett, a confessional historian, has argued effectively that the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites were highly literate conservatives. [32] Not only did the Kleine Gemeinde order scores of books from Johann Funk in Chicago and the St. Petersburg Bible Society, but they also actively published the literature of early Anabaptists themselves. Between 1827 and 1875 they published seven such works. The best known of these was Menno Simons 1539, Dat Fundament des Christelyckens Leers, which the Kleine Gemeinde published in a three volume German edition in 1834. [33] This book of Christian fundamentals called for a "spotless church," comprised of spiritually regenerated, nonresistant, ascetic "followers of Christ." [34] It was an existence which was juxtaposed with the way of the "world" with its pomp, avarice, pedantry and hedonism. [35] The true way was a costly pilgrimage along a hard, rocky narrow way.

Menno Simons was not the only Anabaptist author read by the Kleine Gemeinde. In a letter written in 1855, Johann Friesen noted that, while Menno was the most important author, sixteenth and seventeenth century writers like Dirk Philips, Pieter Pietersz, Georg Hansen and Tielman van Braght were also read. The first three of these books were devotional in character, but van Braght's book, The Martyrs' Mirror, was a lengthy and moving historical account of the persecution of the early Anabaptists. If Menno informed the ideology of the Kleine Gemeinde, van Braght provided them with a concrete sense of history and group mythology. Young people taught that they were part of a distinctive historical process that was comprised of people who had suffered in the past and who should be prepared to do so in the future. [36]

The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde, however, had developed an additional historical mythology. It was spread through the writings of early Kleine Gemeinde leaders like Klaas Reimer, Abram Friesen and Heinrich Balzer, who, between 1812 and 1843, led an unsanctioned group of reforming protesters to give witness to the idea of strict religious separation from the power, coercion, religious laxity and personal arrogance of the "world." Klaas Reimer's autobiography spoke of the compromises the early Russian Mennonites made with secular authorities and told how, in 1812, he led a small group of regenerated, nonresistant, devotees out of a tainted church to reestablish a pure Gemeinde. [37] Heinrich Balzer's 1833 philosophical tract, Verstand und Vernunft, juxtaposed faith and reason, outlined the dangers of rationalism, ambition- filled secularism and worldly scholarship, and counselled brethren to keep to "the lowest estate, that of the husbandman, [which] is the most conducive for the preservation of genuine simplicity in Christ..." [38] The third work, Abram Friesen's 1845 Einfache Erklaerung, served as an apologetic for the Kleine Gemeinde whose ideas about nonresistance, strict church discipline and social separation found a ready ear among the Molochnaia's conservative factions.

III

Despite its defensive maneuvers the Kleine Gemeinde was not to remain unaffected by the winds of change in New Russia. Its relocation to Borosenko had ensured the survival of the family farm. But the migration could not isolate them from the religious forces of pietism and the sweeping political reforms that changed the status of foreign colonists in Russia. Indeed, the forces of pietism did more than anything else to cause a deep schism in the Kleine Gemeinde in the 1860s. By 1874 the ideological differences in the two factions headed by the two Aeltesten, Peter Toews and Abram Friesen, had been healed but differences based on kin and personality remained. One of the consequences of the

schism was a new dedication to conservatism. The other consequence was that during the migration to North America in 1874 and 1875 the Kleine Gemeinde physically separated, with one group settling in Manitoba and the other in Nebraska.

Much has been written about pietism with its emphasis on individualism, subjectivism and personal achievement. Among the Mennonites of New Russia, it exhibited itself most forcefully in the founding of the Mennonite Brethren in 1860 and but also in more mainstream churches such as the congregation in Ohrloff, Molochnaia. An associated result was a major upheaval in the life on the Molochnaia as traditional religious powers struck out at the new movement. [39]

In this upheaval the Kleine Gemeinde were not left immune. Without question pietism infected the lay piety of the Kleine Gemeinde. With increasing regularity, Gemeinde members wrote about "the blood of Jesus," the feeling of "sinfulness," "the time of grace," and "joyful eternity." [40] But their insistence on tradition, humility and community put them at odds with the pietists' assurance of salvation, their millenarianism and their immersion mode of baptism. Stories abound about the interaction of the Kleine Gemeinde with the new religiosity. In Molochnaia a son affected by the new faith wrote his parents to warn them of the imminence of God and his ensuing reign. In the Crimea, the small Kleine Gemeinde colony at Annenfeld gave way to the pietists when the Aeltester there began preaching baptism by dunking and personal assurance of salvation. In Borosenko, the Brethren denounced the Kleine Gemeinde for their refusal to "claim" the promises of heaven, frightened a number of families to join with them and commenced an openly hostile relationship. [41]

One of the Kleine Gemeinde's responses to pietism was a renewed publication effort. From 1860 to 1875 Heinrich Enns, a lay preacher, published four seventeenth-century Dutch Anabaptist works. Although the books included church history, allegory, eschatology and ethical instruction they all emphasized the idea of religious pilgrimage in a

difficult world and the heavenly reward for true living. [42] They were apologetic, attacking among other things the "rapid secularization brought on by...economic success," millenarianism which went against "the mind of old and sober Mennonitism," and religious forms which deemphasized the "narrow gateway" and "conformity to Christ." [43]

But Enns' publications could not separate the Kleine Gemeinde from religious conflict in New Russia. In 1865 and 1866 the Gemeinde went through the most painful moments in its 50 year history. Just as Gemeinde members were beginning the relocation to Borosenko the church suffered an internal upheaval which left it split down the middle. The issue centered around 26 year old Abraham Thiessen who would gain notoriety later for his fight for the Mennonite landless and his banishment to Siberia. In 1864 Thiessen was excommunicated and banned from the Kleine Gemeinde for having sued a Jewish merchant for refusing to take a contracted delivery of flour. In the eyes of the Gemeinde this was a contravention of the "mind of Christ." The excommunication was controversial, for it seems that Thiessen had been expelled before he had been given a chance to express his views to the general church assembly. Thiessen's father, a former minister, renounced the church and Thiessen, himself, refused to acknowledge the ban and continued attending church. On five different occasions during 1865 the church was forced to disband when Thiessen appeared at Sunday services. Thiessen's insistence caused Aeltester Johann Friesen himself to doubt the legitimacy of the excommunication order and in January 1866 he instructed the congregation to reaccept Thiessen. This brought a backlash from the more conservative half led by Rev. Heinrich Enns, the publisher. He accused Friesen in public of compromising traditional values. When Friesen took exception to Enns's criticism and defrocked him in June 1866, Enns led half of the brethren to form a separate Gemeinde. [44]

During the many charges and countercharges between January and June 1866 it became evident that Thiessen's law suit was not the only cause of

disagreement. The conservatives charged Aeltester Friesen with innovations such as the replacement of traditional church melodies with fancier "singing by numerals." They also criticized the use of funeral eulogies which they said led people to concentrate on "the salvation of the dead without regard to the[ir] conduct in life." They questioned the increasing merchant activity of some members and the rising role of the wealthy in the Gemeinde. Friesen's brother was cited for operating "a small retail business"; one of Friesen's wealthy cohorts was accused of collecting fire insurance despite the fact the collection presented the poor with undue hardship; and in 1863 Friesen was criticized for allowing well-to-do farmers to take the initiate in helping to find land for the Gemeinde's poor. Finally, Enns's people also charged that Aeltester Friesen was too intimate with other, more progressive Mennonite leaders like Johann Harder of the progressive Ohrloff Gemeinde. On this point Friesen eventually conceded, confessing that the slackening church discipline "has stealthily crept in over a period of time...because of lukewarmness." [45]

Despite initial problems in the Enns group including Enns own defrocking, the traditionalists, now known as the Gruenfeld Gemeinde, grew in strength. When in 1869 another faction in Friesen's group turned against his liberalizing leanings, part of it followed Abram L. Friesen of Heuboden to form a third church body and others, including four ministers, joined the Gruenfeld traditionalists. In 1870 the traditionalists elected the articulate, 29 year old, Peter Toews as Aeltester with an 84% majority. Two years later the Toews group received another boost when the remaining members in Johann Friesen's beleaguered body joined them after Friesen contravened traditional church lines and married a woman in the Orhloff Gemeinde. [46]

The strength of Toews's traditionalist church also came from other quarters. He changed the tradition of baptizing youth primarily in springtime and began accepting new members throughout the year. The

number of youth to join the church increased from 41 during the six years before the schism to 72 during the six years following it. The Kleine Gemeinde also drew members from other congregations who were disillusioned with competitive commercialism. One such member was Abram Klassen who had been a merchant in Blumenort, Molochnaia with ambitious plans to enlarge his enterprise. A business crisis, however, led him to be attracted to the more traditional, agrarian lifestyle of the Kleine Gemeinde. The Gemeinde also saw members who had left the old church to join the Brethren, return to the fold. And, ministers encouraged each other with prayers that "many warriors of Christ may still join us on the narrow rocky path of this arduous pilgrim journey...." The result was that the combined adult membership of the Gruenfeld and Heuboden factions jumped from around 250 at the time of the schism to 350 members by 1874. [47]

The Kleine Gemeinde may still have been split into Abram Friesen's Heubodner church and Toews's Gruenfelder congregation, but the spirit of the traditionalists had not been crushed by the progressive pietistic forces. It was clear that by 1874 there was no basic ideological difference in the Heubodner and the Gruenfelder groups. There was much talk throughout the early 1870s of reuniting and on many colony-level matters the Gruenfeld and Heuboden congregations acted in concert. The continued separation seems to have been based more on kinship than on ideological grounds. It seems that the Friesens, who had dominated the Kleine Gemeinde for more than two generations, were not going to give up their leadership to a group they perceived to be young idealists. Toews for one overlooked the split and declared in 1874 that it seemed to him "as if through all the schisms and differences [our] convictions and beliefs [have]...drawn us much closer together." [48]

The significance of the 1866 schism is multifaceted. It pushed the main core of Kleine Gemeinde members to confront the pietistic inroads and the blurring of church boundaries. And in that confrontation, it is clear that a conservative ideology won the day. By 1874 both the Toews and

Friesen groups were firmly committed to traditional patterns of religiosity that emphasized a communal, agrarian, ascetic lifeworld. The continuing division of the Kleine Gemeinde was deep enough to allow a physical separation to occur; the Toews group settled in Manitoba while the Friesen group moved to Nebraska. If these groups were ideologically similar, it was certain, however, that each faction contained members who, having been introduced to the ideas of pietism, would not lay it to rest. Within five years of settlement in North America both the Manitoba and Nebraska groups once again confronted a new religiosity that had its roots in the tumultuous 1860s.

IV

If the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde had been able to ward off pietism by reaffirming its traditional world view another threat was more difficult to withstand. This was political reform by the Russian government. Over the years in the Molochnaia, the Kleine Gemeinde had worked out a particular relationship with secular authorities. The Kleine Gemeinde raised money for wounded soldiers during the Crimean War, it complied with the regulations of the Molochnaia Agricultural Society, it sanctioned teachers who wished to become part of the Molochnaia education system, and it allowed members to serve in various village councils and even as "Schulzen", village mayors. It drew the line when its ideological boundaries of asceticism and separation were put to the test. Members of the Kleine Gemeinde refused, for example, to construct their houses with fancy brick gables as dictated by colony regulations, to serve as colony jurymen or prison guards, or to assist in the construction of local jails. [49]

In Borosenko, the Kleine Gemeinde were faced with similar tensions; but once again they developed a peaceful coexistence with secular officials. As foreign colonists they were still under the paternalistic control of the Ministry of State Domains and its arm, the Guardian's

Committee. There were regulations to abide by and summons to respond to. When young Johann Isaak was charge in 1868 for denigrating a Russian orthodox icon he was summoned to Odessa and given a month-long jail sentence. When the Borosenko people received word in 1869 that they must join an inter-colony schoolboard and incorporate the Russian language into their instruction they complied. On the local community level, however, they remained autonomous. The villages were their own to govern, their schools their own to manage, and their social problems their own to deal with in the context of the Gemeinde. Secular coercive government was kept at arms length. [50]

This arrangement, however, ended in 1871. The Russian reforms of the 1860s called for "equal justice and equal protection for all" and included the 1864 Zemstvo legislation abolishing the special status of foreign colonies. [51] In 1871 these reforms began to affect the Mennonites more directly. In January rumours circulated that military service exemptions for foreign colonists were to end. In June came the announcement that the Odessa based Guardian's Committee, which had governed the colonists by a different set of rules than those governing other Russians for three generations, was to be abolished. Henceforth all foreign colonists were to be assimilated into a homogeneous motherland. New, democratically elected municipal and judicial districts called Volosts would replace the Mennonite-run villages. Within the Volosts participation would be mandatory. Moreover, all records would be kept in Russian, all land titles held by individuals (not by colonies), the open land system abolished wherever two thirds of the farmers wished it, and suffrage would be granted all residents of the volost, without regard to land ownership or church membership. [52]

It is significant that the Kleine Gemeinde did not differentiate between the changes to military service policies and local government structure. In either case, wrote Aeltester Toews, "we are to help in governing the world." Indeed in 1871 the abolition of the Guardian's

Committee and the restructuring of local government was the Kleine Gemeinde's most pressing concern. In September of 1871 Toews wrote the governor in Ekaterinoslav to protest the change in the law and to declare that the Kleine Gemeinde could not participate in the new democratic system. Toews requested that the governor consider "the creation of a special Volost administration for those of us Mennonites [who come from the] Molochnaia [i.e. the Kleine Gemeinde]...." For "conscience sake," Toews wrote, we are "unable to hold any office where the use of force or the taking of prisoners might be required." Later the Kleine Gemeinde appealed to their Khortitser Mennonite neighbours to support them in their struggle to maintain the status quo and ensure that all "judging would continue to be among us, each...in his own Gemeinde...." However, neither the petition to Ekaterinoslav or the letter to the Khortitsers were to any avail. [53]

In the fall of 1872 when the Kleine Gemeinde were ordered to convene in Blumenhoff with their Khortitser neighbours to vote for the new Volost authorities, the Kleine Gemeinde prepared for a showdown. While it was ready to submit to new municipal authorities in "such matters as roads, dams, bridges, boundaries, tax levies, duties and dues," it would not participate in its administration or in the proposed secular judicial system. It was inconsistent, Gemeinde leaders said, to fight for military exemption but to concede political participation where "an individual...will be...obligated to make decisions involving the use of force...." [54] To the surprise of even the steadfast Kleine Gemeinde the officials who came to administer the election in Blumenhoff agreed that the conservatives could be exempted from voting for a judge if they would agree to vote for the municipal officials in charge of public works. To this the Kleine Gemeinde conceded. [55]

During the heat of the 1872 Volost battle the Kleine Gemeinde also began enquiring about the meaning of the military conscription rumours. They were aghast to discover in January that progressive Molochnaia

Mennonites were expressing a willingness to compromise with military conscription by offering alternative military service in a medical corps. In April the Kleine Gemeinde wrote Eugene von Hahn, the former president of the Guardian's Committee who had forced other Mennonites to recognize the Kleine Gemeinde in 1843, to ask his opinion on the matter. When he failed to reply by June, Peter Toews travelled to the Molochnaia to consult with other Mennonite leaders. He returned convinced that Mennonite status was not really in jeopardy and suggested that the Gemeinde prepare to stay in Russia so long as its youth were not actually conscripted. Moreover he felt confident enough to suggest that the construction of a new centrally located 3000 ruble church building be commenced. Two weeks later, however, he met with other Kleine Gemeinde leaders and decided to join a delegation to St. Petersburg to personally petition Czar Alexander II for an answer. [56]

That September the two Kleine Gemeinde Aeltesten, Toews and Friesen, travelled across Russia to the capital bearing a petition which reflected a Weltanschauung at odds with the new political realities in Russia. The petition began with the words of a past era: "As your children we have trust in your paternal heart, your Majesty, which has given us the courage and determination to humbly present this petition." The petition went on to beseech the Czar that they "be permitted to live out our beliefs undisturbed in the country" and for continued exemption "from all civil and military service" even if it meant "restrictions, special conditions and increased tribute money." The day of special privilege in Russia, however, had ended and they were refused an audience with the monarch. [57]

In October Toews and Friesen joined another inter-Mennonite delegation to Yalta to try to see the Czar at his Black Sea residence. Once again they were refused. While their faith in the Czar was not affected they began to realize the power of Russia's bureaucracy. In the minds of the Kleine Gemeinde, it was government bureaucrats who had blocked their request for an audience with the Czar to ensure that the

monarch would not "in a soft hearted moment...rule against them [the bureaucrats] in favour of the 'quiet in the land.'" [58] At Yalta, Toews and Friesen heard for the first time from a top ranking government official that "it was impossible that we would be completely unaffected by the military draft, and that we would...have to accept at least a less severe form of service [and that it could not be] determined what degree of military service this would involve." [59]

Yalta proved to be a rude awakening. By Christmas the Kleine Gemeinde suspected that new strategies of group survival would be required and for the first time they began openly talking of the American option. Toews had over the course of 1872 been in correspondence with Johann Funk, the Mennonite publisher from Indiana. Funk had written Toews in August declaring emphatically "how dearly we would like to see you here in free America in order that [we] might enjoy together...this noble and God given gift, namely complete freedom of conscience." [60] Also of importance was the influence of Cornelius Jansen of Berdyansk, a wealthy grain trader whose wife was a cousin of many Kleine Gemeinde members. Jansen had contacted both the American and British consulates in Odessa for information on the United States and Canada and during 1872 began distributing pamphlets in which he extolled the opportunities in America and decried the treachery of the Russian government in ending "religious freedom." [61]

With Funk's invitation in hand and the Yalta fiasco in mind Toews led a delegation to a conference on emigration in the Molochnaia in January 1873. Here he heard other Mennonite groups planning to send a delegation to North America. The "emigration fever" at the conference was contagious and upon his return to Borosenko, Toews led the church community to "agree...to a deputy to America in order to work for freedom of our faith and a new homeland." A seed for a theology of relocation had already been planted. [62] In April 1873, both the Gruenfeld and Heuboden congregations had chosen their delegates for the 12-man excursion to North America and given them mandates to negotiate terms of settlement. The

favourable reports which the delegates brought back with them on their return from North America in August 1873 convinced the Kleine Gemeinde to join some 16,000 other conservative Mennonites in seeking community replication in North America.

The final decision to move, however, was not made before the Russian government made some sweeping overtures to the Mennonites. In the spring of 1874 it announced that Mennonites would have complete military exemption till 1880 and then it would be able to organize a church-controlled alternative service program. Why, then did a third of the Mennonites emigrate between 1874 and 1880? No doubt, as the Kleine Gemeinde pointed out, the overtures of April 1874 had come too late as the majority of the families had already sold their farms. But, more importantly, military service was not the primary concern of conservative Mennonites like the Kleine Gemeinde for even Peter Toews had indicated in 1872 that there was no need to emigrate until their boys had actually been conscripted. What concerned the conservatives most was that their special status, couched in feudal law, had come to an end. The Volost legislation of 1871 and the impossibility of appealing directly to the Czar in 1872 sent a signal to the Kleine Gemeinde that traditional social boundaries could not be maintained in New Russia. They had survived the economic transformation and even, for the time being halted the incursion of pietism. The political reforms they could not stop; of these reforms the military service law was but the most powerful symbol of a set of political reforms that undermined their sense of self-identity.

V

The conservative religiosity of the Kleine Gemeinde became more articulate during their last generation in New Russia. A piety that saw God's hand in all acts of nature, in the important events in one's life, and as guiding people through life toward eternity was firmly implanted in Kleine Gemeinde members. They subscribed to a traditional Anabaptist

concept of the church; it was a sectarian community of members responsible to each other and committed to keeping the church "pure." Strict social boundaries governing primary relationships and regulating the life styles of its members were enforced. The church brotherhood viewed no social issue as too insignificant or too problematic to address. But the church was also concerned about theological issues; in an attempt to keep new ideas of individualistic and subjective religion at bay it undertook a vigourous program of publishing Anabaptist literature.

Despite these actions the Kleine Gemeinde was to face two issues it could not escape. The influence of pietism rent the church congregation in several parts by 1869. Its Crimean chapter seceded from the Kleine Gemeinde to form a separate Brethren church, advocating immersion baptism and personal assurance of salvation, in 1869. In Borosenko the membership turned against its Aeltester who appeared to be undermining traditional social boundaries and world view by condoning emotional singing, eulogies, intimacy with progressive leaders, merchant activity, law suits and social stratification. A deep schism ensued but with victory clearly on the side of the traditionalists. Nevertheless the schism was to change the face of the small Kleine Gemeinde. In 1874 the two factions, although once again advocating similar ideas, became geographically separated, with one faction settling in Manitoba and the other in Nebraska. And then too, the schism had seeded the ideas of subjective pietism in the hearts of many parishioners and these seeds were to fragment the congregation once again shortly after settlement in North America.

The other issue confronting the Kleine Gemeinde was political reform in Russia. The homogeneous, modern state envisioned by Alexander II had no place for feudal-type agreements that gave special status to groups such as the Mennonites. While conservative Mennonites had little trouble with new language laws, ownership regulations, and travel laws they opposed the democratization of local government and the end to blanket military exemptions. In both instances established social boundaries were

being redrawn by an outside force. The transformation of feudal economies had dislodged farmers in Western Europe and sent them overseas to new opportunities in North America; associated forces transformed an old political structure in Russia and sent Mennonites overseas to seek places where adaptations to such arrangements appeared easier to make.

The majority of Mennonite emigrants did not move because of economic hardships. Recent histories of Western European countries that have debunked the "economic hardships" thesis by pointing to growing economies and gain mentalities, hold true for the New Russia Mennonites as well. [63] New Russia in 1873 was a land of economic opportunity. Wheat prices were at record heights, land could be purchased from former nobles, railroads were beginning to be constructed, farm machinery was becoming more available, local colonization and construction projects carried significant debts and marriage ages were dropping in a reflection of the greater economic opportunity. Clearly by 1873, economic displacement was affecting fewer people than it had in the early 1860s. There were economic factors, but these had more to do with hopes for economic opportunity in North America than with economic hardships in New Russia. Mennonites, as other Western European farmers, realized that community replication in the new country required the survival of the household production unit and resources needed to pay for "institutional completeness."

The overriding concern for Mennonite families in 1874 was the reordering of social boundaries. The conservatives were affected by government reforms that had undermined a concept of community which had evolved over centuries. In their relocation to North America, conservative Mennonites like the Kleine Gemeinde were bent on replicating what they perceived as traditional social boundaries. Their experience in Russia had shaped their ideas of religious meaning, peoplehood, and community. The essence of those ideas, fashioned in particular during the last generation of their sojourn in New Russia, were to inform and set the

agenda for community developments during the first generation in North America.

PART TWO

IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT: TRANSPLANTING THE COMMUNITY, 1874-1879

INTRODUCTION

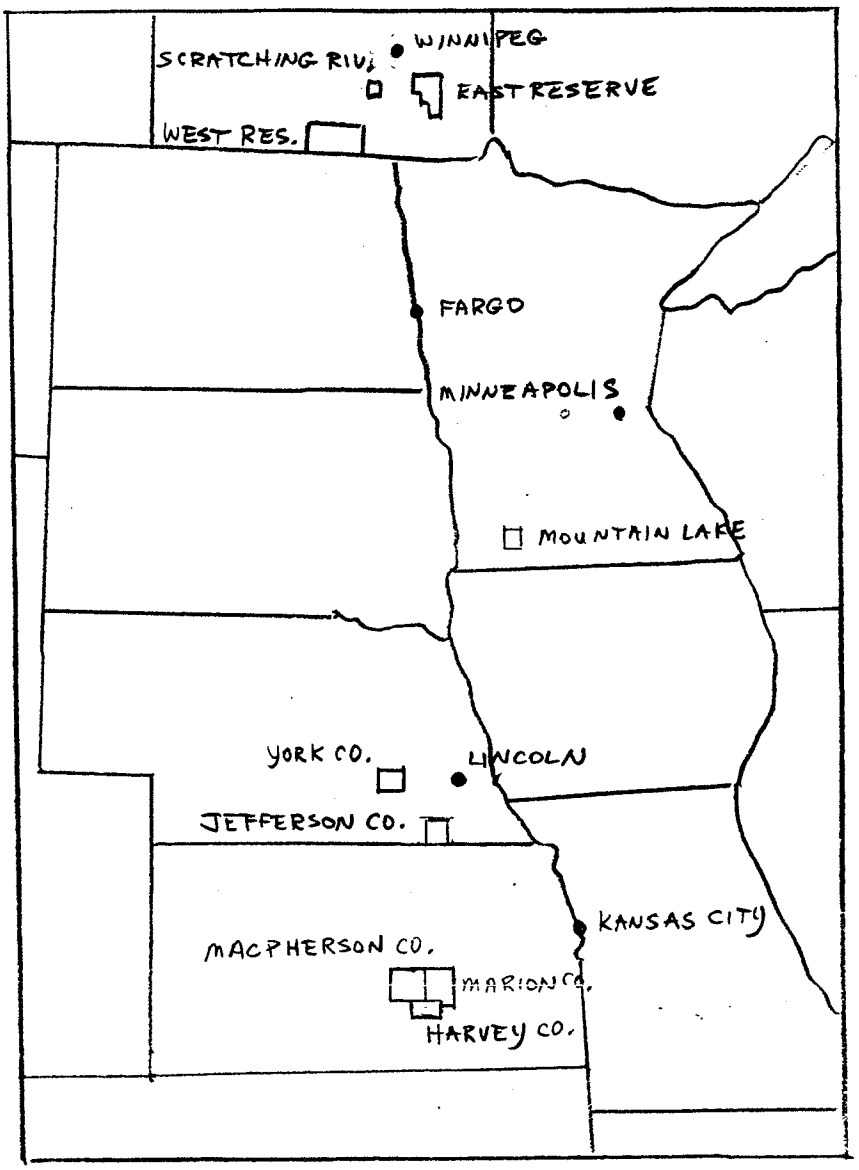
The migration of the 170 Kleine Gemeinde Mennonite families in 1874 and the following years was a carefully planned, group migration involving the relocation of a complete congregational community. [1] Like the other 17,000 Mennonite migrants, the Kleine Gemeinde travelled overland from Odessa to Hamburg by rail and then by steam ship to either New York or via Liverpool to Quebec City. Unlike most of these Mennonite groups the Kleine Gemeinde elected to settle in both Canada and the United States (see Map # 4).

The larger part of the Kleine Gemeinde, the Toews or Gruenfelder group, travelled through Quebec City and then via Toronto, Duluth, and Fargo by rail, lake steamer and river boat to Manitoba. The first of the six Manitoba-bound groups arrived in Winnipeg on July 31, 1874. Four other groups followed later that summer and fall, and a rear guard group lead by the Aeltester came in the spring of the next year. [2] The smaller part of the Gemeinde, the Friesen or Heubodner group, comprising 30 families, arrived in New York on July 17, 1874 and then after temporarily settling in Clarence Centre, a Mennonite community in the northern part of the state, they travelled by rail through Buffalo and Chicago to southeastern Nebraska where they arrived on August 14. Later that year they were joined by six other families from Russia. [3]

By autumn 1874, then, Kleine Gemeinde communities were to be found in two significantly different places. In Manitoba the Kleine Gemeinde settled in two government-reserved land blocks. The majority followed Delegate Cornelius Toews and settled on the East Reserve, an eight

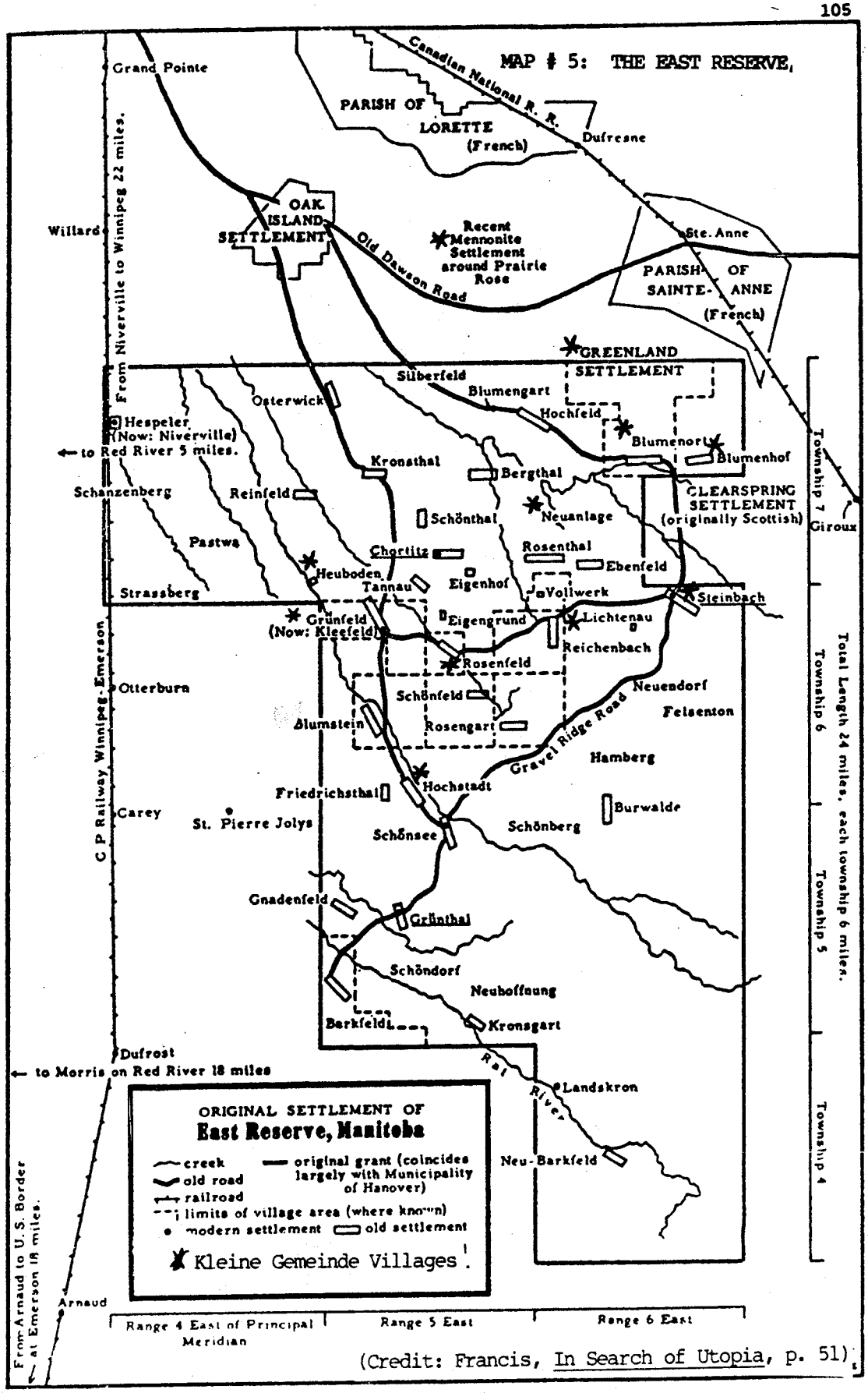
MAP # 4: RUSSIAN MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA

1880



-township block of land 35 miles southeast of Winnipeg. This reserved land was relatively near the main hub of activity in Manitoba, the 5000 inhabitant frontier city of Winnipeg and the settlements along the Red, Assiniboine and Seine Rivers. It was on this exclusively Mennonite land block of open prairie and parkland that 100 Kleine Gemeinde families made their homes alongside 300 Bergthal Mennonite families. The Kleine Gemeinde founded three central village communities, Gruenfeld, Blumenort and Steinbach, each located in a different township and each with its own satellite villages (see Map # 5). Thirty Kleine Gemeinde families passed by the East Reserve and followed Delegate David Klassen to the small "Scratching River Reserve," located on open prairie 35 miles south southwest of Winnipeg and 30 miles due west of the East Reserve "on the other side" of the Red River. Kleine Gemeinde families did not settle on a third Mennonite reserve which was founded in 1875 between the Red River and the Pembina Hills on the American border. This West Reserve, was settled by approximately 800 families from Bergthal and Fuerstenland. [4]

In Nebraska the Kleine Gemeinde set down roots in Jefferson County, 55 miles southwest of Lincoln, the state capital, and just eight miles east of the railroad town and county seat, Fairbury. Here in the township of Cub Creek, Kleine Gemeinde farmers purchased 15,000 acres of land from the Chicago-based Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company for an average price of $3.50 an acre and founded six village settlements. The most important were Rosenort and Rosenhof on the southern edge of the township, Heuboden, the residence of the Aeltester, on the western edge and Blumenort on the north (see Map # 8). The settlement would receive a boost in 1875 and 76 when some 20 families made "secondary migrations" from Manitoba to join their kin in Cub Creek. [5] Unlike their brethren in Manitoba, the Nebraska Kleine Gemeinde had few other Mennonite neighbours. Aside from some 65 families in York and Gage Counties, few other Mennonites settled in Nebraska during the 1870s. [6] Most of the 10,000 Mennonites who came to the United States from Russia



(Credit: Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 51)

during these years settled in Kansas, in counties 150 miles south of Cub Creek. Among these Mennonites were the Krimmer Brudergemeinde who had broken from the Kleine Gemeinde in 1869 and now followed Jacob Wiebe, their Aeltester, in founding the village of Gnadenau in Marion County.

An obvious theme to follow in telling the story of the migration of the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites is one of transplantation. Their new homes were to bear many of the marks of their colonies in Russia. Their place names, village and field systems, leadership hierarchy, denominational identity, architecture, language and mode of production were replicated in the new land. It was as if despite the move nothing had changed. Such a perspective would fit nicely into recent American historical interpretations which fault the emphasis of older immigration studies on discontinuity, upheaval and assimilation. [7] But the theme of cultural persistence would fit even better the historiography of group migrants. Oscar Handlin who insisted that "peasants found nowhere an equivalent of the village" made an exception for rural, German speaking pietistic sects, under strict religious authority. [8] In Canada, Carl Dawson wrote about the exceptional cases of the Doukhobors, Mormons and Mennonites in the prairie provinces. Mennonite historians themselves have emphasized the distinct ability of their people to transplant their lives and have described their communities in great detail. A recent general history of Mennonites in Canada has been subtitled "The History of a Separate People" while a another one in the United States bears the subtitle "The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America." [9] Indeed a comparison of histories of Mennonites with those of urban Italians, Hungarians, and Slovaks or even of rural Norwegian, German and Swedish migrants, suggests that there is a consensus among scholars: that is, historians have perceived an inordinate degree of continuity in the Mennonite experience as transplanted migrants.

Ironically, the transplantation theme in Mennonite historiography has lead to a situation in which less is known about the internal social

dynamic of Mennonite immigration to North America's grasslands than of Southern or Eastern European immigration to North America's cities. The very success of the Mennonites in transplanting their communities has often closed them to the intriguing lines of enquiry followed by historians of less solidaristic immigrant groups. Much is known about the physical outlay of the Mennonites' quaint agrarian villages and much about their distinctive religious beliefs. But less is known about the external and internal social relationships that wove village life together or that made its transplantation possible. Yet, an examination of the letters and diaries revealing the everyday experience of the Mennonite immigrants makes it evident that the migration was not a static affair; it was as socially intricate as the migration of ethnic labourers to one of North America's cities.

It will be suggested in this section of the dissertation that recent historical approaches to the social make-up of urban immigrant communities can offer a deeper understanding of the intricate social nature of Mennonite transplantations. Mennonites from Russia were affected, as were other migrating groups, by global industrialization which placed a value on their economic expertise and shaped the social structures in which the North American Mennonite settlements were founded. Mennonites, too, defined their communities less in territorial terms than in terms of social boundaries, networks and social structures. As in other groups, the private sphere of the family, in which women played a central role, was the primary social unit of immigration and crucial in determining settlement patterns and the social networks of the new communities. Finally, like urban groups, the household economic unit, complete with its strategies of social reproduction was transplanted from a modernizing Europe and integrated into the market economy of North America. [10]

The settlements in Manitoba and Nebraska, of course, faced significantly different physical and political environments. Indeed the block settlement and educational freedoms granted the Manitobans made for

a settlement that was even move theocratic than the community in Russia; the more highly developed economy and more densely populated counties in Nebraska ensured a settlement there that was somewhat less theocratic than the community in Russia. Yet, there were striking parallels in the way the Manitoba and Nebraska communities developed. By securing a railroad land block the Nebraskans were able to replicate a highly homogeneous settlement. By settling in a state where one-sixth of the population spoke German and German-language parochial education was widely practiced, cultural persistence was safeguarded at least for the time being. By selling products into a highly developed market economy the Nebraska farms were more commercialized than those of their Manitoba counterparts; however, because the Manitoba settlement was located close to a rapidly growing city there were opportunities to integrate into a market economy even before Manitoba became an exporting province.

However, the most pivotal reason for parallels in the Manitoba and Nebraska communities was that both settlements vigourously pursued strategies to replicate familiar social relationships. Both factions of the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites successfully reestablished the community hierarchies comprised of well-to-do farmers and religious leaders and the community institutions such as the church, schools and mutual aid societies. And both communities were undergirded by the transplanted family; settlement patterns, the role of women, marketing strategies, and agricultural methods reflected the overriding importance that family played in directing the nature of Mennonite transplantation. By 1879, after half a decade in North America, it was apparent that the socially intricate communities of the Kleine Gemeinde had been reestablished.

CHAPTER 5

GLOBAL MARKETS AND MIGRATING MENNONITE FARMERS

I

The history of the Kleine Gemeinde from 1874-1879 does more than illuminate their strategies of transplantation. It reveals the context which made those strategies possible. There was a great irony in the Mennonite migrations of the 1870s. Mennonites left Russia because their cultural autonomy was being threatened by a state aiming to modernize a backward country. That same phenomenon in the United States and Canada was to provide Mennonites with the opportunity to reestablish their traditional society. In Russia the government had intended to standardize, integrate and modernize the countryside by removing the special status of groups such as the Mennonites: in North America the intention was to build an integrated economy on the prairie and plain and establish a modern society by luring immigrants with agricultural skills like the Mennonites to develop the grasslands. The demand for commercial grain farmers was growing in direct response to an increasingly industrial and urban world. The ability of these farmers to migrate half way around the world and transform grasslands into farm land was also dependent on an industrialized world with its cheap ocean transportation, its railways and its new agricultural technologies. It is clear that without industrialization there would have been no Mennonite settlements in the west.

In their study of the migration of millions of Europeans to North America, historians have increasingly emphasized the role that international economic development played in enabling and directing turn-of-the-century migrations. Frank Thistlethwaite, a British historian, has

been credited as being at the forefront in articulating this phenomenon. In a ground breaking article in 1960 Thistlethwaite questioned the notion that late nineteenth and early twentieth century immigration was essentially the response of an "undifferentiated mass" of distraught European peasants to the "distant magnet" of green fields of the United States. Rather, these migrations were in response to global urbanization and industrialization. "Emigration was," argues Thistlethwaite, "intimately connected with that quickening of communications, markets, commerce and capital which...was the first phase of the establishment of a modern economy." As commercial forces changed traditional communities, craftsmen and farmers who had marketable skills began moving in "a multiplicity of interlocked movements occurring over one vast international and intercontinental field." The migrations did not constitute a unique American phenomenon. Thistlethwaite argues that fully 40% of the 55 million migrants who left Europe for overseas between 1821 and 1924, for instance, did not go to the United States and of those who did 33% returned to Europe. Nor were migrants "pulled" by American economic growth: rather they, themselves, were integral components of that growth. Migrants built up industrial centers in various parts of the globe including Europe and developed the grasslands and export economies of numerous countries. [1]

Thistlethwaite's analysis has had a particular effect on historians of the European emigration to the United States. Themes such as "American fever", the "Distant Magnet" and "Huddled Masses" once the mainstay of immigration historiography now are seen to obscure the social processes governing migration. Russell Menard has argued that the vast majority of seventeenth and eighteenth century migrants were farmers who had been recuited by land speculators or labourers who had been directed overseas by transatlantic labour markets. [2] Kerby Miller has argued that more important than "British misrule" and "Protestant ascendancy" in encouraging Irish emigration was the displacement of peasants through

enclosure and mechanization that resulted from the rise of modern agrarian and industrial capitalism. [3] Jon Gjerde has written that many Norwegians who came to the United States did so because an expanding economy in Norway was creating land shortages and disrupting traditional social patterns; moreover these migrants had developed economic skills useful in integrating into the American economy. [4] Similarly, Julianna Puskas has argued that Hungarians migrating to the United States often were craftsmen familiar with economic mobility and intent on returning to a position of higher status in Hungary. [5]

Other historians have outlined the global economic context in migrations to other countries. Australian historians, Peter Shergold and Stephen Nicolas, have argued that the migrations of convicts to Australia entailed more than simple banishment and that the majority of the exiles were skilled craftsmen caught in petty crime and brought to Australia with the approval of its capitalists who were hoping to develop the colony's economy. [6] In Canada Stella Hryniuk has written how Ukrainian peasants from East Galicia considered migrating to Canada after "modernization, including its improved agricultural practices and enhanced marketing facilities...made it feasible to think of expansion in a rational manner." [7] Donald Avery has tied the rate of railway building in Canada to the entry of Italian, Finnish and Ukrainian navvies while Joy Parr has studied the story of 80,000 British immigrant children who were accepted in Canadian homes often for "financial rather than sentimental reasons." [8]

From Europe a number of historians have emphasized that as important a factor as transoceanic migrations at the turn of the century were inter-European migrations spurred on by the continent's industrialization. Klaas Bade, for instance, has argued that the migration of workers to Germany during the 1920s was as important as the migration of Germans to the United States in preceding decades and Thistlethwaite has shown how France during these years had the second highest rate of immigration in the world. [9] Studies of Odessa, the Black Sea port in Russia, have shown

how it attracted Jews, Greeks, Italians and Germans to capitalize on the growing international grain trade. [10]

A central factor in the development of a global economy during these years was the development of grasslands by settler immigrants. Crucial to the growth of world industrialization was the Atlantic Economy, which according to Thistlethwaite, directed the exploitation of "the grasslands of North America by means of European capital and labour in the interests of cheaper cotton and wheat for Europe and overseas markets for European manufactures." [11] Farmer immigrants were enticed to settle and build up a commercial agricultural base in numerous countries. Gerald Friesen writes that in Canada "the millions of acres of western real estate" which the government found itself with after acquiring the western prairie in 1869 "were expected to serve the interests of 'old Canada'" and that "their hopes lay with the pioneer farmer who...would initiate an economic takeoff...." [12] Donald Denoon has shown how "Settler Capitalism" developed the grasslands of six southern hemisphere countries including South Africa and Australia. "In each case," writes Denoon, "new opportunities of the nineteenth century - capital, migrant labourers, technology, and markets - enabled an obscure and remote outpost to grow rapidly into a...prosperous and populous society." These outposts were directed by "social classes committed to an impersonal link and to the production of export staples [and were supported by] state institutions [which] reflected that fact...." [13] In a book comparing the growth of the wheat economies in Canada and Argentina, Carl Solberg has written about Argentina's flawed program of luring Italian tenant farmers and the "golondrina" migrant labourers to develop the pampas into a grain growing region. In comparison to Canada, Argentina failed because it indiscriminately "welcomed nearly all newcomers and consequently became a haven for the poor of Southern Europe." [14]

Harriet Friedmann has provided a theoretical explanation of how national economic strategies were intertwined with the migration of farmer

settlers. In an article establishing the role of the family farm in national economies she explains why both Canada and the United States were particularly intent on obtaining "small commodity producers" for frontier agriculture. [15] In addition to being self-sufficient in food and labour, they were less dependent on profits and more compelled to raise the value of land by developing its resources. On the frontier, writes Friedmann, household production proved to be "the form most able to establish and reproduce itself in advance of other forms of production." For this reason farm settlers were recruited by countries, such as Canada, where "economic and political integration of territory became the crucial determinant of its national identity." [16]

II

Despite the vast differences in the culture of New Russia, Manitoba and Nebraska, there was an overriding similarity: in each place small farmers were seen as decisive in the development of a modern economy. As the migration fever heated up in the Mennonite colonies in 1873 and 1874 it became apparent that the competition between Russian, American and Canadian interests for pioneer farmers were often behind the overtures and religious guarantees offered to Mennonites. Each of the three places had its own particular reasons in the mid 1870s for hankering for skilled, self reliant agriculturalists.

In Canada the dominion government had just acquired a huge grassland territory from the Hudson's Bay Company with an eye to turning it into the agricultural hinterland of central Canada. Within two years of the 1869 purchase it had replaced the Metis as the power broker at Red River, established a new province of Manitoba and negotiated peace treaties with the Ojibwa and Cree Indians which created government reserves for them. The only threat now facing Canada were Americans who felt that "manifest destiny" was directing them to usurp the Hudson's Bay Company lands. Canada would have to develop the west to consolidate its hold on it. [17] By

the early 1870s the Dominion government passed a Homestead Act, sent out the North West Mounted Police and consolidated plans for a transcontinental railway.

Despite the 1873 depression which put the railway on hold for half a decade, Ontario immigrants were already transforming Manitoba. In 1870 Manitoba had had a population of only 12,000 inhabitants, half of whom were French speaking Metis and many of whom were hunters and traders. By 1878 Manitoba "was rapidly completing the transition to a British-Ontarian community" with a population of around 35,000. [18] Still Manitoba remained a largely undeveloped province with huge tracts of grass and park land. During these years the government through its Department of Agriculture worked hard at luring more immigrants to the Canadian West. It printed a million pieces of literature describing the virtues of the Canadian West. But in the interest of quick settlement it also encouraged "groups or colonists to settle as discrete homogeneous units in the prairies." [19]

Compared to Manitoba, Nebraska was highly developed by the mid 1870s. While it had been considered part of the "permanent Indian frontier" within the "Great American Desert" as late as the 1840s it was granted statehood in 1854. Before the decade was up the Omahas, Poncas and Pawnee tribes had ceded their lands and many had been moved to Indian Territory. By the mid 1850s "Nebraska Boomers" began pouring over the Missouri River from Iowa and points east to begin laying out cities such as Lincoln, Omaha and Beatrice and establishing rural counties in the eastern parts of the state. [20] The pace of settlement took off in the 1860s with the official survey of the state, the passing of the 1862 Homestead Act and the 1867 construction of a transcontinental railway which traversed Nebraska. By 1870 the state boasted a population of 123,000, ten times that of Manitoba. By the 1873 depression, settlement had progressed to the point that there was little homestead land available in eastern Nebraska.

It was at this point, however, that railway companies began realizing the value of the alternative sections of land they had acquired from the government as payment for railway construction. In fact in several places railway companies had acquired blocks of land in lieu of alternative sections which had by the time of railway construction been taken up by homesteaders. These reserve blocks were the lands that railway companies hoped to sell to monied farm groups such as the Mennonites. [21]

III

Mennonite farmers were to experience first hand the importance attached to potential immigrants by government officials, town merchants and railway barons. Like other immigrant groups they knew about opportunities in North America through social networks of letter writing and ethnic newspapers. North American Mennonites regularly wrote about their farms and churches in the Prussian based Mennonitische Blaetter and the American Mennonite organ Herald der Wahrheit. They read about fertile lands in Ontario and Indiana. They heard about military remittance fees, Mennonite publishing efforts and the republican form of government in the United States. And they were told of the kindness extended to German Protestants in Canada.

However, an even greater flood of information, and misinformation, was to come their way in the years after they made enquiries to the American and British governments in 1871. The first source of information was Cornelius Jansen, the Mennonite grain trader and former German consul who had compiled information provided by the American and British consulates in Odessa and Berdyansk into a book Sammlung von Notizen ueber Amerika, published in 1872. Jansen's inclination to favour the United States was tempered somewhat when the Canadian government sent Jacob Shantz, a Mennonite from Ontario, to see Manitoba in 1872 and commissioned the writing of Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba. [22] In 1872 the

government also commissioned William Hespeler, a German Ontario businessman to travel to southern Russia to invite the Mennonites to consider Canada.

With knowledge, then, of what each of the countries could be expected to offer, the Russian Mennonites sent their delegates, including Cornelius Toews and David Klassen of the Kleine Gemeinde, to North America in 1873 with instructions to look at both the Canadian and the American western grasslands. The nature of the attention that the Mennonite delegation received from government, railway and newspaper men reveals the perceived role of the Mennonites in the New World. Because the Mennonites represented a tiny minority within the German-speaking world, newspapers went to great lengths to introduce the Mennonites, explain their background and extoll their virtues. There was no mention of the Mennonites' radical sixteenth-century heritage, their hesitancy to participate in local democratic politics or their disregard for host cultures. Rather they were everywhere depicted as sober, industrious, family oriented farmers who could turn a wilderness into productive farms and provide a boon to local merchants. [23] And newspapers speculated what an influx of such migrants would mean for their regions. Despite the fact that there were only 50,000 Mennonites in New Russia, the Manitoba Free Press spoke of the coming of 80,000 Russian Mennonites and the Beatrice Express reported that 60,000 were coming. [24]

Governments and railway agents courted the Mennonites in both Canada and the United States. The Canadian government, for instance, sent Hespeler and Shantz to guide the delegation up the Red River to Winnipeg. In Winnipeg they were "invited to the State House and generously entertained by Attorney General Clark and others connected with the government of the state." [25] In the succeeding days they were guided through what was to become the East Reserve and later along the lands of the Assiniboine River to the Riding Mountain district. In the United States the Mennonites who had not been impressed with Manitoba were met

by state governors and railway men. Each praised the land in their state and went out of their way to impress the delegates. Representative of such men was the agent for the Burlington and Missouri Railroad in Nebraska. After spending several days with the agent the delegates made special note of "Friend Manchester, to whom we owe many thanks for the generous provisions he continually made for us...and the kindness and attention he manifested towards us." [26]

The significance of these overtures for the Kleine Gemeinde was that preconceived plans for settlement were changed. The Kleine Gemeinde delegates, for example, had been instructed that in choosing a place for settlement they must "first of all to keep the United States in mind." [27] Indeed, in a letter that Delegate Toews wrote shortly after arriving in the United States there was no indication that the Kleine Gemeinde were going to favour Canada. We decided to "go to Manitoba...with Hespeler," wrote Toews, "so that the gracious offer made by the English government would not be completely thrown into the wind." Toews added that the delegates were also plannning "to investigate many places in the United States [for] there is nothing to fear with respect to freedom of religion here [in the U.S.] nor there [in Canada]." [28] Toews' mind, however, was to change in Manitoba. While the majority of the delegates rejected Manitoba on account of her poor soils, high tariffs, 'primitive' Metis population, and lack of a railway, the Canadian government was able to win the favour of the Kleine Gemeinde and Bergthal people. [29]

No doubt, Shantz repeated his observations about Manitoba that he had penned a year earlier in his book: that the dry winter made the cold more bearable, that the weather and soil could bear all kinds of grain and fruit, that railways would soon link Manitoba to the outside and that the Metis and Indians were characterized by civility, gentleness and an appreciation for British justice. [30] But it was the promises made by the Dominion government that won the day. The Mennonites were to have their own tracts of land, exemption from service in the military, control of

their schools and travel assistance across the ocean and along the Dawson Trail. [31] On July 1 Toews wrote home from Fargo, North Dakota, to say that he and Klassen and the Bergthalers were heading to Ottawa for "we have the expectation that there is nothing more satisfactory to our question to be obtained anywhere than exactly here." [32]

Toews and Klassen returned to Russia in August with a letter of promises from the Canadian government. They were greeted enthusiastically by their brethren. Special brotherhood meetings were called to plan the next steps and negotiations opened to reunite the Gruenfeld and Heuboden factions of the Gemeinde. Emigration to Canada was, however, not to be a foregone conclusion. Over the next months as Mennonites began selling off their property and preparing for a spring emigration Russian, Canadian and American interests all worked hard to secure the greatest number of Mennonite farm families for themselves. First, the Russian government, alarmed at the prospect of losing thousands of farmers, stalled the exit visas and then ordered Mennonite leaders to negotiate a compromise on the military service question with a special emissary of the government. A new offer was made by the government which promised the Mennonites a self regulated exclusive forestry service as an alternative to military service. [33]

The offer was an important compromise and it is probable that had this compromise been offered a year earlier many of the Mennonites, including the Kleine Gemeinde, would have stayed in Russia. The fact was that having considered the benefits of migration with its promises of complete separation from the state and plenty of land they had become infected with migration fever. When confronted directly with this compromise the Kleine Gemeinde's only response was to present the emissary with a letter thanking the Czar for his benevolence and to request from the General the speedy issue of exit permits. [34]

Another avenue of persuasion was more effective. It caused a substantial number of Kleine Gemeinde families to turn against the

recommendations of their delegate and reconsider the American option. In the spring of 1874 H.L. Hiller, an associate of American railway tycoon Jay Cooke, travelled to New Russia where he tried to dissuade the Bergthaler and Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites from relocating in Canada. Several sources tell the story. Jacob Kroeker, a young Kleine Gemeinde preacher wrote in his memoirs that in the spring of 1874 "an agent of America came, reproached us, praised the United States and [insisted] that a similar freedom [to the one obtained in Canada] was to be had there." [35] Abram Reimer, the elderly diarist, made the following entry for February 18, 1874: "There was an American agent in...Heuboden....He said a great many things; much of which, of course, will not be true; but he did advise us strongly to move to the United States." [36]

Hiller's warnings, however, were taken seriously. In April 1874 Delegate Klassen wrote the Canadian immigration officials in Hamburg to enquire about the veracity of Hiller's suggestions. Klassen reported that "...the treatment on English steamers [has been] pictured...in the blackest of colors [and] the route from Quebec to Manitoba [along the Dawson Road]...as very horrible." [37] Cornelius Toews also wrote Hamburg to enquire about the allegations American land and railway agents were making; he asked whether it was true that "religious liberty...cannot be found in Canada...[as] the English Gov't [sic] has never yet kept their word in any promise made [and that]...the main features...of Manitoba...are privation, starvation and great bodily danger on account of Indians who...massacre the white man wherever he is to be found." [38] As a final precaution, Aeltester Toews wrote emigration advocate and Kleine Gemeinde friend, Cornelius Jansen, who had made a temporary home in Toronto. Toews asked pointed questions about Manitoba's climate, the state of the Dawson Trail and the kind of religious freedom that could be expected in the two countries. As fate would have it Jansen, who clearly favoured the United States, was not in Toronto when the letter arrived and

his wife responded with a positive description of life in Ontario and an indication that life in Manitoba would, no doubt, be similar. [39]

The Kleine Gemeinde was clearly disturbed by the American suggestions; so, too however, was the Canadian government. It was not about to sit idly by as American railway interests planted seeds of doubt in the minds of the conservative Mennonites. Jacob Klotz, who had been appointed to act as "a special immigration agent...at Hamburg for a period of six months...to bestow particular attention to...Mennonites who may sail...for Canada," wrote Ottawa about Hiller's activities and offered to travel to Russia to counter them. He also wrote Toews and Klassen and told them that everything Hiller had said could be construed as true if he were to exchange the word "Manitoba" for "western United States." [40] In Canada the Department of Agriculture entered into an agreement with Jacob Schantz to build four 100 foot long immigration sheds in Manitoba in order to counter the claims of privation made by American railway agents. Finally, too, the foolhardy plan to keep Mennonite settlers out of reach of the American railway men by having them travel to Manitoba along the treacherous and rugged Dawson Trail was dropped. Ironically, the Dawson Trail plan which had been meant to keep the migrants in Canada and out of reach of American agents, had almost frightened the Mennonites into the arms of the United States.

The Canadians, however, were not able to contain all the damage. By April the Americans had so successfully discredited the Manitoba Plan that 30 of the 47 Heubodner Kleine Gemeinde families effectively declared nonconfidence in Delegate Klassen and turned to the cousin of Aeltester Abram Friesen, Cornelius Jansen, for guidance. Instead of travelling to Quebec on English liners later that year they travelled to New York on German liners. Here they planned to consult with Jansen who had travelled widely in the American midwest in the spring of 1874 before making their final decision. During those travels Jansen had been courted by officials of the B&M railway and become impressed with their Jefferson

County property. When the Kleine Gemeinde arrived in New York, Jansen was able to convince the leaders to abandon their plan to send another delegation to Manitoba and instead to follow him to Nebraska. By August the Kleine Gemeinde leaders had purchased the land in Jefferson County land and by September they had transferred their families to it.

The majority of the Kleine Gemeinde, however, had their doubts eased by Canadian immigration officials. In May Delegate Klassen and 17 families of the Heuboden congregation joined the Gruenfeld congregation. By June the first contingent was on its way to Canada to take advantage of the provisions of block settlement, complete military exemption and local government and educational autonomy. By the end of July they had arrived in Winnipeg and within a week they had settled into the immigration sheds on the Mennonite Reserve.

The favourable predisposition toward migrating farm groups among the governments in North America continued to exhibit itself in the early years of settlement. The Canadian government, for instance, offered a loan to help Mennonite farmers contend with a grasshopper plague during their first year in Manitoba. In Nebraska the state government passed a military exemption bill in 1877 and local officials allowed the Mennonites to re-open their private German-language schools. [41]

IV

The story of the coming of the Russian Mennonites is, thus, much more complex than standard accounts that describe the migration of a pacifist religious sect to North America where it was promised religious freedom. The migration may have been religiously motivated but it occurred in a global socioeconomic context. Not only had modernizing forces in Russia brought an end to conservative Mennonites there, but they had also provided them with opportunities to establish their colonies in North America. Both Canadian and American governments and economic interests viewed the Mennonites as reliable, self sufficient, household

producers who could develop local economies and strengthen export staple economies. The competition between the Canadians and the Americans for the Mennonite farmers resulted in the extension of some special privileges and economic assistance from both sides. This competition not only ensured that the Mennonites would migrate in 1874, but that the Kleine Gemeinde, banking on advice from diverse sources would settle in two very different socioeconomic contexts.

Like the 55 million other Europeans who migrated overseas in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Mennonites migrated in the context of a growing Atlantic economy. Alongside British technicians, Italian seasonal labourers, and other skilled Europeans these German-speaking farm families were directed to settle in North America by the exigencies of a modern economy. It was within the parameters of an increasingly industrial world, then, that the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinders were able to employ their strategies to replicate their family oriented, sectarian farm communities in Manitoba and Nebraska.

CHAPTER 6

COMMUNITY TRANSPLANTED

The migration of 1874 introduced Mennonite farm families to a wider world. Evidence of how momentous a change this was for the migrants is readily found in the diaries of Kleine Gemeinde migrants. Diaries which normally contain only financial information or brief day to day observations offer poignant descriptions of the transoceanic voyage. The descriptions are filled with the romance of new sites. The Canadian-bound Kleine Gemeinde wrote about the botanical gardens in Hamburg, the "dark tunnels" in the Pennines between Hull and Liverpool, the ocean liners measuring "130 paces," whales clearing their blowholes off the coast of Halifax, the guns overlooking the cliffs at Quebec, the winding river into Manitoba, and the bareness of the East Reserve. The American-bound migrants noted six storey buildings in Breslau, the victory statue of the Kaiser in Berlin, the 1000-passenger Hammonia waiting in the Hamburg seaport, the city of New York "more beautiful than Hamburg," the train that travelled as if it were flying, "the great wonder of nature" at Niagara Falls, the "very large and dangerous city" of Chicago, the large exhibition grounds near Beatrice, Nebraska and the rolling land of Cub Creek. [1]

These accounts also describe the prospect of travelling "half way around the world as if it were a grapefruit peel." They describe the people they encountered: the Canadian officials in Hamburg; the sabbatarian English dock workers who refused to load baggage on Sundays; the stern doctors in Liverpool who kept back families suspected of scarlet fever; authoritarian ship captains who forced the sick onto deck and separated men from their wives for the journey; familiar looking Mennonite

elders in Toronto; the Mennonite farmers of Clarence Center who hired the young men while their fathers scouted for land in Nebraska; the natives watching the Mennonites from the banks of the Red River; and the eager business and railway men of Winnipeg and Beatrice. [2]

These observations of the wider world, however, were just that. They did not constitute the New World of the Mennonites. Mennonites were quite intent on establishing their solidaristic traditional communities in the manner that they had known in Russia. Continuity was their goal. The communities they founded in the East Reserve, at Scratching River and in Jefferson County were meant to be reproductions of their village communities in Borosenko and the Molochnaia. They were meant to safeguard the church congregation from individualism and intimate associations with the outside world. Yet the very act of reproducing these communities was to lead to adaptations that would in the long term bring about fundamental changes to their communities. Still the reestablishment of Old World settlement patterns, of the social structure, and of institutional completeness provided the Mennonites with a sense of continuity that was to bring a measure of stability to their communities at least for the first few years.

I

It is by now a truism in historical geography that territory is crucial to the ability of a minority to maintain a separate identity. Historical geographers in both the United States and Canada have recently gone beyond the maxim of Andrew Hill Clark that they should see "human geography as an ever-changing thing" and have begun looking at the specific relationships between spatial organization, critical mass, block settlement and cultural change. [3] Studies by historical geographers who compare the relationship between cultural values and settlement patterns indicate that ethnically conscious immigrants were able to construct a variety of spatial environments which served their cultural strategies in

North America. In Canada John Warkentin has studied the Mennonites, Donald Gale and Paul Koroscil the Doukhobors, and John Lehr the Ukrainians. In the United States James Forsythe and Tim Kloberdanz have studied the Volga Germans, D. Aiden MacQuillan the Mennonites, Swedes and French Canadians of Kansas, and Robert Ostergren the Swedes of Dakota and Minnesota. Each has emphasized the relationship between territory and ethnicity. [4]

The block settlement provided by the Dominion government in Canada and by the B&M Railroad in Nebraska allowed the Kleine Gemeinde farmers to attempt to replicate their communities and households. Indeed the most obvious feature of the transplanted Mennonite community was the physical configuration and appearance of the villages. In each of the three major settlement areas, the East Reserve, Scratching River and Jefferson County, the settlers adapted their villages, Strassendoerfer, and their medieval open field system to a new environment. In each place it meant disregarding the conventional "homestead" approach to settling the plain and prairie.

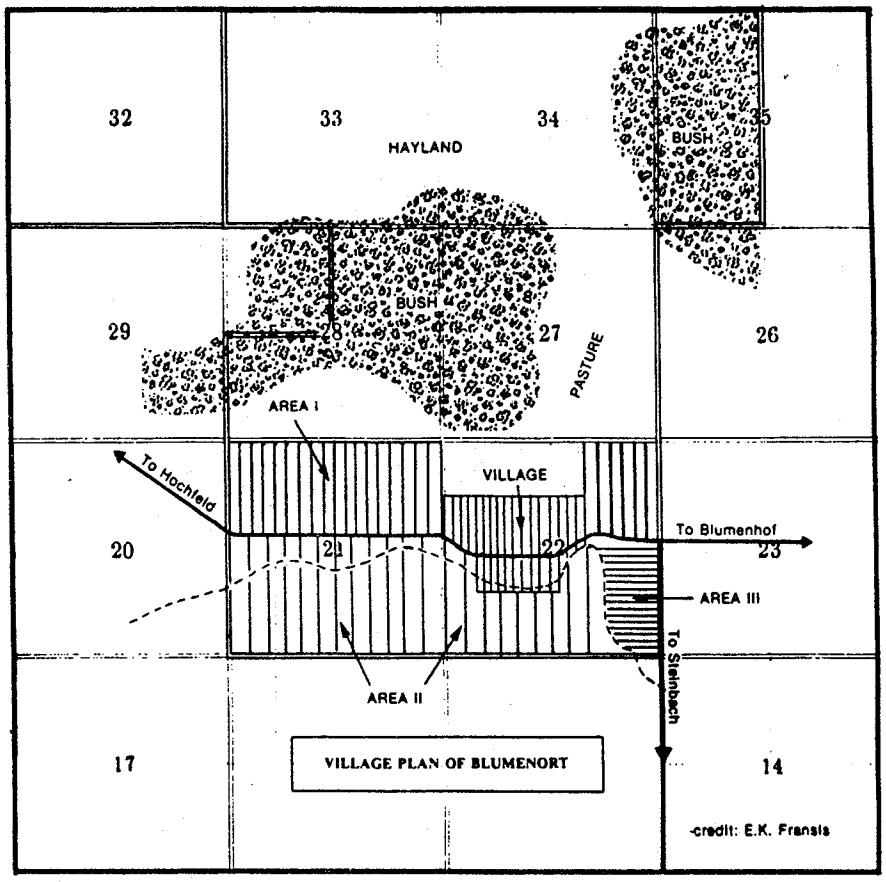
On the East Reserve settlers established an almost ideal type of Old World village. To enable them to reestablish these Old World patterns the settlers took their individually registered homesteads, pooled them and then divided them according to the village system. At the centre of the village district the settlers laid out their villages along topographical features usually without regard to official survey plans. Steinbach and Blumenort paralleled creeks and Gruenfeld was build on a ridge bordering the edge of woodland. In each of these places the village was laid out in five and six acre farmyards measuring approximately 220 by 1000 feet and known as "Fiastaeden." The surrounding lands were turned into open fields. As in Russia they were divided into three or four basic subdivisions in each of which farmers were allotted one strip of land known as a "Koagel," of five to 24 acres. In this way each farmer received an equal share of good and poor, close and distant land. A "full

farm" included a village farmstead and one Koagel in each of the subdivisions. The land lying beyond the arable land was used as a common pasture, hayfield or woodland (see Maps # 6 & 7). [5]

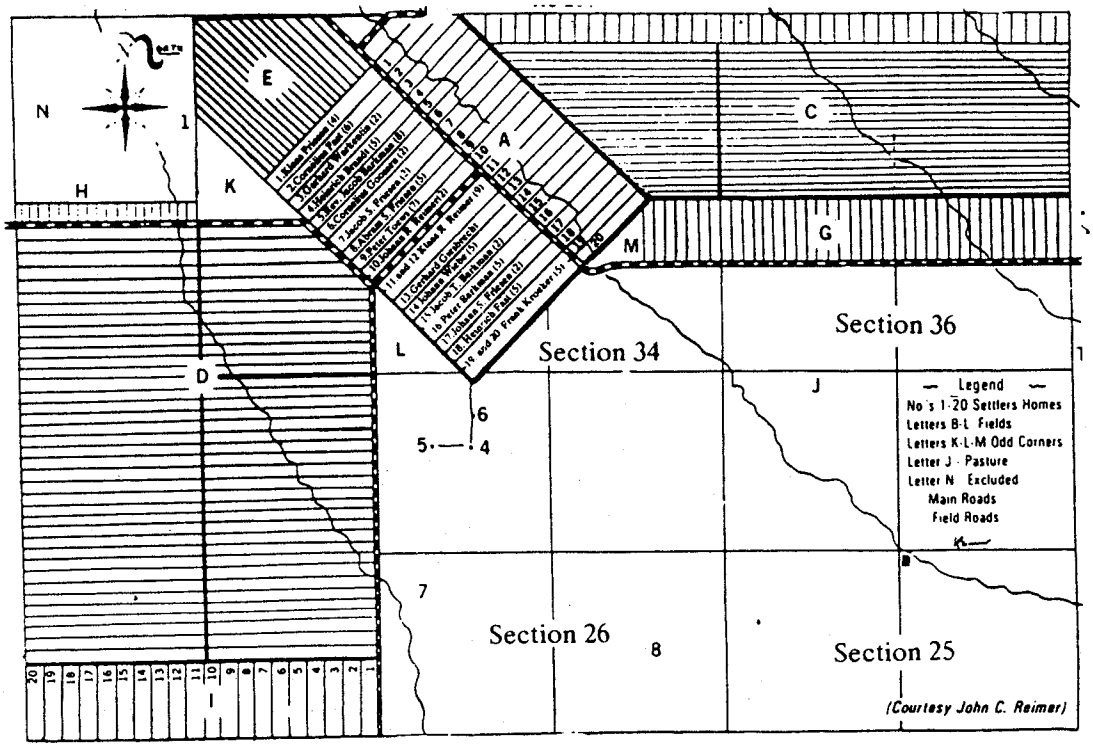
The ideal village type was not to be found in some of the smaller satellite villages. Lichtenau close to Steinbach was divided into strips of land each bearing a different letter designation. [6] Neuanlage near Blumenort, however, was founded in 1879 and established as a "four corner hamlet," a common geographic feature in ethnic settlements in North America. [7] Four small kinship settlements around Gruenfeld were probably similar settlement adaptations. At Scratching River the settlers also deviated from the ideal village. They did lay out their villages along a river, and did superimpose their own land ownership system onto the homestead system. But because the Scratching River topography was more uniform they farmed large contiguous strips of land extending from the river in the manner of Metis river lots. The result was that the village here was less closely-knit than were the villages on the East Reserve. Instead of extending for only half a mile and containing residences on both sides of the street, Scratching River villages were inhabited on only one side and stretched out for up to three miles. Farmyards here had a frontage on the street of 660 feet or 1/8 mile and a depth of two to four miles. [8]

In Nebraska the Mennonite farmers made a further modification to the "Strassendorf." In both Jefferson and York counties Russian Mennonites became noted for their "line villages." [9] These villages resembled the Scratching River villages except that they were founded within the official survey plan. Farms were laid out along section lines on 80 and 160 acre plots of land which measured 1/8 or 1/4 mile by one mile. This enabled farmers to live relatively close to one other, farm their own registered land and to pool their individually held lands in the back quarter sections, a half mile from the settlement, for a common pasture. As in Scratching River, the Cub Creek villages were between one and four

MAP # 6: VILLAGE AND FIELD PLAN OF BLUMENORT, MANITOBA



MAP # 7: VILLAGE AND FIELD PLAN OF STEINBACH, MANITOBA

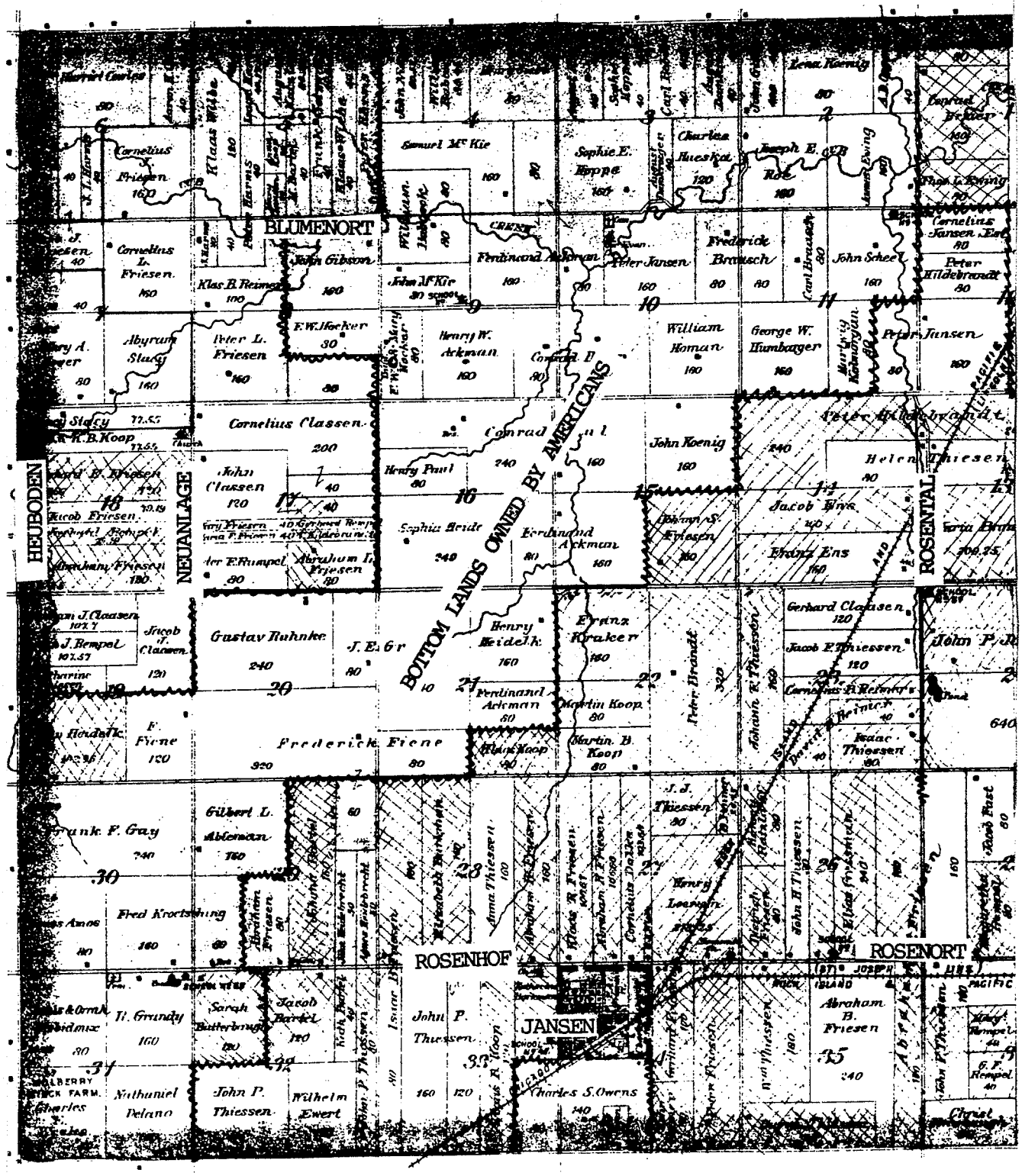


miles lomg; unlike the Scratching River settlement, farmyards in the larger Cub Creek villages were situated on both sides of the street (see Map # 8). [10]

Much has been made by scholars about this Mennonite cultural landscape. Isolated block settlements, Old World villages, quasi-feudal open fields, and the quaint house-barn architecture have been described as Mennonite peculiarities. [11] The extent to which the archetypal Strassendorf was reestablished has become the yardstick of continuity. [12] Historians have often emphasized the cultural function of the village and provided a variety of arguments to make this case. Close neighbours and pasture and woodland commons kept a check on individualistic activity. Common pastures and herdsmen saved farmers from the capitalist endeavors of investing in expensive barbed wire. Strip farming ensured a fair distribution of good and poor land. Open fields forced farmers to make more joint decisions on agricultural practices and kept a tighter reign on expansion minded farmers. Exclusive block settlement insulated them from the world. These arguments have been used to link factors of geography with ethnicity.

Still, the importance of cultural landscape in reproducing traditional communities has been questioned by an increasing number of scholars who are skeptical of environmentalism. Many of them have been informed by Frederick Barth whom anthropologists credit with redefining ethnicity as a "social rather than a cultural or biological phenomenon...." [13] Barth suggested that the "view that geographical and social isolation have been the critical factors in sustaining cultural diversity" is "simplistic." Rather, "primary emphasis [should be given] to the fact that ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people." Such interactions comprise "social processes of exclusion and incorporation

MAP # 8: LANDHOLDING PATTERNS IN CUB CREEK



whereby discrete categories are maintained....." [14] In this process of ordering human relations, spatial organization is not pivotal.

It will be suggested in this chapter that the crucial factors of transplantation for the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites were not to be seen in overt, descriptive cultural traits but in the social process that tied together people and shaped their social boundaries. Immigration historians have examined a number of different types of social interaction which assisted transplantation. Virginia Yans McLaughlin and Tamara Hareven have emphasized kinship ties in Italian communities in Buffalo and French Canadian enclaves in Maine. [15] Robert Harney's work on Italians in Toronto and Alan Artibise's study of Slavs and Jews in Winnipeg have emphasized the importance of class and social hierarchies within and between ethnic groups. [16] Other scholars have stressed the importance of ethnic institutions in fostering continuity and social boundaries. Informing this approach has been Raymond Breton's theory that "institutional completeness" can ensure the re-establishment of ethnic networks and the survival of ethnic communities within receiving societies. [17] June Alexander's examination of Slavs in Pittsburgh, Kathleen Conzen's work on Germans in Milwaukee, and Ewa Morawska's study of Poles in Pennsylvania each deemphasize the importance of geography and focus on social networks and institutions. [18]

Social boundary maintenance, important in the ethnic communities referred to above was also crucial in the transplanted Mennonite community. And one of the important aspects in shaping Mennonite social boundaries was Mennonite self perception or social ascription. Letters from the early settlements make less mention of transplanted physical traits than of replicated social networks and symbols such as village names. A letter from the East Reserve to Borosenko in October 1874 provides a picture of continuity with the former Russian settlement. In Borosenko, Russia the villages of Steinbach, Blumenhof and Gruenfeld formed the central nexus of community. A similar pattern appeared in

Manitoba (see Map # 5). "[Steinbach's] neighbouring village... Blumenort," according to the letter, "lies three miles from us and is inhabited by 27 families. In our 21-farmstead village, there are 18 families....Gruenfeld lies eight miles from us." [19]

Another letter a few years echoed the theme of continuity in a different way. A Steinbach farmer reported in a newspaper that "the name of our village will be remembered by our readers as one that stood on Busalukj River in Russia. In fact [the majority of the] inhabitants of our village...have at one time lived in Steinbach, Russia and the school teacher who served out there is also our teacher here." [20] Even the Nebraskans who made the most sweeping changes to the Strassendorf concept named their settlements after those in Russia. Heuboden, Borosenko for example had been the home of Aeltester Friesen; in Cub Creek the settlement in which he lived was again named Heuboden. Despite the changes that the Nebraskans made to traditional spatial organization one farmer made the bold assertion to relatives who were planning to move from Manitoba that "you will not remain alone on your own homestead quarter; that fear you can completely erase from your mind for it is quite possible to operate our farms here according to Russian ways." [21]

One factor which was seemingly unimportant to social boundary maintenance was physical insularity. Historians have emphasized the East Reserve Mennonites' wish for "exclusive blocks," for places to "retain their isolation," for separation from "secular civilization." [22] Yet, both Cornelius Toews and David Klassen chose land reserves within a day's journey of Winnipeg instead of the more isolated areas along the Assiniboine River and near Riding Mountain. Moreover references to a cultivation of ties with Winnipeg during the first year abound. They indicate that isolation itself was not a value of the Mennonites. Steinbach farmer Gerhard Doerksen's activities were typical of the immigrants. In first six weeks of his arrival from Russia he made three trips to the city. He registered a homestead on one occasion, bought

household goods and tools on another, and a cow, two sheep and flour on another. [23] David Klassen and a number of other families of Scratching River had even closer ties. They lived in Winnipeg during the first winter where they were assured better shelter and in the process acquired a working knowledge of English. [24]

The East Reserve itself was less isolated than has often been suggested. Steinbach, for instance, lay within half a mile of land owned by Anglo-Canadian settlers. The heart of the English-speaking settlement, Clearspring, lay within three miles of Steinbach and by 1879 was comprised of 32 families, considerably more than in Steinbach (see Map # 5). [25] During the first years many relationships were formed between the Steinbach and Clearspring settlers. Letters and diaries speak of advice received from the Anglo-Canadians, note when they started their seeding or cutting their grain, tell of business dealings and partnerships. The fact that some of the wives of the Clearspring settlers spoke German and that at least one Steinbach settler had learned English in Russia facilitated this exchange. [26]

Blumenort also had non-Mennonite neighbours. An August 1874 letter from the village described the neighbouring French-speaking settlement of Ste. Anne des Chesnes (see Map # 5): "a settlement of half breeds lies five miles from here. Trips are often made to the place, where a brisk trade is going on. And if one goes from house to house to buy peas, chickens or cats one is compelled to stop at each place for a little [visit]." [27] Even Gruenfeld, located in the heart of the reserve, was to receive notice that it was not founded on isolated land. In February 1879 a party of 11 Metis lodged a protest at the Winnipeg land titles office "praying that certain lands [on sections 27, 33 and 34 in township 5-6]...granted to the Mennonites may again be restored to [us]." The letter went on to claim that nine Frenchmen had lived there and made improvements on the land in the years before 1870 in accordance with Hudson's Bay Company regulations. The dispute was to go on for 20 years and require

the direct intervention of a Canadian prime minister before being resolved. [28]

Isolation would be even harder to achieve in eastern Nebraska (see Map # 8). It would have been possible find isolation on the homestead lands of western Nebraska but the Kleine Gemeinde chose to settle in densely populated Jefferson County. The 1876 census for the county, for instance, listed settlers from eight different countries and from as many states. Mennonites from Russia represented less than 10% of the 2500 inhabitants. [29] This percentage was to decrease in the first decade as the population of the county including the townships around Cub Creek quadrupled to 10,395 by 1885. Even the township of Cub Creek was not isolated. A letter written from Heuboden in October 1874 noted non-Mennonite neighbours: "We 30 families live about six miles from one side of the settlement to the other and in the midst it is completely inhabited with other nationalities." [30] Although Mennonites constituted by far the majority of settlers in Cub Creek, German Americans had settled in the lowlands skirting the creek in the northern sections of the township and along its tributaries cutting southward into the heart of the township at two places. In effect the western Mennonite settlements were divided from those on the east.

The fact that Cub Creek lay only six miles from Fairbury meant that the Kleine Gemeinde would have vigorously to maintain social boundaries. Fairbury was by this time a booming frontier town. Its civic life was vibrant. In 1874, for instance, 150 wagons filled with families paraded through town in a special Grange-sponsored July 4 celebration. In September 1878 the Robbin's Great American and German Allied circus attracted 3000 people. [31] Early letters indicate that Fairbury had a vibrant business community with whom the Kleine Gemeinde readily interacted. The Fairbury Gazette reported as early as August 8, 1874 that "sixty well-to-do families" were heading for Cub Creek and that "it becomes our merchants and business men to cultivate friendly relations

with them" as they are expected to "at once move onto their land and commence putting up buildings." [32] According to the son of a Fairbury lumber dealer, because "only one or two of the Russian Germans spoke English...it was necessary to learn German in order to secure the lumber business of these immigrants..." [33]

Mennonites integrated with the outside world in another way. They readily cultivated relationships with those Mennonites and Germans who straddled the social boundary. In Manitoba these included William Hespeler and Jacob Shantz: in Nebraska they were Cornelius and Peter Jansen. Hespeler and Schantz served to mediate between the Mennonite farmers and the government and the Manitoba business world in many ways. Hespeler had visited the Mennonites in New Russia, he escorted their delegates to Manitoba in 1873, he introduced them to the businessmen of Winnipeg, he provided them with employment in his forest reserves east of Steinbach, he loaned them money through the bank on which he served as a director, he served as a school inspector in the early years and he owned land in Scratching River. Jacob Shantz assumed a similar role. He too escorted the delegates in 1873, negotiated with the government to erect immigration shelters, and imported horses and seed wheat for settlers.

These activities parallel those of the Jansen family in Nebraska. It was this family which scouted Nebraska in 1873 and early 1874, visited with President Grant and petitioned for military exemptions, contacted the Burlington and Missouri, persuaded the 36 Heuboden families to come to Jefferson County and arranged temporary housing and work for them in a Mennonite community in up-state New York. They too established a business relationship with Kleine Gemeinde farmers. According to Peter Jansen his family purchased land next to the Kleine Gemeinde farmers in order to establish "a kind of cooperative sheep ranch" in which Jansens would put up the capital costs and provide management while the Kleine Gemeinde farmers would provide the labour and feed.

If the Kleine Gemeinde were not about to isolate themselves from the world they were, however, intent on controlling interactions with it. It is interesting to note that neither Hespeler nor Jansen were able to secure a lasting business relationship with the Kleine Gemeinde in the way that capitalists were able to do with agrarian groups in other settings. [34] In Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde aloofness may have stemmed from the observation of an early settler who felt that when Hespeler helped them with their purchases in Winnipeg he "not only looked out for our benefits but possibly for his own and also the benefit of the merchants." [35] In Nebraska the business deal with the Jansens soured when the Kleine Gemeinde asserted their independence on an unknown issue. From Jansen's perspective "there were too many different opinions." [36] The Kleine Gemeinde farmers, thus, were able to maintain their social boundaries without necessarily isolating themselves from other people.

II

Complementing their well articulated social boundaries was the internal organization of the transplanted Mennonite communities. Vitally important in that internal structure was a replicated social hierarchy. Social structure has usually been considered unimportant in the organization of Mennonite community. In such groups it is argued egalitarianism was a preached value and a social reality. [37] Writers have pointed to the limits to the authority of democratically elected leaders and social sanctions for farmers who went after personal gain. They have emphasized that the "open field system" encouraged equality. Yet a close examination of Mennonite communities indicates a high degree of stratification that translated into economic and social leadership.

Within the Mennonite's Weltanschauungen there were categories and ranks of people. Governing authorities, for example, had been ordained by God and had every right to expect the subordination of their subjects. Unlike another group of nonresistant, sectarian farmer immigrants, the

Doukhobors, Mennonites paid officials great homage. Upon leaving Russia the Kleine Gemeinde wrote a letter to Czar Alexander II expressing "feelings of thankfulness and love...towards our beloved monarch and czar" and indicated that they would continue to "pray to the King of Kings, for its monarch: that the Ruler of Destiny will keep him worthy to be the Ruler of a land [of]...peace." [38] In North America they expressed similar views to governing officials. When the Canadian Governor General, Lord Dufferin, visited the East Reserve in 1877 and reiterated the promise of military exemption under "the aegis of the British constitution" the Mennonite elders responded "with thankfulness [as] we acknowledge your fatherly protection" and "pray to God that your excellency and her Majesty may be blessed." [39] When Peter Jansen secured an audience with Ulysses Grant in 1873 he was shocked at the informality of the American president and amazed that he should enjoy talking about manual labour. [40]

Social structure was important also within the Mennonite community. It was a structure rooted in wealth differentiation which had become a fact of life for Mennonites of New Russia in the wheat boom and modernizing economy after 1850. The immigrants of 1874 were not an "undifferentiated mass"; according to one contemporary the migrants were "situated very differently when it came to possessions." [41] Kleine Gemeinde families bound for Manitoba in 1874 carried with them $969 per family, while Bergthal families in 1874 brought $345 and at least one ship of Khortitser migrants brought $1818 per family in 1879. Similar inequalities have been shown for Nebraska and Kansas-bound migrants where such groups as the Kleine Gemeinde were relatively prosperous but other groups such as the Volhynian Mennonites required assistance from Mennonite groups in Pennsylvania. [42]

Wealth differentiation was also very apparent within these various Mennonite sub-groups. Within the Kleine Gemeinde community itself there were rich villages and poor ones. Scratching River settlers, for instance, were wealthier than those in the East Reserve. Evidence which

shows that the average dwelling built in Steinbach was only 419 square feet compared to 709 square feet in Scratching River substantiates this. [43] In fact David Klassen who led the settlers to Scratching River to the displeasure of the other delegate, Cornelius Toews, is said to have stated that "if Cornelius Toews was a man of means he would talk differently." [44] Even within the East Reserve there were gaps between rich and poor. In Blumenhof several settlers purchased horses in the first year; in Steinbach the eighteen families could not afford a single horse and purchased only fifteen oxen. In Blumenhof only one farmer borrowed money from the church's credit organization; in Steinbach 14 farmers borrowed from this source.

Of greater social consequence, however, was the stratification within the village itself. [45] Though one scholar has argued that "under the open field system [in Manitoba] a rather even distribution of wealth had been maintained" there were ways for some farmers to obtain more land than their neighbours. [46] In Manitoba almost every village had a number of farmers who purchased a quarter section of land in addition to their homestead land and claimed a "double farm" within the village and a double portion of hay strips and wood lots in the commons. [47] In Steinbach, for instance, two of the eighteen farmers owned "double farms" and in Rosenhof three of the eleven farmed a double measure of land. In Nebraska the differences between poor and rich were even more pronounced. Two of the early Kleine Gemeinde settlers purchased 1200 acres a piece and half a dozen bought 320 acres. At least 16 families started with only 80 acres. [48]

The consequences of this differentiation were varied. It seems to have provided early settlements with a degree of socioeconomic stability. Jacob Shantz reported in 1877 that East Reserve villages served to bring rich and poor together so that "those who have some means, also assist those who have nothing...." [49] Teacher Abram Friesen's diary indicates that he often worked as a day labourer on Isaak Warkentin's "double farm." Cornelius Loewen's diary indicates that he often purchased items for his

Gruenfeld neighbours who then worked for him to pay off their debt. In Gruenfeld a wealthy villager purchased a hay mower and rented it to his poorer neighbours. And in almost every village it was a wealthier farmer who introduced the threshing machine and made it available to his neighbours.

Wealthier villagers also often provided political and church leadership. Like the peasants in Pamela Horn's "English countryside" or those in Allan Greer's "Three Quebec Parishes" poorer farmers rarely overtly questioned the leadership of the wealthy villagers. [50] Examples of a well-to-do Kleine Gemeinde farmers possessing political power are numerous. In 1863 farmer Isaack Harms founded the Kleine Gemeinde settlement of Marcusland in Ekaterinoslav by renting the entire tract of land with his own money; in 1874 he was the man who purchased an entire section of land in Jefferson County on which he founded the settlement of Blumenort, Nebraska. [51] Klaas Reimer who farmed 120 cultivated acres in Steinbach, Borosenko represented his village in sale negotiations in October 1873 and then directed the development of the new Steinbach in the East Reserve. [52] Cornelius Plett who farmed 270 acres and served as mayor in Blumenhoff, Borosenko was a founder of Blumenhof in the East Reserve. [53] Peter W. Toews and Peter Penner Sr. who represented the village of Rosenfeld, Borosenko in its sale in December 1873 and were designated treasurers of the sale proceedings were also the first farmers in Blumenort, Manitoba to build roomy frame houses during the first winter and Toews served as its first mayor. [54] Heinrich Ratzlaff, a man of means who settled in Rosenort at Scratching River wrote that "since I had already been commissioned village mayor in Russia as well as having served as leader on our trip to America, I was commissioned to serve as leader of the village [as] David Klassen [was] in Rosenhof." [55]

The community seems to have accepted this stratification. Diaries indicate that during the first years, before the construction of meeting houses, church services were held in the homes of those settlers who owned

the largest houses. In Steinbach the services were held in the home of "Double Farm" owner Franz Kroeker, in Blumenort at "Old Peter Penner" the wealthiest man in the village and the owner of a 1058 square foot house, and in Jefferson County at Peter Heidebrecht, Johann Thiessen, Abram L. Friesen, Peter Braun and Johann Harms. This group of farmers included the wealthiest men in the community. [56]

III

A second kind of social differentiation within the villages was the authority of religious leadership. It was a leadership exhibited in the writings and work of the church Aeltesten. In October 1874 Aeltester Peter Toews, who had stayed in Russia for an additional year, wrote a letter to the church in Manitoba. He told the story of a trip he and his family took from Borosenko to the Molochnaia and how at a guesthouse they met a man who had a multiple fractured leg. "I thought of you dear members over there," wrote Toews, and prayed that "you might walk with circumspection to take the right steps with your feet that no one might stray like a lamb and thereby fall." [57] The story illustrates the dedication of church leaders to the continuity of church centered communities in North America. The activities of the church Aeltesten and their Lehrdienst indicates that they held the task of mythologizing the migration and giving it meaning, of organizing the mechanisms of the move, of keeping the church congregation together, of disciplining members in maintaining ascetic lifestyles and of reestablishing the congregation as the primary institution in the new community.

Providing leadership during the tumultuous year of 1874 meant putting the migration into religious perspective. Timothy Smith has written how "how the acts of uprooting, migration, resettlement and community building became for the participants a theologizing experience." [58] Despite the fact that many of the Mennonites had real economic reasons for comming their leaders provided a religious meaning for the move.

Mennonites from the Ekaterinoslav colony of Fuerstenland, for instance, lived on rented land whose terms were to expire in 1879. [59] Yet even these poor Mennonites saw their emigration in religious terms. When their Aeltester Johann Wiebe reflected on the move in 1875, he spoke of how the troubling military laws and voting regulations had forced his people to emigrate "with great weakness, yet trusting in the grace of God, in the hope that the Lord was our leader...as he was in the time of Israel." [60] The Bergthal Mennonites from a neighbouring colony faced a similar shortage of land. Here 145 landless families were waiting for land in 1874. [61] Yet their Aeltester, Gerhard Wiebe, counselled fellow delegates in 1873 to "not merely look at the land, but at the freedom." And when he later wrote an account of the migration his objective was to tell "how the Lord God led us out of Russia with a strong hand and mighty arm." Only the fear of eternal judgement, wrote Wiebe, kept him from compromising his non-resistant faith. [62]

These views are found throughout the writings of Kleine Gemeinde leaders. In a booklet explaining the events leading up to the 1874 migration Peter Toews wrote that he hoped that his members would see "how the hand of the Lord, here also has led you...." [63] In the final letter addressed to the Czar, Toews wrote that the migration became necessary because "it is our Holy duty to preserve and cling to the faith of our fathers...by walking in the footsteps of our Lord Jesus Christ...." [64] In fact, even after the delegates returned with the Canadian offer Toews continued his religious tone; the terms of settlement may have been attractive but, "the homeland in which an eternal nonresistance has been assured unto us is far better [than any condition of this world]" wrote the Aeltester in August 1873. [65] Similar views were expressed by the Kleine Gemeinde leaders in Nebraska. In January 1875 Klaas R. Friesen preached a sermon in which he called his parishioners "to look upon the migration from Russia as a test for it was truly a great alteration not only in material ways, but that our faith was tested." [66]

The papers of Peter Toews indicate, however, that the church leadership did more than preach. It was involved in every aspect of the migration. It solicited some 1200 rubles to help the poor make the relocation, applied for exit visas, offered the new church building at Blumenhoff for sale, urged members to pay all outstanding debts, took up the legal challenges introduced by disgruntled banned church members, and represented individuals who could not obtain exist visas. The 393 pages of letters which Toews received during the course of the year of migration from government officials, shipping line agents, American Mennonites and most importantly, his parishioners who preceded him to North America tell of a leader at the nerve centre of the migration. These letters describe the activities of an Aeltester coordinating the migrations of Kleine Gemeinde people from three different colonies in Russia, of church members and ministers reporting on births and deaths of a congregation in motion, of settlers reporting on conditions of pioneering and configurations of early settlements, of lay ministers saddened by complaints and divisions among the migrants, and of members confessing family problems and spiritual struggles. And the church register that Toews commenced in 1874 to record the village of origin of each of the members, the names and ages of the children of each family, and the places in which they settled in North America also speak of a church leadership intent on guarding its flock. [67]

The reestablishment of church community was not without difficulties. The migration had caused uneasiness among members, resulted in three physically separated Kleine Gemeinde communities, and led to disruptions in community. For Toews the first difficulty was personal; his own "dear mother" decided to settle in the United States. And then in June, the very month of his arrival in Manitoba, he lost two senior ministers: one to the greener pastures of Kansas and the other through a drowning accident in the Red River in Winnipeg. Other difficulties for Toews and his ministerial included the wide distances between the

different Kleine Gemeinde villages. The East Reserve and Scratching River were separated by 30 miles and the Red River; the village districts on the East Reserve were up to 15 miles apart. There were the stories of extraordinary commitment. In September 1874 Rev. Jacob Barkman of Steinbach walked 10 miles to preach a sermon in Gruenfeld on the very morning in which his nine year old daughter Anna died. However most members found it difficult to attend church regularly; the diary of Abram Reimer, now of Blumenort, tells this story: "May 4, 1879 - north wind and dark and rainy, service in Gruenfeld but from our village nobody went....July 6, 1879 - church [here in Blumenort] at Old Penners, there was no one there from Gruenfeld and from Steinbach there was only Johann Reimer." [68]

Despite these early difficulties Toews managed to carry out his office and by the end of 1875 he had baptized 14 youths, married three couples and officiated at a ministerial election where a deacon and a minister were elected. But there were other worries. Throughout the migration Toews was faced by members who he felt lacked religious commitment. In fact at one of the last brotherhood meetings in Russia where brethren grappled with questions of emigration the matter of "imitat[ing] the world in vehicles and embellished clothing" was raised and "worked against." [69] Then during the first four years in Manitoba Toews had to face continual discipline problems. Between 1875 and 1879 no fewer than 17 individuals were excommunicated or pressured to resign from the church on a variety of charges including premarital sex, adultery, petty-theft, assault, bad debts and usury. At one meeting Toews felt compelled to warn against "slandering, greed, pride, tomfoolery and jesting." [70] Members also had to be counselled how to apply their religious values in new situations. They were warned, for instance, not to sign citizenship papers which required a pledge to defend the British monarch "to the utmost of my might", not to swear oaths in making contracts, not to

deposit money in banks, and not to grow slack in practicing the ban on the excommunicated. [71]

Aeltester Abram Friesen's role in reestablishing community in Nebraska is more difficult to assess. Few of his writings from these years have been located. There is evidence, however, that at least during the migration and an initial period after it Friesen maintained his role as a full fledged community leader. It was his kinship ties to the Jansen family which led the Heubodner congregation to ignore the advice of David Klassen and settle in Nebraska. It was Friesen's name which appeared as one of the three representative of 30 families in the memorandum of agreement between the B&M railway and Cub Creek settlers. Friesen's sermons indicate that regular church services were commenced at once in the homes of farmers from each of the four main villages, Rosenort, Rosenhof, Heuboden and Blumenort. Newspaper reports indicate that when Mennonite visitors from other states came calling on the Mennonites in Jefferson County they made the home of Abram L. Friesen a top priority. [72] The influence of church leadership on every day activities is also apparent from the analysis of an American from Jefferson County who recalled that the Mennonites in his county "were without exception good men who kept their promises and paid their debts. The church required them to do these things and they obeyed the church mandates." [73]

IV

Mennonite community hierarchy, then, was comprised of both temporal and religious leadership. It was this leadership that ensured the transplantation of what Raymond Breton has dubbed "institutional completeness." For the Mennonites the crucial institutions included private German-language schools, local village governments, the estates authority and the fire insurance agency. In each case there were signs of an agrarian community adapting and reacting to a new environment with

the intention of reproducing the community they had developed in Russia. In Manitoba Aeltester Toews called five conferences over four years to deal with situations as they arose and to rebuild the community as they had known it in Russia. Each of these conferences was to ensure an "institutional completeness" that the church had often left to temporal Mennonite authorities in Russia.

The replication of the primary schools was a primary concern. In Manitoba each of the Kleine Gemeinde villages had started a school in November 1874 but without a central authority to guide curriculum and other school standards. In keeping with their custom in Russia farmers in each village hired teachers, usually men who had teaching experience in Russia and provided them with rooms wherever they could be found. In Steinbach, for instance, farmers built a 20x14 log house with a porch and a six pane window on each side and hired a local teacher for $40 with free rent and fuel to teach 15 student for five months. In Blumenort a farmer provided room in his large sod hut for a school and a teacher was hired for $50 plus oats, hay and firewood to teach 20 students. In Gruenfeld farmers similarly turned part of a villager's grasshut into a school and hired Dietrich Friesen, an experienced teacher, to teach 15 students for $10 a month plus 10 loads of building material and all the firewood he needed. [74]

A transplanted education system, however, was not just a matter of hiring a teacher and providing room. In New Russia education had been guided by the powerful Agricultural Society. To fill the void in Manitoba the church leadership stepped in. On November 19, 1875, five months after arriving in Manitoba, Toews called a general brotherhood meeting for Rosenfeld on the East Reserve. Here, Toews writes, "it was decided...that the leadership of the church congregation would [henceforth also]...act as the Board of Directors of the school system [and] that all children without exception are to be educated...." [75] Within months the ministerial sent each schoolteacher a letter directing that no child should be left

to be educated at home, that teachers should attend locally organized quarterly teacher conferences, that "no new ideas should be introduced....without the support...of the school board" and that we"[the ministerial] will make it our duty...to visit...the schools and the teachers will therefore be subject to supervision in the teaching of reading, grammar, singing and especially knowledge of the Bible...." [76] Three years later these ideas were formally spelled out in an 11-point "Schulverordnung" and formally adopted by the congregational brotherhood. [77]

So confident was the church leadership in its reestablished school system that in November 1875 it accepted an idea advanced by William Hespeler that the Mennonites register their schools with the Manitoba Protestant School Board and accept an annual school grant. Three years later when the plan was finalized the Kleine Gemeinde officially accepted the plan which included registration with the government, a semi-annual school visit by a government appointed school inspector, an examination of all teachers by a three man committee headed by Hespeler and a grant of 65 cents a day to a maximum of $100 a year. That the granting system had teeth in it was seen in March 1879 when Hespeler summoned all teachers to the village of Chortitz to be tested. Bergthaler Mennonites objected to this government interference, opted out of the granting program and accused the Kleine Gemeinde who remained of being "dazzled with money." The Kleine Gemeinde, who may have been more open to secular school inspection as a result of living under the jurisdiction of the Molochnaia Agricultural Society school authority in Russia, did not share the Bergthalers' fear. They even complied with a recommendation from Hespeler that Steinbach's young 21 year-old teacher, Gerhard Kornelson, was too inexperienced and should be replaced. In February 1880 Kornelson was released and Dietrich Friesen, a teacher with experience in Borosenko, was hired instead. [78]

On January 6, 1877 a second brotherhood conference was held, this time in Steinbach, to deal with the community's financial institutions.

One of the first matters of business involved the "Waisenverordnung," the regulations governing estates and orphans. Once again the brethren confirmed a practice "as it was in Russia." Indeed the only amendment at the January meeting to the "Waisenverordnung" was to reinforce the church's heightened authority in the new land; a resolution was passed that stated that the estates regulatory agency no longer be the "Gebietsamt," the colony governing council, but the "Gemeindevorstand," the church council. [79] Early diaries, however, indicate that the manner in which Mennonites settled their estates remained unchanged. Mennonites continued with partible inheritance, equitable inheritance between sexes, and the settling of estates before a second marriage with appointed guardians, "Gutmaenner," to monitor the inheritance of the children from the first marriage. Indeed the migration sometimes was the occasion for guardians to review an estate. In January 1875 Cornelius Loewen and Jacob Barkman took an "inventory of the state of affairs of those under [our] guardianship...[that is] the minor children of Abram Loewen of his first marriage." They ascertained that the children had exactly $663.33 and 1/3 cents "in their father's farmstead as interest" and that each of the four was "still at home at father's." [80]

Related matters at the Steinbach conference indicate a similar concern with continuity. The church leadership ordered that "the financial statements of the church treasury shall be prepared." But it also insisted that traditional financial practices continue; for example it ruled that "the brethren shall not loan money to banks." Traditional social boundaries required that well-to-do farmers deposit their money in the church treasury which could in turn lend it to poorer brethren at low interest rates. At this same meeting the brotherhood endorsed the transplantation of another mutual aid program; the "Brandverordnung," the joint Kleine Gemeinde-Bergthaler fire insurance agency, in existence since the fall of 1874, was given brotherhood approval.

On December 27, 1877 a third conference instituted another change reflecting the new environment. The brotherhood decided that each of the three central villages on the East Reserve was to build a meeting house. This was a change from Russia where the church congregation had usually met in the private homes except for the last year or so when the Gemeinde built a meeting house in Blumenhoff, Borosenko. School houses in Russia were usually considered part of the temporal domain after the Cornies reforms of the 1840s. In Manitoba the church leadership had a new status as the school board and thus any school house could serve both as a school and church. Two weeks after the December meeting, specially appointed village school delegates met in Gruenfeld where they agreed that each of the meeting houses should measure a minimum of 50' x 30' x 9' and that the satellite villages near the three central villages should assist in the construction. [81]

A fourth major brotherhood meeting was held in Gruenfeld on June 8, 1878. It too dealt with issues affecting the community's social boundaries and internal organization. It proved to be the most controversial of these early brotherhood meetings. Aeltester Toews berated a group of wealthier church members for depositing money in Winnipeg banks notwithstanding his earlier admonitions; the wealthier church members in turn seem to have attempted to embarrass Toews by publicly criticizing him for violating traditional boundaries himself by subscribing to "magazines" - likely the Nebraska Ansiedler which some members of the Kleine Gemeinde were reading at this time.

Despite this controversy the brotherhood did agree on the "need for a constitution for each village." [82] Though the villages had continued the practice in Russia where each land owning farmer was a member of a village council, the "Schulzenbott" headed by an elected "Schulz," the arrangement was now formalized. Within months of the June conference the Kleine Gemeinde villages accepted a nine-point "Verbindungsschrift" which outlined the terms of village land ownership, statute labour, taxation,

pasture use, schoolhouse construction, "Schulzen" privileges, and resident qualifications. [83] That the church brotherhood was willing to enforce these provisions became evident in May 1879 when two men were censured by the church brotherhood for having "written over their lands" outside the auspices of the village constitution. [84]

The Jefferson County settlers, of course, did not have the same latitude to build a complete set of institutions. They had been drawn to the United States by assurances that "special privileges" were unnecessary in a republic. [85] Petitions to the president and senate for special privileges in education and block settlement had been turned down in 1874. Still as one American Mennonite historian has pointed out: "The Russian Mennonites of our own West also tried to transplant as much as possible of their Russian way of life...the German language, the parochial school, interest in the mission cause, their own hospitals, children's homes and fire insurance companies, all these were encouraged as they had been in their own home." [86] In Jefferson County the Kleine Gemeinde did reestablish private German schools, a fire insurance agency, a mutual aid system and a limited form of village government.

When the Mennonites arrived in Jefferson County the county was already divided into school districts which encompassed Cub Creek. Each of the Kleine Gemeinde children was at once registered in one of these schools. Public school attendance, however, was not enforced. According to one local history only 558 of the 886 children in Jefferson County attended school in 1872. [87] It was not an unusual event then when the Kleine Gemeinde did not send their children to one of the public schools. [88] An early study of Mennonites in Nebraska suggests the pioneers believed that "the school...must be a German church school [in which] every subject was taught from a religious point of view." The study describes how the Mennonite private schools operated: "Every winter...several months were devoted to religious instruction...[and because] no separate school houses were built before the 1880s...private dwellings were used." [89]

The Kleine Gemeinde private school system began to falter as early as 1880 when local American residents may have demanded universal school attendance. In that year the first public school, attended exclusively by Mennonites in Cub Creek, was organized. [90] Because public schools operated only 12 weeks of the year Mennonites easily adapted. "Two months of the year were spent in the English District school," notes one local study based on oral tradition. However, "the Kleine Gemeinde was able to have four or five months of German private school [in addition] to the state district school." [91] It seems that the Kleine Gemeinde operated the public school with a local board of trustees and after the prescribed 12 weeks of English school they simply changed to German without replacing the teacher. An advertisement for a school teacher in Cub Creek in the Mennonitische Rundschau in 1880, for instance, stipulated that the teacher was to be a Mennonite who could teach in both English and German. [92] The fact, too, that church services were held in the new schoolhouse upon its completion in March 1880 may indicate that the congregation had a sense of ownership even of the public schoolbuilding. [93]

The second institution begun by Mennonites in Jefferson County was an inter-church fire insurance agency. The reminiscences of a Cub Creek farmer tell the story: "As soon as we arrived in Jefferson County in the fall of 1874 we realized the necessity of making some arrangements in this area....However before this was acted on, one of our brethren had the misfortune of a fire destroying his home. While we were fighting the fire....we discussed the urgency of this matter and shortly thereafter we elected a "Brandaeltester" ....[A short time later] it was arranged to form an association with York County and the Kansasers. Articles were written and accepted, as much as possible after the model we had in South Russia." [94]

Finally there is evidence of the reestablishment of limited village governments and church mutual aid organization. While the county system had been introduced into Nebraska as early as 1854 and Jefferson County

was established by 1865, Kleine Gemeinde farmers still pursued some joint decisions and administered the commons and hired herdsmen as a community. [95] Then, too, they continued the system of assisting the poor that they had practiced in Russia. In January 1877 the lone elderly deacon in the church, Jacob W. Friesen, was joined through an election by 44 year old Jacob Klassen. [96] The meeting of local residents in these ways, although on a less elaborate and formal basis than in Manitoba, ensured the continuation of a sense of community in Nebraska.

