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IN THIS ISSUE

This issue was especially stimulated by a grant received from the Canada Council for an Urban Study Conference held in Winnipeg on May 10 and 11, 1968. About a dozen scholars representing some of the major cities across Canada and the editor of *Mennonite Life* gathered to present research papers on urban Mennonites, which appear in this issue. ¶ The first article is a broad survey of Mennonites in Canada. John Friesen focuses on Mennonite mobility within one province. Peter Letkemann studied one major city, giving a description of Mennonite life in Vancouver. There are over 1,000 Mennonites in each of seven cities in Canada, and these need to be studied also. ¶ In contrast to life in metropolitan regions, Martensville is a unique experiment as a new ethnic suburban-satellite. Herbert Peters describes this as a half-way place for rural Mennonites working in the city, who feel more comfortable living in a smaller village. ¶ Four articles and related photographs deal with the family, education, religion, economic and political life, illustrating the changes that take place in social institutions as members of a minority group become urbanized. These studies are samples selected from Edmonton, Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto and Ottawa. ¶ John Bergen studied Mennonite students at the University of Alberta to see what influence higher education had on them. William Dick and John Sawatzky selected one congregation in Toronto, the second largest metropolis in Canada, to describe problems of adjustment within the religious life of Mennonites. Otto Driedger, social worker in urban centers of Saskatchewan, writes on family changes that result under stress. ¶ Winnipeg, the Mennonite Mecca, has scores of Mennonite businessmen in a variety of congregations. Photographs illustrate the types of business and industries in which Mennonites are engaged. Frank Epp discusses the various levels of civil service Mennonites are engaged in, especially in Ottawa, the capital of Canada. ¶ Mennonites have left their European base of language and culture some time ago, resulting in problems of communication, which Victor Doerksen describes. The difficulty of maintaining a *Sprachgemeinschaft* in the city is intensified. This struggle for identity and a proper role within the urban community is also illustrated in the sermon delivered by Waldemar Janzen in the First Church in Winnipeg. Cornelius Krahn refers to the urban background of the Mennonites and to some research that has been done on early urban Anabaptism and the contemporary urban Mennonites. ¶ These articles represent a beginning in urban Mennonite research in Canada. It is hoped that these probes will further stimulate research. A number of the scholars who contributed articles are continuing their research.

Leo Driedger

Urban Study Conference, Winnipeg, Manitoba, at which occasion the papers of this issue were presented and discussed.

A Perspective on Canadian Mennonite Urbanization

By Leo Driedger

ALTHOUGH MUCH MORE research must be done on Canadian urbanization, several recent publications provide some perspective on urban trends.[1] The objective of this article is to: 1) broadly outline some Canadian urban trends, 2) describe the concentrations of Mennonites in Canadian cities, and 3) explore some possible types of urban Mennonite communities which may be emerging in Canada.

I. CANADIAN URBAN TRENDS

The census of Canada taken every ten years will provide much of the data used here.[2]

Rural-Urban Growth

"In 1666 the colony of New France had fewer than 5,000 settlers, while the city of London (England) contained over 400,000 residents. At that time Montreal, Quebec and Trois-Rivieres were tiny villages, each with a population of fewer than 1,000. By 1765, Montreal and Quebec had passed the 5,000 mark but no Canadian centre was as large as 20,000."[3] By 1825, Montreal and Quebec had passed the 20,000 mark, and York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, had a population of 2,000 persons. In 1851, somewhat over one hundred years ago, about seven percent of the population which later formed the Dominion, were concentrated in cities of 20,000 population and over.[4]

Table I indicates shortly before confederation about one-sixth of the Canadian population was urban. Since then the proportion of urban population increased roughly by 5 percent per decade, although there were considerable fluctuations. World War I and World War II brought heavy demands for manufactured products which seemed to accelerate urban growth, while the great depression in the thirties curbed growth.

The rates of growth also vary greatly by provinces and regions. The Maritime provinces have always been less urban than the Canadian average, even though these provinces were part of early Canadian history. Quebec seems to have approximated the national average very closely, while Ontario was slightly more urban throughout the past one hundred years. The West was late in coming to the confederation, with British Columbia being slightly more rural in 1881, but now about as urban as the national average. The prairies entered much later as a very rural population, but have practically doubled their urban population in the past two decades, with the fastest urban growth presently. This dynamic growth is especially evident in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Table I

PERCENT OF URBAN[a] POPULATION, CANADA AND PROVINCES 1861-1961[5]

Canada and Province	1861	1881	1901	1921	1941	1961
(excl. N'fndland)	15.8	23.3	34.9	47.4	55.7	70.2
Newfoundland	—	—	—	—	—	50.7
MARITIMES	9.9	15.3	24.5	38.8	44.1	49.5
Prince Edward Is.	9.3	10.5	14.5	18.8	22.1	32.4
Nova Scotia	7.6	14.7	27.7	44.8	52.0	54.3
New Brunswick	13.3	17.6	23.1	35.2	38.7	46.5
QUEBEC	16.6	23.8	36.1	51.8	61.2	74.3
ONTARIO	18.5	27.1	40.4	58.8	67.5	77.3
PRAIRIES	—	—	19.3	28.7	32.4	57.6
Manitoba	—	14.9	24.9	41.5	45.7	63.9
Saskatchewan	—	—	6.1	16.8	21.3	43.0
Alberta	—	—	16.2	30.7	31.9	63.3
BRIT. COLUMBIA	—	18.3	46.4	50.9	64.0	72.6

[a]From 1851 to 1911, the urban population figures refer to incorporated cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over only; from 1921 to 1951, the percentages are estimates of

Figure 1. Metropolitan Areas of Canada by Regions, 1966

the percentages which would have been reported in the respective censuses had the 1961 Census definition and procedures been used; for 1961, the figures are those published according to the 1961 Census definition of "urban."

By 1961, Canada was among the most highly urbanized countries in the world. In 1951, 81 percent of the population of Great Britain already resided in urban areas.[6] Roughly 57 percent of the population in the United States resided in urban areas of 20,000 and over; the corresponding figure for Canada in 1961 was 52 percent. On the other hand, in 1961 roughly one-third of Canada's population resided in urban agglomerations of 100,000 and over, while in 1960 in the United States about three-tenths resided in such areas.[7] Around 1961 the levels of urbanization in Canada and the United States were similar, at least 70 percent in both countries. Between 1901 and 1961, the degree of urbanization in Canada doubled from 35 percent to 70 percent.

Five Major Regions

Leroy Stone recently divided the ten Canadian provinces into five major regions. These five regions with twenty of the major metropolitan areas are indicated on the map in Figure I.[8] Regions one and four represent a number of provinces with similar characteristics, thus making the five regions somewhat more comparable by size of population, historical background and other socio-economic features. Each of the five regions of Canada was 50 percent or more urbanized in 1961—77 percent in Ontario, 74 percent in Quebec, 73 percent in British Columbia, 58 percent in the prairies, and 50 percent in the maritimes.[9]

The pattern of urbanization in the three most highly urbanized regions is different from that of the other two regions. There are also marked differences between the two less urbanized regions. The maritimes comprise one of the two oldest of the major regions of Canada in regard to history of European settlement (the other is Quebec), having been more urban than the rest of Canada earlier. Now, however, the maritimes are more rural than the average Canadian population.

On the other hand, while the central provinces were urbanizing rapidly from 1911 to 1941, advances of urbanization in the prairies were relatively slow. The depression of the 1930's hit the prairies especially hard. During the twenty year period 1941 to 1961, urbanization in the prairies has mushroomed. This unusually rapid growth of the prairies may reflect the unusually short history of settlement. Expansion of the oil industry in Alberta, and more recently potash in Saskatchewan, is having an urbanizing effect. While rates of urbanization in the maritimes may continue to lag, and rates in the prairies continue to accelerate, urbanization in Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia may

level off more as they are closer to a point of urban saturation.

Metropolitan Areas

"Canada had 190 urban complexes of 5,000 and over in 1961, representing a tenfold increase since the 1871 Census and more than a threefold increase since 1901."[10] At every census since 1871, Quebec and Ontario have contained at least three-fifths of the urban complexes of 5,000 and over.

The 1961 metropolitan areas ranged in population size from an agglomeration of somewhat less than 100,000 to more than 2,000,000, as listed in Table II.[11] The two metropolitan areas of Montreal and Toronto represented almost 50 percent of total Canadian metropolitan population, while the other fifteen areas made up the other half.

The most ethnically heterogeneous of Canada's metropolitan areas in 1961 were Windsor, Kitchener, Edmonton and Winnipeg. The most ethnically homogeneous were St. John's, Quebec, Victoria, Saint John and Halifax.[12] In St. John's, Halifax, Saint John, London and Victoria at least 70 percent of the 1961 population was reported as being of British Isles origin, and Montreal and Quebec had heavy concentrations of persons of French origin—60 percent and 80 percent respectively.

"The remaining metropolitan areas showed substantial concentrations of persons who were neither British Isles nor French in ethnic origin. Kitchener is outstanding in this respect, having more than one-half of its 1961 population comprised of persons neither British Isles nor French in ethnic origin. Edmonton and Winnipeg followed with over 40 percent and Hamilton, Toronto, Windsor and Vancouver with over 30 percent."[13]

II. Mennonites in Canadian Cities

Ethnic groups provide good opportunities for urban research. Such groups are often located in identifiable areas; often perpetuate a special culture, kinship ties and religion; and often have patterned attitudes toward education, occupations, etc. The Mennonites in Canada are good subjects for research to see what impact the city may have on a religio-cultural ethnic group.

A Rural People

Although the Anabaptist movement, from which the Mennonites originated in Europe, was largely urban, persecution soon drove them to the rural hinterlands.[14] The Mennonites have a long history of rural community life, where the German and Swiss languages and culture were cultivated with farming as a predominant occupation. The first Swiss Mennonites came to Canada from Pennsylvania in 1786, settling in the southern Ontario area of Kitchener. The second influx coming from Russia began in 1873, most

Table II

Population for the Principal Regions of Metropolitan Development in Canada, 1901-61[a]

Metropolitan Areas	Year of Incorporation as City	1901	1921	1941	1961
St. Johns[b]	1888	—	—	—	91
Halifax	1841	51	75	99	184
Saint John	1785	51	61	71	96
Montreal	1832	415	796	1,216	2,156
Quebec	1832	117	158	241	383
Hamilton	1846	79	154	207	359
Kitchener	1912	53	75	99	155
London	1855	52	74	97	181
Ottawa	1855	103	168	236	430
Sudbury	1930	16	43	81	111
Toronto	1834	303	686	1,002	1,824
Windsor	1892	22	66	129	193
Winnipeg	1873	48	229	302	476
Regina[b]	1903	—	—	—	112
Saskatoon[b]	1906	—	—	—	95
Calgary	1893	8	78	136	279
Edmonton	1904	15	84	136	338
Vancouver	1886	—	224	394	790
Victoria	1862	—	64	86	154

[a]Figures represent population in thousands.

[b]These cities were not considered metropolitan in the *1961 Census,* but likely will be in the *1971 Census,* and were included for purposes of this paper.

of them settling in Manitoba. The third and largest wave of some 20,000 Mennonite immigrants from Russia began in 1922, most of them settling in the West. A fourth group of about 7,000 Mennonite immigrants came after World War II from Europe.[15] Most of the first three immigrant groups settled in rural areas. Many of the fourth group settled in Canadian cities.

Mennonites represent less than 1 percent of the Canadian population as indicated in Table III. In 1961, there was a Mennonite population of about 152,000 in Canada representing a variety of groups.

Table III

Mennonite Population in Comparison, 1901-1961

Year	1901	1921	1941	1961
Mennonite Pop.	32,000	59,000	112,000	152,000
Total Can. Pop.	5,371,000	8,788,000	11,506,000	18,238,000
Percent of Total	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.8

In 1961, the Mennonites were the most rural of the twenty largest religious groups in Canada.[16] The Mennonites were the only group with a larger percentage of rural than urban members. As indicated in

Table IV, about one-third were urban. This trend is changing fast, however, so that Mennonites may be passing through the greatest urbanization process of any ethnic group in Canada. The percent who are urban also varies by provinces with Mennonites in Alberta being the most rural and Mennonites in British Columbia being most urban.

Table IV

Mennonite Population in Urban and Rural Areas, 1961

Region	Total	Rural	Urban
Canada	152,452	99,809	52,643
Newfoundland	39	18	21
Prince Edward Island	1	1	—
Nova Scotia	31	23	8
New Brunswick	5	2	3
Quebec	197	34	163
Ontario	30,948	20,910	10,038
Manitoba	56,823	34,414	22,409
Saskatchewan	28,174	20,216	7,958
Alberta	16,269	12,744	3,525
British Columbia	19,932	11,425	8,507
Yukon	14	14	—
Northwest Territories	19	8	11

Concentrations in the West

Mennonites are largely located in regions III, IV, and V, representing the five most westerly provinces. There are no Mennonite churches in the Maritimes and only a few in Quebec. The total 1961 Mennonite population in regions I and II, representing the five most easterly provinces, was 195. There may be several reasons for western settlement: 1) the immigrants were attracted to farmlands more available in the West, 2) the larger Mennonite immigrations came less than a hundred years ago, when the East was more settled and urban, and 3) they were of German and Swiss cultural background, and therefore were not attracted to French and Anglo-Saxon territories.

Table IV indicates that in 1961 over one-third of the Mennonites in Canada were located in Manitoba. Almost half of the urban Mennonites in Canada (some 22,400) lived in Manitoba, most of these in Winnipeg. It is also interesting to note that whereas the fastest urban growth has been taking place in Alberta recently, it is here where Canadian Mennonites seem to be most rural, with only one in four living in urban areas.

Unless Canadian Mennonites can maintain their rural-ethnic boundaries, it is inevitable that the urbanization trends will influence them profoundly, since they are heavily concentrated in the western provinces where urban growth is now mushrooming the fastest. Some have left for Mexico, South America and isolated areas in northern Canada to escape urbanization, but the majority are staying.

Seven Cities

Almost two-thirds of the Canadian Mennonites in urban areas live in seven cities as indicated in Table V. More than a thousand live in each of the seven cities. Whether this was planned to represent the biblical perfect number of seven is doubtful. Over half of the Canadian urban Mennonites live in the four cities of Winnipeg, Vancouver, Saskatoon and Kitchener. More than four thousand live in each of the four cities, with a very heavy concentration living in Winnipeg. These four cities all have a large Mennonite rural hinterland from which to maintain further ethnic population growth. All four of these cities have very heterogeneous ethnic populations with neither the British Isles or French populations dominant, allowing for a climate of ethnic pluralism.

As stated earlier, cities of the five eastern provinces have practically no Mennonite population. At least one city in each of the five western provinces has over a thousand Mennonite residents. Mennonites are well represented in Toronto, one of the two largest metropolitan areas, as well as in Calgary, one of the fastest growing cities of Canada.

On checking a number of reliable sources, there seem to be more Mennonites living in metropolitan Winnipeg than in any other city of the world.[17] In 1968 there were twenty-five Mennonite churches representing six different Mennonite groups. There were also two Mennonite colleges, two Mennonite high schools, two conference offices, two Mennonite weekly newspapers (one English and one German), and scores of Mennonite businesses.

Table V

Mennonite Population in Canadian Urban Areas of Over 100,000 Population, 1961[18]

Metropolitan Area	1966 Population	1961 Population	1961 Menn. Population
Montreal	2,437,000	2,110,000	140
Toronto	2,159,000	1,824,000	1,375
Vancouver	893,000	790,000	5,260
Winnipeg	509,000	476,000	13,595
Ottawa	495,000	430,000	60
Hamilton	449,000	395,000	250
Quebec	413,000	358,000	0
Edmonton	401,000	338,000	455
Calgary	331,000	279,000	1,220
Windsor	212,000	193,000	85
London	207,000	181,000	115
Halifax	198,000	184,000	7
Kitchener	192,000	155,000	4,480
Victoria	174,000	154,000	45
Regina	131,000	112,000	240
Sudbury	117,000	111,000	55
Saskatoon	116,000	95,000	4,765
Saint John	101,000	96,000	1
St. Johns	101,000	91,000	9
St. Catharines	97,000	95,000	2,515

III. Types of Urban Mennonite Communities

It may be foolhardy to work on types of urban Mennonites before more research is done. However, for the sake of stimulating the development of hypotheses and the exploration of possible future research, I present three types of Mennonite urban communities which appear to be developing, as outlined in Table VI.

Rurban Satellites

Since Mennonites have such a long history of rural *Gemeinschaft*-like community life, we would expect that they would also seek such communities in urban areas. Steinbach, Manitoba, is a small city with a large rural Mennonite hinterland which is solidly Mennonite, perpetuating many aspects of the German ethnic culture. Occupations are oriented toward servicing the farm area, and public schools are controlled by Mennonites including Mennonite teachers and board members. There are strong kinship ties with little opportunity to associate with non-Mennonites, and their religion is traditional and conservative.

North and East Kildonan, which several decades ago were more of a satellite town, have now been engulfed by metropolitan Winnipeg. Many of the rurban satellite characteristics are still evident in that area.

One of the newest and possibly most unique rurban satellites is Martensville, located ten miles north of Saskatoon, which has all of the characteristics listed in Table VI. Although technically these rurban communities fall under the definition of "urban," they may be perpetuating rural attitudes and mentality almost as much as Mennonites living on farms.

Ethnic Urbanism

Mennonites are perpetuating many rural religious and ethnic patterns in some Canadian metropolitan areas. Winnipeg would be the best example of this, although characteristics of ethnic urbanism are also strong in Vancouver, Kitchener and Saskatoon.

When large numbers of an ethnic group reside in a metropolitan area, when such cities already have a very heterogeneous population with many ethnic groups represented, and when there is a large rural ethnic hinterland from which to replenish cultural values, then it is possible to maintain an ethnic subculture in an urban area by developing social institutions such as schools, organizations, and occupational groups.

Winnipeg is the best example of Mennonite ethnic urbanism. With over 13,000 Mennonites living in Winnipeg in 1961 and more Mennonites residing in Manitoba than any other province, it is possible for Mennonites to support two colleges, two high schools, two newspapers including a German one, and many other related organizations. Many of the 25 Mennonite churches have German worship services and some German Sunday school classes as well as Saturday German classes. Many kinship ties are maintained, which may tend to limit non-ethnic neighboring. There are also Mennonite occupational subcultures in Winnipeg, such as Mennonite businessmen, educators, and musicians.[19]

Although Winnipeg is the best example of ethnic urbanism, there seem to be similar trends in Vancouver, Kitchener, and Saskatoon, with many of the characteristics in Table VI applying to these cities as well.

