

Navigating Tradition: The Life and Leadership of *Ältester* Herman D.W. Friesen, 1908-1969

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Born on 4 February 1908, on a homestead located on Treaty 6 lands in the small Mennonite village of Blumenheim forty kilometres north of Saskatoon, Herman D.W. Friesen's life, along with his wife Margaretha's, reflected many of the patterns that characterized the experience of homesteading pioneers in rural Saskatchewan during the first half of the twentieth century. During this period, the newly formed province of Saskatchewan underwent massive change as government leaders aggressively sought settlers to populate and farm its wide open grasslands. By 1911, it had become the third largest province in Canada. Rapid change continued during the next five decades as modernization impacted agriculture, transportation, and communication. By 1960, Herman and Margaretha had experienced changes and were living in a world that as young children they never imagined possible.

Herman and Margaretha were not only the children of immigrant settlers, they were also a part of the Old Colony Mennonite Church. During the watershed decade of the 1960s, at the age of fifty-four, Herman became the *Ältester* (Bishop) of this faith community. As a bi-vocational farmer and spiritual leader, his story simultaneously offers a unique window into *both* the agrarian transitions that took place in the province, as well as the experience of one immigrant religious community as it struggled to navigate the tumultuous changes taking place during the first half of the twentieth century. As the spiritual leader of the Old Colony Mennonite Church during the 1960s, Friesen was faced with the challenge

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of carefully navigating adherence to cultural and religious traditions and the need to adapt to a new, and ever-changing cultural context. The internal tensions created by such intersection and contradiction are amplified within a religious community that considered it essential to maintain a visible (and uniform) separation from a sometimes hostile and intensely individualistic modern society.¹ This article focuses on one aspect of Herman Friesen's life and leadership, namely the significance of his refusal to endorse a perpetual strategy of migration and geographical isolation as markers of Christian faithfulness within the Old Colony Mennonite community.

The story of Herman and Margaretha also has considerable personal interest for me: they are my maternal grandparents. My final memories of Grampa are etched with vivid clarity into my childhood memory, and have to do with the day during harvest in September 1969 when my parents received the terrible news of his tragic death as the result of a farm tractor accident. I was only ten years old at the time. Almost three decades later, following the death of my grandmother in 1997, I became aware of the existence of my grandfather's sermon collection. Among the sixty sermons, all hand-written in German gothic script, were sermons dating back to 1833 that had been used by Mennonite ministers in southern Russia. No comparable collection of Old Colony Mennonite sermons exists in any archive. From that point onwards, I knew that I wanted to use them as the basis for a writing project featuring the Old Colony Mennonites in Saskatchewan, which recently culminated in the publication of a biography.² Informing the methodological approach of the biography is the idea that life stories are well told when, as Michael Armstrong Crouch puts it, they "capture the relationships between the individual and society, the local and the national, the past and present and the public and private experience."³

The Old Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan

Herman Friesen's life story, and the significance of his leadership, cannot be understood without reference to the history of the Old Colony Mennonite Church in western Canada, and its central role in the life of its members. Both Herman and Margaretha's parents were part of a migration of approximately 18,000 Low German-speaking Mennonites from southern Russia (present day Ukraine) to North America during the 1870s, of which approximately 7,500 settled in southern Manitoba. Eager to

attract new immigrants, the Canadian government promised the Mennonites exemption from military service, and the freedom to educate their children in their own private schools.⁴ The ones who came to be known as the Old Colony Mennonites settled on the west side of the Red River in townships reserved by the Canadian government exclusively for Mennonite settlement. Here the new settlers tried to replicate their open-field village way of life in order to preserve intact their communal and religious traditions.

Two decades later, some began investigating the possibility of moving westward with the hope of finding additional tracts of homestead land in isolated locations. This search led many to resettle on the Hague-Osler Reserve, a four-township area located north of Saskatoon that was designated for their use in 1895. By 1910, the Old Colony Mennonite Church was the largest Mennonite denomination in Canada.

