

**CHANGING ATTITUDES:
RELATIONS OF MENNONITE MISSIONARIES WITH NATIVE NORTH AMERICANS
1880 TO 2004**

BY

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Changing Attitudes: Relations of Mennonite Missionaries with Native North Americans

1880 to 2004

Abstract

This study compares and contrasts changes in attitudes and methods of the General Conference Mennonite mission in the United States and the Bergthaler Mennonite Pioneer Mission in Manitoba toward Native North Americans. The General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America was closely connected historically with the Manitoba Bergthaler Church. In fact, the Bergthaler Church joined the General Conference in 1968. The General Conference mission to the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hopi in the United States began in 1880 while the Manitoba Mennonite Pioneer Mission to the Ojibwa, Cree, and people of mixed ancestry in Manitoba began in 1948. Research of case studies for both missions shows that the Mennonite Pioneer Mission began with the same methods and attitudes as the much earlier Mennonite mission in the south. Changes that took place were not dependent on how long the respective missions had been in operation. Changing attitudes happened simultaneously in the United States and in the Manitoba mission, as a reflection of changing attitudes in society. In the 1960s and 1970s, both missions became more accepting of other cultures as missionaries began to dialogue with people of different backgrounds and life ways. They realized that instead of being bearers of absolute truth, they could listen and learn as well. After 1980 and continuing to 2004, interest in missions seemed to wane in the Mennonite constituency. Consequently funding for missions to Native peoples was greatly reduced. This study raises some interesting questions about the dilemmas of syncretism, denominationalism, and what happened to Mennonite distinctives such as adult baptism on confession of faith, the

peace position, and separateness from society as Mennonites and Native North Americans interacted and faced new challenges of communication and mutual adaptation.

Changing Attitudes: Relations of Mennonite Missionaries with Native North Americans

1880 to 2004

Preface

In the past decades, change among Native peoples of North America has been a popular subject for scholars.¹ They have emphasized that Native North Americans' cultures were not static; they were dynamic, continuously influenced by other tribes and cultures around them. Many of these scholars have described the changes brought about by missionaries and governments in negative terms. What is often forgotten, however, is that while missionaries were working to bring about changes among Native peoples, their own larger worlds were changing, thus affecting their methods and attitudes.

This study examines change among Mennonite missionaries, and their sending agencies, to Native North Americans between 1880 and 2004. It explores and compares the attitudes and methods of the first Mennonite missionaries to aboriginal peoples in the United States, specifically Oklahoma, Arizona, and Montana (1880-1900) with those in Canada, specifically northern Manitoba (1948-1970), through detailing case histories of missionaries. Then it evaluates American and Manitoba Mennonite missions fifty years after their beginnings. Finally, it describes developments up to 2004 in the United States and in Manitoba and how attitudes and methods have changed since the beginning of Mennonite missionary efforts.

1

See for example Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada 1780 to 1870* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1994). See also Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1994). For the United States see James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Context of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

My assumption before beginning this research was that the history of an organization reflects its precedents more than its context, and that Mennonite Pioneer Mission, beginning almost seventy years later, would have built upon experiences and lessons learned from the earlier General Conference missions. My assumption was that since American Mennonites made some progressive changes in their churches earlier than did Canadian Mennonites, their missions to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Hopi would also have become more progressive. However, my research indicated that American Mennonites remained conservative in the way they conducted missions until the 1960s, perhaps because they were influenced by the fundamentalist/modernist debate. At the same time, the Mennonite Pioneer Mission, begun by the Manitoba Bergthaler, began conservatively but became more progressive during the first decades of its existence. Changes in both American and Manitoba mission agencies evolved simultaneously, reflecting wider societal thought.

Ed. G. Kaufman, a Mennonite historian, states that "The [General] Conference began with unity of all Mennonites in America as one of its goals..."² The General Conference, with its offices located in the United States, was divided into six district conferences, one of them being Canada, and related to each district in an advisory capacity.³ The district mission boards were directly responsible to the General Conference. Yet the General Conference and

2

Ed. G. Kaufman, "General Conference Mennonite Church," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* Vol. II, 470.

3

The Bergthaler churches, who began Mennonite Pioneer Mission, did not join the General Conference until 1968. However, research shows that the General Conference mission board was very much involved in the organization of Mennonite Pioneer Mission. The origins of and close relationships between the General Conference and the Bergthaler Mennonites will be described in chapters two and four. See Henry Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith* (Altona, Manitoba: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1970), 333-335. See also Kaufman, 467.

