

MENNONITE SETTLEMENT IN THE LOWER FRASER VALLEY

by

Alfred Henry Siemens

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Abstract

This study attempts to trace the historical geography of Mennonite settlements in the Fraser Valley, to single out for analysis significant changes in their structure and function and to summarize their distinctive characteristics by means of statistics, maps, photos and description. All this is to lift a segment of one ethnic group out of the mosaic of the Canadian population and show what has been its part in the shaping of the landscape of British Columbia's densely settled southwestern corner.

To obtain the necessary historical information the relatively few systematic published studies were consulted; but the bulk of the information was pieced together from interviews of pioneers, newspaper clippings, historical accounts by church officials on anniversary celebrations (usually unpublished), personal knowledge of events concerned and other sources. Much of this information was placed into its historical geographical context for the first time. The statistics necessary for outlining distribution and structure of the Mennonite population came from the listings in the Census of Canada under the classification of religious affiliation, from church records of the individual congregations, compilations in Mennonite yearbooks of various kinds, school records as well as from estimates given by responsible people in cases where documented figures were not available. The information so

obtained was portrayed cartographically by means of dot maps, an isopleth map, a centrogram and a flow diagram. The centrogram was of particular interest in that it showed shifts in the center of gravity of the Mennonite population of the Fraser Valley which were closely corroborated by economic and social currents within the community. The flow diagram was used to portray graphically the centrality of the settlement of Clearbrook with reference to one criteria - its attraction of young people into the Mennonite high school located there. This was supplemented by a discussion of other criteria of centrality for this community, which now represents the most important concentration of Mennonites in the Fraser Valley and, indeed, in the whole province.

The actual settlement forms that have resulted from Mennonite occupance of the land were considered after some aspects of the history of the group had been traced and its present situation in the Fraser Valley outlined. The individual holding, the small nucleation, the sizeable Mennonite centers of Yarrow and Clearbrook, as well as the urban community in Vancouver were described and analysed in turn, with a view particularly toward capturing peculiarities, ascertaining the extent of obliteration of former characteristics and finding some definite marks of the degree of acculturation experienced by the people themselves.

The principal conclusions of the study are simply a substantiation of what is known more or less accurately about the situation of other ethnic groups in our country

and elsewhere. The Mennonites have retained a considerable number of peculiarities up to the present time, and the expression of these in the nature of their settlement has been the main concern of this paper. The cultural and economic changes, however, that are sweeping all segments of the population toward farm rationalization and urbanization, are affecting them as well. In many cases the only peculiarities that persist are theological. Under these circumstances a recurrence of a traditional group response such as mass migration or even traditional individual responses like the preservation of the German language in the home are difficult to envisage for the immediate future.

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Department of Geography

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date Feb. 27, 1960

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	INTRODUCTION	1
II	EARLY HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES	7
	Anabaptism	7
	Ethnic Origin	8
	Establishment and Unification	11
	Settlement on the Vistula Delta of Poland	12
	Settlement in Russia	17
	Movement into Canada	28
	Movement into British Columbia	33
III	PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FRASER VALLEY LOWLANDS	39
	General Features of the Terrain	39
	Climate	40
	Morphology, Vegetation, Soil Cover and Agricultural Use of Mennonite Settlement Areas	42
	Flatlands from Agassiz to Upper Sumas	42
	Matsqui	45
	Mission	45
	Abbotsford	46
	Aldergrove	47
	Surrey	47
	Lulu Island	48

Chapter		Page
IV	SEQUENT OCCUPANCE OF THE MENNONITES IN THE FRASER VALLEY	50
	Methods of Land Procurement	50
	Periods of Settlement	52
	Pioneer Period	53
	Post-War "Boom"	63
	- Present Period of Centralization and Urbanization	67
V	A STATISTICAL DELINEATION OF THE SITUATION OF THE MENNONITES IN THE FRASER VALLEY .	70
	Sources	70
	Distributions	74
	Characteristics of Mennonite Population	76
	Patterns of Immigration	78
	Concentration	80
	- Shifts in the Center of Gravity of the Group	82
	- The Fraserview Mennonite Brethren Church - An Example Study	82
VI	- INTRA-GROUP MOVEMENT PATTERNS	90
VII	SETTLEMENT FORMS	99
	Farm Types	99
	Small Non-Farm Nucleations	104
	Prominent Mennonite Centers	106
	Yarrow	106
	Clearbrook	115
	Urban Settlement in Vancouver	125

Chapter	Page
VIII CONCLUSIONS	133
BIBLIOGRAPHY	142

APPENDICES

- A. Table XV
- B. Table XVI
- C. Table XVII
- D. Suggestions for Further Research
- E. Photographic Supplement

LIST OF MAPS

	Page
1. Locational Map for Mennonite Settlement in Poland and Prussia	10
2. Mennonite Settlement in Southern European Russia Before 1930	19
3. Source of Migrants into British Columbia	34
4. Church Tributary Regions and the Movement of the Center of Gravity from 1940 to 1958	36
5. Locational Map of the Lower Fraser Valley	36a
6. Glacial Deposition in the Eastern Part of the Lower Fraser Valley	49a
7. Soils of the Eastern Part of the Lower Fraser Valley	49b
8. Locational Map - Abbotsford and Vicinity	51a
9. Mennonites in Canada	72
10. Mennonites in the Lower Fraser Valley	73
11. Origin of the Students Attending the Mennonite Educational Institute	91a
12. Small Mennonite Centers in the Lower Fraser Valley	92a
13. The Structural Pattern of the Yarrow Settlement	108
14. The Structural Pattern of the Greendale Settlement	113
15. Land Clearing in the Clearbrook Area	117
16. Changes in the Structural Pattern of Clearbrook	118
17. Concentration of Mennonite Families in Southeastern Vancouver	127
18. Households Associated with Vancouver's Four Mennonite Churches	129

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Facing page
1.	Mennonite Buildings in Prussia	16
2.	Mennonite Settlement in Russia	26
3.	"Dry-point" Farms	44
4.	Mennonite Schools in the Fraser Valley .	66
5.	Barn Types in the Fraser Valley	100
6.	Abbotsford Farmland	101
7.	Mennonite Houses in Abbotsford	102
8.	Typical Small Yarrow Farm	109
9.	Mennonite Houses in Yarrow	110
10.	Clearbrook and Surroundings	117
11.	Views of Clearbrook	117
12.	Mennonite Buildings in Clearbrook	120
13.	Clearbrook's Commercial Core	123
14A&B.	Mennonite Churches	124
15.	Mennonite Farmland	Appendix E
16A&B.	General Views of Farms in Mennonite Settlement Areas	"
17.	Small Mennonite Centers	"
18.	Panoramic Views of Yarrow	"
19.	Commerce and Industry in Yarrow	"

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
I	Mennonites in Russia	21
II	Basic Climatic Data	41
III	Total of Mennonites in Sub-divisions of Census Division No. 4 - 1951	75-76
IV	Total Numbers of Mennonites in B. C., 1901- 1951	76
V	Male-Female Breakdown - 1951	77
VI	Immigrants Brought in under the Auspices of the Mennonite Board of Colonization	78
VII	Origin of Immigrants Brought in by Mennonite Board of Colonization	79
VIII	Destinations of Mennonite Immigrants - 1947-1952	79
IX	Classification According to Sex of Immigrants Arriving in 1947-1952	80
X	Ethnic Breakdown in Census Division No. 4 of British Columbia	81
XI	Congregational Origin of Students at the Mennonite Educational Institute 1957-58	93
XII	Commercial Services of Yarrow - 1958	110
XIII	Industries of Yarrow	113 2
XIV	Commercial Services of Clearbrook - 1958	121-122
XV	Dates of Establishment of Mennonite Churches in the Fraser Valley	Appendix A
XVI	A Representative Listing of Mennonite Family Names as Compiled from Church Directories of Lower Fraser Valley Mennonite Churches	Appendix B
XVII	Membership Totals of Mennonite Churches of the Lower Fraser Valley from 1933 to 1958	Appendix C

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the rich mosaic of Canada's population the Mennonites are an intensely colourful and conspicuous part. Wherever they have settled the feeling and look of that place have become distinctive. In the Fraser Valley of British Columbia their presence is known and their influence felt in a wide variety of pursuits. Local residents and even visitors usually recognize, too, when passing through such places as Yarrow or Clearbrook, that certain features of the farm holdings, the buildings and indeed the entire nucleations are characteristically Mennonite. To describe and analyse the nature and peculiarities of these settlements from a geographic point of view is the purpose of this study.

The Mennonites have always tended to regard themselves as distinctive primarily on the basis of their religious beliefs, and these do set them apart sufficiently well so that reasonably accurate statistics may be compiled on this basis.¹ Outsiders have often associated them with certain cultural complexes as well, but in their own minds cultural values have always tended to be indistinguishably knitted with the religious. For them, religion has always been the point of departure and the end of every consideration

regarding this life or the next. This springs from a firm belief that man should in every aspect of his being allow himself to be governed by the Holy Scriptures, and should acknowledge himself as responsible to an almighty God.

In the literature of the Mennonites, particularly those groups represented in western Canada, spiritual currents have usually been the first considerations dealt with in any history of the movement.² Devotional aspects of their life are heavily stressed and repeatedly linked to quotations from the Holy Scriptures. Economic factors are usually treated as addenda, and are often evaluated in terms of the ethics of the group. The Mennonites have traditionally held the belief that frugality, industry and honesty in all business dealings should be the outward manifestations of their faith. Prosperity, even though diligently sought, is considered by them as a blessing of God. These deeply rooted attitudes were what made them highly desirable pioneer settlers and model citizens in whatever country they happened to take up land during the time of their European migrations. To some extent their Canadian neighbors are still able to see and appreciate these qualities in them now.

References have often been made by Canadian Mennonite authors and speakers at various occasions to the cultural characteristics of their people, but seldom have these elements been consciously regarded as cultural. Certain foods, household appointments and mannerisms are thought of as

vaguely belonging to Mennonitism, but the essence of Mennonitism is usually considered to be religion. Many still affirm that the Mennonite system of private secondary education functions to preserve the use of the German language, but in view of actual teaching practises this is largely lip-service. The preservation of the traditional Mennonite religious position is being more vitally and consciously pursued. Literature and music, even though extensively appreciated and developed, most often function as media of education, worship and edification. Art in the form of painting, sculpture and architecture has seldom been treated imaginatively for its own sake.

Purely social activities have often been looked on by many within the Mennonite groups we will be dealing with in this study as rather illegitimate. Friendly banter, group games and other amusements seem to them to be unjustifiable unless they are an introduction to something more serious, or are at least introduced by properly pious remarks and ended by prayer. Undeniably, many activities classed as "fellowship" have fulfilled essentially social needs within the congregations.

This overall desire to place everything in very close relationship to one's religious beliefs is doubtlessly laudatory on the one hand, but it does lead now -- even as it has done ever since the beginning of the Anabaptist movement -- to fruitless divisions within churches on problems regarding

acceptable behavior. The question remains, however, whether it is possible to maintain the identity of a group at all under the pressures and leveling influences of modern existence without the cement of common religious beliefs.

As more and more Mennonites have moved into urban areas and as higher education has become accessible and acceptable to a growing number of their young people, new views of Mennonitism have been taken, sometimes non-religious, but not necessarily anti-religious. This trend has increased as individuals have gone into endeavours other than those which the group usually expected its better-educated members to enter. In addition to the traditional theology, medicine, nursing, education, history and languages, Mennonites are now seeking out such fields as commerce, sociology, political science, international studies, pure and applied sciences and many more. New and interesting views of Mennonitism have also been developed by outsiders who have been keenly sympathetic with the aims and customs of the movement or who have seen in it an object of worthwhile research. The excellent sociological study of the Mennonites of Manitoba by E. K. Francis,³ the discussion of pioneer Mennonite settlement in Western Canada by C. Dawson⁴ and others undoubtedly were written with either or both of these motives. As Mennonitism is viewed increasingly from a non-religious or extra-group position new relationships within itself and between it and the non-Mennonite population become more apparent.

In this study, as already noted, the viewpoint is geographical and the focus is on settlement patterns. New rural and urban groupings, movements between them and the retention or abandonment of traditional features are dealt with. Distinguishing characteristics of the Mennonite people themselves are discussed, their distributions, relationships amongst themselves and relationships to non-Mennonites -- particularly in as far as all of this may be areally delineated. Conclusions are then drawn regarding a number of trends in the community and the evidence that exists for advanced assimilation. The study ends with suggestions for further research along geographical as well as historical lines.

A number of procedures useful in a geographical study of this type have been applied. A historical geographical analysis of settlement patterns and other conditions prevailing at significant periods in the history of the group is undertaken. The information for this was derived from literary research and the interviewing of pioneers. Data on the distribution of Mennonites in Canada, and more specifically in the Fraser Valley, were obtained from the Census of Canada-1951 and church statistics. They are portrayed cartographically and also discussed in the text. Field observation during excursions and a considerable period of residence in the area provided the information for the mapping and discussion of the structure and function of present Mennonite settlement. Photographs and sketches supplement the maps in illustrating the ideas developed.

Footnotes and References

1 The Census of Canada-1951 lists information on Religious Denominations of Canada in Tables 37-43 of Volume I.

2 The following are examples of this type of an approach: A. H. Unruh, Die Geschichte der Mennoniten Brüdergemeinde, Winnipeg, Christian Press, 1955; H. J. Willms, Die Sued-Abbotsford Ansiedlung, Yarrow, B. C., Columbia Press, 1956.

3 E. K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: the Mennonites of Manitoba, Altona, Manitoba, D. W. Friesen, 1955.

4 C. A. Dawson, Group Settlement, Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Toronto, MacMillan, 1936, vol. VII.

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES

Anabaptism

After the reformers of the early sixteenth century had made their pronouncements against Catholicism and established new churches that soon became, in their own right, institutionalized, and involved to greater or lesser extents in alliances with secular powers, there were those who protested against an "incomplete protestantism". These people became known as "Anabaptists", or those who denied the efficacy of infant baptism and otherwise challenged the practises of the reformed churches. Their protests brought them persecution; and it became necessary for many to seek refuge in neighbouring countries, wherever rulers allowed them at least some measure of religious freedom.

The Anabaptist movement, that had begun in 1525 in Switzerland, gradually spread northward, down the Rhine and into the Netherlands. It was propagated through the work of missionaries expressly sent for that purpose, as well as through the influence of displaced persons.

The followers of Menno Simons, an itinerant missionary and evangelist who worked throughout North Central

Europe, were those who first became known as "Mennonites". This title has since then come to be used for numerous other groups who were of similar religious persuasion, yet were of various ethnic backgrounds, and thus has replaced the term, "Anabaptist" almost entirely. Mennonitism, as it was initiated in the Netherlands and Northwest Germany, is the chief concern of this paper -- in contrast to the Mennonitism that emanated directly from Switzerland, Austria and what is now Southwest Germany. The "Hutterites", who live near some Mennonite settlements in the Prairies and who have often been confused with Mennonites, are members of a movement begun within original Mennonitism by one Jacob Hutter in the Tyrol and Moravia early in the sixteenth century, and thus do not come into the area of this study.

Ethnic Origin

The ethnic origin of the Mennonites who left the Netherlands and began a succession of migrations that at last brought them into Western Canada, is very difficult to establish. The problem has been explored by many Mennonite leaders, particularly during times of war when it was highly important whether one was to be classed as German or not. A very careful study of the problem was carried out in the years just prior to World War II by Dr. B. H. Unruh of Karlsruhe, Germany.¹ Dr. E. K. Francis, in his book on the Mennonites of Manitoba, concurs with him in many of his conclusions.² Dr. Unruh points out that it is impossible to

ascertain whether the strain of Mennonitism with which we are concerned here is either German or Dutch; but that it had its origin in a thorough mixture of both elements. To establish this, he believes, one must consider where the earliest Mennonite refugees, who began the later movement eastward into the delta lands of the Vistula River, came from. This appears to have been Friesland, a country along the northern coast of present Germany, just southwest of what is now Denmark; which was the first gathering place of refugees from religious persecution in surrounding lands. As it happened, there was a ruler there who tolerated religious differences and allowed victims of persecution to take refuge in his realm. The refugees came from Dutch territory and also from those fragmented states that must be considered as antecedent to parts of present Germany. Sources for the documentation of this turbulent formative period in the history of the group are very meager and hence the proportions of the Dutch to the German elements will probably never be fully known.

When opportunities for the acquisition of land in what was to become West Prussia opened up for the Mennonites during the 1530's, many left their temporary homes and migrated eastward in small groups. The cultural orientation of these new settlers in the Vistula Delta was, during the first two hundred years of their stay there, largely toward Holland and the Dutch language. Then a gradual shift toward the German language set in, with Low German adopted as the



MAP I.

A. SIEMENS

language of common intercourse and eventually High German as the language of worship and education. Germanization increased markedly after the partition of Poland in 1772 and the allotment of the Vistula Delta to Prussia. In time German came to be regarded as the "Mother Tongue", an attitude that prevails to the present day in the settlements of the descendants of these Mennonites, wherever they may be located.

It is to be expected, therefore, that in the complex of cultural traits exhibited by these people both Dutch and German features may be found in various combinations. Added to this may be variants such as those supplied by the Mennonites of Polish background, with their interestingly accented German. All have been fused into a fairly unique whole under the effects of compact settlement in relative isolation and the unifying influence of strong religious ideals. The result has been an ethnic group, with its distinct cultural heritage and body of well developed characteristic traits.³

Establishment and Unification

In the further consideration of the history of this group, particular attention will be given to two periods in their successive movements and settlement: that of their establishment and unification after 1550 in the lands of the Vistula Delta, and the time spent by emigres from there, and their descendants, in Russia after 1790. During these two periods many characteristic elements were developed, including

certain settlement forms -- with which we are primarily concerned here.

Settlement on the Vistula Delta of Poland

In the years 1547-50 groups of Mennonite families began to settle around Danzig, Elbing and Königsberg on the poorly drained, brush-overgrown deltaic lands of the Vistula, its distributary the Nogat, and other smaller rivers. Later their settlements were to spread up the river past Marienburg, as far as the present city of Torun (Map 1). Although Poland was officially Catholic in religion, some parts of it had been affected by the Reformation, and other areas had sufficiently tolerant rulers, so that a good measure of religious freedom could be offered these incoming settlers. Moreover, the skills in drainage and cultivation of land below sea level that the Mennonites had achieved in their former coastal homelands, together with their industrious nature and close, well-ordered social organization, made them sought after by landowners in the coastal lowlands of Poland for the drainage and settlement of their lands. The fact that they had such economic contributions to make for some time persuaded many administrators to overlook differences that did arise in religious affairs. The environment that the settlers now found themselves in was physically rigorous. The climate of the area is essentially a northerly continental one, with several months a year below 32°F. in mean temperature and only approximately one month with a mean over 68°F. A mean annual rainfall of some 20 - 30 inches may be expected, and

a period of snowfall lasting approximately twenty days. The land itself, of course, was marshy and overgrown with tangled vegetation. Such conditions made harsh demands on the settlers, and also exacted a terrible toll of life in the first years -- chiefly because of the raging "marsh fever".

The Mennonites facilitated the actual acquisition of the land by banding together into leasing organizations and thus contracting for land with the Polish king, individual landed barons and even princes of the Catholic church. These associations became the bases for village communities. They paid their rent as one unit and were held communally responsible for the drainage of their holdings. The land complex held by such a community was also an interesting physical entity, because it usually occupied a separate "height" of land and was enclosed by its own dyke.

The drainage process was a complicated one. Plots of marshy bottom lands would first be dyked from the sea and then surrounded by side channels. The surface of these plots would be given a slight slope to one corner to facilitate run-off, and then windmills would be set up to pump out the water. It required the work of several generations to bring the land into full-scale cultivation. The first use of the land was usually for meadow and pastureland, supporting a dairy industry. After a period of this type of activity, cereal cultivation could be begun.

The villages that were laid out on this land took a

form that is probably most accurately described as a "Deichhufendorf." This village type was a variation of the "Reihendorf", derived partly from the "Marschhufendorf" of the marshes of Northwest Germany, which had the dyke as the main thoroughfare of the village, and partly from the North-European Forest Village ("Waldhufendorf"), that featured a straight central roadway and cleared plots stretching back on either side. A "Reihendorf" had a typical cross-sectional sequence of a stream or canal, a dyke with a street on top of it, the complex of buildings and yard ("Hof"), the fields, and then a canal at the rear boundary. Each family had its own "Hof" and plot of land extending back of the waterway and dyke.

Deltaic lands were soon fully taken up, and young couples, as well as new immigrants, began settling on scattered parcels upstream along the Vistula's lowlands. They acquired these properties by purchase from individual land owners, often Teutonic Knights, and established on them "Einzelhöfe", or individual farmsteads.

The buildings that were to be found on the village farmsteads as well as the isolated farms were always of a simple, solid and orderly kind. Since each farmyard, built on land below sea level, had to be laid out on a raised earthen mound called a "Werft" it was kept as compact as possible. Hence the house, barn and storage quarters were assembled under one roof into a "Reihenhof". Such a farmyard

found on isolated farmsteads as well as on the village properties, stood in contrast to those laid out earlier under the settlement schemes of the Teutonic Knights, in which the various components of the farm were housed in separate buildings.

There were variations on the simple "Reihenhof", however, and usually they increased in complexity with the increase in size of the holding and the prosperity of its holder. All of them were designed, however, to provide a maximum of shelter on a minimum of "Werft" surface space. The "Reihenhof" appeared usually on holdings up to forty-five acres in extent. A "Winkelhof" was found on farms of between 50 - 125 acres. It featured an "L" shaped building with its two wings aligned along the two sides of the "Werft". On farms of over 125 acres a "Kreuzhof" appeared, with its cruciform building designed so that the living quarters and storage space ran one way and the stables crossed this at right angles. Such a building reduced the distance of feed haulage to a minimum, a consideration that is still highly important in the design of modern barns.

Architecturally, the private and public buildings of these people represented a sturdy, straightforward solution to their needs. The joined farm building was a simple ridged structure with visible "joints" where the house ended and the barn began. Exposed gables were often faced with wood down to the level of the windows. The walls were a combination of wood and masonry, or of masonry alone. The roof was usually

of thatch, with a wooden ridge cap. Hedges, or picket fences, a necessity in a village community, were usually laid out neatly and sturdily around every "Hof" (Figure 1).

The main public building of the group, the church, was a simple ridged structure of the same style and materials as the private homes, without a tower or other distinguishing feature of any kind. This form, of course, resulted from the desire of the group for utmost simplicity in matters of religion. It was not designed to inspire any particular emotion or to be the setting for any ritual, but simply to serve as a meeting house where one sang, heard a sermon and meditated on God.

During the early period of residence in the Vistula Lowlands the Mennonites adopted certain institutions that were to characterize their settlements for some time to come. Communal fire insurance was organized, with the provision that a premium was to be levied on every member of the association after a disaster occurred to any one of the members, and this to be commensurate with the extent of the loss and the assessment of each member. Later this was changed to a system of regularly-paid premiums. A type of trust company for the destitute and orphaned, called a "Waisenamt", probably originated at this time as well. Later, it came to serve as a sort of investment agency too. Communal government was by elected officers, including a reeve or "Schultze" and his councillors. This was further developed in Russia and even

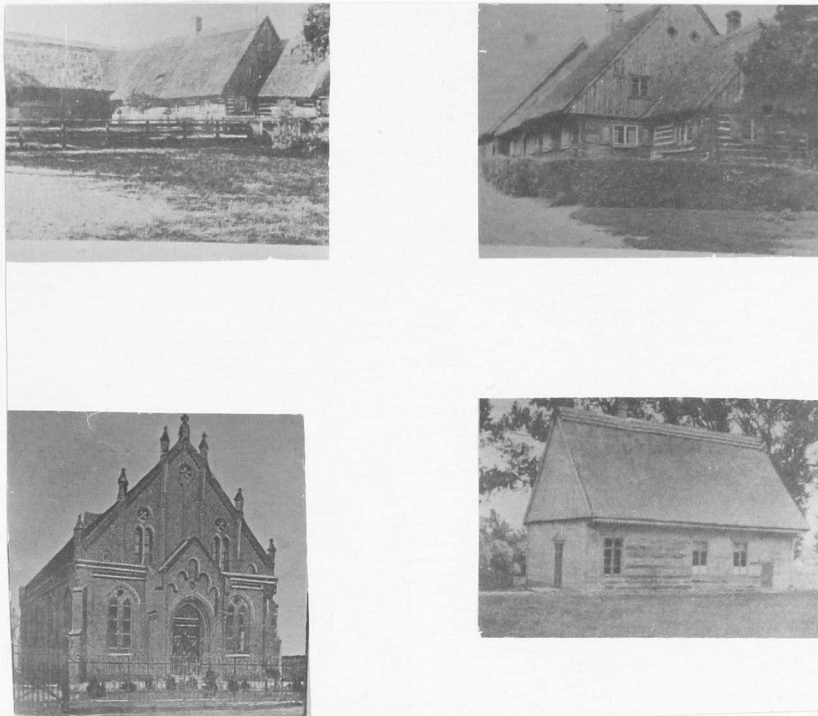


Figure 1. Mennonite Buildings in Prussia

a. A farm house including barns and living quarters in one building.

b. A farm house in the shape of an "L" (Winkelhof).

c. A church built in 1618.

d. A more pretentious church, built later than the one on picture c.

From H. Wiebe, Das Siedlungswerk Niederlandischer Mennoniten in Weichseltalm, 1952.

carried over into Manitoba and Mexico.

After the partition of Poland and the inclusion of the Vistula Delta into the province of West Prussia a number of severe difficulties arose for the Mennonites. The ruler, Frederick II, had formally confirmed the privileged status of the Mennonites and allowed them the right of exemption from military service. In practise, however, pressures were soon exerted on them from various quarters as a consequence of these privileges. The surrounding populace resented their freedom from military service particularly. What was worse, however, was that Frederick II issued edicts in 1789 and 1801 that prohibited further acquisition of land by the Mennonites. This came at a time of marked population growth and expansion within Mennonite settlements. Young couples, and otherwise unlanded Mennonites in large numbers began making plans for emigration.

Settlement in Russia


During this time of unrest the invitations of Catharine II of Russia, already made in 1762 and 1763, became attractive to the landless along the Vistula. A legal framework had been laid down by the Russian government for large scale immigration. It provided a regulation of influx and support en route, laid down in great detail the economic, political and social organization under which immigrants were expected to live and, what was very important, stipulated a separation of the immigrant communities from the native


communities. All this was done in a spirit of "humane enlightenment" and was quite in accord with the most progressive attitudes of rulers in that time. To the Mennonites of Poland, specific promises of religious freedom, exemption from military service and the taking of oaths, as well as grants of 175 acres of land per family, had been made.

Southern European Russia, where most of the incoming settlers were to find their new home, was quite an advantageous settlement site. Drainage was no problem, neither was the clearing of land. The terrain was relatively flat, with only low rolling hills in some places. Steppe vegetation prevailed over most of the area to be occupied by the Mennonites, and good rich Chernozem and Chestnut soils promised abundant crops.

The climate there is continental, having a considerable number of cold days every year. The number of days with a mean daily temperature of less than 32°F. increases from thirty in southern European Russia to ninety in the vicinity of Kiev. A continental climate, of course, has many days every year that go to the other extreme in their temperature. In the Crimea they have some ninety days in a year that have a mean daily temperature of more than 68°F. This decreases to sixty near Kiev. Rainfall is usually between sixteen and twenty-four inches annually and approximately forty days of snowfall may be expected. On the whole, climatic conditions were more amenable on the steppes than they had been on the Vistula delta.

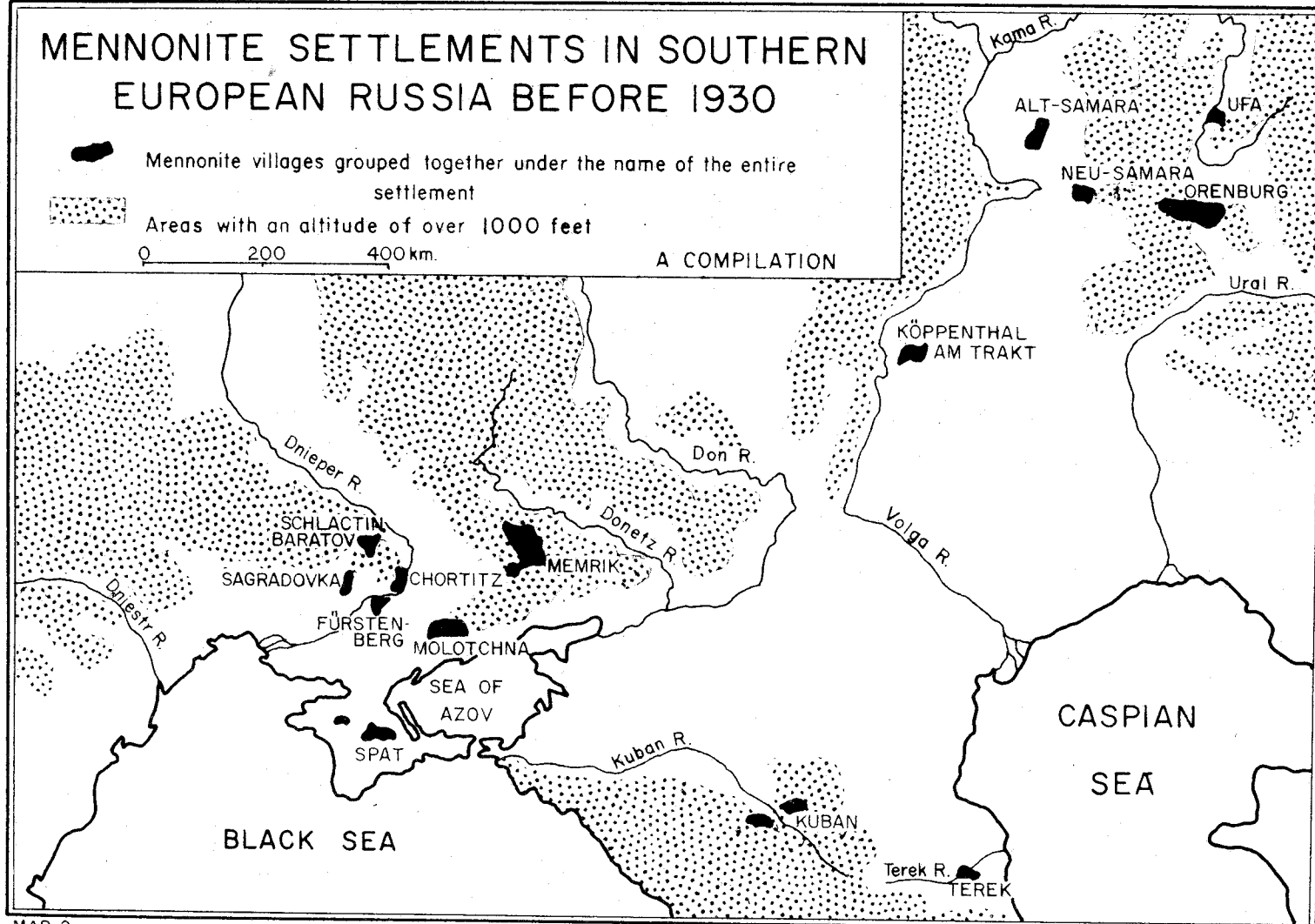
MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHERN EUROPEAN RUSSIA BEFORE 1930

 Mennonite villages grouped together under the name of the entire settlement

 Areas with an altitude of over 1000 feet

0 200 400 km.

