

The dynamics of German language maintenance in Canada¹

1.0 Introduction

On December 4, 2007, Statistics Canada released data on “immigration and citizenship” and “language” gathered during the 2006 Census, some of which may have been a surprise to members of Canada’s German-speaking community. Briefly, the findings may be summarized in two sets of conclusions:

1.1 Birthplace

Immigrants from German-speaking countries represent an ever-decreasing share of Canada’s immigrant population. The Census found 176,040 Canadians who had been born in **Germany**, but the vast majority had immigrated before 1991 (N=149,020). 6,155 individuals came between 1991 and 1995, another 8,595 between 1996 and 2001, and 7,635 arrived between 2001 and 2006. They represented 0.7% of the total number of immigrants who came to Canada between 2001 and 2006.

21,130 Canadians were reported to have been born in **Austria** – 19,205 before 1991 and only 510 arriving in the last five years.

20,925 Canadians were born in **Switzerland** according to the 2006 Census. 19,995 had immigrated before 1991 and 1,855 arrived between 2001 and 2006; of those, almost half settled in Quebec.

In sum, approximately 9,200 immigrants from German-speaking countries arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006.

1.2 Mother tongue

In 2001, German stood in fourth place in Canada as “the language first learned and still understood” (single mother tongue; see Table 1) with 438,080 persons, behind English, French, and Italian. Another 17,460 Canadians reported to have acquired German as one of several mother tongues in their childhood. In 2006, Chinese overtook German and Italian and moved into third place, displacing German into fifth.

Table 1 Select mother tongues, single and multiple responses, Canada, 2001 and 2006²

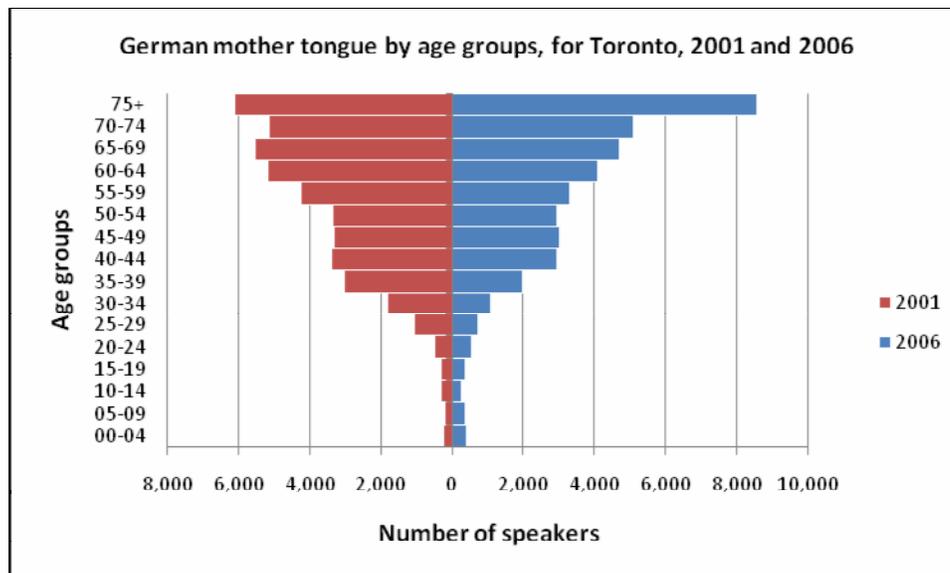
	2001		2006	
	Mother tongue (single)	Mother tongue (multiple)	Mother tongue (single)	Mother tongue (multiple)
English	17,352,315	342,520	17,882,775	349,420
French	6,703,330	161,285	6,817,655	152,750
Italian	469,490	24,505	455,040	21,860
German	438,080	17,460	450,570	16,080
Chinese ¹	425,085	10,150	456,705	10,530
Cantonese	322,315	6,865	361,450	8,195

Moreover, Canada’s German-speaking community continues to age dramatically, especially in the urban areas.

German in urban areas. In 2006, almost 37% of all Canadians who “had learned German at home as the first language and still understood it” were 65 years of age or older. But in Toronto, for instance, 18,370 German mother tongue speakers (46%) were 65 years of age and older. On the other hand, 775 Toronto children between 0 and 9 years were reported by their parents as learning German as their mother tongue

– this is 1.9% of the total population of 40,415 Torontonians with German mother tongue. Figure 1 shows the distribution, and changes from 2001.

Fig. 1 German mother tongue by age groups, Toronto, 2001 and 2006³

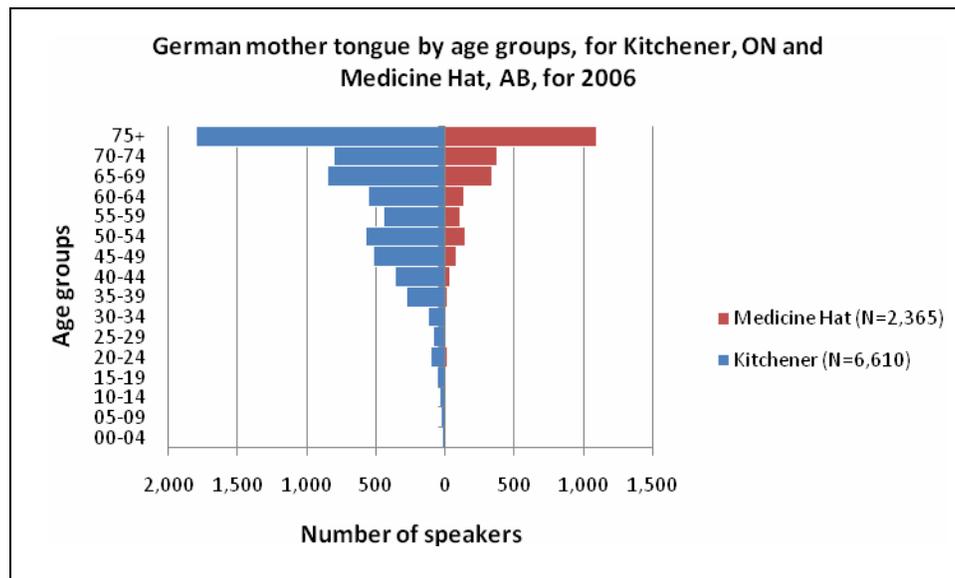


Clearly, the inverted population pyramid points to the passing of the immigrant generation. Note, however, the small increase the number of children reported to be learning German as their mother from 2001 to 2006 (from 220 to 410 children in the 0 to 4 age group and from 210 to 365 in the 5 to 9 years group) that can be explained by the recent surge of immigrants from Germany (N=7,635) and Austria (N=100). Of those born in Germany, 2,505 persons (32.8%) settled in Ontario, and most of them gravitated towards the larger centres, such as Toronto (N=1,235), Ottawa (N=265), and Kitchener (N=135). No data on the age of the immigrants are available, but it is likely that they were younger and were raising a family.

A similar, often even more pronounced, skewed distribution of German mother tongue speakers by age groups applies to smaller urban centres as well. For example, in stereotypically “German” Kitchener (Ontario) 6,610 persons reported having learned German as their first language (see Fig. 2), but there is only a very small number of children doing so (20 between 0 and 4, and 30 between 5 and 9). Moreover, the total number of German mother tongue speakers declined from 7,790 to 6,610 from 1996 to 2006.

In Medicine Hat (Alberta), which has a strong “German” past, there were no children below the age of 10 who were learning German as their first language, and only 10 in the 10-14 year age group – out of a total number 2,365 persons with German mother tongue – who were reported by their parents to be acquiring German as their first language. The population with German mother tongue declined from 3,280 in 1996 to 2,365 in 2006.

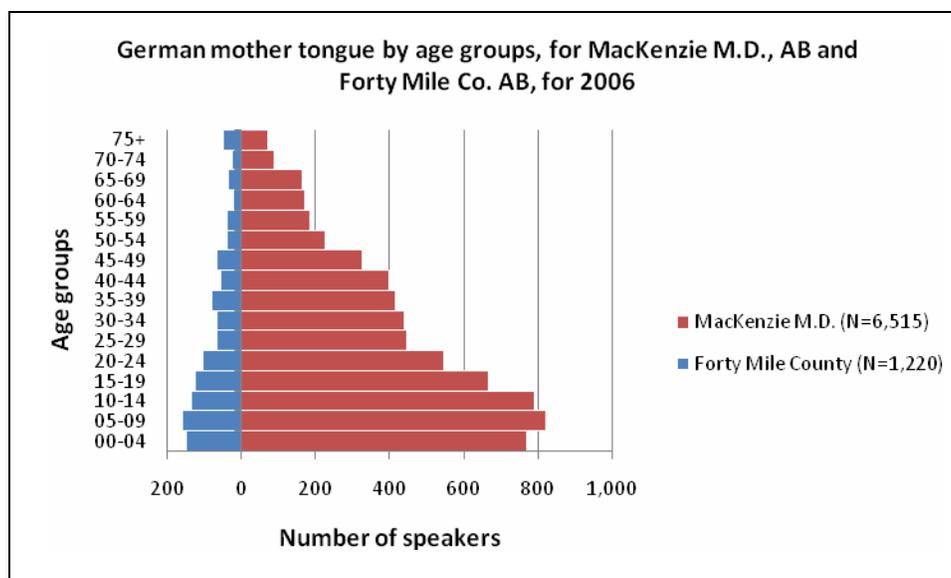
Fig. 2 German mother tongue by age groups, Kitchener, ON and Medicine Hat, AB, for 2006⁴



Language loss over increasing age reduces the number of children who will learn German as their mother tongue and “the language spoken most often at home” (home language). Research⁵ has shown that less one third of the under-10 population who are reported by their parents to learn German as their first language will actually do so and use German regularly in the home; by age 24, only ca. 10% can and do use German as their home language. In other words, only about 80 of the ca. 780 Toronto children who are learning German as their mother tongue will actually acquire sufficient proficiency to use German on a daily basis. The situation is even more critical in Kitchener and Medicine Hat and similar localities.

German in the rural areas. On the other hand, in rural areas with high populations of Hutterites and conservative Mennonites (see the Appendix for details on the two groups), the number of children who are growing up with German as their first language and as their home language is rising rapidly. The following are examples of population pyramids for Fort Mile County in southern Alberta – which is heavily populated by Hutterites – and MacKenzie M.D. in Alberta’s far north where Old Colony Mennonites have settled.

Fig. 3 German mother tongue by age groups, Forty Mile Co. and MacKenzie M.D. (Alberta), for 2006⁶

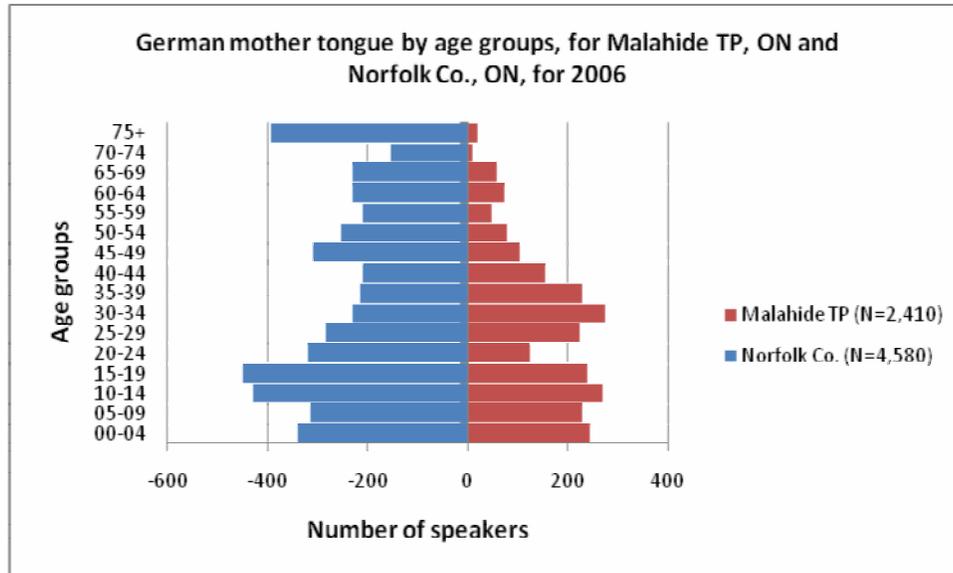


In both localities the number of speakers of German as a mother tongue increased substantially over the five years from 1996 to 2006 (Forty Mile Co.: from 740 to 1,220; MacKenzie M.D.: from 3,725 to 6,515), and in both there are very large numbers of children up to the age 14. In 2006, in Forty Mile County, 150 children below the age of 5 and 160 between 5 and 9 years were acquiring German as their mother tongue, accounting for 25% of the total population there with German mother tongue. Only about 9% of the German mother-tongue population in Fort Mile Co. were 65 years of age or older.

In the MacKenzie Municipal District alone, the 2006 Census found 1,590 children up to the age of 9 who were acquiring German as their first language. Compare this number to Toronto where were 775 children up to the age of 9 who were reported by their parents to learn German as their mother tongue!

Figure 4 demonstrates similar developments in two localities in rural Ontario, Malahide Township in Elgin County and Norfolk County. In Malahide TP, the total population with German mother tongue increased from 2,060 to 2,410 persons from 1996 to 2006; in Norfolk County their number increased from 2,025 to 4,580. Again, comparatively large numbers of children dominated the respective population pyramids.