Mennonite Pioneer Mission were separate entities, since the Manitoba Bergthaler did not join the General Conference until 1968.⁴

Several disclaimers are necessary. This study is limited to General Conference Mennonite missions to aboriginals in the United States and to the Mennonite Pioneer Mission (MPM), later Native Ministries (NM), begun by Bergthaler Mennonites in Manitoba.⁵ Even within these parameters, the case studies that follow in no way cover every General Conference and MPM/NM missionary in every place. Furthermore, this study does not deal with justice and land issues or residential school abuses, the areas addressed by Mennonite Central Committee of Canada.

C.L.Higham finds that although the governments of the United States and Canada had some fundamental differences in their attitudes toward and treatment of Native peoples, the attitudes of mainline Protestant missionaries in the United States and Canada were similar. Missionaries from both countries thought of aboriginals first as “noble savages” and later as “wretched Indians,” but Protestant missionaries, both in the United States and in Canada, considered them to be “redeemable.”⁶ The image missionaries had of their potential converts affected how they conducted missions. Protestant publications promoted this image in

4

See Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1996), Table 8, 160-162.

5

This dissertation does not deal with missions established by Mennonite Brethren, Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, *Kleine Gemeinde*, Church of God in Christ Mennonite, *Bruderthaler*, or Swiss-South German Mennonites who did not join the General Conference.

6

C.L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched, & Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900* (University of Calgary Press, 2000), 3-5, 50-56. Higham draws her information from church records.

newsletters to their constituencies. Do Higham's findings about mainline Protestants apply to North American Mennonite missions as well? Did twentieth century Mennonite missionaries continue to think about aboriginal peoples as "wretched Indians" or had their concepts changed since the nineteenth century? How have Mennonite missions been conducted in the twentieth century? Have Mennonite missionaries accepted their converts as equals?

Were there similarities between Mennonite missions and mainline Protestant missions?⁷ Higham claims that in the early years, mainline Protestant missionary societies expected quick conversion, tithing converts, and self-supporting missions in short order, but their missionaries found that these were unrealistic expectations among aboriginal peoples. Did Native peoples respond more quickly to Mennonite missions? Did Mennonite mission stations become self-supporting and independent in less time than mainline mission stations or did they face the same problems?

Mennonite missions to aboriginal peoples in the United States began in 1880, when the General Conference Mennonites sent their first missionary, Samuel Haury, to the Cheyenne and Arapaho in Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. In Manitoba, the Bergthaler Mennonites began missions to aboriginal peoples relatively late. The first missions committee was appointed in 1940. Mennonite Pioneer Mission, which became Native Ministries in 1975, officially began in 1944 to the Tarahumara in Mexico and in 1948 to the people of mixed

7

Mennonites are Protestants since they originated from the group that left the Catholic Church with the Reformation, but they are not considered mainline Protestants. Walter Klaassen, Anabaptist historian, calls his book *Anabaptism: Neither Catholic nor Protestant* (Waterloo, ON: Conrad Grebel Press, 1973).

ancestry and the Ojibwa and Cree in northern Manitoba.⁸ Sending organizations and churches were changing during the years when MPM/NM sent missionaries to northern Manitoba. Transitions such as language from German to English, lay ministry to educated professional pastors, and traditionalism to revivalism were taking place. In the area of missions, Manitoba Mennonites changed from being objects of mission to becoming sending agencies to other peoples.⁹ Did their methods and attitudes about Native peoples change as well?

Did Manitoba Mennonites learn anything from American Mennonite missions which began over sixty years earlier? Did both missions change from their beginnings to 2004? When did these changes occur—did change come earlier with the American than with the Manitoba mission, since missions to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Hopi began earlier than missions to the Cree, Ojibwa, and people of mixed ancestry in Manitoba? Did the missionaries themselves change during their stays among Native peoples? Were Manitoba churches, boards, and missionaries more open to indigenization and syncretism than their southern counterparts when they began their mission? Were United States and Manitoba Mennonites more open to these concepts at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century? Could Mennonites accept an alternative to either outright aboriginal rejection of Christianity or to their intended total replacement of traditional religions?

8

Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith*, 332-335. In 1956, MPM also began a mission with the Cree at Cross Lake.