Urban Accommodation

In cities such as Ottawa, Sudbury, Regina and Victoria there are very few Mennonites and often only one Mennonite church. Most Mennonites who live in these cities pursue occupations such as government services and other professions where they may identify with Mennonites but are not very concerned with the

Table VI

TYPES OF MENNONITE URBAN COMMUNITIES AND RELATED SOCIAL VARIABLES

Types	Location	Ethnic Culture	Occupations	Education	Family	Religion	Cities
A. RURBAN SATELLITES	Small city	Solid Mennonite community	Farm and Service oriented	Schools controlled by group	Strong kinship ties	Traditional conservative	Steinbach Martensville Kildonans
	Large rural Mennonite hinterland	Strong German ethnic culture and language			Little non-ethnic neighboring		
B. ETHNIC URBANISM	Metropolitan Area	Mennonite subcultures	Occupational subcultures	Parochial schools	Kinship ties	Traditional Mennonite	Winnipeg Vancouver Kitchener Saskatoon
	Large rural Mennonite hinterland	German culture and language			Limited non-ethnic neighboring		
C. URBAN ACCOMMODATION	Metropolitan Area	No identifiable Mennonite community	Diversity of occupations	Public Schools	Weak kinship ties	Some ecumenical trends	Ottawa Sudbury Regina Victoria
	Limited Mennonite hinterland	Limited German influence			Much non-ethnic neighboring		

German or Swiss cultural aspects of ethnic Mennonitism. Thus in many social and cultural respects they tend to accommodate or assimilate into the surrounding urban environment, and maintain their Mennonite identity more on a religious and theological basis only. There are usually no parochial schools, and the Mennonites are inclined to more religious ecumenicity with few special attachments to the German ethnic culture.

The urbanization of Mennonites in Canada is a broad subject. In this paper an attempt has been made to start us off on a perspective on the subject. The articles which follow will continue the exploration. Much more research is needed.

FOOTNOTES

1. *1961 Census of Canada*, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961; Leroy O. Stone, *Urban Development in Canada*, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967; *Canada Yearbook*, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967. Other helpful related sources are: Bernard R. Blishen, et. al., *Canadian Society*, Toronto: MacMillan of Canada Limited, 1964; Humphrey Carver, *Cities in the Suburbs*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962; S. D. Clark, *Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961; Norman Pearson, et. al., "The Canadian City: A Symposium," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1961; John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965; J. R. Seeley, et. al., *Crestwood Heights*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956.

2. "The 1961 Census of Canada definition of urban specified that all cities, towns, and villages of 1,000 and over, whether incorporated or not, were classed as urban, as well as the urbanized fringes of a) cities classed as metropolitan areas, b) those classed as other major urban areas, and c) certain smaller cities, if the city together with its urbanized fringe was 10,000 population or over. The remainder of the population was classed as rural." *1961 Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Vol. 1.1.

3. Leroy O. Stone, *Urban Development in Canada*, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967, p. 14.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

6. Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Fleis Fava, *Urban Society*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964, p. 35.

7. Leroy O. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

8. The categorization of the ten provinces into five regions reveals that there are 3 metropolitan areas in the Maritimes; 2 in Quebec; 7 in Ontario; 3 in the Prairies; and 2 in British Columbia for a total of 17, according to the *1961 Census of Canada*.

9. *1961 Census of Canada*, Vol. 1.1.

10. Leroy O. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

11. Yoshiko Kasahara, "A Profile of Canada's Metropolitan Centres," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1963, 52:303-313, includes a discussion of Canadian Metropolitan areas.

12. *1961 Census of Canada*, Vol. 1.2.

13. Leroy O. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

14. Cornelius J. Dyck, *An Introduction to Mennonite History*, Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1967, pp. 26-80.

15. Jacob Gerbrandt, "Canada," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Publication Office, 1955, p. 501-505.

16. *1961 Census of Canada*, Vol. 1.2.

17. Cornelius Krahn, Director, Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas.

18. Figures taken from *1961 Census of Canada* and *1966 Census of Canada*. St. Catharines has slightly less than 100,000 population, but is listed since there are many Mennonites there.

19. Arnold Shellenberg, "A Study of Acculturation Proneness of an Ethnic Subculture Within an Urban Community: Musicians in Winnipeg," Winnipeg, Manitoba: M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968. Shellenberg, who was a student of the author, found that there was a Mennonite subculture of musicians in Winnipeg.

Manitoba Mennonites
in the Rural-Urban Shift

By John Friesen

It was in Western Europe that the Mennonites developed competence in the agrarian way of life, which later was instrumental in opening doors to rural immigrants first in Russia and later in the United States and Canada. The Mennonite migrations to these countries took place when great emphasis was put on agricultural settlement as a means to national economic advancement and growth.

By the 1870's the Canadian government placed a high priority on the settlement of the western plains and reserved two areas of land in Manitoba for Mennonites from Russia, the East and West reserves. There the immigrants developed their traditional agricultural villages with very little social interaction with the "outgroup." Non-Mennonites played the leading roles in the early development of the railroad towns in the two reserves. Many Mennonites were reluctant to take part in the development of these towns; they treated non-Mennonites not as a part of their community but merely as a source for supplies and a market for their produce.

As the Mennonites gradually moved to the railroad towns and expanded the more progressive farm villages into rural trade centers, their leaders began to promote the town-country community. Farmer-oriented services in many villages now moved to the towns as well as some Mennonite congregations. With this expansion into the small urban centers of the two reserves began the trickle of Mennonites to the city of Winnipeg.

Three important factors seem to stand out in the

process of the rural-urban shift of Mennonites in Manitoba. First, the impact of the railroad towns on the reserves broke the isolation of the farm villages as well as provided a haven for Mennonite dissenters. This period marked the beginning of the urbanization process for the Mennonite people in Manitoba. Second, the last two waves of Mennonite immigration to Manitoba after World War I and II included many immigrants who already had urban experience in Europe. Third, the close proximity to the Mennonite settlements of a large and dominating metropolitan center, Winnipeg, provided opportunities for employment and higher education to which all the major communication lines converged. Studies that have analyzed migration patterns conclude that the majority of rural migrants relocate in urban centers less than one hundred miles from their point of migration.

Past and present urbanization trends among the Conference of Mennonites in Canada and the Mennonite Brethren Conference can be traced in the church congregations. The following congregational types were used: 1) rural, representing churches whose membership consisted predominantly of farmers in churches located in a hamlet or open country; 2) town-rural, for congregations located in towns which served as service centers for an agricultural hinterland and where the membership was heterogeneous in its occupation structure; and 3) the city, with churches whose membership is largely homogeneous with respect to residence. Changes were studied at five-year intervals beginning with 1935.

Urban Explorations

In 1935 there were four city churches in Winnipeg with a total membership of 881, representing 17.5 percent of the membership of the mentioned conferences in Manitoba. Three congregations were established in 1928; one was begun through mission efforts prior to 1910. The urban membership consisted mainly of recent Russian immigrants; by 1937 there was a total of 359 immigrant families residing in Winnipeg and North Kildonan.[1] The growth of the Mennonite Brethren in Winnipeg took place at a rapid rate after 1925. There were 89 Mennonite Brethren in Winnipeg in 1925; this increased to 280 by 1927 and to 480 in 1930.

However, after 1930 the growth ratio of the city church members to the Manitoba total declined until after 1945 (see Chart I). During the five-year period between 1930-35 membership increased by only 97 members. This rapid decline in rate of growth was due to the depression together with the "back to the land movement," when it was thought that the farmer was an independent person who could employ himself at his own pleasure to provide for his own needs. The huge unemployment problems and the long lists of people on relief during this time added to the poor image the city had for many Mennonites.

D. Redekop, Winnipeg Mennonite business man and President of the Christian Business Men's Committee, International, addressing the convention in 1967.

From 1935 to 1945 the growth of the two conferences in Winnipeg was fairly stable. During the five-year period following 1935 the total membership of the two conferences increased by only 164 members and again in the following five years (to 1945 inclusive) only 88 persons were added to the membership rolls. The Mennonite Brethren churches actually had a net loss during the latter period. Some church leaders felt this loss was the direct result of the war because of alternate service and the heavy demand for agricultural laborers. This would tend to substantiate E. K. Francis' statement that "even among urban Mennonites there was a latent readiness to return to the country and the farm."[2]

Rural Exodus

Particularly among the rural Mennonites of Manitoba the influx to the city began after 1945. During the first five years of the post-war period the influx of the Mennonites to Winnipeg increased the urban membership of the two conference churches by one hundred percent. (See Chart II.) By 1950 twenty-five percent of the total members belonged to city churches compared to 17 percent in 1945. The change can further be measured by comparing the percentage increases in urban church membership for the two five-year periods. In the 1940-45 period the increase was 8.8 percent

CHART I

Urbanization of Conference of Mennonites and Mennonite Brethren in
Manitoba: 1935-1965

Percent Urban Population

CHART II

Percentage   Mennonite Population in Metropolitan Winnipeg

while in the 1945-1950 period the increase was 77.2
percent.

The third wave of Mennonite immigration to Can-
ada helped swell the membership rolls of Winnipeg
churches. J. J. Thiessen commented about this move-
ment of immigrants to the urban areas:

> Some find farm life too uneventful and leave
> their sponsors and look around for employ-
> ment in the city . . . Having lived in congest-
> ed areas, they seem to feel lonesome on our
> scattered farms.[3]

I believe we have to agree with Thiessen that settle-
ment patterns on the prairies has led to isolation al-
though by 1949 many changes had occurred which de-
creased this particular effect. A fuller explanation why
many of the immigrants left the rural scene is outlined
in *Mennonite Exodus*. The author claims that:

1. Suitable land areas were scarce and difficult to
obtain;

2. The price of the land was very high;

3. The rapid automation and mechanization re-
quired too great a capital investment; and

4. Credit opportunities similar to those of the 1920's
were limited.

F. H. Epp goes on to say that a large number of the
migrants during this period showed more interest in
obtaining an urban occupation than settling down to
farming.[4]

The first three factors brought forward by Epp are
inter-related and reflect the basic change in agri-
culture. Farming after World War II required much
higher capital investment in both land and machinery
than before the war. We know that in 1936 the total
capital investment per farm for Manitoba was $5,300;

Some of the Winnipeg Mennonite business men present at a Business and Ethics Conference held in Winnipeg in 1965.

this increased to $26,600 by 1961. Many immigrants and rural young people whose credit rating was too low for a capital loan wisely avoided setting up farm units which were not economically feasible.

There is another significant factor which resulted in a lack of opportunity for those wishing to establish on farms. After World War II the rural areas became generators of surplus population due largely to the strides made in the mechanization of agricultural production. In 1940, according to American figures, 11.3 persons were supported by one farm worker; in 1954 18.72 persons were supported by a single farm worker. This increase in productivity was more than five times that during the preceding 20 years. The adoption by farmers (and this includes Mennonite farmers as well) of the highest and most efficient energy converters on

Table I
Membership of Conference of Mennonites in Canada and Mennonite Brethren in Manitoba
(1935 - 1965)

Church Type	Conf. Denom.	1935		1940		1945		1950		1955		1960		1965	
		No. of		No. of		No. of		No. of		No. of		No. of		No. of	
		Church	Members	Church	Members	Church	Members	Church	Members	Church	Members	Church	Members	Church	Members
Rural	C. of M.**			59	2620	55	2746	43	2580	29	2924	28	2970	30	3029
	M.B.†	17	869	15	922	21	994	19	1107	16	1252	15	1125	16	1050
	C. of M. & M.B.				3542		3740		3687		4176		4095		4087
Town Rural	C. of M.	60*	3127*	4	808	5	929	6	1504	6	1683	6	1889	10	2023
	M.B.	3	582	3	682	3	625	3	594	3	741	4	865	4	832
	C. of M. & M.B.				1490		1554		2098		2424		2754		2855
City	C. of M.	2	254	3	398	3	516	3	1008	5	1779	5	2352	9	2797
	M.B.	2	577	3	597	3	567	3	900	3	1262	5	1804	10	2332
	C. of M. & M.B.		831		995		1083		1908		3041		4156		5129
Total			4712		6027		6377		7693		9641		11,005		12,069
Percent City	C. of M.		6.8		10.4		12.3		19.8		27.8		32.6		35.6
	M.B.		28.4		27.1		25.9		34.6		38.0		47.5		54.9
	C. of M. & M.B.		17.5		16.5		16.9		24.8		31.5		37.8		42.5

*Both Rural and Town-Rural

**Conference of Mennonites in Canada (Manitoba)

†Mennonite Brethren (Manitoba)

Mennonite contractors in Calgary. Contracting is a very popular occupation among Mennonites in various cities.

the market has made them accomplices in the current decline of the rural community base. The resulting lack of employment opportunities, in addition to the lower level of income, is the main "push" factor causing workers to leave farming. Professor Tyler from Brandon College states that "financial difficulty was the major causal factor in decision to migrate." Our cities are dynamic and generate a demand for labor by developing economic activities, which can be referred to as a "pull."[5]

The rural to urban migration does not affect all age groups to the same extent. A demographic study showing population movement in Rhineland Municipality in Southern Manitoba revealed that the decline in population (some 2,000 in 20 years) was mainly due to departure of the young people. The actual number of farms had increased slightly during the same period. Another demographic study of Manitoba by Sharp and Kristjanson shows a similar pattern.[6]

Action taken by several farsighted leaders in the two Mennonite conferences as a result of the influx of Mennonites into Winnipeg further encouraged a more rapid urbanization rate. In 1944 the Mennonite Brethren Bible College was established in Winnipeg. The Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute was formed in 1945. The Conference of Mennonites in Canada established the Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg in 1947 and the Westgate Mennonite Collegiate in 1957. These four educational institutes were all established at the beginning of the major Mennonite movement to Winnipeg.

Urban Consolidation and Rural Decline

With the establishment of key Mennonite institutions the urban migration continued strong during the 1950 decade. The churches in Winnipeg grew into large and influential congregations. Even those that had been established in the rural-urban fringe, where Mennonite chicken farms and vegetable gardens flourished, became engulfed in suburban residential development. Each five-year period saw the addition of over one

thousand members in the two Conference Winnipeg churches. Consequently, by 1965 in Manitoba, 35.6 percent of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada[7] and 54.9 percent of the Mennonite Brethren[8] belonged to urban churches.

In the last decade the Mennonite church began the movement to the comfortable and class-conscious suburbs. Greater emphasis was placed on architecture, appearance, and programs in tune with suburban living in an attempt to meet the challenge of 'outreach.'

There are strong indications that the rate of Mennonite movement to urban churches is declining, with the decline being more pronounced among the Conference of Mennonites in Canada.

We find also that within the Conference of Mennonites the rural church has grown slightly during the past five years while the rural Mennonite Brethren membership has declined in total numbers since 1955. Upon closer investigation we find that the growth in rural membership is primarily due to rural extension of the Bergthal Mennonite Church. Within this group the rural congregations have grown more rapidly during the 1960-1965 period than have their town-rural and city congregations combined. In this respect, as well as in their urban growth pattern, the Bergthal Mennonite Church resembles the Evangelical Mennonite Conference, which is also showing more vitality in the rural areas than in cities. Apart from the rural churches represented by the Bergthal Church, the two conferences have left further penetration of the rural sector to the other Mennonite conferences and churches within the rural Mennonite Brethren congregations there is only one that is showing growth, and this is due to its close proximity to Winnipeg. There are also several rural congregations within the Conference of Mennonites that are becoming urbanized by the outward expansion of the metropolis. However, there are many churches in the countryside that are declining rapidly. One rural church had over 120 members during its peak years; it now has only 36. Another church had a membership of 60 in 1950 and now has closed its doors.

Overchurching may be a real problem when one considers the population (numbers and age levels), migratory trends, and the human and economic resources of many of our rural communities. A consulting firm analyzing agricultural problems has predicted that Manitoba will lose half of its farmers within the next ten years. We know that the impact of agricultural technology on production is gaining momentum. The number of persons supported by one farm worker has increased from 18.7 in 1954 to 39 in 1967. Many factors indicate that the number of farms will decrease

Disraeli Freeway connecting downtown Winnipeg with the Kildonans. In the foreground are the Mennonite Brethren Bible College, Collegiate Institute and Christian Press.

Representatives of Monarch Machinery, founded by John J. Klassen, Winnipeg, receive a reward from Mayor Juba.

and that rural population will continue to decline. The declining rural congregation may find it impossible to provide the expected devotional and educational services.

In several instances the rural church has combined resources with those in the larger trade center. This trend should be encouraged and strengthened. The secular community has vastly expanded its boundaries and the religious community cannot afford to lag far behind in its reorientation.

It is interesting to note that many of the traditionally strong town churches of the two conferences are declining in membership in spite of the fact that the smaller towns in which they are located show population increases. However, as a whole the Conference of Mennonites of Manitoba shows a substantial increase in the number of town congregations; this increase is primarily due to the growth of the newly formed congregations which have adopted the English language. But, this class of congregations within both conferences has shown no signs of a numerical increase during the past five years. This is rather difficult to understand in view of the fact that all the towns in which the churches are located show an increase in population according to Dominion Bureau of Statistics figures. It is also these towns which have expanded their trade areas at the expense of smaller towns and are thus realizing a substantial increase in market population.

Conclusion

In the past there has been a considerable lag in the urbanization of all conferences of Mennonite churches in Manitoba when compared with the overall provincial rate. However, after World War II there has been a drastic change in residential stability. While the degree of urbanization of Manitoba Mennonites is below

that of the province as a whole, the rate of Mennonite urbanization is now much more rapid. Perhaps this is only temporary and the rate will diminish as the lag decreases and the Mennonite way of life conforms more to that of the larger society.

E. K. Francis stated that "the Mennonite community in Russia was no longer simply an institutional group integrated by a specific religious value orientation but had become a political, as well as a broader cultural system."[9] The Mennonites in Manitoba appear to be rapidly moving away from their former ethnic identity towards an "institutional group" primarily oriented towards a unifying set of religious values. The group no longer is characterized by geographic segregation, a unifying occupational structure, and a body of differentiating traits such as language. The extent to which the Mennonites of the two conferences have been urbanized indicates that the ethnic forces are taking second place to the religious as a dynamic in the community.

FOOTNOTES

1. It was estimated that approximately one out of five of the immigrants coming to Canada in the 1900's settled in Manitoba.

2. E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba,* Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen and Sons, Ltd., 1955, p. 248.

3. J. J. Thiessen, "Present Mennonite Immigration to Canada," *Mennonite Life,* July, 1949, p. 34.

4. Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen and Sons, Ltd., 1962, p. 443.

5. E. J. Tyler, "An Exploratory Study of Factors Related to Population Migration in the Rural Municipality of Rosedale." A Mimeographed Research Report, Winnipeg: Manitoba Development Authority, March, 1964.

6. E. F. Sharp and G. A. Kristjanson, *The People of Manitoba, 1951-61,* Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1964.

