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Canadian Mennonite Writings: A Survey of Selected Published Titles, 1981-97

This survey will update, in part, a similar bibliographic summary for the decade of the 1970s published about fifteen years ago.¹ As at that time, the focus now will be primarily on studies in literature, language, history and sociology as the currently dominant (though not at all the only) areas of Mennonite research, and also the ones with which this author is most familiar. A few references may overlap somewhat with the earlier report, and some very recent publications may not have made it in this time around.

For those not conversant with the Mennonite story it may be useful to provide a very brief note on the history and composition of the Canadian Mennonite community as a whole.² Its first families came to the province of Ontario in Canada from Pennsylvania in the United States around 1786. This group actually had direct European roots in that the forebears of these families had come from Switzerland and southern Germany a century or more earlier.³

A considerably larger contingent of so-called Russian Mennonites, about 7,000 in all, emigrated from southern Russia (now Ukraine) to Manitoba in the 1870s.⁴ Several later emigrations from the Soviet Union, notably in the 1920s after the Russian Revolution and Civil War, and in the late 1940s after World War II, added about 30,000 persons to that original body of immigrants. Some of these Russian Mennonites also settled in Ontario, but the majority of them moved on to Western Canada, in the main to Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Today the total of their descendants still thinking of themselves as Mennonites, and spread all across Canada by now, may number 250,000 or more.⁵

Academic writing and the creation of belles lettres did not really begin among Canadian Mennonites until after World War I.⁶ Researchers of these early efforts suggest that it was in fact a group of Russian Mennonite emigré *literati*, trying to come to terms with their foreign environment who began this type of writing in the late 1920s and the decade following.⁷ Such conclusions may need

revising after more thorough research on literary activity prior to World War I has been completed, but until then this can remain a working thesis with some weight of evidence behind it.

The recent republication of some of those materials, many of them originally self-published by their authors, is an area of activity which pertains specifically to this discussion.⁸ The most ambitious of these projects has been the production of a four-volume collection of the works of Arnold Dyck, a poet, novelist and editor from Steinbach, Manitoba.⁹ Dyck, a Russian Mennonite from the Old Colony of Chortitza (actually Jasykovo) on the Dnieper River, and emigré too of the 1920s, was possibly the most prolific writer of the *literati* referred to above.¹⁰ The editors of this four-volume new edition, totalling about 2,000 pages, were Al Reimer, George K. Epp, Harry Loewen, Elisabeth Peters, and Victor Doerksen, all professors at the University of Winnipeg or the University of Manitoba at that time.¹¹

Most of the writings of Dyck's colleague, Gerhard Friesen (using Fritz Senn as a pen name) had been similarly republished somewhat earlier. They appeared in a volume of poems edited by Victor Doerksen¹² with a shorter collection of Friesen's poetry already published in 1974.¹³ Elisabeth Peters had served as editor of that volume which had, in fact, been sponsored by the Society for the Preservation of the German Language, still functioning as a Mennonite organization at the time. These were not new materials, as was stated, but in the view of the editors were worth "introducing" to a wider, hopefully also a younger, reading audience than had been the case originally.¹⁴

It is noteworthy perhaps that all the above-mentioned titles were issued in the German language. Indeed in the case of Dyck, two of the four volumes containing his complete works (volumes 2 and 3) remain essentially unchanged in the Mennonite Low German dialect as they came from his pen. Efforts are being made to translate some of these Low German works into English. Critics do contend, of course, that much that was the genius of Dyck in word painting his unique portraits of Mennonite characters (such as Koop en Bua) will be lost in the process.¹⁵

This may be the place to say again that the so-called Mennonite dialect, Low German (or *Plautdietsch*), has itself become a topic of considerable interest in some circles. Local communities in areas of Mennonite population (notably in Western Canada) continue to enjoy the presentation of Low German dramas and musical renditions, but other writing using the dialect has been done in academic circles as well.

Some of the best examples of serious research on the use of Low German are the collection of folk songs gathered and published by Doreen Klassen, and Victor Friesen's additional collection of nursery rhymes, proverbs and other sayings common to many Canadian Mennonite communities as well as those in other countries such as Mexico, Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia. Some basic elements in the development of the language (its history and spelling) have been set forth in two works by Reuben Epp in Kelowna, British Columbia.¹⁶

Two dictionaries of Low German, one by Jack Thiessen, professor emeritus at the University of Winnipeg, and the other by Herman Rempel of Morden, Manitoba, certainly need to be mentioned here also.¹⁷ One may note as well *A Sackful of Plautdietsch*¹⁸ with its potpourri of short stories and poems, and the book by Ted Klassen and Gerhard Peters, *Kobmt met no Expob* (Come with us to Expo).¹⁹ A number of Jack Thiessen's stories have been translated by Andreas Schroeder and published as *The Eleventh Commandment*, or in a book written jointly by Thiessen and Victor Peters titled *Plautdietsche Jeschichte* (Low German Stories). A quite serious book of stories about mission work has been published by Dr. Jacob Loewen of Abbotsford, British Columbia.²⁰

Creative literary work produced in the Mennonite scholarly community is quickening its pace, and finding recognition within a wider Canadian literary community. This means that traditional Mennonite depictions are frequently being incorporated as such within the treatment of more universal themes. Al Reimer's ambitious and well-researched novel about Mennonites in tsarist Russia, *My Harp is Turned to Mourning*, for instance, quickly found a nearly bestseller kind of reader interest not only among Mennonites but in other circles also.²¹ Major new anthologies are available now with the appearance of Hildi Thiesen's collection of Mennonite short stories, *Liars and Rascals*, and the publication of a special edition of *Prairie Fire: A Magazine of Canadian Writing* subtitled "New Mennonite Writers."²²

The writings of Armin Wiebe, originally also from southern Manitoba, deserve a note of their own in this regard. First we were given his novel, *The Salvation of Jasch Siemens* (so controversial that at least one major Mennonite bookstore refused to market it), then came a second novel, *Murder in Gutental: A Schnepa Knjals Mystery*, and most recently, to finish a trilogy, *The Second Coming of Yeeat Shpanst*. Deeply rooted in a southern Manitoba setting, with "Low Germanisms" liberally sprinkled in throughout, Wiebe evokes the "plain people ethos" of Mennonite communities on a level that seems to irritate some readers, yet appears to inspire and challenge, certainly amuse, many others.²³

One could probably say the same thing about the short stories of Doug Reimer, based on his growing-up experiences in another southern Manitoba village, *Darp Aultneiv* (Altona village), and also about Lois Braun's writings composed in the same general community, but less dependent on that "hominess" for its thematics and local colour.²⁴ Two new books titled *Born Hutterite* and *Dance Like a Poor Man* written by an ex-Hutterite, Samuel Hofer, might be mentioned here as well.²⁵

At this point one must certainly also note the growing list of works of a dozen or more other new writers, raised in small Mennonite communities, for the most part, introspective and highly self-conscious, as well as anxious to link themselves to a wider world of thought and life. Some readers comment on a pronounced bent to criticism of their upbringing, an overtly rebellious tone in much of the material. The majority of these writers seem to have made their debut in literature as poets, often with their first, and then additional volumes

of writing published by Winnipeg's Turnstone Press. Their names are established by now—Pat Friesen, David Waltner-Toews and Victor Enns among the early ones, then Di Brandt, Audrey Poetker, John Weier and Sarah Klassen. These names do not exhaust the list, as younger writers (like David Bergen and Glenn Bergen) enter the scene.²⁶