The church, led by a hierarchical (and patriarchal) structure of ministers led by the *Ältester*, determined the way of life for its members. Of particular note for the story of the Friesen family was *Ältester* Jacob Wiens, who was appointed as *Ältester* in 1900. Well-respected for his chiropractic skills as well as his veterinarian and agricultural knowledge, his dedication as a church leader sometimes expressed itself in rather strict, uncompromising and autocratic ways: for example, he demanded the use of a girdle-like garment for women when attending church as an essential feature of modesty; he insisted that church members live according to a vow made in 1916 by all Old Colony ministers to ban use of the automobile forever; and despite considerable pressure from within and without the church, he resolutely refused to allow church members to send their children to English-language public schools.⁵

The latter directive resulted in a major conflict with the provincial government over the meaning of the federal government's guarantee to the Mennonites regarding the freedom to educate their own children. In 1908, a provincial Commission of Inquiry Regarding Public Education investigated the Mennonite resistance to public schools, and sternly warned Wiens to stop excommunicating members whose children attended public schools.⁶ The conflict escalated further prior to the First World War at about the same time as Herman Friesen began attending the German-language church school in the village of Blumenheim. Heightened suspicions about the presence of a large number of German-speaking settlers, an intensely patriotic Protestantism driven by a potent cocktail of nationalism, anti-Catholicism and xenophobia, hailed the public school

system as the primary means for transforming the polyglot population in western Canada into patriotic Canadians.

The election in 1916 of a new premier in Saskatchewan, William M. Martin, who had made English-language schools a major plank in his election platform, solidified the provincial government's resolve to destroy all non-English language parochial schools, including the German-language schools operated by the Old Colony Mennonite Church, by passing legislation making attendance in English-language public schools compulsory. This was "part of a consistent national policy aimed at the assimilation of ethnics to safeguard national unity and cultural uniformity."⁷

Despite appeals to the federal government to intervene, petitions to the provincial governments to relent, and several unsuccessful attempts to negotiate compromises, prosecution of Old Colony Mennonites who refused to comply began in selected areas in 1918 (for example in Aberdeen) and continued till the mid-1920s. Between 1918 and 1925 the number of school attendance prosecutions of Saskatchewan Mennonites exceeded 6,000. During a three-year period (1923-1925), there were 1,400 convictions in six school districts in the Hague-Osler area alone.⁸ Penalties were mostly fines, but some Old Colony Mennonite members were also imprisoned, a practice that was quickly discouraged for fear of creating "martyrs;" but it was not entirely discontinued. The fines were not insignificant (\$4 per month per child), and created considerable hardship for pioneering farmers who were cash-poor, but still expected to pay school taxes as well as a church levy to finance their own schools. Some were forced to sell cattle and land in order to make the payments. In 1920-21 alone, \$26,000 was collected in eleven Mennonite districts.⁹ Those unable to pay had goods seized by the police, and sold at public auction.

Old Colony Mennonite parents were caught on the horns of a difficult dilemma: if they refused to send their children to the new English public schools they risked destitution.¹⁰ Yet if parents sent their children to public schools they risked being reprimanded by, and possibly excommunicated from, the church, which also had severe economic and social implications.

It became increasingly obvious to Old Colony Mennonite leaders that the provincial government had no intention of relenting in its efforts to enforce their policy of compulsory attendance at provincially accredited schools in which English would be the sole language of instruction. The sense of betrayal and hopelessness felt by the Mennonites toward the

provincial government prompted them to organize meetings to consider an alternative course of action. In 1919 delegates were selected and given the mandate of finding a new homeland. Having finalized Mexico as the destination, church leaders began appealing to a religious vision that evoked the biblical story of the ancient children of Israel who were called to leave their positions as slaves in Egypt in order to enter a promised land filled with “milk and honey” to convince members to relocate. Isaak M. Dyck, who eventually became an *Ältester* in Mexico, depicted Canada as a “heathen” nation shaped by the hegemonic, imperial culture of the “all-British Empire” with its “inextinguishable enthusiasm for the art of war.” Canadian historian Royden Loewen notes how the migration of the 1920s was seen as an addition to the “grand narrative of Mennonite diaspora” alongside the story of sixteenth-century Anabaptist martyrs, and ancestors who had courageously taken up the “walking staff” from Holland, to Prussia, to Russia, to Canada, and now to Mexico.¹¹ Encasing the migration with such religious meaning made it much more difficult for church members to resist. Those who refused were suspected of shirking their religious duty because of pride, or the pursuit of wealth, or a preference for assimilation into a culture of modernity. Even more seriously, those who did not obey the directive to relocate were no longer considered to be part of the Church. The refusal was interpreted as a serious breach of the vow of fidelity made to the church and to God at baptism, an act that would have negative consequences for all of eternity.¹²