A COMPILATION



MAP 2.

A. SIEMENS

In 1787, then, the first Mennonite "locators" visited the Ukraine. They selected a fertile plain near Berislav on the Dniepr, a locality somewhat similar to the delta lands they had known in Poland, as the site for the first settlement (Map 2). Due to difficulties the Russians were having with the Turks in the area, however, the first actual settlement was made in 1789 on rolling, less fertile land near the Chortiza River, a tributary of the Dniepr.

In 1803 and succeeding years, Mennonites settled on a plain near the little Molotschna River that flowed into the Sea of Azov. Two multi-village colonies, known as Chortiza and Molotschna, became the largest concentrations of Mennonites in Russia. Other smaller settlements, such as those in the provinces of Saratov and Samara, along the Volga, were eventually established. They were populated by immigrants from Prussia who continued to come to Russia in larger or smaller groups, as well as by landless people finding no place in crowded colonies in the first areas of settlement.

The totals of Mennonite population in Russia at various times are listed in the accompanying table, which includes in its figures original entrants, additional immigrants and the offspring of both. The fact of a rapidly increasing population is largely responsible for expansionist tendencies, a good deal of internal strife and the eventual emigration of large numbers of Mennonites to North America.

Table I

Mennonites in Russia⁴

1790	1,500
1815	6,500
1840	17,500
1865	37,000
1890	52,000
1915	104,000

The Mennonites brought peasant ideals with them into Russia, attaching themselves closely to the land, being careful to preserve its value and taking pride in economic stability and work well done. Of course, they were also intent on the preservation of their religious position, which involved the establishment of church dominance over the government of the community and the education of the young people. Certain key doctrines, such as the exhortations to avoid any violence and unnecessary involvement with a sinful "world", were to be perpetuated. Almost inseparable from these religious ideals was the desire to maintain the German language and certain Dutch and German cultural traits. Conditions in Russia for the Mennonites at first were such that these things could be realized. Indeed, something approaching the Utopia that many Mennonites envisaged was established.⁵ Unfortunately inner anomalies, brotherly strife and an intense pressure on the cultivated land -- as well as upheavals in Russian politics -- thwarted the ultimate.

Local government, left up to the Mennonites almost

completely, was based on the system of the village commune, in which one representative from each landholding family had a place. The "Schultze" was the chairman of the commune, and at the same time tax collector and police judge. The chairmen of all village communes came together into a council representing the entire colony, as for example the colony of Molotschna. An "Oberschultze" presided over this council, representing it in dealings with the Department of Crown Lands, under whose jurisdiction the Mennonite colonies ultimately stood.

In practise the more wealthy and influential members of most village communities soon placed themselves in the leadership of the church as well as the local government. The system of lay ministry allowed those who had time to spare, and prestige among the village folk, to occupy the ministerial and hence the leading positions of the church. These same men, usually land owners of the first rank, also had a strong voice in local government. Abuses, of course, could not long be kept out. Furthermore, the anomaly inherent in the situation became fully apparent when policing or law enforcement was necessary and the church found itself in effect performing the function of the "World". The Anabaptist tradition was a strict separation of church and state, a shunning of the "world". The result could only be a secularization of the church and eventually the emergence of reactionary groups, such as the Mennonite Brethren, who decried such secularization.

The civic institutions upheld by the Mennonites in Russia were largely a carry-over from Prussia. Close association in many aspects of life made for common interests and communal solutions to problems. Communal fire insurance was retained and improved. The "Waisenamt" continued to provide for the destitute and serve more and more as an investment agency. Granaries were built to store grain for times of need and disaster funds were set up.

Of special importance to the community were the laws the Mennonites upheld amongst themselves regarding inheritance. The family tract of land was regarded as indivisible. It was usually given to the eldest son, who then paid off or provided for his siblings. This, of course, was the chief cause for the development of a growing landless class and the increasing need for daughter colonies.

From the very beginning elementary schools were set up in each village by the Mennonites themselves, since they had been made responsible for their own educational facilities. Even though they were staffed by very poorly trained teachers these schools were nevertheless on par with similar schools anywhere in Europe and certainly superior to those of the Russians. Under the influence of the wealthy and progressively minded Johann Cornies, and the association for the promotion of education that he organized in 1820, these schools were eventually improved. To them were added, in time, excellent secondary schools, known as "Zentralschulen", which were

designed chiefly to train teachers. From these a number of young people continued on in Russian universities or even schools in other European countries.

Economically, the colonies initially suffered all the difficulties involved in a shift from one environment to another. The farmers needed to know how to combat new pests, provide for the occasional drought and, above all, find the most advantageous combination of crops. General farming, with an emphasis on cattle and sheep, was practised in the early years. Then, gradually, cash crops such as flax, tobacco, fruits and vegetables were introduced. The silk industry promised well for a time and numerous mulberry trees were planted. With the opening of a seaport, Berdiansk, on the Black Sea in the 1830's, wheat-growing began to replace sheep, silk and other crops.

Early implements were crude, requiring very much hand labour. As soon as possible, machines were introduced. Eventually a number of Mennonite implement factories were established, which became the most significant industries carried on amongst the group. Individual artisans in each village provided most of the hardware, tools and other goods the people needed but could not conveniently import.

Improvements of seeds, stocks, methods and materials proved as laborious there as amongst any other peasant group, and may be attributed largely to the energy and imagination of Johann Cornies and other model farmers who provided leadership

during the first half of the nineteenth century in economic as well as cultural fields.

Eventually a considerable degree of material prosperity developed amongst the Mennonites, which was to provide a reasonably good life for most of them until the disruptive forces of liberalization, war and revolution broke over the colonies and their way of life.

The settlement forms resulting from the Mennonite way of life in Russia again showed a close relationship to what had been adopted earlier in other environments, but also included some new innovations.

For the sake of security against marauding Russian neighbours, initially, and then also for purpose of unity in religious, economic and social affairs, close habitat, based on Dutch and German forms already mentioned, with surrounding open fields modelled on the Russian "Mir" system, was the form of settlement used predominantly in the layout of Russian Mennonite colonies. Even though drainage or the clearing of forests were no longer the basic problems of agriculture, as they had been in North-Central Europe, the village tracts were still divided into rows of individual holdings on either side of a main street. Each holding consisted of a total of some 175 acres granted to one family in permanent usufruct as well as the right of access to a common meadow at one end of the village. Once a homestead had been established it usually presented a sequence outward from the

main street, of a front hedge or fence, a row of trees, a flower garden, the complex of buildings, a vegetable garden and fields, which might or might not be located immediately behind the farmyard. Such a village, a "Strassendorf" in the best sense of the term, stood in contrast to the encampment of nomadic Nogatsi tribesmen or the irregular "Haufendorf" that might be found in surrounding areas occupied by Russians.

Numbers of Mennonite villages would be strung in "paternoster" fashion along main roads, each one bearing an idealized German name such as "Rosenthal" (Valley of Roses), "Schönwiese" (Beautiful Meadows), "Waldheim" (Home in the Woods), "Blumenfeld" (Field of Flowers) or one of many others. These names reflected an intense appreciation of the beauties of a rural environment, and were, undoubtedly, wistful references to a homeland the Mennonites had once known in North-Central Europe. They were retained by groups of the most orthodox of Mennonites when they left Russia in the 1870's to establish new colonies in Manitoba, and were even taken by these same groups from there to Mexico. Mennonites migrating directly from Russia to Latin America before World War II and those going there later as refugees out of a war-torn Germany also graced many a hostile Paraguayan or Argentinian landscape with these nostalgic names.

The buildings erected by the Mennonites in Russia resembled those they had known in West Prussia (Figure 2). The farm buildings were again often joined under one roof, in such forms as the "Reihenhof", the "Winkelhof" or the "Kreuzhof".



Figure 2. Mennonite Settlement in Russia

a. Early farm house in Chortitzza. b. More modern farm house in Chortitzza. c. and d. Mennonite churches in the Molotschna colony. e. An early village school. f. A newer village school, as introduced in many villages by a progressive leader, Johann Cornies. g. Typical Mennonite village in South Russia (Sketch by J. H. Janzen). h. Mennonite operated steam mill. i. Mennonite factory.

From P. M. Friesen, Die Alt-Evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland (1789-1910), 1911.

Walls were usually of brick, exposed or finished in plaster; roofs were of tile or thatch. All this reflected, of course, the scarcity of wood for building purposes.

Architecturally, these buildings were the same simple, functional solutions to the problem of shelter that they had been in Prussia. The feature of the entire farm property that seems to have been a mark of economic status and prestige, besides the general size and excellence in the construction of the buildings, was the substantial fence or wall with its main gate that faced the street. Classical columns, pediments and various other decorations were used to make these fronts as pretentious as possible.

The village churches also were of the same simple basic pattern as they had been in Prussia, but here they were more profusely decorated, each one corresponding to the wealth and prestige of the villagers. Then, as is still too often done now in the building of Mennonite churches, enhancement of the building was sought by the addition of unimaginative details. Cornices, false columns, pediments over windows, buttresses, Gothic and Romanesque windows all were used in various combinations to beautify a basically monolithic building form. Only seldom, as in the case of the large ornate church in the village of "Einlage", was a truncated tower added. Spires were never built on Russian Mennonite churches.

The aspect of a wide, tree-shaded main street in

a typical Mennonite village with substantial and scrupulously neat farmyards on either side, together with the solid schools and churches, must have been an impressive sight to Russian neighbours and particularly visiting government officials.

Movement into Canada

The movement of those Mennonites represented in our study, from their Russian homeland into Canada and particularly into British Columbia, transpired in stages over a considerable period of time.

The first large-scale movement out of Russia into Canada took place in 1873-78, but this involved mainly conservative members of the group, known as "Old Colony" Mennonites. They left Russia to find new settlement areas for their growing numbers, as well as to escape the results of "Russianization" policies undertaken by the government -- the most important of which was the abolition of the privilege of the exemption from military service. Some 15,000 of them, or approximately thirty percent of the total of Mennonites in Russia, left during this time. Of these, 7500 came to Canada, and the others went to various Latin American countries.⁶ Few of these people or their descendants are represented in the Mennonite population of the Lower Fraser Valley.

The "General Conference" and "Mennonite Brethren" people, the chief concern of this thesis, began arriving in Canada in large numbers during the 1920's. They were escaping

the terrors of post-war and post-revolution years in Russia. The war had brought devastating army advances through the colonies. The revolution had unleashed various raiding, killing bands who terrorized the colonies. Religious freedom and the special civic privileges rooted in the magnanimous terms of the charter given to the Mennonites by the Empress Catharine II had been swept away. Families had been dispersed by the banishment of many men into Siberian work camps. The stable village properties had been pillaged and burnt in orgies of vented resentment by Russians who had watched too long while their Mennonite neighbours prospered. The only way out was emigration.

In Canada, Mennonites were well aware of the plight of their "brethren" in Russia. A "Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization" was organized with the co-operation of all Mennonite groups in the country, and this body entered into negotiations with the Canadian government for permission to bring these unfortunates into Canada. Permission was granted, with the stipulation that the settlers should remain, for a time at least, as farmers on the land.

Money needed to be found to finance the venture, because most of the Mennonites coming from Russia had been impoverished by robbery, excessive charges on every hand and a poor market in which to dispose of their holdings. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company proved willing to enter into a contract with the Board of Colonization to provide passage for the immigrants on a long-term loan basis. The

collection of funds for the repayment of this loan, signed for by the president of the Board, Mr. David Toews, subsequently became a very important concern of the leadership of the Mennonites, but it was duly accomplished.

The movement out of Russia began in the early twenties and continued as a sizeable exodus until 1929, during which time some 21,000 Mennonites entered Canada.⁷ As more and more of these people left Russia, however, emigration permission became harder and harder to obtain, until finally the only possibility of exit was by secret flight across the border. The headlong escape of some of the country's most stable citizens was not a good advertisement for the New Order.

The first stop for most of them was Manitoba, where many of their "Old Colony" friends and relatives already lived. Thus took place the superimposition, for a time, of one main strain of Mennonitism upon another. Those arriving during the 1920's became known as "Russländer" and those who had been in the country since 1874 as "Kanadier".⁸ Many of the "Russländer", despite war and privation, had received at least some education beyond the village school level, either at the Mennonite high schools and normal schools, or in other schools at home and abroad. Most of them, moreover, were of comparatively progressive religious persuasion. Then too, they had experienced the years of turmoil in early twentieth century Russia, which had brought to them the necessity for new adjustments regarding military service.

education and other matters. They had accepted alternative service opportunities and had experienced a considerable degree of "Russianization" in their schools and other institutions. The "Kanādier", by contrast, were decidedly backward in their education, ultra-conservative in matters of faith and isolated by distances and difficulties of transportation from the settlements of the outside world. Very soon mutual contempt arose between these groups, a feeling that has persisted to a great extent up to the present time.

One other differentiation was perpetuated within the "Russländer" group itself, and this must be elaborated upon here, for it is apparent throughout this study. They were divided into two main religious "sub-factions", the General Conference and the Mennonite Brethren. These two groups co-operate in matters of overseas relief work, to a limited extent in education and in some other respects. The General Conference group might be regarded as slightly more conservative in religious matters than the Mennonite Brethren. To the outside observer there are only slight differences of doctrine and religious observance between them, but these are sufficiently important to effect a distinct separation. The present ratio within the Fraser Valley is estimated as roughly two-fifths General Conference to three-fifths Mennonite Brethren.⁹

From their first stopover in Manitoba, Mennonites of both the General Conference and Mennonite Brethren groups,

moved fairly soon as individual families or small groups of families, westward into Saskatchewan, Alberta and eventually British Columbia, as well as eastward into Southwestern Ontario. The pattern was always similar. A few families would move into any area where land could be bought under agreeable conditions or could be rented. Others would follow, joining their friends and relatives from whom they had heard about possibilities in the area. Soon there would be a congregation, a church building, and, if the settlement was large enough to support it, a Mennonite bible or high school. Land could not usually be acquired in completely contiguous blocks, as had been possible for the first Mennonites coming into Manitoba, because it was often necessary to buy land from different individual owners. This factor and the almost universal use of the grid pattern in land subdivision made the village form of settlement infeasible. Nevertheless, one could speak of almost solid Mennonite settlements, achieved by a careful buying up or renting of nearby plots and a gradual displacement of non-Mennonite neighbours.

On the whole, it must be realized that shifts within the Mennonite population of Western Canada were comprised of constant, concurrent movements of individual families and small groups, this way and that. The conditions conducive to unified mass movements seemed to have passed for them.

Movement into British Columbia


Movement into British Columbia took place during and after 1928. The triggering action was an advertisement by a certain Mr. Eckert in the Winnipeg Free Press inviting settlers onto a plot of land at the present site of Yarrow. The maritime climate offered relief from the harsh climatic conditions of the Prairie Provinces. Land was available; it was reasonably fertile, and barring the difficulties of drainage and clearing, easy to work. Once a number of families were established at Yarrow, and elsewhere too, others came. The volume of movement waxed and waned with economic conditions in B. C., but generally it coincided with the westward movement of other segments of the population. (Map 3)

In all their various locations, these Mennonites preserved, to a considerable extent, the old traditional attachment to the land. Wherever they could they continued to farm in the extensive manner of former times, growing cereal crops, raising cattle and the like. Where it was necessary to break away from this, however, as it was in British Columbia, they did so, showing a willingness to adapt and rationalize. They left the rural environment for the urban too, where necessary. Usually individual members of families, often the older girls, had to go to the cities to find employment there, in order to augment the meager returns of the farm and to help repay the heavy burden of debt that rested on many a household. Soon the numbers of Mennonites in the cities grew

SOURCE OF MIGRANTS INTO BRITISH COLUMBIA

1941-1951

 IN MIGRANTS

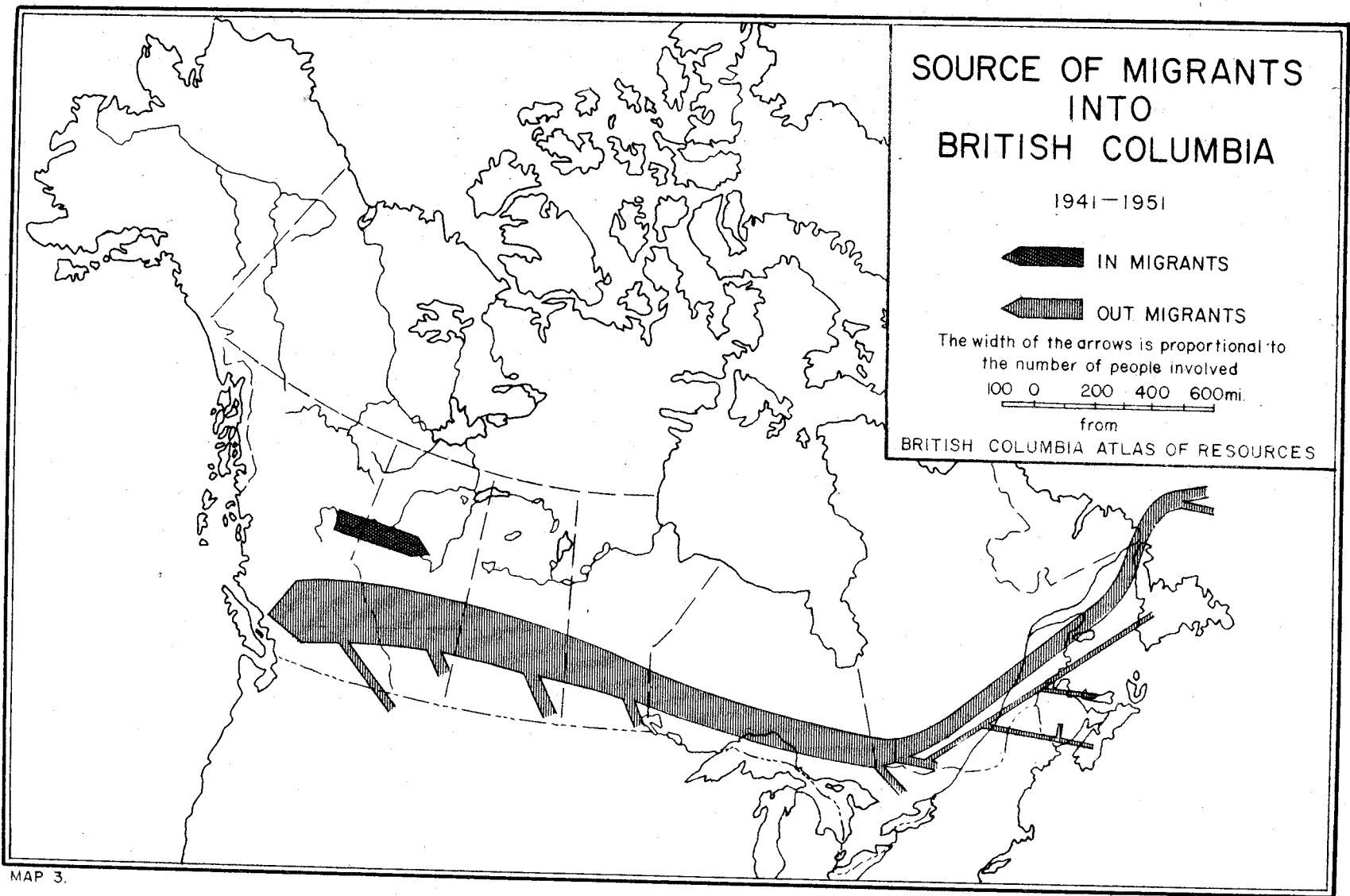
 OUT MIGRANTS

The width of the arrows is proportional to the number of people involved

100 0 200 400 600mi.

from

BRITISH COLUMBIA ATLAS OF RESOURCES



MAP 3.

A. SIEMENS





to such an extent that urban congregations could be established, a trend that brought with it new conditions and problems -- as will be discussed later in this study.

In considering the movement of Mennonites into British Columbia the influx of Mennonite Displaced Persons after 1946 must be given special mention. These people had come as refugees from Communist Russia, from old Prussian lands ceded to the Poles after the war, and elsewhere. They had been given temporary asylum in West Germany and then helped by the relief workers of the Mennonite Central Committee to relocate in Canada, Latin America and the United States. Usually they came as wards of relatives here, and so were quickly scattered among various settlements. They made every effort to adjust themselves rapidly to the way of life in the Mennonite communities here, to learn English and to fit into the broader Canadian pattern too. Very many of them soon found their way into the cities, where they took any employment that could be found until they had mastered the language and perhaps attained some professional standing.

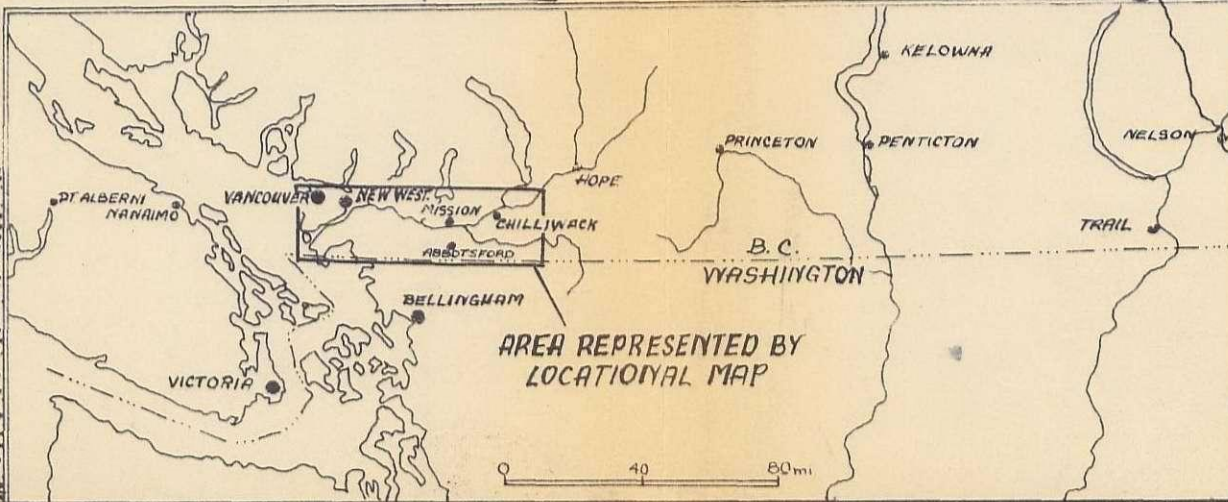
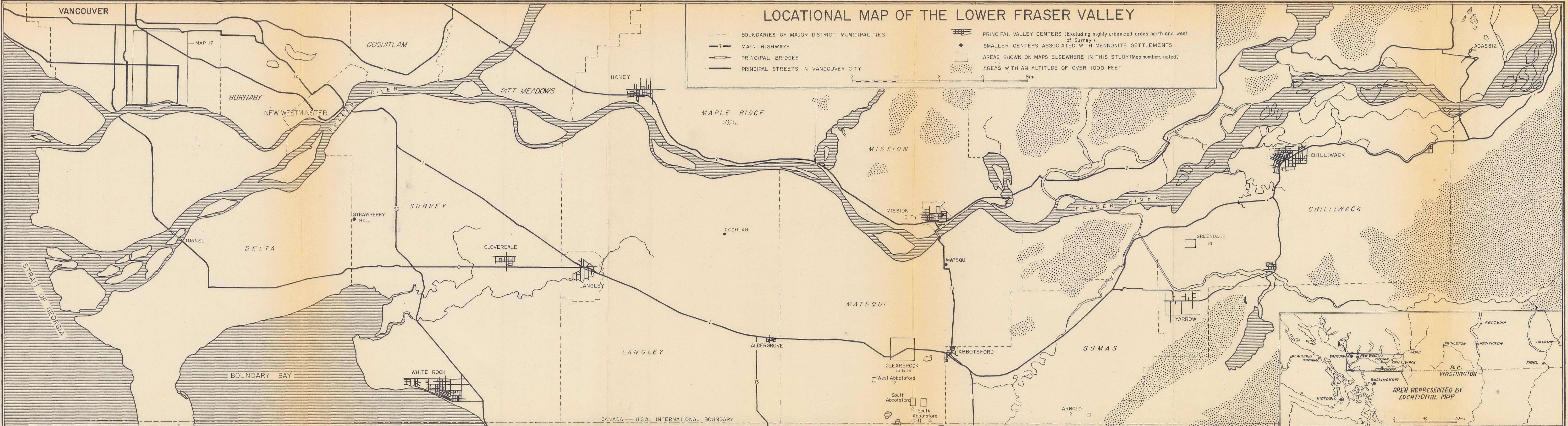
This consideration of the movement of the Mennonites from country to country and finally into Western Canada may be concluded by noting the total number resident in British Columbia's Fraser Valley and outlining roughly where their settlements are. In 1958 the total number of Mennonites here was estimated to be approximately 17,000.¹⁰ Their distribution may be inferred from the dot map showing the Census of

LOCATIONAL MAP OF THE LOWER FRASER VALLEY

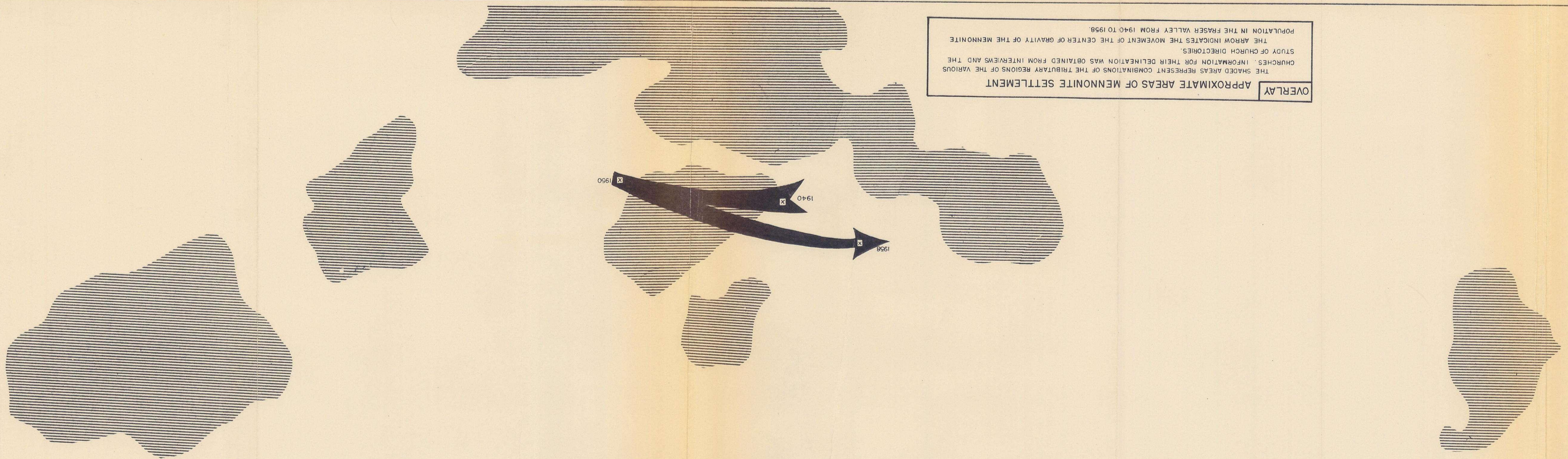
--- BOUNDARIES OF MAJOR DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES
 ——— MAIN HIGHWAYS
 ——— PRINCIPAL BRIDGES
 ——— PRINCIPAL STREETS IN VANCOUVER CITY

 PRINCIPAL VALLEY CENTERS (Excluding highly urbanized areas north and west of Surrey)
 SMALLER CENTERS ASSOCIATED WITH MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS
 AREAS SHOWN ON MAPS ELSEWHERE IN THIS STUDY (Map numbers noted)
 AREAS WITH AN ALTITUDE OF OVER 1000 FEET

0 2 4 8 mi



MENNONITE
SETTLEMENT
IN VANCOUVER
IS SHOWN DE-
TAILED ON MAPS
17 B 18



OVERLAY
APPROXIMATE AREAS OF MENNONITE SETTLEMENT

THE SHADED AREAS REPRESENT COMBINATIONS OF THE TRIBUTARY REGIONS OF THE VARIOUS CHURCHES. INFORMATION FOR THEIR DELINEATION WAS OBTAINED FROM INTERVIEWS AND THE STUDY OF CHURCH DIRECTORIES.

THE ARROW INDICATES THE MOVEMENT OF THE CENTER OF GRAVITY OF THE MENNONITE POPULATION IN THE FRASER VALLEY FROM 1940 TO 1958.

Canada listings for 1951 (Map 10) and from the map of church tributary regions for 1959 (Map 4). Concentrations existed near the towns of Chilliwack,¹¹ Abbotsford, Mission and Aldergrove; in Southeast Vancouver; and in the two Mennonite centers of Clearbrook and Yarrow. The physical characteristics of each one of these settlement areas will be dealt with in the next chapter, and a detailed analysis of sequent occupance, distributions, movements, settlement patterns and settlement forms will follow in later chapters.

Footnotes and References

1 B. H. Unruh, "Dutch Backgrounds of Mennonite Migrations of the 16th Century to Prussia," Mennonite Quarterly Review, 10: 173-181, July, 1936.

2 E. K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: the Mennonites in Manitoba, Altona, Manitoba, D. W. Friesen, 1955.