The range of titles authored by Mennonites in the past decade and a half may suggest that history is in fact really the forte of most writers in this community. Some have thought this is so because history can be used so readily to undergird a collective community ego and to build a self-gratifying public image. There may be some uncomfortable truth in that but this view may remain uncontested for now. One can nevertheless report that a very substantial amount of historical research and writing has in fact occurred, and is continuing at the present time.²⁷

Since my earlier survey of 1980, MacMillan of Canada has published the second volume of *Mennonites in Canada*, written by the late Frank H. Epp of Waterloo, Ontario, author also of the first volume in a new projected four-volume series. Very recently the University of Toronto Press has also published the third volume done by Ted D. Regehr, formerly of the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. This volume and covers the years 1939-70. A one-volume more popular version of the story has been proposed, but the sponsor of this ambitious project, the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada, has taken no action on such a project as yet. Andreas Schroeder's *The Mennonites: A Pictorial History of Their Lives in Canada* published a bit hastily, some thought, in the context of the Mennonite World Conference of 1990, may point in that direction already. Another book of photographs and appropriate commentary, *Meditations on a Place and a Way of Life*, prepared by Ken Loewen and Margaret Loewen Reimer, fits this genre also. A book of essays resulting from a symposium on Canadian nationalism and Mennonites edited by Abe J. Dueck and titled *Canadian Mennonites and the Challenge of Nationalism* (1994) illustrated the kind of topical studies which had preceded the multiple-volume set.²⁸

Community and institutional histories have formed a significant strong supplement to the sweeping macro approach of *Mennonites in Canada Vol. I-III*. Gerhard J. Ens's study of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna, Manitoba, and his earlier work on the Rural Municipality of Rhineland (also in Manitoba) were well-researched, if not widely distributed as yet. One can say that also of Sam Steiner's quite new history of the Rockway Mennonite Collegiate in Kitchener, Ontario.²⁹ At the same time such titles as the telling of the story of a small town, Altona, by Esther Epp-Tiessen, Garry and Gaile Whelan Enns's similar documentation of Gretna's history, and above all Royden Loewen's very ambitiously-conceived and well-written book on Blumenort, a Mennonite village of the former East Reserve (now Hanover Municipality, again Manitoba) provide inspiring models for what local histories are all about, and how they ought to be put together.

Loewen's more recent highly-acclaimed work, *Family, Church and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds, 1850-1930* offers a larger perspective much needed for more local writings. The award-winning and professionally-crafted monograph by Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925*, also places its definitive details within a broader perspective of national historical analysis and the larger Mennonite experience in Canada.³⁰

In the area of church history Jack Heppner wrote *In Search of Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweide EMMC 1937-1987*, Peter Zacharias authored *Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church* (a "West Reserve" congregation), William Neufeld did *From Faith to Faith: The History of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church*, and Cornelia Lehn wrote *Frontier Challenge: A Story of the Conference of Mennonites in British Columbia*. These examples have been supplemented by Harvey Plett's *Seeking to Be Faithful: The Story of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference* and a well-done volume, *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* by Anna Ens of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Several historical treatments of Mennonite Central Committee organizations should be mentioned here as well.³¹

In this overview the written output of Delbert Plett, an attorney from Steinbach, Manitoba, in his six-volume *The Mennonite Kleingemeinde Historical Series* exists in a class by itself. Now totalling nearly 3,000 pages in all, and not yet completed (at least one more volume has been promised), this corpus of documents, interpretive essays, maps, genealogical portraits and other related materials (though no photos) represents the most ambitious undertaking of its kind in Canadian Mennonite historical research and publication. When Plett's family book, *Plett Picture Book: A Pictorial History of the Children and Grandchildren of Cornelius Plett (1820-1900) and Sara Loewen (1822-1903)*, and the most recent of his two novels titled *Sarah's Prairie* are added to this list, one realizes that the limits of personal productivity are well beyond what we may have thought them to be until now.³²

In addition Plett has been promoting an even broader publication program under the umbrella of the Hanover Steinbach Historical Society in a series edited by John Dyck of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The East Reserve Historical Series, focussed on furthering local history writing, now includes three published titles, with a fourth being prepared for the press. The Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society has launched a similar local history series, the West Reserve Historical Series, again under the general editorship of John Dyck, with the publication of *Reinländer Gemeinde Buch 1880-1903*, and a second one in the series going to press shortly also.³³

Several chapters of Sam Steiner's biography, *Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz*, contribute significantly to the story of Mennonite immigration to Manitoba in the 1870s. Shantz was a leader of that move to western Canada.³⁴ The details about his part in founding the town of Didsbury, Alberta, form an interesting additional facet of that study. Somewhat earlier John B. Toews of

Vancouver, BC, gave us the biography of Rev. Benjamin B. Janz, an important community leader from Coaldale, Alberta.³⁵ *Stumbling Heavenward: The Extraordinary Life of an Ordinary Man, Peter Rempel*, written by Urie A. Bender and dealing with Youth Orientation Units, has an Alberta setting as well.³⁶

A very large segment of current historical research among Canadian Mennonites deals with what one could call "the Russian (and Ukrainian) experience." These chapters of trials and triumphs are still being retold again and again as personal experiences by thousands of persons who lived there at one time. Many of these "survivors" retell these stories often to their children and grandchildren if they will sit long enough to listen.³⁷ The year 1989 was the two-hundredth anniversary of Mennonite life in tsarist and Soviet Russia.³⁸ That anniversary was celebrated with several special symposia in Canada and Germany, while Mennonites in the Soviet Union had their own commemorative celebrations to help remember and reflect on their pioneer as well as more recent recent and far more difficult years.³⁹

Two highly significant historical studies related to this theme appeared almost simultaneously. First came James Urry's study of the first century of Mennonite life in Russia.⁴⁰ It was quickly followed by a volume of essays assembled "in honour of Gerhard Lohrenz," a long-time teller of Russian Mennonite stories, and edited by John J. Friesen from the Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg, Manitoba.⁴¹ Urry brought forward a somewhat revisionist interpretation, while Friesen's work took a more inclusive "state of the art" approach that covered the entire two-hundred-year period under both the tsars and the Soviets. The projected three-volume German-language work on Russian Mennonites (1788-1917) by George K. Epp of Winnipeg will significantly augment these treatments. Logos Publications has just published the first volume. John B. Toews's treatment titled *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites*, along with his shorter study on the founding (ca. 1860) of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Russia, followed a series of articles and other studies which together gained for the author an unchallenged place of prominence in research and writing on Russian and Ukrainian Mennonites undertaken in the past fifteen years.⁴³

In the late 1970s several translations of German-language publications and manuscripts signalled renewed interest in Russian Mennonite research. First came *A Russian Dance of Death*, written originally in German by Diedrich Neufeld, and now translated by Al Reimer at the University of Winnipeg. He did Hans Harder's *In Vologdas Weißen Wäldern* next as *No Strangers in Exile*.⁴⁴ Not long afterwards Peter Pauls prepared a translation of Peter Epp's *Eine Mutter*, and it appeared as *Agatchen: A Russian Mennonite Mother's Story*.⁴⁵

The publication of diary and memoiristic material has added much detailed and interesting material to the larger story. One example is the publication of excerpts from the extensive diaries of one Peter J. Dyck from the village of Ladekopp of the Molotschna settlement. Edited by his son John, of Springstein, Manitoba, these fragments became the exciting work titled *Troubles and Triumphs 1914-1924*. The Mennonite Historical Society of Canada then published

a portion of the diaries of a young woman, Anna Baerg, written in the same general area and during part of the same period.