V

More important than the geographic features of the transplanted Mennonite communities, then, were social factors. By 1875 the Kleine Gemeinde had succeeded in reestablishing 22 villages, housing 170 families in three main settlements; Cub Creek in Nebraska and the East Reserve and Scratching River in Manitoba. Farmers from each of the three settlement areas had managed to acquire land blocks, replicated the house-barn architecture of Europe and adapted the Strassendorf in various ways to the official survey grid. But these descriptive features do not illuminate the social realities that operated to maintain and reproduce these communities. Barth's observation that geography is less important in group maintenance than social boundaries is apparent in the story of the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites. Geographical insularity was not the crucial factor of importance in Mennonite community transplantation. Each of the settlements had close non-Mennonite neighbours and was located relatively close to major market centres which Mennonites visited regularly.

What was important in the transplantation of the Mennonite communities were internal social relationships ordered in a hierarchy of influence and authority. Unlike other agrarian pacifist sects like the Doukhobors, Mennonites paid the highest deference to secular leaders and unlike the Hutterites were socially differentiated. Each of the Kleine Gemeinde communities was organized by men who had prospered in the

economic take-off in New Russia and had been village leaders in the old country. Besides this transplanted power structure was the church hierarchy. Although the authority of the Aeltesten and Lehrdienst was often questioned, they were at the centre of the migration process. They mythologized the migration, helped members apply for exit visas, and assisted in the negotiations of settlement agreements with the railway or government officials.

But the church leadership exercised its greatest influence in the re-establishment of old world institutions that resulted in a high degree of "institutional completeness." There were differences in the manner in which the Manitoba and Nebraska communities organized these institutions. In Manitoba the church congregation increased its power in the community and in Nebraska that power was reduced. However, the degree of difference can easily be overstated. It is true that the Manitobans had received a guarantee of private school education; yet the Kleine Gemeinde there agreed to a government appointed school inspector and a legislative school grant. It is also true that in Jefferson County, Nebraska public school districts had been organized; yet, beause public school attendance was not enforced, the Kleine Gemeinde administered their own private school system at least until 1880. Both the Manitoba and Nebraska communities were also able to replicate their inheritance practices, and mutual aid and fire insurance agencies. Where the Manitobans and Nebraskans differed the most was in local village government. The elaborate "Verbindungsschriften" and "Schulzenbotten" of the Manitoba villages were much more formal than the farmer meetings of Cub Creek where herdsboys were hired and community auctions planned. But these differences were to be less important for the settlement period than for succeeding decades. What was important for the first five years was that a high degree of "institutional completeness" had ensured a successful community transplantation in both Manitoba and Nebraska.

Social structure, church hierarchy and institutional completeness guaranteed that the community the Kleine Gemeinde had developed in Russia would be reproduced in North America. The differences in the social development of Manitoba and Nebraska were to have a significant impact on the communities during the first generation. In the late 1870s, however, the two communities were similar. Neither could boast complete geographical isolation and both were called upon to make imaginative strategies in maintaining social boundaries. Those strategies can be further illuminated through a study of the role of the household, family and economic pursuits in the transplantation process.

CHAPTER 7

IMMIGRANT FAMILIES AND PIONEER WOMEN

I

The male world of community leadership and church institutions was not the only factor which allowed for the transplantation of a rural solidaristic society to North America. At the heart of the migration was the family which often dictated the timing of emigration, the place of initial settlement, the nature of secondary migrations and the very social dynamic of village life. The fact that the family constituted the basic migrating unit was highly significant in ensuring transplantation. It meant that every sector of society, young parents and infirm elderly grandparents received travel and settlement assistance. It meant that the relocation could be made with minor economic upheaval as the household brought with it a ready supply of labour and a willingness to withstand periods of subsistence. And it meant that women were going to play a crucial role in determining the nature of migration and settlement.

The role of the family unit has been given increasing attention in immigration literature. Oscar Handlin who wrote about immigrant families as being comprised of functionless men, isolated women and rebellious youths has been criticized by historians of urban immigrant groups. Taking off from the constructs of Clifford Geertz, E.P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman, many of these historians have pointed to a dialectical relationship between preindustrial familial values and the new industrial economic structures. McLaughlin's work on Italians in Buffalo, referred to in an earlier chapter, argued not only that families remained cohesive during migration but that "close bonds between relatives [within industrial societies]...explain the persistence over time of inherited

values and attitudes." [1] Hareven's study of French Canadians in New Hampshire mill towns similarly stressed the role of the family as migrants made the transition to an urban society: "...family control of hiring and job control through kinship ties were...manifestations [not only] of working class behaviour but...had its roots in the ethnic...background of the...workers...." [2] J.E. Smith's examination of Jewish families in Providence has noted that instead of uprooting the family, the American city provided ethnic groups with opportunities to re-establish their boarding houses and small shops and in the process to strengthen kinship ties. [3] Synthesizing much of this new family history is John Bodnar's immigration history, The Transplanted, which argues that "families and households were the predominant form in which all immigrants entered the industrial-urban economy and ordered their lives." [4]

The family, however, has been stressed less in the history of rural immigrant groups. Mennonite historians, for example, have focused on church structures with their male leadership. In such an account family and women remain in the background. Yet a close examination of the family during the migration and early settlements in the Manitoba and Nebraska Kleine Gemeinde settlements indicates that it was centrally important in the migration process. Even within the stability of group-settled communities it was the family that ordered most primary decisions, determined one's values, and commanded primary loyalty.

When the Kleine Gemeinde immigrants expressed emotion it sometimes was associated with feelings about travelling as Mennonites to a new land; more often it was associated with the cohesiveness of the family. When Delegate Cornelius Toews wrote home to Russia on his trip to North America in 1873 he provided an objective analysis of his findings but then, despite the fact that his letters were meant as official correspondence between delegate and church, he wrote about his "beloved wife and children who [sic] I left behind with great sorrow...and who are so very dear to me" and enquired about his "beloved aged father." [5] Other migrants

expressed deep emotion when family members died during the migration: "Oh, how heart breaking for his wife...." wrote Heinrich Ratzlaff after 36 year old Peter Friesen suddenly died in Berlin and failed to rendezvous with his wife in Hamburg. [6] There are the stories of families separated at the medical checkpoint in Liverpool: "Oh the pain.," wrote Ratzlaff, "Cousin Klassen begged the doctor that he should be allowed to proceed with us. 'No!' shouted the doctor and ordered them to return....With tears they had to depart from us." [7]

The real significance of the family unit, however, is depicted in more than expressed emotions. A study of the ship lists indicates that families often travelled as extended clans. Unlike chain migrations which were characterized by bread earners preceding dependents and which rarely included the disabled or elderly, group migrations were more cohesive and included the complete, extended family unit. Among the Kleine Gemeinde settlers were the very elderly. Peter W. Toews, a well-to-do Blumenort farmer, wrote back to Russia in January 1875 to report that "Grandfather [80 year old Jacob Barkman] who has had a severe ache...from suffering extreme cold on [a wet, windy] trip here from the [Red] River....is completely recovered now; mother [73 year old Anna Wiebe Toews], whose nose seemed to be getting very sore is also completely well now - so both of these elderly ones are once again well." [8] Other settlers were ill. Aeltester Jacob Kroeker of Scratching River recalled that "...the time of migration was very difficult...[for] shortly after Christmas [1873] we lost two children and our dear mother became quite ill....However, we did not want to be left behind, so we embarked on the difficult journey. As we travelled across the ocean, mother had to be carried about on a chair...." [9] Finally, the importance of the family meant that the poorer members of the community, who were also often the young families, could make the migration by travelling and settling in concert with their more established parents. [10]

The family also ensured that these settlers would survive the pioneer years when resources were scarce. Stories abound of how extended families shared tools, stock and shelter in the first winter. Rev. Jacob Barkman of Steinbach reported in October 1874 that he and his wife were "living with our children, the Brandts and the Goossens, in a sod hut and now we jointly want to build something for the cattle." [11] In Rosenort, Manitoba, Heinrich Ratzlaff built a sod hut measuring 20x24 feet with the help of his brother-in-law Isaak Loewen and his family, who "in return [for their labour] could live with us." [12] In Gruenfeld, the family of Peter L. Dueck joined the family of his brother Abram L. Dueck in a large tent during the first winter. They also built a thatched leanto for their stock, purchased an oven and in spring teamed their oxen together in joint sod breaking. [13] Cub Creek settler Sara Friesen noted in a letter in November, 1874 that she and her husband were living with "brother Isaak Friesen" and that because they hoped to move out soon family members from Manitoba could come and take their place. [14]

The family also exerted its importance in determining settlement patterns. In fact, it may be argued that the family was a singularly important factor in determining place of residence. The importance of the kinship tie between the family of Cornelius Jansen and Aeltester Abram Friesen in leading his group to settle in Nebraska has already been discussed. The configurations of early villages, however, also tell of the importance of the family in the migration process.

Each of the larger villages in both Manitoba and Nebraska contained clan groupings. In Rosenort in Cub Creek two thirds of the 25 families were directly related to three family groupings; Widow Katherina Bartel Reimer [1843-1921] was the mother, step mother or grandmother to six families, and both Dietrich Isaak [cal819-1879] and Rev. Peter Thiessen [1808-1873] were the fathers to three families. In Rosenort at Scratching River only six of the 29 inhabitant families were not directly related to former Aeltester Heinrich Enns [1807-1881], to Jacob F. Friesen [1838-

1888], or Deacon Isaak Loewen [d1873]. In the East Reserve village of Blumenort only one of the 25 families was not directly related to either widower Jacob Barkman [1794-1875], widow Carolina Plett Friesen [1823-1887], Abram F. Reimer [1808-1892], or Peter Penner [1816-1884]. In Steinbach, often considered the least cohesive of the main Kleine Gemeinde villages, only six families were not directly related to the Abram F.Reimer, Peter Warkentin or Jacob Barkman families; three of the six were directly related to families in the neighbouring villages of Lichtenau, Blumenhof and Blumenort. Thus, only three of the 18 Steinbach families did not have close relatives near by. Gruenfeld was dominated by four family groups, the Duecks being the largest, followed by the Toews, Esau and Isaak families. In fact only two of 16 families here were not directly tied to one of these four clans. [15]

Kinship ties were even more important in the composition of the smaller, 5-15 family, villages. These villages were usually dominated by one extended family. Eleven of the 15 families of Rosenhof in Scratching River counted Delegate David Klassen as their father. In the East Reserve, Lichtenau, a satellite village of Steinbach, was comprised of schoolteacher Gerhard S. Kornelson and the families of three of his children. Neuanlage, a satellite of Blumenort, was comprised of well-to-do farmer, Johann Koop [1831-1897] and the families of five of his children and one niece. The smaller villages in Cub Creek, Nebraska had similar kinship patterns. In Rosenhof, Cub Creek, five of the nine families belonged to the clan of wealthy landowner Peter Heidebrecht [1815-1896]. In Heuboden seven of the ten families were directly related to Aeltester Abram Friesen [1831-1917]. In Blumenort four of the six families belonged to the clan of Isaak Harms [1811-1891]. In Rosenthal five of the six families were members of the Jacob Enns clan [1817-1889]. In fact this settlement was often referred to as "Ennsedarp." The seven villages mentioned above represent half of the Kleine Gemeinde villages with fewer than 15 residences and these examples indicate that small

Mennonite villages were almost always closely associated with a single extended family.

Kinship ties were reflected not only in the village's composition but also in its internal configuration. In Steinbach where the first settlers are said to have "agreed to draw numbers for their place of abode," provisions which allowed settlers to "change places so that relatives could build alongside each other" resulted in an interesting configuration. [16] The three main clans occupied three distinctive parts of the village: the children and grandchildren of Anna Friesen Warkentin Thiessen [1814-1843] dominated the northern third, the sons and sons-in-law of Abram F. Reimer the centre, and the extended family of Peter K. Barkman, the miller, the south third. Between these three basic family districts and on the northern edge of the village, lived the six families who were unrelated to the three clans. Less obvious, but nevertheless similar, patterns can be observed in other villages. In Blumenort, Manitoba the villagers were roughly organized from east to west on the north side of the street into pockets of Toewses, Reimers, and Friesens and on the south side into Penners and Wiebes. In Gruenfeld five Dueck families lived side by side. In Rosenort, Manitoba four Rempel families lived at the centre of the village. In Rosenort, Nebraska six Reimer siblings lived side by side or across from each other on the western edge of the settlement. Thus even in the larger villages particular clans found ways of coalescing. Villages which contained members of a number of clans often had informal kinship boundaries, dividing subunits of the village into kinship enclaves.

A quantitative analysis of the proximity of family members in the early settlements does not in and of itself indicate that they constituted the primary social unit. Personal diaries and letters from these early years, however, do. In fact, these sources seem to indicate that instead of weakening the cohesiveness of the family unit, migration strengthened it. In the East Reserve the Blumenhof schoolteacher, Abram Friesen, noted

in his diary a close kinship network spanning several villages. Friesen wrote often of visits with his parents-in-law Gerhard Kornelsons of Lichtenau and his parents Cornelius Friesens of Blumenort. He also recorded the rich social intercourse cultivated with his and his wife's siblings. Friesen went for wood with "brother-in-law Gottlieb [Jahnke]" on March 4, 1875; received a gift of fish from "brother-in-law Gerhard [Kornelson]" on March 15; purchased an ox from "brother-in-law Peter Penner" on October 21, 1875; traveled to Ste Anne with "brother-in-law [Peter] Unger" to buy shingles on June 19, 1876; attended church and went visiting with "Giesbrechts," the family of his wife's sister, on both April 15 and 16, 1876. In fact, despite Friesen's involvement with non-relatives as a schoolteacher and "village letter writer," his diary for March 1875 indicates that of the 54 visits he made or received during that month 33 involved a parent or sibling. An examination of his diary for March 1873, when Friesen still lived in Russia, indicates that only 8 of 32 visits made during that month involved close kin. His diary for 1875 also reveals that he received more visits from close relatives outside of his own village than he did from fellow villagers. [17]

In instances in which the migration did separate families, concerted efforts were made to maintain close ties over distances through a close network of correspondence and visits. Jacob Klassen of Cub Creek exchanged 10 letters with relatives in Manitoba during the first year of settlement alone. Cornelius Loewen of the East Reserve exchanged 16 letters with his cousins in Nebraska in a two year period in 1878 and 79. [18] A letter from Rev. Heinrich Enns of Scratching River in January 1877 to his two widowed sisters of Gnadenau, Kansas was typical. It recalled the time when "we were in Russia," provided comfort in the face of financial problems, and offered counsel concerning the struggle of love against "flesh." [19]

Letters always involved more than the sharing of personal news between two individuals. Letters were important public affairs which

served to strengthen kinship ties. In 1877 when Elisabeth Janzen Loewen of Rosenort at Scratching River wrote her brother, Johann Janzen and his wife Margaretha of Blumenhof in the East Reserve, she told them of letters she had received from her mother and sister Aganetha in Nebraska, enquired about "the Warkentins," her husband's cousins in Blumenhof, and sent a message to her husband's brother, Peter Loewen of Blumenort." [20] Ties were also maintained through visits. Cornelius Loewen, his wife and two other couples from the East Reserve, for instance, travelled to Scratching River in March 1876 for a week. Visits between the Manitobans and Nebraskans were hampered until 1879 by the lack of a railroad connection but became regular events in the following years.

II

Seeing the migration in terms of family strategies provides an additional perspective on the migration process. This is the perspective from the eyes of migrating women. Traditional Mennonite studies of migration which emphasize church groups and denominational lines focus by necessity on male leaders. The stories of migration which do mention women usually have elements of the extraordinary. There are the stories of courageous young widows who took out homesteads and farmed with their children: these include Katherine Reimer and Aganetha Bartel in Jefferson County, Karolina Friesen and Maria Plett in the East Reserve, and Anna Goossen in Scratching River. [21] There are stories of the "woman extraordinaire" such as the wife of Steinbach bound John S. Friesen: Mr. Friesen was saved from two thieves in Odessa by "his resolute young wife, who, seeing him in danger, knocked one of the would-be robbers flat...." [22] And there are stories of fiery women such as the one reported in the Lincoln, Nebraska Daily State Journal. A local reporter claimed to have witnessed the break up of a marriage right in the Lincoln railroad station after a Mennonite woman categorically refused to follow her husband to North Dakota.

Little, however, is known about the everyday experience of migrating women. What was their status in the eyes of migrating men? To what extent did they maintain social relationships during the migration that were independent of those created by their husbands and fathers? What influence did the women bring to bear on the timing of migration and the place of settlement? What roles did they play in building the settlements? What were the changes that the scarcity of farm labour brought to their lives? What was the effect of the migration on their attitudes to children? Because women took a much more important place within the household than they did in the larger community, a look at family history provides them with their own story.

Despite the fact that the migration did not disrupt the basic patriarchal characteristics of Mennonite society the migration often gave women the occasion to exert high degrees of autonomy and independence. At least two examples of women calling on the community to act and the community acting to meet their wishes or insights can be cited. In January 1874, for instance, Helena Friesen Jansen, the wife of Cornelius Jansen the Berdyansk grain trader, wrote Aeltester Peter Toews from the family's temporary abode in Kitchener, Ontario to respond to a letter of enquiry about the desirability of settling in Canada. Although the letter of enquiry was addressed to her husband, Mrs. Janzen responded "because my husband has not yet returned from his [two month] journey to the United States." The 1000 word letter described the conditions in Southern Ontario and the sentiments of "the Canadians [who] love Canada and say that it is better here and those in the States [who] say that is better out there." In an authoritative and detailed manner she compared the climate, clothing necessities, farming opportunities, oceanliner conditions, and the extent of religious freedom in Russia, Canada and the United States. She concluded by pondering the meaning of "religious freedom," conjecturing that no government can be trusted to grant "eternal privilege" and counselling that the "difficult beginning" in Manitoba

should present them with no insurmountable problem. Ironically, Mrs. Jansen was advising Toews' group to stick with their Manitoba plan at the very time that her husband was scouting the American midwest to which he would direct a good number of the Kleine Gemeinde. [23] The seriousness with which Toews' congregation considered Mrs. Jansen's letter is apparent from the fact that it was read publicly in Borosenko and copied for further distribution. [24]

Another woman for whom the Toews group would show regard was Margaretha Harder, a reportedly emotionally weak, 54 year old in Borosenko. An unmarried woman, Harder was a member of the Kleine Gemeinde and was being forced by her brothers, members of another congregation and guardians of Margaretha and her 400 ruble inheritance, to remain in Russia. The brothers insisted that she was too weak to make the migration and moreover that their father would have refused to allow Margaretha to emigrate. Margaretha, however, complained about her brothers to her Kleine Gemeinde elders, insisting that she wished to remain in the Kleine Gemeinde and make the migration to Manitoba. It was only after the church leadership took up her cause and threatened to expose the brothers' action to the colony "Waisenvorsteher" that her brothers relented. In the end, the brothers showed their true intent by dropping their threats to forcibly keep Margaretha in Russia in exchange for her money. The Kleine Gemeinde who did not wish to enter into a public law suit at the time of emigration simply put up its own money and assisted Margaretha in settling in Manitoba. [25]

Few women, however, became involved in the migration's public side. But this did not translate into powerlessness within the community. A woman's culture bolstered by woman-to-woman networks ensured an important role for them within the migrating community. Diaries kept by men allude to such networks. The 1876 diary of Blumenhof schoolteacher Abram Friesen, for instance, tells of visits his sisters paid to his wife and of the meals they cooked during a period of illness in February and March

1876 and of visits she made without the company of her husband after her recovery. A typical entry reads: "March 30; brother-in-law Penner here to pick up my dear wife and take her to their place." Within a three week period Mrs Friesen made three such day long excursions to visit other women of other villages. [26] Abram Reimer's diary tells a similar story. Here a typical entry reads: "Sunday, June 22. Aeltester Toews preached. In the afternoon Mrs Peter Reimer walked to Blumenhof and Mrs Abram Penner went with her." Sometimes husbands came home from the fields to empty houses: "when I came home I discovered my wife had gone to Abram Penners," writes Abram Reimer in May, 1879, "so I went there as well." [27]

The migration, of course, often threatened established relationships between women. In a letter to Manitoba in December 1876 Sara Siemens Janzen enquired about her friend Elisabeth Reimer Penner. "Is she healthier than she was in Russia?" asked Janzen, "I often walked to her place [in Rosenfeld, Borosenko] but now I no longer hear anything [of her]." [28] But just as distances did not sever familial ties they did not break female relationships. Instead the means to overcome those distances provide some of the strongest evidences of social networks among women. Scores of letters indicating the nature of these networks are extant. In February 1877, for instance, Katherina Janzen Klassen of Nebraska wrote her sister Elisabeth Janzen Loewen of Scratching River because "on Monday we were at 'Geschwister' H. Ratzlaffs and they told us that Mrs Klaas Brandt had written, that you, dear sister, were not well and that you could stand some comforting." [29] Later that same year, in November, Elisabeth Loewen wrote the family of her brother Johann Janzen in the East Reserve and put in a special appeal for "my dear sister-in-law, [whose] letter I received at the time that my husband was at your place....Write me as often as you have time....You do write so well!" [30] Many other letters written by women and addressed to women and telling of their lives on the farm, their childbirths, the agonies of seeing children die and of

their loneliness among strangers attest to the existence of close female networks during the immigration years.

It was in the context of these networks that women exercised their greatest influence during this period. The relationships of women often determined the place of residence of the family in the new land. Immigration studies have traditionally focused on the leadership men exercised in the process of migration, particularly in determining the family's ultimate destination. Studies of rural migration emphasize the role of the delegations of men who scouted out good farmland and negotiated with governments and railways. Urban studies often tell of chain migration in which men, husbands and sons, preceded women to blaze the trail, and found work and shelter before sending for their women. Even recent feminist studies assume that patrilocality was an automatic feature of a patriarchal society. [31] A close examination of settlement patterns among Mennonites indicates that the influence of women on migration patterns of traditional, familial communities was much greater than is often realized. While it was primarily male delegates who chose the general places of settlement, such as Jefferson County or the East Reserve, the particular place of residence was often dictated by women.

By going beyond simple census material where families are listed only under the name of the male head and employing the research by family genealogists, scholars can establish the relationships between village women. These relationships explain why men often settled in villages in which they had no close relatives. Why, for instance, did the village district of Blumenort, Manitoba have families bearing the name of Penner, Unger, Broeski, Jahnke and Radinzel whose male heads had neither siblings or parents in the district. A plausible answer can be found in the fact that the wives of each of these five men were sisters, the daughters of retired schoolteacher Cornelius F. Friesen. Why did the three prominent Kroeker brothers, Jacob the Aeltester, Peter the preacher and Franz the well-to-do farmer settle in three different villages? Once again a

plausible answer appears when attention is turned to the Kroeker brothers' wives. Franz, whose wife was a sister to the Pletts of Blumenhof settled in Steinbach just four miles from his wife's parents. Peter whose wife was a Braun settled in Rosenort where two of his wife's sisters lived. Jacob lived in Rosenhof, the village founded by his wife's father, Delegate David Klassen.

A high degree of matrilocality is also revealed in more comprehensive statistical analysis. In fact, an analysis for the 101 families who settled in the large Kleine Gemeinde villages of Rosenort and Rosenhof in Nebraska, and Steinbach, Blumenort and Rosenort in Manitoba indicates that 57 of the married men settled in villages in which their parents or siblings also settled while 60 of the married women lived in villages inhabited by their next of kin. These statistics may indicate that women often led their husbands to settle in villages in which the woman's clan was a dominant force. An examination of smaller villages where single clans dominated supports this argument. In Rosenhof, Manitoba each of David Klassen's five daughters attracted her husband to settle in their father's village. In Neuanlage near Blumenort three of Johann Koop's five daughters attracted husbands to their settlement. Lichtenau, near Steinbach, was comprised of Gerhard Kornelson and the families of his son and two daughters. In Nebraska each of the clan heads, Abram Friesen of Heuboden, Jacob Enns of Rosenthal and Isaak Harms of Blumenort had sons-in-law as their neighbours.

Secondary migrations were similarly influenced by women. The phenomenon of secondary migrations has received increasing attention since immigration historians turned their attention from themes of frontier and assimilation to persistence and household strategies. It has become apparent that migrants moved continually, always seeking the best strategy of dealing with industrialization. [32] For most migrant families the transoceanic voyage was only one of many moves they would make. This is the case even for exceptionally stable migrating groups such as rural

Mennonites. Once these settlers had made an initial settlement they often uprooted within a year or two. A comparison of the 1874 composition of Steinbach, Blumenort and Gruenfeld to the composition of those villages seven years later indicates that as many as 20% of the settlers made secondary migrations. [33] It is also known that as many as 11 of the 60 families who came to Jefferson County by 1880 had first settled in Manitoba. [34] Another five families migrated from Nebraska to Manitoba. [35] While the motivation for these secondary migrations often was economic, many were also made for kinship reasons and in this factor the influence of women is most apparent.

A series of letters written between 1874 and 1882 by an elderly widow, Sara Janzen of Jefferson County, to her three married daughters in Manitoba is indicative of the influence a woman could bring to the situation. In October 1874, a month after arriving in Jefferson County, Janzen wrote her children in Manitoba: "Oh how difficult it is for me that we have to live so far apart from you. Can it be no other way? It is a great sorrow for me, but of what use is that? I will just have to resign myself to this fact. Dear daughter Agnetha, you wrote me that you would love to have me live in your home which I too would like to see. However, I don't know how to get there. I have often said I would like to make the journey with Isaak Harms but have not spoken about the situation with them. Why don't all three of you families come here. It would be a delight for all of us!" [36] When word came three months later that at least one her daughters and her husband, Heinrich Ratzlaff, were moving from Manitoba the report from Nebraska was that "mother was very happy." [37]

Sara Janzen, however, was not satisfied. In succeeding letters she made special pleas for the families of her other two daughters to come to Nebraska. [38] In one letter she compared herself to the Hebrew patriarch Jacob and identified with his grief at being separated from his children. Although only one of her three daughters eventually came to Nebraska the fact that Sara Janzen thought it within her power to sway the decision of

three well-to-do sons-in-law is significant and reflects on the status of women in the private sphere of Mennonite society.

Ironically, during the very time that Janzen was imploring her children to move to Nebraska another matriarch was begging her children to stay in Manitoba. According to this story 62 year old Elisabeth Rempel Reimer stopped her son and son-in-law, Klaas R. Reimer and Abram S. Friesen, later Steinbach's two foremost entrepreneurs, from joining the Kleine Gemeinde movement to relocate in Nebraska. The story tells how in the spring of 1876 when it began to appear that grasshoppers would destroy the crops for the second successive year the Reimer clan gathered for a Sunday afternoon visit to plan a strategy of defense. After the two influential brothers had indicated their plans of leaving Manitoba their mother spoke up: "This we do not want to do," she declared, "for the dear Lord has heard my prayer; He has protected us on our journey here. And we do not want to leave. Instead we want to remain faithful...in our calling and not become discouraged. I have faith in God that He will bless us and that we will have our bread." According to the narrator, "her children were obedient, [did not move] and became successful." [39]

It was not only grandmothers who influenced secondary migrations. In 1875 when the Heinrich Ratzlaff family arrived in Jefferson County a debate arose over whether they would settle in Heuboden close to his brother-in-law or in Blumenort next to his cousin Johann Harms who had just preceded Ratzlaffs in coming from Manitoba. Apparently the decision to settle in Heuboden was reversed when Harms' 35 year old wife, Agnes, threatened that if Ratzlaffs "would not live in the Harms village then they would return to Manitoba." Another incident in 1875 tells how 21 year old Aganetha Penner of the East Reserve tried to convince her lonely sister-in-law, Margaretha Penner Janzen at Scratching River to settle closer to her relatives: "We would so like to have you in our midst! Ach! If it would only be possible for us to live close to one another so that we might encourage one another to work diligently in the vineyard of the

Lord." A postscript to the letter sounded a similar note: "My love for you is so strong that I cannot but write a little more....How I would like to be with you: but it is not possible and I am left thinking of you. I hope, however, that you move here, and then, I think life will be easier for you as there are more of your brothers and sisters here...." Interestingly enough a short time later, much to the surprise of Johann Janzen's relatives, the Janzen family moved across the Red River to the village of Blumenhof, just a mile from Margaretha's parents and many siblings in Blumenort. [40]

If secondary migrations reinforced female networks, the transplanted household ensured that the role of women as child bearer, sustenance producer and homemaker seems to have remained unchanged. There are some signs that during the first year or so women were called on to exert themselves in cereal production in a way they had not in Russia. E.K. Francis quotes John Lowe, the Canadian Secretary of Agriculture, on his visit to the East Reserve in 1877: "every man, woman and child is a producer. Women were ploughing in the fields, thatching roofs and girls were plastering houses." [41] John Warkentin quotes an Anglo-Canadian traveller who noted how, in 1876, Mennonite women participated in threshing grain by pitching sheaves into the path of the threshing stone. [42] Initial sod breaking certainly stretched family labour resources to their limit. And the fact that Mennonite farmers were compelled to work their land without a large cheap labour pool as they were used to in Russia and that it was not till 1876 that farm mechanization alleviated this pressure, compelled them to work the fields.

Still, continued high birth rates and letters describing their lifeworlds indicate that most Mennonite women continued uninterrupted their domestic roles. While specific birth rates for 1874 are not known there is no sign that the rates dropped during these tumultuous years. Babies were born throughout the migration months. Census records for 1880 and infant mortality figures of 33% reveal that during the migration year

of 1874 17 children were born to the 53 Jefferson County Mennonite families. [43] Genealogical records indicate that eight children were born in 1874 to the 23 families who settled in Blumenort, Manitoba in that year. [44] In fact in a letter written by Delegate Toews in August 1874 just after arriving in Manitoba he reported that in his group of 63 families two children had been born enroute and another two at the immigration shelters; all "without complication" so that "things are going very well at the present." [45] These figures would indicate that the birth rate remained unchanged at around five percent.

The continued preoccupation of women with children is underscored by the letters they mailed one another. Almost invariably after the opening paragraph of salutation, enquiries of health and the quotation of a religious phrase women wrote about their children. These letters indicate the restrictions that children placed on their mothers' lives and that they kept their mothers indoors while husbands went out to the fields and to the city for purchases. On November 6, 1874, for instance, Katherine Klassen, ended her letter because "little [two year old] Aganetha does not want to let me write more - write often - a hearty greeting from my husband...[who] is going to Beatrice tomorrow to buy potatoes." [46]

The letters also speak of the emotional involvement of women with their children. When small children died it was the feelings of the mothers which were described. Grandmother Sara Janzen wrote her children in Manitoba in October 1874 that "tiny granddaughter Sarah" had died and how Sarah's mother had exclaimed in "the deepest agony: 'Oh but how we so dearly wanted to keep her....'" [47] But it was also the women who wrote about the joy of children. Five months after little Sarah's death Grandmother Janzen again reported on a granddaughter: "....our small Aganetha is walking about in the room and is at the present time very amused. I so often am delighted by her." In a subsequent letter she enquired about a third granddaughter: "Little Katherina - is she still so

full of love?" she asked her daughter Elisabeth Janzen in December 1876. [48]

Children were also often a source of pride for women. In June 1877 Sara Friesen wrote her sisters and reported that they now had a second "little Sarah" and that "Aganetha can already speak a little and is already quite helpful. In fact we can now fill our tasks entirely with the help of our own children." [49] In November, 1875 Anna Ratzlaff enquired in her letter to a sister in Manitoba whether "the children are already helping out on the farm." [50] The fact that women enjoyed the company of older children is revealed in a March 1875 letter in which a grandmother reacted to a bundle of letters she received from her grandchildren: "Now I want to turn my attention to my beloved grandchildren. You have all written so much to me...Cornelius Janzen [age 11] you can already write so well! I was amazed! Margaretha [age 8] can write as well and Johann [age 7] - I was able to read the whole thing! Also Loewen's Isaak [age 8, can write so well.]" [51]

The importance of child rearing in the Mennonite communities is further underscored by the demand for maids that pervaded the early settlements. Diaries are filled with references to men travelling distances of up to 30 miles to hire maids. On April 28 1879, for instance, Abram Penner of the East Reserve drove the 15 miles from Blumenort to Heuboden to pick up a maid only to discover that she and her family had moved to the West Reserve. He then had to go to Gruenfeld where he "got P. Toews' Katrina for two weeks." On June 4 in same year Johann Reimer of Steinbach stopped in at Blumenort on his way to pick up a maid in a neighbouring village. [52] Letters reflect a similar situation. On June 11, 1877, for instance, Isaak Loewen from Scratching River wrote to enquire about a maid on the East Reserve: "We have heard that there is a girl available in Schoenthal," wrote Loewen to his brother, "send us notice if she is available for we must have a girl! Harms will be there on Friday so maybe he could take her along if...Janzen cannot." [53] Wet nurses continued to be in demand and received around $1.25 a week for

their services. Cornelius Loewen notes in his diary that on August 1, 1876 after his wife died he took eight week old "Johann to Toewses for 20 weeks for $25."

That women carried on the homemaker duties as they had known them in Russia is also apparent from the speed with which Mennonites reestablished a familiar physical environment. The early reports of miserable lives in sod huts, tents, log houses and tarpaper clad dwellings soon gave way to descriptions of comfortable lives in small, but roomy frame houses which contained plastered walls and painted wooden floors. A Gruenfeld pioneer recalled that after the first winter in a sod dwelling "the villagers, having more time on their hands, began building quite roomy houses according to the custom of the old homeland." [54] In Blumenort three frame houses were built during the first fall. One of these was described in an early letter: "We have a warm room," wrote a village leader in January 1875, "it is 19 feet wide and 15 1/2 feet long and contains a small oven of burned bricks. The work room is as long and 12 feet wide and contains the cooking stove." [55] By 1876 when J.W. Down, a Department of Agriculture official, visited Scratching River he noted that "each family liv[es] in a well built and in some cases even very large frame house." [56] In fact, a survey of 36 houses built between 1874 and 1879 in Steinbach, Blumenort, Gruenfeld and Rosenort, Manitoba indicates that early houses had an average living area of 676 square feet. [57]

Similar reports of frame houses came from Nebraska. Just two months after arriving in Jefferson County Sara Friesen wrote her sister in Manitoba that "we have five men building rooms and two are working on the roof...if possible we would like to move in on Sunday for we are still living with brother Isaak Friesen." [58] Some of the houses were not adequately prepared by winter time. Katherine Klassen wrote her sister that a cold April wind had blown up "so much that it got too cold for our house which is wrapped from the outside with tar paper and is nailed out from within with painted boards." [59] Yet in a letter to <u>The Chicago Daily</u>

Tribune in January 1875 Cornelius Jansen noted that the Cub Creek Kleine Gemeinde had no sooner arrived in the county that they "went to work to erect buildings, and by this time [they are all sheltered] in their own comfortable houses." [60] The following summer more houses were built. "I have built a house, 40 feet long and 14 to 22 feet wide [which]....because of the shingle siding...cost $200" wrote Heinrich Ratzlaff just months after moving from Manitoba. [61]

The preoccupation with furniture making in the first year or so reflects a similar attempt to replicate familiar home settings and the kind of domestic life women were called to live. One East Reserve farmer wrote on October 21, 1874 that "I am presently working inside, making a table and resting bench. The bed and cradle I constructed earlier...." [62] Then too there was a concerted effort made to reestablish the kitchen as it had been in Russia. One woman from Heuboden in Jefferson County wrote in November 1874 that "we wish to construct a Russian oven [for our kitchen] because the American methods do not satisfy us." [63]

The fact, too, that women were noted to be planting flowers within the first few years is significant. One American from Jefferson County noted that the Mennonites who "were eager for pleasant surroundings...at once planted trees and flowers about their homes...." [64] Abram Reimer of the East Reserve noted in his diary for May 6, 1879 that his daughter-in-law "Mrs Ab. Reimer planted her flowers yesterday....and in Steinbach [our daughter] Mrs Ab. Friesen has already planted a great part of her flowers."

If a world of children and domestic duties represented carry overs from their life in Russia so too did their duties as producers of family sustenance. It was the woman's duty to work the gardens, milk the cows, gather eggs. If men set out to reestablish their farms by purchasing land and stock, breaking sod and cutting lumber, erecting buildings and trading with the city, women continued in their roles as society's gatherers. It was a division of labour which even the lack of wage labour and the

pioneer conditions of the frontier would not alter significantly. Abram Friesen's diary indicates that it was he who plowed the fields; it was his wife who secured eggs for the brooding hen. Cornelius Loewen's diary indicates that it was he who travelled to Winnipeg to trade; it was his wife who stayed at home to care for the poultry and cows. Abram Reimer's diary reveals that he did the sawing of wood while it was his wife who did the sewing till all hours of the night.

It was a division of labour, however, which brought men and women together in a common pursuit - the advancement of the household economic unit. The farm was a family run affair and both men and women regularly wrote about its well being. Men did write more about church affairs then did women and women wrote more about children. However, both reported regularly on farm activities, weather and the state of crops and animals. It is interesting to note, however, that men and women appear to take different approaches to analyzing the farm. Men tended to speak of size, number of acres put to wheat, size of the dairy herd and configuration of buildings. Women, on the other hand, talked more about the yield and the health of crops. Men reported more often on cereal grains and cattle herds while women described the gardens and the nature of fall slaughters. Note the following letters written by women in 1877. In June, Anna Ratzlaff of Cub Creek closed a letter begun by her husband in which he devoted his space to an analysis of church schisms. She devoted most of her space to talking about her children and describing the state of the farm: "Now I will report to you," wrote Anna after her salutation, "that we are thinking of soon cutting the rye which has grown tall. The wheat and barley are also very nice. If conditions remain we can expect a very nice harvest. The grasshoppers have not yet done much damage. The potatoes are doing well as are laying hens and the garden vegetables are also doing well." [65] In November, Elisabeth Loewen of Scratching River also finished a letter begun by her husband. After describing the state of the family health and inviting her in-laws of the East Reserve to come

for a visit she wrote, "now I will report that we have slaughtered two good pigs and also slaughtered some 35 chickens also of good quality; wheat we received 500 bushels from 24 acres however there was much smut in it; barley we received 115 bushels from four acres; potatoes, however, yielded very badly, only about 10 bushels and of those many were green." [66] Ratzlaff and Loewen were mothers and keepers of framehouses; they were also domestic producers, vitally interested in family sustenance and in the economic state of the household.

III

The migration process cannot be understood by merely examining the male dominated public side of the relocation. The church congregations and village organizations may have formally maintained social boundaries but the family was the grist of everyday social life of these migrating people. Family units determined the timing of migration and settlement patterns. They allowed a complete transplantation of a community complete with young and old, healthy and infirm, poor and wealthy settlers. Family cooperation helped settlers pool resources and meet the demands of the frontier. The family's function and primordial loyalties ensured replicated kinship networks. In both the Manitoba and Nebraska communities village configuration was shaped by kinship ties. In the larger villages containing more than 15 households, most residences were members of one of the three or four village-based clans. In the smaller villages the majority of households were members of a single clan head, often the founder of the village. Diaries and letters indicate similar kinship networks at work over distances, bringing relatives of different villages and even the various settlements together for common economic purposes or social events.

The family is crucial to an understanding of transplanted Mennonite lifeworlds because it was within that private sphere that women exerted their influence in the settlement process. Some women caught the

attention of the public world; but they were widows or women caught in unusual circumstances. In most instances women played their roles within families. Within this sphere they paid little deference to important men. Village headmen and well-to-do landowners were invited, sometimes ordered, by wives, sisters and mothers to settle in certain places. The influence of women in the crucial decision of family residence is apparent from statistics that indicate matrilocality and patrilocality were equally imporant factors in determining where a family might settle. Letters and diaries indicate similar patterns of influence.

Finally, the importance of the family is also underscored by the fact that the migrants were household producers who depended on both men and women as well as children to procure sustenance and the resources to reproduce the family farm for the next generation. This is the theme we will explore next.

CHAPTER 8

REESTABLISHING THE FAMILY FARM IN A NEW LAND

I

The reestablished family farm was a crucial component in the Mennonites' scheme to reproduce a solidaristic, agrarian community in North America. It was an economic unit which suited well the Mennonites' concept of community with its well defined social boundaries and emphasis on the household unit. To establish the small household farm in North America, however, required accommodation to new environments. While New Russia, Manitoba and Nebraska were grassland areas, possessed of continental climates and quickly developing globally integrated economies, the three places differed significantly.

Manitoba's economy, for example, was less developed and Nebraska's economy more sophisticated than the one in Ekaterinoslav or Taurida. These Russian provinces did not have railways as did Nebraska in the 1870s but, with a well developed system of river and seaports they were more highly export oriented than Manitoba of the 1870s. Then, there were physical differences. While Jefferson County, Nebraska and Borosenko, Ekaterinoslav had a similar topography, soil and mean temperature, Manitoba was flatter, colder and at places more forested. And while Borosenko with its 12 inches of annual precipitation was a semi-arid plain, the East Reserve and Jefferson County had humid environments with annual precipitation of 23 and 29 inches respectively. Finally, there was a difference in the land-labour ratio. In Manitoba and Nebraska land was much more readily available and cheaper and labour much more scarce and expensive than it was in Russia. Thus, while more families had the

opportunity of owning their own farms in North America, traditional ways of farming with wage labour was not possible.

Despite these differences the Mennonites' attitudes to their farms and their interaction with the market place would resemble those in Russia. As in Russia they maintained high degrees of self sufficiency, subscribed to religious proscriptions against conspicuous consumption and merchant activity, and operated their farms as household economic units. As in Russia they lived in villages, valued good farmland, borrowed money within the community at fixed interest rates and emphasized grain production over cattle production. As in Russia, too, farmers used both money and payments in kind, both local and external markets, and practiced both a "moral economy" and commercial farming. As in Russia farmers used their relationships with the outside to bolster the strength of those within. Earnings derived from sales in the market place were used to pay for "institutional completeness" and to secure the means to reproduce their household farms for succeeding generations.

Traditional Mennonite historiography has seen Mennonite farmers, especially those in Manitoba, as peasants who separated themselves from the market place. C.A. Dawson wrote in 1936 that the "Mennonite tradition of self sufficiency and their clustering together...made for slow adjustment to large scale farming and [the] western money economy." [1] In 1952 E.K. Francis noted that the story of Manitoba Mennonite farmers from the time of immigration to the 1950s could be told as "the adjustment of a peasant group to a capitalistic economy." He stressed their isolation, their solidaristic village communities and their proscriptions against individualism. Using the constructs of Robert Redfield, Francis suggested that the peasant is someone who farms "as a way of life...[and draws satisfaction not from] profit, capital, personal comfort, or conspicuous consumption...[but] from work well done, from the improvement...of his holdings...and from...provid[ing] for future generations." [2] This analysis has become a standard interpretation, particularly for Manitoba

Mennonites. In 1961, for instance, John Warkentin studied the East Reserve and concluded that "nowhere else in North America has a peasant culture...been so re-established." [3]

However, the Kleine Gemeinde farmer immigrants to North America, and even in poorer Manitoba, were no more inclined to a peasant existence than they had been in New Russia. Not only were they politically free farmers, their colonies in Russia and in North America were being increasingly integrated into capitalist, market economies after 1850. Their community and religious values dictated the extent of that involvement and the degree of personal consumption. Still the immigrants in both Manitoba and Nebraska were clearly bent on becoming commercial farmers. They saw land as a commodity and worked to secure cash and credit to acquire it. They geared their cropping patterns and agricultural methods to produce commodities for an export market economy. They set up a ready supply of internally generated credit and accepted a system of payment which included both barter and money. They accepted a degree of farm mechanization as a substitute for the seasonal labour pools which had helped build the wheat economy in Russia. And they acquired goods and services in nearby towns and cities. The Mennonite immigrant farmers in North America were able to replicate their lifeworlds as household commodity producers. [4]

II

Insularity, one of the typological characteristics of a peasant society, was not a value at the center of Mennonite ethos. It has already been noted in chapter six that Mennnonite households were less intent on securing geographically isolated villages than they were in establishing solidaristic communities with well articulated social boundaries. Despite the importance that Mennonite delegates are said to have placed on territorial separation and isolation, it is clear that even conservative Mennonites, such as the Kleine Gemeinde, chose their settlements more with

an eye to market opportunities and fertile land than isolation. Manitoba, contrary to the musings of Frank Epp, was not chosen because of its poorer quality free land and isolation from the world but in spite of these drawbacks. The Kleine Gemeinde had not been isolated in New Russia and they had no intention of being isolated in the New World. Borosenko had been a community which they had shared with other less traditionalist Mennonites, Ukrainian labourers and Jewish merchants and craftsmen. They had been within a short day's travel of a river port and market center. In the New World they wanted no fewer market opportunities.

The wish for good land did not mean that Mennonites lacked religious purpose. Just as their diaries describing day to day activities often expressed religious feelings so did their accounts of choosing settlement sites. Indeed religion was on their minds when they made a decision to settle in either Manitoba or Nebraska. Aeltester Peter Toews may have exclaimed about the "favorable news" brought by Toews and Klassen in 1873 that the "government has reserved eight townships of land near the city of Winnipeg...[of which] every family and every person over 21...is to receive 160 acres as a gift." But he was quick to add that "what is...most important [is that]...in Ottawa...they have received written confirmation that in Manitoba we will have complete freedom of faith and consequently we will also have complete freedom from any form of military service." [5]

The Kleine Gemeinde who chose the United States reflected on the religious implications as well. Jacob Klassen of Jefferson County was put on the defensive in October 1874 when relatives in Manitoba wrote and asked bluntly why his group had not even sent a delegation to see Manitoba. At the first church meeting on Septemeber 2, wrote Klassen, I did "ask why the trip to Canada had not been taken. The answer was that Cornelius Jansen had advised them [that] the state of freedom was the same here as in British [countries]. As the situation here and there was to be the same so I was satisfied....One can [after all] always move from

here to [Canada]." [6] Abram Thiessen of Nebraska was more aggressive in his analysis. In fact, in 1877 he visited Manitoba specifically to urge fellow Kleine Gemeinders to move to Nebraska where they could live under republican "freedom" and dispense with corruptible monarchism. [7]

Usually, however, religion was not used to evaluate choice of settlement. When Nebraskans and Manitobans shared notes about their respective settlements and attempted to lure their kin and friends to settle with them, they wrote about climate and soil types and prices. Letters from Nebraska compared the moderate climate, the fertility of the soil and the lay of the land to that in Russia. A letter of June, 1875 told of grain heading in early June, of herds of milch cows, of the absence of grasshoppers; it was a list of blessings ending with the declaration that "I am more and more convicned that this will turn out to be a good region." [8] The letters also asked questions about Manitoba's hostile climate. "Is Manitoba's winter bearable?" teased one correspondent, "or will there be those who will experience what the Israelites went through in the wilderness after leaving [the comfort of] Egypt?" [9] Letters from Manitoba admitted that "December and...January have heavy frost," but insisted that "the climate is very healthy and...quite invigorating. The winter here in Manitoba is not nearly as bad as many who have never been here think." [10] Others spoke about the abundance of lush grass and the availability of firewood so that, as one farmer put it in mid-January 1875, "concerning the day to day affairs [of living in Manitoba] I have no concern." [11]

The process by which both the Toews and Friesen groups chose their respective settlement sites in Manitoba and Nebraska in 1874 reflects the value Mennonite farmers placed on productive land. In the United States, Kleine Gemeinde delegates left their families in upstate New York to travel to the midwest with Peter Jansen who had explored it earlier that year with his father. Jansen recommended they settle in Jefferson County, because, as the Fairbury Gazette put it, "his candid opinion is that the

southeastern part of Nebraska is the best agricultural region he has yet seen." Nebraska, according to Jansen was "a happy medium as far as climate is concerned." [12] A mean temperature of -8 degrees celsius in January and 27 degrees in July and a growing season of 163 days meant that it resembled the environment of Ekaterinoslav. Precipitation of almost 78 centimetres a year promised crops unheard of in the semi-arid provinces in southern Russia. [13] The Kleine Gemeinde scouts agreed to follow Jansen's advice and settle in Jefferson County because as Jansen wrote later: "the men who were with me had been successful farmers in Russia, and while of course not familiar with American conditions, knew good land and soil." [14]

While the 1856 survey field notes declared Cub Creek "second rate land" this judgement was based more on the fact that "the surface [was] gently rolling prairie [which] was entirely destitute of living water...[and contained] only a small quantity of timber...of poor quality" than the absence of good soil. [15] In fact the township had the second most extensive coverage of "dark brown to nearly black Crete silt loam" in Jefferson County. [16] Although the low lands along Cub Creek in the northern and central part of the township had been settled by American corn and cattle growers, the Mennonites purchased most of the upper lands which were highly adaptable to wheat growing.

Manitoba bound settlers were also motivated by a search for good land. While they valued sweeping military exemptions, they also valued the opportunity to become commercial wheat producers. The problem in Manitoba was that the best land was often inaccessible due to the province's primitive transportation infrastructure. Land in the Riding Mountain area was rejected in 1873 because it was too far from Winnipeg. [17] Instead the East Reserve, which lay relatively close to Winnipeg and close to the Red River, the major transportation link with the rest of the world, was chosen. The problem with the East Reserve, however, was that much of it was parkland or badly drained prairie. The debate about the economic viability of the East Reserve began the moment the delegates saw

it in 1873. Even the four Mennonite delegates who chose it as their home were not completely satisfied. In a letter to the Department of Agriculture in July 1873 they asked about the possiblity of "another location than the present one which you have reserved for us [which might] suit us better...." [18] That the acceptability of the East Reserve had not been resolved became evident on the day that the first contingent of Kleine Gemeinde settlers arrived in Winnipeg on July 31.

On that day a major rift developed among the 63 Kleine Gemeinde farmers. Heinrich Ratzlaff, an 1874 settler, explains what happened upon their arrival in Winnipeg: "Now we experienced anxiety and discontent. Hespeler called our headmen D. Klassen and C. Toews...[and a few others to his] office. Mr. Hespeler explained to us that the only land available to us was on the east side of the river at which point C. Toews agreed and immediately wanted to go upstream....to make it his home. D. Klassen, on the other hand, was opposed to this [and insisted]...that the land on the east side was too low for tilling the soil....When Hespeler saw that he could do nothing with these two old immigrants he recommended land on the Red River." Klassen, however, seems to have been unhappy with this option as well and when he was informed by Hespeler that choice land which he had reserved previously was no longer available, he is said to have declared: "Alright if that is the case then I and my children will go to the west side [along the Scratching River] where the land is higher." [19]

Klassen's opinion seems to have been shared by many other Kleine Gemeinde families. Peter Dueck, a farmer who would settle on the East Reserve wrote back to Russia in August 12 to report on a meeting of Kleine Gemeinde farmers the day they arrived at the immigration sheds on the East Reserve. Dueck recorded the complaints of some of the farmers: "On this land we will be flooded out. There is nothing here to be cultivated, on this land I have to first clear the shrubs...I can't build here and so on.'" Dueck and others tried to point out to the complainers that they were too hasty in their judgement. Dueck reports that although he too was

unhappy with the land he saw, he addressed the meeting with the words: "People have patience!...We have not yet seen one tenth of the reserved land. There are three townships which Klassen told us about, if they can be found we will surely see a difference. Let us first see them!" The next day a contingent of men, not including Dueck who at 300 pounds found walking difficult, left to travel the 10 to 12 miles to the eastern edge of the reserve where they did find well drained land. While the discovery of better land allayed some of the fears, others, particularly the poor, found comfort in the abundance of wood on the East Reserve. [20]

That Kleine Gemeinde farmers were able to find land suitable for grain production is evident from surveyor reports. While John Warkentin has written that much of the reserve was "simply...not suitable for farming" each of the three major settlements that Kleine Gemeinde farmers founded was surrounded by land highly recommended by early surveyors. The Steinbach settlers chose the very sections in Township 6-6E which the survey recorded as "most desirous for settlement...being chiefly prairie, the soil good and free from stone...to the south and west [of which]...are large bluffs of building timber and excellent hay." The Gruenfeld area settlers chose land in the part of the Township 6-5E "containing a larger extent of prairie land suitable for farming." Finally, the Blumenort settlers chose land in Township 7-6E which was traversed with "ravines which effectually drain it of all surface water" and contained soil which "was a deep clay loam, easily worked and well adapted to agricultural purposes." [21]

Despite the existence of these parts of the East Reserve several farmers who explored the reserve remained unsatisfied. Among these was Heinrich Ratzlaff. He later wrote that after examining the East Reserve he and a number of his friends drove over to Scratching River. After examining it, wrote Ratzlaff later, we "discussed the possibility of the west side [of the Red River] having an advantage to the east side and it seemed that we five people all had the discernment that this land was more

suited for tilling soil. [On] a dried up tree [that] stood nearby....I wrote the...words 'It is good here, let us build houses.'" [22] From the standpoint of wheat growing the choice was a good one. Surveyors who explored the townships along the Scratching River in 1872, reported that "there is nothing to hinder settlement...except the want of timber...[for] the soil [of townships 5-1 and 6-1] cannot be surpassed for richness and is beautifully diversified with dry prairie suitable for cultivation and...prairie producing a heavy growth of...wild grass." [23]

The concern about good farm land not only split the Manitoba community but led to a significant secondary migration in 1875. Despite the fact that Peter Toews' group had made a firm decision in Russia to settle in Manitoba rather than Nebraska or Kansas a number of migrants remained unsatisfied with that decision. In June 1874 while enroute to Manitoba Rev. Abram Klassen wrote to Peter Toews to confess that only with the "help of the Lord" would he be able to settle happily in Manitoba. "I know that everyone here knows that I would have preferred to go to the United States." [24] Klassen's doubts did not leave him and he finally moved to Nebraska. One of his neighbours recalls how it happened. During the winter of 1874 and 75 "many of our people began to get ideas of moving to Nebraska since letters received from [there] spoke about...warm weather. When they...were already seeding we were still experiencing a cold winter with much snow. Finally [in May] our [preacher] Abr. Klassen decided to go...to see for himself....Upon his return...he told us things we could hardly believe. The wheat was already heading, the rye looked white and the corn had grown one foot tall. He then asked his sons how large their grain had grown....[Son] Dietrich responded, 'Go see for yourself'....Klassen immediately went to see, only to find that the grain was just appearing. When he returned to the room, he hardly knew how to contain himself and said, 'We do not want to stay here.'" Within weeks Klassen, along with a number of other families, had left Manitoba for Nebraska. [25]

III

The preoccupation with the search for good land was not the only indication that the Mennonites were bent on entering a market economy. The fact that they transferred capital pools and credit systems from Russia sufficient to pay the starting up costs of commercial farms indicates that they had no intention of building a subsistence peasant economy.

Two myths about the Mennonites' economic strength appeared soon after settlement in the 1870s. One was perpetuated by urban merchants in Nebraska and Manitoba alike who were amazed at the amounts of "filthy lucre" the roughly clad Mennonite farmers seemed to carry about and the extent to which they were prepared to haggle over prices. [26] The other myth was perpetuated by the Mennonites themselves. It spoke of the abject poverty of the first "poor and simple" settlers, the hardships of living in sod huts and eating only "potatoes fried in water." [27] The truth of the matter lay somewhere between. The fact was that many farmers required financial assistance to pay for transportation to North America and that throughout the first five years farmers were forced to rely to some extent on barter and payment in kind. Yet even the very poorest members took out homesteads and had substantial diets during the first winter. In January 1875, for instance, Cornelius Loewen of Gruenfeld lent one of his neighbours $24.10 to purchase "meat, wine, fruit, medicine, and coffee." [28] While it is true that the Mennonites gave up much real income by migrating, they came with enough cash to reestablish their farms and make the necessary adaptations to a North American capitalist economy.

Kleine Gemeinde farmers did make economic sacrifices in relocating to North America. The new settlement at Borosenko was not even a decade old in 1874 and many of the farmsteads and the Gemeinde's new meeting house in Blumenhoff had just recently been completed. When whole villages of people suddenly put up their lands for sale prices did plummet, leaving

Mennonite emigrants with much less cash than they had anticipated. Then, too there was the fact that Mennonite farmers had no income in 1874, the year of migration. Still, this "sacrifice" needs to be put into perspective for Mennonites generally left Russia with the means to begin farming in North America.

First, there is the fact that the ten year period prior to migration, had been an economic boon for Russian Mennonite farmers. Grain prices had been good and access to the international markets had meant that land which they had purchased in the mid 1860s for 30 rubles a desiatin could be paid off in short order. One year's gross income from wheat, priced at between 8 and 12 rubles a chetwert and yielding up to three chetwerts per desiatin could equal the price of the land on which it was grown. In 1873 Klaas Reimer of Steinbach, Borosenko grossed 1526 rubles from 49 desiatins of land which would have been priced at 1470 in 1865. So profitable was grain farming that land prices jumped to 53 rubles per desiatin by 1873 and land was rented out for as much as 4.5 rubles. [29]

Secondly, the land deflation following news that a third of Mennonites were leaving Russia was not as bad for Kleine Gemiende farmers as it may have been for others. According to one historian when suddenly "everyone wanted to sell and there was nobody to buy...well improved farms sold for far less than their real values." [30] Several things need to be kept in perspective. In at least the daughter ccolonies such as the Borosenko, land purchasers were not restricted to fellow Mennonites. Ironically, the very reform movement that the Mennonites opposed for its mandatory military service requirement also allowed Mennonites to sell their lands to non-Mennonites. Steinbach and Friedensfeld, for instance, were purchased by German colonists and Gruenfeld and Rosenfeld by Ukrainian farmers. [31] Then too the price of land in New Russia tended to be higher than in land-abundant North America. Kleine Gemeinde farmers had paid around $9 an acre for land in Borosenko in 1865. Ten years later

they would pay $3.50 an acre for similar land in post-1873 depression Nebraska and receive free land in Manitoba.

If the Kleine Gemeinde farmers were startled by the low prices they received in the fall of 1873 it was because they compared them to land prices which had inflated considerably since 1865. It is true that their farms only brought from 36 rubles a desiatin in Rosenfeld to 40 rubles a desiatin in Gruenfeld which would have been valued at 53 to 61 rubles a desiatin a year or two before. One can well imagine the shock that Steinbach villagers experienced, when after rejecting an initial offering for 40 rubles per desiatin on October 3, 1873 were offered 34 rubles by the same party two weeks later. The final price of 37 rubles was probably half of what the villagers had hoped for. [32] Yet if one allows 10 rubles per desiatin for the price of dwellings this price was similar to that paid by the villagers themselves ten years before. The revenue from the sale of the land and buildings of a full farm came to around $2000.

To this revenue farmers could add the income from the sale of livestock, tools and furniture which were sold separately or by auction beginning in September 1873 and continuing into the spring of 1874. In September 1873 Johann Reimer and other Steinbach farmers sold many of their horses, yearlings and wagons. Wagons brought up to 70 rubles a piece. Peter Enns of Steinbach sold his windmill separately from his farm in October 1873, dismantled it and shipped it to the purchaser on seven wagons. Sometimes farmers joined forces as they did in Gruenfeld on January 21 1874 and brought all stock together for auction. Cows were sold for between 25 and 45 rubles while horses brought between 30 and 50 rubles. This compares favorably with cows sold by Steinbach farmers for between 30 and 43 rubles in May 1873. [33]

The sale of furniture and tools also added to the revenues of the migrants. In February 1874 Cornelius Loewen of Gruenfeld called an auction in which he sold 95.03 rubles of furniture and farm implements. These various sales added up to provide the first contingent of 63

Mennonite families heading for Manitoba with an average of $969 per family. Unfortunately no such figure is available for the Nebraska settlers. It is known that the Fairbury Gazette reported that the first 36 settlers together with three wealthy non-Kleine Gemeinde families brought $85,000 or $2400 per family. Knowing the Nebraska's newspapers tendency to exaggerate, the real figure may be somewhat lower.

A third major factor enabling Mennonite farmers to reestablish their farms in North America was that they were able to make the relocation without major expenses. As part of the deal made with the Canadian government and the American railway companies they were given free passage and food essentials for parts of the trip. Manitoba bound settlers received free food on the ocean part of the journey and Nebraska settlers free train passage from Chicago. Both groups also made use of aid and work opportunities provided for them by Mennonites in Ontario and New York. In Clarence Center, New York many of the Kleine Gemeinde were able to earn additional cash by working in the wheat harvest and housing construction for a period of four weeks between August and September. [34]

To ensure that the transferred capital pools retained their strength the immigrants took care to exchange their rubles into dollars at the best rates. One East Reserve farmer wrote back to Russia in July 1874 to warn those still coming against poor monetary exchange rates in Hamburg. Better to exchange money in Podwolozus for 92.5 cents on the ruble, counselled the farmer, than in Hamburg where a ruble brought only 66.7 cents. [35] Settlers who came after 1874 complained about the fact that they often had to be content with only 45 cents on the ruble. [36]

These factors coupled with the introduction of cheap steamship travel had made the move quite affordable for Mennonite families. Personal records indicate that the trip cost the average farmer only 10% of his total worth: Peter Toews, for instance, paid 288.57 rubles for moving his family, of two adults and three children, and their luggage. [37]

A final factor which helped strengthen the economic status of early Mennonite farmers was the ready availability of credit within the community. This was to prove to be a much more important source of credit than the Dominion government loan which a few farmers tapped for amounts of about $20 after the crop failure of 1875. [38] Cornelius Loewen's diary for the first six years of settlement contains records of a total of $735 which he borrowed from six farmers at a 5% interest rate. During this same period, however, he loaned a total of $1060 to eight neighbours and kin for the purchase of livestock and household tools and food. [39]

Farmers did not restrict their borrowing to their villages. Loewen's records indicate that he borrowed money from farmers in at least six villages. A letter dating from December 1874 tells of a request for money from Dietrich Friesen of Gruenfeld to a well-to-do farmer at Scratching River. "Our preacher Abram Loewen," explained Friesen, "advised us to get a head start in securing some money as the need has arisen for us to purchase another ox and other things. We already have one ox and one cow. As it is an opportune time now [to buy an ox] we request of you $100 in order to help us. Till now I have always been able to earn as much as we use. However, as we want to build in the coming year I see no other way but to borrow." [40]

An even more important source of credit, however, was the church run credit organization. The Manitoba chapter continued its mutual aid by paying for the travel costs of half a dozen of the poorer families and using the $603 which it brought from Russia to buy clothes, shoes, wool, flour, potatoes, bacon, medicine, ovens, lumber and stock for the poorest families. It also used this money to encourage inter-farmer loans by paying out bad debts. But a more significant program for early community development was its "Creditoren und Schuldener" program. This was essentially a credit union in which "Creditoren," well-to-do farmers or widows with money from the sales of their farms, lent money to the church, sometimes without interest, but usually at an interest rate of 5%. The

church in turn lent this money to "Schuldern," to poorer or younger farmers for 5% as well. During the first nine years of settlement, the East Reserve chapter, lent $3289.18 to 26 farmers and borrowed $2493.03 from 12 farmers. Another $559.07 was borrowed from the Ontario Mennonite's Russian Aid Committee and $75 was raised in October 1875 from the sale of 420 bushels of apples donated by Ontario Mennonites to bring the total fund to $3127.58. [41]

The church congregation made the system work by discouraging wealthier farmers from depositing their money in Winnipeg banks or charging the high interest rates typical of peasant societies. That these situations could arise in Mennonite communities is evident from the notes of a January 1877 brotherhood meeting in Steinbach. Here both East Reserve and Scratching River farmers were told that "brethren shall not lend money to a bank." Moreover "the money which is still in such establishments from the time of the migration shall be removed...." [42] The church also ensured the strength of the "Creditor and Debtors" program by censuring farmers who charged more than 5% or 6% interest. Rates higher than this were deemed usurious by the congregation. At least one powerful farmer came under fire in July 1878 when Aeltester Peter Toews called a meeting to deal with opposition from Cornelius Plett of Blumenhof to Toews' preaching against usury. According to Toews a special brotherhood meeting was called where "I expounded repeatedly against the charging of interest from the books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets [which condemn it] as being wrong and an abomination before God." [43]

IV

With cash in hand and a network of available credit farmers set out to rebuild their farms. While shelter and sustenance were the immediate concerns during the first year of settlement, both Manitobans and Nebraskans made purchases, broke land and began marketing goods soon after settlement.

Reestablishing successful farms in Manitoba was, of course, an arduous task. First, despite its free land, starting up costs in Manitoba were considerably higher than those in Nebraska and Kansas. Its lack of a railway meant not only that wheat could not be exported, but that the cost of seed, tools and stock, which had to be imported from Fargo by river boat, was highly inflated. In March 1875 Scratching River farmers imported 220 bushels of seed barley from Jacob Shantz in Ontario for the high price of $3.65 a bag [two bushels] and financed at 6% for six years. [44] The price of livestock was found to be three times the price of what it had been in Russia. In August 1874 Peter Wiebe, a farmer in Blumenort, wrote to his brethren in Russia with the following warning: "...things are very expensive here. Horses which I value less than mine out there cost $100 and more a piece. Oxen cost $130 to $160 and $180 a pair. Cows are $50 to $60 and more. Wagons cost $100. Flour, lard and bacon are also very expensive. If you are coming later this year I would recommend that you make your purchases in Toronto or in places even closer...." [45] One of the farmers who left Manitoba for Nebraska in 1875 was amazed to find livestock for half of the Winnipeg price. He reported that he had found "two horses, one mare three years and the other five years...for $160 together, then two cows for $45 together, one buggy, harness, pails and a brush for $20, [all this] for a total of $225.00." [46]

Physical factors also put the Manitobans at a disadvantage when compared to their Nebraska cousins. The first crop in Manitoba was destroyed by grasshoppers and the second damaged by a June frost. And then for the suceeding four years the Manitobans were to receive heavy rainfalls, up to 82 centimetres annually, that caused flooding even in the best drained villages. [47]

Nevertheless Manitoban farmers struggled to reproduce their grain growing enterprises. In Steinbach 26 year old Johann Reimer broke eight acres in 1874 and additional land each year until his cultivated acreage reached 26 acres five years after settlement. Homestead patent records

indicate that this was the average rate of progress for Steinbach farmers. In Gruenfeld, five farmers were cultivating an average of 16.4 acres by 1877. At Scratching River where grasshoppers did not destroy the 1875 crop, the average cultivation for the whole settlement was 32 acres per family in 1877. In Blumenort one of the wealthier farmers was cultivating 51 acres by 1879. [48]

It was on this acreage that Mennonite farmers began raising wheat as they had in Russia. Although their farms produced little in the first two years, by 1877 many farmers were reporting better crops than they ever had had in Russia. From Gruenfeld came reports of 12.9 bushels of wheat per acre, from Blumenort reports of 18.3, and from Scratching River 20.8. [49] In keeping with their Russian wheat growing experience farmers concentrated on wheat. Diaries and letters from 1877 indicate that in Blumenort, farmers were dedicating from 59 to 76% of their fields to wheat while in Scratching River this figure was as high as 82%. Indeed the seeding records for Manitoba resemble those of Borosenko. In 1873 Klaas Reimer of Borosenko seeded 80 acres of wheat, 25 acres of barley, 12.5 acres rye and 5 acres of oats. In 1879 his brother, Abram Reimer of the East Reserve, seeded 30 acres of wheat, 7 acres of barley and 14 acres of oats. [50]

Although much of this wheat was used for local consumption, a certain percentage was marketed in Winnipeg within a year of the first harvest. Little quantitative data exists to document this, but a variety of sources indicate that farmers sought to market some of their grain as soon as possible. One pioneer wrote later that "the surplus grain had to be hauled to Winnipeg during the first years where one was...very anxious to carry on some trade...." [51] Others, like Johann Toews of Steinbach, declared on their Homestead Patent Aplication Forms, that they were absent from their homesteads during the early years "only for marketing...grain and going to store." There is at least one account of a farmer marketing part of his very first crop to Winnipeg in the spring of 1877. Although

Cornelius Loewen of Steinbach sold 60 bushels to the local merchant Erdman Penner of Tannenau, he marketed 68 bushels on three different trips to Winnipeg. [52] The percentage of the total crop marketed in Winnipeg by East Reserve farmers during these early years appears to be around 15%. In the fall of 1878 Loewen marketed 66 of his 412 bushels of wheat on two trips to Winnipeg while Abram Friesen from a neighbouring village marketed 32 of his 213 bushels. [53]

The marketing of small percentages of the total wheat production was, however, not the only indication that Mennonite farmers were becoming involved in the market place. Those farmers who had lost their first crops and who found land breaking slow, revised their economic strategies and simply marketed other goods. The Scratching River people who wintered the first year in Winnipeg purchased cows and sold milk to urban consumers. East Reserve farmers sold a variety of products. One Gruenfeld farmer later recalled that during the first winter he travelled to Winnipeg by oxen to market a sleigh of hay for a profit of three dollars. [54] Another farmer wrote how he marketed butter in Winnipeg. By 1877, wrote the farmer, "the profit from two or three cows became significant as the price of butter ranged from 25 to 30 cents a pound...." [55] Diaries also tell of butter sales to neighbouring French Canadian towns such as Ste. Anne. [56] Other diaries speak of selling poultry products in Winnipeg. Steinbach teamster Peter Toews, for example, travelled to Winnipeg twice in April 1879 alone to market slaughtered chickens and eggs and Cornelius Loewen's records indicate the sale of 160 dozen eggs for $30.16 in 1880, many of which he hauled to Winnipeg. [57]

The efforts exerted by farmers to market these goods does more perhaps, to indicate their value system than does the volume of their trade. In the absence of roads, trips to Winnipeg were treacherous and back breaking. On June 9, 1879, for instance, four farmers from Blumenort, each with a wagon filled with slaughtered chickens, eggs, and other products, left for Winnipeg. Abram Reimer notes, however, that

"they had not gone half way when they became stuck in water and returned home [the next day] at 10:30 completely drenched." Another account from these years tells of the time that four Gruenfelders headed to Winnipeg with fresh potatoes, eggs, butter and assorted vegetables on wagons pulled by oxen. At places, where there were no bridges, the products had to be unpacked and carried through the water. After the oxen were swum through, the wagons were pulled over to the other side with long ropes. According to the narrator, this trip took them five days. [58]

Supplementing this income was a highly integrated local economy. Examples of this abound. On July 14, 1877 Gerhard Giesbrecht of Steinbach purchased 21 pounds of leather for 37 cents from Abram Friesen, the Blumenhof schoolteacher. On July 16, 1878 Cornelius Loewen sold two dozen eggs to Klaas Reimer in Steinbach for resale. On April 24, 1879 Klaas Friesen of Steinbach sold 14 pounds of veal to another Blumenort man. On June 19, 1879 Abram Reimer of Blumenort noted that "Sawatsky of Bergthal was here and purchased three weanlings...for a dollar a piece." On July 2 later that year Reimer recorded that "Abram Penner and Old Peter Toews walked to Steinbach and bought five loads of straw." [59]

East Reserve farmers, thus, made important adjustments to the farm economies they had known in Russia. It is significant, however, that despite Manitoba's primitive economy and severe pioneering conditions these farmers began selling wheat in the province's market place after the very first crop in 1877. It is also significant that they adjusted to both Manitoba's climate and economy by beginninig to produce more table foods for urban consumption than they had produced for the regional fairs in New Russia. Thus, despite the fact that their surpluses were small and that their production was household centered, the farmers were operating within Manitoba's growing capitalistic economy.

IV

The Nebraskans were to have an easier time building their farms. Precipitation rates favoured these farmers. Excess moisture for the first decade in the well drained, rolling land in Cub Creek proved to be a blessing. The precipitation which ranged from 60 to 101 centimetres a year between 1876 and 1886 gave the Nebraskans a head start in wheat production and an introduction to the American custom of corn growing. The only negative effect of these high rates of precipitation according to Martyn Bowden, a historical geographer writing about Jefferson County, was that "the incoming settlers accepted these years as normal and developed their economy and land use accordingly." [60]

A second factor for quick farm economy replication was the low price of farm machinary and livestock. In fact, the Kleine Gemeinde farmers found these prices so reasonable that, two weeks after arriving in Jefferson County, they chose two delegates who crossed the state line to St. Joseph, Iowa and, according to a local newspaper, purchased "5000 feet of lumber, 53 horses, 37 head of oxen, 20 Studebaker wagons and a few other farming implements." [61] The stock and equipment were then pooled and purchased by the settlers in a specially arranged auction back in Cub Creek.

A third advantage that the Kleine Gemeinde farmers had over their Manitoba counterparts was the proximity to a railway town. Fairbury which had received a railway in 1872, lay only six miles from Cub Creek. By the mid 1870s the town was a booming commercial centre well fitted to assist farmer settlers. Fairbury had a population of 2000 and contained several hotels, a lumber yard, a physician's clinic, a blacksmith shop, a sawmill and a clothing store. The largest establishments in town included "MacDonald's General Store stocked with $7000 worth of Chicago goods," the $20,000 three storey, 12,000 bushel-capacity flourmill erected in 1873, and an elevator which could ship 20 cars of grain a day. [62]

With a promising climate and a well developed economy, Mennonite farmers reestablished their farms quickly. They began breaking large amounts of land in the fall of 1874 and imported seed from the eastern states during the winter. [63] By spring some of the farmers had broken land in quantities unheard of in Manitoba. In June 1875 Jacob Klassen, a settler of average wealth, wrote his relatives in Manitoba that "we are immersed here in land breaking. I have broken 60 acres and am thinking of breaking more." [64] In February 1876 The Beatrice Express reported that farmers in Cub Creek were cultivating an average of 40 to 50 cultivated acres per family. [65]

As in Manitoba, these farmers transplanted their interest in and familiarity with wheat production. The account of at least one Kleine Gemeinde farmer indicates that in 1878 he planted 85% of his 40 acres of cultivated land to wheat. [66] In fact so dedicated were the Cub Creek farmers to wheat that according to Bowden they "left a marked impression on the corn-wheat relationship [in the county]." Although Bowden argues that "there were...more farmers producing for subsistence than for commercial purposes up to about 1879" he also makes the point that "Mennonite farmers...had begun to grow wheat on a commercial scale by 1877." In fact, "by 1879 the acreage of wheat in [their] precinct was three times that of corn...which was grown in the Cub Creek valleys by non-Mennonites." [67] While other precincts produced equal amounts of corn and wheat, census records show that in Cub Creek farmers were raising 4500 acres of wheat to 1500 acres of corn in 1877. It appears, thus, that the 60 Mennonite farmers in Cub Creek were raising 50 more acres of wheat per farmer than their American neighbours. This analysis corresponds with Peter Jansen's recollection that "in a few years [after settlement] we...turned to growing spring wheat as also did the other new settlers [in Cub Creek]. For several years we grew immense crops...and prices were good." [68]

The Jefferson County farmers introduced several other Russian practices. As mentioned in chapter six they began raising sheep in cooperation with Peter Jansen in 1875. [69] Although the arrangement did not last, several farmers continued raising sheep and Jansen's ranch on the outskirts of the settlement held 3500 sheep in 1879. [70] Mennonite farmers here also seem to have introduced their feed grain practices. It is interesting to note that barley and rye production in the whole of Jefferson County increased significantly after the Mennonites entered the county and then tapered off by 1879 giving way to corn. [71] It would appear that if it was the Mennonites who accounted for the barley and rye increases after 1874, they were beginning to grow corn by 1879. Finally, the moderate climate allowed a number of farmers to introduce vegetation that could support their traditional silk worm and fruit growing expertise. In March 1878, for instance, Cornelius Friesen of Heuboden wrote that "we have planted 20 apple trees, 200 mulberry bushes, and 20 cherry trees." [72]

By 1877 local newspapers were commenting that "our new settlers, the Mennonites, are proving themselves to be progressive and energetic farmers. They are erecting fine houses (many of them brick) and large substantial barns and otherwise making improvements of a lasting nature." [73] The Jefferson County people themselves wrote to newspapers such as the Nebraska Ansiedler to suggest that a "good harvest [and] a healthy climate...allows the farmer, once a lowly Mennonite to jump ahead." [74]

If crop failures and a primitive economy in Manitoba did not translate into a peasant existence for the Kleine Gemeinde farmers, economic success in Nebraska did not mean that farmers there had became full fledged capitalists. The Nebraska farms were still household units which employed the labour of each member over the age of 13 or 14. They were also located in village-type settlements that had common pastures and a community spirit that put limits on individualist pursuits. Indeed there was a persisting cultural value on keeping farm sizes small. Cub

Creek Mennonites may have farmed more land than their East Reserve and Scratching River cousins, but few farmers cultivated more than 80 acres by 1879. Moreover, most of the farmers who purchased more than 160 acres in 1874 parcelled the land to their children. Jacob Enns, for instance, placed six of his children on his 1200 acres of land. Abram Friesen sold 160 of his 320 acres in 1875 because "his children did not want to come here after all." [75] Most telling, however, is a letter written by Jacob Klassen in January 1875 in which he noted how well suited Cub Creek was for the small farmer: "For the wealthy and aggressive Russia was a better place; for the farmer who wishes to support his family [Nebraska] is better as one can readily attain this level of support with 80 acres." [76] Traditional values had clearly been replicated even in a highly developed market place economy.

V

One problem which confronted Manitobans and Nebraskans alike as they strived to produce farm products for the market place was the unavailability of cheap seasonal labour. It had been this element that had enabled the Mennonites in New Russia to become wheat raisers without resorting to the expensive English threshers and reapers. Peter Jansen was amazed to discover upon arrival in Toronto in 1873 that while "we had been used to servants doing the manual work,...here everybody waited on himself." [77] This attitude and the absence of a rural working class stemming from the availability of land, provided a condition to which the settlers would have to adjust. In fact several German Lutherans who had worked on Kleine Gemeinde farms in Russia migrated with the community and acquired their own land in Manitoba. One such man, Johann Broeski, had worked for Cornelius Loewen in Gruenfeld, Borosenko. Once in Manitoba, however, 36 year old Broeski borrowed $98.03 from his former employer for the purchase of an ox, took out a homestead in the Blumenort area and struck out on his own. [78]

The consequence of the availability of land was a labour shortage. In Manitoba, Metis were sometimes hired as drivers. It was a Metis driver who took the family of Cornelius Loewen from the river boat to the immigration sheds in August 1874. And it was another Metis on a "lone Red River cart...carrying his old flint lock rifle beside him" who brought the body of Rev. Jacob Barkman back to Steinbach in June 1875 after a tragic drowning in Winnipeg. [79] But Metis drivers were autonomous hunters with no need for seasonal wage labour on grain farms. Mennonites were left to provide their own labour needs. Reports now circulated that stated that Mennonite farmers did their own work. From Scratching River came a report that although "these people had money with them...every bit of the work has been done by their own hands; not even a man was employed at either house or building in this settlement." [80]

In the absence of available labour, the family labour pool increased in importance. It has already been noted that during the first years women often worked the fields alongside their men in a way that was uncommon in Russia. It has also been noted that as women were called to greater activity on the farm a demand for maids developed. Accounts also indicate that young boys were readily hired to herd cattle. In Steinbach nine year old Heinrich Fast and another lad were hired to look after village cattle on the village commons in 1875. In Gruenfeld 13 year old foster child Franz Goossen had the job in 1875 and 13 year old Cornelius Loewen Jr. for a time in 1877. [81]

During times of construction and haying, when adult labour was required, farmers joined forces and worked with a heightened sense of community. Isaak Loewen of Scratching River spoke of how "during building time neighbours joined forces and thus saved money." [82] Abram Friesen of Blumenhof recorded that he worked for his neighbours on ten different days in 1876 and was helped by neighbourhood boys and in-laws on six days. Cornelius Loewen hired his neighbour Johann Friesen to help him with the building of a grass lean-to after Friesen purchased meat, fruit, oil and

coffee from Loewen in January 1875. In Gruenfeld, farmers joined forces in 1874, purchased a grass mower and jointly harvested hay. By hitching the mower to a fresh set of oxen every few hours they kept the machine going from dawn to dusk. Everyone participated in raking the hay into several hundred small stacks. To make the community labour system work they drew lots to determine ownership of the stacks. [83]

Another consequence of the labour shortage was that the community clamped down on those workers who left their place of employment before their terms had expired. In Manitoba, the church congregation passed a special resolution at a January 1877 meeting in Steinbach stating that "all those...who are in service; as servants,...herdsmen, teachers or wage earners, or those under guardianship, shall not be permitted to leave their obligations until their year or term of service is completed." [84]

The most significant consequence of the labour squeeze, however, was a rise in wages. Labour in Russia had been available for 40 kopecks or 30 cents a day. Here, the Free Press in 1872 reported that labourers could expect $2.50 a day. Although this price had fallen by 1874, high wages elsewhere sometimes lured teenaged Mennonite boys to leave the reserves. In Steinbach fifteen year old Klaas W. Reimer left to find work in Winnipeg "because the [Steinbach] people did not have money and the wages were very low." In Blumenort sixteen year old Johann I. Friesen left by foot and found work as a gardener from an immigrant farmer from France because he "felt obliged to earn money to help support his parents." [85]

These practices seem to have compelled Mennonite farmers to pay more for labour. Ironically, while the wages for teachers in Kleine Gemiende communities had fallen from around $110 a year to less than $50, the price of wage labour more than doubled. [86] Cornelius Loewen who had paid his worker, Broeski, 40 kopecks or 30 cents a day in Russia was required to pay between 70 cents and a dollar a day for similar services in Canada. In July 1876 Loewen paid two workers 70 cents a day for harvesting hay.

In October 1877 Loewen paid his worker, Johann, two dollars for making a three day trip to Winnipeg. And in July 1877, Loewen himself received a dollar a day for helping out his neighbour Aeltester Peter Toews. Similarly the wages paid to herdsboys increased. Farmers from Lichtenau, Molochnaia paid their herdsboy 20 kopecks or 15 cents a day in 1871: farmers in Gruenfeld, Manitoba paid their boy 25 cents a day in 1875. The wages for workers who were hired for a year at a time and provided with board, increased as well. Cornelius Loewen of Borosenko paid his youngest worker 30 rubles or $22.50 a year in 1873: Abram Friesen of the East Reserve paid his live-in worker $30 cash, wheat worth $20 and a pair of shoes and mocassins in 1878. Finally, the wage paid to maids increased. In Russia they received 30 kopecks or less than 25 cents a day: in Canada, Jacob Shantz reported that they could expect 50 cents a day. [87]

The labour shortages, that these wages reflect, led directly to a sudden increase in farm mechanization. The same technology which the Mennonites in Russia had ignored was now readily acquired. Windmills which had been used in Russia were also used here. It was only a matter of time then before windmills would be erected in Steinbach, Gruenfeld and Scratching River. Other items such as steel plows and wooden harrows and assortments of wagons had also been used in Russia. What was new were the machines to cut hay, harvest grain and even seed crops.

Jefferson County farmers seem to have introduced harvesting machines somewhat earlier than their Manitoba counterparts. One farmer reported in an October 1874 letter that "I have already cut hay with a hay machine." The same farmer writing in June 1875 hinted that he already owned a threshing machine; he assured his brother-in-law who was not going to be around for the harvest that he had no need to worry for "we will simply store your grain in stacks and then when you come you can simply thresh it with the 'machine.'" Another farmer reported in March 1878 that he had purchased a "seeding machine for $55." [88]

Manitoban farmers also began mechanizing during the first fall. Rev. Jacob Barkman who arrived with the Steinbach bound settlers in September wrote that after temporarily settling in Blumenort "we drove to Winnipeg where we purchased oxen, wagons, plows and hay mowers." [89] The introduction of the hay mower was shortly followed by that of the threshing machine. According to one pioneer "the threshing stone used in Russia was seemingly not used here so each village got together and purchased one together with a treadmill." [90] In 1876 when a Department of Agriculture official visited Scratching River he reported that the settlers had "a number of mowers, reapers, hay rakers, and threshing machines." [91]

In the East Reserve where grasshoppers and frost had set back the first crops threshing machines were purchased somewhat later. However, farmers hired John Peterson and John Carlton of Clearspring to thresh their first crop in 1876. These men owned a two wheeled thresher powered by a treadmill. In 1878, however, only a year after they harvested their first crop the East Reserve farmers embarked on unprecedented farm mechanization. In this year 14 Gruenfeld farmers jointly purchased a threshing machine and powered it with a treadmill and five pair of oxen. In the same year a Blumenort farmer acquired a threshing machine and powered it with an upright, stationary steam engine. And this was also the year that the reaper made its debut on the East Reserve. In Gruenfeld one of the wealthier farmers purchased one and rented it to his neighbours for a bushel of grain per acre. Finally, this was the year of the steam engine. Besides the Blumenort man who purchased such an engine to power his threshing machine, A.S. Friesen of Steinbach, spent $1300 on a steamer to power his sawmill. The next year, in 1879, Steinbach farmers pooled their money, made a loan from a Sneider family in Ontario and sent Peter Barkman to Toronto to purchase a steam powered flour mill. [92]

VI

Farmers, thus, were able to reestablish their modes of production as household commodity producers despite the new environments they encountered in Manitoba and Nebraska. Farming had proved to be profitable in Russia and although the Mennonites had sold their farms during a deflationary period, most families were able to transfer enough wealth to North America to purchase the necessary tools and land to reestablish their farms. Land readily adaptable to wheat production was found in varying quantities in each of the three new settlements. The eastern edge of the East Reserve and Scratching River in Manitoba and Cub Creek in Nebraska were all scouted and chosen because of their grain growing ability. Only Gruenfeld in the East Reserve did not have large quanities of good land. Markets were also quickly established. Within a year farmers were selling their surpluses to Winnipeg in Manitoba and Fairbury in Nebraska. Cash was needed to erect houses as they had known them in Russia, and pay for schoolteachers, fire insurance, meeting houses and village herdsmen. But it was also needed to mechanize their farms in the absence of cheap labour.

The productive land, growing markets and new technology did not change the basic values of these farmers during the first years of settlement. They continued to adhere to the value of family farm reproduction. Farmers distanced themselves from those who farmed exclusively for personal gain. There were signs, however, that the differences in land quality and market development in Nebraska and Manitoba, were going to lead the Kleine Gemeinde settlements in varying directions during the next generation. It is the development of that generation to which we turn next.

FAMILY, CHURCH AND MARKET:

A HISTORY OF A MENNONITE COMMUNITY TRANSPLANTED FROM RUSSIA TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1930

BY

ROYDEN LOEWEN

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

History Department

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

February 14, 1990

FAMILY, CHURCH AND MARKET: A HISTORY OF A MENNONITE COMMUNITY TRANSPLANTED FROM RUSSIA TO CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1850 - 1930

BY

ROYDEN LOEWEN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ISBN 0-315-63392-1

PART III

STRATEGIES OF INTEGRATION:

THE FIRST GENERATION IN NORTH AMERICA, 1880-1905

INTRODUCTION

By 1879 it was clear that familiar patterns of life had been transplanted to North America. Some important adaptations had been introduced to ensure the successful reestablishment of households, modes of production and religious community. North American society, however, was not static and during the next generation, 1880 to 1905, new and more far reaching adaptations were required to ensure continuity. During these years the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites, or Molochnaia-Borosenko Mennonites as they were sometimes designated, were constantly compelled to adjust to new situations. [1] This section is about those adjustments and strategies. It describes the nature of the changes that visited the farm, the community, the family and the church community. It will be suggested, however, that those changes did not represent discontinuities; they were changes of method rather than of substance and modifications that ensured the survival of traditional lifeworlds and values and not their demise.

A first change in both Manitoba and Nebraska was that farms commercialized more fully. They adjusted to market trends, reached a higher level of mechanization, secured outside sources for credit, and tapped new labour pools. Mechanization came quickly in a context of dear wage labour and cheapening farm implements. Outside credit sources were tapped to pay for the machines and for the increasingly expensive and rare arable land. A greater sensitivity to market demands was required to generate payment for these loans, meet an established level of consumption and to ensure generational succession. In these ways the settlers were

to ensure the survival of the agrarian household as a consumption, production and landowning unit.

Second, settlement patterns and the physical or spatial structure of the community changed as land became scarce in Manitoba and Nebraska. As a result a diaspora of Kleine Gemeinde descendents ensued; they migrated to lands outside the villages, spelling the villages' demise, and they moved to new agrarian settlements in other states and provinces. Commercial service centers also rose in the midst of the farming communities. But once again, these developments did not substantively restructure the closed, solidaristic agrarian based communities. Ironically, the village break-ups and the diaspora of Kleine Gemeinde descendants were strategies that ensured the reproduction of agrarian households and communities in the next generation. And the rise of the towns safeguarded the agrarian households by providing markets, services, machines and temporary employment for the underemployed. They did not during this period prove to be "bridgeheads for assimilation" as has sometimes been argued.

Third, significant changes occurred in the church congregation. Pietistically inclined preachers fragmented the communities by urging the establishment of "purer" congregations. Eventually, three additional church groups joined the communities, formerly centered around the Kleine Gemeinde church. The Manitoba congregation split in half with the Holdeman secession of 1882 while the Nebraska congregation split in thirds with the forming of Bruderthaler and Krimmer Mennonite Brethren groups. While each of the new church groups emphasized a subjective religious experience and introduced some Protestant church methods they were not the associational, individualistic faiths sometimes identified with industrial societies. In fact the revitalized faith in the new churches continued to stress such Mennonite principles as a disciplining church, an ascetic lifestyle, separation from temporal politics, nonresistance, and the celebration of Anabaptist martyrology and church fathers. The presence

of new churches also resulted in recommitment to established ways among the members of the old Kleine Gemeinde.

The exact nature of the changes to farms, settlement patterns and church differed somewhat in Nebraska and Manitoba. Kleine Gemeinde descendants in the two places faced parallel but differing hurdles in their attempts to maintain traditional life patterns. Farms in Manitoba had greater economic latitude as they were less tied to outside sources of credit and had a relatively larger land base in which to reproduce household farms. The lack of a railway and the homogeneity of the East Reserve gave rise to Steinbach, a remarkably different kind of place than the railway, booster town of Jansen in Cub Creek. The community of Manitoba was cast in a more conservative church mould than its counterpart in Nebraska because the schismatic element in Manitoba, the Holdeman Church, maintained stricter social boundaries than the schismatic brethren churches in Nebraska.

But as in the settlement years between 1874 and 1879, so in the generation from 1880 to 1905 the Kleine Gemeinde descendants maintained a highly solidaristic, traditionalist community in both countries. Family farms were reproduced in Canada and the United States because in each setting farm families developed strategies of household reproduction that took into account their environments. Nebraskans, for instance, were forced to develop more agrarian colonies outside the original settlements than were the Manitobans. Social boundaries were maintained in both places despite the fact that the presence of Jansen was clearly a threat to established boundaries in Cub Creek. The Nebraskans revealed a willingess to maintain a degree of social distance from their town; theirs was a strategy not required by the neighbours of the communal, village-type town of Steinbach, Manitoba. And despite somewhat differing emphases, church life in both Manitoba and Nebraska remained cast in traditional Anabaptist, communal and sectarian language. The Nebraska Bruderthaler and the Manitoba Holdemans both developed blends of pietism

and anabaptism. Both communities also maintained their established blends of public and parochial education. While the state of Nebraska introduced a mandatory public school act in 1889 and Manitoba passed a similar law only a year later, it is noteworthy that both pieces of legislation did not come into effect during these years. German-language education continued in both places.

By 1905 the original Kleine Gemeinde communities had changed remarkably. Farms had increased in productivity by responding to market demands and employing new methods to secure farm surpluses. Farm families had for the most part left the agricultural villages and settled on individual homestead quarter sections or moved into one of the towns. Community members now attended one of four churches, three of which had marked pietistic leanings. Still the "essence of life" remained. What became obvious between 1880 and 1905 was that Manitobans and Nebraskans would each have to employ their own, somewhat different strategies, in order to ensure the development of parallel communities. New land sources and kinship and church ties that crossed national boundaries guaranteed that the Manitoba and Nebraska cousins would continue to share common worldviews and lifeworlds.

CHAPTER 9

THE STRATEGY OF MIXED FARMING DURING THE FIRST GENERATION

I

The years between 1880 and 1905 marked the era in which the choices that farmers had made during the settlement period began to bear fruit. Farmers had elected three very different settlement sites in their choices of the East Reserve, Scratching River, and Cub Creek Township. The first settlement contained a limited quantity of arable land, was some distance from the railways and lay relatively close to a growing metropolis. Scratching River had more land available for cultivation and had better railway access. However, both Manitoba settlements were situated in a province that was just beginning to develop an integrated economy and an agricultural export market. [1] Cub Creek was located in the heart of a highly developed section of the American midwest and contained the most easily tilled and best drained soils of all three Molochnaia-Borosenko settlements. [2]

If the environment differed, the settlers nonetheless employed similar strategies to reproduce the farm household. In each of the three sites the newcomers maintained a high degree of self sufficiency and simultaneously produced surpluses for a market economy. The same willingness to adapt quickly to extenuating economic circumstances and climatic conditions that had been apparent during the settlement years revealed itself in the following 25 years. The Kleine Gemeinde farmers demonstrated a lingering cultural predisposition to wheat growing and the agricultural methods of New Russia. But the overriding impression left by extant evidence attests to the farmers' commitment to adapt to their

new environment. New methods were readily employed to improve the economic viability of the farm household.

In both Nebraska and Manitoba the initial concentration on wheat production gave way to different crops better suited for their respective market places and climates. The result in both places was a mixed farming strategy. Differences in the Manitoba and Nebraska farm practices did exist. While the two settlement areas produced food stuffs for self sufficiency the Manitobans capitalized on their proximity to Winnipeg by raising vegetables, eggs and butter for an urban consumer market. And while both places grew wheat, the Nebraskans entered the export wheat growing market earlier and more forcefully than the Manitobans could hope to do. Yet important parallels continued as farmers from both places adopted varying versions of mixed farming. After wheat prices fell in the early 1880s, both places shifted to raising animal feeds. The Nebraskans grew corn to meet the demand of a growing feedlot industry in the midwest; the Manitobans grew more oats for Winnipeg's increasing number of horses and dairy cows. Then, as the prices for even these crops weakened in the mid 1880s, both communities increased their emphasis on livestock; beef cattle predominated in Nebraska and dairy cattle in Manitoba. Around the turn of the century, however, the activities of the Nebraskans and Manitobans converged once again as both communities began capitalizing on the recovery of the international wheat market and looked for new opportunities to raise their beloved hard red milling wheat.

Accompanying these adaptations were changes in technology, farming methods and land use. The sustained production of grains and livestock products for the market place was made possible by continued farm mechanization. Labour saving devices such as the self binder, the shoe drill, the corn planter, and the traction steam engine were introduced to complement the threshing machines which had begun to appear in the 1870s. New farming methods, such as fall plowing in Manitoba, corn planting in Nebraska and the threshing of stooks in both places allowed farmers to

produce more. Deep wells, barbed wire, railways and cheese factories enabled Manitobans and Nebraskans to enter the market place with beef and dairy farming as well.

By the turn of the century the crop and livestock choices of the Molochnaia-Borosenko farmers in Cub Creek, Scratching River and the East Reserve reflected Kleine Gemeinde strategies aimed to meet market demands and increasing production levels. Here was an example of traditional household producers responding carefully and intentionally to a modern economic market place while maintaining a considerable degree of self sufficiency.

II

The story of agriculture in the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde communities between 1880 and 1905 is one of an increasing participation in the market place with the products of mixed farming. Newspaper accounts indicate that attaining good prices for marketable products was a primary value to these farmers. Diaries indicate that farmers were making more frequent trips to Winnipeg and Fairbury. And tax rolls and farm censuses indicate that farms adjusted their cropping patterns and animal herds to meet market place demands.

Diaries kept by Manitoba farmers detail carefully the various activities geared to self sufficiency. They tell, for example, of exceptional efforts to obtain water from shallow wells in the East Reserve and from melted river ice at Scratching River. They indicate the work involved in obtaining lumber, fencing posts, firewood and fence railings. They reveal that during the course of the winter farmers from the East Reserve headed out into the forests to the south and east of their village as often as 25 times. [3] They describe how farmers from Scratching River spent time drying cow dung for fuel: spent the "week pressing manure, which although messy work is profitable as we now have 6000 bricks" wrote one farmer in July, 1881." [4] And during the early years of the 1880s the

diaries describe in great detail the activity that went into replacing the quickly assembled buildings of the 1870s.

But the most important element in self sufficiency was food procurement. The diaries describe the process of raising hogs for food and tell of weanling purchases in spring and the slaughter of mature hogs in fall. They describe the butchering of cows and the tanning of hides. The diaries also speak of potato plantings and record their yields. They note eggs set and hatched and the number gathered for household consumption.

Mixed farming, the guarantee of self sufficiency, was also the point of entry to the market place. Each fall and winter farmers made regular three-day round-trips to Winnipeg to sell a wide assortment of products. In September 1881 one Steinbach farmer wrote the Mennonite weekly newspaper, the Mennonitische Rundschau, to report that "people are now beginning to travel to the city with all their assorted products where they all seem to have good prices; wheat 85 cents, potatoes 80 cents and eggs 25 cents a dozen." [5] In December 1886 a Gruenfeld farmer wrote the same newspaper to report that "the night lodging on the way to the city is filled with Mennonites who are in the process of taking every conceivable farm product to the market where they try to make as much money as possible." [6]

Personal diaries confirm the inclination of farmers to capitalize on the proximity of a growing metropolitan center. In 1883 Steinbach farmer Cornelius Loewen sold 267 of the 794 bushels of wheat and oats which he harvested that year for an income of $150.00. But Loewen also marketed 32 bags of potatoes, 57 chickens, three quarters of a cow, pig leather, and 193 dozen eggs for an additional income of $236.90. Loewen's records for the 1880s indicate that egg production was an important source of income throughout this period. Another Steinbach farmer, Gerhard Kornelson, had a total income of $157.03 in 1883. While $98.75 of this was derived from grain sales, $32 came from the sale of chickens, $4.16

from eggs, $3.30 from vegetable sales and $3.30 from the sale of leather. This resembled his income for 1887, when he sold wheat valued at $61.16, but also eggs for $2.04, chickens for $8.00, hay worth $10.90, and leather worth $32.09. In 1890 he added cabbages to his list of income after he and his wife harvested 100 heads and sold them for five cents a piece. Even diaries with less comprehensive data suggest that self sufficiency was not the only aim of household and farmyard production. Steinbach farmer, Abram R. Friesen's diary for September 24, 1883 notes that he left for Winnipeg where he "sold...products: 20 hens for $6.00, one pail of butter for $4.00, 9 1/2 dozen eggs at 27 cents for $2.47, two pails of sauerkraut for 40 cents, two bushels potatoes at 50 cents for $1.00." [7]

The marketing of table foods was not restricted to the small farmers in Steinbach and Gruenfeld who farmed an average of less than 17 acres in 1881. Farmers from the grain growing district around Blumenort who cultivated an average of 26 acres actively marketed table foods as well. The elderly Abram F. Reimer noted in his September 1880 diary that his sons Abram, the well-to-do deacon, and Peter, the preacher, who farmed a combined acreage of close to 100 acres of land, left for Winnipeg at 5 AM one day with a variety of products. According to Reimer, "Peter's sleigh carried 60 dozen eggs, 20 pails of onions, and 160 pounds of butter. Abram's sleigh carried 10 pails of onions, 30 dozen eggs, 80 pounds of butter and 12 pounds of sauerkraut...." Abram M. Friesen, the owner of a "double farm" in Blumenort, also marketed a variety of products during the 1880s. In the 12 months period following the 1884 harvest, for instance, Friesen and his 18 year old son Klaas, make ten trips to market produce in Winnipeg. A typical trip included one he made on August 26, 1884 when he took "six bags of oats, four bags of potatoes, 20 hens and five dozen eggs." Another trip on December 1, 1884 saw him market "six bags of potatoes, eight bushels of wheat, 167 pounds of pork, and 2 1/2 dozen eggs." [8]

There were several reasons for the sustained marketing of mixed products in Manitoba. First there was market demand. The very fact that Winnipeg was relatively close to the East Reserve meant that table goods could be sold. A frontier town of only 4000 in 1874, Winnipeg, had doubled in size even before the coming of the transcontinental railway in 1882 and reached 25,000 by 1891, and thus offered a large and ready market for rural products. [9]

Secondly, table goods were simply more profitable than other field crops. Not only had wheat prices plummeted after the depression of 1873, but field labour was difficult to procure on Canada's frontier. Thus farm products in which the gender-defined, domestic labour of women and children could be employed made an appropriate alternative. And these were the products of the farmyard: eggs, chickens, potatoes and vegetables. And they included household processed products such as butter and sauerkraut.

A third factor was that these products could be hauled to market much more efficiently than grain in the pre-railway days. The produce that Abram M. Friesen marketed on his December 1884 trip to Winnipeg, for instance, contained $15.20 of table foods but only $2.96 of low grade wheat. Yet the table foods on the December trip weighed no more than 103 kilograms; the wheat weighed at least 182 kilograms.

Fourth, there was the factor of stable pricing. Peter F. Unger, a farmer from the grain growing district of Blumenort noted in his memoirs that although the 1880s were years of "rapid progress when the early flimsy structures were replaced with more substantial ones and the harvests were by and large good, particularly...the harvest of 1887, the prices were poor and the grain which we had to haul to Winnipeg sometimes gave us only 35 cents a bushel." Other personal diaries also detail fluctuating grain prices during these years. They indicate that prices fell from a high of $1.10 a bushel in 1880 to 35 cents a bushel in 1887, then rose to $1.00 a bushel in 1889 and fell once again to 42 cents a

bushel in 1893 before rising to 75 cents in 1898. In comparison the prices of eggs and butter were very stable, hovering around 20 cents a dozen and 20 cents a pound throughout these years. [10]

The unpredictability of weather was a fifth factor encouraging farm families to maintain an interest in sales of table food. In 1879 farms in the East Reserve received 78 centimeters of rainfall leading to crop drowning and a frenzy of canal digging. In 1884, however, farmers experienced drought and in Scratching River, farmers reported that "many grain fields have had to be plowed down and summer fallowed, although that too is difficult on account of the dryness." [11] During these years as well there were reports of early frosts. One farmer noted in 1886 that in three of the preceding six years his farm had suffered frost in the month of August. [12] There were also problems with weeds. Village records from Blumenort indicate that farmers took the task of mowing weeds along road allowances very seriously. A letter by a Gruenfeld farmer told of the problems involved in controlling mustard and thistles when drought, which kept grain plants in a weak state, was followed by rain which enabled weeds to germinate. [13] This writer went on to state that although farmers could expect little income from grain sales they received "good income from the sale of garden vegetables and particularly watermelons which, in Russia would have been thrown away, are sold in the city for five cents a slice; eggs, butter and chicken are also sold." The year 1890 was a year of hail. A report from Gruenfeld told of a terrible hail storm; "the worst in 50 years which destroyed much of the crop." [14] Unpredictable weather of this kind, coupled with labour shortages, volatile grain prices and market opportunities encouraged the production of table foods.

III

Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde farmers, however, never entirely abandoned their vision of commercial grain farming. John Warkentin's statement that in the East Reserve "only a small surplus of grain was sold to the grain

companies" cannot be supported in the light of farmers' own accounts or municipal tax records. Farmers may have received a high percentage of their annual incomes from table foods, but they also made concerted efforts to produce some grain for local and Winnipeg markets. By the early 1880s there were a number of farmers with sizeable grain operations in both Scratching River and the East Reserve. In Scratching River, Johann Loewen of Rosenhof was cultivating 96 acres and harvesting almost 2300 bushels while Cornelius Friesen of Rosenort was cultivating 96 acres and harvesting 3000 bushels of grain. In the East Reserve Franz Kroeker of Steinbach was cultivating 115 acres and Johann Plett of Blumenhof and David Loewen of Hochstadt each 90 acres by 1884. By this year 12 of the 60 East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde descendant farmers were each cultivating over 50 acres. [15]

Over the course of the next generation farmers continued to grow grain commercially. This is substantiated by the fact that between 1881 and 1899 the average number of arable acres per farming household in the East Reserve increased from 20.6 to 63.4 acres. By 1906 24 of the 132 farmers in three East Reserve village districts were cultivating over 100 acres.