9

Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1996), 109-124. The first Manitoba Mennonites were the object of missions when Mennonite Brethren and General Conference missionaries came in from the south.

Lois Barrett, in her history of General Conference Home Missions, writes that the goals of the first missionaries were to civilize and Christianize, with the intention of also imposing their clothing, furniture, and farming on Native peoples.¹⁰ In this way then, the General Conference Mennonite mission was like other Protestant missions. Did these expectations change in later years? If there were changes, did they come about as a result of interaction with the Hopi, Cheyenne, and Arapaho?

Like other Protestant missionaries, Mennonite missionaries had authority and power at their mission stations. Did they allow for indigenous expressions of worship? Could they let go of control as they trained Native Christians to become leaders of their own churches? Could they allow Native churches to become self-governing? What were the differences or similarities between American and Manitoba Mennonite missionaries in this respect?

Historically, Mennonites had been a closed ethnic community. When they sent missionaries to peoples of other ethnic backgrounds, their goal was to win new converts that would be added to the Mennonite church. But converts of non-Mennonite backgrounds would change the character of the Mennonite church from an exclusive, ethnic church to an inclusive church that could accept peoples of other traditions. Including peoples of other backgrounds would raise the question: "Who is a Mennonite?" MPM originated when Mennonite conscientious objectors served their terms on reserves in southern Manitoba and became aware

10

Lois Barrett, *The Vision and the Reality: The Story of Home Missions in the General Conference Mennonite Church* (Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1983), 15. Although Barrett wrote a history of General Conference Mennonite Home Missions, she included what was called "foreign mission" in 1880. Barrett calls this section "The Foreign Mission at Home." As in the literature of other Protestants of that time, missions to North American Natives was called "Foreign Missions" while missions to other peoples in North America were called "Home Missions."

of Canada's Cree and Ojibwa. Yet, when MPM sent its first missionaries, they chose fields that were relatively inaccessible.¹¹ Was this done intentionally or sub-consciously so that the Cree and Ojibwa could not join southern Manitoba churches? Did the choice of mission fields reflect a concern that local churches should remain ethnically "pure?"

If Mennonites wanted to remain ethnically "pure," they also wanted to present a "pure" gospel according to their own understanding of biblical truth to aboriginal peoples. Did changes occur in this area? Were late twentieth century missionaries and their board and constituency flexible enough to allow for other understandings that incorporated what others religions saw as truth? Could they build upon commonalities between Christianity and traditional religions? Christianity has been seen as an exclusive religion; most nineteenth century Protestant and Catholic missionaries and their churches believed that Christianity should completely replace aboriginal spiritual values, practices, and cultures. Could twentieth century Mennonites accept a response that was not simply rejection or acceptance? Could they accept syncretism?

The ethnohistorical approach should ask the same questions of both parties. Both Native and Mennonite voices need to be heard. How do the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Hopi, Cree and Ojibwa reflect upon Mennonite missionaries who came to their reserves? From Native points of view, have Mennonite missionaries built upon commonalities? Has it been possible for converts to be Christian and retain a Native identity? Have General Conference and MPM/NM missionaries taught everything and learned nothing or has dialogical interaction

¹¹

For example Jake Unrau, MPM's first missionary, served as a conscientious objector in Riding Mountain National Park in 1941. Yet neither he nor the MPM Board considered a mission to the adjacent Keeseekowenin Reserve. See Jake Unrau, *Living in the Way: The Pilgrimage of Jake & Trudie Unrau* (Winnipeg, CMBC Publications, 1996), 19-21.

become normal? The Native perspectives are usually much more difficult to ascertain than the missionary perspectives. At the conclusion of my research, I am not sure that I have been able to answer these questions from a Native perspective. Why should the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Hopi, Ojibwa, or Cree tell me, a stranger, how they feel about General Conference or MPM/NM presence among them? I have tried to listen for Native voices in the literature and in the archival records, and I have attended various functions where I could interact with Native Christians who have been in contact with Mennonite missionaries.

The following chapters examine the attitudes of Mennonite missionaries to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Hopi beginning in 1880, and then the attitudes of Mennonite missionaries to the Ojibwa and Cree in Manitoba beginning in 1948. Evidence suggests that General Conference Mennonite missionaries began with many of the same ethnocentric premises both in the United States in 1880 and in Manitoba in 1948. Both organizations experienced turning points in methods and attitudes during the 1960s and 1970s. In the last half of the twentieth century major changes took place among the Mennonites, in the beliefs and approaches of the missionaries and their Boards in both the United States and Manitoba. Unfortunately, people in Mennonite communities who had less contact with Native Christians often lagged behind in cross-cultural understanding. After the 1980s, constituency interest dropped away, resulting in major budgetary and program cuts.