The University of Toronto brought out a much more extensive portion of diary documentation prepared by Dr. Harvey Dyck of Toronto from the writings of a mid-nineteenth century Mennonite minister, Jacob Epp, who lived in the so-called *Judenplan* (Jewish quarter) settlement not far from Krivoi Rog in Ukraine.⁴⁶ Another minister, Aron Toews, had succeeded during the 1930s in preserving his diary during his term of Siberian exile where he died. It would eventually appear as part of his biography, *Einer von Vielen* (One of Many) done by his daughter, Olga Rempel. Another Mennonite minister, (Peter) Isaak Derksen of Felsenbach village, west of the Old Colony, wrote his memoirs only after he could leave the Soviet Union to move to Germany in the 1970s. His work titled *Es wurde wieder rubig: Die Lebensgeschichte eines mennonitischen Predigers in der Sowjetunion* was then edited and published in Canada.⁴⁶ Helene Dueck's *Durch Trübsal und Not* (Through Sufferings and Pain) fits the picture here as well.

Gerhard Thiessen, a Mennonite estate owner, kept other records which descendants in Leamington, Ontario, decided to publish as his *Diary from the Years 1907-1912*.⁴⁷ A woman's personal view of Mennonite estate experiences and the trials of those who saw this way of life destroyed by the Communists became public when Helen Goossen Friesen's personal notes appeared as *Daydreams and Nightmares: Life on the Wintergrün Estate*.⁴⁸ In the category of memoirs one must mention also the story of another elder from south Russia, Heinrich Winter. His biography was prepared in a German edition by his son Heinrich, also of Leamington, Ontario, and sold out very quickly. It was then reissued in English as *A Shepherd of the Oppressed: Heinrich Winter the Last Ältester of Chortitza*.⁴⁹ John P. Nickel translated his father's diary and sermons so he could ultimately publish the volume *Hope Springs Eternal: A Legacy of Love and Service in Russia During Difficult Times*. The same author went on to translate accounts of refugee experiences and publish them in *Hope Beyond the Horizon: Stories by Mennonite Refugees Fleeing the Soviet Union* (1996).⁵⁰

The trilogy produced by Karl Fast of Winnipeg is also an important contribution to this body of material. First he reissued his autobiographical work titled *Gebt der Wahrheit die Ehre* (1989), focussing on his prison experience in the Soviet Union, then he did *Lass dir an meiner Gnade genügen* (1989), a biographical volume on his mother, and finally, *Orenburg: Die letzte mennonitische Ansiedlung in Europa* (1995). Some readers may want to know also about *Snowborne: The Siberian Chronicles of Henry Schulz*, dealing with a region of Russia that needs a broader study as far as the Mennonite experience is concerned. The photo albums on Mennonite life in Russia and Ukraine published several decades ago by Walter Quiring (1960s) and Gerhard Lohrenz (1970s) have now been uniquely expanded by Rudy Friesen's spotlight on architecture in the book *Into the Past: Buildings of the Mennonite Commonwealth* (1996).⁵¹

In this context one needs to draw attention to the efforts of at least six small

independent publishing ventures that have made significant contributions in the area under consideration here. One is known as CMBC Publications, founded at Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg around 1974. A large number of its titles fall into the field of history with an emphasis again on Russian Mennonite studies.⁵² The same publisher is involved as partner in a more recent and somewhat different project in which fourteen out-of-print German-language volumes on Russian Mennonites are being republished in English. They were originally produced by Arnold Dyck's Echo Verlag (Echo Publishers) of Steinbach, Manitoba. The Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society is co-sponsor of this series. Seven titles have appeared so far.⁵³

Windflower Communication's director, Gilbert Brandt, was able recently to list at least fifteen titles that his new Winnipeg publishing firm (actually called Henderson Books) has produced since its founding in 1990. These included an art book, *Balancing the Clouds*, edited by John Unrau, several novels such as Victor Thiessen's *The Sign of the Manipogo*, Hilda Dueck's *An Orphan's Song*, a number of children's books, and John Friesen's study of several former Mennonite settlements in present-day Ukraine, *Against the Wind. The Story of Four Mennonite Villages* published in 1994.⁵⁴

Sand Hill Books Inc. St. Jacobs, Ontario, does not have a long list of titles off the press, but its productions are of excellent quality and set a high standard of publication. In 1981 they published a collection of Peter Gerhard Rempel's photographs of Mennonites in Russia, titled *Forever Summer, Forever Sunday*. It was edited by Paul Tiessen, who teamed up with his wife, Hildi, and then put out *A Sunday Afternoon: Paintings by Henry Pauls* ten years later.⁵⁵

Two other significant Mennonite publishers in Canada are the Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies and Kindred Publications, both headquartered in Winnipeg. The Centre could provide a list of at least sixteen titles for the period 1980-1995. John A. Toews's *People of the Way* (1981) headed this list. Abraham H. Neufeld's translated edition of *Herman and Kathrine: Their Story* appeared in 1984 as the third item. The most recent title to be published by the Centre was the fourth volume of the *Mennonitische Rundschau Index* (1997), edited by Alf Redekopp.⁵⁶

Kindred Publications has done a number of volumes written by we Mennonites, but its series *Perspectives on Mennonite Life and Thought* does include *Mennonite Martyrs*, translated and edited by John B. Toews, and Peter Penner's thorough study of Mennonite Brethren missions in India. Not in the series, but also from Kindred Publications was a book by Herbert and Maureen Klassen on C. F. Klassen. An upcoming possibly 1998 volume is a book of documents produced by Mennonite Brethren communities in Russia and the Soviet Union, translated and edited by Abe Dueck, director of the Centre of Mennonite Brethren Studies.⁵⁷

Steinbach's *Mennonitische Post* publications relate to its main product, the German-language newspaper, *Mennonitische Post*, begun in 1977. Most recently the *Post* brought out a bilingually texted folk art volume of sketches done by

Sarah Unger de Peters, and related to the seventy-fifth anniversary of Mennonites in Mexico. The editor was Abe Warkentin, also editor of the *Post*, who had already prepared and published a comprehensive photo collection on Latin American Mennonites about a decade earlier.⁵⁸

When the focus is shifted to sociological works one finds numerous titles on Mennonites revealing an ethnic accent. Examples of such studies are the work of Cal Redekopp, J. Winfield Fretz, Donovan Smucker and especially Leo Driedger who has become a kind of pace-setter in research and publication during the past decade or more. To his credit belongs *Mennonite Identity in Conflict*, to which he added a shorter more popular survey entitled *Mennonites in Winnipeg* which could be viewed as a kind of prospectus suggesting broader studies on various topics outlined in its half dozen chapters or more.⁵⁹