Even more indicative of the farmers' intentions are their own accounts of the efforts involved in turning low lying and shrub covered fields into arable land. In Scratching River farmers recalled the difficulty of plowing the prairie which was often overgrown with willow and rose shrubs. [16] In the East Reserve farmers recalled efforts of clearing bush, pulling rocks and digging drainage ditches. Even during the dry year of 1881 farmers worked on canal building, stopping only for a week in July to complete the hay harvest. [17] They wrote of the parkland wildlife that wandered into their fields, another sign of the retreating bush. Three moose were killed in 1886 in Blumenort when forest fires sent them panicking into farmers' fences. In the same year Heinrich Fast of

Steinbach came across two bear cubs which he caught and sold to a Winnipeg circus for $7.00. [18]

Despite these facts farmers even in the East Reserve remained hopeful that their region would be recognized as good grain farming country. One farmer from Gruenfeld wrote in 1885 that "one can live here as well, if not better, than in the United States. The land is cheaper and the grain can be sold for as much money. In fact youths 18 years and over receive 160 acres here free of charge....I do not want to praise Manitoba out of proportion but as Manitoba is so often put in a dismal light one might be justified in correcting the picture somewhat." [19]

If poor land did not turn farmers away from grain farming neither did the lack of railways. Wagon trips to Winnipeg from the East Reserve and Scratching River could be drawn out and tedious affairs usually taking three and five days respectively. In the East Reserve swampy land and corduroy roads hampered marketing opportunities. At Scratching River the lack of good bridges and the occasional spring floods could force farmers to use boats to carry on trade with Morris and Winnipeg. [20] For these reasons farmers who in Russia had hauled most of their products to market by wagons, adapted to Manitoba's lowlying plain by waiting for winter's sleigh trails to haul their products to market. In April 1888 Cornelius Friesen, a Scratching River farmer, wrote the Rundschau telling of the importance of the snow trail: "Yesterday I came from Winnipeg where I got flax seed and a harrow. The trail was so good that one team of horses could pull 4000 pounds....It seems, however, that the trail will not last long which is unfortunate for all those who have not yet hauled their hay." [21] A Steinbach farmer lauded winter's blessing of snow trails when he wrote the Rundschau in November 1896. "Winter has begun early here," wrote the farmer, "so that we already have a good snow trail which is a real godsend for the poor who do not own wagons. They can simply construct something out of poplar wood. In the best scenario wagons can be used for only five months anyway." [22]

Perhaps because of the lack of a railway, farmers took a certain pride in getting their goods to market. When the Manitobans compared themselves to the Nebraskans they often romanticized the harsh winters and spoke of its cleansing affect on health and spirit. But they also spoke with a degree of derision about the fact that the Nebraskans were so accustomed to the railway. This attitude is exhibited in a letter written to the Rundschau by Steinbach farmer, Heinrich Kornelson in 1884. Kornelson told of a recent trip to Scratching River in which he had met relatives from Nebraska who wished to visit Steinbach. Kornelson, however, discovered that "they did not have the will to take the wagon trail [with us] so they went to Morris to take the train to Winnipeg and then to Niverville by steam power." Kornelson ended the report with the comment that "the visitors seem to be accustomed to a smoother form of transportation which we now also acquired in Manitoba." [23]

Nor were farmers entirely thwarted in their grain growing endeavors by the lack of a ready connection to international markets. By 1880 both the East Reserve and Scratching River had a number of local flour millers and merchants who would buy wheat or sell it on consignment. Many farmers who did not have the time to market their grain in Winnipeg availed themselves of these local markets despite the fact that they usually brought lower prices. In October 1888, immediately after harvest, Gerhard Kornelson sold wheat for 60 cents and oats at 25 cents a bushel to Peter Toews the threshing machine owner when Winnipeg prices were reported to be 90 cents and 62 cents respectively. [24]

In Rosenort a local market for wheat opened up after three farmers purchased a flour producing windmill in 1878. Activity at the windmill seems to have been brisk. In 1888 the windmill owner reported that he was so occuppied at the mill that he could not keep track of "who was coming and who was going." In 1881 an additional local market opened up for Scratching River farmers at a new mill in the town of Morris, seven miles to the south. One farmer commented on its benefits: the "steam

powered flour mill [which] is being built in Morris will meet a long felt need as till now most farmers have had to travel [30 miles] to Emerson with their wheat." [25]

In the East Reserve local market opportunities presented themselves in Steinbach with the founding of the Reimer-Barkman steam powered flour mill in 1880 and the merchant activities of K.R. Reimer and his sons, who made a practice of buying grain from local farmers and marketing it in Winnipeg. In November 1880 a Steinbach farmer noted in a letter that teamster "Peter Toews and Johann Koop's Jacob had left for Winnipeg at 5 AM with two sleighs, each containing 60 bushels wheat, for merchant Heinrich Reimer." [26]

These market opportunities were enough to lead farmers even in the East Reserve to market a high percentage of their grain by the late 1880s and early 1890s before the coming of the Manitoba and Southeast Railway. An examination of the personal diaries for 1887 and 1891 of four farmers from four villages and representing two levels of economic stratification can serve to illustrate the level of their participation in grain market economy. The two wealthier farmers included Cornelius Loewen of Steinbach who, having combined his farm with that of his wife, Widow Jacob Barkman's, was farming 57 cultivated acres and Abram M. Friesen of Blumenort, owner of a "double farm" who was cultivating 45 acres. The poorer farmers were Steinbach schoolteacher Gerhard Kornelson who cultivated 19 acres in the neighbouring village of Lichtenau and Peter Friesen who was cultivating 35 acres in Neuanlage near Blumenort. [27]

In 1887 Loewen sold 397 of his 464 bushels of wheat. Of this quantity he marketed 245 in Winnipeg and the railway town of Niverville and 152 to the Reimer-Barkman mill in Steinbach. That same year Kornelson marketed 220 of his 244 bushels of wheat. He hauled 123 bushels to Winnipeg, 44.5 bushels to the railway stations in Niverville and Otterburn, and 24 bushels to the flour mill in Steinbach. Another 22 bushels were sold to neighbours. The final 24 bushels Kornelson took to

the mill in Steinbach in exchange for 816 pounds of flour for his own use. In 1892 Peter Friesen sold all of his 136 bushels of wheat in three transactions within a month of the harvest for prices ranging from 38 to 45 cents a bushel. During the same year Abram M. Friesen threshed 332 bushels of wheat and over the course of that winter hauled 233.5 to Winnipeg in seven trips. In total these four farmers marketed 83.9% of their wheat - a figure which indicates a much greater degree of market integration than previous historians have suggested. [28] It also indicates a steep rise in market participation from 1877 when records from two farmers indicated that they marketed only 15% of their wheat.

A final indicator of the importance of grain farming for the Manitoba farmers is the frequency with which they refer to grain prices and reflect on the implications for their farms. Few farmers wrote to one of the German newspapers, the Rundschau or the Nordwesten without mentioning grain prices. In the early 1880s farmers reported prices as high as $1.10 for wheat in Winnipeg. The following year one Blumenort farmer noted that with a good crop and prices reaching 95 cents for wheat and 60 cents for oats "many families have been able lighten their debt burdens." [29] Three years later, however, when prices fell farmers sounded a pessimistic note. From Rosenhof came reports that "the prices of grain are so low that many are finding themselves in financial difficulty. Presently the grain trade is very depressed and products damaged from frost are impossible to sell." [30] One farmer blamed it on "one grain buyer in Winnipeg who seems to have a monopoly and pays only from 45 to 50 cents a bushel." "Times were good during the first ten years with good crops and high prices," complained the farmer, "but now many farmers are in serious financial trouble." [31] In 1889 when prices rose for a short period a Steinbach farmer lauded grain farming. In fact, he dismissed the significance of a cheese factory which had just been built in Steinbach. The factory will be a "real benefit for farmers" he noted, but "the financial state of farmers...has really improved because of the relatively

high wheat prices which are once again over a dollar a bushel for number one." [32] Fluctuating grain prices, no doubt, kept farmers leary of concentrating on grain production; however, it is also clear from letters by farmers that they were marketing enough grain to be directly affected by those fluctuations.

Historians somtimes determine the level of market integration by the ratio of wheat to oats or corn on a given farm or district. That is, wheat represents a cash crop and oats and corn are perceived to be animal feed for domestic use. [33] In the East Reserve, however, wheat figures do not tell the complete story of entry into the grain market. Here oats was a cash crop. The Molochnaia-Borosenko farmers adjusted to Manitoba's economy by seeding much of their cropland to oats for horsefeed in Winnipeg. Census figures which indicate that Winnipeg had 2050 horses by 1891 point to the existence of a large market for oats. So, too, do oat prices which during these years remained within 30% of wheat prices and at times equalled them. Finally, crop census reports which indicate that East Reserve farmers in 1891 derived only 58% of their total yield from wheat, compared to 74% for farmers further west may indicate more the existence of a market for oats than the reticence of farmers to enter the market place. [34]

That farmers were intent on marketing oats is evident from their own letters and diaries. In their letters farmers reported Winnipeg oats prices as frequently as wheat prices. When oat prices rose farmers counselled each other to respond with oat production. The Riel Rebellion in the summer of 1885 resulted in a shortage of horsefeed and the inflation of oat prices. "We are not much affected by the unrest in the Northwest," wrote one farmer, "except for the fact that the price of oats has reached an exceedingly high price of 65 cents a bushel; he who has common sense will take note and feed his cattle clover or mashed wheat." [35]

Finally there are personal diaries which point to a preference for oat production among Manitoba Molochnaia-Borosenko farmers during these years. Gerhard Kornelson notes that his Steinbach neighbours, Gerhard Giesbrecht and Heinrich Brandt, committed only 38 of their combined 95 acres to wheat for a total of only 40% of their crop in the early 1880s. Cornelius Loewen's diary for the seven years between 1881 and 1887 indicates that he derived 48% of the bushels of his total production from oats and only 37% from wheat. Abram M. Friesen's diary indicates that for four years of production between 1884 and 1888 he derived 45% of his production from oats and only 41% from wheat. During the 1890s Friesen's farm increased in size but produced less wheat. In five crop years between 1891 and 1896 Friesen received only 33% of his crop in the form of wheat and 50% in oats. [36]

IV

Another set of indicators of farmers' commitment to produce marketable surpluses were adaptations made to farming methods. This included changes in cultivation and threshing techniques, new technology and the use of rail transportation as it became available.

One of the early accommodations that Manitoba farmers made to their environment was fall plowing which they had not practiced in the semi-arid conditions in New Russia. Geographer John Warkentin's statement that the Mennonites' "grain growing methods became extremely backward" particularly because they failed to plow their fields in fall seems unfounded in light of evidence from farmers' diaries. [37] Johann G. Barkman, later the Steinbach Schulz, noted in his diary that in 1878 his family plowed till December 31. [38] Cornelius Loewen of Steinbach plowed his fields as late as November 5 in 1880. Another farmer complained in 1881, that the drought was hampering his attempt to engage in fall plowing. [39] Gerhard Kornelson began his plowing in 1884 on October 15 after putting on "sharp plow bottoms." Abram M. Friesen of Blumenort began plowing on October 11 in

1884 and continued on the 15th after purchasing new shares from A.S. Friesen, the Steinbach blacksmith.

Other adaptations included an increasing mechanization in all aspects of grain production. In Chapter Eight we noted that farmers began acquiring threshing machines in the 1870s as a measure against labour shortages. During the course of the 1880s and 1890s farmers continued the mechanization process. By 1883 the basic level of equipment inventories of Manitoba farmers, despite the burdens of set up costs and crop failures, equalled that of farmers who had remained in Russia. Indeed, figures from the mid 1880s indicate that equipment inventories in Blumenort, a representative village district in Manitoba, equalled that of the Molochnaia Colony in Russia. While the average Blumenort household possessed 1.44 plows, 1.3 wagons and 0.5 mowers in 1884, the average Molochnaia household owned 1.45 plows, 1.8 wagons and 0.5 mowers in 1885. [40]

But during these years Manitoba farmers also acquired or gained access to new technology designed to boost production. By 1883 one out of every 10 households in the three Kleine Gemeinde village districts in the East Reserve and one out of every 7.5 households at Scratching River owned a threshing machine. [41] Because these machines could cost up to $690, the price of two quarters of developed land, only the wealthiest farmers or farmers acting cooperatively could afford them. [42] While farmers in Steinbach and Rosenhof owned their machines as village organizations most machines were owned individually. All farmers, however, had access to this technology as the threshing machine owners reported doing a thriving business threshing for their neighbours. The price charged by the thresher owners rose from four cents a bushel for wheat and three cents for barley and oats in 1880 to five and four cents for wheat and feedgrains respectively in 1898. Still farmers could thresh their grain for less than those in some parts of Saskatchewan where farmers paid up to 14 cents a bushel for threshing in 1905. [43]

What the threshing machine was for the 1870s, the self binder became in the 1880s. The reaper had replaced the scythe in the 1870s but it still required the backbreaking manual task of raking and tieing the cut grain. The self binder did this mechanically and all that was left to do was to set the sheaves upright for drying. In 1881 three binders were purchased by Scratching River farmers who capitalized on high wheat prices. The high price of the machine, however, compelled farmers in Rosenhof to purchase one jointly through the sale of $20 shares. [44] Two years later self binders were introduced onto the East Reserve. [45] During the 1880s as the price of binders dropped from $350 to $160 they became even more popular. [46] By 1890 even the villages on the less productive parkland around Gruenfeld were using self binders. Warkentin's statement that farmers in that part of the reserve did not "give up scythes for reapers" till 1890, seems to be contradicted by one Gruenfeld farmer who indicated in 1891 that what farmers were giving up during these years was not the scythe but the reaper. Indeed the farmer's report in the Nordwesten noted that "11 new self binders have been purchased in our area." [47]

Another labour saving device during the 1880s was the seeder drill. Seeding in the first years was done by hand broadcasting. In Scratching River farmers fashioned canvass bags from which they broadcast the seed and then harrowed it in with heavy willow shrubs pulled by oxen. By 1884, however, farmers were reporting the purchases of seeding drills for between $50 and $100. [48]

The most notable labour saving device of the 1890s was the traction steam engine. In the 1880s most threshing machines were still powered by treadmills although three of the ten threshing machines in the East Reserve were powered by upright Waterous steam engines by 1883. [49] These power sources, however, proved to be unsatisfactory. The treadmills required up to ten horses and the upright Waterous steamers which had been around since 1879 lacked versatility, were dangerous and had to be hauled

around on a wagon. In October 1883, for instance, as part of Gerhard Kornelson's preparation for harvest he had to spend a day retrieving "the steamer from H. Fast with three pairs of oxen." [50] Though the traction steamers did not become popular until the grain prices recovered after 1898, the first of these mammoth tractors appeared in Steinbach in February 1888. The owners were merchant K.R. Reimer and machinist Abram S. Friesen. Despite the fact that the brothers of Reimer and Friesen raised moral questions about the purchase of such "huge machines" farmers soon reported that the steamer was in general use. In 1890 Gerhard Kornelson noted in his diary with a certain triumph that we have been "threshing with Abram Friesen's tractor driven machine." [51] By 1900 at least one farmer in each of the four Kleine Gemeinde village districts in Manitoba had acquired a steam engine. In at least two of these districts, Blumenort and Scratching River there were three steamengines.

The traction steamengines possessed two primary advantages leading to greater productivity. First the tractors could be used to open the lands outside the reserves. This was especially true in Scratching River where more and more farmers were leaving the village and hiring custom plowmen to break up shrub-covered prairie. Custom plowing with steam engines was also used to open the vast Metis lands north of Blumenort. A second advantage to the use of traction steamers was that it permitted the threshing of stooks instead of stacks. With the new method owners would drive their threshing machines to the middle of a farmer's field and thresh stooks. In the old method the farmer was compelled to haul the stooks to the farmyard where a stack was made before the threshing outfit was summoned. One farmer in writing in 1891 bemoaned his decision to thresh stacks which will mean "that I will have to 'quickly wait' for Neighbour Buller when he once again threshes in the neighbourhood which may well be another 14 days." [52]

The gradual replacement of oxen by horses increased production as well. Oxen were used throughout the North American frontier as draft

animals during the period of land breaking. They were cheaper, required no oats, and provided better draft power than the poor quality horses. Oxen, however, were slow, sometimes unpredictable and required frequent rests. When pioneers recalled working with oxen it was these qualities and not their brute strength that they remembered. Peter Loewen, of Rosenort, recalled in his memoirs how he had once been forced to set fire to the field on which he was plowing because his oxen suddenly lay down, rolled over and refused to get up. Johann Dueck of Gruenfeld recalled in his memoirs how his family's red spotted and black oxen disappeared one night never to be found again because they had been driven wild by pestering mosquitoes. Johann Toews of Blumenort recalled how the oxen of his neighbour Heinrich Wiebe had been unable to find their way home through a blizzard, heading instead away from the village and taking Wiebe to a tragic death by freezing. [53]

The cultural and economic value farmers placed on horses is indicated by the price they were willing to pay to acquire them. Horses were usually considered twice the value of an ox. In 1882 when Cornelius Loewen of Steinbach bought a mare from Johann Warkentin for $100 he financed his purchase by selling a pair of oxen to the Steinbach Schulz, Johann Reimer, for $90. In 1891 Abram M. Friesen of Blumenort negotiated a deal with his neighbour in which he "traded the lively stallion for one pair of three year old oxen." [54] Still the greater productivity farmers saw in horses compelled them to begin trading oxen for horses within a few years of settlement. By 1883 the number of horses in Steinbach, Blumenort and Gruenfeld outnumbered the number of oxen by 215 to 88. While the 2.4 horses per household in the East Reserve was still much less than the 4.6 horses per household in the Molochnaia Colony in Russia or the 4.2 horses per household in Cub Creek during these years, the horse population on the East Reserve grew steadily with the increase in arable land. Between 1883 and 1906 the number of horses in the three villages increased from 215 to 620 or 4.7 per household. [55]

Changing grain marketing strategies was a further testimoney to a dedication on the part of farmers to enter the Canadian market place. The cautious approach to selling grain changed at the turn of the century with the recovery of wheat prices and the improvement of rail networks. Improving facilities at Morris near Rosenort and Rosenhof, at Otterburn near Gruenfeld, at Ste. Anne near Blumenort and at Giroux near Steinbach meant that by the turn of the century each of the four major Molochnaia-Borosenko village districts was within six miles of a railway station.

Farmers' activities hinted at a new approach to grain marketing. Peter Loewen of Rosenort recalled how, as a teenaged boy, he tried to second guess the market and sell wheat in lots of 100 bushels at the highest possible prices during one of his father's prolonged trips to the United States. The thrill of his lifetime was the time when he "made my dear father very happy" by selling a large shipment of wheat at 60 cents a bushel just before it plummeted in price." [56] John C. Reimer of Steinbach recalled scenes from his boyhood around the turn of the century when convoys of wagons filled with wheat headed east to the railway town of Giroux to market the product at the newly erected Lake of the Woods elevator. [57] Abram Friesen of Blumenort recorded in his diary how the railway changed the way his household marketed its grain. In 1893 the Friesens sold their annual surplus in seven three-day trips to Winnipeg. Twelve years later, in 1905, they marketed their grain over the course of one week through a flat warehouse in Ste. Anne where they filled a producer car. Between the 21st and 30th of September that year the Friesens hauled their wheat to the warehouse and on the 29th and 30th they loaded the car. [58] These activities were signs of farmers' deep involvement in Canada's market economy.

V

Despite the increasing commercialization of grain production in the four Manitoba Molochnaia village districts, farmers continued mixed

farming and obtained a high percentage of their annual income from the sale of vegetables, eggs, meat and milk products in the 1890s. If there was a change in the nature of their mixed farming operations it was that table goods such as eggs and vegetables decreased in importance and products derived from dairy cattle increased. ~~Indeed there is a consistent ratio in the number of acres that East Reserve farmers cultivated and the number of dairy cattle they kept.~~ It was as if the difficulties associated with grain farming led farmers to reach back to agricultural methods practiced in the decades before the Borosenko wheat growing period in the 1860s and to focus on dairy farming.

As farmers slowly increased their cultivated acres between 1880 and 1905 they also slowly increased their dairy herds. The number of cultivated acres in the three village districts in the East Reserve more than tripled from 2003 acres in 1881 to 7766 acres in 1906; the number of dairy cattle increased by a similar percentage from 301 cows in 1883 to 1088 cows in 1906. And as the cultivated acres per household increased from 20.6 to 58.8 the number the number of dairy cattle increased from 3.1 to 8.2. [59]

The steady increase in the dairy herds throughout the 1880s, before the coming of the cheese factories, indicates growing participation in the market place. Unfortunately there is no account of the household work involved in producing butter for market during these years. While men detailed the marketing of butter they did not described the household production of it. But diaries, account books and newspaper reports do reveal other work associated with the growing cattle industry. Gerhard Kornelson's records indicate that he served the East Reserve as a tanner. In 1883, for instance, he tanned the hides delivered by 23 different farmers. The same source indicates that Peter W. Reimer of Steinbach served as a custom butcher. Kornelson records his transaction with Reimer on a butchering day in November 1888: "Peter Reimer butchered our black cow for $1.00. There were 381 pounds of meat and 42 pounds of leather.

Reimer bought the meat for 4.5 cents a pound and the leather for 3 cents a pound. The income of the cow, thus, came to $14.40. Fifteen pounds of meat I bought back for 4.5 cents a pound." Newspaper sources also indicate that a growing number of farmers were shipping cream to Winnipeg via the railway stations on the western boundary of the East Reserve. In 1887, for instance, Isaac Plett of Gruenfeld built a cream separating station at one end of the village to provide a service for households which they had always done for themselves. [60]

The way that farmers went about caring for their livestock is a further indication of their desire to increase production and produce surpluses. There was in each village the ancient custom of hiring a herdsman to herd cattle on a community pasture. Detailed data about the terms of employment of the herdsman and stories about the romance of herding in the wild abound. Less information is available about the personal care that farmers gave to increase milk production and the innovations they employed to commercialize their operations. Evidence suggests that the methods of controlling cattle breeds and checking production levels which had been emphasized by the Molochnaia Agricultural Society in the 1840s and 1850s were reintroduced in the new world (see Chapter Two). Indeed, John Warkentin's statement that "no Mennonite farmer [in the East Reserve]...attempted to raise livestock on a large scale or in a scientific manner" seems entirely without justification. [61]

Farmers were indeed interested in quality breeds. They kept careful records of breeding and calving dates. In the 1880s Cornelius Loewen of Steinbach maintained a detailed birthing record for each of his 10 cows which he designated by size, colour, origin and breed. [62] The breeding stock was usually community owned. In 1889, for instance, the Blumenhof village had in its possession two bulls, evaluated at $30 and $21. [63] If the low price of these animals indicates mixed breeds, other sources indicate that by the turn of the century a number of farmers were beginning to introduce pure bred Holstein herds. Jacob Regehr of

Gruenfeld, for instance, is said to have joined the Manitoba Dairy Association in 1897 and begun introducing Holstein cattle in the region. [64]

Farmers also exhibited a concern about production levels of their dairy herds and kept specific accounts of the milk yield of each cow. Gerhard Kornelson's diary, for instance, indicates the daily produce received from each of his four cows, Bunte, Rotte, Sheck and Nelly. Not only did Kornelson note the yield of his cows but he measured their produce against national standards. Among Kornelson's papers for March 1888 is the following note: "Professor Brown of the Ontario Muster Milkery states that an average cow should produce 20 pounds of milk for at least 200 days of the year and for every 100 pounds of milk there shall be eight pounds of cream and for every 100 pounds cream there shall be 45 pounds butter." [65] The fact that Kornelson's best cow, Bunte, gave 3692 pounds, short of this 4000 pound standard by only 300 pounds, is significant in light of the fact that Warkentin has insisted that even after the coming of cheese factories in the 1890s "Mennonites showed no desire to...improv[e] their herds." [66]

To enhance the efficiency of their dairy operations farmers were ready to incorporate new methods. The first was barbed wire which village districts were introducing in increasing quantities as the dairy industry slowly grew and as more and more land was put to the plow. The advantages were clear. After a week of fencing, Gerhard Kornelson wrote in his diary that "for the first time we let the cattle out without the aid of a herdsman." [67] In June 1891 Abram Reimer of Blumenort purchased 44.5 pounds of fencing for the village, marking the beginning of the end of open-range cattle herding there. [68]

Another innovation reflecting commercial dairy farming was deep well drilling. While shallow wells in the East Reserve and use of the river at Scratching River sufficed for household use, only the drilling of deep wells would permit farmers to keep commercially viable dairy herds. Even in Scratching River where water was putrid and salty, wells were drilled

for cattle. The village of Rosenhof, for instance, drilled two 90 foot wells for water for the cattle in 1881. [69] In the East Reserve farmers began drilling deep artesian wells in the late 1880s. One Steinbach farmer reported in 1889 that "many wells are being bored this winter as water is in great need....One such well rarely costs more than $100 as they are only from 75 to 100 feet deep." [70] A Blumenort area farmer recalled in later years that it was a water shortage for the growing cattle herds in Blumenhof which spurred farmers to take out mortgages on their lands in order to drill such wells. [71] By 1896 well drilling had become good business and at least one man in Gruenfeld, Isaak Plett, was making it his business to drill wells in the neighbourhood. [72]

The most important innovation in dairy farming during these years was the cheese factory. In each of the five years between 1889 to 1893 a cheese factory was built in one of the Molochnaia-Borosenko villages in Manitoba. A cheese factory was constructed in Steinbach in 1889, in Gruenfeld in 1890, in Rosenort in 1891, in Hochstadt in 1892 and in Blumenort in 1893. Instead of producing the product through one's household, farmers now accepted a new cash nexus and sold the milk to a factory which processed and marketed the finished product itself. The implications for the farmer were considerable. Simple staple production replaced household processing. Women lost the status as the processers of agricultural products and, as herd sizes increased, their labour as milkers increased. Greater profits were also reported. [73]

Farmers voiced great enthusiasm for the new factories. In a letter to Russia in March 1890 Klaas Reimer celebrated the Steinbach factory: "they can make 30,000 pounds of cheese in six months and process 4000 pounds of milk in six hours," wrote Reimer. But his greatest satisfaction seemed to come from the fact that the factory was paying "65 cents a pound for the milk [which] the people say is a third more than they make if they make butter and only half the work." [74] In a letter to the Nordwesten in 1890 a farmer lauded the factories in Steinbach and Gruenfeld claiming

that some farmers had sold up to $100 worth of milk. [75] The profits pleased local farmers to such an extent that despite rising wheat prices at the turn of the century one farmer noted that "farmers began concentrating more and more on mixed farming, especially dairy and hogs resulting in good progress." [76]

This concentration is evident from tax rolls of the three Molochnaia village districts in the East Reserve which indicate that by 1906 41 of the 132 farm households had dairy herds of 10 or more cows and that at least three of the farms had herds of more than 20 cows. The enthusiasm for the cheese factories was particularly felt in the parkland areas around Gruenfeld where the number of cows per household rose from 3.5 in 1887 to 6.9 cows just four years later when the cheese factory was built. The area which had suffered the most from the lack of good land and had lagged behind Bluemnort in farm commercialization was now playing catch-up.

By the turn of the century, then, descendants of the Kleine Gemeinde immigrants in Manitoba had entered a wider market economy. Unlike other farmers in regions further to the west, however, the majority of these farmers did not concentrate on wheat. Instead they adapted to their environment and regional markets and produced table goods, oats and cheese for the growing metropolis of Winnipeg. Their farms did commercialize at a much slower pace than those in other parts of Western Canada or in Nebraska where their relatives lived. Yet the efforts the Manitoba farmers employed to deliver their products to market, the innovations they accepted to increase their production, the steadily growing size of their operations and the readiness to capitalize on railway facilities and cheese factories point to a commitment to enter the market place and produce surpluses.

VI

Like their counterparts in Manitoba, the Molochnaia-Borosenko farmers in Cub Creek, Jefferson County transplanted their household economic units and set out simultaneously to meet family consumption requirements and to participate in a market economy. This led the Nebraskans to initially engage in mixed farming just as did their Manitoba counterparts. The census record taken six years after settlement indicated that the average Mennonite household in Cub Creek was producing 252 pounds of butter, 30 bushels of potatoes and 110 dozen eggs per household at the same time that they were cultivating an average of 97 acres and dedicating 50% of it to wheat. [77] Diaries and letters also indicate that farmers marketed both table foods and grain during these early years. In a letter to her parents in May 1881 Maria Kornelson Enns wrote: "On Monday we drove to [Fairbury] as we had a little wheat, and some eggs and some butter. For the wheat we got 60 cents/bushel, for the butter 10 cents a pound and for the eggs eight cents a dozen.". [78]

However, because the Nebraskans had ready access to a more fully developed transportation network they moved into grain farming more aggressively than their Manitoba counterparts. The 97 acres cultivated per household contrasts sharply to the 52 acres tilled in Scratching River and the 21 cultivated in the East Reserve. Low prices in the late 1870s discouraged some farmers but the recovery of prices in 1881 set them back on the track of commercial grain production. "There are once again those nice grain prices which make us exceptionally optimistic" wrote one Cub Creek farmer in November 1881. [79] This was the sound of a farmer in tune with the market place.

Like their Manitoba cousins, the Nebraska farmers soon deeemphasized wheat production; they too adapted to local conditions. The fact was that the 1880s were wet years in which corn flourished and wheat suffered moisture related diseases. Between 1879 and 1881 Jefferson County averaged only 8.3 bushels of wheat per acre. Conversely corn averaged

34.5 bushels through the 1880s. Farm censuses reflect the effect of these conditions on farm cropping programs. In the five years after 1880, Cub Creek farmers reduced their wheat acreage from 49.9% of cropland to 19.1%. During the same time they increased their corn production from 8.5% of cropland to 51.4%. According to Martyn Bowden, a historical geographer writing about Jefferson County, this trend was to be seen throughout the county and continued, except for a short period around 1889, till the end of the century. The reason for this shift for the Mennonites was entirely economic. Unlike their American neighbours, the Mennonites had no "cultural predisposition" to corn. Corn production was for them not symptomatic of some kind of "cultural rebound." [80]

Letters from Cub Creek farmers indicate the extent to which Mennonites associated with this new American crop. As early as 1880 Mennonite farmers were reporting bumper crops in corn. In a letter to his relatives in Manitoba in 1879, Jacob Enns reported receiving 1440 bushels from 31 acres of corn, or 46 bushels an acre. [81] Other letters spoke of the tedious work of corn husking which required the labour of the whole family and took up most of the winter. In February 1884 just after corn husking was finally completed Maria Enns wrote her father in Manitoba to report that "I cannot complain much about having to struggle in material things although we have to work so hard [with the corn] and now we have to plow so quickly to get everything done." [82]

By 1885 several Cub Creek farmers had purchased corn planters. One farmer explained that because "the motto for Nebraska is 'Corn is King'...the best methods for planting and cultivation must be employed." [83] Corn would continue to be the dominant crop not only in the good years of the early 1880s but also during the economically difficult years between 1887 and 1898. In June 1893 Jacob Friesen wrote his relatives in Manitoba and reported that his farm had 40 acres in corn, 30 in wheat, and 15 in oats. [84] Corn, like oats in Manitoba, thus, represented not a move

to subsistence farming but an adaptation to local market and climatic conditions.

Enabling the Cub Creek farmers to become commercial grain farmers was the highly developed economy of Nebraska with its cheap technology and transportation networks. Railways, for instance, were much more plentiful in Jefferson County than in the Hanover or Morris Municipalities in Manitoba. When the Mennonites arrived in Jefferson County in 1874 there already was a railway. In 1879 a second railway was built through the county and intersected with the first railway in Fairbury. And in 1886 a third, the Rock Island line, which had been started in 1880 finally crossed Cub Creek and led to the establishment of the town of Jansen which soon boasted an elevator and a feed and flour mill. By 1888 there were 117.3 miles of railway in the 16-township Jefferson County compared to six miles in the eight township Hanover Municipality and about 35 miles in Morris.

Complementing the growth of a railway network was a rapid increase in farm mechanization. Between 1880 and 1885, for instance, Cub Creek farmers increased the value of machinery per household from $163 to $200. This contrasts to the $130 of machinary owned by the average household in the representative village district of Blumenort in the East Reserve had in 1884. [85] The difference in mechanization attests to the farm machinery duty Manitoba farmers were compelled to pay. Although the date of the arrival of the first self binder to Cub Creek is not known, by 1883 one farmer reported that "most of the grain [here] is cut with the self binder." [86] By 1891 Heinrich Ratzlaff of the northern village of Blumenort could report that "since Harms and Wiebe have each bought a binder everyone has his own." [87] Another farmer noted in 1890 that the threshing of stooks which necessitated the use of a traction steam engine was the most common threshing method in Cub Creek. [88] Other reports indicated that by 1885 farmers had introduced the corn planter and by 1900 the press drill. [89]

The Nebraska farmers also made early acquisitions of horses. Indeed in the very first year of settlement in 1874 the 36 farmers purchased 53 horses and 87 oxen, bringing the average number of horses per household to 1.5. Ten years later the number of horses owned by Cub Creek Mennonites had increased to 300 while the number of oxen had fallen to three. In fact the average number of horses per household in 1885 was 4.6, almost identical to that in Molochnaia households in Russia at the same time and twice that of Kleine Gemeinde farmers in Manitoba. That the Cub Creek farms were more profitable during these early years than those in Manitoba is evident from the fact that the number of horses per 100 acres of cultivated land in Cub Creek was 35.8 compared to 30.5 in the Molochnaia and 8.5 in Manitoba. [90]

Mechanization and transportation facilities, however, did not guarantee the development of a specialized grain growing economy. Just as their Manitoba counterparts began emphasizing dairy production so the Nebraskans increased their cattle and hog herds. For most farmers this represented an adaptation. Farmers had experimented with sheep raising in the 1870s but by 1881 there were reports that the cost of fencing and the end to free ranging of sheep had made it unprofitable. [91] For those who continued raising sheep the method now lay in enclosed feedlots.

For most Cub Creek farmers livestock production came to be synonymous with cattle raising. In May 1883 one observer noted that "it seems more and more that the Russian Mennonites are taking on the ways of American farmers in that they are raising not only grain but cattle and an increasing number have their own herds." [92] Census records bear this out. They indicate that the number of cattle and calves per Mennonite household in Cub Creek increased from 10.3 in 1880 to 19.4 just five years later. Farmers also increased their hog production. While the average Cub Creek Mennonite farmer kept 9.5 hogs in 1880 he was raising 41.8 by 1885. One farmer wrote his sister in Manitoba in 1882 to report that he

had a breeding stock of "52 pigs from which we hope to sell weanlings and I think this practice can provide us with a good profit." [93]

There were several reasons for this shift to dairy and meat production. First, Cub Creek had the marketing infrastructure for this type of agriculture. A creamery was established in Fairbury in 1883 which had the capacity of producing 700 pounds of butter daily. [94] Then too both Omaha and St. Joseph had stock yards by the 1880s. In 1884 these market opportunities increased when the Union Stock Yards Company opened an even larger packing plant in Omaha. Two years later when the Rock Island Railroad was built through the southern tier of the Cub Creek township farmers suddenly had direct access to both Omaha and St. Joseph.

A second factor encouraging cattle farming was that it complemented corn production. In 1884 when corn dropped to 26 cents a bushel, farmers consoled themselves that corn was still a good thing: after all "cobs are used as fuel and stocks are eaten by the cattle which are released onto the fields after harvest." [95] Another farmer wrote his relatives in Manitoba to explain how little work it was to have beef cattle during the winter in Nebraska: we simply "have the cattle on the land all winter...and are making as little work as possible." [96] Corn also complemented meat production in that it was an animal feed. It was common wisdom in Nebraska that farmers "cannot raise too much corn." "It may be worth five cents," wrote one state official, "but transmuted to beef, pork or mutton it will always pay the husbandman a handsome...return." [97]

A third factor discouraging grain specialization was the volatile decade of the 1890s and particularly the depression that began in 1893. Farmers who had prospered by raising corn in the 1880s began to find themselves in financial difficulty in the 1890s as they suffered from a combination of poor yields, low prices and high interest rates. In November 1896 Cornelius L. Friesen, owner of a 160 acre farm, wrote his relatives in Manitoba with the following somber report: "The harvest yield was very small this year, particularly the small grain. We threshed only

one load of oats but it was so light it really did not pay. We got only 16 bushels an acre...and sold most of it for 35 cents a bushel. The corn yielded 30 bushels an acre which is being sold for a very poor price. In the beginning of this month the price was 12 to 13 cents a bushel. Very little was sold in the hope that the price would soon rise. But now the price has dropped to 10 to 11 cents a bushel and most is being sold for this price." [98]

The consequence of this financial trouble was a more concerted turn to farm diversification. According to Martyn Bowden farmers moved into livestock production particularly after they "felt during the hard times of the 1890s...that the variable rainfall of the plains was not suited to the Corn Belt monocrop economy they had developed in the preceding decades." [99] By the turn of the century cattle and hog production was a firmly established agricultural practice in Cub Creek. Letters indicate that farmers were shipping substantial quantities of cattle to both Omaha and St. Joseph during these years. In May 1900 one writer to the Rundschau reported that "six carloads of fattened beef were shipped from here to St. Joseph yesterday." [100] In May 1903 another letter writer told of J.J. Thiessen, a local farmer, who had just shipped a car load of feedlot fed sheep to Omaha while his neighbour Cornelius J. Friesen had shipped 70 beef cattle and a car load of hogs to St. Joseph. [101] Later that year another letter indicated that Friesen had travelled to St. Joseph with the reported intention of "purchasing three to four carloads of beef for fattening" and that another neighbour, P.W. Thiessen, contracted to custom feed 5000 sheep for "a large meat packing firm." [102]

Those farmers who had been able to survive the bad times of the 1890s faced a period of unprecedented prosperity after the turn of the century. Coincidental with the increase in livestock production was the recovery of grain prices and yields. In 1898 wheat reached $1.25 in Fairbury and in 1900 farmers began reaping a series of bumper crops. [103] One farmer from Cub Creek noted in 1900 that "we have received a bumper

crop in our area in Nebraska" and reported that the wheat that had yielded 30 bushels an acre was now bringing 60 cents a bushel. In 1902 Jefferson County received 60 inches of rainfall and corn reached 30 cents a bushel. The tone of Cub Creek farmers began very confident. In January 1903 a letter writer from Cub Creek reported that "there still is a lot of corn in the fields...and we are already very busy with husking corn....The elevator manager hardly knows what to do with all the corn that is brought to him." A week later another farmer reported that "corn yields are from 40-50 bushels an acre....Farmers are very happy about good yields and high prices." [104]

The turn of the century marked a final adaptation that Cub Creek farmers made to their economic environment. This was the resurgence of the wheat economy. Bowden notes that new winter wheat strains and the introduction of the moisture saving press drill lead farmers who had become skeptical of Nebraska's weather patterns to take a fresh look at wheat. Records for the whole of Jefferson County indicate that wheat acreage in the county had risen sharply from a low of 5700 acres in 1899 to 46,000 acres in 1902 and by 1906 had stabilized at 41,000 acres, setting a trend which was to go on for 20 years. [105] It was as if Mennonite farmers had come full circle. Having turned from wheat during the early years in Nebraska new methods and a bouyant economy had taken them back to the grain of their forefathers. This trend was to continue, particularly because in 1906 fully one third of Cub Creek Mennonite households relocated to the semi-arid wheat growing plain of Western Kansas.

VII

In Cub Creek, then, Mennonite farmers who had emphasized wheat production in the 1870s turned to corn and cattle production through the 1880s and 1890s. At the turn of the century they were well situated to profit from a highly developed cattle market and ready once again to

produce for the grain export economy. There were growing indications from the wheat bonanza of the late 1870s, the corn bonanza of the 1880s, the financially difficult years of the 1890s (including the diversification into livestock), and the strengthening farm economy of the new century, that the Mennonite farm households in Cub Creek were integrally tuned to a market economy.

What was obvious for Cub Creek farm households was true for those in the East Reserve and Scratching River as well. Like their Nebraska cousins, the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde farmers emphasized a mixed farming approach to agriculture. And like the Nebraskans they used that approach to gain access to a market economy. Like the Nebraskans they produced various mixes of grain and livestock to maintain self sufficiency and produce surpluses. In the 1880s farmers turned their focus from wheat to oats and in the 1890s from butter to cheese. Each move came as a response to a dialectic between their household capabilities and the market place. Transportation networks may have been less developed, machinery more costly and the environment less inviting, but farmers in Manitoba were as intent on marketing their produce during this period as their Nebraska counterparts.

This is not to say that traditional and cultural values were not important to these Mennonite farmers. It was just that their cultural values rested on their ability to maintain and reproduce their households and to fashion a strong, solidaristic community. "Cultural rebound," a return to Old World crops after an initial period of settlement, common in American ethnic farm communities, was not a factor in these Mennonite communities. [106] Indeed in both the Manitoba and Nebraska communities Mennonite farmers first concentrated on wheat which they had grown in Russia and then shifted to feedgrains which in Manitoba could be sold as cash crop and in Nebraska could complement feedlot livestock raising. Geographer Martyn Bowden has argued that the switch to corn in Jefferson County reflected the cultural background of the majority of farmers; John

Warkentin has argued that the shift to oats in the East Reserve was a reversion to subsistence farming in a culturally and economically isolated Old World peasant community. However, letters and diaries from the farmers themselves would suggest that corn and oats had little to do with culture. Farmers in both communities were quite intent on entering the market place. Feedgrains reflected an adjustment to the market place, not a rejection of it.

Mennonite entry into a market economy was made within the confines of a traditional, solidaristic community and through the activities of the whole household. Surpluses were procured and marketed in order to maintain the strength of that community and to ensure the reproduction of the household. The social implications of the changing nature of the Mennonite farms, however, was to jeopardize those very aims.

CHAPTER 10

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF MARKET FARMING

In 1900, just four years after their marriage, Peter and Margaretha Wiebe, ages 29 and 23, moved out of the old village of Blumenort on the East Reserve. They established their own farm on land purchased from the Manitoba Government just two miles from the village. The Wiebes were just one of numerous young families to migrate from Blumenort and to spell the end of the old village system. During the same time that young Manitoba families were moving beyond old community boundaries their cousins in Nebraska were contemplating similar moves. In 1900, for example, Jacob and Anna Friesen, ages 26 and 29, were living in Cub Creek with their four small children and farming on rented land. However, the conditions in southeastern Nebraska were to compel the Friesens to make a costly and drastic relocation to secure their own farmland. In 1906 the young Friesen family joined 30 other families and moved to the semi-arid plains of Western Kansas. Anna Friesen later recalled that the move had occurred in order that "poor and landless people" might have the opportunity to farm. The migrations of the Wiebe and Friesen families resulted from the land squeeze and economic opportunities implicit in agricultural commercialization. But more importantly they represented a new strategy to preserve the values represented by the family farm in the second generation.

In many ways these old values were increasingly difficult to realize. For a generation Kleine Gemeinde descendant families deepened their integration into a North American export economy. The social nature of the Manitoba and Nebraska farm households reflected this reality. Community structures, land ownership, views on capital accumulation,

credit arrangements and labour requirements shifted to reflect a greater reliance on an outside market. And these social factors also indicated the differing degrees to which the Manitoba and Nebraska communities were participating in the market place. The fact was that Nebraska farmers were located in a more highly developed economy than their Manitoba counterparts. Throughout this period Nebraskans faced greater land shortages, paid more for land, experienced sharper economic stratification, mortgaged their farms more heavily, saw more families become landless and turned to a greater extent to wage labour than did their Manitoba cousins. As a consequence the Nebraskans were also compelled to go to greater efforts to secure land for a second generation of household farms.

I

The expansion of farms during the first generation resulted in a shortage of land in both Manitoba and Nebraska. When the Kleine Gemeinde delegates, Klassen and Toews, returned to Russia in the summer of 1873 with news of Canada's homestead laws, Aeltester Peter Toews had noted with some enthusiasm that "every person is to receive 160 acres as a gift." [1] However, Toews' vision of equality in which families would each own land for generations was to be short lived. Within a decade after settlement farmers in both Nebraska and Manitoba were faced with rising land prices and land shortages. By 1905 an increasing number of families had no land at all.

One of the most obvious differences in the Nebraska and Manitoba farm economies was a difference in land distribution. Farm size, land/household ratios, and land prices each reflected the fact that the Nebraska farmers were more integrated into a commodity market economy than their Manitoba counterparts. As Table # 1 indicates, the 56 Nebraska households owned and cultivated considerably more land in 1880 than their 96 counterparts in Manitoba but owned less and cultivated equal amounts

in 1900. In fact over those 20 years as the population of Cub Creek Mennonites increased from 365 to 505 the size of the average farm began decreasing. Conversely as the farm population in the East Reserve Molochnaia settlements increased from 450 to 653 the size of their farms increased. During a time, then, that the farm population in Cub Creek increased by 38% ; the cultivated land area per household fell by 36%. Conversely while the farm population in the East Reserve increased by 45% the cultivated land area per household jumped by 308%

Table # 1

LAND OWNERSHIP OF KLEINE GEMEINDE FARMERS

(in acres)

	Total	Average	Average Cultivated
East Reserve			
1881	17,458	180	20.6
1887			28.2
1891			41.4
1899	27,200	249	63.4
Cub Creek			
1880	11,760	204	97.3
1885			93.2
1900	11,015	133	63.4

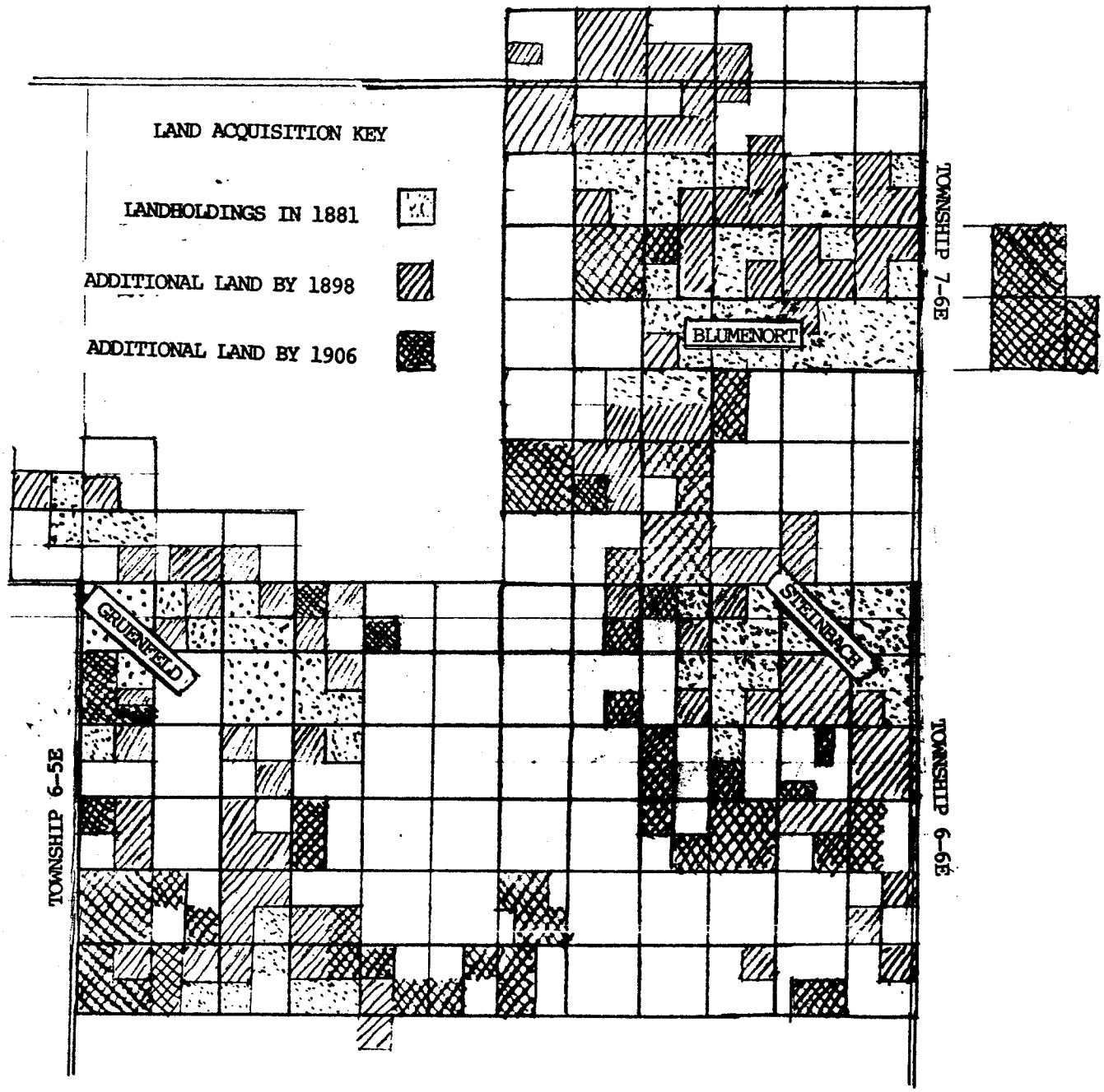
These differences resulted from changed economies and especially the availability of land in the two respective places. East Reserve farmers, for instance, did not receive the same economic rewards for land breaking in the early years. Land patent records indicate that instead of breaking all their available arable land within a few years of settlement, the East Reserve farmers showed a more conservative approach and increased their cultivated acreage slowly. Tax records demonstrate

that between 1881 and 1906 the area of cultivated land expanded steadily by approximately 50% every five years, from 2003 acres in 1881 to 7766 in 1906.

A second reason for the different developments in Nebraska and Manitoba was that there was simply more land available in the sparsely populated Canadian province (see Map # 9). A number of land sources existed within and just outside the East Reserve till the turn of the century. One source was the land abandoned by Bergthaler Mennonites in the 1870s for superior land on the West Reserve. In 1886 one writer to the Rundschau reported that the former Bergthaler lands were once again being farmed. "Many will know," wrote the correspondent, "that [at one time] this reserve seemed to be going under as many inhabitants gave themselves...to the West Reserve. Subsequently there was much abandoned land. When times improved somewhat many again became interested in these lands. However the government was not about to grant a second gift of land (homestead). During this year, however, the law in this regard has changed and we are now allowed to take out homesteads on the abandoned land and so many quarter sections have been taken...." [2]

Other cheap land was available to the north of the East Reserve on open prairie. This land had been granted to Manitoba's Metis in 240-acre parcels after the 1870 Red River Rebellion. Here a number of Blumenort and Gruenfeld families founded a new settlement named Greenland in 1893. Other lands which Mennonite farmers purchased during these years included the seven quarter sections of Hudson's Bay land and one Manitoba School Section in each township. Farmers also began pushing further into the parkland south of Steinbach and Gruenfeld. As early as 1880 four new villages, Hochstadt, Gnadenort, Steinreich and Blumfeld had been founded south of Gruenfeld. [3] Around the turn of the century a number of families founded the new settlement of Ekron, southeast of Steinbach in the La Broquerie Municipality.

MAP # 9: KLEINE GEMEINDE LAND ACQUISITION, EAST RESERVE, 1874-1906



Finally there was land available from Anglo-Canadian farmers in both the East Reserve and around the Scratching River settlements. In the East Reserve, the Clearspring farmers began selling their lands to Steinbach and Blumenort farmers in the 1890s. By 1900 at least eight quarter sections of this high priced Clearspring land had been acquired by the Mennonites. During these years as well Scratching River Mennonites began to expand outside their reserve's boundaries. Land title records show that most of this land was available in the Anglo-Canadian townships to the west of the reserve. In township 6-1W alone, Mennonite farmers acquired 17 quarter sections from Anglo-Canadian farmers and land speculators between 1880 and 1905. [4] Map # 9, "Kleine Gemeinde Land Acquisition, 1874-1906," sums up this steady growth in Kleine Gemeinde land area.

Unlike Manitoba farmers, the Nebraskans had little room for expansion after 1880. The fact that the non-Mennonite population in Cub Creek increased as rapidly as the Mennonite population, from 225 souls in 1880 to 501 in 1900, obviously accounts for the land squeeze. [5] Newspaper reports such as the one in July 1879 which spoke of "massive amounts of prairie land being broken" in Cub Creek cannot be found in the 1880s. [6] Nor was land available in the neigbouring townships. Peter Jansen tells of the surprising land grab that occurred around 1880 in neighbouring Jefferson Township: "...we thought the wild, open prairie would last for many years. In this we were mistaken. Settlers came in very rapidly and very soon we were [forced to remove our sheep from those lands and confine them] to our own land." [7] Martyn Bowden has suggested that by 1889 "there was very little of the tillable prairie left [anywhere in the county]...." [8] Unlike the Ontario farmers in the East Reserve or around Scratching River, the American farmers within Cub Creek were not a source for additional land. Mennonites may have purchased eight quarter sections from their American neighbours between 1880 and 1900 but they sold 10 quarter sections to the Americans. Only about four farmers are known to have availed themselves of land in the neighbouring Rock Creek and Harbine

Townships. The geographic boundaries of Mennonite landholdings in Cub Creek as depicted in Map # 10, "Cub Creek Mennonite Landholdings, 1890-1917," thus, were to change little between 1880 and 1900.

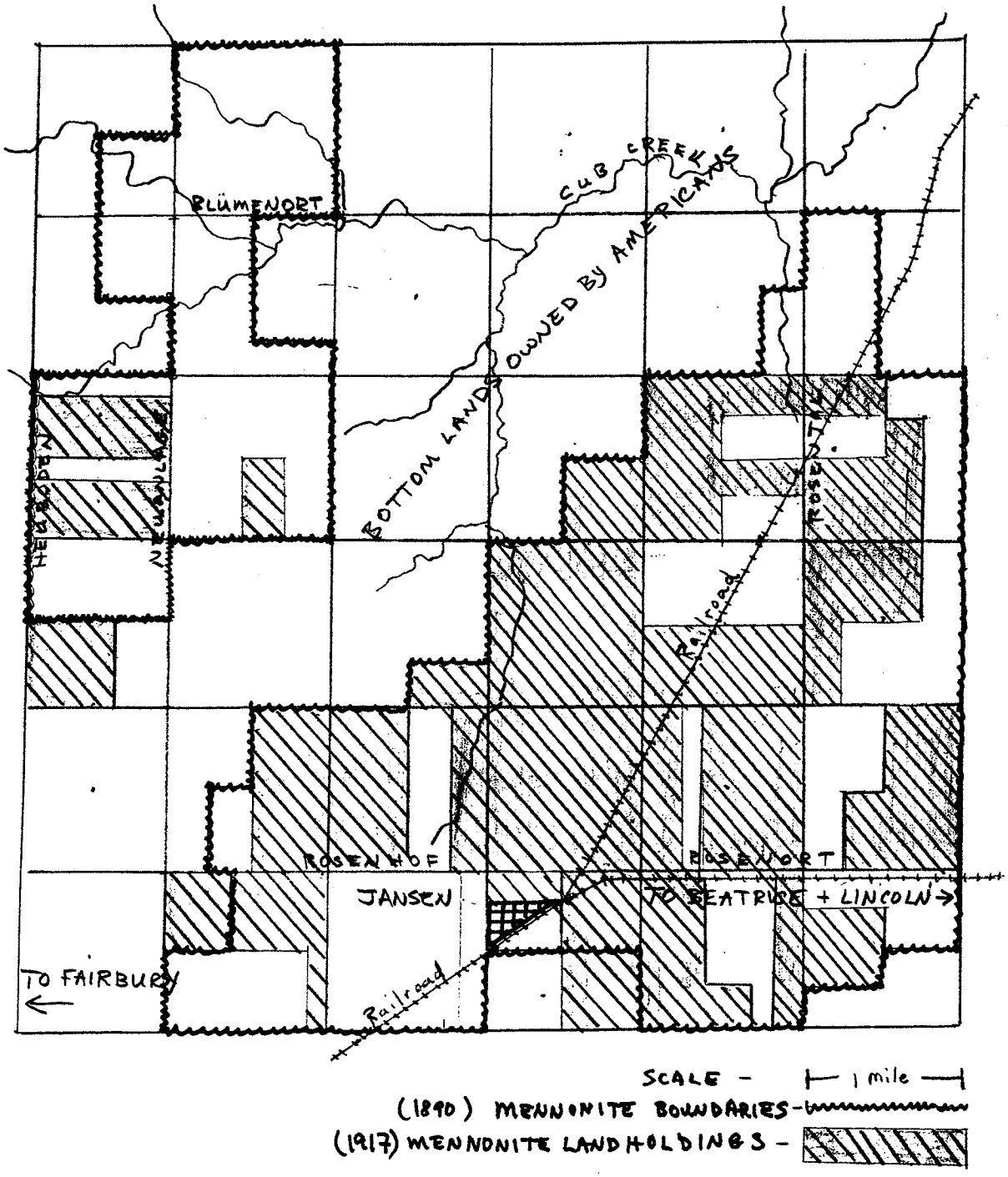
The growing shortage of land also was reflected in the increasing number of farmers who were renting their land by the turn of the century. Land rental had of course been an age-old strategy by which farmers initially placed their sons on farms. In 1881 Deacon Abram Reimer of the East Reserve rented 16 acres for 50 cents an acre to his son Peter when he married at age 19. In 1883 Delegate David Klassen of Scratching River rented out 29 acres of cultivated land to four parties for between $1.10 and 33 cents for an average of 68 cents an acre. In 1882 Isaak Harms of Cub Creek rented his land to his young married sons for a third of the yield. It is significant that the renters in each of the cases outlined above were offspring; they included a son, a son-in-law and two 22 year old grandsons. [9]

Yet tax rolls indicate that the number of farmers renting land from non-related landowners was on the increase during this time. In 1881, for instance, only two of the 96 or 2% of the Molochnaia farmers on the East Reserve rented their farms. In 1898 this had increased to 7.4% of the farmers. While the number of farmers who rented all of their land is not available for Nebraska, census records indicate an increasing practice of land renting. While in 1880 only 12% of Mennonite farmers in Cub Creek rented some of their land, by 1900 this number had increased to 23%.

As in Manitoba the renting was often within the family and used as an avenue to assist young farmers. A letter written to Manitoba in 1896 tells of "Jacob B. Friesens [who] have rented their parents' farm and give half of their produce for it." [10] Enns' neighbour, Frank Sawatsky, wrote to the Rundschau in the same year to state that "our children will be moving onto our farm and the other children hope to rent the farm of neighbour Penner who is looking to move to Kansas or California." [11] The fact, however, that the average age of a land renter in Cub Creek was 36

MAP # 10 CUB CREEK PRECINCT

MENNONITE LANDHOLDINGS IN 1890 & 1917



compared to the average age of 33 in the East Reserve would indicate a growing number of farmers who were renting land without hope of purchasing their own farms. So too would the sheer difference in the number of renters in the two places.

Another indicator of farm commercialization was the increasing price of land. While the ready availability of homestead land in Manitoba kept prices from inflating markedly during these years, cultivated land within village districts attained a monetary value shortly after settlement. In 1877, just three years after settlement, Cornelius Loewen indicated that he paid $50.00 for "land in Gruenfeld." [12] Within ten years of settlement some farms equalled the price of those in Borosenko in 1873. In October 1883, for instance, David Klassen, the founder of Rosenhof at Scratching River, sold his farm, including land, buildings and machinery, to Isaak Loewen for $2000. Throughout the next 25 years land prices rose slowly to reflect the growing cultivation of the land. At the turn of the century as grain prices strengthened and as virgin land was no longer available prices sometimes doubled within five years.

Table # 2

ARABLE LAND PRICES PER ACRE: 1880-1905

	1885-1890	1900-1905
East Reserve	$4.52	$10.28
Scratching River	$3.45	$8.34
Cub Creek	$16.00	$40.96

During the 1880s the accessibility of land in Manitoba kept prices low. In Scratching River, Jacob Kroeker of Rosenhof purchased a quarter section from Delegate Klassen in 1888 for $3.25 an acre. This corresponded to the average price of $3.45 paid for five other quarter

sections in the villages of Rosenhof and Rosenort around 1890. Similar prices were paid in the East Reserve. In 1883 when five families of the Koop clan from Blumenort established the satellite settlement of Neuanlage they sold their village holdings for $1.87 an acre or $300 a quarter. In 1893 and 94 when four more families left the village to found the settlement of Greenland in the northern sections of the district they sold their lands for an average price of $3.90 an acre which did not include buildings. Farmers who were purchasing fertile and easily worked sandy loam lands from Anglo-Canadian Clearspring settlers were paying more. In 1887 and 1888, for instance, Abram S. Friesen the well-to-do Steinbach industrialist paid an average of $5.78 an acre for two quarter sections just north of Steinbach. [13]

Around the turn of the century, however, land prices in both of the Manitoba reserves began to inflate. In November 1899 Heinrich Kornelson, the Steinbach correspondent to the Rundschau, reported that "land prices are rising here and much land is exchanging hands." For example, Cornelius Toews, the 1874 delegate, sold his farm just south of Steinbach for $1600 in 1896 to Cornelius Sawatsky of Gretna on the West Reserve. In 1899 when Sawatsky returned to Gretna he sold the farm to C.B. Loewen, a Steinbach farmer and merchant, for $2200. While rocky hay land south of the village could be purchased for $2.50 an acre, farmers who were buying highly developed sandy loam land just north of the village were paying $12.50 and $14.00 an acre. [14]

Land prices rose sharply even in village districts that had access to land just outside the reserves such as Blumenort and Rosenort or those that possessed poorer quality lands such as Gruenfeld. In Rosenort, Scratching River, farmers purchased 10 quarter sections around 1900 for an average price of $8.34 an acre, more than double the price of a decade earlier. In Blumenort, where farmers still could find land outside the boundaries of the reserve, and in Gruenfeld, where land was of poorer quality, land was also becoming an item of inflation. Two Blumenort

quarter sections which had been sold for $3.75 an acre in 1897 sold for $6.25 in 1902. In Gruenfeld farmers were paying around $3.00 an acre for land in 1892 but by the turn of the century this figure had risen to $7.00 and $9.00 an acre. [15]

Although these prices represent steep rises from prices a generation before, they pale in comparison to prices paid in the Nebraska settlements. Reports of the sale of seven different farms in newspapers from between 1881 and 1885 indicate that they fetched an average price of $16.00 an acre. A typical Nebraska newspaper account reads: "On January 8 [1884] there will be an auction sale at Johann W. Thiessen where cattle, plows, wagons, machinery, and household goods will be sold; the 160 acre farm has been sold to son Johann F. Thiessen for $3000." [16]

By the turn of the century when land was being sold in the East Reserve for between $6.00 and $12.00 an acre, prices in Cub Creek ranged from $33.00 to $68.75. Newspaper accounts of the sale of seven Jefferson County farms in 1903 and 1904 indicate an average price of $40.96 an acre. Just as a stronger wheat economy sent prices rising steeply in Manitoba they sent prices sky rocketing in Nebraska. One Cub Creek resident wrote the Rundschau in 1903 to tell of a neighbour "Fred Achtemener [who] has bought a 150 acre farm near Harbine for $8000 which had only recently been purchased for $3400." The writer added that "it is a particularly tumultuous time in which we live. There is much dealing and building. Hopefully the needy will not be forgotten in the rush." [17]

II

As land prices rose, reflecting the commercialization of farms, so too did the gap between rich and poor farmers. Difference in degree of wealth was of course not itself an indicator of a capitalistic world. James Henretta has argued that pre-industrial farm communities in Pennsylvania usually had high degrees of social stratification with the wealthiest 10% often owning around 30% of the wealth. Similarly Mick Reed

has argued that in nineteenth-century England, wealth differentiation was a characteristic of peasant society. [18]

However, higher land prices arising from farm commercialization seem to have had an effect on the level of economic differentiation. In 1880, for instance, the top 10% of landowners in Cub Creek possessed 34% of the land while the top 10% in the East Reserve owned 21% of the land. A similar difference can be observed in the smallest landholders. The bottom 10% of landowners in Cub Creek owned 3.7% of the land in 1880 while the bottom 10% in the East Reserve owned 8.1%. Over the next 20 years as family farms fragmented the ownership of the top 10% did decline somewhat, to 27% in Cub Creek and 19% in the East Reserve. However, this did not mean that the gap between rich and poor was narrowing. Just as the percentage of land owned by the richest farmers decreased so did the percentage of land possessed by the smallest landowners. In Cub Creek and the East Reserve those percentages fell to 2.1% and 4.8% respectively. [19]

But the most important statistic reflecting a growing gap between rich and poor was the increasing number of landless households. In each of the East Reserve and Cub Creek only one household owned no land in 1880. By 1900 31% of the 153 Mennonite households in the East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde village districts and 39% of the 102 Mennonite households in Cub Creek owned no farmland. While a percentage of these households are represented by retired couples or businessmen in the towns of Steinbach and Jansen, the majority were laborers and craftsmen.

Perhaps as significant as these different degrees of stratification was the difference in the relative family size of the top landowners in the Nebraska and Manitoba communities. Census records indicate economic stratification in Manitoba was more closely related to family size than it was in Nebraska. For example, in 1899 the East Reserve's two largest landowners, Klaas Reimer of Steinbach and Johann Plett of Blumenhof, owned 640 and 520 acres respectively and had an average of 6.5 children at home. Cub Creek's two largest landowners in 1900, Peter Hildebrandt and Johann

P. Thiessen had 567 and 500 acres respectively and had an average of two children living at home. [20]

The nature of the difference in stratification can also be illustrated by case histories of two farmers with large families in Cub Creek and the East Reserve. In 1880 62 year old Jacob Enns of Rosenthal in Cub Creek owned 320 acres. Despite the fact that he had only two children at home he increased his acreage over the next nine years to 832 acres. Instead of decreasing his acreage as he retired, he rented his land to his married children. When he died in 1889 at age 72, each of his children inherited 204 acres. The practice of holding onto one's land continued into the second generation. In 1904 Jacob Enns Jr. wrote the Rundschau to state that all of his children now were married but that he still owned all of his land and was renting it to the children for a third of the yield. [21]

A farm with a very different pattern of land ownership was that of Abram Penner from Blumenort in the East Reserve. In 1883 at the age of 36 Penner had six small children at home and he was cultivating 35 acres. Six years later Penner's household had increased to include eight children and his cultivated acreage had increased to 55. In 1898 at the age of 51 Penner was cultivating 170 acres but by this time the total number of Penner children had increased to 12 with six unmarried sons ages 12 to 23. As these sons married Penner's farm began decreasing in size. In 1906 this acreage had fallen to 60 acres. However, in the meantime he had helped five of his children establish viable farms and saw the total acreage of his five sons and one son-in-law increase from 110 cultivated acres to 315. Clearly Penner's sudden increase in acreage as he reached the age 50 in 1898 was part of a household reproduction strategy. [22]

Quantitative analysis of 90 land owning Molochnaia farm households in the East Reserve in 1898 and the 60 land owning Mennonite farm households in Cub Creek in 1900 indicates that the Enns and Penner histories were not isolated cases. In both places the top 10% of the

landowners owned between 19 and 27% of available land and were around 48 to 49 years old. In Manitoba, however, the farmers with the most land lived in households containing 8.1 people while the average household contained 5.8 people. In Nebraska the wealthier farmers lived in households of 6.0 people compared to the average household of 6.6 people. It might be concluded from this, that just as the New England farmers in James Henretta's study increased their holdings as a part of their strategy for household reproduction so too did the Molochnaia farmers in Manitoba. Conversely Cub Creek farmers seem to have had a greater inclination to accumulate land without regard to family strategies. Clearly, the land squeeze in Cub Creek prohibited farmers with the largest families from increasing their holdings to accommodate their childrens' resettlement.

III

The increasing commercialization of the Molochnaia farms in the East Reserve, Scratching River and Cub Creek is evident not only from rising land prices but also from the increasing need for credit to finance operations and the increasing willingness to obtain that credit outside community boundaries. Once again the difference in the pace of commercialization in Nebraska and Manitoba is apparent in the respective levels of loans obtained outside the community and the extent of land mortgaging.

Before the turn of the century, credit in Manitoba was obtained from internal sources. This is not to say that farmers were unconcerned about financial arrangements and credit. Indeed personal diaries reveal an obsession with terms of credit, interest charges, debt owed to neighbours, capital costs and profits. In this society the ability to calculate interest was a highly regarded skill. Schoolteacher Gerhard Kornelson, for instance, noted in his diary for June 6 1888 that "I learned how to calculate interest from H. Klippenstein. For example: how much interest

will $16.92 bring in 12 months at 7%? Answer: $1.18." Farmers were also very astute financial record keepers. Kornelson, for instance, calculated that the cost of feeding his 33 chickens in 1881 cost him six cents a day. He also calculated that his fencing costs for 1883 in which he evaluated his labour at $1.50 a day came to $79.25. After becoming a schoolteacher in 1888 Kornelson passed on these values to his students: "If a man has paid $7.35 for a piece of cotton which measures 46 yards," went the final exam question for his oldest class in 1888, "how expensive is the cotton per yard?." [23]

Farmers were also very conscious of how much money was owed them. Few services were rendered to neighbour or extended family without some charge: labour rendered, meat sold, equipment rented, products hauled and rides given were all duly noted and charged to the recipient. When larger items were sold the terms of the sale were usually written out in full and often some kind of affidavit was signed. In 1892 when Johann Reimer of Blumenort purchased a pair of oxen from his aunt, the widow of Deacon Abram Reimer, he wrote the following statement in Widow Reimer's account book: "I, the undersigned, indicate that I have purchased Widow Reimer's one pair of oxen for $75.00 and promise to pay the same on May 1, 1892. I sign this with my own hand. Johann Reimer." [24]

This same financial concern was reflected in farmers' efforts to devise credit schemes within traditional boundaries. A common procedure for dealing with a lack of ready cash was to pay in kind. In 1882 when Cornelius Loewen hired Jacob Barkman for 3 1/2 days he "paid with fish." In 1884 when the Gruenfeld villagers hired the recently arrived Russian immigrant, Heinrich Rempel, as schoolteacher they paid him $90 derived from village sources, $100 from the provincial education grant and 8.5 loads of wood. In 1888 Steinbach villagers hired the Lichtenau farmer, Gerhard Kornelson, as schoolteacher and paid him $140 plus 10 loads of hay. In the same year Blumenort villagers hired a Mr. Kaiser as a herdsman and promised him $90 plus 110 bushel wheat and 20 loads of hay. [25]

An important source of credit, as well, continued to be the wealthier members in the community. In many cases they loaned money to the church's Credit and Debtors program for 5% interest which in turn could be loaned to the community's poorer or younger members. In other cases they loaned money privately. In Scratching River, David Klassen made eight loans for a total of $1235.55 for 2 1/2% interest with terms extending from one to five years between 1880 and 1883. Abram Reimer of Blumenort loaned $951 between 1887 and 1888 to 16 different farmers from five different villages. This money was given out in lots of $5.00 to $115.00.

The majority of farmers, however, financed their projects among themselves and negotiated a different and often a complex payment scheme for each sale. In October 1880 when Cornelius Loewen purchased an ox from his neighbour the terms of payment stipulated that Loewen was not required to pay until he had sold his old ox, "Old Fritz," which he finally did in March 1881. In April 1882 Delegate David Klassen sold a wagon to his son-in-law, Rev. Jacob M. Kroeker, for $59 with the arrangement that it could be paid for over three years in installments of "$19 and 2/3 cents" to be paid on April 1 of each year. In June 1884 Gerhard Kornelson purchased a mare from another farmer in Steinbach and arranged to pay for it in two years at 10% interest compounded semi-annually and for one load of hay. Five years later Kornelson purchased a cow and a heifer "at Blatz's in Blumstein." The deal was that Kornelson would be charged no interest till New Years' Day and that he would pay an annual installment for three years during which time he would be charged 5% interest.

Land deals were often financed in similar ways. In October 1883 when Delegate David Klassen sold his farm including 160 acres to Isaac W. Loewen, the Schulz of Rosenort, for $2000. The arrangement was that Loewen would pay the first $200 in January 1885 and a second installment of $1800 in January 1886. Although the first installment was to be paid interest free, the second installment was to be paid with 2 1/2% interest. Six

years later Klassen sold a smaller farm to his son Jacob for $900. The agreement of sale bound Jacob to his village obligations including support for herdsman, school, threshing machine and village cattle. But it also spelled out the terms of payment which included an immediate down payment of $425 with the balance of $475 due at New Years at 2 1/2% interest. [26] In 1887 when Johann Loewen of Rosenort died, his widow Anna sold their small farm to her son Abram for $1000 with an immediate down payment of $250 and the rest due in two years without interest. [27] In 1896 Cornelius Friesen of Nebraska sold a farm which he had inherited in Gruenfeld to Abram L. Dueck for $400 at 5% over four years. Dueck had initially offered to buy the farm for $400 without interest but the offer was apparently rejected by Friesen. [28]

In the 1880s a fundamental shift began taking place in these financial arrangements. A number of the poorer households in the East Reserve had taken out government loans following the crop disaster of 1875 and a number of households in Scratching River had made personal loans from William Hespeler, the German speaking immigration agent. [29] In both cases lands had been mortgaged. However, little other mortgaging with outside institutions took place over the next decade. One of the reasons, no doubt, was the self sufficiency of the Mennonite households but the greatest reason lay in the fact that farmers did not take out patents on their lands till 1883 and 84 when they finally took out citizenship papers. In the years after this a number of poorer farmers began taking out mortgages to help them pay for the costs of construction and stock purchases.

In Rosenhof David Klassen Jr. took out a mortgage on his quarter section with a Winnipeg financial house in the early 1880s when a deal to buy and sell horses fell flat. Later when the firm threatened to foreclose, David's father, Delegate Klassen, intervened and requested William Hespeler to take over the mortgage. In Blumenhof Gottlieb Jahnke, a Lutheran convert to Mennonitism, and someone who had insisted on farming

his own land took out a $900 mortgage with the Manitoba Investment Association as early as 1883 to pay for the drilling of an artesian well. In Blumenort Abram M. Friesen took out a $300 mortgage with the London Ontario Investment Company in 1887 to help pay for land he had purchased from his mother who had moved to Nebraska. [30] In Steinbach, schoolteacher Gerhard Kornelson, borrowed $277.20 from the same company in April 1886 to pay for the construction of a new house. Kornelson's cost of borrowing was considerable. At 9% interest for the first year and 8% for the succeeding four years, his costs were higher than those of his neighbours who borrowed money locally for five percent. Indeed Kornelson's single most expensive output in cash in 1887 was the $19.65 in interest payments. In Blumenhof Peter H. Unger, one of the poorest farmers in the community mortgaged his homestead quarter for $250 in 1889 at the time that the village disbanded and he found himself with the expenses of establishing a new farmyard. [31]

In the 1890s mortgaging property became a general practice as land prices rose and wealthier members of the community began acquiring expensive traction steam engines. In Steinbach the well-to-do machinist, Abram S. Friesen, began raising money after 1890 to finance the acquisition of high priced land, new steam engines and a new machine works shop. Between 1887 when he bought his first Clearspring quarter and steam engine ~~to~~ and 1905 Friesen raised $8300 by mortgaging different properties. In the fertile grain growing district of Blumenort a number of farmers began mortgaging their properties with steam engine companies after 1890. Between 1890 and 1902 six farmers mortgaged their farms for a total of $7913 to the J.I. Case and Waterous Engine Companies.

Records from Nebraska reveal that farmers began tieing into external credit sources much sooner than their Manitoba counterparts. Just as the Manitoba farmers made use of a Dominion government loan in 1875, Nebraska farmers financed their land purchases from the B&M Railroad Company with the company itself. Unlike the Manitobans, however, the

Nebraskans began taking out mortgages to raise cash by the late 1870s and steadily increased their dependance on this practice throughout this time. Unlike Aeltester Toews in Manitoba who preached and exhorted against the external involvement of banks in the community, Aeltester Friesen in Nebraska seems quietly to have conceded the necessity of involving outside financial sources. Ironically in 1878, the same year that Toews forbade his members from depositing money in Winnipeg banks, Aeltester Friesen sold a quarter section of land to one of his members who borrowed the money for it from the New England Mortgage Security Company. [32]

Land abstracts for Cub Creek indicate that this was not an unusual event. By 1880 19 of the Mennonites' 72.5 quarters had been mortgaged to financial houses or wealthy non-Mennonite financiers. By 1885 the number had risen to 39 of 73.5 quarters and by 1890 the figure had reached 59.5 quarters. This number contrasts sharply with Manitoba records. Of the 55 quarters in the Blumenort district, for example, only six had been mortgaged by 1890. Thus, at a time when 10% of the Manitoba lands in one community had been mortgaged to a private financial institution, 80% had been mortgaged at one time or another in Cub Creek. In 1900 fully 64% of the Mennonite farms in Cub Creek, 35 of 54, had mortgages on them. In the same year 13% of the farms in the Blumenort district, 6 of 45, were mortgaged. Even in Scratching River, the Manitoba community with the highest degree of commercialization, only 26%, 13 of 49 randomly selected quarter sections, had been mortgaged by 1900. [33]

Like their Manitoba counterparts, wealthier Nebraska farmers did offer an alternative credit source. Unlike the Manitobans however, the Nebraskans often ensured payment by taking out mortgages on the debtor's land. In December 1877 Peter Heidebrecht, by far the wealthiest of the Kleine Gemeinde settlers, took out a mortgage on the land of Klaas Koop who had an assessment in 1878 less than 10% of Heidebrecht's. At least 18 of the 212 mortgages taken out by Cub Creek farmers between 1878 and 1890 were with a wealthy Mennonite neighbour. [34] If there was a greater

degree of outside financing there were also more defaults on payment and anxieties about the possibility of losing one's land. There were few farmers in the Manitoba communities such as Johann F. Toews of Steinbach, who, in 1886, had to apply for a second homestead because, as Toews put it, "having been much in debt and not being able to save myself in any other way I had to sell my land [from my first homestead]." [35] This story was more common for the Nebraska community. As early as 1880 one Cub Creek farmer was indicating a hesitancy about the many loans that were being made: "Hopefully the Lord will bless our seeding for, as to say it bluntly, money is scarce and interest rates are quite high....Yet we have the hope not to give up entirely." [36] One example of a farmer who did not make it was Peter W. Friesen, a former minister and the owner of 160 acres. In February 1881 he was sued for $100 which he had borrowed from the First National Bank in Beatrice at 10% for three months just days after having received his deed from the Burlington & Missouri Railroad. To pay the bank he was forced to mortgage his 160 acres to Anson Waite, a private American financier. But farmers also sometimes faced legal action brought against them by neighbours. In at least one case 29 year old Jacob Bartel lodged a suit in the Fairbury County Court against a fellow Mennonite, 37 year old Peter S. Friesen, for defaulting on the payment of a $515 loan in January 1888. [37]

The problem of payment of loans increased in the tumultuous 1890s. In a letter in 1890, Peter Thiessen, a Cub Creek businessman explained a growing dilemma: "The poor who came in 1874 and 75 bought their land and mortgaged it for 6%. The rise in land prices has allowed them to sell and start again....Still, despite good crops the poor cannot pay their debts." [38] In the same year M.B. Fast, a Cub Creek schoolteacher, wrote to say that "interest payments are so high one cannot but see many bad situations resulting from the many debts." [39]

By 1896 many farmers were in serious trouble. In March of that year Cornelius Friesen wrote his relatives in Manitoba and told them the sad

story of 63 year old Bernard Ratzlaff who was forced, because of indebtedness, to sell his farm and move his large family of seven children onto rented land. However, in November of that year, Friesen, who was in the top 33% of land owners in Cub Creek, was in trouble himself. "Money is harder to come by than at anytime since we came here," wrote Friesen. "The worst thing is the loans for which there is constant pressure to redeem....I too owe a lot that is to be paid by New Years which seems impossible as the price of corn is just too low...." [40]

IV

Another indicator of the extent to which farms had commercialized in Manitoba and Nebraska was the growing reliance on wage labour. While farmers had relied on labour provided by Ukrainian and German peasants in Russia they utilized household or family labour to a much greater extent in North America. Mechanization also was a partial answer to the shortage of labour. But it had an ironic outcome. As farmers mechanized they increased both the size of their farms and the intensity with which they farmed their land. Farmers in the East Reserve and Scratching River may have introduced the threshing machine, self binder and corn planter but with these machines came increased acreages with more sheaves to set and haul, more corn to husk, and more grain to bag and market. Farms did obtain deep artesian wells, barbed wire and access to cheese factories thereby reducing the necessity to haul water, herd cattle or make butter. But larger dairy herds increased the work of milking, haying and marketing.

Women could not be expected to provide all the additional labour requirements. Ester Boserup has noted that "a half mechanized agriculture often seems to raise the demand for female labour." [41] Indeed barbed wire and hay harvesting equipment allowed for larger dairy herds which women had to milk. But in these pre-consumerist days women were already preoccupied in domestic labour. Indeed the work of procuring food for the

household was still the women's sphere and still highly labour intensive. Just how important this gender based division of labour was can be seen from the unique diary entry of Gerhard Kornelson of Steinbach. In 1888 Kornelson calculated that two adults in his household consumed 933 pounds of flour, 48 pounds of meat, 40 pounds of lard, 50 pounds of butter, 20 bushels of potatoes, 25 pounds of roots, and 120 pounds of wheat. These figures indicated that the grain operation of the farm, the domain of the male, accounted for only $18 of the $62 food bill for the year; the farmyard, the traditional domain of the woman, accounted for the remaining $44. The 76 cents of grain needed to produce the meat and lard did not change this equation significantly. [42]

Women, thus, remained in the domestic sphere of labour despite new demands for field labour. When married women did work as wage labourers in the harvest it was usually domestic work, such as sewing or cooking. In September 1884 Gerhard Kornelson hired "Mrs Jacob Barkman" as part of the 15 person threshing crew, but it was not to pitch sheaves or shovel grain. Her job was to "make food." Indeed, it was only young single women who could be expected to work for wages in the fields. In August 1883 Gerhard Kornelson hired Maria Friesen, his brother-in-law's single sister, to help tie sheaves and noted that in one day "I and Maria tied 3.5 acres." Meanwhile Kornelson's wife stayed in the farmyard and house. [43] In February 1884 when Jacob Enns in Cub Creek set out to husk 500 of the 750 bushels of corn harvested on the farm, it was he and his single sister Maria who were given credit for providing the bulk of the household labour to complete the project. [44]

But even young unmarried women spent relatively little time exclusively in farm labour. The 1900 Cub Creek census, for instance, recorded only two teenaged girls as "farm laborers"; these were 15 year old Katie Heidebrecht and 11 year old Sara Friesen whose fathers were both landowners. All other teenaged girls were noted as "servants." When from time to time during the 1890s Rev. Peter Reimer in Blumenort sent his

children to work for Heinrich Plett's household it was Reimer's sons Peter and Cornelius and not daughter Maria who helped with the threshing and seeding at 50 cents a day; Maria helped with the "washing" for 35 cents a day. [45]

Thus, during the 1880s wage farm labourers were men. Usually they were local men and included the teenaged sons of large families, poorer men, particularly schoolteachers, and neighbours who traded labour for labour. There were few families who worked exclusively as wage labourers. There were poorer farmers who often sought work to supplement meager household incomes. In a letter in June 1885 47 year old Johann Wiebe of Steinbach reported that he had finished seeding his 25 bushels and that "he who has a need goes and works out for a few days to earn a few dollars." In his diary for 1894 Peter B. Friesen of Blumenort noted that he had been compelled to earn $42.60 of his total annual income of $185.81 by working for wages. [46]

Despite the fact that schoolteachers' wages had increased from about $50 a year during the settlement era to pre-immigration levels of $140-190 a year, teachers were often compelled to work as farmhands as well. In 1887 Abram L. Dueck of Gruenfeld wrote his cousin in Russia to say that his 23 year old son, Johann, worked "at times as a schoolteacher...and at other times as a day labourer." [47] In 1888 when Gerhard Kornelson moved to Steinbach to take up a teaching job he spent most of the first week of official school time threshing for the Steinbach farmers. His first entry as the schoolteacher reads: "October 26. Started to teach and in the evening helped C.B. Loewen thresh." This, however, proved to be more than a Friday evening diversion. From Monday to Wednesday he cancelled school to continue working on the threshing gang. On Thursday November 1, he wrote "commenced with school again, so threshing took three days." [48]

Most often farm labourers were unmarried sons of farmers who had other sons at home. In 1884 28 year old Heinrich Warkentin of Rosenhof

hired 21 year-old Abram, son of Abram M. Friesen of the East Reserve for $19 a month. In 1894 Abram L. Dueck of Gruenfeld sent his 16 year old son, Heinrich, to work for the neighbours. Heinrich's family later recalled that "already at 12, Henry was a big help to his father...but [in 1894] there was a younger brother, who grew up to do the chores, and so Henry at sixteen became a hired hand on neighbouring farms." In 1896 and 97 three sons of Rev. Peter Reimer of Blumenort worked alternatively for their neighbour, Heinrich Plett whose eldest child was only five. In the fall of 1896 14 year old Abram worked two months for Plett to make seven dollars while his older brothers Peter and Cornelius worked at home. In the spring of 1897 20 year old Peter worked 192 hours for Plett at 50 cents a day. [49]

Because of the shortage of labour, farmers often helped out their neighbours. In October 1880 Abram F. Reimer Blumenort noted that his merchant son "...Klaas Reimer helped Abram Friesen...for four days and P. Friesen helped him for two." In September 1883 Gerhard Kornelson hired five neigbours to help him with the threshing and paid them between 50 cents and $1.10 a day. Later that September Kornelson helped with the threshing and potato digging at six neighbours' farms. In September 1889 Kornelson noted in his diary that "I owe Johann Reimer 75 cents for plowing weeds: he owes me 55 cents for threshing." In October 1891 Abram M. Friesen, the Blumenort Schulz, helped Gottlieb Jahnke of the neighbouring village of Blumenhof thresh his crop. [50]

Often, however, labourers were the sons and daughters of poor families. The family history of Anna Goossen, a widow with six children who came to Manitoba in 1874, indicates that upon arrival in the new land "she was forced to place her oldest children in the various homes of relatives to save the household and have the children work for their keep." One of these was 12 year old Franz who lived with his neighbour, Johann Isaac, in Gruenfeld. In the late 1880s another son, 18 year old Peter, worked for his 31 year old brother Gerhard, and earned enough to

put a down payment on 80 acres of land. Poorer families were often hired as village herdsmen. Blumenort's last herdsboy was Jacob W. Friesen whose father had had to earn 1/3 of his income through wage labour in the 1890s. Rosenort's last herdsmen were three sons of Johann P. Friesen, one of whom later recalled that "because of hard times, we children had to work outside as soon as we were old enough. I myself have served as town herdsman in Rosenort." [51]

It was not till the mid 1880s that Mennonite farmers in Manitoba had the opportunity of hiring outside labour. The first Molochnaia Mennonite farmers to bring in outside labour were the grain growers of Scratching River. As early as 1886 Abram Eidse of Rosenhof hired two German immigrant brothers, Daniel and William Poersch, to work as farmhands and as village herdsboys. In 1887 Eidse sponsored a third Poersch brother who came with his family and made a living by renting 40 acres from the Mennonites and working as a seasonal labourer. In the following years the Poersches were hired by a variety of Rosenort farmers, including the church Aeltester and in 1892 were put into complete charge of running the farm of Cornelius Eidse who took the summer off to travel to Texas. Another farmer who sponsored immigrant workers in Morris was grain grower, Peter D. Loewen. In 1902 he hired a William Rosche of Saxony, who had preceded his family to raise the necessary money for their coming. The following year Loewen loaned Rosche enough money to bring his family over to Rosenort. Here the Rosches lived in small house in the Loewen yard and continued working for Loewens for three years. [52]

During the late 1880s and 1890s East Reserve farmers also began to hire non-Mennonite labour. Until 1888 Gerhard Kornelson's labour records for the annual threshing day on his farm close to Steinbach contain only Mennonite names. In 1884, for instance, each of 12 members of the threshing gang were men and teenaged boys who lived within two miles of his place. In 1888, however, the records show that an F. Goebel worked as a straw pitcher. In Blumenort, farmers hired a Mr. Kaiser as village

herdsman through out much of the 1880s. Around the turn of the century a number of Blumenort area farmers also hired itinerant English speaking workers. In 1900 Johann Janzen who farmed a section of fertile land east of the reserve, hired Harding Hill, a passing "greenhorn" from London, England to help with the harvest. Janzen later wrote Hill's mother to tell her of her son's whereabouts and that he had treated Hill "as his own [son]." [53]

The greatest source of outside labour for the East Reserve at the turn of the century came from German immigrants from Southern Russia and Poland who arrived to settle in the southern townships of the East Reserve after the government opened up the Mennonite reserves in 1898. These German Lutherans came in chain migrations as early as 1891 and continued in a "steady influx" till 1903. According to one source "these people worked for the Mennonites before buying farms of their own." Another source of labour was a Ukrainian settlement which was established in Sarto, 10 miles southeast of Steinbach, in 1900. [54] This was a daughter colony of the Stuartburn settlement which, according to geographer John Lehr, had been started in 1896 because "it was thought to be well positioned for 'working out' with the Mennonites of either the East or West Reserves....." [55]

By the turn of the century available labour pools allowed farmers to emulate the behavior of their forefathers in Russia. In Russia an overt paternalism characterized farmer-laborer relationships. The size and very prestige of the farm was often measured in the number of workers in employment and it was assumed that a farmer of any consequence would not be without a live-in maid and farm hand. In Manitoba a similar viewpoint was being developed by 1900. Most indicative of these values are the rare household photographs dating from the late 1890s. The photographs of the Friesen family of Steinbach, the Toews family of Gruenfeld and the Koop family of Neuanlage are telling. In each incident the family is lined up in front of their farm or business. Each photograph seems to be a public

inventory of the family's possessions. Each exhibits not only the whole family but their two storey house and barn or workshop as well as some livestock and farm equipment. And although these photographs have much to say about views on conspicuous accumulation they also indicate the growing value of "possessing" a wage laborer. Each photograph has a worker as part of the picture but standing to the side or in the background of the family, indicating perhaps that he too is part of the farm inventory. [56]

The experience of the Nebraska farmers parallels that of the Manitobans in certain respects and differs in others. During the 1880s the Nebraska farmers faced similar labour shortages and had to compete with the railroads for labour. [57] One writer from Cub Creek in 1880 voiced enthusiasm for the coming of the railroad through the township because "first of all, it will allow many to make some money through labour." [58] Farmers could not compete, of course, with the railways for labour.

As in Manitoba, labour had to be derived internally. Children of poorer households sought work in the community at an early age. One such family was that of Maria Bartel Reimer, who arrived in Cub Creek as a widow with eight children. Her family recalled later that "because...mother was poor, [her son Klaas] was only partly raised at home...[for] as soon as he was able to, he was out earning something at one place or another." [59] Census records indicate that in 1880, 15 year old Klaas, was a live-in laborer at the home of well-to-do farmer, Peter Hildebrandt. Those records also show that Klaas's 21 year old brother, Johann, and 22 year old sister Margaretha were employed by Peter Jansen, the well-to-do sheep rancher.

Teenaged children of large families often found themselves hired by farmers whose children were younger. In 1885 16 year old Isaac Thiessen worked for 23 year old Heinrich Loewen who had two small children. In the same year, 20 year old Franz Sawatsky worked for 54 year old widow Margaret Fast whose children included two teenaged daughters and a 10 year

old son. That year too, 21 year old Isaac Friesen was in the employ of his 30 year old brother who had six children under the age of 11. And, during 1885, 23 year old David Thiessen worked for 25 year old Peter Thiessen who had two small children. [60]

Farmers also derived labour from their farm neighbours. In August 1893, for instance, 53 year old Cornelius L. Friesen spent a day helping his 23 year old neighbour, Klaas B. Reimer thresh. [61] In 1891 41 year old farmer Isaac E. Loewen wrote his cousin in Manitoba to indicate that he had had a busy fall threshing his own grain and helping another cousin, 29 year old Heinrich Loewen. [62]

Local sources of labour, however, proved inadequate for the commercialized farms of Cub Creek. By the mid 1880s some farmers began looking further a field for workers. As the immigration of poorer East Europeans to the United States increased, at least one farmer, Abram Thiessen, travelled to New York to intercept some of these immigrants and steer them to Jefferson County. In December 1884 Thiessen returned from one such trip with 30 employees. In a letter two months later, Thiessen reported that the workers he brought included "Slovaks, Poles, Croatians, Magyars and immigrants from the Ukraine. Few speak the same language....[and] I can hardly communicate with them. They are very good workers which, in a region where the workers are very expensive and mostly bad, is worth a great deal. Yet one must lay out $30 for this trip from New York, the sum of which stands in danger of being forfeited if the immigrant does not willingly work it off. Such workers are to be had by the hundreds in New York in February and March." [63]

Thiessen's scheme was readily accepted by his neighbours. While census records for 1880 list only Mennonite workers as servants in Mennonite households, records for 1885 indicate that at least 20% of the Mennonite households in Cub Creek had non-Mennonite hired hands living with them. In total there were 20 young East European immigrant laborers, mostly in their mid 20s, in the employ of Cub Creek Mennonites.

Agricultural censuses also reveal that the value of wages paid by Cub Creek Mennonite farmers increased from $1035 in 1880 to $3764 in 1885 while the number of farmers paying wages for labour increased from six in 1880 to 25 in 1885.

The most significant source of labour in Cub Creek around the turn of the century came from a growing class of landless Mennonites. The increasing difficulty of reproducing the landed household was, thus, becoming apparent. By 1900 fully 39% of the 102 Mennonite households in Cub Creek owned no land; 22% of household heads (21 altogether), averaging 33 years of age, reported that they were "farm laborers" or were working for someone else. The fact that in 1900 only three households reported live-in non-Mennonite servants indicates that a replacement for the East European labour pool had been discovered.

One Cub Creek wage earner was Peter A. Buller who worked for Peter Jansen as a farm hand and then as the foreman of Jansen's sheep feedlot for more than 20 years. Jansen later noted Buller as "a most trusted employee" for whom "no night was ever too dark or weather too stormy...to start out on an errand for me or mine." Buller was representative of a new breed of men. Previously men and women had turned to wage labour for an interim period before establishing their own household farm. By the turn of the century a permanent labour class had become a reality of life for many Cub Creek Mennonites. [64]

The reason for this reality was simply that person to land ratios were changing. Fertility rates continued to be high for both Manitoba and Nebraska, 4.9% and 4.8% respectively, similar to the 4.8% birthrate of Mennonites on the Molochnaia Colony in Russia at this time. Ironically the low marriage ages for women encouraged by economic opportunities in North America, were, by the turn of the century, producing a population base which put serious strains on those very opportunities. While the marriage age in the Kleine Gemeinde communities in the Molochnaia and Borosenko Colonies during the 1860s was 23.1 and 21.2 for men and women

respectively, they were 23.0 and 19.3 in the East Reserve and 22.5 and 19.1 in Cub Creek in the 1890s. [65] Higher birth rates resulting from these marriage patterns were complemented by dropping mortality rates from 2.7% in the Molochnaia in the 1850s to 1.7% in the East Reserve and 1.2% in Cub Creek around the turn of the century. [66] The result was a dramatic increase in the Mennonite population in both the East Reserve and Cub Creek between 1880 and 1900. Mennonites in Cub Creek increased from 378 to 673 while Mennonites in the three Molochnaia village districts in the East Reserve increased from 450 to 857. Family size increased too, from 5.6 to 6.1 in the East Reserve and from 6.3 to 6.6 in Cub Creek between 1880 and 1900. [67] A changing demography was to put new pressures on the limited quantity of land in the old settlements.

IV

The majority of Kleine Gemeinde descendants in both Manitoba and Nebraska, however, were prepared to take measures to ensure the survival of the landed agrarian household. This strategy had an ironic outcome. The search for new farmland did more than anything else to cause the breakdown of the Strassendorf in Manitoba. It lead more and more families to settle outside the bounds of the villages and to farm their own quarter sections of land. The search for new farmland also led to a diaspora of the descendants of the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites, especially from Cub Creek, and to a lesser extent from the original settlements in Manitoba. An increasing number of families seemed willing to establish new agrarian settlements in other states and provinces. By 1905 25% of Molochnaia-Borosenko households in Cub Creek, Scratching River and the East Reserve, no fewer than 65 families, had moved to other states and provinces and many others had left the old village districts to farm their own quarter sections.

In Manitoba the most visible sign of new strategies to secure farmland was the dissolution of the Strassendorf and open field system.

Historians have usually associated the end of the Manitoba villages with the rise of a gain mentality. John Warkentin, for example, argued that it was the "ambitious farmer's endeavors to increase the size of his business" that undermined the village system. [68] Indeed there is much evidence that the end of the village often resulted from attempts to rationalize the business of farming. Blumenhof became the first Strassendorf in the East Reserve to dissolve in 1887 after one farmer, Johann Broeski, took his registered quarter sections out of the village plan and sold it at a handsome profit to an Anglo-Canadian neighbour. Other farmers also noticed how Gottlieb Jahnke, a Mennonite neighbour who farmed his own land, was able to mortgage it in 1887 and obtain a badly needed deep well. [69] According to a contemporary observer, Gruenfeld disbanded in 1904 for a similar commercial reasons: There were a "few [farmers] who had not settled in the villages and who had all their...land....near...their yard....These made progress [for]...they had all their cultivated land in one piece, which was not possible under the village system, which had to have [its] Hauskagal, Schadruthen and who knows how many other kinds of Ruthen. Here a piece and there a piece....." [70] From Steinbach came similar reports. In 1899 one farmer noted that he had purchased a farm three miles from Steinbach and explained that "there is much more building here in the country than in town where farmers face the frustration of having to travel a great distance to their land." [71]

Despite Warkentin's argument and these observations by contemporaries, it may be argued that the break up of the villages had less to do with ambitious modern farmers than it had to do with traditional values of household reproduction. The same strategy which compelled farmers to leave the Molochnaia Colony in Russia in 1866 to found a new settlement at Borosenko was at play in Manitoba. As the population rose around the turn of the century families were often forced to make a choice - either concede their second generation to the towns or

to establish them on lands outside the village boundaries. The latter was much less a break with established ways than the former. Some Kleine Gemeinde farmers had farmed independently owned blocks of land in New Russia. [72] Others, in "four corner hamlets," had insisted on farming their own quarter sections from the very beginning in Manitoba. The 1878 Kleine Gemeinde School Ordinance, for instance, waived mandatory village schooling for "persons not residing in the village." [73] Thus, as land became more rare in the 1890s settlers had their own reputable precedents for considering the option of leaving the villages.

A detailed look, examining the demographic realities behind village outmigration, supports the thesis that village dissolution in Manitoba had its foundation in traditional values. A micro study of the pattern of the break up of Blumenort, Manitoba is illustrative. This village dissolved in several stages. In 1878 several families left to form the satellite community of Neuanlage, in 1893 another group founded the community of Greenland, and then around the turn of the century other groups left to form tiny settlements known as De Krim, Schwagershof, Hochfeld and Ekron. Finally in 1910, under the supervision of a Village Assembly-appointed Land Reallocation Committee, the village of Blumenort came to an end and farmers moved their farm buildings onto their own legally registered quarter sections. [74]

The first groups to leave Blumenort were older parents with their extended families seeking to reestablish themselves on their own land. The 1878 Neuanlage group, for instance, was comprised of 47 year old Johann Koop and his 20 and 15 year old sons, and his two 26 year old sons-in-law. By 1883 Koop had seen four of his children settled on their own land. This move gave Blumenort the breathing space to continue to accommodate new families for another ten years. In 1893, however, it was again clear that new land would be required. Thus, most of the northern four sections of the village district were set aside for the new settlement of Greenland. Although the new settlement drew the families

of four older men, averaging 51 years of age, each of these men had a number of children who had just married or were about to marry. In fact the number of young families in the Greenland settlement is revealed by the fact that the average age of the Greenland settler was 37.4, almost two years younger than the age of the average Blumenort farmer - 39.2. [75] Between 1898 and 1906 another 10 families left Blumenort. The fact that the average age of these families' heads was only 25.4 supports the argument that it was the strategy of household reproduction that was behind the exodus from the villages. Among these 10 families, only one head was more than 40. This man, Johann F. Reimer, was hardly an "ambitious farmer" for as a poor American immigrant he had, until 1898, been listed as a landless person in Blumenort. The result of the outmigration of these 10 families was a rise in average age of the household head from 34.4 in 1898 to 40.6 in 1910, the year of the village break-up. [76]

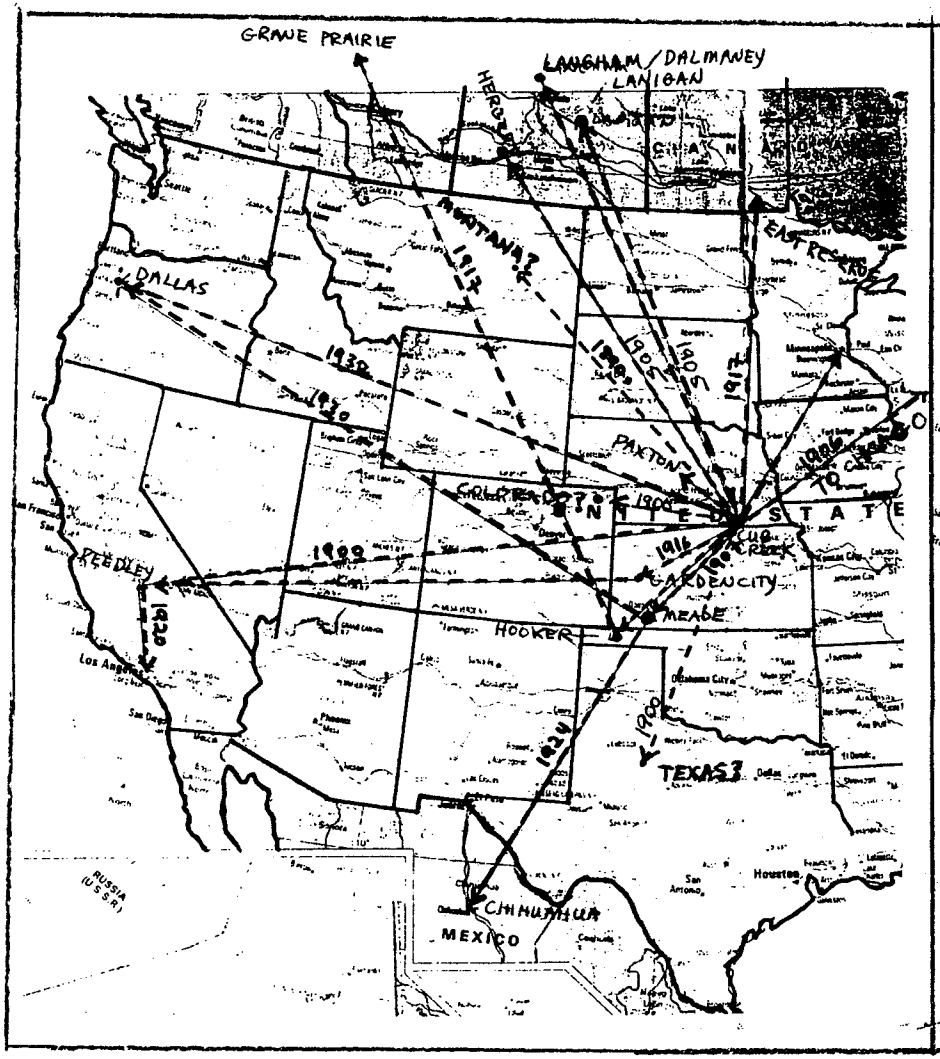
Finally, the traditional nature of the village exodus can be seen in the participation of church leadership. It is significant that this leadership, often noted as the bulwark of traditionalism, seems to have fully supported the idea of farming one's own homestead by the 1890s. [77] In fact by 1895 four of the five ministers in the Blumenort area, Peter Loewen, Cornelius Plett, Martin Penner and Heinrich Wohlgemuth lived outside the village boundaries on their own quarter sections. In 1902 Peter Reimer, the only preacher still living in Blumenort, purchased two quarter sections outside the village boundaries on which he helped establish his sons. It is also noteworthy that three of the 10 family heads to leave Blumenort around 1900 were later elected preachers in the conservative Kleine Gemeinde church in the next generation. Clearly the dissolution of Blumenort was not seen as a radical break with the past.

V

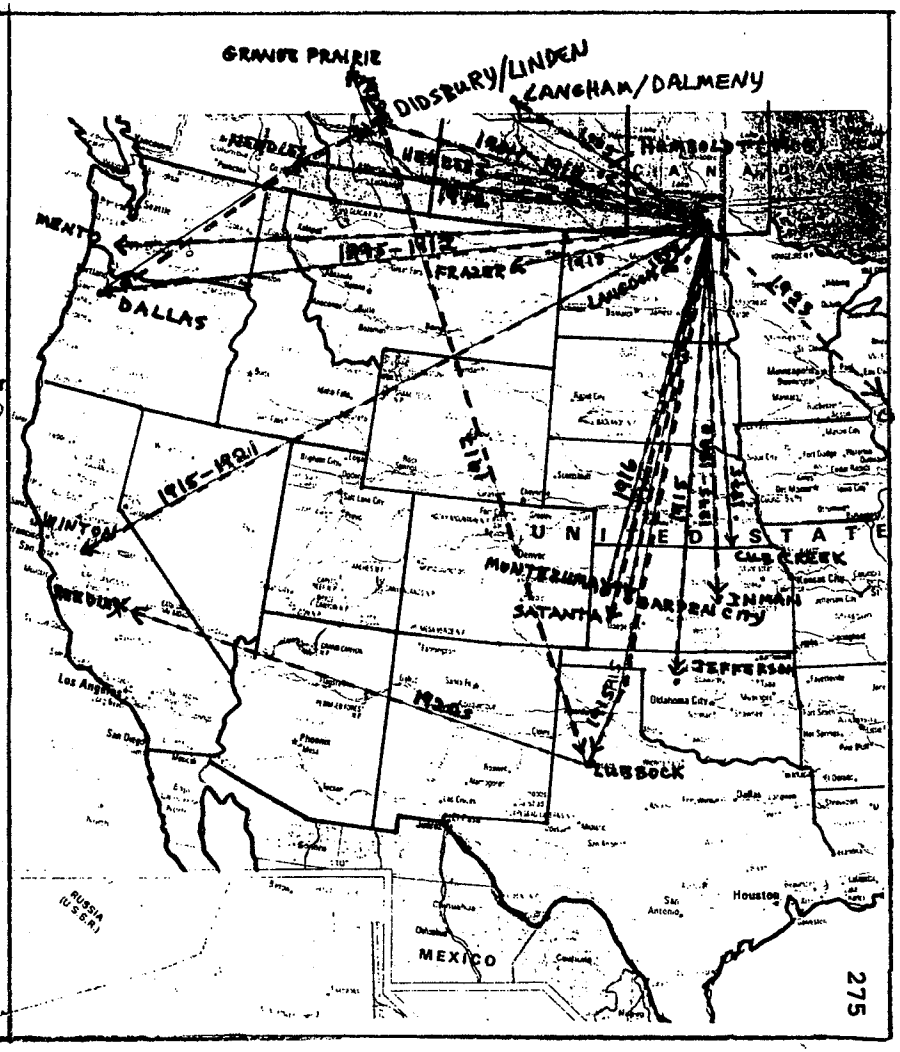
The exodus from the villages was not the only strategy employed to ensure the reproduction of the agrarian household. Between 1895 and 1905 about 25% of the Kleine Gemeinde/Molochnaia families in Cub Creek, Scratching River and the East Reserve left to establish new colonies in other states and provinces. As Map # 11 shows the Manitobans settled in Saskatchewan, Alberta, Oregon and Texas with the most successful settlement near Didsbury, Alberta. And as Map # 12 indicates the Nebraskans settled in Oklahoma, Montana, California, Texas, Saskatchewan and Kansas with the most cohesive community being in Meade, Kansas.