The conflict over private versus public schools culminated in a mass exodus of 8,000 Old Colony Mennonite people from Manitoba and Saskatchewan to Mexico during the 1920s. This included two-thirds (3,340) of the Old Colony Mennonite members in Manitoba, one-third (1,100) of those members living near Swift Current, and only about one quarter (1,000) of those members living near Hague-Osler.¹³ (These membership numbers do not include those who had not been baptized, namely children.) The migration to Mexico was a defining moment for the Old Colony Mennonites in Canada. The move decimated their numbers and the strength of their influence, and created deep divisions within families and between church members.

The migration left a serious leadership vacuum among those who stayed behind; only two ministers remained in Canada, and they bore a particularly heavy burden of severe criticism from their ministerial colleagues who considered them to be traitors. The pressure to assimilate did not diminish, and after some reorganization, the new leaders of the Old

Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan again began investigating the possibility of relocating to more isolated frontiers as a response to governmental involvement in education and to other changes taking place within Canadian society. From the 1920s onwards, every *Ältester* encouraged the search for alternative isolated geographical locations in which they could live with minimal governmental interference. In the early 1930s, an Old Colony Mennonite minister led a group to the La Crete and Fort Vermilion region of northern Alberta, which was beyond the boundaries of any public school district.¹⁴ Smaller groups went to various locations in Saskatchewan such as Carrot River, Swan Plain, Mullingar and Sonningdale. In 1940, another minister (Heinrich Bueckert) accompanied a group of church members to Burns Lake, BC. In 1953, church leaders began negotiating the acquisition of a 20,000 acre tract of land near Prespatou, BC, approximately eighty kilometres north of Fort St. John, BC. The deal was finalized in 1961, and resulted in more than one hundred families relocating (approximately twenty-five percent of the church membership in the Hague-Osler area at the time).

The post-1920 migrations coincided with a series of unprecedented changes in the province that made it virtually impossible to maintain the level of isolation and uniformity among church members that had been possible in the past. By 1930 radios were introduced in many Canadian homes, and shortly after telephones became widely accepted. In 1949, as more technological innovations were introduced in agriculture, the provincial government made plans to create a province-wide electrical grid that would include vast rural areas and a province-wide grid road system to facilitate the growing demand for automobiles and trucks. In 1944 Saskatchewan only had 222 kilometres of hard surfaced roads, and the vast majority of farms were not accessible by gravel roads. In 1948 only 1,500 farms were connected to the electrical grid, mostly because of their proximity to the lines that linked cities and larger towns. By 1966, less than two decades later, this number had increased to 66,000. The cumulative effect of these developments meant that avoiding cultural assimilation was becoming more difficult, and for some less desirable.

A New Direction

The migration to Prespatou, BC, which involved four ministers including *Ältester* Abram Loewen, again significantly diminished church leadership, thereby setting the stage for Herman Friesen's election as

minister in 1962, and shortly thereafter as *Ältester*. For multiple reasons, he was an unusual candidate for selection as *Ältester*,¹⁵ and his approach marked a dramatic departure from the attitudes and strategies promoted by Old Colony Mennonite leaders to date. Despite having grown up in an environment filled with intense governmental conflict, and with considerable suspicion toward those outside of the walls of the church, he was the first *Ältester* in Saskatchewan who was less separationist, who did not organize, or even advocate for, another migration, and who tried to guide the church in a strategy of gradual cultural accommodation. His openness to a greater degree of cultural integration represented, at least implicitly, a rejection of the “pure church” vision that had been expressed through a strategy of perpetual migration.

