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The United States as a Factor in German-Speaking Migrations to Canada in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In the literature dealing with the history of Canadian immigration, one can identify two conflicting perspectives on the role played by the United States. According to American historian Marcus Lee Hansen's groundbreaking study, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (1940), Canada's migration and settlement patterns were from the beginning intertwined with those of the United States. For centuries the continental frontier of settlement and the expansion of the North Atlantic economy determined population movements on an international scale, Hansen argued. Canadians moved to America and Americans to Canada following the pull of opportunity and adventure. In so doing they ignored national boundaries, immigration policies, and political allegiances.[1]

In the perspective prevalent among Canadian analysts, on the other hand, America posed an ever-present challenge, if not threat, to the development of a resident Canadian population and national identity. As one Canadian historian expressed it:

> Canada lived uneasily beside the United States colossus that was brutally developing its national destiny through intensive exploitation of its vast resources. Indeed for generations economic opportunities to the south attracted thousands of Canadians, particularly native-born, while for large numbers of immigrants, Canada was a mere way station en route to the fabled riches of the Republic.[2]

Not only were Canadian officials unhappy about the steady drain of population to the United States, but for almost a century they were also apprehensive about a large influx from America. In 1826, for example, Upper Canada's lieutenant governor (Maitland) was so worried about the mass influx of American settlers (outnumbering Loyalists and British immigrants) that he considered "a speedy settlement of the Colony" to be a "secondary object compared to its settlement in such a manner as shall best secure its attachment to British Laws and Government."[3]

Unlike the United States, Canada has traditionally been as concerned with restricting immigration as with promoting it. Anxious after 1760 to keep a British identity, Canada was challenged to obtain and retain white British Protestants or easily assimilable Northwest Europeans and to keep out others. Not surprisingly, Canada's immigration record has found little attention in the standard works of Canadian history, and it is no accident that no comprehensive scholarly study of Canadian immigration exists to date. Instead, Canada's ambivalence toward immigration has helped to entrench in the Anglo-Canadian historical consciousness the inaccurate notions that until the twentieth century Canada owed its development to the mass influx of desirable British settlers systematically recruited in the mother country and that Canada's multicultural population did not originate until the late nineteenth-century colonization of the West.

In Germany, Canadian attitudes towards immigration generated some curious, uneasy notions about emigration to Canada. For example, in 1847 they inspired Robert von Mohl's charge, repeated throughout the nineteenth-century public emigration debate, that in Canada "die Verschlingung der deutschen Nationalität durch die englische (absorption of the German identity by the English)"[4] was a certainty. In 1858 the German Federal Diet's committee on emigration regulations concluded with reference to Canada,

> dieses Land nicht weiter in Betracht ziehen zu sollen, weil in einer unter brittischer Herrschaft stehenden Colonie von selbständigem Aufblühen deutscher Ansiedlungen unter Bewahrung der ursprünglichen Nationalität nicht wird die Rede seyn können [not to give any further consideration to this country, because in a colony under British rule there can be no question of an independent flourishing of German settlements enabling the preservation of their original national identity].[5]

Some published comparisons of German life in Canada with that of the United States alleged that German immigrants assimilated within their lifetime.[6] "Bereits die nächste Generation sprach nicht nur englisch, sie

The Counties in Southwestern Ontario

areas originally settled predominantly by Germans

(based on Heinz Lehman, *The German Canadians 1750-1937*)

fühlte auch schon so [the following generation not only spoke English but also identified as such]," wrote an allegedly informed observer in 1911. In Berlin, Ontario, the German capital of Canada, this observer claimed to be able to communicate only in English, and in the purely German settlement of Ladysmith in the Ottawa Valley he found the immigrants' *Deutschtum* after four decades "so völlig untergegangen, daß selbst die Erinnerung an die deutsche Herkunft ausgelöscht ist [so thoroughly gone that even the memory of their German origin was extinguished]."[7] Like the United States, he noted, Canada had always welcomed German immigrants but unlike the United States, Canada presented itself to him as "ein Staatengebilde und ein Volk, in dem von irgendwelchem deutschen Einfluß nichts mehr zu spüren ist [a formation of states and a population in which any German influence is no longer noticeable]."[8]