7. *Yearbooks of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada* (Manitoba). H. J. Gerbrandt, Secretary, Bergthal Mennonite Church.

8. *Yearbooks of the Canadian Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America* (Manitoba).

Loewen Piano House located on Portage Avenue, the main street of Winnipeg.

Mennonites in Vancouver—
A Survey

By Peter Letkemann

THE SECOND LARGEST concentration of urban Mennonites in Canada is found in the Greater Vancouver area, where 5,260 Mennonites form part of a total population of 790,000.[1] Mennonites in British Columbia number 19,932, of which 11,425 are designated as rural, and 8,507 as urban. The Vancouver Mennonite population then consists roughly of one-third of the total Mennonite population in British Columbia.

Although the Mennonites are scattered throughout various areas, distribution of families within some of these areas indicates a clustering, or concentration of Mennonites within particular residential areas. The most noteworthy of these concentrations is that in southeastern Vancouver itself, as is indicated in the map in Figure 2 prepared by Geographer Alfred Siemens in 1960.[2] This map indicates that in this area Mennonite concentration reaches as high as 30 Mennonite families living within one-tenth square mile.

The Vancouver Mennonites presently worship in 11 churches—6 Mennonite Brethren and 5 General Conference. In contrast to Winnipeg, the Vancouver Mennonites maintain no church schools[3] or church press.

This paper is, however, more concerned with the characteristics and behavior patterns of urban Mennonites, than with geography. The observations below are based on responses to questionnaires which were sent to married men in two Vancouver churches.[4] Ninety-eight persons, representing a 71 percent return, completed a mailed three-page questionnaire. The questions dealt with residential patterns, cultural aspects, social interaction, social participation, and occupational dimensions. This was not a study of attitudes, but rather an attempt to describe the behavior patterns of Mennonites in Vancouver. The subtle and informal mannerisms that constitute a "way of life" must be left to a study of greater depth. The groups chosen provide for the study of differentiation within an ethnic group. The age distribution of the married men in the two groups is almost identical.

In addition to differences between the two groups, we shall deal with the more traditional themes of ethnic research, namely the relationship between religio-ethnic groups and the larger community. This involves the process of assimilation (that is, the blurring of religio-ethnic distinctions) or differentiation (that is, the sharpening of ethnic distinctions).

Strictly speaking, the subjects of this research do not represent a random sample of Mennonites in Vancouver. There is no reason to believe, however, that the groups, while different in some respects from each other, are not each, in their own way, representative of the other Mennonites in Vancouver. Some may argue that by choosing as subjects those who attend Mennonite churches, I am substituting a denominational for an ethnic category. This is a valid criticism, but one which cannot be discussed here. I shall assume that the subjects are members of an ethnic group, though not necessarily representative of it in a wider definitional sense.

Differentiation within a Group

Differentiation within an ethnic group is probably most obvious when members of an ethnic group migrate in successive waves. The choice of groups for this study provides for such distinction. Of Group I, 60 percent of the respondents were born in Canada, with the other 40 percent having lived in Canada for
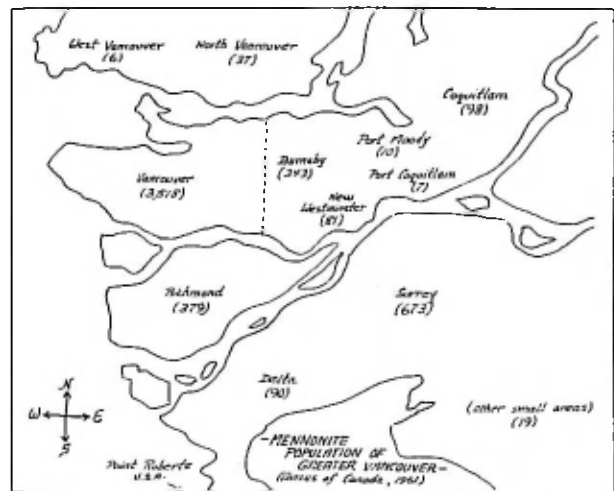
ten years or more. Of Group II, only one respondent was born in Canada, almost all migrated to Canada from Europe since World War II, with 80 percent having now lived in Canada for ten years or more. In other words, Group II represents "newer Canadians." Roughly, it could be stated that most of the respondents of Group I are descendants of immigrants from Russia prior to World War II, and those of Group II came directly from Russia and Germany after World War II.

Proportionately, Group II contains twice as many persons with elementary education only, though university education is similar for both groups. The educational breakdown for all respondents is— elementary, 45 percent; high school, 39 percent; and university, 15 percent.

There are interesting variations in the residential patterns of the two groups. Only one person in Group II is not a homeowner. One out of every four persons in Group I is not a homeowner. When choosing a place of residence, 82 percent of Group I (contrasted with 36 percent in Group II) did not make an effort to live near Mennonites. Forty-seven percent (47%) of Group II respondents indicated that such a consideration affected their final choice of residence. Only four percent of Group I responded in this way.

Mennonites of Group II not only live near other Mennonites, but 98 percent of the respondents indicate that their best friends are mainly Mennonite. The Group I proportion was 67 percent.

Further, more persons (47%) in Group II eat traditional Mennonite meals frequently than do persons in Group I (29%). There is also a big difference in the use of the German language. Of Group I, 12 percent do not use the language and of those who do, 53 percent use it only when speaking to their parents. In contrast, over half of Group II persons use it frequently when speaking not only to parents but to relatives, friends and children as well.

Occupationally, there is a difference in terms of the proportion of men who are self-employed. Only one-half (51%) of the Group II men are employed by someone else. For Group I this proportion is 90 percent.

In view of these differences, one is hesitant to place the two groups under one umbrella. It does appear that these differences could be described as variations in the degree of cultural assimilation. Group II represents a cohesive group, with emphasis on traditional cultural values. Before making any further generalizations, however, we shall take a look at other variables in an attempt to discover both common and different behavior patterns.

Residential Patterns

The tendency of Mennonites to live together in small communities may be more visible in a rural

CONCENTRATION OF MENNONITE
FAMILIES IN SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER
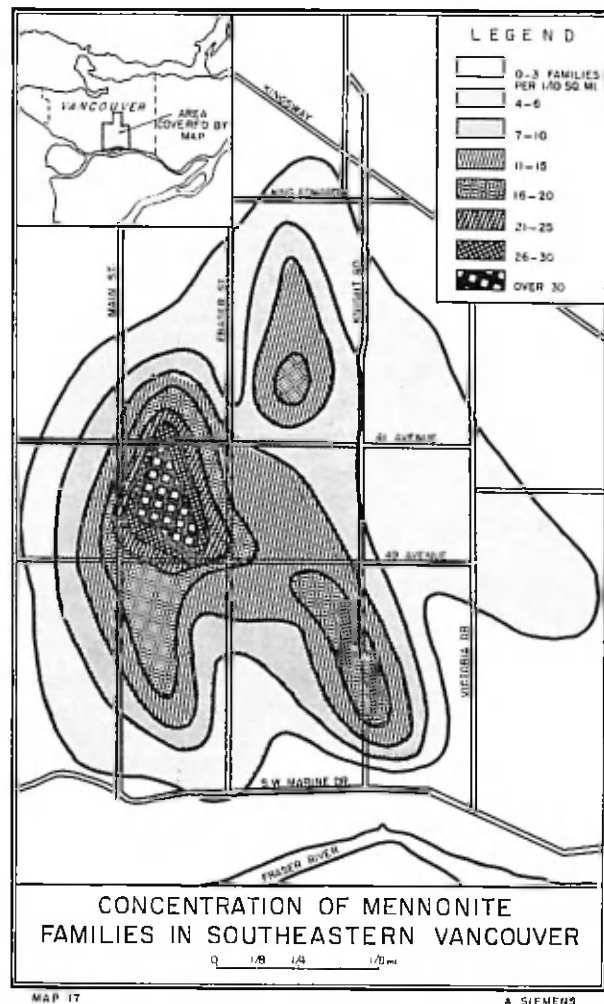
setting, but there is evidence of such concentrations in an urban setting as well. Most subjects of this study (70%) spent their childhood on a farm, 21 percent did so in a small town and nine percent were born and raised in a city. Despite a rural background, one-third of the respondents have parents living in Greater Vancouver, with another 26 percent having parents in the lower Fraser Valley. This means that 58 percent of the respondents have parents living within easy driving range. Only 13 percent of the respondents have parents presently living in the prairie provinces.

One half of the respondents have changed residence about five times since marriage. Much of this mobility appears to take place within the city—38 percent have moved 3-5 times within Greater Vancouver. One out of four respondents has lived at this present place of residence less than one year.

Two-thirds of the respondents know of other Mennonites living within two blocks distance, though only

29 percent of these associate with these Mennonites more often than with non-Mennonite families in the area. Where distance from church exceeds five miles, the proportion of people who know of Mennonites living within two blocks drops sharply. There are significant differences in the residential patterns between Group I and Group II. Well over half of the Group II respondents live within one mile of the church—in Group I this figure is only 18 percent. Almost one-half (43%) of Group I respondents live more than five miles from church, as compared with nine percent in Group II. One should note also that proximity to one's church is directly correlated with an expressed desire to live near other Mennonites.

Social Interaction

Most of the respondents know the surnames of next-door neighbors; such knowledge, as might be expected, increased with length of residence. It is interesting however, to note that such information is quickly attained—of those who have lived at their present residence less than two months, 80 percent knew the names of one or both next-door neighbors. The nature of neighbor relationship needs to be studied. Two-thirds of the respondents feel that their neighbors know that they are Mennonites, Christians and church-attenders. Again, such information increases with length of residence. Interestingly, 60 percent of those who have just moved to their present residence feel that their neighbors know they are Mennonites and church attenders. It is not until length of residence exceeds one year that the respondents feel that neighbors know they are also Christians. This suggests that information communicated to neighbors takes the temporal sequence of church attender, Mennonite, Christian. This is partly understandable, since the visible act of church attendance may be quite conspicuous on Sunday morning. We need now to ask what it is that communicates ethnic status more quickly than religious persuasion, if this indeed is what happens.

Respondents were evenly divided as to whether they tend to encourage a non-Mennonite, non-church going person to attend a Mennonite as over against a non-Mennonite church. Several responses were conditional. One-third, however, checked the response category "not had the opportunity."

Thirty-seven percent (37%) of respondents state that they never attend services in non-Mennonite churches. Of those who do, very few attend such services more than once or twice a year. Although one might expect such attendance to vary directly with the distance to one's own church, this is not borne out in this study. Persons who live near their church are as likely to attend non-Mennonite churches as are others. Persons in Group II are less likely to attend services in non-Mennonite churches, and those who do, do so less frequently than persons in Group I.

Of the total group, 83 percent stated that their best friends are mainly Mennonites. This proportion does not vary with amount of education—the same proportion being true both of those with elementary school and of those with university education.

Of those respondents with children, forty-four percent stated their children's friends are mainly Mennonite. Of the 14 parents who state that their own best friends are mainly non-Mennonite, all except one state that their children's friends are also mainly non-Mennonite. Family size conforms closely to the Canadian norm— 70 percent of the families have between two and four children. Only three families have as many as six children.

Visiting patterns: During the two weeks prior to completion of the questionnaire, 82 percent of the respondents had at least one visit or chat with relatives, 64 percent with unrelated Mennonites and 54 percent with unrelated non-Mennonites. The data reveals a very consistent pattern, namely that the more frequently persons visit with their relatives, or unrelated Mennonites, the more frequently they also visit unrelated non-Mennonites. Visiting appears to be a cumulative activity, like other leisure-time pursuits, where participation in one is likely to be associated with participation in another. This suggests that frequent association within one's ethnic group may encourage, rather than discourage, social interaction outside one's ethnic group.

The age group which visits and is visited most frequently is that of 30-39. There is no difference between the two groups as to how often they visit their relatives.

Cultural Patterns

Ethnic groups are sometimes easily distinguished in terms of everyday, domestic styles of life. Some of these distinctions may consist of subtle yet powerful mannerisms, often hidden from public view. These we cannot hope to discover in a survey research such as this. Some distinctions are more obvious, such as language use or special foods. Respondents were asked whether they serve (or are served) traditional Mennonite meals (such as *Borscht, Plume-moos* [*Pflaumenmus*], *Vereniky*) in their homes. The responses indicated that the frequency of serving "Mennonite" meals decreases with length of residence in Canada. Persons who have lived in Canada less than five years most frequently serve such meals—in fact, all of them serve such meals either frequently (67%) or occasionally (33%). Twenty percent of those aged 20-29 never have such meals in their home. Of persons born in Canada 12 percent never serve "Mennonite" meals, and only 25 percent serve them frequently. Two-thirds of the respondents report that their wives do their own baking regularly, a fourth do so sometimes and only four percent never do their own baking. This latter four percent is found

almost entirely in the age group of 20-29. Of those younger wives who do bake, they are the most likely age group to do so regularly.

An important factor in this regard is the wives' employment status. Seventy percent of the wives who do not work, bake regularly. Of those who work full time, only 43 percent bake regularly. There is no difference between Group I and Group II in this regard.

What seems to be indicated here is that the decline of Mennonite meals with length of residence in Canada is not due to a decline in the kitchen activity of Mennonite wives. Those who were born in Canada are as likely to do their own baking (and cooking) as those who are recent immigrants. It does appear, however, that with time, the kitchen aroma becomes less unique and more Canadian.

As indicated earlier, respondents from Group II use the German language frequently. However, regardless of group, German is used in the home only in cases where it is also used outside the home. Age is not as important a variable in the use of German as one might expect (it should be remembered that no respondents were under 20). Older persons tend to use the German more frequently with friends, but this is the only distinction based on age alone. The data clearly indicates that the use of German is highly and inversely correlated with length of residence in Canada. All persons who have lived in Canada less than ten years use the German frequently.

Occupational Distribution

There is a tendency for ethnic groups to emphasize certain specific occupational cultures. Although we tend to associate Mennonites with farming, we need now to ask what the urban Mennonites do for a living.

Of all respondents, 72 percent are employed, 21 percent self-employed and five percent retired. Only a small number of those employed (7%) work for a Mennonite employer. Sixty-eight percent (68%) of the wives are not employed, 22 percent are employed part-time and seven percent are employed full-time. (This latter figure is well below the national average —do Mennonites traditionally emphasize that "the woman's place is in the home"?)

In terms of occupational categories, respondents are distributed as follows:

Laborer	20%
Tradesman, (e.g. plumber, carpenter, etc.)	35%
Service Worker (waiter, mailman, etc.)	3%
Office/Clerical	6%
Manager or Proprietor	16%
Professional	12%
Retired	4%

A comparison of Groups I and II reveals roughly the same portion working as laborers. Group II has a higher proportion of tradesmen (40% as compared with 29%), but has somewhat fewer persons in managerial and professional occupations.

Membership in occupational organizations reveals the following:

Labor Union Membership	41%
Business/Trade Association	6%
Professional Association	13%
No Occupational Organization Membership	40%

The distribution of Mennonites over a wide range of occupational types reminds us that an ethnic group is not a discrete, autonomous unit. These persons have identities other than ethnic ones, and these identities mesh with those of other ethnic groups.

Of those who hold a union/association membership, ten percent hold positions in the union/association. Sixty percent of Mennonite union/association members have attended no meetings of the union/association in the past six months.

Social Participation

As one indicator of the relationship of the ethnic group to the "outside" community, one might look at the wider social participation of its members. With this in mind we now turn to a comparison of church participation, with participation in other voluntary organizations and social services.

Of all respondents, 60 percent now hold some position (such as Sunday school teacher, deacon, committee member) in the church. Positions in a church are as likely to be held by persons who live far from church as by those who live nearby. Nor does occupation make a difference in terms of positions held—the laborer and the professional are equally represented. (This does not, however, suggest that the type of positions held is also similar.)

For the group as a whole, church involvement appears to be more extensive than occupational organization involvement. Seventy-six percent of respondents have at one time held a position in the church. Only 19 percent have ever held a position in an occupational organization.

Sixty-four percent attended four or more services in their church during the past four weeks. Distance from church does not appear to affect the number of services attended. The same is true of education, though a variation by occupation appears to contradict this. Eighty percent of laborers and 70 percent of tradesmen attended four or five services in the past four weeks. The corresponding proportions for managers/proprietors and professionals is 56 percent and 58 percent. Group II respondents hold no membership in voluntary organizations. Participation in voluntary organizations and social services is the same for both groups studied.

Eighty-four percent of the respondents are not regularly involved in social services such as Skid Row relief, jail visitation, child foster care. Although the number of persons participating is too small to form conclusions, it may be fruitful to explore the fact that, proportionately, persons with university education are much more frequently involved in social services.

Concluding Comments

Space does not permit an extended discussion of the findings cited above. Perhaps this is just as well since one might be tempted to generalize too widely on the basis of this limited study. Several matters, however, are clear. The contrast between Group I and Group II indicates significant differentiation within an ethnic group. Broad generalizations, based on averages, may be misleading. Secondly, we have pointed out that some cultural patterns tend to persist, while others rapidly disappear. Third, Mennonites are not actively involved in occupational organizations, voluntary organizations or in social services not connected with the church. Does this indicate minimal involvement with the wider community, or does the church program

provide for such involvement? Mennonite visiting patterns suggest that frequent interaction with relatives and other Mennonites does not exclude interaction with non-Mennonites—in fact is associated with such interaction. Perhaps an interest in one's kinship group and ethnic identity has a cumulative tendency, so that participation in one encourages participation in the other. This remains an hypothesis, as will other questions this study has raised. If this account stimulates questions of this sort, in addition to telling us something about 98 Mennonite families in Vancouver, it will have served its purpose.

FOOTNOTES

1. The largest concentration of urban Mennonites is found in Winnipeg, and the second largest in Vancouver. Vancouver includes areas listed in the map in Figure 1, though these areas do not form a political unit in the sense of metropolitan government. *Census of Canada*, 1961.

2. A. Siemens, "Concentration of Mennonite Families in Southeastern Vancouver," M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1962.

3. Mennonite high schools and Bible schools may, however, be found in the Abbotsford-Chilliwack region, some 50 miles from Vancouver. It is there also that such cultural aspects as Mennonite choirs, musical groups and ball teams find their origin and community support.

4. Both churches are located in Southeastern Vancouver. They will be referred to as Group I (51 returns) and Group II (47 returns).

Martensville: Half-Way House to Urbanization

By Herbert Peters

ALONG HIGHWAYS 5 AND 11, eleven miles north of Saskatoon, lies a small sprawling village which, like Topsy, just "growed." Buildings appear to be randomly distributed as though no planning had taken place. Many of the homes and most of the other buildings are small and unpainted. Old, partially dismantled cars are left helter-skelter in the yards along with used lumber which may serve to build a garage, workshop, or a lean-to for the house. Complementing the many small, weathered homes are even more dilapidated shacks and outhouses.