Information for this dissertation is drawn from primary and secondary sources, including secondary sources by academic historians of Protestant missions to Native peoples, which I will briefly outline in the following historiographical chapter. These works provide a context for understanding Mennonite activities, goals, methods, and attitudes.

Acknowledgements

My fascination with missions to aboriginal peoples began in 1995 when I took Jennifer S.H. Brown's course, Special Topics in Social History, which highlighted aboriginal history, and problems that developed in relationships between missionaries and Native peoples. My Master's thesis focused on George Flett, a Presbyterian missionary of mixed ancestry, who served the Ojibwa of the Keeseekoowenin Reserve from 1875 to 1895. During my subsequent studies, my attention turned to the activities of Mennonite missionaries and to the abundant records that are housed at the Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg, some in the German language. The United Church Conference Archives in Winnipeg holds documents that describe Mennonite activities on Native reserves, especially during World War II and the following years, when Mennonite young men worked as conscientious objectors for the United Church. These records stimulated my interest.

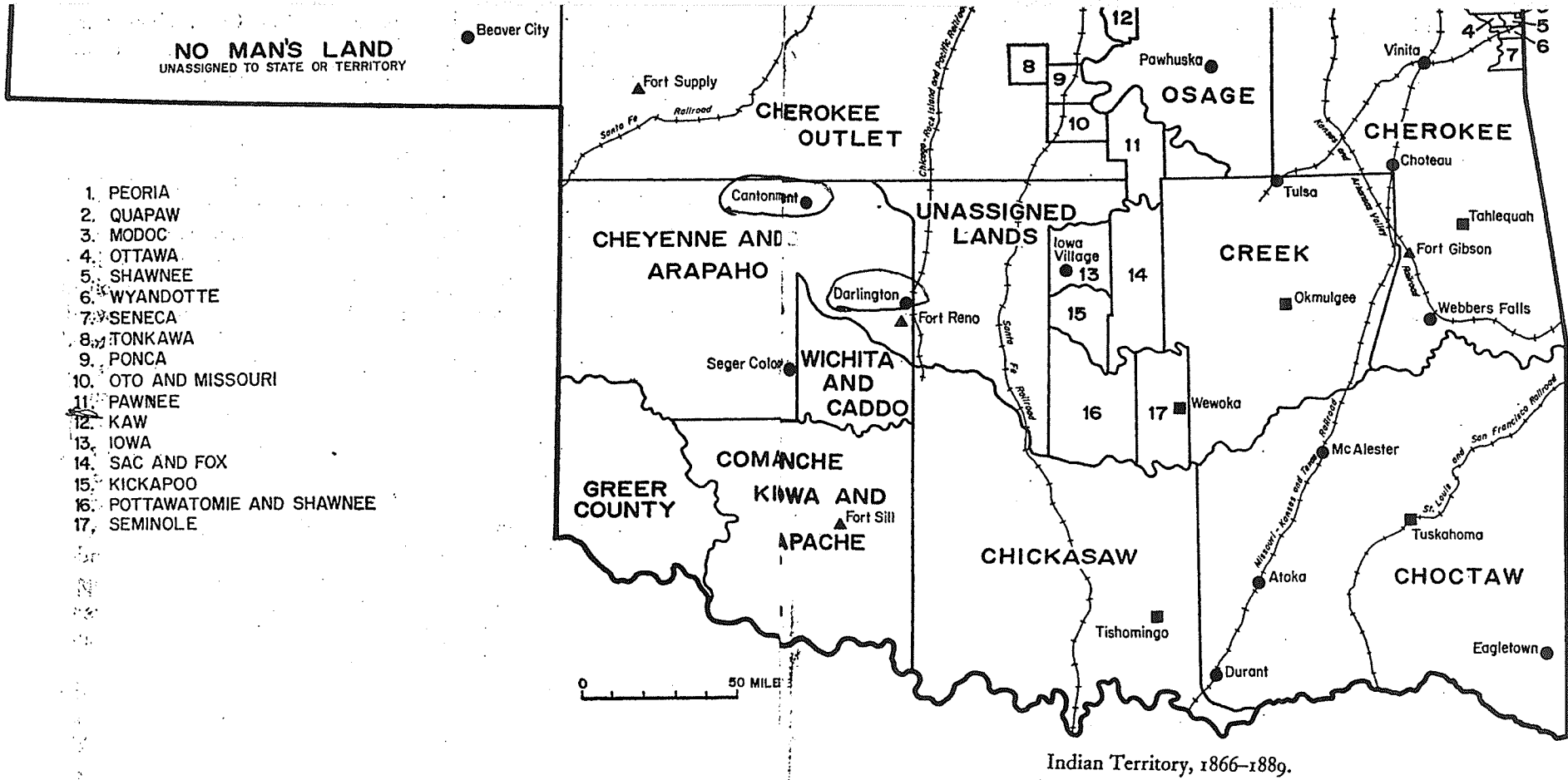
One of the three fields for my comprehensives was Mennonite history. In my readings, I was captivated by the methods and attitudes of the first three Mennonite couples who went to the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hopi in Oklahoma and Arizona in 1880. I wondered if these methods and attitudes had changed by 1948, when the Mennonites in Manitoba sent their first missionary couple to the peoples of mixed ancestry and the Ojibwa in the vicinity of Matheson Island. My curiosity led me to do a comparison of Mennonite missionaries to Native peoples in the United States with the MPM mission which began in Manitoba in 1948.

