



North American Mennonite Brethren
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**North American Mennonite Brethren
and Issues of
War, Peace and Nonresistance, 1940-1960**

The purpose of this paper is to seek to understand the Mennonite Brethren (MB) developments regarding war, peace and nonresistance in the decades from 1940 to 1960. It will attempt to discern the differences between MBs in the United States and Canada as well as to compare the MB experience with that of Mennonites in North America as a whole. Did MBs fit into the pattern of the wider Mennonite experience? Were there significant differences between the developments in the two countries? Did MB theology, attitudes and practices on issues of peace, war, violence and justice shift during the mid-century decades?

Several recent studies have proposed significant hypotheses regarding the experience and impact of World War II on Mennonites in the U.S. and Canada. Paul Toews has analyzed the development of Mennonite peace theology in the U.S. from the inter-war period to 1944 and also the impact of Civilian Public Service (CPS) on American Mennonites.¹ The pre-war period, he states, was characterized by controversies between those who advocated a separatist stance and those who favored dialogue with other pacifist bodies. When the war erupted, both perspectives became a casualty of history and energies were drained particularly into organizing the CPS system. In 1944 a "conceptual triumph" emerged

with the publication of Guy F. Hershberger's War, Peace and Nonresistance. Hershberger, says Toews, defined a position which was nonpolitical but which nevertheless made a contribution to the political order. "It was an important part of the larger Mennonite reorientation toward greater political and mission activism that accompanied the World War II experience."² The "ideological revitalization" and idealism that was associated with Hershberger, Harold S. Bender and others of the "Goshen school," became closely linked with the CPS experience. Toews refers to CPS as "the Mennonite university experience."³ CPS became the mechanism for engagement with the world, particularly in inducing a mood of self-confidence, producing a missional and service actism and in accelerating the Mennonite ecumenical movement. Toews concludes that "servant activism" became the core of an ideologically revitalized Mennonite identity.⁴

Toews's study focuses almost entirely on the (Old) Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonite Church. In fact, only two Mennonite Brethren are mentioned (P.C. Hiebert and P.S. Goertz) who, says Toews, "were hardly representative of the Mennonte Brethren".⁵ MBs were clearly not particularly active in theologizing about issues of church and state and the related questions of peace and nonresistance during this period.

In a study of Canadian Mennonites and the impact of World War II, Ted Regehr suggests that the main hypothesis or theme of Canadian Mennonite history for the period from 1940 to 1960 is one of accommodation.⁶ Both the Mennonites and the government of

Canada sought to apply the lessons from the past (World War I, the Russian Mennonite experience) and work cooperatively toward a solution during the war years. This spirit of cooperation carried forward into the prosperous 1950s. Although Regehr's study is broader in scope and does not deal at length with issues of peace and war, his hypothesis relating to Canada seems to run contrary to Toews's relating to the U.S. Accommodation is not a concept that would easily have been applied to the revitalization concept connected with the recovery of the Anabaptist vision.

John H. Redekop, in an essay entitled "Type 8: A Perspective on Anabaptist Pacifism in Canada," makes a strong case for substantial differences between Mennonites in Canada and the U.S. based on the different national contexts. He seeks to explain "why Anabaptist pacifism in Canada has become distinctive and, in particular, how and why it differs from dominant expressions of Anabaptist pacifism in the United States."⁷ Although Redekop acknowledges that Mennonites in Canada do not constitute a monolith, he does not explore denominational distinctives or make specific references to MBs.

A forthcoming book by Leo Driedger and Donald Kraybill examines Mennonite peacemaking during the entire course of their North American experience.⁸ In particular, the authors examine the impact of modernization on historic nonresistance. They conclude that there has been a radical transformation in Mennonite peace theology. The old "plausibility structures" became shattered for Mennonites who left their sectarian enclaves. "Ideological

brokers" created new plausibility structures which permitted Mennonite peace theology to survive in new forms. In keeping with Toews's thesis, the authors affirm that the most significant shift occurred after World War II and that North American Mennonites have "moved across the spectrum from passive nonresistance to assertive peacemaking."⁹ These changes were accompanied by the acceptance of new words--love, shalom, justice, responsibility, peacemaking--and subjects now became citizens.¹⁰ The dominant theme of the 1940s was "Biblical Nonresistance," they suggest, whereas the dominant theme of the 1950s was "The Way of Love."¹¹

This essay will not attempt to test the validity of the above theses as they relate to the Mennonite experience as a whole. Rather, it will attempt to demonstrate that the MB experience, while coinciding with the larger Mennonite experience in many ways, was nevertheless quite unique in terms of timing, in terms of substance, and in terms of its regional characteristics.

THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTEXT FOR MB PEACE THEOLOGY

The Mennonite Context

MBs first came to the U.S. as part of a larger Mennonite migration to North America from Russia in the 1870s. The circumstances that precipitated the move related to the changing policies of the Russian government and involved the withdrawal of some of the privileges which the Mennonites had enjoyed. These related particularly to the control of the schools and absolute exemption from state service. It did not take long until the

Mennonites who remained in Russia were required to serve in forestry camps in lieu of military service.