Fig. 4 German mother tongue by age groups, Malahide TP (Elgin Co.) and Norfolk County, Ontario, for 2006⁷



These two localities are by no means unusual; Table 222 in the Appendix lists townships and urban municipalities with high numbers of children between 0 and 4 years who are learning German as their mother tongue. Similar developments can be observed in Wellesley Township in Waterloo County where 13% of the 3,290 residents with German mother tongue were four years old or younger (N=425), or in the Huron-Kinloss TP in County Bruce where 18% of the 220 German mother tongue speakers were children in the same age group. Plotting population distributions for each locality in the table (except Kitchener, Waterloo, and Toronto) yields pyramidal shapes, but no “trees.”

Although detailed statistics are regrettably not available, these townships have been foremost among those to which conservative Mennonites from Central and South America have emigrated or re-immigrated. Since the late 1960s the dominant destination in Canada has been the intensive farming and industrial region focusing on the counties of Essex, Chatham-Kent, Elgin, and Norfolk and extending all the way north to Bruce and Grey. Most recently, large numbers of Low German-speaking returnees from Mexico, Belize, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay.⁸ According to the Regional Manager of the Mennonite Central Committee Aylmer Resource Centre, at least 10,000 people in the area were estimated to listen to a low-power FM Low German radio station in 2004 which had been put up recently.⁹

Similar age distributions can be found wherever Hutterites live in western Canada. More detail on the use and maintenance of the German language among Hutterites and Mennonites may be found in the Appendix.

1.3 The implications of language loss

Language loss appears to be an unavoidable fact of life in almost all linguistic groups, especially if there is no replenishment of the linguistic pool by immigration. While to some the loss of one’s mother tongue and home language is considered regrettable, this view has not always been shared by everyone and at all times. For a hundred years, Canadian censuses have observed the readiness with which German speakers surrendered their mother tongue in favour of English,¹⁰ and around the turn of the 19th century “the Ger-

mans” were particularly welcome in Canada because they caused so little difficulty by not insisting on maintaining a separate cultural and linguistic identity.¹¹ As a German-speaking immigrant to Alberta observed more than 100 years ago:

I had studied some French in the school in Russia, but no English. After two or three months I had no problem to understand people and started gradually thinking in English. After that I was on my way to becoming a new Canadian.¹²

And:

We did not speak German at home. After all, we were in Canada now.¹³

The Canadian government has been aware of the trend of language transfer from the unofficial to one of the official languages for many decades. In 1971, it was observed that

[i]n the [Prairie Region], it is unlikely that the concentration of non-official languages will continue much beyond the present generation.¹⁴ ...

The ultimate transfer to French or English home language by individuals who have learned non-official languages as mother tongues or their children appears to be a virtual certainty...

The language transfer of non-official languages to English and French is concerned mainly with post-World-War II immigrants. The children of these immigrants, and certainly these immigrants’ grandchildren, will be able to speak only English and French.¹⁵

The 1981 Census stated that “the minority languages are not maintaining their position,”¹⁶ with the shift taking place predominantly towards English. In 2006, it was reported that “most of the children and grandchildren of [German, Italian, Ukrainian and Polish] immigrants have English or French as their mother tongue. As such, they no longer contribute to the growth of the language group of their parents or grandparents.”¹⁷

German as a home language. From 1971 until 1996 the census asked which language was spoken most often in the home, and the results were evaluated in a comparable manner (from 1996 on, the Census used different survey methodologies, and the figures are no longer comparable). Table 2 shows that over these 25 years the use of German as a home language in Canada fell from 213,350 to 114,085 – a decrease by 46%. Of the provinces with large German-speaking communities, Quebec registered the sharpest decline with 70%, followed by Saskatchewan with 62%. In British Columbia and Ontario the decline amounted to almost 50%, in Manitoba to 45%, and in Alberta it was 19%.

Table 2 German as a home language in Canada, the provinces and territories (single responses), and decreases between 1971 and 1996

	1971	1981	1986	1991	1996	Decrease from 1971 to 1996
Canada	213,350	163,550	112,550	114,270	114,085	46.5%
Alberta	29,275	27,485	20,415	22,950	23,770	18.8%
British Columbia	28,335	22,930	14,885	14,545	14,265	49.7%
Manitoba	39,665	31,540	23,375	22,790	21,870	44.9%
New Brunswick	310	405	270	280	355	-14.5%
Newfoundland & Labrador	170	105	85	30	40	76.5%
Northwest Territories	120	45	25	25	15	87.5%
Nova Scotia	510	435	595	535	1,020	-100.0%
Ontario	82,885	58,690	40,125	40,960	41,495	49.9%
Prince Edward Island	30	35	10	10	20	33.3%
Quebec	13,790	8,800	5,540	5,130	4,135	70.0%
Saskatchewan	18,125	12,945	7,195	6,915	6,975	61.5%
Yukon Territory	145	130	30	110	120	17.2%

Why is it of interest to know whether the use of a certain language in the home increases or decreases over time? Clearly, if there are fewer people who speak – for instance – German at home, fewer children will be able to hear and acquire it as their mother tongue and maybe become reasonably proficient in it. Unless they are proficient in their mother tongue (and are motivated to do so) the chance that they, in turn, will use German at home *with their own children* is drastically reduced, which means that even fewer people grow up with German as their mother tongue, and so on. Conversely, if there are more children over a period of time who grow up with German as their mother tongue and home language they are more likely to be able to use German *with their own children*, leading to an even greater number of German mother tongue speakers, and so on. In other words, the extent to which a language is maintained in the home as the language most frequently spoken is a strong predictor of the extent to which the language will flourish, survive, or disappear in subsequent generations.

Exploring the dynamics of German language maintenance. A recent study by Prokop and Bassler (2004) documented the settlement of German-speaking immigrants and the state of German as a mother tongue and home language across Canada over the last 150 years. On the basis of census and other data, it came to the conclusion that German will rapidly disappear in the urban areas as the first language learned in childhood and as the primary language spoken at home – unless current patterns of language maintenance and immigration levels change substantially. In rural areas where Hutterites and conservative Mennonite groups have settled, German will continue to exist, and even flourish.

This paper will address selected sociocultural, political, religious, and personal factors affecting language maintenance in Canada – in particular, the maintenance of German as a mother tongue and home language – and will offer conceptualizations of the linguistic vitality of the German language in Canada.

2.0 Sociocultural, political, and religious factors affecting German language maintenance in Central and Eastern Europe and Canada

One of the most vexing issues in the analysis of the maintenance of German as a mother tongue and home language in Canada is the demonstrated readiness of some “Germans”¹⁸ to abandon their linguistic heri-

tage and the equally well demonstrated stubbornness of others in trying to retain it. Any attempt at explaining this curious phenomenon must resort to abstraction from individual cases and to generalization, a process which is fraught with the dangers of overgeneralization, the imputation of motives, and the stereotyping of cultural and linguistic behaviour. After all, it is clearly inappropriate to refer to “the Germans” in Canada as if they were a homogeneous ethnic, linguistic, or sociocultural group, adhering to and motivated by a common set of social values and beliefs (see Prokop and Bassler, 2004, pp. 6-9 for a discussion of the difficulties in defining ‘German’).

Keeping in mind this caution, the following discussion endeavours to identify possible factors contributing to varying rates of language maintenance. Some or all of these factors may act, or may have acted, individually or in concert with others to motivate the immigrants to retain or abandon their linguistic and sociocultural heritage. In some instances, statements can be made with confidence, especially where readily identifiable groups are concerned; in other cases, individual or family motives may have been the main determiners, outweighing the general pattern in importance.¹⁹

2.1 “Old” and “new ethnics”. The Canadian census has repeatedly addressed the differences in the features characterizing the immigrants (or their ancestors) who arrived in Canada before the Second World War – the “old ethnics” – and after the War – the “new ethnics”.²⁰ Criteria examined were, for instance, age, gender, schooling, fertility, occupational choice, religious denomination, and average income.

The “old ethnics” tended to have an occupation in agriculture and therefore were likely to live in the rural areas, while the new ethnics more often had marketable skills required in a more industrialized society and therefore chose to live in the urban, especially the metropolitan areas.

For example, as early as 1961 the Census of Canada reported a substantial difference between the places of residence chosen by the “old” and the “new” immigrants: 56% of the ethnic Germans who had immigrated before 1946 (N=88,016) settled in the urban areas of Canada while as many as 84% of the those who arrived between 1946 and 1961 did so (N=199,119).²¹ Among the German ethnic group, the “new ethnics” were particularly distinguished by bringing manufacturing skills along.²²

1971 Census data show that the distinction has had a strong impact on language retention (see Table 3). Except for Dutch (the Dutch appear to be the group most likely to surrender their mother tongue²³), the “new ethnics” used the same mother tongue and home language to a greater extent than the “old ethnics.” Almost 50% of the new ethnics in the German group used German as their home language while of those who had immigrated before World War II only some 26% employed German as the primary language of the home.

While there are, in fact, demographic differences of consequence between the two groups of immigrants, it might be argued that the variation in home language use is simply due to the fact that the new immigrants were simply more likely to have retained their home language for a while as their mother tongue than those ethnics who either had immigrated long before World War II or were even in the second generation.

Table 3 Mother tongue and home language used by “old” and “new ethnics”, for Canada, 1971²⁴

Same ethnic origin and mother tongue	Same home language	
	Old ethnic	New ethnic
German	25.5%	47.7%
Italian	28.7%	82.4%
Netherlandic languages	25.0%	21.8%
Polish	32.9%	63.0%
Scandinavian	5.4%	21.0%
Ukrainian	37.3%	70.8%

The factors governing the preservation of an ethnic language in Canada, especially after World War II, are quite well understood. Language maintenance or loss is a function of a number of social and personal variables (among them age, residence in a rural or urban area, occupation, and rate of intermarriage). Another important factor is generational shift. It implies that the immigrant generation usually succeeds in maintaining an active competence in the mother tongue (although it may not be used as the language of communication any longer), while members of the second and certainly the third generation usually have little or no proficiency in the language of their ancestors.²⁵

But why did “the Germans” retain their knowledge of German from generation to generation in areas of Central and Eastern Europe where they were surrounded on all sides, for centuries, by speakers of other languages? Why did so many of their sons and daughters acquire English readily and quickly after their immigration to Canada?

2.2 Factors affecting German language maintenance among the “old ethnics”

The following factors are possible contributors to differential rates of language maintenance in Canada between the 1880s and the 1940s:²⁶

- a. the extent of cultural, linguistic, and spiritual homogeneity of the group concerned;
- b. the prestige value of the language and culture as perceived by the group itself and by outsiders;
- c. the ideologically motivated strength of cultural, linguistic and spiritual traditions and values;
- d. the strength of the in-group support network and the resulting group cohesion;
- e. the extent of the desire to remain independent, autonomous, remote and aloof from the outside world;
- f. the extent to which the group is permitted and able to conduct and control its own internal affairs regarding local government, the economic system, and educational and church affairs; this includes also the group’s own perceptions of its ability to do so;
- g. the extent of voluntary identification with and acceptance of the social and political values held by the outside group(s); and
- h. the presence of settlement patterns encouraging in-group interaction over interaction with the outside world.

The “German” colonists in Russia had been lured there by the promises made by various rulers, in particular by Catherine the Great and Alexander I, and while patterns varied from region to region,²⁷ the immigrants settled in colonies which, into the late nineteenth century, remained relatively autonomous in the administration of local government, education and the exercise of religion. Moreover, on the whole, they remained remote and aloof from their Slavic neighbours, and there was little contact even among the various German settlements there.²⁸ Some settlers may have harboured feelings of superiority for being “German” (an attitude which prevailed, with some, into the twentieth century²⁹), for had not they and their

ancestors been called in to help settle and colonize the land where others ostensibly had not been able to do so? The relative prosperity in villages and towns very likely reinforced the “Germans” pride in their language and culture. There probably were some who valued and treasured the German language as the language of Goethe and Schiller, the language of the “people of poets and thinkers.”³⁰ It may well be that this self-perception was respected and even reinforced by some officials and some members of the surrounding ethnic groups. At any rate, before the Russification in the late nineteenth century, German was indeed a language endowed with social, economic, and even political prestige.³¹ Given the freedoms available to them, it would seem natural that the colonists would have tried to pass on their proud cultural and religious heritage in the churches, schools, and at home – particularly when German-language books and newspapers became more readily available and when more settlers had achieved more than a minimal education.

Originally, each community had had the freedom and the responsibility to organize its own schools. Because the school was each community’s responsibility, its nature and quality depended on local attitudes and finance, but for this reason, German also became the language of instruction.

The schools were supervised by the churches, which for ideological reasons, sought to perpetuate the tradition of holding services in High German or the local dialect. After all, for most members of religious groups such as the Mennonites and Hutterites, German was also the language of their faith which they desired to defend at all cost. Because of the restricted extent of contact with the surrounding population, there was little need to switch to, say, Russian, to accommodate immigrants from other countries and the native population. This need would change significantly upon emigration to Canada, where the churches had to fight the loss of the younger generation to the anglophone culture and where they often thought that they had to minister to the spiritual needs of recent immigrants from other countries or the local population already present.

Among the “German” colonists in Eastern Europe there was thus a feeling – however tenuous – of linguistic and cultural communion based on common ethnic, cultural and linguistic roots in the parts of the “Germany” where they had resided before their emigration to the East. They often shared a common spiritual bond to the exclusion of other religious beliefs, and they supported each other as members of a closely knit family would. They showed pride in their sociocultural heritage and were able to look back on a long tradition of success. They settled in villages which allowed frequent and reinforcing social, cultural, linguistic and religious contacts, and they lived in communities which were functionally complete and autonomous from the rest of the world. Until the 1870s, they enjoyed the freedom to arrange their own educational and religious affairs in their own language without outside interference. They remained aloof from or rejected the political structures outside their own communities; they did not at all identify with the system and the values which it represented. Thus they remained intentionally remote from the surrounding population and from the worldliness of that society.