Were Germans destined, critics wondered throughout the nineteenth century, to serve merely as *Völkerdünger* [demographic fertilizer] for an Anglo-Canadian population?[9] This certainly did not promote German migration to Canada, especially in view of the emigrants' reported inherent suspicion of the British monarchic system of government[10] and the perception of Canada "als ein rauhes, für europäische Kultur und Besiedlung wenig geeignetes Land [a rough land little suited for European settlement and culture]."[11]

In light of this negative image, what factors account for German-speaking migrations to Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? A review of the main waves and patterns of German immigration suggests that Canada's proximity to the United States was the overriding factor. From 1776 to the present, the significance of the American factor manifested itself in at least five respects: (1) Canada offered asylum to refugees from the United States, (2) prospective European emigrants viewed Canada as an extension of America, (3) Canada became the second choice when entry to the United States was blocked by war or quota restrictions, (4) the initial choice of Canadian ports and routes for cheap and fast access to the American frontier led to the decision to stay in Canada, and (5) residents in the United States recognized and seized opportunities in Canada.

The history of German-speaking immigration to Canada may be divided into six major waves: (1) the arrivals prior to the American Revolution, (2) the stream generated by the American Revolution, (3) the migrations from Germany 1830-80, (4) the settlements in western Canada 1874-1914, (5) the immigration between the world wars, and (6) the post-World War II influx.

German speakers have always formed the second or third largest ethnic element in Canada. They have lived on the territory of present-day Canada since at least a century and a half prior to the American Revolution—as individual settlers in New France since the early

seventeenth century.[12] In Nova Scotia they have formed a community since 1750.[13] The American Revolution itself, however, triggered the migration of the largest waves of German speakers to Canada. These consisted essentially of three groups—Loyalists, German auxiliary troops also known as "Hessians," and Pennsylvania-German Mennonites. While Hessians attracted no noticeable follow-up migrations from Germany to Canada, the Loyalists and Pennsylvania Mennonites initiated a continuing influx of Germans from Pennsylvania and other American states.

The United Empire Loyalists—refugees from the American Revolution—consisted of a broad spectrum of ethnic, religious, and racial minority groups. Germans were unquestionably the most numerous Loyalists of non-British descent. They were an estimated 10-20 percent of the 6,000-10,000 Loyalists (by 1786).[14] For Upper Canada their proportion among the Loyalists has been estimated as high as 40 percent.[15] Arriving in Canada as early as 1776,[16] these German Loyalists formed Ontario's first communities of continental European settlers.[17] The majority of these German Loyalists were the children of Germans who in 1710 or thereafter had emigrated from the Palatinate and adjoining regions to New York. There they became embroiled in the politics and allegiances of powerful Irish Loyalist landlords whose tenants and neighbors they were.[18]

To suppress the American Revolution, Britain contracted in various German states for some 30,000 auxiliary troops. Of these so-called Hessians, 12,000 were stationed on Canadian soil from 1776 to 1783; an estimated 2,400 of these remained in Canada.[19] Their impact was twofold. First, the highly skilled artists, craftsmen, and professionals among them brought professional standards to Quebec. Second, they had a significant demographic impact on the primitive Canadian society of the day by the mere fact that they accounted for 3-4 percent of Canada's entire male population in 1783. In the Quebec towns where the Hessians were billeted, they married local girls and assimilated rapidly.[20] Their families with as many as fourteen to eighteen children bequeathed to Canada numerous descendants who identified themselves as francophones.[21]

On the heels of Loyalists and Hessians came Mennonites from Pennsylvania. These pacifist Anabaptist farmers began to migrate because they feared the fervor of American nationalism and needed new land for their proliferating population. Furthermore, the presence in Canada of relatively large numbers of German Loyalist and Hessian settlers appeared a good omen for the continuation of the Mennonites' German culture. Preferring to settle in cohesive patterns, they were able to acquire a huge block of land at the Grand River in Waterloo County. Subsequently, through decades of engaging in chain migration, they transplanted to Canada their families and coreligionists as well as their Pennsylvania German culture and dialect.[22] They also enticed to Canada a considerable influx of Amish from Germany.[23]