While the Meade and Didsbury settlements were not founded until 1904 and 1907, there were early signs that the Mennonites would be willing to establish new colonies in the event of land scarcity. At least one Manitoba delegation visited the Canadian Northwest in December 1885 to examine "three townships...set aside for Mennonites." In 1889 when West Reserve farmers organized an expedition to the Northwest, Molochnaia farmers from the East Reserve joined as well. According to one of the delegates the reason "that people are looking for other places" was simply that "more and more people are finding themselves without land...." [78] The delegates to the Northwest returned with positive impressions of land that "was rolling as it was in Russia" and a region in which "many homesteads are available." Yet the land scarcity in the East Reserve had not yet become severe. As one East Reserve letter writer put it in 1889, "the migration fever has died down...for a farmer can still buy a cultivated farm here for between $400 and $1200." Thus, while Mennonite farmers from the West Reserve established settlements around Swift Current and Rosthern the Molochnaia farmers from the East Reserve and Scratching River put most of their resources during the 1890s to acquiring land outside their village boundaries. [79]

MAP # 12: KLEINE GEMEINDE DIASPORA FROM NEBRASKA, 1874-1930



MAP # 11: KLEINE GEMEINDE DIASPORA FROM MANITOBA, 1874-1930



Few Kleine Gemeinde descendants left Manitoba during the 1890s. Some did move to places in Texas, Kansas and California; but they were individual efforts, undertaken for climatic reasons or to consolidate shifting church networks. Other families left to join kin in Jefferson County despite a growing land shortage there. The settlement that came closest to generating an "immigration fever" was Dallas, Oregon. Reports of a "mild climate and fertile soil" drew at least three Kleine Gemeinde families from the East Reserve to join other Manitoba Mennonites in establishing a colony there. High prices and the difficulty of clearing the forested valleys, however, drove many of these to return as early as 1899. [80]

It was not until the turn of the century that land shortages in the East Reserve resulted in the establishment of significant colonies. The most successful of these colonies was one founded by members of the 1882 splinter Holdeman church in Linden, Alberta, 25 miles west of Didsbury. Kleine Gemeinde descendants were first attracted to this region in 1901 when West Reserve Mennonites settled in the area and praised the region for its good land and plentiful rainfall. [81] In a April 1902 meeting in Gruenfeld a delegation headed by a Holdeman preacher, Peter Baerg, was chosen "to spy out the land in the west." Before the delegation had left five families from Scratching River and Gruenfeld had committed themselves to Alberta. By the following year seven other families and a number of American Holdeman families had founded the Mennonite settlement of Linden, reestablished religious leadership, and built a church meeting house. [82]

The reason for the community's appeal, however, was not primarily that it was a closed church-based settlement. Settlers who moved to Alberta spoke of the mild climate which allowed them to get through the winter with less hay than in Manitoba and enabled them to have their first Christmas service outdoors. They spoke of the proximity to Calgary where they could market their cheese. They indicated the importance of being able to find work in the off season as coal transporters between Rocky

Mountain coal mines and Didsbury. But most often they emphasized the homesteads. Abram Klassen of Scratching River noted in his memoirs that he moved to Linden because we "were thinking of buying more land when we heard that homesteads were available in Alberta." What most appealed to him was the possibility of finding land for his four sons ages 18 to 24. Klassen noted that "we agreed with the [married] children that if each of us could take a homestead we would sell our farm...and settle in Alberta. This worked out and in the spring of 1903 we sold our farm...and headed west." [83] The community in Alberta grew quickly. Within a short time there were a number of Molochnaia Mennonites in the three neighbouring communities of Linden, Sunnyslope and Swalwell. A school and cheese factory were built. And families continued to arrive till World War I. By 1910 the community had attracted between 30 and 35 families. In 1911 the community was given a special boost when Peter Toews, the esteemed Aeltester who had organized the 1874 migration from Borosenko to Manitoba, settled in Swalwell for his retirement years. [84]

Another, although less successful, attempt at founding a cohesive East Reserve colony was made at Herbert, Saskatchewan. In April 1904 an ad hoc group of Steinbach, Blumenort and Rosenort families purchased land near Herbert and began a settlement. Once again the families who moved were in search of farm land. The family history of Cornelius Cornelson, for instance, notes that he headed west because "homesteads were available in the Herbert area." The result of Cornelson's decision was that "two sons of the Cornelsons also moved to Saskatchewan at this time....and most of the[ir] children became land owners there." [85]

The Herbert community was to be less cohesive than the settlement at Linden. There were reports by August 1905 of a functioning community complete with a feed mill, a blacksmith shop and well established homes. The community was even successful enough economically to attract an official delegation from the Kleine Gemeinde churches in both Manitoba and Nebraska in 1906. At first it looked as if a daughter colony would be

founded but then the Nebraskans decided to purchase land in Kansas instead. In the end nothing came of the official tour. And because the 1904 settlers represented the fringe of the Kleine Gemeinde community, among them several excommunicated members, no Kleine Gemeinde colony was ever established in Saskatchewan. A few East Reserve families settled in Dalmeny, Saskatchewan, north of Saskatoon, but their number was small. Kleine Gemeinde descendants who moved to Saskatchewan tended to join other Mennonite church groups originating from the West Reserve or to assimilate into the mainstream of Saskatchewan society. Dreams, however, died hard and until 1909 Aeltester Peter Dueck from Steinbach continued to maintain close ties with some Herbert families with the hope of organizing a Kleine Gemeinde church there. [86]

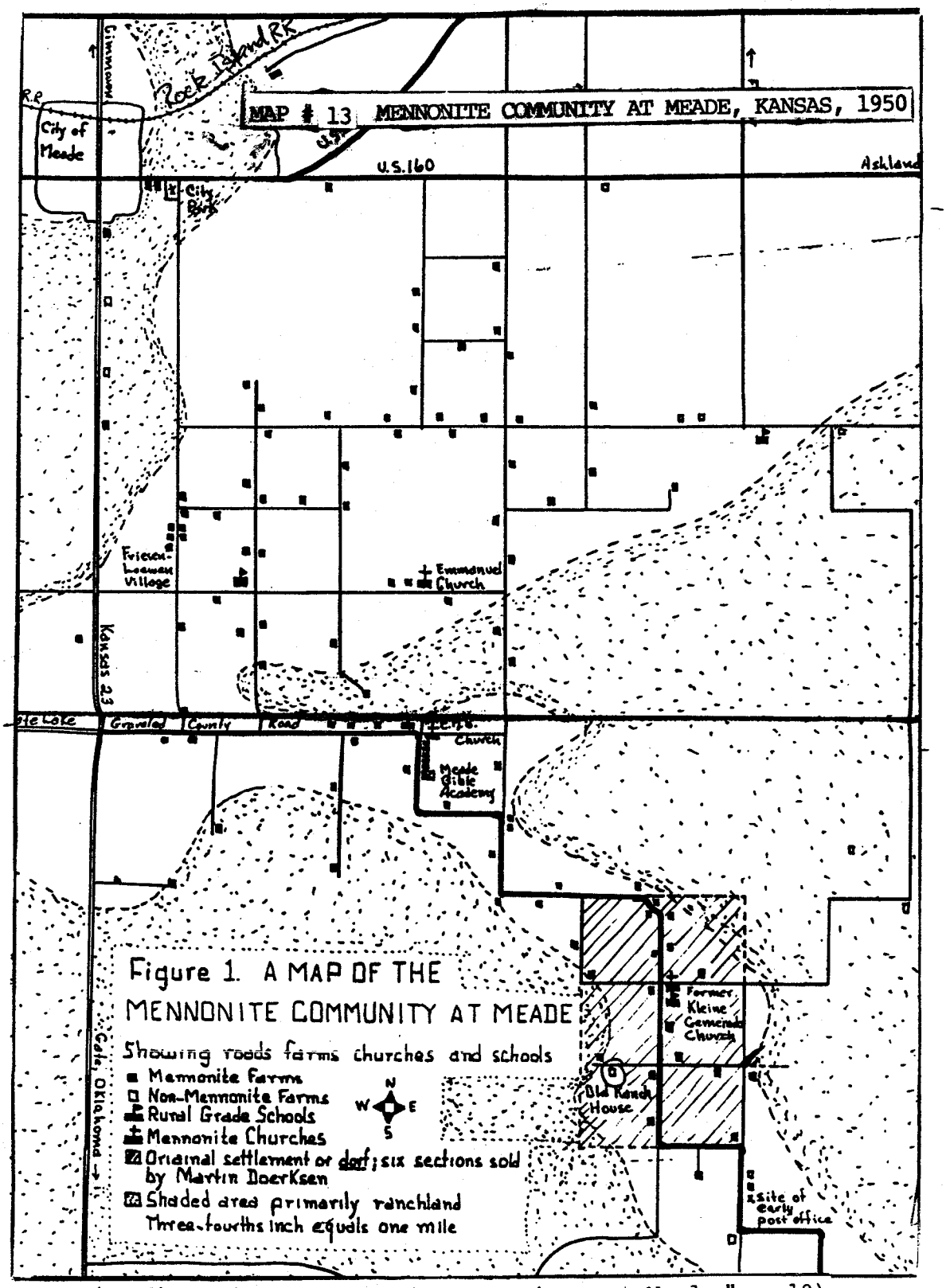
The experience of Cub Creek Mennonites parallels that of the East Reserve and Scratching River families. Here too Mennonite families left to found new agrarian colonies. In fact the years between 1890 and 1906 marked a general exodus of Mennonites from Nebraska. During these 16 years as the Mennonite population in the United States increased by 32% the number of Mennonites in Nebraska decreased by 22%. This corresponds to the Cub Creek experience where the number of Mennonite households decreased from 101 in 1900 to 86 in 1910. [87]

Although few Mennonite families left Cub Creek before the turn of the century there were early indications there, as in Manitoba, that farmers were open to the idea of secondary migrations. As early as 1885 two Cub Creek farmers examined land 250 miles to the west in Hitchcock County. Five years later the first colonization effort was made when a number of poorer families founded a new settlement on inexpensive land in Montana. However, no sooner had that settlement begun then reports came back to Cub Creek of hardships on the dry, rocky land that seemed to be fit only for the grazing of sheep and cattle. Another nine families left for Montana in 1897 but hardships sent them back that same year. Other early settlements were founded on Indian Land in Oklahoma and Texas.

However, little is known of these attempts except that they, too, seem to have been visited with difficulty. A report in December 1900 noted that "people in Texas are in trouble and need money." [88]

Later settlement schemes in Colorado, California and Saskatchewan were more successful. In 1900 there were reports in Mennonite newspapers that Cub Creek migrants were making a good living on irrigated land in Colorado. [89] From Reedley, California came reports of Cub Creek farmers buying expensive fruit growing land. One Cub Creek farmer who visited Reedley wrote home to declare that while "we have many apple trees and large and plentiful vegetable gardens [in Nebraska] I cannot advise against the California marvel." [90] And Cub Creek farmers were also among the one million Americans to find homes in Canada during these years. Kleine Gemeinde descendants found their way into the Canadian Northwest where Peter Jansen, their neighbour, had invested in large tracts of land and was aggressively marketing it through commissioned land agents and Mennonite newspapers. By 1903 several Cub Creek families had moved to Langham, Saskatchewan where they became integrated into a Bruderthaler Mennonite congregation. [91]

The largest relocation of Cub Creek families occurred in 1906 and 1907 when 31 families moved to Meade, Kansas (see Map # 13). Like the Linden, Alberta settlement Meade was the result of a group-organized migration. The umbrella group was the old Kleine Gemeinde church which, since the founding of the Mennonite settlements in Cub Creek in 1874, had been decimated by members leaving for more progressive churches. In 1900 it represented only 25% of the Mennonite population in Cub Creek. Unlike the Holdeman Mennonite migration to Alberta, the migration to Meade included an entire church congregation. Jacob Isaac, the church Aeltester in later years, recalled that the decision to move came after a specific church brotherhood decision: "When the idea of colonization was presented to the congregation some people were...shocked, especially those that had farms. The matter, however, was not dropped, but prayerfully



(Credit: Friesen, "Mennonite Community...at Meade," p. 10)

discussed....The congregation was called together many times...[because it was] concerned that a new colonization might be the Lord's will. [Finally,] the congregation approved, with about 90%." [92]

Although the initial idea was to settle with members of the Manitoba chapter in Herbert, Saskatchewan the plans were changed when Martin Doerksen, a recently elected minister noted for his conservative ideas on church practices, boosted western Kansas. Doerksen had earlier purchased a block of land in Meade County and now was selling it for $10 an acre. [93] Despite the fact that it was widely rumoured that Doerksen was profiting from the deal, the Kleine Gemeinde selected his lands for their new home. [94] By September 1906 the families had procured railroad cars and transported their household goods, farm tools and livestock to Meade. Within a year a settlement had sprung up in a region where pioneers recalled "all the land was just prairie" and harvested bumper crops of wheat, rye, barley and oats. [95] By 1907 a school house had been built and church life organized.

The reason behind the mass relocation of the Kleine Gemeinde congregation has been open to some debate. Paul Miller, a sociologist studying Cub Creek in the 1950s, suggested that the Kleine Gemeinde moved to Meade "to avoid secularization" during a time when "isolation was becoming more and more difficult." [96] Miller's argument, however, has been challenged by Henry Fast, the author of a church history of the Kansas Kleine Gemeinde. Fast has suggested that the primary reason for the relocation was that "it was becoming more and more difficult for a beginning farmer [in Nebraska] to compete with the established farmers for the short supply of available farm land." [97] Indeed, not only do census records indicate a growing number of landless families, but Aeltester Isaac later noted that the move occurred after "renting land was getting to be a problem" and "land was getting high in price." According to Isaac, "the idea of colonization [was] to help our young people....." [98] Other sources echo this observation. At least two years before the

migration to Meade, Jacob Classen of Cub Creek wrote his relatives in Manitoba to announce that a move to Kansas was being contemplated "because the land is too expensive in Nebraska." [99] And Anna Doerksen Friesen, a young married woman in 1907, recalled in later years that the move to Meade was undertaken in order to establish "a community where poor and landless people could find a new home" and proved to be a success because the "the older people helped the younger ones get started." [100] The strategy of Meade safeguarded the old value of a landed agrarian existence.

VI

Commercial farming brought with it an increasing contradiction of old community values. As farms began realizing profits farm sizes increased and land prices rose. The highly developed economy in Nebraska sent prices rising steeply as early as 1880 and maintained them at three times Manitoba's rate through to the turn of century. Nebraska's market economy also encouraged larger farm sizes. By 1880 the average Cub Creek, Nebraska farmer cultivated almost five times that of his East Reserve. However because of the dense rural population of southeastern Nebraska the farm sizes of Cub Creek reached their zenith by 1880 and began a general decrease that lasted throughout the next generation. In Manitoba a slower economy and the greater availability of land saw both farm sizes and prices increase slowly. By 1900 the number of cultivated acreas on the average Cub Creek and the East Reserve dovetailed at 64 cultivated acres per farm. By 1900 even Manitoba faced a land shortage. These land shortages and accompanying high land prices widened the gap between poor and rich families. In Nebraska especially, a gain mentality erased the traditional correlation between farm and family size. Indeed by 1900 there were small families with large land holdings and an increasing number of landless families with no other option but to enter the wage labour market or become tenant farmers.

Commercial farming also resulted in the shifting of old social boundaries. Partial agricultural mechanization had not eradicated the chronic shortage of labour and household labour pools, including the labour of women, were not sufficient to produce established levels of surpluses. In an effort to acquire farm hands farmers in both Nebraska and Manitoba crossed old boundaries and began sponsoring East European immigrants. Farmers also began crossing old boundaries to acquire new sources of credit. Established customs of procuring money or terms of credit from within the communities or the practice of using both cash and barter to acquire goods began changing. New capital pools were required to pay for farm mechanization and costly land. By 1900 a high percentage of farm land in both Nebraska and Manitoba had been mortgaged to outside lending institutions. During the depression years of the early 1890s farmers, especially on the highly capitalized farms in Nebraska, faced unprecedented debt loads. Only the agricultural boom of the turn of the century infused the community with new hope.

For the increasing number of landless families that hope lay in their ability to move beyond the bounds of the old communities and ensure the reproduction of the farm households on land elsewhere. No one problem threatened the old structures of the community as did high priced land and it was clear that new schemes were required to ensure the survival of the household economic unit. In Manitoba the most visible sign of such planning was the break-up of the old Strassendoerfer as young families left to establish their own farms on new land. In Nebraska outmigration to other states and to Canada answered its growing problem of landlessness. Families who were unwilling or unable to make these relocations were faced with the social reality of life in small towns such as Steinbach, Manitoba and Jansen, Nebraska.

The growing scarcity of land, the widening gap between rich and poor, the increasing reliance on outside credit, and the growing number of people within the community who worked for wages were the signs of farm

commercialization. The settlement period may have caused Mennonite farm households to revert to higher degrees of subsistence than they had been used to in New Russia. However, by the end of the first generation's sojourn in North America the communities in both Manitoba and Nebraska had reached degrees of commercialization unknown to them in Russia. The Nebraska Mennonites who lived in a highly developed economy and relatively dense population faced greater difficulties than did those in Manitoba where a smaller economy and more open land allowed farmers greater economic latitude. By 1905, however, the high cost of farming was having an effect on both communities and, increasingly, farm families were looking for new ways of reproducing the farm household. The nature of land, labour and credit spelled the need for households to employ new strategies for survival.

CHAPTER 11

STEINBACH AND JANSEN: A TALE OF TWO TOWNS

The commercialization of agriculture was not the only point at which Kleine Gemeinde families were entering more fully into the modern world of capitalism. During the period between 1880 and 1905 a number of farmers in each of the central settlements in the East Reserve, Scratching River and Cub Creek began participating in the building of service centers and towns. This was to be a crucial development for it introduced into the communities a growing non-agricultural economic sector and threatened to shift traditional social boundaries. Within the new towns there was a growing class of merchants who introduced a new cash nexus into the economy; the town also contained an increasing number of landless wage earners, a greater supply of consumer products, more markets and services for commercializing farms and a wider arena for interaction with outsiders.

By 1900 the agrarian communities had clearly begun to change. Steinbach on the East Reserve had more than a dozen different business establishments and a population of 349 in 76 households. Each of the remaining Strassendoerfer also exhibited signs of becoming service centers: Blumenort, Gruenfeld and Hochstadt in the East Reserve and Rosenort at Scratching River each had a cheese factory, a general store and a blacksmith shop. And in Cub Creek township, the railway town of Jansen begun in 1886, had grown into a town with two dozen businesses and a population of 273 in 55 households. [1]

The growth of Steinbach and the rise of smaller service centers in the Manitoba settlements reflected a continued growth of capitalism and urbanization in the Molochnaia-Borosenko communities but they did not,

however, end the solidaristic, ascetic, agrarian nature of these communities. Nor did they end the centrality of the household economic unit. Continuity was evident in several aspects of the new towns. First, the roots of the main business enterprises were traceable to Russia where craft industries had flourished and the concept of the market place accepted. [2] Second, the majority of the new business establishments were geared to strengthening the local household agricultural economy and not to introducing new types of consumption or production. Indeed, merchants depended on the family farm for their own survival. [3] Third, the labourers who helped build up the town economies were young, highly mobile and placed a primary value on the ideal of becoming landed farmers. [4] Fourth, important cultural institutions, such as the village "Schulzenbott", the communal-oriented churches and private German-langauge schools ensured the perpetuation of familiar ways. [5]

It is less possible to argue the theme of continuity for Jansen in Cub Creek township. It was a loud, bawdy railway town, imposed on Cub Creek from the outside and peopled with merchants and land speculators seeking to make quick profits. But what is significant in Jansen is what did not happen. It did not attract many Mennonites as residents during these years and the Mennonites who moved in sought new ways to reestablish old social boundaries to maintain their distance from the town's "American" milieu.

While both Steinbach and Jansen have been the focus of previous scholarly attention, a comparison of the two very different towns located within similar Mennonite communities provides a revealing insight into the lifeworlds and values of the descendants of the 1874 Kleine Gemeinde settlers. [6] Those views become quite apparent from an examination of the diaries, account books, newspapers, letters and memoirs of the main players in the growth of the towns. They question the common assertion that "the trading centers had the effect of breaking down the Mennonite way of isolated, self contained village life." [7] They also allow for an

understanding that goes beyond concepts of "ethnic ghettoes" and "old world customs" to the shared values, the ambience, the internal structure and the strategies of adaptation which made up the social nature of the new communities.[8]

I

In 1874 Steinbach was a rather typical East Reserve Strassendorf. It was founded by 18 farm households and laid out along a creek which traversed township 35-6-6E on the eastern edge of the reserve. Farmers settled on the east side of the street and organized the rich arable land around the village as an "open field." In keeping with their Russian ways, several of the farmers relying on labour provided by their children engaged in craft industires to supplement household income. Within a few years of settlement the Steinbach farm economy was diversified with the presence of a blacksmith, a flour miller, a sawyer, and a merchant who exchanged merchandise brought in from Winnipeg on consignment for agricultural products. In this respect the village differed little from Steinbach, Borosenko where Klaas Reimer had run a successful blacksmith shop, Abram S. Friesen a $400 roller mill, Peter Buller a $1200 wind powered flour mill, Johann Reimer had sold hardware and clothing products on consignment, Heinrich Brandt had worked as a carpenter, and Peter Toews had served as a teamster.

Nor did the Steinbach in Manitoba differ from other prairie Mennonite villages where farmers often engaged in sideline activities to help the household income. In Lichtenau Gerhard Kornelson tanned hides. In Blumenort Abram M. Friesen repaired watches. In Gruenfeld William Giesbrecht sewed shoes. In Blumenhof Abram Friesen peddled pills ordered in from Winnipeg, New York and Chicago.

Steinbach did begin changing from the other villages in the early 1880s and began taking on the character of the larger Mennonite towns in Russia, such as Halbstadt in the Molochnaia Colony and Neuendorf in the

Khortitsa Colony. [9] The primary business which led the Manitoba town's growth was a $2000 wind powered flour and sawmill erected in 1877. The mill owned by A.S. Friesen resembled Peter Buller's in Steinbach, Borosenko. Just as diaries from Borosenko recount the excitement when in November 1873 the Buller mill was dismantled and hauled out of the village, memoirs of Steinbach, Manitoba pioneers recount the excitement in February 1877 when the long oak beams and milling stone were hauled into Steinbach from Winnipeg and erected by Peter Barkman, a millwright from Rosenfeld, Borosenko. In 1878 Friesen added a $1300 steam engine, sold the windmill complete with the milling stone and concentrated on sawmilling because "wood sawing brought in the dollars more quickly." To fill the void left by the sale of Friesen's mill, Klaas Reimer and Peter Barkman built a $5000 steam powered, three storey flour mill. [10]

The flour and sawmilling enterprises were not the only factors in turning Steinbach into a service center. In 1877 Klaas Reimer had undertaken an enterprise common in villages of the Molochnaia and Borosenko colonies in Russia. He brought home from one his trips to the market place in Winnipeg a wagon filled with $300 of wares which he sold on consignment for a Winnipeg merchant, R.J. Whitla. Reimer did, however, make an important innovation. In the absence of weekly visits from Jewish peddlers and local fairs, or Jahrmarkten, Reimer began selling his merchandise from his house on a regular basis.

Because these businesses provided crucial services for the commercializing farms in the East Reserve they ensured Steinbach's growth. Local farmers noted the opening of the mill in their diaries and indicated that farmers came from distances which required overnight lodging. [11] Other local observers reported that Friesen's sawmill and Reimer's general store were also drawing in customers: "things are very lively here at the sawmill," wrote one farmer in December 1880, "and business is also increasing in size and scope at the general store." Another letter writer noted that in 1880, the first full year of the sawmill's operation, it had

cut $1200 worth of firewood. In the winter of 1881 Friesen expanded his enterprise by setting up a winter logging camp 20 miles southeast of Steinbach. [12]

There were also reports about an increasing machinist and blacksmith business carried on by both Reimer and Friesen. Again these industries reflected transplanted activities from Borosenko where both Reimer and Friesen had been noted blacksmiths. [13] That these activities were practiced in Steinbach is evident from a June 1881 letter which reported that in Steinbach the "machinists and manufacturers are engaged in a brisk business." [14]

Steinbach continued to consolidate its position as a market center throughout the 1880s. The records of Gerhard Kornelson who worked part time as a teamster for Klaas Reimer indicate a brisk trade at the Reimer store, particularly after Reimer built a special building for it across the yard from his house in 1884. [15] During the winter of 1885 Kornelson made monthly trips to Winnipeg for Reimer. On January 20, for instance, Kornelson hauled 500 pounds of butter to Winnipeg and returned with 1200 pounds of merchandise. Klaas Reimer's store seemed to attract others. Sometime in the early 1880s his brother Johann R. Reimer, the Steinbach mayor, operated a small food store, selling brandy, fish, beans, coffee and fruit to his neighbours. [16] In the mid 1880s Klaas Reimer's son, Heinrich, opened a more substantial hardware store. In fact H.W. Reimer's store was of such a size and scope that community members at first opposed it as an innovation which might change the nature of the ascetic, agrarian community. [17] In 1889 two other Steinbach farmers, Peter T. Barkman and Cornelius B. Loewen opened retail shops and began dealing in farm implements.

It was not till the 1890s, however, that Steinbach took off. In 1881 Steinbach still had fewer households than Blumenort and in 1891 two thirds of its households were still engaged primarily in agriculture. During the 1890s this changed. Between 1891 and 1898 the number of

households in Steinbach doubled from 38 to 76 and its population increased from 208 to 361. More importantly the number of village households owning no farmland increased almost five-fold from 10 in 1891 to 48 in 1898.

At the foundation of Steinbach's growth was the rise of a number of new enterprises and the growth of existing ones. In 1889 a cheese factory was opened by K.W. Reimer, another of Klaas Reimer's sons. Its success was immediate. In the first year of operation the factory produced 50,000 pounds of cheese and netted two cents a pound after paying for the milk and labour. [18] So successful was the plant that in 1890 Reimer's brother, Peter, opened a cheese factory in Gruenfeld and in 1892 and 1896 K.W. Reimer himself built two more plants, one in Blumenort and the other in the neighbouring village of Hochfeld. By 1896 K.W. was running a small empire, visiting each of his plants every two weeks and overseeing a total production of 150,000 pounds of cheese annually. [19]

The merchant activity of Klaas Reimer Sr. and his son Heinrich, no doubt, benefitted from the cheese factory. Both stores grew throughout the 1890s. So influential had they become that in 1897 the Hanover Municipality passed a bylaw stipulating that all peddlars on the Reserve must apply for a license, a measure intended to ensure the dominance of the Steinbach merchants. The H.W. Reimer store which had had a stormy opening in the mid 1880s had grown by 1902 into a store with annual sales of $26,000. [20] But even more important was Klaas Reimer Sr's store. By 1893 it had a regular clientele of 300 and annual sales of more than $14,000. In January of that year Reimer offered to sell the store to a relative from Russia for "20% below market price, that is for 10 to 11,000 dollars; half of it in cash." [21] The sale never materialized and the store continued to grow. By 1905, just a year before Reimer's death, the annual sales at K.Reimer and Sons totalled $30,293. [22]

Store sales were only one aspect of Reimer's merchant activities. He also supplied table foods and clothing items to places outside of the East Reserve. He sold food products to sawmill camps in southeastern

Manitoba. In February 1895, for instance, he sold 1060 bushels of oats and 4700 pounds of meat to a Mr. Sprague, a lumber camp owner 50 miles from Steinbach. The oats was sold for 10 cents above the Winnipeg price and hauled to the camp by French and English teamsters in caravans numbering up to seven sleighs. The scope of Reimer's merchant activities is further underlined by the fact that in the very month of the Sprague deal he negotiated a contract with the Jewish merchant, Finkelstein of Winnipeg, for the sale of 4000 pounds of butter to be paid for in clothes and crockery. In the same month as well Reimer began his annual spring egg sale in Winnipeg, an enterprise which peaked in early April that year, with weekly sales of 700 dozen eggs. [23]

Besides contracting to deliver food items Reimer also ran a mail order service. His personal letter files from 1890 to 1893 indicate that he filled orders for domestic items such as cloth and needles, and exotic items such as moose horns and wild cherries. The single most important item, however, was the black or printed shawl which Mennonite women used as a head covering in church or in public. During three years in the early 1890s Reimer mailed 243 of these shawls to places in the West Reserve, Minnesota, Kansas and Nebraska.

A third area of growth for Steinbach during the 1890s was the Reimer-Barkman flour mill. Despite the fact that the $8000 mill burned to the ground in August 1892 and was insured for only half its value the Reimer and Barkman families continued the enterprise. [24] In October Klaas Reimer travelled to Toronto where he purchased a larger steam engine and a 75 barrel mill. In 1893 the new mill, a five storey building, was completed at a cost of $12,500. [25] Throughout the 1890s business at the mill increased causing it to be fitted with a new steam engine in 1902 and to be fed by grain imported from the West Reserve by 1904. [26]

The blacksmith and machine building industry was a fourth point of growth for Steinbach. In 1892 A.S. Friesen opened a new two storey blacksmith shop and metal and woodwork factory. Within a short period

the new Friesen enterprise had asserted an audible and visible presence in town; in 1895 one observer wrote that "the newly established firm of Friesen and Son Wood and Steelworks let the town know daily by its shrieking steam whistle that they are in business." [27] By the turn of the century the Friesen shop was not only repairing steam engines and forging plow shares but it was also manufacturing its own self feeders and straw blowers for threshing machines. The latter was first developed in 1899 and according to one report in 1902 provided the Friesen brothers "with a lot of work." In 1904 Friesen also developed an early model of the combine harvester when he fitted a threshing machine with a gasoline powered engine allowing it to travel from stook to stook doing away with the necessity of hauling the sheaves to the threshing machine. [28]

Lumber milling was a fifth industry in Steinbach. By 1891 A.S. Friesen's saw mill was cutting 8000 board feet per day and Friesen was beginning to plan the opening a permanent sawmill at Pine Hill, 25 miles southeast of Steinbach. In the same year Friesen acquired a competitor when A. W. Reimer, a fourth son of Klaas Reimer, and C.B. Loewen set up their own sawmill near Pine Hill and added a lumber yard in Steinbach. [29] Around the turn of the century A.W. Reimer parted with Loewen and began his own lumber business. Reimer capitalized on the new Southeastern Manitoba Railway and began exporting eight foot tamarack cord wood from a lumber camp near Pine Hill to Winnipeg where his brother Peter marketed it from his livery stable and retail outlet on Elgin Avenue. Peter W. Reimer's letter head in 1904 advertised not only lodging and food but "all kinds of Cord Wood, Tamarack and Cedar Fence Posts. [30]

Steinbach's growth in the 1890s was not unnoticed in the Mennonite world. Reports describing the new East Reserve center began appearing in several different German-language newspapers. "Steinbach is...a large, beautiful village and is inhabited by very enterprising people," wrote one traveller in the Nordwesten in 1894. "In fact one might well believe that one has come across a factory town as one observes...the puff and clatter

of steam engines as rarely seen out in the countryside; Steinbach is...the metropolis of the East Reserve for farmers can be served with all their needs." [31] In 1898 Heinrich Kornelson the Steinbach reporter to the Rundschau did a bit of town boosting in his description of Steinbach: "Here in town is a roller flour mill, a feed mill, a steel and wood works, a tannery, two blacksmith and repair shops, a sheet metal shop, a saddlery, three general stores and several food dealers and two guest houses with stables for travellers; the only requirements we still have are a doctor and a shoemaker." [32] In 1901 Kornelson wrote the Rundschau again to declare that "the East Reserve will want to know that Steinbach now has a doctor." [33] Another Steinbach resident boosted the town in a letter to the Rundschau in 1903 by declaring that the various "businesses are strong and Steinbach is booming [as] people are coming in from everywhere to help us assure our future." [34]

Steinbach was not the only East Reserve village with entrepreneurs seeking new livelihoods by creating another cash nexus and by providing farmers with the services needed for their increasingly commercialized operations. Niverville, the railway town on the western edge of the reserve had been established in 1879 by William Hespeler. Grunthal located in the southern part of the reserve had grown since it received a cheese factory in 1895. But even the smaller Kleine Gemeinde villages were developing fledgling service industries. Unlike the service centers of the West Reserve, Altona, Winkler, Gretna and Rosenfeld which were located on a railway and developed around a country elevator, the East Reserve villages developed around cheese factories. Indeed in 1898 each of the eight Mennonite-owned cheese factories in Manitoba were located in the East Reserve or at Scratching River. [35]

Five of these were located in Kleine Gemeinde/Molochnaia villages, Steinbach, Blumenort, Gruenfeld, Hochstadt and Rosenort. In addition to this, Blumenort had two custom sawyers, a blacksmith and a merchant. Gruenfeld had a steam powered flour mill by 1884, a blacksmithy by 1897

and a "dry goods store" by 1894. [36] In 1899 Gruenfeld received a post office and changed its name to Kleefeld. Hochstadt, just four miles south of Gruenfeld also had a cheese factory, a small general store and since 1884 a post office. And in the Scratching River village of Rosenort, Henry W. Brandt, started a cheese factory in 1891 and a general store a few years later. [37] Unlike Steinbach, however, these enterprises were household craft industries operating as sidelines to the family farm in keeping with the mixed economy of New Russia.

II

Much has been written to describe Steinbach's unique growth without the aid of town boosters or railways. Little has been offered by way of analysis. E.K. Francis has suggested that because the Molochnaia farmers were a minority and did not participate in East Reserve affairs they "were able to concentrate on the quiet development of their own little economic empire around Steinbach." John Warkentin has suggested that Steinbach's growth can attributed to the "presence...of ambitious, hardworking men [who,] though poor...made an attempt to start...businesses...." Frank Epp has suggested that Steinbach grew because it was one "the most strategically located and trade minded...[villages]." [38] These suggestions, however, do not indicate the social side of Steinbach's growth or explain why despite grave geographic disadvantages it developed into a service center.

Geography mitigated against Steinbach's development. The village was anything but "strategically located." It was located on the eastern edge of the East Reserve and the southern edge of the major grain growing areas. Indeed, less traffic passed through Steinbach on its way to Winnipeg than almost any other East Reserve village. A much more logical place for an East Reserve center would have been Tannenau which was located in the very heart of the Reserve and contained the Reserve's first general store and a wind-powered flour mill. The store, owned by Erdmann

Penner, who later moved to the West Reserve, was even backed financially by August Schulz, a German Winnipeg businessman. Moreover diaries indicate that local farmers readily engaged in business with Penner. In March 1877, just after Penner opened the store Cornelius Loewen of Gruenfeld purchased $6.84 of wares in Tannenau. In May of the same year Johann Dueck of Gruenfeld sold 30 bushels of his first surplus wheat to Penner. [39]

Tannenau was doomed, however, when Penner moved his store to Niverville in 1878. That was the year that the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway was built through the western edge of the East Reserve and the year that William Hespeler, the former immigration agent, laid out the town of Niverville. Within a short time, Hespeler had been able to attract elevators, a hotel and two stores to his town. Although Niverville was located some 10 miles from the nearest Molochnaia village, Kleine Gemeinde farmers patronized it and used its railway. In 1882, for instance, Gerhard Kornelson spent $32 of his total annual budget of $370 at Penner's store in Niverville while spending $106 at Reimer's in Steinbach. Abram R. Friesen's diary indicates that farmers sometimes travelled to Niverville to take the train to Winnipeg. Niverville was also the depot when visitors from Nebraska came calling.

Steinbach, and not Niverville, however, was to become the East Reserve's major center. John Warkentin has offered an explanation for Niverville's failure to take-off. According to Warkentin, it was Niverville's proximity to Winnipeg that spelt its demise. Because Niverville was located just 25 miles from Winnipeg, East Reserve farmers preferred to travel to the growing metropolis to market their products themselves. Warkentin has also pointed out that while Niverville was located in the heart of a township of fertile agricultural land its influence was restricted to that township because it was cut off from the rest of the Reserve by the very sections of low lying, poorly drained

soils which were forcing many of its patrons to leave the area for the better soils of the West Reserve.

One of the reasons for Steinbach's growth may, ironically, be geographic. Like the other Molochnaia villages in the East Reserve, Steinbach was located on well-drained, fertile soil. But unlike these villages Steinbach's farmers were severely restricted and could not expand their acreage beyond a certain point. While Blumenort-area farmers expanded to fertile lands southwest toward Neuanlage in 1879, east toward Giroux in 1892, and north to Greenland in 1893 and while Gruenfeld expanded south to Hochstadt and Gnadenort in the 1870s, Steinbach was bounded on all sides by important barriers. Steinbach had been the last of the Kleine Gemeinde villages to be founded in 1874 and hence was left with the most undesirable location. To the north lay the Anglo-Canadian Clearspring settlement, to the west the 800-acre sheep ranch of Abram Wiebe, a Bergthaler Mennonite, and to the east and south lay rocky parkland.

The limited agricultural opportunities led Steinbach's settlers to explore other livelihoods. Not only do tax records indicate that the average Steinbach farm was considerably smaller than those in the Blumenort district, but the diaries of Steinbach's settlers indicate a greater preoccupation with lumbering. Blumenort settlers did go out to the forests to the east of the reserve for building material but unlike Steinbach settlers, who were located closer to good forest stands, they did not make a business out of it. [40]

More important than Steinbach's geography in explaining its growth was its social make-up. Exacerbating Steinbach's limited agricultural opportunities was the fact that in 1874 it was the very poorest of the Kleine Gemeinde villages. Its first residents lived in houses averaging 419 square feet compared to 878 and 677 square feet for those in Gruenfeld and Blumenort respectively. Its farmers cultivated an average of 16.1 acres in 1881 compared to 16.9 and 28.2 for Gruenfeld and Blumenort

respectively. Its households had an average tax assessment in 1883 of $522 compared to $624 in Gruenfeld and $720 in Blumenort. [41]

Just as poor farmers in Russia had readily engaged in non-farm labour during underemployed seasons to help boost household income, underemployed farmers in Steinbach served as a labour pool that helped boost the activities of the local merchants and millers. One farmer wrote later that in 1876 "the Steinbach people received...an opportunity to earn money when William Hespeler...gave us a contract to haul 825 logs from his forest 13 miles east; the logs were 20 to 30 feet long and one foot thick....[and] for this he paid us $700." [42] Winter-time logging was to become a regular activity for Steinbach farmers. The diary of Cornelius W. Loewen indicates that he hauled 20 loads of "government wood" from the eastern forest between December and January 1883 after paying an $11 permit fee. Abram R. Friesen's diary indicates that in the early 1880s he made weekly trips into the forests to obtain lumber and fence railings which he sold to farmers from as far away as Scratching River. Gerhard Kornelson's diary indicates that he often paid his sawing bills at the Friesen sawmill with raw lumber and that during the winters he sharpened fence posts to supplement his livelihood.

Just as poorer farmers cut and hauled wood during the early years others found work as teamsters for local merchants. One man recalled how in February 1876 "we had the opportunity to haul flour from Emerson to Winnipeg and received $1.00 a bag for this." He went on to explain that he had been in the company of 20 other teams, each comprised of ox drawn sleighs and capable of carrying 28 bags. [43] These part time teamsters allowed Klaas Reimer to advance his trade with Winnipeg in the 1880s without the aid of a railway. Gerhard Kornelson, a local farmer, noted in his diary that he travelled 438 miles in the winter of 1880 and 1881 alone. While 196 of these miles were the result of the many trips Kornelson made to three different forests to obtain wood for himself and the Friesen sawmill, 140 miles were represented by the five trips which

he made to Winnipeg, 60 in four trips to Niverville and 38 in the 19 times he drove the one mile from his farm to Steinbach. Many of these trips involved Kornelson as a teamster. The wages he made on such trips were welcomed. A three day Steinbach-Winnipeg sleigh run, for instance, provided Kornelson with a gross income of five dollars. On one such trip in January 1885 Kornelson writes: "after deducting expenses such as lodging and horse feed I am left with $1.60 which in the winter time is a good earning." [44]

Perhaps the greatest social factor in Steinbach's growth was the transfer of capital pools from Russia. Indeed, while Steinbach was on the average the poorest village, it contained some of the wealthiest men in the East Reserve. In fact, tax records for 1883 indicate that Steinbach possessed the three most highly assessed households of the 114 Molochnaia-Borosenko households in the East Reserve. Steinbach's steep economic differentiation reflected this fact as well. While the top 10% of the households in Blumenort and Gruenfeld paid 21% and 24% of the taxes respectively, the 10% of the wealthiest households in Steinbach (3 of the 34) paid 42% of the taxes. The fact was that Steinbach's store and flour and saw mill were not owned by poor men at all. They were owned by Klaas Reimer and A.S. Friesen, both of whom had prospered in the wheat boom of the 1860s in Russia. It was Reimer and Friesen who possessed the capital pools to invest in expensive steam powered mills and hire their poorer neighbours. These investments also ensured that they would have the capital to finance new ventures. By the early 1890s Klaas Reimer and his four sons and one son-in-law owned three general stores, 75% of the flour mill, four cheese factories, and a sawmill. In 1898 the five Reimer families owned 45.5% of the village's wealth as measured by tax rolls in the 78 household town of Steinbach. [45]

These capital pools were also to ensure Steinbach's continued prominence in the years after 1898, when the Manitoba and Southeast Railway bypassed Steinbach and took a route through Giroux seven miles to

the east. And yet Giroux's 40,000 bushel elevator, general store and hotel were no match for the old money of Steinbach. Unlike less established prairie towns that simply disintegrated when a railway bypassed them Steinbach was able to adjust to Giroux's existence. [46] With their financial strength Steinbach merchants were able to turn the Giroux station to their favour. Instead of spelling Steinbach's demise, the railway served to increase the size of the town's logging, milling, and merchant enterprises by bringing them closer to their lifeline, Winnipeg. The Steinbach merchants merely redirected their teamsters from Winnipeg and Niverville to Giroux and increased their access to the Winnipeg markets. Johann Reimer, a Steinbach teamster, is said to have risen early in the years after 1898 to load the butter and eggs of K.Reimer Sons onto his covered wagon or sleigh and haul it to Giroux before the Winnipeg train arrived each morning. [47] Because of their proximity to Giroux, Steinbach merchants were also able to secure a post office for Steinbach. Indeed, Giroux, allowed them to turn the East Reserve around, so that its geographic entrepot now became Steinbach. Symptomatic of this switch was the fact that the village of Chortitz, the seat of the Municipality of Hanover, which had received its mail from St. Pierre, lying to the west of the East Reserve, now received its mail via Steinbach from Giroux. [48]

Capital pools and underemployment, however, were not the only factors in Steinbach's development. The relationship that merchants fashioned with Steinbach-area farmers provided the town with a lifeline. Unlike towns in other parts of the prairies that existed to fill the consumption needs of monocrop wheat producers, Steinbach merchants adjusted to and encouraged the diversified household farm economy of the East Reserve. The story of how Klaas Reimer became the middle man for East Reserve farm households that produced table foods such as eggs and sauerkraut for urban consumption in Winnipeg has already been told. [49] Merchants like Reimer benefitted both from the lack of a rail link with Winnipeg and the scarcity of capital during the first generation.

Steinbach merchants gave farmers the means of obtaining household supplies by barter. In 1881 when Cornelius Loewen built a new house and purchased $219.07 of wood and nails from the Friesen sawmill and Reimer's store part of this bill was paid with $25.00 worth of lumber. Similarly Gerhard Kornelson's 1883 bill at Friesen's was met to a large extent with $1.90 worth of leather. A typical diary entry for farmer Abram R. Friesen was the one from March 17, 1883: "To Steinbach with seven dozen and five eggs. Took one pair of shoes for $1.50, three yards cloth for 90 cents, one dozen matches for 25 cents, one dozen cup at 65 cents. The eggs brought $2.22 so I had to pay $2.00 cash."

As late as the 1890s Steinbach merchants were still willing to take a significant percentage of payments in kind. In 1891, for instance, Widow Elisabeth Reimer Toews paid 63% of her bill at the H.W. Reimer store with farm products and labour; this included having her sons do Reimer's municipal statutory labour. Even the more established farmers used the barter system. Franz Kroeker, the owner of a "double farm," paid 58% of his bill with eggs; Jacob Barkman, the son of the mill owner, paid 32% of his bill by hauling goods to Winnipeg for Reimer; Johann Reimer, a one time village mayor, paid 27% of his bill with veal. Indeed a random sample of 10 of H.W. Reimer's patrons in 1891 indicates that 39% of their purchases were paid in kind. [50] The merchants benefitted from such payments in kind in two ways. First, the products which had served as payment could be resold in either Winnipeg or turned over within the store. Second, merchants could charge higher prices from clients paying in kind than those paying in cash. When K.W. Reimer, the cheese factory owner spent over $406 in the H.W. Reimer store in 1891 and paid most of it in cash the store was obliged to provide him with 5% discount. [51]

Steinbach merchants benefitted from mixed farming in another way; they provided the services required to establish viable operations. The cheese factories and sawmills have already been mentioned. But illustrative of this as well was the Reimer-Barkman mill which ground both

flour and animal mash. In the fall of 1883, just a month before farmer Abram R. Friesen butchered two cattle and sold 2124 pounds of meat and 310 pounds of leather in Winnipeg, he purchased 675 pounds of oat and barley mash from the Steinbach mill in five transactions. In August 1884 Abram M. Friesen purchased 575 pounds of crushed feed from the Steinbach mill for his chickens and pigs. In 1884 Gerhard Kornelson incurred two thirds of his debt of $32.75 at the Reimer-Barkman mill with the purchase of animal feed - $5.00 worth of chicken feed, $9.00 of pig starter, $5.00 of cattle feed. [52]

A mixed farming economy also proved profitable enough to allow Steinbach merchants to capitalize on growing farm mechanization. During the first four months of operation in 1890 equipment dealer C.B. Loewen sold 10 harnesses, three wagons, five drills and disk harrows, two plows and other assorted equipment from the Fairchild Company in Winnipeg totalling almost $900. So profitable was the selling equipment that in 1896 miller Peter Barkman sold his shares in the flour mill to open a Massey Harris implement dealership. Like the merchants, these implement agents were prepared to extend credit to entice further mechanization. One farmer noted in 1904 that "things are going ahead with might and enterprise in Steinbach; the merchants and sales agents make friendly faces when one purchases drills and other farm...implements, some for cash, most however, on the hope of receiving a good crop on credit." [53] Merchants that profitted from the growing commercialization of the East Reserve's mixed farm economy and had been able to provide those services because of transplanted capital pools and wealth stratification constituted the social side of the development of Steinbach into a regional service centre.

III

Just as Steinbach's development was based on transplanted social realites and values, the result of that development for the first

generation Mennonites in the East Reserve was to undergird transplanted social characteristics and world views. The introduction of the town did not approximate assimilation during the years between 1880 and 1905. There appears to be little evidence during these years of Warkentin's suggestion that "the introduction of trading centers into their communities in Manitoba marked the real break from the Mennonite life of South Russia and...served as the bridgeheads for the assimilation of the Mennonites into prairie society." [54] His reasoning that assimilation results when ethnic groups such as the Mennonites "mix readily with other people" in town settings ignores the resilience of cultural values and the complex strategies that ethnic group members employ to seek cultural and social continuity. Evidence suggests that the worldviews of Steinbach's leaders, the values of its villagers, the social structure of the growing town, and the continued presence of traditionalist churches in village affairs ensured that Steinbach people were not going assimilate during this period.

Clearly the social makeup of Steinbach was changing. By 1900 free arable land had been exhausted and cultivated land was rapidly rising in price. Thus, whereas in 1881 each of Steinbach's 27 households owned and farmed land, by 1891 26% of the 38 Steinbach households owned no farmland. Seven years later as the Steinbach population doubled, the percentage of households owning no farmland jumped to 63%. Nearly 46%, 27 of 58 household heads, declared themselves to be general or skilled labourers - blacksmiths, machinists, millers and cheese makers. The remaining 17% of the inhabitants was divided almost equally among landless widows, tenant farmers, and merchants. [55]

There were other signs of a developing landless class in Steinbach. There was, for instance, the reappearance of the Old World "Katstaetten," cottage lots. These lots were rented by the elderly or wage labourers but were owned by farmers who lived just across the street on their "Feuerstellen." [56] By the 1890s the west side of Steinbach's central street

which had been left vacant in the early years was being filled with the rented houses of the "Anwoehner", the landless, or the "Kleinhaeusler," the cottage dwellers comprised of the elderly, wage earners and craftsmen. [57] This was the side of the street where recently arrived German immigrant labourers lived; "this was where the Kreutzers, Soberings and Oswalds lived," recalled one contemporary. [58] By 1904 the number of landless in Steinbach and other parts of the East Reserve had become so commonplace that the Hanover Municipal Council stipulated that henceforth tenants would be required to do statutory labour alongside landowners.

Despite this obvious social chasm in Steinbach, the residents of the west side did not constitute a permanent social class. Steinbach remained a household agrarian-oriented place. Most heads of households who declared themselves labourers on the tax rolls were either the sons of farmers or recently arrived German immigrants who hoped to establish their own farms. Indicative of this was the relative youthfulness of Steinbach's workers; their average age was 31.8 years, significantly lower than the average age of 41.5 for Steinbach's landed farmers. Nor was this figure to change in the years immediately after the turn of the century. In fact by 1906 the average age of a Steinbach laborer was only 28.1 years. Underlining the mobility of these workers is the fact that only one of the 32 wage earning household heads in Steinbach in 1898 still worked as a laborer in 1906. The majority of the other workers had capitalized on the rising dairy industry and founded farms in the parkland south and east of Steinbach or had joined one of the colonization efforts in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Obviously establishing a family farm remained a primary value. Indeed the new land opportunities in Western Canada and the strengthening farm economy had the effect of increasing the percentage of Steinbach farmers owning land from 36% in 1898 to 53% in 1906 and decreasing the percentage of workers from 46% to 28%. [59]

Nor did Steinbach's industrialization affect its external social boundaries in a significant way. It is true that the merchants interacted

frequently and regularly with outsiders. H.W. Reimer, for instance, had a standing account with 20 different Winnipeg wholesalers in 1890. It is also true that in 1898 fully 13% of Steinbach households were non-Mennonite. However these secondary social relations did not affect the basic nature of primary relationships and social boundary maintenance. Endogamy rates, for example, remained high and there were few cases in which inter-ethnic marriages led to assimilation. Ironically, the most controversial inter-ethnic marriages that were performed outside the auspices of a Mennonite church during these years did not involve townfolk. In 1904 Anna Friesen, the daughter of a Rosenort minister, eloped with Gustav Schellenberger, a young German-Russian worker who had migrated to North America as a 17 year old lad, and married him in a civil marriage in Winnipeg; in the following year widower Peter Koop of Neuanlage travelled to Winnipeg to marry his German maid, Auguste Hemiger, in a civil marriage. [60]

Although a dozen inter-marriages occurred during the years around the turn of the century the critical mass in favour of the Mennonites ensured that their spouses would assimilate into the Mennonites' culture. Anna Lehmann, for instance, was the daughter of a Lutheran German immigrant family that had found employment with a farmer in the Bergthaler Mennonite village of Blumengart. In July 1893 she was baptized and joined the Kleine Gemeinde when she married Cornelius W. Reimer of Steinbach. Wilhelmine Fuchs, the daughter of a German immigrant family working the Gruenfeld cheese factory, joined the Kleine Gemeinde in 1893 as well. Karoline Kneller a German immigrant from Poland who worked as a servant for Peter W. Reimer joined the Kleine Gemeinde in 1895 when she married her employer's brother. Her sister, Mathilda Kneller, joined the Holdeman church when in 1903 she married Johann, the son of Steinbach mayor Johann G. Barkman. And Elizabeth Mooney, the daughter of an Anglo-Canadian Clearspring farmer, joined the Holdeman Church when she married Jacob

Wiebe in 1896. [61] Critical mass, favouring the Mennonites, was reversing assimilation in Steinbach.

Conservative church leadership in Steinbach also ensured that the town would not become a typical prairie market centre during these years. Not only was the church leadership of the Kleine Gemeinde, still the largest church body in the Steinbach despite a schism in 1882, involved in encouraging colonization to halt urbanization, it was also regularly checking the growth of the non-agrarian economic activity. Old teachings against commerce as an activity that could lead to "greed" and too close an association with the "world" continued. [62] East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde leaders in the 1890s, for example, made a quick association between the capitalistic pursuits of their relative Jacob Penner and his untimely, early death. Penner who had remained in Russia in 1874 had become quite wealthy through grain farming and later when he "bought many thousand desiatins of land....and hire[d] thousands of workers" he overextended himself and died after facing the prospect of losing his farm. [63] In a letter written in 1897 Aeltester Abram L. Dueck bemoaned the fact that Penner, his brother-in-law, had not "trusted more in God than in his desire to be a wealthy nobleman." [64]

The church leaders, however, also passed judgement on capitalistic, particularly merchant, activities within their own community. Although there was no opposition voiced to large farms in Manitoba or even the saw and flour mills which rose in several of the villages, the church leaders put a check on the activities of Steinbach's merchants. In 1884 when H.W. Reimer built his general store in Steinbach the church was quick to voice its opposition. Peter Unger, a local farmer, recalled that "as the congregation never had had a business of such size in its midst...it was greatly opposed and considered a downfall by the church leaders and most of the brethren." Unger, however, adds that because "there was a generally felt need and as there was much trade carried out in Steinbach the opposition had little effect." [65]

In 1895 church leaders began opposing Klaas Reimer's store, worth $14,000 by now, five times the amount of most farms. In February 1895 minister Johann Friesen of Scratching River wrote Reimer to admonish him for greed; according to Reimer "he greatly saddened me as he point[ed] out to me the matter of greediness that Pieter Pietersz writes about [when he refers to] doing business." [66] On March 9 Reimer wrote a friend wondering "what all this will come to if they are blaming me regarding [my] business dealings." He went on to defend his merchant activities: church leaders "keep forgetting how much unrighteousness occurs because of poverty, when the sheriff is used to help [foreclose on property]," noted Reimer, "and that does not seem right to me." [67] What did come of it was that a delegation of church ministers visited Reimer on March 17 to talk about "business dealings." [68] However, just as in the case 10 years earlier, the church leadership eventually relented and Reimer continued his business and remained a member of the church. In fact when the Manitoba and Nebraska Kleine Gemeinde church leaders met four years later in 1899 to review church prohibitions no mention was made of business dealings. [69]

While the idea of merchandizing had become fully accepted by the turn of the century, the idea of allowing the market to determine the size of one's enterprise was still opposed. Yet buoyant market conditions at the turn of the century encouraged capital accumulation. By 1897 K.W. Reimer's cheese factories earned $3000 net profit per year, ten times the amount a labourer received. [70] In 1904 Steinbach jobber, C.B. Loewen, travelled to the Northwest with cattle with reports that "he hopes to sell them at a good profit." [71] At about this time as well Peter W. Reimer who purchased a timber limit near Pine Hill from his poorer brother is said to have boasted loudly that he had resold it for an exorbitant $10,000. [72] And in 1906 when Klaas Reimer died, his total worth including his store, shares in the flour mill, 280 acres of land and substantial farm came to more than $70,000. Despite the fact that he left 17 children, each one including his widow received $2309.46. He left enough for his widow and

the children of his third marriage to homestead in Saskatchewan and for his sons of his second marriage to build a large new store a year after his death. [73]

It is clear that the church remained uneasy about these activities. From June 1903 to January 1904 the problem of Steinbach's "big businesses" came up for discussion four times in Kleine Gemeinde brotherhood meetings. In May 1905 Aeltester Peter R. Dueck increased his opposition and censured those "evil businesses" which are "always growing larger." [74] One of the businesses under particular scrutiny was C.B. Loewen's store and lumberyard. Not only was Loewen selling forbidden items such as tobacco; he was also increasing his enterprise at the expense of other smaller operators. By 1902 Loewen was cutting over half a million board feet a year providing him with a total of $3030 in gross sales. So reliable a supplier was Loewen that the municipality bought all of its 20,000 board feet of lumber from him in 1902. [75] Loewen's problems with the church began when he joined a lumber association which allowed him either to undercut smaller operators or to prohibit them from operating. The story is sketchy. One local farmer reported that the church became concerned when Loewen "joined a lumber cartel so that no one else could sell lumber in the neighbourhood." [76] In January 1904 Loewen was censured by the Gemeinde, because, according to Aeltester Dueck, "it was considered as wrong...that the lumberyard had entered into a trade alliance (Kombein Bundnisz) in order to empower it alone, within a particular region, to secure lumber sales for itself." [77]

In its efforts to put a check on the growth of Steinbach's businesses the church leadership also opposed the coming of a railway to Steinbach. While oral tradition which indicates that the Southeastern Railway bypassed Steinbach after church elders opposed it has been put to question, there is evidence that the elders opposed a spur line from Giroux that some Steinbach businessmen were lobbying for in January 1905. According to Peter Dueck's brotherhood meeting notes: "We...discussed the

building of the railway with which some of the brethren are working and seeking signatures for a petition....[but we] strongly opposed this...as there is danger in it for us and our children in that we might become like the world in business and lifestyle....and the [present] businesses, which already seem too big, would grow even bigger." [78]

In 1905 conspicuous consumption or consumerism became another issue for the Steinbach church leadership concerned about unrestrained commerce. The first stores in Steinbach seem to have had little effect on the plain, simple lifestyles of community members. The 1883 diary of Lichtenau farmer, Abram Friesen, reveals that products he purchased at the Steinbach stores on his 32 trips to town included the following: food items such as coffee, sugar, apples, meat, cheese, vinegar; textiles including cotton, wool, shoes and cloth; kitchen requirements such as dishes, oil, matches; and farmyard necessities such as horse scrapers and nails. The 1891 account book for the H.W. Reimer store indicates that the products it sold to the well-to-do Steinbach farmer Franz Kroeker on his 27 visits to the Reimer store included food, clothes, coal, oil, nails, house paint, harnesses, hooks, windows, tools, nuts and bolts, leather, dishes, and pails. [79]

After the turn of the century, however, the economy strengthened and there was a noticeable shift in the types of products that the stores sold. Klaas Reimer's store which had sold $14,000 worth of goods in 1894 sold over $30,000 in 1905. Though the Klaas Reimer store was still selling basic household necessities such as hardware items, foodstuffs, farm tools, and medicine including wine, it was beginning to sell a greater quantity of personal attire and leisure wear. By 1905 over half of the stores' sales were in clothes and fabrics. And while Reimer sold some $7317.77 worth of cloth and buttons, indicating a continued degree of household self-sufficiency, it also sold more than $9600 in finished clothing items in that year. And although the list of clothing included necessities such as overalls, fur coats and shoes it also included almost

$1700 worth of men's suits, $500 worth of dressy hats, and $100 worth of women's undergarments. Perhaps most indicative of the changing habits of the ascetically inclined Mennonites were the 59 ladies' neck scarves and 66 neckties that were sold from the Reimer store that year. [80]

These trends, however, did not go unchecked by the church. In January 1904 Aeltester Dueck raised what he discerned as a trend in the church congregation toward "pride and arrogance as seen in the floor coverings of our homes, in our [fancy top] buggies, and in the collars and sleeves of [our women's] dresses." [81] In December of that very year Aeltester Dueck warned the Kleine Gemeinde members at Scratching River. This time it was against "worldly things such as fancy floor coverings, white collars, corsets, gloves, large mirrors...harness bells...Christmas trees and fur hats for women...." [82]

The fact that these recorded warnings were unprecedented in Manitoba is indicative of two things. First, there was apparently no need to mention "worldly things" up to this point. Indeed, the 1899 church conference had censured photography and fancy singing but made no mention of ostentatious dress and house furnishings. Secondly, it is apparent that despite their interaction with the wider world of capitalism, community members had to this point venerated ideas of ascetic simplicity which they had cultivated in Russia.

Perhaps the most important evidence of the continued traditionalist character of Steinbach is the personal history of its foremost merchant, Klaas Reimer. Fortunately Reimer's autobiography and his diary and letterbook for the early 1890s have been preserved. These papers show that Reimer maintained a close network of relatives and fellow Mennonites in other settlements, travelled little, was deeply religious, held conservative views on social boundaries, and maintained a highly personal approach to most business dealings.

Merchant Reimer was typologically a "Gemeinschaft" person. The number of letters Reimer received in which he was asked for personal

favours reflected a set of relationships that were rooted in common understandings and loyalties. Among the letters he received were personal requests for jobs, rides to Winnipeg, extensions of credit, the use of his oxen, and outright requests for monetary assistance. In a letter to a friend in the United States in 1895 Reimer noted how difficult the year had been and added that "this winter it was...remarkable how many letters come in from needy people asking for help." [83] The same personal tone that pervaded these requests for benevolence also characterized Reimer's approach to collecting unpaid accounts. In March 1890 he wrote a Scratching River man who had left Steinbach in 1884 without paying an outstanding account of $32 at Reimer's store: "I would think [you] would have been too honest to move away like that," wrote Reimer, for "six years I have left it without interest...[although] I would grant [you the interest if you] would pay me." [84] In January 1893 Reimer wrote his friend Peter Harms in Nebraska "about the debts still owed by Old Mr. Harms" and reminded him that he "should bear in mind that we [have] taken care of him [in the past]." [85]

Reimer also strongly supported traditional social boundaries. He himself rarely left the community. He was a village patriarch in close touch with his people and sentimentally tied to his family. In March 1886 he wrote his uncle in Minnesota to excuse himself for not paying a visit. The reason for his tardiness, explained Reimer, was that whenever he thought of leaving his family and friends "a lot of tears fall, for by nature I am quite soft hearted...[and find it] quite hard...to part from friends and family." [86] The importance Reimer placed on a closed community is also evident in a letter he wrote in 1895 to a young man who had left the church, taken his family to a non-Mennonite community in the United States and had subsequently found himself in financial trouble. Reimer interpreted the young man's precariousness as a result of violating established social boundaries. "I feel sorry...that you are so far away from relatives and acquaintances, also from the church, and have left

everything, so that you, as well as your wife and children have become so poor that you have nothing to eat...." [87]

Reimer's views on social boundaries are most clearly articulated in a letter he wrote in February 1889 to his son Klaas W. Reimer, who had moved to Winnipeg temporarily to study cheese making. According to Reimer Sr. he wrote his son to tell him "that it was saddening [for me] that he had gone to get his schooling in Winnipeg; I had not given him the permission [and had warned him] that education often results in pride...I wrote three sheets full, advising him to come back [and] confessed my error in....allow[ing] him to go to Winnipeg too often on business [during which] he had become too well acquainted with the big merchants." [88]

Like most Mennonites of his time Reimer cultivated social boundaries by maintaining a rich network of relatives and friends in other Mennonite communities in Nebraska, Minnesota and Russia. Frequently he wrote to his long lost relatives in Russia seeking to reestablish old ties. In February 1890 he wrote "a letter to Uncle Bernard Rempel...this being the third letter I have written him [I asked] whether he was dead already [and told him] that he should let us know whether he is still living." In January 1891 he wrote "a letter to Old Gerhard Willms...and to all cousins [in Russia] and [told them] that whoever will write back first, will receive a gift." In another letter written to an old friend in Nebraska in July 1890 he recalled his "childhood and youth in Rosenort, Russia, [remembering] where my cradle stood [and all the other experiences] up to the present time." [89]

The network Reimer cultivated was a very personal one in which he expressed frank opinions, freely offered advice and bared his soul. In February 1890 he scolded his 80 year old friend Isaac Harms of Nebraska for his recent marriage to a 38 year old woman: "it is often not good when this happens," wrote Reimer, "the consequences are seldom good." [90] On other occasions he counselled relatives. In March 1890 he wrote his "aunt Mrs. Esau [in Russia] to encourage her in bearing the cross which she has

because of her husband; out of sympathy I sent her material for a dress, an apron and a shawl." [91] Nor was Reimer afraid to share his feelings of self doubt: I am "not satisfied with myself as far as my soul is concerned" he wrote his brother-in-law in Minnesota in 1890; "even if we have done everything, we still are unprofitable servants." [92] When he reflected on his accomplishments Reimer did not sound the powerful merchant he was: "I don't feel rich," he wrote a friend in 1895, "especially do I feel poor and sick spiritually. [93]

Reimer's traditional values are also reflected in the will he left when he died in 1906. He could have given his widow and her family of seven young children enough money to provide her a life of middle class ease. Instead he left her the same amount as he left for each of his 17 children plus the farmyard, including all the chickens, and 220 acres of prime farm land and the necessary livestock, land, equipment and tools to farm it. Among the items also designated to his wife were the traditional religious literature of Russian Mennonites: "The Martyr Book, the Menno Simons Book and one Bible." [94]

When Reimer died in 1906 people readily acknowledged him as a fellow Mennonite and community patriarch. Oral tradition abounds concerning the 300 pound man who sentimentally pleaded for forgiveness at church brotherhood meetings and refused to seek public office. [95] The fact that his funeral drew an estimated attendance of 500, 200 more than the funeral of the Kleine Gemeinde Aeltester eight years earlier, indicates not so much that people had chosen an entrepreneur as their true leader but that this particular entrepreneur remained essentially a community member. [96]

IV

The town of Jansen in Cub Creek township in Nebraska stands in stark contrast to Steinbach. It was founded in 1886 by Peter Jansen when the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway was built from St. Joseph through Beatrice and Fairbury to Denver. One of four towns including, Harbine,

Gladstone and Thompson founded at this time in the 25 miles between Beatrice and Fairbury, it was a typical railway town. [97] Like these other towns Jansen was founded by a well-to-do individual with close ties to the railway who had a vision for the rise of a booming town. Peter Jansen may have been no wealthier than his Canadian second cousin, Klaas Reimer, the main player in Steinbach's growth. In fact he derived his initial wealth from farming and not from merchant or proto-industrial activities. Jansen's wealth in the 1880s came from a ranch that was putting out 25,000 sheep annually and a grain farm that was cultivating more than 400 acres. [98]

Unlike Reimer, however, Jansen was not a member the ascetic, Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites. As the son of the German consul, grain trader and urban dweller in Berdyansk, New Russia, he had learned English before migrating, had travelled widely, and was under no commitment to a solidaristic community or traditionalist church. Once in the United States, Jansen quickly became an assimilated American, espousing Republican values, running for political office, buying up tracts of land for speculation and operating his sheep ranch in an "atmosphere of bigness." [99]

Peter Jansen's town building activities reflected a progressive and entrepreneurial mind. He moved to secure his plans for a railway town even before the railway was constructed. Jansen later recalled that "I took quite an active part in the preliminaries, buying right of way, voting bonds, etc." [100] He purchased 120 acres from two Kleine Gemeinde farmers in the southern part of Cub Creek, surveyed a town site, named it after himself and began town boosting. [101] He advertised in local newspapers and printed circulars offering "lots for improvement...at low prices and...favorable terms." [102] He had newspapers write articles on the new town, declaring that "our town is booming" and that "everybody [is] invited to invest in Jansen before it is too late, and all the lots are gone." [103] To make the town a respectable place to do business he also invoked a clause making it alcohol-free. [104]

During the winter of 1886 and 87 the town of Jansen experienced a building boom. In January 1887, John P. Thiessen, the town's first hardware merchant, reported that a railway "station, elevator, steam powered mill to make mash, a hotel and a private guest house are presently being constructed." Thiessen went on to boost the town, noting that it "lies seven miles from Fairbury in the Russian settlement which is seven miles long and promises a great profit for business people of all fields." [105] On April 3 the first passenger train passed through Jansen and a new era began in Cub Creek. By September 1887 the new town could claim 13 business establishments including Peter Jansen's bank, a lumber yard, elevator, hotel, implement dealership, a clinic, a barber shop and five stores. [106]

Over the course of the next 20 years Jansen took-off. By the turn of the century it was inhabited by 57 families and had a population of 273. Business too continued to grow. A 1902 report sounded a most optimistic note: "Four new brick constructed stores were built here last summer and increased the business of our town quite considerably. As the selection has increased we have increased our patronage proportionately. In other words, business here is good." [107] Business establishements continued to grow and new businesses were attracted. In 1904 the Jansen elevator expanded its capacity by 10,000 bushels at a cost of $2000 and by 1906 36 stores and shops including several saloons had opened for business. [108]

As in Steinbach, the development of the Town of Jansen had the immediate effect of furthering the commercialization of agriculture in the township. In 1880 when the first rumours of the railway's coming surfaced, Peter Fast, a local farmer, speculated how the railway would provide "better markets for their produce." [109] The point has already been made that the elevator and rail station allowed farmers to produce more corn for export and more cattle for the stockyards in Omaha, St. Joseph, Kansas City and Chicago. But with the rail service also came daily mail

service and the telephone. Previously farmers picked up their mail in Fairbury when business took them to town. That same year as well the Nebraska Telephone Company built a telephone line from Beatrice through Jansen to Fairbury and began selling subscriptions for $36 a year. Old timers recalled in later years how these facilities provided the farmers with a direct line of communication with the larger centers such as Lincoln, from which parts for farm implements and drugs for cattle could be ordered and received within a day. [110]

If the town helped farmers secure the economic base for their solidaristic community the town also began breaking that solidarism down. Sociologist Paul Miller has made much of the fact that Jansen ended the isolation of the conservative Cub Creek Mennonites. He points to the number of saloons in town which attracted youth from miles around and led to frequent street fights and vandalism. He points as well to the travelling circuses and medicine shows that visited town. During the 1890s theatre companies like the Uncle Tom's Cabin Company and the Quaker Botanical Medicine Company visited Jansen and attracted huge audiences including, at one point, the Aeltester of the Kleine Gemeinde church. [111] Supporting Miller's thesis was the fact that from its very beginning in 1886 Jansen was the home of a number of Mennonite families. Indeed among its first businessmen were a number of former Kleine Gemeinde farmers. John P. Thiessen who, with his brother Abram, had opened a lumber yard and implement dealership in Fairbury in 1885, now opened a hardware store in Jansen. N.B. Friesen and his brother opened an implement store during the first year as well. Indeed three of the 13 first businesses were owned by six former Cub Creek farmers. [112]

During the next 20 years other farmers joined the foray into business. In 1891, for instance, Jacob and Johann Bartel, who farmed just west of the town opened a store and according to one neighbour were "making a good living as they sell somewhat cheaper than the other merchants." [113] By the turn of the century the Bartels were merchandizing

in a big way. In 1903 during a potato shortage in Jefferson County they imported 10 carloads of potatoes from North Dakota which they sold for $1.00 a bushel and brought in another five carloads of apples from St. Joseph and earned the reputation of being "clever businessmen." [114]

In addition to these Kleine Gemeinde descendant town merchants were a number of Kleine Gemeinde descendant wage labourers. Some of the town residents by 1900 included people like 57 year old Peter R. Friesen who "as farming became too difficult rented the farm out and built a nice little house in town." [115] But they also included people like 23 year old John Friesen who finding himself without land moved into a rented house in town when he married in 1899 and began work as a carpenter. By 1900 14 of the 23 Mennonite households in Jansen were engaged either in a cottage industry such as broom making and cream separating, civic jobs such as schoolteaching or post delivery, and wage labour such as carpentry and steam engineering. The fact that 70% of the Mennonite households in Jansen owned their houses and that the average age of the male head of a Mennonite household was 39.9 years indicates that neither the workers or the businessmen considered Jansen a temporary arrangement. [116]

It is also clear that Jansen's Mennonites found themselves under pressure to change. Jansen did not have the critical mass that protected Steinbach's residents from pressures of assimilation. In 1900 Mennonites comprised 49% of the populace in Jansen but 87% of Steinbach. Many of these households seem to have experienced considerable linguistic assimilation. It is interesting to note that in Jansen in 1900 20 of 23 Mennonite wives, or 87%, claimed to be able to speak English, while only 50 wives of the 87 rural Mennonite households in Cub Creek, or 57%, spoke English. One Mennonite townsman also noted in a letter in 1904 that many of the Mennonites had assimilated so much that the Apostle "Paul's words could be applied here; not all those from Israel behave as Israelites." [117] Other writers noted the hostile attitude among Jansen's "Americans" toward the cultural peculiarities of Mennonites. Miller has argued that

Americans voiced their resentment over Mennonite cultural insularity by referring to them as "Russians." [118] It is known that the Mennonites were resented for the German school they operated in town. In 1901 the school, requiring more space, was moved to a rented house. The German teacher, J.W. Fast, found himself in trouble, however, when the landlord discovered the intention of the new tenant. Citing the reason that "Dutch" had no place in America, the landlord evicted Fast and his students. The feelings of anxiety were evident in the reactions of one Mennonite who responded to the situation with a little racism himself: "These sort of people who purport to be reformers of the Germans and boast that this country could not go on without the Yankees are, themselves, so often in such financial straits that the sun must be ashamed to shine on them." [119]

Despite the fact that 23 of the 102 Mennonite households in Cub Creek were situated in Jansen by 1900 and that there were pressures exerted on the Mennonites to assimilate, traditional values continued to characterize the Mennonites. There are several reasons for this. First, the 23 households represented only 17% of the 673 Mennonites in Cub Creek. Second, although 40 of the 102 households in Cub Creek were without land in 1900, almost half of these continued to live in the countryside where they worked as farm labourers or rented farms. And many of these landless families were able to withstand urbanization by joining the colonization efforts around 1905. Third, there were a number of Mennonite institutions which continued to play a role in maintaining Mennonite networks and espousing traditional values of asceticism and communalism. These included the Kleine Gemeinde, Bruderthaler and Krimmer Brudergemeinde churches located in or near Jansen, the private German school and the Mennonite fire insurance agency which accepted town dwellers after 1905.

Finally, there is the oral evidence quoted by Miller that Mennonite farmers kept their primary relationships to themselves and had only selective interactions with the Americans of Jansen. [120] Miller's assertion corresponds with evidence from census records which points to high rates

of endogamy among Jansen Mennonites. Not a single one of the 23 households in 1900 and only one of the 37 households in 1910 involved an inter-cultural marriage. This corresponds to the endogamy rates in the rural parts of Cub Creek where none of the 79 households in 1900 and only one of the 49 households in 1910 involved an inter-ethnic marriage. [121] Ironically, the Molochnaia Mennonites of the East Reserve who had fewer non-Mennonite neighbours had a much higher rate of inter-ethnic marriages. Clearly the Cub Creek Mennonites were engaging in a defensive strategy of boundary maintenance.

V

Steinbach and Jansen helped to change the Kleine Gemeinde/ Molochnaia communities in Manitoba and Nebraska. Both towns served to develop a commercial agricultural economy by providing new markets or improved access to markets which now included feed mills, elevators, stockyards and cheese factories. Commercial agriculture was also encouraged through greater access to farm technology and hardware products, and a wide variety of agricultural services. Both towns also sustained a class of Mennonite merchants who formed larger capital pools, encouraged more consumerism and cultivated secondary relations with the outside. Both towns, too, attracted an increasing number of Kleine Gemeinde youth who were in search of wage labour. And the very existence of Steinbach and Jansen served to remind Mennonite households that new agrarian colonies would have to be founded if the descendants of the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites were to withstand urbanization.

Yet, Steinbach and Jansen stood in sharp contrast to each other. Steinbach was an internal creation in which services and business enterprises developed in Russia were transplanted to a North American setting. Steinbach continued to be run as an Old World Strassendorf with merchants and entrepreneurs operating from their farmyards on one side of the village street and wage labourers living in rented houses on the

opposite side. It continued to be governed by an assembly of landowners headed by a Schulz and continued to be under the influence of the traditional Mennonite churches and their Aeltesten. Its endogamy rates remained high and its workers continued to venerate the ideal of farming one's own land. And its leaders, although well-to-do, espoused traditional boundaries and cultivated old social networks.

Jansen, on the other hand, was an externally-imposed railway and elevator town. As such it was a more representative prairie town with a main street perpendicular to and residential side streets parallel with the railway. Like many other towns, Jansen was founded by a wealthy town booster who advertised to attract land speculators and merchants, and attempted, without much success, to develop the simultaneous image of greatness and sobriety. Unlike Steinbach, the majority of Jansen residents remained non-Mennonites and the spirit of the town remained decidedly "American". Unlike Steinbach as well, Jansen represented for its Kleine Gemeinde neighbours the epitomy of "worldly society" and compelled them to maintain their "social distance."

Steinbach and Jansen were the symbols of the different contexts in which the Canadian and American Kleine Gemeinde found themselves. Steinbach was clearly the consequence of transplanted values implanted in bloc settlement where critical mass favoured the Mennonites. Jansen, was as clearly a North American frontier town. Continuity for Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites was attained only by developing radically different approaches to these two kinds of urban existence.

CHAPTER 12

RELIGIOUS UPHEAVALS: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

I

The religious strife that the Mennonites of New Russia experienced in the 1860s followed them to North America. Increasing industrialization in New Russia had uprooted old notions of community-oriented, history-based religious faith. In New Russia land shortages, agricultural commercialization, and improved networks of information had shaken complacent churches; while some members sought a more progressive and subjective faith others sought new ways to maintain old ideas. Similar social realities in North America also encouraged a fissuring of Mennonite ideology. Conservative Mennonites had hoped that North America would provide a respite from new religious views. Surprise awaited them; the new world was the very bastion of pietism and new conflicts rose quickly. Indeed the history of North American Mennonites between 1880 and 1900 cannot be told without reference to searing church conflict. [1] Mennonite historian Theron Schlabach has noted how between the 1860s and 1890s "Old Order" Mennonites in the United States battled members who had "modern and progressive outlooks." [2] Frank Epp has noted a similar conflict in Canada. While progressive Mennonites were "adjusting to Protestantism and...robbing the old Mennonites...[through] an emotional revivalism, climactic conversion, individualistic piety and strong institutional identity," conservative Mennonites feared "the destruction of their cherished traditions" and defended the "old order." [3]

In this regard the Mennonites were similar to other immigrant groups. John Bodnar has argued that "in nearly every [immigrant] locale [in the United States] deep fissures and ferocious battles shook church

communities as private and public agendas were forced together by the realities of a new social structure." [4] Rudolph Vecoli has documented the conflict between Italian Catholics in Chicago and the American Catholic missionaries who "lacked understanding and sympathy for the noisy, imaginative piety, the religious psychology...and defects of the Contadini." [5] Jon Gjerde has shown how among Norwegian Lutherans in Minnesota "religious conflict played a central role in the development of an ethnic community...." [6] George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic have demonstrated how the homogeneity within Doukhobor communities in Saskatchewan ended soon after immigration in 1899 as "varying compromises between communism and individualism were being worked out." [7] Linda Degh has shown how religious hostility expressed in the folklore among two church groups in a Hungarian immigrant community in Saskatchewan served as a "central integrative element" in that community. [8] Religious conflict became an important characteristic of immigrant groups as they adjusted to the industrialized and pluralistic society in North America.

The years between 1880 and 1905 constituted a period in which the Kleine Gemeinde faced constant challenges from progressive groups that were more in tune with North American society. These challenges were to prove more difficult to withstand than those they had experienced from similar groups in New Russia. Unlike Russia, where progressive forces constituted a minority in the 1860s, North America was a place where progressive Mennonites constituted a majority. Moreover these progressives were backed by a wider religious milieu dominated by individualistic Protestantism. Within this new context, the Kleine Gemeinde found itself in a series of church controversies by 1879. These controversies resulted in the end to religious homogeneity in their village districts in Cub Creek, Scratching River and the East Reserve. By 1882 the Kleine Gemeinde was forced to share its ecclesiastical turf with Holdemans, Bruderthaler and Krimmer - three small, conservative, Mennonite revivalistic splinter groups.

The result of the splintering of the Kleine Gemeinde, however, marked not the disintegration of a traditionalist, closed community but its continuity with a renewed spirit. Timothy Smith has suggested that as immigrants faced new situations they were called upon to devise new strategies in which to regulate behaviour, create meaning, control social boundaries and understand social reality. Those new strategies sometimes involved new symbols which gave the immigrants a more vivid religiosity; sometimes they encouraged a deeper sense of history and historicism; sometimes new social boundaries were cultivated that allowed simultaneously for more openness and more protection from assimilating influences; sometimes they entailed a more experiential approach to God and a greater emphasis on personal moralism. [9] The result was that religious conflict led not to group disintegration but a deeper sense of peoplehood.

This, too, was the result of the conflicts which divided the Kleine Gemeinde between 1879 and 1882. Community members who remained in the old Gemeinde devised new means to maintain the old order in the heterogeneous milieu. But activities of the secessionists also ensured continuity: the new groups did accept new Protestant church practices but each seemed bent on the same end - the maintenance of a religious oriented community that was culturally separate from the wider world. Each of the new groups may have emphasized a more open, individualistic faith but each opposed millennialism and its idea of progress, participation in temporal politics, urban lifestyles and consumerism, and linguistic and ethnic assimilation. The Bruderthaler, Krimmer or Holdeman Mennonites did not represent archetypal pietism; that is they did not belong in the category of more individualistic, progressive, associative religious forces described by Toennies and Weber and often linked with modernizing societies. [10] After the upheaveals of the early 1880s settled it was clear that the new Mennonite factions had borrowed strategies from modern groups to bolster old concerns.

II

The Nebraska Kleine Gemeinde community proved to be the most vulnerable to pietistic forces. It was smaller to begin with than its Manitoba counterpart and did not possess the "critical mass" required to withstand outside influences. Indeed, the fact that it was located in a county where there were few other Mennonites seems, ironically, to have opened it up to visits from more progressive Mennonite missionaries stationed in Henderson, Nebraska and Gnadenau, Kansas. In December 1879 one Kleine Gemeinde member wrote that "we have had much visitation here this fall, of which several were preachers." [11] By 1880 preachers from four different small Mennonite groups had visited Cub Creek and won adherents to their churches. [12] Only two, however, had any lasting affect.

The first of these groups was led by Isaac Peters, a Mennonite church reformer from Henderson, 50 miles to the north of Jefferson County. Peters was a seasoned preacher, who had combined strict church discipline with revivalistic methods and experiential faith during his time as leader of the Pordenau church in New Russia. Indeed a year before his migration to the United States he had been expelled from his congregation for persisting in reform. [13] It was this two-fold approach, discipline and revival, which led dissenting Jefferson County Kleine Gemeinde members to invite Peters to organize a church there in January 1879. At first the new church was known as the Petersgemeinde. In 1889, however, Peters led both his Henderson and Jansen churches to join a similar church from Mountain Lake, Minnesota and establish a new mission-minded, disciplinarian Mennonite conference. Officially this new body was called the United Mennonite Brethren but popularly it came to be known as the "Bruderthaler", the brethren of the valley. One of the mission successes of the Bruderthaler came in 1897 when it established a church in Steinbach which in the years following 1906 was to become an influential force in the Manitoba settlements. [14]

Peters' church in Cub Creek succeeded because it fused certain elements of individualistic pietism with elements of communal traditionalism. Indeed the dissenting Kleine Gemeinde members who joined Peters in 1879 criticized the old church for having lost elements of traditional values. One issue appears to have been the disparity of wealth among the first settlers. A writer in 1879 indicated a direct link between the church schism and "the land ownership ratio at the time of emigration from Russia." [15] Another writer in 1879 questioned how the spiritual life in the community would be affected as "...it often seems as if earthly money hoarding...will overtake us." [16] But the central issue of the dissenters was the violation of the sabbath by Aeltester Abram Friesen. Diaries indicate that Kleine Gemeinde members often mixed business and religion on the Sabbath, stopping to purchase piglets on the way home from church or repairing equipment for Monday's field work. But Sabbath working had already been questioned in Russia by leaders like Peter Toews. In a letter in 1873 he bemoaned the fact that "we are so afraid that inclement weather might overtake us before the crop is gathered in [that] one sometimes has to take the Sunday...and utilize the same for earthly purposes....Oh that we might also be as zealous [in our spiritual harvest]!" [17] Toews' thinking obviously gained in popularity. Shortly after immigration, when Aeltester Friesen used his new reaper to cut grain on a Sunday he alienated many of his members. Reflecting a new-found Sabbatarianism those members refused to listen to Friesen's explanation that he was compelled to cut the grain on Sunday in order that his poorer neighbours might have a chance to borrow his machine during the week. [18]

On December 10 1878 the critics broke rank and invited Isaac Peters of Henderson to visit Jefferson County and to officiate at a separate communion service. A quarter of the Kleine Gemeinde, 35 adults, attended this clandestine service. A month later on January 12 Peters returned to officially organize the group as part of his own church and to elect two

local farmers, Johann W. Fast and Wilhelm Thiessen, as its ministers. The nature of the new church was entrenched in 1882 when Peters experienced trouble in his own church in Henderson. An official Bruderthaler account notes that "enforcement of stricter discipline resulted in severe opposition [and so] Elder Isaac Peters decided to withdraw and organize a group...requiring a new birth and a separated life." The new group published a list of 22 prohibitions which included "tobacco in any form, musical instruments, worldliness in dress, the oath...going to court because of disputes...and the possession of firearms." But the article most touted by Peters's people was that "the change of heart...was the requirement for baptism." [19]

When Peters led his churches at Henderson and Jansen to join the Mountain Lake church to form the Bruderthaler the emphasis of a personal, experiential faith was given even greater emphasis. In 1889 the new Bruderthaler conference announced that one of its objectives was to "unitedly help to spread the Gospel in the world of sin" and it appointed a missions committee to "promote interest in the churches in missions." [20] Throughout the 1890s Bruderthaler missionaries visited conservative Mennonite communities preaching revivalistic sermons. On one such trip to Minnesota and Manitoba in 1892 Peters preached 20 times and visited 67 homes. But during this time the Bruderthaler also encouraged the employment of other Protestant methods of church growth. Sunday School, mission boards, youth programs and ladies aid societies, church schools, and annual church conferences were all encouraged. [21]

Among other things these programs helped redefine the concept of youth. Converts to the new churches criticized the old view that the youth could not be expected to participate in church affairs until they reached the age of majority and prepared for marriage. According to one critic of the old ways, "when boys and girls reached 18 or 20 they had to grow up a second time." [22] The new churches made it their aim to "implant the fear of the Lord and create a desire to accept the Saviour early in

life." [23] It was an aim that clearly had its roots in a dialectic between an individualistic wider society and a solidaristic ethnic community. By using the methods of mainstream sectarian Protestant churches they ensured the continued strength of a disciplining, ascetic Mennonite church.

III

The second group to introduce an alternative to the Kleine Gemeinde in Jefferson County was the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren stationed in Gnadenau, Kansas. The Krimmer had split off from the Kleine Gemeinde in Russia in 1869 because they felt that the old church did not emphasize personal repentance enough and because the old church refused to accept the pietistic mode of baptism by immersion. [24] In 1880, only a year after the Peters schism, discontent broke out in the new group and the disgruntled members invited the Krimmer leader, Rev. Jacob A. Wiebe to preach in Jefferson County. Before the year was over, Wiebe and his cohorts had baptized 20 "souls in the river." [25] Within a short time this number had risen to 34 and early in 1881 Wiebe officially organized a chapter of his church with the election of two local farmers, Peter Fast and Peter Thiessen, to the ministry. [26]

Wiebe's success in Jefferson County seems clearly tied to his emotion laden insistence that converts experience "a deep struggle in repentance." [27] Schoolteacher M.B. Fast, whose grandfather had been a Kleine Gemeinde minister, joined the Krimmer at this time because he was "persuaded that their teachings on repentance and the form of baptism were biblical....[and after] I confessed my lost state [I] found peace in the blood...of Christ." [28] Peter Thiessen, a well-to-do Cub Creek farmer, joined the Krimmer after having "a religious experience described as 'a train coming from heaven.'" [29] Another Krimmer member wrote to the Rundschau in 1884 to report that "The Lord has worked mightily in the spring time; many asked what shall I do to be saved...but there are several who have not yet brought themselves to becoming children of God." [30]

In 1887 a Krimmer convert wrote to report to report that Wiebe had preached in Jansen, promising that "those who sow with tears will reap with tears." [31]

This more subjective and emotional approach to faith was bolstered by the introduction of a plethora of more all-encompassing church services. The Kleine Gemeinde was accused of showing spiritual laxness by its silent prayer and its practice of alternating church services in a different village each Sunday. A portrait of the new church practices is found in a letter which Aganetha Kornelson Enns wrote to her Kleine Gemeinde parents in Manitoba in May 1881: "On Sunday, the 1st of May we had a service here in the schoolhouse. Our two preachers both delivered the Word, one after the other...At lunch we had guests, P. Bullers, Peter Fasts, Johann Thiessens and several of our children. In the afternoon we had Sunday School and after the children were dismissed we stayed around for some edification. Each one expressed what was on his heart and letters from [the Krimmer leadership in] Kansas were read. For "Vesper" Peter Fast and Peter Warkentins visited us. There is such a close knit feeling in this fellowship among members. It would be so wonderful to have one of you as a guest on such a day." [32]

Like the Bruderthaler, the Krimmer emphasized a new outward approach to religion and a new evangelical fervour. Preacher Peter Thiessen was particularly outspoken in his new faith. "O, if the poor world would loose itself and listen to the voice of God," he wrote in 1883. "There are urgent orders for the unconverted to give themselves to Jesus' arms...so that when the Lord returns they would be ready." [33] In 1884 when he travelled to Russia it was described not as a pleasure trip or even one to visit relatives. This was a "missionary trip", a time when the people there could be told "what great things God had done for us in America." [34] Thiessen explained his mission in a letter in 1890. While the Lord expects all to "eat your bread by the sweat of your brow" he also "wants all to long for Canaan and ensure that no one remains behind." [35] Pietistic

evangelicalism had become the pervading spirit of seceding Kleine Gemeinde members.

IV

During the time that the Kleine Gemeinde church in Nebraska saw two thirds of its members cross over to revivalistic groups, half of the Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba joined a similar group. In the winter of 1881 and 1882 63 Kleine Gemeinde families from the settlements in both the East Reserve and Scratching River followed Aeltester Peter Toews to join a church popularly known as the Holdeman congregation. It was a body which had been organized in 1859 by Johann Holdeman, an Ohio Mennonite, when he led a small group of adherents there out of the Swiss Old Mennonite church. In the late 1870s and early 1880s the Holdeman church came into its own when it won adherents among the poor Volhynian Mennonites in McPherson County in Kansas and attracted half the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde to join it.

The Holdeman Church, or the "Gemeinde Gottes" (the church of God) as it called itself, came to be known for its teaching that its members alone comprised the "true church of Christ" and that it could trace a spiritual lineage through the sixteenth century Anabaptists to the apostolic church of the first century. In essence, however, it resembled the Bruderthaler and Krimmer in several ways. Clarence Hiebert's sociological study, The Holdeman People, has concluded that the church combined a "revivalistic and evangelical emphasis with a conservative Anabaptist Mennonite church discipline...." [36] E.K. Francis, another sociologist, has argued that the Holdemans were notable for "tightening...principles of moral conduct, and adopting the pastoral methods of American revival churches." [37]

Holdeman's success in Manitoba, no doubt, resulted from the fact he was able to attract Aeltester Peter Toews to join with him. Toews, who had become deeply disillusioned with his congregation, later noted

that he had at one time thought of the Kleine Gemeinde as "the true church of God" but that in the later years in Russia it had become "divided...and the storm in it often rose high." [38] Then during the years of immigration and settlement Toews faced frequent breaches of personal morality and questions about his leadership. [39] Toews' conclusion was that the church required reforming and, with an eye to this, he invited Holdeman to visit Manitoba in 1879. Holdeman did visit Manitoba but concluded the Kleine Gemeinde was beyond renewal. He wrote of a dream in which he had discovered that many Kleine Gemeinde members had not been truly converted upon baptism. He also bemoaned the lack of spontaneous preaching and prayer in the church and, ironically, chided the Kleine Gemeinde for being too scarred from schisms. [40] What was required was a "pure" start. Members would have to be baptized by Holdeman himself to ensure a lineage with the "true church" and they would have to practice stronger avoidance of the world.

Toews and the Kleine Gemeinde brotherhood who revered the memory of the church fathers struggled with Holdeman's indictment. In July 1881 the brotherhood sent Toews to Kansas to evaluate Holdeman's churches. It was here that Toews concluded that Holdeman's "church is more entitled to be the Church of God than ours....[because] they have more experience in the peace of God and the forgiveness of sins." [41] This experiential or subjective emphasis of faith was so attractive to Toews that when he returned from Kansas he resigned as Kleine Gemeinde Aeltester and invited Holdeman back to Manitoba. Holdeman responded eagerly and from November 1881 to January 1882 he preached and baptized in the Manitoba villages and established a chapter of his own church.

One of the recurring themes of those who joined Holdeman that winter was the experiential side of religious faith. When Toews was rebaptized by Holdeman he spoke of "a special power which shook my whole body [and provided me immediately with] a great sense of joy." [42] When 23 year old John Toews of the East Reserve joined Holdeman's church he did so after

"I grasped sufficient faith that God had forgiven my sins [and] my feeling of condemnation was gone." [43] When Cornelia Friesen of Scratching River joined Holdeman she wrote her mother to offer an apologia for leaving the old church and explain why she had encouraged her single sister Sara to leave as well: "Dear mother, I have learned that you are taking the fact that Sara has joined us very hard. We are happy that she has come to this. We would be so happy if you could all join with us. I know that you do not have peace in your hearts....[What counts] is not what one says but what one has experienced [in one's heart]...I spoke with Maria Klassen and we agreed that...no one can die with you when you die...no one can help me then - not mother, not father, not sister, not brother." [44] Here was a new emphasis on subjective and personal religiosity.

The personal faith also brought with it an "assurance of salvation." The Holdemans accused the Kleine Gemeinde of disbelief for their emphasis that a person of humility could never claim to be saved. [45] When the Holdeman minister, Heinrich Wohlgemuth died in 1899 his brethren wrote that "we do not need to mourn like those who have no hope...." [46] When the Kleine Gemeinde Aeltester Abram L. Dueck died in 1899 Peter Toews wrote that Dueck's people "need not consider him lost for he showed in word and deed that he was righteous." [47] Unlike the religious writings of the Kleine Gemeinde which were filled with ethical exhortations, the Holdemans spoke of struggle, hope and certainty of salvation. This was the substance of a letter written by Rev. Wilhelm Giesbrecht of Steinbach in 1899: "At night as I lie in bed face to face with the thought about God's mercy, I am compelled to praise and love God as the eternal love...shows me that Christ has died for such a great sinner...and as I understand this and believe it, light comes to my heart and I have peace and joy and long for the hope of eternal life." [48]

Another significant characteristic of the new church was a renewed emphasis on social boundaries. John Holdeman was particularly insistent that entry into his church be through rebaptism and exit only through

excommunication and shunning. Holdeman had, in fact, created a name for himself in 1878 when he contested a law suit in Williams County, Ohio where he was cited for having compelled a woman of his church to deprive her excommunicated husband of "bed and board." [49] Although Holdeman lost this case, strict views on church boundaries continued to characterize his movement. Indeed the first tensions in the new Holdeman chapter in Manitoba resulted from disagreements on shunning. Peter Toews wrote in 1896 "of a struggle we have had...with reference to excommunication and avoidance in order to close the back door and keep it closed." [50] Other members disputed the practice of insisting on rebaptism for any new members. In 1887 two Manitoban ministers petitioned the Holdeman leadership without avail for a change in the church's strict entry code. [51]

The strict church boundaries had an ironic outcome. Because the Holdemans were confident in their island of faith they seem more readily to have acquired English and become more aggressive in undertaking missionary work. Preachers began preaching extemporaneously which was meant to reflect their new spirituality and attract outsiders into the fold. Gossip from Scratching River told of newly elected Holdeman preachers practising their orations in Rosenort's windmill Saturday night. [52] Other visitors to Rosenort told of hearing "our preacher Abram Klassen speak the Word of God from his own mouth." [53] But the master of the new style was Holdeman himself. One writer to the Rundschau described one of Holdeman's visits to Steinbach in 1895: "He preached mightily in both German and English, so that even the [church members] marvelled at how he spoke....[Later his preaching resulted] in the baptism of two people from the English community." [54] New Protestant church methods coupled with traditional teachings of separation from the world became the bedrock of this new church.

V

The coming of the new churches and the end to religious homogeneity in the settlements at Cub Creek, Scratching River and the East Reserve did not mark the end of a traditional, closed community. Indeed, the very act in which half of the community in Manitoba and two thirds of the community in Nebraska left the mother church increased the determination of the old Kleine Gemeinde to continue. In both places the old church body reorganized, revitalized old networks, developed a new sense of closeness, articulated an ideology of continuity, and reviewed its Anabaptist heritage.

In Nebraska, Kleine Gemeinde preacher Klaas Friesen seemed to anticipate church conflict when in September 1879, just months before the first schism, he preached a sermon on "false prophets" and called his parishioners to rely on God to "help straighten your path." [55] The first official responses to the secessionists, however, were surprisingly muted. No doubt the reason that Isaac Peters accepted Kleine Gemeinde baptism dulled opposition from the old church. The coming of the Krimmer and the increasingly aggressive Bruderthaler in the later 1880s, however, shook the old church from its complacency. In 1882 Aeltester Friesen wrote a sharp polemic against the different "spirits [who] go out to gather others unto themselves [in our community]." He was particularly critical of the Krimmer and their leader Jacob Wiebe's view of baptism by immersion: "Oh what great pride! Where does he remain with his exclusive baptism when thousands of [sixteenth century Anabaptist] martyrs were baptized by pouring...." [56] But the Kleine Gemeinde also distanced themselves from the Peters church. After a second contingent of Kleine Gemeinde joined the Petersgemeinde in 1886, Jacob Klassen, the brother-in-law of the leader of this movement, wrote his relatives in Manitoba with the following report: In the case of our church "things have changed greatly....[the Petersgemeinde] comprise quite a church and seemingly are intent on overtaking us. They have more church services - in their estimation to

honour the Holy Christ. As for us, we still have it the way we had it in Russia and as you have it. I have no mind for these new fashions. I believe that [we do well] if we can achieve what we have learned from our parents - that is to be one with the ridiculed church; they themselves can't even agree on baptism." [57]

The strongest opposition to the new groups came from Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde who felt betrayed by their leader who had joined Holdeman and by their brethren who turned their backs on 70 years of history and were rebaptized. It is clear from diaries that the debate in the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde in 1880 centered on Holdeman's insistence on rebaptism. In December 1880 Abram Reimer, the elderly son of the Kleine Gemeinde's first Aeltester, noted in his diary that in Blumenort "there was church service in the schoolhouse where Aelt. P. Toews preached and then there was brotherhood till 2:30 concerning Aelt. Toews' wish for a second baptism." [58] In 1882 when news of Holdeman's work reached relatives in Nebraska they responded with references to the second baptism as well. "You can let all of your beloved ones know that you have done well not to go along with Holdeman," wrote one man, for "it is necessary to defend the baptism of our true confession." [59] Peter L. Dueck of Gruenfeld similarly responded with "deep grief" and lamenting the fact that "no one can attend their brethren meetings who is not baptized by them...." [60] Even one of the Holdeman converts later reflected on "how strange people can be....My grandmother who was baptized by the Krimmer Brudergemeinde for the second time....was baptized for the third time in order that she might join this exclusive....church." [61]

Other warnings criticized a variety of new Holdeman practices. A representative Kleine Gemeinde member was Abram L. Dueck of Gruenfeld who, having, lost a brother to Holdeman, raised questions about the new church's polity. Dueck's vociferous opposition to the Holdemans is well documented in scores of letters written to relatives in Nebraska and Russia. Dueck expressed concerns about Holdeman's apparent toleration of

tobacco and firearms and his willingness to defend church decisions in the state judiciary. [62] Dueck was dismayed that "women take part in brotherhood meetings" and that there were "women deacons." He also wondered about the Holdeman practice of ordaining preachers who felt the call to preach even though they had not been chosen by the brotherhood: "members can also come forward [to preach] when moved by the spirit," wrote Dueck. He added that this was a practice that can lead to problems when "too many are moved." [63] Dueck also had questions about Holdeman's claim to apostolic lineage: "Holdeman cannot even say who baptized his grandfather - how can they then prove a lineage to the apostles?" [64]

Peter Baerg of Gruenfeld, whose son joined the Holdemans and pressured Baerg to join the new movement, questioned the fact that Holdeman based many of his ideas on "dreams, visions and stories which Menno taught against." [65] David Klassen of Scratching River also saw a son join the Holdemans and in a letter sometime later questioned those churches that "claim to be the only true church of God...[when] the Martyr's Mirror says....that the church of God is to be found throughout the world, so that if one's church is small or large, it is a church of God if it obediently follows and acknowledges the gospel." [66] Abram Thiessen of Nebraska, claiming to know about Holdeman through his neighbours who had once lived in Ohio, wrote his friend Isaac W. Loewen of Scratching River to warn the Manitobans not "to be taken in with Holdeman's smooth words." [67]

This everyday lay opposition to Holdeman was complemented by official Kleine Gemeinde responses. Because most of the Kleine Gemeinde's leaders had left with Toews to join Holdeman's church the old congregation was left entirely in hands of three somewhat bewildered ministers. Jacob Kroeker, the youngest of the three preachers, noted that he "felt far too weak and unworthy to try to reconstruct the church." [68] He recalled a dream that illustrated his emotional reshaping of allegiance from Aeltester Peter Toews to an abstract concept of the deeply rooted church: "I dreamed

that Peter Toews and I were sailing on a huge water [when]....a great storm arose which threatened to sink our boat....after much exertion I finally managed to reach the shore where tall trees stood with many branches. I grabbed for one but it broke. Then I grabbed a stronger one and saved myself. I did not know where Aeltester Toews was." Kroeker added a postscript to this story which reflected a renewed commitment to the old congregation: "Although I usually do not consider dreams very important this one was very meaningful to me [for it showed me]....that I had put too much faith in people." [69]

Focusing on the theme that he was directing church members back to the foundation of faith and away from unpredictable humans, Kroeker visited the East Reserve with a plan to invite Aeltester Abram Friesen of Nebraska to help rebuild the old church. Although many brethren found it difficult to accept the Nebraskans with whom they had broken 15 years earlier in Borosenko, they followed Kroeker's advice. Within a month of Holdeman's departure from Manitoba Friesen arrived. Over the course of the next two weeks he preached, negotiated a union between the Nebraskan and Manitoban congregations, baptized some 35 youth, and officiated at the election of new church leaders. Before the year was over Friesen visited Manitoba twice more and in January 1883 oversaw the election of Jacob Kroeker as Aeltester. [70]

The sermon Friesen preached during his stay in Manitoba indicates how quickly the Gemeinde put the schism into perspective and developed a revitalized ideology out of the experience. The crisis was clear: "You have come into great difficulty...in that the Lord has...removed the candlestick from a beloved Aeltester...leaving many mourning, some confused and others tempted." Friesen encouraged the beleaguered congregation: "The Lord has never wholly forsaken his own; the Word stands fast and immovable, nothing will fall away; hold fast to what you have so that none can take your crown." But he also lashed out at Holdeman's pietism. Those who seek rebaptism "scorn the blood of the Lord and make

of the water an idol." Those who pray audibly and in colorful language "do more to make an appearance than to pray with a heart felt repentance" and are "babblers whose prayer will not be heard." Those who preach these things "bring about division and grief and form [their] own sects around [themselves]." And Friesen called members to hold their traditional faith in high esteem: "Know this about your entrance into the church through our former Aeltesten - it was not in vain. They did not come with high sounding words or great wisdom. They claimed no knowledge except that which is in Jesus Christ. They were with us in weakness and fear and great trembling." [71]

In the 20 years after the painful Holdeman Schism the old Kleine Gemeinde changed little. Friesen's 1882 sermon served well as the blueprint for a revitalized traditional church. Ascetic lifestyles were preached, agrarian economic pursuits were lauded, and a humble, communal based religiosity advocated. Youth were brought into the church not through revivals but through the rites of passage associated with marriage. Aeltester Kroeker wrote how his ideal was to wait "for the youth to approach the ministerial on their own initiative...and acknowledge their sins before baptism." [72] Peter Loewen of Scratching River joined the church in 1903 at the age of 25 not through a revival meeting but after an uncle of his gave him a "warm handshake" and told him to "stand still and think." [73] Death was faced not with a certainty of salvation but with "Gelassenheit", a quiet trust that with God's grace one might be saved after this life. [74] In 1892 Cornelius Friesen of Cub Creek wrote his relatives in Scratching River to report that his wife had died. Although Friesen was in deep grief over the death he took comfort in the fact that his "dear wife...had desired and hoped for God's grace." [75] In 1893 Klaas Reimer of Steinbach reported with approval that his uncle Bernard Rempel of Russia "cannot say that he is ready. There are those who say that they are always ready to die. Yet he trusts in God." [76]

The Kleine Gemeinde also continued to cultivate a traditional ideology by venerating Anabaptist authors. Aeltester Kroeker recalled how he "searched the scriptures and also read much in the Martyrs' Mirror and always found peace." [77] Abram Friesen of Steinbach left a will when he died in 1884 which indicated that each of his children should be provided with Menno's Fundamente Buch, a Martyrs' Mirror, and a Mennonite hymnal. [78] Isaac J. Loewen of Blumenort left a writing for his young children in 1902 in which he encouraged them to read traditional works: "There are many letters in the Martyrs' Mirror which are very useful and edifying. The book by Pieter Pietersz is also a wonderful work for those who wish to follow Christ in simplicity....Yes, dear children do study these books on your own. We know that you will do this with a simple heart and know that you will discover that they are true...." [79]

To keep these works alive the Kleine Gemeinde, under the direction of Aeltester Abram Friesen of Nebraska, undertook an ambitious publishing effort in 1899. Various seventeenth-century writings by Pieter Pietersz' were published in an anthology, Ausgewaehlte Schriften, and two Kleine Gemeinde pamphlets dating from 1820 and 1845 were published between 1901 and 1904 by printing houses in Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Germany. Friesen's forward in the Pietersz anthology included a rationale for its translation from Dutch to German: "In order to counter the seductive falling away from the beliefs of our fathers for ourselves and our children we are going to the trouble of publishing the works of our true believing forefathers and preachers." [80]

The Kleine Gemeinde may have been able to salvage half of its original membership and rearticulate its traditional world view, but it was not able to remain aloof from the ongoing influences of the progressive churches. In 1886 the Nebraska Kleine Gemeinde lost another contingent of members to the Bruderthaler and in the following years its young people were attracted to the youth programs of the more pietistic churches. Similar influences were felt in Manitoba. Some Kleine Gemeinde

members visited Dwight L. Moody's crusade in Winnipeg in 1896, impressed by both the attendance of 3500 and the "image of the last judgement day." [81] Others were impressed by visiting Mennonite missionaries from the United States. In 1892 Isaac Peters, accompanied by the Mennonite publisher Johann F. Funk, visited each of the major Mennonite settlements in Manitoba including Rosenhof at Scratching River and Gruenfeld and Steinbach in the East Reserve. [82] Peters noted that he had received warm welcomes from Steinbach Kleine Gemeinde businessmen and some Scratching River farmers.

The Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde, however, was not to be shaken from its traditionalist stance. Peters' treatment in Gruenfeld is symptomatic of the Kleine Gemeinde's well-defined social boundaries. Despite the fact that Gruenfeld's school teacher, Heinrich Rempel, who was an enthusiastic supporter of Peters, invited villagers to come to his house to hear Peters preach, only the Rempel family showed up. Peters writes about how amazed he was to find that villagers ignored him and wonders if he should "shake off the dust from [my] feet" as Jesus taught his disciples to do to intransigent villages that ignored their message. [83] Traditional social boundaries are also evident in reactions to the work of American missionaries in Steinbach. In November 1896 H.T. Fast, a Bruderthaler preacher from Minnesota, began making annual visits to Steinbach which he continued into the new century. According to one observer in 1896, Fast "preached as a witness to the truth tirelessly for several nights in the schoolhouse....and visited many households without regard to wealth." [84] The visits resulted in the establishment of an eight-member Bruderthaler church in Steinbach which carried out the first immersion baptism in the area. It is significant, however, that until 1906 there was only one convert from the Kleine Gemeinde church to this new pietistically-inclined church.