Upon closer inspection, however, it is soon noted that there are a number of well kept, painted homes scattered throughout the village and that the streets tend to bring some order out of the initial appearance of chaos.

Such is Martensville. Despite all appearances of oldness, the village is scarcely a decade and a half old. To

many it is a mystery that such a community could exist and that its inhabitants should prefer to live there rather than in Saskatoon with all its services and opportunities. Yet one-half of the inhabitants have at one time or another tried to live in the city and found it undesirable.

The purpose of this paper is to discover some of the forces that make such a village possible and also to understand its history and significance.

Historical Antecedents

The major portion of the population of Martensville is of Dutch-German extraction, Protestant, and of the Mennonite faith. The present situation cannot be fully appreciated without some knowledge of the historical background of the citizenry. While the adherents of the Mennonite faith in general are ethnically heterogeneous, the Martensville population is quite homo-
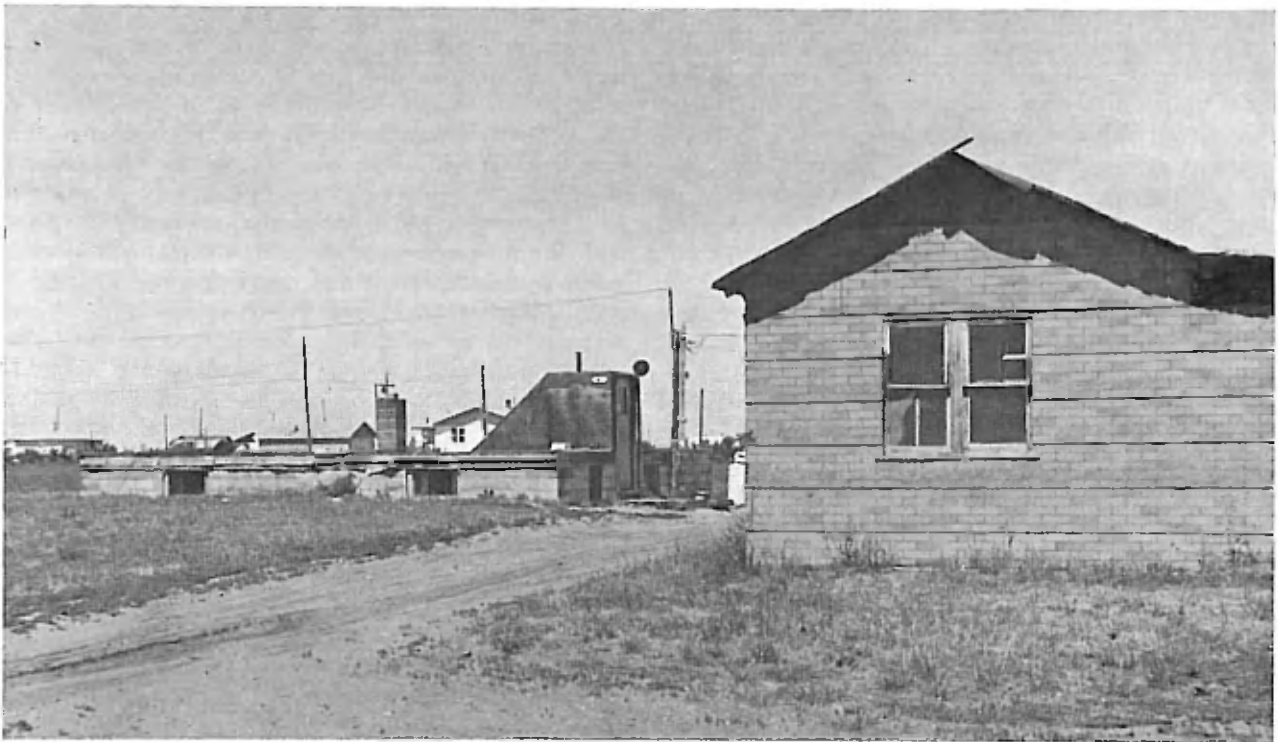
Old houses in Martensville, featured in this article.

geneous. Most of the names can be traced back to the Netherlands.

Due to severe religious persecutions, they moved from the Netherlands to West Prussia, and then because of political pressures and the threat of conscription, moved on to southern Russia (Ukraine). The Prussia to Russia move started in the late 1790's and tapered off in the 1830's. In Russia they settled in a farming district very similar to the Canadian prairies. Due to overcrowding in the original colonies in Russia, the poorer and the landless *(Anwohner)* were settled on new tracts of land which were called daughter colonies. Two of these daughter colonies *(Bergthal* and *Fürstenland)*, almost to the last person, moved to Manitoba in the 1870's. In 1890 a new division over the education question took place in Manitoba when the more aggressive and progressive wished to upgrade their schools. From the more conservative group, a number settled around Swift Current and north of Saskatoon. Most of these settlements consisted of villages similar to those in Russia.

During the depression a new migration in Saskatchewan began for economic reasons. Many families moved from the Swift Current as well as from the Hague-Osler districts because they had lost their land through foreclosure brought on by a combination of the depression and drought. Many moved to the new homestead districts mainly north of the North Saskatchewan River but also as far away as the Peace River district in Alberta. This move into the northern areas also seriously affected the education of their children because of limited educational facilities. Contact with the "outside world" was almost non-existent.

When World War II broke out, many of the young men were drafted and for the first time in their lives the young fellows were able to see the city. After the war they tried to return to the north where their parents lived, but it was economically unfeasible for those who had experienced the comforts provided elsewhere. Concurrent with their own inner restlessness, the building boom in Saskatoon and other larger centers demanded many common laborers. With their limited training and skills they worked at any job that became available.

A new conflict arose within the religious community when these young men attempted to move their families into the cities. Pressure was brought to bear on the young people as well as the parents by the church leaders so that they would not move into the city because they felt it was evil. As a counter move, a fairly large group of young families invited "the church" to move into the city with them. This was rejected out-

right by the clergy. Martensville thus became a mutual compromise which kept the families from living in the city yet allowed the men easy access to their jobs. A new migration was witnessed which paralleled the trek north during the depression.

Concurrent with the move from the northern areas, mechanization of the family farm was taking its toll as many young families were forced to look for employment elsewhere. These, too, tended to look to the city for their livelihood, and a number eventually took up residence in Martensville. While they were of the same ethnic stock, they were not all of the same conservative religious persuasion. Because many of these rural families also suffered from cultural shock when they first moved into the city, Martensville became a refuge for them too. However, settling in Martensville for this group was much more because of economic advantage rather than religious conviction. They still tended to maintain contacts with the main stream of Canadian life. This group has also taken considerable responsibility for local improvements in the village.

The foregoing should not be construed to imply that all of the people who moved into the city moved back to Martensville. The ones with stronger family and religious ties tended to conform. However, for many the weak ties with the home, community and church were completely broken, and they were then absorbed into the city.

At the present time, ninety percent of the population of Martensville consists of the descendants of the immigrants of the 1870's with a sprinkling of other ethnic groups. While the two church names, Old Colony and Bergthal, are applied to them, the real significance of the names is historical and has its roots in the settlements in Russia. There is little difference in the religious and social practices of the two groups. However, the Bergthal group appears to be more open at the present time. It should be noted that they are both the product of withdrawal practices, and in each instance they represent the most conservative element.

The Russian settlements from which the 1870 immigrants came were the poorest economically with limited trained leadership. In Manitoba the less educated as well as those opposed to extending education became a splinter group, some of whom moved to Saskatchewan.

The Martensville situation, however, presents a new twist because the present generation is attempting to bridge not merely a generation gap but a century gap. While there is an extremely conservative element present, others are attempting to face the 20th century. Many are torn between two loyalties: loyalty to their parents, relatives, and religion on the one hand, and loyalty to their children who must meet the demands of the modern world on the other.

Martensville Today

The Village. The village had its beginnings when David Martens sold the first twenty acre lots in 1953.[1] Since then the village has spilled over the original

"Urban Renewal" in Martensville near Saskatoon. Sask.
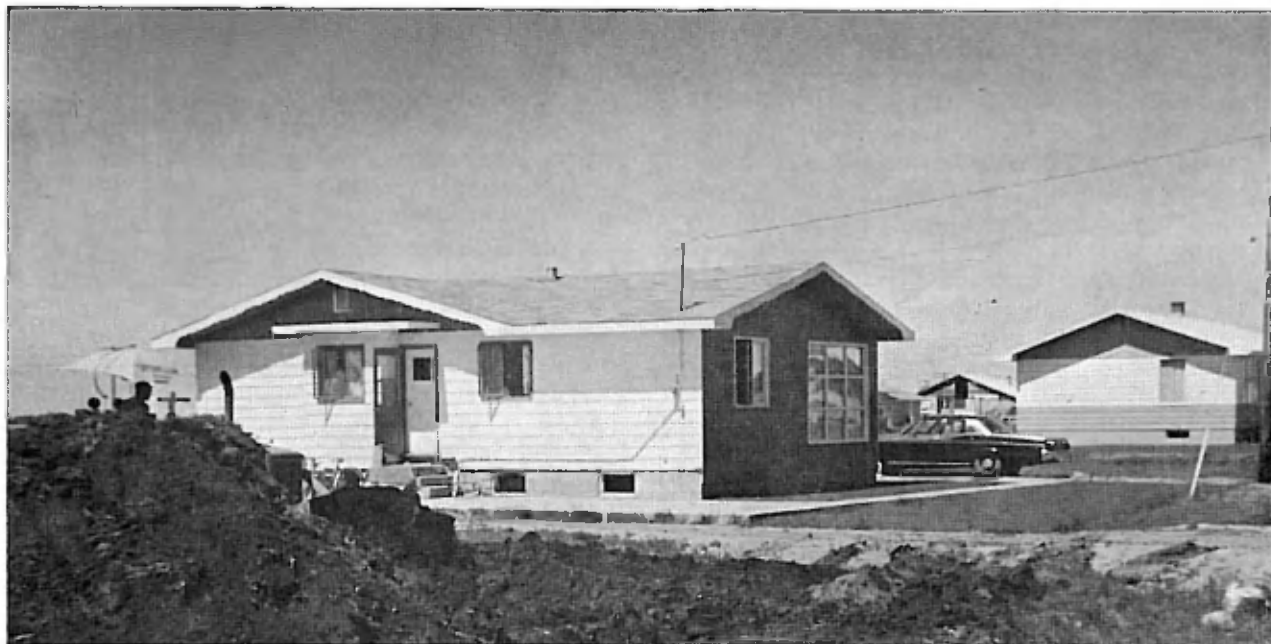
subdivision of the David Martens' farm and now covers approximately 350 acres of land stretching for over a mile along the highway. The soil is agriculturally submarginal, ranging from sandy to gravel. A number of gravel pits are located in the vicinity. The hard water from the single deep well in the village is considered unfit for human consumption. Residents must haul their water supply from an urban center or from good farm wells in the municipality.

The village is governed by a three-man council which is representative of the religious and cultural elements: General Conference Mennonite Church, Bergthal Mennonites and one non-Mennonite group (Salvation Army).

Population. The population has doubled in the last four years and is continually growing. The present population of about 1000 consists of approximately 190 families. The age distribution of the population is not representative of a typical community. Sixty percent of the population is under nineteen years of age and only nine percent over forty. There are 191 preschool children. This has many implications for the school, recreation and community needs.

At present, ninety percent of the population consists of descendants of the Dutch-German stock which immigrated to Canada in the 1870's. From a forty percent sample survey, the religious distribution is as follows: Bergthal Mennonites, 35%; General Conference Mennonites, 25%; non-Mennonite, 10%; and a minimal number from the Old Colony Mennonite Church. The remainder failed to indicate any church affiliation. There is some indication that this latter group has been drawn from the Bergthal and Old Colony Mennonite groups.

At present there are two churches in the community. The North American fundamentalist movement has made some inroads. The negative approach of the conservative churches to "the world" has not helped their adherents to cope with present day realities and therefore the local church has lost some of its holding power. This has also made the people vulnerable to every panacea offered to them.

Housing and Planning. The initial lots in the development were large twenty acre plots. The demand for lots grew so quickly that the size was gradually decreased to the present minimum width of sixty-five feet. Most holdings, however, are larger than the minimum. Streets are laid out in grid fashion and the main street has recently been paved. The remainder are either gravelled or dirt lanes.

The first homes were small, unpainted shacks moved in from farms or quickly erected on the site. Later, an odd assortment of older homes was moved from Saskatoon. Location of homes on the sites was unregulated, allowing for random placement on the lots. The newly built, neatly painted homes appear out of place in the confusion. Most of the homes are single family

dwellings although there are a few multiple family units. A number of mobile homes are also located in the village.

Incorporation of the development as a village in 1966 had some remarkable effects. The village council called for a health inspection of all buildings which resulted in the demolition of thirty structures. Enforcement of the building code prevented the continued erection of small shacks and the moving in of substandard houses from Saskatoon. Some resistance to the new regulations is evident, but on the whole they have been well received.

The Economy. Almost the entire economy of the village is dependent upon employment outside of the village. There is only limited employment available in the few small local businesses.

Despite the outward appearance of the village, seventy percent of the families have a steady wage earner twelve months of the year. Others are seasonally employed. Less than ten percent of the families were on social assistance during the past year, a number of them only temporarily. However, since almost all are unskilled workers, the level of income is not very high.

The village is served by four general stores which sell groceries, drygoods and gasoline. A small lumberyard supplies a limited variety of building supplies. All of the businesses are owner-operated.

Power and Telephone. The Saskatchewan Power Corporation provides power throughout the village. The village has only party telephone lines at the present time, but individual lines are being anticipated within the coming year.

Schools. Education for the first six grades is provided in the nine-room Martensville Elementary School.[2] The Junior High School children are transported by bus to Warman and the Senior High School students to Osler. Distribution of pupils by grade is as follows:

Grade 1	45
Grade 2	40
Grade 3	40
Grade 4	32
Grade 5	46
Grade 6	27
Junior High	45
Senior High	25

The dropout problem may be a little more severe in Martensville than in other schools because of the general lack of appreciation for education by the parents and the community. A further hindrance to school retention is the single University Matriculation course offered at the Osler High School. The few commercial classes, such as typing and bookkeeping, are not sufficient to hold them in school. The drop-outs tend to obtain unskilled jobs like their parents. However, despite the high drop-out rate, reports of juvenile delinquency appear to be minimal.

New Developments. At the present time there is agitation within the village for overall improvements both in services and in general appearance. The council is beginning to exercise its powers in enforcing the appropriate regulations as defined in the village act. The removal of unsanitary buildings has made an immediate improvement in the appearance of the village. The next step is the removal of junk cars and other unsightly materials and the prohibition of future dumping. The enforcement of the building code was assigned to one of the residents by the village council. The newly appointed secretary-treasurer, who is also a graduate engineer, will greatly assist in assuring that buildings are properly constructed.

The council has also asked for urban renewal assistance. A number of studies, some of which are sponsored by Central Housing and Mortgage Corporation, are under way.[3] There is a need for water distribution and sewage disposal systems, better street maintenance, and housing improvements. A number of specific problems are associated with each of the above. These plans may be facilitated by the recent vote of the residents to incorporate Martensville as a town. A move to change the name is also under way.

Social and Cultural Implications

The uniqueness of Martensville lies not in the marginal nature of the community but rather in the ethnic homogeneity of the village. The style of life, values, maintenance of homes, etc., is typical of many in the same socio-economic class. If the various problems are viewed as social class problems, they can be overcome with less emotional involvement. It is not intended to minimize the cultural aspects, but it is important to separate the two elements. However, emphasis on the ethnic factor alone could result in loss of perspective and preclude valuable insights.

The prevailing values in Martensville are typical of the pioneer or near pioneer existence from which many are only one step removed. Despite the favorable employment record, the average income in many instances is just above the poverty line. Few families have been able to build up a reserve to fall back on during emergencies. Many things which the urbanite considers as necessity are still classified as luxury or non-essential in Martensville.

The effects of cultural conflicts are also evident. The cultural advantages enjoyed and espoused by the urban society are either rejected as worldly or ignored. Education is not generally seen as a tool that can make one more effective personally and economically, but more often as a threat to a former way of life. The old rural values of the horse and buggy days do not fit in with the fast moving urban society.

Religious values tend to be rather static and beliefs are very concrete. The Bible is interpreted very literally. The belief systems of the elders have been passively accepted without any attempt at interpretation and integration with new learning. Their entire religious experience is cast into a closed system which cannot be altered. For this reason, their religious practices have not always been helpful in bridging the gap from the past to the present.

Villages like Martensville will serve a useful purpose as long as the move from the rural areas to the cities continues. Many former rural people are still unprepared to be urbanites. It has been appropriately stated that many of the Mennonite churches in urban centers are really only country churches in the city. Life in Martensville should lessen the effects of cultural shock and will provide a period of time for adjustment. The "half-way" situation creates an environment where the appropriate social and cultural skills may be acquired and practiced. The development of suburbia around other cities should encourage the improvement of Martensville.

Reaction to urban renewal covers the entire spectrum of human responses: 1) renewal is welcomed and encouraged by persons aware of implications and costs; 2) renewal is approved by others; 3) some are indifferent; 4) still others resist renewal because of implications; and 5) others view change with grave suspicion. The present data would indicate that the first four attitudes are quite evident. A few people have threatened to move out but it appears to be more of a bluff than real feeling. It would be most unfortunate if those for whom the village was improved would find it impossible to remain.

Social disorganization is also evident. The cultural and social ties within the ethnic community have weakened and no longer control the behavior of its members. A number of informants reported that many did not really know and appreciate their own heritage. The fact that nearly thirty percent indicated no religious affiliation may be due to ignorance of their past. The educational program of the church has suffered a sharp decline in the past few years.

While Martensville is far from being a typical Mennonite village in the traditional sense, it is an interesting study of how a conservative society accommodates itself to urban living. The old definitions and cliches about the world, worldliness, in contrast to the true faith are no longer adequate to describe present experiences and behavior. It will be interesting to observe the transformation of a shantytown to a possible metropolitan suburb.

FOOTNOTES

1. The author lives in Saskatoon, a few miles from Martensville. Much of the information was gathered by interviewing leaders and some of the older residents in Martensville.

2. Jake Buhler, the principal of the Martensville school, made school records available to the author.

3. The research which is going on now is not yet completed; therefore, recommendations for change will come later.

Changing Attitudes of Mennonite University Students

By John Bergen and David Friesen

WHAT DO MENNONITE university students believe, and how do they view their Mennonite background? The Mennonite students attending the University of Alberta at Edmonton in 1967-68 provide a revealing sample of student attitudes.