The question of identity surfaced similarly in a collection of autobiographical essays edited by Harry Loewen titled *Why I am a Mennonite: Essays on Mennonite Identity*.⁶⁰ Soon after that, in 1989, J. Winfield Fretz drew together much of his research done while working at Conrad Grebel College in Waterloo, Ontario and then published *The Waterloo Mennonites: A Community in Paradox*. It is described as "a sociological history of the large Mennonite and Amish community in the Waterloo area." His colleagues, Calvin Redekop and Sam Steiner, had just edited and published a collection of essays which appeared as *Mennonite Identity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Redekop, who had already written on the topic of Mennonite and aboriginal relations in South America and several themes related to that work and its effects, followed up these efforts now with a wider-ranging and again more Mennonite-oriented volume, *Mennonite Society*.⁶¹

Another sociologist from Conrad Grebel College, Donovan Smucker, attempted to update his bibliographical efforts in this field with a second volume of annotated listings, *The Sociology of Mennonites, Hutterites and Amish: A Bibliography with Annotations*. A comparative motif also nurtured an important study undertaken from a political science perspective in William Janzen's *The Limits of Liberty in Canada: The Experiences of Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobours* published by the University of Toronto Press in 1990.⁶²

Women's studies have been taking their place unapologetically within the broader socio-historical scene. On the one hand there now exists a growing list of memoiristic materials like Helen Janzen's *Memories*; Anna Paetkau's *Memories and Reflections of a Widow*; *Under His Wings: Events in the Lives of Elder Alexander Ediger and His Family* by Katharina Ediger, Helene Wiebe's *und dennoch glücklich*; two books by Elisabeth Peters, *Erzählungen aus dem mennonitischen Leben* and *Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen . . .*; Anny Goerzen's *Anny: In Gottes Armen geborgen*, and writings by A. E. Heidi Koop, such as her recent *Surviving the Medical Maze* and an earlier work *The Hell of God's Call* published by Spitzli Publications.⁶³

Biographers and academics are doing analyses and interpretive works at another level. Some examples here are Lorraine Roth's *Willing Service: Stories of*

Ontario Mennonite Women; The Work of Their Hands: Mennonite Women's Societies in Canada by Gloria Neufeld Redekop; and *Going by the Moon and the Stars: Stories of Two Russian Mennonite Women*, by Pamela E. Klassen. Quite to the point here is another very new work which reaches into a larger field of research not really covered in this survey. This is a volume titled *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers*, edited by C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht. It is listed as the third volume in the publisher's series "Studies in Women and Religion."⁶⁴

Even a highly selective listing such as this (made necessarily with apologies to those whose work has not been mentioned) should make some room for reference works of various kinds. To begin with, a publication of Mennonite historical maps, prepared by William Schroeder and Helmut Huebert, was warmly received by many researchers, especially genealogists and teachers of Mennonite history. That was no less true of the two-volume atlas of the Manitoba Mennonites's East and West Reserve homesteading acreages, researched and released by the late John Rempel and William Harms, both of Altona, Manitoba.⁶⁵

Among other reference materials should be noted the indexes of two well-established German Mennonite newspapers, *Der Bote* and *Mennonitische Rundschau*. Peter H. Rempel edited his second volume of *Der Bote Index*, covering the years 1948-63, while Bert Friesen and Alf Redekopp completed five volumes of an index to *Mennonitische Rundschau*.⁶⁶ A very professionally published second edition of an inventory of the Peter J. Braun archival collection from Odessa, Ukraine, edited by Ingrid Epp and Harvey L. Dyck, sets a high standard for other similar volumes of the future.⁶⁷ The first volume of a guide to the holdings of the Mennonite Heritage Centre Archives in Winnipeg, a directory of Mennonite archival centres throughout the world, and preliminary drafts of serials directories in several major Canadian Mennonite archival centres came off the press in the past decade also.⁶⁸

Conclusions

Researchers in Canadian Mennonite studies used to think they could keep up with the total output of publications related to this field. Not many may be doing that successfully now. If one were to include the many volumes published privately within the whole range of non-academic endeavours, the list of items would double and triple, perhaps to several hundred in the period of this survey alone. Research initiatives are being directed almost in every directions, and the question could be asked whether there is as much connecting between these disciplines as there might be.

In my earlier survey, it was suggested that someone ought to do a serious kind of "critical global review" of all this material—something not really attempted before, or in this essay either. By that was meant an analysis that would, for instance, look more carefully at the common themes that come through in this whirlwind of publishing activity, and perhaps wrestle with other important

questions not being addressed well enough, or not at all.

Some of all this voluminous research, amateur as it may at times seem to be, could be utilized in ways not attempted until now. Take genealogical studies, for example. Nothing has been said here about this huge corpus of data and publication.⁶⁹ Several hundred published titles and bulky unpublished manuscripts now relatively easy to access ought to provide substantial documentation for other kinds of studies—in demographics, perhaps, or the study of trends in family size, marriage patterns, etc.—all sociological dimensions, but there might be other approaches one could take as well. The political thought and actions of Mennonites have not been treated in depth as yet, nor has the historical development of Mennonite business enterprises been examined closely so far.⁷⁰

It would be very helpful to extend a survey like this to include also the works of Mennonite musicians, psychologists, theologians, lawyers, physicians, and other professionals active in their fields. Perhaps in the near future this gap will be filled by someone qualified to take this broader approach to the literature as it extends to all areas by now. This fuller picture is needed to evaluate the significance of all this activity, as well as the direction it is taking the Mennonite community, and others connected with it in some way.⁷¹

Mennonite Heritage Centre
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Notes

¹ See Lawrence Klippenstein, "Canadian Mennonite Writings: A Bibliographical Survey, 1970-1980," *Mennonite Life* 37 (March 1982): 9 - 13.

² Ted D. Regehr, "Canada," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottsdale, PA and Kitchener, ON, 1990), 5:121-24. See also Rodney J. Sawatsky and Frank H. Epp, "Mennonites," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2d rev. ed. (Edmonton, 1988), 2:1325-1326.

³ Richard K. McMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America 1683-1790* (Scottsdale, PA; Kitchener, ON, 1985).

⁴ William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 2d rev. ed. (Winnipeg, MB, 1986).

⁵ Utilizing fairly recent membership statistics, Margaret Loewen Reimer has portrayed the "Mennonite mosaic" in *One Quilt Many Pieces: A Concise Reference Guide to Mennonite Groups in Canada*, 3d rev. ed. (Waterloo, ON, 1990). A survey of the early years of Mennonite life in Canada is found in Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto, 1982). See also Krista Taves, "Reinterpreting the Old Mennonite/Russländer Encounter in 1924," *Ontario Mennonite History* 14 (March 1996): 6-14.

⁶ See Harry Loewen, "Canadian Mennonite Literature: Longing for a New Homeland," in Walter E. Riedel, ed., *The Old and the New World: Literary Perspectives of German-Speaking Canadians* (Toronto, ON, 1984), 73-93.