However, when the Russian state broke the promises made and interfered with the autonomy of the settlements, when the established religious and economic privileges began to erode, when the school lost its autonomy, when Russian became a compulsory subject, and when Russian became the sole language of instruction with Russian supervisors of the curriculum, it would not have been surprising for the settlers to develop a “siege mentality” for the defence of what appeared to be, or was in fact threatened, rejecting the outside world and emphasizing their own internal group values and practices even more than had been the case before.³² For some, the situation became unbearable and they sought other lands where their former freedoms and privileges would continue to be available to them. Accordingly, thousands of Mennonites and Hutterites emigrated to the western United States and western Canada where they hoped to be able to continue their life in isolation.

But in the meantime those who stayed, wherever they were in Eastern Europe, did learn Russian in school (or the respective dominant language).³³ The state's intimidation worked: the settlers came to avoid or at least hesitate to use German outside the home and the church and in dealing with the surrounding villagers and townspeople. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, outside the German-speaking enclaves, German ceased to be a prestige language.

Consequently, the situation facing the settlers upon their arrival in Canada may not have been totally unfamiliar: German surely was not a language with an intriguing, prestigious aura when the settlers came to western Canada, especially during and after the Great War.³⁴ Here, as well, pressure was exerted on them to abandon their sociocultural and linguistic heritage and to become "good Canadians," and often English simply took the place of Russian or Polish as the official language which had to be learned.

The settlers enjoyed the freedom to use German in the home, with friends and neighbours,³⁵ and in the church, supported by church leaders who were convinced that in the absence of spiritual leadership and education in the native language, assimilation would have progressed much faster.³⁶ Many colonists formed close bonds with the members of their community and helped each other out. However, they were not as free to teach the German language in their schools as they might have wished. There were strict laws governing the use of languages other than English in the Prairie provinces, restricting the teaching of languages other than English to after-school hours and requiring the parents to pay for such instruction. Private German-language schools, because of the effects of animosities against Germans during and after World War I, were closed down altogether. When they were permitted to reopen, German was no longer the language in which instruction was given.³⁷

Although emigration from Eastern and Central Europe tended to take place in groups of five to ten families,³⁸ sometimes emptying entire villages in the "old country," there was more mixing of various linguistic, sociocultural and even religious backgrounds in the settlements in the Canadian West, less unbroken continuity with the past than had existed in Eastern Europe. As a result, there was greater linguistic and cultural heterogeneity inside and outside the ethnic group. Apart from the bloc settlements in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the German-speaking settlers came from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, from Germany itself and from Austria, who did not think of themselves as "Germans". If they had been recent immigrants from Germany, their own political histories, their dialects, and their religions divided them and prevented them from achieving some sort of "Pan-German" identity.³⁹ True, many immigrants still tried to settle in ethnically and spiritually homogenous configurations,⁴⁰ but often they were scattered across the countryside on their homesteads, and although they may have lived only a few miles apart, the feeling of communion had lessened, as well as the group cohesion which had existed in a village where everyone lived close by and drove out to work their strip of land, in the fashion of the traditional German village in "Germany." True, German could and certainly was still spoken within the families and with the friends and relatives nearby, but one had to walk or drive to the centrally located church (often in the middle of nowhere, put there simply because it was more or less equidistant to the various homesteads of the faithful⁴¹) and to the nearest town for shopping. A knowledge of German would not have sufficed for buying and selling if the settlers around them were of Ukrainian, Swedish, or Dutch ethnic background. Thus English became the *lingua franca* for those who had to go out "into the world," especially for the men, while the women remained at home, came "into town" only rarely, met speakers of English only rarely, and thus experienced much greater difficulty in learning English.⁴² Therefore, the women became responsible for teaching the children German (they could not speak English very well themselves and often learned their English from the children when they went to school⁴³), while the men tended to become bilingual to a greater extent. Economic success necessitated a greater openness to the world and, therefore, to the anglophone culture; English quite literally was required as the language of communication with the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous outside world and served as the means for educational advancement.⁴⁴

A factor which might have played a significant role in the Anglicization of immigrants of German ethnic origin is the possibility that they identified with and supported the political and social system in Canada, which appeared to be fairer to the “little man” than the autocratic and arbitrary regimes of the European East.⁴⁵ The positive evaluation of the social and political system would have caused a greater inclination to accept it for itself and the language in which the system functioned.

It may be concluded that those settlers who arrived by themselves or were accompanied only by their immediate family and sought admission into established groups, or who did not arrive in ideologically well-defined groups in Canada, were more prone to accept the anglophone culture and to abandon the German language because of the geographic, ethnic, social, cultural, and religious fragmentation of the group, because of the discontinuity with the past, and because of a greater heterogeneity within the “German” ethnic group and a greater heterogeneity outside it. Moreover, German was not a dominant or status language in western Canada, and in order to achieve economic success, English had to be accepted and acquired as the language of everyday life.

New social, cultural, and religious pressures towards Anglicization were added over the decades after the 1920s, increasing urbanization, improving educational opportunities, a shift from farming to the trades, greater geographical and social mobility, greater secularization of life, and increasing acceptance of the importance of material wealth over traditional suspicions of the “corruptness of this world.” Later on came more efficient means of transportation from the farms to the towns and cities of the province, the building of highways and the invention of the radio, all of which further decreased the real and perceived geographical isolation by facilitating access to the anglophone world and thus further broke down the remnants of group cohesion.

The fact that post-World War II immigration brought people to Canada who spoke High German and who equated the use of dialects with lack of education made the immigrant generation uncomfortable,⁴⁶ and thus they tended not to use their own dialect anymore except within their own dialect group because they were ashamed of it; they tried to imitate a High German pronunciation where they could, or switched to English altogether. More or less covert anti-German sentiments held by some Canadians after the War caused many German immigrants to hide their heritage. Finally, the first Canadian-born generation wanted nothing to do with a language which made their parents sound different, foreign, and funny, and thus they readily switched to English.

What has been said above in general terms about “the Germans” in the “old country” was particularly true for certain closely knit religious groups who valued their spiritual independence and their remoteness from the material, physical world even more than others did, namely the Mennonites and the Hutterites.

In Russia, the Mennonites had been singularly intent on retaining their religious freedom, the freedom from military service, and the freedom to organize their own affairs, and they had vigorously resisted Tsarist attempts at intervention. They had not identified with the state nor had they given it fully the obedience and subservience which had been demanded. They had remained remote from the outside world, had erected their own closely built villages, and had run their own internal affairs; and their strong ideological commitment to their religion had required a strict and reserved life style from the members of their community. Their group had had common cultural, social and linguistic roots and a long, proud tradition to look back on, and the feeling of intra-group cohesion was very strong. When the situation in Russia became intolerable for them, the Mennonites asserted their independence and sought, *en masse*, a country or countries which would accept them and would guarantee to preserve the rights and privileges previously enjoyed in Eastern Europe. Upon immigration to Manitoba, for example, they were determined to “remain separate from the materialism and godlessness which they associated with the larger

prairie community,”⁴⁷ and they brought along their system of housing and farming arrangements, albeit adapted, at least formally, to the Canadian square survey system. Rather than living on individual homesteads as their neighbours did, they lived in villages, and it was the village government which decided on matters of land allocation, local government and school and church affairs. As the noted prairie historian Gerald Friesen observed, “with their own schools, churches, and agricultural systems, the villages seemed remote from the Canadian society that surrounded them.”⁴⁸

Clearly the Mennonites were able to resist the Anglicization and Canadianization of their community better than individual families and ideologically less strongly committed groups. This latter point is of great significance because the various factions within the Mennonite religious community have displayed differing attitudes towards schooling and worldliness and the need to maintain their linguistic heritage. It was shown by Prokop and Bassler (2004) that the conservative Mennonite groupings in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia have passionately defended their rights regarding their children’s education and their life style, and have rather fled to other countries than be overwhelmed by secular society. In the case of the Old Order Mennonites and Amish (see Appendix for details), Pennsylvania Dutch has been able to survive very well because in their communities English and Pennsylvania German have their own separate domains of use; there is absolutely no mixing of the two languages. As a matter of fact, the Old Order people are triglossic: Pennsylvania Dutch is only spoken and is the language of home and the community. English is read and written, and is only spoken when dealing with non-Pennsylvania Dutch-speaking outsiders. The Luther Bible version of High German – in very restricted functionality – is used only for church purposes. Each language has its own distinct function and no language appears to dominate over the other. Sociolinguists maintain that this type of “compartmentalization” is apparently necessary if languages are to survive alongside one another.⁴⁹

The Hutterites have been able to preserve their original identity to an even greater degree than the mainstream Mennonites. They share a long common ethnic, sociocultural, religious, and linguistic history, and they enjoy a strong in-group feeling. They live in village-like colonies and have a fierce ideological commitment to the preservation of their religious beliefs and their autonomy. They have remained remote from the outside world in spite of their economic success, which necessitates regular contacts with it. They have preserved their agricultural life style and have resisted urbanization, secularization, and attempts at integration into society at large and into the “welfare state.” In short, they are just as fiercely independent and economically and politically autonomous as they had been before their emigration to the United States and Canada.⁵⁰ Even today, their own German dialect, which has remained virtually unchanged over the centuries, is the first language taught in the home, and “German school” is held before and after the “English” school which offers the public school curriculum. It is, therefore, not surprising that in those areas of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba where the Hutterites form a major part of the German-speaking population, the Canadian census has recorded the highest language maintenance rates for German, both as a mother tongue and as a home language.

Unfortunately, there is little direct evidence regarding the maintenance of the German language by immigrants who settled in the urban regions of Canada two generations ago, but it may be surmised that linguistic assimilation proceeded in a manner very similar to what could be observed with the German-speaking immigrants after World War II who tended to settle in Canada’s towns and cities: frequency of contact with the anglophone outside world, including the impact of the mass media, promoted the use of English by men as well as women. They were more likely to have anglophone friends than were their rural counterparts; their children not wanting to appear “foreign” to their English-speaking classmates, they tried to learn English as quickly and correctly as possible and to avoid the use of German as much as possible. The opportunities and affairs of the English-speaking world impinged more strongly on the urban family than on a family living in relative isolation from the rest of the population.

3.0 Attitudes towards the preservation of the ethnic identity, and a sense of belonging

A key factor in language retention is the ethnic group's as well as the individual's attitude towards the preservation of the ethnic identity. We have seen that the Germans in Central and Eastern Europe cultivated a strong sense of identity, and a few groups like the Hutterites and some Mennonites still do. When there is strong group cohesion, the group's attitude will surely affect the individual's preparedness to surrender his or her cultural identity in the new country. If the group's attitude strongly supports ethnic preservation, the individual is likely to favour it as well. On the other hand, if the immigrants are not held together by group cohesion, as most immigrants from Germany after the Second World War were not, they are likely to give up their ethnic identity and will, over time, develop a sense of belonging with the new country. The readiness with which "the Germans" have been prepared to become "Canadian" has been examined by numerous studies.

Block settlements, by their very nature, are likely to create and enforce group cohesion, as was the case in the Mennonite settlements in Manitoba and the migration of Mennonite groups to the fringes of secular society. In a study of assimilation in block settlements in North-Central Saskatchewan in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Anderson found German Catholics to be the most assimilated group: only 32.6% favoured the preservation of their ethnic identity. 29% used the language "fairly often" although 93.2% could, in fact, speak German. There was a strong relationship between desire for preservation of the ethnic identity and age: 69.5% of elderly respondents supported it, compared to none of the adolescent ones. 73% of the immigrants favoured preservation compared to 10% of the third (etc.) generation. Mennonites with up to high school education were generally in favour of identity preservation, but were resigned to its loss, while those with university education were largely indifferent. Hutterites, on the other hand, strongly supported identity preservation.⁵¹

In 1975, the Canadian Department of Manpower and Immigration published a comprehensive study of immigrants' readiness to acquire English as their home language; one of the parameters was the immigrants' "sense of belonging" in Canada.⁵² It established that almost half of the sample of immigrants who had arrived from the Federal Republic of Germany between 1969 and 1971 felt "at home" after their first three years in Canada, 19% still felt "attached to their country of origin," and 33% were undecided. Italians felt less at home (39%), while the Portuguese (64%) – although much less fluent in English – claimed a greater sense of belonging in Canada (see Table 4).⁵³

Table 4 Sense of belonging in Canada, for selected ethnic groups⁵⁴

	At home in Canada	Attached to country of origin	Undecided
Germany	48%	19%	33%
Italy	39%	19%	42%
Portugal	64%	10%	26%

In a 1976 study, O'Bryan et al.⁵⁵ found that members of the first generation of German immigrants were quick to call themselves "Canadian": 35% of a selected sample of immigrants from German-speaking countries described themselves as "Canadian," another 49% saw themselves as "German-Canadians" or "Canadians of German origin," and only 10% still thought of themselves as "German." Only Scandinavian (58%) and Dutch immigrants (53%) surpassed the Germans in the extent to which they perceived themselves as Canadians as early as the first generation. An overwhelming 68% of second-generation ethnic Germans labelled themselves "Canadian," and 15% "German-Canadian" or "Canadian of German origin." Among the third-generation ethnic Germans, the percentage describing themselves as Canadians rose to 80%; in this sample, the number of those who saw themselves as "German" was essentially zero.⁵⁶

3.1 The Ethnic Identity and Retention Survey

In 1990, a careful study of ethnic identity in Toronto (specifically, Metropolitan Toronto and parts of Richmond Hill and Mississauga) among four ethnic groups (German, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian) as well as members of the English and “majority Canadian” groups was published by Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach and Reitz.⁵⁷ The data were derived from interviews with 2,338 respondents in 1978-1979 and covered members of the first, second, and third generation of these groups in weighted samples. Among the issues addressed, the examination of the retention of ethnic identity is of special interest for present purposes.