3 "Properly, terms built upon this root should apply exclusively to groups where the racial bonds and cultural bonds are so interwoven that the members of the group itself are ordinarily unconscious of them, and unspecialized outsiders tend to make no distinction between them. Such groups are the logical product of human evolution under conditions of relative isolation and segregation." In H. P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, Philosophical Library, 1944, p. 109.

4 A. Ehrt, Das Mennonitentum in Russland, Berlin, Julius Beltz, 1932, p. 51.

5 The Mennonite search for a Utopia is the keynote of Francis' book.

6 Francis, op. cit., p. 28.

7 C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, Berne, Indiana, Mennonite Book Concern, 1945, p. 696.

8 Francis uses these terms a number of times throughout his book.

9 This estimate was made by Rev. A. A. Wiens, secretary of the British Columbia office of the Mennonite Central Committee, in an interview the author had with him in 1958.

10 Another estimate made by Mr. Wiens in the interview referred to above.

11 Note: The name of the municipality is spelled "Chilliwhack" on some maps, as differentiated from the name of the town which is spelled without the "h". In this thesis, however, both names will be spelled without the extra "h".

CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FRASER VALLEY LOWLANDS

The area under particular consideration in this study, the Lower Fraser Valley, begins at Hope and extends some ninety-five miles westward to the extremities of the delta of the Fraser River. It is fairly uniform in climate, but varies considerably in its array of land forms, vegetation and soils. Therefore each of the rural areas within it that was occupied by the Mennonites offered its first settlers, even as it still does today, different opportunities for agriculture.

General Features of the Terrain

The valley lowlands, as we shall refer to the relatively low areas adjacent to the Fraser River even though they are not one uninterrupted plain, are bounded to the north by the Coast Mountains, to the southeast by the Skagit Range of the Cascades and, for our purposes, to the south by the International Boundary. Chilliwack Mountain (1100'), Sumas Mountain (2900'), Burnaby Mountain (1100') and other lesser heights stand out as topographic islands in the Lowlands. From Agassiz through to the International Boundary at Huntingdon stretch the alluvial plains of the valley. They have an average

altitude below 100' and are the result of post-glacial deposition by the Fraser, Nooksack and Chilliwack Rivers. Just east of Abbotsford the undulating hill country begins, extending westward into the Municipality of Surrey. The hilltops are up to 300-400' in elevation and consist of materials deposited late in the Pleistocene epoch, which were then subjected to uplift and subsequently eroded. The recently deposited delta lands of the Fraser, with an average elevation of only 4' above mean sea level, begin just southwest of New Westminster and extend out to the sea.

Climate

Climatically, that part of the valley where Mennonites are located may be classed mostly within the "Inner Coast" region of the "West Coast" climatic province.¹ Temperatures here seldom go below freezing in their average minima and hover around 70-75 degrees in their average maxima. Five to six months have mean temperatures above 50°F., and there are some 200-250 frost free days. No month has an average of 32°F. or less. All this assures a warm, sunny summer and a mild winter. Precipitation is over fifty inches annually in most parts, the bulk of it falling during the winter months. Clearly this is a climate moderated in temperature and enriched in moisture by air circulation from the ocean.

The basic climatic data for three stations in the

Fraser Valley and for Saskatoon and Winnipeg are given in the table below in order to substantiate statistically the great difference between the climate from which Mennonite settlers came and the one into which they went.

Table II

Basic Climatic Data

	Vancouver Airport	Abbotsford Airport	Agassiz	Saskatoon	Winnipeg
Mean January Daily Minimum Temperature		30-32° (Entire Valley)		-10 to -15	-10 to -20
Mean July Daily Maximum Temp.		70-75° (Entire Valley)		80	80
Mean Annual Total Precipitation	40"	60"	63"	15"	20"
Moisture Deficiency	-	-	-	6"	4"
Mean Annual Snowfall	18"	30"	38"	40"	50"
Average Frost- Free Period		200-250 days (Entire Valley)		100-110 days	

British Columbia, therefore, offered the Mennonites a relief from the harsh continental climate of the Prairies. Articles in Mennonite papers and special resettlement promotion brochures referred again and again to the mild temperatures and the abundant precipitation to be found here. These same factors have remained highly attractive to prospective settlers as well as to "suitcase farmers" from the Prairies who like to spend their winters here.

Morphology, Vegetation, Soil Cover and Agricultural Use of Mennonite Settlement Areas

In the further discussion of the physical characteristics of Mennonite settlement sites, particularly the rural ones, certain areas within the Lowlands must be singled out. Each site is treated with regard to its morphology, soil cover, vegetation, and agricultural use, and each of them is dealt with in turn from the eastern end of the valley to the west. It must be noted in this connection that the crops that the Mennonites, and many of their neighbours, found economical on certain soils were discovered and developed largely through trial and error. Market conditions, of course, often overshadowed all else in determining what was grown. Whether the use that was made of the land was optimal as far as physical potential is concerned or not is another question -- one that will not be explored here.

Flatlands from Agassiz to Upper Sumas

In the Chilliwack area the ice of the latest advance

is believed to have remained in one position for a relatively long period of time, leaving behind only a thin veneer of drift.³ It is possible that an arm of the sea invaded the area in one of the intervals between ice advances and left behind marine sediments. Over these deposits the Fraser built up an extensive alluvial plain that sloped gently from east to west.

The natural vegetation cover in the Chilliwack area, as well as in other areas covered by Monroe soils, consisted of open meadows and grasses in spots that were subject to annual flooding. The higher ground, flooded only very occasionally, supported a tall stand of cottonwood and scattered fir and cedar.

On this low and gently undulating terrain soils of the Monroe series have been developed. In the Agassiz, East Chilliwack, Greendale and Yarrow areas azonal Monroe clay loam is the dominant soil.⁴ It has been found to be most suitable for the support of a dairy industry, but small fruits, tree fruits and crops such as hops, legumes and tobacco may also be grown economically on it. In the Yarrow settlement, even though it is located on a similar soil as that of the Chilliwack area, raspberries have been developed successfully as the main crop. This specialization probably resulted more from cultural and economic factors rather than a close adaptation to the soil.

In the Sumas area three alluvial fans, those of the Fraser, Chilliwack and Nooksack Rivers, impounded Sumas Lake between them. After the drainage of the lake in 1924 its sediments were exposed to form the coarse-textured azonal soil called Monroe loamy sand. Since this land varies in elevation from 2.9 feet below sea level to 10 feet above it, continuous pumping is necessary to permit the growth of grasses, hay and similar crops on the lower areas. The water table must not be allowed to sink too low in the dry season, however, because the soil is very porous and will allow moisture to drop quickly below the reach of short-rooted plants. Relatively large fields, edged by willows that grow near the drainage ditches, are characteristic of this area.

In Upper Sumas, just north of the International boundary, post-glacial alluvium that was deposited by the Nooksack River predominates. A number of low, narrow ridges, the remains of old Sumas lake shorelines, run in a northwest-southeast pattern across what is otherwise a lowland sloping gently northward. The azonal Monroe clay that has developed there supports grain, forage crops and pasture, together with some special crops such as raspberries. Settlement took place in the Upper Sumas area early in the history of the province (1860-70). Farmyards were laid out on the narrow ridges to escape the periodic flooding of the adjacent lowlands. Some of these holdings may still be seen when one travels along Vye Road (Figure 3).



Figure 3. "Dry-point" Farms

These farms are located on ridges thrown up around old Sumas Lake. They can be viewed as one passes eastward on Vye Road (Map 8).

Matsqui

The Matsqui area remained under an ice advance for a relatively long period of time, and was eventually covered by late glacial marine silts and clays as well as post-glacial alluvium from the Fraser River. Prominent ice contact slopes are still noticeable around the western and southern periphery of this well-defined flatland.

The azonal, fine-textured soils of the Ladner series that cover the area have been dyked and drained in order to lower the water table sufficiently to permit crop growth. The natural swamp forest of willow, poplar and scattered cedar and fir, together with grass vegetation on the better drained sections did not present great clearing difficulties. Hay, oats and pasture, supporting a dairy industry, occupy the bulk of the open land now. Specialty crops such as corn, berries, vegetables and others are also in evidence.

Mission

North of the town of Mission, where a considerable scattering of Mennonites are located, farmland has been cleared on the gentler slopes and small flat areas of what is very hilly terrain. The natural vegetation was a luxuriant growth of fir, cedar, hemlock, alder, maple and birch, with many varieties of shrubs and a dense growth of bracken. Heavily eroded and uplifted interglacial material forms the basis for zonal soils of the Alderwood series. Small fruit culture and a limited dairy industry are carried on by farmers who, in

many cases, devote only a part of their working time to their farms.

Abbotsford

The undulating uplands of the Abbotsford area were built up of pitted outwash to the west of the ice lobe covering Chilliwack and Sumas, and to the south of that covering Matsqui. Zonal soils of the Lynden series developed here. Lynden silt proved especially suitable for small fruit and vegetable production. After the luxuriant timber and bush which was its natural climax vegetation was cleared and larger fields cultivated, dairying could be carried out successfully as well. Lynden gravelly silt has excessive drainage through a porous substratum and therefore the vegetation on it suffers in mid-summer dry seasons. The greatest expanse of this type of soil may be found around North Clearbrook Road. The forest growth that existed there at the time of the arrival of the first Mennonites was a second growth of fir, alder, cedar, maple and poplar. This was easier to clear than the land to the south, around Huntingdon Road, where there were many large stumps besides a similar second growth. It was found that on this soil strawberries and vegetables that mature before the onset of the summer dry season do quite well. Poultry is a profitable pursuit as long as the price structure remains favorable. Actually the area was, from the very start, of a marginal value for most cultivated crops. Much of it has now been taken up for urbanization by the

expanding periphery of Clearbrook.

Aldergrove

A large extent of undulating terrain around the town of Aldergrove and east of it, where many Mennonite farmsteads are located, is made up of a thick deposit of Vashon Drift. On it have developed the rich agricultural soils of the Whatcom series. A heavy second growth of alder, maple, fir and birch covered all of it when the settlers moved in. Stumps of the original climax forest of Douglas fir, hemlock and giant cedar were large and frequent. Clearing costs, therefore, were heavy, which delayed settlement a good deal. Wherever cleared the soil has proved suitable for mixed farming and special fruits and vegetables as well. Among the small fruits the strawberry seems the most adaptable, as has been demonstrated in the Coghlan district.

Surrey

Mention must be made here as well of the Surrey Upland, even though most of the Mennonite settlers here have followed main occupations other than farming ever since they first came into the area. Older deposits of the antecedent stream of the present Fraser, isostatically raised and then eroded, make for a very hilly terrain. A layer of impervious boulder clay often lies too near the surface to permit proper cultivation and subsoil drainage. Vegetables, berries and other small crops can be grown, poultry and fur-bearing animals

raised -- all of which are suitable to the needs of the part-time farmer.

Lulu Island

The last of the settlement areas to be mentioned here, Lulu Island, originally offered considerable opportunity for farming, and some Mennonites settled there. The island is part of the recent delta of the Fraser and hence rises only some 3-10 feet above mean sea level. Its soil is of the azonal Ladner clay variety. After the land was dyked and drained by means of open ditches it was possible to carry on dairying on the large acreages and the culture of vegetables and small fruits on smaller holdings. Here too, much of the farming carried on in early years, and certainly now, is of a part-time nature.

In all of these areas the Mennonites attempted to choose the most advantageous sites available, to make the best use of resources at hand and to settle in a manner best suitable to the circumstances. This willingness to adapt to an agricultural economy different from most others that they or their ancestors had known, as well as the willingness eventually to enter an urban environment, characterized the Fraser Valley Mennonites generally and sometimes made their settlement units difficult to differentiate from those of the non-Mennonites around them. A description of the physical characteristics of their settlement sites is therefore only a description of localities they found to be most advantageous for household and community development and does not necessarily reflect their predilection for a particular type of settlement site

Footnotes and References

1 British Columbia Natural Resources Conference, British Columbia Atlas of Resources, Vancouver, Smith's Lithography, 1956, pp. 21-22.

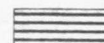








2 Compiled from: Ibid., pp. 21-22; Meteorological Division, Department of Transport and the Division of Building Research, National Research Council, Climatological Atlas of Canada, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1953, p. ?; John D. Chapman, The Climate of British Columbia, Reprint from the Proceedings of the Fifth British Columbia Natural Resources Conference, Victoria, B. C., King's Printer, 1952.

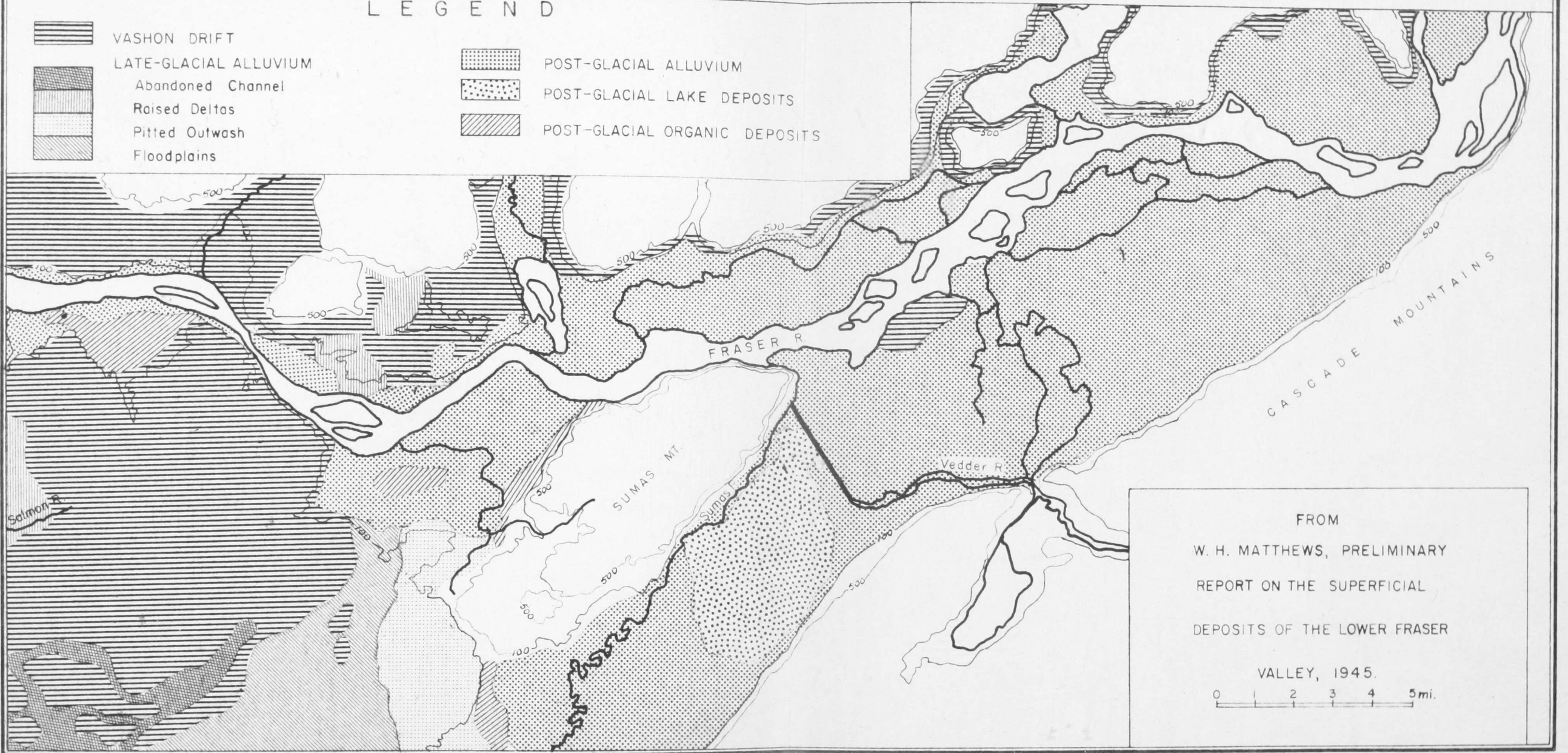
3 Information received in an interview with Dr. W. H. Mathews in 1958.

4 C. C. Kelley and R. H. Spillsbury, Soil Survey of the Lower Fraser Valley, Department of Agriculture, Technical Bulletin 20, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1939, p. 44.
Note: All references to other soil types are taken from the same source.

GLACIAL DEPOSITION IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE LOWER FRASER VALLEY

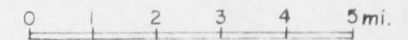
LEGEND

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---|-------------------------------|
|  | VASHON DRIFT |  | POST-GLACIAL ALLUVIUM |
|  | LATE-GLACIAL ALLUVIUM |  | POST-GLACIAL LAKE DEPOSITS |
|  | Abandoned Channel |  | POST-GLACIAL ORGANIC DEPOSITS |
|  | Raised Deltas | | |
|  | Pitted Outwash | | |
|  | Floodplains | | |



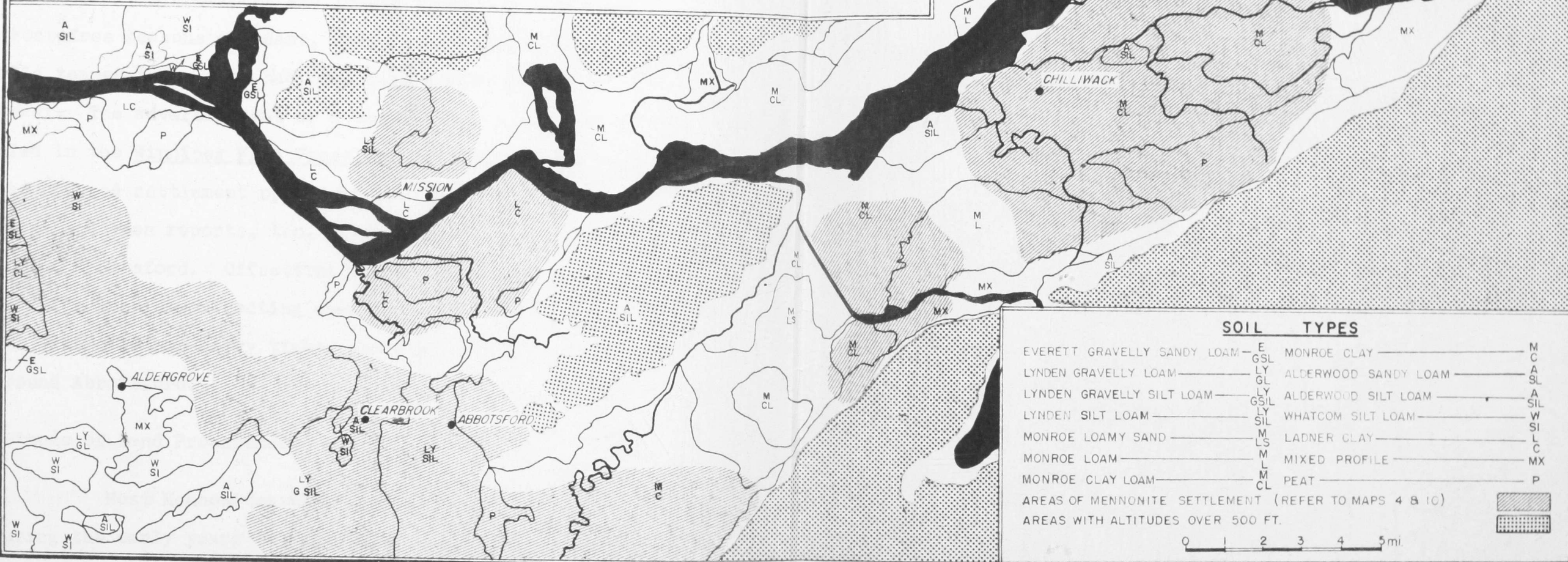
FROM
 W. H. MATTHEWS, PRELIMINARY
 REPORT ON THE SUPERFICIAL
 DEPOSITS OF THE LOWER FRASER

VALLEY, 1945.



SOILS OF THE EASTERN PART OF THE LOWER FRASER VALLEY

from C.C. Kelley and R.H. Spilsbury, *Soil Survey of the Lower Fraser Valley*, Ottawa, Department of Agriculture, 1939.



SOIL TYPES

EVERETT GRAVELLY SANDY LOAM — E GSL	MONROE CLAY — M C
LYNDEN GRAVELLY LOAM — LY GL	ALDERWOOD SANDY LOAM — A SL
LYNDEN GRAVELLY SILT LOAM — LY GSIL	ALDERWOOD SILT LOAM — A SIL
LYNDEN SILT LOAM — LY SIL	WHATCOM SILT LOAM — W SI
MONROE LOAMY SAND — M LS	LADNER CLAY — L C
MONROE LOAM — M L	MIXED PROFILE — MX
MONROE CLAY LOAM — M CL	PEAT — P

AREAS OF MENNONITE SETTLEMENT (REFER TO MAPS 4 & 10)

AREAS WITH ALTITUDES OVER 500 FT.

0 1 2 3 4 5 mi

CHAPTER IV

SEQUENT OCCUPANCE OF THE MENNONITES IN THE FRASER VALLEY

In response to the attractions of Southwestern British Columbia's climate, and to an offer of land, Mennonites began to move into the Lower Fraser Valley in 1928. They had suffered through droughts and hard winters in the Prairie Provinces and looked forward to the long frost-free seasons, abundant, well-distributed rainfall and mild temperatures they had been told prevailed on the West Coast. The advertisement of a certain Mr. C. Eckert, carried in the Winnipeg Free Press Prairie Farmer early in 1928 had offered settlement opportunities in the Yarrow area. There had been reports, too, of possibilities in upland areas around Abbotsford. Offsetting these attractions were known drainage problems affecting such low-lying areas as Yarrow and Greendale and heavy timber and stump stands such as those around Abbotsford.




Methods of Land Procurement

Most Mennonites who took up land in the Fraser Valley during the early years of the establishment of Mennonite communities procured tracts in one of three ways. The first and very interesting way involved the already mentioned

Mr. Eckert, who, together with Mr. E. A. Crain, owned sizeable tracts near Agassiz and the little railroad station of Yarrow. Mr. Eckert acted somewhat in the role of a "locator"¹ for many Mennonite farmers. With his help and general good will toward Mennonites, born out of earlier associations with the group in Eastern Canada and the United States, the Yarrow settlement was able to get under way. He sold the original tracts on long-term credit, furnished the first building materials for the farmsteads, procured agricultural machinery and then waited long and patiently for repayment -- in so doing, becoming the revered patron of the community.²

The municipal and provincial governments also had a hand in locating the Mennonites in the Fraser Valley. In 1931 Matsqui Municipality had specifically reserved a tract near the present Clearbrook settlement for these people. Later in the same year it offered for sale at public auction two sections of land in the Abbotsford area between the International Boundary and Huntingdon Road (Map 8). This was an opportunity open to all, but it was a special chance for the Mennonites who might now acquire adjacent tracts and again settle together in a block. Only a few of the Mennonites present at this auction, however, availed themselves of this opportunity because they had expected the minimum price per acre to be \$5.00 when actually it turned out to be \$10.00. Many soon realized what a mistake they had made in not buying

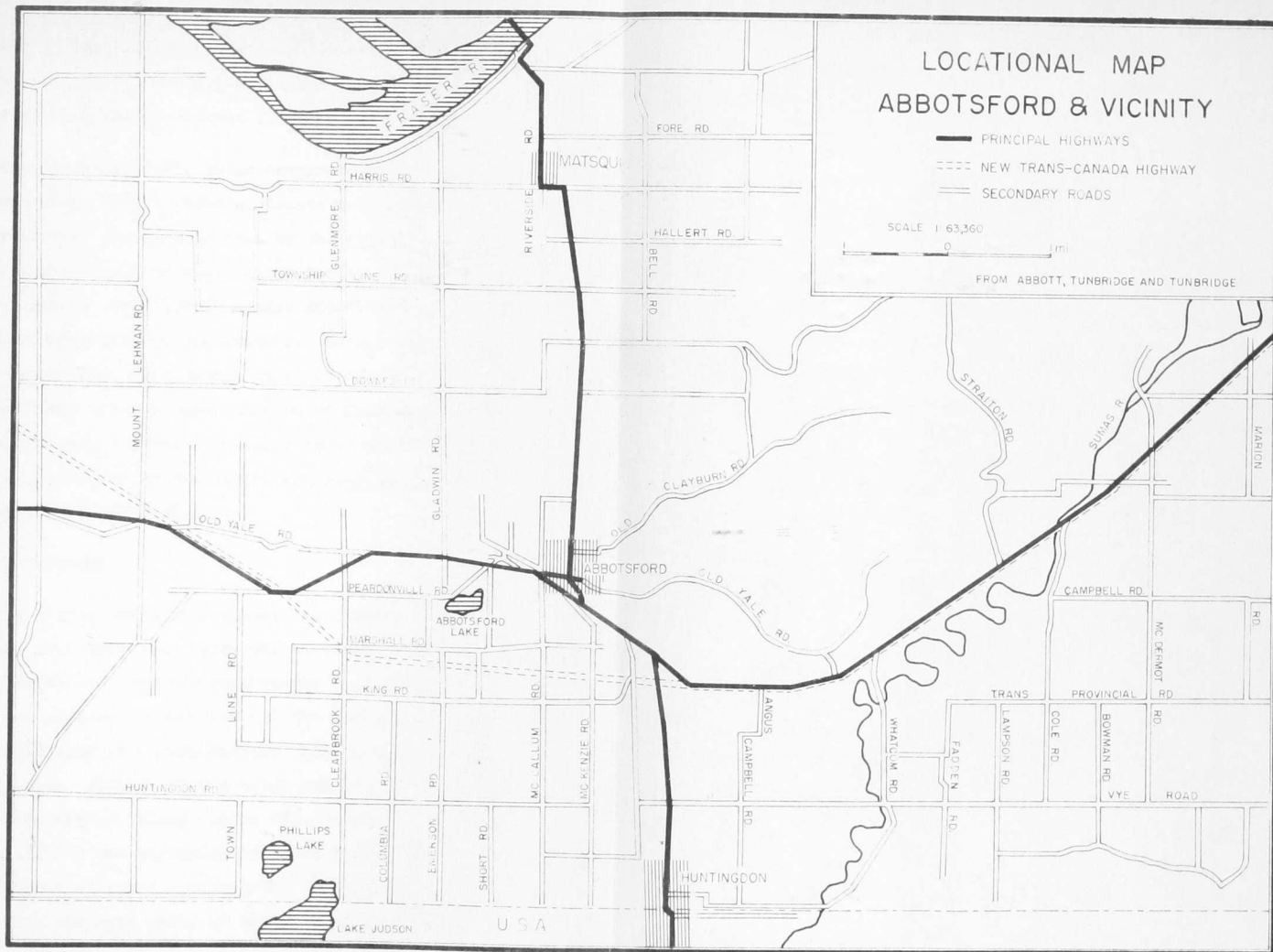
LOCATIONAL MAP ABBOTSFORD & VICINITY

-  PRINCIPAL HIGHWAYS
-  NEW TRANS-CANADA HIGHWAY
-  SECONDARY ROADS

SCALE 1:63,360



FROM ABBOTT, TUNBRIDGE AND TUNBRIDGE



the land even at this price, since they ended up paying more for the land land in the ensuing weeks and months to speculators who had quickly bought it up.

Simultaneously with these developments and later, wherever Mennonites were to settle, tracts were individually procured by private purchase or even by the acquisition of homesteads. As a result of their close family ties and strong group consciousness these people always endeavoured to buy up plots in close proximity to one another. This was particularly successful in the area that became known as "South Abbotsford" and also north and south of the junction of Clearbrook Road and the Trans Canada Highway. In other rural areas entered by Mennonites, and also in Vancouver, grouping was possible only to more limited degrees.

Periods of Settlement

The thirty years of Mennonite settlement in the Fraser Valley that were thus begun may be divided roughly into three periods of overall development: (1) the pioneer years, (2) the post-war "boom" and (3) the period of large scale centralization and urbanization. During this time there was a progressive increase in the total number of Mennonites resident in the Fraser Valley (Table IV). The first period lasted from 1928 to the beginning of World War II and saw the establishment of first settlements. The second period, coinciding with the last years of the war and the immediate

post-war years, saw an upsurge in the economy and a marked acceleration of the influx of Mennonites from the Prairie Provinces and elsewhere. The third period, beginning around 1950, still witnessed a relatively high rate of influx, but also a gradual change in orientation of Mennonite settlements from the rural farm to the rural non-farm and the urban.

A substantiation of these changes in the size, structure and orientation of the entire Mennonite community in the Fraser Valley is provided by a table of church membership figures (Table XVII). This table is more closely analysed later and so serves here only as an index to the overall trend. A continuous growth is evident, as well as an increase in the rate of growth just after the war. Of particular interest is the retardation of growth in rural churches and the simultaneous disproportionate growth in urban churches during the last period.

Pioneer Period

In the consideration of the pioneer period of Mennonite settlement the first area that must be mentioned is Agassiz. Mr. Eckert and his partner owned a farm there and so they encouraged some of the Mennonites arriving from the Prairies to rent tracts on it. A few complied, but they soon found that there were not nearly enough opportunities for remunerative employment available, certainly not as many as were offered in the hop yards close to the newly established

settlement of Yarrow. Without this part-time employment it was impossible to make a living in these early years. It was also found that there were no really good tracts of land available near Agassiz for a sizeable group settlement. Very soon these people began seeking land elsewhere, and most of them found it in the Abbotsford area.

Settlement began in earnest with the establishment of the Yarrow community. Mr. Eckert met the first group of families that arrived at the small station on the B. C. Electric Railway line known as Yarrow and assisted them in the establishment of an initial communal residence on Mountain Road. He had for their settlement a tract of 700 acres, divided into 10 acre parcels. They were to pay \$150 per acre -- actually a high price at the time -- and were to be given ample time for repayment. Mr. Eckert was willing, as was previously indicated, to furnish tractors and cattle to get the settlement under way. Soon the first families were settled in their crude dwellings -- and it was not long before other groups of families arrived.

The land itself needed to be cleared of its poplar trees and brush, and of logs which had floated in during high level periods in old Sumas Lake. Wood was skidded in from the railway for the erection of dwellings and out-buildings. Drainage ditches were dug, fences built and rough roads laid out.

The community sustained itself during these difficult years by the returns of the work of all able-bodied men in the nearby hop yards, municipal maintenance projects and other jobs. Grown-up girls of many of the families were sent into Vancouver to augment the family budget by wages earned as servants and housekeepers. During hop-picking season, everyone from the youngsters to the grandparents went out to earn as much as they could. While earning a living elsewhere the settlers somehow managed to prepare their farmland and experiment with a variety of crops.