⁷ See George K. Epp, "German Mennonite Writing in Canada," in *Unter dem Nordlicht: Anthologie des deutschen Schrifttums der Mennoniten in Canada*, ed. George K. Epp and Heinrich Wiebe (Winnipeg, MB, 1977), ix-xxi.

⁸ Arnold Dyck, the publisher of a German-language Mennonite newspaper, *Steinbach Post*, and creator of Echo Verlag (Echo Publishing) at Steinbach, Manitoba, probably did more than anyone to support these writers. He published much of their work on his press, while still leaving a lot to private "self-publishers" who could find no one like Dyck to publish what they had written. See

Kurt Kauenhoven, "Arnold Dyck, ein Blick auf sein Schaffen," *Mennonite Life* 14 (April 1959): 89-90, and Al Reimer, "The Role of Arnold Dyck in Canadian Mennonite Writing," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 9 (1991): 83-90.

⁹ The four volumes contain almost all of Dyck's previously published works, as well as several pieces not published before, such as an autobiographical sketch, several letters, and some of his art work. See Arnold Dyck, *Collected Works/Werke*, 4 vols. (Winnipeg, MB, 1985-1990).

¹⁰ Academic studies on the work of Arnold Dyck are found in Elisabeth Peters, "Der Mennonitendichter, Arnold Dyck in seinen Werken," (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968), and in Catherine Joyce Froese Klassen, "The Unmasking of Arnold Dyck: An Exploration of the Dyck Letters," (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1991). A major portion of Dyck's original correspondence was recently archived at the Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg. See vols. 4557-4564.

¹¹ For a brief biography of Arnold Dyck see also Al Reimer, "Introduction," *Collected Works/Werke*, 1:1-13, and Elisabeth Peters, "Der Mennonitendichter . . .," 26-41. A brief discussion of the entire series is found in a book review by Gerhard Ens in *Mennonite Historian* 17 (March 1991): 8.

¹² Fritz Senn (Gerhard Johann Friesen), *Gesammelte Gedichte und Prosa* ed. Victor Doerksen (Winnipeg, MB, 1987).

¹³ Fritz Senn, *Das Dorf im Abendgrauen: Gedichte* ed. Elisabeth Peters (Winnipeg, MB, 1974).

¹⁴ Discussion of these materials occurred in German newspapers such as *Der Bote*, first published in Rosthern, Saskatchewan, under the editorship of Diedrich H. Epp, and then in Saskatoon, SK, with Walter Quiring serving as editor. A writers' club of sorts emerged with the formation of a Mennonite writers' organization. See Henry Tessman, "Echo Verlag: The First Mennonite Book Club in Canada," *Mennonite Historian* 11 (December 1985): 1-2.

¹⁵ For examples of translating Dyck's work into English see Al Reimer, "Koop and Bua Go Travelling," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 7 (1989): 51-70, and Arnold Dyck, *Two Letters: The Millionaire of Goatfield: Runde Koake*, trans. Elisabeth Peters (Steinbach, MB, 1980).

¹⁶ The fall 1997 presentation of the Paraguayan Mennonite drama *De Jeschaftsmaun* (The Businessman) in several Manitoba Mennonite communities, always to packed audiences, attests to the ongoing interest in Low German productions of all kinds. See Doreen Helen Klassen, *Singing Mennonite: Low German Songs Among the Mennonites* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989), and Victor Carl Friesen, *The Windmill Turning: Nursery Rhymes, Maxims and Other Expressions of Western Canadian Mennonites* (Edmonton, AB, 1988), and various cassette recordings of spoken and sung Low German materials.

¹⁷ Jack Thiessen, *Mennonitisches Woerterbuch/Mennonite Low German Dictionary* (Marburg, Germany, 1977), and Herman Rempel, *Kjenn jie noch Plautdietsch?: A Mennonite Low German Dictionary* (Winnipeg, MB, 1984). The latter has recently appeared in an enlarged revised edition under the same title (Rosenort, MB, 1995), while Thiessen's work is still under revision and also to appear in a new edition. Reuben Epp of Kelowna, BC, has sought to place the development of the language in its historical context in *The Story of Low German and Plautdietsch* (Hillsboro, KS, 1993). See also his more recent publication *The Spelling of Low German and Plautdietsch: Towards an Official Plautdietsch Orthography* (Hillsboro, KS, 1996). Both of these were published by Reader's Press.

¹⁸ Al Reimer, Anne Reimer and Jack Thiessen, eds., *A Sackful of Plautdietsch: A Collection of Mennonite Low German Stories and Poems* (Winnipeg, MB, 1983).

¹⁹ Ted Klassen and Gerhard Peters, *Kohmt met no Expob* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989). The volume has had a second printing.

²⁰ See Jack Thiessen, *The Eleventh Commandment* translated by Andreas Schroeder (Saskatoon, SK, 1990). In this connection one should also note Jack Thiessen and Victor Peters, *Plautdietsche Jeschichten: Gespräche-Interviews-Erzählungen* (Marburg, Germany, 1990), as an example of excellent story-telling in Low German. Recent conversations about the promotion of Low German have included proposals for starting a Low German journal, publishing another book of Low German poetry, preparing a series of cassette tapes which would include readings, singing, story-telling, instruction on learning the Low German language, and the establishment of a central audio archival collection of all kinds of recorded materials which would help to preserve samples of the dialect as it is used today. The preparation of a CD of Low German songs has been commissioned recently also.

Several years ago MCC *Kanadier* Concerns sponsored a series of taped interviews of Mexican Mennonites done by Doreen Klassen of Winnipeg, MB.

²¹ Al Reimer, *My Harp is Turned to Mourning* (Winnipeg, MB, 1985), published by the now-defunct Hyperion Press in Winnipeg. In its day Hyperion did a number of other Mennonite publications such as Wesley Berg's *From Russia with Music: A Study of the Mennonite Choral Singing Tradition in Canada* (1985).

²² Hildi Froese Tiessen, ed., *Liars and Rascals: Mennonite Short Stories* (Waterloo, ON, 1989), and Hildi Froese Tiessen and Dale Boldt, eds., "New Mennonite Writers," *Prairie Fire: A Magazine of Canadian Writing* 11 (Summer 1990). Commentary and criticism on such publications can be found in Hildi Froese Tiessen and Peter Hinchcliffe, eds., *Acts of Concealment: Mennonite/s Writing in Canada* (Waterloo, ON, 1992).

²³ See Armin Wiebe's trilogy, *The Salvation of Jasch Siemens* (Winnipeg, 1984), *Murder in Gutental: A Schneppe Kjnals Mystery* (Winnipeg, 1991), and *The Second Coming of Yeeat Shpanst: A Novel* (Winnipeg, 1995).

²⁴ See Doug Reimer, *Older Than Ravens* (Winnipeg, 1989), and a trilogy by Lois Braun of Altona, Manitoba, *The Stone Watermelon* (Winnipeg, 1986), *The Pumpkin Eaters* (Winnipeg, 1990) and *The Montreal Cats* (Winnipeg, 1995). Reimer has a novel "also about Altona" going to press shortly. Even more to the point, possibly, are Di Brandt's *Questions I Asked My Mother* (Winnipeg, 1987) with her more recent work *Wild Mother Dancing* (Winnipeg, 1993), and Audrey Poetker's *I Sing for My Dead in German* (Winnipeg, MB, 1987).