Enabling the Kleine Gemeinde to withstand pietistic influences were rejuvenated networks tieing conservative Mennonites together. During the

1890s, for instance, the Kleine Gemeinde leadership made several contacts with leaders like Johann Wiebe, the Old Colonist Aeltester of the West Reserve, inviting him to cooperate in mutual aid projects and publishing ventures. [85] And the Kleine Gemeinde responded to new social networks with revitalized ties of its own. Holdemans may have cultivated new networks with Volhynian Mennonites in MacPherson County in Kansas, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren with other Mennonites in Reedley California, and the Bruderthaler with fellow church members in Minnesota. But the Kleine Gemeinde revived old networks of its own and sought closer ties between each of the three settlements in Cub Creek, Scratching River and the East Reserve.

Indicative of the strength of these networks were marriage patterns. Marriage statistics from the village of Blumenort on the East Reserve reflect the importance of church lines in determining the choice of mates. Between 1874 and 1910 there were 106 weddings in Blumenort. While only 17% of these marriages involved partners who were both from Blumenort, 86% of the marriages represented unions between members of the same denomination. Only five marriages involved a Kleine Gemeinder and Holdeman, another five involved a Kleine Gemeinder and a Bergthaler or Chortitzer Mennonite. Five other marriages involved a Mennonite and a non-Mennonite. Indeed 43 of the 48 Blumenorters who found their mates in villages at least 10 miles away married within the Kleine Gemeinde. Distance was not to be a factor in the erosion of social boundaries. [86]

In 1899 the Kleine Gemeinde made its most concerted effort to suppress the influence of pietistic preachers. It called a special ministerial conference to officially consolidate church boundaries. In July 1899 16 delegates, including six members from the Nebraska church, met in Blumenort, Manitoba to negotiate a six article communique. The conference resolutions prohibited members from attending the services of the more pietistic churches, particularly their youth services such as Sunday School and Singing Hour. They also prohibited any participation in

secular government including voting at elections and holding civil service jobs. And the resolutions called members to abstain from "self indulgent" photographs and the flattery of the deceased at funeral eulogies. The importance of this conference was confirmed two years later when the proceedings were published in a small pamphlet and used as a guide for brotherhood meetings. This conference served notice that neither the schisms of the early 1880s nor the increasingly intrusive progressive churches of the 1890s were going to undermine the old church's attempt to maintain traditional values and definitions of community. [87]

VI

One irony of the church schisms of the early 1880s was a more vigorously-articulated traditional religiosity in the original Kleine Gemeinde communities. The Kleine Gemeinde itself enunciated social boundaries and its religious ideology more clearly. But traditionalism was also expressed by the more progressive churches. While the Holdemans, Bruderthaler and Krimmer differed in origin, mode of baptism and church boundaries there were many shared assumptions in the new churches. Each, for example, led religious awakenings which resulted in a more personal approach to religious faith. And in the process of encouraging experiential faith they often adopted Protestant methods of revivals, Sunday Schools and travelling missionaries. It is significant, however, that each of the three churches continued to stress the authority of ancestral Anabaptist reformers and traditional Mennonite teachings on nonresistance, separation from the world, an ascetic lifestyle and church discipline. Indeed it was as if the reawakened personal commitments to faith strengthened, rather than undermined, their sense of Mennonite peoplehood and their adherence to Anabaptist concepts. As Timothy Smith has argued, "religious awakenings [among immigrant groups] helped define both the boundaries and moral ideals of ethnic groups." [88]

Each of the new groups taught a separation from temporal politics. Unlike more accommodating Mennonites, the Holdemans, Bruderthaler and Krimmer each refrained from voting, holding public office, litigation, and military service. [89] It was not that the communities were unaware of national political battles. In fact during the 1894 congressional elections, Jefferson County was visited by both William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley, and in the presidential election two years later the county was the scene of a vociferous election battle in which residents turned their backs on Nebraska's native son and gave McKinley a 144 vote plurality. [90] No doubt, McKinley's plurality was due in part to the fact that Peter Jansen, the second cousin and neighbour of many Kleine Gemeinders, served as a delegate in the Republican convention which nominated McKinley. The fact, too, that Jansen successfully ran as a state legislator in 1898 and as a state senator in 1910 meant that Cub Creek farmers were never far from political action. [91] Nor were the Manitobans isolated from national politics. The 1896 election in Canada of Wilfrid Laurier's Liberals on a platform of finding a "sunny way" to maintaining parochial education in Manitoba excited many Mennonites. When Heinrich Kornelson, the Steinbach correspondent to the Rundschau, wrote with a certain satisfaction that the "old Conservative party had to make way to the Liberal party" he added that it was "sad, that amongst us who wish to be the quiet in the land, there were those...who took part in the election." [92]

Political awareness, however, did not translate into widespread political participation. Indeed each of the three new church groups had strongly-worded positions on this matter. The very first Bruderthaler conference in 1889, for instance, stated that a primary objective for members must be "to prove by word and deed that we are nonresistant." [93] The 1893 conference went a step further and declared that "because of taking the oath it was advised not to run for public office." [94] The Krimmer emphasized a similar approach to politics. In a 1914 thesis on

the assimilation of Kansas Mennonites, Cornelius Janzen wrote how the disapproval of "cheap money and hard times" led Kansas Mennonites to begin voting in the 1890s. According to Janzen, one exception to this pattern was the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, who, "as late as 1907 opposed the holding of any offices or even voting at general elections." [95]

A similar approach was maintained by the Holdemans in Manitoba who continued to oppose voting in municipal elections and any compromise with their strict nonresistance stance. Like the Kleine Gemeinde, the Holdemans refrained from taking out citizenship papers until June 1883 because of a troubling clause that committed the new citizen to defend the British monarch "to the utmost of my might." [96] According to Aeltester Peter Toews, community members signed the papers only after Otto Klotz, a German-speaking judge, summoned Holdeman and Kleine Gemeinde farmers to Gruenfeld where he struck out the troublesome phrase and witnessed their signing. [97] Like the Kleine Gemeinde, the Holdemans refused municipal offices which compromised their nonresistant stands. Thus when Cornelius Toews was appointed municipal health commissioner in the 1890s he accepted the position; but when David Loewen was appointed pound keeper which required enforcing municipal by-laws he refused. [98]

Each of three new churches also emphasized an ascetic lifestyle and any avoidance of conspicuous consumption. The Bruderthaler raised the issues of "world[ly] clothes, smoking, foul language [and] jesting" at their annual conference in 1893 and two years later concluded that "any pretentious display in dress, carriages, homes, horses etc. were signs of conformity to the world." [99] The Krimmer were noted throughout these early years for their stern asceticism. Janzen writes that "all things that...had an element of pleasure in them were either forbidden or considered dangerous. Their dress was simple and Quaker-like...the ladies...had to wear an apron at church, no hats, but only a black shawl...." [100] According to Janzen, the Krimmer were also noted for their opposition to bicycles, photographs, instrumental music and shiny new

buggies. The Holdemans were similarly known. Clarence Hiebert writes that the Holdemans believed that "simplicity of life...was expressed in external appearance - plain clothing, no jewelry, simple hair styles." [101] This is confirmed by at least one Holdeman, Johann Toews, who wrote that his church opposed his arm bands, top buggy, riding gloves, two wheeled buggy, braided horse manes and visible pocket watches. [102]

Each of the churches was also noted for its opposition to millennialism, which emphasized a futuristic Christ-ruled peaceful kingdom and was often associated with such pietistic groups. [103] Millennialism was a threat to the Mennonites' traditional teachings in two ways: first, it turned people's attention from immediate ethical concerns in the kingdom, the present church community, to futuristic speculation; and secondly it turned their attention from the period of the martyrs in the first and sixteenth centuries to a promising future on earth. Thus, in 1875 when the Krimmer in Kansas considered amalgamating with the millennialist Mennonite Brethren Church in Hillsboro, the Krimmer insisted that in the new union all members would be "forbidden to speak of the Millennium, even tho [sic] anyone might believe in it." [104] The Bruderthaler also opposed the idea. In February 1888 Isaac Peters asked Johann F. Funk, the Indiana Mennonite publisher, to reprint Peter Twisck's Das Friedensreich Christi, a seventeenth century anti-millennialist booklet first published in German by the Kleine Gemeinde in 1874. [105] Peters also expressed his view on millenarianism in his writings in Mennonite newspapers. "The whole of Revelation is filled with images which...[must] be taken spiritually and in the context of the rest of the New Testament" he declared in a sermon printed in the Rundschau in 1903. [106] A similar polemic against millenarianism is found in Johann Holdeman's 1880 408 page Ein Spiegel der Wahrheit which contained a full chapter, "Von der Friedensreich auf Erde," which decried the literal interpretation of the 1000 year reign of peace. [107]

Each of the churches also continued to revere the writings of the early Anabaptists. While the Holdemans concentrated their publishing efforts on producing the voluminous works of their leader and their church periodical after 1897, they took the sixteenth and seventeenth century teachings of Menno and Thieleman van Braght as authoritative. [108] The Krimmer also concentrated their publishing efforts on their own literature, beginning their church periodical in 1895. But they too referred to the "understanding to which our forefathers arrived" when faced with doctrinal issues. [109] Of the new groups, the Bruderthaler were the most active in perpetuating the Anabaptist writings. Isaac Peters, for instance, translated Georg Hansen's conservative, seventeenth century, doctrinal work, Ein Fundamentebuch der Christlichen Lehre from Dutch to German and had it published in 1893. [110] In the same year he also published two booklets, one, an introduction to the thinking of Menno Simons and the other a criticism of the practice of baptism by immersion. According to Peters the reasons for publishing this material was that "we will remain faithful to the beliefs of our fathers for which they suffered martyrdom." [111]

If the new churches proved to be traditionalists in their thinking, the socioeconomic makeup of their members and leaders also pointed more to continuity than change. There is little evidence that the members who embraced the more individualistic, pietist churches were from a more landless, educated or urban class of people. Indeed there appears to have been little difference in the socioeconomic makeup of the three new groups and the mother church. The splinter groups were made up of members with a somewhat lower wealth than those of the old church, but in most cases the difference was negligible. In Manitoba the Holdeman movement did attract twice as many members from the poorer farming district of Gruenfeld than from either Steinbach, Blumenort or Scratching River. [112] However, the Gruenfelders who joined Holdeman's new church were 50% wealthier, according to municipal tax rolls, than those who remained in

the old church. The fact that wealth was not a factor in the choice of church is also illustrated by ~~the fact that~~ municipal tax assessment records for 1883 which reveal only a 7.1% difference in the wealth of Holdemans and the Kleine Gemeinde; the former group had an average tax assessment of $633 in 1883 while members of the latter group were assessed at $678. [113]

In Nebraska the difference between break away groups and the mother church was more pronounced. Here the Kleine Gemeinde families owned an average of 111 acres of land while Krimmer families owned 103 acres and Petersgemeinde families owned 76 acres. However, once again there were very wealthy members and very poor in each church. Of the six Molochnaia farmers in Cub Creek who were cultivating more than 200 acres each 1880, two were Kleine Gemeinde and two were Krimmer Mennonite Brethren. The insignificance of socioeconomic factors in the schisms of the early 1880s is also underlined by the fact that the vast majority of Mennonite households in Cub Creek were still landed and rural by this time. [114]

If there was a social variable at play in determining the new church lines it was not economic or educational but rather was associated with kinship. A cursory look at the new church groupings would indicate that family groups were important determining factors in the establishment of church lines. Oral tradition does note the pain of broken family ties: a father resigned his position as deacon after seeing his wife and children rebaptized by Holdeman; a man refused to attend the funeral of his brother who had joined Holdeman; a son publicly condemned his father when he would not leave the old church. [115] In a bitterly emotional writing in 1882, Peter Dueck, a Gruenfeld farmer who remained in the Kleine Gemeinde, noted how "it seems as if parents, children, siblings and other beloved friends have become foreign to each other" and referred to instances in which "the son turns against the father and another denies his brother's salvation...." [116]

Yet in most instances the church upheavals reinforced family lines. Indeed observers often referred to family groupings when they wrote their

friends in Russia or Nebraska about the schisms; Abram L. Dueck of Gruenfeld wrote in February 1882 that those who have joined up with Holdeman include "Old Peter Penner's children except Abram Penners and Johann Janzens, Johann Pletts, David Loewen and his children, the Toews family line from Prangenau and Fischau and Old Johann Dueck." [117] It would appear that those members who were descendants of Kleine Gemeinde leaders between 1820 and 1850 remained in the Kleine Gemeinde while those who were related to the new breed of leaders between 1860 and 1875 left the church. In Manitoba it was the Reimers and Friesens who tended to stay in the old church while the Toews, Ennses, Goossens and Wiebes left the church. In Nebraska it was similarly the Reimers and Friesens who stayed while it was the Thiessens, Fasts and Harmses who left.

The leadership in the new churches also reflected a continuity with the past and differed little from the way in which the Kleine Gemeinde chose its members. When the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde lost four members of the ministerial to death and old age in the early 1890s it replaced them with the grandson, the son-in-law, the brother and the son of former Kleine Gemeinde ministers. When the Nebraska Kleine Gemeinde required additional members of the ministerial in the 1890s it elected a grandson and the son of previously elected church leaders.

Continuity also directed the new churches in choosing their leaders. The Holdemans in Manitoba reinstalled Peter Toews as their church's Aeltester and saw him acquire influence in the wider church which was second only to Holdeman's. Holdeman allowed Toews a great deal of leeway in running the Manitoba church and shared the post as editor of the Botschafter der Wahrheit with him. [118] Toews later also edited the church's first hymnal published in 1906. The Krimmer in Nebraska elected as their first ministers Peter Thiessen and Peter Fast, both of whom were the sons of one-time Kleine Gemeinde ministers. [119] While the Bruderthaler's first leaders were not related to Kleine Gemeinde leadership, one of their leading ministers after 1886 was Heinrich Ratzlaff, who had first been

elected a minister in the Kleine Gemeinde. Each of these leaders, then, had first won their respect as members in the old church and as commmunity members ~~in agreement with the continuation~~ of a solidaristic, ascetic, separated community.

VII

Another indication that the new pietistic groups had not created a hiatus with tradition was the continuation of Old World folk customs and a traditional religious lay piety. Traditional folklore was passed on among members of the new churches as they were among those of the old. So, too, were the street songs in the Low German language and the youthful practice of charivari. Although folklorists have recently argued that folklore must be seen in its "social matrix" and not merely as a "function of shared identity" it is significant, nevertheless, that the members and youth of the more pietistic church groups perpetuated old customs. [120]

Community members from each of the church groups perpetuated old stories from Russia. They told of the grandmother who suffered bitter remorse after a nine year old step-daughter went missing when she was sent out to work as a servant in disreputable homes. Community members also told of the grandfather who confronted a ghost - that is, he uncovered a scam in which a villager started a rumour that a certain house which he wished to buy for a low price was haunted and dressed as a ghost at night to reinforce the rumours. [121]

There was also the continuing practice of singing Low German folk songs. Doreen Klassen has suggested that Low German songs reflected a dichotomy in Mennonite culture in which music in the "low status" language reflected "socially symbolic behaviour" while music in the "high status" language, High German, reflected religious ideals. [122] Low German folk songs were part of everyday life and often considered vulgar by community elders. Songs that were handed down orally in Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities served to express attitudes and values that religious songs

could not. Klassen has identified several songs sung in Canadian Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities. They included children's lullabies. One song promises apples and pears from an absent father while another tells of a little sheep that hurt its leg. But they also included street songs in which the singers reveal crude prejudices; a village nonconformist is likened to an insect and a visiting Jew is described as falling into a well. The songs ridicule the high and mighty: in one instance a young man goes courting on his newly acquired horse but when his horse collapses and dies he becomes the laughing stock of the village girls. [123]

Similar songs emanated from the Kleine Gemeinde communities in the United States. These songs too served as social commentaries. Lullabies told of "little children with little worries" and reminded children that their social status must be "decided by older people." There were cruder songs demoting the proud: "give him some oatmeal/ pull this one's head off/ and throw it away!" Other songs told of how men got their revenge on women who neglected their household and farmyard duties. [124]

The most colorful Old World folk practice to continue was the charivari. This was the medieval folk practice of publicly embarrassing people who were deemed to be haughty or tardy. In Mennonite communities charavari was most often practiced at weddings. Here the groom and bride were publicly embarrassed or victimized through a wide range of activity. In 1888 Aeltester Peter Toews associated charivari with such "immoral" folk traditions as wine brewing, the public playing of noisy tops, and Christmas Trees which "enlightened" Mennonites had left in Russia. [125] However, it is clear that these folk traditions remained popular with Mennonite youth throughout the first generation. In 1914 Cornelius Janzen described the charivari in pietistic Mennonite communities in Kansas in the preceding generation: The youth "showed their worst tricks at the weddings at which they were the terror of the people. At the charivari they made a scandalous noise with tin pans, tanks, old rusty muzzle

loaders....They generally left after they had seen the groom and bride and received something to eat or...drink." [126]

A similar practice in Cub Creek has been described by Henry Fast. "A mob of young people would surround the house where the young couple were staying and proceed to create a fracus [sic] by various means. Hens and geese were persuaded to add to the clamour of shooting and shouting. They would only stop this behaviour when the occupants of the house would 'reward' them with money and 'good words.'" [127] Contemporaries regularly reported acts of charivari in German-language newspapers. One writer to the Nordwesten in 1894 described how the newly wed schoolteacher in Jansen had been forced to pay money to a youthful mob when it stuffed his chimney with straw. [128] Another writer in 1902 reported a charivari at a wedding in which "the activities were particularly bad as 'Young America' conducted themselves as wild beasts." [129] In 1904 a writer noted with similar disgust the charivari at a recent wedding: "As we have experienced elsewhere, so it is here and at night there occurred according to traditional practice and ways, quite a nuisance, known as 'poltern.'" [130]

Manitobans also complained about unbridled youth at weddings. Kleine Gemeinde church brotherhood minutes indicate that the social activities of the youth were of grave concern. Aeltester Peter Dueck's entry for December 1903 reads: "There is a great disorder brought about by youth carrying on with firearms - this practice must be strictly forbidden." In December 1907 he recorded that the church had was greatly concerned about the youth who acted in ways in which "wickedness is increasingly taking the upper hand." [131] An indication of the nature of that "wickedness" is found in the memoirs of Peter Unger, a Blumenort area farmer: "During this time our youth seemed to get out of hand and became very disorderly as they began to commit grave acts of vengeance after each wedding and demand money from their victims." [132] Oral tradition indicates that these acts included threats to release a small flock of geese and chickens into the home hosting the after-wedding party, the hoisting of

the bridal couple's buggy onto the roof of their house, and even the riding of a horse into a church building to disrupt a wedding service. [133] Old world folk customs continued to bedevil even the new pietistically-inclined groups.

Old ways of thinking of God also carried on despite new more individualistic and rational doctrines of salvation. Members of each of the four church groups extolled the view that God's judgments and blessings were exhibited in nature, sickness and death. Natural calamities, accidents, and deaths were usually interpreted as messages from God. Diaries and letters attest to a continued folk piety which saw God in everyday life, buffeting man's plans and signalling his finiteness. Indeed one of the Mennonites' most common folk sayings of this time was the stoic "Mensch denkt und Gott lenkt," man plans but God rules. [134]

Mennonite households were engrossed by natural calamities that lead to deaths and injuries. Isaac W. Loewen of Scratching River copied into his journal an account of the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake which killed 60,000 people; he added the editorial remark that this was a "wonder which left a terrible word...that what God has said he wishes." [135] Heinrich Kornelson from Steinbach wrote the Rundschau in 1888 to describe how God had spoken to him in a lightning storm. He wrote of a flash of lightning that had hit his house and sent an electrical current down the chimney into the room where he and his young wife were working. "A bright blue light flashed between us. My wife fainted and I picked her up and carried her to our bed. She was crying and on her chest there was a wound in the shape of a cross. Here was an earnest message from the Almighty Creator." [136] M.B. Fast, the Cub Creek schoolteacher, told a story in his memoirs of how God had judged a German neighbour who had operated a sand quarry just to the north of the Mennonite settlements. It was when the German died in a sand avalanche that neighbours recalled with a sense of horror how he had "scoffed religion and boasted that he [wished for nothing more at the end to his life than to] be buried right in his pit." [137]

Similar reflections on God's will seemed to follow any natural calamities or unexpected weather patterns. When lightning killed young Jacob Thiessen's pig herd in Cub Creek in August 1881 a neighbour noted that "on the pigs we can see the almighty hand of God; it is a clear warning to us people that we live in the Age of Grace in which we are to prepare for eternity." [138] When an early frost damaged grain fields in Scratching River in 1885 one farmer declared "it was no man who did this" and then added the traditional adage "what God does he does wholeheartedly." [139] When autumn came settlers' thoughts turned to their own destinies. A Steinbach farmer wrote in October 1886 that "the leaves have turned yellow and fallen from the trees which reminds us that mankind will also experience this for he has no permanent place here." [140]

God's supremacy was always acknowledged after any death or period of illness. When funeral letters announced a death they invariably began with the words: "The Lord of life and death has seen fit to take my beloved" and often added, "what the Lord does he does well." [141] When epidemics hit and children died, it was the hand of the Lord which was seen. One writer who described the death of five children in two weeks in Cub Creek in the summer of 1880 commented: how "quickly the Lord has let his voice be heard in our region." [142] God's hand and will was also seen in everyday sicknesses. One farmer from Scratching River reported in 1881 that several members of his family were ill: "at present this is very inconvenient for us, but for our souls it will be good for we are reminded not to attach ourselves too vigorously to earthly things." [143]

IX

The religious upheavals that visited the Kleine Gemeinde communities in the early 1880s did not mark a significant discontinuity with established values and social boundaries. The Bruderthaler, Krimmer and Holdemans did exhibit strong pietistic leanings. Each group emphasized a greater personal religious experience, strove to be a more open and

mission-oriented body, and accepted mainstream Protestant tools of church life including Sunday School, youth programs, revival meetings and mission conferences. However, despite these innovations, the Molochnaia-Borosenko communities in the East Reserve, Scratching River and Cub Creek remained communal-oriented, closed places. The reason for this was that while the old Kleine Gemeinde lost more than half of its members to the new bodies, it did not give up its resolve to maintain old ways. In fact, an increased determination seems to have resulted from the reuniting of the Nebraskan and Manitoban factions of the Kleine Gemeinde; Anabaptist devotional material was published, new leaders were elected and joint ministerial declarations confronted social changes.

But the old Gemeinde was not the only body to ensure continuity. The three new bodies each continued a core of traditional Mennonite teaching and practice. They elected leaders who had roots in Kleine Gemeinde leadership. They opposed the teaching of millennialism. They continued to advocate nonresistance, refrained from voting in public elections, and refused to hold public offices. They continued to revere the authority of sixteenth century Anabaptist church fathers, including their teaching of a visible, disciplining church community and an ascetic life of nonconformity to "worldly society".

At the end of the first generation's sojourn in North America all four church bodies in Cub Creek, Scratching River and the East Reserve worked to maintain a sense of Mennonite ethnicity, peoplehood, a solidaristic Mennonite community, and continued Anabaptist values. One of the ways in which they did this was to perpetuate the German language and religious instruction in their schools despite the pervading reality of district schools. But old cultural expressions also lingered despite the attempts by all churches to eradicate them. Charivari and street songs were the folk side of traditional cultural forms which persisted despite the growth of pietism.

The schisms that shook the Kleine Gemeinde communities around 1880 reflected the context of a changing society. Leaders in each of the schisms, Peter Toews in the Holdeman secession in Manitoba and Isaac Peters and Jacob Wiebe who gave pastoral guidance for the Bruderthaler and Krimmer factions in Nebraska, had each encountered pietism in New Russia. Each of these three leaders had fashioned a blend of subjective faith and community-oriented Anabaptism in the context of a modernizing Russia. In North America commercial agriculture, growing cities, improved transportation links, and pressures from the host society continued to force Mennonites to reevaluate their traditional religiosity. The consensus among the secessionists seemed to be that only a more revitalized, personal faith could safeguard traditonal values of community, nonconformity, separation from society, and nonresistance.

The new environment in which Mennonites found themselves in both New Russia and North America lead to the type of upheaval which Weber and Toennies would have predicted. However, the fact that the upheaval produced a revitalization of old ways and that those old ways were often employed to counter assimilative forces in the new environment gives credence to Timothy Smith's argument that "religious awakenings helped define both the boundaries and the moral ideals of ethnic groups...." [144] Thus, just as commercializing farms and new community settlement patterns ensured the survival of the traditional household mode of production, so too the growing pietism within the Kleine Gemeinde communities led to a revitalized sense of peoplehood.

PART FOUR

THE DIVERGING WORLDS OF FARM AND TOWN: THE SECOND GENERATION, 1905-1930

INTRODUCTION

Between 1905 and 1930 Kleine Gemeinde descendants diverged sharply in their responses to the opportunities and restrictions of an expanded industrial society. The Kleine Gemeinde settlers of the first generation had exhibited a rather homogeneous, conservative approach to society around them; during the second generation they diverged in choices and aims. Clearly the children who had been born before the turn of the century were not equally intent or able to maintain the old patterns of life as they reached adulthood and began establishing their own families. By 1930 there were both conservative, solidaristic, ascetic communities and those that were more urban and marked by differentiation, individualism and conspicuous consumption. And both the Canadian and the American communities were to witness these local divergences.

One of the factors that led to local divergences was the volatile economic forces of the time. The Canadian and American Kleine Gemeinde descendants were now no longer in markedly different economic environments. By 1900 many Canadians believed with Prime Minister Laurier that "the twentieth century belonged to Canada." Indeed by 1905 Canada was building two more transcontinental railways, was a major wheat exporter and was witnessing an unprecedented influx of immigrants onto her prairie. [1] The American middle west on the other hand was a land of somewhat reduced opportunities; high costs and land fragmentation in the corn belt sent farmers leap-frogging onto the cheap and often disappointing semi-arid lands of western Kansas. [2] Levels of mechanization, farm sizes, degrees of single commodity production, and

capital accumulation were no longer significant measures of the differences among the Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities. Indeed, the four main communities, East Reserve and Scratching River in Manitoba and Cub Creek and Meade County in the American Middle West, were strikingly similar in the 1910s and 1920s when measured by these criteria.

The degree to which continuity with traditional approaches to life was maintained in the post-1900 Kleine Gemeinde descendant household was highly dependent on whether or not the family possessed farm-based wealth. Household agricultural producers in Meade, Kansas and the Manitoba communities of Rosenort (formerly Scratching River) and Blumenort lived in more communal-oriented, ascetic, socially-insular communities than their brethren in the small towns of Jansen, Nebraska and Steinbach, Manitoba. In Jansen and Steinbach there were signs of secularization as some townsfolk ignored traditional rites of passage, joined no church, and became involved in civic organizations and state and municipal politics. Here, too, aggressive merchants increasingly turned their stores to meet the needs of an urbanizing population intent on sporting the latest fashions, driving conspicuous cars, and living in comfortable homes. And, in the towns a rising number of families found themselves seeking livelihoods as wage labourers, a pursuit that often took them beyond community boundaries to neighbouring cities and towns.

The lifeworlds on the farms in the United States and Canada now were more similar than they had been during the first generation. Usually the American farmers were a year or two ahead of the Canadians in acquiring the most innovative farm machinery; however, in both countries unprecedented levels of mechanization were reached and fuller integration into the market economy was attained. Farmers in both nations purchased their first tractors during the first World War, their first "family size," 21-inch harvest separators just after it, their first motorized trucks around 1920 and their first farmyard electricity generators and grain "elevators" by the end of the 20s. Manitoba and Midwest Kleine

Gemeinde descendants had similar railway connections now that even the East Reserve was served with two railways; ironically the single largest community of American Kleine Gemeinde descendants, now in Meade County, Kansas, was located some 15 miles from the nearest railway. Farmers in both countries allowed market prices to determine their farm strategies; the value of their lands inflated during the War, their disposable income soared and their farm expenditures multiplied in these exceptional years; then bankruptcies rose and they demonstrated a greater willingness to employ pragmatic marketing strategies in order to survive, even if such strategies threatened traditional social boundaries. This was a quarter century of rapid change, one marked by a full integration into an industrial economy.

The parallels of existence between the American and Canadian communities was also apparent in the patterns of Kleine Gemeinde diaspora. Each of these communities possessed conservative, moderate and progressive members who employed different strategies for dealing with the modern world when they left their home communities. The most conservative households in Manitoba sought to ensure generational succession and social boundary maintenance by exploring the idea of a colony in Quebec, while the most conservative families in the Middle West joined the Mennonite Old Colonist migration to Mexico. More moderate households sought land in new colonies. As Maps 11 and 12 indicate this search was often made without regard to national boundaries; thus the paths of Canadian and American Kleine Gemeinde descendants criss-crossed as they set up new agricultural communities in Dalmeny and Herbert (Saskatchewan), Dallas (Oregon), Reedley and Winton (California), Littlefield (Texas), Hooker (Oklahoma), Paxton (Nebraska), and Garden City and Satanta (western Kansas). In both Manitoba and the American midwest, too, an increasing number of families became urbanized although Canadians more often moved to large cities and Americans more frequently settled in neighbouring railway towns. Thus,

by 1930 Kleine Gemeinde descendants may be broadly demarcated as either rural or urban.

Church lines shifted to reflect these diverging worlds. While each of the four church groups in Cub Creek and the East Reserve during the first generation established similar approaches to questions of lifestyle, political involvement, and historic self identity, the churches began parting along rural/urban lines after the turn of the century. There were national variations of this dichotomy. A higher percentage of the Canadians could be termed conservative or strictly sectarian than the Americans. For instance, the conservative Kleine Gemeinde and Holdeman factions comprised the majority in the Canadian communities, while the more pietistic Bruderthaler and Brethren groups drew the majority of the American Kleine Gemeinde descendants. Still the communities in both countries had internal divisions of conservative and progressive forces.

The mother church, the Kleine Gemeinde, became the undisputed guardian of traditionalism during these years in both countries as it struggled to maintain socially closed settlements. Nowhere was its battle fought more vociferously than in Steinbach, but nowhere was its failure to shape society more evident. The main opponent of continuity in Steinbach, as elsewhere, was the Bruderthaler Church which had gone through a most remarkable change after 1905. It had become the church of the town or of the labouring and professional urban classes, and had successfully exchanged its Anabaptism for an urban pietism that featured emotional revival meetings and a professional church leadership. Between these two approaches was a third path followed by the Holdeman sect. Their distinctive blend of pietism and traditionalism, their openness to certain innovations but emphasis on the strictest of church boundaries, combined features of both the Kleine Gemeinde and the Brethren. In both Canada and the United States the strongest support for the Kleine Gemeinde and Holdemans came from rural sections while the Bruderthaler and related Brethren groups were most strongly supported in the towns.

The differences between urban and rural lifeworlds also affected the nature of the family and the role of women during these years. Endogamy rates fell in both rural and urban settings but they fell most in towns such as Steinbach and Jansen. There was also a close correspondence between place of residence and family size; urban women also witnessed a greater time period between marriage and the first child than did their rural sisters. Urban families were establishing smaller families to correspond with their more limited economic opportunities and the new role of the child as a liability and not an asset to the family economic unit. The difference in the lives of rural and urban women was particularly marked. In the rural areas women continued to participate closely in the farm production units. They cared for the barnyard animals, produced marketable table foods, reared large families, and worked in the fields during harvest. In urban areas women were separated from the male's economic activity; they left the family business or the seeking of a livelihood through wage labour to their husbands and sons. As a consequence urban or "town" women were mythologized as homemakers, referred to more often as "ladies," and encouraged to attain education leading to service roles such as schoolteachers, nurses and missionaries.

During these years, then, the strategies that Kleine Gemeinde descendants employed in dealing with the outside world and in recreating their social environments began to diverge. In the countryside, in both Manitoba and the Midwest, farm households continued to reproduce their ascetic, familial, agrarian lifeworlds. In the urban areas, whether in Steinbach or Jansen, Mennonites established consumerist, more class conscious, progressive lifeworlds whose measure of success was set by their Anglo-Canadian or American neighbours rather than by the standards of their pioneer parents.

CHAPTER 13

FARMERS, MERCHANTS AND WORKERS IN THE EVOLVING MARKET ECONOMY

The economic story of the second generation of Kleine Gemeinde descendants is that of a community fully integrated into the world of North American capitalism. For the farmer this was a time of mixed blessings. Often it was a financial boon as unprecedented wealth visited the communities. Material optimism sometimes went unchecked and new labour-saving technology and more comfortable lifestyles changed the lives of the farm household. But the higher incomes brought higher capital costs, new land shortages and unparalleled farm failures. All this necessitated new marketing, credit and settlement strategies. For the merchants this, too, was a time of new opportunity. They moved quickly to take advantage of rising consumerism and to penetrate the outside market. For the worker it was a time of permanence in the wage labour force. To start one's own farm proved prohibitive and, as jobs outside the Mennonite communities brought the promise of better wages and more comfortable lives, young families often opted to settle in towns and even in cities.

By 1930, there were three distinct classes of Mennonites descended from the original Kleine Gemeinde migrants. Although not hard and fast social classes, the farmers, merchants and workers each lived in different social worlds with diverging social boundaries and values. While actions were taken to reproduce farm households, the communities founded by Kleine Gemeinde pioneers were no longer homogeneous agrarian settlements. The communities had become fragmented in a way they had not been since the 1850s in Russia.

I

The farm communities in both Canada and the United States remained enclaves of continuity in the 1910s and 20s. The East Reserve and Scratching River, now referred to more frequently as Rosenort, provided the Manitoba families with enough land to realize old values; families could still reproduce their agrarian households, maintain the respect of one's neighbours and seek new ways to ease some of the burden of work. Cub Creek Township, now most often known simply as Jansen, and Meade, the daughter colony in western Kansas, ensured a similar option for the families of the American Midwest. To achieve these ends second generation farmers adapted as their fathers had; they met new market demands, were buffeted by volatile prices, mechanized their farms, pursued colonization schemes, and reinvested profits to boost the economic health of the family farm.

The adaptations that these second generation farmers made led to new farm practices and crop types, and diverging degrees of single crop specialization. The factors that the four communities shared were a highly integrated market economy and new levels of mechanization; the factors leading to diverging farm practices were physiographic and demographic in nature. Rosenort, Manitoba and Meade, Kansas had the largest landholders and relied on wheat production to the greatest degree. The East Reserve and Jansen had the largest number of mixed farms; they produced more feed grain and had a higher number of dairy cows, hogs and poultry than the other settlements. Modernization theories that chart the inexorable march of progress in terms of the transition from mixed farms to single commodity production can be rigid and deterministic; our case studies suggest, instead, that the mixed farmers of the East Reserve and of Jansen pursued economic strategies similar to those employed by their grain specialist kin in Meade and Rosenort. While more research is needed to establish levels of mechanization, degrees of external investment, and volume of marketable products, a survey of these farming practices points

to parallels in the farm economies - whether grain or mixed farms - of the Canadian and American communities. Physiography and proximity to market centers would appear to be more satisfying explanations of farm differences in the various communities than degrees of "modernization."

What all farmers between 1905 and 1920 agreed on was that these were the best of times. There were crop failures in the various communities in 1906, 1908 and 1916 where drought and leaf rust alternatively hurt the crops. And there were bumper crops. Rosenort and the East Reserve reported 30 and even 50 bushels per acre of heavy hard red spring wheat in 1908, 1915 and 1918. [1] Jansen and Meade farmers reported similar yields of winter wheat in 1908, 1922 and 1924. [2] And these yields often coincided with good prices - for a number of these years over $2.00 a bushel. When wheat prices remained high after the war, farmers in both countries believed that this was the beginning of permanent farm prosperity and began investing in farm expansion in unprecedented amounts. Even the volatile 1920s were not enough to defeat this spirit of optimism. In July 1930, one Meade farmer reported that his farm was suffering from a mediocre crop of 20 bushels of wheat and that the price was only 65 cents a bushel; he noted, ironically, that "we will have to wait till next year to become rich." [3]

Farmers responded to favourable market conditions by seeking to produce what local market conditions and physiography allowed. In the areas of high moisture and limited arable land in the East Reserve and Jansen, feed grains gained an increasing importance over wheat. Indeed between 1891 and 1931 the percentage of cropland dedicated to wheat in the East Reserve dropped from 60% to 38%. [4] Between 1922 and 1930 the Giroux elevator, which served the farmers in the Blumenort-Steinbach corridor in the East Reserve, took in almost twice the volume of feed grains and specialty crops as of wheat. [5] Records of local farmers reflected the continuing shift from wheat production. Farmer Isaac Reimer of Steinbach, for instance, seeded only 18% of his 120 acres to wheat in

1924 and 25. Over two years he seeded an average of 23 acres to wheat, 62 acres to oats, 36 acres to barley, 5 acres to flax, and an undisclosed number of acres to grasses and alfalfa. [6]

Jansen, Nebraska farmers also raised more feed grain than wheat. Although wheat production in Jefferson County increased ten fold between 1899 and 1915 it never exceeded the yields of corn. And in the years after 1915 cropland dedicated to wheat suffered a sharp decline as excess moisture and high freight prices encouraged farmers to concentrate on corn production for local livestock feed. [7]

In the semi-arid plains of Western Kansas, farmers concentrated on wheat. In Meade County the number of acres dedicated to wheat almost quadrupled from 28,000 to 108,000 between 1900 and 1915 while the number of dairy cows, for instance, increased by only 15%. [8] Mennonite farmers in Meade apportioned 86% of their land to wheat in 1915 leaving relatively small acreages to barley, corn, sorghum and oats. [9] There was little change in this emphasis as the average Meade Mennonite farmer grew 209 acres of wheat in 1915 and 182 acres in 1925. [10] According to oral tradition, Rosenort farmers also grew more wheat than feed grains although statistics are not available to indicate the exact proportions. [11]

High grain prices encouraged many farmers to increase the size of their acreages to unsurpassed levels. From each of the communities came reports of bonanza grain farms. In Meade, the Loewen brothers had a farm of 1375 acres which in 1915 had 1020 acres of wheat and boasted the first combine harvester in the American middle west. [12] In Greenland, Manitoba, a visitor in 1908 noted that "Martin Penners have a large farm of 1600 acres of debt-free land, a quarter section for each child....They also have their own threshing machine...and do all the work themselves, having to hire no strangers." [13] But the Eidse brothers of Rosenort were unrivalled. A family history reports that "Dave K. Eidse...realized...the ratio advantage of large scale farming and bought and cleared up to 2800

acres of land...with brother C.K...[and] during the busy months...hired up to 35 workers who were housed in bunkhouses...out in the fields." [14]

Average farm sizes increased in each of the communities. In Meade and Rosenort, areas of wheat specialization, farmers increased the sizes of their landholdings the most. In Rosenort farmers expanded to the extent that, according E.K. Francis, by 1925 "Mennonite land holdings connected the original West Reserve with the once completely separated Scratching River...." [15] In Meade, the average acreage per farmer in 1915 was 374 acres with 224 acres in cultivation. [16] This was a fivefold increase from the size of their farms in Jansen only a decade earlier. But land holdings increased in the mixed farming districts of Jansen and the East Reserve as well. Between 1900 and 1917, the number of Mennonite landowners in Cub Creek dropped from 83 to 52 while the average farm acreage increased slightly from 133 to 143 acres. [17] In the East Reserve farm sizes in the representative 96-farmer community of Blumenort also increased slightly from 205 acres in 1899 to 216 acres in 1920. This figure, however, rose significantly to 261 acres if the Mennonite landownership to the north and east of the Reserve was included. [18]

Coupled with rising farm sizes were new marketing methods. Farmers in each of the communities now regularly sold their grain by the carload. The shipments were not always of equal size. In Rosenort larger farmers like Ben R. Dueck, the preacher, shipped three carloads of grain in 1924. But smaller farmers in Steinbach used the same method, even if it meant joining forces to ship a single car, as Isaac Reimer and Klaas Toews did in 1924. [19] In Kansas and Nebraska farmers, too, began to ship wheat on a larger scale. "David F. Thiessen shipped a carload of wheat to Omaha [and] his neighbors helped him load," reported the Jansen News in January 1920. [20]

As farm sizes increased and new marketing methods were employed farmers experimented with specialty crops and a variety of other products. In both the Midwest and Manitoba, farmers began growing timothy grass and

alfalfa both for animal fodder and for rotation value. In each place farmers had their favorite alternative to wheat which could be grown in years of early frost or late springs. In Nebraska, farmers doubled their output of corn and oats in 1917 when frost killed the winter wheat. [21] In Manitoba, farmers turned to flax in the late spring of 1923 and to barley in the year of the wheat leaf rust scare in 1924. [22] Each place also risked new, untested crops. In Manitoba, farmers reported seeding buckwheat, sweet clover, and even silage corn. In Kansas, farmers experimented with apricot and peach orchards and sugar cane and millet.

Farmers had reason to keep their eye on alternative crops. Usually it was a simple matter of economics; it was not only wheat which rose in price during the War World I. In Meade, corn sold for $2.00 a bushel, alfalfa sold for $16.00 a ton, and potatoes for $4.00 a bushel in 1917. [23] A year later chickens sold for $1.10 a piece and piglets for $5.00 a head. [24] In Steinbach, farmers could make 18.5 cents per pound of cheese in 1916, up 5.5 cents from the time before the war. [25] More money could also be made with hog sales. In January 1919, for instance, when C.B. Loewen of Steinbach hauled 2336 pounds of pork to Winnipeg, he returned with $537. The editor of the Steinbach Post noted that Loewen's pigs were only seven months old and declared that the moral of the story was that "it pays to raise pigs!" [26]

But it was dairy production that maintained the second place to wheat production. Even in the wheat-growing communities farmers never abandoned the milch cow completely. In Rosenort, John W. Dueck, the local merchant regularly marketed butter in the early 1920s. It had been taken in trade for merchandise from Rosenort farmers, several of whom, farmed both several hundred acres of land and kept dairy herds of 10 cows or more. [27] In Nebraska, Bernard O. Kroeker, who operated a 320 acre farm, kept eight cows and made weekly shipments of cream to the town of Jansen. Some of Kroeker's neighbours kept herds of 20 dairy cows. [28] In Meade,

Henry Reimer who farmed 425 acres and sold $3360 of wheat in 1915, also marketed $300 of cream and $55 of meat. [29]

In dairy production, however, the East Reserve farmers were prominent. Improved transportation links with nearby Winnipeg entirely commercialized dairy farming. By 1920, there were six milk receiving stations within the bounds of the Reserve, one each in Steinbach and Blumenort, and two each on the railways serving the Reserve. A comparison of East Reserve tax records with farm census figures for Meade county illustrates how farmers adapted to varying distances to metropolitan centres and levels of moisture. As the Meade farmers increased their holdings of beef cattle, the East Reserve farmers increased their herds of dairy cows and hogs. In 1915 Meade farmers kept an average of 3.0 cows, 8.0 other cattle, and 3.2 pigs; in the same year the farmers in the Steinbach-Blumenort district of the East Reserve maintained average herds of 7.1 cows, 5.2 other cattle and 4.2 pigs. Ten years later the diverging conditions that the Meade and Steinbach-Blumenort farmers faced became even more pronounced. In 1925 the average Meade farmer kept 1.9 cows, 13.0 other cattle and 1.6 pigs while the Steinbach-Blumenort farmer kept 10.0 cows, 3.0 other cattle and 18.1 pigs. Clearly farmers in both places were maintaining livestock herds for commercial reasons but were adapting to differences in climate and market. [30]

II

High grain and livestock prices also resulted in soaring farm costs. This was especially apparent in land prices. In the grain growing areas of the East Reserve some quarter sections with recently erected buildings were selling for as much as $105 an acre by 1920. Even virgin land brought high prices. In 1920 John Goossen, the Steinbach conveyancer, advertised 17,000 acres of virgin prairie in the region between the East Reserve and Winnipeg for between $20 and $34 an acre. [31] Hay land in Scratching River was priced even higher; at least one local farmer paid

$50 an acre for a quarter section of unbroken land in 1918.[32] Land prices in the American midwest were rising as well. Virgin land in Western Kansas could still be purchased for $16 an acre in 1916 but developed farms in the higher moisture and more fragmented sections around Jansen, Nebraska saw farms sold for as much as $200 an acre.[33] Besides the rising farm economy, these land prices reflected the growing scarcity of land and the continued cultural value of an agrarian existence.

Table # 3

ARABLE LAND PRICES PER ACRE: 1905-1930

	1905	1910	1920
East Reserve	$10.28	$15.00	$65.00
Scratching River	$8.34		$65.00
Cub Creek	$40.96	$70.00	$141.00
Meade	$10.00		$47.00 [34]

It was in this context that a renewed interest in agricultural settlements in other states and provinces ensued. The colonization schemes of around 1905 had given the old communities room to establish second generation households; by the years of World War I there was once again a shortage of farmland. Despite the official "ending of the frontier" in the United States in the 1890s and in Canada a decade later, farmers who were committed to farming were still able to secure cheap virgin prairie land. Between 1915 and 1920 newspapers in Steinbach and Jansen were filled with reports of land delegations to other regions. As the "Kleine Gemeinde Diaspora Map" shows these delegations crossed paths, first setting down new roots, and then frequently taking them up again to migrate to yet another agrarian frontier.[35]

Sometimes, as in the case of Prairie Rose in Manitoba and Litchfield in Nebraska, the new settlements were situated near old communities.[36] Most often, however, the migrations involved major relocations. Paxton

was 250 miles from Jansen and Meade and Garden City in Kansas were 300 miles away. Dalmeny and Herbert in Saskatchewan were 400 miles from the Manitoba settlements. Districts in British Columbia, Oregon, California and Texas drew families even further from the mother communities.

National boundaries were no greater factors in the choice of settlement than distances. Indeed, the western semi-arid plains of Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas and the mountain valleys of California and Oregon attracted many Canadians; similarly the prairie provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta attracted Americans. [37] Satanta, Kansas proved to be a special attraction for Steinbach, Manitoba farm families while Dalmeny, Saskatchewan drew families from Jansen, Nebraska. Indeed enticements to cross the border were everywhere. The American-based Grant Lands Holding Company, for instance, advertised Oregon and California railway land in the Steinbach Post at the same time that the Canadian Government through its agent in Omaha advertised Saskatchewan prairie "wheat land" in the Jansen News. [38]

In each of these new places farmers adapted to new agricultural conditions. In Meade, where farmers could find land for $5 to $10 an acre in 1907 and in Garden City where they paid as little as $16 an acre in 1916 farmers practiced economies of scale. Both places had flat and semi-arid land, much like the land of their grandfathers in Russia, and thus, like their forebears, they once again concentrated on wheat production. Reedley, California and Dallas, Oregon solicited different adaptations; here farmers paid up to $350 an acre for land in 1907 and up to $600 in 1919. And so wheat growers from Canada and corn raisers from Nebraska integrated into a highly capitalized fruit production that included irrigation and specialized fruit growing equipment. [39]

But, what was not new, was that each of these places allowed farm families to continue operating from within solidaristic Mennonite communities. Almost inevitably these new settlements identified with one of the four church organizations that had grown out of the Kleine Gemeinde

church fragmentation of the 1880s. Sometimes these migrations were encouraged and organized by one of the church groups. Sometimes, too, real estate agents played up the notion of a transplanted community. In one scheme to settle Littlefield, Texas, land was advertised as part of "a new German Mennonite Settlement." [40] Thus, in spite of the fact, that some of the communities such as Satanta, Kansas were too arid to withstand the drought of the 1930s and that other communities near Reedley and Dallas did not have sufficient farmland for long term agrarian settlements, the strategy of colonization during the 1910s assured not only the continued agrarian existence of the majority of the Kleine Gemeinde descendants but of traditional communities at least for the short term.

III

As part of their strategy to re-establish the agrarian household during the second generation, farmers on both sides of the border readily acquired the new farm technology that was being developed between 1905 and 1920. The age old problem of securing enough labour during the seeding and harvesting seasons continued to plague farm families. The industrial and urban growth of World War I coupled with increasing farm sizes multiplied this problem. Farmers complained in the newspapers of both countries. Farmer Gerhard Thiessen of Meade, noted in July 1919 that during the harvest "wage labour is impossible to get, even at 50 cents an hour." [41] Another Meade farmer noted that the only worker he had been able to hire had disappeared before doing a stitch of work after having been provided with supper and a bed for a night's rest. Heinrich Enns of Rosenort, Manitoba noted in an August 1922 letter that "many workers here want more than the $4.00 a day to which we farmers had to agree; according to present day wheat prices $4.00 is too much!" [42]

Farmers continued to use a variety of labour sources. Some hired non-Mennonite neighbours or itinerant harvest workers from the east. [43]

Most were helped out by Mennonite neighbours. Usually these were the teenaged sons of neighbours but sometimes they were the farm owners themselves. In 1911, for instance, Jacob F. Isaac of Meade, the owner of a 240 acre farm, helped his neighbours dig ditches, cement floors, haul oats, and erect stooks. In 1924 Isaac W. Reimer of Steinbach, the owner of a 320 acre farm, helped his neighbours haul greenfeed, cut oats, deliver cream, thresh wheat, and load producer cars. Both Isaac and Reimer were repaid with labour from their neighbours.

In addition to these old labour pools were new ones that developed from improved travel facilities and the continued dispersement of Kleine Gemeinde descendants; these two factors encouraged the development of a pool of itinerant Mennonite harvest workers. Newspapers, diaries and letters attest to the growing practice of Kansas, Nebraska, Alberta and Manitoba boys visiting their relatives in other states and provinces during busy harvest months. [44] Because the Americans harvested their winter wheat in June and July and their corn in November and December, and the Canadians harvested their grain in August and September, labour swapping became a practice which combined economic pursuits with the pleasure of travelling and visiting relatives. A useful but short term labour source became available to Manitoba farmers in the 1920s when "Russlaender" Mennonites, fleeing the ravages of civil war and famine in Russia, worked to redeem travel costs that had been underwritten by their Canadian brethren. [45]

The most expeditious answer to labour shortages continued to be farm mechanization. And between 1916 and 1922 second generation farmers directed their high farm profits to a new round of labour-saving technology. The first notable innovation was the gasoline tractor. While the earliest versions of these tractors appeared in Canadian and American communities around 1910, it was not till 1916 that the smaller, more versatile "oil pulls" made their debut. Despite the fact that horses by now were of heavier, pure-bred Belgian stock, farmers found that the

tractor could triple their work output. Tractors could put in longer days and draw heavier machinery, even four-bottom plows, 12 foot cultivators, disk plows and power binders. [46]

Arguments were increasingly aired in the Mennonite communities to the effect that it made economic sense for every farmer to own a tractor. "The Big Bull $800 tractor can do the work of a $1700 seven-horse team" argued the H.W. Reimer advertisement in the Steinbach Post in June 1916. Even tractors such as the larger Case which cost $1446 in the inflationary years of the war could be purchased with the gross sales of only 25 acres of wheat in 1918.

The result was that farmers went on a spending spree. In July 1920, the Steinbach Post reported that "one is seeing a lot of new binders leaving the town these days and often with a tractor." [47] In July 1921 the Jansen News reported that six farmers in the Meade settlement had bought new "Samson" and "Avery" tractors. [48] And when grain prices plummeted in 1922, so too did the price of the tractors, by as much as 50%, and the buying spree continued. [49] By the 1920s the tractor had become so popular that farmers in both grain farming and mixed farming regions owned them. Census records indicate that by 1925 14 of the 40 Kleine Gemeinde descendant farmers in Meade owned a tractor, while interviews indicate that no less than 25 of 62 Blumenort-area farmers owned tractors by 1930. [50]

The popularity of the tractor did more than increase tillage capabilities. It also transformed the harvest, for with the small tractor came 21-inch threshing machines. These machines were refined versions of earlier 40-inch models which often lacked straw blowers and self feeders. These smaller machines were advertised as "totally assembled" and "easy-to-operate." The most important feature of the tractor-powered threshers, however, was their reduced labour requirement. The editor of the Steinbach Post noted in 1920, that 10 local farmers had each purchased a small thresher because "these farmers now have their own tractors and it saves on labour, creating a much more peaceful [threshing time] than those

huge machines of the past." [51] Another observer noted that the introduction of these smaller machines allowed him to "change the harvest to more of a family-sized affair." [52]

A few farmers in both Kansas and Manitoba reduced labour requirements even more by experimenting with combine harvesters. As early as 1904, Abram S. Friesen, the Steinbach machinist, had mounted a gasoline engine on a threshing machine with the idea of pulling the machine from stook to stook, thus eliminating the hauling of sheaves. "Amazing what people can discover," declared one letter writer in 1904 and added that "unfortunately it is too expensive for poor farmers." [53] Indeed, few farmers were able to afford the combine harvesters when they were first introduced after 1910. In 1912 Heinrich Loewen and his brothers in Meade did purchase a self-propelled combine-harvester with a 30-foot header from Holt Manufacturing in California and began threshing up to 2000 bushels a day. But the fact that their purchase put Meade on the map as the first farming district in the midwest to sport such a machine indicates its rarity. [54] By the 1920s, however, a number of Kleine Gemeinde farmers in semi-arid western Kansas owned combines. [55] Manitobans and Nebraskans were slower to acquire them. In Manitoba unpredictable weather and early frosts made "straight-combining" impractical and in Nebraska few farmers had the acreages to warrant the new method. [56] By the late 1920s only one Manitoba farmer in Rosenort was even experimenting with the combine. [57] More important, thus, than the appearance of technological wonders such as the Holt combine, were the refinements to existing machines that enabled farm families to acquire a means to run their operation without the use of hired labour.

Other innovations served this purpose too. As early as 1914 Steinbach equipment dealers were advertising half-ton trucks and claiming that "with this motorized buggy one can haul as much freight as a wagon without having to take the horses off the farm." [58] By 1916, a few farmers in the Meade, Steinbach and Rosenort areas were using trucks to haul up

to 2200 pounds of grain per trip during summer time. [59] By 1919 even the most conservative community members who had vociferously opposed the truck as a sign of "worldliness" just three years earlier now accepted it as a necessity. Illustrative of this shift was the news from Meade in 1919 that "Elder J.F. Isaac took out a new Ford truck on July 9 which will be of great help to haul his wheat to market." [60]

The tractor and truck were only the most conspicuous of the labour saving devices to be introduced during these years. By World War I, farmers in Manitoba were buying manure spreaders and riding cultivators. They were removing wild oats with cleaning mills, and loading their wagons with automatic horse-drawn sheaf loaders. [61] They were also increasingly dependent on portable two to three horsepower gasoline motors which could be used to "saw wood, grind grain and power shop tools." [62] By June 1920, even the old, solidly-constructed 1876 windmill in Rosenort, which had provided such a powerful symbol of cultural continuity with the Old World when it had first been erected in Steinbach, had become obsolete and was dismantled. [63]

Farmers in the midwest also owned a host of modern conveniences by World War I. The auction sale lists of three Jansen farmers in 1917, indicates that each one owned a portable gasoline engine, a riding cultivator and a sulky plow. [64] Farmers here still picked corn heads by hand, but after 1907 they were shelled by an "unbelievable" gasoline-powered "corn husker." Sheep farming, too, was made easier with the use of a "machine," that sheared wool. [65] Farmers in Kansas began acquiring "headers" which cut off ripe grain and sent the heads up a conveyor to a holding bin and then directly to the threshing machine. In this way the labour intensive exercise of stooking and hauling sheaves was eliminated. [66] Finally, by the late 1920s farmers in both Manitoba and the Midwest were beginning to erect gasoline, diesel or wind powered "Delco Light Plants." These plants promised increased lighting for egg and milk production,

power to generate "back-breaking labour saving" grain elevators and water pumps. [67]

Much of the technology acquired during these years promised to ease the burden of labour. The portable gasoline engines, the riding mowers and cultivators, and the tractors made life easier for the farmer. But this technology also ensured that larger acreages could be cultivated with the use of household labour. Particularly important were the smaller, more affordable and refined tractors and threshing machines. If technological innovation made families more labour self sufficient, it tied them more firmly to outside financial sources and committed them to greater participation in a market economy.

IV

Wealth and the expectation of wealth did more than anything else to cause Kleine Gemeinde farmers to change their cautious, controlled interaction with the market place and to undermine a dedication to an ascetic lifeworld. Prosperity resulted in the construction of conspicuous two and a half storey houses and the acquisition of the touring car and the "oil pulls." But more importantly it enticed farmers to seek better marketing facilities and tempted farmers to increase off-farm capital investments. Law firms, national banks, city dairies, government short courses and regional cooperatives all served to shift the boundaries of the each of the communities.

Marketing strategies for farmers of this era had one thing in common; that, is, they were designed pragmatically to meet specific problems. Farmers in each of the regions marketed certain products through co-operatives and others through private firms. Some products were sold locally, directly to consumers, while others were sold into the wider market through middle men. Some were sold through community organized co-ops and business establishments, while others were sold to outside firms.

In Jansen, farmers supported the Farmer Telephone Co-operative but sold their cream to a local entrepreneur in town. Sometimes they sold their grain to the privately owned Jansen Flour Mills and at other times to the co-operatively-owned Jansen Equity Exchange elevator. In Meade, the farmers sold their grain to the Farmers' Co-op Elevator but sold their hogs to private firms in nearby Fowler. [68]

A similar pattern existed in Manitoba where more detailed records provide a fuller account. In Rosenort, farmers formed a co-operative purchasing company to circumvent the inflationary prices of community merchants sometime during World War I. The co-operative was first organized under the auspices of the United Farmers of Manitoba, and then when church leaders raised a concern about the farmers' "association with the world," it was turned into an independent body known as the Rosenort Farmers' Association. By the early 1930s the RFA, as it was commonly known, had its own store and oil refinery. [69] After 1924, in an attempt to bypass the monopoly of Ogilvie Grain Company, Rosenort farmers also began supporting the idea of "pooling" one's grain with that of other farmers in a provincial co-operative popularly known as the "Pool." Again contemporary observers questioned publicly "whether it is appropriate for the 'Quiet in the Land' to join such a union" and church elders pleaded with farmers "to see the danger of taking part in a government-run business." [70] It would not be till after the experience of the Depression, however, that this opposition subsided and local farmers invited the Manitoba Pool to set up an elevator at the nearby McTavish siding. [71]

At the very time that Rosenort farmers were turning to co-operatives to help market their staple, wheat, Steinbach, Blumenort and Kleefeld (formerly Gruenfeld) farmers were turning away from community-owned organizations in the marketing of their staple, milk. The farmers of each of these communities had purchased the old Reimer-owned cheese factories sometime after the turn of the century and turned them into co-operatives. As early as 1914, however, competition from a Winnipeg creamery, which had

set up a skimming plant half way between Blumenort and Steinbach, was beginning to erode the solidarity of the farmers. By June, 1919 when the skimming station closed on account of the Winnipeg General Strike, the degree of dependency on the creameries was evident by the sudden surge of an additional 9000 pounds of milk that appeared at Steinbach's cheese factory each day. [72]

In the following year, two Winnipeg creameries began an aggressive campaign to acquire an even greater percentage of East Reserve milk. Few could deny that the creameries were offering a good price. According to the Steinbach Post farmers were being promised an equivalent of 62 cents a pound for butter at a time when homemade butter was selling for 42 cents. "This makes a big difference," noted the editor, "for everyone would be better off to sell his cream than to make butter." The shift to selling cream was rapid. The Steinbach cheese factory could not begin operating in 1920 until July, because "most farmers are hauling their milk to Giroux." [73] By October, it was clear who had won the battle when Crescent Creamery of Winnipeg leased the cheese factory building and hired the owner of Steinbach's first factory, Klaas W. Reimer, to renovate it into a cream separating plant. [74] Later that year, in December, the Blumenort cheese co-operative closed its doors and auctioned off the 800 square foot building, complete with the 600 gallon milk tank, steam engine, and delivery wagons that had served to commercialize Mennonite agriculture during the first generation. At the end of the 1921 season, the Kleefeld cheese factory closed its doors as well. [75]

Neither Rosenort nor Steinbach-area farmers, however, seemed to have been ideologically committed to one type of marketing. The Steinbach farmers may have turned to private firms to buy their cream and trusted a private slaughter house to market their meat. But they also supported a church-run credit organization, the Hilfsverein, when it began operations in 1929. This agency encouraged young men to farm by providing low interest loans; the capital pool came from deposits of wealthier

farmers who were dissuaded from doing business with the national banks in Steinbach. The Rosenort farmers, on the other hand, did not experiment with credit pooling till 1940. Both communities, thus, devised a multifaceted approach to strengthening the family farm. They used both the market economy and internal traditional community structures to built the economic base of their households.

The most significant change to the economic activities of the Kleine Gemeinde farmers of the second generation was the manner in which they handled monetary surpluses. Whereas farmers of the first generation had directed their profits to securing a land base for their children, those very children increasingly began seeking immediate capital returns from farm profits. By the years of World War I, both Manitoba and Midwest communities were serviced by banks which were competing for farm deposits. In Jansen, it was the local state bank. In Steinbach, it was the Royal Bank of Canada. But an increasing number of farmers went beyond the building of savings accounts and became willing to invest in risky off-farm ventures in the belief that farming had reached a permanent state of prosperity. The variety of investments that farmers made between 1905 and 1923 tells a story of new wealth and shifting values.

The most common form of speculation was in land in new areas of Mennonite settlement. When Manitoba Mennonites began settling in the vicinity of Herbert, Saskatchewan, a number of farmers who were not committed to moving, purchased land with the intention of gaining from inflation. One Rosenort farmer noted in his memoirs that in about 1907 he sold a quarter of land which he had purchased in Herbert, Saskatchewan for $1000 (before he had even finished paying for it) to "widow A. Kornelson for $1700 so that there was a profit of $700 to $800." [76] Other farmers from Meade and Blumenort invested in land in the new settlement of Satanta, Kansas in 1916. In fact, nine of the 19 Satanta farms in the 1920s, were owned by these absentee land owners. [77]

Contrary to the argument of John D. Hicks and others that farmers invested in little else than land the unprecedented profits of the 10s encouraged "get-rich-quick" schemes in industrial development or finance-capitalism. At least four such schemes enticed Manitoba farmers carelessly to invest substantial sums of money. In 1912 a number of farmers invested in a Mennonite settlement scheme along the Columbia River in Needles, British Columbia. Small land plots were purchased for $1500 each after land agents promised that a canning factory and a hydro-electricity dam would transform the region into a rich fruit growing area and double the prices in short order. The scheme turned out to be scam a short time later when British financiers foreclosed on the canning company and it was discovered that the company had never even owned land in the river valley. Only a year later a group of Rosenort farmers were drawn into investing large sums of up to $3000 in city lots in the Winnipeg suburb of Transcona. But this scheme failed as well after the land developers, German citizens, fled Canada after the break out of World War I. [78]

Other farmers were no more fortunate when they invested in industrial complexes initiated by unscrupulous Mennonite relatives. During World War I, for instance, Rosenort farmers invested in a flour mill that was located in Altona on the West Reserve but owned by a Steinbach merchant. When the mill failed, relations between the merchant and the farmers became so embittered that the church brotherhood intervened and excommunications followed. [79] In 1921 other farmers were enticed into an industrial investment by a relative who had left the Mennonite church; one farmer recalled his loss after "a certain John Penner who had started a broom factory in Winnipeg...had a massive number of shares printed and canvassed farmers to take part." The farmer noted that despite the Columbia River and Transcona fiascoes, "a number allowed themselves to be convinced and bought shares from $100 to $500." [80] But

once again farmers lost as "the whole thing turned out to be a swindle and the firm went bankrupt." [81]

Investment in bonds was a more common, although an equally risky, approach to handling farm profits. Victory bonds were sold in each of the Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities in Manitoba and the Midwest during World War I. Often these were purchased because of pressure exerted by the host society. But they also proved to be good investments. Thus, when in 1923 the Dominion Ticket Company of Winnipeg set up a bank in Steinbach and began carrying weekly ads in the Steinbach Post encouraging farmers to help both themselves and Germany by buying German bonds from a German-speaking bank official, many invested. One farmer described what happened: "The Dominion Ticket Company of Winnipeg must have known that they had too many German Bonds...and so they sent agents throughout the countryside to tell the people that this was the time to buy German bonds....[They suggested] that through this means Germany would receive the credit needed to buy [Canadian] wheat...and that one would make a considerable profit when the mark once again would rise to its normal value....Many farmers purchased, some for as much as a $1000. I, too, bought $260 worth which...today on January 26 1924....would not be enough to cover the postage of a letter from Germany." [82] The story of German bonds, as the other investments, illustrates both a new willingness to cross established social boundaries and the increasing affinity with both the opportunities and pitfalls of modern capitalism.

Those pitfalls, however, were not only experienced by reckless farmers with surplus capital pools. Another measure of the degree to which farmers had become integrated into the wider world of capitalism was the hardship generally suffered during the price-cost squeeze after 1922. [83] For many farmers the drop in wheat prices between 1920 and 1922, from $2.08 to 97 cents in Nebraska and from $3.19 to $1.10 in Manitoba, was more than lost opportunity. For farmers who had borrowed money on the basis of high commodity prices, this fall marked a real loss. The

shock that one Manitoba farmer faced in the fall of 1918, when muddy roads caused him to miss the opportunity of selling his wheat for $2.84 and forced him to settle for $2.36 a bushel instead, is understandable only when it is realized that farmers had adapted to high commodity prices by incurring heavy debt loads. "I lost at least $400 to $500," noted the farmer, "How amazing!" But this was only the beginning of this farmer's troubles: "everyone was saying it, that wheat would hit $3.00 a bushel, instead it continued its fall and soon was only $2.00 and soon even less....'We will never see wheat under $1.00 a bushel' said those who thought they knew something. Today [in 1924] it is between 50 and 90 cents a bushel." [84]

In each of the Kleine Gemeinde descendant settlements land prices fell, in some places by as much as 50%. The result was a new phenomenon for Mennonite farmers; farms began suffering bankruptcy. In every one of the communities prosperous farmers lost their farms after over extending themselves through purchases of expensive land and equipment. Although quantitative evidence is lacking, painful stories have been remembered by members of each of the communities. In Rosenort, John Dueck lost a quarter section of hayland in 1923 for which he had paid $50 an acre "during the highest of the boom times...which I should not have done." [85] In Steinbach, Isaac Reimer lost his farm in 1929. His quarter section, just north of Steinbach, had been purchased in the height of the war-time inflationary period in 1919 for $105 an acre from a farmer who had purchased the same land in 1911 for $43.75 an acre. [86] In Jansen, the family of Jacob Friesen, who had owned a quarter section in the heart of Cub Creek township since 1886 and had mortgaged it on five different occasions, lost it to the public, presumably as a tax sale, in 1922. [87] In Meade, a different Jacob Friesen lost three quarters in 1929, one of which his wife had received upon marriage, after overextending himself with the purchase of a combine and tractor. [88]

The story of agriculture during the years of World War I and the 1920s continued to be the story of family farms seeking ways to maintain agrarian household economic units in highly industrialized societies. But they were also the story of shifting values and social boundaries. The adoption of new crops and farm products, the acquisition of labour-saving technology and the colonization projects were old strategies to maintain the self-sufficiency of the family farm and to ensure generational succession. But there were also new activities associated with the unprecedented wealth of World War I. The high price of farming on the one hand and large profits on the other combined to redefine traditional social boundaries. While some farmers became more indebted to outside lending agencies others began investing in the capitalistic market economy. And through the acquisitions of status symbols such as the two story house and the automobile farmers also signalled a shift in the old value of an ascetic lifeworld. In comparison to the lives of their brethren in town, however, the rural sections remained bastions of continuity and tradition.

V

Townsfolk of the second generation no longer considered themselves to be temporary residents or the servants of agriculture. Merchants in Steinbach and Jansen increasingly geared their operations to meeting the consumerist impulses of the people of a new age. Veteran merchants increased the size and scope of their businesses and a host of young entrepreneurs opened small shops to transform the towns into consumer-oriented places. Other enterprises were no longer content to serve only their home town but set up branches in larger cities.

The story of Steinbach during the 1910s and 1920s demonstrates a shift in values and boundaries. This was the period in which Steinbach was transformed from an agricultural village, dominated by Kleine Gemeinde descendants and geared to meeting farmers' basic service needs, to a

pluralistic, commercial town, geared to consumer oriented patrons and grappling with problems of street lighting, law and order, fire protection, and greater access to outside markets.

This transition was well represented in a 4000-word account of Steinbach's change between 1874 and 1916, serialized under the title "Steinbach Einst Und Jetzt" in the Steinbach Post in March and April 1916. The author, Gerhard Kornelson, told of the time when Steinbach had been an 18-farmstead village and contrasted it to "modern" times when business establishments lined both sides of a wide mainstreet, residences bordered side streets, and farmers lived in the countryside. This, of course, was the type of town that Jansen had been from its inception. What was different in the Canadian case was the increasing number of Kleine Gemeinde descendants who were leaving the farms for commercial activity in town.

One of the factors in Steinbach's transformation was that farmers were obtaining basic marketing and farm service needs outside of town. Farmers were no longer as dependent on Steinbach's flour mill, blacksmith shop and cheese factory as they had once been. Giroux by now had two elevators, owned by Lake of the Woods Grain Company and Western Canadian Flour Mills. [89] The latter even built a new elevator in 1917 after fire destroyed the original building. In Giroux, as well, A.W. Reimer had his slaughter and meat packing firm, which employed five butchers and three sales representatives by 1924 and made daily exports of a variety of meats to Winnipeg until it closed in 1929. [90] And Giroux was the place where farmers took their cream, an increasingly profitable product when compared to cheese and butter.

Increasingly, too, farmers found blacksmith services in their own districts. In Kleefeld, Henry Fast became a noted machinist who demonstrated his abilities by building a dragline. In Blumenort, farmers frequented the shop of Heinrich Plett, who was turning his farmyard into a small industrial centre as he produced a variety of metal and wood

products by the 1920s. [91] And finally, farmers were finding that mechanization allowed more of them to own their own feed crushers or hire travelling custom crushers. [92] Farmers clearly no longer relied on Steinbach to meet their essential service needs or even to market farm products.

Steinbach now focused on meeting new consumerist impulses for a less self sufficient and more indulgent population. It was this reorientation, tied to the turn of the century farm prosperity, that transformed Steinbach. A report in the Mennonitische Rundschau in 1908 noted that "Steinbach remains the 'Metropol' of the East Reserve for almost everything a farmer requires comes from Steinbach." [93] Municipal property tax records confirm Steinbach's importance. In 1915, the township in which Steinbach was located was assessed at three times the amount of the one embracing Kleefeld and 38% higher than the one containing the Blumenort district. [94] By 1915, as well, Steinbach had grown into a town of 117 households and had a population of 463. [95]

The heart of Steinbach's transformation was its stores. The two main retail outlets, H.W. Reimer and K. Reimer Sons, mushroomed in size after 1905. The oldest store, K. Reimer Sons, had almost doubled its sales in the five years between 1905 and 1910 alone, increasing them from $30,293 to $58,183. [96] The H.W. Reimer store registered similar growth and saw its sales increase from $26,000 in 1902 to $59,342 in 1911 and $81,191 in 1918. [97] This latter store was the dominant of the two by World War I. It was no false-front, pioneer general store. By 1912 when its proprietor added a second floor and built in a large floor-to-ceiling show window, the store had a total retail and storage space of 17,600 feet. [98] Indeed this was less a general store than a department store. It maintained separate accounts for four different departments, including the clothes, shoes, hardware-tool, and furniture-household sections. The largest department was the clothes department which rang up sales of $32,700 in 1918. [99]

The growth of the stores portrayed Steinbach's development as a mercantile centre but the take-off of the first car dealership made that trend irreversible. In 1912, Jacob R. Friesen was awarded a Ford car dealership and over the course of the next decade, through aggressive sales techniques, he helped redefine the town's social boundaries. By 1914 Friesen was regularly advertising his $840 Town Cars and $540 Ford Run-a-abouts. In that year he sold 11 cars. [100] In 1915 Friesen altered the image of his enterprise by setting up "four decorative electric lights" to illuminate his shop; local observers noted how the lights "gave a beautiful decor" to the building. [101] This was the year, too, that Friesen began ordering his Model T's by the car load. By 1916 he complained that he could not get enough cars to fill orders; a year later he sold seven rail car-loads of automobiles a year. [102] Friesen's success in transforming the town was indisputable. At the height of World War I when Mennonites were wondering if they, too, would be drafted to serve in the army and began hearing of immense suffering from their brethren in Russia, one observer noted that "the auto trade is forging ahead here as if there is no need or trouble in the world." [103]

The Reimer stores and the Friesen dealership attracted complementary businesses. In 1917 the Northern Crown Bank, which would later amalgamate with the Royal Bank of Canada, opened a branch office in town; townspeople seeking credit for new lifestyles approved and noted that "getting a bank is something which should have happened a long time ago." [104] In 1918 other needs of shoppers were met when Klaas Toews, the owner of Steinbach's livery barn, opened a municipal-licensed hotel and a coffee shop that soon became "well patronized." [105] In 1918 as well two restaurants were opened by local young men who had returned from their jobs in Winnipeg to seek to make their livelihoods at home. [106]

That Steinbach had been transformed during the years of the first World War was evident from a January 1919 advertisement in which twenty one of Steinbach's small businesses wished a "prosperous New Year

to...friends and customers." The list of businesses was revealing in the fact that it did not include millers, blacksmiths and general store proprietors. Rather, it was sponsored by boutiques, professional agencies and consumer-oriented enterprises. They included a real estate agency, a bank, a tailor shop, a jewelry store, a gramophone sales outlet, a plumbing and electrical supply store, two barbershops which sold confectionery and toiletry, two telephone supply stores, a furniture and sewing machines shop, a watch and clock store, a Watkins dealership, a hotel, a coal and lumber dealership, two repair shops specializing in automobiles, and a meat mart. [107]

Steinbach businessmen were now advertising as a matter of course. Indeed by 1919, the Post could declare that "a man who does not advertise must be either too poor or too stingy." [108] The ads depicted a life quite different from the ascetic lifeworlds of Steinbach's first generation. A 1917 advertisement for C.T. Loewen's lumber yard depicted a well furnished room with a fire place, reclining chair, area rug, wall pictures, a large curtained window in front of which sat a smartly dressed woman who had a book in hand and was gazing dreamily outside to a well groomed backyard. The ad referred to the decorative walls, suggesting to readers that "sooner or later you will want to 'Beaver Board' that room." [109] Some ads even trivialized religious knowledge. An equipment dealership known as Reimer, Barkman and Friesen used a German Bible verse in 1917 to catch the attention of its readers. The opening line of the ad read: "I Moses 8 Verse 22 [says that] 'So long as the earth shall remain, man shall sow and harvest." The bottom portion of the ad described the new "Van Brunt Drills" and the "Fosston Automatic Cleaning Mills." [110] And the ads directed local people to a new age in which stores, such as K.Reimer Sons, advertised that they alone were the "CASH STORE." [111] The days of trading eggs for merchandise and butter for hardware were past as patrons exchanged cash for discount prices.

Steinbach was attracting a new breed of men who did not want to farm and whose model of success seemed to be the Anglo-Canadian business elite of Winnipeg. In 1916 Peter W. Reimer returned to Steinbach after farming in the Tache Municipality and set himself up as a "Buyer and Seller of Everything." [112] In 1918 36 year-old Martin Penner purchased his brother's share in a door and sash business in Steinbach by giving his farm in trade. [113] The new merchants were also assuming new public images. It was evident in their names. Jacob Friesen, Cornelius Loewen, Abram Reimer, Martin Penner were known not by their first names but by their initials - J.R. Friesen, C.T. Loewen, A.W. Reimer, M.M. Penner - in a way unknown to their parents. The names of their businesses were equally non-traditional: the Friesen blacksmith shop was known as International Manufacturing, Klaas Reimer's store was known as K.Reimer Sons, the Loewen and Toews cement plant in Kleefeld as Standard Cement, A.W. Reimer's abattoir in Giroux as Reimer Trading Company and the Eidse-managed oil depot near Rosenort as Trump Oil. However pretentious sounding these names may have been they served to send a new signal to wider society: Steinbach was open for business.

The new mercantile mentality sought greater associations with the outside, not fewer. In 1908 one Steinbach observer wrote the Mennonitische Rundschau to declare that "Steinbach is increasingly becoming a city: now that a telephone connection with Winnipeg is being built its only requirement is a railway." [114] In 1915 the Steinbach Post welcomed yet another rumour that a railway would be built through the town from Winnipeg. Not only would this improve the connection for businesses, wrote the editor, but "it would also help bring electricity to our little city." [115] While some residents continued to call for a railway, an increasing number got into the business of establishing alternative transportation links between Steinbach and Winnipeg. By 1916 young Gerhard Friesen was making it his business to deliver meat products each day by car from a local abattoir to Winnipeg. [116] Within two years Klaas

Toews, the owner of Steinbach's hotel, began ferrying train passengers between Steinbach and Giroux by car. This was a service that was improved in 1919 when Gerhard Goossen, who had purchased the hotel, took his Ford truck, and according to local observers, "rigged it up....to resemble a street car...[thus ensuring] that passengers going to the Giroux [train station] and from there to Steinbach will be very comfortable." [117] And, because a high proportion of town's business came from the southern sections of the East Reserve, where Ukrainian and German Lutheran settlers had pioneered poor land, Steinbach businessmen became leading proponents in the 1920s of a Southeastern Manitoba highway. [118]

The business elite in Steinbach also sought to increase their viability by expanding outside the boundaries of the East Reserve. Their initiatives varied. In January 1919 a group of Steinbach merchants, in an effort to increase their buying power, founded a public stock company, Reimer Produce Company, and had their first organization meeting at the Industrial Bureau in Winnipeg where an executive was elected and a Steinbach man hired to run the company from the city. [119] Other buying schemes took businessmen out of the province. In January 1923, for instance, Jacob Reimer, the store manager for K.Reimer Sons travelled to Toronto, Montreal and New York in a highly publicized trip to buy stocks of clothes, cutlery, textiles, and shoes which were then sold in a special "5, 10 and 15 cent sale" at the Steinbach store. [120]

The business elite also sought to sell its wares outside the district. In 1914 Abram Reimer, the owner of the Giroux meat packing firm, opened a branch plant in Winnipeg where, according to the Steinbach Post, "they will have a much greater market for their meat products." [121] Nine years later Reimer opened yet another plant in Otterburn, on the rail line just west of the East Reserve. [122] Other businessmen set up branch plants in neighbouring provinces. In 1923 Peter T. Barkman, Steinbach's mill owner, purchased a second mill in Foam Lake, Saskatchewan, more than 150 miles from either one of the main Mennonite settlements in the

province, and sent several of his sons and workers to live there. [123] Some entrepreneurs sought service contracts outside the Mennonite communities. In 1930 M.M. Penner's wood products factory won a contract to supply the Canadian "Marshall Wells" hardware chain with 100 cabinets. In the same year Jacob T. Loewen, the house mover, won a contract to ferry supplies with his crawler tractor for a mining company in Flin Flon, and Henry Fast contracted to work on the Winnipeg waterworks with his home-constructed dredge. [124]

Another factor leading to a redefinition of traditional social boundaries in Steinbach was the increasing number of non-Mennonite business establishments in town. The town had in the early years made a mark for itself by developing a commercial base entirely with local capital pools and initiative. Indeed, the only outsiders in the first generation were German immigrants who stayed in Steinbach just long enough to earn the cash needed to establish their own farms. In the second generation a permanent non-Mennonite presence was established. It was Anglo-Canadians who usually managed the banks and law firms which opened during this time; in 1917 a Mr. Holt ran the Northern Crown Bank and in 1921 a Mr. Serkau the Monteith, Fletcher and David law firm. [125]

And it was Jewish merchants who provided the two Reimer stores with their only serious competition. Jewish peddlers who had visited the East Reserve during the first generation now set up shop in town. As early as 1906 the Mennonitische Rundschau reported that the "Jew who has started a store in Steinbach, sells and deals...only in cash." [126] Although the same paper announced in 1910 that the "Israelite" was leaving, by 1916 another Jewish merchant named Sutton had purchased the old Klaas W. Reimer store near the cheese factory. [127] By the 1920s the Jewish presence was no longer a novelty. In 1923 B. Cherry was advertising as aggressively as either of the Reimer stores, putting on "two day clearance sales," offering free sugar for purchases of more than $20 and promising savings on merchandise picked up by Cherry himself at "bankruptcy sales." [128] In

this year, too, at least two other Jewish stores, reportedly owned by a D. Wahrhaft and S. Hallis, and a "new up-to-date drug store...run by a Jewish boy" were in operation. [129] Finally, like many other midwestern and prairie towns, Steinbach had a Chinese restaurant, operating inconspicuously near the heart of the town after 1921. [130] Clearly Steinbach residents had no need to worry that the presence of these non-Mennonites was going to undermine the basic ethnic composition of their town; but the presence of the non-Mennonites still was a powerful reminder that the new business ethos was a two-way street.

Steinbach's transformation also had a physical side to it; the town increasingly had the appearance of an urban centre. In September 1910 the village council hired surveyors from Winnipeg to map the village, register its side streets and town lots, and provide the owners with legal title to those lots. [131] Farmers had been leaving town for some time and residences had sprung up along side streets. But important too was the fact that although the lots on mainstreet still bore the 200 by 1000 foot configuration of the old farmsteads, they were now quickly acquiring a commercial value. [132] As part of the new town's image there was also a concern about electricity. However, it was not till 1915 that a publicly owned Electric Light Company was established with the aim of providing comprehensive street lighting. In 1920, when Steinbach was incorporated as a "village district" within the Hanover Municipality, its leaders' first priority was to seek improvements to the "electricity service." When this public plan failed, the business of providing electricity was given to the Barkman Mill. [133] Another early project of the council was to build a network of wooden sidewalks which were replaced in 1930 with cement sidewalks. [134]

Just as farmers were reminded of the degree of their integration into the market economy by the volatility of the 1920s, so too was Steinbach's business elite. These years marked times of boom and bust for the merchants as they did for the farmers. One store failed when prices

fell precipitously after the war and the merchant was stuck with expensive items. [135] The buying group, Reimer Produce Company, declared bankruptcy for a similar reason. The same fate awaited even the proud flag ship of Steinbach commerce, K.Reimer Sons. [136] Other Steinbachers faced unprecedented financial difficulty when in February 1923, just two months after the Dominion Ticket and Financial Corporation opened an office in Steinbach, it went bankrupt. The Steinbach Post noted that "many are mourning the loss of their savings." [137] Clearly the significance of this loss was less the financial strain itself than the fact that Steinbach people had become so integrated into the market economy that the failure of a national lending house would affect them so directly. The transformation that Steinbach experienced after 1905 was indeed substantive.

Steinbach's sister town, Jansen, Nebraska, also changed during these years. But her's was more a natural growth paralleling North America's economic evolution than a typological shift from village to town. Jansen, of course, had a markedly different history than Steinbach. It had sprung to life quickly with the coming of the railway in 1886, reached its zenith in 1910 with a population of 308 and then began a slow and steady decline to 264 in 1930 and 244 in 1950. [138] During the second generation it remained a farm service centre, but it also maintained its reputation as a railway town with a bawdy night life centered in its saloons, theatre and dance hall. When a local resident wrote to his Manitoba friends in 1915 to describe Jansen he noted "things have changed greatly in Jansen...[with its] water works system, tied to a 115 foot high water tower...[and its] electrical system serving the stores and homes and the 9 or 11 electric street lamps." But he added "this is earthly progress; do the lights burn as brightly in the spiritual realm? - it does not seem so!" [139]

The most significant change in Jansen for the Kleine Gemeinde story was the increasing number of Kleine Gemeinde descendants who were

establishing stores and service outlets in town and making it their permanent residence. Between 1900 and 1910 alone, the number of Mennonite households in Jansen rose from 23 to 37, at the very time that the total number of Mennonite households in Cub Creek township declined from 102 to 86. The percentage of Cub Creek Kleine Gemeinde descendant families that now lived in town, thus, increased from 22% to 43% in just 10 years.

The rising Kleine Gemeinde factor in Jansen is also portrayed by the fact that the town's leadership was now comprised of Kleine Gemeinde descendants. The most powerful man now, for instance, was not the progressive Prussian Mennonite founder, Peter Jansen, but John P. Thiessen, the son of a former Kleine Gemeinde minister. Thiessen owned Jansen Lumber Company, which was both a lumber yard and a car and farm-implement dealership. He also served for a time as the president of the Jansen State Bank in which he had major interests and the Farmers' Co-operative Telephone Company. Thiessen's son ran the town's Light and Power Company while his son-in-law owned the large hardware store Thiessen had founded. There were other business establishments owned by Kleine Gemeinde descendants. They included: J.J. Fast's clothing and grocery store, H.C. Friesen's Jansen Mercantile Company which sold jewelry and toiletry, I.B. Friesen's "King" car dealership, A.J. Friesen's drug store, Henry Bartel's stockyard, Henry Rempel's windmill agency, A.B. Flaming's "Corner Grocer," Martin Koop's creamery, and D.F. Isaac's linoleum shop. [140]

Unlike, their second cousins in Manitoba, however, few of these merchants appear to have been members of Mennonite churches. [141] Clearly, as Paul Miller has argued, here was a typological case of secularization. [142] Indeed John P. Thiessen earned a reputation for espousing Mennonite assimilation and secular ideas. In 1909 when he ran for the state legislature, not only was he engaging in a practice which would have been anathema to his Kleine Gemeinde forebears, but he admitted that his campaign was being undermined by charges from his Prohibitionist opponent that he was "not religious enough, belonged to a lumber cartel,

occasionally enjoyed a glass of beer, and [was] an alien." [143] When his son-in-law, merchant Abram Friesen, was killed in a car accident in 1917, Thiessen wrote an obituary that resounded with enlightenment rhetoric: for Friesen, declared Thiessen, "happiness was the only good, reason the only torch, justice the only worship, humanity the only religion, love the only priest." [144]

Thiessen was not the only Jansen resident moving quickly from his Mennonite ideological roots. An American traveller through Jansen in 1924 noted how the Mennonite community had changed in his 36 years of absence and marvelled at "how fast the children have assimilated the American ideals and are now grown up ideal citizens." [145] Examples of assimilation abounded. Kleine Gemeinde descendants filled civic political offices. In 1917 M.B. Koop ran for Justice of Peace in Jansen. A year later J.J. Fast, the editor of the Jansen News, was elected village clerk, a position he was to hold for 25 years. [146] And in 1920, reflecting a growing preoccupation with national politics, H.T. Fast served as the Jefferson County Republican Caucus chairman. Other Kleine Gemeinde descendants took over business establishments that would have been prohibited by their ascetic forebears. In 1917 Peter B. Barkman, the owner of a novelty shop, was advertising such Mennonite taboos as tobacco and cigars. In 1919 Henry Bartel and his brother took over the operation of the ill reputed Jansen Pool Hall. [147]

The significance of the transformation of Kleine Gemeinde descendants in Jansen is difficult to assess. It is clear that as in Steinbach an increasing number of Mennonite farm families were moving to town and seeking a livelihood in a consumer-oriented business establishment. However, it is less clear just what influence the Jansen businessmen had on the wider Mennonite community. Unlike four of Steinbach's five businessmen who remained members of the conservative Kleine Gemeinde church during the 1910s, Jansen's businessmen lacked the approval of even the most accommodating of the Mennonite churches. Thus,

a majority of Kleine Gemeinde descendants in Cub Creek, although patronizing the Jansen stores, maintained a defensive posture against Jansen's social arrangements. Young people were discouraged from visiting the town and adults kept themselves aloof from the Chautauqua, Republican Party, town politics and trade associations. Miller's observation in 1950 that Jansen's "secularization has caused conflict, withdrawal and isolation" seemed true in the 1910s and 1920s as well. [148]

VI

Though town newspapers focused on their business elites, not all Kleine Gemeinde descendants who left the farm became urban businessmen. The make-up of the towns' populations also pointed to a rising urban working class. This social sector was comprised of households who had less and less hope of founding their own farms. These workers were older than the town labourers of the 1890s and comprised a higher percentage of the urban Mennonite population. In 1910, for instance, 12 of the 37 Mennonite household heads in Jansen (38%) worked as wage labourers; another 12 made livelihoods through craft industry or small shops that hired no labour; 10 others were employers; and three were retired. In 1915 32 of the 89 Mennonite household heads (36%) in Steinbach worked for wages; 14 made independent livelihoods; 13 were either employers or merchants; 11 were farmers, and five were retired. [149] The fact that the number of Mennonite wage earners, craftsmen or small shop owners in Jansen had risen from 14 to 24 between 1900 and 1910 and that the number of wage labourers and craftsmen in Steinbach rose from 16 in 1906 to 32 in 1915 reflects the growing urbanization among Kleine Gemeinde descendants. Corroborating this trend was the rising age of labouring household heads; the fact that that age was 34.9 in Jansen in 1910 and 34.4 in Steinbach in 1915 indicates an aging and possibly more permanent Mennonite labour force. In 1906, for instance, the average age of a Steinbach labourer was

only 28.1. Clearly the second generation was no longer as intent or able to find a rural livelihood. [150]

As noted above there were continuing colonization projects meant to stave off urbanization. Other families sought to make a rural livelihood by turning to craft industries and merchant activities. In Blumenort, Heinrich Plett and his 10 sons began a family operated industrial complex sometime around 1920; the family firm soon included a building construction service, a portable feed crushing and wood splitting service, a sleigh factory, a tinsmith and metal works shop, a wood box factory, and a lumberyard and sawmill. [151] In Rosenort, John W. Dueck opened a country general store in 1914 after "having spoken to the two preachers Eidse and...Friesen" and received their approval of a traditionally tabooed enterprise; Dueck's explanation for opening a store was that "I wanted this for my boys so they could stay home and work." [152]

Similar strategies were initiated in the farming district in Meade, Kansas. Around 1920 Jacob R. Friesen turned his farmyard into a sale and service depot for "Fairbury Windmills." His neighbour, young George J. Rempel, who had worked on his father's farm for three years after marriage, also sought a rural livelihood when farming proved unaffordable; a family history tells how he founded "his own repair shop on the farm...[and] worked as a mechanic, carpenter...and custom cutter." [153]

For an increasing number of families even this strategy no longer sufficed. Higher wages in the towns and cities drew more and more families and single men into urban centers. Inflating wages were evident everywhere. In the East Reserve the municipal secretary treasurer was paid $150 in 1906; just six years later a butcher at the A.W. Reimer abattoir was paid $600. [154] Hourly wages for general labour such as road building which had been 10 cents an hour in 1900 rose to 37 cents in 1919. [155] But other factors than increasing wages encouraged more and more families to consider urban life outside the boundaries of the old communities. Increased fluency in English, better rail and road connections, and urban

Mennonite churches drew dozens of families to Winnipeg in Canada and smaller towns in the United States.

In 1918 at least three Steinbach men were studying mechanics and gasoline engineering at the Agricultural College in Winnipeg. [156] Others moved to Winnipeg to find work. By 1917 at least 10 Steinbach families lived in Winnipeg where one owned a guesthouse, another a corner grocery store and yet another a car repair shop. Some worked for Steinbach-based branch plants and others for companies such as Coca Cola and Waterloo Manufacturing. The downturn in the economy in 1923 sent another wave of families to Winnipeg. One Steinbach man wrote from Winnipeg "to let everyone...know that we have moved to Winnipeg to try our luck here." His story was not one of optimism: "Our experience has been...that as we have moved here and there the cross has become heavier....At the present time we are renting a small three-room house in the north end of the city." [157] The decline in the Canadian economy also sent a number of workers, particularly young single men, to find work in far off places such as Chicago. [158]

There were similar migration patterns in the United States where some Kleine Gemeinde descendants from the Midwest headed to cities such as Minneapolis and Los Angeles. [159] Usually, however, wage labour was found in the towns near Mennonite settlements. In Dallas, Oregon, Kleine Gemeinde descendants found employment in a wood box factory and in Reedley, California, family heads found seasonal work in a large 200-employee peach canning factory. [160] The 1925 Kansas census indicates that nine Mennonite families lived in Meade City where they worked as general labourers, middle men or craftsmen. Similar reports came from towns in Nebraska, Oregon and Montana. Those Mennonite families who made the break from farms and settled in a neighbouring town often found themselves moving further afield a few years later. It was as one parent explained in a family history: "The children began to work out and so they later scattered in many States." [161] Unfortunately this dispersion has left the

history of these Kleine Gemeinde descendant labourers fragmented and incomplete.

VII

A new set of parameters, thus, were restraining and directing the development of the Kleine Gemeinde communities. Both the restrictions of a modern economy and its promises were changing the character of the traditional, solidaristic communities. Prosperity during World War I brought mixed blessings. Farm families could adopt new lifestyles. The large two and a half storey houses that graced the farmyards, the "touring cars" that motored the rough roads, and the "oil pulls" that chugged through the fields were the most conspicuous symbols of the new lifeworld of the farmer. The houses made for a more comfortable, leisurely home environment, the cars brought the outside world into closer contact and the tractor pointed to new capacities and less "toil and pain." But these symbols bore a contradictory significance: on the one hand the tractor and 21-inch separator increased household self-sufficiency in labour; on the other hand they pointed to rising farm costs and a time in which fewer families could afford to farm. Each community had its families who tried but failed to enter commercial farming.

In the face of rising costs and the scarcity of farmland, an increasing number of families were compelled to exercise old strategies. Many sought to reestablish agrarian households through outmigrations. Some sought new Mennonite settlements in the Canadian West or on the semi-arid plains of Kansas, Nebraska, Texas and Oklahoma. Others tried to secure the continued existence of agrarian households and communities on smaller parcels of land in the fruit growing valleys of British Columbia, Oregon and California. Others sought to establish family-owned means to a livelihood within the traditional communities by resorting to craft industry in the fashion of their ancestors in New Russia during the 1850s.

In North America, as in New Russia, these family enterprises were geared to service the needs of commodity producers.

An increasing number of families, however, charted a new course. They moved into town. Some, like the well-to-do merchants saw greater economic opportunity and more glamour in the market place than the farmyard. Many took the opportunity that rising wealth, consumer orientation and access to outside markets provided them and enlarged the size and scope of their businesses. Other families had less choice in the matter. For them purchase of a farm was out of the question; but so too was any form of rural existence. Farm mechanization reduced the demand for rural labourers while high urban wages drew an increasing number of Kleine Gemeinde descendants into Steinbach and Jansen. But many, too, were drawn into non-Mennonite urban centers including larger cities such as Winnipeg in Canada and smaller towns such as Reedley, Dallas and Meade City in the United States. An urban life as wage labourer had become the alternative of an increasing minority of Kleine Gemeinde descendants.

The social and ideological implications of these new economic realities were far-reaching. The lifeworlds of women, for instance, diverged to reflect the growing heterogeneity of the Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities. And, so too, did the manner in which the churches spoke about meaning in life and the methods they employed to replicate their notions of "Mennonite community."

CHAPTER 14

TOWN 'LADIES' AND FARM WOMEN

The end to readily available farmland and new levels of wealth between 1905 and 1930 transformed not only the life of farmers, merchants and workers. Kleine Gemeinde descendant women, too, had their traditional worlds challenged by new realities. Women now had greater access to consumer goods such as finished clothes, dishes, books and groceries. Many women now established their homes in more spacious and well furnished dwellings. Many others benefitted from improved transportation facilities and labour saving technologies such as oil stoves, sewing machines, wash machines and, the fortunate few, from indoor plumbing and electric lighting. Some women found themselves in new economic relationships in the household which often led to new ideas of womanhood and sometimes to new economic pursuits. [1]

However, women did not all have equal access to the fruits of the new age or find themselves subjected to its restrictions. Indeed, such differences existed between women that it seemed they were increasingly living in two worlds. The worlds, however, were not so much characterized by levels of wealth, country of residence, or generational gaps, as by different modes of production. Martine Segalen has noted how French women assumed different roles in rural farm, artisan, proletarian or bourgeois homes. Married women in particular were more often part of both the production and consumption unit in the rural homes, while an urban existence separated these two spheres of life. [2] Kleine Gemeinde farm women appeared to perpetuate the lives of their mothers as contributors to the household economy, as sustenance gatherers and farmyard keepers in addition to child bearers and homemakers. The continued high degree of

self sufficiency, the strategy of commercial mixed farming and the lack of full mechanization in the harvest meant that women's labour on the farm was crucial. [3] The constant need for labour and the presence of farm wealth continued to encourage large families. [4] Partible inheritance practices ensured women a stake in patrimony and a vital interest in the household economy. [5]

Town women, both wealthier wives of merchants and poorer wives of labourers, lived in a different, more pluralistic, more formal and more sexually defined world. They were less involved in the procurement of family income, had fewer children, and, because of town electricity plants, more often had household conveniences. Women who were compelled or chose to seek a livelihood in town, resorted to domestic service or chose the route of education and usually sought roles in one of the sanctioned service professions being opened to women. For the first time some of these women remained single and some assumed unprecedented public profiles. But most women seemed to be less autonomous than they had been on the farms. Increasingly, "true womanhood" became the dominant social ideology. Women were looked upon, not as co-workers or mates, but as mothers, homemakers and objects of beauty. Increasingly they were perceived as the weaker sex and often romanticized as self-giving persons who were subservient to men. This was the period in which the English term "lady" was introduced to Low German culture.

I

Women in each of the communities benefitted from the new levels of wealth. Frequently their domain was that of the two storey frame house. They were the beneficiaries of the competition for status between monied merchants or farmers: "As our neighbour has built such a massive, modern house the neighbour across the street....could not control himself any longer and...has had his front porch torn down and replaced it with a more modern one" wrote the editor of the Steinbach Post in 1918. [6] They were

also frequently the beneficiaries of "modern" conveniences that went into these houses. Many of these new houses were fitted with large water tanks, located in the attic, which provided water for baths, toilets and kitchens before the coming of electricity. By World War I several homes in Steinbach and Jansen were equipped with electricity which ran the lights and electric washing machines. [7] In 1918 the Steinbach Post reported that "Abram C. Friesen is working...as a plumber...installing water, light and heating systems and selling a variety of gadgets which require electricity." [8] Throughout this period new household appliances, such as the oil stove and the mangle, were introduced which offered an easier and safer working environment for women. By the 1920s country homes, too, began to acquire appliances when farms invested in electricity generating plants or when households acquired such gasoline powered appliances as washing machines. [9]

And the new homes were better furnished. When Merchant Abram T. Friesen of Jansen died in 1917 the auction of his estate included a variety of couches, tables, book shelves as well as a lawn mower and a set of garden tools. When his second cousin in Steinbach, Abram P. Friesen, left town in 1923, he too, had an auction sale where each of the items listed above, but also a piano, china cabinet, a 90-piece dinner set, a typewriter and an electric washing machine, were sold. [10]

Increased prosperity and the continuing diaspora of Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites encouraged women to travel more often and further distances. Letter writing continued to be the most important means by which women maintained their kinship networks. Most diaries and letter collections indicate that women received and wrote at least a letter a month. [11] But what was new were the increasing numbers of trips that effective, cheap railway routes allowed women to make. In previous times the only women who travelled without the accompaniment of males were well-to-do widows. Now, however, newspaper reports in the Steinbach Post and Jansen News regularly alluded to travelling women. Short trips of between 35 and 100

miles were not uncommon. Sometimes women travelled from Steinbach to Winnipeg to visit a sick family member in the hospital or from Steinbach to Altona to visit relatives. Sometimes they travelled from Meade to the new settlement at Satanta to visit friends or from Jansen to Beatrice for a day of shopping. [12] But there were also lengthy trips. "Mrs Jacob Brandt, daughter Martha, and Mrs Andreas Flaming travelled [from Jansen] to attend the wedding of their father...in Wheatherford, Oklahoma," reported the Mennonitische Rundschau in 1906. [13] "Mrs P.B. Toews and Mrs J.G. Toews have left [from Giroux, Manitoba] for Kansas to seek medical help from Dr. Stucky there" reported the Steinbach Post in 1916. [14]

Women also had more money to spend on clothes. Both the Steinbach and Jansen newspapers carried extensive advertisements for stylish women's clothes after 1915. In a typical advertisement by the H.W. Reimer Store in Steinbach a smartly dressed young woman, fitted in a tight suit that was pleated and decorated with large buttons, and wearing high heeled shoes, is seen doing a jive and casting a coquettish sideways glance. [15] This was the time that women began testing community mores by acquiring such clothes. Young women wearing neck scarves, tight waisted skirts and hats with bows had posed for local photographers in each of the communities well before 1905. [16] Now older women, mothers and church members began acquiring the latest fashions as well.

A daughter of a prominent Steinbach midwife from the Kleine Gemeinde church recalled the following exchange when her mother returned from Winnipeg with a new coat fitted with silver buttons down the side: "When my sister saw it she exclaimed 'but, mother those buttons you will want to cut off.' My mother replied that she had bought the coat and if it happened to have fashionable buttons then that was the way the coat would be worn." [17] A granddaughter of a prominent and strict Jansen deacon recalled stories of her grandmother's change of garb when she got married sometime after the turn of the century. "With a severe and simple upbringing it would seem to follow that grandma lived a simple life.

Humility was fashionable in our circles but my grandmother had an eye for beauty and colour. She put away the head covering and somber, unfitting clothes when she married [and began] wearing stylish hats to church and town. Her good taste was evident in her wardrobe and home. Her pride in expensive clothes was revealed in the eye catching dresses and hats she wore. She prized her brooches...[and] my eyes caught the glitter of sequins on her hats...." [18]

The new houses, improved travel opportunities, and fashionable clothes, however, did not in and of themselves change the lifeworlds of women. Despite a more integrated existence with the outside and significant changes to the role of women in the towns, the lifeworlds for rural farm women bore a great measure of continuity with the past. It was the aim of these women to make the agrarian household function, to enable it to reproduce, and to maintain as high a degree of self sufficiency as possible. As Veronica Strong-Boag has pointed out, farm mechanization usually proved to be a labour saving phenomenon more for men than for women. Farm women still bore large families, still ran both the house and much of the farmyard chores, and continued the seasonal labour patterns that compelled them to work from dawn to dusk for six solid days of the week and, if visitors should happen by, full days on Sundays as well.

And farm women still maintained and possessed high degrees of economic power which derived from the partible inheritance system. When estates were settled the sex of the child made less difference than whether the children were still at home. In Blumenort Jacob Plett's children received part of the farm in 1931 without regard to their sex: the four children who were still at home, two boys and two girls, each received one quarter of the farmyard and buildings and 20 acres of the home quarter section. The other children were given 40 acre parcels of land elsewhere. [19] Matrilocality continued to reflect a social reality as women often drew their husbands to farm with their fathers. [20] In Rosenort, Delegate David Klassen's farm was taken over by the youngest daughter

Helena and her husband Abram E. Eidse in the 1880s, a farm which in turn was taken over by Eidse's youngest daughter and her husband in the 1920s. [21]

Neither were farm women exempted from farm involvement. There were even examples of women working as farm wage labourers. In Blumenort the 40 year-old widow Elisabeth Reimer Friesen worked for a variety of farmers. One woman recalled that Friesen "worked in the fields with her five children...[and] received half the wages that the men who were doing the same kind of work got." [22] In Rosenort Margaretha Dueck recalled that when "my stepmother ...remarried...I [began] work[ing] at various places....I hoed gardens and painted floors. But I also worked on the fields....I could stook as much as any man and they paid me accordingly." [23] And, although immigration to Canada had slowed to a trickle by World War I, there were some immigrants, like the German Lutheran couple sponsored by Abram Eidse of Rosenort, whose working relations with sponsoring Mennonite households included labour from the wife who "helped with farm chores. [24] These cases of female farm wage labour, however, appear to have been exceptions for higher wages in the towns tended to draw the landless from the countryside.

Usually, however, female farm workers were members of the farm household. And in some respects the farm women of North America were more involved on the farm than their mothers in New Russia; the commercialization of mixed farming and the absence of itinerant female harvest workers put greater labour demands on the wives and daughters of the farm owners. Diaries, memoirs and letters written by farm women in the East Reserve and Meade County attest to this reality. East Reserve diaries dating from 1917 to 1920 and a set of twenty eight interview transcripts conducted with twenty seven Manitoba men and women born between 1887 and 1915 provide detailed glimpses into the lives of rural women during these years. [25] They describe the seasonal and weekly rhythm of life, the value women placed on children, the sexual division of labour, the work of women in milking, stooking and selling vegetables, and the extensive informal

social networks among women. Three of these diaries cover three generations of women. One diary was kept by Maria Plett Reimer in 1929 when she was a 79 year old widow. The second diary was kept by her daughter, Maria Reimer Unger, who was 45 in 1920 at the time of its writing, and the mother of 12 children ages 1 to 25. The third diary was kept by Unger's 20 year old daughter, Justina Unger Dueck, in 1917 just after her marriage to the son of the Steinbach Aeltester. [26]

The most detailed of these diaries is Maria Unger's, who was the wife of the well-to-do, prominent Blumenort farmer Johann F. Unger. Not only did the Unger household operate three quarters of land and keep 10 cows and 20 pigs, Unger himself served the community as the Mennonite fire insurance agent and school trustee. The Unger farm was well situated on three quarters of clay soil, four miles north of Steinbach and five west of Giroux. The family was large. In 1919 the Ungers had 10 children at home. Only Justina aged 22, who was married, did not live at home. Maria aged 24 was at home only part of the time as she was teaching school. Five other teenaged children, three daughters and two sons, worked at home. Two daughters were still in school, and the two youngest children were only one and four years old. Mrs Unger and her daughters engaged in daily, weekly and yearly cycles of work, providing for the family members, caring for farmyard animals, and working the harvest. On each day cows were milked, eggs gathered, cream separated, pigs fed the skimmed milk, the small children cared for, wood and water hauled indoors and four meals prepared. On some days of the week Mrs. Unger and each of the daughters preformed a different task. May 2, 1919 was a typical day: while "Papa and [daughter] Maria went to Winnipeg," wrote Mrs. Unger, "Elisabeth and I sewed..., Anna baked and Tina washed." On other days of the week such as Mondays the girls were often all involved in washing with the "big washing machine", on Tuesdays with mangling and ironing, and on Saturdays with cleaning the house, washing the floors and dusting. If church was scheduled to be held in Blumenort the next day there was the additional

task of baking for the many visitors who might number 5-10; in 1920 the Unger household welcomed a total of 125 guests to their home, often after Sunday services.

Many of the tasks were seasonal duties executed with an eye to household self sufficiency. During January mother and the girls spent days spinning, weaving, knitting, patching, dyeing and sewing, although it was mother's special task to do the weaving. The girls also made wool blankets while mother made straw mattresses. In early spring the cows - Brindel, Bonnie, Gertie, Flavour, Erna, Flora, Ella and the others - that were about to calve were closely watched and the calves given special care.