In the “Introduction,” ethnic identity was defined as follows:

Ethnic identity ... can be defined as the manner in which persons, on account of their ethnic origin, locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems, and in which they perceive others as locating them in relation to those systems.” (p. 35)

Locating oneself in relation to a community and society is not only a psychological phenomenon, but also a social phenomenon in the sense that the internal psychological states express themselves objectively in external behaviour patterns that come to be shared by others. Thus individuals locate themselves in one or another community internally by states of mind and feelings, such as self-definitions or feelings of closeness, and externally by behaviour appropriate to these states of mind and feelings. Behaviour according to cultural patterns is thus an expression of identity and can be studied as an indication of its character.

We can thus distinguish between external and internal aspects of ethnic identity. External aspects refer to observable behaviour, ... such as (1) speaking an ethnic language, practicing ethnic traditions, and so on; (2) participation in ethnic personal networks, such as family and friendships; (3) participation in ethnic institutional organizations, such as churches, schools, enterprises, and the media; (4) participation in ethnic voluntary associations, such as clubs, ‘societies’, and youth organizations; and (5) participation in functions sponsored by ethnic organizations such as picnics, concerts, public lectures, rallies, dances.

The internal, subjective aspects of ethnic identity refer to images, ideas, attitudes, and feelings... The cognitive dimension of identity includes, first, self-images and images of one’s group. These may be stereotypes of self or of the group and perceived stereotypes by others of oneself and one’s group. It also includes knowledge of one’s group’s heritage and its historical past. This knowledge may not necessarily be extensive or objective. It may rather focus on selected aspects or events or historical personalities that are highly symbolic of the group’s experiences and that thus have become a legacy. Finally, the cognitive dimension includes knowledge of one’s group’s values, since these are part of the group’s heritage.

The moral dimension of identity involves feelings of group obligations. ... Feelings of obligation account for the commitment a person has to his group and for the group solidarity that ensues. They include the importance of teaching the ethnic language to one’s children, marrying within the group, or helping members of the group finding a job.

The affective ... dimension refers to feelings of attachment to the group. Two types of such feelings can be distinguished: (1) feelings of security with and sympathy and associative preference for members of one’s group as against members of other groups, and (2) feelings of security and comfort with the cultural patterns of one’s group as against the cultural patterns of other groups or societies. (pp. 35-37)

Based on this definitional complex, Isajiw examined the retention of ethnic identity in the groups mentioned and came to the following conclusions:⁵⁸

3.1.1 Retention of external, behavioural aspects of ethnic identity

- Ethnic language retention: Most of the second-generation Germans in Toronto acquired English as their mother tongue (64%) while 62% of the second-generation Italians and 71% of the Ukrainians learned the ethnic language as their mother tongue. Almost 100% of the third generation of all groups (except the Ukrainians where ca. 12% learned Ukrainian as their mother tongue) had English as their mother tongue. (p. 50)
- Having at least some knowledge of the ethnic language for whom English is the mother tongue: In the second generation, Germans showed the lowest proportion of such knowledge (41%) while the Jewish show the highest (86%); Italians and Ukrainians came in with 55% and 56%, respectively. In the third generation, only 12% of the Germans had at least some knowledge of German, while for the Jewish, Ukrainian and Italian groups the corresponding percentages were substantially higher at 69%, 48%, and 46%, respectively. (p. 50).
- Literacy in the ethnic language among those with English mother tongue: The reading and writing abilities declined sharply from generation to generation in all groups. From the first to the second generation the loss was the steepest among the Italians and the Germans (by 60% for Italians and by 36% for Germans in the reading skills; by 62% for Italians and 42% for Germans for the writing skills). In the third generation, only 17% of the Germans with English mother tongue read the ethnic language very or fairly well (down from 54%), and 17% were able to write German very or fairly well (down from 43%). Among Italians and Ukrainians the self-perceived ability to read or write the ethnic language declined to very similar low levels in the third generation, but it remained high among the Jewish group with 46% for reading and 25% for writing the language. (pp. 52-53)
- Frequency of ethnic-language use among those who can use it: Among the first generation, 94% of the Italians and 84% Ukrainians used their ethnic language every day or often, but only 57% of the Germans reported doing so. In the second generation, 74% still used Italian every day or at least often, 58% of the Ukrainians did so, but only 29% of the Germans. In the third generation, the percentage of those who speak their language every day was between zero and 10% for all groups (0% for Germans). 75% of the Germans in the third generation never or rarely used German, as did 74% of the Jewish group, 67% of the Italians and 67% of the Ukrainians. (pp. 53-54). Yet 64% of the second and 32% of the third generation reported that it is important to them that their children learn their ethnic language. Isajiw suggested that language in the second or third generation no longer is a means for practical communication but it becomes a symbol or means of identity reinforcement. (pp. 55-56).
- Ethnic-group friendships: Germans were the least exclusive in their friendship patterns: As many as 34% of the first generation had no close German friends at all, and this percentage increased to 71% and 76% in the subsequent generations. At the other end of the continuum, only five percent of first-generation Italians had no close Italian friends. (p. 58)
- Participation in ethnic-group functions: The most active participants in ethnic group functions in the first generations were Italians and Ukrainians with 71% of the respondents indicating that they participated either frequently, often or sometimes; among the first-generation Germans, only 33% did so. In the second generation, only seven percent, and in the third six percent of the Germans said that they participated in ethnic group functions frequently, often or sometimes. Among the other three groups almost half of second-generation members still participated frequently, often or sometimes; 28% of the Italians did so in the third generation, 42% among the Jewish, and 33% among the Ukrainians still participated in ethnic group activities in the third generation. (pp. 60-63)
- Attendance at ethnic vacation resorts or camps was low among all groups, but lowest among the Germans with 5%, 2% and 4% in the first through third generations. (p. 63)
- Germans were very similar to the English in the extent to which they participated in non-ethnic group 'Canadian functions': 67% of the first-generation did so compared to 62% of the English; 42% of the Italians and 52% of the Ukrainians participated frequently, often or sometimes. In the other groups, participation rates climbed drastically in the second and third generations so that by the third generation about 80% of all groups (except the Jewish with 48%) said that they participated frequently, often or sometimes in non-ethnic group functions. (p. 62)

- Listening to ethnic radio and watching ethnic TV: Italians in the first generation were the highest consumers of ethnic electronic media with 84% saying that they listened to Italian-language radio or watched Italian-language TV frequently, often or sometimes; 61% of the Ukrainians did so as did 61% of the Germans. By the second generation, between a quarter to a third of the group members reported using ethnic electronic medias frequently, often or sometimes, and in the third generation, the Germans were lowest with one percent reporting that they listened to the German radio or watched German TV. (p. 65)
- Reading ethnic newspapers, magazines, or periodicals: 69% of the Italians, 63% of the Ukrainians, 59% of the Jewish, but only 51% of the first-generation Germans claimed to read ethnic newspapers, periodicals, or magazines frequently, often or sometimes. In the second generation, the percentages ranged between 15 and 20 (except for the Jewish group with 57%), by the third generation, 55% of the Jewish group still read ethnic media, but only one percent of the Ukrainians, two percent of the Germans, and 6% of the Italians did so. (p. 65).
- Consumption of ethnic food associated with ethnic holidays: between 90 and 100% of the first-generation Italians, Jews and Ukrainians, and 70% of the Germans said that they consumed ethnic food associated with holidays every time, often or sometimes. In the third generation, 28% of the Germans, but 74% of the Italians, 91% of the Jewish group, and 86% of the Ukrainians claimed doing so. (pp. 67-68)
- Consumption of ethnic food at times other than holidays: More than 90% among all groups in the first generation said that they ate ethnic food at times than holidays either every time, frequently or sometimes. The percentages dropped to 52% for the Germans in the third generation who said that they ate ethnic food at non-holiday occasions, significantly fewer than the Italians (92%), the Jewish (87%), and the Ukrainians (82%). (p. 68)
- Practice of ethnic customs: In the first generation, only 59% of the Germans stated that they cultivated group customs; while as many as 92% of the Ukrainians reported doing so. In the third generation, 15% of the Germans, 47% of the Ukrainians, 39% of the Italians, and 90% of the members of the Jewish group stated that they practiced religious or non-religious ethnic customs every time, often or sometimes. (p. 68)
- Possession of ethnic articles, such as artistic articles, religious objects or traditional clothing characteristic or symbolic of their ethnic group: In the first generation, the possession rate was highest for Ukrainians with 96% and lowest for Germans with 63%. By the third generation, 23% of the Germans vs. 64% of the Italians, 64% of the Ukrainians and 93% of the Jewish said that they owned ethnic articles. (p. 69)

3.1.2 Internal aspects of ethnic identity. It will be recalled that internal aspects of ethnic identity refer to cognitive, moral and affective aspects of ethnic identity. The authors constructed an “ethnic identity index” which is composed of (a) the respondents’ self-definition as “hyphenated” or “unhyphenated” or “Canadians” (i.e., the cognitive aspect); (b) the importance they attach to their ethnicity (moral aspect), and (c) their perceptions of the closeness of their ethnic ties (affective aspect). The index may range from “3” indicating low intensity of ethnic identity to “8” indicating high intensity.

- **Ethnic identity index.** In the first generation, Germans displayed the lowest intensity index at 4.6, compared with 6.4 for the Italians, 6.1 for the Ukrainians, and 4.8 for the Jewish. In the second generation, the Germans’ intensity index dropped to 4.1, but by less than the Italians’ index (to 5.9) or the Ukrainians (to 5.1); in the third generation, the Germans rated 3.3 on the ethnic identity index and 4.5 for both the Ukrainians and Italians. For the Jewish group, the intensity index remained virtually unchanged over the three generations at 5.9. (p. 75)

When the intensity of ethnic identity is measured, 14% of the first-generation Germans showed a high intensity, compared to 58% for the Italians, 60% for the Ukrainians, and 51% for the Jewish group. In the second generation, the percentage of those claiming high ethnic intensity among the Italians and Ukrainians dropped by about half. By the third generation, only one percent of the Germans reported high ethnic intensity, 10% of the Ukrainians, and 14% of the Italians did so. In the Jewish group, the percentage of those for whom a high ethnic intensity was calculated remained at about 50% over all three generations. (p. 75)

- **Ethnic group obligations.** Feelings of group obligations, as defined here, refer to how important it was to respondents to help people of their own background to get jobs; the importance which they attached to their actual or potential children marrying into their own ethnic group; the extent to which they felt obliged to support their group's special causes, and the importance which they attached to their children, actual or potential, to learn the ethnic language.

Helping group members find a job: For the Germans, this obligation ranked by far the lowest among all ethnic groups and the members of all three generations (34% in the first, 32% in the second, and 20% in the third). (p. 78)

Marrying within the ethnic group: 7% of the first-generation Germans considered it important for their children to marry partners of German origin, compared to 73% of the Jewish, 61% of the Ukrainians, and 39% of the Italians. The level of importance attached to children marrying within the ethnic group was similarly low for all groups in the third generation (except for the Jewish group with 66%) at about four percent (two percent for the Germans). (p. 78)

Supporting group needs and causes: Only 24% of the first-generation Germans (compared to 79% of the Ukrainians and 65% of the Italians) attached significance to support their ethnic group's needs and causes. Even in the third generation, 36% of the Ukrainians, 20% of the Italians said that this was important, compared to seven percent of the Germans. For the Jewish group, the importance given to supporting its cause and needs remained virtually unchanged at 80% or above over all three generations. (p. 78)

Importance that children speak ethnic language: In the first generation, 65% of the Germans, 94% of the Italians, and 83% of the Ukrainians felt that it was important for their children to learn to speak their ethnic language. By the third generation, only 15% of the Germans considered it important that their children learned to speak German, while 37% of the Ukrainians and 31% of the Italians did so. For members of the Jewish group there was only a slight decline from 64% to 54% from the first to the third generation. (p. 79)

When the Jewish group is left out of consideration (as Isajiw suggested, religion plays a dominating role in the maintenance – and even rediscovery – of the ethnic identity of the Jewish), the Germans in Toronto ranked lowest on virtually all dimensions of the external and internal aspects of ethnic identity among the three remaining ethnic groups and across three generations. In cases, such as the observation that second-generation Italians showed the lowest level of skill in reading the ethnic language (38% vs. 54% for the Germans and 42% for the Ukrainians), sampling errors may well be the reason.

Isajiw noted succinctly that “for the German group, the preferred route to identity retention appears to be connected with the third generation's emphasis on foods and friends of the same ethnicity.” (p. 88)

In a subsequent paper on the Germans, using the same data, Isajiw (1998) raised two questions:

How can we explain the fact that the loss of identity among German-Canadians is so much faster than among other comparable ethnic groups? Second, does this loss of identity mean that the German community in Canada is disappearing?⁵⁹

Isajiw noted that more research needs to be done on these issues, but it was clear from the data that there was a definite correlation between the degree of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity retention. There were several distinctive differences between the Germans and the others (p. 76), viz.