Because they insisted on the maintenance of their German culture as an integral part of their faith, the Mennonites have been one of the most enduring elements of the German Canadian population. Their colonies at the Grand River and in the Niagara District, while isolating themselves from British immigrants, attracted almost the entire immigration to Canada from German states between the 1830s and 1850s. As in Pennsylvania, where the exemplary farms Mennonites carved out of the wilderness along the Conestoga and Pequea rivers funnelled increasing numbers of German immigrants to Lancaster, Montgomery, and Bucks counties, so in Ontario the Pennsylvania Mennonites were responsible for the development of an area of concentrated German settlement.[24]

During this period, another small group of noteworthy immigrants from Germany moved to Canada because of business failure in the United States. It was led by William Moll-Berczy who became the cofounder of Toronto in 1794. After being cheated out of his partnership in the gigantic Pulteney settlement project in the Genesee Valley of New York, he acquired a grant of 64,000 acres of wilderness land in Markham Township in order to initiate a colonization venture on a scale comparable to that of the Mennonites on the Grand River. At the site of present-day Toronto's Yonge Street, his group of 190 settlers from Germany hewed a road through the virgin forest from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe, cleared one quarter of the land, cultivated fields, erected a church and a school, and built a model settlement whose "German Mills" became known throughout the province. But in 1803 the Executive Council of Upper Canada, unwilling to support an alien upstart and distrusting the motives of his German Company, declared the reserved lands forfeited, and the enterprise had to disband in bankruptcy.[25]

Canada's first mass immigration from Germany in the nineteenth century was in reality not directed at Canada at all. It was an offshoot of the great English-German-Scandinavian trek to the American Midwestern frontier. Most of the 50,000-60,000 Germans who settled in southern and western Ontario between the 1820s and 1870s ended up in Canada by chance. They had emigrated in order to homestead in America. Immigrants at the time saw Canada not so much as a country or place of settlement as the road to the Midwestern United States.[26] The two main overland routes to the American West—from Quebec along the St. Lawrence River and from New York along the Hudson River to Lake Ontario—intersected in southwestern Ontario. Both routes were of equal distance and difficulty for immigrants but differed significantly in the ocean passage leading to them.

The Quebec route brought passengers via Liverpool—there was no direct connection between Quebec and Hamburg or Bremen until 1846. It was patronized largely by impoverished emigrants because the small and overcrowded ships sailing it could offer lower rates by avoiding the

passenger regulations of New York. Of the over 40,000 Germans landing in Quebec from Hamburg and Bremen from 1850 to 1857, three quarters moved on to the American West. Those 10,000-12,000 remaining in Canada did so partly for lack of financial resources to complete their journey and partly because the Canadian government appointed in Quebec a German-speaking agent who tried to direct the immigrants to Canadian destinations.[27]

The majority of German emigrants bound for the United States, however, preferred the more frequent, faster, and more comfortable passage to an American seaport, especially New York. For these immigrants the main route to the American West led from New York up the Hudson River, across Lake Ontario and the Niagara River through southwestern Ontario.[28] By 1848 an estimated 12,000 German immigrants following the New York route remained in Canada.

Germans traveling through Canada from New York to Detroit found many reasons and opportunities for staying. Some were surprised to meet Mennonite farmers speaking their own or a similar German dialect and offering company and work to non-Mennonite Germans.[29] Mennonite farmers, relates Mabel Dunham, "always found a corner in their conestogas for pedestrians . . . and they took many a German not only across the river but as far into Upper Canada as they cared to go. . . . The Germans then hired themselves to the Mennonites and learned from them the rudiments of new-world agriculture."[30] There they discovered, as one Waterloo immigrant wrote to Germany in 1831, that one could "make money easily, as you can make hay, if only you want to work for it."[31]

The Canadian government was alarmed at the momentum of the American westward flow, fearing an exodus of Canadians and loss of Canadian control over the uninhabited border regions. As many as six Canadian immigration agents traveled throughout Germany between 1857 and 1866 hoping to acquire a permanent population for the strategically important area between the lower Ottawa River and Georgian Bay. However, only the disruptions wrought by the American Civil War helped to achieve this objective. The war diverted German immigrants headed for America to the secluded and agriculturally marginal wilderness lands of the upper Ottawa Valley where German-speaking agents stationed at the Quebec and Ottawa ports directed them to their destinations. These pioneer settlers initiated a chain migration which by 1891 brought a population of 12,000 permanent German settlers to this area.[32]