March and April were occupied with spring cleaning. Floors and walls were painted, each room washed and the kitchen whitewashed for disinfecting. This included not only the house and summer kitchen, but "grandmother's house" located across the yard as well. Then, too, the wood that the boys had hauled home during the winter and which the custom sawyers had cut, now was given over to the women, whose job it was to pile it neatly by the house. So hard a task was this that in 1919 the family hired a maid, Maria Esau, to help. This was also the time that the first potatoes, tomatoes and peppers were planted in the hotbeds to give them a head start and assure fresh vegetables for consumption by the end of June.

By early May it was high time to set the brooding hens on chicken, turkey and geese eggs purchased at one of the stores in Steinbach. This was also the time to have father transplant the potatoes to the garden. A few weeks later the garden had to be seeded with a wide assortment of vegetables. Now that the snow was gone the girls needed to clean the yard and haul the insulating manure from around the house as the boys were busy on the fields. This was also the time that mother took the potatoes left over from winter and boiled and fed them to the pigs. And, when father

brought home the season's first apples from K.Reimer Sons in Steinbach, the girls cut them up and canned them.

Then there were the events that were in part seasonal and yet unpredictable. In June one year the married daughter had her baby and mother rushed over and experienced the agony of seeing it die. "I could write much about the agony of this week" was all that mother had the energy to write. In the following weeks the girls often visited their older sister to help her with the housework. In another year the Ungers built a large new barn and for five weeks the women prepared food for the workers who rarely numbered fewer than six. But there were also the incidents that pointed to easier work loads. In June 1920 as Mrs Unger reported that a "tracktor" was now drawing the cultivator on their farm, she also reported that the "Double Wash machine" had arrived for them at the Giroux railway station.

Most of the summers, however, were routine. July brought new work in the garden as it required persistent hoeing to "work down the weeds" and as the potatoes had to be cultivated and heaped. By the end of July the first of the wild fruit, blueberries, followed later by raspberries, cranberries and plums, were ripe and the girls had to pick, sort and can them. Also the cucumbers were picked and pickled.

Then in late July and early August as the boys were cultivating the summerfallow and cutting the hay, the girls were called upon by father to help haul in the hay. By the first of August the boys had cut some grain with the binder and, thus, stooking began. While the girls washed and the boys cultivated, the first full day of stooking belonged to the veterans, father and mother. By the end of the first week, however, the harvest was in full gear with John, the oldest boy operating the binder and "Elisabeth, Anna, Peter and father stooking." As the harvest progressed one of the boys often was called to work for the neighbours in the threshing gang and the other had to keep the cultivator going and so stooking became the work solely of mother and the girls, with one of the

girls operating the binder. The four year old ran after his older sisters while the infant in the baby carriage was kept under close scrutiny. [27] By August 19, just two days before the commencement of threshing, the Unger diary registered 14 full days of stooking.

By late August the barley and oats were ready for threshing and on the day of threshing, Justina, the married daughter and Maria, the schoolteacher who had spent the summer sewing for the neighbours, came home to help feed the hungry threshing crew. In another year two neighbouring women did the cooking instead of the older girls. The threshing of the feedgrains lasted only two days after which the girls put themselves to the work of making "ketchup," pickles, fruit juice, and canned beans for the winter. In early September Justina and her husband Peter required help with their own threshing, the second crop of hay had to be hauled home and the boys began the fall ploughing. Mother also made it her job to market the fruits of domestic labour; she took plums and a barrel of pickles to Giroux for shipment to the food markets of Winnipeg.

By mid September the wheat was also ready for threshing and another set of busy days followed. The summer, however, could not end before the girls had brought in the cucumbers, canned the tomatoes, and dug out the potatoes and the beets. Then, too, it was their job to slaughter the chickens, geese and turkeys. And, inevitably it was their job to clean the manure from the chicken barn, while the boys continued with fall ploughing.

By the beginning of October attention turned from summer to winter and the girls made sure that all the windows in the house and barn were "tight" and once again scoured the entire house while the boys cleaned the grain and began hauling it to Giroux. Times were a little easier now and there was more opportunity for the girls to visit the neighbours, travel to Steinbach from time to time and to make a rare trip to Winnipeg with father. But this was also the time that a day or two could be given to helping the neighbours with their washing and sewing, although

continued demands for new clothes, baked goods, clean linen and full course meals kept mother and the girls occupied at home.

With the coming of December the cycle of butchering bees started again and mother and father were especially busy. Although four different couples could be expected to help the Unger household slaughter up to five pigs a day, these weeks were busy with cleaning up, making sausage, curing and smoking the meat, and making the winter's supply of soap. Then, too, each of the couples who had helped the Unger household rightfully expected to be helped in return. This also seemed to be the time that small children caught their colds and fevers and had to be nursed back to health.

Similar cycles of work and participation in the agrarian economic unit can be observed from letters and interviews with women in the American settlements at Jansen, Meade and Satanta. In a typical letter from March 1926 Margaretha H. Reimer of Meade described their farm and her work: "The fruit here will have been damaged by a frost for the apricot trees have already blossomed....[Our work this spring included] planting two and half bushels of potatoes. We also planted vegetables....At the moment our work consists of weaving, sewing and patching and chores. We have each sewed work dresses for ourselves and now-a-days there is much work doing chores. We milk seven cows, feed four calves and have two pigs which are two and a half months old. We also have 350 chickens from which we get between five and seven dozen eggs a day. The last time we got 21 cents a dozen for them....We have attained good yields of milk and cream....We also have set 10 goose and 42 duck eggs. Well I have to stop for now as it is time to make supper." [28]

The same preoccupation with gardening and barnyard labour is apparent from an interview with Aganetha Kroeker who was born in Cub Creek in 1909 and helped on the family farm throughout the 1920s. "All women worked on the farm. This included milking the eight to ten cows. While some families had only two or three cows others had a dozen or more. The

unmarried Heidebrecht girls kept five cows and peddled the milk in Jansen. We also had to feed the chickens in addition to keeping large gardens. My mother made butter before I can remember and prepared the milk and cream which father would take to the Jansen creamery. We also sewed all our clothing at home from rolls of cloth father would buy in Jansen." [29]

American Kleine Gemeinde descendant women worked the barnyard to attain a supplementary income for the farm and assure a measure of self sufficiency but they also were called to work the fields during the harvest. Combine harvesters had made their debut in Meade by this time but because the majority of farmers still used threshing machines women were still called to work the harvest. In a 1919 letter referring to stooking season, Sara R. Friesen of Meade, indicated that "we had to work hard as the labourers were very difficult to find; but now that threshing is in process we are no longer needed [in the fields]." She explained that after stooking, there was a new task to undertake as "my sister and I are taking turns [cooking] for the threshing crew." [30] In Jansen where smaller farms ensured that no combines and few tractors were introduced before 1930, women were compelled to work the fields as well. Aganetha Kroeker, recalled how she, her sisters and mother stooked grain and husked corn. While stooking oats was considered easy work, husking corn seemed more difficult. "One fall we husked corn for nine weeks - the corn just had to come in and this also meant peeling the corn right there in the field. Only the shelling of the corn was done by a machine owned by Cornelius Dalke for six cents a bushel." [31]

Finally, like their Canadian counterparts, the American farm women worked the fall hog bees alongside their husbands. Typical of news items in the Jansen News was the February 1917 report that: "This week has been a busy one for butchering hogs....At Henry Reimers' place it was A.E. Friesens, Henry Harmses and J.H. Reimers who helped." [32] The work days of rural women were multifaceted, but they were uniformly orientated to

sustaining the household as an economic unit that was highly self sufficient in consumption and commercialized in production.

II

The lifeworlds of rural women contrasted sharply with those of their urban sisters. There were signs that despite the newness of Steinbach's emerging society old values, including the contribution of women to the economic unit, remained strong. Half of all town women in 1925, for instance, had at least one cow to milk and more had chickens and large gardens to tend to. The girls at the highly publicized "Steinbach Boys and Girls Club Exhibition" in 1919 also revealed traditional values when, in addition to dominating the canning and sewing classes, they were the only ones to enroll in cockerel, pullet and pen chicken exhibitions. [33] Then, too, daughters of store keepers often worked as clerks in the family enterprises. [34]

But tradition replicated in town had some ironic affects. Because the sphere of women was still considered private and informal few participated in the running of family-owned stores or service outlets. Unlike rural women who often continued to operate family farms and sometimes even expand them after their husbands' deaths, urban women tended to keep aloof from the running of family establishments after the death of a husband. [35] When Merchant Klaas R. Reimer died in 1906 he left his store to his sons. His widow received the farm. In fact, when the migrations to Herbert, Saskatchewan began, Mrs. Reimer took the opportunity and homesteaded there with her four young sons. [36] When Merchant Abram T. Friesen of Jansen died in 1917, his widow did run the store for a while, calling it the "Anna M. Friesen Store." However she was quick to remarry, to the store clerk, give control of it to her new husband and begin referring to it as the "Peter M. Friesen Store." [37] When Jacob W. Reimer, owner of K.Reimer Sons in Steinbach, died in 1919, his wife took official control of the store. Children recall, however, that

Mrs. Reimer left the running of the store to her 16 year old son and the estate executor, the "Goutmaun," Peter T. Barkman. "Married women did not work in the store," recalled a daughter, "they had families to look after....[nor] was my mother inclined toward business." [38]

Women who were required to supplement family incomes before the coming of children marketed homemaking skills. In Steinbach Justina Dueck sewed for larger well-to-do families a few days each week during the first winter of her marriage and Tina Derksen advertised her laundering services in 1920. [39] In Jansen 59 year old Lizzie Friesen, the mother of two, and 54 year old Katrina Wiens, the mother of three children, were listed in the 1910 census as laundresses. In Meade Florence Holdeman, the mother of three children, listed her profession in 1925 as seamstress. [40]

Personal diaries of town women reveal a different world from that of their country sisters. Aganetha Schellenberg's husband, for instance, was a mail driver and cheese maker in Steinbach. Unlike farm women she spent relatively little time with him during working days and although she, too, kept chickens for egg sales and a large garden to feed the growing family, she spent little time engaged in common economic activity. Her diary focused on her children's births, their first teeth, and the first trips out with them. Only once in her diary did she record that she worked alongside her husband in the cheese factory and on more than one occasion she dug out "potatoes with the boys," a job in which farm husbands had traditionally taken a part. Unlike her rural sisters, however, she had the time to attend more town functions. Despite the fact that she was a member of the Kleine Gemeinde church she regularly attended revival meetings and children festivals in the Holdeman and Bruderthaler churches in town.

Clearly Aganetha Schellenberg lived in a world in transition. Her world, of course, was not typologically an urban one and somewhat different than that of the "American" wife of her kin John Heidebrecht employed by a large firm in Minneapolis. A series of letters written by

Helen Heidebrecht to her father-in-law, a Kleine Gemeinde minister in Satanta, Kansas, portrays the urban world of an assimilated Kleine Gemeinde family. In the letters Helen apologized for not writing more often, but blamed it on the fact that a "housewife has many little household tasks to perform." She indicated, however, that she had no garden as "we didn't have any space." She reported that her husband was "stick[ing] close to business and be[ing] true to his job" although he had recently had the opportunity of taking a fishing trip with company officials. Helen noted that one of her favourite pastimes was listening to her newly acquired radio. Indicating just how separte her life was from that of her ascetic, rural, in-laws in western Kansas she enquired whether they, too, had a radio. [41]

While Mennonite women in small towns lived in different worlds than their kin in large cities there were many indicators that their's was no longer a rural world. This was even evident for young women who continued the practice of providing a supplementary income for their families. And the single most important profession for young women remained domestic service. But increasingly, the women who worked for other families were members of poorer homes and the employers of these maids tended to be large rural farm families. One Steinbach woman recalled that she, being from a more well-to-do home, did not have to enter into domestic service but that her "cousins who were poor had to stay away for months at a time to earn money for their family." [42] A typical story was that of Elisabeth Friesen of Kleefeld: "As her father had died she was compelled to work out in her early years. When she married in 1920 at the age of 21 she had worked at some 40 places." [43]

Increasingly, however, single women who, in the context of growing landlessness, had a limited stake in patrimony were attracted to work in Winnipeg or to train for one of a number of service-oriented professions that offered better wages. The largest number of women who worked in Winnipeg during the 1920s were the daughters of "Russian" Mennonite

refugee families who had recently settled in southern Manitoba and had incurred large travel debts. However, among the young women who worked in Winnipeg were "Canadian" Mennonites, descendants of the 1874 migrants. Aganetha Barkman of Steinbach, for example, began working in Winnipeg around 1920 to earn wages of up to $30 a month for her widowed mother despite the fact that the church sent her a letter of censure for it. [44] By the mid 1920s several other Kleine Gemeinde descendant girls had relocated to Winnipeg to work as domestic servants and to stay at one of the two Mennonite girls' boarding homes. [45]

Young women from homes of greater means more often trained for a profession. In several ways the coming of public district schools in Steinbach after 1911 opened the way for more women to beome teachers, a profession once strictly controlled by the church. First, the school began offering high school courses and early records indicate many girls returned to obtain their grades nine and ten. In fact 15 of Steinbach's 24 high school students in 1923 were girls, and according to the final exam results, the students with the highest marks were girls. [46] The Steinbach public school also seems to have been more open to hiring women schoolteachers than the church-run private schools. In fact the Mennonite private schools had been congratulated in a 1917 Manitoba government inspector's report for hiring teachers that were "not slips of girls, but men of character and mature judgement." [47] It was a different reality in the new Steinbach public school which, in the years between 1914 and 1923, hired six different women to teach in the four-room school. In most of these years two of the four teachers were women. [48] There was a similar development in Kansas where a number of women teachers were employed in the Mennonite settlement schools in Meade. However, almost without exception, these teachers were not local farm girls, but residents of the more urbanized Mennonite settlements in central Kansas. [49]

Among the first women to attend Normal School were those from the towns of Jansen and Steinbach. In Jansen, Rosa Wiebe enrolled in the

"Normal School" at the Peru State College in southeastern Nebraska in 1917. In Steinbach Agatha Barkman enrolled in the Normal School in Gretna in southern Manitoba in 1922 just a few years after the public school system was imposed on the Mennonite communities. [50]

An increasing number of young women from town also chose nursing as a career. Women had worked as midwives and unlicensed doctors in Russia and during the first generation in North America. During the second generation women in these roles continued to be highly respected community members. Now, however, the community's views on medicine began shifting. No doubt, the Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918 and 1919 was a factor in this change. In the fall of 1918 Agnes Fast of Steinbach had become a local heroine and the newspaper lauded her for having "done a great and noble work in the village of Steinbach" by converting the school into a temporary sick bay and caring for the sick. [51] Just a few months later, in March 1919, Steinbach businessmen purchased a private residence for $2000 and began selling $50 shares with a view to turning it into a doctor's residence and clinic. Later that year Margaret Friesen of Steinbach graduated from the St. Boniface Hospital School of Nursing. [52] When a hospital in Steinbach finally opened in December 1928, town women gained permanent access to another service oriented profession. The fact that during its first year of operation the hospital took in 42 patients and delivered 32 infants was a sign that the days of the midwife were numbered and that the era of the professional nurse had begun. [53]

With the rise of the foreign missionary movement, especially within the more urban and pietistic Bruderthaler churches in Jansen and Steinbach, women found yet another non-agrarian avenue of service. As early as 1893 Sara Kroeker of Henderson, Nebraska, the sister of Aeltester Bernard O. Kroeker of Jansen, joined an evangelical inner-city mission in Chicago. In 1912 Miss Kroeker dazzled the young girls in the Jansen church with a report that she was joining a mission in Africa. [54] By 1914 Jansen's own Susan Ratzlaff had left to serve as a missionary in China. [55]

And in 1920 when Gerhard Thiessen and his wife of Jansen travelled to China to assume a missionary post it was said that while Gerhard taught in a missionary school his wife "devoted her time to the Chinese women." [56] By the late 1920s Steinbach women, too, were preparing for mission service. In 1931, for example, no less than three Steinbach women were studying at the Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School in Minneapolis. [57]

A fourth occupation which attracted women was secretarial services. This included work in the towns' conveyance offices, law firms, banks and municipal government offices. One of these women, Mintie Reimer of Steinbach, was to attain a high profile in town when she later became the Hanover Municipality's first woman secretary-treasurer. The reason for her high profile, according to a local history, was that "at age 15 [in 1919] she enrolled in a business college in Winnipeg where she acquired the fundamentals...for her...position...." [58] Before returning to Steinbach she gained experience in the offices of a German-language newspaper in Winnipeg. [59] Secretarial service, as teaching, nursing and evangelizing, placed women in a public, formal sphere of life that was foreign to their rural sisters. Urban women had replaced their economic household participation with a new social image.

III

An important aspect of the new lifeworlds for women was the rising age of marriage. During the first generation, women in Manitoba had married at an average of 19.3 years while those in Nebraska had married at 19.1 years. A random sampling of 78 women from Kleine Gemeinde communities in Steinbach, Kleefeld and Rosenort who married between 1910 and 1930 indicated that the second generation Canadian women married at an age of 22.1. A similar sampling of 97 women in Jansen, Meade, Dallas and Reedley revealed a marriage age for American Kleine Gemeinde descendants of 22.5 years. [60] Although separate figures for the marriage

ages of town and rural women were not available town women were clearly encouraged to marry later. Life in town was economically more tenuous and a career in the public domain, no doubt, allowed an increasing number of women to consider a life outside of marriage.

Partly as a result of the rising age of marriage, and hence shorter periods of fertility, and partly reflecting new economic realities the size of families began declining. Town women clearly did not have the same incentive to bear large families. Farm women, who were hopeful of seeing their children established on farms of their own and who knew that children could be an asset on the farm were encouraged to continue bearing large families. In 1918 urban newspapers in Manitoba could point out that Mennonites with their households of 8.4 people were now more than twice the size of the average 3.9 person Anglo-Canadian households. [61] And indeed there were "super" families in each of the Kleine Gemeinde communities. Sara Friesen Rempel of Meade bore 19 children between 1895 and 1920; Margaret Penner Plett of the East Reserve bore 21 children between 1904 and 1931. However, in each of the Kleine Gemeinde communities in Manitoba and the Midwest, and especially in the towns, family sizes were dropping rapidly by 1925.

Birth control methods were now being used more frequently. This practice was evident from the increasing number of months between marriage and the birth of the first child. This span which, before the turn of the century, had almost invariably been between 10 and 14 months, now increased to 18 and 24 months. And in this regard there was a growing urban/rural dichotomy. The shortest span between marriage and the first child was found in rural families. Between 1910 and 1930 the extended Ratzlaff family of Cub Creek, for instance, waited an average of 16.0 months before the first child was born while the Loewens of Rosenort waited an average of 18.3 months. Longer periods occurred among young town families like the Toewses of Steinbach who waited 19.1 months and the

Thiessens of Reedley, California, who waited 26.2 months for their first children. [62]

The longer periods between marriage and the birth of the first child corresponded directly with family sizes. And, here too the same rural/urban dichotomy was apparent. Census and tax records for the farming districts of Meade, Kansas and Blumenort, Manitoba and the town of Steinbach are illuminating. In all three places the size of the family dropped between 1915 and 1925. The largest families were in the mixed farming district of Blumenort where an improvement in medical facilities had, in fact, caused the size of the average family to rise from 6.1 persons in 1900 to 7.6 in 1915. By 1925, it had fallen, but remained high at 6.7 persons per family. The second largest families were found in Meade where agriculture had reached a somewhat higher level of mechanization and was focused more on a single commodity. Indeed family sizes for the Meade settlers had fallen sharply from 6.6 persons in 1900, when they still lived in Jansen, to 5.2 persons in 1915. By 1925 they had fallen even further to 5.0 persons. But the smallest families of these three Kleine Gemeinde communities were found in the town of Steinbach where the average family size dropped from 5.9 in 1898 to 5.5 in 1915 and 3.96 in 1925. [63]

A correspondence between natality and urbanization is also evident from an analysis of extended family histories. The Loewen clan, numbering 69 families, for instance, had members in each of Steinbach and Rosenort, Manitoba and Meade, Kansas. In the farming district of Rosenort, the Loewens who were less urbanized than the families in Steinbach and had less mechanized farms than Meade had an average family size of 8.2 children. In Meade, the Loewens had an average family size of 6.9 children while in Steinbach, the Loewens had a average size of 6.0. The extended Reimer family, which could be found in almost equal proportions in Steinbach, Blumenort and Meade registered a similar pattern. Here a sampling of 123 marriages consummated between 1910 and 1930 indicated that

the Blumenort Reimers, who lived in the most extensive mixed farming area, had an average of 9.3 children, the Meade Reimers 7.2 and the Steinbach-based Reimer family had an average of 5.3 children. [64]

A similar pattern of differing birth rates for urban and rural Mennonites can be seen in separate American and Canadian analysis. Among American Kleine Gemeinde descendants the highest birth rates were found in the farming districts of Jansen and Meade and the lowest rates in West Coast daughter colonies such as Reedley, California, where many families worked as agricultural labourers. An examination of 102 marriages from three extended families, that of Heinrich Ratzlaff, Jacob Classen and Johann Thiessen is illustrative. The Ratzlaffs who were centered in rural parts of Cub Creek had an average of 6.5 children, the Classens of Meade had 6.5 children as well, while the Thiessen family of Reedley averaged 4.3 children. [65]

Church records reveal a similar pattern in Canada. Church membership figures for the years between 1912 and 1917 indicate that the exclusively rural districts such as Rosenort where the Kleine Gemeinde and Holdeman church groups totaled 408 persons had the highest birth rate at 4.1%. The Kleine Gemeinde and Holdeman church communities in the East Reserve which included the town of Steinbach and had a population base of 1245 had a birth rate of 3.3%. The Bruderthaler church in Steinbach, representing a population of 150, registered the lowest birth rate of 3.1%. [66] Clearly family sizes were beginning to reflect the divergence of the rural and urban lifeworlds for women.

IV

If an urban existence led women to reconsider traditional ideas of family size, it did not significantly change their ideas about courtship and marriage. Endogamy rates remained high, prenuptially conceived children low, and divorces even lower. Each of the communities, Steinbach, Rosenort, Jansen and Meade, had its rumors of breaches of

traditional mores governing marriages. From one community came rumors in 1918 "of another couple or two who went to Winnipeg to be united in marriage" and in 1923 of another three who had been married in civil weddings - a practice which genealogical records confirm was usually associated with a prenuptial conception. [67] From another community came reports that young women, ignorant about sexual matters, had been seduced by "Lutheran workers who...had no qualms about premarital sex." From yet another community rumour had it that the married daughter of a high ranking community leader was having relations with a neighbour, after she discovered that her own husband was sterile. And from yet another came reports that a local Kleine Gemeinde descendant was enjoying the company of male workers for a price during her husband's absence. These, however, were exceptions in communities whose strict sexual mores were severely enforced by all four church groups.

Exceptional, as well, were marriages to non-Mennonites. Again each community had its incidents of young men or women eloping with members of another ethnic group and being married by a local judge. But as often as this occurred young men or women married outsiders in one of the Mennonite churches and joined the community. Thus there was a Mooney and a Kreb family in the Holdeman church, a Rieger and Sobering family in the Bruderthaler, and a Rosche and a Glen family in the Kleine Gemeinde. Endogamy, however, remained an important cultural value.

Endogamy rates were higher in Canada than in the United States; but contrary to ideas emanating from such national symbols as "cultural mosaic" and "melting pot" differences in rates of inter-marriage in the Canadian and Midwest communities were surprisingly minimal. Clearly the majority of Mennonites in both countries still kept their primary relationships within traditional social boundaries. Evidence for this comes from a dozen genealogical books noting the descendants of many of the original 200 Kleine Gemeinde immigrant families. These records list a total of 929 marriages, 653 in Canada and 278 in the United States, that

were consummated between 1910 and 1930. Because of the overlapping nature of Mennonite kin groups many marriages were listed more than once. While there is no reason to believe that either American or Canadian or marriages within or outside of the Mennonite community are duplicated more than the other, the figures may lack scientific exactitude. Nevertheless, this set of figures indicates that the Canadian Kleine Gemeinde descendants had an endogamy rate of 86.0% compared to 83.2% in the United States. [68]

Where endogamy rates differed most markedly was between town and country and between church dominated and ad hoc rural settlements. Relatively few of the 92 inter-marriages recorded in Canada and the 47 inter-marriages in the United States occurred in the original communities in Cub Creek, Scratching River and the East Reserve and few in the church organized rural daughter colonies in Meade, Kansas and Linden, Alberta. Indeed, the records of the predominantly rural East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde bear a striking resemblance to those of the predominantly rural Bruderthaler church in Jansen. While East Reserve leader Peter Dueck's records for 1901 to 1919 list 269 baptisms, a necessary prerequisite for marriage, only three non-Mennonites appear on the list. The records of Jansen church leader, Bernard Kroeker, list 48 couples he married between 1912 and 1929, and reveal an even higher endogamy rate with not a single reference to a non-Mennonite. [69] The places with the lowest rates of endogamy appear to have been in the towns of Steinbach and Jansen. Lower rates of endogamy were also noted in the ad hoc Mennonite settlements in Herbert and Dalmeny, Saskatchewan and those in densely populated areas in Reedley and Dallas on the American West Coast where the "critical mass" of the other agricultural communities was missing and where a limited amount of farmland often compelled young people to find work in nearby cities. [70]

V

Paralleling the development of different economic and family strategies for rural and urban women were differences in social networks. Rural associations remained highly informal while urban relationships became increasingly formalized. Diaries indicated that farm women frequently visited other farm women, sometimes with their husbands but often alone. Frequent mention was made of women taking the horse and buggy to visit women down the road or walking to the neighbours if they lived in more densely populated areas. Women also helped each other out at harvest time, child birth and times of sickness. And elderly women made it their duty to visit their adult children and other women regularly. [71] The same diaries also recorded the writing to and reception of letters from relatives and friends as Kleine Gemeinde descendants continued to disperse. Unlike the first generation there were fewer letters between Nebraska and Manitoba. Now, however, letters linked colonizers with the mother settlements; Steinbachers wrote to Herbert (Saskatchewan), Linden (Alberta) and Satanta (Kansas); Jansenites wrote Garden City and Meade (Kansas), Reedley (California) and Dalmeny (Saskatchewan).

Farm women continued to exercise their influence within the private domain of the family. The transcripts of 29 interviews conducted with Manitoba men and women born between 1887 and 1915 attest to motherly influence in the lives of both small and adult children. "Mother taught us to pray, morning prayers and evening prayers" recalled a Steinbach man. [72] "During the summer thunderstorms we children would race downstairs with our blankets...and mother would take out the Groute Gesang Boak and read portions from it by candlelight" recalled a woman from Blumenort. [73] Letters indicate that rural women used their influence on grown children as well. In a touching letter written in December 1923 a Prairie Rose mother admonished her 24 year old son who had travelled to Chicago. She told him of the death of a four year old granddaughter and admonished him:

"Oh, that all of us would live in such a way that we might be saved, but it requires a continual battle with our nature which tends toward evil. Often it takes great effort to do something good. My wish and prayer for you is that God would shield you from sin and temptation, of which there is so much in the world." [74]

Urban women, no doubt, inculcated religious values in their children, visited one another, and exchanged letters with loved ones in the new settlements as well. However, there were new developments in the networks of town women. Town women, for instance, were less reticent in exerting a public image and influence. Their arena of influence now more often extended beyond their families. The founding of the Steinbach Bruderthaler church, for instance, has been accredited in part to a woman's influence. One report reads that when Mountain Lake, Minnesota preachers visited Steinbach in 1897, a church was founded in part because "Mrs [Cornelius T.] Barkman...was not easily persuaded to relinquish her convictions [and because] Grandpa [Heinrich] Rempel and sister Barkman saw the spiritual needs of some of the pioneers and proceeded to secure them." [75] It was this church, too, which after 1908 regularly elected women to positions of Sunday School teachers. While the position was not a decision making one, it was a publicly elected one; moreover it presented a public forum in which women sometimes defeated male contenders. [76]

Women also exerted their influence in a wider arena through newspaper letter writing. Unlike the inter-Mennonite Rundschau or the inter-German Nordwesten of the first generation, the Steinbach Post and Jansen News of the second generation carried regular letters from women. Although rural women from Rosenort, Manitoba and Satanta, Kansas, did report from time to time on crop conditions, labour shortages and church meetings, it was town women who did the most writing. [77] The letters written by the urban women reflected a bold community spirit absent in the letters from rural women. They chastised the "propaganda" nature of some of the reporters. In a typical letter in 1916, Aganetha Schellenberg from

Steinbach chided the male Meade reporter for writing only about climate and their new cars. "Tell us what kind of work you do," she scolded, "and mention the really interesting things...like the freight wagon trip [you took]...from Satanta to Meade." [78] The letters also admonished community members to return to religious devotion. In a series of letters written in the early 1920s Aganetha Barkman Reimer of Steinbach called readers to "watch, wait and hold to His Word and keep His commandments." She had a special message for "the youth to turn to the Lord before it is too late" and begged them to realize that her writings were not meant to be "troublesome, but [were written] in love." [79]

As women took on bolder public profiles they also began establishing women's organizations including mutual aid societies, kindergartens and coffee clubs. In both Manitoba and Nebraska church-based sewing circles, which produced clothing for missionaries and the community's poor, were organized by 1910. In both cases they came from the more progressive town-based Bruderthaler churches. In Jansen, women of the Bruderthaler church organized a sewing circle in 1906. One of the organizers explained in December of that year that "in the last five weeks, one day a week has been set aside, where the sisters sew for orphan children [making] finished clothing which are being sent to North Carolina...." [80] A decade later organizations were established in more rural communities. In Meade, Bruderthaler Mennonite women organized in 1916 to sew for "the needy...in various Home and Foreign [Mission] Fields" and to "gather once a month for prayer...in homes of [the] sick and other places...." [81] In the East Reserve, women from the Kleefeld Kleine Gemeinde organized in 1925 and met "twice a month in their various homes [and] once a month they went out to needy homes where they were helpful with sewing or blanket making, mending, etc." [82]

Although these organizations were not major departures from traditional concepts of mutual aid and community networks they did point women in new directions. Often those directions were to the secular

women's organizations that had been established in both Steinbach and Jansen by World War I. A report in August 1916 in the Steinbach Post noted the "Steinbach women have organized a coffee club which, on the 14th, was held at Mrs Peter R. Friesen...and on the 21st at Mrs John D. Goossen." [83] Jansen women, too, organized. Although it is impossible to establish the level of Mennonite participation, by 1917 Jansen women had organized a women's literary society which organized debates on issues such as women's suffrage and a drama society that organized local talent for special theatre nights. [84]

The most noteworthy organizations, however, were those which reflected a shift in womens' views of society. Increasingly organizations rose which sought as their aim to improve society. Clearly the domain of maternal influence was now being extended beyond the family. In October 1923 a Steinbach woman opened a private kindergarten. Miss Anna Vogt, who had just migrated from Russia, was not reticent about her organization's objectives. In a series of newspaper articles she argued that five-year children needed a "children's paradise" where the "love, soul and spirit of the child can be nurtured." Her argument that many "housewives seriously contradict motherhood" served well to rationalize her activities in a wider domain. She was extending "motherhood" to society. [85]

Women in Steinbach and Jansen who joined national women's organizations during these years also sought to leave the imprint of feminine service qualities on their communities. Little is known about the Jansen's Women's Club which formed in 1924 or the Steinbach Women's Institute which organized in 1930. However, it is known that each was part of a national women's federation and each sought "community betterment." [86] According to a local history, the Steinbach Institute, led by Kleine Gemeinde descendants, "raised money for the hospital, sponsored food, nutrition and clothing courses, supplied uniforms to hockey teams, furnished hospital wards and helped needy families." [87] No doubt, the maternal service values exemplified by Kleine Gemeinde women in the

advanced agrarian farm households were being replicated; what was new about these new organizations was that they were formal, public societies linked increasingly to the needs and organizations beyond traditional social boundaries.

VI

If women were bearing fewer children, spending less time in procuring family livelihoods and assuming more non-farm professions there was a corresponding change in the way women were perceived and the etiquette they were expected to emulate. Women had always been considered subservient to men in the public sphere. Public utterance about marriage relationships underlined this ideology. The wedding sermon preached by the East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde Aeltester, Peter Dueck, between 1905 and 1918, illustrates this. Dueck's sermon included a poem which extolled the virtues of the male protector and the female nurturer: "The husband develops like a tree/ With fine boughs and many branches/ The wife is like a vine, bearing/ and nourishing its little grapes." The wedding vows in Dueck's sermon reflected this view as well. While the groom promised "to love...[and] to care for her," the bride promised to "be lovingly helpful to him." [88]

Reflecting a more rural, farm mentality, however, Dueck emphasized partnership in marriage more than subservience. Dueck's sermon included a poem emphasizing unity of purpose: "Trees twain together strive/ Unitedly towards heaven/ Two twines intimately entwined/ On the vine that is ever green." He extolled the virtues of "Christian marriage" in which there was "mutual encouragement, companionship and strengthening." In times of physical trials "stand by one another," he preached, "...and faithfully help each other...,be considerate and minister to each other." He called for the couple to live "in the fear of the God and desir[e] to bear fruit, not to satisfy evil desires." But he also outlined the need for sexual relations: "...do not refuse one another...except temporarily,

by mutual consent...[but] then come together again, less Satan tempt you by your inconsistency." [89]

Town newspapers provided a different view on the marriage relationship. The idea that women were an integral part of the household production unit and that they worked daily with animals in barns and on the farmyard was nowhere mentioned in the papers. The Steinbach Post featured a weekly column entitled "Women's Section" or "For the Home" but the articles gave practical advice on gardening, meat preparation and sanitation. [90] The newspapers also endowed women with a new status as "ladies" and "homemakers." Often there was an implicit, sometimes explicit, suggestion given to developing the character and etiquette of a middle-class woman. One article entitled "Du Bist Kein Lady" carried 20 points outlining what disqualified a woman from being a "lady." The taboos included "hanging over the edge of your chair," wearing "torn mittens," "repeating what others have told you," and laughing at "dirty jokes." [91] Other articles romanticized motherhood. "The still, friendly tolerations of the small daily and hourly burdens...the dutiful, trustworthy, deployment of small, always increasing obligations...is a thousand times more difficult than to be a hero in a battle" read one tribute to motherhood in 1914. The articles chastised those women who were bored with mothering. [92] Illustrative was the story in 1913 of the 16 year old girl who had given herself to "romantic dreams" and no longer "lived morally" because her mother had been "too self absorbed" and too "concerned about gossip." [93] The newspapers sentimentalized about motherhood. One poem read: "Is she alone as she cries at night/ Know this! She gives her heart to this very life/ It's given to seeking her children's right." [94]

This emerging view of women also came from letters and diaries. A letter written by a young unmarried Steinbach labourer in 1920 is revealing. The author noted that in his home there were two "bread winners," he and his father. Yet he insisted that his mother worked

harder than either of them; her lot was "16 hours of labour a day" and still she received "no money." The moral of the story, however, was not that she was being short-changed, but that she "'earns' more than either father or son as she is the one who receives respect for mothering." [95] In the personal diary of another Steinbach man, appeared an article copied from a newspaper which suggested that "no woman can carry out the load and burden of housework and raise the children from early to late alone; she will surely have a breakdown if the man does not help her." The "help" that the author had in mind reflected a new time. "When [there is] no friendly look...[and] no encouragement graces the home, how shall she continue...in friendly submission?" asked the author. He continued with the admonition to "show your wife that you recognize her troubles; tell her how you love and adore her while she is still with you." [96] Another writing copied by a Steinbach man in 1910 came from a 320 line poem which spoke about "the sober wife" who placed her trust on her "husband's heart," ordered the house "just so," sought "joy in her husband's life," existed as a "pearl, round and pure," and strived always to be "gracious, sweet and lovely." [97] Women were certainly being cast in a new light as a new society redefined their roles.

VII

Just as there were two economic worlds for men, one based on the commercial mixed farm, the other on merchant or wage labour activities in town, there were also two worlds for women. There was the world of the farm woman and that of the urban "lady." Both received increasing benefits from unprecedented prosperity. Larger houses, longer trips and more appliances eased some of the work load and widened their worlds. However, farm women still had a greater stake in helping the family procure an income and relied to a greater extent on informal social networks. Until the full mechanization of the harvest, the coming of

rural electrification and the introduction of mass media after World War II their lifeworlds were not to change significantly.

Urban women, on the other hand, lacked the economic function that farm women enjoyed within their households. Their town gardens, chicken flocks and laundering services did not provide the same percentage of the family's income that daily farm duties of rural women did. Rising marriage ages and smaller families pointed women in a new direction. With more opportunity to join formal associations, acquire new levels of education and cultivate the idea of "improving the community" urban women often attained an unprecedented public status. This was particularly true for those women who, having no stake in landed wealth, opted for service professions. Because this public profile often went hand and in hand with the desire to emulate the lifeworlds of middle class Anglo-Canadians or Americans, they assumed "lady-like" qualities of pleasantness and subservience. Endogamy rates may have remained high in both the Canadian and American communities; but they were the lowest in the towns where women were assuming roles that corresponded with the rising idea of "true womanhood" in wider society.

It was clear that urban women were adapting to new social boundaries. Those new values were to be seen in the clothes they wore, organizations they formed and changes in family size. Rural women, on the other hand, were instilled with traditional values. Veronica Strong Boag relying on newspaper letters has documented how "feminism survived the suffrage campaigns" in rural areas as women carried on "debates that went to the heart of human relations in the home and the family." [98] Evidence from diaries and letters indicates that while Mennonite rural women had fewer labour saving devices than their urban sisters, they had less desire to change their lifeworlds; they maintained central roles in the economic unit of the family, shared an equal stake in its patrimony and continued to employ traditional strategies for its reproduction.

CHAPTER 15

AELTESTEN, REVIVALISTS AND THE URBANIZING WORLD

The homogeneity of ideology, meaning, social boundary maintenance and cultural continuity that marked the first generation of Kleine Gemeinde settlers in North America became undone in the years after 1905. It is true that the schisms of the early 1880s had resulted in four distinguishable church groups. But these groups had had a common foundation. Each schism had its roots in the religious upheavals of New Russia; and each represented an attempt to revitalize an Anabaptist concept of religious faith and community. During the second generation these very divisions took on a new significance; each of the four church groups began to diverge significantly in their approach to a rapidly changing world.

Much has been written about how governments in both Canada and the United States sought to create a "sense of order" in a "nation transformed." Richard Hofstadter and Robert Wiebe in the United States and R.C. Brown and Ramsay Cook in Canada have examined how governments reacted to a new society; it was a world characterized by unprecedented immigration, new technologies, improved transportation links, more integrated market economies, and the ending of agricultural frontiers. These authors also examined how the exigencies of a World War demanded new levels of political, economic and ideological integration. It was this context of industrialization and greater governmental intrusion which solicited responses from church communities; and it was the diverging strategies for dealing with those changes that ended the religious homogeneity of the Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities.

The four church bodies, the old Kleine Gemeinde, Holdeman, Bruderthaler and Krimmer Mennonites, took increasingly different approaches to this new society. The technology, capital accumulation, and urbanization that were changing the way Kleine Gemeinde descendants developed their life aims affected church definitions of community, salvation and peoplehood. The decrease in family size and the professionalization of women had similar effects. The different church groups may have worked together on the estates agency ("Waisenamt"), the Russian Mennonite mutual aid committee ("Hilfskomitee"), the fire insurance agency ("Brandverordnung"), and Mennonite schoolteacher conferences, but in many other respects the Kleine Gemeinde descendant groups moved in different directions.

The old Kleine Gemeinde was still the largest church body with a population base in 1920 of some 1650 souls, or 57% of the 2900 people in the four communities (Steinbach-area, Rosenort, Meade and Jansen) under study. [1] During these years it became the undisputed guardian of traditionalism. It espoused private schools, opposed consumerism, preached against individualism and maintained social distance from the host society. By 1930, however, there were signs that the Kleine Gemeinde had lost the contest and was beginning to redefine its role in the wider world to conform to that of the more successful brethren groups, like the Bruderthaler.

The Bruderthaler was now a force in both the Manitoba and the Midwestern settlements and represented approximately 570 souls in 1920, or 20% of the total population. [2] The Bruderthaler church attained its success by becoming the champion of pietism, immersion baptism, millenialism and individual salvation and the practitioner of proven Protestant church methods such as revival meetings, lively music, youth programs and Sundays Schools. By 1930, despite being a small church body, it had clearly become a very influential body. The ideologically similar Krimmer Mennonite Brethren church in Jansen, Nebraska fared less well; it

lost its influence when it amalgamated with the tiny Mennonite Brethren church in town at the same time that it began dispersing to half a dozen different Mennonite settlements in western United States. By 1921 this brethren church had only 31 members, or about a dozen families. [3]

Charting its own course, somewhere between the traditionalist Kleine Gemeinde and the progressive Bruderthaler, was the Holdeman church with about 650 persons in its Manitoba churches, or 22% of the total. [4] It, too, used Protestant church methods such as revival meetings and Sunday Schools and was open to public school education and automobiles, but it maintained the strictest of social boundaries with its exclusive concept of being the only true Mennonite church; it also employed the "ban" and retained physical symbols of group identity such as the beard for men and the black head dress for women. By 1930, the Holdeman church was becoming the new champion of traditionalism.

I

The changes that the church groups had to respond to were not so much ones imposed from the outside by unsympathetic governments, as sometimes argued by Mennonite historians, as ones which rose from within the Mennonite communities due to social pressures and economic activities. [5] Mennonites in Steinbach, Rosenort, Jansen and Meade were not so much victims of outside imperialistic, assimilating powers as they were the emulators of mainstream society. The Kleine Gemeinde communities were no longer the homogeneously ascetic, sectarian settlements they had once been.

Everywhere there were the signs of new boundaries. The increasing associations of the Manitoba and Middle Western settlements with the "outside" read like a progress report. By 1898 the East Reserve was being served by two railways. Ten years later the Reserve was connected to Winnipeg by telephone. In 1910 the car made its debut. By 1913 the

spawning of a local newspaper brought two pages of regular world news and a forum which encouraged business between Mennonites and other ethnic groups. In 1919 connections with the outside increased with the introduction of a twice-daily mail service with Winnipeg. By 1930 there were regular bus line services from Steinbach's "Tourist Hotel" to Winnipeg and plans for a provincial trunk highway linking Steinbach to the Dawson Road, the main route to Winnipeg. [6]

Mennonites in Jansen had been served by railway connections to Lincoln and Omaha since 1886 and rural mail deliveries by 1901. They subscribed to inter-state telephone systems by 1905, acquired their first cars in 1908, and began to be served by a local weekly paper in 1916. [7] In Meade, Kansas the general introduction of the car after 1916 brought the community closer to the railway station and social life at Meade City.

A second characteristic of the new society was the rising spirit of consumerism which has already been discussed in a previous chapter. The great houses and new cars, however, did more than boost local business and improve the quality of life for women. They served as new symbols of social differentiation and demonstrated the value placed on material accumulation. Of all the new technologies nothing served in this regard more than the car. When the Steinbach Post announced that two Steinbachers had purchased "Gray Dort" cars in 1917 it also added that "rich people still make it possible for others to spot them." [8] When the Jansen News announced the purchases of new cars it established new classes of people. The social message hidden in the 1916 news item that "N.B. Friesen was sporting a new Moon Clover Leaf Roadster" was easily decoded. [9]

The new age also brought with it new periods of leisure. Traveling increased sharply. Often the trips were extensive. Frequently travellers from Manitoba to Nebraska went the long way round, visiting as many relatives as possible - in Saskatchewan, Alberta, Oregon, California, Kansas. But increasingly travel also included vacation sightseeing trips. From Steinbach came reports in 1914 of people considering "summer

excursions by the Great Lakes to Eastern Canada" and of others travelling to the Banff Hot Springs. [10] From Meade and Jansen came reports in the late 10s of multi-week "sight-seeing" trips to Excelser Springs, Pike's Peak and the Rocky Mountains. [11] There were longer day outings. Steinbach people reported such Sunday excursions to the "various parks" in Winnipeg in 1917, spread the word of the "extra fine roads that go to places like Winnipeg Beach our bathing resort" in 1919, and told of outings such as the one in 1920 in which a "whole group of people...went to the city for the bonspiel." [12] Jansen people also travelled. They took Sunday excursions to Beatrice and shopping trips to Lincoln. [13]

Increasingly, pleasure seekers and sports lovers brought their enjoyment to the settlements themselves. In 1911 Ringling Brothers circus visited Giroux and according to a local history "there were hundreds of Mennonites who had come from miles around" and saw not only "big steam wagons and elephants" but "'hootchy kootchy' dancers and gamblers." [14] These were also the years of the aeroplane. In 1921, much to their parents' consternation, a group of Steinbach young people paid a pilot $500 to fly his aeroplane to town and give them rides for the day. And these were the years that local sports turned "official." By 1922 Steinbach had a public skating rink and by 1931 a hockey team that was playing contests in Winnipeg. But the most important event giving rise to local sports was the founding in 1923 of the Steinbach Sports Club. Its expressed aim was to promote "general sports in the village" and with a membership fee of "$2.00 for men, $1.00 for ladies" to seek "to provide funds for the promotion of skating, hockey, snow shoeing, baseball, tennis and other sports." Symptomatic of the nature of the club was that its president was 24 year-old J.J. Reimer, who was not only the son of a Kleine Gemeinde merchant but a married man, and that the first vice president was an Anglo-Canadian lawyer, N.S. Campbell. [15]

There were similar attractions and organizations in Jansen. However, in addition there were "Moving Pictures" at the Rex Theatre after

1916 and regular ads in the Jansen News from the Fairbury Theatre for live stage shows that included plays such as "Wars' Women" and the "Little Girl Next Door." The latter production was billed as depicting "vice as it actually exists in the den of iniquity in our cities" and as a "startling expose of the awful traffic in girls." [16]

The new society, as mentioned in a previous chapter, was comprised of more and more elaborately stocked stores. But it also comprised towns with novelty shops and saloons. By 1915 Jansen had three saloons and a cigar store. Even Steinbach changed. By the early 1920s there was not a traditionally-forbidden commodity that one could not purchase in town or see advertised in its newspaper. One store advertized "cameras and Bibles," another "U.S. Super X Rifle Shells," and still another "Macdonald's Fine Cut Tobacco." P.F. Giesbrecht, a Holdeman, advertised "toiletry: perfumes, soaps, cold cream, talcum powder" while the Jacob W. Reimer family, members of the Kleine Gemeinde, called upon parents to "ensure that your children can celebrate the important day of [Christmas by coming] to us to buy their gifts" and showed pictures of a hobby horse, jack-in-the-box, drum and doll house. [17]

The new society also brought heightened participation in politics. In Jansen, John P. Thiessen, the son of a Kleine Gemeinde minister, ran as a Republican for the state legislature in 1906 and won with an 83% plurality despite a vigorous campaign in which he was opposed by a local Prohibition party. He served in this position till 1911 when he was defeated. [18] While most Jansen Mennonites refrained from voting in state elections there were those who called their brethren to "realize that [Thiessen] is a good representative for our German people" and observed that "an increasing number of our brethren are coming to realize that, not only is it permissable for Mennonites to vote, but their responsibility." [19]

In Steinbach, Mennonites did not run for federal or provincial politics, but support for French-speaking Liberal candidates who supported church-run schools was increasing. When the Manitoba Legislature

representative, Albert Prefontaine, visited Steinbach in 1914 the local newspaper noted that it was obvious that "he has his followers here as elsewhere." [20] By the 1920s Steinbachers who at one time had ignored even municipal politics were actively involved in civic politics. In 1920 the town was granted "Unincorporated Village District" status and the locally elected councilors and "Schulz" who had run the town without church or legal authority since 1910 were now given legal power. [21] By 1928, with a 36% voter turnout, the Steinbach and Blumenort townships were also participating in municipal elections. In fact their level of voting in 1928 equalled that of the more politically inclined Bergthaler Mennonites of other townships. Part of the reason for the increased interest, no doubt, lay in the fact that in 1929, J.J. Reimer, a local merchant, became the first Kleine Gemeinde descendant to run for the office of municipal reeve. [22]

Those who still hesitated to vote, however, had no qualms about petitioning all levels of government on economic issues. In 1917, during the heart of World War I, Rosenort farmers in Morris successfully petitioned the Dominion Government for "Free Rural Mail Delivery" and Rosenort was put on the postal map. [23] In 1922 Kleefeld people petitioned the local municipality to spend $3000 on local improvements and used the Holdeman preacher, Abram Isaac, as an example of one who had not had his just benefit from the municipality. Despite the fact that "Rev A. Isaac has...paid taxes since 1874," read the petition, "...not a single bucket of earth has been scooped and not a piece of straw bent to improve his section of land." [24]

Finally, there were new types of social disorder. There had been the ofttimes unruly acts of charivari during the first generation and Jansen had had a reputation as a wild frontier town since the opening of its first saloon in the 1890s. Now Steinbach was gaining a similar reputation. In January 1914 a report from Steinbach described an incident in which a "provincial police officer, who had been on his way to [enforce

the law among] the Galicians, had to be rerouted to Steinbach...where, at a particular dance, things had gone too far and someone had collapsed with a head wound...resulting from a gunshot...." [25] Only six months later the Steinbach people hired a non-Mennonite, young Willy Christian, to become the town's first constable. [26]

II

The Manitoba church which adapted itself most readily to this new order of things was the American-spawned, Bruderthaler church. It had had a rather shaky start in Steinbach in 1897, being founded by a few families of non-Kleine Gemeinde descent. The founder, teacher Heinrich Rempel, had migrated from Russia in 1884 and had made no secret of the fact that he and his wife disliked both the traditionalist Kleine Gemeinde and the exclusionistic Holdemans. [27] Another member who joined in these early years was Benjamin Janz, a refugee from Russia who had been assisted to Canada by his Kleine Gemeinde relatives at the turn of the century. If he had been dependent on his Canadian brethren for financial assistance, he was not similarly short of religious opinions. By 1903 Janz was reportedly "helping to spread the gospel [in Steinbach] where the harvest is great." [28] Despite this evangelical fervour and the introduction of a choir, Sunday School and revival meetings the church attracted few members in its first decade.

Beginning in 1908, however, the Bruderthaler made inroads into the Kleine Gemeinde and by 1913 it had attracted some 67 members. Although these members and their children comprised only 150 persons, a fraction of the 801 people in the Kleine Gemeinde and 410 in the Holdemans in 1913, it won the reputation of being the most progressive and fastest growing church. In the two decades following 1913 it grew by 167% compared to 92% for the Holdemans and 75% for the Kleine Gemeinde. [29] It had the "Holy Ghost revivals," the parade of foreign missionaries, and the emotionnal

singing. By 1912 it was large enough to follow the Kleine Gemeinde and Holdemans in erecting its own church building in town. [30]

The people who were attracted to the Bruderthaler were clearly those who had faced the greatest social upheaval in the new society. They were younger, more educated and poorer than other Molochnaia-Borosenko Mennonites. They included schoolteachers, craftsmen, young merchants and laborers, who, according to one observer did not "feel honoured and felt pushed back." [31] E.K. Francis could assert in the early 1950s that the Bruderthaler church held a special "appeal to the upper class in town." [32] This was not the case in the years of its inception. In fact the upper class in Steinbach during this time belonged to the Kleine Gemeinde. This included the two Reimer store families, miller Peter Barkman and lumberyard owner C.T. Loewen. Neither J.R. Friesen, the car dealer, who had resigned from the Kleine Gemeinde and M.M. Penner, the owner of the other lumberyard, were members of the Bruderthaler church in the 10s. The poorer social standing of the first Bruderthalers is confirmed in the juxtaposition of its 1916 church roster with the municipality tax roll of 1915; this comparison indicates that the average Bruderthaler had a real property assessment of $545, less than a third of the $1875 assessed the other Molochnaia Mennonites in Steinbach.

One of the reasons for the Bruderthaler's growth in Steinbach was that it shifted its emphasis from ethical issues and social distance to theological issues such as individual assurance of salvation. And no forum served better to spread this message than the revival meeting. Preachers from sister churches in Saskatchewan, Minnesota and Nebraska regularly visited Steinbach to lead these week-long meetings. Although Bruderthaler church growth between 1908 and 1912 was ascribed to the "tireless and faithful work" of its leader P.B. Schmidt, a former Saskatchewan farmer, it was the preaching of Chicago revivalist George Schultz in 1907, 1911 and 1925 that attracted the most attention. [33]

Schultz was an active, charismatic Mennonite evangelist who preached within the network of Bruderthaler churches in both Canada and the United States, and was credited with conducting some 300 revival meetings in his day. [34] Schultz's religious experience and work were indicative of a new kind of religious leader. Schultz had had a dramatic conversion experience on his farm in Saskatchewan in 1902 following a heart attack at the age of 24 and a few years later left the farm for a life of full-time missionary and revival work. In 1913 he graduated from Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and in 1918 earned a graduate degree in theology from Northern Baptist Seminary in the same city. Schultz, however, was not so much a theologian as an inner-city evangelist who, as the superintendent of the Bruderthaler's Happy Hour Mission in Chicago, targeted for conversion "dope fiends, drunkards, whoremongers, prostitutes of the lowest kind." [35] Schultz's work included preaching six nights a week, often in open air forums in front of brothels and saloons, and organizing vacation bible schools with financial assistance from Chicago's meat packing plants. [36]

This experience, no doubt, helped give Schultz his appeal in the small Mennonite towns. Among his favorite preaching towns was Steinbach where he led 14 revival meetings, the first one in 1907. Schultz distinctly recalled the first revival meeting. When he arrived in Steinbach there were "just a few families...who were interested in evangelistic meetings...[but] a fairly good crowd attended [on the first day] and we continued the meetings for nearly four weeks." [37] What attracted the crowds was the lively singing from books with notes, a short, "hard hitting" 20-minute revival sermon and the "altar invitation." Schultz recalled that "the spirit moved in the hearts of people and folks began to get saved." [38] So successful was Schultz that, in his words, "the devil got stirred up about this awakening in Steinbach and he appeared in the form of dead church members [who] began to throw dirt at me and called me a wolf in sheep's clothing." [39] Nevertheless, as Schultz recalled it,

"dance halls closed and tobacco shops lost business, [t]he local church...got a new vision of evangelical christianity....[and] grew to be the largest in the conference." [40]

Schultz's success in Steinbach, however, was due to more than his new methods. His message consisted of new ideas that were proving successful in the new, more urban society. Two devotional books that he wrote during his career reflect the ideas his sermons contained. In one booklet entitled, "Weathered Words," he bemoaned traditional concepts of youth, community, sin, education and separation from the world. He decried the notion that youth is a time in which waywardness was to be accepted and declared that "every moment lost in youth is so much character and advantage lost." [41] He attacked the notion of separation from the world: "...after they have come out of the world," he preached, "they should march...into the very ranks of the enemy, and conquer new ground for Christ our Lord." [42] He had a new concept of paid, professional church leadership. "We need preachers with college and seminary training" and "men who will attack the modernists...and expose their false teaching" he declared. [43] His was a Protestant concept of church, no longer symbolized by community but by "the House of God...where God dwells....[where] the sinner can pray through to victory....[and] where the Great Truths of the Bible are taught...." [44] And his was a premillenialist view of eschatology: "preach prophecy," he declared and take seriously the scriptural "threatenings of destructions by means of war because of God's displeasure over a sinful people." [45]

Most important was his concept of salvation. It was no longer grace given at the end of a humble, God-fearing pilgrimage. It was now "faith in the finished redemptive work [that] justifies and sanctifies the believer." This was an act of "settl[ing one's] account with God in a hurry." [46] Salvation included "believing on the...Fundamental Principles of our Christian faith." It was picking up the challenge of "our eternal warfare" epitomized in the "cross, the blood and the wounds." [47] It

resulted in "living on fire for the Lord" and turned "the main objective of all that we do as farmers, businessmen, teachers, preachers...to save souls." [48]

Schultz's approach was symbolic of what was happening in the Steinbach Bruderthaler church during the months in which there were no revival meetings. Its regular leaders were for the most part more educated, public and sometimes, bible school educated men. Between 1908 and 1930 they did include farmer P.B. Schmidt. But they also included schoolteacher H.S. Rempel and merchant B.P. Janz. And in the late 1920s the leaders were H.P. Fast, a graduate of the dispensationalist Minneapolis Northwestern Seminary, and John R. Barkman, a graduate of Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. [49] Bruderthaler church practices now included immersion baptism, once vociferously opposed by its own leaders. As early as 1906 church records indicated a baptism was held in a creek on the preacher's farm and after 1914 this service occurred regularly in the Seine River east of Giroux. [50] Its church meetings also included special monthly programs for youth and an annual "Kinderfest" complete with choirs and Bible quizzes. [51]

Representative of a new outward-looking view was the emphasis on foreign missions. As the foreign mission budget of the Bruderthaler conference increased from $245 in 1905 to $16,000 in 1929 the number of missionaries from the Bruderthaler churches rose as well. [52] And many of these missionaries bound for or returning from the Congo, India and China visited Steinbach and challenged Kleine Gemeinde descendants to "invade the world." In July 1914 it was "Peter A. Friesen of India who reported...to a very large audience." Two weeks later it was "Missionary H. Bartel from China" who reported many "important things about the poor Chinese." [53] In June 1917 it was "Missionary P.W. Penner of India" accompanied by "a little five year old Hindu girl." A month later it was "Missionary Aron Janzen and wife from Africa." [54] In July 1920 it was

Kleine Gemeinde descendant "Gerhard Thiessen...en route to China to be a teacher in the heathen land." [55]

The Bruderthaler's new views and methods were strengthened in the early 1920s with the coming of the ofttimes pietistically inclined "Russlaender" Mennonite refugees. All churches went to great lengths to provide economic security for these unfortunate brethren, but it was the Bruderthaler who made the greatest effort to integrate them into Steinbach life. It began at once to host special youth meetings geared to the Russlaender. [56] The Russlaender complemented the Bruderthaler religiosity by establishing a second, pietistically inclined church, the Mennonite Brethren in 1927. [57] Jacob Reimer from this church preached revival in the Bruderthaler church in 1928, taught dispensationalism in "evening bible classes" in 1929 and led the community to open a Bible School in 1931. [58]

III

In sharp contrast to the Bruderthaler's approach to the new society was the Kleine Gemeinde. The former represented a body which adapted itself to the more open, forward looking, individualistic, consumer oriented urban existence and succeeded. The latter represented the body which confronted, but failed to keep the new world at bay. If the Bruderthaler represented a dynamic, innovative approach to religious faith much in the Kleine Gemeinde was institutionalized and rooted in tradition. Baptism was now associated with springtime. Between 1902 and 1917 the East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde held its baptism in late June or early July with only one exception. Only one Sunday morning church service was held within each of the larger communities, the East Reserve, Rosenort and Meade; this encouraged a somewhat sporadic church attendance. Religious holidays included "Holy Three Kings" and "Ascension Day" and each June and September preachers delivered the "spring sermon" and the "harvest sermon." Church leaders were chosen from kinship lines that had proven

themselves in church leadership. Each of the three Aeltesten who served the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde during these years was the son of a preacher.

But there was much that was dynamic in Kleine Gemeinde church life during these years. This dynamism developed from the established beliefs that the church must remain separate and "unblemished" from worldly society, that the church was a visible community, and that salvation resulted from a life of costly pilgrimage resisting the world from within the church community. In a changing world these ideas were bound to lead to headlong confrontation. Although the Kleine Gemeinde's Aeltester, Peter R. Dueck, did not have the charisma of George Schultz he was a strong willed visionary. From the time of his election as Aeltester in 1901 at the age of 38 to his death in 1919, Dueck manifested an unswerving commitment to communal and ascetic values.

His ideas, encapsulated in scores of 7000 word handwritten sermons, were remarkably different from those of George Schultz. The contents of a Christmas advent sermon composed in 1905 and delivered 19 times during the next 14 years exhibited Dueck's view of religious meaning and community. For Dueck the church was a community, not a place; it was characterized by "brotherly love, unity and...the fear of God." Its leaders were servants who came to their people in "great weakness and imperfection" realizing that God "will put an end to the mighty and their sanctuaries." [59] Dueck's ethical concerns focused less on personal morality and misdemeanors than on the state of mind resulting from "pride, abundance and much contentment." [60] The purpose of life was not to win souls in the world, but to prepare one's own soul for eternity by keeping oneself pure from worldly society.

Salvation itself was not something that an individual claimed with "assurance." It was the grace given by God after a "life of cautiously walk[ing] in his paths and seek[ing] to keep the holy covenant faithfully" and "striv[ing] in all earnestness to direct whatever we...do to the destination we want to [reach]." [61] But most of all it meant a life in

which a person showed that he "desired" God's grace. A presumptuous, confident life was simply not indicative of a soul longing for God's grace and to a person who did not long for grace, God could not give salvation. The "cautious walk" entailed among other things "fleeing the transitory pleasures of this world," a spirit of "fear and trembling" before God, "yieldedness" to the community, "Nachfolger Christi" (following Christ) in a life of simplicity and peace, and of allowing one to be refined and purified through tests of death and sickness and "toil and trouble." [62]

It was these ideas that Peter Dueck attempted to keep alive in a changing social environment. A highly detailed diary traces that effort over the course of 18 years between 1901 and 1919. In every instance the church sought to maintain an "unblemished" community in which peace, unity and love would flourish. It was only in this state that it could hold its biannual "Einigkeit", the service of Holy Communion in which "unity" among the brethren was a prerequisite for "communion" with God. Thus, no item was too small to address: there was the brother who had become drunk during threshing time; another who had for chicanery's sake shot a neighbour's ox; a sister who had been caught stealing merchandise from her step-sons; a widow and widower, now married, who confessed to premarital sex; a brother who had hosted a party in his guesthouse; two brothers who had had a fist fight after one had spread gossip about the other; a sister who had been discovered to have lived in "great sin." [63]

These, however, were the minor issues, almost always quickly resolved, either through warnings and confessions or through brief periods of excommunication. The fact that over the course of 18 years Dueck's diary mentions each of drunkenness, adultery and assault only half a dozen times indicates their lack of importance. The all-male church brotherhood after all met almost 200 times during these years and at each meeting addressed at least half a dozen ethical issues. The most thorny problems were those which went hand in hand with the encroachment of the modern world with its new technological innovations such as the telephone and the

car, its new capitalistic order of things such as increasing indebtedness, consumerism and business size, and a government which seemed intent on integrating Mennonites into the wider society. During these years members at the brotherhood meetings grappled with the issue of commerce 38 times, with government intrusion 35 times and with the car 34 times; these brotherhood agenda items reflected the issues on which the church felt it was the most vulnerable.

The intrusiveness of government agencies and programs was a major concern for the Kleine Gemeinde; but the real source of their worry was less the overt intrusiveness of certain highly-publicized events than the more subtle ways that the community and government seemed to become increasingly integrated. The Manitoba Flag Act of 1908 was a major threat for the Gemeinde but the issue and the action required were indisputable. When the Act, which required all district schools to fly the Union Jack, was passed, the Gemeinde, which saw the flag as nothing less than a "military banner," responded quickly. It joined Holdeman preachers and the Mennonite schools inspector, H.H. Ewert, in making a personal visit to Manitoba's premier. When the premier kept the delegation waiting for almost four hours and then promised only to do "his best," the Kleine Gemeinde immediately withdrew its schools from the district school roster even if it meant forfeiting the "legislative grant" which they had received for more than a generation. [64]

Similar action was taken to deal with overt government action during World War I. When the federal government requested that Manitoba Mennonites purchase war bonds and pay a special "1% war tax" in 1917 and 1918 the Kleine Gemeinde, along with other Mennonite groups, complied; its only demand was that the tax should be used for humanitarian and not military aid. [65] Peter Dueck protested privately that paying the tax was "to make friends with the unrighteous 'Mammon'" but he still complied, reasoning that "since the money is to be used only for the needy [we]...will participate." [66] When the federal government passed the

National Service Act in 1917, requiring all Canadians to fill out war time service cards, the Kleine Gemeinde once again complied after being assured that the cards would not compromise their military exemptions. This compliance was repeated in May 1918 when the government required a registration of young men after passing the National Conscription Act; but once again the Gemeinde was assured of continued military exemption. [67]

What caused the Kleine Gemeinde brotherhood at least as much consternation as these highly publicized events were local incidents in which government and Mennonite agenda and values conflicted. In 1906 the Manitoba government expropriated Bell Telephone company and began to erect rural long distance lines. Setting a new precedent members of the Kleine Gemeinde voted in a provincial referendum on the issue; however, they did so with ambivalence, realizing that although the act of voting was to associate with the world, not voting was to ensure the coming of the unwanted telephone and hence an even closer link to wider society. [68]

In the spring of 1912 Gemeinde members were once more caught in a quandary. A single, 38 year-old mentally deranged Blumenort man became violent and turned his revolver on his neighbours; they physically subdued him, turned him over to "authorities" in Winnipeg and asked that he be declared "insane." In a lengthy brotherhood meeting, Aeltester Dueck and the church agonized about having to rely on the wider society to solve the community's problems. It could only justify its actions on the grounds that the "government disallows us to have people like that living in our community" and the fact that the man was not a church member. [69] In another instance a year later the members once more faced the ambivalence of having to comply with provincial criminal law. The issue centered around a family whose daughter had been gang raped and who now had been subpoenaed to testify at the trial of the rapists. Once again the brotherhood reluctantly gave ground: "Because the proceedings were not initiated [by the family] we cannot forbid them to testify." [70]

The most perplexing and persistent problem for the Gemeinde, however, came when traditional boundaries were violated by members on their own initiative. In 1905 members were reminded that according to the Blumenort Conference resolutions of 1899 they "could not participate in the election of [municipal] councilors." [71] In both 1905 and 1910 male members were excommunicated for marrying "non-believing" women in civic ceremonies in Winnipeg. In 1906 a brother had to be asked to resign his post as municipal secretary, an occupation which was contrary to "Article 27 in the Martyrs' Mirror." In 1907 two men involved in a land dispute had to be told that "fighting one another with lawyers cannot be approved of, nor seeking to defend oneself in that manner." In 1910 members were "warned not to vote in the government election" and when several voted anyway, the church followed up and compelled the voters to repent. In 1913 members were asked to consider whether the reporting of break and enter robberies did not "come too close to our faith." In 1914 farmers were told not to bring their neighbours' cattle to the pound as "it is wrong to complain to the world about one's brother." In 1916 members were counselled that to vote in the government temperance plebiscite would be tantamount to Christians "trying to rule and govern with the world." [72]

Each of these challenges to traditional boundaries paled in comparison to the decision in April 1911 by a majority of Steinbach parents to turn their parochial, German-language, school into a public institution. The fact that the parents had been encouraged to do so by a Manitoba school inspector who argued that in "a British country people should speak English" and who "explained the purpose of the flag" did not impress the rural dominated Kleine Gemeinde. [73] Dueck protested that the public school was seen by "most congregation members as very wrongful, for us and for our descendants." And he promised that the Kleine Gemeinde would "work against" the new school. [74]

The odds, however, were not in Dueck's favour. In July 1911 it became apparent that both the Holdeman and Bruderthaler churches supported

the public school. The Kleine Gemeinde leadership gave up their campaign to reverse the decision; instead they hired their own teachers and turned the old Franz Kroeker residence, that had once served as the church's meeting place, into a private school. [75] A symbolic end to the old concept of community came in October 1911 when the Steinbach churches were asked to stop the tradition of using the schoolhouse for worship. The reason was that "new desks are being installed in the Steinbach school and the new [head] schoolteacher no longer wants church services to be held in the school as it has been turned into a district school." [76]

Nor was there unanimous support among Kleine Gemeinde members for its new private school. Kleine Gemeinde members from town did not willingly accept the dictates of the rural dominated church body. Over the next years the district school was a thorn in the side of the Gemeinde. Again and again members were admonished to keep themselves separated from the public school movement. In May 1912 the church leadership finally decided on an ultimatum for the rebel parents: "we will...see if they want to comply with the private school...and if they do not, an arrangement will be made to grant them time till "Einigkeit" (communion service) when, if they do...accept our counsel, we will work with them...but those who cannot, should no longer count themselves as members of this congregation." [77] Within a month a number of parents "yielded" to the brotherhood. However, at the "Einigkeit" that October, 21 people were noted absent because they disagreed with the church's policy on "public education, the car and other worldly matters." [78]

In 1916, the same year that the Kleine Gemeinde built a new two-room private schoolhouse, the Manitoba government unveiled its plan to revise the Public Schools Attendance Act and to close down all private schools. When, three years later, the British Privy Council's decision to uphold the law coincided with Peter Dueck's death the Kleine Gemeinde quietly complied and closed its church schools. The fact of Dueck's untimely death and the wide support for public education in the Gemeinde even

before 1916, no doubt, served to frustrate any sentiment to join the Old Colonist Mennonites who were moving to Mexico in a search for an environment more conducive to the maintenance of traditional social boundaries.

A third major issue in the Kleine Gemeinde during the years of World War I was the erosion of ascetic lifestyles. Increased prosperity, the growth of town businesses, the rise of consumerism, and especially the purchase of automobiles were transforming the community. While merchandizing itself was no longer opposed by the Kleine Gemeinde it actively attempted to shape associated mercantile activity. In January 1911 it objected to a business banquet held for "high officials... according to worldly custom" at Klaas Toews' guesthouse. In November 1911 it asked merchant H.W. Reimer to breach a five year rental agreement with a young barber who was planning to sell tobacco and musical instruments from a store on Reimer's land. In November 1915, during a time of rising interest rates, the church body censured those businesses "that charge high interest rates from poor people" and chastised other members "for incurring large debt loads." In March 1916 it questioned the opening of A.W. Reimer's Winnipeg meat packing branch-office which the brotherhood declared "cannot but be harmful for salvation." [79]

Associated with commerce and abundance was the increased acquisition of personal amenities. It was felt that these comforts turned one's attention from one's neighbour and one's soul to one's fortune and status. Among the signs of changing times were new women's fashions, hairstyles and dresses and hats. So were social events like the "Nachhochzeiten", the "after weddings" where invited guests gave gifts and enjoyed fancy meals. Increasingly, too, youth gathered for "lawn parties" where musical instruments could be heard and the latest fashions exhibited. And then, there was a new fascination with firearms, justified for the hunt, but remaining, nevertheless, a symbol of power and violence. But no single personal amenity received the same attention as the car.

On May 16, 1910 at a Sunday afternoon brotherhood meeting in Steinbach, Aeltester Dueck presented the 21 baptismal candidates for the year and then introduced an issue which would be debated in the Gemeinde for eight long years; "a brother has purchased a car for $480 which most of us brothers do not see as proper...." Two weeks later when the owner, 26 year old miller Abram Reimer, appeared before the brotherhood and promised to sell the car, Aeltester Dueck explained the reason for the church's opposition: "it is detrimental to one's salvation as it seeks to emulate the world, is on the whole such an unknown thing, is so costly and leads to such arrogance and ostentation." [80]

If Dueck thought that this swift action could stop the tide of car purchases he was wrong. By July it was apparent that Reimer had reneged on his promise to sell his car. Only an overt threat of excommunication brought another promise to sell the offending object. A year, later, however, there were reports that "two more brothers have purchased cars." In a special meeting in May 1911, Dueck went to great lengths to explain to the brotherhood the theology underlying his opposition: "in Christ we shall not place ourselves on the level with worldly society and not desire large and elegant things which have an image of superiority." But he also gave practical reasons; the cars are being "driven recklessly...and thus frighten horses so that many accidents have occurred." His admonitions, however, were publicly opposed. "The car is supported by many brothers who look upon our opposition as self-made rules," wrote Dueck after the meeting, and "thus we were unable to come as far as we had wished." [81]

Peter Dueck, however, did not retreat. In June 1911 he consulted his fellow leaders at Rosenort and came away with "great resolve to work against it [the car]," for it "is simply not in keeping with 'Nachfolger Christi'." By April 1912 the church began to force members who owned cars, including J.R. Friesen the owner of Steinbach's first car dealership, to resign from the church or face excommunication and the ban. A stand-off had occurred and people began leaving the church. Between

1911 and 1913 the church banned or accepted the resignation of 19 members. In 1912 Dueck baptized fewer members than he had since taking office in 1901 and for the first time in a generation the Kleine Gemeinde suffered a net loss of members.

Just as in the case of the public school issue, however, the car was eventually accepted. Over the following years, owners of cars were called upon to repent, asked to stay away from communion services, warned against riding in the cars owned by members of other churches, told not to register cars in the names of their unbaptized children, and cautioned that ownership of gasoline-powered tractors could serve to weaken the resolve of members not to buy cars. In November 1918, just two months before his death, Dueck made the observation that "most brethren are [still] not heeding our warning about the car" and that more time will be required before communion services can be held with the owners. The year of his death, however, marked the end of the Kleine Gemeinde's opposition to the car and that summer members purchased cars in unprecedented numbers. The Kleine Gemeinde had clearly lost a battle to maintain old social boundaries.

The failure of the Kleine Gemeinde in Steinbach was a failure only in part. The church remained intact and between 1913 and 1932 it almost doubled in size from 1108 to 1933 souls. [82] Traditional ideas continued to prevail, particularly in the rural areas in Blumenort and Rosenort. Sermons still emphasized the ethics of day to day life. A record of 42 sermons preached over a 12 month period in 1924 and 1925 in the East Reserve indicates that over half were based on one of the four ethically-oriented Gospels, several others were on ethical portions of the Apocrypha and only a few on theological or doctrinal sections of the Bible such as the Pauline epistles.

Nor did the nature of leadership change. While the second generation preachers elected during the 10s included progressive schoolteachers and town businessmen, it is interesting to note that in

1924 when the East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde voted for its second Aeltester in five years, the progressive preachers received little support. Instead both the new Aeltester, Peter P. Reimer, and his runner-up were Blumenort farmers who were junior members of the church ministerial.

And in the rural areas, the Kleine Gemeinde continued its traditional role as the arbiter of day to day affairs in the community. The extensive brotherhood minutes of Aeltester Jacob B. Kroeker of Rosenort, Manitoba during the 1920s, for example, indicate that in rural areas the idea that church and community were synonymous continued. Members had to account for being absent at the biannual "Einigkeit" service. The church assumed the responsibility to settle all economic disagreements among members and vociferously discouraged brethren from taking any cases to court. It also censured new styles and fashions, promoted Anabaptist literature, and assumed the debts of poorer members. [83]

Despite these signs of traditionalism other practices pointed the Kleine Gemeinde in a new direction. The strategy of inculcating simplicity and separation now seemed more flexible and accommodating. The car had become acceptable, for example, but only because it was now deemed practical; the value of simplicity still exhibited itself when "glass cars" and "shiny bumpers" became issues in the 1920s. [84] The public school may have been accepted but local school boards exercised considerable control over teacher hiring, curricula, school construction and attendance policies. [85] In order to assure that acceptable Mennonites qualified as teachers, community leaders gave implicit approval for young people to attend Normal School in Winnipeg. Similar concerns led the Rosenort brotherhood to help finance the operation of a regional Mennonite high school in Gretna after 1928. [86]

And unlike their Old Colonist brethren even the most conservative of the Kleine Gemeinde sought only to maintain those boundaries within Canada. It was no secret that the Kleine Gemeinde had grown familiar with Canada and, as one farmer put it, "many did not want to leave this

government which had been so good to them." [87] The Kleine Gemeinde had particularly come to appreciate the support they had received from the Franco-Manitoban legislators between 1916 and 1919. A natural consequence of this was an attraction to Quebec where a church-run education system seemed more amenable to their own objectives. Between 1922 and 1929 four different delegations visited Quebec to consider the founding of a new settlement. The delegations were pleased to learn that the Quebec government was eager to have them and ready to provide them with "educational freedom." Only the disappointment with the quality of the low lying land near Amos, Quebec and the rocky, fragmented land strips in the Eastern Townships caused delegates to abort the Quebec plan. [88]

The significance of the Quebec strategy for the Kleine Gemeinde was that it highlighted the compromises that they had made in their attempts to maintain traditional boundaries. Even the rural members of the Kleine Gemeinde were not yet willing to emigrate from Canada. Nor were they willing to give up their superior land tracts in Manitoba for inferior ones in Quebec. It was not until the economic difficulties of the depression and the renewed threats to their cultural autonomy during World War II that the more conservative 25% of the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde employed the old strategy of migration and left Canada for a new, more solidaristic, sectarian community in Chihuahua, Mexico.

The unwillingness to migrate during the 1920s stemmed as well from the fact of a growing pietistic minority within the Kleine Gemeinde. It was most strongly represented in Steinbach. Indeed, the list of innovations in the Steinbach church resound with mainstream evangelical protestantism: in 1926 it started a Sunday School with schoolteacher Gerhard Kornelson at its head; in 1927 it officially joined the evangelistically oriented inter-church "Jugendverein"; in 1928 it started a church choir led by local schoolteacher P.J.B. Reimer; in 1929 it began providing financial support to a Bruderthaler missionary in North China; in 1931 it renovated its church building to give it a more mainstream

"cathedral" appearance by shifting the pulpit from the side of the building according to traditional Mennonite architecture and placing it at the end in keeping with Protestant church architecture. [89] If the year 1919 had marked the Kleine Gemeinde's loss of the battle to maintain traditional boundaries, by 1930 it was clear that the old Gemeinde was beginning to develop new strategies for survival.

IV

The demise of tradition and the ascendancy of individualism did not mark the experience in all the Mennonite churches in the Kleine Gemeinde descendant community. The Kleine Gemeinde may have sought its survival by adopting the progressive methods of the Bruderthaler, but the Holdeman church sought its continuity by revitalizing aspects of tradition. Its methods worked well. Membership in the East Reserve and Rosenort churches rose from 498 in 1913 to 958 in 1932. [90] Moreover, throughout this period new roomy Holdeman church buildings were constructed in Kleefeld in 1907, in Steinbach in 1911, in Morris in 1912, and in Greenland in 1920. [91]

In most respects the Holdemans were considerably more open to change and more pietistic than the Kleine Gemeinde. In 1908 they introduced "Jugendverein" meetings to interest the youth in "experiences, such as travel reports and biographies, songs learned by memory, grammar, church history, and other histories and forms of worldly knowledge." An invitation to the Kleine Gemeinde to join the "Jugendverein" was rejected by its conservative leaders because such an association, it was thought, would only draw the youth even more into "Gesellschaft" and away from "simplicity." [92] Other programs also established the Holdemans as the progressives. In 1910 they started a Sunday School and in 1914 a "Kinderfest". [93] Their special attention to the youth reflected the growing North American view, often associated with industrialization, that they were vulnerable rather than rebellious. [94] While youth in the Kleine Gemeinde church rarely were baptized before age 20, youth in the Holdeman

church were usually baptized after being "converted" between the ages of 14 and 18. [95]

The Holdemans also took a more open approach to technological innovations such as the telephone and the car. In June 1917, when the Kleine Gemeinde still opposed cars, the Steinbach Post reported that two Holdeman families had purchased cars which it noted "would come in very useful as our itinerant preacher F.C. Fricke is coming...to hold services in many places." [96] The Holdemans were also more open to higher education than the Kleine Gemeinde. It was the Holdeman church that supported the public school in Steinbach in 1911 and in Rosenort in 1914 and gave explicit approval for its members to attend Normal School in Winnipeg in the 1920s. [97]

The Holdemans also resembled the Bruderthaler in believing that emotional revival meetings would stimulate church growth. In contrast to the quiet spoken Peter Dueck of the Kleine Gemeinde, was the charismatic, forceful personality of the most prominent Manitoba Holdeman leader, farmer Jacob Wiebe of Greenland. After his election in 1910 at the age of 37 he quickly assumed the position of prominence once held by Aeltester Peter Toews. Wiebe became the editor of the German-language church periodical and a noted itinerant revivalist. Members of his church vividly recalled the appearance of this "tall man with a stately bearing...and a long, flowing white beard." Others remembered his charismatic preaching: "His voice would come through clarion-clear...as he admonished and encouraged the saints to greater efforts, stronger zeal and undivided loyalty to the Master. With the same voice he would warn the wayward of judgement to come; then, with tears in his eyes, he would plead with his hearers to accept the only way to heaven - Jesus Christ." [98] So powerful a preacher was Wiebe that observers noted that "few can forget the earnestness of the patriarchal figure behind the pulpit....It was as if God Himself were speaking to their hearts in a strong German voice." [99]

After World War I, revival meetings became an institution for the Holdemans, an annual ritual in which church members reexamined their religious commitment and youth were called upon to experience conversion. [100] The sermons emphasized the same spiritual peace and assurance of salvation found in the Bruderthaler church. In contrast to the almost stoic tone of Peter Dueck's writings were writings by Manitoba Holdeman preachers bearing titles such as "Behold All Things Have Become New" and "The Wonderful Guidance of God." [101] They spoke of a subjective spiritual experience in terms that were quite foreign to the Kleine Gemeinde. "O, that all souls could taste and discover how sweet and welcoming it is with the Lord" wrote Jacob Enns, a Holdeman preacher from Morris in 1907. [102] Similar terminology was used to describe revival meetings. One observer noted in 1911 that F.C. Fricke and J.C. Wenger, two American Holdeman revivalists, had led in "intense revival meetings" in Steinbach. The reporter noted that "many have found joy....as we have seen how easy it is for those under the burden of sin to have it removed...[for] more than 40 people have decided to walk the narrow way of the cross." [103]

The Holdemans may have resembled the Bruderthaler in the use of Protestant church methods, but they diverged sharply when it came to the maintenance of church social boundaries. Protestant church methodology was only half of the strategy of maintaining a church in the modern world in the Holdeman view. The other half was to raise social boundaries to new heights by restricting individual freedom, insisting on uniform outward symbols and articulating a belief in the "only true church."

Courtship, for instance, was not left to individual whim but continued to be regulated by parents. One Holdeman recalled his marriage in 1905: "My thoughts went to Hochstadt [where]...Jac T. Regehr lived...as well as their daughter Anna....My parents, as customary, went to see what...Regehrs would say and what Anna's convictions were. The answer was yes. I soon went...to get the answer personally and arrange for the wedding." [104] In other incidents the mediator between the young man and

woman was a preacher, just as called for by John Holdeman himself in his 1880 writing on marriage, "Von der Ehe."

This control of individual behaviour was symbolic of increasing church control elsewhere. Instead of deemphasizing traditional simplicity in dress as the Bruderthaler had done for some time and the Kleine Gemeinde was beginning to do, the Holdeman Church seems to have elevated the wearing of nineteenth century fashions to a new virtue. They especially insisted on the use of outer symbols such as the beard for the men and the three-cornered black head dress for the women. According to Clarence Hiebert, a sociologist of the Holdeman people, an incident at the Holdeman church in Winton, near Reedley, California in 1923, proved to be a watershed for the church body. Hiebert notes that in Winton, Holdemans of Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde descent and those of Kansas "Osterger" descent disagreed over questions of external symbols. Evidently, some of the Canadians began to reason that individual spiritual freedom made the beard and the head dress unnecessary. The church leadership seems to have made a strategic decision to put the full force of the church hierarchy to the test. F.C. Fricke, the head of the American chapter, was sent to live in Winton, reassert traditional practices, "expose those secret undermining spirits" and excommunicate the Winton preachers. [105] Hiebert identifies Fricke's work in Winton as a watershed which resulted in an "increasing rigidity and legalistic trend....result[ing] gradually in a greater emphasis on outward expressions of 'non-conformity to the world.'" [106]

The beard and the headdress, however, were only the symbols of a powerful sense of Holdeman self identity. This sense taught them that they alone represented the "true church" of God, that they represented nothing less than part of the "lineage" of true churches, and that their leaders could experience direct "revelations" from God. [107] This teaching provided the church community with an authority lacking in either the Kleine Gemeinde or Bruderthaler. Our church leader "made it clear how sinful it is to go against the teaching of our beloved church" recalled

one member from the 1920s. [108] And the church community enforced that concept by a strict practice of excommunication and the ban. In no other church in the Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities was the ban executed with the same vigour. Church members were allowed neither to eat nor have any associations with the excommunicated and often this resulted in painful divisions within families. [109]

Just how powerful a method of maintaining church discipline this was is evident from a bitter experience in Manitoba where John F. Toews, a one time miller, was excommunicated after having attended the Bruderthaler church in Steinbach. For 30 years Toews was ostracized by the members of the Holdeman church and even his mother and brother were forbidden to associate with him. The powerful emotions this evoked became clear in 1926 when Toews threatened the church leadership with court action if they would not drop the ban. A year later Toews went through with his threat and laid charges in the Court of King's Bench in Winnipeg. According to court records "the plaintiffs sued the Holdeman Mennonite church....alleg[ing] that in...1898...they were wrongfully expelled from membership....that they have been ostracized by the defendants...and that they had suffered damage to their business...." [110] The court's ruling that the Holdeman Church as "an unincorporated society" was immune from such a charge made it an important legal event in Manitoba; the trial, itself, however was significant for the Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities for it revealed the degree to which the churches in those communities had diverged in their strategies.

V

The same dichotomy of adaptation and confrontation that separated the Manitoban churches divided the Kleine Gemeinde descendants in the American Middle West as well. In Jansen, Bruderthaler evangelicalism, elaborate church programs and the teaching of assurance of salvation were the order of the day. In Meade, Kansas, where the Kleine Gemeinde

dominated, traditional definitions of community and church, as well as ascetic lifestyles, German schools and Anabaptist theology confronted pietism and worldly society alike. Finally, the Holdeman strategy of adopting church methods from both the progressives and traditionalists was employed in the various communities in California, Kansas, Texas and Oklahoma where Canadian settlers could be found. The availability of sources, however, will restrict this discussion to the Jansen and Meade communities.

The decline in the Mennonite population in Nebraska and particularly Cub Creek Township in Jefferson County between 1905 and 1930 meant that the influence of Mennonite churches diminished as well. In 1906, just before the mass Kleine Gemeinde migration to Kansas, Cub Creek had four Mennonite church bodies, each with its own church building. Among the most progressive of these Mennonites were the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren who worshipped in a fine new brick church building. The influence of this pietistic group soon suffered from internal division and from a steady outmigration of members. In 1906, for instance, some 15 Krimmer families left the community for places in Dinuba, California and Hooker, Oklahoma after a sharp disagreement arose concerning the new church building. Over the next generation, the decline of the Krimmer continued as more families left for new settlements in Garden City, Kansas and Paxton in Western Nebraska. Krimmer membership which had stood at 60 in 1910, fell to 31 by 1921 despite the fact that it had amalgamated with the local branch of the Mennonite Brethren church in 1915. By 1928 church membership had declined to a point where it no longer was mentioned in the annual Krimmer Brethren church yearbooks. [111]

The only significant Mennonite church group left in Jansen by 1930 was the Bruderthaler church. Although the majority of its members were forced from their farms in the 1930s and migrated to the West Coast in search of wage labour, it remained a force between 1905 and 1930. Church growth compelled it to erect a new church building in 1907. In 1917 when

it elected farmer Bernard O. Kroeker as Aeltester it reported 89 members and over the course of the next dozen years saw its membership grow to 114. [112]

From the perspective of the mainstream religious groups in town, such as the Methodist, Nazarene and Lutheran churches, the Bruderthaler was "conservative." [113] The children of Aeltester Kroeker recalled that they rarely visited Jansen residents socially, that they were discouraged from attending high school, spoke only Low German at home, attended German school each spring till 1922 and did not vote in local elections. [114] Nor did the members of the Bruderthaler hesitate in decrying the assimilation of more accommodating Mennonites in Jansen: "It is sad to see so many who call themselves Mennonites...no longer following the teachings of Jesus and Menno....and in the process have done a great disservice to Christianity" noted one Jansen Mennonite in 1908. [115]

Yet, the Jansen Bruderthaler readily employed the use of Protestant institutions in separating itself from the wider society. Sunday school, for instance, had been introduced shortly after the Bruderthaler built a new church building in 1890. Revival meetings were part of the church program as well. In 1907, the same year that revivalist George Schultz preached in Steinbach he also "conducted a series of meetings" in Jansen where a "number of souls were saved...." [116] The youth received special attention at the meetings. One member noted that "it is time to praise the dear youth at Jansen and to show them some attention at the evening meetings during this time." [117] Its special effort to bring young people into the church was reflected in relatively low ages of baptism. Between 1917 and 1929 the average age of baptism for 21 youth was 16.9, considerably lower than the average age of baptism for Kleine Gemeinde youth. The Jansen Bruderthaler also introduced special youth programs in 1911 which, according to a local church history proved "a great help in the spiritual life of the whole church." [118] Finally, as seen in Chapter 14, the Jansen Bruderthaler church was zealous in supporting missionaries.

In sharp contrast to the accommodating Jansen Bruderthaler group was the Kleine Gemeinde at Meade. Despite the move to Meade in 1907 the Kleine Gemeinde church remained cohesive; in 1934 it had 187 members, the largest single group of Kleine Gemeinde descendants in the United States. [119] This coalescence indicated the continuing strength of this conservative body.

One of the most powerful tools at the disposal of the Kleine Gemeinde in western Kansas was its control of education which the relatively isolated nature of their farming district granted them. Although four of the five schools that the Kleine Gemeinde children attended in southern Meade County were public district schools, the Mennonite majority in the area controlled the local school boards. Mennonite trustees ensured that only Mennonite teachers would be hired and that both German and English were used for instruction, at least until World War I. [120]

When the county superintendent prohibited the use of German in the district schools, the community adapted by reverting to a practice developed in Jansen where a month of German private school was held each spring after the closing of the public school. In May 1920 even this option was taken from the Kleine Gemeinde when the public school officials extended the school year to include June. Once again the Kleine Gemeinde adapted. This time they introduced Sunday Schools with the express intention of using them to promote the German language. Children were summoned to the church on Sunday afternoons and while their parents watched, lay teachers instructed from both the Biblische Geschichte Buch and the old standard German primer, the Fibel. [121] A contemporary observer praised "the energy with which German is being taught here for it is obvious to both young and old, that the [waning knowledge of German] is the problem that [Sunday Schools] are meant to solve." [122]

At least one private school in Meade and one in Satanta, a Kleine Gemeinde settlement 60 miles to the west, survived World War I. Although

the Meade School located on the Aeltester's property next to one of the two Kleine Gemeinde church buildings was regularly inspected by the county superintendent, German was used as the basic language of instruction. Only around 1922 was the superintendent able to force it to close. [123]

The Kleine Gemeinde in Meade County also continued their worship services according to established, ascetic ways. One local historian has provided the following description of the church services: "The singing [was] from the Gesangbuch.... Congregational prayer was silent....[T]he main [sermon]...was read and would be about an hour in length. Typical Sunday dress for the...men [included] dark suits with no ties. The women wore long dark dresses with dark head coverings, usually shawls....Any desire to change was usually suspect[ed] of promoting pride." [124] Members recalled later that during these years preachers often quoted Anabaptist authors like Pieter Pietersz and used these references to warn against pride, ostentation and attendance at the more pietistic churches. [125]

Asceticism was especially emphasized. The car, for instance, was seen as a threat to religious values. In 1916 when Meade County boasted 360 cars, the Kleine Gemeinde still opposed them. [126] The family of farmer Peter Rempel recalled the church's reaction when he bought a motorized truck from the Ford dealer in Meade in 1916: "This caused a furor in the Kleine Gemeinde as motor vehicles were considered worldly....A number of brotherhood meetings were held and excommunication was proposed since Peter refused to sell the truck....Finally [however], the elders decided to take no action...." [127] Fashionable clothes and social intercourse with the outside were similarly discouraged. Some families prohibited their youth from visiting Meade City. Others removed colorful decorations from horse harnesses after church leaders censured them as a sign of worldliness. [128]

These ideas were kept alive by the preaching of conservative, locally elected men. In 1914, sometime after the old Aeltester Abram Friesen had suffered from the loss of eyesight as well as from deep

community disapproval of his second marriage, to a Bruderthaler Mennonite, the church elected its first Aeltester on American soil. He was Jacob Isaac, a 31 year-old well-to-do farmer. But Friesen's resignation and Isaac's vivacious, youthful leadership did not mark an end to continuity. Isaac's conservative ideas were strengthened through close ties with the Canadian Kleine Gemeinde leadership who visited Meade regularly. [129] Aeltester Peter Dueck of Steinbach, for instance, visited Meade on several occasions, trying to heal a church schism in 1910 and installing Isaac as Aeltester in 1914.

That Isaac's conservatism was widely accepted during the first decade of his Aeltestership is clear from the fact that the most vocal dissent in the church came not from progressives but from even more conservative forces. In fact in 1920 the church suffered a schism when Martin Doerksen, a preacher noted for his conservatism and also the man who had directed the Kleine Gemeinde to settle in Kansas, led half a dozen families to form a separate body. The Doerksen church, however, was a short lived phenomenon and only one baptism was performed. In 1924 the majority of these families joined the migration of conservative Canadian Old Colonist Mennonite to settlements in northern Mexico. [130]

The strength of the conservatism of the Kleine Gemeinde in Meade was also exemplified in their reaction to governmental pressures during World War I. Unlike their Canadian counterparts the Americans received no blanket military exemptions. In the United States, according to the May 1917 Universal Service Law, conscientious objectors could be exempted from combat but not from answering the draft and working in regional military camps. [131] A number of Kleine Gemeinde descendant boys who reported for service went on to fight in France. The Jansen News carried letters from at least four of these boys in uniform who referred to themselves as "good soldiers" and encouraged Mennonites to buy war bonds. [132] Those who claimed to be pacifists and refused for conscience' sake to wear military garb or work in the camp were often verbally abused and

sometimes beaten and imprisoned. One Jansen conscript was "made to sit absolutely still without flinching" for hours and a Meade boy was imprisoned. [133] Pressure to serve even came from within the Mennonite communities. In Jansen, John P. Thiessen serving on the Nebraskan Defense Council publicly chastised his Mennonite non-combatant kin for refusing to "do any kind of work" in the camps. [134]

An equally intense pressure to assimilate and identify with American patriotism was often directed at Mennonite civilians. In Meade County, the Kleine Gemeinde faced a county populace that was sometimes overtly hostile. In one incident during the war members of the Kleine Gemeinde were directly confronted by angry Meade City citizens. According to a letter written by a Meade Mennonite to one of his Manitoba brethren, the incident started on a Friday in one of the public schools where Kleine Gemeinde children, obeying instructions from home, refused to salute the American flag. When the American teacher reported the action to the county school headquarters in Meade, an angry superintendent summoned the parents to town to account for their "subversive" action. He instructed them to return Meade on Monday next when they would be expected to salute the flag or face execution. The frightened parents believed the superintendent and earnestly beseeched the church leadership to step in.

On Monday, Aeltester Isaac and several ministers accompanied the parents to the county courthouse in Meade. To their surprise, they faced a full house of "agitated" civic leaders and townsfolk who demanded that Isaac and the other preachers salute the flag. When they refused, pandemonium broke out as people "shouted" threats of arrest, property confiscation, economic boycott, forced guardianship of their children and tar and feathering. The shouting died down only when Isaac was finally able to speak and explain that Mennonites were quite loyal to the American flag but that their religious faith prohibited them from saluting it. Isaac and the others, however, were still ordered to return the next day to salute the flag or face "mob action." [135] The preachers reportedly went

home in great consternation, called an emergency brotherhood meeting, prayed and prepared for the worse. As it turned out, after the passion of the day diminished town leaders reconsidered their threats and the next day did not even repeat their request for a salute of the flag. [136]

Despite the pressures both to render military service and embrace American nationalism the Kleine Gemeinde in Meade County maintained old values. Indeed only a few Kleine Gemeinde descendants are known to have served in the armed forces. A list of 233 Meade County World War I veterans, for example, names only one Mennonite, Henry L. Reimer. [137] The reasons for the Mennonite's ability to remain cohesive in the context of World War I vary. First, the Mennonites were quick to develop a "martyrology" around the boys who were arrested. Clarence Hiebert, for instance, has noted how "stories of rejection and brutality [became] important to Holdeman people" and resulted in a stronger sense of self identity. [138] A similar sense developed among the Kleine Gemeinde. In a letter in August 1918 one Meade farmer noted the "evil of the war" and called for the readers to seek more earnestly to "live as pilgrims and strangers and seek the heavenly kingdom from our hearts." [139]

But American Kleine Gemeinde descendants, as other Mennonites, also resisted assimilative pressures by using their ties with Canadian brethren to find refuge from the draft. The American brethren were quite aware of Canada's leniency to Mennonite pacifists. In the fall of 1917, just as the American draft was moving into high gear, the Jansen News reproduced on its front page the full 1873 Canadian Order-in-Council which granted Mennonites total military exemption. [140] Oral tradition abounds with stories of American Kleine Gemeinde descendants "escaping" to Canada. Some walked across the border at night and others hid in freight trains that entered Canada. Always, the entry into Canada was surreptitious. Partly because the Mennonite press in Manitoba did not want to draw attention to the flight of these youths there is no way of determining the exact number of "draft dodgers" who came to Canada. The Steinbach Post,

for instance, noted the individual arrival of 17 midwestern families and 12 individual young men between April and October 1918. At other times, as in August that year, it simply noted "that there are various young people here from the States." [141] Clearly the adamant declaration by the first American Kleine Gemeinde settlers in 1874 that their choice to settle in the United States would never result in compromise as "one can always move to Canada" still represented the feelings of many of their descendants. [142] So long as Mennonites could conceive of themselves as separate from the "world" old values could be maintained.

But as was the case for their Canadian counterparts, the most serious challenges to traditional boundaries came from diverging religious thinking within the community. The existence of the pietistic Bruderthaler in the heart of the Meade Mennonite settlement caused the old Kleine Gemeinde its greatest challenge. The Bruderthaler church, for example, successfully competed for the allegiance of the community's youth. [143] In 1911 the Bruderthaler in Meade began a "Jugendverein" that featured emotional services and singing with musical instruments. [144] In 1916 the Bruderthaler group at Meade invited revivalist George Schultz to conduct a series of revival meetings. According to Schultz "many souls were led to the Lord, backsliders were reclaimed,...22 people were baptized in the stream and....the entire congregation was revived and got a new start." [145] And in 1927 the Bruderthaler group joined the Bible School movement. They purchased a vacated district schoolhouse and began a four month program during the winters. The school offered courses in church history, catechism, music and German. Among its expressed aims was to "give young Christians an opportunity to grow through prayer and the studying of scripture." [146] Only the depression forced it to close for the period from 1930 and 1937.

Another avenue of influence was provided by the pietistically inclined Mennonite schoolteachers who taught in the Meade country schools and even in the Kleine Gemeinde's private school. In 1923 the Meade

community had five Mennonite teachers from the more progressive communities in central Kansas. [147] They had been hired, according to one report, for their ability to teach in German whenever it was possible. [148] The schoolteachers may have known German but they also revealed a decidedly pietistic bent. In 1919 the teacher at the "Settlement School" was Gerhard Thiessen, a Bruderthaler originally from Jansen. When he reported on the community's happenings in the Jansen News it was not in the language of his Kleine Gemeinde students. In a typical letter from Meade in 1920 he warned his readers not to "forget that the precious fountain, Blood of Christ, will stop flowing...when the Redeemer will pierce the clouds to call his flock home...." [149]

Ironically, some of the impetus for change came from some of the more progressive Manitoban Kleine Gemeinde leaders. Henry Dueck, a farmer/minister from Kleefeld, whose daughter would later marry Aeltester Isaac, became a force for change in the Manitoba church after his election as minister in 1916. When Dueck visited the Kleine Gemeinde churches in 1919 his preaching was welcomed in each place he visited. From Garden City came a report of Dueck's "interesting sermon," from Satanta of a "successful campaign in the renewal of fellowship," and from Meade of his preaching to an "overfilled church." [150] Dueck's approval of change in Meade and an increasingly pietistic theology is quite apparent from a travel report he gave of a 1929 trip to Meade: "On December 22 we had the service in the North Church where prior to the service there was a lovely Sunday School that was attended by both old and young people....In the evening we had a very well-attended service. On the 26th we visited Old Mrs Heinrich Reimer who asked if there was hope. I told her that if she had a living hope she could have assurance. She died that night." [151] Ties with the Canadian church, which at one time had strengthened the conservative stance of the tiny Kleine Gemeinde remnant in the United States, were now beginning to signal changes in the Meade church.

VII

Second generation concepts of community, systems of meaning, perceptions of social boundaries and self identities diverged significantly from those of the first generation. It was clear that in their quest for religious meaning Kleine Gemeinde descendants could not remain aloof from a more integrated urban industrial society. New technologies, a market economy, a rising nationalism, and the growth of non-agricultural lifeworlds were quite evident in the communities in Manitoba and the Middle West. Those changes demanded responses from the Mennnite churches. And in those responses the churches exhibited wide divergences. In each of the communities there were conservative and progressive forces that disagreed fundamentally on the manner in which the community should be shaped in the context of the new society.

The most accommodating Kleine Gemeinde descendants were members of a variety of urban brethren churches. The most significant group was the Bruderthaler church, represented in Steinbach, Jansen and Meade. It maintained some of the old values, such as nonresistance, and in fact chose the official name of the Defenseless Mennonite Brethren in 1917. However, the Bruderthalers differed from Kleine Gemeinde members in that they employed urban Protestant church methods such as youth programs, Sunday Schools, revival meetings, Bible School education, immersion baptism and foreign missions. These programs encouraged a more subjective, individualistic approach to religious faith and a more open view of integration with mainstream society.

The old Kleine Gemeinde church in both Canada and the United States, still representing half of the descendants of the original settlers, became the champion of traditionalism. Aeltesters Dueck of Steinbach and Isaac of Meade articulated an old system of meaning and view of the world. Meaning in life was preparing one's soul for salvation by withstanding the cultural influences of the mainstream society. The term community was synonymous with the church congregation that espoused communal values,

such as yieldedness to one another and a simple, ascetic lifestyle. This worldview necessitated the confrontation of innovations that were seen to lead to pride. These included the car, integration with outside cultural institutions such as the public school, and the increasing commercial, political and marital relationships with mainstream society. And they included social distance from avenues of assimilation such as government jobs, nationalist symbols and any military participation in World War I.

By the 1920s, however, it became clear that many of the Kleine Gemeinde ideals were being eroded. The acceptance of the car, public education and an encroaching pietism pointed the Gemeinde in the direction of compromise and reorientation. Just as it was beginning to shift the Holdeman Church became the new champion of the old social boundaries. It had successfully adopted elements of pietism at the same time that it strengthened traditional symbols. Thus, while it accepted Protestant church methods, especially its revivalism and youth programs, it raised old boundaries. These were symbolized by a distinct apparel, an ideology of exclusivity, and strict church discipline. While the American Holdeman communities were not dominated by Kleine Gemeinde descendants as they were in Canada, family histories indicate that when Canadian Holdemans did migrate southward they easily integrated into the American Holdeman churches.

The story of religious life during the second generation is, thus, one of diverging strategies. Kleine Gemeinde, Holdeman and Bruderthaler Mennonites represented different approaches to an increasingly industrialized society. Closely cultivated ties that crossed national boundaries and comparable social conditions ensured that the over all development of the Canadian and American brethren would bear strong parallels. Town churches in both countries saw the greatest changes as they dealt with the most secularized, consumeristic and individualistic populace. The rural churches were better able to maintain communal, ascetic, and sectarian characteristics. However, it was increasingly

clear that even these churches were still changing as they adapted to new realities, either through new degrees of openness or by raising old social boundaries. Old strategies of simply confronting the world or preaching a communal-oriented theology without emphasizing personal salvation were seemingly not working in an increasingly differentiated and individualistic society. The fact was that the Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities in both the Middle West and Manitoba had become closely integrated into North American society. The choice for the majority of the Kleine Gemeinde descendants was either to accommodate in the subjective, open manner of the brethren or to strategically recast the old social boundaries with new religious symbols as had the Holdemans.

CONCLUSION

This study has charted the behaviour of one small, agrarian immigrant group, the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites, over three generations. It has focused on their everyday lives as they went about reproducing their existence in a new and changing world. It has been suggested that their behaviour was characterised neither by unilinear cultural assimilation nor by static, unswerving persistence. Rather the majority of group members adapted to new environments in such a way that the essentials of community continued. Those essentials it has been argued were not descriptive cultural characteristics such as architecture, linguistic retention, or spatial organization. Instead they included social relationships and boundaries and ascriptive values and perceptions. In this community the family was a domestic group that served as a production unit and was the focus of social networks; the church was the articulator of social boundaries and of such values as asceticism and communalism. Adaptations were made to safeguard this traditional social organization. Those adaptations included integration with the market place, relocation to new land-rich regions, seeking congenial political environments and reformulating church programs.

In each of the three places, New Russia, Manitoba and Nebraska, and in each of the three generations there were different schemes by which to organize traditional patterns of life. Only during the second generation in North America when new farm land became even less available, when households ceased to be chiefly units of production, when old social boundaries were opposed by merchants and when wealth recast old ideals of community asceticism did those strategies begin diverging substantively.

In 1850 the Mennonite communities in Russia represented traditional, closed, agrarian communities. Among the most articulate of these conservatives were the members of a small congregation, the Kleine Gemeinde. But Russian society at mid-century was being transformed; the rise of a staple export economy, the political reforms of Alexander II, the incursion of religious subjectivism, demographic expansion and the shortage of land threatened old boundaries and values. It was ironic that the very reforms that led to the release of the serfs in 1861 opened new avenues for land acquisition and the reproduction of established lifeworlds for conservative Mennonites. The founding of the Borosenko colony in 1865 by the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites ensured a degree of continuity in a sea of social change. Borosenko set a pattern of life that was to be transplanted to North America: the Kleine Gemeinde became associated with a geographic community; land allowed for agrarian household production and for a traditional sexual division of labour; kinship shaped settlement patterns and comprised the important social networks; the church taught ascetic, communal values and actively countered pietistic influences. Political reforms after 1870, however, threatened the aims of this solidaristic community. Russia's plans for political modernization included the abolition of feudal-type special privileges for separate groups in society. For Mennonites the most important privileges were the military exemptions and a separate political existence under the paternalistic arm of the Guardians Committee that had been extended to foreign colonists. To ensure continuity conservative Mennonites employed an old strategy; they migrated.

In 1874 the Kleine Gemeinde joined a third of the Mennonite population and left New Russia for North America where they were assured new degrees of social separation. Transplantation of an established way of life was the primary objective of the move. But the transplantation involved much more than seeking a replication of housebarn architecture, "street villages," German-language schools and an avoidance of military

service. Enabling the reproduction of old lifeworlds in North America were a number of factors. The rise of a global economy required the development of North America's grasslands by self-sufficient household producers. Thus encouragement to move came from competing Canadian and American interests. The migration itself was marked by minimal disruption as the settlers were members of an organized community. Their group identity was maintained by a transplanted church hierarchy, a socially differentiated temporal leadership and a high degree of "institutional completeness." But the real cohesiveness of the migrants lay in their families. Bonds of kinship determined the composition of migrating sub-groups and settlement patterns; and the influence that women played within the migrating family assured the rapid reestablishment of social networks and domestic units. Finally, a market economy, the transfer of capital pools and the willingness and ability of the migrants to mechanize their farms allowed for the transplantation of the household economic unit.