- Second generation German-Canadians did not commonly use either German or a mixture of German and English when speaking to their young children. 12% of the Germans did so, compared to 46% of the Italians and 44% of the Ukrainians.
- 45% of the second-generation German-Canadians used either German or a combination of German and English while 72% of the Italians and 96% of the Ukrainians did so.

- Only 0.7 percent of the third-generation German-Canadians attended German schools or classes when they were growing up compared to 17% of the Ukrainians and 82% of the Jewish.
- Only 10% of the German third-generation said that their German identity or German cultural background was somewhat or very important, compared with 30% of the Italians, 51% of the Jewish, and 77% of the Ukrainians.

Isajiw observed that childhood ethnic socialization appears to be a significant factor in ethnic retention, but it is still not known why there is such a difference between the German-Canadians and the other groups (p. 77).

He also found it puzzling that there was quite a large difference between individual and institutional ethnic identity retention. Using mostly 1974 data, he pointed out that German-Canadians had the third-largest number of ethnic organizations in Canada to support their identity, the third-largest number of ethnic publications and were third in the number of broadcast minutes per week in German (p. 80). Of course, the passage of time will certainly have seen the disappearance of many of these institutions among all four ethnic groups studied.

3.2 The Ethnic Diversity Survey

More recently, the most comprehensive examination of “belonging” – that is, from the perspective of a sense of belonging to one’s ethnic group – was carried out in 2003 in the *Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a multicultural society*.⁶⁰ Because of its relevance to this study, its findings will be described here in detail.

The purpose of the study was to help Statistics Canada and Canadian Heritage to understand better “how people’s backgrounds affect their participation in the social, economic and cultural life of Canada.” Also, the survey “asked questions about ethnic ancestry and ethnic identity, and the importance of ethnicity to the respondent. ... The survey explored both objective and subjective dimensions of ethnicity and asked questions about the respondent’s ethno-cultural background in order to better understand how respondents choose or do not choose certain ethnic identifications.” 42,476 persons responded to the survey questions.

Of interest for the current study were the *Survey’s* examination of Canadian ethnic groups’ sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group and of the importance which they attach to their ancestry and their cultural traditions.

3.2.1 A sense of belonging experienced by all members of an ethnic group. The *Survey* examined Canadians’ sense of belonging to their ethnic group by three membership criteria, viz. all members of a specified ethnic group; members of the first vs. the second vs. the third generation of an ethnic group; and the immigrants of the 1990s.

This sense of belonging varied, not surprisingly, by ancestry (see Table 5). For example, 78% of Filipinos reported a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group, as did 65% of East Indians, 65% of Portuguese, 58% of Chinese, and 56% of Italians. Some of this variation among groups may be related to the extent to which the group is composed of new arrivals to Canada and of people who have been here for many generations.⁶¹ Overall, the first generation had a higher proportion than subsequent generations of a strong sense of belonging. About 57% of the first generation of all immigrants reported a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group, compared with 47% of the second generation, and 48% of the third generation.

German-Canadians were found in the same group as, for example, Ukrainians, Norwegians, Swedes, and Dutch in terms of the strength of their affiliation to their ethnic group. 33% of the entire German ethnic

group reported a strong sense of belonging, 22% had a medium sense of belonging, and 43% had a weak sense of belonging. By comparison, only seven percent of the Filipinos expressed a weak sense of belonging, and 15% expressed a medium sense of belonging to their ethnic group.

As the census question “ethnic origin” requested the respondents to supply their (or their ancestors’) ethnic origin – which may date back many generations – it is not surprising that almost half the German-Canadians expressed only a weak sense of belonging to their group. Immigrants from Southeast Asia have arrived in Canada in large numbers only in the last few decades.

Table 5 Sense of belonging to one’s ethnic or cultural group, for the entire ethnic group, 2002⁶²

Total ethnic group	Strong sense of belonging	Medium sense of belonging	Weak sense of belonging
Filipino	78%	15%	7%
Pakistani	69%	22%	9%
Sri Lankan	67%	21%	12%
East Indian	65%	22%	12%
Portuguese	65%	20%	15%
...
Dutch	36%	23%	41%
German	33%	22%	43%
Ukrainian	33%	26%	41%
Norwegian	31%	24%	45%
Swedish	28%	22%	50%

3.2.2 The sense of belonging felt by the immigrants of the 1990s. About 75% of Filipinos, Sri Lankans, Pakistanis, Portuguese and East Indians immigrants felt a strong sense of belonging with their ethnic group (see Table 6). Among the first generation of immigrants of German origin who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001, 50% held a strong sense of belonging, and 25% each had a medium or weak sense of belonging to their ethnic group.

Regrettably, the Canadian Census no longer reports the annual number of immigrants by ethnic origin, but data by country of last permanent residence are available: Between 1991 and 2001, a total of 23,129 persons who reported Germany as the country of last permanent residence immigrated to Canada,⁶³ and according to the 2001 Census 7,565 Mennonites immigrated in the same time period.⁶⁴ The vast majority of the Mennonite immigrants belonged to conservative groupings who returned to Canada from Mexico, Bolivia, Belize, Uruguay, and elsewhere for economic reasons. Most of them would have reported German origin, and conservative Mennonites are known to have a strong affiliation with their German ancestry. In other words, the percentage of German-origin immigrants of the 1990s from Germany – as opposed to the re-immigrants – having a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group was probably considerably lower than the 50% reported in Table 6.

Table 6 Sense of belonging to one's ethnic or cultural group, for immigrants arriving during the 1990s⁶⁵

Immigrants arriving in Canada during the 1990s	Strong sense of belonging	Medium sense of belonging	Weak sense of belonging
Filipino	81%	10%	9%
Pakistani	77%	-	-
Sri Lankan	79%	-	-
East Indian	71%	20%	9%
Portuguese	72%	-	-
...
Dutch	-	-	-
German	50%	25%	25%
Ukrainian	66%	20%	-
Norwegian	-	-	-
Swedish	-	-	-

2.2.3 The sense of belonging felt by members of the first vs. the second vs. the third generation of an ethnic group. For several ethnic groups, it was possible to assess the strength of their sense of belonging to their own group over three generations.

First generation (see Table 7). A strong sense of affiliation with their ethnic group was felt by the entire first (=immigrant) generation of Filipinos (80%), Portuguese and Pakistanis (71%), Sri Lankans (68%), and East Indians (66%). At the other end of the scale, among German immigrants 39% felt a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group – which is comparable to the Norwegians (38%) and the Dutch of whom only 37% still expressed a strong sense of belonging to their cultural group.

The highest percentages of immigrants feeling only a weak sense of belonging to their ethnic group were recorded by persons of German or Dutch origin (40%), whereas only about 10% of immigrants from southeast Asia and Portugal reporting a weak sense of belonging to their cultural group. While this strong feeling of still belonging to their ethnic group is not surprising, the weak affiliation revealed by Dutch- and German-Canadians in the immigrant generation is. It may be explained by the fact, however, that most immigrants from Germany and the Netherlands came to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s; it can be reasonably expected that their sense of belonging had diminished over the last few decades.

Table 7 Sense of belonging to one's ethnic or cultural group, for the first generation, 2002⁶⁶

First generation of the ethnic group	Strong sense of belonging	Medium sense of belonging	Weak sense of belonging
Filipino	80%	13%	7%
Pakistani	71%	21%	-
Sri Lankan	68%	21%	-
East Indian	66%	22%	12%
Portuguese	71%	17%	12%
...
Dutch	37%	23%	40%
German	39%	21%	40%
Ukrainian	56%	19%	25%
Norwegian	38%	31%	31%
Swedish	45%	-	32%

Second generation. The first Canadian-born generation of persons from Southeast Asia recorded in Table 8 reported a substantially reduced sense of belonging (about 60% vs. 70% for the immigrant generation) while the percentage of those showing a medium sense of belonging increased by about five percent (from ca. 19% to 23%).

The first native-born generation of German-Canadians expressed a slight decrease in strength of their sense of belonging to the German ethnic group from 39% to 33% which shifted about equally to a more medium and weak sense of belonging. The other members in this group of ethnic origins – except the Swedes – experienced a similar slight shift away from a strong sense of affiliation with their ethnocultural group.

Table 8 Sense of belonging to one's ethnic or cultural group, for the second generation, 2002⁶⁷

Second generation of the ethnic group	Strong sense of belonging	Medium sense of belonging	Weak sense of belonging
Filipino	61%	26%	12%
Pakistani	58%	22%	20%
Sri Lankan	-	-	-
East Indian	65%	22%	13%
Portuguese	54%	27%	19%
...
Dutch	38%	24%	38%
German	33%	24%	43%
Ukrainian	38%	23%	38%
Norwegian	34%	27%	39%
Swedish	29%	24%	47%

Third generation. The data for third generation members of the Southeast Asia ethnic groups described here were not reliable enough to be reported as the sample size was likely to be small (see Table 9).

Only one third of the third-generation of German-Canadians reported a strong sense of belonging – the same as felt by the members of the second generation; the Dutch, Swedes, Norwegians and Ukrainians expressed a further slight decline in the number of those feeling a strong sense of belonging to less than a third of the group in question. All groups reported a slight to considerable increase in the percentage of those feeling only a weak affiliation with their ethnocultural group.

Table 9 Sense of belonging to one's ethnic or cultural group, for the third generation, 2002⁶⁸

Second generation of the ethnic group	Strong sense of belonging	Medium sense of belonging	Weak sense of belonging
Filipino	-	-	-
Pakistani	-	-	-
Sri Lankan	-	-	-
East Indian	-	-	-
Portuguese	-	-	-
...
Dutch	34	22	44
German	33	22	45
Ukrainian	29	27	44
Norwegian	28	23	49
Swedish	25	21	54

3.3 The importance of customs and traditions

Feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group may be reflected in a better awareness of one's ethnic heritage, customs and traditions.⁶⁹ The *Survey* found that, understandably, the first generation was more likely than other generations to indicate that ethnic customs and traditions were important to them. Nearly three quarters of those who had arrived in Canada since 1991 and rated their ancestry highly also rated their customs and traditions as being important. Punjabis ranked first with 92% rating at least one ethnic custom/tradition as being "important" or "very important;" Iranians shared second place with Greeks, Sri Lankans and Vietnamese at 82% of the groups considering at least one ethnic tradition important.

To about 80% of most Canadians of Southeast Asian origin at least one such tradition was important (see Table 10). In the German ethnic group, 45% said that cultural traditions were important to them; conversely 55% said that none was important to them or did not respond to the question. Ukrainians perceived cultural traditions to be substantially higher in importance (63% saying that cultural traditions were important to them) than the Dutch (38%) or the Swedes (37%).

Table 10 Importance of customs and traditions among ethnic or cultural groups rating their ancestry highly⁷⁰

Importance of customs and traditions	At least one custom/ethnic Tradition rated a 4 or 5	No ethnic custom/tradition rated a 4 or 5 (includes non-response)
Filipino	79%	21%
Pakistani	77%	23%
Sri Lankan	81%	19%
East Indian	79%	21%
Portuguese	77%	23%
...
Dutch	38%	62%
German	45%	55%
Ukrainian	63%	37%
Norwegian	39%	61%
Swedish	37%	63%

3.4 Discussion

The following inferences may be drawn from these studies of ethnic identity and retention and the sense of "belonging in Canada" or "belonging to one's ethnic group."

In virtually all aspects of external and internal ethnic identity retention, the Germans in Toronto were found to rank lowest among the ethnic groups studied. While the causes of this phenomenon are not clear, children in "German" families were less socialized to their ethnic group, heard their parents' mother tongue spoken at home less often than other second-generation children, and attended an ethnic language school less often. Low childhood ethnic socialization clearly led to low adult ethnic socialization in the second and into the third generation.

Urban Canadians of German origin have been shown to assimilate quickly and readily and to develop a sense of belonging in Canada. This also becomes evident in the fact that the sense of belonging to one ethnic or cultural group is much higher among, for example, Canadians of Southeast Asian descent (and others) in the immigrant and other generations than among Canadians of German, Dutch, or Scandinavian descent. But the visible minority groups mentioned have been relatively recent arrivals in Canada while German- and Dutch-Canadians and others have a long history in this country. Consequently, the low sense of belonging among them may be an artefact created by comparing groups whose length of pres-

ence in Canada differs considerably. Yet, even among members of the immigrant generation of German-Canadians, Dutch-Canadians, and Scandinavian-Canadians, and even among those who arrived in the 1990s (where data are available), the sense of affiliation with their cultural group is considerably lower than among the other groups.

The fact that 50% of the immigrants of German origin who arrived here in the 1990s expressed a high sense of affiliation with their own ethnic group may be a composite of both a higher and lower sense of affiliation. If the returning Mennonite groups did, in fact, report a higher sense of belonging to their ethnic group, as one would expect,⁷¹ then the sense of belonging felt by immigrants from Germany would be even lower than 50%.

Table 11 presents the decline in German-Canadians' strength of their sense of belonging to their own ethnic group from ca. 50% (which almost certainly is inflated) to 39% among the first generation and to 33% in the second and third generations. Immigrants of German ethnic origin – excepting the Mennonites – are apparently quick to relinquish their attachment to their group.

Table 11 Sense of belonging to one's ethnic or cultural group, by generation, 2002

Canadians of German origin	Strong sense of belonging	Medium sense of belonging	Weak sense of belonging
Immigrants during the 1990s	50%	25%	25%
First-generation	39%	21%	40%
Second-generation	33%	24%	43%
Third-generation	33%	22%	45%

The inference that German-Canadians (and Dutch- and Scandinavian-Canadians) put less stock in a high affiliation with their group than others is borne out by the data showing that they are also not attaching as high a significance to their cultural traditions than other ethnic groups. The percentages of those expressing a strong sense of belonging are comparable to those who consider at least one custom or ethnic tradition important: they both ranked in the 30% to low 40% range.