²⁵ Samuel Hofer, *Born Hutterite* (Saskatoon, SK, 1991), and *Dance like a poor man* (Winnipeg, MB, 1995). A quite different genre of novels, more in the mode of fantasy, but with a serious theological base, was introduced with the appearance of Victor Thiessen's *The Sign of the Manipogo* (Winnipeg, MB, 1991).

²⁶ For a brief note on some of the earlier titles done by these authors, see Lawrence Klippenstein, "Mennonite Writers Featured by Winnipeg Publisher," *Mennonite Historian* 13 (June 1987): 8. Very recent publications from this group include books like John Weier's *Steppe: A Novel* (Saskatoon, SK, 1995), Di Brandt's *Jerusalem, Beloved* (Winnipeg, MB, 1995), and David Bergen's *Sitting Opposite My Brothers* (Winnipeg, MB, 1993).

²⁷ Many of the Canadian Mennonite historical titles of the past fifteen years have been mentioned in the review and book notes columns of periodicals like *Journal of Mennonite Studies* and *Mennonite Historian*, a research bulletin published jointly by the Mennonite Heritage Centre and Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies in Winnipeg. The *Journal* began in 1983, remains Canada's most important outlet for article length writings on topics discussed in this paper. See also the annual spring and fall features of new books found in the newspaper *Mennonite Reporter*, for example, in the issues dated 29 May 1995, B:8-12, and 27 November 1995, 12ff.

²⁸ See Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Toronto, ON, 1982), Ted D. Regehr's *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto, ON, 1996), and also Abe Dueck, ed., *Canadian Mennonites and the Challenge of Nationalism* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994).

²⁹ Gerhard J. Ens, *"Die Schule muss sein": A History of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute* (Gretna, MB, 1990), and his earlier work, *The Rural Municipality of Rbineland: Volost and Municipality 1884-1984* (Altona, MB, 1984). A parallel to the MCI history appeared recently in Samuel J. Steiner's work on an Ontario Mennonite high school entitled *Lead Us On: A History of Rockway Mennonite Collegiate 1945-1995* (Kitchener, ON, 1995).

³⁰ Esther Epp-Tiessen, *Altona: The Story of a Prairie Town* (Altona, MB, 1982), with a kind of partly overlapping supplement in Ted E. Friesen and Victor Penner, eds., *Altona: A Pictorial History* (Altona, MB, 1990). See also F. Garry and Gail Whelan Enns, *Gretna: Window on the Northwest* (Gretna, MB, 1987), as well as Royden Loewen, *Blumenort: A Mennonite Community in Transition 1874-1982* (Blumenort, MB, 1982), and Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870 - 1925* (Ottawa, ON, 1994). A 750-page community history titled *Hague-Osler Mennonite Reserve 1895-1995*, ed. Jacob Guenther et al., and published in Saskatoon, SK, 1995, became a minor sensation when two printings with a total of 2,000 or more copies almost sold out in two years.

³¹ Jack Heppner, *Search for Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweider/Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference 1937-1987* (Winnipeg, MB, 1987); William Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith: The History of the*

Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church (Winnipeg, MB, 1989); Peter Zacharias, *Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church* (Blumenort, MB, 1985); and Cornelia Lehn, *Frontier Challenge: A Story of the Conference of Mennonites in British Columbia* (Clearbrook, BC, 1990). In 1996 two other titles were added here. One was Harvey Plett's, *Seeking to be Faithful: The Story of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference* (Steinbach, MB, 1996), and the other was Anna Ens's *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* (Winnipeg, MB, 1996). A celebratory twentieth-anniversary brief history of Mennonite Central Committee Canada was written by Bert Friesen and Frank H. Epp, *Partners in Service: The Story of Mennonite Central Committee Canada* (Winnipeg, MB, 1982). A very recent example of a congregational history is Henry Neufeld, ed., *Sharing the Faith: Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Plum Coulee 1897-1997* (Plum Coulee, MB, 1997). A longer title list of published congregational histories in the Mennonite Historical Library of Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg, was prepared by Dennis Stoesz in "Congregational Histories," *Mennonite Historian* 11, 2 (June 1985): 2-3.

³² The six historical volumes, all published by D. F. P. Farms of Steinbach, Manitoba, are as follows: *History and Events: Writings and Maps pertaining to the History of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde from 1866 to 1876* (1982); *The Golden Years: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1812-1849* (1985); *Storm and Triumph: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1850-1875* (1986); *Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1874* (1987); *Pioneers and Pilgrims: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba, Nebraska, and Kansas 1874-1882* (1990), and *Leaders of the Kleine Gemeinde 1812-1882* (1994). Plett's latest 350-page novel is entitled *Sarah's Prairie* (Winnipeg, MB, 1995). He is also editor of a local history newsletter/journal titled *Preservings* which has appeared in eleven issues so far (December 1997).

³³ The East Reserve Historical Series so far includes three volumes, all edited by John Dyck of Winnipeg. They are entitled *Working Papers of the East Reserve Village Histories 1874-1910* (1990), *The Bergthal Gemeindebuch* (1993), and *Historical Sketches of the East Reserve 1874-1910* (1994). The fourth volume has gone to press, and a fifth one is in preparation. The first volume of the West Reserve Historical Series was titled *Reinländer Gemeinde Buch 1880-1903 Manitoba, Canada*, and published in 1994. Its next volume will feature the West Reserve Settlement Register, and related materials from pre-1900 Mennonite life in that region of Manitoba. Dyck is the editor of both of these volumes also. His debut as a published author of books came earlier with *Oberschulze Jakob Peters 1813-1884: Manitoba Pioneer Leader* (Steinbach, MB, 1990). He has also edited two major family studies, including the recent 1996 one titled *Three Hundred Years: Peter Penner (1850-1924) and Margaretha Wiebe (1854-1945)*.

³⁴ See Samuel J. Steiner, *Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Sbantz* (Winnipeg, MB, 1988). Further comments on this volume are found in this author's review published in *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 23, 1 (1991): 141-42.

³⁵ John B. Toews, *With Courage to Spare: The Life of B. B. Janz 1877-1964* (Hillsboro, KS, 1978).

³⁶ See Urie A. Bender, *Stumbling Heavenward: The Extraordinary Life of an Ordinary Man, Peter Rempel* (Winnipeg, MB, 1984).

³⁷ The story of the main Mennonite emigration to Canada from the Soviet Union in the twentieth century is carefully detailed in Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites since the Communist Revolution* (Saskatoon, SK, 1962). Other Mennonites came to Canada from the Soviet Union right after World War II, and still others, though fewer, from the 1960s on.

³⁸ This bicentennial based its calendar calculations on the coming of Mennonites to Russia from Royal and East Prussia in 1788-89. Depictions of this move are found in David G. Rempel, "From Danzig to Russia: The First Mennonite Migration," *Mennonite Life* 24 (January 1969): 8-28, and Lawrence Klippenstein, "The Mennonite Migration to Russia 1786-1806," in *Mennonites in Russia 1788-1988: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lobrenz*, ed. John Friesen (Winnipeg, MB, 1989), 13-42 (referred to below as *Mennonites in Russia*).