The MBs who came to the U.S., therefore, were part of a relatively conservative group who found conditions in Russia too threatening to their religious principles.¹² However, their move to the U.S. rather than to Canada has suggested to some that they were not as separatistic as their Mennonite counterparts who migrated to Canada, where the government gave better guarantees of religious freedom and where they could establish closed settlements which were very similar to the colonies in southern Russia.¹³ In Canada these became known as "*Kanadier*," to distinguish them from the "*Russlaender*" who arrived in the 1920s. When the MB Church began in Manitoba late in the nineteenth century, the first converts came from these groups and some of the attitudes toward the state among these continued to be distinguishable from the "*Russlaender*" MBs later.

The predominant heritage of U.S. MBs was therefore that of the 1870s migration. The later Russian Mennonite experience did not have the same direct impact which it had on MBs in Canada, many of whom immigrated in the 1920s. Furthermore, because U.S. policies and experiences with respect to war and alternative service were different than Canada's, MBs in the U.S. have either had to link with other Mennonites to find a workable policy or else to blend with the rest of evangelical protestantism.

The larger Mennonite context in the U.S. points to another important difference between MBs in the U.S. and Canada. MBs in

the U.S. have constituted a much smaller percentage of the total Mennonite population than MBs in Canada. In 1936 the total Mennonite membership in the U.S. was estimated to be around 114,337.¹⁴ The MB membership was 7,595, representing approximately 6.6% of the total. In Canada in 1940 MB membership was approximately 7,890, representing about 18.4% of the total Mennonite membership of 42,876.¹⁵ Therefore U.S. MBs have not been in a position to take leadership on issues pertaining to nonresistance to the extent that other Mennonites have.¹⁶ In Canada, on the other hand, MBs took a much more active role particularly in the negotiations with the government before and during WWII. It should also be remembered that Mennonites of all kinds constituted a considerably larger percentage of the population as a whole in Canada than in the U.S.

World War II

As Mennonites in the two countries faced the very real possibility of the outbreak of another world conflagration by the late 1930s, they did so against the backdrop of very different experiences in WWI and the interwar period. The WWI experience for COs in the U.S. was a very difficult one. COs were drafted into the army and it was left to the military to decide how to deal with them. While some were treated relatively well, others were virtually forced into combatant roles or found themselves in prison where they were often subjected to very cruel treatment. Mennonites did not want a repeat of that experience, and in a

series of meetings and conferences they began to develop alternative proposals which they could present to government.

In Canada, although WWI had not been as difficult for Mennonites, the legal situation was much more confusing. The government had made various provisions for COs or for specific groups of Mennonites. These included exemption from military service of Mennonites (Swiss) and other pacifist groups on the basis of the Militia Act of 1793, a special Order in Council promising exemption from military service to the Mennonites who immigrated from Russia in the 1870s (the *Kanadier*), and promises to the Mennonites who immigrated in the 1920s (the *Russlaender*) that they were protected by existing legislation.¹⁷ But it was not clear which Mennonites might qualify for exemption under particular provisions and whether complete exemption from state service or only exemption from combatant service would apply to certain groups.

By 1940, Canada was already at war. Britain had declared war against Germany on September 3, 1939, and Canada followed about a week later. The U.S. did not become actively involved until the attack by the Japanese at Pearl Harbor in December, 1941. Therefore Canada's direct involvement preceded that of the U.S. by over two years and Canadian Mennonites faced the practical question of their role considerably earlier.

In Canada an alternative service program was begun in the summer of 1941 and before long many Mennonite young men were active in various forestry camps and later in mental institutions,

hospitals and eventually in a vast array of other assignments including agriculture. This Alternative Service Work (ASW) program continued until the summer of 1946.

In the U.S., a CPS program was begun in May, 1941, before the country had actually become involved in the war, and the program continued until April, 1947.¹⁸ In both countries Mennonites during this time were preoccupied with issues pertaining first to the establishment of policies of the respective programs and the implementation of those policies as well as educational and pastoral responsibilities.

The European arena of the war ended in May, 1945 and by the middle of August, after several atomic bombs had been dropped on Japanese cities, the war was over in Asia as well.

The Cold War and the Korean War

Although another world conflagration such as the two world wars did not erupt in the succeeding decades, as many feared might happen, world tension between the two superpowers and their allies increased and developed into what became known as the "cold war." In June 1950, new hostilities erupted into the Korean War which, although nominally under UN auspices, was essentially an American war. American Mennonites were therefore kept constantly on the alert. From 1951 to 1973 the I-W Service program was in effect. In the same year MCC began a Pax (peace) program for men in the I-W program. Although the Pax program was open to Canadians, it was essentially tailored for Americans and relatively few Canadians

served under Pax.