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Jennifer S.H. Brown, for her encouragement, good editorial suggestions, and prompt communications. Without her, I could not have completed this dissertation. Thanks also to Professors T.D. Regehr, Klaus Klaustermaier, Jarvis Brownlie, and Royden Loewen for their willingness to be in the defense

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Above all I thank my late husband, Isaac Block, for his faith in me and his encouragement as I pursued my studies. I finish this Ph.D. dissertation because of his wish that I would do so.



Berthrong, Donald. *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 15.

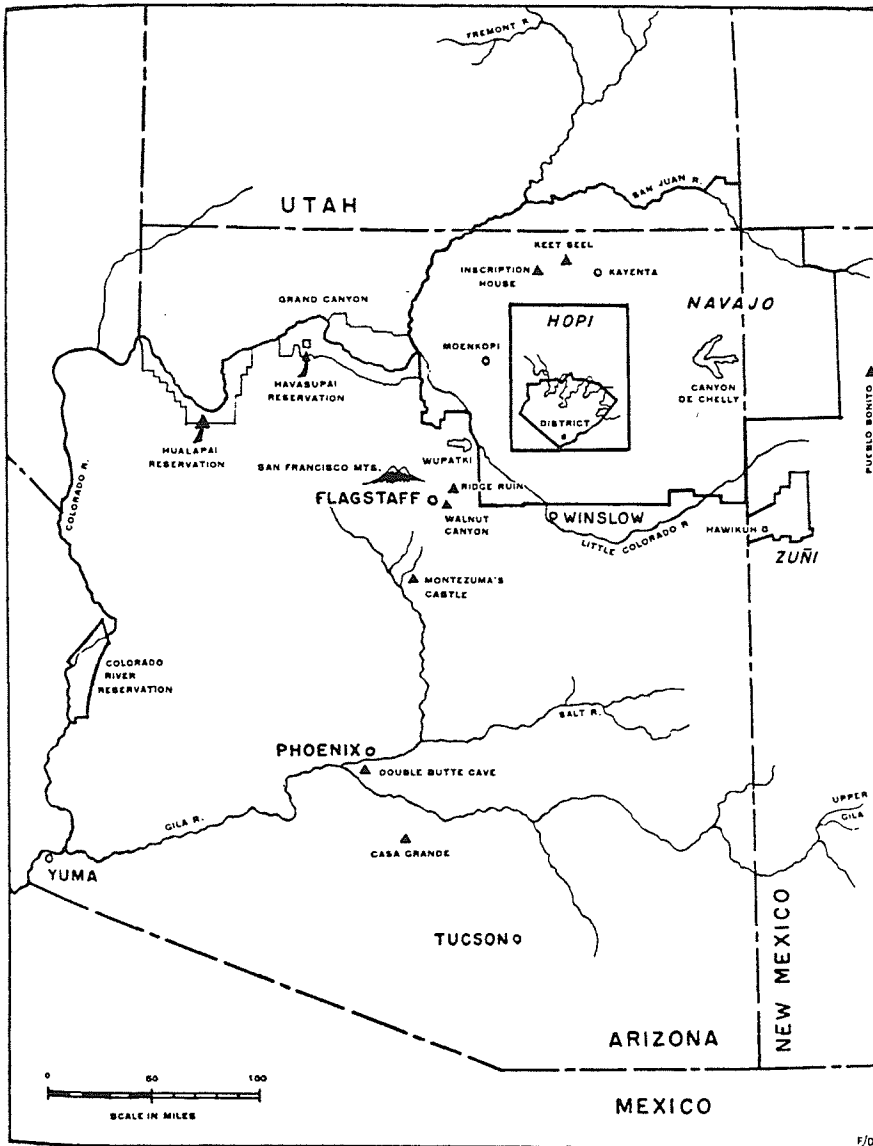
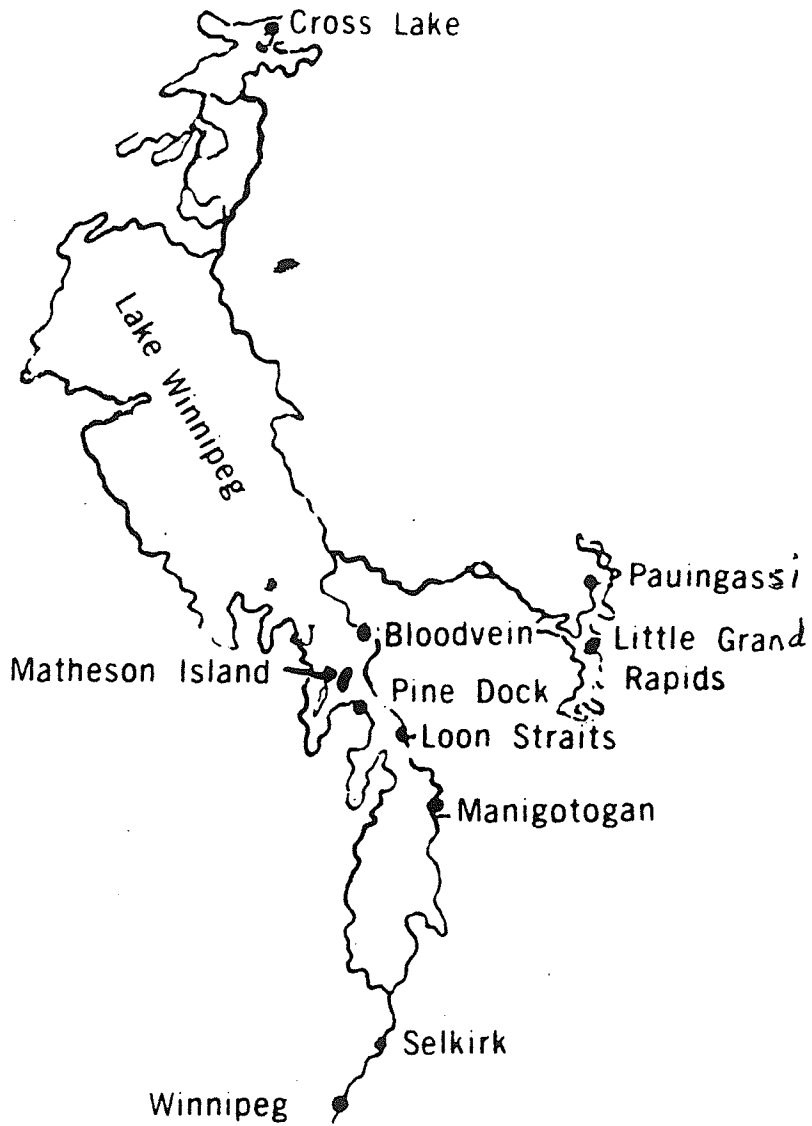


Figure 1. The Hopi Reservation and neighboring areas.

Dockstader, Frederick J. *The Kachina and the White Man: the Influence of White Culture on the Hopi Kachina Cult* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 3.