During the first generation after the settlement period, between 1880 and 1905, the Kleine Gemeinde communities successfully pursued a number of strategies that allowed them to reproduce their traditional life goals. Both Manitoba and Nebraska farmers adopted new farm methods and produced new products as dictated by their respective physical environments and regional market forces and as required by their aim to secure an established standard of living and obtain the resources to pass the farm onto the next generation. A highly developed economy and fertile land in Nebraska allowed the Kleine Gemeinde there to replicate farm sizes and the required levels of commercialization much more quickly than did their Manitoba brethren. However, the fact that farm sizes reached their zenith in Nebraska by 1880 reflected a closing economy; increased social stratification, high land prices, farm mortgages, and landlessness threatened the Nebraskans' traditional goals. By the turn of the century it was clear that new strategies of continuity were required; extensive outmigration and costly colonization projects put the majority of the

community back on the old track of a landed agrarian existence by 1905. The Canadians, on the other hand, had access to cheap land throughout the first generation and families faced few obstacles in maintaining household economies and safeguarding generational succession. Disbanding the old villages and open fields to enable a fuller cultivation of land in the area sufficed to ensure the majority of families a landed existence.

Strong elements of continuity were also evident in the social side of life despite the rise of urban centers within the heart of the Kleine Gemeinde communities and a series of church schisms in the early 1880s. Indeed, the rise of Steinbach, Manitoba, a town of 350 by 1900, may be seen as a strategy of continuity. It was archetypically an "old world" town. It ensured household production in the face of limited farm land, was dominated by a village mentality, informal associations, and craft industries similar to those practiced in New Russia. Jansen, Nebraska, was a more representative North American frontier town; it was a bawdy, culturally heterogeneous, railway town of 270 in 1900. Unlike the situation in Steinbach, the town of Jansen was not founded by Kleine Gemeinde members and the vast majority of the Kleine Gemeinde maintained old social boundaries by socially distancing themselves from the town.

Old ways were also maintained despite the fissuring of the old Kleine Gemeinde church in Manitoba and Nebraska between 1879 and 1882. In each of the settlements pietistically inclined preachers established competing Mennonite churches. These churches were characterized by Protestant church methods. However, it was apparent that each of the new bodies served above all else to revitalize old values of asceticism, communalism, social boundaries and a sense of peoplehood. And because the old Kleine Gemeinde was forced into a more actively defensive posture, continuity remained predominant during the first generation.

The experience of the second generation, between 1905 and 1930, indicated that the homogeneity in the Kleine Gemeinde descendant communities would not continue in a society that was quickly becoming more

industrialized and integrated. Local communities now began to diverge along rural/urban lines. This longer perspective revealed new behavioral patterns in economic pursuits, the lifeworlds of women, and church strategies.

Prosperity became the hallmark for the first two decades after the turn of the century, and peaked in the last years of World War I. Farmers in both Manitoba and the Middle West (now in both Nebraska and Kansas) used their new profits to acquire labour saving tractors and compact threshing machines, purchase expensive farm land and sometimes invest in off-farm ventures. Usually, however, their concern continued to be the reproduction of the household as a unit of consumption, production and labour. The most marked departure in the economic sphere came from the increasing number of Kleine Gemeinde descendants who chose or were compelled to seek livelihoods in one of the towns. Some became large consumer-directed merchants, others were small novelty shop keepers and a few became permanent urban wage labourers. Traditional patterns of life changed quickly in the urban settings where the household was no longer a production unit and old social boundaries were seen as hindrances to community well being. The 1920s ended this time of prosperity but they also brought the consequences of a diverging community into focus; some farms and businesses that had overextended themselves during the boom failed and workers were often sent further afield into non-Mennonite towns and cities to procure an income. The economic boom and bust had clearly fragmented the community.

The divergence of the rural and urban worlds was reflected also in family structure and church activities. It seemed that so long as there was land for the reproduction of farm households and so long as a high value was placed on social boundaries the community faced few substantive changes. Farm women, for instance, continued to participate as domestic labourers in a household economic unit, maintained closed informal social associations, married early and raised large families. Town women were

separated from the production side of the household, found themselves cast in the images of "true womanhood," and acquired new public status in service-oriented professions and formal associations.

A similar dichotomy was apparent in the rural and urban dominated churches. The rural-led old Kleine Gemeinde articulated a deep conservative piety; it opposed the rise of gain oriented commerce, more open associations with government agencies, and the conspicuous consumption of the automobile, elegant houses and stylish dress. The town-centered Bruderthaler took a more accommodating attitude to the new society; an elaborate array of Protestant church programs and a subjective and moralistic religiosity seemed more attuned to the requirements of a more cosmopolitan and differentiated townsfolk. During the 1920s even the old Kleine Gemeinde, in both Manitoba and the Middle West, began changing. It, too, began adopting some Protestant church methods in its search for religious relevance in the new society. However, at the same time, as if to underline the ability of old ways of life to become rejuvenated in new societies, the more conservative wing of the old Kleine Gemeinde contemplated a migration to a non-English society while the Holdeman church heightened social boundaries and adopted more rigid, symbols of social separation and values of asceticism, within the original communities.

There were many factors that led to changes in the lives of the Kleine Gemeinde and their descendants between 1850 and 1930. A comparison of the Kleine Gemeinde in the two settings, Canada and the United States, indicates that the most important independent variable in this problem is not simply government policies toward minority groups. The Canadian government, it is true, did allow for more block settlement, guaranteed parochial education, and granted sweeping military exemptions. No doubt, these factors allowed settlers in Canada a greater measure of continuity in one sense. They contributed to the rise of "Old World" towns such as Steinbach. They encouraged greater linguistic retention as demonstrated

in the publication of the German-language Steinbach Post after 1913. They probably resulted in less pressure to assimilate, especially during World War I. And, as argued by some scholars, the Canadian government's paternalistic attitude to minorities, which did not permit other Canadians to measure Mennonite loyality on the lines of their nonconformity, may even have provided the Mennonites with a greater confidence to hold onto their traditions. [1]

This study, however, has argued that the lived experience of the immigrant reflected a more complex phenomenon than simple differences of federal government policy toward minorities. Several factors, for example, make simplistic the depiction of Canada as a place where government policy produced a "cultural mosaic" and of the United States as an egalitarian republic that created a "melting pot." A comparative analysis of the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites in the two settings has allowed for an evaluation of the independent variables affecting change. More general studies of Mennonites in Canada and the United States would have to take into account the fact that the Mennonite communities in the two countries were differentiated to a degree according to wealth and religious ideology. For this reason, the experience of the Mennonite communities in general should not prejudice the evaluation of their respective environments. [2]

A microanalysis of a group such as the Kleine Gemeinde reveals that Canadian and American members not only exhibited similar values but were willing and able to exercise new strategies to realize those values. For example, the Nebraska Kleine Gemeinde were, despite settling in the United States, able to find their own land block in a railway-owned township, establish half-term parochial schools, develop internal resources to remain aloof from military service during World War I, and acquire new land sources when a burgeoning population made an agrarian existence precarious. The result of the Kleine Gemeinde's dialectical relationship

with their environment was that high degrees of continuity were still evident in 1930.

Second, there were Canadian peculiarities which encouraged agrarian groups such as the Kleine Gemeinde to integrate into a modern, urban society. The Canadian west, for example, has been said to have been dominated not by frontierism, but by metropolitanism; large cities such as Winnipeg arose, according to J.M.S. Careless, because there were "no frontiers of actual settlement." And these cities served to turn their hinterlands into single "economic and social unit[s]...that focussed on the 'metropolitan centre of dominance.'" [3] The Canadian Kleine Gemeinde traded more directly with large cities and were more inclined to live in such centers than were their American counterparts. Another Canadian peculiarity saw immigration from Europe continue into the 1920s, partly as an official effort to develop Canada's large unsettled territories. It was this migration that opened the way for the coming of the progressive, more urbanized "Russlaender" Mennonites who were to place new pressures on rural Canadian Mennonites. [4]

Third, it is clear that there were many factors other than government policies that led to differences in the story of the Canadian and American Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites. One element that compelled the two groups to adapt differently was their physical environment. Because important features of Nebraska's climate and land were similar to New Russia's the American Kleine Gemeinde faced less need to adapt than did their Manitoba brethren. [5] The American Kleine Gemeinde, however, had to face social and economic factors that undermined continuity. The Nebraska Mennonites, for example, did not have the "critical mass" with which to dominate their region and set its social agenda as did the Manitoba Mennonites. While Steinbach assimilated Anglo-Canadians and German Lutherans into the Mennonite ethnic group, the reverse occurred in Jansen before 1905. The large number of German Lutherans in Nebraska, however, served to ameliorate the Mennonites' minority position.

The most important cause leading the two communities to face different barriers in their quest for continuity was the different economic structure of the two places during the first generation in North America. The highly developed economy of Nebraska allowed the Kleine Gemeinde to replicate their New Russian standard of living quickly; however, high land prices soon resulted in more highly mortgaged farms, social differentiation, land fragmentation and landlessness. It was a closed economy that forced many people either to seek alternative urban livelihoods or to undertake costly colonization projects on inferior tracts of land.

In the final analysis, the American and the Canadian Kleine Gemeinde descendants faced parallel opportunities and restrictions in their aims to reproduce traditional communities. While the Canadian political and social context encouraged greater continuity, the fact that both countries were rapidly becoming integrated, industrial societies with fewer and fewer sources of cheap farm land meant that neither the Canadian nor the American communities could remain homogeneous within and separate from the outside society. But the deep sense of peoplehood, a rich historical mythology, their internal networks, and landed wealth explained why it was that in each country there were agrarian conservative factions that formulated new strategies to ensure continuity.

What was true for the Kleine Gemeinde, of course, may not be true for other groups. The Volga Germans of North Dakota and Saskatchewan, the Jews of Toronto and New York, the Italians of Chicago and Toronto, and even the Swiss Mennonites of Pennsylvania and Ontario may well have had different experiences.[6] James Henretta's call to "focus narrowly, but interpret broadly" is not a bid for the student of a small group such as the Kleine Gemeinde to make sweeping generalizations. A study of a tiny group such as the Kleine Gemeinde may allow for a study of how family structure, religious meaning, and economic pursuits interrelate with the wider society; but that particular relationship will be only one variant

found in the myriad of tiny migrating groups, each setting its own particular agenda to realize continuities in a changing world and each encountering its own set of difficulties. Block settlement, for instance, served little purpose for the Manitoba Icelandic community, while assimilative pressures did not cause German Lutherans in Nebraska to lose their language during these years. [7] Generalizations about the relative experience of immigrants in Canada and the United States are also difficult to make because studies of ethnic minorities in the two countries tend to focus on official policies toward minority groups rather than the lived experience of those groups. More cross-boundary studies of similar groups must be undertaken before more definitive generalizations can be made.

This study has focused on the way in which one agrarian immigrant group reproduced its lifeworld in an increasingly urban, industrial society. Limited quantities of land, the rise of cities, unprecedented levels of wealth, and integrative host governments were the characteristics of such a society. Each factor served to threaten an established way of life in some way. However different those factors were for the United States and Canada, it is clear that Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites and their descendants in both places were similarly intent upon seeking continuity in "the essence of life." Many of those descendants were willing to employ whatever schemes were necessary to achieve those ends. The unending search for new sources for land, a piety that spurned consumerism and conspicuous consumption, new church methodologies that invigorated old religious values, and the judicious participation in a market economy ensured a high degree of continuity through much of the three generations under study. But it was a continuity that was possible only because of strategic adaptations to a new and changing environment.

ENDNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Clifford Geertz, Peddlers and Princes (Chicago, 1963), p. 145.
2. James Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," American Historical Review 84 (1979), p. 1295.
3. S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto, 1948), p. xii.
4. Harold Isaacs, "Basic Group Identity," 1 (1974) Ethnicity, p. 26; Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution," Old Societies and New States, ed. C. Geertz (London, 1963), p. 108; Frederick Barth, Introduction, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, ed. F. Barth (Oslo, 1969), pp. 9-20.
5. Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration From Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," Population Movements in Modern European History, ed. H. Moller (New York, 1964), pp. 73-93; Eric Wolf, Europe and the People Without History (Berkeley, CA, 1982), pp. 302ff; Harriet Friedmann, "World Market, State and Family Farm," Comparative Studies in Society and History 4 (1978), p. 546.
6. Ewa Morawska, For Bread With Butter (Cambridge, MS, 1985), p. 5.
7. This is an observation noted by John Bodnar, The Transplanted (Bloomington, IN, 1985), p. xvi and Kathleen Conzen, "Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities," Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. F. Luebke (Lincoln, NE, 1980), p. 1.
8. Robert Swierenga, "The New Rural History," Great Plains Quarterly 1 (1981), p. 212. Lyle Dick, Farmers Making Good (Ottawa, 1989) and Jon Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers (Cambridge, 1985) are exemplary studies which describe the dialectic between the cultural agendas of migrating farm families and their socioeconomic environments.
9. For Mennonite works that are highly confessional see Frank Epp, Mennonites in Canada: The History of a Separate People (Toronto, 1974); C. Henry Smith and Cornelius Krahn, The Story of the Mennonites (Newton, KS, 1981). For a new generation of works that examine the interrelationship on the macro level of Mennonite communities and their host societies see Theron Schlabach, Peace, Faith, Nation (Scottdale, PA, 1988) which examines the history of Mennonites in the United States between 1800 and 1900 and James Urry, None But Saints (Winnipeg, MB, 1989) which portrays changes in the lives of Mennonites in Russia between 1789 and 1889.
10. Thomas Archdeacon, "Problems and Possibilities in the Study of American Immigration and Ethnic History," International Immigration History Review 19 (Spring 1985): 112-134. For comparative studies involving a single ethnic group in two countries see Samuel Baily, "The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870-1914," American Historical Review 88 (1983), pp. 281-305; Frederick Luebke, "Patterns of German Settlement in the United States and Brazil: 1830-1930," Germans in the New World, ed. F. Luebke (Chicago, forthcoming).
11. Raymond Grew, "The Case for Comparing Histories," American Historical Review, 85 (1980), pp. 777; Frederick Luebke, "Patterns of German Settlement in the United States and Brazil: 1830-1930," Germans in the New World, ed. F. Luebke (Chicago, forthcoming); Samuel

Bailey, "The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York, 1870-1914," American Historical Review, 85 (1980), pp. 281-305.

12. James Shotwell, Introduction, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, M. Hansen and J. Brebner (Toronto, 1940), p. vi.

13. See: Dick, Farmers Making Good; Gjerde, Peasants to Farmers; Paul Voisey, Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community (Toronto, 1988); Robert Ostergren, A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Settlement (Madison, WI, 1988).

14. J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," Canadian Historical Review 35 (1954), pp. 1-21; Gad Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 32 (1966), pp. 56-73; Allan Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America." Canadian Historical Review 51 (1970), pp. 247-274; "National Images and National Maintenance: The Ascendancy of the Ethnic Idea in North America." Canadian Journal of Political Science 2 (1981), pp. 227-257; Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914, Toronto, 1970.

15. S.M. Lipset, Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada (New York, 1989), p. 213.

16. For other discussions on parallel developments of ethnic minorities see Leo Driedger and J.H. Kaufmann, "Urbanization of Mennonites: Canadian and American Comparisons," Mennonite Quarterly Review 61 (1982), pp. 269-290; Moses Rischin, Introduction, The Jews of North America (Detroit, 1987), p. 19. For viewpoints which emphasize differences in ethnic experiences see Rodney Sawatsky, "Domesticated Sectarianism: Mennonites in the United States and Canada in Comparative Perspectives," Canadian Journal of Sociology 3 (1978), pp. 233-244; Wsevold Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," Ethnicity 2 (1974), pp. 111-125.

1 MENNONITE SOCIAL BOUNDARIES AND THE 'NEW WORLD' IN RUSSIA

1. David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlement and Economic Development from 1789-1914" (PhD Diss, Stanford University, 1933) pp. 21 ff.

2. Paul Peachy, "Social Background and Social Philosophy of the Swiss Anabaptists, 1525-1540," Mennonite Quarterly Review 28 (1954), 108-127; C.J. Dyck, An Introduction to Mennonite History (Scottdale, PA, 1967), pp. 40-42; Robert Friedmann, "The Essence of Anabaptist Faith, Mennonite Quarterly Review 41 (1967), pp. 5-24; Hans-Juergen Goertz, Introduction, Profiles of Radical Reformers (Munich, 1978), ed. H. Goertz, pp. 9-23.

3. James Stayer, Werner Packull and Klaus Deppermann, "From Monogenesis to Polygenesis: The Historical Discussion of Anabaptist Origins," Mennonite Quarterly Review 59 (1975), p 115.

4. Cornelius Krahn, "Anabaptism and the Culture of the Netherlands," The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision, ed. Guy Hershberger (Scottdale, PA, 1957), pp. 219-237; Harold S. Bender, "Menno Simons: A Brief Biography," The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, ed. J.C. Wenger (Scottdale, PA, 1956), pp. 3-29.

5. Horst Penner, "The Anabaptists and Mennonites of East Prussia," Mennonite Quarterly Review 22 (1948), pp. 232-245; West Prussian Mennonites Through Four Centuries," Mennonite Quarterly Review 23 (1949), pp. 212-225; Peter J. Klassen, A Homeland for Strangers: An Introduction to Mennonites in Poland and Prussia (Fresno, CA, 1989).

6. Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism: 15th - 18th Centuries, 1979, trans., Sian Reynold (New York, 1984) pp. 441-466.

7. Jerome Blum, The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe (Princeton, NJ, 1978), p. 4.

8. Ibid., p. 30.

9. Adam Giesenger, From Katherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans (Winnipeg, MB, 1974), pp. 5 & 6; Urry, None But Saints, pp. 50-62.

10. Urry, None But Saints, p. 62.

11. David Peal, "Purposeful Peasants: A Review Essay," Peasant Studies 14 (1986), p. 47.

12. Pamela Horn, The Rural World 1780-1850: Social Change in the English Countryside (New York, 1980), p. 14.

13. E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," Past and Present 50 (1971), p. 90.

14. Gjerde, From Peasants to Farmers, p. 26.

15. Urry, None But Saints, p. 64.

16. Delbert F. Plett, The Golden Years: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Russia, 1812-1849 (Steinbach, MB, 1985), pp. 163-213; Al Reimer, "Klaas Reimer: Rebel Conservative, Radical Traditionalist," Journal of Mennonite Studies 3 (1985), pp. 108-117; Urry, None But Saints, pp. 76-82.

17. Plett, Golden Years, pp. 248-317, & 336-352.

18. Mennonitische Rundschau, March 15, 1899 records the encounter of Heinrich Kornelson of Steinbach with the Doukhobor refugees in Winnipeg and found those who remembered the villages of Lindenau and Lichtenau on the Molochnaia.

19. Adam Giesenger, Katherine to Khrushchev; P. Hattie Williams, The Czar's Germans: With Particular Reference to the Volga Germans (Lincoln, NE, 1975).

20. Unterhaltungsblatt, June, 1855, pp. 53-56.

21. Ibid.

22. For example see Abram F. Reimer, "Tagebuch," October 1873 to March 1874 which documents the sale of several villages in the Borosenko Colony in Ekaterinoslav.

23. Urry, None But Saints, p. 168.

24. Ibid., p. 169ff.

25. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," pp. 36-43.

26. Quoted in Urry, "The Closed and the Open: Social and Religious Change Amongst the Mennonites in Russia" (PhD Diss, Oxford University, 1978), p. 270.

27. Urry, "Closed and Open," p. 288.

28. James Urry, "Through the Eye of the Needle: Wealth and the Mennonite Experience in Imperial Russsia," Journal of Mennonite Studies 3 (1985), p. 19.

29. Urry, "Closed and Open," p. 285

30. Wolf, Europe and A People, p. 265.

31. Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Boston, MS, 1944), p. 33.

32. E.J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, (London, 1969), p. 1.

33. Wolf, Europe and a People, p. 296.

34. Urry, None But Saints, p. 146.

35. Wolf, Europe and A People, p. 291.

36. Ibid., p. 396.

37. Blum, End of the Old Order, p. 281.

38. Peter Lyashchenko, History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution (New York, 1949), p. 451.

39. Len Friesen, "Mennonites and the Fissuring of the New Russian Society, 1860s - 1905," Paper Presented at the Symposium on the Bicentennial of Mennonites in Russia, Winnipeg MB, November 9, 1989.

40. Lewis Siegelbaum, "The Odessa Grain Trade: A Case Study of Urban Growth and Development in Tsarist Russia," Journal of European Economic History, 9 (1980), p. 126. He notes that between 1865 and 1870 "American wheat comprised only 16.8% of Britain's imports compared to 33.7% from Russia."

41. Wolf, Europe and a People, p. 313.

42. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, pp. 77ff; Wolf, Europe and a People, pp. 317ff; Rodney Hilton, "Capitalism: What's in a Name," Class Conflict and the Crisis in Feudalism, ed. R. Hilton (London, 1985), p. 272.

43. James Urry, "Through the Eye of the Needle," pp. 7-35.

44. Franz Isaak, Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten (Halbstadt, Taurida, Russia, 1908), pp. 27-86.

45. Isaak, Molotschnaer Mennoniten, pp. 72 & 73; Cornelius Krahn, "Molotschna," Mennonite Encyclopedia, Scottdale, PA, 1957, p. 735. According to Isaak's figures for Molochnaia there were 1235 households that owned 65-desiatin farms, 284 that owned 32.5 desiatin-farms and 1563 that owned no land in 1860.

46. For a theoretical analysis of household producers see: Harriet Friedmann, "Household Production and the National Economy: Concepts for the Analysis of Agrarian Frontiers," Journal of Peasant Studies 8 (1980), pp. 413-421.

47. Blum, End of the Old Order, p. 32 & 64.

48. Blum, End to the Old Order, p. 377; see also A. Gerschenkron, "Agrarian Policies and Industrialization: Russia, 1861-1917," The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, ed. H. Habakkuk and M. Postan (Cambridge, 1965), p. 708.

49. Clarkson, History of Russia, p. 306.

50. Urry, "Closed and Open," p. 4.

51. Harvey Dyck, "Russian Servitor and Mennonite Hero: Light and Shadow in Images of Johann Cornies," Mennonite Quarterly Review 56 (1982), pp. 307-341; William Schroeder, The Bergthal Colony, 1974 (Winnipeg, 1982); Urry, None But Saints, pp. 75ff, 127ff, 174ff; Plett, Golden Years;

2 LAND AND MARKET IN BOROSENKO COLONY

1. Unterhaltungsblatt, June, 1865.

2. Friesen, "Mennonites and the Fissuring of New Russian Society, 1860s-1905," Paper Presented to the Symposium on the Bicentennial of Mennonites in Russia, MHC, November 9, 1989.

3. Hobsbaum, Industry and Empire,

4. Wolf, Europe and a People, p. 353.

5. Allan Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant (Toronto, 1985), p. viii.

6. Friedmann, "Household Production," p. 161.

7. Harriet Friedmann, "World Market, State and Family Farm," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 4 (1978), p. 549.

8. Harriet Friedmann, "Simple Commodity Production and Wage Labour in the American Plains," Journal of Peasant Studies, (1978), pp. 71-100.

9. Harriet Friedmann, "Household Production," pp. 158-184.

10. Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, p. 93.

11. Unterhaltungsblatt (January, 1852).

12. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 202.

13. Heinrich Balzer, Verstand Und Vernunft: Einfaeltige and Nach der Lehre des Evangeliums Erlaeuterte Ansichten Ueber den Untershied des Verstandes und der Vernunft eines Menschen, 1833 (Quakertown, PA, 1891) p. 27; see also Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, p. 882 who noted in 1911 that the Mennonite still "questions the ethical standpoint of the merchant."

14. Peter Issac, A Family Book From 1694 to 1916 and Personal Experiences (Rosenort, MB, 1980), p. 58.

15. Ibid., p. 18.

16. John B. Toews, Memoirs, 1961 (Rosenort, MB, 1978) p. 5.

17. Johann K. Esau, "The Esau Family Tree: 1740-1933," Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1874, ed. D. Plett (Steinbach, MB, 1987) p. 194.

18. Isaac, Family Book, p. 14.

19. Klaas R. Reimer, "Denkschrift, 1857-1890," Evangelical Mennonite Archives (hereafter referred to as EMCA), Steinbach, Manitoba.

20. Urry, None But Saints, p. 152.

21. Peter Toews, "Sammlung von Briefe und Schriftliche Nachrichten zur Historie der Kleinen Gemeinde der Mennoniten, Anhang I," History and Events, ed. and tr. Delbert Plett (Steinbach, MB, 1983), p. 186.

22. Toews, Memoirs, p. 5.

23. Esau, Esau Family Tree, p. 194.

24. Isaac, Family Book, p. 55.

25. Lyashchenko, National Economy, p. 457.

26. Giesinger, Katherine to Khrushchev, p. 148; Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 236.

27. J.J. Hildebrand, Hildebrand's Zeittafel (Winnipeg, MB, 1945), p. 222; see Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 221 for references to the establishment of other colonies.

28. H. van der Smissen, "Entwicklung und Jetziger Stand der Deutschen Mennonitenkolonien in Suedrussland," Petermann's Mitteilungen, 44 (1898), 169-173; Paul Langhaus, "Der heutige Stand der Siedelungsthaetigkeit Deutscher Mennoniten in Suedrussland," ibid., 174-240.

29. Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, p. 845; Plett Storm and Triumph, p. 191.

30. Langhaus, p. 175.

31. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch, 1870," EMCA, Steinbach.

32. See Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," June 22, 1873.

33. Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, p. 845.

34. Ibid., May 5, 1871.

35. Cornelius W. Loewen, "Tagebuch, 1867-1885," Mennonite Heritage Village Archives, Steinbach, p. 87.

36. Rempel, p. 233.

37. John W. Dueck, "History and Events of Earlier Times, 1904," History and Events, tr. and ed. D. Plett (Steinbach, MB, 1983), pp 93-100.

38. Unterhaltungsblatt, January, 1852.

39. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," 1870, EMCA, Steinbach, MB.

40. Peter Toews to Peter Baerg, August 7, 1873, quoted in Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 304.

41. Lyashchenko, National Economy, p. 452.

42. V. Postnikov, Krestbjnskoe Foejistvo (Moscow, 1891), p. 382.

43. Mennonitische Blaetter, August, 1856.

44. Dietrich Friesen, "Tagebuch," July 19, 1873, D. Plett Collection, Steinbach, MB; Abram R. Friesen, "Tagebuch," June 27, 1872, EMCA, Steinbach, MB.

45. Quoted in Blum, End of the Old Order, p. 284.

46. Giesenger, Katherine to Khrushchev, pp. 57 & 61.

47. See David H. Epp, Johann Cornies: Zuege aus Seinem Leben und Wirken (Rosthern, SK, 1946).

48. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," pp. 157, 161, & 258.

49. Blum, End of the Old Order, p. 259.

50. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 259.

51. Ibid., p. 279.

52. Unterhaltungsblatt, October, 1861.

53. Ibid., February 1861; A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch," August 1871.

54. Unterhaltungsblatt, March 1857, p. 20.

55. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 253.

56. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 94.

57. A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch," August 20, 1871.

58. Mennonitische Blaetter, June 1856; also see Nikolai Regehr, Johann Philipp Wiebe (Steinbach, 1952).

59. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 250.
60. Lyashchenko, National Economy, p. 465.
61. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 248.
62. Reimer, "Denkschrift," p. 19.
63. According to Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," March 13, 1873 blacksmith Abram S. Friesen of Gruenfeld built a "large seeding machine" for "Marte Jann."
64. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 102.
65. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," 1970.
66. Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," Mennonite Heritage Village Archives, Steinbach, MB, August, 1871.
67. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," August 18, 1870.
68. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 286; Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," August 22, 1873; October 23, 1873; Steinbach Post, January 31, 1917, p. 3.
69. Isaac, Family Book, p. 15; Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 31.
70. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," 1870.
71. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch"; Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch."
72. E.P. Thompson, "Moral Economy."
73. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 101.
74. Ibid.; see also Siegelbaum, "Odessa," who describes the activities of the Jewish grain merchants from their perspective.
75. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," August 24, 1873.
76. Peter Toews to Manitoba Gemeinde, January, 1875, Abram M. Friesen Papers, EMCA; Abram Reimer "Tagebuch," February 1871; August 1873.
77. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," April and October, 1870.
78. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," p. 112.
79. See: Dueck, "History and Events"; C. Loewen, "Tagebuch"; A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch."
80. "Kleine Gemeinde Rechnungsbuch, 1850-1882," EMCA, Steinbach, MB.
81. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p.202.
82. Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 194.
83. Dueck, "History and Events," pp. 99 & 104.
84. Lyashchenko, National Economy, p. 311.
85. Ibid., p. 470; Friedmann, "Simple Commodity Production and Wage Labour," pp. 71-100.
86. Lyashchenko, National Economy, p. 458.
87. Dueck, "History and Events," pp 94 & 99; Reimer, "Denkschrift"; Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 18.
88. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch."
89. Blum, End of the Old Order, p. 399.
90. Odessaer Zeitung, June, 1864.
91. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," pp. 103-104, 108-111.
92. These included Abram Rempel, Heinrich Fast and Abraham Thiessen. See Heinrich Enns to Kleine Gemeinde, January 3, 1866, Storm and Triumph, pp. 159 & 165.
93. Abram Unger, "Biography of Abram R. Reimer," Familienregister der Nachkommen von Klaas und Helena Reimer, ed. John C. Reimer (Steinbach, MB, 1958) p. 115.
94. Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 18.
95. Odessaer Zeitung, January 1861; C. Loewen, "Tagebuch"; A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch."

3 KINSHIP, MARRIAGE AND WOMEN'S WORK

1. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," 1870.
2. Dyck, Introduction to Mennonite History, p. 128; Rodney Sawatsky, "History and Ideology: American Mennonite Identity Through History," (PhD Diss., Princeton, 1977), p. 24; C. Henry Smith and Cornelius Krahn, Smith's Story of the Mennonites (Newton, KS, 1982), p. 252.
3. Clifford and Hildred Geertz, The Kinship System in Bali.
4. Rudolph Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of the Uprooted," Journal of American History 53 (1964) p. 407.
5. Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London, 1971), p. 21.
6. David Sabean, The Power of the Blood (Berkeley, CA, 1982), p. 32.
7. James Urry, "Genealogy, Pedigree and Mennonite Social History," Lecture given at Mennonite Heritage Centre, November 25, 1986. For a sociological study of the Mennonite family see Paul Redekop, "The Mennonite Family in Tradition and Transition," Journal of Mennonite Studies 4 (1986), pp. 77-93.
8. Gustav E. Reimer and G.R. Gaeddert, Exiled by the Czar: Cornelius Jansen and the Great Migration, 1874 (Newton, KS, 1956), p. 191.
9. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 87.
10. Isaac, Family Book, p. 144.
11. Katherine Fast to Sara Janzen, April 1872, John K. Loewen Papers, (hereafter JKL), C.J. Loewen Family, Giroux, Manitoba.
12. Tamara K. Hareven, "The Family as Process: The Historical Study of the Family Cycle," Journal of Social History 7 (1974), 323-329.
13. Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (New York, 1962), tr. Robert Baldick, p. 412.
14. Isaak, Molotschnaer Mennoniten, pp. 273-292.
15. Reimer, Familienregister, pp 217 & 257; Reimer, "Denkschrift," p. 1.
16. James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalite in Pre-industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly (1978), pp. 3-32.
17. Delbert Plett, Plett Picture Book (Steinbach, MB, 1982), p. 18; G.J. Thielman and P.A. Penner, Familienregister der Nachkommen von Groszeltern Kornelius und Sarah Plett (Giroux, MB, 1953).
18. Joseph Kett, Rites of Passage (New York, 1977), p. 6.
19. Abram Klassen, "Life Experiences," The Family Book of David and Aganetha Klassen, 1813-1900 (Rosenort, MB, 1974), p. 12.
20. Peter Toews, "1872-1878 Diary," Profiles, Plett, Dec 7, 1871, Feb 27, 1872, Dec 16, 1873.
21. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," 1870.
22. Gjerde, Peasants to Farmers, pp. 85ff.
23. Isaac, Family Book, pp. 18, 25, & 60; Abram Klassen, "Life Experiences of Abraham B. Klassen," The Family Book of David and Aganetha Klassen, ed. Gertrude Klassen, et.al. (Rosenort, 1974), p. 12.
24. George C. Homans, "The Frisians of East Anglia," The Economic History Review (1958) 189-206; H.J. Habakkuk, "Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth-Century Europe," Journal of Economic History 15 (1955), 1-12; Sonya Salamon, "Ethnic Differences in Farm Family Land Transfers," Rural Sociology 42 (1980) 290-308; Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," pp. 11 & 104.
25. Isaac Loewen to "My Dear Children," February 13, 1869, Isaac W. Loewen Papers, Henry Loewen, Meade, KS.

26. Hildegard Martens, "The Relationship of Religious to Socio-Economic Divisions Among the Mennonites of Dutch-Prussian-Russian Descent in Canada," (PhD Diss., Toronto, 1977).

27. James Urry, "A Religious or Social Elite? The Mennonite Brethren in Imperial Russia," Paper Presented at Mennonite Brethren Bible College, Winnipeg, November 14, 1986.

28. Geertz, Peddlers and Princes, p. 143.

29. Hans Medick, "The Proto-Industrial Family Economy: The Structural Function of Household and Family During the Transition From Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism," Social History 3 (October, 1976), pp. 291-315; Gjerde, Peasants to Farmers, p. 94; Eugene Weber, Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France (Stanford, CA, 1976).

30. These were the marriage ages in Balestrand, Norway between 1860 and 1880 as recorded in Gjerde, Peasants to Farmers, p. 99.

31. These figures are derived from Aeltester Peter Toews' genealogy register compiled during the 1874 migration and reproduced in Plett, Profiles, pp. 7-59.

32. Giesenger, Katherine to Khrushchev, p. 69; Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 214.

33. John B. Toews, Perilous Journey: The Mennonite Brethren in Russia, 1860-1910 (Winnipeg, 1988); Plett, Storm and Triumph; John A. Toews, A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church (Hillsboro, KS, 1975); Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood; Schroeder, Bergthal, (Winnipeg, 1986).

34. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies"; Urry, None But Saints; Helmut T. Huebert, Hierschau: An Example of Russian Mennonite Life (Winnipeg, MB, 1986). More popular books of a later era in Russian Mennonite history do provide insights into the lifeworlds of women. See: Gerhard Lorenz, Heritage Remembered: A Pictorial Survey of Mennonites in Prussia and Russia (Winnipeg, MB, 1974); Peter G. Epp, Agatchen: A Russian Mennonite Mother's Story, 1932, tr. Peter Pauls, (Winnipeg, MB, 1986); Al Reimer, My Heart is Turned to Mourning (Winnipeg, MB, 1986).

35. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," June 6, 1870.

36. See: Mennonitische Blaetter, February, 1869, p. 16; Ibid., May, 1874, p. 38.

37. Weber, Peasants Into Frenchmen, p. 176; Blum, End of the Old Order, p. 84.

38. Friesen, "Tagebuch," March 18, 1873 & September 1, 1873.

39. See: Ibid., February 21, 1871; A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," March 29, 1870.

40. Isaac, Family Book, p. 16; Reimer, Familienregister, p. 287.

41. Dietrich Friesen, "Tagebuch," July 9, 1873.

42. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 94.

43. A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch," August 22, 1872.

44. Odessaer Zeitung (February, 1861), p. 12; C. Loewen, "Tagebuch."

45. Reimer, Familienregister, p. 170.

46. Isaac, Family Book, p. 17.

47. Heinrich Ratzlaff, "A Brief History of my Experiences of Earlier Youth and Later Life," The Genealogy of the Descendants of Heinrich Ratzlaff, 1848-1922, C.G. Unruh, ed. (Winnipeg, 1980), p. 6.

48. See: Toews, "Diary," April 28, 1873; C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," p. 95.

49. Kleine Gemeinde Rechnungsbuch.

50. Reimer, "Denkschrift," p. 3.

51. Isaac, Family Book, p. 6.

52. Martine Segalen, Historical Anthropology of the Family (Cambridge, MS, 1986), p. 204.

53. Isaac, Family Book, pp. 7, 11 & 50.

54. Isaac Loewen to Granddaughter Maria Plett, October 8, 1871, Storm and Triumph, pp. 224-225.

55. Isaac, Family Book, p. 19

56. Fast to Janzen, April 10, 1872, JKL.

57. Klaas Reimer, "Denkschrift," p. 3.

58. Peter Toews to Kleine Gemeinde, October 1866, Storm and Triumph, Plett, p. 203.
59. Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 100; Toews, "Diary," May 18, 1873.

4 PIETY AND CHURCH IN NEW RUSSIA'S SOCIETY

1. R.N. Bellah, "Religious Evolution," Readings in Social Evolution and Development, S.N. Eisenstadt, ed. (London, 1970), 211-244.
2. Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York, 1973), p. 90.
3. Donald Tuzin, The Voice of the Tambaran: Truth and Illusion in Ilahita Arapesh Religion (Berkely, 1980), p. 80.
4. Randall Miller and Thomas Marzick, eds., Immigrants and Religion in Urban America (Philadelphia, 1977), p. xv.
5. Thomas F. O'Dea, "Stability and Change and the Dual Role of Religion," Stability and Social Change, Bernard Barber and A. Inkles, eds. (Boston, 1971), p. 71.
6. J.F.C. Harrison, The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850 (New Brunswick, NJ, 1979), p. xvi.
7. Timothy Smith, "Lay Initiative in Religious Life, 1880-1950," Anonymous Americans, Tamara Hareven, ed. (Engle Wood Cliffs, NJ, 1971), p. 242.
8. Timothy Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," American Historical Review 83 (1978), p. 1181.
9. Urry, "Closed and Open," pp. 457, 459, 480 & 481.
10. Robert Friedmann, Mennonite Piety Throughout the Centuries (Goshen, IN, 1949); Theron Schlabach, "Mennonites and Pietism in America, 1740-1880: Some Thoughts on the Friedmann Thesis," Mennonite Quarterly Review 57 (July 1983), 222-240.
11. Rudolph Vecoli, "Prelates and Peasants: Italian Immigrants and the Catholic Church," Journal of Social History 2 (1969), 217-268; Gjerde, Peasants to Farmers, pp. 107-115; Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant.
12. Urry, "Closed and Open," p. 382.
13. Reimer, "Denkschrift"; A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch"; Toews, "Diary."
14. Plett, Storm and Triumph, pp. 98, 47, & 201.
15. Ibid., pp. 150 & 289; Toews, "Diary."
16. Toews, "Diary," November 26, December 4, 7 & 19, 1871 and February 5 & 27, 1872.
17. Ibid., March 19, 1872; February 14, 1872; March 9, 1872; May 5, 1874.
18. Toews, "Anhang," pp. 51-52.
19. Plett, Storm and Triumph, pp. 62 & 165.
20. Toews, "Diary," July 22, 1874.
21. Reimer, "Denkschrift"; Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 59.
22. Kleine Gemeinde Rechnungsbuch.
23. Ibid.
24. Toews, "Diary," February 14, 1873; Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood, p. 93.
25. Gaeddert, Exiled, p. 23; Reimer, Familienregister, p. 340; A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," August 20, 1870; Klassen, "Life Experiences," p. 177.
26. Giesenger, Katherine to Khrushchev, pp. 10, 175 & 226.
27. Plett, Storm and Triumph, pp. 39ff, 147, 307ff.
28. Ibid., pp. 119, 150, 286, 289.
29. Isaac, Family Book, p. 51.
30. Solomon Loewen, ed., The Descendants of Isaac Loewen (Hillsboro, KS, 1961), ch. 11, p. 3; Loewen, "Sammlung," pp. 130-144; Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 158; Isaac Loewen, Memoirs, Peter Dueck and Ben Heppner, trs. (Steinbach, MB, forthcoming).

31. Urry, "Closed and Open," p. 343.
32. Plett, The Golden Years, pp. 318ff.
33. Ibid., p. 322.
34. Menno Simons, The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, tr. Leonard Verduin, ed. J.C. Wenger, (Kitchener, ON, 1956), pp. 108, 168, 177, 183, 224.
35. Ibid., pp. 111, 126, 152, 195.
36. See Sawatsky, "History and Ideology," for a discussion of the historical development of this ideology.
37. Plett, The Golden Years, pp. 163-213; Reimer, "Klaas Reimer," pp. 108-117.
38. Balzer, Verstand und Vernunft.
39. John A. Toews, A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church (Fresno, CA, 1975); Friesen, Mennonite Brotherhood; Plett, Storm and Triumph.
40. Plett, Storm and Triumph, pp. 49, 51, 304.
41. Son to "Dear Parents," February 13, 1867, JKLP; C.F. Plett, The Story of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren (Winnipeg, 1985); Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 223.
42. Friedmann, Mennonite Piety, p. 107.
43. The books published by Enns included the following: an abridged version of Tieleman van Braght's 1685 Martelaersspiegel; an anthology of Pieter Pietersz writings including the 1625 Wegh na Vredenstadt, translated from the Dutch by Kleine Gemeinde schoolteacher Gerhard Kornelson; J.P. Schabalie's 1635 Die Wandelnde Seele; and Peter Twisck's Das Friedensreich Christi. For a description of the contents of these books see: Plett, The Golden Years, p. 320; Friedmann, Mennonite Piety, pp. 263 and 107.
44. Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 163 ff.
45. Plett, Storm and Triumph, pp. 160, 167.
46. Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 201ff.
47. Ibid., pp. 51 & 59.
48. Toews, "Anhang," p. 37.
49. Isaac, Family Book, p. 92; John F. Harms, Eine Lebenreise (Hillsboro, KS, 1943), p. 5; Plett, Storm and Triumph, pp. 53, 145, 274.
50. Toews, "Anhang," p. 52; Toews, Memoirs, p. 5; Margaretha Reimer, "Schoenschriften, 1869," Peter W. Friesen Papers, Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, Nebraska.
51. Giesenger, Katherine to Khrushchev, p. 225; Blum, End to the Old Order, p. 578.
52. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," pp. 203-206.
53. Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 285.
54. Toews, "Anhang," p. 58.
55. Ibid.
56. Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 273.
57. Toews, "Anhang," 9, 19, 28, 63, 64, 72.
58. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 107.
59. Toews, "Anhang," p. 60.
60. John Funk to Peter Toews, August 21, 1874, Storm and Triumph, Plett, p. 286.
61. Gaeddert, Exiled, p. 72.
62. Toews, "Diary," February 4, 1873.
63. See Vecoli, "Contadini," p. 219; Gjerde, Peasants to Farmers, p. 114; Stella Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900," (PhD Diss., Manitoba, 1985), p. 451.

PART TWO INTRODUCTION

1. Peter J.B. Reimer and David Reimer, Sesquicentennial Jubilee (Steinbach, 1962), p. 11 note that 192 Kleine Gemeinde families immigrated. Another source indicates that 158 families may have come. This is derived by combining the "Shantz List," quoted in Hiebert, Brothers in Need, pp. 107 and 242 and the 30 families who signed the memorandum of agreement with the B&MR Railroad in Nebraska as noted by John D. Unruh, "The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Brings the Mennnites to Nebraska," (MA Thesis, Nebraska, 1962), p. 76. The figure of 170 families reflects the fact that a number of Kleine Gemeinde families arrived in the years following 1874 and 1875.

2. Peter W. Loewen, "Tagebuch, 1874," EMCA, Steinbach; C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," pp. 4-10.

3. Klaas R. Friesen, "Tagebuch, 1874," Bernard O. Kroeker Papers, Klaas Kroeker, Mountain Lake, Minnesota; Henry Fast, "The Kleine Gemeinde in the United States," (Research Paper, Steinbach Bible College, 1986), p. 17.

4. Klaas J.B. Reimer, ed., Das 60 Jaehrige Jubilaeum der Mennonitischen Einwanderung in Manitoba, Canada (Steinbach, MB, 1935); John C. Reimer, ed., 75 Gedenkfeier der Mennonitschen Einwanderung in Manitoba, Canada (Steinbach, MB, 1949); E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia (Altona, MB, 1955); John Warkentin, "The Mennonite Settlements of Southern Manitoba," (PhD Dissertation, York University, Toronto, 1960); Abe Warkentin, Reflections on Our Heritage (Steinbach, MB, 1971); Lenore Eidse, ed., Furrows in the Valley (Morris, MB, 1982); Royden Loewen, Blumenort: A Mennonite Community in Transition, 1874-1983 (Steinbach, MB, 1983).

5. Theodore Schmidt, "The Mennonites of Nebraska," (MA Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1933); M.B. Fast, Mitteilungen: Beobachtungen und Erinnerungen von Jefferson Co., Nebraska (Reedley, CA, 1935); D. Paul Miller, "An Analysis of Community Adjustment: A Case Study of Jansen, Nebraska," (PhD Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1953); Robert Bowden, "Changes in Land Use in Jefferson County, Nebraska, 1857-1957 (MA Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1959); Stanely Voth, Henderson Mennonites: From Holland to Henderson (Henderson, NE, 1975); Henry Fast, "The Kleine Gemeinde in the United States of America," Profiles, Plett, pp. 87-140; Unruh, "B&MR Railroad," pp. 75-90.

6. See Schmidt, "Mennonites in Nebraska"; John Unruh, "The Burlington and Missouri Railroad Brings the Mennonites to Nebraska, 1873-1878," (MA Thesis, Nebraska, 1962), pp. 75-120.

7. For examples of these older interpretations see: Robert Park and Herbert Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted (New York, 1921); Marcus Lee Hansen, The Immigrant in American History (Boston, 1941); Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston, 1951); J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates (Toronto, 1909); Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada (Toronto, 1929).

8. Handlin, Uprooted, pp. 95 & 76.

9. Frank Epp, Mennonites in Canada: A History of A Separate People (Toronto, 1974); Robert McMaster, Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America (Scottdale, PA, 1985).

10. Rudolph Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of the Uprooted," Journal of American History 53 (1963): 404-417; Alan Artibise, "The Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society," The Canadian City, ed. Stelter & Artibise (Toronto, 1966); Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, Family

and Community (Cornell, 1971); Robert Harney, "Ambiente and Social Class in North American Little Italies," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 2 (1975):208-224); John Bodnar, The Transplanted (Bloomington, 1985); Ewa Morawska, For Bread With Butter (Cambridge, 1985); Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies (Toronto, 1985); Lyle Dick, Farmers Making Good (Toronto, 1988); Robert Ostergren, A Community Transplanted, (Madison, Wisconsin, 1987); Terry Jordan, "A Religious Geography of the Hill Country Germans of Texas," Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. Frederick Luebke (Lincoln, 1980):109-128.

5 GLOBAL MARKETS AND MENNONITE FARMERS

1. Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration From Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," Population Movements in Modern European History, ed. H. Moller (New York, 1964), pp. 91, 73, 85.
2. John McCusker and Russell Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1790 (Castle Hill, NC, 1985), p. 225.
3. Kerby Miller, Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America (New York, 1985), passim.
4. Gjerde, Peasant to Farmer, pp. 56-115.
5. Julianna Puskas, From Hungary to the United States (Budapest, 1982), passim.
6. Peter Shergold and Stephen Nicolas, "An Aristocracy in Chains," The Labour Aristocracy in Australia, ed. C. Fisher and S. McIntyre (Sydney, forthcoming.
7. Hryniuk, "Ukrainian Peasants," p. 451.
8. Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Foreign Naavy," Canadian Historical Association Annual Papers (1972), pp. 135-151; Parr, Labouring Children.
9. Klaas Bade, "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Emigration to Germany, Central European History 13 (1980), 348-377; Thistlethwaite, "Migration Overseas," p. 79.
10. Siegelbaum, "Odessa Grain Trade," pp. 113-152.
11. Thistlethwaite, "Migration Overseas," p. 85; see also Wolf, Europe and a People, p. 310.
12. Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto, 1985), p. 162.
13. Donald Denoon, Settler Capitalism (Oxford, 1983), pp. 6 & 228.
14. Carl Solberg, The Prairies and the Pampas (Toronto, 1987), pp. 89, 95, 99.
15. Friedmann, "World Market, States and Family Farms," p. 546.
16. Ibid., p. 583.
17. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto, 1957), pp. 156 & 159.
18. Friesen, Canadian Prairies, p. 195.
19. Ibid., p. 186.
20. James C. Olson, History of Nebraska (Lincoln, 1955), pp. 135ff, 154ff, 169ff; James Malin, History and Ecology, ed. R. Swierenga, (Lincoln, 1984).
21. Overton, Burlington West; John Unruh, "The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Brings the Mennonites to Nebraska, 1873-1878," Nebraska History 45 (June, 1964), pp. 177-206.
22. Samuel Steiner, Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz (Winnipeg, 1988).
23. Clarence Hiebert, Brothers in Deed to Brothers in Need: A Scrapbook About Mennonite Immigrants From Russia, 1870-1885 (Newton, 1974), pp. 92, 150, 153, 154, 179, 215. These citations refer to photocopies of articles and speeches in the following: The Republic (May,

1874); The Manitoba Free Press (May 23, 1874); McPherson Republic (May 25, 1874); Beatric Express (September 10, 1874); Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominiòn of Canada, Vol I, Session 1875, pp. 249-252; Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1908, Vol VII, p. 253.

24. The Manitoba Free Press (August 9, 1873), Hiebert, p. 66; The Beatrice Express (September 6, 1874), Hiebert, p. 166.

25. John F. Funk, "Notes Along the Way," Herald of Truth (September, 1873), Hiebert, Brothers, p. 79.

26. Funk, "Notes," (December, 1873), Hiebert, Brothers, p. 96.

27. Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 280.

28. Cornelius Toews, Fargo, to Peter Toews, May 31, 1873, Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 298.

29. Paul Tschetter, "The Diary of Paul Tschetter, 1873," tr. & ed. J.M. Hofer, Mennonite Quarterly Review 5 (1931), pp. 112-127, 198-220.

30. J.Y. Shantz, Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba (Ottawa, 1873), passim.

31. John Lowe to David Klassen et.al., July 25, 1873, Francis, Search for Utopia, p. 44.

32. Cornelius Toews, Fargo, to Peter Toews, July 1, 1873, Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 302.

33. Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 209.

34. Toews, "Anhang," p. 69.

35. Jacob M. Kroeker, "Denkscrift, 1912," EMCA, Steinbach, MB.

36. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," February 18, 1874.

37. Jacob Klotz, Emigration Agent, Dominion of Canada, Hamburg, to John Lowe, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, April 28, 1874, Hiebert, Brothers, p. 147.

38. Ibid.

39. Helena Friesen Jansen to Peter Toews, February, 1873, Peter P. Toews Papers (henceforth referred to as PPTP), EMCA, Steinbach.

40. Klotz to Lowe.

41. Schmidt, "Mennonites of Nebraska," p. 89.

6 COMMUNITY TRANSPLANTED

1. See Gerhard Doerksen, "Tagebuch, 1876," EMCA, Steinbach; David L. Plett, "Denkschrift, 1875," Peter K. Plett Papers, Blumenort, Manitoba; Toews, Memoirs; Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch"; Ratzlaff, "Memoirs"; John W. Dueck, "Ruekerinnerungen: Auswanderungs and Ansiedlungs Erfahren," Der Volks Bote (serialized weekly March 4-December 18, 1914); Peter W. Loewen, "Tagebuch"; Dietrich Friesen, "Tagebuch"; Klaas R. Friesen, "Tagebuch."

2. Ibid.

3. Andrew Hill Clark, Three Centuries and the Island: A Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada (Toronto, 1959); Robert Swierenga, "The New Rural History," Great Plains Quarterly (1981), 211-223.

4. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements"; Donald Gale and Paul Koroscil, "Doukhobor Settlements: Experiments in Idealism," Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (1977), pp. 53-71; John Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant: Ukrainian Block Settlements in the Canadian West," Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (1977), pp. 42-52; Lehr, "The Peculiar People: Ukrainian Settlement of Marginal Lands in Southeastern Manitoba," Building Beyond the Homestead, ed. D. Jones and I. MacPherson (Calgary, 1985), pp. 29-48; James Forsythe, "Environmental Consideration in the Settlement of Ellis County, Kansas," Agricultural History, 51 (1977), pp. 38-50; Timothy Kloberdanz, "Plainsmen of Three Continents: Volga German Adaptation to Steppe, Prairie and

Pampa," Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. Frederick Luebke (Lincoln, 1980), pp. 54-72; D. Aiden McQuillan, "Territory and Ethnic Indentity," European Settlement and Development in North America, ed. James Gibson (Toronto, 1978), pp. 136-169; Robert Ostergren, A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915 (Madison, 1988).

5. Reimer, 75th Gedenkfeier, p. 155; Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements"; Loewen, Blumenort, p. 8.

6. Gerhard Kornelson, "Tagebuch, 1882-1900," Dave K. Schellenberg, Steinbach, MB.

7. Conzen, "Historical Approaches, pp. 1-18; Richard Friesen, "Saskatchewan Mennonite Settlements," Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (1977), pp. 78-90.

8. Eidse, Furrows, p. 325.

9. Schmidt, "Mennonites of Nebraska," p. 20; Miller, "Jansen," p. 191.

10. "Numerical Index, Cub Creek Precinct," Fairbury County Courthouse, Fairbury, NE.

11. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 75; Miller, "Jansen," p. 7.

12. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I, p. 210; Smith, Story of the Mennonites, p. 428.

13. Norman Buchignani, Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity (Toronto, 1982), p. 5.

14. Frederick Barth, Introduction, Ethnic Group Settlements and Boundaries (Oslo, 1969), pp. 9 & 10.

15. Virginia Yans McLaughlin, Family and Community (Cornell, 1971); Tamara Hareven, "The Laborers of Manchester," Labor History 17 (1978), pp. 99-108.

16. Robert Harney, "Ambiente and Social Class in North American Little Italies," Canadian Review in Studies of Nationalism 2 (1975), pp. 208-224; Alan Artibise, "The Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society," The Canadian City, ed. G. Stetler and A. Artibise (Toronto, 1966), pp. 300-336.

17. Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Realtions of Immigrants," American Journal of Sociology (1964), pp. 193-204.

18. Morawska, For Bread With Butter; June Alexander, "Staying Together: Chain Migration and Patterns of Slovak Settlement in Pittsburgh Prior to World War I," Journal of American Ethnic History 1 (1981), pp. 56-83; Kathleen Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic Identity," Journal of American History 66 (1979), pp. 603-615.

19. Jacob Barkman to Peter Toews, October 21, 1874, PPTP.

20. Mennonitische Rundschau (September 5, 1880).

21. Jacob Klassen to Heinrich Ratzlaff, October 4, 1874, JKLP.

22. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I, p. 191; Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 93; Dawson, Group Settlement, p. 98.

23. Doerksen, "Tagebuch."

24. Eidse, Furrows, p. 458.

25. Warkentin, Reflections, p. 311ff.

26. Ibid., pp. 37 & 41.

27. Peter W. Toews to Peter P. Toews, January 12, 1875, PPTP.

28. Homestead Patent Application Forms, 32-6-5E, Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Winnipeg.

29. Fred Stafford, "Jefferson County and Fairbury, Nebraska, 1850-1900" (MA Thesis, University of Nebraska, 1948), p. 208.

30. Klassen to Ratzlaff.

31. Stafford, "Jefferson County," p. 61.

32. Miller, "Jansen," p. 43.

33. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the U.S.," p. 99.

34. Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant, pp. 140-176.

35. Peter Loewen, "Tagebuch," p. 8.
36. Peter Jansen, Memoirs of Peter Jansen (Beatrice, NE, 1921), p. 43.
37. Francis, Search of Utopia, pp. 22, 107, 128, 194.
38. Toews, "Anhang," p. 63-64.
39. Reimer, 75th Gedenkfeier, p. 48.
40. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 36.
41. Reimer, 75th Gedenkfeier, p. 109.
42. Schlabach, Peace, Faith, Nation, p. 273.
43. Homestead Patent Application Forms.
44. Reimer, Gedenkfeier, p. 38.
45. In Gruenfeld where some farmers like Peter Dueck were forced to borrow $22.50 for food and seed from a special federal government fund after the crop failure of 1875 others had the means to loan money to neighbours and build frame houses. See: Reimer, Gedenkfeier, p. 48; C. Loewen, "Tagebuch."
46. Francis, Search of Utopia, p. 107.
47. Warkentin, Reflections, p. 41; Eidse, Furrows, p. 325.
48. Numerical Index.
49. Herald of Truth (December, 1877), Hiebert, Brothers, p. 334.
50. Horn, English Rural World, p. 196; Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant, p. 121.
51. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 9; Numerical Index.
52. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," August 1873; October 1873; Reimer, "Denkschrift."
53. Plett, Plett Picture Book, p. 18ff;
54. John B. Toews, "Erinnerungen aus dem Pionierleber," 75th Gedenkfeier; Homestead Patent Applications, 7-6E.
55. Ratzlaff, "Memoirs," p. 13.
56. Reimer, 75th Gedenkfeier, p. 24; A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," March 4, 1879; Klaas R. Friesen, "Predigtbuch, 1866-1882," Bernard O. Kroeker Papers, Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, Nebraska.
57. Peter Toews to the Manitoba Gemeinde, October 22, 1874, Plett, Storm and Triumph, p. 333.
58. Timothy Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," American Historical Review 83 (1978), p. 1181.
59. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 39.
60. Johann Wiebe, Die Auswanderung von Russland nach Kanada, 1875: In Form einer Predigt, 1875 (Cuauhtemoc, Chihuahua, MX, 1972), p. 5.
61. Schroeder, Bergthal, p. 59.
62. Wiebe, Causes and History, pp. 1 & 47.
63. Toews, "Anhang," p. 37.
64. Ibid., p. 71.
65. Toews to Manitoba Gemeinde, August 8, 1873, Storm and Triumph, p. 304.
66. Klaas Friesen, "Eine Predigt," 1875, Bernard O. Kroeker Papers, Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, Nebraska.
67. The original copies of these letters and the church register are deposited in the Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, Newton, Kansas. Copies of these sources are located in the Evangelical Mennonite Archives, Steinbach, Manitoba.
68. Jacob Barkman to Peter Toews, January 1, 1875, PPT; Reimer, 75th Gedenkfeier, p. 30; Reimer, "Tagebuch," May 4, 1879.
69. Toews, "Diary," September 14, 1873.
70. Ibid., December 27, 1877.
71. Toews, "Diary," passim.
72. Herald of Truth (May 1878), Hiebert, Brothers, p. 343.
73. Quoted in Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 26.
74. Gerhard Kornelson, "Denkschrift," Gerhard Kornelson Papers, Dave Schellenberg, Steinbach, MB; "Schule Kontract," Blumenort Village Papers, EMCA; Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 21.

75. Toews, "Dairy," November 19, 1875.
76. Reimer, Gedenkfeier, p. 73.
77. Toews, "Diary," September 29, 1878.
78. Reimer, Gedenkfeier, p. 39; Wiebe, Causes and History, p. 55; Dennis Stoesz, "The Chortitzer Mennonite Church," (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1988), p. 134; Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 164
79. Toews, "Dairy," January 6, 1877.
80. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," January 1875.
81. Toews, "Diary," December 27, 1877; January, 11, 1877; Reimer, Gedenkfeier, p. 39.
82. Reimer, Gedenkfeier, p. 39; Toews, "Dairy."
83. Blumenort Dorfsgemeinde Verbindungsschrift, 1878, Blumenort Village Papers, EMCA.
84. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," May 1879.
85. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 84.
86. Smith, Story of the Mennonites, p. 660.
87. Stafford, "Fairbury," p. 96.
88. School Census Records, Cub Creek, Fairbury County Courthouse.
89. Schmidt, "Mennonites in Nebraska," p. 40.
90. Miller, "Jansen," p. 246; Interview with Hulda Hubert, Jansen, NE, October 1987; Mennonite Encyclopedia, "Education," II, p. 151.
91. Daniel J. Classen, "The Kleine Gemeinde of Meade, Kansas," (Research Paper, Bethel College, Newton, KS, 1949), p. 16.
92. Mennonitische Rundschau, May 5, 1880; Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 90.
93. Klaas R. Friesen, "Oster Predigt, 1864," Bernard O. Kroeker Papers, Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, NE.
94. Quoted in Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 114.
95. Olson, Nebraska, pp. 83 & 155.
96. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 117.

7 IMMIGRANT FAMILIES AND PIONEER WOMEN

1. McLaughlin, Family and Community, p. 262.
2. Hareven, "Laborers of Manchester," p. 265.
3. J.E. Smith, "Our Own Kind: Family and Community Networks in Providence," Radical History Review 17 (1978) pp. 99-108.
4. John Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants to Urban America (Bloomington, 1985), p. 84.
5. Cornelius Toews to "Beloved Brothers," May 31, 1873, Storm and Triumph, p. 299.
6. Ratzlaff, "Memoirs," p. 7.
7. Loc. cit.
8. Toews to Toews, January 1, 1875.
9. Kroeker, "Denkschrift."
10. Klaas J.B. Reimer, "Historical Sketches of Steinbach and District Pioneers," Reflections on Our Heritage, Warkentin, p. 34.
11. Jacob Barkman to Peter Toews, October 21, 1874, PPT.
12. Ratzlaff, "Memoirs," p. 14.
13. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 121.
14. Sara Friesen to Johann Janzen, November 6, 1874, JKL.
15. Member of a clan or family in this section is defined as a direct relative; that is a member is a sibling, child, grandchild, or parent of the clan head. Cousins, uncles or aunts, nieces and nephews are not included under "family member."

16. Reimer, 65 Jubilaeum, p. 38.
17. A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch."
18. Letters from Jacob Klassen to Johann Janzen, JKL; Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," p. 127.
19. Heinrich Enns to "Dear Sisters," January, 1877, Abram M. Friesen Papers, EMCA Steinbach.
20. Elisabeth Loewen to Peter and Schwagersche Loewen, November 1877, JKL.
21. Reimer, Familienregister, p. 369; Loewen, Blumenort, p. 272; Plett, Plett Picture Book, p. 41; Eidse, Furrows, p. 417.
22. Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 39; Daily State Journal (August 14, 1874), Hiebert, Brothers, p. 166.
23. Helena Friesen Jansen, Toronto to Peter Toews, Borosenko, March 15, 1874, PPT.
24. Reimer, "Tagebuch," April 14, 1874.
25. Johann Dueck to Peter Toews, May 1874, PPT.
26. A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch."
27. Reimer, "Tagebuch," June 22, 1879; April 3, 1879.
28. Sara Janzen to "Liebe Kinder" Johann Janzens, December 23, 1876, JKL.
29. Katherina Klassen to "Liebe" Isaac W. Loewens, February 1, 1877, JKL.
30. Elisabeth Loewen to Peter and "Schwagersche" Loewen, JKL.
31. Stephanie Coontz and Peta Anderson, Women's Work: Men's Property (London, 1985), p. 136.
32. Thistlethwaite, "Migration Overseas," p. 75; Alexander, "Staying Together."
33. East Reserve "Brandverordnung Rechnungsbuch, 1874-1890," Henry Fast, Steinbach, MB; Tax Rolls 7-6E, 6-6E, 5-6E, 1881, Rural Municipality of Hanover, Steinbach, MB.
34. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 27ff.
35. Ibid.; Toews, "Genealogy Register," p. 5ff.
36. Sara Jansen to "Liebe Kinder in Manitoba," October 5, 1874, JKL.
37. "Schwager" Klassen to Heinrich Ratzlaff, January 10, 1875, JKL.
38. Sara Janzen to "Liebe Kinder," March 2, 1875, JKL; Ibid., March 11, 1875; Ibid., February 12, 1879.
39. Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 26.
40. Aganetha Penner to Margaretha Janzen, August 12, 1875, JKL.
41. Francis, Search of Utopia, p. 77.
42. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 135.
43. "Census of the United States, 1880," Jefferson County, Nebraska, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NE.
44. Loewen, Genealogy of Isaac Loewen; Abram P. Friesen, ed., The Von Riesen-Friesen Genealogy: 1756-1966 (Steinbach, 1971); Frank P. Wiebe, ed., Jacob Wiebe: 1799-1856 (Mount Lehman, British Columbia); Reimer, Familienregister; C.W. Friesen, ed., The Peter Penner Genealogy: 1816 (Steinbach, 1973).
45. Cornelius Toews to Peter Toews, August 1874, PPT.
46. Sara Friesen to Johann Janzen.
47. Sara Janzen to "Liebe Kinder," October 5, 1874, JKL.
48. Sara Janzen to "Liebe Kinder" Johann Janzens, December 23, 1876, JKL.
49. Cornelius and Sara Friesen to Johann Janzens, June 23, 1877, JKL.
50. Heinrich and Anna Ratzlaff to Johann Janzen, June 25, 1877, JKL.
51. Sara Janzen to "Liebe Kinder," March 11, 1875, JKL.
52. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," May 28, 1879; June 4, 1879.
53. Isaac Loewen to Peter Loewen, June 11, 1877, JKL.
54. Wiebe, Causes and History, p. 109.
55. Peter W. Toews to Peter P. Toews, January 12, 1875, PPT.

56. J.W. Down, "Report on Colonization in Manitoba," Report of Minister of Agriculture, Hiebert, Brothers, p. 299.
57. Homestead Patent Applications, op.cit.
58. Sara Friesen to Johann Janzen, November 6, 1874, JKL.
59. Katherine Klassen to "Geschwister" Janzens, Loewens, and Ratzlaffs, January 10, 1875, JKL.
60. The Chicago Daily Tribune (January 5, 1875), Hiebert, Brothers, p. 205.
61. Heinrich Ratzlaff to Johann Janzen, November 14, 1875, JKL.
62. Jacob Barkman to Peter Toews.
63. Sara Friesen to Johann Janzens.
64. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 76.
65. Anna Ratzlaff to Johann Janzens.
66. Elisabeth Loewen to Peter and "Schwagersche" Loewen.

8 REESTABLISHING THE FAMILY FARM IN A NEW LAND

1. Dawson, Group Settlement, p. 136.
2. E.K. Francis, "The Adjustment of a Peasant Group to a Capitalist Economy: The Manitoba Mennonites," Rural Sociology 17 (1952), pp. 218-228.
3. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," pp. iii & 211.
4. For a discussion of the term "household commodity production" see Chapter 4 and works by Harriet Friedmann and Max Hedley.
5. Toews, "Anhang," p. 67.
6. Jacob Klassen to Heinrich Ratzlaff, October 4, 1874, JKL.
7. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 48.
8. Jacob Klassen to Johann Janzen, June 10, 1875, JKL.
9. Johann Isaac to Heinrich Ratzlaff, December 29, 1874, JKL.
10. Nebraska Ansiedler, March, 1879.
11. Peter W. Toews to Peter P. Toews, January 12, 1875, PPT.
12. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 40.
13. Bowden, "Changes in Land Use," p. 48.
14. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 41.
15. Bowden, "Changes in Land Use," p. 64.
16. Ibid., p. 22.
17. Frank K. Wiebe, ed., The Family Book of David and Aganetha Klassen (Rosenort, MB, 1974), p. 10.
18. David Klassen et. al. to the Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa, July 23, 1873, Hiebert, Brothers, p. 61.
19. Ratzlaff, "Memoirs," p. 11.
20. Johann Dueck to Peter Toews, August 24, 1874, PPT; Heinrich Reimer to Peter Dueck, September 1, 1874, PPT.
21. "Surveyors' Field Notebooks, 1872," Maps and Surveys Branch, Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Winnipeg, MB.
22. Ratzlaff, "Memoirs," p. 12.
23. "Surveyors' Field Notes."
24. Abram Klassen to Peter Toews, June 18, 1874, PPT.
25. Ratzlaff, "Memoirs," p. 14.
26. Hiebert, Brothers, pp. 166 & 184; Warkentin, Reflections, p. 22.
27. Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 26; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I, p. 195 & 216.
28. Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," January 28, 1875, p. 114.
29. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," February 25, 1871.
30. Smith, Story of the Mennonites, p. 290.
31. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," October 1873.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.

34. Peter Loewen, "Tagebuch"; Klaas Friesen, "Tagebuch."
35. Peter W. Toews to Peter P. Toews, July 8, 1874, PPT.
36. Fast, Mitteilungen, p. 71.
37. Toews, "Diary," June 26, 1875.
38. A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch," July 20, 1876; Isaac W. Toews, "Aus Und Einwanderung," 60 Jubilaeum, p. 38.
39. Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," p. 120ff.
40. Dietrich Friesen to Heinrich Ratzlaff, December 29, 1874, JKL.
41. Kleine Gemeinde Rechnungsbuch.
42. Toews, "Diary," January 6, 1877.
43. Ibid., July 2, 1878.
44. Jacob Y. Shantz to "Liebe Brueder in Swift," March 21, 1875, JKL; David Klassen, "Rechnungsbuch," pp. 6 & 135.
45. Jacob Wiebe to Peter Toews, August 8, 1874, PPT.
46. Ratzlaff, "Memoirs," p. 15.
47. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," June 29, 1879; Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 40.
48. Homestead Patent Application Forms, 6-6E; Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 24; Eidse, Furrows, p. 325; Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," May 16, 1879.
49. Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 24; A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch," September 10, 1877; Elisabeth Loewen to Peter und Schwagershe Loewen.
50. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," July 24, 1873; May 16, 1879.
51. Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 23.
52. Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," January 8, 1877, p. 125.
53. Ibid., November 8, 1878; A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch," October 17, 1878.
54. Gerhard F. Wiebe, "Aufschwung im Wirtscaftsleben der Mennonitische Ostreserve," 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 108.
55. Isaac F. Warkentin, "Vorgeschichte Unseres Volkes," 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 24.
56. A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch," June 16, 1876.
57. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," March 16, 1879; Ibid., April, 1879; Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch."
58. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," June 9, 1879; Wiebe, Causes and History, p. 108.
59. See diaries of A.R. Friesen, C. Loewen and A. Reimer.
60. Bowden, "Changes in Land Use," p. 42.
61. Schmidt, "Mennonites in Nebraska," p. 48.
62. Stafford, "Jefferson County," p. 49.
63. Schmidt, "Mennonites in Nebraska," p. 48.
64. Jacob Klassen to Johann Janzen, June 10, 1875, JKL.
65. Schmidt, "Mennonites in Nebraska," p. 49.
66. Cornelius Friesen to "Liebe Mutter" Cornelius Janzen, March 31, 1878, JKL.
67. Bowden, "Changes in Land Use," pp. 81, 202, 82.
68. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 42.
69. Jacob Klassen to Heinrich Ratzlaff, June 1875, JKL.
70. Nebraska Ansiedler, February, 1879.
71. Bowden, "Changes in Land Use," p. 87.
72. Cornelius Friesen to Johann Janzen, March 1878, JKL.
73. Schmidt, "Mennonites in Nebraska," p. 90.
74. Nebraska Ansiedler, September, 1878.
75. Cornelius Friesen to Heinrich Ratzlaff, June 9, 1875, JKL;
76. Jacob Klassen to Heinrich Ratzlaff, January 10, 1875, JKL.
77. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 33.
78. Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," August 24, 1874.
79. Reimer, "Historical Sketches," p. 34.
80. J.W. Down, "Report on Colonization in Manitoba, August 2, 1876," Report of Minister of Agriculture, Hiebert, Brothers, p. 299.
81. Reimer, "Historical Sketches," p. 23; Warkentin, Reflections, p. 36; Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," p. 126.

82. Peter J. Loewen, "Ruckerinnerungen, 1890-1960," Henry Loewen, Meade, Kansas, p. 3.
83. Johann R. Dueck, "Mitteilungen aus dem Pionierleben," 60 Jubilaeum, p. 20.
84. Toews, "Diary," January 6, 1877.
85. Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 30; Friesen, Von-Riesen Friesen, p. 136.
86. Loewen, Blumenort, p. 149 & 159; Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, p. 21.
87. Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch"; Herold of Truth, August, 1874, Hiebert, Brothers, p. 174.
88. Klassen to Ratzlaff, October 4, 1874, JKL; Klassen to Janzen, June 10, 1875, JKL; Friesen to Janzen, March 31, 1878, JKL.
89. Barkman to Toews, October 21, 1874, PPT.
90. Wiebe, Causes and History, p. 110.
91. Down, "Report on Colonization," Hiebert, Brothers, p. 299.
92. Reimer, 60 Jubilaeum, pp. 21 & 27; Wiebe, Causes and History, p. 111.

PART THREE INTRODUCTION

1. The term "Molochnaia-Borosenko", "Molochnaia Mennonite", or "Kleine Gemeinde descendent community" are used in Part III because around 1880 the homogeneity of the Kleine Gemeinde communities was broken by three different schismatic church groups. The Kleine Gemeinde communities thus no longer were synonymous with the Kleine Gemeinde congregation.

9 THE STRATEGY OF MIXED FARMING DURING THE FIRST GENERATION

1. Gerald Friesen, "Imports and Exports in the Manitoba Economy, 1870- 1890," Manitoba History 16 (1988), pp. 31-41.
2. Bowden, "Jefferson County," passim; Stafford, "Fairbury," passim.
3. A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch."
4. Rundschau, July 15, 1881.
5. Ibid., September 15, 1881.
6. Ibid., December 8, 1886.
7. Loewen, "Tagebuch"; Kornelson, "Tagebuch"; A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch."
8. K. Reimer, diary, September, 1880; Abram M. Friesen, "Tagebuch," Peter Friesen, Ste. Anne, Manitoba.
9. Canada Census, Nominal Rolls, 1881, Provencher and Morris, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
10. Peter F. Unger, "Denkschrift, 1930," EMCA, Steinbach.
11. Rundschau, August 13, 1884.
12. Ibid., September 29, 1886.
13. Ibid., August 20, 1884.
14. Ibid., September 10, 1890.
15. Ibid., March 15, 1884; Hanover Tax Rolls, 1883 & 1884.
16. Eidse, Furrows in the Valley, p. 395.
17. Rundschau, July 15, 1881.
18. Ibid, May 26, 1886; Ibid., October 13, 1886.
19. Ibid., March 25, 1885.
20. Ibid., May 15, 1882.
21. Ibid., April 25, 1888.
22. Ibid., November 10, 1896.

23. Ibid., July 1, 1884.
24. Kornelson, "Tagebuch," October 31, 1888.
25. Rudnschau, July 15, 1888; Ibid., March 19, 1881.
26. Ibid., November 29, 1880.
27. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch"; Kornelson, "Tagebuch"; A.M. Friesen, "Tagebuch"; Peter Friesen, "Rechnungsbuch, 1890-1920," Albert Friesen, Kleefeld, Manitoba.
28. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 262.
29. Rundschau, February 12, 1881.
30. Ibid., December 15, 1883.
31. Ibid., February 1, 1884.
32. Ibid., April 10, 1889.
33. Gjerde, Peasants to Farmers, p. 177; Voisey, Vulcan, p. 99.
34. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," pp. 181 & 188.
35. Rundschau, June 10, 1885.
36. Loewen, "Tagebuch"; Kornelson, "Tagebuch"; A.M. Friesen, "Tagebuch"; Klassen, "Rechnungsbuch."
37. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," pp. 183 & 192.
38. Johann G. Barkman, The Diary of Johan G. Barkman, 1858-1937 Tr. & Ed. Waldon Barkman (Steinbach, 1988), p. 108.
39. Rundschau, September 15, 1881.
40. Tax Roll, 7-6E, 1883; Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 255.
41. Ibid.; Klassen, "Rechnungsbuch."
42. Rundschau, February 1, 1884.
43. Rundschau, November 26, 1880; December 14, 1898; Dick, Farmers Making Good, p. 88; Ernest Ingles, "The Custom Threshermen in Western Canada, 1890-1925," Building Beyond the Homestead, ed. D. Jones & I. MacPherson (Calgary, 1985), p. 146.
44. Rundschau, August 15, 1881; Klassen, "Rechnungsbuch," p. 52.
45. Unger, "Denkschrift," p. 2.
46. Rundschau, August 10, 1887; Barkman, Diary, p. 65.
47. Die Nordwesten, September 11, 1891.
48. Rundschau, February 1, 1884.
49. Tax Rolls, 7-6E, 6-6E, 5-6E, 1883; C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," July 7, 1880.
50. Kornelson, "Tagebuch."
51. A. Reimer, "Tagebuch," February 26, 1888; Kornelson, "Tagebuch," October 29, 1890.
52. Isaac E. Loewen to Cornelius B. Loewen, August 15, 1891, Delbert Plett, Steinbach.
53. P. Loewen, "Tagebuch," p. 9; Dueck, "History and Events," p. 125; Reimer, 60 Jaehrige Jubilaeum, p. 35ff.
54. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," June 1882; A.M. Friesen, "Tagebuch," June 3, 1891.
55. Tax Rolls, 1883 & 1906; Census of the United States, Nebraska, Jefferson County, Cub Creek Precinct, Schedule 2, Productions of Agriculture, 1885, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln (henceforth NSHS); Rempel, "Mennonite Colonies," p. 255.
56. Peter J. Loewen, "Rueckerinnerungen, 1880-1956," Lena Loewen, Meade, KS, p. 145;
57. Interview with John C. Reimer, November, 1988.
58. A.M. Friesen, "Tagebuch," September, 1905.
59. Tax Rolls, 1883 & 1906.
60. Kornelson, "Tagebuch"; Abram Dueck to Johann Dueck, June 1887, ALD.
61. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 183.
62. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch."
63. Blumenhof Dorfsrechnungbuch, Blumenhof Village Papers, EMCA, Steinbach.
64. Reimer, "Historical Sketches," p. 49.
65. Kornelson, "Tagebuch," March 1888.

66. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 202.
67. Kornelson, "Tagebuch."
68. Abram R. Reimer, "Rechnungsbuch, 1879-1891," EMCA.
69. Rundschau, March 5, 1881.
70. Ibid., February 13, 1889.
71. Unger, "Denkschrift," p. 3.
72. Abram Dueck to Cornelius Friesen, April 27, 1896, ALD.
73. Majorie Griffen Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," Histoire Sociale/Social History 34 (1984), pp. 307-334.
74. Klaas R. Reimer to Johann Willms, March 1, 1890, Klaas R. Reimer Papers, EMCA.
75. Die Nordwesten, September 5, 1890.
76. Unger, "Denkschrift," p. 8.
77. U.S. Census, Agricultural Production, 1880.
78. Maria Enns to Gerhard Kornelson, May 1881, Gerhard Kornelson Papers, Dave Schellenberg, Steinbach.
79. Rundschau, November 1, 1881.
80. Bowden, "Jefferson County," pp. 104, 107, 177.
81. Jacob Enns to Kornelson, January 19, 1880, G. Kornelson Papers.
82. Enns to Kornelson, February 4, 1884, ibid.
83. Rundschau, May 20, 1885.
84. Jacob Friesen to Johann Janzen, June 12, 1893, JKL.
85. Tax Rolls, 1884.
86. Rundschau, August 15, 1883.
87. Heinrich Ratzaff to Cornelius Ratzlaff, July 4, 1891, JKL.
88. Loewen to Loewen, August 15, 1891.
89. Census, Agricultural Production, 1880 & 1885.
90. Beatrice Express, September 10, 1874; U.S. Census, 1885.
91. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 55.
92. Rundschau, May 1, 1883.
93. Klassens to Johann Janzens, March 31, 1882, JKL.
94. Stafford, "Jefferson County," p. 49.
95. Rundschau, February 15, 1884.
96. Klassen to Janzen, n.d., ca1886, JKL.
97. Quoted in Olson, Nebraska, p. 198.
98. Cornelius Friesen to Johann Janzen, November 24, 1896, JKL.
99. Bowden, "Jefferson County," p. 135.
100. Rundschau, May 30, 1900.
101. Ibid., May 6, 1903,
102. Ibid., November 11, 1903; December 23, 1903.
103. Stafford, "Fairbury," p. 61.
104. Rundschau, August 1, 1900; January 1, 1903; January 7, 1903.
105. Bowden, "Jefferson County," p. 132.
106. For a discussion of this phenomenon see: John Rice, "The Role of Culture and Community in Frontier Prairie Farming," Journal of Historical Geography 3 (1977), p. 165.

10 THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF MARKET FARMING

1. Toews, "Anhang," p. 67.
2. Rundschau, January 20, 1886. It seems that this provision was made after local application to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands for homesteading privileges on "cancelled lands." See: John Langton Tyman, By Section, Township, and Range: Studies in Prairie Settlement (Brandon, MB, 1972), p. 151.
3. Henry Fast, "Gruenfeld," (Research Paper, East Reserve Village History Symposium, Steinbach, MB, February 1989).
4. Land Title Abstracts, Land Titles Office, Winnipeg.
5. Stafford, "Fairbury," p. 61.
6. Nebraska Ansiedler, July 1, 1879.
7. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 111.
8. Bowden, "Jefferson County," p. 125.
9. David Klassen, "Rechnungsbuch," p. 51; Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the U.S.," p. 39.
10. Cornelius Friesen to Johann Janzen, 1896, JKL.
11. Rundschau, March 9, 1904.
12. Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," p. 74.
13. D. Klassen, "Rechnungsbuch," p. 17; Land Title Abstracts, op.cit.
14. Rundschau, April 8, 1896; July 7, 1899; July 29, 1899.
15. Land Title Abstracts; Nordwesten, March 18, 1892; August 27, 1903; July 27, 1905.
16. Rundschau, February 1, 1884.
17. Ibid., October 7, 1903.
18. Mick Reed, "The Peasantry of Nineteenth Centuy England: A Neglected Class?" History Workshop Journal 18, 1984, pp. 53-76; Henretta, "Families and Farms."
19. Homestead Registration Maps, 7-6E, 6-6E, 5-6E, Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Maps and Surveys Branch, Winnipeg; Agicultural Census, Cub Creek, 1880; Hanover Tax Roll, 1898; Land Platte, 1900, Cub Creek, County Court House, Fairbury, Nebraska.
20. Hanover Tax Roll, 1898; Population Census, Cub Creek, 1900; Land Platte, Cub Creek, 1900.
21. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the U.S." p. 102; Rundschau, July 20, 1904.
22. Hanover Tax Roll, 1883, 1898, 1906; C.W. Friesen and Peter Penner, The Peter Penner Genealogy, 1816, Steinbach, MB, pp. 83-190.
23. Kornelson, "Tagebuch."
24. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," May 1, 1892.
25. Cornelius Loewen, "Tagebuch," July 1882, p. 198; Abram Dueck to Heinrich Rempel, 1884, ALD; Kornelson, "Tagebuch," August 10, 1888; A.M. Friesen, "Tagebuch," December 5, 1888.
26. David Klassen, "Rechnungsbuch," pp. 27 & 59.
27. Abram Dueck to Bernard Penner, 1887, ALD.
28. Cornelius Friesen to Abram Dueck, April 28, 1896, ALD.
29. Homestead Patent Applications; Land Title Abstracts.
30. Land Title Abstracts.
31. David Klassen to William Hespeler, 1889, David Klassen, "Rechnungsbuch," p. 82.
32. Numerical Index, Cub Creek Precinct, County Courthouse, Fairbury, NE.
33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.
35. Homestead Patent Applications, 6-6E.
36. Nebraska Ansiedler, March 1880.
37. County Court Docket, County Court, Fairbury County Court House, Fairbury, NE.
38. Rundschau, April 30, 1890.
39. Ibid., January 22, 1890.
40. Cornelius and Maria Friesen to Johann Janzens, March 16, 1896, JKL; Friesen to Janzens, November 24, 1896, JKL.
41. Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (New York, 1970), p. 80.
42. E.K. Francis, "In Search of Utopia," (Unpublished draft), N47, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB.
43. Kornelson, "Tagebuch, 1881-1888," pp. 54-80.
44. Jacob Enns to Gerhard Kornelson, February 4, 1884, Gerhard Kornelson Papers, EMCA.
45. Kornelson, "Tagebuch,"; Peter Reimer, "Rechnungsbuch, 1892-1918," David P. Reimer Papers, Gerhard Reimer, Goshen, IN.
46. Rundschau, June 1885; Peter Friesen, "Rechnungsbuch."
47. Abram Dueck to Johann Dueck, August 1887, ALD.
48. Kornelson, "Tagebuch," October 26 & November 1, 1888.
49. A.M. Friesen, April 14, 1884; Eidse, Furrows, p. 438; Peter Reimer, "Rechnungsbuch."
50. See Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," Kornelson, "Tagebuch," A.M. Friesen, "Tagebuch."
51. Eidse, Furrows, p. 416; Loewen, Blumenort, pp. 119ff; Friesen, Von Riesen Friesen p. 205.
52. Eidse, Furrows, pp. 455 & 466; Rundschau, December 14, 1892.
53. Kornelson, "Tagebuch"; A.M. Friesen, "Tagebuch," October 6, 1884; Johann Janzen to Mary Hill, October 19, 1900, JKL.
54. Warkentin, Reflections, pp. 320 & 358.
55. John Lehr, "'The Peculiar People': Ukrainian Settlement of Marginal Lands in Southeastern Manitoba," Building Beyond the Homestead, ed. D. Jones and I. MacPherson (Calgary, 1985), p. 32.
56. Reimer, 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 34; Warkentin Reflections, p. 83; Loewen, Blumenort, p. 284.
57. Fast, Mitteilungen, p. 73.
53 Nebraska Ansiedler, March 1880.
59. Reimer, Familienregister, p. 359.
60. Population Census, Cub Creek, 1880.
61. Margaretha Friesen to "Onkel und Tante" Janzen, July 24, 1893, JKL.
62. Isaac E. Loewen to Cornelius B. Loewen, August 1891, Delbert Plett, Steinbach, MB.
63. Rundschau, February 4, 1885.
64. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 53.
65. East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde "Familienregister, 1890-1905"; Population Census, Cub Creek, 1900.
66. East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde Seelenliste, 1894-1903, EMCA, Steinbach; Rundschau, January 7, 1903; January 1, 1904; Helmut Huebert, Hierschau: An Example of Russian Mennonite Life (Winnipeg, 1986), p. 72.
67. Hanover Tax Roll, 1898; Population Census, Cub Creek, 1900.
68. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 207.
69. Unger, "Denkschrift, 1929."
70. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 119; see also Nordwesten, July 7, 1904.
71. Rundschau, May 18, 1899; the first record of a Steinbach farmer leaving the village dates from 1895 when Jacob S. Friesen is said to have sold lot # 7 in Steinbach and purchased a farm from John Peterson in Clearspring. See Regehr, Family Book, n.p.

72. Plett, Golden Years, p. 185; Storm and Triumph, p. 28. In Manitoba the farmers who had farmed contiguous blocks of land in Russia, Johann Koop and Cornelius Plett, were among the first to acquire lands outside of the village system - Koop in 1878 and Plett in 1882.

73. Reimer, 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 158. For examples of the "four corner hamlet" in the American Middle West see Ostergren, "Community Transplanted," and Rice, "Culture and Community." Neuanlage, Heuboden and Schoenau were early examples of the "four corner hamlet" in the East Reserve.

74. Blumenort Dorfsgemeinde Protokollbuch, 1881-1909, Blumenort Village Papers, EMCA, Steinbach.

75. Hanover Tax Roll, 7-6E, 1898.

76. Ibid.

77. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I, p. 212, 224 & 283ff.

78. Rundschau, December 16, 1885; April 24, 1889.

79. Ibid., June 29, 1889; April 10, 1889; October 29, 1889.

80. Nordwesten, February 23, 1899; John Dyck, "The Oregon Trail of the Manitoba Mennonites," Mennonite Historian 14 (September, 1988), p. 1-2.

81. Klassen, "Life Experiences," p. 17.

82. Nordwesten, April 10, 1902; April 27, 1902; Church of God in Christ Mennonite Publication Board, Histories of the Congregations (Hesston, Kansas, 1963), p. 155.

83. Klassen, "Life Experiences," p. 15.

84. Ibid.; Nordwesten, April 9, 1910; Reimer, 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 60.

85. Eidse, Furrows, pp. 418 & 447.

86. Nordwesten, August 1905; Reimer, Familienregister, p. 54; Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch, 1902-1919," EMCA, Steinbach, June 19, 1904; May 6, 1906; October 25, 1908; April 12, 1909; July 4, 1909.

87. Schmidt, "Nebraska Mennonites," p. 81; Population Census, Cub Creek, 1900; 1910.

88. Rundschau, July 29, 1885; February 20, 1890; June 4, 1890; September 24, 1890; December 26, 1900; March 20, 1901; Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the U.S.," p. 132; C.F. Plett, The Story of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church (Hillsboro, KS, 1985), p. 197.

89. Rundschau, July 1, 1900; December 26, 1900.

90. Ibid., January 1, 1900; February 23, 1910.

91. Rundschau, April 24, 1903; Nordwesten, June 17, 1903; April 28, 1903; G.S. Rempel, ed., A Historical Sketch of the Churches of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren (Rosthern, SK, 1939), p. 97; Marcus Hansen and John Brebner, The Mingling of the Canadian and American People (Toronto, 1940), pp. 240ff.

92. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the U.S.," p. 85ff.

93. Meade County Historical Society, Pioneer Stories of Meade County (Meade, KS, 1985), pp. 40 & 61.

94. Interview with C.J. Classen, Meade, KS, October 1987.

95. Meade, Pioneer Stories, p. 144.

96. Miller, "Jansen," pp. 190 & 339.

97. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 85.

98. Quoted in Ibid.

99. Isaak Loewen to Johann Janzen, February 23, 1904, JKL.

100. Meade, Pioneer Stories, p. 144.

11 STEINBACH AND JANSEN: A TALE OF TWO TOWNS

1. Hanover Tax Roll, 1898; Population Census, Jansen, 1900.
2. See Urry, None But Saints.
3. See Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant.
4. See Henretta, "Families and Farms."
5. See Breton, "Institutional Completeness."
6. Miller, "Jansen,"; Francis, In Search of Utopia, pp. 158ff.
7. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I, p. 223.
8. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago"; Harney, "Ambiente and Social Class"; Morawska, For Bread With Butter.
9. Lohrenz, Pictoral Survey, p. 191.
10. Peter T. Barkman, "Mitteilungen aus dem Pionierleben," Das 60 Jaehrige Jubilaeum, p. 34; Klaas Reimer to Jacob Willms, March 1, 1890, Klaas R. Reimer Papers, (henceforth KRR), EMCA.
11. Rundschau, September 20, 1890; C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," July 27, 1880; September, 1881.
12. Rundschau, December 5, 1880; February 5, 1881.
13. See Reimer, "Denkschrift,"; Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," March 13, 1873.
14. Rundschau, June 15, 1881.
15. Interview with John C. Reimer, November 1987; Warkentin, Our Heritage, p. 245.
16. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," pp. 58, 66-68.
17. Unger, "Denkschrift," p. 6.
18. Klaas Reimer to Peter Friesen, September 9, 1890, KRR.
19. Nordwesten, September 5, 1890; May 6, 1891; January 13, 1893; September 28, 1899.
20. Rural Municipality of Hanover, Council Minutes, 1902, RM of Hanover Office, Steinbach, MB.
21. Reimer to Willms, January 1, 1893 and September 9, 1893, KRR.
22. K. Reimer Sons, Account Book, 1905.
23. Reimer, "Denkschrift," February 27, 1895; April 15, 1895.
24. Nordwesten, August 26, 1892.
25. Reimer, "Denkschrift," August 15, 1892; Rundschau, August 31, 1892.
26. Rundschau, August 6, 1902; January 1, 1904.
27. Rundschau, December 20, 1895.
28. Warkentin, Our Heritage, p. 40; Rundschau, August 6, 1902.
29. Nordwesten, August 14, 1891.
30. Interview with John C. Reimer, Steinbach, December 1987; Warkentin, Our Heritage, p. 46; Peter W. Reimer to Gerhard Kornelson, March 12, 1904, Gerhard Kornelson Papers.
31. Reprinted in the Rundschau, June 27, 1894.
32. Ibid., April 8, 1898.
33. Ibid., June 10, 1901.
34. Ibid., February 25, 1903.
35. Nordwesten, June 3, 1898.
36. Abram Dueck to Heinrich Rempel, February 18, 1884, ALD; Nordwesten, September 2, 1897; Homestead Patent Applications, 5-6E.
37. Eidse, Furrows, p. 402.
38. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 187; Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 162; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I, p. 222.
39. C. Loewen, "Tagebuch," March 4, 1877; January 1, 1877.

40. See the "Tagebuecher," of C. Loewen, Kornelson, Abram Reimer, A.R. Friesen, and A.M. Friesen.

41. Homestead Patent Applications, 7-6E, 6-6E, 5-56E; Hanover Tax Rolls, 1881 & 1883.

42. Barkman, "Mitteilungen," p. 33.

43. Johann I. Friesen, "Mitteilungen aus dem Pionierleben," Das 60 Jaehrige Jubilaeum, p. 31.

44. Kornelson, "Tagebuch," pp. 135 & 136; January 20, 1885.

45. See Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch, 1870-1873,"; Reimer, "Denkschrift,"; Tax Rolls, 6-6-E, 1898.

46. Voisey, Vulcan, pp. 53ff. John Warkentin has suggested that the reason for Giroux's stagnation lay in the fact that the East Reserve was not a major wheat growing area. It would appear that Steinbach's well established merchants were another reason. See: Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 263.

47. Reimer, "Historical Sketches," p. 49.

48. Warkentin, Our Heritage, p. 44.

49. Examples of such transactions include the following: in 1881 Cornelius Loewen sold Reimer most of his 130 dozen eggs; in the spring of 1883 Abram R. Friesen sold Reimer around seven dozen eggs once a week; in 1884 Gerhard Kornelson sold Reimer $63.10 worth of farm goods in 11 different transactions and such items as "100 heads of cabbage which I took to Klaas Reimer for $5.00." See the diaries of C. Loewen, A.R. Friesen and Kornelson.

50. H.W. Reimer, "Rechnungsbuecher, 1890-1930," 34 Vols., Mennonite Heritage Village Archives, Steinbach, MB, Vol. II, 1891.

51. In times before the coming of banks merchants also established themselves as local sources of credit. Households that found themselves with capital not needed for immediate consumption would often deposit their cash with the church credit and debtors program, but others made deposits with local merchants. In April 1890 when Elisabeth Reimer of Blumenort married Heinrich Plett she became eligible for an inheritance dating back to 1872 when her mother died in Russia. The Pletts, not requiring the $376.18 at the moment, deposited it with the well-to-do blacksmithy owner A.S. Friesen. In January 1890 when Peter Barkman Jr., the young shareholder in the flour mill, deposited an undisclosed sum of money with merchant H.W. Reimer, he earned $20.68 in interest payments by the end of that year. See: H.W. Reimer, "Rechnungsbuch"; Peter Reimer, "Rechnungsbuch," April 1890.

52. Reimer to Willms, March 1, 1890, KRR.

53. C.B. Loewen, "Rechnungsbuch"; Barkman, "Mitteilungen," p. 34; Rundschau, April 20, 1904.

54. Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 147.

55. Hanover Tax Roll, 6-6E, 1881, 1891, 1898.

56. Reimer, 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 155; Other villages such as Blumenort had similar arrangements - see Isaac, Family Book, p. 19.

57. Heinrich Kornelson, "Steinbach Einst Und Jetzt," Steinbach Post (serialized weekly between March and April, 1916).

58. Interview with John C. Reimer, Steinbach, MB, November 1987.

59. Hanover Tax Roll, 6-6E, 1898 & 1906.

60. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," Dec 18, 1904; Jan 6, 1905.

61. East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde "Seelenliste"; Barkman, "Diary," p. 63; Wiebe, Jacob Wiebe.

62. Balzer, "Faith and Reason," tr. and ed. R. Friedmann, Mennonite Quarterly Review 22 (1948), p. 80; Pieter Pietersz, "Spiegel der Gierigkeit," Ausgewaehlte Schriften, ed. Abram L. Friesen (Elkart, IN, 1901), pp. 123-177.

63. Dueck, "History and Events," p. 86.

64. Abram Dueck to Jacob Dueck, April 8, 1897, ALD.

65. Unger, "Denkschrift," p. 2.

66. Klaas Reimer, "Tagebuch," February 4, 1895.

67. Riemer to Heinrich Friesen, March 9, 1895, KRR.

68. Klaas Reimer, "Tagebuch," March 17, 1895.

69. Kleine Gemeinde Lehrdienst, "Konferenzbeschluesse von anno 1899," ed. Klaas C. Penner, Belize, CA.
70. Barkman, "Mitteilungen," p. 35.
71. Rundschau, June 10, 1904.
72. Interview with John C. Reimer, November 1987.
73. Rundschau, April 11, 1906.
74. Dueck, "Tagebuch," May 14, 1905.
75. C.B. Loewen, "Rechnungsbuch," 1902; Municipal Council Minutes, 1902.
76. Unger, "Denkschrift," p. 6.
77. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," January 15, 1904.
78. Ibid., January 6, 1905.
79. A.R. Friesen, "Tagebuch"; H.W. Reimer, "Rechnungsbuch, 1891."
80. K. Reimer Sons, "Account Book, 1905."
81. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," January 15, 1904.
82. Ibid., December 18, 1904.
83. Reimer to Friesen, March 9, 1895, KRR.
84. Reimer to Warkentin, March 8, 1890, KRR.
85. Reimer to Harms, January 30, 1893, KRR.
86. Reimer to Gerhard Willms, March 2, 1886, KRR.
87. Reimer to Heinrich Friesen, April 15, 1895, KRR.
88. Reimer, "Denkschrift," p. 103.
89. Reimer to Rempel, February 1, 1890, KRR; Reimer to Willms, January 30, 1891, KRR; Reimer to Peter Fast, July 10, 1890, KRR.
90. Reimer to Harms, February 1, 1890, KRR.
91. Reimer to Aunt Mrs. Esau, February 15, 1890, KRR.
92. Reimer to Heinrich Unrau, n.d., 1890, KRR.
93. Reimer to Friesen, April 15, 1895, KRR.
94. Rundschau, March 1, 1906.
95. Interview with John C. Reimer, November 1987.
96. Dueck, "Tagebuch," February 13, 1906.
97. Stafford, "Fairbury," p. 50.
98. Jansen, Memoirs, pp. 44ff; Agricultural Census, Cub Creek, 1880 & 1885.
99. Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled, p. 131.
100. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 52.
101. Fast, Mitteilungen, p. 39; Rundschau, March 9, 1887; September 22, 1886; Jansen, ibid.
102. Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled, p. 137.
103. Ibid., p. 138.
104. Miller, "Jansen," p. 100.
105. Rundschau, January 5, 1887.
106. Rundschau, September 1887.
107. Ibid., January 1, 1903.
108. Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled, p. 138.
109. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in U.S.," p. 60.
110. Jansen, Memoirs, p. 52; Stafford, "Fairbury," p. 54; Interview with John Kroeker, Jansen, October 1987.
111. Miller, "Jansen," p. 103 & 261.
112. Rundschau, July 29, 1885; January 27, 1904.
113. Isaac E. Loewen to C.B. Loewen, August 15, 1891.
114. Rundschau, November 11, 1903.
115. Ibid., February 1, 1904.
116. Population Census, Cub Creek, 1900.
117. Rundschau, June 12, 1901.
118. Miller, "Jansen," p. 323.
119. Rundshau, March 20, 1901.
120. Miller, "Jansen," p. 312.
121. Population Census, Cub Creek, 1900 & 1910.

12 RELIGIOUS UPHEAVALS: STRATEGIES OF CONTINUITY

1. Urry, None But Saints; Theron Schlabach, Gospel Versus Gospel (Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1980); Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I.
2. Schlabach, Peace, Faith, Nation, p. 201.
3. Ibid., pp. 236 & 259.
4. Bodnar, The Transplanted, p. 150.
5. Vecoli, "Prelates and Peasants," p. 264.
6. Jon Gjerde, "Conflict and Community: A Case Study of the Immigrant Church in the United States," Journal of Social History 19 (1986), p. 682.
7. George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Ottawa, 1977), p. 157.
8. Linda Degh, "Folk Religion as Ideology for Ethnic Survival: The Hungarians of Kipling, Saskatchewan," Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. F. Luebke (Lincoln, 1980), p. 143.
9. Timothy Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," American Historical Review 83 (1978), pp. 1159 & 1165.
10. Nisbett, The Unit Ideas of Sociology, pp. 71ff.
11. Nebraska Ansiedler, December 1879.
12. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the USA," p. 66.
13. Mennonite Encyclopedia, Vol. IV, "Isaac Peters," p. 153.
14. For accounts of the founding of the Bruderthaler see Rempel, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren; Arnold Schultz, "A Centennial History of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference, 1889-1989," Unpublished Manuscript, Beatrice Schultz, Monteray, CA.
15. Ansiedler, February 1879.
16. Ibid., December 1879.
17. Toews to Beloved Brothers and Sisters, August 8, 1873, Storm and Triumph, p. 304.
18. Fast, Mitteilungen, p. 35.
19. Rempel, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, p. 88.
20. O.J. Wall, ed., A Concise Record of Our Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Annual Conference, 1889-1979 (Frazer, Montana, 1979), pp. 5 & 6.
21. Ed Schellenberg, "EMB Church Historian Report," (Unpublished Research Paper, Steinbach, 1985), p. 1.
22. Fast, Mitteilungen, p. 62.
23. Rempel, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, p. 79.
24. Plett, Krimmer, p. 33.
25. Rundschau, June 1880.
26. Ibid., January 20, 1881.
27. Epp, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, p. 89.
28. Fast, Mitteilungen, p. 36.
29. Fast, "The Kleine Gemeinde in the USA," p. 68.
30. Rundschau, July 18, 1884.
31. Ibid., December 7, 1887.
32. Maria Enns to Gerhard Kornelson, May 1, 1881, Gerhard Kornelson Papers.
33. Rundschau, July 15, 1883.
34. Rundschau, March 18, 1884.
35. Ibid., April 4, 1890.
36. Clarence Hiebert, The Holdeman People: The Church of God in Christ Mennonite, 1859-1969 (Hillsboro, KS, 1973), p. 148.
37. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 260.

38. Toews, "Sammlung von Briefen und Schriftliche Nachrichten zur Historie der Kleinen Gemeinde der Mennoniten, 1871 (Appendix II, 1900, pp. 1-7)," transcribed by P.A. Plett, EMCA, Steinbach.
39. Toews, "Diary," December 27, 1877.
40. Quoted in Hiebert, Holdeman People, p. 139.
41. Ibid., p. 143.
42. Quoted in Ibid., p. 146.
43. Toews, Memoirs, 1961, p. 11.
44. Cornelia Friesen to "Liebe Eltern," March 11, 1882, Gerhard Kornelson Papers.
45. Interview with Anna Baerg Koop, Blumenort, Manitoba, December 22, 1983.
46. Rundschau, March 10, 1899.
47. Ibid., August 1899.
48. Ibid., March 29, 1899.
49. John Holdeman, "Eine Geschichte der Gemeinde Gottes," Spiegel der Wahrheit (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1880), p. 178.
50. Quoted in Hiebert, The Holdeman People, p. 208.
51. Ibid.
52. Brother at Scratching River to Abram Dueck, March 1882, ALDP.
53. Rundschau, July 13, 1887.
54. Ibid., December 20, 1895.
55. Klaas Friesen, "Predigt," September 21, 1879, Bernard O. Kroeker Papers, Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, Nebraska.
56. Quoted in Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the USA," p. 120.
57. Jacob Klassen to Johann Janzen, n.d., ca1886, JKL.
58. Abram Reimer, "Tagebuch," December 12, 1880.
59. Klassen to Janzen, March 31, 1882, JKL.
60. Peter L. Dueck, "A Simple Declaration Regarding the Holdeman's Secession From Our Kleine Gemeinde, 1882," Abram R. Penner Papers, Delbert Plett, Steinbach, Manitoba, p. 3.
61. Johann F. Toews, Aufzeichnungen aus meiner Jugendzeit (Steinbach, 1928), p. 10.
62. Rundschau., February 15, 1884.
63. Ibid., June 14, 1882.
64. Ibid., July 14, 1882.
65. Peter Baerg, "Denkschrift, 1881-1890," Klaas C. Penner, Belize, CA., p. 2.
66. David Klassen to Peter Brandt, March 8, 1889, David Klassen Papers, p. 88.
67. Abram F. Thiessen to Isaac W. Loewen, n.d., Isaac W. Loewen Papers, Helen L. Loewen, Meade, Kansas, p. 137.
68. Kroeker, "Denkschrift, 1913."
69. Ibid.
70. Baerg, "Denkschrift."
71. Abram L. Friesen, "Predigt," February 1882, Tr. Dave Schellenberg, EMCA, Steinbach.
72. Kroeker, "Denschrift."
73. Loewen, "Denkshrift."
74. For a discussion of the concept of Gelassenheit see Sandra Cronk, "Gelassenheit: The Rites of the Redemptive Process in Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite Communities," Mennonite Quarterly Review 60 (1981), pp. 5-44.
75. Cornelius Friesen to Johann Janzen, May 31, 1892, JKL.
76. Abram Dueck to Bernard Rempel, March 1893, ALD.
77. Kroeker, "Denkschrift."
78. Kornelson, "Tagebuch."
79. Isaac J. Loewen to "Liebe Kinder," 1902, Peter K. Plett Papers, Blumenort, Manitoba.
80. Peter Peters, Ausgewaehlte Schriften, ed. Abram Friesen (Elkart, Indiana, 1901), p. 4; Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the USA," p. 128ff.

81. Rundschau, January 16, 1898.
82. Ibid., July 13, 1892.
83. Herald of Truth, June 18, 1892.
84. Rundschau, November 10, 1896.
85. Abram Dueck to Johann Wiebe, April 7, 1899, ALD; April 25, 1899.
86. Loewen, Blumenort, pp. 265-324.
87. "Konferenzbeschlusze, 1899."
88. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity," p. 1165.
89. James Juhnke, People of Two Kingdoms: The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites (Newton, Kansas, 1975).
90. Stafford, "Fairbury," p. 165.
91. Reimer and Gaeddert, Exiled, p. 142.
92. Rundschau, July 1896.
93. Wall, Conference Reports, p. 5.
94. Ibid., p. 7.
95. Cornelius Janzen, "Americanization of the Russian Mennonites in Central Kansas" (MA Thesis, University of Kansas, 1914), p. 112.
96. Toews, "Diary," January 26, 1879; Kornelson, "Tagebuch," June 7, 1883.
97. Rundschau, April 7, 1918.
98. Council Minutes, July 25, 1891; January 3, 1898; March 6, 1900.
99. Wall, Conference Reports, p. 7; Schultz, "A Centennial History," Ch. 10, p. 2.
100. Janzen, "Americanization," p. 75.
101. Ibid., p. 385.
102. Toews, Aufzeichnungen, p. 11.
103. See Harrison, The Second Coming.
104. Janzen, "Americanization," p. 75.
105. Schultz, "A Centennial History," p. 2.
106. Rundschau, September 2, 1903.
107. Holdeman, Spiegel der Wahrheit, pp. 285ff.
108. Hiebert, The Holdeman People, p. 212 & 280.
109. Plett, Krimmer, pp. 283 & 108ff.
110. Schultz, "A Centennial History," p. 2.
111. Ibid.
112. Hiebert, The Holdeman People, p. 165.
113. Hanover Municipality Tax Roll, 1883.
114. Agricultural Census, Cub Creek, 1885.
115. Interviews with Jacob W. Friesen, Steinbach, July 1980; Menno Loewen, Belize, CA, December 1980; Anna Baerg Koop, Blumenort, December 1983.
116. Dueck, "A Simple Declaration," p. 1.
117. Abram Dueck to Dietrich Isaac, December 15, 1882, ALD.
118. Hiebert, The Holdeman People, p. 215.
119. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in USA," pp. 103 & 111.
120. Stephen Stern, "Ethnic Folklore and the Folklore of Ethnicity," Western Folklore 2 (March 1975), pp. 7-32.
121. Isaac, Family Book, pp. 50 & 51.
122. Doreen Klassen, "Singing Mennonite," (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983) p. ivff.
123. Ibid., pp. 30, 62, 101, 130 & 141.
124. Wieb, "Mennonite Girl," p. 7; Classen, "Kleine Gemeinde at Meade," n.p.
125. Rundschau, February 8, 1888.
126. Janzen, "Americanization," p. 111.
127. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in USA," p. 61.
128. Nordwesten, January 18, 1894.
129. Rundschau, March 18, 1902.
130. Nordwesten, March 9, 1904.
131. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," December 20, 1903; December 8, 1907.
132. Unger, "Denkschrift," p. 8.