Canada was less affected by any of these events, although it became minimally involved in the Korean War and the fear of communism was certainly also there, fed partially by the memories of experiences of the Russian Mennonites after the Revolution of 1917, and partially by the U.S. media and certain religious broadcasts which were avidly listened to by many Canadian MBs.

MB PEACE THEOLOGY AND PRACTICE AT MID-CENTURY

Actions and Attitudes in the U.S. and Canada

The statistical information regarding participation of Mennonites in the military and in alternative service programs in both countries is still meager. More extensive studies have been done relating to the Mennonites in the U.S. during WWII than concerning Mennonites in Canada, but little information is available concerning differences between the various Mennonite denominations.

According to statistics cited by Hershberger, the total number of Mennonites in the U.S. who were drafted during the CPS period was 9,809. Of these, 4,536 were in CPS (46.2%), 3,876 in the military (39.5%), and 1,397 opted for non-combatant roles in the military (14.2%). The General Conference Mennonite Church had the highest percentage of young men in the military (combatant and non-combatant = 73.3%), and the MBs were not far behind at 63.4%. The Mennonite Church was considerably lower at 40.5%, and most of the other more conservative groups were below 10%.¹⁹ MBs had

approximately 36.4% of their men in CPS, 31.5% in the regular military, and 31.9% in non-combatant services in the military.

It is more difficult to arrive at accurate statistics for Canada. Ted Regehr has estimated that approximately 7,500 (62.5%) Mennonite men were active in alternative service during WWII and approximately 4,500 (37.5%) were in the armed forces.²⁰ Although the categories in the two countries cannot be equated entirely, it seems clear that a much higher percentage of Mennonites in Canada opted for alternative service than in the U.S., and conversely, more U.S. Mennonites opted for the military. The Russian experience was obviously very determinative for most Canadian Mennonites who immigrated in the 1920s. Unfortunately, a breakdown by denomination is not available. It appears that MBs in Canada may have had a higher percentage of men in the military than the percentage of Mennonites as a whole in the military. According to reports given to the Ontario MB Conference, there were 15 MBs in ASW camps in 1942 and 10 in active military service.²¹ In 1943 there were 25 in the army, 4 in the air force, 1 in the navy and 21 in alternative service (i.e., 58.8% in combatant service!).²² A number of young men had received "farm postponements," however, and would otherwise probably have increased the numbers in the alternative service category considerably.²³

Statistics pertaining to the decades of the 1950s and 1960s are even more difficult to obtain or to interpret. Occasionally some numbers are given in district or area conference reports, but these are not comprehensive enough to warrant firm conclusions.

Reports to the Central District (U.S.) indicate that in 1956 there were 85 MBs in I-W. In 1959 the numbers are broken down as follows:²⁴

Government service total	= 74
Military service	= 25
Alternative service (I-W)	= 49

Statistics are also cited for the U.S. Area Conference for the years 1957, 1959 and 1960, as indicated in Table A. These are as follows:²⁵

Year	I-W Service	Military
1957	70	40
1959	59	30
1960	45	ca 1/3

Table A

It appears that in peacetime at least one-third of drafted young men in the U.S. opted for military service.

There are no statistics for Canada during the post-war period. Canada did not have conscription, although a number of Mennonite men continued to be active in the military forces.

It is interesting to note how the general surveys of attitudes of 1972, 1982, and 1989 compare with the data of actual practice for the 1940s and 1950s. Table B shows the MB responses to particular questions relating to war and alternative service in the two countries at the time of these surveys. The table demonstrates that U.S. MBs have been less committed to the peace position than

Canadians have, and that there has been a further erosion in the U.S. during the period covered by the surveys, whereas Canadian MBs have increased their commitment to peace.

MB Attitudes to Issues of War and Peace, 1972-79

	1972 US	1972 Can	1972 Comb	1982 US	1982 Can	1982 Comb	1989 Comb
Christians should take no part in war	42	66	54	39	70	54	56
Owning stock in war bonds is wrong	21	36	29	21	43	32	NA
Christians should actively promote peace	39	52	46	36	50	43	53
Would choose alternative service if drafted	47	49	48	41	48	45	50

Table B²⁶

The increasing disparity is difficult to explain, although some possible factors will be suggested below.

Official Statements and Actions

As might be expected, Mennonite Brethren statements on war and peace in North America are clustered around the two world wars.