THE SETTING

The students should be seen, first of all, in the context of the Edmonton Mennonite churches, which many of them attend. Edmonton has three Mennonite congregations representing the three major conferences. Each church has about one hundred permanent members. Although many of the students are not members of the Edmonton churches, they form a major proportion of the young people attending these churches during the university year.

A considerable proportion of the membership of the city churches is in professional vocations. There are teachers, school principals and superintendents, doctors, dentists, lawyers, professors, and civil servants in the provincial Department of Education. The city's chief commissioner (a former superintendent of its public school system), the chief executive of the Alberta School Trustees Association, and the Acting Head of the University's Department of Educational Administration for 1967-68 are Mennonites.

Each of the congregations is passing through a period of tension. Some of the members find this beyond their zone of tolerance and seek refuge in non-Mennonite evangelical churches. The impact of new religious ideas and concepts on the more "traditional" Mennonite is profound. A change in the thought patterns of many members of the urban congregation is facilitated in part through contact with people of various persuasions and through university studies.

A part of this influence might be attributed to the contemporary Mennonite university student, who is less inhibited than his equal of two or three decades ago, and who finds that he dare express his thoughts without being squelched. For example, about a year ago the topic of sex as it is related to youth and marriage was discussed at a meeting of the local Association of Mennonite University Students. A paper delivered by the local Mennonite Brethren pastor was followed by a discussion and frank interchange of questions and opinions, such as likely would not have occurred in a Mennonite church a decade ago. Students appear to prefer the discussion of "controversial" subjects; the students recognize that more than one interpretation about many issues is possible, and that "truth" is not always as obvious as their background led them to believe. If students were not about the business of seeking a basis for their beliefs and behavior, they would be missing an important function of this time of their lives. Their search necessarily includes the fields of religion or theology, science, and philosophy.

THE STUDENT SAMPLE

Ninety-two Mennonite students were registered at this university during the 1967-68 term. In March of 1968 a questionnaire was mailed to the 92 students, and 76 usable returns (about 83 percent) were processed in this study. According to the personal data provided by the students, the sample can be described in a number of ways.

University Attendance

According to the university year:

I	19	(25%)
II	19	(25%)
III	14	(18%)
IV	12	(16%)
Graduate	12	(16%)

According to age group:

17-20	19	(25%)
21-23	26	(34%)
24-30	16	(21%)
31 and over	15	(20%)

According to Conference affiliation:

Old Mennonite	27	(36%)
General Conference	18	(24%)
Mennonite Brethren	26	(34%)
Other	5	(7%)

According to the field of study:

Arts	14	(18%)
Science	17	(22%)
Education	29	(38%)
Medical (including nursing)	11	(15%)
Other	5	(7%)

The Old Mennonite students formed the greater proportion of the student group, although there are

only about 670 Old Mennonite church members in Alberta, compared to about 1400 General Conference Mennonites and about 1350 Mennonite Brethren. However, all or nearly all of the Old Mennonite students in the province were in attendance at Edmonton, whereas Mennonite Brethren and General Conference students were also registered at the other two universities in Alberta, at Calgary and Lethbridge. Nearly half (41%) of the students were female, and nearly half (40%) were married. At least 41 percent of the students could be classified as "older" (above age 23). The number registered in education approximated the combined number in arts and science. About 29 percent had attended a private high school for one or more years; 26 percent had attended a Bible school; and 20 percent had attended a Mennonite Bible college. Twenty-two percent had returned to university after teaching school. Forty-seven percent came from farm families.

Some Findings

The students were asked to respond to forty statements in one of five ways: agree strongly; agree with some reservation; undecided; disagree with some reservation; and disagree strongly. The statements could be classified under the headings which follow.
"Mennonitism"

The interest in participating in interdenominational campus activities was stronger (91%) than limiting contacts to the Association of Mennonite University Students (69%). Preserving an ethnic identity was considered important by less than half (43%), and a religious identity by just over half (55%) of the students; one-fifth were uncertain about the significance of the latter. Though more than half (55%) were not concerned about including religious studies as part of their university program, sixty-one percent looked upon attendance at Bible college or seminary as desirable, and seventy-seven percent felt that students should receive more instruction in Mennonite history. A lesser number (29%) felt that attendance at a Mennonite private school before entering university would be profitable to the Mennonite students. However, nearly one-third of the respondents were undecided about this matter.

Some conference differences appear to be exhibited. Mennonite Brethren students were inclined to participate in interdenominational campus activities in greatest proportion and Old Mennonite students least. The reverse was true with respect to including religious studies as part of the university program.

Areas of Vocational Involvement

Vocations in the fields of law and politics were considered appropriate for Mennonites by most students; however, a greater number (13%) expressed uncertainty with respect to the appropriateness of involvement in politics as opposed to law (only 5%). Twenty-eight percent thought it acceptable for Mennonites to be engaged in research work associated with the production of war materials and twenty-two percent were undecided. Though in fact most of the students were choosing "service" vocations, only one-tenth indicated that Mennonite students should consider such vocations in preference to those in the sciences.

Old Mennonite students expressed disagreement in greatest proportion and Mennonite Brethren students in least proportion, that it be acceptable for Mennonites to be engaged in research related to war industry.

Sixty-six percent of the students felt that Christians ought not to smoke, and twenty percent were undecided. A number pointed out that they felt this was a health issue, rather than a moral one. A lesser number (44%) felt that Christians ought not to drink alcoholic beverages, and twelve percent were undecided. Nearly one-third (29%) felt that under certain conditions university students had the right to experiment with LSD or other drugs. Whether Christians ought to attend movies, the drama, the opera, or participate actively in sports, was of concern to about twelve percent or fewer of the students for each of these items; very few students indicated that they were undecided about these matters. Twenty-nine percent felt that Christians ought not to dance and twelve percent were undecided. On the other hand, thirty-six percent felt that Christian girls ought not to wear miniskirts, and sixteen percent were undecided.

One difference with respect to conferences appeared in the matter of dancing. Mennonite Brethren students in greatest proportion, and General Conference students in least proportion, felt that Christians ought not to dance.

Bible and Science

Though only nineteen percent of students believed that science contradicted some of the claims of the Bible, twenty-five percent were prepared to grant precedence to a research-supported scientific claim over a contradictory claim in the Bible. Thirteen and twenty-five percent of the students respectively were uncertain about these two items. Twenty-two percent believed that contradictory claims were due to unproven scientific hypotheses, and nearly half (42%) indicated that they were undecided about this. Over half (57%) felt that the theory of evolution was supported by factual evidence; seventeen percent were undecided. About half (52%) agreed that man may be the product of biological evolution; twelve percent were undecided.

General Conference students agreed in greatest proportion and Mennonite Brethren students in least proportion that man may be the product of evolution.

Religion in the Public School

The practice of Bible reading in the public schools was favored by about half (47%) of the students; however, one-fifth were undecided. The same proportions favored or were undecided about the giving of religious instruction in public schools.

Religious Convictions

Respondents generally held strong religious convictions. Only two felt that prayer did not make a difference; however, ten others were undecided. Only one felt that it was not profitable to read the Bible daily, but fourteen were undecided. Only sixteen percent felt that university education had weakened their faith in the Bible as a guide to life, and about the same proportion felt that their faith in a personal God who has a concern for the individual person had been weakened. Attending church was held unimportant by eight percent; an additional eleven percent were undecided. A large number (88%) indicated that they tried to guide their behaviour according to Biblical principles; a few were undecided and a few claimed that they did not. Only twenty-eight percent felt that traditional Mennonite absolute standards on premarital sex seemed somewhat outdated; seven percent were undecided.

Mennonite Brethren students appeared to agree somewhat more strongly that reading the Bible daily was profitable, and that they guided their behaviour according to Biblical principles; a somewhat weaker agreement with the statements seemed apparent for Old Mennonite students, and somewhat weaker still for General Conference students.

Parents, Local Church, and Conference

No students perceived their parents as disapproving of their attendance at university. Only twelve percent felt that provincial or regional Mennonite conferences were showing leadership in assisting university students in coping with their problems and questions; thirty-four percent were undecided, and fifty-four percent felt that there was no evidence of such leadership. On the other hand, sixty-four percent felt that their home church minister was understanding and sympathetic. Fifty-two percent of the students felt that their city church had been helpful to them, but thirty-three percent were undecided.

Mennonite Brethren students indicated in greatest proportion that both their home church pastor and their city church had been helpful to them, and Old Mennonite students agreed in least proportion that such was the case.

Field of Study

Students were asked to say why they came to university and why they chose their field of study. Though nearly half (41%) indicated that they came to pre- pare for a vocation, thirty-eight percent indicated that they were at university in order to broaden their education or to pursue their specific interests. About thirteen percent indicated that they had come to prepare for a life of service. It is of interest to note that only students of medicine, dentistry, and law suggested that they had chosen their area of study in part due to the related prestige and rewards.

Though half of the students indicated teaching as their immediate occupational goal, less than one-third perceived this as their ultimate goal. Twenty-four percent of the students were undecided about the ultimate goal; thirty-six percent of all liberal arts students were undecided.

Problems Perceived by Students

Students were asked to indicate any major problems they perceived as stemming from their Mennonite background. Upon classifying the responses, it was found that nine percent felt that Mennonite "isolationism" had been a handicap to them. Sixteen percent said that due to their background they had experienced some difficulty in adjusting to views held by others. Seventeen percent felt that they had to overcome inhibitions, particularly in social settings. Five percent claimed they had to overcome inferiority complexes as Mennonites. Twenty-seven percent felt that they had suffered from a background characterized as "narrow-minded" and "tradition-bound." Fifteen percent admitted that they perceived no major problems.

Reference to inhibitions was more common among older students. Senior and graduate students in greater proportion indicated an absence of major problems.

SOME CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Some conclusions may be drawn from the findings of this study. Those that follow are not meant to be final answers nor proven generalizations. They are provided more as points for discussion and problems for further research. It is the intention of the writers to probe into the nature of these problems by further research on Mennonite students across Canada and in relation to similar problems of non-Mennonite students.

It appears from this study that the Mennonite students at the University of Alberta by and large have retained many of the values and attitudes which were important to their parents. However, the contemporary university generation seems somewhat less concerned with the retention of certain ethnic characteristics. University students perceive a value in the study of Mennonite history, and they acknowledge the value of studies at Mennonite colleges and seminaries. On the other hand, they are prepared to participate in ecumenical activities. Two reasons could be advanced for this phenomenon. The students may not find the spiri-

tual nourishment (and there is some evidence of this) in the Mennonite urban church, or they may be more concerned about problems of humanity in general. Most students claim a definite faith in God and in the Bible as a guide to life.

As would be expected of university students, these Mennonites have less regard for most traditional "taboos." They expect that plausible reasons should justify any given behavior pattern. Likewise, they are searching for a reasonable faith, and are prepared to consider the implications of human scholarship and scientific research. The large numbers of responses in the "undecided" category seem to suggest that many students have entered a phase of flux, and it could be conjectured that when the value and attitude patterns of students become more definite, they will likely reflect the influence of modern science. However, the almost unanimously high value placed on the Bible indicates that the religious base may be altered rather than threatened. On the surface the university student is showing progressive alienation from the Mennonite tradition. Yet some of the data suggest that this may be more an alienation from peripheral (some may call them cultural) values than from the core of the faith. Almost all examine their behavior in the light of Biblical principles. Prayer and Bible reading retain a pre-eminent position in the value structure of the students.

Though half of the sample of students came from a farming background, their career choices remove them from the rural environment. Though most of these students chose service-oriented vocations, such choices may reflect tradition rather than basic values. There appears to be a trend to permit one's interest in the quest for knowledge to take precedence over the choice of a vocation. There is also an indication of a movement away from the service vocation to a prestige-granting profession. Education may have become less a road to service and more a road to status and economic advantage.

An erosion of the position of abstention from frequently deplored activities is apparent. These students anticipate the right to participate in practically all activities of modern youth. Smoking, drinking, and the use of LSD are seen less and less as moral issues.

This study does not ascertain whether specific problems perceived are unique to Mennonite students. It does, however, show that a large proportion of Mennonite students are not receiving the kind of support from churches and conferences which might be helpful to them. A major part of the Mennonite student body faces the problem of adjusting to urban pluralism for the first time upon university registration, and does not perceive the leadership, and guidance in the church nor in the conference, that these are expected to offer.

Finally, the general trend of alienation from traditional Mennonite principles is continuing. There is evidence that this alienation is progressing at different rates in the three conference groups.

Psycho-Social Changes Within a Metropolitan Religious Minority

William Dyck and John Sawatzky

Introduction

The focus of this paper is deliberately restricted to an analysis of the development and changes within a relatively small single Mennonite congregation of the General Conference Mennonite Church over a period of almost three decades. The United Church of Toronto is the only congregation representing this Conference in a sprawling metropolis of over two million people at the present time. The (Old) Mennonite Church has three small congregations, each with a distinct community outreach "mission" orientation. The origin of the oldest of these congregations dates back to the first decade of the twentieth century. The other two congregations were established in the fifties in the eastern suburbs of the city. The only other congregation in the city with a Mennonite identity is the Mennonite Brethren church initiated in the late fifties. This church has a small core of people of Mennonite Brethren background engaged in a Sunday school type mission outreach program drawn from a low-rental housing population on the northwest side of the city.

The members of the congregation under analysis in this paper are scattered widely throughout the city and suburbs, and the church building is located in the central area of the city east of downtown Toronto.

The analysis of changes within this congregation is portrayed from a primarily psychological and sociological perspective and has arbitrarily been divided into three phases related temporally to three successive decades with the obvious risk of gross over-generalization. The personal involvement of the co-authors must be taken into consideration both in terms of the positive aspects of intimate understanding and participation over the years as well as the negative aspects of a possible non-objective interpretation. The psycho-social changes which have taken place within the congregation are presented in five parts.

I. The Forties: Decade of Early Beginnings on an Ethnocentric Basis

Historical Data

During the early forties a number of families of Russian Mennonite background settled in the city. Most of the men had some technological skills and were employed in industrial and manufacturing occupational fields. With the encouragement and assistance of elders and ministers of mother churches within a hundred mile radius of the city, worship services in the German language were conducted in the homes. With the temporary posting of Mennonite men in military services the group met in the parish hall of a downtown Lutheran church. When the war ended in the mid-forties, the servicemen returned to their home communities, diminishing the size of the group to below 25 adults. At this point the Board of Missions of the General Conference Mennonite Church stepped in with financial and pastoral support. A moderately-sized three-story home was purchased in a lower middle class residential area in east-central Toronto. The task of remodeling the first floor to serve as a chapel provided a common concrete task for the members of the group. An almost annual turnover of ministers brought in from the "outside" by the Board of Missions created some difficulties in group identification.

Psycho-Social Analysis

During the decade of the forties the psycho-social forces were mainly centered upon the religio-cultural traditions of the past and the concern to foster and maintain close social ties in the midst of a culturally foreign and grossly different urban industrial environment. While the ministers from the outside tried to instill a sense of outreach mission to the city, a minimal response was engendered from the members of the group. The beginning of assimilation and adoption

of urban Canadian ways was noticeable, especially among the younger people, much to the chagrin of the tradition-oriented visiting ministers from the rural churches.

II. The Fifties: Decade of Convergence and Idealistic Expansion

Historical Data

The early fifties was marked by the growing influx of young professionals and their families and of university students preparing for the professions in the main. It was also marked by an increasing acceptance of the cultural mores of the conservative Canadian Anglo-Saxon urban way of life. Along with this, the growing conviction of missionary outreach led toward plans for the erection of a new church building of contemporary design. The impetus for this venture was based on the rationale that a modern church building and a typically English language church program representing the conservative Protestant main line would attract the residents in the immediate community surrounding the church. Attempts were made but with minimal success.

The process of completing the church building which was by financial necessity spread over three or four years in the late fifties, provided a common task and purpose to bring the members of the group closely together. However, mobility of members incurred through transfer of employment to other cities was one of the main factors in breaking up dynamic sub-groups within the congregation toward the end of the decade.

Psycho-Social Analysis

The psycho-social forces engendering a convergence of group cohesiveness and interaction during the early fifties in particular can be depicted as the following:

1. The need for social security and intimacy during first years of residence in a new environment of a mass impersonal industrial society was provided for by the church with its circle of friends having similar interests and cultural ties.

2. The new opportunity to become intimately involved in a church program which was free of many restricting traditions of the home churches provided a strong positive motivation.

3. The idealism of at long last being able to shed one's ethnic past and engage in an outreach program in a "needy" urban community caught the fancy of many of the members.

4. The concrete involvement in a structure of brick and mortar provided the kind of identification and unity of purpose upon which any group can thrive.

5. The openness and acceptance of new approaches to an understanding of the Christian faith, while unsettling to some, was most appreciated by many who

Fairview Mennonite Brethren Church, St. Catharines, Ont.

were still in the process of emancipation from parents and home church.

However, the late fifties showed signs of growing psycho-social divergence which became particularly marked during the next decade.

III. The Sixties: Decade of Divergence and Realistic Disillusionment

Historical Data

The early sixties were marked by underlying signs of frustration in the face of mounting evidence that a new building and a basically traditional though modified church program was not automatically attracting large numbers of people from the expanding metropolis in general and the immediate community in particular. The idealistic pastor of the fifties left with veiled feelings of disillusionment.

The new pastor endeavoured to address himself in particular to the needs of the community near the church building. Located across the street from an expending racetrack, this formerly middle-class neighbourhood showed growing signs of physical and social blight. With considerable sacrifice to his family and himself, he moved into the community. To this day, his is the only church family living in the community immediately adjacent to the church. A number of significant ventures in the nature of boys' and girls' programs were undertaken for a number of years and with a measure of success. However, the main activity of the congregation was and is today the two hours on Sunday morning in which about one hundred people, children included, swoop down from all directions for church school and worship. Regular attendance is re-

stricted to a small number of families with children, though this also changes when the summer weather arrives. The best attendance is achieved at the occasional potluck supper. Considerable discussion and some disagreement over the church's involvement in social and political concern have been experienced in the late sixties. At the annual meeting in January of this year a motion was passed that the church board call a meeting of the congregation in the near future to decide whether or not the church should dissolve. A mailed opinion survey revealed that only a few people would consider immediate dissolution. However, at the next congregational meeting a motion was passed encouraging the church board to explore a new approach to church programming in cooperation with other Mennonite churches in the city.

It should also be noted at this point that during the sixties a growing inter-Mennonite program focused on Sunday evening seminars, and as a result a Mennonite Central Committee sponsored service project has developed.

What had happened to the phenomenon of group convergence and idealistic expansionist enthusiasm of the fifties? And why?

Psycho-Social Analysis

As is usually the case in situations of social change, a number of complex, interwoven psycho-social factors would seem to a considerable degree to explain the developments of the sixties in the life of this congregation. The gradual, often unconscious, fanning out or divergence of interpersonal relationships among the church members appears to be one of the general factors of significance.