Eventually it was found, largely by trial and error, that crops such as sugar beets, beans, lettuce, asparagus, cabbage and carrots were all not suitable to the soil and drainage conditions. Raspberries and strawberries, particularly the first, offered the greatest possibilities and have remained the mainstay of the community ever since. The soil fulfills the needs of the raspberry plant, and to a lesser extent those of the strawberry plant too, in that it has a reasonable fertility and good subsoil drainage. The climate of the area provides a fair amount of rainfall, sufficiently high temperatures in summer and an assurance of an adequate number of frost-free days. A belt along the dyke has proved particularly productive because of the steady seepage of moisture from the canal, which supplements natural precipitation in the dry season.

The depression of the early 1930's kept the community in financial straits longer than might have been necessary had it been farther along in its development. By 1935, however, many farms were productive enough to allow the heads of households, at least, to remain at home.

Yarrow survived initial hardships and grew steadily, in spite of the fears held by Mennonite leaders elsewhere in Canada, from whose congregations people were moving to British Columbia, that it would not prosper financially. Very soon after its establishment an institutional framework grew up in it. The church, obviously the most important institution in the community, existed from earliest times right in the homes of the settlers. In 1932 the Mennonite Brethren faction built their first church building, only to replace it in 1938 with a much larger structure, which, with alterations, remains the building in use today. The General Conference Mennonite group did not build their church until 1936. This building, somewhat altered, is also still the present church. A bible school was established in 1934 by the Mennonite Brethren church to fulfill their needs for trained personnel. Secular schooling was under public administration from the start. The first building provided in 1929 was replaced in 1931 by a new, municipally built one-room school. Further facilities in this respect were added later. It was not until after the war that the community, with government permission, built a private high school. This school, as well as the

Mennonite Educational Institute built in Clearbrook, was to conform to governmentally set academic standards, but to draw its support entirely from the community it served.

In 1937 the Mennonites of Yarrow organized a co-operative amongst themselves which was to provide consumer goods at lower prices on the one hand and facilitate the marketing of produce on the other. Going beyond the pioneer period for a moment, it may be noted that the Co-op grew in assets, till in 1948 it boasted a \$52,000 processing plant with some \$30,000 of equipment in it. In the slump year of 1949, however, charges of mismanagement were laid against the management, in view of their inability to dispose of 1948's bumper crop and the heavy debts they had incurred in over-ambitious expansion schemes. Shareholders lost faith in the establishment and voted for liquidation. They finally realized some 29¢ on the dollar.

Electricity was brought to the community in 1936. Other facilities, such as pavement and sidewalks had to wait a good deal longer.

Local government was organized in an unofficial manner during the early years in order to cope with problems of providing basic utilities such as roads and water and in order to head off emergencies. All the property owners made up a council, and elected a chairman or "Schultze" after the old form, as well as a secretary. In 1944 the Yarrow Waterworks

Board was granted a charter and it became the first official governing body of the community. In this capacity it achieved the installation of a fresh water supply from a nearby mountain creek after seepage from barns and septic tanks was found to be polluting the wells. In addition it was responsible for the organization of a fire department. It has since served to mediate between the Chilliwack township and Yarrow ratepayers, and has also become the mouthpiece for organized opinion in the community.

In 1930, J. C. Krause, one of the earliest settlers in Yarrow, together with two partners, bought up a tract of land north and east of the Vedder canal. They realized that the influx of Mennonites would probable increase in volume and that these would soon be in need of more land for settlement. They closely inspected and classified their new tract and then made it available through an agent in Chilliwack to incoming settlers. This became then the Greendale Mennonite settlement.

At the outset it was hoped that this area would be taken up exclusively by Mennonites of the General Conference group and the Yarrow area be left to those of the Mennonite Brethren persuasion, but an intermingling took place nevertheless. Immediately from the beginning of the Greendale settlement a "Conference" church was organized; the "M.B.'s" organized independently some four to five years later.

The first Mennonites coming into the Abbotsford area around 1930 from the abandoned Agassiz settlement and from uneconomical prairie farms found generally fertile, well-drained land, but also a heavy second growth of forest in many places and huge stumps everywhere.

The earliest settlers took up land especially reserved for them by the Matsqui Municipality north of the Trans-Canada highway along what has become Clearbrook Road (Map 8). A forest fire had burnt over the area in 1928, leaving a strip of tall pines unscorched along Old Yale Road -- a good number of which have been preserved to the present time. Elsewhere a low brush of small pines, alders, birches and hemlocks predominated. Land in the area was relatively inexpensive, but it proved also to be of low agricultural potential.

A short time later, as has already been noted, in connection with the methods of land procurement, a number of Mennonite settlers acquired land south of the Clearbrook area by purchase through auction and from private holders. Their sites had been recently logged off, for the most part, and were covered by low brush, a tangle of logging slash and a veritable forest of stumps and snags.

Settlers there, as in Yarrow and elsewhere, were obliged to work for wages in the early years until their farms became self-supporting. The depression, of course, made jobs hard to get and wages low. Many cycled long distances

to work on farms in Sumas Prairie -- one of the earliest settlement areas in the Fraser Valley. Others got jobs on road building projects initiated by the municipality. In their spare time they worked hard to clear plots for buildings, then for the planting of tree fruits and small fruits, and eventually the seeding of fields for pasture. Until 1940 they did this chiefly by hand implements and the occasional use of stumping powder. Later dynamite came into very wide use and it, together with the bulldozer, facilitated the clearing "boom" that began in the early 1940's.

The typical Mennonite farmstead in Abbotsford, as well as in other Fraser Valley settlements, consisted of unpretentious buildings, which were usually set back a good distance from the road or trail and constructed of whatever lumber could be purchased or manufactured right on the property itself. People split their own shakes for roofing and siding and long staves for rail fences. Paint and other decorations were rarely used. As little land as possible was used for yards and every available plot of cleared land was used for crops. Cattle were grazed on land that had had the brush removed and grasses seeded between the stumps.

The Mennonite Brethren church was organized among these settlers as early as the spring of 1932. The congregation first met in the Farmer's Institute Hall in Clearbrook Road, south of King Road (Map 8), but this location imposed

hardships on many who had to walk long distances to attend services. In 1935 it was decided to build two churches, one at the corner of Old Yale and Clearbrook roads, the antecedent of the present church there, and the other on Emerson Road south of Huntingdon. Both of these buildings had to be enlarged within a few years.

In Abbotsford, as in Yarrow, Mennonites of both "Conference" and "M. B." groups banded together into a co-operative. Here, however, the purpose was largely the procurement of consumer goods at lower than general retail prices. In 1937 a store was opened in a private home on Huntingdon Road, and then a year later it was moved to a separate building on its present site. After three or four years in these rather cramped quarters a new building was erected and a branch store opened in the Clearbrook area. In 1954 the whole Co-op was sold to private individuals and a progressive liquidation has gone on since then.

To complete the picture regarding Mennonite co-ops, it might be interjected here that a co-op for the marketing of produce was formed in Abbotsford among the Mennonites and a few of their non-Mennonite neighbors in 1952-1953. Its plant was erected just off the Abbotsford-Mission highway, where it functioned successfully until being moved in 1959 to its new location on the Trans Canada Highway near Clearbrook.

Mennonites began to move into the Mission area in

1933. They came from the Prairies, as those moving into Yarrow and Abbotsford had done, and established small fruit farms on the hilly terrain north of the Fraser, as well as larger general farms on the Matsqui flats. To supplement meager returns on their farm lands they took jobs in sawmills and wherever else they were available.

At first members of both the Mennonite Brethren and General Conference persuasion met together for worship in private homes. In 1940 the General Conference people established their own church north of Mission. It was not until 1945, when the economic upsurge of the late war years and the associated increase in the number of Mennonite migrants into British Columbia were well underway, that the Mennonite Brethren adherents acquired a church just north of the village of Matsqui.

Even though the predominant orientation of the Mennonites in the Fraser Valley was still rural some families already were moving into Vancouver in the early 30's. By 1935 there were some half-dozen Mennonite homes established near Fraser Street. The plotting of families making up the Vancouver M. B. church and the First Mennonite (Conference) church (Map 12) mirrors this early conscious attempt at close settlement in an urban area.

The reasons for movement into the city were largely economic. People needed jobs and these could be found in the

saw mills on the North Arm of the Fraser River. Wages, however were only some 25 to 35 cents an hour and the general economic conditions as difficult there as anywhere else at this time. Eventually other avenues of employment opened for the Mennonites, including skilled and professional occupations, until at the present time the economic base of the Mennonite community here is relatively broad.

The one main Mennonite institution that was able to survive the shift from rural to urban, the church, was organized in the city soon after the people settled there. Mennonite Brethren and General Conference adherents at first worshipped together in a hall at 49th Avenue and Fraser Street. In 1937 separate churches were organized and buildings provided.

An interesting smaller institution, antedating the earliest Mennonite church in the area was the "Mädchenheim" or girls' home, established in 1929. It helped Mennonite girls coming into the city to find jobs and generally sought to shelter them from harmful influences. In a modified form the home exists to the present time.

Post-War "Boom"

During the war years and immediately after them the Canadian economy, only recently recovered from the great depression lag, was experiencing a forward thrust in response to demands for increased production in a wide range of fields. In agriculture, all existing capital goods and land resources

had to be utilized in the most efficient manner possible. Markets presented few problems; the major problem was to be able to deliver. In the Prairie Provinces, where farmers already had had to make drastic adjustments in crops, machinery and acreage to the market and to drought conditions in the decade before the war, mechanization and consolidation of farm holdings gathered momentum. In British Columbia intensification of land use through mechanization, chemical fertilization, irrigation and the introduction of improved stocks was going on, together with an extension of the area under cultivation, as well. The physical value of production increased some forty per cent here from 1941-1951. The improved land areas increased some twenty-five per cent.³ Larger farms of over 100 acres were increasing only slowly in number, whereas the smaller farms, particularly those between 4 and 50 acres, were increasing very quickly. This reflected the possibilities for production on small, intensively-farmed plots as well as a desire on the part of many farmers to operate with as little hired labour as possible and perhaps even to operate the farm as a sideline to more profitable employment elsewhere.

Against the background of these overall economic factors the influx of Mennonites into B. C. increased markedly, as did the general migration of population westward (Map 3). The trend toward the liquidation of marginal farms on the Prairies and their consolidation into larger holdings heightened the attraction of small economic acreages in B. C. for many a

Mennonite farmer, tired of the rigors of grain farm work and Prairie climate. Just as important to many prospective Mennonite migrants were the attractions of religious and educational opportunities that could be offered by rapidly growing settlements such as Yarrow, Abbotsford or Greendale. Added to all this, of course, was the ever-present attraction of a moderate climate and a beautifully-green, mountain-ringed location.

In the established Mennonite settlements all through the Fraser Valley incoming Mennonites, using the capital acquired through liquidation of holdings elsewhere in Canada, bought up more and more of the land held by non-Mennonites. Those who had come in as pioneers built new homes and barns. Implements and vehicles were replaced and supplemented. In areas where land remained to be cleared, particularly in the Abbotsford and Aldergrove areas, dynamite and bulldozers were brought into service on a large scale to win new acreage. Many landowners found it profitable, moreover, to subdivide their holdings and realize tidy profits on the resale of plots to other Mennonite farmers who were willing to establish farms on a smaller scale.

New church buildings that sprang up during the immediate post-war period attested visibly to the increasing prominence of the Mennonites in many communities. No fewer than nine churches were built within the 1945-1949 period -- each one of them, because of the locational policies of the

builders, being fairly accurately in the center of a new group of Mennonite households, (Map 4).

The new schools built in these years, while also marks of the physical expansion of the community, showed something of heightened group consciousness and aspirations as well. The first one was established in Abbotsford in 1944 and housed in a new building in 1946. The other one was built in Yarrow soon after. Both helped to focus the orientation of the Mennonites on these two localities. After the economic decline of Yarrow in 1949, Abbotsford, and more particularly the new settlement of Clearbrook, became the major center of Mennonitism in the valley. (Figure 4)

The rise of Mennonite centers during the latter part of the post war "surge" merits further mention here and special consideration as to structure later in this study. In response to needs for services, a business district, largely operated by Mennonite businessmen, grew up in Yarrow. Clearbrook advanced from its "crossroad-filling-station" status to that of a service "village" too. General stores, garages and a few other services, usually operated by Mennonites, were established near a number of churches. Such centers, hardly deserving the title of "hamlets" may be seen at Greendale, Arnold, South Abbotsford and West Abbotsford (Maps 14 and 15). The center at South Abbotsford was later to undergo an interesting shift as the result of the abandonment of the old church and the building of a new one approximately one half-mile



Figure 4. Mennonite Schools in the Fraser Valley

- a. Mennonite Educational Institute, Clearbrook.
- b. Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Yarrow.
- c. Former S.M.C.I., Yarrow.
- d. Mennonite Brethren Bible School, Clearbrook.

distant.

Present Period of Centralization and Urbanization

The accelerating demand on the part of prospective home builders and real estate promoters for lots on the one hand and the pressure exerted on farmers by the rising costs of upkeep, mechanization and rationalization on the other are at present converting more and more farm land in the Fraser Valley, as elsewhere, to non-agricultural uses. This has brought new patterns of settlement and, indeed, a new social and cultural orientation in its wake for the Mennonites -- as will be brought out in greater detail in the last chapter. Alternative and more lucrative opportunities for employment have for some time now been inducing very many Mennonite young people to leave the farms and come to the city. Landowners thus left without successors to cultivate their land are being forced to sell and move into towns and cities as well. It is reported from the area that the buyers of these farms are largely European immigrants, as is the case in other parts of Canada. It seems that they are still willing, together with their families, to take up a 30-40 acre dairy farm. Farmers on small, formerly economical tracts of land, find they must take on additional employment and join the increasing stream of long distance commuters coming from rural Fraser Valley points into areas where employment may be found in construction, milling or other pursuits. Often these owners subdivide their properties or simply dispose of them entirely. The dominant pattern of employment resembles again the

wage-earning, part-time farming situation of the pioneer period, except that it is a deliberate move away from agriculture and carries with it little hope^{or desire} for a return to full-time farming.

An index of this large scale change in settlement patterns of the Mennonites is the trend in congregational grouping and new church construction. Since 1950-1951 most of the new congregations organized and new churches erected have been in rural non-farm or urban areas (Table XV). Certainly the recent ^swell~~a~~ing of membership numbers in Mennonite churches in Clearbrook, Chilliwack and especially Vancouver indicate well this trend toward urbanization. In the following chapter this large scale shift and other related changes and conditions among the Mennonites in the Fraser Valley will be dealt with in terms of statistics.

Footnotes and References

1 A man who precedes a group of settlers into an area and works to facilitate initial division of land, upkeep of the settlers while they are getting established and so forth. It is an ancient term used, for example, with reference to individuals who led eastward Germanic settlement movements into Central Europe during the 12th and 13th centuries.

2 One of the community's main roads is respectfully named Eckert Road.

3 J. M. Smith, Canada's Economic Growth and Development from 1939 to 1955, Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, Hull, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1956, vol. 14, p. 277.

CHAPTER V

A STATISTICAL DELINEATION OF THE SITUATION OF THE MENNONITES IN THE FRASER VALLEY

Valuable facts come to light when one compiles statistics on any situation, breaks them down into component parts and analyses them with the help of various techniques and formulae. To provide the basis for such an analysis of the distribution and characteristics of the Mennonites in the Fraser Valley, statistical information was gathered from a number of sources. These sources, which were different in some respects than those most often utilized in other geographic studies, must be discussed and evaluated before actual figures can be quoted.

Sources

The Census of Canada for 1951 provides data on Mennonites as a religious denomination. It enumerates:

The specific religious denomination of which the person was either a member or to which he adhered or favoured...¹

This probably gives fairly accurate figures as to numbers of Mennonites in the various areas and under various classifications because the great majority of them, whether they belong to

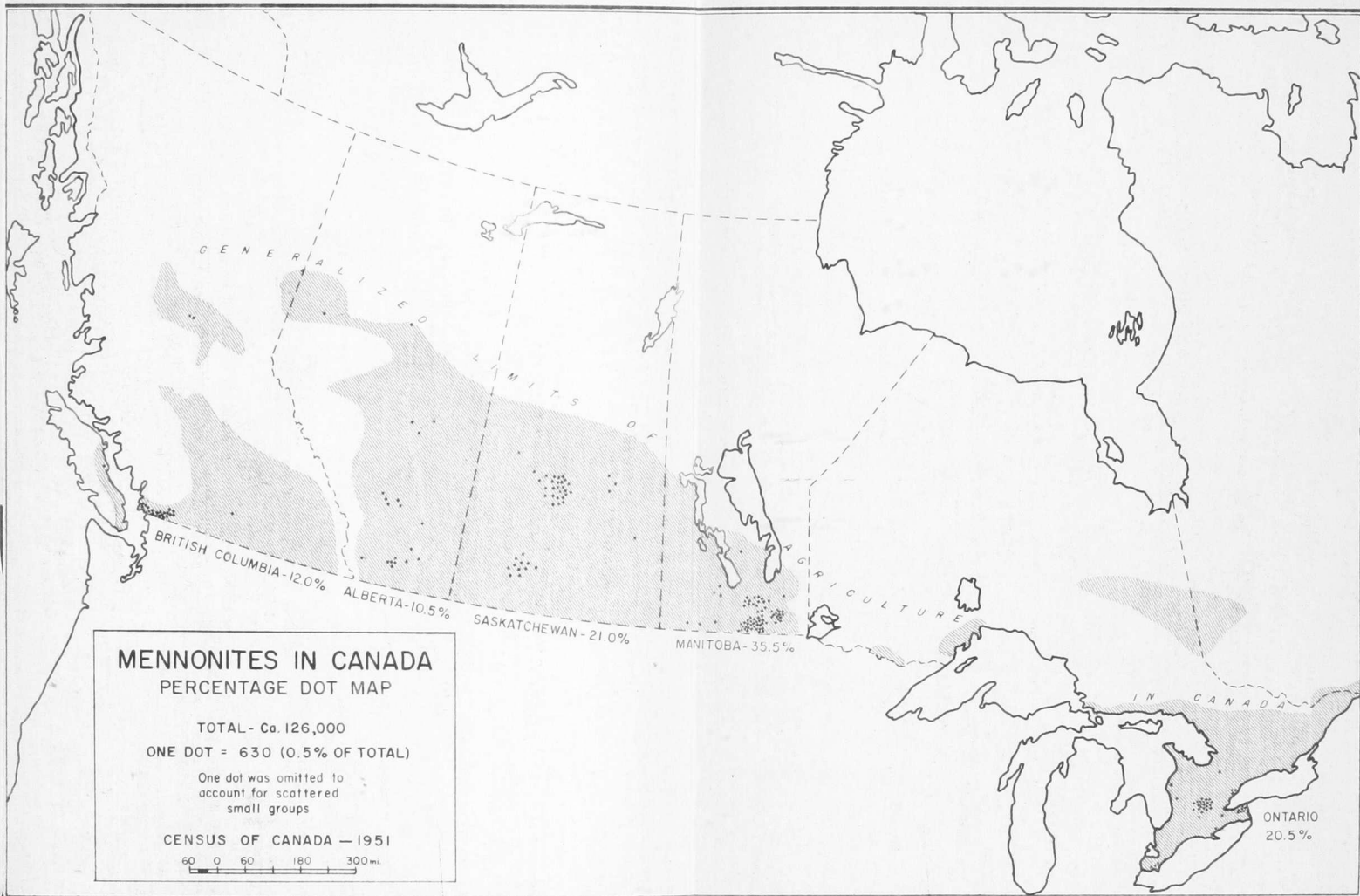
one or another of the four sub-groups mentioned,² would acknowledge themselves as Mennonites without hesitation, since their adherence is a deep-seated cultural as well as religious affair. Even those who do not have membership in any particular church congregation would not readily deny their heritage.

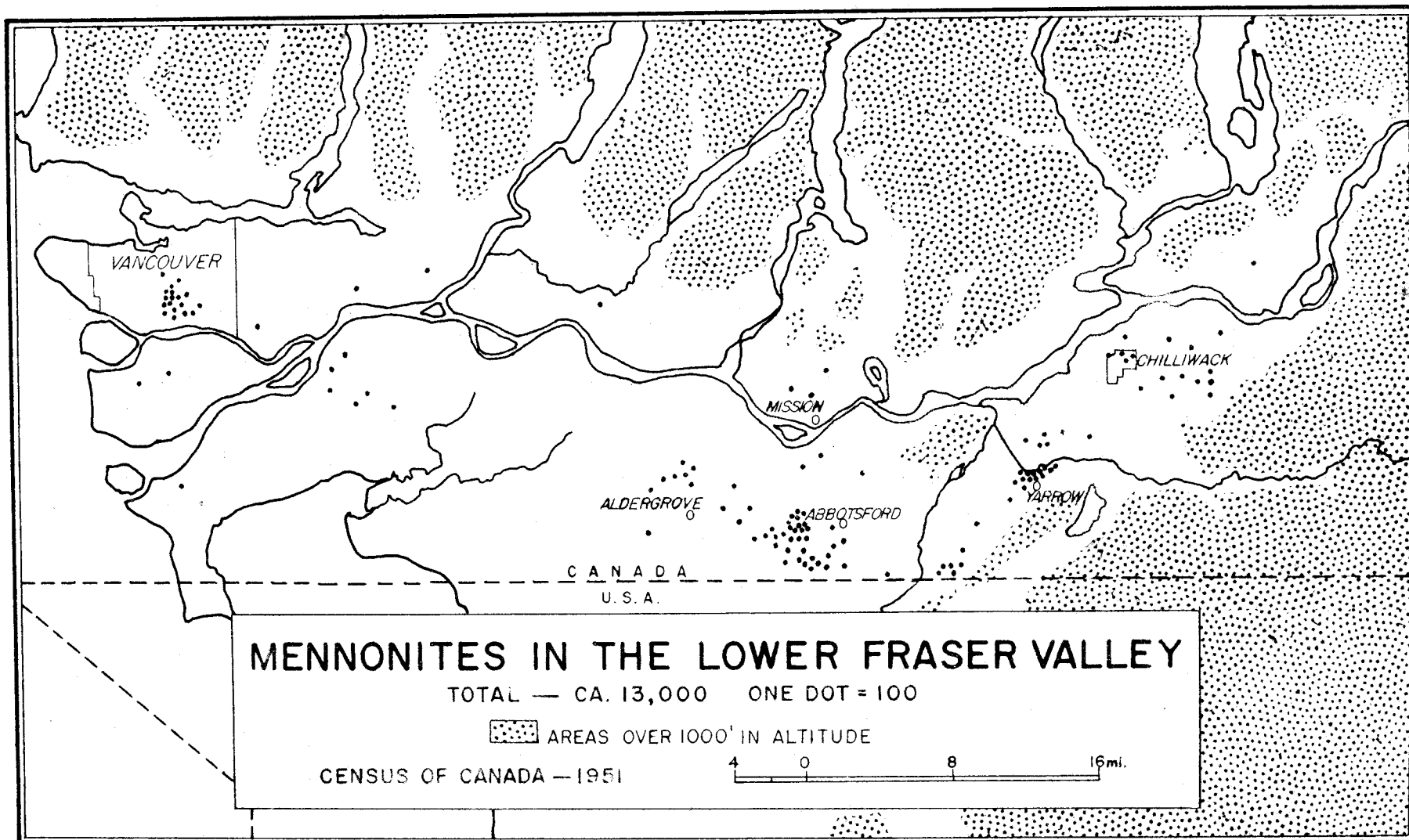
Origin statistics were not utilized because of the confusion regarding concepts such as nationality, birth place and race that enters into a consideration of this type.

N. B. Snyder, in a discussion of the usefulness of Canadian origin statistics summarizes the limitations of this data well when he states that:

...it seems fair to conclude that the usefulness in research of Canadian statistics on origins is probably limited for the most part to the dividing of the population into four broad groups: the British, the French, the other whites and the non-whites, and that attempts to carry out serious, more detailed research on origins requires extreme caution, particularly with regard to variations through time.³

Much valuable information was gained from individual church records wherever they were in a sufficiently systematic and orderly form. The records of the Frasersview Mennonite Brethren Church in Vancouver provided the most useful data, and this is analysed in detail below. It is interesting to note that the emphasis in most of the Mennonite church records on family descendance, personalities involved in church leadership and data relating to the spiritual growth of the church, rather than on the simple numerical characteristics of the group, their economic and cultural standing and the like.





MAP 10.

A. SIEMENS

The latter considerations are appearing more and more frequently, however, as the organization of the churches becomes more unified and methods of recording are perfected and extended. The published church directories were useful in outlining the tributary regions of the respective churches.

In addition to the individual church records, the yearbooks of the several British Columbia, Canadian and North American Conferences⁴ of which the churches in the Fraser Valley are members, in one way or another, provided useful material -- particularly regarding past membership totals.

Municipal voter's lists were used in several of the rural municipalities of the Valley, where Mennonites are most numerous, in order to find the ratio of Mennonites to non-Mennonites.

Field inquiries supplemented all of these, particularly to facilitate the delimitation of church tributary regions and the tracing of historical developments.

Distributions

The percentage dot map showing the Mennonite population of Canada (Map 9), as compiled from 1951 Census figures, indicates that 12.0% of Canada's 126,000 Mennonites, or some 15,000 of them, were resident in British Columbia. This compares with the 35.5% in Manitoba, 21.0% in Saskatchewan, 20.5% in Ontario and 10.5% in Alberta. The entire Mennonite population of Canada is .9% of the total Canadian population.

Of British Columbia's 15,000 Mennonites the overwhelming majority, or at least 12,900, were in the Fraser Valley in 1951.⁵ It may be projected on the basis of increases in the province's Mennonite church enrolment from 1951 to 1957 that this figure rose to some 16,900 in 1958. This is in the same order of magnitude as an estimate of 17,⁰900 made by the Rev. A. A. Wiens of Yarrow, secretary of the British Columbia office of the Mennonite Central Committee and a man well acquainted with trends in the Mennonite community.⁶

The dot map showing Mennonites in the Fraser Valley (Map 10), compiled from 1951 Census data and correlated with the map of church tributary regions (Map 4), indicates concentrations of Mennonites in the essentially rural municipalities of Matsqui and Chilliwack, a concentration in Vancouver and scatterings elsewhere. The following table gives the exact numbers involved.

Table III

Total of Mennonites in Sub-divisions of Census Division
No. 4 - 1951⁷

Lower Fraser Valley	12,940
1. District Municipalities	
Chilliwack	3,871
Coquitlam	52
Delta	124
Fraser Mills	-
Kent	35
Langley	818
Maple Ridge	71
Matsqui	3,733
Mission	325
Pitt Meadows	16
Sumas	1,234
Surrey	400
Unorganized	64
	<u>11,339</u>

Total	11,339
2. Vancouver Metropolitan Area	
City Proper	1,624
Richmond	160
Surrey	204
Burnaby	75
Coquitlam	52
New Westminster	43
Other sub-divisions combined	25
	<u>2,183</u>

Note: There is some slight overlapping in these two sub-divisions, therefore a minor discrepancy appears between the Lower Fraser Valley total and the sum of the totals of the District Municipalities and the Metropolitan Area.

A further table, also obtained from the Census, shows the increase of the Mennonite population of B. C.:

Table IV

Total Numbers of Mennonites in B. C., 1901-1951⁸

1901	11
11	189
21	172
31	1,085
41	5,105
51	15,387

The increase, therefore, has been continuous and fairly rapid, except for a short period around 1921 when settlements in Central British Columbia failed and had to be partly abandoned.

Characteristics of Mennonite Population

A closer analysis of figures obtained from the census, church records and field inquiries, provides interesting information on many aspects of the internal

structure of the group, particularly when these figures are compared with those for the entire populations of British Columbia and of Canada. The Mennonites of this province and of the whole country, as well, have much greater percentages of their total numbers resident in rural areas than is the case for the rest of the population of federal and provincial levels. This clearly reflects persisting agrarian tendencies up to 1951. It must be remembered, however, that the rural-urban relationship will have been altered for both Mennonites and non-Mennonites since 1951. Certainly it is evident from church membership trends in the Fraser Valley that a greater percentage of the Mennonites there are urban now than were so in 1951. An interesting deviation from national and provincial male-female breakdowns is also evident, as the following table shows:

Table V

Male-Female Breakdown - 1951⁹

	<u>Canadian Total</u>	<u>Canadian Mennonites</u>	<u>B. C. Total</u>	<u>B. C. Mennonites</u>
Total	14,009,429	125,938	1,165,210	15,387
M.	7,008,873	62,912	596,961	7,547
F.	6,920,556	63,026	568,249	7,840

There are more females than males in the Mennonite populations of the nation and of B. C., in contrast to an opposite trend in the total populations of both regions. This is largely, no doubt, a result of the recent immigration of numerous

female Mennonite refugees from Eastern Europe where many of their husbands, fathers and brothers were war casualties or victims of slave labour.

Patterns of Immigration

From the 1952 and 1957 issues of the Canadian Mennonite Conference Yearbook¹⁰ certain facts regarding the stream of Mennonite immigrants into Canada and into British Columbia may be ascertained. In general, since the early 1920's, there have been two main waves of Mennonite immigrants, one from 1922-1926 and another from 1947-1951, with sizeable numbers entering the country in the intervening years. The table below cites some figures regarding this influx:

Table VI

Immigrants Brought in under the Auspices of the
Mennonite Board of Colonization¹¹

1. 1923	2,759	2. 1947	542
24	5,048	48	3,824
25	3,772	49	1,635
26	5,940	50	580
27	847	51	1,118
28	511	52	611
29	1,019	53	431
30	305	54	417
	<u>20,201</u>	55	558
		56	465
		57	385
			<u>10,570</u>

Until recently these immigrants were coming mainly from European countries. In the last two or three years, however, the contingent coming from Paraguay has grown in

significance and at present it is the largest part of the influx. Figures available on the classification of these immigrants as to origin follow:

Table VII

Origin of Immigrants Brought in by
Mennonite Board of Colonization¹²

	Immigrants arriving 1947 - June, 1957	Immigrants arriving June 1956 - June 1957
Europe	3,852	37
Paraguay	2,092	651
Brazil	57	8
Uruguay	21	9
China	26	-
Mexico	13	-
Argentina	8	1
Columbia	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	10,570	707

Of the immigrants coming into Canada from 1947 - 1952 some 25% have come to British Columbia. Only Manitoba has received a greater percentage, as seen below:

Table VIII

Destinations of Mennonite Immigrants - 1947-1952¹³

Prince Edward Island	2
New Brunswick	2
Quebec	7
Ontario	1,235
Manitoba	2,552
Saskatchewan	1,135
Alberta	1,090
British Columbia	<u>2,006</u>
	8,029

For the same period, 1947-1952 a breakdown of Mennonite immigrants is available, showing that a greater

number of females than males entered Canada -- for reasons already referred to in the discussion of Male-Female Classifications.