Aside from the publication of the Confession of Faith in 1916 and

Mennonite Brethren Statements on Peace and War in North America

Years	To	1935-	1940-	1945-	1950-	1955-	1960-	1965-	1970-
	1934	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	82
Can. Conf.	1	5	3	6	6	5	5	6	0
Total Can.	3	22	39	17	17	13	10	8	1
U.S. Conf.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total U.S.	1	7	2	6	1	3	0	2	4
Gen. Conf.	0	2	1	2	2	1	0	1	3
Total NA	4	31	42	25	20	17	10	11	8

Table C

1917 (in German and English respectively), there were in fact only four statements issued prior to 1934, and these were issued between 1917 and 1922. None were in the Northern District (Canada) and only one was at the General Conference level.²⁷ Table C provides a breakdown of statements on peace and war at the various conference levels in the two countries between 1935 and 1982.²⁸

Several general observations can be made based on these statistics. One is that there is a very strong cluster of statements beginning about 1935 and continuing to about 1949. Thereafter the number of statements diminishes constantly until at least 1980. Secondly, the total number of statements by Canadian MBs appears to be significantly higher than by U.S. MBs, at least until 1970. As Appendix I illustrates, district and provincial conferences appear to have made fewer and fewer statements and relatively more were made at the area or General Conference levels.

The content of the statements does not reflect any radical shifts over the entire period or, more particularly, for the decades from 1940 to 1960. Neither is there clear evidence of significant differences between the U.S. and Canada, although some differences clearly surfaced during discussions leading to the adoption of the statements.

In terms of the types of peace theology identified in by J. Richard Burkholder,²⁹ it seems clear that the statements in the entire period come closest to the type identified as "Historic Nonresistance." Some concerns reflect an inclination toward an

"apolitical nonresistant" position. A pacifism which is political or humanistic and which envisions an idyllic world without war and violence is repudiated. On the basis of the themes identified by Driedger and Kraybill, the theme of "biblical nonresistance" comes closest to characterizing the entire period. The main perceived threat identified by the statements, however, lies in the possibility of a complete abandonment of the nonresistant position rather than in the adoption of a different kind of peace position.

The primary vocabulary is that of "nonresistance" (Wehrlosigkeit) and "peace" (Frieden). The specific issues addressed again and again are conscription, military service, noncombatant service in the military (e.g., the medical corps), the military oath and military drill, defense or civilian bonds and alternative service under military or civilian supervision. The emphasis is on educating the young men who are clearly seen to bear the main burden of the expression of the Mennonite peace position, although this is more evident during and immediately after the war.

The differences between the U.S. MBs and the Canadian MBs were clearly felt by some who participated in the discussions leading to the recommendations. At the General Conference sessions in Mountain Lake, Minnesota in 1948, the original recommendation received by the delegation was similar to the one adopted by the Canadian Convention earlier in the same year and included the provision for excommunication of those who participated in military service.³⁰ The majority rejected this provision. Unruh remarks

that a clear difference of opinion was evident between the Americans and the Canadians and that the Canadians were intent on retaining the stricter provision. He expected that this issue would still lead to serious tensions in the future.³¹

The issue of service in the medical corps of the military or medical service in the arena of war but without military training was addressed on a number of occasions on both sides of the border. In Canada B.B. Janz, who for a time was chairman of the Military Problems Committee of Western Canada, was the most outspoken advocate of an alternative service program which might include "forestry, first aid, ambulance and hospital work and farm or any national service of a non-military character"³² Janz's stance is characterized by John B. Toews as "one of the more radical among the Canadian Mennonites,"³³ and was formulated very much on the basis of the Russian Mennonite experience. Janz was even willing to have the young men wear uniforms and serve under military authority, as long as their duties were restricted to acts of love and mercy. The more conservative Mennonites of western Canada, however, wanted complete exemption from state service and this led to alienation between the two groups in western Canada. Furthermore, many of the Swiss Mennonites in Ontario wanted a more restricted alternative service program. The issue was negotiated with the government for a long time, but in January 1942 Janz was informed that all COs must go to alternative service work camps and there was no provision for a Mennonite ambulance corps. Nonetheless, a number of MB men enlisted in the medical corps of

the military and generally did not become subject to church discipline.

At district conferences in the U.S. as well as at the General Conference sessions the issue of medical service did become a problematic one. In 1948 the various district conferences and the General Conference passed resolutions approving service in the medical corps of the military. Subsequently, however, a delegation was sent to Washington to discover what the terms and purposes of such service were. The response was clear: the government regarded such service as part of the broader war effort under military jurisdiction--the primary purpose of the medical corps was not to save life but to advance the cause of the war. The result was that the 1948 resolution was rescinded at the General Conference sessions in 1954. Subsequently (1957) the Canadian Conference also took a position against service in the medical corps because it appeared that the Canadian government policy was similar.

The issue of distinguishing pacifism from Mennonite nonresistance appeared in conference discussions at various times. Concerns about attempts to establish a "warless world" were expressed as early as 1922 (SDC). At the Northern District Conference in 1934, a group of Russian believers who had joined the Mennonite Brethren through evangelistic efforts in Saskatchewan brought a resolution asking that all wars be condemned because

war did not resolve conflict, because it destroyed the moral foundations of society, because it left huge debts and many orphans, widows, cripples, and persons mentally ill, and because of the role in war played by capitalist

industry and power-hungry diplomats.³⁴

The resolution was not supported because "the Conference did not see its mission to proclaim anti-war resolutions." It also spoke against cooperating with Quakers and other "popular movements which employ force."³⁵ Anything which smacked of a social-political agenda was therefore suspect. Frank Epp remarks that the Russian Brethren were never heard from again.