Manitoba



BULLETIN (30 MAY 1975), 18

Chapter One

Historiography

Numerous scholars have explored the problem of cultural contact between Native North Americans and mainline Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Yet they have not thoroughly explored the attitudes of General Conference Mennonite missionaries towards the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hopi in the United States, or Mennonite Pioneer Mission(MPM)/Native Ministries (NM)¹² towards peoples of mixed ancestry, Ojibwa, and Cree in Manitoba. This chapter lists and briefly describes Mennonite sources in the United States and Canada, hagiographies written by Mennonite missionaries, academic literature on Protestant missions to aboriginals, sources by Native North Americans, and oral interviews.

Most primary sources on this subject are found in Mennonite archives, not in government or provincial archives. The main source of information is the Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg where MPM/NM collections are kept. Mennonite periodicals, conference reports, and missionary newsletters at the Heritage Centre are rich sources for information about General Conference missions in the United States. For Manitoba, the Treaty & Aboriginal Rights Research Centre in Winnipeg has background histories of the reserves where Mennonite missions were established. The United Church of Canada: Archives of the Conference of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario holds records of United Church reactions to Mennonite conscientious objectors who taught at reservations during the Second World War.

¹²Mennonite Pioneer Mission was renamed Native Ministries in 1975.

Mennonite Sources: United States

Several sources describe General Conference Mennonite thought during the years when they began missions to the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hopi. The *Christlicher Bundesbote* was the official denominational paper for General Conference Mennonites. The readership was made up of Mennonites who were interested in missions, both Swiss Mennonites¹³ living in eastern United States and also recent immigrants from Russia who lived in the central states.¹⁴ This bimonthly periodical (later weekly), published in the German language in Berne, Indiana, was begun in 1882 under the editorship of David Goerz. The *Bundesbote* is a rich source of German language letters and reports written by Mennonite missionaries who worked with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Hopi from 1880 onward. Although these letters were written to enlist the support of a public audience and need to be understood as such, they contain much valuable information about the first Mennonite missions to America's Native peoples.

The Mennonite, a monthly paper in the English language, was begun in 1885. It was originally published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by the Eastern Mennonite Conference. In 1902, it was turned over to the General Conference and published in Berne, Indiana. It was to be "devoted to the interest of the Mennonite Church, and the cause of Christ at large."¹⁵

Quarterly reports of Mennonite missionaries to the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hopi were

¹³

Mennonites from Switzerland and southern Germany settled in the eastern United States beginning in 1682.

¹⁴

In 1950, after it merged with the Canadian *Bote*, circulation was 4,500. It was likely smaller in the 1880s. See Cornelius Krahn, "Christlicher Bundesbote," in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* Vol. I, 584-585.

¹⁵*The Mennonite*: (December 1886): 40.

published in this periodical. The Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg holds early issues of both the *Christlicher Bundesbote* and *The Mennonite*.

Several early Mennonite histories describe the formation of the General Conference, the organization which sent the first missionaries to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Hopi. H.P. Krehbiel, son of Christian Krehbiel who was the president of the Mission Board for many years and founder of the Halstead Industrial School, authored two volumes, published in 1898 and 1938. The first volume covers General Conference Mennonite history from 1860 to 1896, while the second volume covers 1896 to 1935. A.B. Shelly, who was the secretary of the General Conference from 1872 to 1896 and secretary of the Foreign Mission Board after 1890, wrote in the introduction:

...it is an evident fact, that the Mennonite Church has made more real progress, and has furnished more material for denominational church history, during the last fifty years, than during the preceding three centuries.¹⁶

The above quotation shows that the spirit of progress, prevalent in North America at the time, was beginning to infiltrate Mennonite communities. Progress meant change; therefore it was deemed important to record past Mennonite traditions for future generations before they were forgotten. Krehbiel wrote his two volumes of Mennonite history close to the events of his time, without interpretation or analysis.

Four decades later, Samuel Floyd Pannabecker, at different times an educator, missionary to China, mission board member, and president of the General Conference Mennonite Biblical Seminary at Elkhart, Indiana, published a new history of the General

¹⁶

A.B. Shelly, introduction in *The History of the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America*, Vol. I, by H.P. Krehbiel (St. Louis, MO: A. Wiebusch & Son Prtg. Co., 1898), xii.