Apart from the influx to the Ottawa Valley, Canada remained unaffected by the peak years (1880-92) of emigration from Germany. Of western Canada's 152,000 German pioneer settlers by 1911, no more than 12 percent originated in Germany, despite the extensive network of Canadian emigration agents there and their promotional efforts under

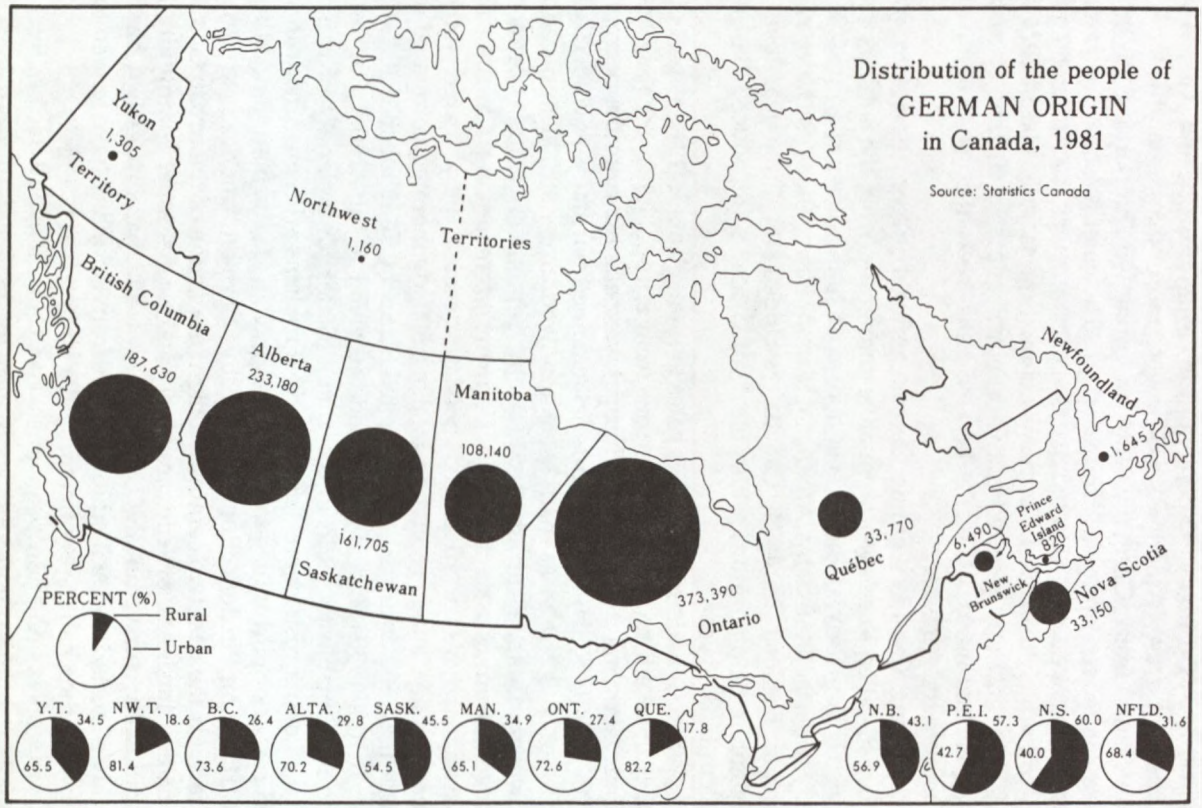
such slogans as "Canada, the new America."[33] Instead, more than half came from ethnic German enclaves in eastern Europe, for example the Black Sea Coast, the Volga, and Volhynia in the Russian Empire, the Romanian Dobrudja (6 percent of German immigrants), the Habsburg Empire (18 percent), especially its non-German parts, and the United States.[34]

Mennonites from Russia, disliking the abrogation of their cultural privileges and military service exemptions, were the first German-speaking settlers in western Canada. Arriving in Manitoba in 1874, they would have preferred to relocate to the United States had their request for cohesive village settlement not been refused by the American government. By 1892 they had spread their block settlements to Saskatchewan and attracted a continuous flow of coreligionists from Russia, the United States, and Germany to the Canadian prairies.[35]