Concerns about a socio-political agenda were echoed at various times in later statements. In 1957 the General Conference approved a major resolution pertaining to a theology of peace. One statement read as follows:

But Biblical nonresistance is not pacifism; it arises from an entirely different motive and the two are propagated by two entirely different groups of people.³⁶

Nevertheless, it condemned war as brutal and inhuman. "The fact that Jesus said 'there shall be wars and rumors of wars' cannot justly be construed to be His stamp of approval upon war," it conceded.³⁷ The Conference's strong objection to a more active political stance probably set the stage for some serious criticism of MCC in the next several decades. The 1969 Canadian Convention dealt with mounting criticism of MCC because of its social, cultural and political involvement. About a decade later a special task force of the Board of Spiritual and Social Concerns evaluated MCC in terms of its mandate because of the criticism which was constantly being directed against the MCC because of its activities.³⁸

The 1950s were also years during which the issues of civil

defence and disarmament were major concerns in society. Some of those concerns are reflected in Conference statements and in the periodicals. In Canada, The Canadian Mennonite, which began publication in 1953, frequently carried articles and editorials concerning these issues. Although the editor, Frank H. Epp, was not an MB, the paper was widely read by MB intellectuals and the paper became a vehicle for a more activist socio-political agenda among MBs which included new forms of peace witness.

Theological Brokers?

MBs did not have many trained theologians in the 1940s and 1950s who could articulate a peace theology to nurture the post-war generation of young people. The most significant voice in North America was probably John A. Toews, who was already active in ministry to young men in ASW camps in Canada in 1943. During the next several decades Toews was the most prolific writer and popular speaker on peace and nonresistance. He wrote articles in the Zionsbote, Mennonitische Rundschau, Mennonite Observer, Christian Leader, and The Voice. Several monographs were also published. Particularly important for MBs on both sides of the border was the booklet, True Nonresistance Through Christ.³⁹ In 1958 the Canadian Conference decided that 10 copies per 100 members should be distributed to the churches and that churches should present them to baptismal candidates and otherwise make them available to members.⁴⁰ Several years later Toews produced another volume giving an account of alternative service in Canada during the

war.⁴¹

Toews undoubtedly had learned much from the American Mennonites who were connected with Harold S. Bender. Although the most frequent citations in True Nonresistance came from Rutenbur's The Dagger and the Cross,⁴² Toews frequently cited Bender, Hershberger and other Mennonite scholars.

Frank C. Peters was another MB who was in leadership positions in both the U.S. and Canada and who was affected by the "ideological transformation" of American Mennonites. Both his M.Th. and his Th.D. theses focused on Mennonites. In 1953 Peters gave several lectures at Tabor's annual Peace Conference, together with Erland Waltner and Milo Kaufman.⁴³ Although Peters did not publish a great deal, he spoke quite frequently on issues of peace and nonresistance.

Among MBs in the U.S., there were none who had significant monographs on peace and nonresistance published. The Christian Leader often carried articles on issues pertaining to the draft, I-W service, and the teaching of nonresistance. Those who contributed included Orlando Harms and Wes Prieb. Dwight Wiebe became active as a leader in the I-W program in the late 1950s and carried a strong concern for the historic peace position.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence suggests that MBs in North America did not experience the same type of "ideological reorientation" that the other major Mennonite denominations, particularly those of Swiss

origin, did during and after the war. The reasons why this did not happen were different in the U.S. than in Canada. In the U.S., MBs were somewhat overwhelmed by other Mennonites who had seized the initiative because of their numbers and their more advanced education. MBs, by and large, did not have the "theological brokers" during the middle decades to facilitate the transition into a new era. The (Old) Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonite Church asked questions of their own identity in American society earlier and had to face the threat of fundamentalism on the right and liberalism on the left earlier. MBs, on the other hand, often simply continued to nurture relationships with Baptists.

In Canada, MBs had a larger voice within the Mennonite community, but they had not generally completed the language and cultural transition which many Mennonites in the U.S. had. The expression of the peace witness was often simply carried over from the Russian experience without a keen sense that it needed rearticulation in the NA context. John B. Toews has referred to nonresistance in the Russian experience as "historically associated with its legality as a right and a privilege" and that it therefore "did not become a deeply-rooted ethic."⁴⁴ The "commitment to peace remained a structural rather than an experimental one," he states. To some extent the creative potential of alternative service in Canada was probably diminished because of the degree of continuity with Russia. Little new theologizing seemed necessary. That which was done was still mostly in the German language and therefore not

suites to inspire and energize the next generation.