Table IX

Classification According to Sex of Immigrants
Arriving in 1947-1952¹⁴

Intact families	967
Widows and women whose men were taken into slave labour	1,072
Widowers and men whose women were taken into slave labour	171
Single men	590
Single women	598

Concentrations

It has already been pointed out that on the map showing the distribution of Mennonites in the Fraser Valley (Map 10) the municipalities of Matsqui and Chilliwack stand out with their particularly heavy concentrations of these people. From the voters' lists of these two municipalities some idea of the percentage of the population that is Mennonite within them can be gained by singling out those registered voters with typical Mennonite names and comparing their number with that of the non-Mennonites.

It must be interjected here that it is possible to identify Mennonite names generally, and also to differentiate between the names that may be found within various strains of Mennonitism. A good deal of work has been done by scholars, notably Dr. B. H. Unruh of Karlsruhe, Germany, to

establish origins of Mennonite names and to classify them.¹⁵ The great majority of Mennonites in the Fraser Valley are clearly of the strain that originated in the Netherlands and North Germany, moved from there to Prussia, Russia and finally to North America -- in contrast to the other main strain that originated in Switzerland and what is now Southwestern Germany, moved from there to Pennsylvania and other Eastern and Mid-western States. From church directories a list of names peculiar to these people was compiled (Table XVI). When encountered in records by anyone at all familiar with them they stand out clearly.

It was found in this way that 34% of the voters of Matsqui and 27% of those in Chilliwack were Mennonites. When compared with the breakdown of major ethnic groups for Census Division 4 of B. C. the above percentages show that Mennonites make up a considerably higher proportion of the population of these municipalities than is the case for the population of the entire division.

Table X

Ethnic Breakdown in Census Division No. 4 of British Columbia¹⁶

		% of Total
Total Population of Division -	649,238	
British	442,893	68.2
Scandinavian	35,167	5.4
German	29,004	4.4
French	22,862	3.5
Netherland	22,289	3.4
Ukrainian	13,117	2.9

The German and Netherland segments, under either or both of

which Mennonites might be classified ethnically, together make up only 7.8% of the population of the division.

A further refinement regarding concentration was obtained from post office registries in the villages of Yarrow and Clearbrook. Using Mennonite names as criteria again it was found that in both settlements the Mennonite to Non-Mennonite ratio was 3:1. To call them "Mennonite towns", as many casual observers do, is therefore quite justifiable.

The degree of concentration of Mennonites within the Vancouver Metropolitan Area is best conveyed visually, as on the isopleth map showing the concentration of Mennonite families within the area (Map 17). A rough quadrangle, bounded on the north by King Edward Avenue, on the east by Victoria Drive, on the south by the North Arm of the Fraser and on the west by Cambie Street enclosed most of these families. A scattering may be found concentrically around this area. A new grouping has taken place in 1957-1959 east of Victoria Drive into Burnaby. This trend will no doubt be accentuated if and when the proposed new Mennonite Brethren church is built in that general vicinity.

Shifts in the Center of Gravity of the Group

To give some idea of the movements that have taken place within the Mennonite community of the Fraser Valley over the last twenty years the centers of gravity were calculated for church membership figures throughout the area at two-year intervals. (Earlier centers could not be calculated because

of the inadequacy of available figures). These points were then collated into a centrogram and the movement of the centers noted (Map 4).

Church membership figures were used for a number of reasons. They were, first of all, the only yearly statistics on Mennonites available. Then, even though they do not include younger children and deviants, they seem a fairly constant index of the whole. This is so because, traditionally, these people are very closely connected to their church and hence there are not very many families who are not represented on the church role. Also, most of the churches induct young people in their early teens and thus ensure a fairly constant increase. The reliability of these figures as indices is substantiated by the relationship evident between figures for total Mennonite populations in Census Division No. 4 of B. C. and figures for church membership in the years 1941 and 1951. In the first case membership figures are 34.6% of the total Mennonite population; in 1951 the percentage is 36.6, a difference of only 2%. It may be assumed, therefore, that large scale trends in church membership figures mirror trends in the entire Mennonite community. In this case we are able to recognize changing settlement patterns in the whole group from shifts in membership figures.

The center of gravity moves first eastward and then pronouncedly westward from 1940-1958. This locus is in clear and close correspondence with other factors. In the period between 1940-1950, for which the center moved eastward, the

destination of Mennonites migrating from the Prairies into B. C. and those immigrating from Europe was predominantly into rural areas of the Valley -- thus swelling church memberships in places such as Chilliwack, Greendale, Yarrow and Abbotsford. Around 1950 a remarkable reversal took place, as a result of a decrease in job opportunities in rural areas together with a decrease in attractiveness of existing opportunities there -- over against the increased attractiveness of the urban environment in many respects. In any case, a strong movement toward Vancouver becomes evident in the pronounced westward shift of the center. This movement probably represents the most significant large scale social change going on amongst Mennonites, and the surrounding population too, for that matter.

Further deductions as to minor variations in the locus of the center of gravity are not warranted because of the frequent minor irregularities in the way church secretaries send statistics into conference headquarters. The line is useful simply to illustrate a general trend.

The Fraserview Mennonite Brethren Church -- An Example Study

From the well organized and relatively comprehensive records of the Fraserview Mennonite Brethren Church of Vancouver it was possible to obtain detailed information regarding the membership and thus to illustrate on the level of one individual church a number of general points made elsewhere in this thesis.

At the close of 1957 the church had a total of 449 members, which represented 188 families. Including children 21 years old and under who were not classed as members, the church had some 750 adherents.

The record of the birthplaces of the congregation showed up two main places of origin. Some 50% of the congregation, most of them being over 21 years of age, were born in the Prairie Provinces. Another 40%, most of them over 31 years of age, were born in Russia. This reflects clearly the main components of most Mennonite congregations in the Fraser Valley. Those who were in the first wave of Mennonite immigration after World War I are now over 31 years of age. Most of these people settled in the Prairies first and raised families there. Their children, as well as some children of earlier (c. 1874) immigrants, are the group that register with Prairie birthplaces.

The small group of members born in British Columbia (some 3 - 4%), all between 15 and 30 years of age, are the offspring of Mennonite pioneers in this province. The almost complete absence of members who were born in Vancouver (1%) indicates that the offspring of the early Mennonite Brethren settlers in Vancouver are either affiliated with the first of their churches to be organized in Vancouver, the Vancouver Mennonite Brethren Church at 43rd Avenue and Prince Edward Street, or are not yet of baptismal and induction age. It also shows the obvious fact that the families of the recent

wave of young Mennonite migrants into the urban area are small and their children mostly below baptismal age as yet.

An analysis of occupations represented within this church's membership shows a fair spread over a variety of fields. Certainly the absence of the agricultural pursuit is in itself already a wide deviation from the traditional orientation of the group. The greatest number of the gainfully employed members may be classed as tradesmen and labourers. While statistics were being compiled, it was noticeable that among them a surprisingly large number of elderly men held positions as common labourers, a reflection of the difficulties these men had in gaining qualifications for better jobs and a secure future under the turbulent conditions of the Russian Revolution and the depression years that followed while they were in Canada.

A sizeable number of better qualified persons are already to be found amongst these people. A growing owner and operator group is in evidence. There are a number of professional people, most of them in professions traditionally sanctioned within Mennonitism, such as medicine, nursing and teaching. Among the students now enrolled in the church, however, are those who are entering new and varied fields. Understandably, a large number of young people, particularly girls, who have come from the country into the city to find work, appear in the analysis as clerical, factory and day household workers.

In summary, then, it may be said that this congregation represents latest developments in the structure and orientation of Mennonitism in this area. The rising membership (Table XVII) itself is an indication of the trend toward urbanization. The breakdown of the membership according to age groups and birthplaces represents the pattern of origin and movement westward that is typical for many Mennonites in B. C. In the occupational structure an economic reorientation is evident. The general spirit and outlook, as well as a certain "progressiveness" -- all of which are hard to substantiate here -- mirror an interesting social and spiritual change that seems to be spreading amongst Mennonite churches of the Valléy in spite of their sporadic opposition to it.

Footnotes and References

1 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ninth Census of Canada - 1951, (Ottawa, Kings Printer, 1953), vol. 1, p. xvi.

2 The two main sub-groups of the Mennonite community in the Lower Fraser Valley are the Mennonite Brethren Churches and the United Mennonite Churches, or as they are commonly referred to, the "General Conference" people. Two small sub-groups also exist, but they shall be omitted in the statistical calculations of this study because numerical information on trends within their congregations were not available, and also because both groups make up only a small part of the total of Mennonites in the Valley. One of them is the Church of Christ Mennonite of Bradner, which was established in 1949 and had some 170 members in 1958. This congregation is interesting because of the ultraconservative views its members hold on ethical matters and also because the men usually wear full beards and no neckties. The other is the Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Church of the town of Abbotsford. It was established in 1946 and had approximately 170 members in 1958.

3 N. B. Ryder, "Interpretation of Origin Statistics," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 21: 466-479, November, 1955, p. 476.

4 The term "conference" here denotes a regional grouping of individual congregations. Any one congregation may belong to provincial, national and international Mennonite conferences.

5 The term "Fraser Valley" or "Lower Fraser Valley" coincides closely with Census Division No. 4, hence the figure.

6 Interview with Rev. A. A. Wiens of Yarrow, in the summer of 1958.

7 Canada Census 1951, Vol. I, Table 43.

8 Canada Census 1951, Vol. I, Table 37.

9 Canada Census 1951, Vol. I, Table 58.

10 Conferenz der Mennoniten in Canada, Jahrbuch - Jubiläums Ausgabe, 1902-1952, (Rosthern, Der Bote, 1952), pp. 146-148, and Conferenz der Mennoniten in Canada, Jahrbuch - 1957, (1957, Der Bote, Rosthern), p. 161.

11 Conferenz Jahrbuch, 1952, p. 146. Conferenz Jahrbuch, 1957, p. 161. Note: The Mennonite Board of Colonization undertakes negotiations for the movement of displaced persons and other migrants from one country to another. It also seeks to facilitate the establishment of the immigrant in his new homeland, which may entail the development of new settlements or the addition to those already well underway.

12 Conferenz Jahrbuch, 1957, p. 161.

13 Conferenz Jahrbuch, 1952, p. 148.

14 Ibid., p. 148.

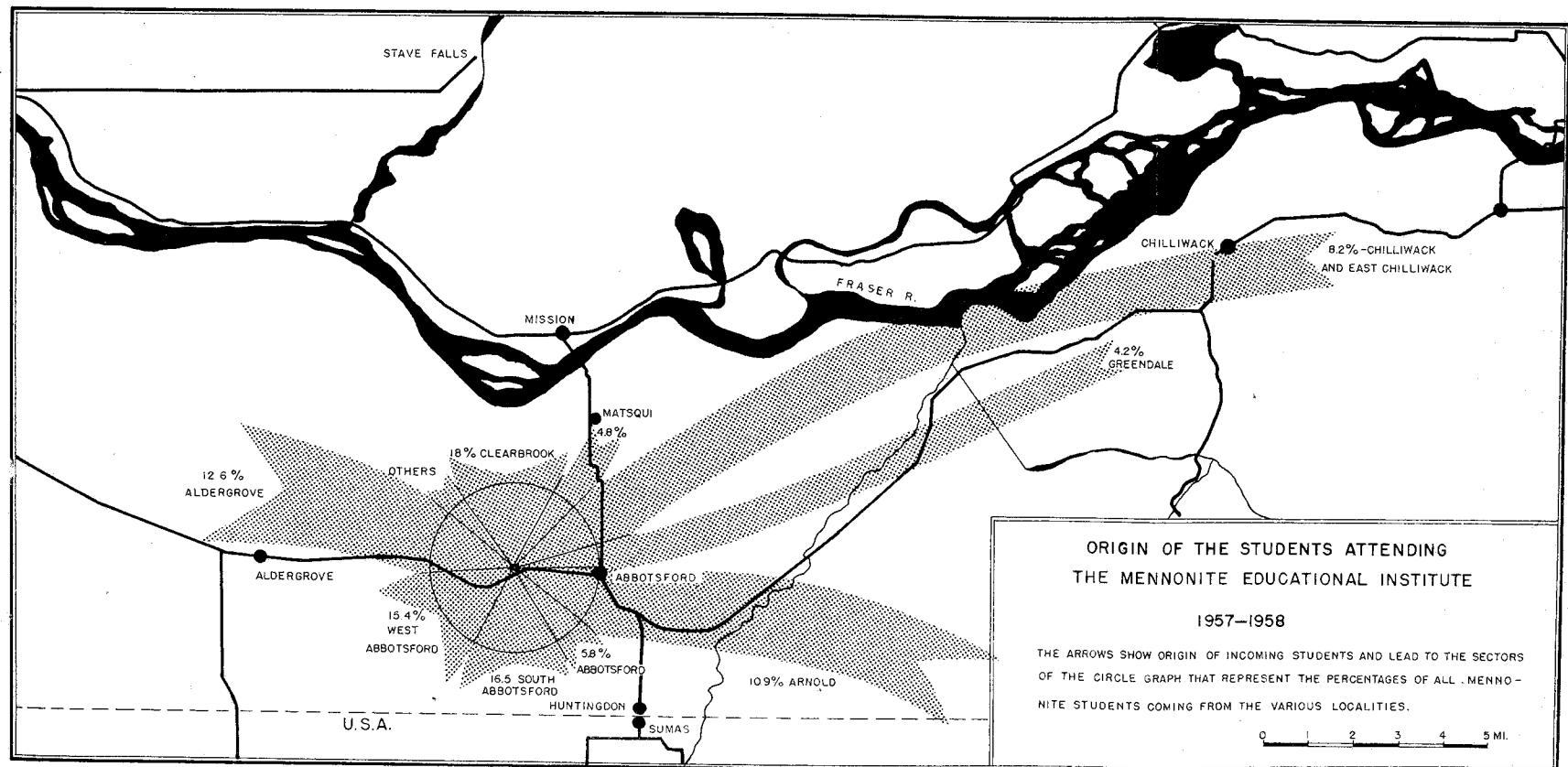
15 B. H. Unruh, Die Niederländisch-Niederdeutschen Hintergründe der Mennonitischen Ostwanderrungen im 16, 18, und 19ten Jahrhundert, Karlsruhe, Germany, H. Schneider, 1955.

16 Canada Census 1951, Vol. II, Table 61.

CHAPTER VI

INTRA-GROUP MOVEMENT PATTERNS

Centers of attraction within a community and the movement of people into these centers are factors that help to bind individuals and congregations closely together. This is certainly the case among the various separate Fraser Valley Mennonite settlements, which we may group together and term a community because of their common heritage, common religious ideals and close ties of kinship -- not to mention economic and social connections. Probably the most important central point of attraction for the entire group is the Mennonite secondary school in Clearbrook, known as the Mennonite Educational Institute. There are other centers that are also important points of attraction, such as the Mennonite Brethren church in Yarrow, where large conferences are occasionally held; the Bible Schools in Chilliwack, Yarrow and Abbotsford to which many students come; and the Fraserview Mennonite Brethren church in Vancouver, where many Mennonite transients in the city come to worship. However, the "M.E.I.", as the high school is commonly called, shall serve here as the prominent example. It is possible to portray the flow of students into this center cartographically (Map 11). The complex convergence on the school auditorium of participants



in numerous extra-curricular functions must be described generally.

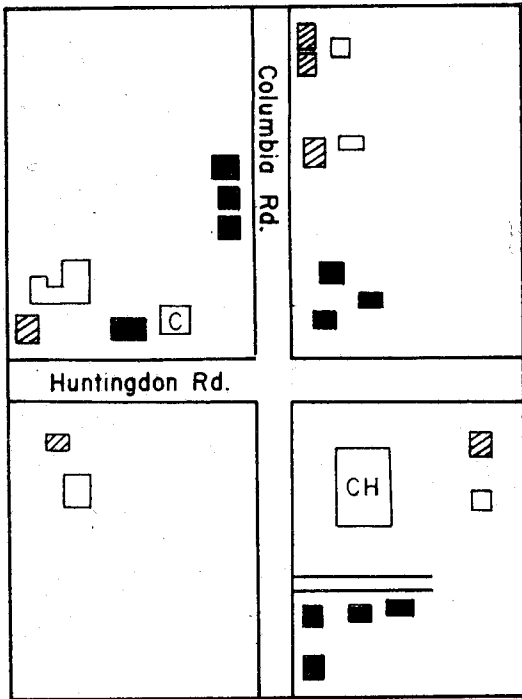
The school was established in the years of the great economic and numerical upsurge of the late war and early postwar years already referred to in Chapter IV. The founding of the institution was a response, first of all, to deeply felt needs for secondary education facilities where, in addition to the required secular subjects, studies in religion, the German language, Mennonite History and the like could be offered. New functions were added to the institution, however, as it was moved from cramped quarters near the old South Abbotsford Mennonite Brethren Church to its new building on the present site (Map 12). The auditorium of this building became the common meeting place for all the Mennonite congregations around Abbotsford, as well as those elsewhere in the valley.

About a year after the founding of the M. E. I. in 1944 another Mennonite high school was founded in Yarrow and called the Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute. Together with the rather spacious Mennonite Brethren church there it served for a considerable period as a center for the activities of Mennonite congregations in the eastern part of the valley. With the discontinuation of private secondary education in Yarrow in 1949, and also as a result of the general eclipse of Yarrow by fast-growing Clearbrook, the M. E. I. became the most important Mennonite meeting place in the Fraser Valley.

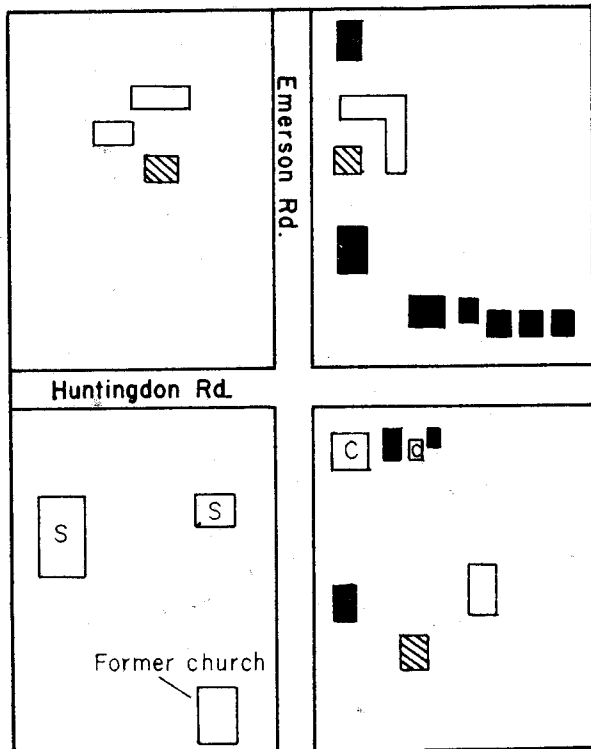
In its primary function of education the school

SMALL MENNONITE CENTERS IN THE LOWER FRASER VALLEY

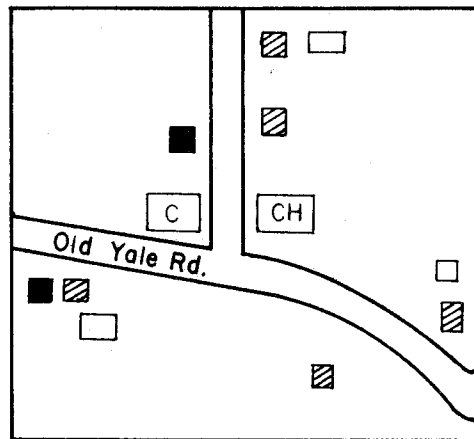
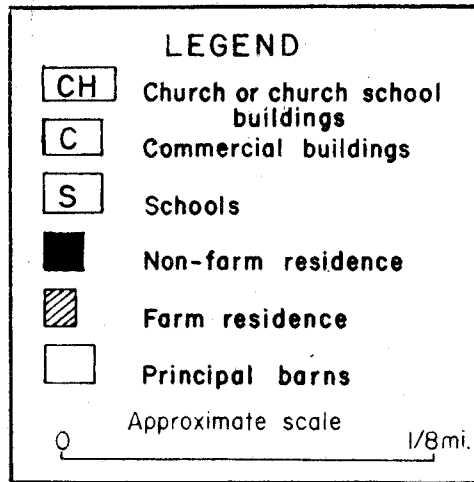
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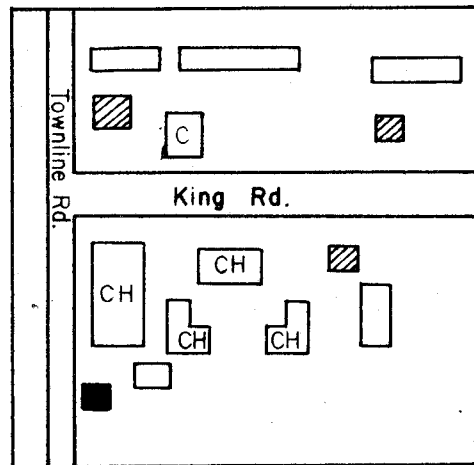
"SOUTH ABBOTSFORD"



"SOUTH ABBOTSFORD" (Old)



"ARNOLD"



"WEST ABBOTSFORD"

serves a far-flung constituency. The following table shows the classification of the 1957-58 student body according to the congregations from which they came. This table may be compared with the map of church tributary regions (Map 4) in order to visualize the areas involved.

Table XI

Congregational Origin of Students at the
Mennonite Educational Institute 1957-58

	Numbers of Students	% of Total Enrollment
Bethel (G.C.)	13	2.8
East Aldergrove (M.B.)	44	9.8
West Abbotsford (G.C.)	70	15.4
Clearbrook (M.B.)	75	16.5
Clearbrook (G.C.)	7	1.5
South Abbotsford (M.B.)	76	16.6
Abbotsford (M.B.)	28	5.8
Matsqui (M.B.)	22	4.8
Arnold (M.B.)	50	10.9
Greendale (M.B.)	19	4.1
Chilliwack (M.B.)	5	1.1
Chilliwack (G.C.)	3	.6
East Chilliwack (G.C.)	12	2.6
East Chilliwack (M.B.)	18	3.9
	<u>456</u>	

It is immediately apparent that considerable numbers of students ~~would~~ need to be transported to the school from areas as far distant as East Aldergrove, Arnold, Greendale and Chilliwack. This problem is solved, in the main, for students coming from eastern communities by chartered buses. Car chains provide transportation for most of the other students coming from outside Clearbrook. A number of them, particularly those from Vancouver and vicinity, obtain room and board near

the school.

It is to be noted that the high school which was re-established in Yarrow in 1956 does not yet attract to itself many students that have been coming to the M. E. I. from Chilliwack and Greendale congregations. Since both Mennonite high schools in the Fraser Valley depend, financially, to a large degree on tuition fees, the diversion of students from the M. E. I. to Yarrow would be desirable. Most of the students themselves, however, prefer to continue on at the M.E.I. Solutions to this situation have often been discussed amongst school board members, teachers and parents, but without real success to date. In the meantime the M. E. I. is overcrowded, whereas the Yarrow school stands in need of more students.

Another problem related to the finances of the school has resulted from the fact that only six of the Fraser Valley's Mennonite congregations officially support the school by contributing to it a certain amount per church member. Efforts are being made to broaden this base, but the other churches are not anxious to increase levies on their memberships.

Roughly 80% of the students of the school come from a Mennonite Brethren background, and most of the others come from General Conference congregations. This is of interest when compared with the 3:2 ratio of Mennonite Brethren to General Conference that prevails in the Mennonite population

of the province. The reason for this situation may be sought, largely, in the greater stress laid generally by members of the Mennonite Brethren churches on the preservation of certain key religious principles and cultural values.

In considering the extra-curricular uses of the school, particularly of its auditoria and playing fields, one comes on a long list of interesting activities. A brief reference to the more important of them gives us a further indication of the importance of the school as a central gathering place and also shows some of the scope and character of Mennonite group activities.

To those who live on access routes to the school the importance of these activities to Mennonites is clearly evident. Streams of cars converge on the school, filling all available parking space on the school grounds and on the road allowances nearby. Often special traffic police and parking officials are on hand to regulate the flow. Clearly, the school facilities meet a number of needs, mostly social and cultural, which the individual churches are not able to meet, both because it is not considered suitable to hold certain events in church buildings and also because there simply is not another meeting place available that is so spacious and centrally located.

Among the cultural achievements of the Mennonites their musical renditions are probably the best known; and the favourite medium, the choir, is often featured at musical

festivals held at the M. E. I. The student body itself sponsors educational and entertaining programs called "Literaries". It has become a tradition, too, that the graduating class of the school presents a major drama that runs for two or three nights.

The auditorium serves a number of church young peoples' groups as a gymnasium for recreational events. The local junior softball league and the municipal league use the school's softball diamonds, and every summer evening there are a score or more of boys from the neighbourhood playing ball there.

During every winter a considerable number of films, including full-length features, are shown in the auditorium under the auspices of the school itself or of some other organization. The use of the auditorium for this purpose seems somewhat anachronistic in view of the official positions of most churches regarding the attendance at "shows". All of these showings are well attended, however, and it is a familiar fact that the best way to raise money in the community is to schedule a film at the M. E. I. auditorium.

When events of interest to Mennonite Brethren, General Conference and other Mennonite congregations are to be scheduled, such as meetings in support of relief organizations like the Mennonite Central Committee and the Mennonite Disaster Service, the place that is usually chosen is the M. E. I. A number of mass meetings of great interest

to all Mennonites were held there just after the war, when Mennonites everywhere in North America were rallying to the relief of their "brethren" in Europe. This area represents, it must be added, one of the few in which the various Mennonite groups will actively co-operate.

Funeral services of prominent Mennonite leaders, and weddings planned on an extraordinarily large scale usually take place in the auditorium of the school. In the latter case, however, this expedient is often regarded as being just a bit ostentatious.

Up to the present time the administration of the school has resisted the use of the auditorium for strictly political purposes. This would, no doubt, make a highly advantageous platform for politicians who wished to gain ground with the Mennonites.

Several other interesting extra-curricular uses of the school may be mentioned in conclusion here, and these have to do with the promotion of the use of the German language amongst the Mennonites. Every Saturday during the winter a number of Mennonite children from the surrounding areas come to what is known as "Saturday School" or "German School". This is an innovation that has served many Mennonite communities throughout Canada for a good number of years in providing elementary instruction in the German language for youngsters. Educational methods here have often been inadequate and teaching staffs insufficiently trained; a result, no doubt,

of the half-hearted support that the community gives this activity. At the M. E. I., too, a British Columbia chapter of an association for the promotion of the use of the German language has had occasional meetings. These are usually gatherings of people who vociferously resist the introduction of English into church services and who vigorously support all things German. It seems, however, that the use of the German language among Mennonites continues to wane, regardless of the protests of individuals and organizations such as this one.

What has been said here about the centrality of the M. E. I. applies to the entire settlement of Clearbrook and also to other lesser centers within the Mennonite community, each one of which has its own area of dominance. This factor, as well as considerations of the structure and function of a wide range of typical Mennonite settlement forms are dealt with in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII

SETTLEMENT FORMS

The holdings of the Mennonites in the Fraser Valley, whether rural and dispersed, rural and nucleated, "rurban" or urban in character, are in most cases not easily distinguished from those of their non-Mennonite neighbors. This is a reflection of the relatively liberal religious ideas of the Mennonites represented here, which allow for modernization and the entry into whatever honourable economic opportunities present themselves. One may contrast this to more conservative Mennonite groups, such as the extremely conservative "Old Colony" people of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, who until recently settled in villages, restricted themselves to agriculture and endeavoured to keep out of their lives anything that was in their opinion "worldly". It is also, of course, an indication of the degree to which Mennonite settlers have been caught up into universal trends such as those toward rationalization in agriculture and urbanization.

Farm Types

There are a number of different farm types in the Fraser Valley, found in non-Mennonite as well as Mennonite settlements, which must be considered in a discussion of Mennonite rural settlement in this area.

In those relatively flat areas of the Fraser Valley covered by post-glacial alluvium (Map 6) and resultant soils of the Monroe and Lynden series (Map 7) a farm type based on dairying dominates the landscape. Fields are spacious there, as much as 10-15 acres each, and hay, pasture and silage crops occupy the greatest acreage. Cash crops such as beans or small fruits may occupy several acres. Barbed wires, having displaced the old stave fences, is almost universal now.

The farmyard on such a holding is amply laid out, having a kitchen garden, some old fruit trees (newly planted orchards seem little in evidence) and, occasionally, some landscaping in front. The buildings are, of course, dominated by the barn. Older barns, built sometime before World War II or even before the depression, usually have a straight peaked roof, a lean-to type of stable for cattle and a central storage area often reaching down to the ground (Figure 5). The newer barns that have largely replaced these old structures usually have a hip roof, two storeys and a substantial silo attached (Figure 5). Low annexes may extend to one side or another to house cattle. A track extending out to a sizeable manure pile is usually there. Near the barn one finds the other necessary outbuildings: the milkhouse, the machine shed, a garage for the family car and the truck, as well as swine and poultry shelters. The house on such a farm is in many cases now a new, modern bungalow which has replaced the old box-like two-storey farmhouse.

In the more highly relieved Abbotsford area, where



Figure 5. Barn Types in the Fraser Valley

- a. An early dairy barn, of the type still to be seen in the Sumas, Sardis, Chilliwack areas and elsewhere.
- b. A modern, hip-roof barn of the type that is generally replacing the above type.

late glacial alluvium of a pitted and undulating configuration and resultant Whatcom soils mantle the surface (Maps 6 and 7), farming becomes more intensive and the average size of holdings decreases. Agriculture of a mixed nature, depending mainly on dairying, poultry and small fruits, is carried on there. The dairy herds are usually smaller than those on lowland areas, and hence the dairy barns need not be as large. The chicken barns, however, are larger and more important in the overall farm economy. Strawberries and raspberries take up considerable acreage on every farm.