Western Canada's largest German block settlements were the German-American Catholic colonies of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's, covering areas of fifty and seventy-seven townships respectively. St. Peter's was founded in 1902 at the initiative of Benedictine monks from Minnesota and Illinois. Their aim was to funnel the growing westward stream of Catholic German-Americans into closed settlements so that the retention of German ethnicity would help preserve the immigrants' Catholic faith. By 1911 St. Peter's colony had 6,000 German-Catholic settlers, most of them first or second-generation immigrants from Germany and Russia to Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, and Kansas. The spectacular development of St. Peter's encouraged its initiators to launch St. Joseph's in 1904.[36]

In Alberta, German American pioneer settlers played a prominent role from the beginning. Starting in 1893 they pioneered large-scale American migrations to western Canada.[37] There they formed joint settlements with Germans from Galicia (and other German-speaking regions in Europe) who in turn initiated Ukrainian migrations to Canada.[38] The first German group migration to British Columbia came in the wake of the Cariboo gold strike of 1858, when a high percentage of the first diggers and subsequent waves of miners to the Fraser River Valley were Germans from California.[39]

Even during 1918, despite the anti-German sentiment sweeping the country, Canada experienced an unanticipated influx of deeply pacifist German speakers from the United States. These were 1,000 Hutterites and 500-600 Mennonites who fled to Canada, because of the intense intolerance in the United States towards pacifists after American entry into the war. All but one of the eighteen Hutterite colonies, whose members were descendants of German-speaking immigrants to South Dakota from the Ukraine in the 1870s, were able to enter Canada on the basis of an Order-in-Council of 1899 that specifically granted them


Distribution of the people of
GERMAN ORIGIN
in Canada, 1981
Source: Statistics Canada
Yukon Territory
1,305
Northwest Territories
1,160
British Columbia
187,630
Alberta
233,180
Saskatchewan
161,705
Manitoba
108,140
373,390
Ontario
33,770
Québec
Newfoundland
1,645
Prince Edward Island
870
6,490
New Brunswick
Nova Scotia
33,150
PERCENT (%)
Rural
Urban
Y.T. 34.5
65.5
NW.T. 18.6
81.4
B.C. 26.4
73.6
ALTA. 29.8
70.2
SASK. 45.5
54.5
MAN. 34.9
65.1
ONT. 27.4
72.6
QUE. 17.8
82.2
N.B. 43.1
56.9
P.E.I. 57.3
42.7
N.S. 60.0
40.0
NFLD. 31.6
68.4

immunity from military service. However, in May 1919 Canada shut its doors to all Hutterites and Mennonites until 1921, and to nationals of former enemy countries until 1923.[40]

Between 1924 and 1930 Canada received 100,000 Germans (one quarter from Germany, 52 percent from eastern Europe and Austria, and 18 percent from America). However, more than one third of the immigrants from Germany and an unknown proportion of ethnic Germans moved on to the United States. The chief reason why so many Germans moved to the United States via Canada was the American quota system, which restricted Germany's annual quota to 51,000 in 1924 and 26,000 in 1929 and granted only a minimal quota to citizens of eastern European countries. Canada became thus both the gateway to and substitute for America.[41]

Among Canada's ethnic German influx between the world wars, 21,000 so-called *Russländer* Mennonite immigrants from the famine-ridden Soviet Union formed the largest and most homogeneous group. Their entry was facilitated by American Mennonites. The *Russländer* chose Canada because in 1921 Canada rescinded its three-year ban on Mennonite immigration, while the United States introduced its quota system in that year.[42]

When Canada reopened its gates to immigrants in 1947 as part of its policy of resettling displaced persons from Europe, refugee *Volksdeutsche* [ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe] were eligible from the beginning. In the United States *Volksdeutsche* remained virtually excluded until 1950—only 3,270 visas had been approved from 58,000 applications. However, Canada admitted 21,000 by September 1950. Mennonite refugees from Russia living in Germany were among Canada's first postwar arrivals of displaced persons because they feared forcible repatriation. Canada received a total of 6,500 Mennonites, compared with fewer than 600 admitted to the United States by September 1950.[43]

In the 1950s and 1960s Canada received a substantial number of Germans unable to settle in the United States for a variety of reasons, such as quota restrictions (until 1965). Problems with an American visa and career opportunities for specialists in Canada, or both, tended to be the trigger for the deflection of prospective German Americans to Canada. In fact, for the past two centuries a high proportion of the urban German-Canadian business, artistic, academic, and professional community has traditionally come from the United States while, paradoxically, Canada's highly educated and skilled immigrants from Germany have tended to be drawn to the challenges offered by the United States.