MBs were also not attending universities, colleges and seminaries in North America in large numbers until after the war, especially in Canada. The first MB institution in Canada to offer more advanced theological and liberal arts education was the Mennonite Brethren Bible College which opened in 1944, initially with a faculty that had received most of its education in Russia. Much of the instruction was still in German. It was about a decade before the impact of North American Mennonite scholarship was felt in a significant way. Abraham H. Unruh's Die Geschichte der Mennoniten-Brudergemeinde, published in 1955, did not draw on North American Mennonite scholarship and therefore was not in tune with the Bender vision. In the 1950s, John A. Toews and Frank C. Peters, both of whom taught at MBBC, came closest to translating the Anabaptist vision of the Bender school for a new generation of MBs in Canada. But neither functioned as ideological brokers in the way that Hershberger, Yoder, or Burkholder did for the Mennonite Church. Nevertheless, in some ways the decade of the 1950s, at least in Canada, was analogous to the decade of the 1940s for Mennonites (OMs and GCs) in the U.S.

In neither country, the U.S. or Canada, could MBs define themselves primarily in terms of nonresistance or the Anabaptist vision. Nonresistance could not serve MBs as a differentiating characteristic from other Mennonite groups and MBs had already established a strong base for working with other evangelical groups, particularly with Baptists but also with Plymouth Brethren

and non-denominational fundamentalist groups. Many MBs in both Canada and the U.S. adopted a dispensationalist eschatology. In the U.S. this often came through rather militant and patriotic fundamentalist groups. The nonresistant principles of MBs in North America who were educated in these fundamentalist schools were severely tested and often weakened. Canadian MBs of the 1920s migration, on the other hand, received their dispensational theology in Russia through contacts with institutions like the Blankenburg conferences, which were probably not as militant. It is clear from the writings of prominent dispensational preachers in Canada that their hermeneutic did not lead them to a disavowal of the nonresistant position and that they still emphasized the relevance of the Sermon on the Mount.

It may be that on the whole MBs did not go through as many stages as the larger Mennonite bodies did. A generally more conservative theology forced many to choose between historic or biblical nonresistance and a complete rejection of nonresistance in favor of a more Lutheran two-kingdom perspective rather than having the liberty to choose between all the options available to other Mennonites because of the work of ideological brokers.

Appendix I: MB Statements on Peace and War in North America--Detailed Analysis

Years	To 1934	1935-39	1940-44	1945-49	1950-54	1955-59	1960-64	1965-69	1970-82
ON	2	4	2	2	1	1	1	2	1
MB	0	0	6	3	8	2	2	0	0
N. SK	0	0	5	0	0	3	1	0	0
S. SK	0	9	17	4	1	0	0	0	0
SK	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
AB	0	4	1	1	1	2	1	0	0
BC	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
Can. Conf.	1	5	3	6	6	5	5	6	0
Total Can.	3	22	39	17	17	13	10	8	1
C.D.	0	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
S.D.	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	1	0
P.D.	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	2
U.S. Conf.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total U.S.	1	7	2	6	1	3	0	2	4
Gen. Conf.	0	2	1	2	2	1	0	1	3
Total NA	4	31	42	25	20	17	10	11	8

Endnotes

1. See Paul Toews, "The Long Weekend or the Short Week: Mennonite Peace Theology, 1925-1944," Mennonite Quarterly Review (MQR), LX (1986), 38-57, and "The Impact of Alternative Service on the American Mennonite World: A Critical Evaluation," MQR LXVI (October, 1992), 615-627.
2. "The Long Weekend or the Short Week," 57.
3. "The Impact of Alternative Service," 620.
4. Ibid., 627.
5. "The Long Weekend or the Short Week," 53.
6. Ted D. Regehr, "The Influence of World War II on Mennonites in Canada," Journal of Mennonite Studies, (Vol. 5, 1987), 73-89.
7. In Mennonite Peace Theology: A Panorama of Types. Edited by John Richard Burkholder and Barbara Nelson Gingerich (Akron, PA: Mennonite Central Committee Peace Office, 1991), 60. This booklet emerged from the 1989 MCC Peace Theology Colloquium and was used as a basis for discussions at the sixth Peace Theology Colloquium in Clearbrook, BC in June, 1991. A further series of papers was given in response. See Conrad Grebel Review, 10,3 (Fall 1992).
8. Leo Driedger and Donald B. Kraybill, working draft of a manuscript entitled Mennonite Peacemaking, to be published by Herald Press (1994).
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. See also Leo Driedger, "The Peace Panorama: Struggle for the Mennonite Soul," 10,3 (Fall 1992): 289-308.
12. P. M. Friesen states that Abraham Schellenburg gave him two reasons for leaving Russia, the first of which was that he was convinced that religious freedom would be taken away from all alien church denominations. See Peter M. Friesen, The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910), trans. and ed. by J.B.Toews, Abraham Friesen, Peter J. Klassen and Harry Loewen (Fresno, CA: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1978), 496.
13. See Theron F. Schlabach, Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America (Scottsdale, PA; Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1988), 252-253.