In the period when new farm land was being won from the forest on a large scale in this area, the numerous stumps and the undulating topography made every cleared acre a real achievement. This land was then divided into relatively small fields, some as small as one or two acres, and put to a variety of uses. The nature of cash crops and the modest feed requirements of small herds made these fields practical. The fences of the early days were of cedar poles, assembled in a variety of ways. Now, of course, fences here are of wire as well.

The farmyard itself, in view of the high value of cleared land, was usually kept as small as possible. On many farms in the Abbotsford area these small farmyards, with their closely grouped buildings, are still in evidence (Figure 6). The barn is most often of the hiproof type, but it is stubbier than those found on the flatlands of Sumas and Chilliwack because herds are usually smaller here. It is almost always



Figure 6. Abbotsford Farmland

A view of farmland that was cleared from an area infested with numerous heavy stumps. The picture was taken on Emerson Road, near the international border (Map 8), looking eastward.

two-storied over part or all of its floor plan and has the manure track, milking machine and other fixtures of the larger dairy barn. It may face in any direction, since there is no prevailing wind strong enough to make any special alignment necessary. In close proximity to the barn is the milkhouse, usually smaller than those on flatland farms simply because there is less milk to handle. The poultry barn may be a one-storied long, low structure or a two-storied affair. Brooder houses and poultry ranges usually take up considerable space around it, unless the newest methods of raising the birds on wire platforms have been adopted.

In this area too, many of the original houses have been replaced by modern structures. The range of styles, corresponding to some degree to the times when they were built, may be observed on the accompanying photographs (Figure 7). Since the farmyard is generally small it is possible to keep it tidier than a large farmyard in Sumas or Chilliwack, to landscape it and plant decorative plants. Traditionally, the Mennonite farmer has prided himself on a neat and tidy yard, and it is maintained by many of them that one may still differentiate their farms from those of their non-Mennonite neighbors on this basis. It is doubtful whether this could actually be substantiated.

A growing number of the smaller farms of the Abbotsford area, as well as many other areas of the Fraser Valley, no longer fully support the people living on them. Among farms of this type there are a number of long, narrow



Figure 7. Mennonite Houses in the Abbotsford Area

- a. A pioneer home redecorated and kept in good condition.
- b. More recently built homes along Huntingdon Road (Map 8). The one in the foreground is a home built in the late 1940's or early '50's. The one in the background is a modern home of the type seen throughout the area.

holdings noticeable in the solidly Mennonite areas around Clearbrook. These were the products of hasty subdivision in a time of agricultural "boom", when it was possible to make a living on a small acreage. Now they are undoubtedly a highly uneconomic arrangement of property, for fields and barns often remain unused and uncared-for while the owner works at a job. The Matsqui municipality passed a by-law in 1957 that makes it compulsory to keep 10% of the periphery of a newly surveyed piece of agricultural property fronting on a road. This would tend to prevent the creation of further excessively narrow farm plots. Undoubtedly similar legislation exists in most other rural municipalities by now.

An interesting arrangement of buildings and fields may often be found on these small narrow farms. A house faces the road, behind it is the poultry barn which is set parallel to the long boundaries of the lot, and back of this are, successively, berry patches, pasture and hay fields, and woodlots at the very back.

Many other forms of small agricultural holdings, occupied by Mennonites as well as non-Mennonites, may be found on the peripheries of expanding urban areas and elsewhere. Their owners may be keeping poultry, several head of cattle or other animals. Some part of the acreage is usually devoted to vegetables and small fruits. All these pursuits are usually sidelines to an outside job. It is this type of a farm, laid out haphazardly in great numbers along many of the main roads of the Fraser Valley, that gives rise to extremely

cluttered and unsightly settlement. When uncontrolled subdivision and the erection of substandard residential units follows, one has what might well be called "rurban" slums.

Small Non-Farm Nucleations

In a number of the larger Mennonite settlement areas one may find an interesting non-farm nucleation, which provides such basic services as the general store, the automotive service station and possibly a lumber yard or real estate office. Most nucleations of this type are closely related to a church site, because people building non-farm residences in an otherwise rural area are often retiring couples, and they prefer to live near their place of worship. Commercial establishments, owned or operated by Mennonites, take advantage of this development and make of the little center something approaching the "hamlet" in size and function.¹ In the stores of these nucleations one may easily detect an air of familiarity and probably even hear the Low German dialect being spoken. (Figure 17, Appendix E)

Wherever there is a continued impetus for growth, as seems to be the case in the new "South Abbotsford" nucleation (Map 12), such a settlement may develop into something larger and more significant. In general, however, these small centers seem to be very limited in their potential for expansion. Most of them were established prior to the post-war increase in the mobility of the rural shopper and have since been reduced to supplying incidentals. The fact

that very little new commercial building or renovation of existing stores is going on seems to indicate that they have become commercially static.

Prominent Mennonite Centers

The two nucleations of Yarrow (Pop. approximately 4000) and Clearbrook (Pop. approximately 3000) deserve special analyses of their functions and structures. Most of the people in both centers, as was pointed out in Chapter V, are Mennonites. Within these two places one finds the clearest expression of current Mennonite settlement trends, as well as the social and religious trends, which can only be referred to briefly here.

Yarrow

Yarrow's wedge-like site is very neatly bounded to the north by the Vedder River, to the south by the mountains and to the east by the Monroe Clay Loam soil boundary (Map 7). The promoter of the settlement, Mr. Eckert, happened to own the major part of this triangle of land. As soon as the Mennonites had acquired it from him the stage was set for the development of a thriving community.

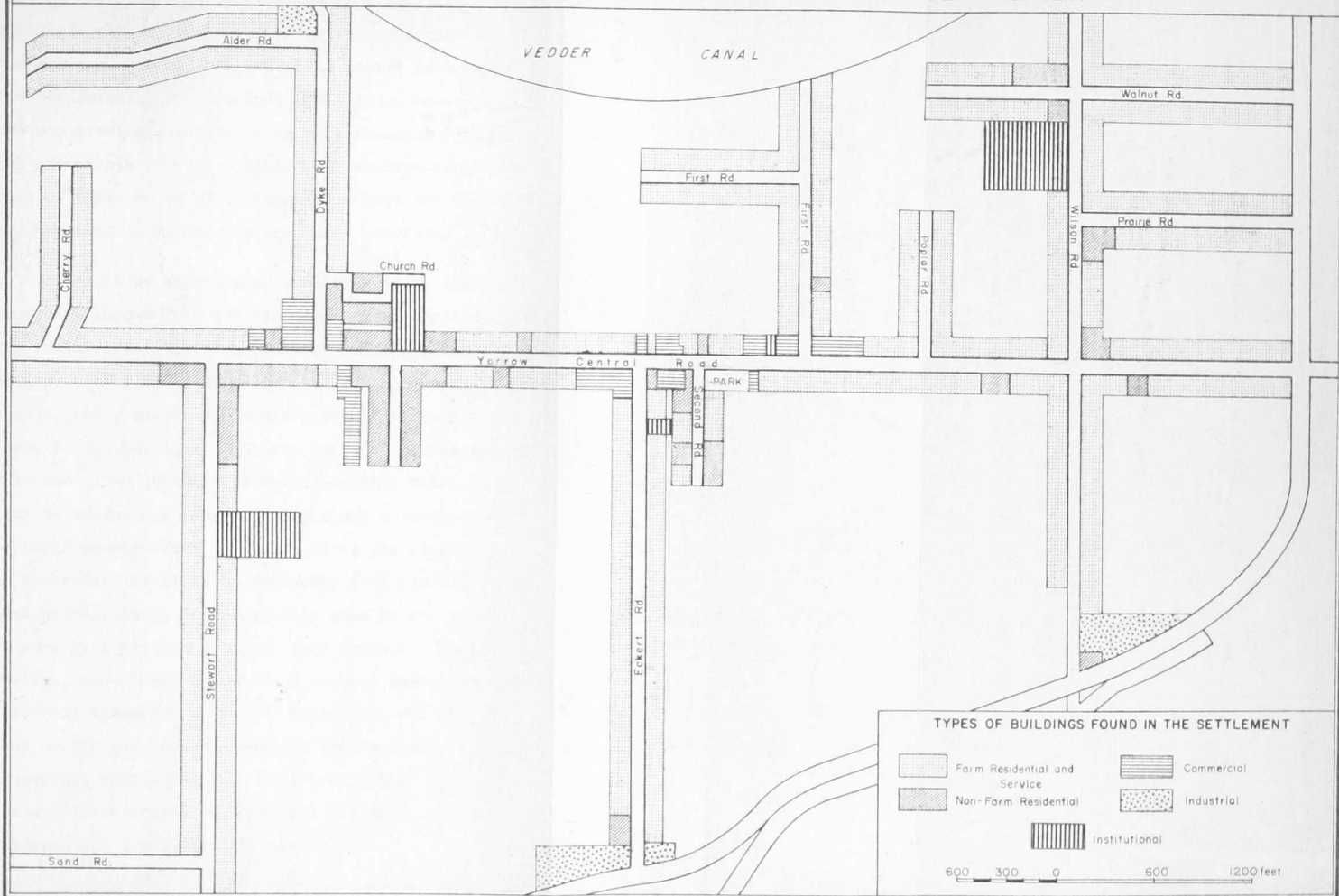
Yarrow's first transportation links with other settlements were the B. C. Electric Railway, which maintained a small station at the head of Wilson Road, and the old Mountain Road, which skirted the flats left by drained Sumas Lake. In time the Trans Canada Highway superseded both of

these routes in importance, which gave Yarrow an "off-the-main-road" character and made it for all practical purposes a Mennonite reserve. In spite of the fact, however, that the greatest numerical concentration of Mennonites is still in Yarrow, the focal point of Mennonitism in the Fraser Valley has become Clearbrook. A placard at the junction of the highway and the road that leads to Yarrow advertises the "scenic" route to Cultus via Yarrow, illustrating thereby this main dilemma of the town and efforts made to improve the situation.

In its form, Yarrow seems like an attenuated, branching agricultural village. The properties along roads, or "streets", such as Eckert, First, Wilson or even Yarrow Central are in many ways like holdings on either side of the main street of a "Strassendorf" (Map 13). The old pattern of village settlement in Russia, besides being evident in the arrangement of the streets and properties, is also noticeable in many of the individual farms. The orchard is at the front, the house is set back among the trees, the farm buildings are close behind the house and back of it all stretch the garden plots and the fields. Gradually, of course, this pattern is being obscured as purely residential housing in modern styles is being built.

The Yarrow farm, as the study of a map of property lines or of an air photo reveals, is predominantly a small one -- seldom reaching a size of ten acres. The land is usually under intensive use. The raspberry, discovered more or

THE STRUCTURAL PATTERN OF THE YARROW SETTLEMENT



TYPES OF BUILDINGS FOUND IN THE SETTLEMENT

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|--|------------|
|  | Farm Residential and Service |  | Commercial |
|  | Non-Farm Residential |  | Industrial |
|  | Institutional | | |

600 300 0 600 1200 feet

less by trial and error as the most advantageous crop for the area, dominates. This, as was already indicated, is partly the result of soil conditions which provide adequate fertility and good sub-soil drainage and also the result of advantageous climatic conditions. The numerous fruit trees one sees in the area are now proving somewhat of an embarrassment because of the lack of markets for the slightly substandard fruit that is produced. Some farms still have their cows and flocks of poultry, but many dairy and poultry barns now stand unused.

As might be expected on small acreages, the buildings on the average Yarrow farm are closely grouped together around a rather small yard. The barns on many farms include a distinctive, stubby dairy barn that is just big enough for one or two cows, and a small, low poultry barn (Figure 8). Where these have become vestigial they are usually in poor repair and unpainted. The houses show an interesting differentiation according to styles and economic conditions prevailing at the time of their construction. On some farms the simplest of pioneer farmhouses is still in evidence, with its four straight walls and pitched roof. As prosperity came to the community new and more pretentious buildings were erected. These are the box-like, two-storey houses with porches and dormer windows. This form went through a number of variations and then was displaced by the low, modern bungalow that usually features gaudy coloring, stucco and wood exterior finish, asphalt shingles and false fronts of brick and stonework, all set near to the street and landscaped (Figure 9).



Figure 8. Typical Small Yarrow Farm

The small barn for one or two cows and the chicken barn near it, just big enough for a small flock, illustrate the scale of farming in this area. The raspberry fields are the most important elements in the economy of most Yarrow farms like this one.

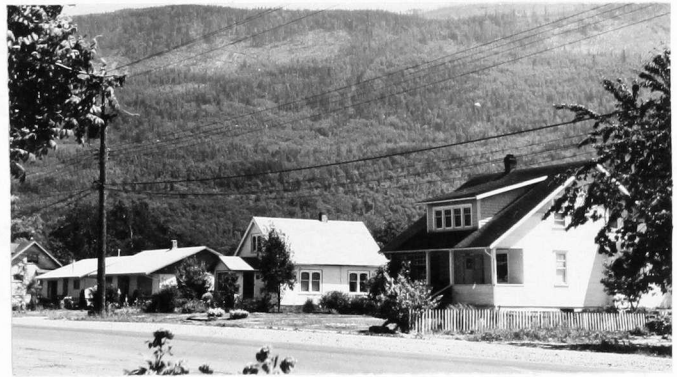


Figure 9. Mennonite Houses in Yarrow

- a. A substantial farm house of the type built throughout the area during the economic upsurge of the late 1940's.
- b. Houses dating back to the 1940's, and even to the pioneer period, stand in sharp contrast to the modern bungalow. View is along Yarrow's main street.
- c. Crowded low value housing around the Mennonite Brethren Church (Map 13). Yarrow Bible School is in the foreground.

The purely residential property, as differentiated from the small farm, is similar to modern residential housing everywhere. As far as quality is concerned, there is a gradation from the very well built and spaciouly landscaped houses of the community's leading citizens to the somewhat small and unsubstantial yet neat housing that may be found near the Mennonite Brethren Church.

The range of commercial services offered in Yarrow, as well as the dominance of Mennonite businessmen, may be seen in the following list of businesses. Where businesses were owned and operated by the same people the affiliation of the owner is given; and where the business is a branch of a parent company the affiliation of the manager is given.

Table XII

Commercial Services of Yarrow - 1958²

Number	Type of Business	Affiliation of Owner or Manager	
		Mennonite	Non-Mennonite
1	General Store	1	
3	Grocery	3	
2	Garage	2	
2	Clothing	2	
1	Hardware	1	
2	Radio and Electric	2	
1	Cartage	1	
1	Farm feeds and equipment	1	
1	Lumber yard	1	
1	Furniture and upholstery	1	
1	Jewellery	1	
1	Real Estate and Finance	1	
1	Blacksmith	1	
1	Barber shop	1	
1	Cafe and Pool Hall	1	
1	B. C. Telephone Office		1
1	Bank of Commerce		1
1	Post Office	1	

It is obvious that by far the majority of people serving the community commercially are Mennonites. They provide the day-to-day essentials and some luxury goods as well. For major purchases people go to Chilliwack or even to Vancouver. It is notable, too, that the community has only meager amusement facilities -- which does not mean, however, that it is entirely free of the rowdyism often associated with a small town theatre and licensed premises. In most of Yarrow's shops, even more so than in the shops of the smaller centers referred to earlier, one finds an air of familiarity. One is quite likely to hear a good deal of Low German or High German spoken there at any given time.

It is interesting to note that the entire commercial section is arranged in a bi-nodal fashion along the Yarrow Central Road. The reason for this separation lies largely in the location of the two churches and in the nature of the junctions of Eckert Road and Dyke Road with Yarrow Central. Mennonite churches have often been located on land donated by one of the church members. In communities where both of the main sub-groups have congregations, moreover, these plots are not likely to be located too closely together, since to the Mennonites the difference between General Conference and Mennonite Brethren is highly significant and these two groups are not comfortable in too-close company. In Yarrow each church has attracted residences and commerce around it, with the result that a straggling line of businesses, having a concentration at either end, stretches in an inconvenient

manner through the town. (One sees a similar pattern of attraction on residential building in the Greendale settlement (Map 14). The commerce in this little center, however, has gathered around a strategic intersection.) The rough coincidence of two T-form intersections with the location of the churches has also contributed very significantly to the bi-nodality of Yarrow. One cross-form intersection, like that of Clearbrook Road with the Trans Canada Highway in the town of Clearbrook, would probably have made for a much more concentrated commercial zone.

The industries of this community, as may be expected, consist of fruit processing and packing plants, as well as one box factory. The following table lists the concerns with the affiliation of their owners and managers:

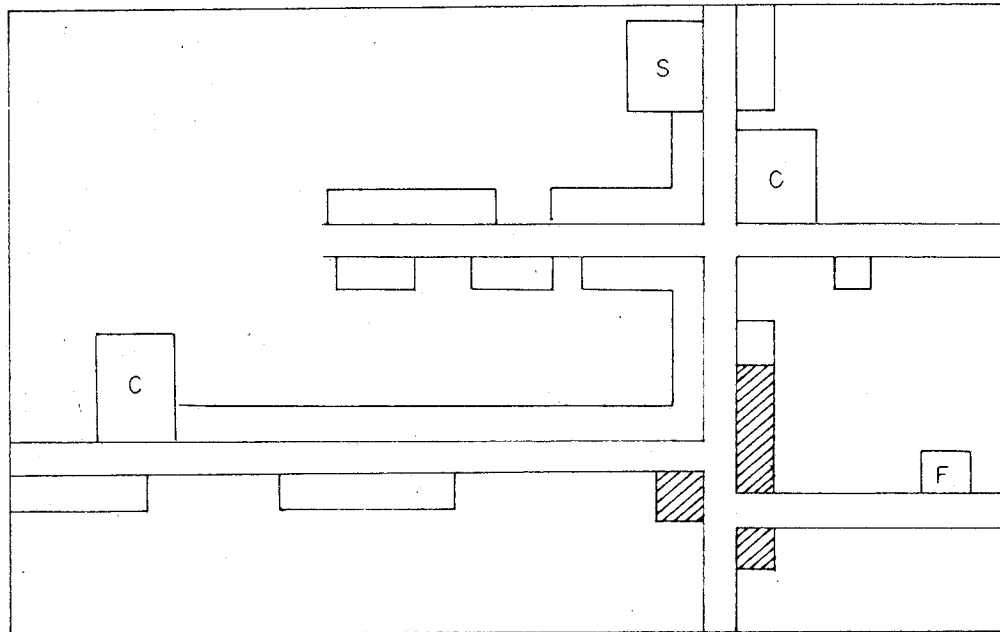
Table XIII

Industries of Yarrow - 1958³






Concern	Owner or Owners		Manager	
	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite
Earl Percy and Son (Packing Plant)		X	X	
Clearbrook Frozen Foods	X		X	
Pacific Coast Cannery		X		X
Ocean Spray Cannery		X		X
Yarrow Box Factory	X		X	

Two of these plants, that of the Pacific Coast Cannery and Ocean Spray Cannery, are located just south of the town proper on the B. C. Electric Railway. The Box Factory


THE STRUCTURAL PATTERN OF THE GREENDALE SETTLEMENT



LEGEND

-  NON-FARM RESIDENCE
-  COMMERCE
-  CHURCH
-  SCHOOL
-  FARM RESIDENCE

0 1/8 1/4 MI.



is located near the Yarrow Lumber Yard on Yarrow Central Road and Clearbrook Frozen Foods have their plant just West of the town proper. It may be noted from the table that most of the investment for these plants has come from Non-Mennonite sources. This was not the case before the collapse of the Co-op, which was discussed in an earlier chapter, and is, no doubt, a further indication of the economic decline of the community.

The institutions of Yarrow, of course, are dominated by the two churches. The Mennonite Brethren Church is by far the larger and has served, as was already pointed out, as an important meeting place for Mennonites from eastern Lower Fraser Valley congregations as well as those of the entire Valley. The General Conference Church is still housed in its unpretentious first structure on Eckert Road (Figure 14). The Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Yarrow's private high school, operated for a period in the building now occupied by the public Yarrow Elementary and Junior High School. After a lapse of seven years the school was revived and installed in new premises on Stewart Road, where it is now serving a growing student body (Figure 4). A Bible School, conducted in a building on the Mennonite Brethren church grounds, ceased to operate in 1958.

It may be said in summary that Yarrow remains B. C.'s most distinctively Mennonite settlement in population as well as in form and overall character. In it are preserved, even

if they are economically "passe", numerous small farms laid out on old village patterns. It is to be regretted that there hangs over the whole community an atmosphere of decline, as many young people leave to find occupation elsewhere, as farms become partially or completely unproductive and new construction lags. It seems doubtful that any new impetus will be found to revitalize it and set it on a path toward new growth.

Clearbrook

The settlement of Clearbrook, located on a glacial floodplain and on the gravelly soil of the Lynden Series (Maps 6 and 7), offered only a limited agricultural potential to its first Mennonite settlers. The land could sustain quickly maturing field crops such as strawberries and raspberries, but it was best suited for the limited demands of poultry culture. It could moreover, be easily cleared of the brush that had grown on it after the forest fire of 1928.

The potential of the area lay not in agriculture, but in the relatively flat topography that would allow easy residential growth in all directions, and in the advantageous proximity to the Fraser Valley's main highway artery. As the Mennonite settlements of the Valley increased, the congregations forming at Clearbrook came to be more and more at the geographical center of all of them. Once the M. E. I. had been moved to its present location on the northwest corner of Clearbrook and Old Yale Roads and business of various descriptions had begun to locate near the junction of Clearbrook Road and

the Trans Canada Highway, this centrality could be developed to advantage.

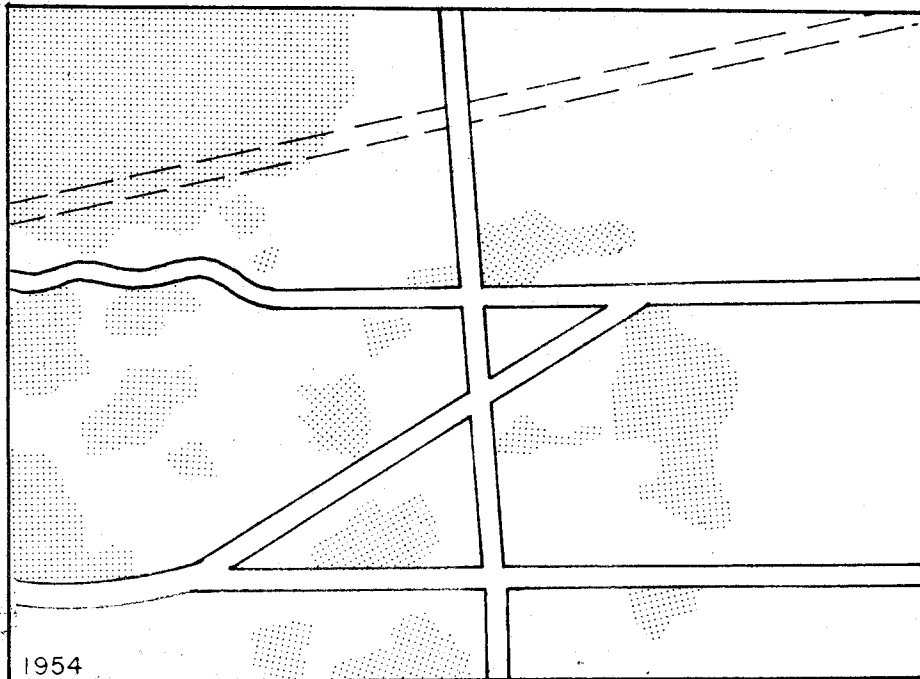
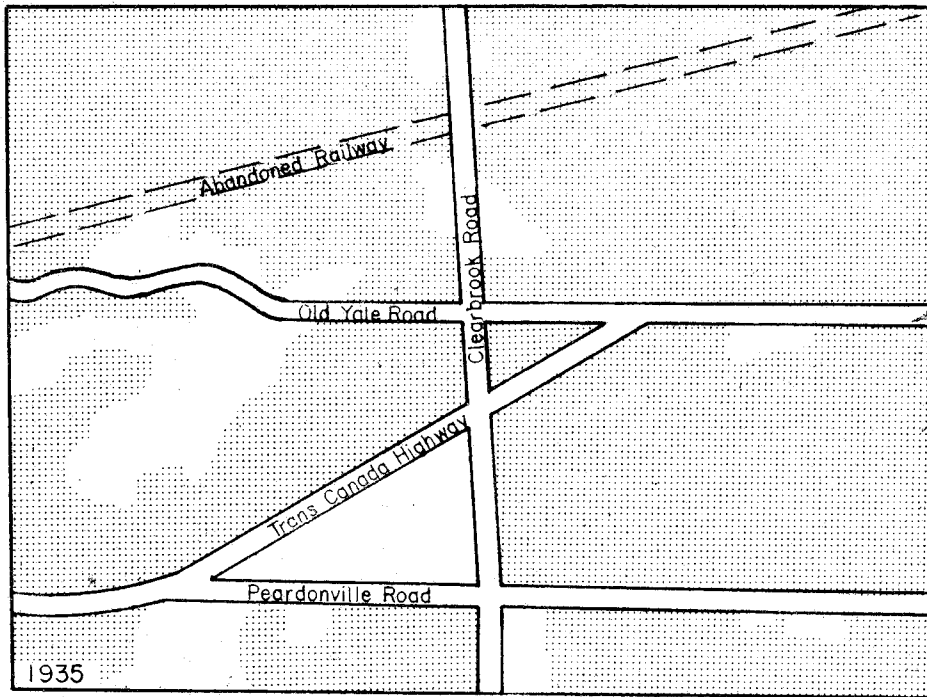
In order to introduce Clearbrook's functions as a center and its resulting form, two aspects of its development are discussed and illustrated below.

It is interesting to note, first of all, the retreat of brush vegetation as settlers entered the area and cleared plots for agricultural, residential and other uses. The two attached maps, one showing the vegetation pattern in 1935 and the other that of 1954, indicate the extensive progress of clearing in some twenty years (Map 15). This cleared area provided the land for numerous small farms which are still in evidence around the present town (Figure 10). The patches of trees interspersed among the houses give the settlement the "half-hidden" character it has today when viewed from nearby hills (Figure 11).

Two land use maps of Clearbrook, the one prepared in 1954 and the other in 1958 (Map 16), illustrate the rapid expansion of Clearbrook in that period, particularly the spread of residential areas. The commercial sections have been extended and modernized too, but the rapid subdivision of land and the building of new homes remains the most remarkable development.

To outline the present form of the Clearbrook settlement we may begin with the farms that are still to be seen around the periphery of the nucleation and along the roads

LAND CLEARING IN THE CLEARBROOK AREA



LEGEND

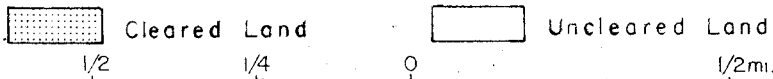




Figure 10. Clearbrook and Surroundings

A view of Clearbrook and the surrounding farm land. The nucleation itself is hidden behind trees in the middle and on the right of the photo, Mt. Baker can be seen in the distance.