When many of these people moved into this large metropolis, they formed their closest and most meaningful relationships with the members of their own socio-cultural group. However, in the course of time, there has been a natural tendency to develop closer relationships with one's associates at work or near one's home.

The members of the group have grown apart along a number of important dimensions. In the process of rapid assimilation of Canadian ways, some are more influenced in one direction and others are more influenced in other directions. This is clearly shown along theological lines. Some members have come under the influence of liberal and avant-garde movements. Others have been attracted, often unconsciously influenced by personality factors, to strongly fundamentalistic positions. This was evident in the case of one young couple that was very active in the church during the fifties, but in the course of being transferred to a number of other cities, they accepted strongly fundamentalist views. Then when they moved back into Toronto, they could no longer tune in with the generally more

liberal views of the members of the Mennonite congregation.

On an individual psychological level, it is evident that some of the members adopted a distinctly regressive religious attitude in the face of personal or social stress. While at one time they were quite vocal in their negative criticism of their home church, they now began to indulge in sentimental thinking about the blessings they could be receiving if only they could move back home again or have that kind of a church program in the big city.

Faced with failure and tensions in the group, some members have engaged in projections of blame. Some blame themselves and express strong feelings of guilt. Others have projected blame outward, and, of course, the most natural target has been the minister as well as other lay leaders in the group.

From a sociological perspective, it is becoming more and more evident to members of the congregation that the idealistic enthusiasm of the fifties was directed toward the perpetuation of a program with a corresponding church building which was too much in line with the traditional parish church pattern of our rural heritage. Both church program and building bear the marks of obsolescence and irrelevancy and do not freely permit the creation of new and viable approaches so desperately needed to revitalize the spirit of fellowship and community among the members of the congregation.

IV. THE SEVENTIES: DECADE OF GRADUAL DISINTEGRATION, OR NEW BEGINNINGS

It may seem presumptuous indeed to attempt a few possible predictions or prognostications of the life of this congregation. However, one of the responsibilities of social scientists and prophets alike is to make some extrapolations, at least in terms of possible alternate outcomes, from an analysis of the past and present.

Our prediction is that this congregation will continue its present program until about the end of the decade. As already mentioned, specific plans are presently under way to make a radical shift in the church's program, organization, and facilities. A good deal of the impetus for this movement toward radical change is based on the obvious threat of gradual disintegration and dissolution. There has been considerable informal and semi-formal discussion among some of the more progressive and concerned members along the lines of developing a much less structured and a more functional and varied type of church program.

Although a certain group within the congregation would continue to demand the traditional Sunday school and worship service on Sunday mornings, quite a number of people appear ready to move into a less

structured program. On an inspirational, educational level this could mean a series of short-term seminars or institutes based on particular interests of sub-groups such as family life, social concerns, theological and ethical issues. On a social fellowship level, there has been some discussion of a drop-in center for young people and students and/or older people (senior citizens). More recreational and social activities for a number of sub-groups would be available as requested by these groups. The congregation is expected to move away from formal membership roles and traditional church organizational structures toward an association open to accepting Mennonites of other groups as well as non-Mennonites. There is already a distinct movement away from engaging a full-time pastor toward engaging an administrative secretary who would coordinate the various programs. The facilities being envisioned are in the nature of a multi-purpose center, possibly housed in an office or apartment building with perhaps a social service project operated by Mennonite Central Committee or some other welfare organization related to it. The facilities would be highly functional in order that maximum use for a variety of activities at any time during the week by various people could be achieved.

From a psycho-social point of view, all of these and other efforts would need to be planned and constantly evaluated from at least the point of view of their viability in effecting meaningful social integration and wholesome community in the context of which the growth and development of the individuals involved as whole persons could be facilitated.

V. POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CASE STUDY

1. Unique characteristics of the Toronto situation.

(a) The physical and geographical distance among the members scattered throughout this expanding metropolis is an added factor contributing to the process of social disintegration in the group.

(b) The fact that there is only one congregation of this particular Mennonite group in this metropolis places extra demands on people with the whole gamut of socio-economic class, vocational involvements, personality orientations and theological leanings to try to form and maintain a sense of community.

(c) This Toronto congregation has not experienced the regular influx of rural Mennonites from the hinterlands of the province. Since Ontario is generally more urbanized and industrialized, the people in the rural churches are close enough or already living in smaller cities, and therefore do not have to move into this large metropolis as has been the case in the other provinces.

(d) The degree of mobility of members of the Toronto congregation through transfer appears to be greater than anywhere else.

(e) The effects of rapid social and attitudinal change in the metropolis in general, and within religious circles in particular, has perhaps been felt more intensely by the Toronto congregation than by other urban congregations across Canada.

2. Common characteristics with other urban and urbanized/industrialized situations.

In the main, the above points given as unique characteristics in a Toronto situation should be seen as differing from other situations in degree only, and not in kind. The process of divergence and social disintegration, resulting in a weakening of group solidarity and cohesiveness, is already quite evident in many other congregations, both urban and rural. The acceptance of college education by a majority of young people accounts for the speeding up of the "diaspora" movement in terms of our people being scattered geographically. Even more significantly, we can expect a much greater diversification of conceptual, philosophical, and attitudinal orientations among our future generations. This will make any efforts in the way of establishing meaningful community a greater challenge than ever.

3. Imperatives for the urban Mennonite minority in Canada.

(a) Through the process of social and cultural assimilation with Canadian society in general and the concurrent process of divergence and weakening of social, cultural, and religious ties within Mennonite congregations, we must accept the fact that we cannot depend on the traditional ethnic and cultural mores nor traditional parish and rural oriented church programs to perpetuate themselves and to flourish indefinitely. We must seriously address ourselves to new approaches to church programming in which meaningful interpersonal relationships can be established (or reestablished) and fostered.

(b) With Mennonite distinctives in matters of faith, cultural expression, and ethical practice having virtually disappeared, a responsible leadership must work hard and quickly toward establishing closer ties and ways of cooperation with other Christian denominations.

(c) Each congregation should be confronted with the task of assessing what each is doing and what the long-range directions and possible developments would seem to indicate in the light of ongoing psycho-social changes.

Mennonite Family Stresses
in the City

By Otto H. Driedger

IN ORDER TO meaningfully consider the Mennonite family stresses in the urban setting, one first needs to review basic concepts of the family.

The nuclear family consists of husband, wife and children. Depending on the relationship one wishes to stress, one could also say that it consists of father, mother and children; parents and siblings; or married man and woman and their offspring. Based on a survey of 250 representative cultures, George Murdock states that "the nuclear family is a universal human social grouping."[1] In some circles this statement is being questioned by those who quote the Israeli Kibbutz[2] as an exception. There also needs to be very careful evaluation of the patterns of some Indian and

Metis subgroups to determine if, in fact, another deviation from the nuclear family concept is not represented. I do not refer to the Indian and Metis culture generally but to a specific subgroup where the nuclear family does not appear to exist. For example, the firstborn in some Saskatchewan Indian communities are given to the grandparents so that when the grandparents get old the grandchild can help them. Also, in some Indian communities children call their mother's sisters by a word meaning something like "stepchildren," and they call their father's brothers by a similar name meaning "stepfather." This also carries over into family relationships because children will often remain with these relatives.[3]

In spite of the above possible modifications of the general concept, it appears that the nuclear family is basic enough to our society to be used in this article.

There are several types of families, including those which are childless, expanding, decreasing, and protracted. In the foregoing, there is the basic assumption that the complete nuclear family is the acceptable, legal family. In addition, however, we have other types: the single parent family (widowed, divorced, separated, or unmarried), the common-law family, the foster family, and the separated family. By separated family I refer to the family where children are taken from the parents due to neglect of the children, unwillingness to care for the children, inability to control the children (usually teen-agers), and inability to care for emotionally disturbed or retarded children. Some time a study should be made of the dynamics of families where some members are separated in these ways. Relationships are still frequently maintained since such factors have deep psychological, social and emotional effects on its members.

A number of important family functions which are changing and which must be taken into consideration when discussing changes in the family are 1) procreation, 2) economic activities, 3) social life, 4) emotional needs, 5) mental health, 6) physical relations, 7) sexual outlets, 8) child development and socialization, and 9) the spiritual value system. These changing functions in our urban industrial society contribute to stresses and strains within the family .

Changing Role of the Family

Family life in our society never has been static. The type shifts (expanding, protracted, etc.), the status shifts (middle class, upper middle, etc.), the place of residence shifts (rural to urban to suburban), and the locus of authority can change (kinship control, patricentric, matricentric, equalitarian, etc.).

Changes in our society put stresses on family life which must be alleviated. The assimilation of ethnic groups into the larger Canadian culture means that children grow up in a different milieu than did their parents. Thus, conflict frequently arises between the parents and teen-ager. Economic progress—automation, industrialization, and professionalization—means that there is more leisure time for the family and that children must remain in school longer and therefore cannot learn their father's trade. Change is so rapid that the experiences of the older generation are obsolete, a fact which has a profound effect on the relationship between generations.

The foregoing all blend in with the increasing urbanization of Canadian society. Although we cannot consider the effect of urbanization in isolation of the other factors, many of the above-mentioned factors in themselves are part of the urbanization process.

Effect on the Family

In Angell's study of the family during the depression, he hypothesized that the integrated and stable families were the successful families. Finding that many stable units failed, he later showed adaptability to be more important than integration and stability in determining family success.[4]

Today there is more specialization—more specialization in public school education, more activity in the churches, more social clubs, and more organized sports and recreation. The family is specializing in meeting physical and emotional needs and being the "administrative" centre for family members. Of course, this is over-simplified, but generally this appears to be the trend.

Family fragmentation, instability and disintegration frequently occur when families are unable to adequately utilize community services. Disintegrating families do not make use of community recreational facilities; they often have no contact with the church; they have lost or have only marginal employment income; they have few social contacts; and their children attend school irregularly. Consequently, such a family is left even more to its own resources, thus being even less able to cope with the complex society. The disintegration thus becomes a vicious downward cycle, which then frequently generates added disintegrating factors such as promiscuity, separation, alcoholism, delinquency, etc. Community resources are not used to any extent by the families that need them most desperately.[5]

Urbanization increases social pressures. Conflict due to factors such as proximity of the family members and democratic family structure can cause stalemates when opinions differ (e.g., how to train children, whether to be permissive or not, when parents should each use their own methods, etc.), causing insecurity in the child. Changes in the value system set some families adrift. In a static society, however, youth accept traditional values more readily, and thus change is not as important a factor for stress in the family.

Mennonite Family Pattern

Does the Mennonite pattern differ from the general rural-urban family problems that are encountered? It appears that there are some ethnic and religious aspects which influence stress in urbanizing Mennonite families.

Frequency of family disintegration is one gauge of family stress. Unfortunately, statistics are not available on family breakdown by ethnic groups for deviances such as delinquencies, separations, apprehension of children, illegitimacy, etc. The additional problem is that persons who grew up in a Mennonite home but left the Mennonite faith should also be considered in the study in order to get a true evaluation of the situa-

tion. There are, however, many Mennonite cases which may serve as examples. There are a number of instances where the parents have separated, leaving the children divided in their loyalty. Child neglect, which results in the taking of children from the Mennonite family, has also occurred. There are also cases of alcoholism and infidelity which tended to break up or put stress on Mennonite family life.

Changing Roles of the Mennonite Family

The shift from the rural Mennonite paternal authority to the urban equalitarian orientation has been quite marked. This has caused stress in the Mennonite urban family in that it necessitates redefinition of roles. Since the experience of young couples in their own home with a paternal authority figure can often not be used as precedence, it can cause insecurity and stress in the development of their new roles. It may develop with greater maternal dominance; it may continue paternalistically; or it may be worked out satisfactorily on a companionship basis.

The Mennonite work ethic on the farm was acquired by the children through the socialization process. Father worked with the boys and mother worked with the girls. In the city, however, parents and children spend only leisure time together and are separated during working hours. What does the urban Mennonite father do with his children when in his rural upbringing his father's contact with the children was limited to work? The parent-child relationship, "Mennonite discipleship," and the work ethic were frequently transmitted non-verbally while working together. In the urban setting, this socialization requires a triple shift: 1) verbalizing discipleship, 2) developing parent-child relationships, and 3) transmitting the work ethic or its alternate in other ways. This frequently causes difficulty in communication between urban parents and their children. Especially during the teen-age years, it often leads to difficulty in parent-child relationships, which can cause difficulty in the child's identification with the Mennonite faith.

In reviewing statistics during the 1950's in Saskatchewan, I found that there was a high incidence of children born out of wedlock to Mennonite rural girls who had gone to the city to work.[6] In analyzing the causes, it appears that the shift from strong parental and community control to greater freedom in the city caused many young people to be reckless and to abandon the values that they had been taught.

Mennonite Family Function

An interesting trend in changing family functions is the rapid shift in family size among the urban Mennonites. In rural Mennonite homes, large families were traditional. Children were an asset on the farm, but in the city they became a financial liability. The rapid shift of the large Mennonite family to a small urban

family group also has direct effects on the family dynamics. In a large family which had built-in companionship, children entertained each other. In small families, parents are more involved in activities of the children. More parental attention results in great expectations from the few children. The strength of the Mennonite concept of individual responsibility is seen in its ability to shift so rapidly from a tradition of many children to few children. Many religious groups (the Roman Catholics, for example) have a much slower rate of adaptability in this area.

Types of Families

The Mennonite family pattern appears to be consistent with the four basic family types. However, the incidence of divorced, separated, common-law, and unmarried parents seems to be lower among Mennonite families than the Canadian average. Over the last twenty years the number of Mennonites who adopt children or care for foster children has increased greatly. Although separate statistics are not kept, in Saskatchewan, for example there would be very few congregations where there are not at least some adopted children or foster children. This type of change has a significant effect on the Mennonite family and community. They are faced with changing attitudes in regard to adoption, foster children, and frequently to children of Indian, Metis or Negro subcultures.

Conclusion

We have only touched on several significant areas of change in the urban Mennonite family. Very few statistics and even fewer studies are available on this subject. A great deal of continued research and study is needed to test some of the above-mentioned trends.

There are several hypotheses that should be tested further with regard to the adaptability of the Mennonite family to the city.

1) Mennonite families are aided in their adaptability to the city by the fact that their religious faith stresses the priesthood of every believer.

2) The fact that Mennonite faith, discipleship and culture are so thoroughly oriented toward rural life in North America increases stress in urban Mennonite families.

FOOTNOTES

1. George P. Murdock. *Social Structure.* New York: The MacMillan Co., 1949. An anthropological study of the family and kinship systems of 250 societies.
2. Melford Spiro, "Is the Family Universal—The Israeli Case." *A Modern Introduction to the Family.* Norman Bell and Ezra Vogel, eds. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960.
3. Stan Wilson. "Northern Cree Kinship." A paper presented at a Department of Welfare, Saskatchewan, Training Session, February, 1968.
4. Robert Cooley Angell. *The Family Encounters the Depression.* New York: Scribner's, 1936. Pp. 48-49.
5. The staff of the child welfare services in Saskatchewan deals with approximately two thousand protection families and fifteen hundred unmarried mothers yearly. Information is based on findings of this staff.
6. Department of Welfare files, Government of Saskatchewan, Regina.

Mennonites and the
Civil Service

By Frank H. Epp

MENNONITE URBANIZATION and its concomitants — more education and increased professionalization — has, among other things, produced a growing participation in higher levels of the civil service. The fifty-member Mennonite congregation in Canada's capital city, for instance, was begun by, and is largely made up of, families whose heads are employed in the federal civil service.

This development has, in the less urbanized community, sometimes been viewed as something outside of the Mennonite tradition, and, consequently, as something alien to it. Involvement has been seen as a breaking down of the desired separation of church and state.

Such notions, admittedly, are difficult to document, but their prevalence in the oral tradition of the agrarian, and some of the urbanized, Mennonites can hardly be denied. To what extent, it may be asked, are such ideas a correct appraisal of the situation?

In the opinion of this writer, Mennonite participation in the civil service has falsely been seen as an abrupt change from tradition. This has been due to wrong conceptualization of the Mennonite tradition, on the one hand, and of the civil service, on the other hand.

Before we examine both of these ideas more closely, let us briefly review the chronology and the character of the Ottawa development, recognizing, of course, that there were Mennonites in the federal civil service across the country, particularly in the departments of transport and agriculture, before they started to move to the capital city.

Mennonites first came to Ottawa in the 1930's. After the large immigration from Russia in the 1920's, the 1931 census counted 88,736 Mennonites in Canada, none of whom were located in Ottawa, as can be seen from the Table I, below.[1]

TABLE I

MENNONITES IN OTTAWA

Census Year	Number
1931	0
1941	14
1951	33
1961	65

The first known Mennonite to join the civil service in Ottawa was Peter J. Wiens, who came to help analyze the population census of 1931.[2] He was a Russian emigre' of the 1920's and a recent university graduate. His first job lasted only one year due to the depression, but he returned again in 1938 and for one year worked with the Post Office Department.

With the outbreak of the war, civil servants with linguistic facility in German were needed, and Wiens was transferred to the Department of War Services, where he was eventually placed in charge of the general mail section. During this time a number of Mennonites obtained jobs with the civil service as censors of German mail. During the peak of such employment during World War II there were about one hundred Mennonites in Ottawa, counting children.[3]

While many of these temporarily-employed civil servants lost their jobs after the war, other Mennonites, or shall we say ex-Mennonites, who had been in the armed forces, now came to Ottawa. It will be remembered that veterans were given preference as far as employment in the rapidly expanding civil service was concerned. No one knows how many of these Mennonites arrived, but there could have been a score or two. Very few appear to have registered as Mennonites in the census of 1951 and 1961.

As for Wiens, he returned to the Post Office Department briefly, was later transferred to the Labour Department, and since 1953 has been posted in the Translation Bureau in the Secretary of State Department.

Another civil servant of note, often identified with the Mennonites, is Dr. E. A. Driedger, presently Consul-General of Canada in Hamburg. A native of Osler, Saskatchewan, he served the Supreme Court of Canada as librarian 1940-41, and then joined the Department of Justice, moving to the positions of Deputy Minister of Justice and Deputy Attorney General of Canada for the years 1960-67.[4] While his parents were Mennonite and Swedenborgian, Driedger himself became a member of the United Church after his graduation from university.

A new influx of Mennonite civil servants came to Ottawa beginning about 1959. These had received their university education after the war years.[5] The

members of this new group, along with the Wienses, established the Ottawa Mennonite Church. At least half of the 32 households now represented in the congregation are related to the civil service.