14. Figures cited by James C. Juhnke, Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930 (Scottsdale, PA; Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1989), 304.

15. The Canadian statistics were derived from tables of congregational memberships in Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival (Toronto, ON: Macmillan, 1982), 269-289.

16. The role of P.C. Hiebert, although significant, is not to be compared to the role of B.B. Janz. Janz was much more a spokesman for MBs and for the entire Russian Mennonite community than Hiebert was for MBs or for a larger Mennonite body in the USA. Furthermore, Janz was the chief proponent of a particular point of view with respect to alternative service. His major liability, of course, was his lack of fluency in English.

On P.C. Hiebert, see the biography by Wesley Prieb, Peter C. Hiebert: He Gave them Bread (Hillsboro, KS: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, Tabor College, 1990). On Benjamin B. Janz see John B. Toews, With Courage to Spare: The Life of B.B. Janz (1877-1964) (Winnipeg, MB; Hillsboro, KS: Board of Christian Literature, 1978).

17. See William Janzen, "Relations Between Canadian Mennonites and their Government during World War II," in MQR LXVI (October 1992), 492ff.

18. Albert N. Keim, The CPS Story: An Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990), 80-81.

19. Guy F. Hershberger, The Mennonite Church in the Second World War (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951), 39. See also Melvin Gingerich, Service for Peace: A History of Mennonite Civilian Public Service (Akron, PA: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949), 90-92.

20. T. D. Regehr, "Lost Sons: The Canadian Mennonite Soldiers of World War II," MQR, LXVI (October, 1992), 465.

21. The Eleventh Convention of the Ontario Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches (District Conference of the Menn. Brethren Church of North America) held on the 24th and 25th of October 1942 at the Niagara Menn. Brethren Church, Virgil, Ont., 30.

22. The Twelfth Convention of the Ontario Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches (District Conference of the Menn. Brethren Church of North America) held on the 6th and 7th of November 1943 at the New Hamburg Menn. Brethren Church, Ont., 25.

23. Ibid.

24. Year Book: 50th Session, Central District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, (Lustre, Montana, October 10-13, 1959), 31.

25. Minutes and Reports of the United States Area Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America (1957), 35; (1959), 45; (1960), 57.

26. This table was compiled from tables in The Mennonite Mosaic: Identity and Modernization, ed. J. Howard Kauffman and Leo Driedger (Scottsdale, PA; Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1991), 174, and "Mennonite Brethren Church Member Profile 1972-1982," by J.B. Toews, Abram J. Konrad, Al Dueck in Direction 14 (Fall, 1985), 15.

27. The statements are provided in Appendix II of The Power of the Lamb, ed. John E. Toews and Gordon Nickel (Winnipeg, MB; Hillsboro, KS: Kindred Press, 1986), 131-183. Statements by provincial conferences are not included which creates a somewhat misleading impression because by 1940 Canada had approximately 50% of the MB membership in North America. Furthermore, the Ontario Conference of MB Churches was accepted as a district conference in 1939 and then became a member of the Canadian Conference in 1946. Its resolutions are not included.

In 1954 Canada and the U.S. became area conferences and subsequently the Canadian Conference continued to increase in size more rapidly than the U.S. Conference. Nevertheless, the district conference statements in the U.S. continue to be included whereas provincial conference statements are not included.

28. The Canadian figures are compiled from Bert Friesen, ed., Where We Stand: An Index to Statements by Mennonites and Brethren in Christ in Canada, 1787-1982 (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Central Committee Canada, 1986). Unfortunately, the US publication, Mennonite Statements on Peace and Social Concerns, 1900-1978, ed. Urbane Peachy (Akron, PA: Mennonite Central Committee U.S. Peace Section, 1980), does not provide a similarly comprehensive index of statements. The U.S. figures and General Conference figures are compiled on the basis of statements in the The Power of the Lamb.

It should be noted that Saskatchewan was divided into two districts until 1966, although there was also a provincial conference beginning in 1946. Also, the Canadian Conference (except Ontario) was a district of the General Conference until 1954 and the U.S. Conference met for the first time in 1957.

29. Mennonite Peace Theology: A Panorama of Types.

30. See Year Book of the 44th General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, 104 and Abraham H. Unruh, Die Geschichte der Mennoniten-Bruedergemeinde 1860-1954 (Hillsboro, KS: The General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, 1955), 792.

45; (1960), 57.

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31. Ibid., 790-92.

32. Quoted in With Courage to Spare: The Life of B.B Janz (1877-1964), 110.

33. Ibid., 109.

INTERNAL MEMO:

The Christian Press

159 Henderson Highway,
Winnipeg, Man. R2L 1L4

to	Publications Board
from	Gilbert
date	82-10-8
subject	Manuscript Update

The following manuscripts are in process of being considered.