4.0 Attitudes towards language retention by immigrants and Canadian-born ethnics

An important factor in language maintenance is whether language is regarded as a core cultural value, i.e., whether the group sees their language and its maintenance as a key aspect of the group's identity.⁷²

In 1976, O'Bryan et al. investigated the attitudes displayed by various ethnic groups towards the retention of their ancestral language in Canada. Among German ethnics, just as with the members of other ethnic groups, there was considerable support for the retention of German as a non-official language. Almost 22% of the sample thought it was "very desirable" to retain German as a non-official language, another 44% felt that it was "somewhat desirable"; 25% were indifferent, and only 9% felt that it was "somewhat" or "very" undesirable for German to retain its place in Canada.⁷³ The extent to which the retention of German was considered to be "very desirable" varied little across Canada, ranging from 25% to 17%.⁷⁴

Generational differences were found to have a significant impact on the extent to which the maintenance of the German language was considered desirable. Of the first-generation ethnic Germans, 26% viewed retention of German as "very desirable" (compared with 35% for the total sample of ethnic groups); about 11% of the second generation thought it was "very" desirable for German to retain its place in Canada; a surprising 23% of the third generation rediscovered an interest in retaining German and thought it was

“very desirable” for German to be kept alive in Canada. The second generation was the most indifferent towards language retention (39% of the German sample): in the first generation only 18% and in the third generation 26% were indifferent towards retaining German.⁷⁵ Of those who were indifferent or opposed to the retention of German as an ancestral language in Canada, slightly over half gave “prevents mixing” as the most important reason, with other reasons making up the remainder.⁷⁶

The respondents’ level of education interacted in an interesting manner with their attitudes towards the retention of German in Canada. While 29% of those persons who had eight or fewer years of education thought it “very desirable” to retain German, only 21% of respondents with between nine and twelve years of education, and 18% of people with thirteen or more years of education thought it was “very desirable” to keep German alive.⁷⁷

The professed desire to “keep German alive” is not matched by reality, however, as we have seen. In her study of German language maintenance in Vancouver, Gump determined that of the ca. 30,000 ethnic Germans who had settled in the Greater Vancouver area between 1945 and 1970, more than half (59%) had taken to speaking English in their homes. Only some 18% of the Canadian-born Germans grew up with German as their mother tongue, and of those only 22% spoke German in the home. She concluded that – with the exception of a small group in Vancouver South – Germans chose to assimilate as quickly as possible, even when they paid lip service to the preservation of the ethnic tongue and other ethnic features.⁷⁸

4.1 Language use and self-perceived fluency in German

O’Bryan et al. sought to determine generational differences in language use in five metropolitan areas (Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver) – that is, differences in the extent to which immigrants of various ethnic groups still used German in Canada, compared to members of the second and third generations. For all ethnic groups studied, 71% of first-generation immigrants perceived themselves to be “fluent” in their mother tongue. The percentage of Germans claiming fluency was slightly higher: among German ethnics, 78% of the first generation considered themselves “fluent.” This compares with under 5% of the second generation, and virtually none of the third generation. In the second generation, the number of German-Canadians speaking their mother tongue with “some degree of fluency” amounted to just over 65%, compared to some 64% of the total sample. A substantial number of ethnics of the third generation still reported “some knowledge” of the ancestral language, namely 39% of the total sample and 27% of the Germans.⁷⁹

There was quite a range in the proportion of those who thought that they were “fluent” in German; Edmonton was lowest with 26% of the Germans considering themselves “fluent” in German, Winnipeg 38%, Vancouver 42%, Montreal 52%, and Toronto 66%. This was attributed by O’Bryan et al. to the fact that Toronto and Montreal are immigrant cities and are, therefore, regularly supplied with recent immigrants speaking an ancestral language. Moreover, it may be that the opportunities to hear and read the ancestral language (radio, television, newspapers) are greater in these two cities than in the others.⁸⁰

36% of the German ethnic group said that they used German “every day,” 10% used it “often,” 16% “occasionally,” 10% “rarely or never,” and 28% reported insufficient conversational knowledge. Similar patterns of language use were also reported by the Dutch (32% used the language “every day”) and Ukrainian (35%), while 83% of the Chinese group and Greek and Portuguese (89%) said that they made use of their language “every day”. The Scandinavians were by far the lowest in everyday use of their mother tongue: only eight percent reported using it every day, six percent “often,” 14% “occasionally,” 11% “rarely or never,” and 60% maintained that they had insufficient conversational knowledge.

The fact that the ancestral language is no longer used by the third generation has also been confirmed by Reitz who also found the lowest level of ethnic community participation and language maintenance in the third generation,⁸¹ and a similar decrease in language use by the third generation was noted by Isajiw.⁸² First-generation German immigrants used their ethnic language “frequently” (44%), but none of the third generation did so.

Among those ethnics who speak the non-official language fluently, 81% reported that they used it “every day,” but only 65% of the speakers of German did so.⁸³ Correspondingly larger percentages of fluent German speakers used German either more “often,” “only occasionally,” or “rarely or never” than was true for the entire sample. Similarly, among those speakers who only know “some” German, 11% reported daily use compared to 39% for the total sample.⁸⁴ It can be concluded that both fluent and non-fluent speakers of German in Canada used the non-official language less frequently on a day-to-day basis than did the “typical” ethnic Canadian.

The previously mentioned study by the Canadian Department of Manpower and Immigration reported on the immigrants’ readiness to acquire English as their home language. Among immigrants from the Federal Republic of Germany, an astounding 32% reported speaking English at home after six months; this percentage rose only slightly to 34% after two years. The corresponding percentages for immigrants from Italy were 13% and 24%, respectively, and for immigrants from Portugal, 12% and 18%, after one and two years, respectively.⁸⁵ When immigrants were asked about the perceived quality of their English, immigrants from the Federal Republic of Germany gave the highest percentages of “good” or “perfect” knowledge of English of all non-English or non-French-speaking immigrants: After six months, 52% of the German immigrants indicated “good” or “perfect” knowledge (compared with 21% for immigrants from Greece, 12% from Italy, and 5% from Portugal). After two years of residence in Canada, 71% of immigrants from West Germany claimed “good” or “perfect” knowledge of English, and after three years, 83% said that they spoke “good” or “perfect” English. After three years, the corresponding rates for immigrants from Greece were 54%, from Italy 36%, and from Portugal, 23%.⁸⁶

4.2 Language use in the social context

The place of a non-official language can perhaps best be understood by knowledge of the partners with whom it is used. O’Bryan et al. selected the following partner groups: family, close friends, clergy, grocer, doctor, classmates or co-workers (see Table 12). As expected, German was used most frequently with members of one’s own family. Of those who spoke German fluently, 97% spoke “some” German with family members, about 55% with close friends, almost 28% with their clergy, and only about 15% with their grocer, doctor, classmates or co-workers. When the definition is narrowed to “exclusive use of German” with the above target groups, the percentages are greatly reduced: in that case, only about a quarter of those who had reported using German with the various types of members of their social group did so “exclusively” in German. Here it is of interest that the use of German with the clergy ranked just as high as did use of German with close friends. Clearly, German is used mainly as the language of communication within the immediate circle of family members and friends, but not as extensively with less intimately known persons; members of the clergy occupied a middle position on the intimacy scale. It is of some interest that German was used much less frequently with all other partners, only about half as much, than were other ancestral languages in all social contexts except the family.⁸⁷

Table 12 Use of German in social interaction by fluent speakers⁸⁸

Use of German	Type of person					
	Family	Close friends	Clergy	Grocer	Doctor	Classmates/Co-workers
Some use	97%	55%	28%	12%	17%	14%
Exclusive use	26%	14%	15%	4%	5%	0.4%

4.3 Discussion

When asked, German-Canadians have claimed a strong desire to keep the German language alive in Canada, but this view is not matched by the facts. They began using English in the home quickly (sometimes required when the spouse could not speak German, of course) and claimed to speak English well or even perfectly after only a few years. Yet, people who, by their pronunciation and intonation, were obviously of German descent, could frequently be heard talking to each other not in their mother tongue, but in heavily accented, broken, unidiomatic English. When asked, some would deplore the fact that they had almost forgotten their mother tongue, but had not yet fully learned the English language.

5.0 German in the family context

The data presented in this investigation have shown unequivocally that German can only be kept alive when there is a strong, ideologically motivated, motivation to use it at home so that the children may pick it up as their mother tongue and develop sufficient facility in it to continue using it as their home language. Parental attitudes towards language retention are therefore of the utmost importance. They are strong among the Hutterites and conservative Mennonites, but weak among urban German-Canadians.

5.1 Parental attitudes towards language maintenance

The frequently-heard comment that German-speaking parents, on the whole, have not been overly concerned about their children learning English rather than German as their mother tongue and home language and that the children frequently offered strong and vocal resistance to being “forced to learn German” is nothing new in the history of the “German presence” in Alberta, and likely across Canada. Occasionally, this “problem” was raised by scholars and even by the media. The *Alberta Herald*, for example, in its edition of October 29, 1909, offered a little anecdote, coupled with an earnest admonition to its readership. It suggested that Germans who considered English more “fashionable” but spoke it miserably amongst themselves and with their children should be told to “speak German,” while those who were equally fluent in both languages should be gently reminded of the fact that they could, and therefore should, speak German.⁸⁹

A few years later, a “poem to the editor” exhorted the German-speaking youth (particularly the girls) of the province to speak German. Why? After all, German was their mother’s tongue and did she not always look after her children and wish upon them the very best? Moreover, German, in addition to being taught in school, should unite the speakers of German outside the schools in love and harmony, and was it not a language worth fighting for?⁹⁰

In 1938, Gerwin, in her inventory of the “German presence” in Alberta⁹¹ made scathing remarks about the maintenance of German in the home. It was true, she noted, that the oldest children usually spoke German in the home and often entered school without knowing any English. But soon they began to speak English among themselves and would use German with parents, neighbours and ministers only when those would insist. She ascribed this development to the fact that in the early twenties, people would not have heard

anything but German for weeks on end, isolated as they were, but with the advent of modern means of transportation and communication an exciting new world had been opened up to which the young people felt drawn very strongly. The result was, Gerwin continued, that the children forgot the language of their childhood altogether, would only claim to understand it, or would not be especially interested in learning it in school; nor could they expect the support of their parents or of Albertan society at large in this endeavour. The children complained that it was hard work, almost an imposition, to learn and maintain German, a language which held no prestige for them and the outside world and which marked their parents as foreigners.

Gerwin concluded that German was being very poorly maintained. True, some Hutterites could speak it quite fluently, but only incorrectly, and they did not know how to write it correctly. Most parents spoke a terrible dialect and mixed English into their German. The result of all of this was, in her opinion, an embarrassment to both recent immigrants and Alberta's German speakers. She continued that the parents would usually leave the instruction of German to the church schools. Although they deplored the loss of German as soon as the children entered school, they did not deplore their acquisition of English.

A study carried out by O'Bryan et al. 35 years later found a very predictable relationship between the parents' attitudes towards the retention German in Canada and their attitudes towards the retention of German by their own children.

- Of those parents of German ethnic origin who thought it was "very desirable" to retain German in Canada, four-fifths felt "very strongly" that their own children should obtain a knowledge of German, and another 15% were "somewhat in favor" of their own children learning German.
- Of those who thought it was "somewhat desirable" for the language to be retained in Canada, 32% were strongly in favor of their children acquiring German, another 43% were "somewhat in favor," but 25% were already "indifferent."
- Of those who were "indifferent," only 3% were "strongly" in favor of their children retaining German; 33% were "somewhat in favor," but 58% were "indifferent."⁹²

Regarding who should be responsible for teaching children German, 49% of the respondents said that the school should be the primary agent for this task.⁹³

Among those parents who considered the retention of German in Canada "very desirable," 49% said that German was "useful as a second language" for their children; 25% gave "communication with others" as the reason for encouraging their children to learn German, and 13% thought that German was necessary for "keeping up customs and traditions."

The Germans were exceeded only by the Dutch (63%) and the Polish groups (35%) in according their ancestral language mainly "value as a second language." Among the parents who thought it was "somewhat desirable" for German to be maintained as an ancestral language, 64% listed "value as a second language" as the most important reason for wanting their children to retain it.⁹⁴

5.2 Using German in the family context

Stadler investigated the issue of language maintenance and linguistic assimilation among German-speaking immigrants and their children in Vancouver.⁹⁵ Although her findings are limited by the characteristics and size of her sample, they are likely typical of German language use by families in large urban centres in Canada who sent their children to a German language school.