As leaders within the Old Colony Mennonite Church continued their struggle to maintain a way of life that minimized the influence of Canadian culture, and as church leaders organized successive migrations during the first half of the twentieth century, Herman steadily maintained an almost paradoxical combination of leadership roles in both the church and the surrounding community. For over three decades, starting when he was only a young school-age boy, Herman had a front row seat in the life of the church from which he watched the promotion and the impact of successive migrations on individual members of the Old Colony Mennonite Church, and on the church as a whole. His musical talent and commitment to the church resulted in his election as a song leader while only a young man in the early 1930s. In addition to leading music on Sunday mornings, he was often asked to assist with song leading at other church functions. This was a highly visible role within the internal life of the church, and it enabled close proximity to church leaders that provided a vantage point from which to watch and listen to their internal deliberations and decisions.

In addition to his involvement within the church, Herman was elected in 1936 as a public school board trustee for Saskatchewan School District #99, only a decade after the controversial exodus to Mexico on the part of many co-religionists. His motivation for participating in local community politics is not clear: Was there some regret over educational opportunities that he had missed? Was he disappointed with the way the conflicts over private schools and the Mexico migration were handled and he wanted to work toward a different kind of solution for his children that was less divisive? It may be that he saw this role as a way of doing his part in taking responsibility for the education of his children. Serving as a trustee gave him ample opportunity to monitor and influence what was

taking place in public school classrooms. Or it may simply have been that he saw participation as a key to the social and economic well-being of his family and the community at large. Although his role as a trustee sometimes meant enforcing attendance requirements on other Old Colony Mennonites, it is not known whether he was ever censured by church leaders for his involvement as a trustee, or whether church members were generally quietly grateful to have one of their own present as an influence. The scope of Herman's involvement in local community leadership expanded still further in 1946 when he was elected as a councillor in the Rural Municipality of Warman.

During his twenty years of involvement in local politics, Herman Friesen was involved in numerous issues and decisions that impacted the Old Colony Mennonite community. In addition to providing Herman with opportunities for developing skills in the area of public speaking and leadership, this experience also broadened his awareness of governmental processes, and significantly increased his network of relationships within the region. It made him more comfortable in accepting a degree of modernization and Canadianization. The information he obtained, particularly from his role as a municipal councillor, often helped him in the development of his own modern dairy operation as it gave him a better understanding of what was being planned for rural regions (for example, governmental plans for the rural electrification and road improvements in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and information about farming innovations). Despite ongoing suspicion about the potentially negative impact of radio and television, he was often an early adopter of new agricultural technology. The experience gained from leadership experience both within the church and outside of the church deeply influence his views on cultural integration, community involvement, and church leadership.

His election at the age of fifty-four in 1962 as minister, and as *Ältester* shortly thereafter, brought an end to Herman Friesen's public service involvement. It did not take long for him to make his impact felt within the Old Colony Mennonite Church. Although he was aware of ongoing discussions at the time among other Old Colony Mennonite communities in Canada about locations for new colonies that were being considered at the time (for example, in British Honduras and Bolivia), he neither promoted these ventures, nor did he try to discourage people from participating if they were so inclined.¹⁶ He wisely recognized the potential for division if he were to take a strong position either for or against such migrations. Some members in the church had relatives who had recently

migrated elsewhere, or who were themselves sympathetic to the strategy of migration, but were themselves unable to do so. This group was generally not interested in seeing changes take place in the life of the church. Other members in the church, particularly younger adults, were not interested in migration or increased isolation as they were establishing roots in the area not only as farmers, but also as labourers and tradesmen in and around urban centres. Many of them were eager to see the church adopt some of the practices already in use in other Mennonite denominations particularly in the areas of music and the use of the English language.

With complete cultural isolation no longer a possibility (or even a desirable option), Herman's challenge as *Ältester* was to navigate the changes facing the Old Colony Mennonite community as it gradually moved away from an agrarian village way of life toward adopting a way of life that permitted a greater degree of accommodation and engagement with modern Canadian society. The persistence of an agrarian-based sense of identity gradually diminished as more and more members began living outside of the original villages and even within the city of Saskatoon. During this time, the *Ältester* played a key role in moderating the pace of change – too fast would alienate those still interested in preserving intact their church experience, too slow would mean increasing to a stream the steady trickle of individuals opting for other churches in the region.¹⁷

Herman's sudden death in 1969 due to a horrific farm tractor accident curtailed his ministry after only seven short years and brought to an abrupt end the strategy of gradual accommodation among the Old Colony Mennonites in Saskatchewan. A longstanding minister who had participated in a move to Fort Vermilion, AB during the 1950s as well as the migration to Prespatou during the early 1960s, Julius Ens, returned from the Fort St. John area to Saskatchewan to become the new *Ältester*. He was more reserved and conservative as a leader, and emphasized a return to, and the preservation of, historic traditions and practices. It would only be speculation to consider how this religious community might have fared if it had maintained the course set during Herman's tenure.