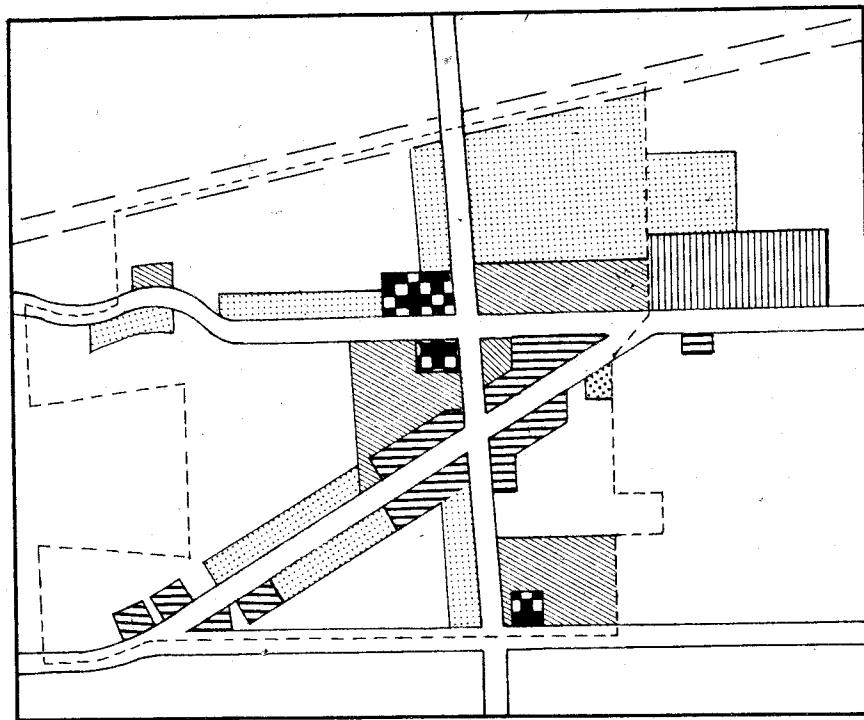


Figure 11. Views of Clearbrook

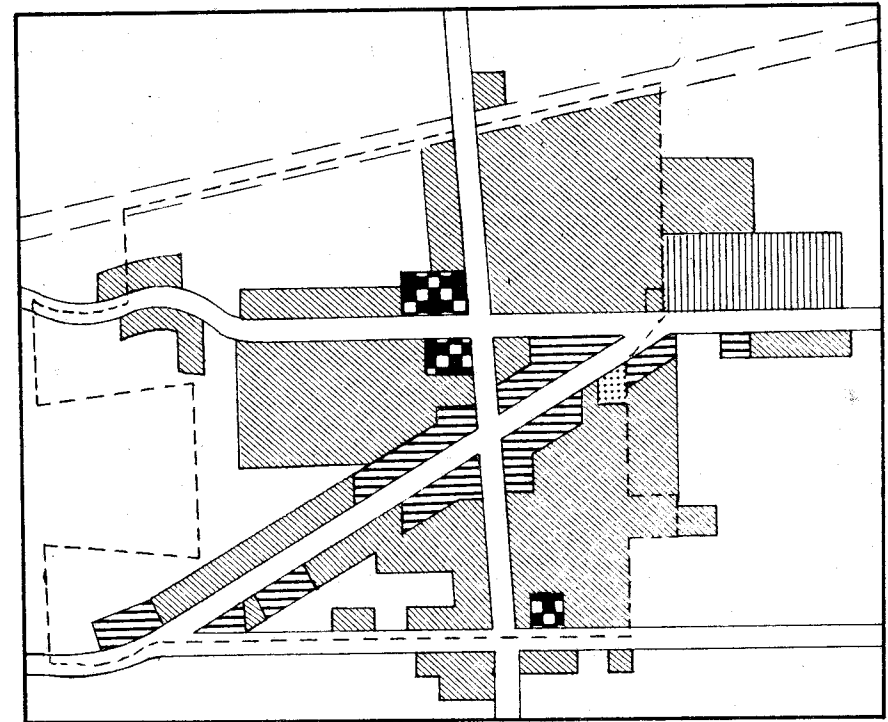
- a. Clearbrook as seen from the northwest.
- b. Clearbrook as seen from the southwest.

ca

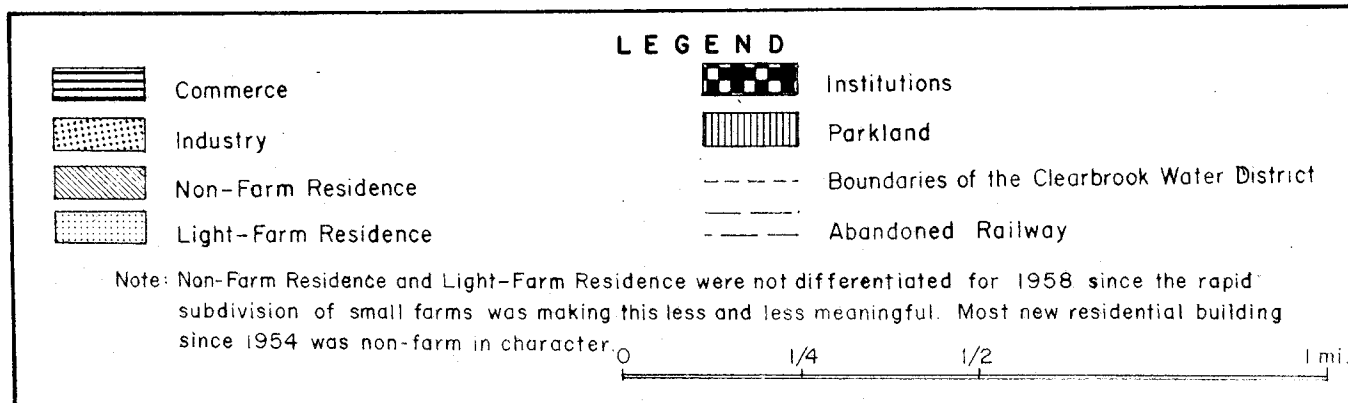
CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURAL PATTERN OF CLEARBROOK



1954



1958



branching out from it. Farmland in this area is held by many persons on a speculative basis, in anticipation of a time when advantageous subdivision will be possible. Livestock are still being kept and field crops grown, but many of the barns are becoming vestigial and a good number of fields lie unused. When one compares these farms and ones that existed in the area before the onset of urbanization with the farms of Mennonite settlers in Chilliwack and Greendale, or even with the farms of the surrounding Abbotsford countryside one notices that the average Clearbrook farm is poorer in appearance. This was attributable in the early years of the settlement largely to the very limited agricultural potential of the soil. Now the possibility of further urbanization contributes to the run-down appearance of many of the farm buildings, because the owners see no reason to keep up buildings that will probably soon be removed. It must be pointed out, however, that several model poultry farms do exist just north of Clearbrook on Clearbrook Road. The owners developed hatcheries in connection with their poultry barns, and with careful management have prospered.

Many farms engulfed in Clearbrook's advancing periphery have experienced the familiar process of succession in their land use. Fields are cleared of fences and barns, streets and lots are laid out and the building of modern bungalows begins -- leaving the old farmhouse as an oddity among them. In the meantime the farmer has realized a tidy profit, and possibly has had the new street named after him.

The residences of Clearbrook may be differentiated somewhat similarly as those of Yarrow. One finds remodelled and painted homes of pioneer days. There are the box-like, two-storied homes of the immediate post-war period too. In Clearbrook, even more than in Yarrow, one finds groups of small, unsubstantial but neat houses crowded together. The type of house that is most prevalent, of course, is the modern bungalow, erected during the relatively recent period of Clearbrook's rapid expansion (Figure 12). The changes in residential areas between 1954 and 1958 have involved this type of a home almost exclusively.

Behind some of these differences in the nature of Clearbrook residential areas lie developments in the building regulations of Matsqui Municipality. In the period up to the early 1950's, subdivision and building of residences proceeded in an unplanned manner. Haphazard housing developments were the result. Any orderliness that was brought into subdivisions during this time resulted simply from agreements between developers and the municipality. Effective control by the Municipality began in 1955, when a building by-law was passed, requiring the installation of certain sanitation facilities to the satisfaction of inspectors and regulating the size of lots somewhat. More specific by-laws were passed in 1956 and 1957, stipulating certain dimensions for lots, careful location of houses on lots and so on. The values that houses should have in particular areas have not yet been expressly put into law, but the existing and contemplated restrictions



Figure 12. Mennonite Buildings in Clearbrook

- a. A farm of the type seen on the peripheries of Clearbrook.
- b. Modern bungalows along Clearbrook Road (Map 8 or 16).
- c. More expensive houses on the heights overlooking the town on the northwest.

will automatically bring about the construction of reasonably attractive and functional homes.

It may be noted here, in passing, that Clearbrook too is developing its own higher class residential district. A number of good quality houses are located on the rise of land northwest of the town, where lots with excellent views may be obtained. (Figure 12)

The commerce of Clearbrook began in 1936 with the establishment of a store on the southeast corner of Clearbrook and the highway by a certain Mr. Harter. This store, even though it changed ownership, remained the only commercial establishment in the area until the early 1940's. At this time Mennonite businesses began to move in, first a garage, then a jewellery shop and soon numerous others. The dominance of the Mennonite businessman has been maintained, and today one may quite easily shop for most of one's needs here without having to speak English.

The following table classifies the present commercial establishments of the nucleation and shows the affiliation of the owners or branch managers.

Table XIV

Commercial Services of Clearbrook - 1958⁴

Number	Type of Business	Owners		Managers	
		Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite
3	Grocery	2		1	
4	Automotive Service	3			1

Table XIV
(continued)

Number	Type of Business	Owners		Managers	
		Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite
1	Hardware	1			
1	Building Supply	1			
3	Farm Equipment	1	2		
2	Farm Feed	1	1		
4	Clothing				
2	Furniture and Appliances	2			
2	Jewellery	2			
2	Book and Music	2			
1	Photo	1			
1	Pharmacy	1			
1	Auto Metal	1			
2	Plumbing and Heating	2			
1	Electric and Radio	1			
3	Auto Courts	1			2
1	Beauty Shop	1			
1	Barber Shop	1			
3	Cafe	2		1	
1	Variety	1			
1	General Repair		1		
1	Real Estate	1			
1	Bank				1
1	Post Office				

Here again it is clear that, except for the obvious lack of businesses providing entertainment, there is a full range of goods and services available to the people of the community. It is notable that the general store no longer really exists there, its place having been taken by the super-market and speciality shops. A number of businesses are in keen competition. These include firms providing for food, clothing, automotive and farm needs. A good number of others, however, still enjoy the advantages of being the only shops of their kind in the community. Notable in this respect is the community's largest single firm, Dueck Building Supplies, whose

competition no one, until recently, has been willing to face. That a community of this type has special needs may be seen in some of the grocery stores that sell foods favoured by Mennonites and also in the two book and music stores that provide certain texts for M. E. I. students, music and instruments for a generally music-loving group of people and religious articles suited to the Mennonite faith.

It must be added that, since the summer of 1958 when this survey was begun, several changes have taken place in the pattern of Clearbrook commerce. A shopping center has been built on the northwest corner of Clearbrook Road and the highway, and new businesses, such as a used car lot, have been added. A new commercial and industrial area has been opened up on the highway just east of the community through the location there of a trucking firm and the new receiving plant of the Abbotsford Growers Co-op Union. No doubt this will become in time a part of the expanding town itself. Some of the characteristics of Clearbrook's commercial area may be seen in the accompanying photographs (Figure 13).

The industry of Clearbrook is limited to the fruit packing plant of Sunripe Fruit Packers and the new Co-op plant just going into operation. These supply work for only a small number of the settlement's breadwinners. Others work to provide goods and services for the population, commute to places of work outside of the community or depend on private incomes and pensions.

The institutions of the settlement have already been



Figure 13. Clearbrook's Commercial Core

- a. The commercial section as seen in 1958. The corner store is the oldest business establishment in the nucleation.
- b. The same corner location in 1959. Supermarkets of this type were built in a number of places in the area and represent the most radical change in the structure of Clearbrook's commercial core.

dealt with in part and need only be mentioned here. They include the large buildings of the junior and senior divisions of the M. E. I., the Bible School built recently just north of the M. E. I. on Clearbrook Road (Figure 4), and the two churches (Figure 14).

A photographic comparison of a number of points in the town, as they looked in 1954 and as they are now, are included in this study as a further evidence of the dynamics of growth within this settlement (Figure 13). This growth may very well continue for some time. Physically, the only barrier that presents itself to the spread of the town is the upland to the northwest. This may be turned to advantage, however, by the lay-out of preferred view lots. Economic barriers, if they do present themselves, will probably come in the form of a scarcity of employment in surrounding areas. Increased commuting may preclude this and allow Clearbrook to exist as a predominantly residential town. It is difficult to foresee what other barriers may present themselves to the growth of this settlement, but developments in former settlements in Prussia and Russia seem to point to the fact that it is not in the group's best social and religious interests to settle too compactly. The undesirable social attitudes and religious stagnation that often result from such settlement may make residence in Clearbrook less attractive in the future.

Some further mention must be made, in conclusion, of the important characteristics of Clearbrook's population, since the people are most responsible for the form and character,



Figure 14A. Mennonite Churches

a. East Aldergrove Mennonite Brethren, b. Strawberry Hill Mennonite Brethren, c. Yarrow Mennonite Brethren, d. Mission General Conference, e. Greendale General Conference, f. Chilliwack Mennonite Brethren, g. Clearbrook Mennonite Brethren, h. Clearbrook General Conference, i. Matsqui Mennonite Brethren.

Note: The terms "Mennonite", "First Mennonite" or "United Mennonite" are used in some cases to designate churches that are here termed "General Conference". This simplification facilitates the division into the two main sub-groups.



Figure 14B. Mennonite Churches

a. Old South Abbotsford Mennonite Brethren (now a wood-working shop), b. Bradner Church of Christ (Mennonite), c. West Abbotsford General Conference, d. East Chilliwack General Conference, e. Arnold Mennonite Brethren, f. Yarrow General Conference, g. East Chilliwack Mennonite Brethren (including the old church building and the newer one beside it), h. Fraserview Mennonite Brethren (Vancouver), i. Vancouver General Conference.

of any settlement. Unfortunately little exact information beyond that already quoted in the statistical chapter is available. Church records generally proved of little overall value for this study, because they were either in process of revision or did not include the information necessary. It may be safely said, however, that a good number of the community's citizens, probably more than is usual for a settlement of this size, are retired folk who find a location near the churches, shops, their friends and the M. E. I. auditorium very amenable. This higher than average proportion of older people has tended to produce an excessively conservative church policy, much to the dislike of the younger generation. The proportion of younger families is increasing, however, and this is raising the problem of providing recreational facilities for the youngsters. Loitering, vandalism and petty crime are already well known in the community.

The development and structure of the settlement of Clearbrook, therefore, is interesting because here is an example of ethnic homogeneity paralleled in very few other places in our province. Here is also an expression of changing cultural patterns in terms of settlement forms. Within this community we have illustrated trends that are taking place among other ethnic groups in our province and other parts of Canada.⁵

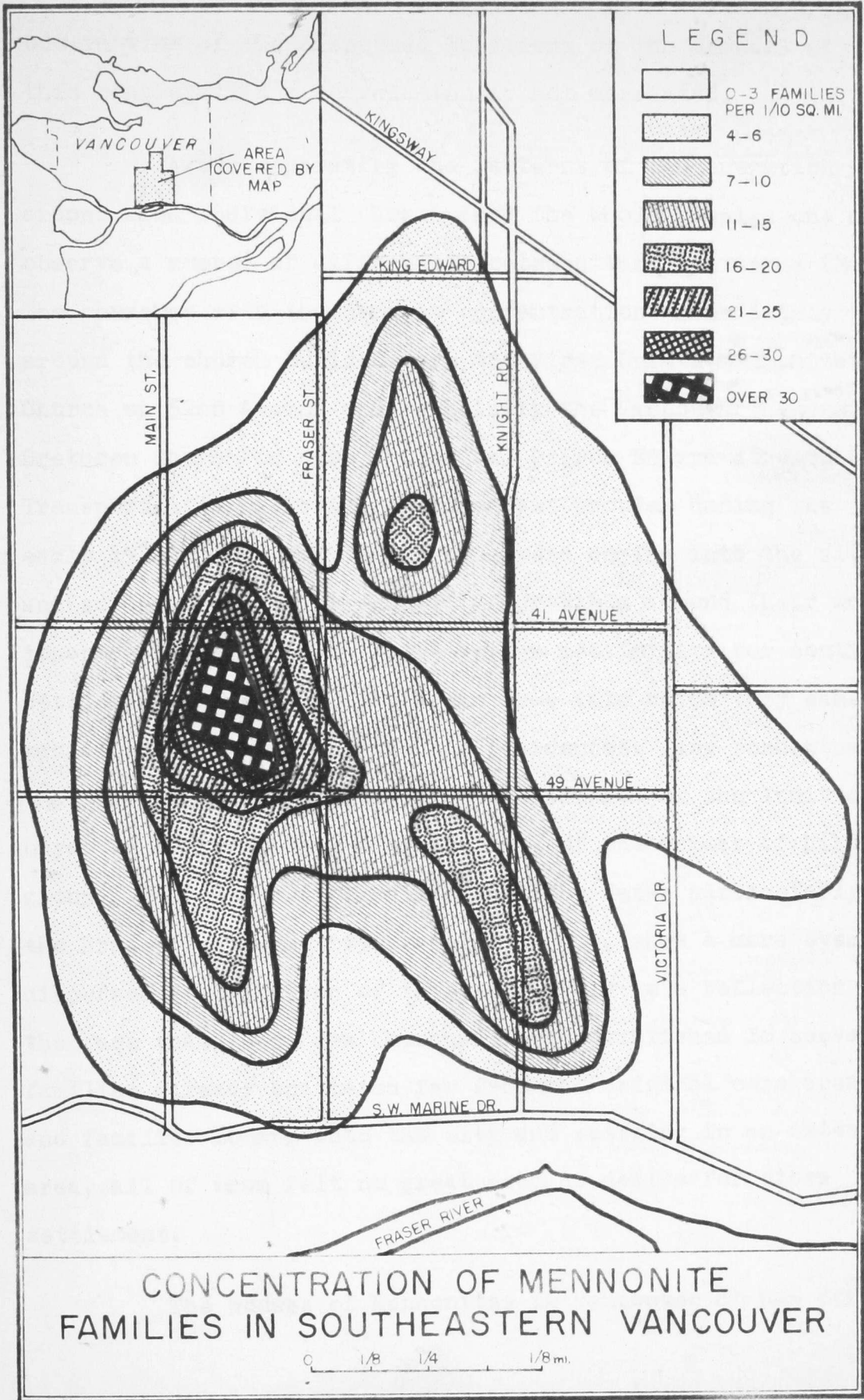
Urban Settlement in Vancouver

The last major area of Mennonite settlement remaining

for discussion is that within the completely urban environment of southeast Vancouver. There are other places, such as Abbotsford, Chilliwack and for that matter Clearbrook, where Mennonites have settled under essentially urban conditions, but these will be omitted here. The trend toward urbanization as well as the effects of it, are best illustrated in Vancouver.

In both the chapter dealing with sequent occupance (Chapter IV) and that on statistics (Chapter V) references were made to urbanization trends and resulting conditions. These will be reviewed here and supplemented.

The plotting of Mennonite families, as located with the help of church directories, provides a fairly accurate picture of the degree of concentration found among them, and this is one of the first aspects of the form of urban Mennonite settlement in which we are interested. There is a definite concentration in the area bounded on the north by King Edward Avenue, on the east by Victoria Drive, on the south by the North Arm of the Fraser and on the west by Cambie Street. An isopleth map (Map 17) reduces the vague visual pattern to a numerical basis and shows an interesting differentiation. The number of Mennonite families per unit area increases as one moves from the peripheries of the concentration into a well defined core. This core coincides roughly with the location of the two oldest Mennonite churches in the area. A secondary concentration is clearly evident around the recently established Fraserview Mennonite Brethren church. A third concentration shows up near the United Mennonite Mission church,

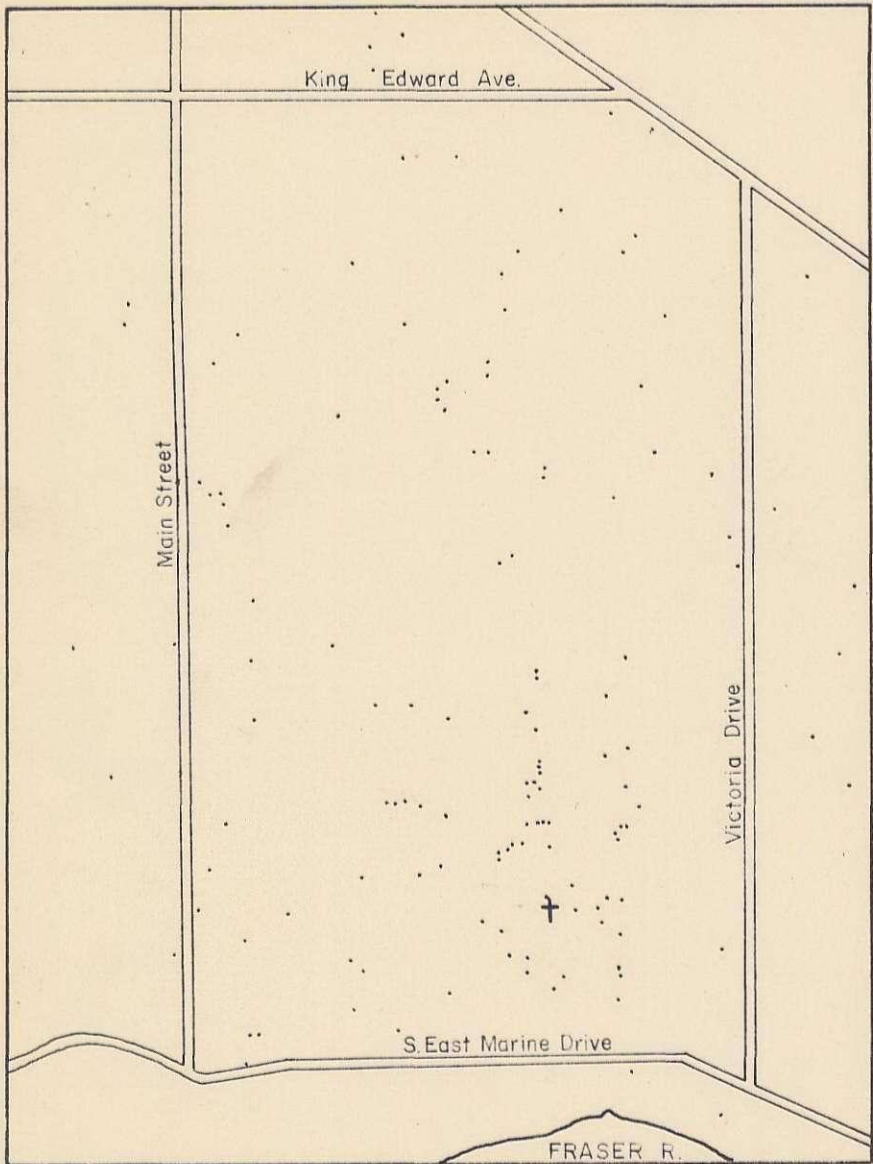


but in view of the dispersed locations of the members of this congregation a correlation is not warranted.

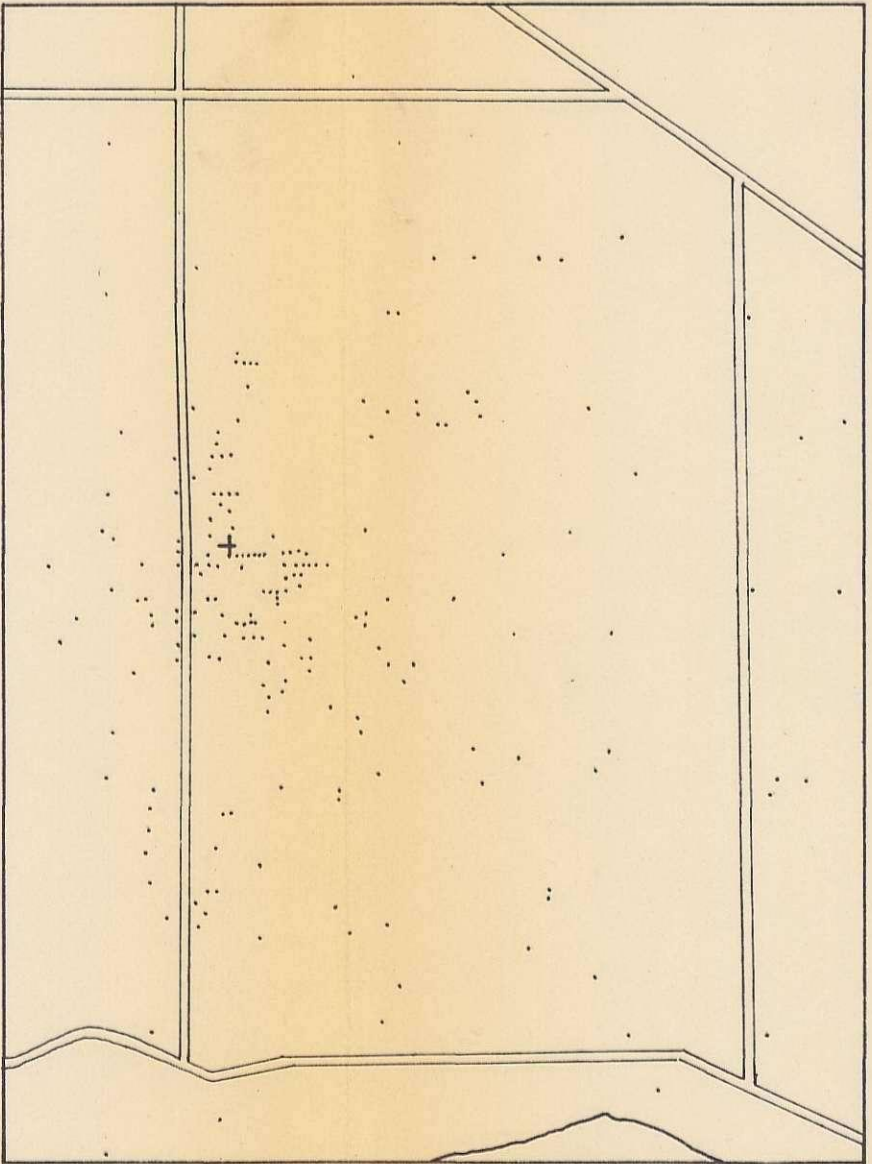
After separating the patterns of concentration around each individual church from the whole complex one may observe a number of differences between these patterns (Map 18). The churches with the densest concentrations immediately around the church building are the First United Mennonite Church on 52nd Avenue and especially the Vancouver Mennonite Brethren Church on 43rd Avenue and Prince Edward Street. Transportation was still an important problem during the early 1930's when many Mennonites were coming into the city and so they grouped as closely as possible around their most important institution. There was no possibility for contiguous settlement, of course, since the area into which they came was already largely occupied by residences. Any concentration that was achieved resulted from the efforts of the individual buyer to find property close to that of the others of his group. The churches organized at later dates particularly the Fraserview Mennonite Brethren Church, show a more evenly dispersed distribution of families. This is a reflection of the fact that these new churches were established to serve families already scattered far from the original core area and families coming into the city and settling in an extensive area, all of whom felt no great need or desire for close settlement.

The houses of Mennonites in Vancouver do not differ

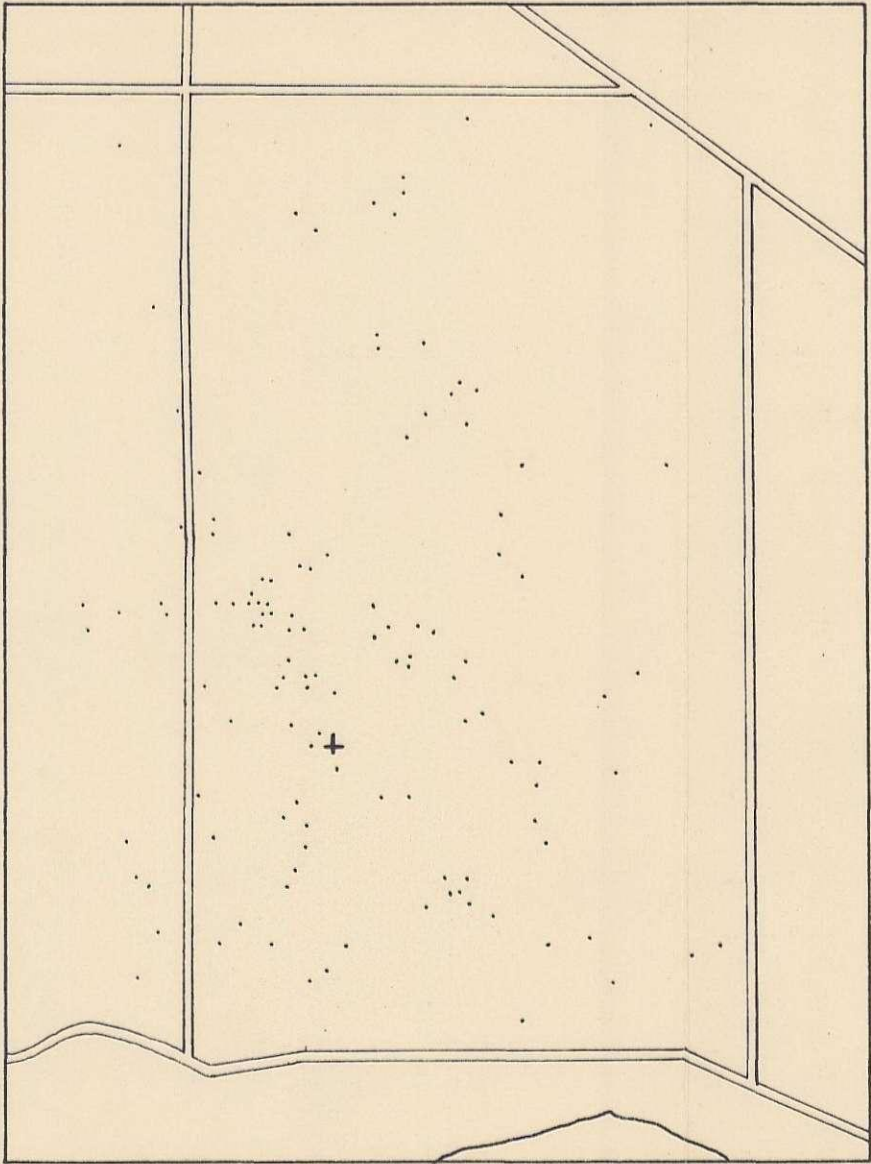
HOUSEHOLDS ASSOCIATED WITH VANCOUVER'S FOUR MENNONITE CHURCHES



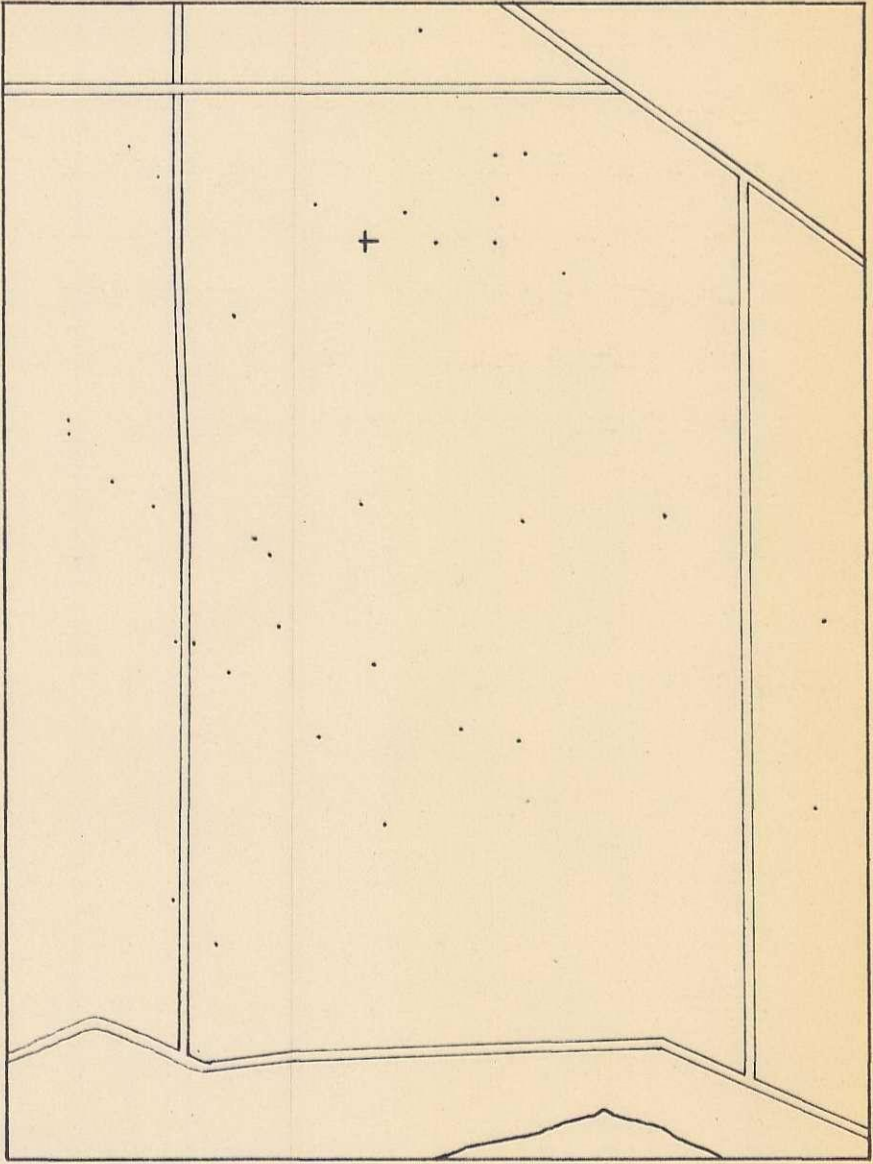
FRASERVIEW MENNONITE BRETHREN



VANCOUVER MENNONITE BRETHREN

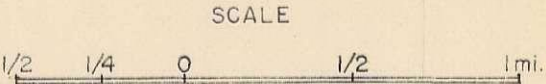


FIRST MENNONITE



VANCOUVER MENNONITE MISSION

One dot represents the household of one of the following: a family; a widow or widower with or without children, residing in the family home; several siblings living together at one address. Churches are represented by crosses. For location within Vancouver refer to MAP 17.



perceptively in quality and style from the houses of people around them. They are a part of the settlement of people in lower and middle income brackets that one finds generally around Main, Fraser and Victoria Streets. Only a few Mennonite households have entered first class residential districts such as those on Southwest Marine Drive and Granville Street. Even where some of the more well-to-do among them have built quite costly homes these are not usually architecturally sophisticated.