³⁹ Reports on these celebrations include Neil Janzen, "The Mennonite Bicentennial Celebration at Zaporozh'e," *Mennonite Historian* 15 (September 1989): 5, and Peter H. Rempel, "Reflections on the Russian Mennonite Bicentennial Symposium," *Mennonite Historian* 15 (December 1989): 6.

⁴⁰ James Urry, *None but Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia 1789-1889* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989).

⁴¹ *Mennonites in Russia* also includes an essay by Walter Sawatzky on Mennonite life under the Soviet regime.

⁴² Both Urry and Friesen included extensive bibliographies to indicate the scope of earlier research and writing in this field. See specifically (Lawrence Klippenstein), "A Select Bibliography with a Note on Archival Sources," *Mennonites in Russia*, 365-78.

⁴³ John B. Toews, *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites* (Newton, KS, 1982), and *Perilous Journey: The Mennonite Brethren in Russia 1860-1910*. (Winnipeg, MB and Hillsboro, KS, 1988). Both books are well footnoted but neither includes a bibliography.

⁴⁴ Diedrich Neufeld, *A Russian Dance of Death: Revolution and Civil War in the Ukraine*, trans. and ed. Al Reimer (Winnipeg, MB, 1977), and Hans Harder, *No Strangers in Exile*, trans., ed., and expanded by Al Reimer (Winnipeg, MB, 1979).

⁴⁵ Peter Epp, *Agatchen: A Russian Mennonite Mother's Story*, trans. and ed. Peter Pauls (Winnipeg, 1986).

⁴⁶ John P. Dyck, ed., *Troubles and Triumphs 1914-1924* (Springstein, MB, 1981); Anna Baerg, *Diary of Anna Baerg 1916-1924* (Winnipeg, MB, 1985), trans. and ed. Gerald Peters; Jacob Epp, *A Mennonite in Russia: The Diaries of Jacob D. Epp 1851-1880* (Toronto, 1991), trans. and ed. Harvey L. Dyck; Olga Rempel, *Einer von Vielen: Die Lebensgeschichte von Prediger Aron P. Toews* (Winnipeg, 1979), along with its English translation *Siberian Diary of Aron P. Toews*, trans. Esther Bergen and ed. Lawrence Klippenstein (Winnipeg, 1984), and Peter Derksen, *Es wurde wieder rubig: Die Lebensgeschichte eines mennonitischen Predigers aus der Sowjetunion*, ed. Lawrence Klippenstein (Winnipeg, MB, 1989). Victor Janzen's autobiography, *Vom Dnjepr zum Paraguay Fluss* (Steinbach, MB, 1995) may be noted here also.

⁴⁷ Gerhard Thiessen, *Diary from the Years 1907-1912*, trans. Helen Epp and Marie Hiebert, and ed. Rudy Wiens (Leamington, ON, 1988).

⁴⁸ Helen Goossen Friesen, *Daydreams and Nightmares: Life on the Wintergrün Estate*, ed. Marg Franz (Winnipeg, MB, 1990). An extended foreword on the subject of Mennonite estates in tsarist Russia and a series of editorial notes were added by James Urry.

⁴⁹ Henry H. Winter, *A Shepherd of the Oppressed: Heinrich Winter Last Ältester of Chortitza* (Wheatley, ON, 1990), which first appeared in German as *Ein Hirte der Bedrängten: Heinrich Winter, letzter Ältester von Chortitza* (Wheatley, 1988).

⁵⁰ John P. Nickel, trans. and ed., *Hope Springs Eternal: A Legacy of Service and Love in Russia During Difficult Times* (Nanaimo, BC, 1988). In the wings, as it were, is also a projected three-volume work on Mennonites in Russia written in German by the late George K. Epp of Winnipeg, MB. The first volume, published by Logos Verlag in Germany, appeared in mid-summer 1997.

⁵¹ The first edition of Fast's autobiographical work appeared as a three-part publication in 1950-52. It was serialized in an English translation in *The Canadian Mennonite* some years later. Siberian Mennonites may this year celebrate a centennial of life in their area. See Henry Schulz, *Snowborne: The Siberian Chronicles of Henry Schultz*, rev. ed. (Campbell River, BC: Ptarmigan Press, 1882). It may be of interest to know that copies of *Hildebrand's Zeittafel* by J. J. Hildebrand are available again at Mennonitische Post in Steinbach, Manitoba. Hildebrand also wrote other books dealing with Siberian Mennonites. Much of Rudy Friesen's book material first appeared in a lengthy series of articles published by *Der Bote* in the mid-1990s.

⁵² The materials published to date were recently publicized in a brochure entitled "Books: CMBC Publications." This listing includes *For Everything a Season: A History of the Alexanderkrone Zentralschule*, written by Ted D. Regehr, with assistance from J. I. Regehr (Winnipeg, MB, 1988). See especially also three new autobiographies: Siegfried Bartel, *Living with Conviction: German Army Captain Turns to Cultivating Peace* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994), Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Enroute (Hinjawaeajis): The Memoirs of Henry J. Gerbrandt* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994), and most recently Jake Unrau and Johann D. Funk, *Living in the Way: The Pilgrimage of Jake and Trudie Unrau* (Winnipeg, MB, 1996).

⁵³ See "Echo V. Series to be translated," *Mennonite Historian* 12 (June 1986): 3. English reprints available to date include: C. P. Toews, Heinrich Friesen and Arnold Dyck, *The Kuban Settlement* (1989); Heinrich Sawatzky, *Mennonite Templers* (1990); H. Goertz, *Mennonite Settlements of Crimea* (1992); Franz Bartsch, *Trek to Central Asia* (1993); Heinrich Goertz, *The Molotschna Settlement* (1993); David H. Epp, *Jobann Cornies* (1995), and Johannes Dyck and W. E. Surukin, *Am Trakt* (1995). Studies on Sagradowka (Gerhard Lohrenz) and Memrik (Heinrich Goertz) are being considered for

future publications. The series contains fourteen titles in all.

⁵⁴ All Windflower Communications/Henderson Books publications appear in an annual distribution catalogue published by *Mennonite Books. . . and More*, the largest distributor of Mennonite books in Western Canada. It is also directed by Gil Brandt, and based at 844-K McLeod Ave., Winnipeg, Manitoba.

⁵⁵ See the very excellent coffee-table pictorial volumes, *Forever Summer, Forever Sunday: Peter Gerhard Rempel's Photographs of Mennonites in Russia, 1891-1917* (1981), ed. with an Introduction by John D. Rempel and Paul Tiessen, with letters and diaries trans. Hildegard E. Tiessen, and *A Sunday Afternoon: Paintings by Henry Pauls* (1991), ed. Hildi Froese Tiessen and Paul Gerard Tiessen.

⁵⁶ The Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies is under the direction of the Historical Committee of the Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches. The next book to be published in this program is David Ewert's *Honour Your Leaders*, scheduled for early 1998. See note 66 for other notes on the *MR Index*.