Conference Mennonites, based on his Yale doctoral dissertation. Erland Waltner, president of the seminary in 1944, compared Pannabecker's book to Krehbiel's volumes:

...early precursors [Krehbeil's histories], valuable for what they are, do not give the contemporary reader either the comprehensiveness or the depth of interpretation that this new volume [Pannabecker's history], with the advantage of more research and a longer perspective, is able to offer.¹⁷

Pannabecker's theme was that with the open doors in a new country, North America, came new opportunities for change. Old forms and activities in the Mennonite church had to give way to new possibilities which included publication, education, and missions. Because of the need for these innovations, the General Conference Mennonite Church was organized. For Pannabecker, 1775 to 1850 was the Mennonite Dark Age in North America, while 1850 to 1925 was the age of renewal, when the church was awakened to the need to come out of its isolation and to reach out into other communities.¹⁸

Mennonite history was reinterpreted in the 1980s and 1990s by the authors of the four volumes of *Mennonite Experience in America* series. Unlike Krehbiel and Pannabecker, whose main concern was the history of the General Conference, these four authors wrote a comprehensive history of all North American Mennonites, including the Old Mennonites, the Amish, the Mennonite Brethren, and other Mennonite groups. Richard McMaster, author of the first volume, presents the years from 1683 to 1790, Theron Schlabach the years from 1790 to 1890, James Juhnke from 1890 to 1930, and Paul Toews from 1930 to 1970. Each of these authors clearly shows the different streams of thought among Mennonites. Conservatives

¹⁷

Erland Waltner, introduction to *Open Doors: A History of the General Conference Mennonite Church*, by Samuel Floyd Pannabecker (Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1975), vii. See also Erland Waltner, "Pannabecker, Samuel Floyd," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, 671-672.

¹⁸Pannabecker, 14.

refused to accept new ways, and change in these traditional groups came very slowly. However, some groups, such as the General Conference Mennonites, adapted to American society as well as to Protestant models, and with adaptation came changes. Through contact with American society, Mennonite thought was influenced by Darwinism, industrialism, urbanization, modernism, science, progress, and new opportunities for security and wealth.

Of the four *Mennonite Experience in America* volumes, only Juhnke's book provides direct information about the General Conference missions among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Hopi. Yet all of these authors give important background information necessary to the understanding of why Mennonites, who were a separatist people, became mission minded. The authors of the series show that Mennonites were not as isolated from society as many believed. In response to societal pressures, some Mennonites were drawn into the Protestant fundamentalist/modernist debate. Like other Protestant denominations, some branches of Mennonites established organizations and institutions. Other factors that shaped progressive groups of Mennonites were American pietism and revivalism which had come to the United States through the Great Awakenings of 1720 to 1740 and 1800 to 1830. World Wars I and II brought Mennonites in contact with a wider world, as they left their home environments to do voluntary service in other parts of North America. These changes could not help but bring different attitudes and methods to Mennonite missions.¹⁹

19

Richard K. MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683-1790* (Scottsdale, PA, 1985); Theron F. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in 19th Century America* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1988); James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America 1890-1930* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1989); Paul Toews, *Mennonites in American Society, 1930 -1970: Modernity and the Persistence of Religious Community* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1996).

Among Mennonite scholars writing about their own missionaries among Native peoples, Lois Barrett is possibly the best. In her story of 125 years of home mission, she devotes a chapter on mission to the Cheyenne and Arapaho, one on mission to the Hopi, and a chapter in which she analyzes the American General Conference Mennonite missions. Barrett also includes a chapter on the Mennonite Pioneer Mission to the Ojibwa and Cree in Manitoba and a concluding chapter in which she questions whether an ethnic church and missions are compatible. Since mission to Native peoples was considered foreign mission until 1900, James Juhnke, in his history of Mennonite foreign missions, also inserts a short section on Mennonite missionaries in relationship with Native peoples in the United States.²⁰

Mennonite Sources: Canada

Although the mandate of the *Mennonite Experience in America* series was to describe the Mennonites in all of North America, Canadian Mennonites felt the need, even before American scholars began their series, to write their own history. Frank H. Epp wrote the first two volumes of the *Mennonites in Canada* series. The first volume covers the years from 1786 to 1920 and describes Canadian Mennonites living separately from society. The next volume's scope is 1920 to 1940, the years when war, depression, and the loss of private education made inroads into Canadian Mennonite separatism.²¹

²⁰

Lois Barrett, *The Vision and the Reality: The Story of Home Missions in the General Conference Mennonite Church* (Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1983). See James C. Juhnke, *A People of Mission: A History of General Conference Mennonite Overseas Mission* (Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1979), 1-13.

²¹

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