The commerce carried on by an increasing number of Mennonite businessmen is not localized in any one area. It is difficult to differentiate their establishments from those around them, except perhaps in one respect, and that is their usual aversion to dealing in entertainment or any articles that their religious position might lead them to consider as "questionable". The large number of Mennonites working in industries, moreover, are not usually employed in Mennonite concerns, nor do the products and services they provide go mainly to their own people. It becomes clear, then, that in the urban environment the commercial and industrial activities of people like the Mennonites, as well as their residential patterns, are submerged in the bustle of the city's life.

Of key importance in maintaining any sort of peculiarity, and giving outward visible expression to it, are the churches. Located as centrally as possible among the households that are tributary to them, they provide the only real focus and central attraction for them. They are not of

the same stereotyped style as most of those in the Valley, but they are not advanced in their design either. A photographic comparison brings out their characteristics quite clearly (Figure 14).

The only Mennonite schools in the Vancouver are a "Saturday School" of the kind already described (Chapter VI), which is held in the Vancouver Mennonite Brethren Church, and a Bible School conducted in the evenings in the Fraserview Mennonite Brethren Church. There have been discussions about the building of a high school and possibly a Bible college, but these are still very inconclusive. It may be, however, that if and when these are undertaken a new and stronger centralizing influence will be felt in the Vancouver Mennonite community.

Footnotes and References

1 The term "hamlet" is defined variously in different countries. For our purposes we may think of it as a small agglomeration of residences and a few service buildings such as a general store and possibly a garage. This little center may or may not have a well established name. It is usually not incorporated.

2 Compiled by field survey.

3 Compiled by field survey.

4 Compiled from field survey and information given by officials of the Matsqui Municipal office.

5 Reference is made here to the Ukrainians, the Doukhobors and the Finns; but other groups might well be mentioned too. Sources of information on the above three are entered in the bibliography at the end of this study.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Although the significance of most facts that emerged from description and analysis in this study was pointed out immediately, it is useful to make several summarizing conclusions, particularly regarding the marks of peculiarity still discernable within Mennonite settlements, the disappearance of distinctions on the other hand, as well as the social and cultural significance of data treated here primarily from a geographic point of view.

The large scale movements of Mennonites into the city, the conversion of many of their farms into housing subdivisions and the rationalization of procedures on the remaining farms are all evidence of a state of flux within the Mennonite home, congregation and community at large. Similar things are taking place, of course, in the settlements of other ethnic groups within British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada. One might cite as examples the Doukhobors, the Finns, the Ukrainians and others.¹ For all of these people the processes that are changing their settlement patterns help to bring about an eventual breakdown of traditionally well defined social and cultural patterns. Efficient means of communication create new needs and desires; and increased prosperity make their fulfillment possible. The characteristic

foods, clothes, household appointments, building styles, farm groupings and often religious practices as well, give way to the modern innovation. The old things are preserved with considerable nostalgia by the older folks, but considered by younger people as belonging to the closet, the museum or literature. Outward peculiarity has dwindled; much assimilation, merging and melting into the "Canadian whole" has taken place -- leaving the unanswerable question of whether it was a gain or a loss.

Evidence has been given in this study for the existence of certain settlement features that make it possible to designate parts of the Fraser Valley as characteristically Mennonite. In Yarrow, the earliest sizeable settlement in the Valley, there is the old agricultural "Strassendorf" village form. The individual farms with their orchards and flower gardens in front of the house, mirror elements of the Russian Mennonite village farmyard. In other rural areas, where compact Mennonite settlement was not possible to the same extent, it is more difficult to recognize peculiarities. A general tidiness and orderliness often sets the Mennonite farm apart from neighbouring farms, as do some minor features such as whitewash on fruit tree trunks and the like. James Gibson, in his comparison of Mennonite and Anglo-Saxon farms in the Fraser Valley, makes the point that the Mennonites on Monroe soils are preoccupied with raspberries, whereas the Anglo-Saxon farmers are more concerned with dairying.² It is certainly true that this crop has been developed very

extensively by Mennonites in Chilliwack and Yarrow, as their co-operative facilities for small-fruit processing clearly indicate.

Wherever the Mennonites are found, in our area as elsewhere, the church is always a central, conspicuous and distinctive settlement feature. It draws Mennonite settlement closely around itself; in Yarrow, and to a lesser extent in Greendale, churches of the two subgroups have exerted a pull strong enough to bring about a binodality in the structure of these centers (Maps 13 and 14), a rare feature anywhere. Architecturally, these churches have, up to recent times, been constructed on a stereotyped plan. The rather low-pitched roof, the wide auditorium, the twin towers and the white stucco are features that one sees again and again. The interiors follow a common basic form as well, being closely related to the nature of the Mennonite church service. Only in the city are exterior form and interior appointment changing somewhat in basic design (Figure 14).

In the country, where rural mail delivery is widespread, there is another indication of Mennonite distinctiveness. The typically Mennonite names on mail boxes in rural Chilliwack, Sumas, Abbotsford or Aldergrove leave no doubt as to the ethnic background of their proprietors (Table XVI, Appendix B).

The Mennonite centers such as Clearbrook, Yarrow and Greendale seem very similar to most other small nucleations

in the province as far as the appearance of their commercial cores is concerned. One characteristic sets them off, however, and this is the absence of theatres and licensed premises -- an obvious result of certain religious principles held in the community.

On the streets and in the stores of these centers one may still hear the old West Prussian Low German dialect and possibly even some High German being spoken. Usually it will be the older folks, many of whom know little or no English, who use the Low German, and recently arrived immigrants from Europe who use the High German. Among the garish placards and refrigerated display cabinets of an ultra-modern supermarket in Canada this sounds rather incongruous.

In spite of all the peculiarities that persist, however, more evidence may be found for the obliteration of old forms and practices by new innovations than for their preservation. Modern housing, in styles seen along the length of North America's West Coast may be found now even in the most rural of Mennonite settlements in the Fraser Valley. Municipal building by-laws have brought about an even, efficient use of lot space that gives streets of new houses a similar appearance, whether they be on British Columbia's Lower Mainland, in western Washington or elsewhere. And the relentless process of farm subdivision has made of many Mennonite and non-Mennonite farms alike, housing

developments that are essentially urban in form and function.

Strong documentary, pictorial and statistical evidence is given in this study for this rapid change of the use of a good deal of land from the rural to the non-farm or urban. It is common knowledge, moreover, that more and more people are moving into the city to live or commuting into it to work. This whole process has had serious social consequences for traditionally agrarian people such as the Mennonites. It has tended to disturb close family ties in that it has drawn many young people away from the farm and home into non-farm occupations, often at considerable distance from the family residence. The return of these people has often introduced new ideas and practices into the home, the church and circles of relatives and friends. All of this could not but generate a considerable amount of tension and estrangement. When these contacts with the "outside" have become frequent enough it has happened that whole families or congregations have changed their attitudes and behaviour from broadly accepted norms. They have then often regarded as excessively sophisticated or even "worldly" and they in turn have looked upon others as backward. Thus, the whole complex of economic and cultural influences exerted upon the Mennonites in connection with changes in settlement as outlined in this study, together with numerous social and personal considerations have gradually brought about a reorientation of the value and behaviour patterns of a large segment of this ethnic group. This situation must be recognized as the background

to statistical trends and regional description.

Geographic evidence for reorientation is also persuasive evidence for advanced assimilation into Canadian culture and nationality. The term "assimilation" may be defined as a:

... process or processes by which people of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence.³

This process must not be considered as simply an adoption of some cultural traits by the immigrant from the people of his new homeland. This would be simply acculturation or accommodation. It is, rather, a two-way exchange, involving contributions by both new immigrants and those that have been in the country for a longer period of time, toward a common culture. Naturally, this is seldom, if ever, completely achieved. For the first generation immigrant, if he considers it at all desirable, assimilation involves intense personal conflict, as well as the expense of great efforts in the learning of a new language and new modes of life. The elderly people in every Mennonite congregation would readily attest to the difficulties of assimilation, particularly since most of them had to begin the process during the difficult depression years when it was hard to make a bare living, to say nothing of becoming proficient in English or any of the other refinements of the culture into which they had come.

It must be said too, that many consciously resisted assimilation on religious or other personal grounds. People who are second generation immigrants, as are most of the Mennonites coming to maturity now in the Fraser Valley, find the conflict between themselves and "outsiders" lessened. Many elements of their background are reduced to sentimental attachments only. They have, on the other hand, to contend with a conflict between themselves and their elders, for whom it was almost impossible to advance as far in their adjustment to the new way of life. The second generation, if it is at all alert, begins to question, to re-examine and to modify traditional stands on cultural and certainly also on religious matters. This questioning is more likely to happen in an urban or semi-urban environment than in the traditional agricultural environment.

The third generation, of which the children of many young Mennonite couples are now members, probably will not ever have any great interest in the homeland and culture of their grandparents. The appeal of a vital religion that takes into account the changing spiritual needs of modern young people will be necessary to keep these growing youngsters consciously and creatively associated with their group. An appeal based on the desirability to preserve the use of the German language and other cultural elements will probably not be sufficient.

It is interesting to project some of the trends that are evident in the settlement patterns as well as in the

changing social, cultural and religious orientation of the Mennonites, and to speculate on the future of this hitherto well-defined ethnic group. One may foresee an increase in the urbanization of residence, occupations and mentality. These people and all of their neighbours are involved in a seemingly inexorable economic process that has its repercussions in almost every other aspect of life. Efficient media of communication and pressure toward conformity and acquisition of status symbols within an urban society serve to obscure and even to eliminate ethnic peculiarities. The influence of the ideas and practices of other religious denominations, moreover, makes the maintenance of a traditional religious position difficult as well. Further conformity, therefore, seems inevitable in social and cultural matters and in outward religious practices, if not basic ideals and principles, as well. A repetition of unified group action, such as the mass movements from country to country that took place only some 3-4 decades ago, is difficult to imagine. Mennonitism, as have many other movements, has run into the sands of a modern, materialistic and urbanized environment, from which an extrication would seem almost impossible.

Footnotes and References

1 Sources dealing with each one of these peoples are entered in the bibliography.

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3 R. E. Parks, "Social Assimilation," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. II, p. 281.

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- Notes: Church Directories, which were often only mimeographed sheets, and Conference Yearbooks too numerous to mention here, were used frequently throughout the study.

7. Newspapers

The Chilliwack Progress (May 27, 1953), pp. 2-6. Series of articles commemorating the community's 25th Anniversary.

Krause, J. C. "Mennoniten - 25 Jahre in British Columbien."
Mennonitische Rundschau, p. 2.

Toews, J. J. "Warum verlässt der Ackermann seinen Acker?".
Mennonitische Rundschau (January 1957), pp. 1-4.

"Yarrow's Pioneer Recalls Community Beginning 25 Years Ago."
The Chilliwack Progress (May 27, 1953), p. 4.

APPENDIX A

Table XV

Dates of Establishment of Mennonite Churches in the Fraser Valley (Excluding the Mission Stations)

1930	
31	Greendale Mennonite (Conference)
32	South Abbotsford Mennonite Brethren, Aggasiz Mennonite Brethren, Yarrow Mennonite Brethren, Greendale Mennonite Brethren
33	
34	
35	North Abbotsford (Clearbrook) Mennonite Brethren
36	Yarrow Mennonite (Conference), West Abbotsford Mennonite (Conference), Bethel Mennonite (Conference)
37	Vancouver Mennonite Brethren, First United Mennonite of Vancouver (Conference)
38	
39	
40	Mission City Mennonite (Conference)
41	
42	
43	
44	
45	Arnold Mennonite Brethren, East Chilliwack M. B., Matsqui M. B., Strawberry Hill, M. B., Chilliwack Mennonite (Conference), East Chilliwack Mennonite (Conference)
46	Evangelical Mennonite Brethren of Abbotsford
47	
48	Chilliwack Mennonite Brethren, East Aldergrove Mennonite Brethren
49	Church of Christ Mennonite of Bradner
50	
51	Abbotsford Mennonite Brethren
52	
53	New Westminster Mennonite (Conference)
54	Clearbrook Mennonite (Conference)
55	Fraserview Mennonite Brethren of Vancouver
56	
57	
58	
59	

Note: The names of individual churches tend to vary somewhat; the names on signboards often are different than those in publications put out by Provincial and Canadian Conferences, or even by the churches themselves. The above names have been used in a form that would facilitate location and differentiation between sub-groups.

APPENDIX B

Table XVI

A Representative Listing of Mennonite Family Names
as Compiled from Church Directories of Lower Fraser
Valley Mennonite Churches

Abrahams	Dahl	Gossen	Koohn
Adrian	Daniels	Graeve	Konrad
Albert	Defehr	Gronau	Koop
Allert	Delesky	Grunau	Kopp
Andres	Derksen	Guenther	Kornelsen
Arens	Dick	Gruen	Koslowsky
Arndt	Dirks	Gutwin	Krahn
	Dirksen		Kran
Baerg	Doerksen	Haak	Krause
Bahnman	Dosso	Hamm	Kroeker
Baier	Driediger	Harder	Krone
Balzer	Dueck	Harms	Kungel
Barg	Dueckmann	Heide	
Bargen	Duerksen	Hein	Lange
Bartel	Dyck	Heinrichs	Langemann
Bartsch		Helgeborde	Lehn
Barwich	Ediger	Hepting	Lemke
Berg	Engbrecht	Hiebert	Lenzmann
Bergen	Enns	Hildebrand	Lepp
Bergmann	Ens	Hildebrandt	Letkemann
Blatz	Epp	Hintz	Loepp
Block	Esau	Hoeppner	Loewen
Boese	Espenberg	Hodel	Lowen
Boldt	Ewert	Hubert	Lohrenz
Born		Huebert	
Borowsky	Falk		Mantler
Boschmann	Fast	Isaac	Martens
Brandt	Fieguth		Matis
Braun	Fleming	Jackel	Matthies
Brauer	Franz	Jantz	Matties
Brede	Friesen	Jantzen	Meyer
Brown	Froese	Janz	Mielke
Brucks	Funk	Janzen	Mirau
Bruehler		Jensen	Mueller
Buhr	Gauer		
Buller	Geddert	Kaethler	Nachtigal
Busse	Gienger	Kasper	Neitsch
	Giesbrecht	Keilbart	Neufeld
Classen	Goepinger	Kehler	Neufeldt
Cornelson	Goertz	Ketler	Neuman
Cornies	Goerzen	Klassen	Neumann
Cornis	Goossen	Kleebaum	Nickel
	Gorecki	Kliewer	Niebuhr
		Knecht	

Table XVI (continued)

Niessen	Ratzlaff	Schowalter	Unger
Nikkel	Redekop	Schroeder	Unrau
Nussbaumer	Reimer	Schulz	Unruh
Olfert	Regehr	Siebel	Van Bergen
Paetkau	Regier	Siebert	Veer
Pankratz	Rempel	Siemens	Vogt
Pauls	Renpening	Sommerfeld	Voth
Penner	Riediger	Spent	Walde
Peters	Riesen	Stobbe	Wall
Petker	Rogalsky	Suderman	Warkentin
Plett	Rumpel	Sudermann	Wedel
Poetker	Russenberger	Sukkau	Wegenart
Poettcker	Sagert	Teichroeb	Weyer
Polle	Sawatsky	Teichgrab	Wiebe
Pump	Schapansky	Thielmann	Wiens
Quapp	Schellenberg	Thiessen	Wiensz
Quiring	Schier	Tieszen	Willems
	Schierling	Tilitsky	Willms
	Schilling	Toews	Wittenberg
	Schmidt		Wittman
	Schmor		Wolfe

APPENDIX C

Table XVII Membership Totals of Mennonite Churches of the Lower Fraser Valley from 1933 to 1958

Year	Fraserview, Vancouver (M.B.)	First Menn., Vancouver (C.)	Vancouver (M.B.)	New Westminster (C.)	Strawberry Hill (M.B.)	Bethel, Aldergrove (C.)	East Aldergrove (M.B.)	West Abbotsford (C.)	Clearbrook, (M.B.)	Clearbrook (C.)	South Abbotsford (M.B.)	Abbotsford (M.B.)	Matsqui (M.B.)	Mission City (C.)	Arnold (M.B.)	Yarrow (M.B.)	Yarrow (C.)	Greendale (M.B.)	Greendale (C.)	Chilliwick (M.B.)	Chilliwick (C.)	East Chilliwick (M.B.)	East Chilliwick (C.)
1933																							
34											80					237		80					
35											80					237		80					
36											80					237							
37		35									-					282			89				
38											-					340							
39		51	110			38		52	40		160				365	44	150	115					
40		50	188			44		49	60		255			21	434	41	149	123					
41		60	-			46		72	-					-	-	42		136					
42		63	188			57		79	-	255				30	490	51	149	139					
43		65	188			68		86	60	255				40	550	60	149	142					
44		71	250			80		108	185	325				47	67	648	59	230	142				
45		75	250	58		-		117	250	321		90	40	90	740	63	230	153					125
46		83	250	47	81			115	250	320		98	40	110	742	66	223	146					
47		76	184	62	111	110		145	240	435		130	46	141	793	85	310	172	111	47	171		
48		97	184	62	117	155		194	240	503		130	62	141	840	93	310	196	163	62	212		
49		73	215	94	133	179		250	238	500		182	70	200	875	99	270	215	182	39	237	112	
50		95	215	94	148	179		351	238	500		182	96	200	875	152	270	248	182	43	237	139	
51	160	275		101	162	190		432	275	330	223	181	104	166	787	158	360	242	210	57	233	147	
52	135	544		101	189	201		377	305	350	250	185	107	186	761	166	348	246	218	78	237	162	
53	185	600	40	106	195	207		328	328	330	283	196	112	202	749	160	346	250	239	88	236	179	
54	207	683	42	110	208	217		348	369	350	287	185	116	210	781	180	345	258	252	84	238	200	
55	230	243	450	47	109	218	214	350	369	153	368	215	200	116	216	761	193	334	256	246	88	243	203
56	319	315	450	50	105	237	214	362	396	172	386	253	196	117	208	761	201	332	266	252	82	246	203
57	449	353	470	49	105	242	216	374	421	167	385	228	189	120	222	708	175	307	262	253	88	233	210
58	492	404	531	52	123	247	225	395	461	183	388	230	181	109	206	708	161	308	277	253	105	233	210

Note: The names used in this table have been simplified where necessary, but the essential name, place and affiliation have been presented. "M. B." refers to Mennonite Brethren and "C" to Conference or General Conference.

In cases where figures were missing for a particular year totals were interpolated by taking the average of the memberships before and after.

APPENDIX D

Suggestions for Further Research

It became apparent during the course of this study that much further work could be done in the outlining of the cultural geography of the Fraser Valley, and in the solution of problems in related fields.

More detailed and more extensive land use surveys are necessary, first of all, for a comprehensive view of settlement in the entire Fraser Valley and for a proper relation of ethnic group settlement to the whole. These surveys will need to show, among other things, just where the boundaries between essentially urban and essentially rural land use lie. This will mean taking careful note of deceptive vestigial farm buildings. The clear portrayal of the structural patterns of numerous nucleations that would result from such surveys would be highly valuable and interesting. It is hoped, therefore, that the work being done by field workers of the Geographical Branch of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa, on the classification of land use in Richmond and Surrey will be continued to cover the other municipalities of the Valley as well.

Studies of the settlement patterns and associated social, cultural and religious situations of other ethnic groups, beside the Mennonites would yield more and important information on British Columbia's population. Numerous books and articles are available on various aspects of our province's ethnic groups, but geographical studies, with statistical and cartographical substantiation are still rare. Admittedly, good sources of statistical information on the internal characteristics of some groups are hard to come by, the the research's ingenuity may well be able to overcome this difficulty.

Much further work could be done on the systematic treatment of sequent occupation, form and function of many Fraser Valley nucleations. A good deal of historical information may be gathered from newspaper archives, histories published on the occasion of various festivities and the interviewing of pioneers. The study of form and function would require extensive field work, involving such techniques as questioning of householders and field mapping. It is still necessary to develop useable criteria for the centrality of nucleations in our area and to classify them accordingly. Work has been begun on this last problem by a staff member and students of the Geography Department of the University of British Columbia.

Undoubtedly, a study of individual settlement forms

such as farm types, houses, barns, fences and others, as distributed over the entire Valley, would yield highly interesting results. One needs only to consult articles in periodicals such as Landscape, dealing with the distribution, history, function and even aesthetic qualities of building types, to envisage what might be done in the Fraser Valley.¹ It must be remembered that buildings of interest in this connection are fast disappearing as modernization and urbanization advance.

Within the Mennonite community itself there is very much more that could be studied from the geographic point of view and documented. A detailed study of overall Mennonite farm economy, dealing with such factors as its initial development, its relationship to soil and climate, the significance of intra-group co-operative organization and the like would be highly useful in an understanding of the group, as it would be for any other ethnic group as distinct as theirs.

It may be pointed out, lastly, that there is a wealth of historical and other material on all aspects of Mennonite life in the Fraser Valley that needs to be collected and properly organized. There is still no central repository for this material. It seems reasonable that the library of the M. E. I., or of some future Mennonite liberal arts college, could be expanded to include a collection of this kind. There are many Mennonite Pioneers who have interesting accounts that could be recorded. The number of published works and unpublished theses dealing with the Mennonites of the Fraser Valley, and of Western Canada generally, are increasing. One might mention here the work of Dr. F. C. Peters on social and psychological trends within Canadian Mennonitism, Harold Dyck's work on Mennonite education in Western Canada and others either just finished or still underway. It will still be some time, however, before Mennonite life here is as carefully and comprehensively documented as it is in Eastern Canada, and particularly in the Central and Eastern United States.

¹ Patrick Horsbrugh, "Barns in Central Illinois," Landscape, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 12 (Spring 1959).



Figure 15. Mennonite Farmland

- a. A sizeable poultry farm in Abbotsford, along Emerson Road.
- b. A field under process of clearing - Abbotsford.
- c. Workers in a berry field in summer - Abbotsford.

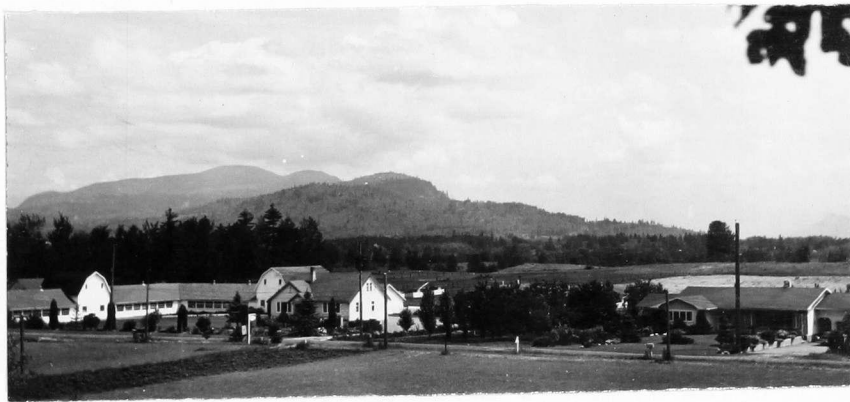


Figure 16A. General Views of Farms in Mennonite Settlement Areas

- a. Mennonite farms along Short Road, Abbotsford.
- b. Farm land north of Mission City.
- c. A prosperous Mennonite farm on the corner of Emerson and Huntingdon Roads in Abbotsford.

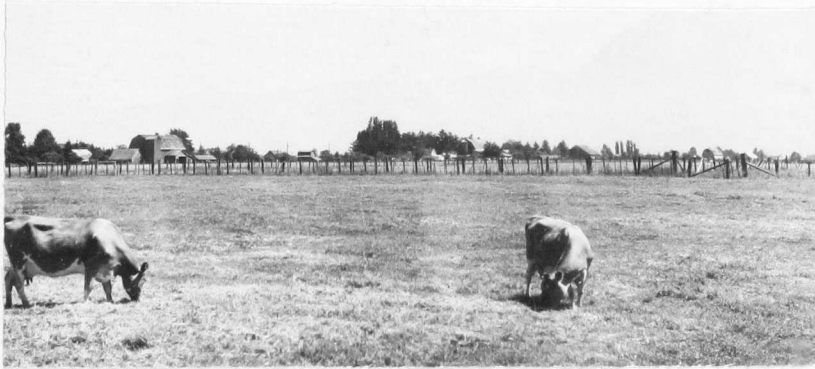


Figure 16B.

- a. Farmland in the East Chilliwack area.
- b. A pioneer farm in Abbotsford, with buildings set well away from the road among fruit trees.
- c. A Mennonite farm with an extensive flower garden in front of the house.



Figure 17. Small Mennonite Centers

- a. South Abbotsford
 - b. Arnold
 - c. Greendale
- (Refer to Maps 12 and 14)

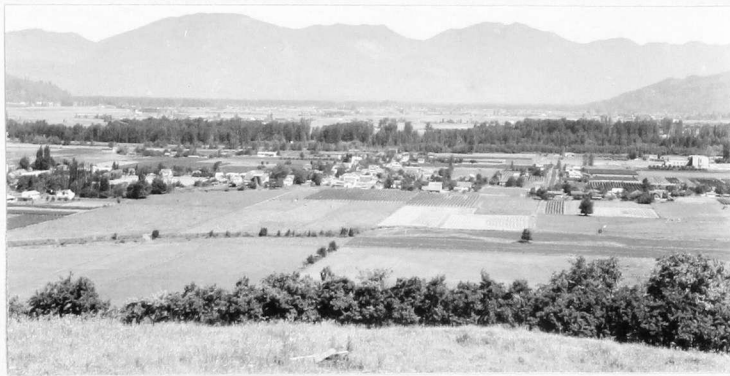
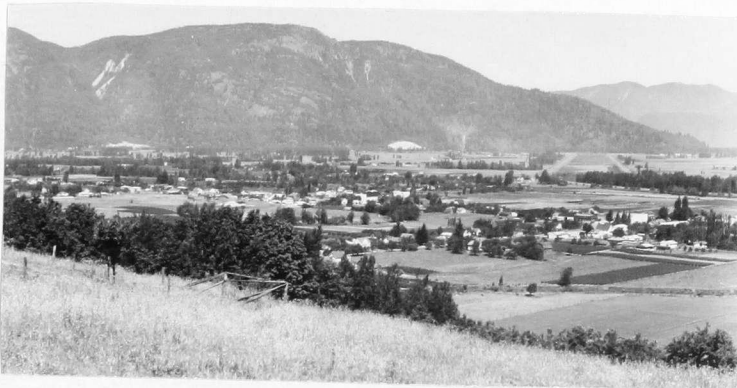
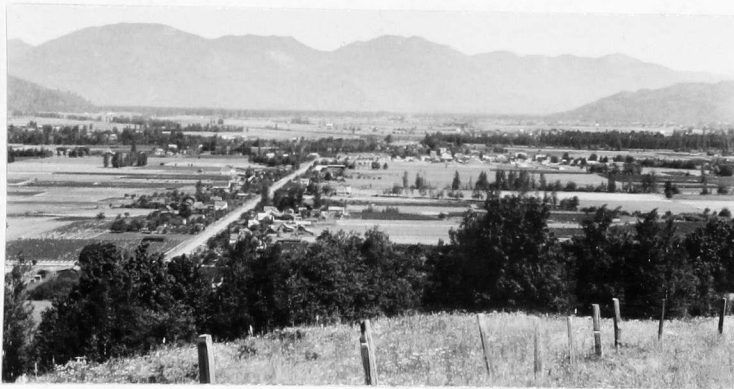


Figure 18. Panoramic Views of Yarrow

- a. Western section of Yarrow.
- b. Central section of Yarrow.
- c. Eastern section of Yarrow.

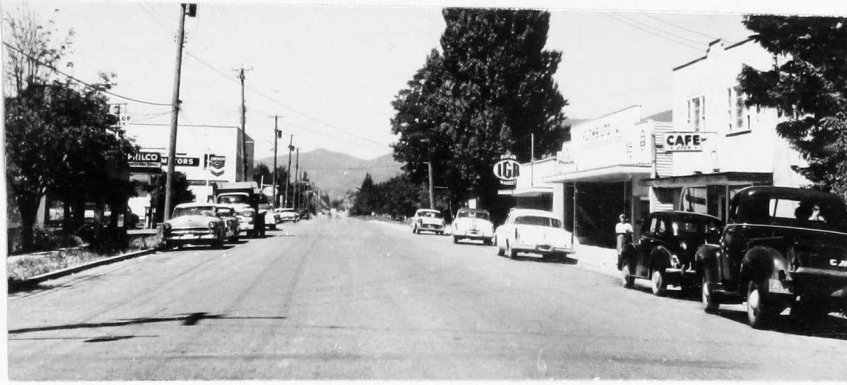


Figure 19. Commerce and Industry in Yarrow

- a. The eastern section of Yarrow's commercial core.
- b. Packing and Processing plants along the B. C. Electric Railway.
- c. The Yarrow branch of Clearbrook Frozen Foods.