⁵⁷ A total listing of Kindred Publications is available from their publishing office in Winnipeg, MB. For our discussion here see John B. Toews, *Mennonite Martyrs: People who Suffered for their Faith 1920-1940* (Winnipeg, MB, 1990) and Peter Penner, *Russians, North Americans and Telequ: Mennonite Brethren Missions in India 1885-1975* (Winnipeg, MB, 1997). Note also Herbert and Maureen Klassen, *Ambassador to His People: C. F. Klassen and the Russian Mennonite Refugees* (Winnipeg, MB, 1990). The title projected for Dueck's volume is *Moving Beyond Secession: Defining Russian Mennonite Brethren Mission and Identity 1872-1922*.

⁵⁸ Abe Warkentin, ed., *Mennoniten in Mexiko/Mennoniten in Mexiko*, vol. 1 (Steinbach, MB, 1996), and *Gäste und Fremdlinge: Heb. 11:13/Strangers and Pilgrims: Heb. 11:13* (Steinbach, MB, 1987).

⁵⁹ See Leo Driedger, *The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity* (Toronto, ON, and Montreal PQ, 1989), *Mennonite Identity in Conflict* (Lewiston and Queenston, ON, 1988), and *Mennonites in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, MB, 1990).

⁶⁰ Harry Loewen, ed., *Why I Am a Mennonite: Essays on Mennonite Identity* (Kitchener, ON, and Scottsdale, PA, 1988). Also drawing public notice currently is Loewen's most recent work *No Permanent City* (Waterloo, ON, 1995), now also available in a slightly expanded German edition as *Keine bleibende Stadt*, trans. and expanded by Peter and Kilian Foth (Hamburg, Germany, 1995). J. Winfield Fretz, *The Waterloo Mennonites: A Community in Paradox* (Waterloo, ON, 1989).

⁶¹ Calvin Redekop and Samuel J. Steiner, eds., *Mennonite Identity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Lanham, New York, NY, and London, UK, 1988). Calvin Redekop, *Mennonite Society* (Baltimore, MD, and London, UK, 1989). See also Redekop's *Strangers Become Neighbors: Mennonite Indigenous Relations in the Paraguayan Chaco* (Scottsdale, PA, 1980).

⁶² Donovan E. Smucker, *The Sociology of Mennonites, Hutterites, and Amish: A Bibliography with Annotations*, vol. 2, 1977-1990 (Waterloo, ON, 1991), and William Janzen, *The Limits of Liberty in Canada: The Experience of the Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors* (Toronto, ON, 1990).

⁶³ Cf. Helen Janzen, *Memories* (Winnipeg, MB, 1985); Anna Baerg, *Diary of Anna Baerg 1916-1924* (Winnipeg, MB, 1985); Helene Wiebe, . . . *und dennoch glücklich* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994[?]); Anna (Pauls Thiessen) Paetkau, *Memories and Reflections of a Widow* (n.p., 1991), trans. John M. Thiessen; Elisabeth Peters, *Erzählungen aus dem mennonitischen Leben* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994), and also her *Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen . . .* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994); Anny Penner Klassen Goerzen, *Anny: In Gottes Armen geboren: Eine wahre Geschichte aus Russland* (1988), (also available in English) Katharina Ediger, *Under His Wings: Events in the Lives of Elder Alexander Ediger and His Family* (1994) and A. E. Heidi Koop, *The Hell of God's Call: One Woman's Pilgrimage from "Commitment to" through "Uncommitment from" Church Ministry* (1995), and *Surviving the Medical Maze* (1996).

⁶⁴ See Lorraine Roth, *Willing Service: Stories of Ontario Mennonite Women* (Waterloo, ON, 1992); Gloria Neufeld Redekop, *The Work of Their Hands: Mennonite Women's Societies in Canada* (Waterloo, ON, 1996); and C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht, eds., *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth Century Reforming Pioneers* (Waterloo, ON, 1996).

⁶⁵ William Schroeder and Helmut Huebert, eds., *Mennonite Historical Atlas* (Winnipeg, MB, 1990), republished in 1996 in a revised expanded edition. In 1986 Huebert published one of the most comprehensive Russian Mennonite village histories in print in *Hierschau: An Example of Russian*

Mennonite Life. John Rempel and Williams Harms, eds., *Atlas of Original Mennonite Villages and Homesteaders of the East Reserve, Manitoba* (Altona, MB, 1988), and *Atlas of Original Mennonite Villages, Homesteaders and Some Burial Plots of the Mennonite West Reserve Manitoba* (Altona, MB, 1990). Both volumes are now out of print.

⁶⁶ Peter H. Rempel, ed., *Der Bote Index Vol. II (1948-1963)* (Winnipeg, MB, 1991), and Bert Friesen, ed., *Mennonitische Rundschau Index*, vols. 1-3 covering 1880-1909, along with an author index for 1880-1909 (designated as vol. 1A); and followed by volume 5, 1920-29, ed. Alf Redekopp. All were published in Winnipeg in the period 1991-93. Friesen was also the editor of the Mennonite Central Committee-sponsored study, *An Index of Peace and Social Concerns by the Mennonites and Brethren in Christ 1787-1982* (Winnipeg, MB, 1986). Mennonite newspapers such as *Mennonite Reporter* and earlier *Mennonite Mirror* also have indexes to access their materials easily.

⁶⁷ Ingrid Epp and Harvey L. Dyck, eds. *The Peter J. Braun Russian Mennonite Archive, 1803-1920: A Research Guide* (Toronto, ON, 1996). The Peter J. Braun archives collection of microfilm (ca. 70 reels) is available to researchers at the University of Toronto, Conrad Grebel College, Mennonite Heritage Centre and the Mennonite Archives in Abbotsford, BC.

⁶⁸ See Lawrence Klippenstein, Adolf Ens and Marg Franz, eds., *Resources for Canadian Mennonite Studies: An Inventory and Guide to Archival Holdings at the Mennonite Heritage Centre* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989), and Lawrence Klippenstein and Jim Suderman, eds., *Directory of Mennonite Archives and Historical Libraries*, 3d rev. and expanded ed. (Winnipeg, MB, 1990). Both are unfortunately out of print. Plans are underway to prepare an Internet fourth edition of the *Directory* in the near future.

⁶⁹ All the larger archival centres of Canadian Mennonites hold extensive lists of genealogical publications and related holdings.

⁷⁰ One should however mention here John Dyck's study, *History of Crosstown Credit Union 1944-1994* (Winnipeg, MB, 1993). The title seems to be a misprint since the study really does not go into 1994. See also Doris Penner, ed., *Steinbach 1946-1996: So Much to Celebrate* (Steinbach, MB, 1997) for a vivid picture of current business activity in this community.

⁷¹ An effort to prepare a comprehensive index to all published Mennonite material world-wide is in Nelson Springer and Abram J. Klassen, eds., *Mennonite Bibliography 1631-1961*, vols. 1 and 2 (Scottsdale, PA, 1977). More recently has appeared a bibliography of works on Mennonites in Saskatchewan by Victor G. Wiebe entitled *Saskatchewan Mennonite Bibliography 1962-1995* (Saskatoon, SK, 1995).