Conclusion

To date very little scholarly attention has been given to the story of those Old Colony Mennonites in Saskatchewan during the middle of the twentieth century who did not endorse a strategy of migration.¹⁸ The story of Herman Friesen therefore provides an update to prairie-based history of

the Old Colony Mennonites in Canada that has often been curtailed after the migration to Mexico during the 1920s. The experience of those who stayed, and the experience of those Old Colony Mennonites who have returned from Mexico to Canada since the 1970s (more than 45,000),¹⁹ needs to be incorporated more fully into Mennonite historiography in Canada. The story of Herman Friesen adds a small piece to the much larger historiographical narrative of a traditionalist Low German-speaking “village among nations” that has become, in the words of Royden Loewen, “a ‘virtual’ transnational community consisting of other Low German speakers, kinship networks, and bearers of a common historical narrative of a people of diaspora.”²⁰ Herman Friesen’s experience is a part of this larger story, but it does not fit neatly into the general characterization of this transnational “village” as those who have consistently rejected the “trajectory of modernization” and participation in nation building. Friesen’s biography adds texture to the overarching narrative of perpetual migration by exemplifying an instance of an Old Colony Ältester whose parishioners chose not to migrate, and who tried instead to navigate a gradual process of accommodation to the changes taking place in Saskatchewan during the first half of the twentieth century. While the Old Colony Mennonites who remained in Canada, like their coreligionists who migrated, did not accept the dominant progressive, liberal nation-building vision of Canada at an ideological level, they nevertheless participated economically, and in some instances contributed, as did Herman Friesen, in local community building.

Endnotes

1. The communal dimension of Old Colony Mennonite soteriology reinforced the necessity of maintaining a uniform response. Calvin Redekop notes, “The highest goal is the goal of salvation, which is understood as acceptance by God as faithful people rather than [only] as faithful individuals” (Calvin W. Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life* [Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969], 35). An individual’s deviance can put the community at risk, at least if deviation is allowed to persist and be copied by other people. Deviance from communal ideals is understood as a manifestation of worldliness: conformity is enforced by the threat of excommunication and social ostracism. The significance of uniformity is reinforced still further by the Old Colony Mennonite self-conception as God’s chosen (and pure) people who had covenanted to remain faithful to God and to their church.

2. This article is based upon a book manuscript that was in press at the time of the 2018 CSCH annual conference. Permission to use excerpts has been granted by the University of Regina Press. See Bruce L. Guenther, *The Ältester: Herman D.W. Friesen, A Mennonite Leader in Changing Times* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2018).
3. Michael Armstrong Crouch, *Prepared for the Twentieth-Century? The Life of Emily Bonnycastle Mayne (Aimée) 1872-1958* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 36.
4. Numerous Mennonite historians have examined the story of this Mennonite migration in detail: see for example E.K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen and Sons Ltd., 1955); Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); and Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens? The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994).
5. Leonard Doell, "Ältester Jakob Wiens (1855-1932)," *Preservings* 29 (2009): 15.
6. See Alan Guenther, "'Barred from heaven and cursed forever': Old Colony Mennonites and the 1908 Commission of Inquiry Regarding Public Education," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 129-148.
7. Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 233.
8. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens*, 147-153.
9. William Janzen, "The 1920s Migration of Old Colony Mennonites from the Hague-Osler Area to Mexico," *Mennonite Historical Society of Saskatchewan Occasional Papers* (2006): 9; and Ens, *Subjects or Citizens*, 147-153.
10. In 1920 Johan F. Peters of Neuanlage wrote a letter to Premier Martin describing the dilemma facing Old Colony parents with school-age children: "If we send our children to public schools we violate God's commands in not holding to that which we promised our God and Saviour at holy baptism. If we do not send them, we offend against your laws. Does Mr. Martin want us to transgress God's laws in order to keep his? Oh how difficult it is to be a true Mennonite." Cited in Leonard Doell and Jacob G. Guenter, *Hague-Osler Mennonite Reserve 1895-1995* (Saskatoon: Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee, 1995), 657.