1. A Fountain Sealed - now in print, being marketed
2. Sarah and the Persian Shepherd - in process of being printed; out by end of October
3. Nan Doerksen; Spring Adventures, and others --has been read by numerous individuals would like to approve for publication, with some changes could be a good children's book, with illustrations for ages 8-13, could be one in a series - "Sibling Series"
4. Nan Doerksen; The Graham Paige, and others--has been read by a few people has possibilities, but needs more work than the above for ages 8-13, with a pioneer setting again, could fit the "Sibling Series"
5. Cheryl Stoesz, Winkler; A Little Touch of Heaven has been returned to author for further work (copy still on file) gave her a list of suggestions for changes, etc. could be an interesting story once all the details are filled in
6. F. Gillis, Wpg.; Operation REclaim has been returned to author--would take too much revision to fit our publishing objectives
7. D. Thiessen, Beyond Those Mountains good historical material and biographical account of Is. Wiens' flight from Russia, to China, to Paraguay, to Canada very readable style; not too 'academic', but rather a popular, conversational style several board members have read--one said, 'I normally do not like 'Mennonite history' type stories, but I could hardly quit reading this one' needs more development of the key character, but nothing that cannot be overcome; needs more development as a journal, less as a novel recommend to go ahead, if such books are for us to publish
8. S. Hooge; Thanks to the War a book of her experiences coming out of Russia written a bit too stiffly; needs more readability not sure what to suggest--probably best if returned to author with comments
9. H.R. Pauls; Children's stories returned to author with suggestions for changes if changes are made, will reconsider--probably be a good addition to our children's book series
10. Abram J. Loewen; Book about Susie Bruck, missionary to Zaire (Congo), written in German have done no evaluation as yet, except one board member has read, with quite a positive response what is our thinking on German publications?
- .M. Epp - other manuscripts; for children; for adults are in the works--will see how our present books will sell
12. Lucile Ausiaker; God, Multiple Sclerosis and Me good biographical material; also has several chpt on the disease (a bit heavy) biography is easy reading; has some healing and charismatic sections will have more evaluate before any decision is made

*check with Derivation
- maybe pass by some German Verlag
to check ?*

34. As cited by Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 570.
35. Ibid., 571.
36. The Power of the Lamb, 159.
37. Ibid., 161.
38. See "Task Force Report on Mennonite Central Committee (Canada)" (Board of Spiritual and Social Concerns, Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches of North America, July, 1980).
39. J.A. Toews, True Nonresistance Through Christ: A Study of Biblical Principles. (Winnipeg, MB: Board of General Welfare and Public Relations of the MB Church of North America, 1955).
40. 1958 Year Book of the Forty-eighth Canadian Conference, Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, 125.
41. J.A. Toews, Alternative Service in Canada during World War II (Winnipeg, MB: Publication Committee of the Canadian Conference of the MB Church, 1959).
42. Culbert G. Rutenbur, The Dagger and the Cross: An Examination of Christian Pacifism (Nyack, NY: The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1950).
43. Peace Conference Lectures (Hillsboro, KS: Tabor College, 1953).
44. John B. Toews, "The Origins and Activities of the Mennonite *Selbsschutz* in the Ukraine (1918-1919)," MQR XLVI (January 1972), 5-40.

INTERNAL MEMO:

The Christian Press

159 Henderson Highway,
Winnipeg, Man. R2L 1L4

to	Winnipeg Contingent of the Bd
from	Gilbert
date	82-10-12
subject	Progress report

Manuscripts and Book marketing

1) see attached sheets a) about the various manuscripts

- recommend a yes on Nan Doerksen #3
- recommend a yes on D. Thiessen #7, if author makes suggested changes
- recommend a yes on N. Doerksen #4, with changes

b) about miscellaneous books to be marketed by us, but not published by us

2) Manuscript approval--have not completed any special procedure, but am gathering ideas for January meeting

Promotional Plans

- 1) Bookstore mailing--done, with some orders already being returned
see sample
- 2) Librarian mailing - to all MB Churches, almost completed
see sample
- 3) Book store calling--will continue seeing stores during rest of October and November; have generally had good response
- 4) Catalog--being worked on
- 5) Book tables--work with local stores; and with C.ED office at times
-Min. & Deac. Conference--will be working through C.B. Soc.
-Winkler C. Ed. conference--Ron Penner handled display
-will be continuing to make this service available; and want to promote whenever possible
- 6) Review copies--will utilize the review route as much as possible for getting books into hands of readers; am building up a list of reviewers/periodicals/etc.
- 7) Direct advertising--have set up a schedule of ads with MBH;
want to advertise in other local papers--Rosthern SK (Marg. Epp);
Chilliwack (Ruth Wiens), etc.
- 8) Church promotions--will endeavor to get to pastors in the near future--
hope to include some BCL specials
- 9) News Release--re: Kindred Press, went out to quite a few periodicals,
some of which will pick it up; others will ignore