Of these, five are associated with the Department of Defence or the Department of Defence Production. Four others have in the past been related to the armed forces. The congregation, therefore, has a divergence of views on the matter of non-resistance, as can be seen from a statement recorded recently by one active layman in the congregation:

I consider this to be very much a matter of individual convictions, on which sincere Christians can come to quite different conclusions, and I deplore the tendency in some quarters to label as un-Christian or misguided those who happen to disagree with one's particular views. For a variety of reasons, I cannot in good conscience accept the ultimate implications of the traditional Mennonite view of nonresistance. In other words, I cannot accept the abrogation of my right (in fact, my duty) to defend my loved ones, my neighbours, and my country by any means at my disposal. I respect and admire those persons who can sincerely accept all of the implications of a nonresistant stand, but I do not think that I have to share their views to be a good Christian.[6]

From the above, it might be argued that civil service involvement demands, or leads to, a break with the Mennonite position on nonresistance. The quoted testimony is certainly at variance with the writings of Menno Simons after whom the Mennonites are named.[7] Yet, it does not necessarily follow that the Mennonite congregation in Ottawa is much different in character or point of view than the average rural or urban Mennonite congregation elsewhere in Canada. Indeed, it can be demonstrated that nonresistance is weak throughout the Mennonite community and that participation in the Department of Defence is simply an extension of the military mentality elsewhere in the country.[8]

Similarly, the involvement with the civil service generally is not involvement of a different kind than Mennonites have already known for a long time, though perhaps of a different degree and/or at a different level.

If we go back to the beginnings of the Anabaptist movement, we discover that the early leaders were far from uninvolved and neutral as far as affairs of state were concerned. Menno Simons, for instance, was constantly addressing himself to rulers and princes, reminding them of their necessary subservience to the "Ruler of rulers" and "the greatest of all emperors."[9]

It is true, the Anabaptists themselves tended to avoid civic office, but this was not because Menno's teachings forbade participation. The experience of per-

T. D. Regehr, Head of the Public Records Section, Manuscript Division, Historical Branch, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, assisting a student of Conrad Grebel College with research. Regehr is now teaching history at University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Ernest Enns, Alderman of Winnipeg, addressing International Christian Business Men's Association, Winnipeg. His brother Siegfried is a member of the Canadian Federal Parliament, and brother John is Crown Prosecutor with the Manitoba Government. For many years their father, J. H. Enns, was elder of the First Mennonite Church of Winnipeg.

secution rather than a theological position, led to general avoidance.

This persecution in turn led Mennonites to form their own separate societies, as in Prussia and in Russia, but even here it did not mean rejection of the civil service. It could not. The "Mennonite commonwealth of Russia" was a state within a state requiring its own administration.[10]

A Mennonite-directed civil service was a fact also in the pioneer settlements of the Canadian prairies, and can today be seen operative most clearly in the colonies of the Paraguayan Chaco.[11]

As the Mennonite settlements in Canada became more public, Mennonite laymen became community-elected school trustees, councilmen, reeves, mayors, and eventually also members of provincial legislatures and the Canadian parliament. Elected officials identified with all four Canadian parties—Social Credit, Progressive Conservative, Liberal, and New Democratic Party—and two of them became provincial cabinet ministers.[12]

As the young people acquired the necessary skills and professional qualifications, they joined the civil service at the various levels. A 1965 survey in the Conference of Mennonites in Canada revealed that an average of one percent of the membership of the Conference was in government services of one kind or another, as can be seen from Table II. In Saskatchewan it was nearly two percent.[13]

The greatest participation seemed to be in, and from, those geographical areas in Manitoba and Saskatchewan where Mennonites once had, as in Russia, managed their own affairs. Thus, paradoxically, where Mennonites had, in their own mind, been least involved in public affairs they became the most involved.

It is true, to this very day some Mennonites do not vote in provincial and federal elections, but even they cannot claim for themselves non-involvement. Even where there has been a physical separation, there has been strong emotional involvement in political and governmental affairs.

Table II

Members of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada in Government Services

Provinces	No. of Churches	1964 Church Membership	% of Conference Membership	Questionnaire Returns	Members in Government Services	No. in Govt. per 1,000 Membership	% of Churches with Members in Govt.
Ontario	13	3,555	18	(10) 77%	23	6.5	70
Manitoba	36	7,642	38	(27) 75%	69	9.0	70
Saskatchewan	37	4,473	23	(29) 78%	86	19.2	90
Alberta	10	1,441	7	(9) 90%	3	2.1	33
B. Columbia	19	2,712	14	(15) 79%	8	3.0	33
TOTAL	115	19,823	100	(90) 78%	189	9.5	67

It would be hard, indeed, to find Mennonites without strong opinions on east-west affairs and, for that matter, on domestic issues. And whether or not much thought has been given to issues and policies, there has been strong feeling against or for certain political personalities.

Thus, a new look at the tradition indicates that the Mennonite civil servant does not stand apart from it as much as has sometimes been assumed.

A new look at the civil service, on the other hand, suggests that the civil servant may be more neutral and separate from actual political involvement than Mennonites back home on the farms and in the shops.

The civil service, to be sure, was not always as neutral as has been observed of late. When P. J. Wiens arrived in Ottawa, many civil servants still received their initial appointments and their promotions through the good graces of a friendly member of parliament.

A change, however, was already under way, the political nature of the civil service having been broken by the Civil Service Act of 1908 and 1918, which forbade political activity by civil servants.

According to Abe M. Willms of the Carleton University Political Science Department: "By the 1950s this had become such a sensitive issue that civil servants were dismissed if they so much as drove voters to the polls on election days . . ."[14] Ted Regehr of the University of Saskatchewan History Department—until 1968 head of Records Section, Public Archives of Canada—has seen the relative non-involvement of the civil servant in another way:

The civil servant, also known as a public servant, is a servant of the state. But his relationship to the state is not one likely to compromise his Christian independence to any greater degree than will the relationship of any other employee to his employer. In fact, in many instances, he has far less opportunity for wrong doing."[15]

In the 1960s a reaction has again set in, and the 1967 Staff Employment Act has opened the door to some participation. According to Willms, himself a former civil servant, the argument has been

. . . presented forcefully that civil servants should not be deprived of their political rights, not only because this infringes on their civil liberties but also because this removes from the political arena an increasingly large proportion of a very knowledgeable part of the electorate."[16]

If democracy has its arguments against neutrality, so does Anabaptism. We have already seen how Menno Simons was far from neutral. He was, in fact, dangerously unneutral. For the Anabaptists the separation of church and state meant not separated indifferences

but prophetic utterance concerning God's will for all the affairs of men.

Mennonites may, therefore, well be concerned about entrance into the civil service, but for reasons opposite to those that have been current. Not involvement, but neutrality, could for the Anabaptist Christian be the biggest problem.

Urbanized Mennonitism, therefore, faces the challenge of finding both a new involvement and a new separateness, of discovering itself in the world and identifying itself as not of the world.

The need for such discovery and identity exists in Ottawa but not anymore there than it is needed in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Saskatoon, and Calgary, or, for that matter, in Waldheim and Winkler.

FOOTNOTES

1. Canada Census Reports for Years 1931, 1941, 1951, and 1961. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada.
2. "Information Sheet on Peter J. and Helen Wiens" in *Ottawa Mennonite Church Register*, Ottawa Mennonite Church, 1830 Kilborn Avenue, Ottawa 8, Ontario, Canada.
3. Author's interview with Peter J. Wiens, February 6, 1968.
4. Letter from Dr. E. A. Driedger to Frank H. Epp, April 27, 1968.
5. Author's interview with Peter J. Wiens, February 6, 1968.
6. "Information Sheet on Jake and Elsa Koop" in *Ottawa Mennonite Church Register*, Ottawa Mennonite Church, 1830 Kilborn Avenue, Ottawa 8, Ontario, Canada.
7. See J. C. Wenger (ed.), *Complete Writings of Menno Simons*. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1956, pp. 198, 326.
8. "A Nearly Non-Existant Nonresistance," *The Canadian Mennonite* XI:10 (March 8, 1963), p. 6. See also returns on 1968 MCC (Canada) questionnaire on peace and social concerns: MCC (Canada), 605-259 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg 2, Manitoba.
9. *Complete Writings . . .* , *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 217, 326.
10. H. S. Bender, "Anabaptist-Mennonite Attitude Toward State," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* Vol. IV, pp. 616-617.
11. *Ibid.*
12. J. M. Froese, Social Credit MLA for Rhineland in Manitoba (1959-); S. J. Enns, Progressive Conservative MP for Portage-Neepawa (1962-1968); Dave Boldt, Liberal MLA for Rosthern and successively Minister of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation and Minister of Highways (1960-); Harry Enns, Progressive Conservative MLA for Rockwood-Iberville, in Manitoba and Minister of Agriculture and Conservation (1966-); Erhart Regier, New Democratic Party MP for Burnaby-Coquitlam (1953-62).
13. Leo Driedger, "Mennonites in Government Services." A Report of Canadian Board of Christian Service, June 28, 1965.
14. A. M. Willms, "A Mennonite in the Civil Service." Statement prepared for Conference on Mennonite Urbanization, Winnipeg, May 10-11, 1968.
15. T. D. Regehr, "Mennonites and the Civil Service." Statement prepared for Conference on Mennonite Urbanization, Winnipeg, May 10-11, 1968.
16. Willms, *op. cit.*

Language and Communication Among Urban Mennonites

By Victor Doerksen

THIS PAPER CAN do no more than raise some preliminary questions about the topic stated above. I will try to establish the basis for a valid *Fragestellung*, which can hopefully point the way for more thorough investigation. I will touch briefly on a) the dynamic of language, b) the rural-urban shift, c) the present state of German, d) the state of English, and finally some general observations of contemporary urban language and communication.

The Dynamic of Language

Language is usually taken for granted as a basic element of human community, i.e., we for example may consider ourselves members of a German language group (*Sprachgemeinschaft*), at least up to a point. In this lies an assumption about the nature of language, to the effect that it constitutes some kind of permanent base, a sub-structure or residuum, which may be considered a constant factor in whatever is said about the group. To make this assumption is to misunderstand the nature and function of language, especially its dynamic character.

A living language, and even a dead one, can only be understood as a complex phenomenon, with synchronic and diachronic dimensions. It will not do, for example, to register simply the degree to which German has been superseded by English at any one point, for one of the first things to strike even the casual observer is that we must speak of Low German and High German, of colloquial and formal English, that our study must take into account matters like sophistication and specialization on the one hand and of limitation and ossification

on the other. We Mennonites are aware of a history in which Dutch, various varieties of German, Russian and English (and other languages too) have a place, and our thinking about this history usually posits a relatively simple succession of, say, Dutch, German, English, which though true in its way, does not do justice to the matter at hand.

I would like to introduce into this discussion a very rudimentary verbal diagram of one of the basic forms of language as a process.[1] It may be described as existing between two poles, the concrete and the abstract, and a simplified description of its functioning might be as follows: Idiom (not only words, but also imagery, etc.) is created largely at the grassroots, dialect or colloquial (concrete) level, which, if proven viable, will eventually find its way into the formal language (registered by entry into dictionaries as well as literature). On the other hand, terms which have been removed from their vital roots too long tend to lose or change their meaning, images flatten out (cf. my use of 'introduce', 'pole', 'created', etc.), that is, abstract language by the very fact of its abstraction tends to become stale. This kind of language process is at work in a living *Sprachgemeinschaft* and our simplified diagram may prove useful as a model, which among other things combines the diachronic and synchronic aspects of language and thereby does a degree of justice to a dynamic phenomenon. From the diachronic point of view we may say that language must be in a state of constant renewal at its roots in order to stay alive, and synchronically seen, there are implications for the relationship of the various levels of the language, as we shall see.

Before turning to the immediate question at issue one more condition must be stated. The 'language of the Mennonites' will be for our purpose, and unless otherwise stated, taken to be religious language, albeit in broad terms. It is at this point, after all, that *Religionsgemeinschaft* and *Sprachgemeinschaft* meet.

The Rural-Urban Shift

Having said this much in the hope that the phenomenon of language would not be misunderstood at the outset, it is now possible to turn to the question of urbanization and its implications for language. The gathering of Mennonites in urban centres has meant, perhaps paradoxically, a scattering, at least insofar as the question of maintenance of a separate *Sprachgemeinschaft* is concerned. It is perhaps impossible already to avoid romanticising the rural past (and even the rural present where it exists), but it seems that in that phase of our history a certain kind of language community was possible, though not nearly so much in Canada as in Russia. Still, investigation will probably show that the roots of the 'Low-High German process unit' were open to the cutting edge of English very early in this country, and it may be as difficult to de-

termine the time of death of German among Canadian Mennonites as it is becoming to tell when a person has died. It has certainly already occurred.

In the cities the use of German was continued, not on the basis of whether a viable *Sprachgemeinschaft* existed, but rather because of a number of other factors, factors which in some degree also underlie the endeavors of the societies for the preservation of the German language, and which are not primarily religious.[2] When English asserted itself in church use it was largely for inwardly pragmatic reasons: children of 'German speaking' parents could not understand German, and so first Sunday school classes and then worship services were (and in some cases are and will be) changed over to the no longer avoidable medium.

The main factor in the rural-urban shift, though, as far as language is concerned, is the radical degree of sophistication that inevitably takes place. No matter whether the change is from German to English, from rural English to city English or German to German, the fact that the Mennonites have entered into a comparatively highly sophisticated linguistic community must have far-reaching implications. In the rural setting the consonance of much Biblical language and rural life is striking. (The assumption is that rural people still know what sheep and lambs look like.) The Mennonite in the city, whether he is a teacher, an office worker or a housewife, faces a different situation. His religious vocabulary should, we would expect, be greatly increased and highly refined to be able to do the interpretive work necessary in the new setting. This adaptation would be required in both German and English, and in the following two sections I will venture some comment on the present state of both.

The Present State of German

The writing has been on the wall for the use of German among urban Canadian Mennonites for some time now and indeed, since its roots were cut so long ago, (1) it is a wonder that it can still be found in use, but (2) it is no wonder that it is in its present state. (It is necessary for one who professes German language and literature to insert at this point his belief that the serious appreciation of German literature and culture can be maintained only when the fiction of participating actively in a Canadian German culture is dispelled, that is, when one's reading or whatever is done in the European context.) Considered from the point of view of living language community—and that is our point of departure—the present state of the German language, as it is used in the Mennonite press[3], in the churches, on the radio, etc., is deplorable. At its best it is correct and wooden, at its worst, hair-raising. How

Mennonite Brethren Conference session at the Portage Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Winnipeg.

could it be otherwise, since with very few exceptions it is carried on in a context which no longer exists? From other vantage points, say that of the historian, a very different conclusion would be reached, but to say that Mennonite German is presently capable only of the interest of the antiquarian is to condemn it in the strongest terms from the position of this study: that of language as communication.

The State of English

The problematical history of German use among the Mennonites of Canada constitutes at least a tradition of sorts. That language has a living past for us, a past which includes Anabaptist and other writings of great significance. The change that has been made (and is being made) to English confronts us with a number of questions, and I would submit that primary among these is the query: What kind of English have we adopted?

Mennonite religious services in English are usually a mixture, sometimes grotesque, often at least humorous, of diverse levels of language. Different congregations meet the linguistic challenge in a variety of ways, of which I will mention two common types: 1) Since there is only one kind of German for church use, the archaic, this will often be translated into something resembling the language of the Authorized Version (1611). This is a conservative practice possibly intended to a) keep closer to the source of inspiration and b) preserve the immunity of religious language (church Latin may be 'English' or 'German'). 2) Another approach that is developing rapidly with the rise of the professional classes among Mennonites is that fairly modern theological terminology is used, often in unhappy conjunction with the jargon of the social sciences, in an attempt to be 'relevant'. This emphasis may be fostered by an over-academic press (*Canadian Mennonite*). Both of these, though in varying degree, by and large ignore the larger problem of linguistic assimilation in the urban community. Both archaic religious terminology and professional jargon are on the abstract side of the concrete-abstract continuum previously referred to. Meanwhile there *is a* viable language com-

munity to which all urban Canadian Mennonites now belong. It may be well to remind ourselves that much of the New Testament was written in what we might well call the language of everyday life (*Umgangssprache-Koine*). This is the level at which the various formal kinds of English renew themselves, and it is where our religious language must be reborn as well. This means that, in linguistic terms at least, urban Mennonites must assimilate themselves into the larger *Sprachgemeinschaft* which is viable and real. Paradoxically, this is the only way in which Canadian Mennonites will be able to have a language of their own, since the alternative does not allow—at least under the present circumstances—for truly communicative language at all.

Some Observations in Summation

1. Language is dynamic. It is created in the streets, poets shape and preserve it, societies for its preservation finally embalm it.

2. Canadian Mennonite German in its present state is a readily understandable but nonetheless anachronistic phenomenon.

3. Our language community is English (at least west of Quebec) but our assimilation into the language is by no means complete.

4. The Mennonite language scene is presently one of disarray, awaiting integration.

5. The difficulties in inter- and intra-Mennonite communication (as well as those between the Mennonites and the 'outside' world) are not unrelated to the pattern of disparate kinds of language in use.

6. If we wish to communicate we will have to use a living language in order to do so.

FOOTNOTES

1. The model is basically that of W. Henzen, *Schriftsprache und Mundarten*, Bern: 1954.

2. More precise study would be required to properly isolate and analyse these, Delbert Wiens, "The Old Wine—Will It Sour?", *Canadian Mennonite*, April 18, 1967. Wiens speaks of High German as the church Latin of the Mennonites.

3. W. Entz, "Die deutschsprachige Presse Westkanadas: Ihr Inhalt und ihre Sprache," Seminar III, 1, 37-52. It is interesting to note that such studies about the idiosyncrasies of Canadian-German by-pass the Mennonite press.

The Mennonites and the City

By Waldemar Janzen

In Jeremiah 35 we read of a peculiar group, the Rechabites, who characterize themselves as follows:

We will drink no wine, for Jonadab, the son of Rechab, our father, commanded us, 'You shall not drink wine, neither you nor your sons for ever; you shall not build a house; you shall not sow seed; you shall not plant or have a vineyard; but you shall live in tents all your days, that you may live many days in the land where you sojourn' (Jer. 35:6-7).

The Rechabites are a group which consciously reject the way of life of the Land of Canaan and its settled agrarian population in favour of the ways of the semi-nomadic existence during Israel's wanderings through the wilderness. After all, the wilderness wanderings after the exodus from Egypt had been the time of the great acts of God in Israel's history, the time of the conclusion of the covenant at Mount Sinai. Should one not strive to preserve such a past and extend it into the present?