11. Royden Loewen, *Village Among Nations: "Canadian" Mennonites in a Transnational World, 1916-2006* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 14-17; and Royden Loewen, "A Village Among the Nations: Low German Migrants and the Idea of Transnationalism in the History of Mennonites in Canada," *Conrad Grebel Review* 33, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 29-48.
12. This is explicitly spelled out by Johan P. Wall, one of the ministers leading the migration (Johan P. Wall, letter to C.B. Dirks, September 10, 1933, in Herman D.W. Friesen Personal Papers). See also Titus F. Guenther, "Theology of Migration: The Ältesten Reflect," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 18 (2000): 164-176.
13. The lower level of participation on the part of Old Colony Mennonite members in the Hague-Osler region was due to a variety of factors including the inability to obtain a single tract of land in Mexico that was large enough to include everyone. Negative reports of hardship, banditry and extreme poverty from the first to leave Canada prompted some in the Hague-Osler area to reconsider; others simply couldn't afford to relocate due to the financial impact of school attendance fines, which was the case for Margaretha's parents. Herman's father opted not to move, in part, because of the death of his wife in 1921 and re-marriage the following year.
14. Delbert Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada, 1875 to 2000* (Steinbach: Crossway Publications Inc., 2001), 156-157.
15. At age fifty-four, Herman was considerably older than almost all other Old Colony ministers in Saskatchewan at the time of their election. The usual practice was to elect men as ministers in their late thirties or forties. Although it is not explicitly stated as a church policy, it may be that, despite obvious leadership ability, the residual shame associated with Herman and Margaretha's prenuptial pregnancy disqualified Herman from being considered as a potential candidate for ministry sooner. See Hans Werner, "'A mild form of deviancy': Premarital Sex among Early Manitoba Mennonites," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 26 (2008): 149-150.
16. Several migrations to British Honduras and Bolivia were initiated by Old Colony Mennonites living in La Crete, AB during the 1960s. See Dawn S. Bowen, "To Bolivia and Back: Migration and its Impact on La Crete, Alberta," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 22 (2004): 59-82.
17. Herman's own family of twelve adult children represent a kind of spectrum of the different cultural tensions experienced and life choices made by those in the Old Colony Mennonite community. Their experience of cultural integration resembles that of other ethnic immigrant groups in Saskatchewan

as they participated in the transformation of rural Saskatchewan during the first half of the twentieth century.

18. Exceptions include Leo Driedger, "A Sect in a Modern Society: A Case Study, the Old Colony Mennonites of Saskatchewan" (M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1955); and Richard Friesen, "The Old Colony Mennonite Settlements in Saskatchewan: A Study in Settlement Change" (M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1975). Worthy of mention also is the mammoth volume of information compiled by Doell and Guenter, *Hague-Osler Mennonite Reserve 1895-1995*.
19. Public perceptions around the return of these Mennonites from Mexico has often been shaped by media reports featuring incidents of domestic violence, and participation in violent drug smuggling gangs. See for example, "Mennonite Mob," *Fifth Estate*, CBC, 10 March 1992 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Buf-yaN_tE), which featured Old Colony Mennonites involved in smuggling vast quantities of marijuana into Canada; Andrew Mitrovica and Susan Bourette, "The Wages of Sin: How God-Fearing Old Colony Mennonites – 'the plain people' – Have Become Some of Canada's Biggest and Most Dangerous Drug Smugglers," *Saturday Night*, April 2004, 28-36; and more recently a bizarre fictional crime drama aired by CBC as a TV mini-series, *Pure*, in early 2017 (<http://www.cbc.ca/pure>).
20. Royden Loewen, "A Village Among the Nations: Low German Migrants and the Idea of Transnationalism in the History of Mennonites in Canada," *Conrad Grebel Review* 33, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 31.