In conclusion, European push and Canadian pull factors such as Canadian immigration policy are usually believed to have been the determinants of German-speaking migrations to Canada. However, an examination of the historical pattern of these migrations shows the United

States to be a key factor in virtually every major wave, region, and type of German settlement to Canada since 1776. Significant numbers of German-speakers who had planned to settle in the United States ended up in Canada. Numerous German-Americans, by the historic twists of a shared fate, thus became German-Canadians and vice versa.

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Notes

[1] The financial support of the Government of Canada and the Max Kade Foundation, Inc., of New York is gratefully acknowledged. All translations from German are my own, unless indicated otherwise.

[2] Lewis Hertzman, "L'Immigration au Canada avant et après la Confédération," in Commission Internationale D'Histoire des Mouvements Sociaux et des Structures Sociales, ed., *Les Migrations Internationales de la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle a nos Jours* (Paris, 1980), 80.

[3] Quoted in Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841* (Toronto, 1963), 47.

[4] Robert von Mohl, "Über Auswanderung," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 4 (1847): 329. As late as the 1920s Walther Tuckermann, "Das Deutschtum in Kanada," *Aus Sozial- und Wirtschaftgeschichte: Gedächtnisschrift für Georg von Below* (Stuttgart, 1928), 331, refers to the "stille, aber beharrlich wirkende Aufsaugungsarbeit des herrschenden Volkes. . . . Die Grabsteine auf den Mennonitenfriedhöfen in Ontario sind schon seit Jahrzehnten fast ausschließlich englisch beschriftet."

[5] Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (HSAS), E 46-48, vol. 886, no. 33a/5, "Zur 21. Bundestagssitzung vom Jahre 1858. Zusammenstellung der in den einzelnen Bundesstaaten geltenden, in Folge Beschlusses vom 3. April 1856 von den höchsten und hohen Regierungen dem Ausschuß mitgeteilten Gesetze und Verordnungen über Auswanderung. Beilage zu Vortrag des am 28. Februar 1856 gewählten Ausschusses, den Antrag von Bayern über Auswanderung betreffend," p. 19.

[6] "Es klingt befremdend, wenn man beim Eintritt in eine deutsche Familie die Eltern unter sich englisch und mit dem Landsmann deutsch verhandeln hört, während die Kinder nur englisch verstehen," reported Dr. phil. Eduard Wiedersheim, *Kanada: Reisebeschreibung und Bericht über die dortigen land- und volkswirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse* (Stuttgart, 1882), 96.

[7] Dr. Hammann, "Vom Deutschtum in Kanada," *Deutschtum im Ausland* (Berlin, 1911), 503. In reality, the opposite was true. The German mother tongue of Ladysmith's immigrants of the 1860s-1890s survived for almost a century. See Werner Bausenhart, "The German Settlement of Ladysmith, Quebec, and the Dialect spoken by its Settlers," *German-Canadian Yearbook* 4 (1978): 234-45; E. Kuntz, "Die alte deutsche Siedlung Ladysmith," *Kanada Kurier*, 1 December 1983.

[8] Hammann, 502, 506f.

[9] Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Göttingen, 1855), vol. 1. As late as 1914, a leaflet titled *Die Deutschen Kanadas Kulturdünger?* was found circulating in western Canada. See Heinz Lehmann, *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Berlin, 1939), 292.

[10] J. G. Kohl, *Travels in Canada, and through the States of New York and Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (London, 1861), 237f.

[11] W. Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Wanderungsgeschichte* (Jena, 1912), 207.

[12] H. W. Debor, *1664-1964: Die Deutschen in der Provinz Quebec* (Montreal, 1963), 4-10.

[13] Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961).

[14] Werner Bausenhart, *German Immigration and Assimilation in Ontario, 1783-1918* (New York, Ottawa, Toronto: 1989), 19; Joan Magee, *Loyalist Mosaic: A Multi-Ethnic Heritage* (Toronto, 1984), 25; Dexter Hawn, *'Palatines' und deren Nachkommen unter den Loyalisten in Kanada*, Canadiana Germanica, Occasional Papers, no.4 (Toronto, 1983), 2.