133. Interview with Peter K. Plett, November 1981.
134. Klaas Reimer to Bernard Rempel, October 31, 1885, KRR.
135. Loewen, "Sammlung," p. 11.
136. Rundschau, June 1888.
137. Fast, Mitteilungen, p. 70.
138. Rundschau, August 1, 1884.
139. Ibid., August 24, 1885.
140. Ibid., October 13, 1886.
141. Peter Loewen to the Blumenort Village, October 12, 1890, JKL; Reimer, "Denkschrift," p. 11.
142. Rundschau, September 20, 1880.
143. Ibid., August 21, 1881.
144. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity." p. 1165.

IV INTRODUCTION

1. Robert Brown and Ramsey Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto, 1971); Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, pp. 301ff; Morton, Manitoba.
2. Olson, Nebraska, pp. 248-289; James Malin, History and Ecology: Studies of the Grassland, ed. Robert Swierenga (Lincoln, 1984); John D. Hicks, "The Western Middle West, 1900-1914," Agricultural History; Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York, 1955), pp. 23-59.

13 FARMERS, MERCHANTS AND WORKERS IN THE EVOLVING MARKET ECONOMY

1. Mennonitische Rundschau, August 13, 1908; Steinbach Post, January 5, 1916; September 25, 1918.
2. Rundschau, August 29, 1908; Steinbach Post, August 9, 1922; Jansen News, July 24, 1924; Bowden, "Jefferson County," p. 135.
3. Steinbach Post, July 30, 1930.
4. Agricultural Census quoted in Warkentin, "Mennonite Settlements," p. 355.
5. Ibid.
6. Isaac W. Reimer, "Tagebuch," June 23, 1924 & May 25, 1925, Dave Schellenberg Family, Steinbach, Manitoba.
7. Bowden, "Jefferson County," p. 135.
8. F.S. Sullivan, A History of Meade County (Topeka, 1916), pp. 103-130.
9. Kansas State Census 1915, Meade County, Agricultural Schedule.
10. Ibid., 1925.
11. Interview with Cornelius Kornelson, Rosenort, December 23, 1983; Margaret Dueck Reimer, Rosenort, December 23, 1983; Dick Eidse, Rosenort, December 23, 1983; Peter J.B. Reimer, Rosenort, December 23, 1983.
12. State Census, 1915; Sullivan, Meade County.
13. Rundschau, January 1, 1908.
14. Eidse, Furrows, p. 459.
15. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 152; also see Eidse, Furrows, pp. 386, 397, 410, 437, & 456.
16. State Census, 1915.

17. Land Plat, Cub Creek 1917, Register of Deeds Office, County Courthouse, Fairbury, Nebraska.

18. Hanover Municipality Tax Roll, 7-6E, 1899 & 1920.

19. Dueck, "Denkschrift"; Isaac Reimer, "Tagebuch," September 5, 1924.

20. Jansen News, January 15, 1920.

21. Bowden, "Jefferson County," p. 136.

22. Steinbach Post, May 2, 1923; John W. Dueck, "Denkschrift, 1890-1923," EMCA, Steinbach, p. 184.

23. Steinbach Post, May 30, 1917; August 15, 1917.

24. Ibid., April 3, 1918.

25. Ibid., May 24, 1916.

26. Ibid., January 22, 1919.

27. Dueck, "Denkschrift," p. 176; Eidse, Furrows, pp. 424 & 437.

28. Interview with John Kroeker, Jansen, Nebraska, October 1987; Klaas Kroeker, Mountain Lake, Minnesota, March 1989; Steinbach Post, April 9, 1924; Rundschau, December 19, 1906; February 13, 1907; September 18, 1907; March 18, 1908.

29. State Census, 1915.

30. State Census, 1915 & 1925; Tax Roll, 1915 & 1925.

31. Ibid, October 13, 1920; April 28, 1920.

32. Dueck, "Denkschrift."

33. John P. Thiessen to Cornelius Plett, January 16, 1917, Cornelius Plett Papers, Steinbach Bible College Library, Steinbach.

34. Land Title Abstracts, 7-6E, Land Titles Office, Winnipeg; Rundschau, November 6, 1907; Steinbach Post, February 3, 1915; March 3, 1920; October 12, 1921; Eidse, Furrows, pp. 407 & 456; Steinbach Post, December 13, 1916; Rundschau, February 1, 1908; Jansen News, January 21, 1920; February 12, 1920; March 18, 1920; Bowden, "Jefferson County," p. 135; Jansen News, June 19, 1919. Figures from M.C. Urquhart, Historical Statistics of Canada (Toronto, 1965), indicate that the value of the Canadian and American dollar was negligible throughout these years.

35. The information for this map was derived chiefly from dozens of reports filed in the Steinbach Post and Jansen News during these years.

36. Klaas J.B. Reimer, "Das Religioese Leben der Mennoniten auf der Ostreserve...," 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 58; Jansen News, April 5, 1923.

37. Lloyd Jorgenson, "Agricultural Expansion Into the Semiarid Lands of West North Central States During the First World War," Agricultural History 12 (1949), 30-41; Voisey, Vulcan, pp. 14 & 15.

38. Steinbach Post, May 18, 1917; Jansen News, December 1, 1916.

39. Rundschau, October 16, 1907; November 21, 1907; Steinbach Post, February 12, 1919.

40. Steinbach Post, January 5, 1915.

41. Jansen News, August 2, 1919.

42. Steinbach Post, August 20, 1922.

43. For example, Jacob F. Isaac of Meade hired young men with names of Cowan and Lacoss in 1911, while Peter J. Loewen of Rosenort hired men with names of Hubert and Schneller in 1917. See: Jacob F. Isaac, "Tagebuch," Henry Fast, Steinbach, p. 163; Peter Loewen, "Denkschrift," p. 20.

44. Heinrich Reimer to Peter Reimer, June 19 1924, "Love God and Your Neighbours Too," Heinrich R. and Helena Reimer, (Unpublished Manuscript of Selected Writings, Landmark, Manitoba, 1976), p. 8; Wiebe, Jacob Wiebe, p. 49; Peter Loewen, "Denkschrift," p. 39; Steinbach Post, August 30, 1916; August 20, 1930; October 14, 1922; Jansen News, December 21, 1920.

45. Isaac Reimer, "Tagebuch," November 18, 1924; Interview with Dick Eidse, December 23, 1983.

46. Giroux Volks Bote, April 8, 1914; Steinbach Post, September 1, 1890; August 7, 1929; Jansen News, August 1, 1921.

47. Steinbach Post, August 28, 1920.

48. Jansen News, August 27, 1921.

49. Steinbach Post, February 22, 1922.

50. State Census, 1925; Interview with Klaas M. Toews, Steinbach, March 1989.
51. Steinbach Post, August 27, 1919; August 25, 1920.
52. Wiebe and Penner, Jacob Wiebe, p. 29.
53. Rundschau, August 3, 1904.
54. Interview with Henry F. Loewen, Meade, Kansas, October, 1987; Jansen News, July 2, 1919; Sullivan, Meade County.
55. Jansen News, July 2, 1919; November 7, 1919; January 28, 1920.
56. Giroux Volks Bote, July 8, 1914; Interview with Klaas Kroeker, March 1989.
57. Steinbach Post, July 9, 1924; Eidse, Furrows, p. 432.
58. Giroux Volks Bote, November 18, 1914.
59. Steinbach Post, August 22, 1917.
60. Jansen News, July 2, 1919.
61. Eidse, Furrows, p. 444; Isaac, "Tagebuch," 1914.
62. Giroux Volks Bote, April 15, 1914; Nordwesten, April 18, 1906; December 14, 1910; Steinbach Post, February 3, 1915; September 3, 1919.
63. Steinbach Post, June 23, 1920.
64. Jansen News, December 1916; August 1917.
65. Rundschau, November 13, 1907; April 5, 1908.
66. Isaac, "Tagebuch," July 12 - August 16, 1911, p. 173. These entries refer to 10 different occasions in which Isaac "geheadert" for his neighbour Rempel.
67. Steinbach Post, January 1, 1930; March 26, 1930.
68. Jansen News, July 24, 1924; July 1, 1921; April 25, 1918; December 1, 1916.
69. Eidse, Furrows, pp. 388ff.
70. Steinbach Post, February 2, 1920; Jacob B. Kroeker, "Tagebuch," July 3, 1927.
71. Interview with Dick Eidse, March 1989.
72. Steinbach Post, June 25, 1919.
73. Ibid., July 7, 1920.
74. Ibid., October 13, 1920; for a reference to the initial construction of this cheese factory see Rundschau, December 2, 1908.
75. Steinbach Post, December 22, 1920; September 7, 1921.
76. Dueck, "Denkschrift," p. 60.
77. Bernard P. Doerksen, "A Brief History of Haskell County...Mennonite Settlement," (Unpublished Research Paper, Blumenort, Manitoba, 1982), pp. 2 & 3.
78. Dueck, "Denkschrift," pp. 61ff.
79. Interview with John C. Reimer, November, 1987; Eidse, Furrows, p. 387.
80. Dueck, "Denkschrift," p. 66.
81. Peter Loewen, "Ruekerinnerungen," p. 66.
82. Dueck, "Denkschrift," p. 67.
83. Morton, Manitoba, p. 380; Olson, Nebraska, p. 286.
84. Dueck, "Denkschrift," p. 71.
85. Ibid., p. 106.
86. Land Title Abstracts, 7-6E.
87. Numerical Index, Lands, Jefferson County, 3-3, Register of Deeds Office, County Courthouse, Fairbury, Nebraska.
88. Interview with Corny Z. Friesen, Meade, Kansas, October 1987.
89. Steinbach Post, June 27, 1917.
90. Ibid., August 6, 1924.
91. Loewen, Blumenort, pp. 375ff.
92. Ibid.; Barkman, "Mitteilungen," p. 35.
93. Rundschau, October 7, 1908.
94. Municipal Council Minutes, April 6, 1914.
95. Municipal Tax Roll, 6-6E, 1915.

96. K. Reimer Sons Account Book, 1905 & 1915, Mennonite Heritage Village Archives, Steinbach.
97. H.W. Reimer Account Book, 1902, 1911, & 1916, Mennonite Heritage Village Archives, Steinbach.
98. Warkentin, Reflections on Our Heritage, p. 123.
99. H.W. Reimer Account Book, 1918.
100. Giroux Volks Bote, September 2, 1914; November 25, 1914.
101. Steinbach Post, January 1, 1915.
102. Ibid., August 16, 1916; October 17, 1917.
103. Ibid., June 6, 1917.
104. Ibid., February 21, 1917.
105. Ibid., February 9, 1915; October 16, 1918; Municipal Council Minutes, June 2, 1918.
106. Steinbach Post, May 18, 1917; September 11, 1918.
107. Ibid, December 25, 1918.
108. Ibid, September 17, 1919.
109. Ibid., March 28, 1917.
110. Ibid., February 28, 1917.
111. Ibid., June 9, 1920.
112. Ibid, June 7, 1916.
113. Ibid., July 31, 1918.
114. Rundschau, October 7, 1908.
115. Steinbach Post, January 5, 1915.
116. Ibid, November 22, 1916.
117. Ibid., November 5, 1919.
118. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 159.
119. Ibid., January 1, 1922.
120. Ibid., January 10, 1923.
121. Giroux Volks Bote, April 14, 1914.
122. Steinbach Post, January 31, 1923.
123. Ibid., November 14, 1923.
124. Ibid., January 8, 1930; February 19, 1930; July 9, 1930.
125. Ibid., April 5, 1917; June 15, 1925; June 15, 1921; November 1, 1922; December 20, 1922.
126. Rundschau, February 8, 1906.
127. Ibid., March 23, 1910; Steinbach Post, April 19, 1916.
128. Ibid., January 3, 1923.
129. Ibid., February 21, 1923; March 14, 1923.
130. Ibid., June 8, 1921; March 21, 1923.
131. Rundschau, September 28, 1910.
132. By 1918 these lots were selling for between $1500 and $1850. Steinbach Post, July 31, 1918.
133. Steinbach Post, January 12, 1915; January 7, 1920; February 28, 1923; July 3, 1930.
134. Ibid., July 3, 1930.
135. Dueck, "Denkschrift," p. 45. Dueck complained that he had paid $27 for a 100 pound bag of sugar which he found impossible to sell after the deflation set in. See also Eidse, Furrows, p. 345.
136. Interview with Anna Reimer Kroeker, Steinbach, March 1989.
137. Steinbach Post, February 14 and 28, 1923.
138. Miller, "Jansen," p. 121.
139. Steinbach Post, February 3, 1915.
140. These names appear in advertisements in Jansen News in 1918.
141. Interview with Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, March 1989.
142. Miller, "Jansen," p. 182.
143. Jansen News, November 20, 1906.
144. Ibid., September 6, 1917.
145. Ibid., July 24, 1924.

146. Ibid., September 20, 1917; Miller, "Jansen," 182.
147. Jansen News, September 6, 1917; January 9, 1919; October 28, 1920.
148. Miller, "Jansen," p. 348.
149. Population Census, Cub Creek, 1910; Municipal Tax Roll, 6-6E, 1915.
150. See U.S. Population Census, Nebraska, Town of Jansen, 1900; 1910; Hanover Municipality Tax Rolls, 6-6E, 1898; 1915. For a study of the different rates of urbanization for American and Canadian Mennonites see Leo Driedger and J.H. Kauffman, "Urbanization of Mennonites: Canadian and American Comparisons," Mennonite Quarterly Review 61 (1982), pp. 269-290.
151. Loewen, Blumenort, pp. 375ff.
152. Dueck, "Denkschrift," p. 52.
153. Interview with Corny Z. Friesen, Meade, October, 1987; Peter Rempel Family Book, p. 117.
154. Ibid., February 21, 1906.
155. Municipal Council Minutes, September 1, 1919.
156. Steinbach Post, March 17, 1918.
157. Ibid., May 23, 1923; June 20, 1923.
158. Heinrich and Helena Reimer, "Love God and Your Neighbour Too," p. 8.
159. Steinbach Post, June 27, 1917.
160. Ibid., September 18, 1918; July 30, 1924.
161. Reimer, Familienregister, p. 318.

14 TOWN 'LADIES' AND FARM WOMEN

1. For discussions of the role of women in changing rural societies see Veronica Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling A Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism." Journal of Canadian Studies 21 (1986), pp. 32-52; Ester Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development, (London, 1970).
2. Martine Segalen, Historical Anthropology of the Family (New York, 1986), p. 202ff.
3. Boserup, Woman's Role, p. 23.
4. Medick, "The Proto-Industrial Family Economy;" Ostergren, A Community Transplanted, p. 257.
5. Segalen, Historical Anthropology, p. 208.
6. Steinbach Post, July 31, 1918.
7. Interview with Anna Reimer Kroeker, Steinbach, March 1989; Steinbach Post, March 6, 1918.
8. Ibid., October 9, 1918.
9. Ibid., September 4, 1929.
10. Jansen News, November 13, 1916; Steinbach Post, May 13, 1923.
11. See: Justine Unger Dueck, "Tagebuch, 1917-1919," Peter U. Dueck, Steinbach; Maria Reimer Unger, "Tagebuch, 1919-1920," Peter U. Dueck, Steinbach; Aganetha Kornelson Schellenberg, "Tagebuch, 1915-1917," Dave Schellenberg, Steinbach; Maria Plett Reimer, "Tagebuch, June-December, 1929," Plett Picture Book, tr. and ed. Delbert Plett, pp. 31 & 73. See also the letters by Maria Reimer, Meade and Sarah Doerksen in Cornelius L. Plett Papers, Steinbach Bible College, Steinbach.
12. Steinbach Post, January 1923; Jansen News, November 1916.
13. Rundschau, October 11, 1906.
14. Steinbach Post, March 15, 1916. For other references to travelling women see, ibid., June 27, 1923; March 29, 1916.
15. Ibid., October 17, 1923.
16. Warkentin, Reflections on Our Heritage, p. 89.

17. Interview with Sarah Reimer Kroeker, Steinbach, December 9, 1983.
18. Ruby Wieb, "Mennonite Girl," Unpublished Manuscript, ca1975, Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, p. 3ff.
19. Plett, Plett Picture Book, p. 135.
20. Wiebe and Penner, Jacob T. Wiebe, p. 41.
21. Interview with Dick Eidse, Rosenort, December 23, 1983; Abram K. Loewen, Steinbach, December 13, 1983.
22. Interview with Kroeker.
23. Interview with Margaretha Dueck Reimer, Rosenort, December 23, 1983.
24. Eidse, Furrows, p. 462.
25. See transcripts of interviews conducted by Royden Loewen in November and December, 1983 and by Dave Schellenberg in November and December, 1987, EMCA, Steinbach.
26. See footnote # 11.
27. Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, and Eidse, Furrows, p. 423, relate similar accounts of stooking and caring for babies.
28. Margaret H. Reimer to Cornelius Plett, April 8, 1926, Cornelius Plett Papers, Steinbach Bible College, Steinbach. For similar accounts in the same collection see: Reimer to Plett, December 19, 1927; Tina R. Friesen to Plett, January 3, 1924; Helena H. Reimer to Plett, April 20, 1926; May 13, 1926.
29. Interview with Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, March 1989.
30. Steinbach Post, August 13, 1919.
31. Interview with Aganetha Kroeker.
32. Jansen News, December 20, 1917.
33. Steinbach Post, October 15, 1919.
34. Interview with Anna Kroeker.
35. Steinbach Post, May 18, 1917; January 31, 1923; Interview with Abram Loewen, Steinbach, December 20, 1983; Eidse, Furrows, pp. 394 & 448.
36. Interview with John C. Reimer, Steinbach, September, 1987.
37. Jansen News, July 1, 1918.
38. Interview with Anna Kroeker.
39. Justina Dueck, "Tagebuch," November and December 1917; Steinbach Post, July 14, 1920.
40. U.S. Population Census, Cub Creek, 1910; Kansas State Population Census, Meade, 1925.
41. Helena Heidebrecht to Cornelius Plett, September 26, 1932, Cornelius Plett Papers.
42. Interview with Sarah Kroeker.
43. Christlicher Familienfreund (Steinbach, Manitoba), October, 1934.
44. Interview with Aganetha Barkman Loewen, Steinbach, November 23, 1987, EMCA, Steinbach.
45. Steinbach Post, October 25, 1922; August 29, 1923. See also: Marlene Epp, "The Mennonite Girls' Homes in Winnipeg: A Home Away From Home," Journal of Mennonite Studies 6 (1988), pp. 100-115; Frieda Esau Klippenstein, "Doing What We Could: Mennonite Domestic Servants in Winnipeg, 1920s to 1950s," Journal of Mennonite Studies 7 (1989), pp. 145-166.
46. Steinbach Post, January 10, 1923.
47. Reimer, Gedenkfeier, p. 86.
48. Giroux Volksbote, March 11, 1914; Steinbach Post, September 5, 1917; October 17, 1917; October 23, 1918; March 7, 1920.
49. Jansen News, December 24, 1923.
50. Jansen News, August 1, 1917; Steinbach Post, January 3, 1923.
51. Steinbach Post, November 20, 1918; January 1, 1919.
52. Ibid., September 3, 1919.
53. Ibid., January 22, 1930; November 26, 1930.
54. Interview with Aganetha Kroeker.
55. Steinbach Post, March 26, 1919.
56. Rempel, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, p. 101.

57. Steinbach Post, January 3, 1931; January 29, 1930; Schultz "Centennial History," Chapter 13.

58. Warkentin, Reflections on Our Heritage, p. 66.

59. Steinbach Post, November 15, 1922.

60. Loewen, Isaac Loewen; Unruh, Ratzlaff; Friesen, Von Riesen-Friesen; Elizabeth Classen Rempel, Genealogy of the Descendents of Jacob Classen, 1792, (Meade, Kansas, ca1972).

61. Winnipeg Telegram, September 21, 1918, quoted in Francis, "In Search of Utopia," N104A, PAM, Winnipeg.

62. Unruh, Ratzlaff; Loewen, Isaac Loewen; Reimer, Familienregister, pp. 169-214; Friesen, Von Riesen-Friesen, pp. 44-94.

63. Hanover Municipal Tax Rolls, 7-6E & 6-6E, 1898, 1915, 1925; U.S. Population Census, Cub Creek, 1900; Kansas Population Census, Meade, 1915 & 1925.

64. Loewen, Isaac Loewen; Reimer, Familienregister.

65. Unruh, Ratzlaff; Friesen, Von Riesen-Friesen; Rempel, Classen.

66. Der Mitarbeiter (Winnipeg), January 1912; January 1913; January 1914; January 1915; January 1916; January 1917.

67. Steinbach Post, January 30, 1918; Dueck, "Denkschrift."

68. Loewen, Isaac Loewen; Reimer, Familienregister; Unruh, Ratzlaff; Friesen, Von Riesen-Friesen; Friesen, Penner; Rempel, Classen; Wiebe and Penner, Jacob T. Wiebe; Gertrude Klassen, ed., The Family Book of David and Aganetha Klassen: 1813-1900, (Rosenort, Manitoba, 1974); Agnes Wiebe, ed., Family Record of Jacob W. Toews (Hillsboro, Kansas, ca1975); Frank Wiebe and Cornelius Toews, eds., Cornelius P. Toews, 1836-1908 (n.p., 1973); Jacob Friesen and Frank Toews, Family Tree: Jacob Regehr, 1832-1906, (n.p., 1969); Mrs. Henry Siemens, The Family Book of Johann and Katherine Barkman, 1826-1984, (n.p., 1984); Peter Martens, The Koop Family Genealogy (Steinbach, 1975); Willie Dueck, et.al., Descendants of Jacob and Maria L. Dueck (Steinbach, 1986).

69. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch, 1901-1919"; Jansen Ebenezer "Gemeinde Register, 1879-1950," Bernard O. Kroeker Papers. Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen.

70. An example of this phenomenon is found in the A.R. Friesen family that moved from Steinbach to Dallas, Oregon in 1912. Here Friesen found work in a wood and sash factory. A letter to the Steinbach Post (November 12, 1918) indicates that his daughter "Helen A. Friesen got a job in the telephone exchange as a hello girl and Elisabeth A. Friesen is working in the Dallas hospital." While Elizabeth died at an early age, Helen married a non-Mennonite with the surname of McLaren in 1923. Several of the other Friesen children also married non-Mennonites. For similar stories see Reimer, Familienregister, pp. 104-106; Friesen, Von Riesen-Friesen, pp., 28-30, 158; Friesen and Penner, Penner, pp. 283-284; Wiebe and Toews, Cornelius P. Toews.

71. Jacob Kroeker to Johann Loewen, March 27, 1910, JKL; Maria Plett, "Tagebuch," June 29 & 30, 1929; Maria Unger, "Tagebuch," July 14, August 26, September 3, November 4, 1919.

72. Interview with John C. Reimer, December 14, 1983.

73. Interview with Anna Baerg Penner, Blumenort, December 22, 1983.

74. Helen Reimer to Peter Reimer, December 13, 1923, Love God and Your Neighbour Too, p. 9.

75. Abram P. Toews, ?, p. 114

76. Steinbach Bruderthaler Protokollbuch, 1908-1920, Ed Schellenberg, Steinbach, MB.

77. Steinbach Post, April 19, 1916; February 21, 1917; August 8, 1923.

78. Steinbach Post ?

79. Ibid., July 21, 1920; May 23, 1923.

80. Rundschau, December 19, 1906.

81. Rempel, Evangelical Mennnonite Brethren, p. 76.

82. Peter J.B. Reimer and David P. Reimer, The Sesquicentennial Jubilee, (Steinbach, 1962), p. 143.

83. Ibid., August 23, 1917.

84. Miller, "Jansen," p. 260.

85. Steinbach Post, October 24, 1923.

86. Miller, "Jansen," p. 240.
87. Warkentin, Reflections on Our Heritage, p. 129.
88. Peter R. Dueck, "Wedding Message, 1901," tr. Peter U. Dueck, EMCA, Steinbach, p. 8.
89. Ibid., pp. 4, 6 & 9; Similar views are expressed in Holdeman's Spiegel der Wahrheit, in a chapter entitled "Von der Ehe," pp. 317-333.
90. Steinbach Post, February 3, 1915.
91. Giroux Volksbote, May 27, 1914.
92. Ibid., January 28, 1914.
93. Ibid., December 31, 1913.
94. Ibid.
95. Steinbach Post, March 31, 1920.
96. Isaac W. Reimer, "Sammlung," EMCA, Steinbach, in an English-language writing entitled "On Marriage For Husbands."
97. Isaac Loewen, "Denkschrift," p. 35.
98. Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness," p. 48.

15 ALTESTEN, REVIVALISTS AND THE URBANIZING WORLD

1. These figures are taken from Der Mitarbeiter, January 1917 and adding 3% for each year till 1920 and from a voting record of the Meade Kleine Gemeinde in 1919 cited in Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the U.S.," p. 99, adding 10% for absentee male members, multiplying by two to account for the women, and multiplying by a ratio of 2.41 to account for the children. This ratio is the figure derived when 21,734 Mennonites of Western Canada in 1914 are divided by the 9035 members they represent. Of the 1650 Kleine Gemeinders, 937 hail from the East Reserve, 382 from Rosenort, and 317 from Meade.
2. These figures are derived from 1922 membership lists cited in Wall, Concise Record, p. 17. These lists indicate that another 889 persons lived in the colonies in Dallas (Oregon), Paxton (Nebraska), Langham (Saskatchewan) and Garden City (Kansas) which had drawn many members from Kleine Gemeinde communities. Membership figures for 1922 indicate the following membership statistics: Langham 287, Steinbach 82, Meade 58, Paxton 12, Dallas 66, Jansen 106.
3. Miller, "The Story of Jansen Churches," Mennonite Life (January, 1955), p. 39.
4. Der Mitarbeiter, January 1917 indicates a membership of 578 for the Manitoba Holdeman Church and 347 for the Alberta Holdeman Church which was dominated by former Manitobans. No figures are available for the American churches which drew a few Canadian families during these years. However, Kleine Gemeinde descendents remained a tiny minority in the American Holdeman churches.
5. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I, 33ff; Krahn, Smith's Story, pp. 540ff.
6. Giroux Volks Bote, June 10, 1914; Steinbach Post, December 17, 1919; January 2, 1930; May 16, 1930.
7. Rundschau, July 8, 1908.
8. Steinbach Post, September 19, 1917.
9. Jansen News, November 30, 1916.
10. Volks Bote, June 17, 1914; August 5, 1914.
11. John Thiessen to Cornelius Plett, June 1, 1917, Cornelius Plett Papers, Steinbach Bible College; Jansen News, October 9, 1919.
12. Steinbach Post, May 30, 1917; June 18, 1919; February 19, 1920.
13. Jansen News, November 9, 1916; December 7, 1916.
14. Warkentin, Reflections on Our Heritage, p. 249.

15. Steinbach Post, November 19, 1924.
16. Jansen News, November 9, 1916; December 1, 1916.
17. Steinbach Post, October 17, 1917; December 1, 1923.
18. Rundschau, December 6, 1906; Jansen News, October 28, 1920.
19. Rundschau, August 11, 1906.
20. Volks Bote, March 4, 1914.
21. Steinbach Post, January 3, 1917; Municipal Council Minutes, January 7, 1920.
22. Steinbach Post, December 17, 1930.
23. Ibid., March 7, 1917.
24. Ibid., June 21, 1922.
25. Volks Bote, January 11, 1914.
26. Ibid., July 22, 1914.
27. Heinrich Rempel to "Liebe Geschwister," January 1, 1887, Heinrich Rempel, "Briefheft, 1887-1888," Ed Schellenberg, Steinbach; Rundschau, February 22, 1899.
28. Ibid., June 17, 1903.
29. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 257 cites the following memberships: Kleine Gemeinde (1913) 1108, (1932) 1912; Holdeman (1913) 498, (1932) 958; Bruderthaler (1913) 22, (1932) 400.
30. Reimer, 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 61.
31. Interview with John C. Reimer, November 1987.
32. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 263.
33. Epp, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, p. 67.
34. Ibid., p. 91.
35. George Schultz, "Autobiography," (Unpublished manuscript, Chicago, ca1950), Arnold Schultz Collection, Tuscan, Arizona, p. 18.
36. Ibid.; Schultz, "A Centennial History, Missions," p. 13.
37. Schultz, "Autobiography," p. 24.
38. Ibid., p. 25.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. G.P. Schultz, Weathered Words, (Chicago, n.d.), p. 15.
42. Ibid., p. 17.
43. Ibid., pp. 27 & 20.
44. Ibid., p. 25.
45. Ibid., pp. 30 & 22.
46. Ibid., p. 9.
47. Ibid., p. 11.
48. Ibid., p. 5ff & 35.
49. Rempel, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, p. 68.
50. Volks Bote, September 30, 1914.
51. Ibid., July 1, 1914.
52. Wall, Concise Record, pp. 11, 14 & 21.
53. Volks Bote, July 22, 1914; August 1, 1914.
54. Steinbach Post, June 13, 1917; July 25, 1917.
55. Ibid., July 7, 1920.
56. Ibid., September 19, 1923.
57. Leland Harder, Steinbach and Its Churches (Elkart, IN, 1970), p. 50.
58. Ibid., November 14, 1918; October 9, 1929; September 26, 1931.
59. Peter Dueck, "Christmas/Advent Sermon, 1905," tr. Peter U. Dueck, EMCA, Steinbach, pp. 1, 5 & 15.
60. Ibid., p. 13.
61. Ibid., pp. 9 & 14.
62. Ibid., passim.
63. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," passim.
64. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," December 2, 1906; December 30, 1907.
65. Ibid., November 15, 1917.
66. Ibid., October 6, 1918.
67. Ibid., December 26, 1916; January 17, 1917; May 28, 1918.
68. Winnipeg Telegram, December 15, 1906; Rundschau, August 13, 1908; Dueck, "Tagebuch," December 16, 1906.

69. Ibid., April 7, 1912.
70. Ibid., October 1, 1913.
71. "Konferenzbeschluesze, 1899."
72. P. Dueck, "Tagebuch," January 6, 1905; December 31, 1905; March 12, 1906; November 10, 1907; July 10, 1910; July 31, 1910; October 20, 1913; July 12, 1914; February 20, 1916.
73. Nordwesten, April 12, 1911.
74. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," April 2, 1911.
75. Ibid., July 12, 1911; Kornelson, "Einst und Jetzt," March 1, 1916, p. 1.
76. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," October 1, 1911.
77. Ibid., June 10, 1912.
78. Ibid., October 27, 1912.
79. Ibid., January 22, 1911; November 26, 1911; November 28, 1915; March 11, 1916.
80. Ibid., May 16, 1910; May 29, 1910; Interview with John C. Reimer, September 1987.
81. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," May 25, 1911.
82. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 257.
83. Jacob B. Kroeker, "Tagebuch, 1922-1930," transcribed by Cornie Dueck, EMCA, unfiled.
84. Ibid, July 22; 1928; Interview with Henry F. Loewen, Meade, Kansas, who recalled that on visits to his relatives in Rosenort around 1930 he painted a number bumpers black.
85. Loewen, Blumenort, p. 394.
86. Kroeker, "Tagebuch," December 6, 1926.
87. Unger, "Denkschrift," p. 63.
88. Henry Plett to Cornelius Plett, June 26, 1925, Cornelius L. Plett Papers, Steinbach Bible College, Steinbach.
89. Steinbach Post, May 23, 1928; Reimer and Reimer, Sesquicentennial, p. 56; Henry Bartel to Gerhard Kornelson, November 1929, Gerhard Kornelson Papers; Steinbach Post, January 1, 1931.
90. Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 257.
91. Reimer, 75 Gedenkfeier, p. 59; Rundschau, August 5, 1907.
92. Peter Dueck, "Tagebuch," March 1, 1908; Rundschau, April 8, 1908.
93. Rundschau, September 14, 1910; Volks Bote, July 1, 1914.
94. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth."
95. The average age of baptism of seven children of the Jacob Wiebe family in Greenland in the years around 1920 was 16. See Wiebe and Penner, Jacob T. Wiebe, pp. 31, 33, 39, 44, 49, 52, 54 & 56.
96. Steinbach Post, May 30, 1917.
97. Eidse, Furrows, p. 368; Interview with Waldon Barkman, Steinbach, January 1989.
98. Wiebe and Penner, Jacob T. Wiebe, p. 23.
99. Ibid., p. 31.
100. Hiebert, Holdeman People, p. 279.
101. Messenger of Truth, July 10, 1912; November 10, 1912.
102. Rundschau, March 14, 1907.
103. Ibid., November 23, 1911.
104. Friesen and Toews, Jacob Regehr.
105. Hiebert, The Holdeman People, p. 272.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid., p. 236.
108. Wiebe and Penner, Jacob T. Wiebe, p. 53.
109. See for example, Holdeman, "Eine Geschichte der Gemeinde Gottes," pp. 175-182 which tells of a broken relationship between husband and wife after the husband was excommunicated. This caused the wife to "leave the bed and board of [her husband] and utterly refuse to preform her marital duties as a wife...."
110. Toews v. Isaac [Manitoba Court of Appeal, March 25, 1928] W.R. I, at page 818. See also Toews v Isaac [Manitoba K.B. November 24, 1927] W.R. I, 643; Toews v Isaac [Manitoba C.A. March 26, 1931] II, 48.
111. Plett, Krimmer, p. 194ff; Miller, "Jansen," p. 38ff.

112. Kroeker, "Gemeinde Buch."
113. Miller, "Jansen," p. 184ff.
114. Interview with Aganetha Kroeker, Jansen, March 1989.
115. Rundschau, July 23, 1908.
116. Schultz, "Autobiography," p. 22.
117. Rundschau, November 6, 1907.
118. Jansen Ebenezer Church, To God Be the Glory, 1879-1979 (Jansen, NE, 1979), p. 5.
119. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the U.S.," p. 101.
120. Classen, "Kleine Gemeinde of Meade," p. 16.
121. Daniel Bartel, The Emmanuel Mennonite Church of Meade, Kansas (Meade, 1975), p. 14.
122. Steinbach Post, June 12, 1920.
123. Jansen News, October 23, 1919; Interview with Cornelius J. Classen, October 1987. For a similar conflict between German-language Lutheran parochial schools and the state of Nebraska see Luebke, Immigrants and Politics, p. 179.
124. Fast, "Kleine Gemeinde in the U.S.," p. 93ff.
125. Interview with John and Anna Siemens, Meade, October 1987.
126. Sullivan, Meade County, p. 89.
127. Rempel and Friesen, "Peter F. Rempel," p. 15.
128. Ibid., p. 7; Interview with Cornelius Classen, October 1987.
129. Jansen News, November 30, 1916.
130. Interview with Cornelius Classen, October 1987.
131. Krahn, Smith's Story, p. 540.
132. Jansen News, November 4, 1917; January 10, 1918; April 11, 1918.
133. Classen, "Meade," p. 17; Interview with John Kroeker, October 1987.
134. Jansen News, April 11, 1919.
135. No name, Meade, to Gerhard Kornelson, n.d., Gerhard Kornelson Papers.
136. Classen, "Meade," p. 16.
137. Larry Beard, ed., Centennial History of Meade, Kansas, (Meade, KS, 1985), p. 63.
138. Hiebert, Holdeman People, p. 253.
139. Steinbach Post, August 28, 1918.
140. Jansen News, October 8, 1917.
141. Steinbach Post, August 28, 1918. Interview with Henry Doerksen, November 1981 identified six Satanta, Kansas boys in Manitoba during the war; Interview with John Kroeker, October 1987 identifies five Jansen, Nebraska boys in Saskatchewan; Church of God in Christ, Histories of the Congregations, p. 165 notes "several families...plus several single boys" from the U.S. who came to Greenland, Manitoba because of "unrest caused by the...war"; Plett, Krimmer, p. 193 notes that because a "large number of members [from Hooker, OK] moved to...Alberta to escape war involvement...[church] services...were discontinued."
142. Jacob Klassen to Johann Janzen, October 5, 1874, JKL.
143. Walter S. Friesen, "History and Description of the Mennonite Community and Bible Academy at Meade, Kansas," (MA Thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, 1957), p. 13.
144. Jansen News, August 2, 1919.
145. Schultz, "Autobiography," p. 45.
146. Friesen, "Meade," p. 41.
147. Jansen News, December 24, 1923.
148. Interview with Cornelius Classen, October 1987.
149. Jansen News, February 5, 1920.
150. Ibid., November 13, 1919; December 4, 1919; December 11, 1919.
151. Steinbach Post, January 2, 1930.

CONCLUSION

1. Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality," p. 265; Sawatsky, "Domesticated Sectarians," p. 239. For a study that found that tolerance of a minority lead to greater degrees of acculturation see Wong, "Chinese in New York and Lima."

2. For studies that account for differences not only in environment but the particular composition of sub-groups of one ethnic minority see Baily, "The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants"; Luebke, "Patterns of German Settlement."

3. Careless, "Frontierism and Metropolitanism," p. 82.

4. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, II, p. 243.

5. For a similar argument explaining other German-Russian successes in Nebraska see Luebke, "Regionalism and the Great Plains," p. 20.

6. Giesenger, Katherine to Khrushchev, pp. 233ff; Stephen Speisman, The Jews of Toronto (Toronto, 1979); Thomas Kessner, The Golden Door (New York, 1977); Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago"; Harney, "Ambiente and Social Class"; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, I; MacMaster, Land, Piety, Peoplehood.

7. Friesen, Canadian Prairies, p. 261; Williams, et. al., "Ethnic Assimilation and Pluralism in Nebraska," p. 215.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY WORKS

MANUSCRIPTS: PUBLIC, REGIONAL AND CHURCH ARCHIVES

Kansas. Mennonite Library and Archives, Newton, KS (MLA).

Toews, Peter P. Letters to Blumenhoff, Ekaterinoslav, from church members en route to and in the East Reserve, MB, 1873-1875. Pp. 393.

Kansas. State Historical Society, Topeka (KSHS).

Kansas State Census, Meade County, Agricultural Schedule, 1915 & 1925.
_____, Population Schedule, 1915 & 1925.

Manitoba. Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Crown Lands Branch, Winnipeg.

Homestead Patent Applications, 7-6E, 6-6E, 5-6E, 5-1E, 6-1E.
Homestead Registration Maps, 7-6E, 6-6E, 5-6E, 5-1E, 6-1E.

Manitoba. Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Maps and Surveys Branch, Winnipeg.

Surveyor Field Notes, 1873, 7-6E, 6-6E, 5-6E, 5-1E, 6-1E.

Manitoba. Evangelical Mennonite Conference Archives, Steinbach, (EMCA).

Blumenhof Dorfsgemeinde Protokullbuch, 1874-1889. Blumenhof Village Papers.
Blumenort Dorfsgemeinde Protokullbuch, 1881-1909. Blumenort Village Papers.
Blumenort Dorfsgemeinde Verbindungsschrift. Blumenort Village Papers. Box 14 & 124.
Doerksen, Gerhard. Letters from Satanta, Kansas to Gerhard Kornelson, Steinbach, MB (1916-1919). Pp. 124. Unfiled.
Doerksen, Gerhard (Gruenfeld, MB). "Tagebuch, 1875." Box 135.
Dueck, Jacob R. (Gruenfeld, MB). "Tagebuch, 1900-1923." Box 150.
Dueck, John W. "Denkschrift, 1890-1923." EMCA.
Dueck, John W. (Morris, MB) "Diary, 1890-1900." Trans. Levi Dueck. Unfiled.
Dueck, Peter, R. (Steinbach, MB) "Tagebuch, 1901-1919." Unfiled.
_____. "Sermon For Advent, Malachai 3: 1-3, 1905." Trans. P.U. Dueck.
_____. "A Wedding Message, 1901." Trans. P.U. Dueck. Unfiled.
East Reserve Kleine Gemeinde Hilfsverein Buch, 1929-1950. Box 151.
_____ Familienregister, 1890-1905. EMCA.
_____ Seelenliste, 1894-1903. EMCA.
Enns, Heinrich. Letters to from Blumenhof, MB to church members and relatives in Borosenko, RS and Inman, KS (1868-1880). Box 89.
Friesen, Abram L. (Heuboden, NE). "Reconciliation Sermon, 1882." Trans. Dave Schellenberg. Unfiled.
Friesen, Abram S. (Dallas, OR). "Sammlung." Unfiled.

Friesen, Abram R. (Blumenhof and Lictenau, MB). "Tagebuch, 1870-1873, 1876-1884." Box 4 & 29.
Klassen, Abram. (Morris, MB and Didsbury, AB). "Tagebuch, 1880-1934." Box 38.
Kleine Gemeinde Konferenzbeschluesse von anno 1899. Box 92.
_____ Wallisten, 1801-1963. Box 68 & 144.
Kroeker, Jacob B. (Morris, MB) "Tagebuch, 1924-1937."
Kroeker, Jacob M. "Denkschrift, 1912." Box 19 & 78.
Loewen, Peter. Letter from Blumenort, MB, to Isaac Loewen, Morris, MB, 1899. Box 78. Pp 5.
Loewen, Peter (Blumenort, MB). "Tagebuch, 1874." Box 69.
Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde Register, 1860-1942. Vols 36, 37 & 40.
_____ Rechnungsbuch, 1848-1882. Box 128.
Molochnaia/Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde Wallisten, 1801-1963. Box 68.
Penner, Abram (Blumenort, MB). "Sammlungen, 1901." Pp. 72.
Regehr, Abram. (Gruenfeld, MB) "Tagebuch, 1894." Box 117.
Regehr, Jacob. (Gruenfeld, MB). "Tagebuch, 1894-1898." Box 93.
Reimer, Abram F. (Borosenko, Ekaterinoslav and Blumenort, MB). "Tagebuch, 1870-1874, 1879-1889." Box 10 & 14.
Reimer, Abram R. (Blumenort, MB). "Rechnungsbuch, 1879-1881." Box 78.
Reimer, Peter P. (Blumenort, MB) "Sermon, 1926." Trans. Betty Plett.
Reimer, Isaac W. (Steinbach, MB) "Sammlung." EMCA.
Reimer, Elder Klaas. "Autobiography, c1836." Transliterated Isaac K. Plett. Pp 39.
Toews, Anna (Greenland, MB). "Hebamme [Midwife] Register, 1893-1932." Box 137.
Toews, Peter. "Sammlung Von Briefen und Schriftliche Nachrichten zur Historie der Kleinen Gemeinde der Mennoniten an der Molotschna." Box 4 & 39.
Unger, Peter (Giroux, MB). "Denkschrift, 1882-1929." Box 88.

Manitoba. Land Titles Office, Winnipeg.

Land Title Abstracts, 7-6E, 6-6E, 5-6E, 5-1E, 6-1E.

Manitoba. Mennonite Heritage Centre, Winnipeg, (MHC).

Klassen, David. Letters from Morris, MB to friends in Jefferson County, NE, and government officials in Tiegenhof, Prussia, and Winnipeg, MB, 1882-1892. Pp 50.
_____. "Rechnungsbuch, 1880-1900."

Manitoba. Mennonite Heritage Village, Steinbach (MHVA).

Loewen, Cornelius. (Borosenko, Ekaterinoslav, Gruenfeld, MB, and Steinbach, MB). "Tagebuch, 1863-1892." Unfiled.
Penner, Abram. East Reserve/Molochnia Waisenamt Correspondence, 1900-1910. Unfiled.
Reimer, H.W. "Store Account Books, 1890-1930." 33 Vols.
Reimer Sons, K. "Store Account Books, 1900-1915." 10 Vols.

Manitoba. Provincial Archives (PAM).

Canada Census, Nominal Rolls, 1881 & 1891, Provencher and Morris, Manitoba.
Canada Census, Published Aggregates, 1901, Provencher, Manitoba. Francis, E.K. "In Search of Utopia." Unabridged Manuscript, 1948. N47.

Manitoba. Rural Municipality of Hanover, Steinbach.

Hanover Municipality Council Minutes, 1883-1920. Trans. Lydia Penner.

_____ Tax Rolls, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1892, 1898, 1906, 1915, 1925.

Manitoba. Steinbach Bible College, Steinbach.

Plett, Cornelius L. Letters to Satanta, KS from relatives in Steinbach and Morris, MB, Meade, KS, and Jansen, NE, Minneapolis, MN (1916-1932). c50 letters.

Nebraska. Fairbury County Court House, Fairbury (FCCH).

County Court Proceedings Docket Books, 1880-1900. Jefferson County Court.
Land Plat, Cub Creek Precinct, 1900. Register of Deeds Office, Numerical Index 1870-1930, Cub Creek Precinct. Register of Deeds Office.
School Census Reports, Cub Creek Precinct, 1874-1900. County Superintendent's Office.

Nebraska. State Historical Society, Lincoln (NSHS).

Jefferson County, Tax List, 1920.
United States Census, 1880 & 1885, Agricultural Schedule, JeffersonCounty, Cub Creek, NE.
_____, 1880, 1885, 1900, 1910, Population, JeffersonCounty, Cub Creek and Jansen, NE.

MANUSCRIPTS: PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Dueck, Dietrich (Spanish Lookout, Belize, Central America).

Dueck, Abram L. (ALD). Letters from and to Gruenfeld, MB to and fromrelatives and friends in Halbstadt, Taurida, Russia and JeffersonCounty, NE., 1874-1899. Trans. Henry Fast. c200 letters.

Dueck, Peter U. (Steinbach, MB).

Dueck, Justina Unger (Steinbach, MB). "Tagebuch, 1917-1921."
Unger, Maria Reimer (Giroux, MB). "Tagebuch, 1919-1920."

Fast, Henry (Steinbach, MB).

East Reserve Brandverordnung Rechnungsbuch, 1874-1890.
Friesen, Abram L. Nebraska/Kansas Kleine Gemeinde Wallisten, 1874-1914.
_____. Nebraska/Kansas Kleine Gemeinde Register, 1894-1915.
Isaac, Jacob F. (Meade, KS) "Tagebuch, 1905-1914."
Isaac, Jacob F. Kansas Kleine Gemeinde Gemeindebuch, 1914-1944.

Friesen, Albert (Kleefeld, MB).

Friesen, Peter B. (Blumenort, MB) "Rechnungsbuch, 1890-1920."

Friesen, Henry (Greenland, MB).

Friesen, Abram M. (Blumenort, MB). "Tagebuch, 1884-1908."

Harder, Lena Friesen (Morris, MB).

Friesen, Mrs. Abram K. (Morris, MB). "Denkschrift, 1949."

Harms, Heide (Steinbach, MB).

Brandt, Margaretha Harms (Scratching River, MB). "Tagebuch, 1910-1914."

Kroeker, Aganetha (Jansen, NE).

Friesen, Peter W. (Jansen, NE). "Sammlungen, 1789-1890."
_____. "Eine Predigt im Januar 1875."
Kroeker, Bernard O. Jansen Ebenezer Gemeinde Chronik und Register, 1879-1930.
Reimer, Margaretha. (Molochnaia, Taurida). "Schoenschriften, 1869."

Kroeker, Klaas (Mountain Lake, MN).

Friesen, Klaas R. (Jefferson County, NE). "Diary, 1874." Trans. H. Fast.

Loewen, Bernard P. (Cuauhtemoc, Mexico).

Loewen, Isaac J. Letters from Blumenort, MB to Elisabeth Penner (his wife), children, church leaders and relatives in Morris, MB (1890-1915). Pp 74.

Loewen Family, C.J. (Giroux, MB).

Loewen, John K., Papers. Letters to Cornelius Janzen, Blumenhof, MB, from relatives in Jefferson County, NE and Morris, MB (1874- 1915). Pp. 475 (179 letters).

Loewen, Helen L. (Meade, KS).

Loewen, Isaac W. (Morris, MB). "Sammlung zum Freundlichen Andenken, 1920." Pp 195.
Loewen, Peter J. (Morris, MB). "Rueckerinnerungen, 1880-1956." Pp 191.

Penner, Jacob C. (Spanish Lookout, Belize, Central America).

Baerg, Peter. "Denkschrift, 1879-1896."

Plett, Elizabeth L. (Blumenort, MB).

Plett, David L. (Borosenko, Ekaterinoslav and Blumenhof, MB). "Denkschrift, 1875."

Plett, Delbert F. (Steinbach, MB).

Dueck, Peter L. "A Simple Declaration Regarding the Holdemans' Secession from Our Kleine Gemeinde, 1882."
Friesen, Dietrich S. (Borosenko, Ekaterinoslav) "Tagebuch, 1872-1874."

Reimer, John C. (Steinbach, MB).

Loewen, Cornelius B. (Steinbach, MB). "Rechnungsbuch, 1890-1894, 1903-1912." 3Vols.

Reimer, Gerhard (Goshen, IN).

Reimer, Peter R. (Blumenort, MB) "Rechnungsbuch, 1892-1918."

Reimer, P.J. (Steinbach, MB)

Reimer, Klaas R. (Steinbach, MB). "Diary, 1880-1900." Trans. P.U. Dueck.
_____. "Memoirs, 1857-1890." Trans. P.U. Dueck. Also EMCA, Box 10.

_____. Letters to Steinbach, MB from relatives, friends and business associates in Halbstadt, Taurida,Russia; Jefferson County, NE; Winnipeg, Morris, and Altona, MB. Translated notes by P.U. Dueck, Steinbach, MB, 1880-1900. Pp. 19, 66 letters.

Schellenberg, Dave K. (Steinbach, MB).

Kornelson, Gerhard. Letters from Steinbach, MB to relatives in Jefferson County, NE., Tiege, RS, Reedley, CA, and Winnipeg, Altona and Morris, MB (1874-1920). ca100 letters.
Kornelson, Gerhard (Steinbach, MB). "Tagebuch, 1882-1900."
Kornelson, Heinrich (Steinbach, MB). "Tagebuch, 1874-1880."
Reimer, Isaac W. (Steinbach, MB) "Tagebuch, 1920-1929."
Schellenberg, Aganetha Kornelson (Steinbach, MB). "Tagebuch, 1916-1918."

Schellenberg, Ed (Steinbach, MB).

Rempel, Heinrich. Letters from Gruenfeld, MB to friends and relatives in Halbstadt, Taurida, Russia and Jefferson County, NE, 1882-1890. Pp. 66.
Schmidt, P.B. "Namen der Glieder der Bruderthaler Gemeinde bei Steinbach, Manitoba, 1916."

Schultz, Beatrice (Tuscan, AZ).

Schultz, George. "Autobiography, 1880-1950." Pp 47.

PUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS

Books, Articles, Parts of Books, and Newspaper Serials

Barkman, Johan G. The Diary of Johan G. Barkman, 1858-1937. Trans. Waldon Barkman. Steinbach, 1988.
Balzer, Heinrich. Verstand und Vernunft: Einfaeltige und nach der Lehre des Evangeliums Erlaeuterte Ansichten Ueber den Unterschied des Verstandes und der Venunft eines Menschen. 1833. Quakertown, PA, 1886.
Barkman, Peter T. "Mitteilungen aus dem Pionierleben." 60 Jaehrige Jubilaeum der Mennonitischen Einwanderung in Manitoba. Ed. K.J.B. Reimer. Steinbach, MB, 1935 : 32-35.
Dawson, Charles. Pioneer Trails of the Oregon Trail. N.p., n.d._
Dueck, Johann R. "Mitteilungen aus dem Pionierleben." Das 60 Jaehrige Jubilaeum: 17-24.
Dueck, Johann W. "History and Events of Former Times, 1912." History and Events. Ed. and trans. Delbert Plett. Steinbach, MB, 1883: 85-137.
Epp, D.H. Die Chortitzer Mennoniten: Versuch einer Darstellung des Entwicklungsganges Derselben. 1888. Steinbach, MB, 1984.
Fast, M.B. Mitteilungen von etlichen der Groszen unter den Mennoniten in Russland und in Amerika: Beodachtungen und Erinnerungen von Jefferson Co., Nebraska. Reedley, CA, 1935.
Friesen, H.B. H.B. Friesen Diary, 1837-1926. Trans. August Schmidt. Newton, KS, 1974.
Friesen, P.M. The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, 1789-1910. 1911. Trans. J.B. Toews et.al. Fresno, CA, 1980.
Funk, John F. "Notes By the Way," Herald of Truth. September, October, November, and December, 1873.
Goossen, Victor, ed. "Messenger of Truth" and "Botschafter der Wahrheit" Listing Baptisms, Marriages and Obituaries. Rosenort, MB, 1986.
Harms, John F. Eine Lebenreise. Hillsboro, KS, 1943.

Hiebert, Clarence, ed. Brothers in Deed to Brothers in Need: A Scrapbook About Mennonite Immigrants From Russia, 1870-1885. Newton, KS, 1974.

Hildebrand, J.J. Chronologische Zeittafel. Winnipeg, 1945.

Holdeman, John. A Mirror of Truth: A Treatise for the Instruction of the Just and for the Conversion of the Unsaved. Tr. Church of God in Christ, Mennonite Publication Board. Hesston, KS, 1956.

_____, Johannes. "Ein Spiegel der Wahrheit: Ein Lehrbuch den Frommen zum Trost, und den Suendern zur Busze." Spiegel der Wahrheit. Lancaster, PA, 1880: 1-406.

_____. "Ein Geschichte der Gemeinde Gottes: Wie Sie von Anfang Gewesen ist, Wobei Sie Erkannt Werden Mag, und Wie Sie Fortgepflangt Worden ist bis auf Diese Gegenwaertige Zeit." Spiegel der Wahrheit. Lancaster, PA, 1880: 1-203.

Isaac, Franz. Die Mototschnaer Mennoniten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Derselben. Halbstadt, Taurida, Russia, 1908.

Jansen, Peter. Memoirs of Peter Jansen: The Record of a Busy Life. Beatrice, NE, 1921.

Katechismus Oder Kurze und Enfache Unterweisung aus der Heilige Schrift in Fragen und Anworten fuer die Jugend. 1914. Winnipeg, 1959.

Klassen, Abram. "Life Experiences." David Klassen Genealogy. Ed. A.U. Klassen, et.al. Steinbach, MB, 1974: 12-19. Also EMCA, Box 4 & 38.

Kornelson, Gerhard . "Steinbach Einst und Jetzt." Steinbach Post, (April-March, 1916).

Langhans, Paul von. "Der Heutige Stand der Siedelungsthaetigkeit deutscher Mennoniten in Suedrussland." Petermann's Mitteilungen 44 (1898), 174-240.

Loewen, Deacon Isaac. Memoirs, 1873. Trans. Ben Heppner. Steinbach, MB, forthcoming.

Menno Simons. The Complete Writings of Menno Simons. Ed. J.C. Wenger. Trans. Leonard Verduin. Scottdale, PA,1956.

Peters, Isaac. Something About the Purpose and Significance of the Christian Baptism with Water: Its Shape and Form. Trans. Arnold Schultz. Elkart, IN, n.d.

Peters, Klaas. The Bergthaler Mennonites. 1890. Tr. Margaret Loewen Reimer. Winnipeg, MB, 1988.

Pietersz, Pieter. Ausgewaehlte Schriften. Ed. Abram L. Friesen. Elkart, IN, 1901.

Philipps, Dietrich. Enchiridion oder Handbuechlein von der Christlichen Lehre und Religion. 1564. Scottdale, PA, 1917.

Plett, Cornelius. "Diary, 1895-1897, 1912." Plett Picture Book, Delbert Plett,Steinbach, MB: 27-31, 62

Plett, Jacob L. "Diary, 1905-1907, 1917." Plett Picture Book, Delbert Plett, Steinbach, MB: 39, 44, 96, 131, 147.

Postnikov, V.E. Iuzhnorusskoe Krestianskoe Khoziaistvo. Moscow, 1891.

Ratzlaff, Heinrich. "Memoirs, 1881." The Genealogy and Descendants of Heinrich Ratzlaff. Trans. Cornelius Unruh. Also EMCA, Box 4.

Reimer, Maria Plett. "Diary, 1929." Trans. D.F. Plett. Plett Picture Book. D.F. Plett. Steinbach, 1982: 31 & 73.

Reimer, Klaas W. "Mitteilungen aus dem Pionierleben." 60 Jaehrige Jubilaeum: 25-29.

Schultz, G.P. Short Talks on Live Themes. Scottdale, PA, 1924.

_____. Weathered Words. Chicago, IL, n.d.

Shantz, Jacob Y. Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba. Ottawa, 1873.

Sullivan, F.S. A History of Meade County. Topeka, KS, 1916.

Tschetter, Paul. "The Diary of Paul Tschetter." Trans. J.M. Hofer. Mennonite Quarterly Review 5 (1931), 113-127.

Toews v. Isaac [Manitoba Court of Appeal, March 25, 1928, November 24, 1927, and March 26, 1931] Western Weekly Reports.

Toews, Johann. Das Wachsame Auges Gottes. Gruenfeld, MB, 1908. EMCA, Box 11.

Toews, Johann F. Aufzeichnungen aus meiner Jugendzeit. Transcona, MB, 1928.

Toews, Peter. "Anhang Number 1." 1874. History and Events. Ed. and trans. Delbert Plett. Steinbach, MB, 1982: 37-72.

_____. "1871-1879, Diary." Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde, 1874. Trans. D.F. Plett. Steinbach, 1987: 151-172. Also EMCA, Box 90.

_____. "The Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde Genealogy Register, 1879." Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde, 1874. Ed. and trans. D.F. Plett. Steinbach, 1987: 7-59. Also EMCA, Box 90.

Urquhart, M.C., ed. Historical Statistics of Canada. Toronto, 1965.

Wall, O.J., ed. and trans. A Concise Record of our Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Annual Conference Reports, 1889-1979. Mountain Lake, MN, 1979.

Wiebe, Gerhard. Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites From Russia to America. 1898. Trans. Helen Janzen. Winnipeg, 1981.

Wiebe, Johann. Die Auswanderung von Russland nach Kanada, 1875: In Form einer Predigt. Cuauhtemoc, Chihuahua, MX, 1972.

Wiebe, Margaret. Oma: The Life of Margaret Wiebe. Steinbach, MB, 1988.

Genealogies and Family Histories

Barkman, Betty, ed. The Family Book of Johann and Katherine Barkman, 1826-1984. Hillsboro, KS, 1984.

Doerksen, Marie B. and Margaret B. Klassen, ed. Genealogy of Peter K. Barkman, 1826-1977. Steinbach, MB, 1977.

Dueck, John, Willie Dueck and Nettie Peters, ed. Descendants of Jacob and Maria L. Dueck, 1839-1986. Steinbach, MB, 1986.

Dueck, Peter H., ed. Abraham L. and Elizabeth Dueck and Their Descendants. N.p., 1965.

Esau, Johan. "The Esau Family Tree, 1740-1933." Profiles of the Kleine Gemeinde, 1874. Trans. D.F. Plett. Steinbach, MB, 1987: 193-202.

Friesen, C.W. and Peter J. Penner. The Peter Penner Genealogy, 1816. Steinbach, MB, 1973.

Friesen, Jacob G. and Frank P. Toews. Family Tree: Jacob Regehr, 1832-1906. Kleefeld, 1969.

The Genealogy of Peter R. and Katherine Thiessen Brandt, 1845-1978. Jansen, NE, 1978.

Goering, Martha, ed. The Von Riesen-Friesen Geneology [Sic], 1756-1966. Steinbach, MB, 1966.

Goossen, John R. Gerhard Goossen Family Book, 1811-1854. Rosenort, MB, 1979.

Isaac, Peter. A Family Book From 1694-1916 and Personal Experiences. 1916. Trans. John R. Friesen. Rosenort, MB, 1980.

Klassen, Gertrude, ed. The Family Book of David and Aganetha Klassen, 1813-1900. Rosenort, MB, 1974.

Klippenstein, Lawrence, ed. "Love God and Your Neighbour Too: A Brief Selection of Writings by Heinrich R. and Helena Reimer." Landmark, Manitoba, 1976.

Kroeker Family. Memoiries of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob B. Kroeker. Rosenort, MB, 1987.

Loewen, Solomon, ed. The Descendants of Isaak Loewen. [Hillsboro, KS], 1961.

Martens, Peter, et.al. eds. The Koop Family Genealogy, 1801-1975. Steinbach, MB, 1975.

Peter and Anna Friesen Family Book, 1873-1981. Greenland, MB, 1981.

Plett, Delbert F. Plett Picture Book. Steinbach, MB, 1982.

Reimer, Bernard. Index to Obituaries in Familienfreund 1934-June 1981. Steinbach, MB, 1981.

Reimer, John C. ed. Familienregister der Nachkommen von Klaas und Helena Reimer mit Biographien der Ersten Drei Generationen. Winnipeg, 1958.
Rempel, Elizabeth Classen. Genealogy of the Descendants of Jacob Classen, 1792. North Newton, KS, [1971].
Rempel, Marilyn and Peter Friesen. "A Short History of Peter F. Rempel, 1875-1967." Hutchinson, KS, 1981.
Thielman, C.J. Bericht von dem Plettentag. Steinbach, MB, 1945.
_____ and P.A. Penner. Familenregister der Nachkommen von Groszeltern Kornelius and Sarah Plett, 1953. N.p., 1953.
Toews, Cornelius L. Cornelius P. Toews, 1836-1906. Steinbach, MB, 1973.
Toews, John B. Memoirs of Johann Barkman Toews, 1961. Rosenort, MB, 1978.
Unruh, Cornelius and Elizabeth. The Genealogy of the Descendants of Heinrich Ratzlaff, 1848-1922. Winnipeg, 1980.
Wiebe, Agnes, ed. Family Record of Jacob Wiebe Toews, 1836-1920. Hillsboro, KS, 1979.
Wiebe, Edwin and Edwin Penner. The Jacob T. Wiebe Family Book. Rosenort, MB, 1976.
_____ and Cornelius L. Toews. Cornelius P. Toews, 1836-1900. N.p., 1973.

INTERVIEWS

Transcripts of Interviews **by Royden Loewen** (EMCA, Box 152)

1 with Peter P.D. Reimer (b. 1898), Steinbach, MB, December 2, 1983.
2 with Peter A. Plett (b. 1898), Landmark, MB, December 6, 1983.
3 with Jac D. Friesen (b. 1907), Blumenort, MB, December 7, 1983.
4 with Bernard P.D. Reimer (b. 1912), Blumenort, MB, December 8, 1983.
5 with Sara Reimer Kroeker (b. 1905), Steinbach, MB, December 9, 1983.
6 with John P. Doerksen (b. 1902), Blumenort, MB, December 12, 1983.
7 & # 12 with Abram K. Loewen (b. 1889), Steinbach, MB, December 13 & 20, 1983.
8 with John C. Reimer (b. 1894), Steinbach, MB,December 14, 1983.
9 with Anna Reimer Kroeker (b. 1906), Steinbach, MB, December 14, 1983.
10 with Peter K. Bartel, Kleefeld, MB, December 15, 1983. # 11 with Jac P. Dueck (b. 1907), Steinbach, MB, December 16, 1983.
13 with Anna Koop Penner (b. 1898), Blumenort, MB, December 22, 1983. # 14 with C.U. Kornelson (b. 1912), Rosenort, MB, December 23, 1983.
15 with Margaret Dueck Reimer (b. 1893), Rosenort, MB, December 23, 1983.
16 with Dick Eidse (b. 1913), Rosenort, MB, December 23, 1983.
17 with Peter J.B. Reimer (b. 1902), Rosenort, MB, December 23, 1983.

Transcripts of Interviews by Dave Schellenberg (EMCA, Box 152)

18 with Peter D. Brandt (b. 1905), Steinbach, MB, November 17, 1987.
19 with John J. Dueck (b. 1900), Steinbach, MB, November 20, 1987.
20 with Aganetha Barkman Loewen (b. 1895), Steinbach, MB, November 23, 1987.
21 with John A. Reimer (b. 1913), Steinbach, MB, November 26, 1987.
22 with Klaas M. Toews (b. 1906), Steinbach, MB, November 30, 1987.
23 with George S. Fast (b. 1901), Steinbach, MB, December 1, 1987.
25 with Peter J. Loewen (b. 1905), Blumenort, MB, December 5, 1987.
26 with John F. Plett (b. 1887), Steinbach, MB, December 10, 1987.
27 with C.K. Unger (b. 1905), Steinbach, MB, December 11, 1987.
28 with John L. Penner (b. 1906), Steinbach, MB, December 15, 1987.
29 with Henry R. Barkman (b. 1904), Steinbach, MB, December 17, 1987.
30 with Bernard and Maria Doerksen, Blumenort, MB, December 18, 1987.

Non-transcripted Interviews by Royden Loewen

Barkman, Waldon, Steinbach, MB, January, 1989.
Classen, Cornelius, Meade, KS, October, 1988.
Doerksen, Henry, Blumenort, MB, November, 1981.
Eidse, Dick, Rosenort, MB, March, 1989.
Friesen, Corny Z., Meade, KS, October, 1988.
Friesen, Jacob W., Steinbach, MB, July, 1880.
Hubert, Hilda, Fairbury, NE, October, 1988.
Kroeker, Aganetha, Jansen, NE, March, 1989.
Kroeker, Anna Reimer, Steinbach, MB, March, 1989.
Kroeker, John, Jansen, NE, October, 1988.
Kroeker, Klaas, Mountain Lake, MN, March, 1989.
Loewen, Henry F., Meade, KS, October, 1988 and March, 1989.
Loewen, Menno, Spanish Lookout, Belize, December 1880.
Plett, Peter K., Blumenort, MB, November 1981.
Reimer, John C., Steinbach, MB, September and November, 1988.
Siemens, Anna Friesen, Meade, KS, October, 1988.
Toews, Klaas M, Steinbach, MB, March, 1989.

NEWSPAPERS

Christlicher Familienfruend, Steinbach, MB, bi-monthly, 1935-1950.
Giroux Advocate, MB, weekly, 1913.
Herald of Truth, Chicago, 1870-1885, 1892.
Jansen News, NE, weekly, 1916-1925.
Mennonitische Blaetter, Danzig, Prussia, monthly, 1854-1874.
Mennonitische Rundschau, Elkart, IN, weekly, 1880 - 1922.
Messenger of Truth, Hesston, KS, monthly, 1912-1914.
Der Mitarbeiter, Winnipeg, monthly, 1912-1917.
Nebraska Ansiedler, Lincoln, NE, monthly, 1877-1880.
Der Nordwesten, Winnipeg, weekly, 1889-1915.
Odessaer Zeitung, Odessa, Russia, monthly, 1850-1874.
Steinbach Post, MB, weekly, 1914-1930.
Unterhaltungsblatt, Odessa, Russia, monthly, 1850-1874.
Volks Bote, Giroux, MB, weekly, 1914.

SECONDARY

BOOKS

Allswang, John M. A House For All Peoples: Ethnic Politics in Chicago, 1890-1936. Lexington, KE, 1971.
Aries, Philippe. Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life. Trans. Robert Baldick. New York, 1962.
Artibise, Alan. Winnipeg: A Social History. Toronto, 1974.
Bartel, Daniel J. The Emmanuel Mennonite Church of Meade, Kansas. Meade, KS, 1975
Berger, Carl, ed. Approaches to Canadian History. Toronto, 1967.
_____. The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Toronto, 1970.
Blouet, Brian W. and Frederick C. Luebke, eds. The Great Plains: Environment and Culture. Lincoln, 1979.
Blum, Jerome. The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe. Princeton, 1978.
Bodnar, John. The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America. Bloomington, IN, 1985.
Boserup, Ester. Woman's Role in Economic Development. London, 1970.
Brown, Robert C. and Ramsay Cook. Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. Toronto, 1974.

Buchighani, Norman. Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity. Toronto, 1982.
Burnet, Jean and Howard Palmer. Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples. Ottawa, 1988.
Church of God in Christ Publication Board. Histories of the Congregations of the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite. Hesston, KS, 1963.
Clark, Andrew Hill. Three Centuries on the Island. Toronto, 1959.
Clark, S.D. Church and Sect in Canada. Toronto, 1948.
Clarkson, Jesse D. A History of Russia. 1961. New York, 1969.
Coontz, Stephanie and Peta Anderson, eds. Women's Work: Men's Property. London, 1985.
Cumbler, John T. Working Class Community in Industrial America. Westport, CN, 1979.
Dawson, C.A. Group Settlement. VII. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement. Ed. W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. Toronto, 1936:
Denoon, Donald. Settler Capitalism: The Dynamics of Dependant Development in the Southern Hemisphere. Oxford, 1983.
Dick, Lyle. Farmers Making Good: The Development of Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880-1920. Ottawa, 1989.
Doell, Leonard. The Bergthaler Church of Saskatchewan, 1892-1975. Winnipeg, MB, 1987.
Driedger, Leo. Mennonite Identity in Conflict. New York, 1988.
Dunae, Patrick. Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier. Vancouver, 1981.
Dyck, Cornelius J. An Introduction to Mennonite History: A Popular History of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites. Scottdale, PA, 1967.
Dyck, John. Oberschultz Jacob Peters: A Pioneer Manitoba Leader. Steinbach, 1990.
Eidse, Lenore, ed. Furrows in the Valley: Rural Municipality of Morris, Manitoba, 1880-1890. Morris, MB, 1980.
England, Robert. The Central European Immigrant in Canada. Toronto, 1929.
Ens, Gerhard. Volost and Municipality: The Rural Municipality of Rhineland, 1884-1984. Altona, 1984.
Epp-Tiessen, Ester. Altona: The Story of a Prairie Town. Altona, MB, 1982.
Epp, Frank. Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People. Toronto, 1974.
_____. Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival. Toronto, 1982.
Faulkner, Harold U. Politics, Reform and Expansion, 1890-1900. New York, 1959.
Francis, E.K. In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba. Altona, MB, 1955.
Friedmann, Robert. Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries: Its Genius and Its Literature. Goshen, IN, 1949.
Friesen, Gerald. The Canadian Prairies: A History. Toronto, 1984.
Garraty, John A. The New Commonwealth: 1877-1890. New York, 1968.
Geertz, Hildred and Clifford Geertz. Kinship in Bali. Chicago, 1975.
Geertz, Clifford. The Intrepretation of Cultures. New York, 1973.
_____ Peddlers and Princes: Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns. Chicago, 1963.
Giesenger, Adam. From Katherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans. Winnipeg, MB, 1974.
Gjerde, Jon. From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway to the Upper Middle West. Cambridge, MS, 1985.
Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moyniham. Beyond the Melting Pot. Cambridge, MS, 1963.
Gleason, Philip. The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order. Notre Dame, IL, 1968.
Greer, Allan. Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840. Toronto, 1985.

Grunthal History Book Committee. Grunthal History, 1874-1974. Steinbach, MB, 1974.
Handlin, Oscar. The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People. 1951. Boston, MS, 1973.
Hansen, Marcus. The Immigrant in American History. Boston, 1940.
_____ and John Brebner. The Mingling of the American and Canadian Peoples. New Haven, CN, 1940.
Harder, Leland. Steinbach and Its Churches. Elkart, IN, 1970.
Harrison, J.F.C. The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850. New Brunswick, NJ, 1979._
Hiebert, Clarence. The Holdeman People: The Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, 1859-1969. South Pasadena, CA, 1973.
Hobsbawm, E.J. Industry and Empire. London, 1969.
Hofstadter, Richard. The Age of Reform. New York, 1955.
Horn, Pamela. The Rural World, 1780-1850: Social Change in the English Countryside. New York, 1980._
Hostetler, John A. Amish Society. Scottdale, PA, 1980.__
Huebert. Helmut T. Hierschau: An Example of Russian Mennonite Life. Winnipeg, 1986.
Jansen Ebenezer Church. To God be the Glory, 1879-1979. Jansen, NE, 1979.
Jones, Maudlyn. American Immigration. Chicago, 1960.
Jordan, Terry. German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas. Austin, TX, 1966._
Juhnke, James. A People of Two Kingdoms: The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites. Newton, KS, 1975.
Kessner, Thomas. The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City. New York, 1977.
Klassen, Peter J. A Homeland for Strangers: An Introduction to Mennonites in Poland and Prussia. Fresno, CA, 1989.
Kleppner, Paul. The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of the Midwestern Politics, 1880-1915. New York, 1970.
Kraenzel, Carl F. The Great Plains in Transition. Norman, OK, 1955.
Laslett, Peter. The World We Have Lost. London, 1965.
Link, Arthur S. Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917. New York, 1954.
Lipset, Seymour M. The Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada. New York, 1989._
Loewen, Royden. Blumenort: A Mennonite Community in Transition, 1874-1983. Blumenort, MB, 1983.
Lorenz, Gerhard. Heritage Remembered: A Pictorial Survey of Mennonites in Prussia and Russia. Winnipeg, 1974.
Luebke, Frederick. Germans in Brazil. Baton Rouge, LS, 1987..
_____. Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1890. Lincoln, 1969.
Lupul, Manoly R., ed. A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Toronto, 1982.
Lyashchenko, Peter I. History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1817 Revolution. New York, 1939.
McCusker, John and Russell Menard. The Economy of British America, 1607-1790. Chapel Hill, NC, 1985.
McKinley, Marvin. Wheels of Farm Progress. St. Joseph, MG, 1980.
McLaughlin, Ken. The Germans in Canada. Ottawa, 1985.
McLaughlin, Virginia-Yans. Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930. Cornell, NY, 1971.
MacMaster, Richard K. Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683-1790. Scottdale, PA, 1985.
Malin, James C. History and Ecology: Studies of the Grassland. Ed. Robert Swierenga. Lincoln, NE, 1984.
Meade County Historical Society. Pioneer Stories of Meade County. Meade, KS, 1985.

Miller, Kerby. Emigrants and Exile: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America. New York, 1985.
Morawska, Ewa. For Bread With Butter: The Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890- 1940. Cambridge, MS, 1985.
Morton, W.L. Manitoba: A History. 1957. Toronto, 1979.
Mowry, George E. The Era of Theodore Roosevelt: 1900-1912. New York, 1962.
Newman, William. American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory. New York, 1973.
Nugent, Walter. The Tolerant Populists: Kansas, Populism and Nativism. Chicago, 1963.
Ohnick, Nancy, ed. Centennial History of Meade, Kansas. Meade, KS, 1985.
Olson, James C. History of Nebraska. 1955. Lincoln, NE, 1966.
Ostergren, Robert C. A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915. Madison, WI, 1988.
Park, Robert and Herbert Miller. Old World Traits Transplanted. New York, 1921.
Parr, Joy. Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924. Toronto, 1980.
Penner, Lydia. Hanover: 100 Years. Steinbach, MB, 1982.
Peters, Jake. The Waisenamt: A History of Mennonite Inheritance Custom. Steinbach, MB, 1985.
Peters, Victor. All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life. Minneapolis, MN, 1965.
Plett, C.F. The Story of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church. Hillsboro, KS, 1985.
Plett, Delbert F. The Golden Years: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Russia, 1812-1849. Steinbach, MB, 1985.
_____, ed. History and Events: Writings and Maps Pertaining to the History of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde from 1866-1876. Steinbach, MB, 1982.
_____, ed. Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde, 1874. Steinbach, MB, 1988.
_____. Storm and Triumph: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde, 1850-1875. Steinbach, MB, 1986.
Polanyi, Karl. The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time. Boston, 1944.
Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. 1965. Toronto, 1973.
Puskas, Julianna. From Hungary to the United States. Budapest, Hungary, 1982.
Reimer, Gustav and G.R. Gaeddert. Exiled By the Czar: Cornelius Jansen and the Great Mennonite Migration, 1874. Newton, KS, 1956.
Reimer, John C. ed. 75 Gedenkfeier der Mennonitischen Einwanderung in Manitoba, Canada. North Kildonen, MB, 1949.
Reimer, Peter J.B. and David P. Reimer, ed. The Sesquicentennial Jubilee: Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1812-1962. Steinbach, MB, 1962.
Rempel, G.S., ed. A Historical Sketch of the Churches of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren. Rosthern, SK, 1939.
Rischin, Moses, ed. The Jews of North America. Detroit, 1987.
Rosenblum, Gerald. Immigrant Workers: Their Impact on American Labor Radicalism. New York, 1973.
Sabean, David W. Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany. Cambridge, MS, 1984.
Schlabach, Theron F. Gospel Versus Gospel: Mission and the Mennonite Church, 1863-1944. Scottdale, PA, 1980.
_____. Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America. Scottdale, PA, 1988.
Schroeder, William. The Bergthal Colony. Winnipeg, MB, 1986.

Segalen, Martine. Historical Anthropology of the Family. Tr. J. Whitehouse and S. Matthews. New York, 1986.
Smith, C. Henry and Cornelius Krahn. Smith's Story of the Mennonites. 1941. Newton, KS, 1981.
Solberg, Carl E. The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930. Stanford, CA, 1987.
Speisman, Stephen. The Jews of Toronto: A History to 1937. (Toronto, 1979).
Steiner, Sam. Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz. Winnipeg, 1988.
Sullivan, F.S. A History of Meade County. Topeka, KS, 1916.
Swyripa, Francis. Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-language Works. Edmonton, 1978.
Thompson, John Herd. Canada, 1922-1939: Decades of Discord. Toronto, 1985.
Toews, Julius and Lawrence Klippenstein, eds. Manitoba Mennonites Memories: A Century Past But Not Forgotten. Altona, MB, 1974.
Tuzin, Donald. The Voice of the Tambaran: Truth and Illusion in Ilahita Arapesh Religion. San Francisco, 1980.
Tyman, John Langton. By Section, Township, and Range: Studies in Prairie Settlement. Brandon, MB, 1972.
Urry, James. None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia, 1789-1889. Winnipeg, 1989.
Voisey, Paul. Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community. Toronto, 1988.
Voth, Stanley E., ed. Henderson Mennonites: From Holland to Henderson. Henderson, NE, 1981.
Waite, P.B. Canada, 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny. Toronto, 1971.
Warkentin, Abe. Reflections on Our Heritage: A History of Steinbach and the R.M. of Hanover From 1874. Steinbach, MB, 1974.
Weber, Eugene. Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914. Stanford, CA, 1976.
Wiebe, Robert. In Search of Order, 1877-1920. New York, 1968.
Williams, Haitie. The Czar's Germans: With Particular Reference to the Volga Germans. Lincoln, NE, 1975.
Wittke, Carl. We Who Built America. Cleveland, 1939.
Wolf, Eric. Europe and the People Without History. Berkeley, CA, 1982.
Woodcock, George and Ivan Avakumovic. The Doukhobors. Toronto, 1977.
Woodsworth, J.S. Strangers Within Our Gates. Toronto, 1909.

ARTICLES AND PARTS OF BOOKS

Alexander, June. "'Staying Together': Chain Migration and Patterns of Slovak Settlement In Pittsburgh Prior to World War I." Journal of American Ethnic History 1 (1981), 56-83.
Anderson, Alan B. "Ethnic Identity in Saskatchewan Bloc Settlements: A Sociological Appraisal." The Settlement of the West. Ed. H. Palmer. Calgary, AB, 1977: 187-225.
Archdeacon, T.J. "Problems and Possibilities in the Study of American Immigration and Ethnic History." International Immigration Review 19 (1985), 112-134.
Artibise, Alan. "Explaining the North American West: A Comparative Urban Perspective." American Review of Canadian Studies 14 (1984), 20-44.
_____. "The Divided City: The Immigrants in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921." The Canadian City. Eds. G. Stetler and A. Artibise. Toronto, 1966: 300-336.
Avery, Donald. "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Foreign 'Navvy.'" Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1972), 135-151.
Bade, Klaas. "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Emigration to Germany." Central European History 13 (1980), 348-377.

Baily, Samuel L. "The Adjustment of Italian Immigrants to Buenos Aires and New York, 1870-1914. American Historical Review 88 (1983), 281-305.

Barth, Frederick. Introduction. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Ed. F. Barth. (Oslo, 1969): 9-20.

Bell, Robert G. "James C. Malin and the Grasslands of North America." Agricultural History 46 (1972), 414-424.

Bellah, R.N. "Religious Evolution." Readings in Social Evolution and Development. Ed. S.N. Eisenstadt. Oxford, 1970: 211-244.

Bender, Herald S. "The Anabaptist Vision." Mennonite Quarterly Review 18 (April 1944),67-88.

_____. "Menno Simons: A Brief Biography." The Complete Writings of Menno Simons. Ed. J.C. Wenger. Scottdale, PA, 1956: 1-30.

Bodnar, John. "Immigration and Modernization: The Case of Slavic Peasants in Industrial America." Journal of Social History (1976), 45-70.

Braudel, Fernand. "The Russian World Economy: A World Apart." The Perspective of the World. 1979. Trans., Sian Reynolds. New York, 1984: 441-467.

Brennan, J. William. "Wooing the 'Foreign Vote': Saskatchewan Politics and the Immigrant, 1905-1919." Prairie Forum 3 (1978), 61-77.

Breton, Raymond. "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants." The American Journal of Sociology 70 (1964), 193-204.

Careless, J.M.S. "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History." Canadian Historical Review 35 (1954), 1-21.

_____. "'Limited Identities' in Canada." Canadian Historical Review 50 (1969), 1-10.

Carlyle, W.J. "Mennonite Agriculture in Manitoba." Canadian Ethnic Studies 13 (1981), 73-97.

Cohen, Majorie Griffen. "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying." Histoire Sociale/Social History 34 (1984), 307-334.

Conzen, Kathleen. "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic Identity." Journal of American History 66 (1979), 633-615.

_____. "Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities." Ethnicity on the Great Plains. Ed. Frederick Luebke. Lincoln, 1980: 1-18.

_____. "Peasant Pioneers: Generational Succession Among German Farmers in Frontier Minnesota." The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation. Eds. S. Hahn and J. Prude. Chapel Hill, NC, 1985: 259-292.

Cronk, Sandra. "Gelassenheit: The Rites of the Redemptive Process in Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite Communities." Mennonite Quarterly Review 60 (1981), 5-44.

Cross, Robert D. "How Historians have Looked at Immigrants to the United States." International Migration Review. (1973), 4-13.

Degh, Linda. "Folk Religion as Ideology for Ethnic Survival: The Hungarians of Kipling, Saskatchewan." Ethnicity on the Great Plain: 129-146.

Driedger, Leo. Introduction. Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities. Ed. L. Driedger. Toronto, 1987: 1-13.

_____. "Mennonite Community Change: From Ethnic Enclave to Social Boundaries." Mennonite Quarterly Review 60 (1986), 374-386.

_____. "Urbanization of Mennonites in Canada." Call to Faithfulness: Essays in Canadian Mennonite Studies. Ed. H. Poetker and R. Regehr. Winnipeg, 1972: 143-156.

_____ and J.H. Kaufmann. "Urbanization of Mennonites: Canadian and American Comparisons." Mennonite Quarterly Review 56 (1982), 269-290.

Dolan, Jay. "Immigrants in the City: New York's Irish and German Catholics." Church History 41 (1972), 354-368.

Dyck, Harvey. "Russian Servitor and Mennonite Hero: Light and Shadow in Images of Johann Cornies." Journal of Mennonite Studies 2 (1984), 9-28.

Dyck, John. "The Oregon Trail of the Manitoba Mennonites." Mennonite Historian 14 (September, 1988), 1-2.

Epp, David H. "Johann Philipp Wiebe." Heinrich Heese: Johann Philipp Wiebe: Zwei Vordermaenner des Suedruszlaendischen Mennonitentums. Steinbach, MB, 1952: 39-50.

Epp, Marlene. "The Mennonite Girls' Home in Winnipeg: A Home Away From Home." Journal of Mennonite Studies 6 (1988), 100-115.

Esau-Klippenstein, Frieda. "Doing What We Could: Mennonite Domestic Servants in Winnipeg, 1920s-1950s." Journal of Mennonite Studies 7 (1989), 145-166.

Fast, Henry L. "The Kleine Gemeinde in the United States, 1874-1943." Profiles of the Kleine Gemeinde, 1874. Ed. D.F. Plett. Steinbach, 1987: 87-140.

Forsythe, James L. "Environmental Consideration in the Settlement of Ellis County, Kansas." Agricultural History 51 (1977), 38-50.

Francis, E.K. "The Adjustment of a Peasant Group to a Capitalist Economy: The Manitoba Mennonites." Rural Sociology 17 (1952), 218-228.

_____. "Toward a Typology of Religious Orders." American Journal of Sociology 60 (1950), 437-449.

Friedmann, Harriet. "Household Production and National Economy." Journal of Peasant Studies 8 (1980), 413-421.

_____. "Simple Commodity Production and Wage Labor in the American Plains." Journal of Peasant Studies 6 (1978), 71-100.

_____. "World Market, State and Family Farm: The Social Basis of Household Production in the Era of Wage Labour." Comparative Studies in Society and History 4 (1978), 545-585.

Friedmann, Robert. "The Essence of Anabaptist Faith. Mennonite Quarterly Review 41 (1967), 5-24.

Friesen, Gerald. "Imports and Exports in the Manitoba Economy, 1870-1890." Manitoba History 16 (1988), 31-41.

Friesen, Richard. "Saskatchewan Mennonite Settlements: The Modification of an Old World Settlement Pattern." Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (1977), 78-90.

Funk-Wiebe, Katie. "The Mennonite Women in Mennonite Fiction." Visions and Reality. Eds. H. Loewen and A. Reimer. Winnipeg, 1985: 231-242.

Gabaccia, Donna. "Kinship, Culture and Immigration: A Sicilian Example." Journal of American Ethnic History (1984), 39-53.

Gale, Donald and Paul Koroscil. "Doukhobor Settlements: Experiments in Idealism." Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (1977), 53-71.

Geertz, Clifford. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in New States." Old Societies and New States. Ed. C. Geertz. London, 1963: 105-158.

Gerschenkron, A. "Agrarian Policies and Urbanization: Russia 1861-1917." The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. Vol. 6, Part 2. Ed. H. Habukkuk and M. Postan. Cambridge, 1966.

Gjerde, Jon. "Conflict and Community: A Case Study of the Immigrant Church in America." Journal of Social History 19 (1986), 681-697.

Gleason, Philip. "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" American Quarterly (1964), 20-26.

Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moyniham. Introduction. Beyond the Melting Pot. Cambridge, MS, 1963: 1-26.

Greeley, Andrew. Introduction. Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance. New York, 1976: 2-32.

Goertz, Hans-Juergen. Introduction. Profiles of Radical Reformers. Ed. H. Goertz and Walter Klaassen. Kitchener, ON, 1982: 9-28.

Goode, William J. "Industrialization and Family Change." Comparative Perspectives on Social Change. Ed. S.N. Eisenstadt. Boston, 1968: 47-62.

Gordon, Milton. "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality." The Shaping of Twentieth Century America. Eds R. Abrams and L. Levine. Boston, 1965: 70-89.

Grew, Raymond. "The Case for Comparing Histories." American Historical Review 85 (1980), 783-778.

Gutman, Herbert. "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919." American Historical Review (1973), 531-588.

Habakkuk, H.J. "Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth-Century Europe." Journal of Economic History. 15 (1955), 1-12.

Hareven, Tamara. "The Family as Process: The Historical Study of the Family Cycle." Journal of Social History (1974), 322-327.

_____. "The Laborers of Manchester, New Hampshire, 1912-1922: The Role of Family and Ethnicity in Adjustment to Industrial Life." Labor History 16 (1975), 249-265.

Harney, Robert F. "Ambiente and Social Class in North American 'Little Italies.'" Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 2 (1975), 208-224.

_____. "The Commerce of Migration." Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (1977), 42-53.

Hays, Samuel. "Political Parties and the Community-Society Continuum. American Political History as Social Analysis. Ed. S. Hays. Knoxville, TN, 1980: 293-325.

Hedley, Max. "Independent Commodity Production and the Dynamics of Tradition." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 13 (1976), 413-421.

_____. "Relations of Production of 'Family Farm': Canadian Prairies." Journal of Peasant Studies 9 (1981), 71-85.

_____. "Reproduction and Evolving Patterns of Cooperation and Resource Transfer." Canadian Journal of Anthropology 1 (1980), 141-148.

Henretta, James. "Families and Farms: 'Mentalite' in Pre-Industrial America." William and Mary Quarterly (1978), 3-32.

_____. "Social History as Lived and Written." American History Review 84 (1979), 1293-1333.

Hicks, John D. "The Western Middle West, 1900-1914." Agriculture History, 65-77.

Hilton, Rodney. "Capitalism: What's in a Name?" Class Conflict and the Crisis in Feudalism. Ed. R. Hilton. London, 1985.

Homan, Gerlof. "Post Armistice Court-Martial of Conscientious Objectors in Camp Funston, 1918-1919." Mennonite Life 44 (1989), 4-9.

Horowitz, G. "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 32 (1966), 56-73.

Hostetler, John A. "The Old Order Amish on the Great Plains: A Study in Cultural Vulnerability." Ethnicity on the Great Plains. Ed. F. Luebke. Lincoln, 1980: 92-108.

Ingles, Ernest. "The Custom Threshermen in Western Canada, 1890-1925. Building Beyond the Homestead. Ed. David C. Jones and Ian MacPherson. Calgary, 1985: 135-162.

Isaac, Harold. "Basic Group Identity." Ethnicity 1 (1974), 15-41.

Isajiw, Wsevold. "Definitions of Ethnicity." Ethnicity 2 (1974), 111-125.

Juteau-Lee, Danielle and Barbara Roberts. "Ethnicity and Femininity: d'apres nos experiences." Canadian Ethnic Studies. 8 (1981), 1-23.

Jordon, Terry G. "A Religious Geography of the Hill Country Germans of Texas." Ethnicity on the Great Plains: 109-128.

Jorgenson, Lloyd. "Agricultural Expansion Into the North Semi-Arid Lands of the West North Central States During the First World War." Agricultural History 23 (1949), 30-40.

Juhnke, James. "Mennonite Benevolence and Revitalization in the Wake of World War I." Mennonite Quarterly Review 60 (1986), 15-30.

Kett, Joseph. "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth Century America." Journal of International History 2 (1971), 283-298.

Klassen, Peter J. "Faith and Culture in Conflict: Mennonites in the Vistula Delta." Mennonite Quarterly Review 57 (1983), 194-205.

Kloberdanz, Timothy. "Plainsmen of Three Continents: Volga German Adaptation to Steppe, Prairie and Pampa." Ethnicity on the Great Plains. Ed. F. Luebke. Lincoln, 1980: 54-72.

Koop, P. Albert. "Some Economic Aspects of Mennonite Migration." Mennonite Quarterly Review 60 (1981), 143-157.

Kornelson, G.G. "Aus deutschen Siedlungen: Ostreserve." Der Nordwesten Kalender 25 (1949), 177-180.

Kovacs, Martin. "Ethnic Canadians: Synoptic Comments." Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education. Regina, SK, 1978: 473-495.

Krahn, Cornelius. "Anabaptism and Culture in the Netherlands." Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision. Ed. G. Hershberger. Scottdale, PA, 1957: 219-236.

_____. "From Russia to Meade." Mennonite Life 6 (1951), 18-19.

Krause, Corinne Azen. "Urbanization Without Breakdown: Italian, Jewish, and Slavic Immigrant Women in Pittsburgh, 1900-1945." Journal of Urban History (1978), 292-306.

Lehr, John. "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West." Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (1977), 42-52.

_____. "'The Peculiar People': Ukrainian Settlement of Marginal Lands in Southeastern Manitoba." Building Beyond the Homestead: 29-48.

Loewen, Royden. "Clio in Western Canada: A Review of Three Settlement Histories." Manitoba History, 18 (1989), 53-56.

_____. "Old Ways Under New Skies: Blumenort, Manitoba, 1874-1910." Manitoba History 9 (1985), 8-19.

Luebke, Frederick. "Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains." Western Historical Quarterly 8 (1977), 405-430.

_____. "Patterns of German Settlement in the Unites States and Brazil: 1830-1930." Germans in the New World. Ed. F. Luebke. Chicago, forthcoming.

_____. "Regionalism and the Great Plains." Western Historical Quarterly 15 (1984), 19-38.

McCormack, A. Ross. "Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants to Canada, 1900-1914." Ethnicity, Power and Politics. Ed. J. Dahlie and T. Fernando. Toronto, 1981: 38-55.

McQuillan, D. Aiden. "Territory and Ethnic Identity." European Settlement and Development in North America. Ed. James Gibson. Toronto, 1978: 136-169.

Medick, Hans. "The Proto-industrial Family Economy: The Structural Function of Household and Family During the Transition From Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism." Social History 3 (1976), 291-315.

Mendels, Franklin F. "Proto-industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrial Process." Journal of Economic History 32 (1972), 241-261.

Miller, Paul. "The Story of Jansen Churches." Mennonite Life (1955), pp. 37-40.

Miller, Randall M. and Thomas Marzick. Introduction. Immigrants and Religion in Urban America. Eds. Miller and Marzick. Philadelphia, 1977: i-xviii.

Montgomery, David. "The New Urban History." Reviews in American History. (1974), 498-504.

Morton, W.L. "Clio in Canada: The Interpretation of Canadian History." 1948. Approaches to Canadian History. Ed. C. Berger. Toronto, 1967: 42-49.

Nisbett, Robert. "Community as Typology - Toennies and Weber." The Sociological Tradition. New York, 1966: 71-83.

O'Dea, Thomas F. "Stability and Change and the Dual Role of Religion." Stability and Change. Eds., B. Barber and A. Inkles. Boston, 1971.

Ostergren, Robert. "Land and Family in Rural Immigrant Communities." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 71 (1981), 400-411.

Palmer, Howard. "Canada Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s." Journal of Canadian Studies 17 (1982), 35-50.

_____. "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century." Readings in Canadian History. Ed. R. Francis and D. Smith. Toronto, 1982: 123-139.

Peachy, Paul. "Social Background and Social Philosophy of the Swiss Anabaptists, 1525-1540." Mennonite Quarterly Review 28 (1954), 102-127.

Peal, David. "Purposeful Peasants: A Review Essay." Peasant Studies 14 (1986), 39-53.

Penner, Horst. "The Anabaptists and Mennonites of East Prussia." Mennonite Quarterly Review 22 (1948).

_____. "Western Prussian Mennonites Through Four Centuries." Mennonite Quarterly Review 23 (1949).

Peterson, William. "Concepts of Ethnicity." Concepts of Ethnicity. Ed. W. Peterson, et.al. Cambridge, MS, 1982: 1-26.

Plett, Delbert. "All that Blisters: James Urry Attacks the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites." Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde, 1874. Ed. D.F. Plett. Steinbach, 1987: 299-308.

Rea, J.E. "The Roots of Prairie Society." Prairie Perspectives. Ed. D. Gagnon. Toronto, 1970: 46-55.

Redekop, Calvin. "The Old Colony: An Analysis of Group Survival." Mennonite Quarterly Review 40 (1966), 190-211.

Redekop, Paul. "The Mennonite Family in Tradition and Transition." Journal of Mennonite Studies 4 (1986), 77-93.

Redfield, Robert. "The Folk Society." American Journal of Sociology 52 (1947), 293-308.

_____. Introduction. St. Denis: A French Canadian Parish. By Horace Miner. Chicago, 1939, xii-ixx.

Reed, Mick. "The Peasantry of Nineteenth Century England: A Neglected Class?" History Working Journal 18 (1984), 53-76.

Reimer, Al. "Klaas Reimer: Rebel Conservative, Radical Traditionalist." Journal of Mennonite Studies 3 (1985), 108-117. Reimer, K.J.B. "Historical Sketches of Steinbach and District Pioneers." 1952. Reflections on Our Heritage. Ed. Abe Warkentin. Steinbach, 1974: 32-52.

Rempel, Kevin Enns. "The Fellowship of the Evangelical Bible Church and the Quest for Religious Identity." Mennonite Quarterly Review 63 (1989), 247-264.

Rice, John. "The Role of Culture and Community in Frontier Prairie Farming." Journal of Historical Geography 3 (1977), 155-175.

Roy, Patricia. "British Columbia's Fear of Asians." Histoire Sociale/Social History 25 (1980), 161-172.

Salamon, Sonya. "Ethnic Differences in Farm Family Land Transfers." Rural Sociology 45 (1980), 290-308.

Saloutus, Theodore. "The Immigrant Contribution to American Agriculture." Agriculture History 50 (1976), 45-67.

Sawatsky, Rodney. "Domesticated Sectarianism: Mennonites in the United States and Canada in Comparative Perspective." Canadian Journal of Sociology 3 (1978), 233-244.

Schlabach, Theron. "Mennonites and Pietism in America, 1740-1880." Mennonite Quarterly Review 59 (1983), 222-239.

Schlesinger, Arthur. "The Significance of Immigration in American History." American Journal of Sociology. (1921), 71-85.

Schlichtman, Hansgeorg. "Ethnic Themes in Geographical Research in Western Canada." Canadian Ethnic Studies 9 (1977), 9-41.

Seller, Maxine S. "Beyond the Stereotype: A New Look at the Immigrant Woman, 1880-1924." Journal of Ethnic Studies 3 (1979), 59-70.

Shortridge, James R. "The Heart of the Prairie: Cultural Areas in the Central and Northern Great Plains." Great Plains Quarterly 8 (1988), 206-221.

Siegelbaum, Lewis. "The Odessa Grain Trade: A Case Study of Urban Growth and Development." Journal of European Economic History 9 (1980), 113-152.

Smith, Allan. "Metaphor and Nationality in North America." Canadian Historical Review 51 (1970), 247-274.

_____. "National Images and National Maintenance: The Ascendancy of the Ethnic Idea in North America." Canadian Journal of Political Science 2 (1981), 227-257.

Smith, J.E. "Our Own Kind: Family and Community Networks in Providence." Radical History Review 17 (1978), 99-108.

Smith, Timothy. "Lay Initiative in Religious Life, 1880-1950." Anonymous Americans. Ed. T. Hareven. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1971: 214-219.

_____. "Religion and Ethnicity in America." American Historical Review. 83 (1978), 1155-1185.

Stayer, James and Werner Packull, Klaus Depperman. "From Monogenesis to Polygenesis: The Historical Discussion of Anabaptist Origins." Mennonite Quarterly Review 59 (1975), 83-121.

Stern, Stephen. "Ethnic Folklore and the Folklore of Ethnicity." Western Folklore 36 (1977), 7-32.

Strong-Boag, Veronica. "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling A Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism." Journal of Canadian Studies 21 (1986), 32-52.

Swierenga, Robert. "Dutch Immigrant Demography, 1820-1880." Journal of Family History 5 (1980), 390-415.

_____. "Ethnocultural Political Analysis: A New Approach to American Ethnic Studies." Journal of American Studies 5 (1971), 59-79.

_____. "The New Rural History: Defining the Parameters." Great Plains Quarterly (1981), 211-223.

Thernstrom, Stephan. "Immigrants and WASPS: Ethnic Differences in Occupational Mobility in Boston, 1890-1940." Nineteenth Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History. Ed. S. Thernstrom and R. Sennett. New Haven, CO, 1969: 125-164.

Thistlethwaite, Frank. "Migration From Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." Population Movements in Modern European History. Ed. H. Moller. New York, 1964: 73-93.

Thompson, E.P. "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century." Past and Present 50 (1971), 76-136.

Thompson, John Herd. "Writing About Agriculture." Writing About Canada. Ed. John Schultz. Toronto, 1990: 97-119.

Tilly, Charles and Harold Brown. "On Uprooting, Kinship and the Auspices of Migration." International Journal of Comparative Studies 8 (1967), 134-164.

Tilly, Louise. "Reflections on Modern French Rural History." Peasant Studies 11 (1984), 248-256.

Toews, John B. "Cultural and Intellectual Aspects of the Mennonite Experience in Russia." Mennonite Quarterly Review 55 (1979), 137-159.

_____. "The Russian Mennonites." Mennonite Quarterly Review 49 (1974), 403-408.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." 1893. The Frontier in American History. (New York, 1920): 109-227.

Urry, James. "All that Glisters: Delbert Plett and the Kleine Gemeinde in Russian Mennonite History." Journal of Mennonite Studies 4 (1986), 228-250.

_____. "Through the Eye of the Needle: Wealth and the Mennonite Experience in Imperial Russia," Journal of Mennonite Studies 3 (1985), 7-35.

Vecoli, Rudolph. "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted." Journal of American History 53 (1964), 404-417.

_____. "Cult and Occult in Italian-American Culture: The Persistence of a Religious Heritage." Immigrants and Religion in Urban America. Ed. R. Miller and T. Marzick. Philadelphia, 1977: 26-47.

_____. "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History." The State of American History. Ed. H. Bass. Chicago, 1970.

_____. "The Formation of Chicago's 'Little Italies.'" Journal of American Ethnic History 2 (1983), 5-20.

_____. "Prelates and Peasants: Italian Immigrants and the Catholic Church." Journal of Social History 2 (1969), 217-268.

_____. "The Resurgence of American Immigration History." American Studies International (1979), 46-66.

Ward, Peter. "Courtship and Social Space in Nineteenth Century English Canada." Canadian Historical Review 69 (1988), 35-62.

Williams, J. Allen, and David Johnson, Miguel Carranza. "Ethnic Assimilation and Pluralism in Nebraska." Ethnicity on the Great Plains. Ed. F. Luebke. Lincoln, 1980: 210-229.

Wong, Bernard. "A Comparative Study of the Assimilation of the Chinese in New York City and Lima, Peru." Comparitive Studies in Society and History 20 (1978), 335-355.

TYPESCRIPTS

Bowden, Martyn. "Changes in Land Use in Jefferson County, Nebraska, 1857-1957." MA Thesis, Nebraska, 1959.

Classen, Daniel. "Kleine Gemeinde Church at Meade, Kansas," Research Paper, Bethel College, Newton, KS.

Dick, Ernest. "Resources in Mennonite History in the Public Archives of Canada." Research Paper, Public Archives of Canada, 1975.

Doerksen, Bernard. "A Brief History of [the Mennonite Settlement in] Haskell, County, Kansas." Research Paper, Blumenort, MB, 1983.

Engbrecht, Dennis. "The Americanization of a Rural Immigrant Church: The General Conference Mennonites of Central Kansas." PhD Diss., U. of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1985.

Fast, Henry. "Gruenfeld," Paper Presented at the East Reserve Village History Symposium. Steinbach, MB, February 1989.

_____. "The Kleine Gemeinde in the United States, 1874-1943." Research Paper, Steinbach Bible College, 1988.

Flynn, David and Al Koop. "A Sense of Community: Three Mennonite Towns in Manitoba, Canada." Paper Presented at the XI World Congress of Sociology, New Delhi, India, August 19, 1986.

Friesen, Leonard. "Mennonites and the Fissuring of the New Russian Society, 1860s-1905." Paper Presented at the Symposium of Mennonites in Russia, Mennonite Heritage Centre, Winnipeg, MB, November 9, 1989.

Friesen, Walter S. "History and Description of the Mennonite Community and Bible Academy at Meade, Kansas," MA Thesis, State Teachers College, Emporia, KS, 1957.

Hryniuk, Stella. "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900." PhD Diss., Manitoba, 1985.

Janzen, Cornelius. "Americanization of the Russian Mennonites in Central Kansas." MA Thesis, Kansas, 1914.

Loewen, Royden. "Ethnicity in America: A Monkey Wrench in the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft Progression." Research Essay, University of Manitoba, 1986.

Loveridge, Donald. "The Garden of Manitoba: The Settlement and Agricultural Development of the Rock Lake District and the Municipality of Louise, 1878-1902." PhD Diss., Toronto, 1986.

Martens, Hildegard. "The Relationships of Religious to Socio-Economic Divisions Among Mennonites of Dutch/Prussian Descent in Canada." PhD Diss., Toronto, 1977.

Miller, Paul. "An Analysis of Community Adjustment: A Case Study of Jansen, Nebraska," PhD Diss., Nebraska, 1953.

Regier, Evelyn. "An Historical Study of the Development of the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren." MRE Thesis, New York Biblical Seminary, 1948.

Rempel, David G. "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia: A Study of their Settlement and Economic Development from 1789-1914." PhD Diss., Stanford, 1933.

Sawatsky, Rodney J. "History and Ideology: American Mennonite Identity Definition Through History." PhD Diss., Princeton, 1977.

Schellenberg, Ed. "EMB Church Historian Report." Unpublished Research Paper, Steinbach, MB, 1985. Pp 2.

Schmidt, Theodore. "Mennonites of Nebraska," MA Thesis, Nebraska, 1933.

Schultz, Arnold. "A Centennial History of the [Evangelical Mennonite Brethren] Conference, 1889-1989." Unpublished Manuscript, Beatrice Schultz, Monteray, CA.

Stafford, Fred. "Jefferson County and Fairbury, Nebraska, 1850-1900," MA Thesis, Nebraska, 1948.

Stoesz, Dennis. "A History of the Chortitzer Mennonite Church of Manitoba, 1874-1914." MA Thesis, Manitoba, 1987.

Unruh, John D. "The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Brings the Mennonites to Nebraska, 1873-1878." MA Thesis, Nebraska, 1962.

Urry, James. "The Closed and the Open: Social and Religious Change Amongst the Mennonites in Russia." PhD Diss., Oxford U, 1978.

_____. "Genealogy, Pedigree and Mennonite Social History." Paper Presented at MHC, November 25, 1986.

_____. "A Religious or Social Elite? The Mennonite Brethren in Imperial Russia." Paper Presented at Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, Winnipeg, November 14, 1986.

Van Dyck, Edward. "Blumenort: A Study of Persistence in a Sect." PhD Diss., Alberta, 1972.

Warkentin, John. "Mennonite Settlements in Southern Manitoba: A Study in Historical Geography." PhD Diss., York U, Toronto, 1960.

Wieb, Ruby J. "Mennonite Girl." Unpublished Manuscript, Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, Hillsboro, KS.