Stadler's sample consisted of 137 children and their parents (138 adults of German-speaking origin, 18 adults of English-speaking origin, and nine adults of other origin, all of whom were married to German-speaking immigrants). Almost three quarters of the children had learned German as their first language

and English as their second language; 70% of the children came from families of mixed parentage where only one parent was of German-speaking origin. Seventy-seven percent of the children attended a German language school for three hours per week outside regular class hours; the remaining 23% served as a control group.⁹⁶

The data collected by questionnaire from children and parents, supplemented by personal interviews, dealt with such variables as language background (home language, family type, language dominance, and length of residence) and social/demographic features (sex, age, extra-curricular schooling in the ethnic language, and socio-economic status). Although Stadler repeatedly, and justifiably, sounded a note of caution because the number of respondents in one or the other sub-category was relatively small, it is nevertheless worthwhile to examine some of her findings. Among the conclusions most relevant for the present investigation were the following:

1. Seventy percent of the German-German parents spoke German “always” or “most of the time” to each other, while none of the English-German or German-English couples did.
2. During the pre-school years, 51% of the German-German parents had “always” spoken German to their children, and 32% had done so “most of the time.” However, only 17% and 35%, respectively, spoke German “always” or “most of the time” when Stadler carried out her study in the early 1980s.
3. Children of mixed-origin families hardly ever used German in the home; 28% of the children in German-German families did, but none in families of mixed parentage used “mostly” German with their parents.
4. Although German was spoken considerably more often between children in German-German families than between children in families of mixed parentage, only a small minority did so “frequently” (14%).
5. Almost 60% of the mothers with German origin spoke German “always” or “most of the time” with the child; only about 7% of the mothers did so in families where the father was not of German origin, and none of the mothers of English origin spoke German with their child “always” or “most of the time.” The percentage of fathers who spoke German with their child “always” or “most of the time” resembled very much the pattern obtained for mothers.
6. About one-quarter of the children in the German-German families spoke German with their father and their mother “always” or “most of the time”; in mixed-origin families, the number of children speaking German with their father or their mother was practically nil.⁹⁷ In 83.5% of the German-German families, German was spoken as the home language to the children in their pre-school years; in about one third of the English-German or the German-English exogamous marriages, German was used as the home language when the children were small. Again, a large decrease in the percentage of families using German as the home language in their children’s preschool years could be observed between then and the time of the study: 58% spoke German with their child before she or he went to school compared to 20% at the time when the study was conducted.⁹⁸
7. After approximately ten years of residence in Canada, the percentage of parents using German with each other “all the time” decreased substantially from 67% (under ten years) to 16% (ten years and over). Of the parents who had been residents of Canada for ten years or less, 92% used German “always” with their child before he or she went to school, compared with only 42% of those who had immigrated between ten and twenty years ago, and 33% who had immigrated more than twenty years ago. At the time of the study, however, only 58% of the parents with ten years of residence in Canada or less used German with their child; this compares with 13% of parents with between ten and twenty years of residence, and 4% of those who had come to Canada twenty years ago or earlier.⁹⁹
8. Children spoke German more often to both parents and siblings in homes in which the children had an average age of less than ten years.¹⁰⁰
9. Only minor differences in the use of German by mothers or fathers vis-à-vis their children were observed; however, mothers did tend to use German slightly more often with their children than did fathers – about 5% more often.
10. The use of English increased with rising socio-economic status. Parents in the lowest of three socio-economic status groups (i.e., parents with elementary and high school education involved in manual work; versus parents with additional vocational training and/or a more advanced level of education; versus parents with university education involved in professional work or holding other high status jobs) used German most frequently to each other (91% vs. 59%, and 38%, respectively), to their children be-

fore school (92%, 77% and 56%), and at the time at which the study was carried out (75%, 45% and 34%). Children in the low-economic-status group also used German with their parents most frequently (55%, 17% and 29%, respectively). In the high socio-economic status families, children were considerably less likely to use German with their siblings (20%) than in low (36%) or the middle socio-economic status groups (47%). In general, the percentage of families having German as their home language decreased coincident with higher economic status (92% for the low status group vs. 78% for the middle and 63% for the high-status groups).¹⁰¹

11. Language dominance (determined by informants' responses to two questions: a. In which language do you feel more comfortable? [for children] and b. In which language can you express yourself better in personal/non-personal matters? [for adults]¹⁰²) was a significant variable in Stadler's analysis. There was a direct relationship between home language and language dominance for adults: German-dominant parents mainly chose German as their home language, and English-dominant parents mainly chose English. As socio-economic status increased, German language dominance fell (83%, 63%, and 47% in "personal matters," and 83%, 37% and 28% in "non-personal matters." Members of the two highest socio-economic groups actually felt that they could express themselves better in English in non-personal matters than did members of the lowest socio-economic group.
12. Only very few children considered themselves dominant in German, while the vast majority of the parents still felt that they had an excellent command of German and a very good command of English. It can be concluded that the rate of linguistic assimilation displayed by children was substantially higher than that of their parents, which was in itself already very high.
13. Long-term residence in an English-speaking area by the parents revealed the strongest English-language dominance; among children, German proficiency and language dominance tended to decrease as age increased.¹⁰³
14. While home language, language preference, and language dominance were closely related in the case of parents, a slightly different picture emerged for their children: regardless of their home language, children exhibited comparatively low German language preference, but high allegiance to Canada.¹⁰⁴

Clearly, the maintenance of German as a home language among these children (who were by no means typical of the overall ethnic German population because more than three-quarters of them attended a German language school; one wonders about the success of maintaining German in homes where the parents were not motivated – by guilt? – to send their children to a language school!) was related to several important factors: whether both parents were of German origin; whether German was spoken by the parents in the home before their children began school; when their parents had immigrated to Canada; the children's age; the parents' socio-economic status; and the confidence with which the children spoke the German language.

5.3 Children's acquisition of German as a mother tongue and as the home language in various family types

A detailed study of the relationship between ethnic indicators and German language use by Prokop¹⁰⁵ shed additional light on the relationship between various predictors and language use and maintenance using 1981 census data. It did so more reliably than other investigations because the analysis was performed with the entire census population universe of ethnic Germans in Alberta (N=339,135). In addition to using the entire Albertan population of ethnic Germans as the data base, this investigation also dealt with all speakers of German as a mother tongue in Alberta (N=90,410), and all speakers of German as a home language (N=25,700).

Three criteria of family ethnicity were investigated in relation to the children's acquisition of German as a mother tongue and as a home language: parental ethnic origin, parental mother tongue, and parental home language.

5.3.1 Parental ethnic origin and the acquisition of German as the children's mother tongue and home language. Five configurations of German origin in the family unit were analyzed:

- families where both husband and wife were of German origin;
- families where the husband was not of German origin, but the wife was;
- one-parent families where the wife was of German origin;
- one parent-families where the husband was of German origin;
- and families where the husband was of German origin, but the wife was not.

In families where both parents were of German origin, the likelihood of children acquiring German as their mother tongue was greatest (17%); in mixed marriages, the chance of children learning German as their mother tongue was practically nil: certainly when the husband was of non-German origin, and very low (2%) when the wife was of non-German origin.

In the one-parent families where either the father or the mother was of German origin, children learned German as their mother tongue in about 10% of the cases. Let us take the analysis one step further: in how many families did the children subsequently learn German well enough to use it as their home language? In only 9% percent of the families where both parents were of German origin did the children use German as the home language, and in all other family types, German was virtually not used as the home language at all, even in those single-parent families where the children had originally acquired German as their first language.

The Family Language Maintenance Ratio (number of family units where the children speak German at home divided by the number of family units where children learned German as their mother tongue) amounted to 0.54. Thus one may conclude that the children acquired German as their home language only in those families where both parents were of German origin; in such cases, the odds were one in two that they would come to use German as the language of the home if they had learned German as their first language in early childhood.

5.3.2 Parental mother tongue and the acquisition of German as the children's mother tongue and home language. When the parents' mother tongue is used as the criterion for establishing the five family types, it can be seen that the overall pattern is very similar. In about one-third of the families (34%) where both parents had learned German as their mother tongue, the children acquired German as their mother tongue as well. Again, in the mixed marriages where one of the parents did not have German as his or her mother tongue, practically none of the children learned German as their mother tongue (certainly not where the husband did not have German as his mother tongue). Children learned German as their first language in 20 to 40% of the one-parent families where the father or the mother had German as the mother tongue.¹⁰⁶

In only half of the families where both father and mother had acquired German as their first language did the children also use German as their home language (Family Language Maintenance Ratio=0.50). In none of the other family types was German used at home by the children.

5.3.3 Parental home language and the acquisition of German as the children's mother tongue and home language. The most interesting of the three criterion conditions is the case where German is used as the home language by one or both parents. In 76% of the families in Alberta where both parents used German as their home language, the children also acquired it as their mother tongue. In families where only one partner spoke German at home, the percentage of children who actually learned German as their first language was very small. Because of the small number of such families it is difficult to make a firm statement, but it appears that in mixed home-language families where the father did not speak German at

home, the rate of acquisition of German as the mother tongue was substantially lower than in families where the wife did not speak German in the home.

The rate of Family Language Maintenance from mother tongue to home language for the children in families where German was spoken at home by both parents was quite high (0.68), which means that in 68% of the families where both parents spoke German at home when the census was taken, the children also learned it well enough to use it as their own home language. In the other four types of use of German as a home language within the family unit, the likelihood of the children using German in the home was virtually zero.

The implication of these data is that the chances for survival of German as a home language into the next generation are greatest in families where both partners speak German in the home; however, the number of such families was relatively small in 1981, an estimated 2,500 in all of Alberta – including the Hutterite families where German is the *de facto* home language.

Supportive evidence for the German data presented here is offered by research in the effectiveness of bilingual English-Ukrainian instruction. Isajiw concluded after a study of ten major ethnic groups, among them especially the Ukrainian, that the home was the most important socializing agency for bringing about a general knowledge of the language. Where parents spoke to children only in Ukrainian, 100% of the children knew Ukrainian, at least in a general way. This was also the case where the parents spoke to the children in both English and Ukrainian, but where only English was spoken by the parents, most children (62%) had no knowledge of Ukrainian at all. Those whose parents spoke Ukrainian to them also used the language “every day” or “often,” whereas others whose parents spoke English to them used Ukrainian “rarely” or “never.” It appears that if parents wish their children to have Ukrainian as their mother tongue they must speak to them in Ukrainian, or in English or Ukrainian, when they are very young.¹⁰⁷

Chumak¹⁰⁸ examined this issue in more detail: The author studied the use of Ukrainian in homes where both parents spoke Ukrainian, had been born in Europe, and had come to Canada as young children; both spoke Ukrainian only in the home and both had a keen interest in preserving and maintaining the use of Ukrainian in the home. It was found that young children in this ideal linguistic environment verbalized spontaneously in Ukrainian more often than their older siblings who already went to school, responded more frequently in this language, and preferred to speak Ukrainian. It was noteworthy that parents differed in their patterns of interaction with the children: With older children, they used less Ukrainian, encouraged them less to use the language in the home, and read less to them. They also tended to address them in English or in Ukrainian while they used Ukrainian only with young children. Because of this difference in interactive support by the parents, the older children lost confidence and competence, and thus their frequency of use of Ukrainian declined accordingly.

5.4 Teaching and learning German in the home

It may be hypothesized that in German-speaking families, where the children are encouraged to take German formally in a public or private school, the motivation to maintain and develop the linguistic heritage is much stronger than in families where the language is either taught informally by the parents or only implicitly by the parents’ language use with each other and the children, or where it is not used at all. In addition to the facts presented above, there is some evidence for this assertion. Reitz concluded that the use of the ethnic language in the home was very strongly related to language retention ($\gamma=0.911$),¹⁰⁹ and in each of three generational groups, an ethnic group member who learned the ethnic language (as a child) was far more likely to participate in the ethnic community (as an adult).¹¹⁰ Extending the line of enquiry outlined above, an interesting question is, therefore, whether the children’s

initial contacts with German in the family are indeed of some importance in developing a set pattern for learning German and whether these contacts predict a certain level of use later on in life.

To test this hypothesis, a short questionnaire was developed and administered by Prokop¹¹¹ to 397 students in German classes in public and private elementary and secondary schools in Edmonton and vicinity.¹¹² The questionnaire sought to identify the mode of linguistic functioning in the family used by the students “in their early childhood (ages 3 to 6)” and “at present (ages 6 to 10, and 15 to 17).” Four modes of such linguistic functioning were defined operationally: Levels 2 to 4 represent a hierarchy where the higher-order behaviours include the lower-order:

1. The students spoke no or very little German at home, but heard German spoken regularly between the parents, or between the parents and other relatives or friends. When spoken to in German, the students would answer in English.
2. The parents usually spoke German with each other and the children, and the children would usually respond in German.
3. The parents usually spoke German with each other and the children; the children would usually respond in German *and* would speak German freely and spontaneously with parents, grandparents, and friends.
4. The parents usually spoke German with each other and the children; the children would usually answer in German, would speak German freely and spontaneously with parents, grandparents, and friends, *and* would, once in a while, and as their knowledge of German permitted, read German books or newspapers and/or would write short letters to relatives or friends in Germany.

At the time of the investigation, German at the elementary level was taught in three bilingual schools in Edmonton and vicinity (where it is the language of instruction for up to 50% of class time) as well as in church and other private schools (where German is often taught as the mother tongue [*muttersprachlicher Unterricht*] or as a second language [*Deutsch als Fremdsprache*]). In both public and private elementary schools almost 80% of the children enrolled had some German background. The following results were obtained for the elementary and secondary school levels.

In the bilingual classes of the public schools, the distribution of children over the four modes of linguistic functioning in the home was about equal when the children were small, changing only slightly between ages 4 to 6 and the present. About one-quarter of the children in the bilingual program responded to their parents in English, a quarter responded in German, a quarter spoke German freely and on their own initiative with their parents, and a quarter, within the range of their abilities, occasionally read a short book or magazine or wrote a letter to relatives or friends in German.

In private schools, the distribution was decidedly skewed. Only about 10% of the students answered their parents in English when they were small, and more than two-thirds used German freely and on their own initiative with them. When compared with their present mode of language use, it appears that children who had used German at home spontaneously and read and wrote in German once in a while still did at the time of the study in 1989. For the other three groups, a downward trend could be observed: some who spoke German freely at home when they were small said that they now only responded in German or English, and some who had answered in German now stated that they answered their parents in English. Clearly, the group of children who used German more or less as a native speaker would use it in a German-speaking country maintained their knowledge of German better than those groups where English intruded to a greater or lesser extent.