[15] Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto, 1975), 55.

[16] E. Elmore Reaman, *The Trail of the Black Walnut* (Toronto, 1957), 45-56.

[17] James Croil, *Dundas* (Montreal, 1861), 127f.

[18] Werner A. Bausenhart, "Factors Contributing to the Assimilation of the German United Empire Loyalists of the Upper St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinté," *German Canadian Studies Annals* 5 (1986): 20-31; Bausenhart, *German Immigration*, 30-37; Carl R. Cronmiller, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1961), 91ff.; Heinz Lehmann, *The German Canadians 1750-1837: Immigration, Settlement, and Culture* (St. John's, 1986), 50-56.

[19] Bausenhart, *German Immigration*, 26; J. P. Wilhelmy, *German Mercenaries in Canada* (Beloeil, 1985), 248; Herbert Wilhelm Debor, "German Regiments in Canada, 1776-1783," *German-Canadian Yearbook* 2 (1975): 34-49, and "German Soldiers of the American War of Independence as Settlers in Canada," *German-Canadian Yearbook* 3 (1976): 71-93.

[20] DeMarce, 28-30; Arthur Caux, "Les colons allemands dans Lothbinière," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* 57 (1951): 51-59; Robert-Lionel Seguin, "L'apport germanique dans le peuplement de Vaudreuil et Soulanges," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* 63 (1957): 34-58.

[21] Debor, *1664-1964*, 17.

[22] L. J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* (Markham, 1935), 24; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 54f.; S. M. Burke and M. H. Hill, eds., *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo: Pennsylvania-German Folk Culture in Transition* (Kitchener, 1991).

[23] Burkholder, 218-43.

[24] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 70f.

[25] See John Andre, *William Berczy, Co-Founder of Toronto* (Toronto, 1967), and *Infant Toronto as Simcoe's Folly* (Toronto, 1971).

[26] Orm Överland, ed., *Johan Schröder's Travels in Canada, 1863* (Montreal and Kingston, 1989), 39. Norman MacDonald, *Canada's Immigration Policy, 1840-1903* (Toronto, 1957), 33, estimates that, as late as 1864, some 90 percent of British tenant farmers were unaware of the existence of Canada. Bausenhart, *German Immigration*, 54, assumes that this proportion was even higher in the German states.

[27] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 19ff.; G. P. Bassler, "Die Anfänge der deutschen Massenwanderung nach Britisch Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert," *Annalen Deutschkanadische Studien* 2 (1978): 4-18.

[28] Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, 1940), 105f., 111f.

[29] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 85.

[30] Mabel Dunham, *Grand River* (Toronto, 1945), 125f.

[31] Letter by Philipp Lautenschlager to his father, brothers, and sisters, as quoted in Gottlieb Leibbrandt, *Little Paradise: The Saga of the German Canadians of Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1975* (Kitchener, 1980), 30ff.

[32] Peter Hessell, *Destination Ottawa Valley* (Ottawa, 1984), 87-93, 110-16. Brenda Lee Whiting, *Harvest of Stones: The German Settlement in Renfrew County* (Toronto, 1985).

[33] HSAS, E 46-48, vol. 895, Abschrift einer Anfrage aus Leipzig vom 14.1.1913.

[34] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 133.

[35] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 183-208; Royden K. Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds, 1850-1930* (Toronto, 1993).

[36] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 198-239.

[37] Howard and Tamara Palmer, eds., *The Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity* (Saskatoon, 1985), 5, 16-20.

[38] See William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton, 1981).

[39] Bruce Ramsay, *A History of the German-Canadians in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1958).

[40] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 365-414. William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), 167-97; Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto, 1987), 75-78. James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930* (Waterloo, Ont., 1985), 233.

[41] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 147-64.

[42] Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of Russian Mennonites since the Communist Revolution* (Altona, 1962); John B. Toews, *Lost Fatherland: The Story of the Mennonite Emigration from Soviet Russia, 1921-1927* (Scottsdale, 1967); E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Glencoe, 1955), 202-13.

[43] G. P. Bassler, " Canadian Postwar Immigration Policy and the Admission of German Enemy Aliens, 1945-50," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 22 (1987): 183-97.