An attitude such as this is understandable. Neither the prophet Jeremiah nor we can withhold our respect for their faithfulness toward the hallowed traditions and their readiness to preserve sacrificial offerings. Nevertheless, their attitude was wrong. The Old Testament rejects their attempt at preserving the past. To be sure, God had shown his mighty acts in the wilderness, but then he had led his people onward and had given them a new homeland—a land of agriculture, a land which they were to receive as tangible evidence of his grace toward them and his covenant with them.

Are We Rechabites?

At times I wonder whether we Mennonites are not Rechabites in our time. Are we not inclined to associate the reality and presence of God with bygone times and customs? Do we not frequently attempt to carry on the patterns characteristic of our Russian and North American history in the country, the village, and the farm, even when we have moved to the city?

These are tested patterns—patterns that have preserved and furthered much that is valuable, patterns within which our forefathers have experienced the reality and nearness of God, patterns which still char-

acterize the life of many of our brethren in the country. The rural Mennonite modes of life are dear even to those of us who have lived in the cities for many years and who experience them only as we have occasion to visit our relatives, friends, and fellow believers in the country.

In no way is this article attempting to devaluate our more traditional rural ways of life or to assign to them a lesser worth than to the ways of the city. The question before us, instead, is whether we can also come to see the style of life of the large city as one which we can accept as given to us by God and, consequently, one that we can value positively. Can we not only come to see city life as a realm in which we are able to live Christian lives, but can this very way of life also become the medium through which we can live our Christian faith?

From Village to Metropolis

The modern metropolis gives employment, food, and shelter to many people. In a time when the world's population is growing by leaps and bounds, it provides a social and economic organism which offers a reasonably ordered and secure mode of existence to the masses. This alone is something good, not only by general standards, but also by Christian standards. As the good soil of the Land of Canaan made life possible for Old Testament Israel, so the industries and professions of the modern city sustain us. That is called "blessing" in the Bible. The fact that the city has its own curse, too, need hardly be belabored: we hear it often enough.

The large city not only provides the possibility of existence for many; it also offers a certain measure of external, as well as internal, freedom. He who still remembers village life will also recall the extent to which the ways of the community were imposed on the individual and how dependent of its direction the individual life was. This is different in the city. We experience the negative side of being loosened out of an intimate group with its cohesiveness and its interrelationships as isolation and loneliness. We experience the positive side as freedom. This freedom can be threatening and dangerous; yet it offers possibilities of unfolding potentialities and of making new beginnings

where life has gotten into ruts. This, too, is a characteristic of city life which the Christian can accept as good.

The city has the potentialities of sustaining life and of offering freedom, two features which illustrate the fact that city life can be viewed positively by the Christian. Of course, we must not claim for city life what we cannot claim for rural life, namely that it is the peculiar Christian mode of life. We can claim, however, that a Christian need not be a modern Rechabite who must assimilate the ways of the country into the city in order to give expression to his faith. What forms, then, might convey an expression of Christian faith within the context of big city life?

The main feature of the big city is the fact that in it many people live together within limited space. Consequently, life acquires a certain impersonal quality. It is impossible for us to enter into a personal and intimate relationship with the many who cross our paths daily. One hears the complaint that the apartment dweller does not even know the names of those living next to him. But is it really accurate to lament this as a symptom for the loss of genuinely human ties? Is it not rather an attempt to apply the yardsticks of village life to the city? In the village one knew every neighbor as a matter of course, and one shared his joys and sorrows. But is it really so different in the city? The city dweller probably has as many close and intimate ties to others as does the villager, but his friends live scattered throughout the city rather than in his immediate vicinity. It is quite possible to cultivate genuine human community in the city even though it takes on a different geographic pattern.

The Challenge of the City

Another lament heard frequently concerns the mass procedures characteristic of much of city life. Wherever one walks, works, shops, or studies, one finds oneself among people, people, people. It is true that everyone needs times of retreat, of privacy, of quietness. Sometimes it appears to me, however, that our attitude toward the masses—though we ourselves are a part of them—is less than Christian. We read of our Lord: ". . . he saw a great throng, and he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd . . . [and] he answered them [his disciples]: 'You give them something to eat.'" (Mark 6:34, 37). Is not our attitude frequently marked by a slight contempt and a tendency to dissociate ourselves from "those crowds"? The Christian attitude toward people should be one of loving and responsible concern, for which the city offers many opportunities and great challenges.

Often our tendency to turn away from the masses is coupled with an inner revulsion against being and living as a part of these masses. Again and again we hear the complaint: Man is only a number, a statistic, a card in a file. Be it in school, in university, in hospital, at the clinic, at the employment office, or almost anywhere else, we are picked up efficiently by the administrative machinery, processed according to alphabet, number, or computer card, and accommodated swiftly and impersonally. While we are still straightening our tie and lacing our shoes the doctor has already gone to the next reception cubicle to look after the next patient with equal speed and professional distance.

Yet here, too, we must re-examine our yardsticks. Of course, there was something good and valuable about the homey atmosphere that filled the office of the general practitioner and family friend. But is it not precisely the efficient mass processing of the modern clinic or university that makes it possible for the large masses of people to share in the best accomplishments and services of our time? Because we receive in ten minutes what might have taken an hour, it becomes accessible to our fellowmen also. The Christian ought to cultivate an attitude of brotherly love and Christian sharing.

It is pointed out regretfully, also, that the city dweller always produces piecework, a partial product, and therefore is never able to experience the satisfaction of creating something that has completeness, something which he sees through the whole process from raw material to finished product. In the factory we work at assembly lines; in the office we are responsible for a fraction of an assignment. Even the professions are so specialized that a doctor treats a bone fracture or an ulcer rather than a human being, while the teacher moves from classroom to classroom to instruct in his specialty rather than to educate his students to maturity.

Although this description fits the situation, must it be seen altogether negatively? To be sure, there is real satisfaction in seeing a work through to completion, a satisfaction that is available in fewer and fewer lines of work. The teacher in the small country school who had his student before him daily over a number of years was able to watch him grow and develop. The teacher of the large city school has a student in one subject for one winter, after which he hardly ever sees him again. The carpenter of earlier times would cut the wood to size, turn out the table legs, hammer, glue, plane, and varnish until the table was finished. His counterpart in the factory performs only one of these tasks, doing it a hundred times a day. A loss in terms of satisfaction is unavoidably involved. But is there also a gain? I believe that it could be there in many such situations. Is there no satisfaction in working together? It is not I who teach my students but we as a team. The Christian in particular ought to train himself in humility to be a co-worker, a co-labourer of his neighbours and a co-labourer of God.

The Christian in the City

We could continue to evaluate the patterns of the city and to ask to what extent they have the potential of becoming means to express our faith. The sampling given, however, should suffice to hold up before us a positive picture and to keep us from becoming Rechabites who grieve for bygone days. In our time we are called to take our place in the life of our cities and to live our faith by expressing it through their ways.

One further aspect of city life should be stressed. Thus far we have emphasized the need to abandon certain former ways and the need to take up the modes of existence characteristic of the cities in which we live. On the other hand, there are many situations where it is possible and proper to preserve in the city some of the human and Christian values of country life that have become dear to us. This possibility is rooted in the freedom of the city.

The impersonal quality that city life can have has already been referred to. One hardly knows one's neighbours by name. Nevertheless, the city provides almost unlimited opportunity for one to take the initiative in establishing personal relationships. While the long-established network of interrelationships that characterizes country life and the availability of people set limits for the establishing of friendships and other personal ties, the city's possibilities here are wide open to individual initiative. For the non-Christian the main attraction might be the chance of getting acquainted with an interesting set of people. For the Christian it opens up a wide area for the exercise of Christian love: He can seek out those that need him, his fellowship and his concern.

That raises the question: How does one become a "good Samaritan" in the big city? The man fallen among the robbers will hardly ever literally lie by the roadside. He meets us well-dressed and apparently secure in his home, profession, or other context, and yet he needs us. Although we said earlier that we should look at the crowds with Jesus' eyes of love and that we should not refuse to take our place as part of the crowds, that does not mean that we should not also single out the individual who needs us and devote special attention to him. The secretary in her office, the doctor in his clinic, the businessman in his store, the teacher in the classroom deal with scores of people daily, and it is their task to satisfy the many as quickly and efficiently as possible. But there are also those whom they must not send away in ten minutes, like the rest. The people to whom they ought to devote an hour instead, and perhaps many hours in the course of time, are the people fallen among the robbers, the people whose presence is a call to us to be good Samaritans. To be a good Samaritan in the city demands attentiveness and sensitivity, for the man by the road is easily missed in the crowd. In Jesus' parable the priest and the Levite had to walk by on the other side of the road in a deliberate effort to avoid him; in the city he is bypassed much more easily through just a little inattentiveness. Nevertheless, he is there, and precisely because the city frees us of the need to devote ourselves to everyone we meet, it sets us free to give that much more attention to him who really needs us.

But perhaps you will say: I myself have cares and needs, and although I have lived in this city for many years, no one has paid any attention to me. No one asks me how I am getting on or whether I need any help. In this respect, too, the ways of the city demand adjustment. In the closeness of a small community where the people around us have lived with us and observed us over a long time, any change in our situation—any depression, sickness, or other need—will soon draw attention. In the city we could wait a long time to be noticed. Here again one of the main rules of city life applies: He who wants to take up contacts with people must take the initiative. But this is also true of the person seeking help. He has to step up to (or ring up!) those from whom he expects attention, help, counsel, or friendship, and has to tell them so. This has to be learned. In our purely physical needs we are more ready to do it. We do not wait until someone notices our pain or illness; we call the doctor. In the social and spiritual realm of our life, something similar has to take place. Of course, the minister is one of the first to come to mind in this respect, but there are many others as well who are willing and ready to be there for us if we approach them with our need.

Many other aspects of living our Christian faith through the modes of life of the city might also be considered. Those given here are meant as an incentive to follow our Lord in terms of the city culture in which so many of us find ourselves, in order that we do not become Rechabites in our time.

CANDADIAN MENNONITES FEATURED IN MENNONITE LIFE:

January, April, July, October, 1948; July, October, 1950; April, July, October, 1951; January, July, 1952; October, 1954; July, 1955; April, July, October, 1956; January, April, 1957; January, April, 1958; January, 1959; October, 1960; July, 1962; April, 1965; July, 1967.

Research on Urban Mennonites

By Cornelius Krahn

PART I

Urbanism among the Anabaptists and Mennonites is as old as Anabaptism itself. The cradle of Anabaptism was located in some of the major cultural and commercial centers of Europe. We name only a few: Zürich, Basel, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Strassburg, Innsbruck, Cologne, Antwerp, Brussels, Gent, Emden, and London. It is true, the Anabaptists did not survive in most of these cities. Severe persecution resulted in their extermination and withdrawal to rural areas.

Early Anabaptist Urbanism

Anabaptism began in the cities of northern Switzerland (1525) as a wing of the Reformation. The leaders belonged to the circle of Ulrich Zwingli, a humanistically and theologically trained priest. Conrad Grebel, his close co-worker, was of patrician background whose father was a member of the city council of Zürich. Grebel obtained a humanistic training in Basel, Paris, and Vienna, where his brother-in-law, Joachim Vadian, was professor. Others are Felix Manz, Hans Denk, Pilgram Marbeck, Ludwig Hätzer, and B. Hubmaier.

Some research has been done pertaining to the socioeconomic background and the humanistic training of the Anabaptist leaders in the major cities of Switzerland and South Germany. (See Part II, 10, 12, 13, 15, 23, 29, 32, 35, 36, 40, 43, 44, 47, 49, 50.)

One of the best known centers for spreading the message of Martin Luther in the Low Countries was Antwerp. Numerous printing presses spread the humanist and Lutheran writings. Antwerp was also a center of Anabaptism.

One important aspect which needs to be investigated is the urban and industrial background of the Flemish and Brabant Anabaptists and the contribution which they made to the industrial and cultural development of the northern provinces of the Netherlands, all the way from Rotterdam to Emden, and even in Hamburg, Danzig and London. (See 31, 41, 42.)

No other city played such a significant role in Dutch Anabaptist history as Amsterdam. In the early decades there were as many as 5,000 Anabaptists in the city

and the government was sympathetic to their cause. Contrary to the movement in Zürich and other cities, the largest number of them belonged to the lower classes of the population.

Amsterdam has remained the leading center of urban Mennonitism to this day. After religious tolerance had been granted, Anabaptist piety led to prosperity and wholehearted participation in the life of the country, experiencing its Golden Age. Next to Amsterdam, Haarlem must be mentioned. Both play a significant role to this day. The social and economic difference among the Mennonites of Amsterdam has been conspicuous. Numerous Ph.D. dissertations and treatises have been written, dealing with the background and the contribution of the Anabaptists in these cities. (See 20, 30, 41.)

Generally speaking, the Dutch Mennonites furnish an unusual opportunity to study the various aspects of secularization and urbanization from the earliest days to the present. The records preserved in public archives and the Mennonite archives of Amsterdam have not been fully utilized. The Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas, possesses them on microfilm. The University of Amsterdam with well informed professors offers excellent opportunities for research and the writing of Ph.D. dissertations.

The Mennonites of Northwest Germany also have a long history of urbanism. A number of books have been written on various large Mennonite enterprises in Hamburg-Altona and Krefeld. Diaries and archival materials available for the study of the acculturation trends and the contributions of the Mennonites in the urban setting of Europe have been scarcely tapped. The van der Smissen family is an example. When their business declined, they returned to religious interests and to the ministry. (See 9, 14, 18, 34.). (In regard to Münster see 8, 11, 39.)

In West Prussia, Danzig and Elbing the Mennonites were often oppressed or merely tolerated for two hundred years. They were even barred from residing within the city limits. Thriftiness, hard work, and endurance and changes in attitudes toward them as dissenters made it possible for them to establish businesses in the cities. (See 33.)

Beginning of Urbanism in North America

It has been pointed out that the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century had their origin primarily in the cities. With some exceptions, they were persecuted and survived in southern Europe in small numbers in remote rural areas only. This led to their losing contact with the centers of culture and business and to their preserving cultural patterns of the past. Such groups as the Amish, Hutterites, and even the Old Colony Mennonites attract many scholars.

What about the research pertaining to the character and contributions of the rural Mennonite community, be this along the Vistula River draining the swamps or the tillers of the steppes of the Ukraine or the sloping hills of Pennsylvania and the prairie of Manitoba and Kansas? The religio-ethnic background of this group that has survived in rural areas for over three hundred years deserves a more thorough study in regard to its religious and sociological fabric. Is it possible that rural Mennonitism is alien to urbanism, or is a Mennonite a person constituted just like a Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, or Ukrainian of a rural environment? How can a rural Mennonite adjust best to urbanism and make a contribution to his environment as he did in the rural setting? There was a time in Pennsylvania and Ontario when a Mennonite who moved from the farm to town was "lost" for the brotherhood. He had given up the cherished and "only" way of life considered worth living. Generations of Mennonites have been swallowed up by urbanism because they went to the city without preparation and concern by the brotherhood.

In Manitoba and Saskatchewan the depression forced the newly arrived Mennonites to send their daughters and sons to the city to help the family survive on the farm and pay the debt for their trip to Canada. This was the opening of the gate to the city, which was taken for granted by the time the immigrants after World War II arrived. It is this urbanism that has been treated extensively in this issue. (See also 25, 48.)

The move to the city is of a two-fold nature. In years past the first moves were sponsored by the home missions board of the Mennonites of North America in order to assist those in need of spiritual or other aid. This was possibly more significant as a channel through which the Mennonites got acquainted with the city than as a successful outreach program. The other reason is to find more work opportunities for making a better living. The Canadian Mennonite effort during the depression has been mentioned. However, this significant event has not yet been fully recorded and taken note of in the study of the urbanization process.

Another chapter constitutes the move of the young generation to the colleges and graduate schools which began after World War II in Canada as well as in the U.S.A. This urbanization process continues and results in locating positions in the city in various vocations, professions, businesses, and other jobs. The flow of Mennonite laborers to the city is still increasing. Some efforts in research have been made to study the various professions pursued by Mennonites. The first acceptable occupation of rural Mennonites was usually the teaching profession, which was followed by nursing, the healing physician and gradually other occupations. Now even legal and political positions and related occupations are being pursued by Mennonites.

For Canada and South America the wave of immigrants after World War II speeded up the urbanization process. Visiting the cities of Canada from coast to coast in 1952, I did not need to go to the farms to find the newly arrived Mennonites from West Prussia, Poland, and Russia. Most of them were located in the city or soon went to the city after a visit with their relatives on the farm.

Questions could be raised in regard to what influence the city has had on the Mennonite family, education, social, cultural, economic, and religious life. The Mennonite papers constitute an excellent mirror for such a study. This dialogue continues, particularly in the *Bote* and *The Canadian Mennonite*. (See 17.)

To what an extent are rural characteristics transplanted and retained in the city? What about the cultural and linguistic influences? Numerous dissertations have been written dealing with the Low German language of the Canadian Mennonites. (See 46.) It seems, however, that none has been written about the basic underlying reasons and philosophy for the linguistic acculturation or the resistance to it. This could include the problems encountered in the use of German and English in the homes as well as in the churches. Even deeper questions are those of expressing convictions and beliefs in a new language. (About the cultural background and social developments of North American Mennonites see also 16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26-28, 37, 38, 45, 48.)

PART II

A Brief Bibliographical Guide

This selected bibliography is limited to the urban origin of Anabaptism in Europe and to some cultural, economic, and political aspects of the urban Mennonites. Detailed reports about publications and research dealing with Anabaptists and Mennonites can be found annually in the April (or July) issue of *Mennonite Life* (North Newton, Kansas) since 1958.

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STATISTICS OF MENNONITES IN CANADA

Submitted by Adalbert Goertz

IN 1871 AND 1881 the census of Canada did not distinguish between Mennonites and Baptists. The 1901 census lists 31,797 Mennonites and Hutterites. Since 1911 more detailed information about the Mennonites and Hutterites is given.

	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Alberta	1,524	4,125	8,289	12,097	13,528	16,269
B. Columbia	189	172	1,085	5,115	15,387	19,932
Manitoba	15,600	21,295	30,352	39,336	44,667	56,823
Ontario	12,828	13,645	17,661	22,219	25,796	30,948
Sask.	14,400	20,544	31,338	32,511	26,270	28,174
Total Canada	44,611	58,797	88,736	111,380	125,938	152,452

Sources: *Canada Year Book*, Ottawa, since 1905; *Census of Canada*, Vol. II, Ottawa, 1913, p. 2 ff.; 1933, p. 508 ff.; 1944, p. 520 ff.; 1953.

Publications Dealing with the Mennonite Family
(See Page 176)

The article "Family" in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Vol. III, pp. 293-299) lists the major studies on this subject. In addition to this, mention should be made of J. Howard Kauffman's Ph.D. dissertation, "A Comparative Study of Tradition and Emergent Forms of Family Life Among the Midwest Mennonites" (University of Chicago, 1960).