It is of interest that the distribution patterns of usage of German in the home for the two school populations resemble one another much more at present than when the children were very small. More students in the private school elementary classes now respond to their parents in English than when they were younger. German 10, 20, and 30, the high school German courses, are offered in Alberta’s public schools, as well as in some private and church schools in which German is the subject of instruction, although in some classes German 15 used to a very large extent as the means of communication as well. In the secondary

school classrooms, there were substantial differences between public and private schools in the ratio of students with no German family language background to those who had learned some German at home. At the beginners' level, 60% of the students in the public schools had no German family language background, compared with only 15% in the church and private schools. These ratios decreased to 44% and 5%, respectively, by German 30.

German 10: Nearly two-thirds of those students in the public schools who had learned some German at home said that they had usually answered in English at ages 3 to 6 when their parents talked to them in German, and only 10% had responded in German. Equally small numbers of students spoke German at home spontaneously or sometimes read or wrote in German. The change to present modes of linguistic functioning was insubstantial: a few more students who had then answered in English, now responded in German, presumably as a result of learning German in school. There was no change at higher levels of language use. In the private schools, the same pattern prevailed: no change in the top two levels of linguistic functioning and substantially fewer students responding in English now than when they were small.

As with elementary students, the percentage of secondary students capable of operating at Levels 3 and 4 was considerably higher in the church and private language schools than in the public schools (70% vs. 25%)

German 20: In public school classes, a general trend towards higher-level use of German could be observed: fewer students who responded to their parents in English at the time of the investigation, more who responded in German, spoke German at home spontaneously, and used it in reading and writing.

All students in the private schools who said that they had responded in English to their parents when they were small now said that they answered them in German. This development continues the shift previously observed for private school students.

German 30: In the public schools, the number of those students employing higher-level spontaneous use of German in the family context remained essentially the same since their childhood, while fewer students said that they now used English.

In the private schools, previous tendencies are repeated: a high rate of spontaneous use of German and more reading and writing in German than before by those students who had previously responded to their parents in English when they were small.

One may conclude from these results that the skill level to which a child is brought at an early age by the parents predicts very strongly the level at which the youngster will be able to function later on in life. There is a high stability in the level of functioning in German over the short as well as the long term, especially on those levels which require the spontaneous oral and written use of the language, but formal instruction may encourage students who had previously responded in English when their parents had used German with them to switch to more frequent – albeit merely responsive – use of German.

5.5 Discussion

Several investigations have documented the apparent preparedness of “the Germans” to give up their mother tongue in favour of English as their main language of communication and as their home language. The issue is not a new one: for more than a century, concerns have been voiced about the German-speaking parents' relative apathy regarding the future of their mother tongue, and whenever changes in Canadian immigration policy slowed the influx of speakers of German to Canada, dire predictions were made about the survival of German beyond the “present generation.” Nevertheless, the attitude of “the Germans” towards the future status of their language in Canada has been ambivalent. Not surprisingly, the support for language retention is highest among the immigrants (but even of them, only about a quarter considers it to be very important to ensure the survival of German in Canada – lowest among all ethnic groups surveyed). Among the members of the second generation, such support is even lower. As would

be expected, parents who think that the retention of German in Canada is very desirable have a strong positive opinion regarding their children's acquisition of the language while of those who are indifferent about the future of the German language in Canada only a very small number is strongly in favour of their children learning German as well.

The fact that the parents were found to have ill-defined reasons for wanting their children to learn German (more than half thought that German was "useful" as a second language and only a small number wanted their children to learn German to keep customs and traditions alive) also reflects the uncertain attitude of the German community towards the need to foster the retention and growth of linguistic and cultural traditions. When asked who should be responsible for teaching their children German, almost half the parents surveyed considered the home to be the primary agent. In view of the attitudes expressed and the fact that most Germans tend to marry non-"Germans," in which case German is not spoken at home, it is not surprising that the home, in practice, is not a very effective agent for passing German language and culture on to the next generation.

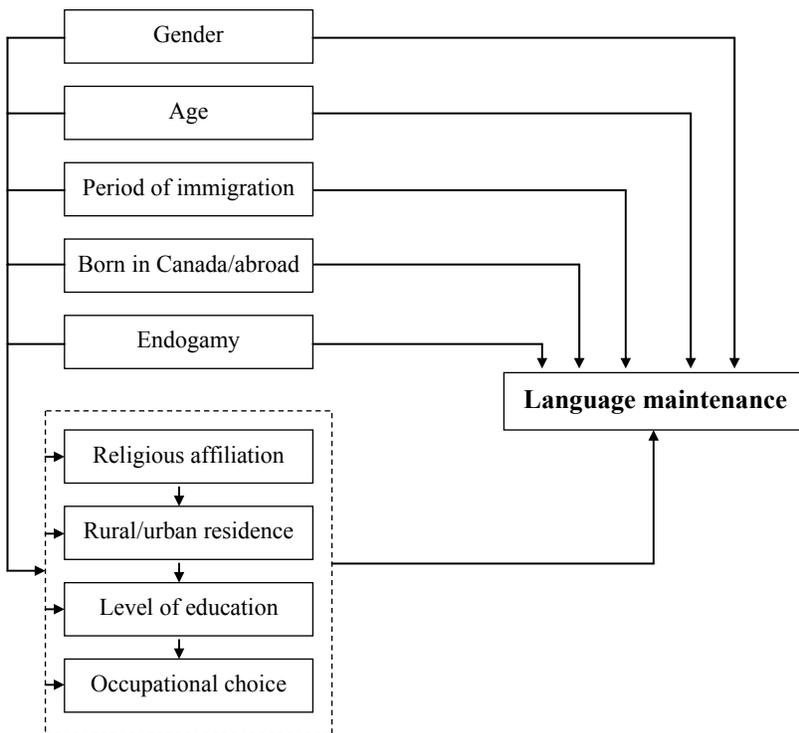
6.0 Personal factors affecting German language maintenance

As we have seen, a number of personal variables have been shown to influence language retention or loss.¹¹³ However, some of them are interrelated and it is therefore not always clear from the literature whether or not a particular effect can be attributed to a specific variable.

The personal variables examined here are

- gender
- age
- period of immigration
- birthplace in Canada or abroad
- religious affiliation
- rural vs. urban residence
- level of education
- occupational choice
- endogamy.

Figure 5 below shows a visualization of the relationships between these variables and language maintenance. Gender, age, period of immigration, birthplace, and endogamy may be considered individually, but there are strong interrelationships among religious affiliation, rural/urban residence, level of education, and occupational choice (affiliation with a certain religious grouping determines place of residence in urban or rural areas; residence, in turn, has an influence on the level of education obtained, which largely determines occupational choice).

Figure 5 Interrelationships between personal variables and language maintenance

Of course, there may also be interaction effects between gender and residence in an urban versus a rural locality, between period of immigration and occupational choice, and so forth.

In other words, the prediction of the dynamics of language maintenance is complex and subject to the interaction among many variables, e.g.,

- The “new ethnics” arrived in Canada after World War II (“period of immigration”); many of them were young (“age”) and got married in Canada to a non-German spouse (“exogamy”). They settled in an urban area (“rural/urban residence”), some went on to secondary and higher education (“level of education”) and chose white-collar work commensurate with their qualifications (“occupational choice”).
- Mennonite returnees from Latin American countries (“religious affiliation”) came to Canada in the last decade or so (time of immigration) and settled in rural areas (“rural/urban residence”) among other members of their religious group. Their families have many young children (“age”) who more often than not finish high school (level of education) and perform work in the agricultural field (“occupational choice”).

In the discussion of the personal variables and their relationship to language maintenance below, these interaction effects should be kept in mind.

6.1 Gender

There is some evidence in the literature that females tend to retain their heritage language longer than do males. As early as 1921, the Canadian census came to the conclusion that

females of nearly every racial origin appear to have acquired the language of the country of their adoption more slowly than males. This is probably accounted for by the fact that men more largely than women are

employed in pursuits which bring them more intimately in touch with persons speaking English or French.¹¹⁴

This observation was reiterated in 1931, when the Census report stated that “in almost all classifications more males are bilingual than females.”¹¹⁵ Ten years later, it was reported that a larger percentage of females than males was unable to speak either English or French.¹¹⁶

Prokop found that gender did not have a large effect on language maintenance among Albertans with German mother tongue and home language. Slightly more females spoke German in the home than males – 30% vs. 27% – after having acquired German as their mother tongue. But this difference was accentuated by the rural/urban distinction: 46% of females in rural areas who spoke German as their mother tongue (vs. 41% of the males) retained German as their home language.¹¹⁷ It is likely that affiliation with a religious group lay at the basis of this urban/rural residence distinction.

6.2 Age

The category “age” is of special interest because it reveals to what degree language maintenance can be expected to extend into the future. If language maintenance is low among the young, compared with language maintenance among the older speakers of German, certain predictions can be made as to the future of German as a mother tongue and as a home language. The 1931 census, for example, reported that

the number of school age children was found to be the largest single factor in promoting the learning of English, which implies that the school and the associations that go with it are the most potent social agencies in this phase of assimilation.¹¹⁸

Furthermore, census researchers established that the proportion of the race which was of school age appeared to be “the most important single factor in explaining the differences in the extent to which the several origins acquired English outside the home.”¹¹⁹ The following four factors were singled out as significant predictors of the rate of acquisition of English:

1. percentage of children between 10 and 20 years of age,
2. segregation (almost as strong as the first predictor),
3. percentage of people in urban residence (two-thirds as strong), and
4. percentage of North-American born members of the ethnic group (about 15% as strong).

Prokop’s examination of the dynamics of German language maintenance in Alberta and the present investigation demonstrated a strong relationship between age and language maintenance: increasing age and decreasing language maintenance, but accentuated by the rural urban distinction: In the rural areas, many more young people percentage spoke German at home, and so did older people.¹²⁰ Of course, it was also determined that rural residence and German language maintenance in the second half of the 20th century was conditioned by religious affiliation.

6.3 Period of immigration

Presumably, persons having immigrated more recently will have retained their mother tongue more fully than those who immigrated many years ago.

A 1971 Census Report distinguished between the so-called “old ethnic” and the “new ethnic,” the criterion being the time of their (or their ancestors’) immigration, namely either before or after World War II. This distinction proved to be effective in determining the extent to which persons of German ethnic origin had retained German as their home language. For Canada as a whole, only a quarter of those ethnic Germans who claimed German mother tongue and had immigrated before 1945 reported using German as the

predominant language of the home in 1971; conversely, while three-quarters of the same group had adopted English as their home language. On the other hand, about 47% of those ethnic Germans with German mother tongue who immigrated after the end of World War II still spoke German at home.¹²¹

Clearly, those who had been in Canada longer had switched more extensively to English as their home language than had the more recent arrivals. However, the fact that the “new” ethnics tended to be occupationally different (fewer farm-related and unskilled workers) and preferred to settle in urban rather than rural areas may have confounded the effect of “period of immigration” alone.

In a study of ethnicity, immigration and language transfer, Kralt and Pendakur (1991) found a close link between heritage language use and recency of immigration. In other words, heritage languages are used primarily by immigrants and their children. The continued use of a heritage language by third and subsequent generations is probably relatively rare.¹²² They also surmised that the relatively high transmission rate of German to children may be a function of the relatively large Mennonite component of this population who have retained the use of German to a large extent.¹²³ Bringing the issue to a point, Pendakur (1990) concluded that language maintenance is related to the relative age of the linguistic group and the proportion of immigrants within that group, as well as the age structure of this group – a conclusion which has certainly been confirmed by the findings of this study.

The 2006 Census found that length of time in Canada affects the language that allophones [i.e., persons having a mother tongue other than English or French] speak most often at home.¹²⁴ The longer allophone immigrants have been in the country, the more they are exposed to the predominant language of the host society. This tends to impact the language spoken most often at home. In 2006, 19% of immigrants to Canada since 2001 speak English or French most often at home. This proportion increases to one-third for those arriving in the 1980s. Among allophone immigrants who arrived between 1961 and 1970, half reported that they speak one or the other of the official languages most often at home. Most of the children and grandchildren of these immigrants have English or French as their mother tongue. As such, they no longer contribute to the growth of the language group of their parents or grandparents.

Stadler found that immigrants who had spent more than ten years in Canada spoke German significantly less frequently at home than did those with Canadian residence of less than ten years.¹²⁵ Prokop established a strong relationship between recency of immigration and German language maintenance in Alberta: The language maintenance ratio rose from .21 for persons who had arrived in Canada before 1945, to about .30 for those who immigrated between 1946 and the late sixties, and to .66 for the immigrants in the late seventies.¹²⁶

6.4 Birthplace in Canada or abroad

The Canadian censuses have frequently reported on differences between Canadian-born and foreign-born ethnics, such as use of mother tongue, home language, age or citizenship. Frequently, the objective was to determine whether persons born outside of Canada were in the process of becoming “like” Canadians.

In his 1990 study of German language retention in Alberta, Prokop reported that twice as many persons with German mother tongue spoke German at home in the rural areas than in the urban areas of Alberta (44% vs. 21%). But when the additional criterion “born in Canada or abroad” was introduced there was no difference in language retention between urban and rural residents who were born abroad (30%).¹²⁷

6.5 Religious affiliation

Membership in certain religious groups has been shown to be a strong determinant of the extent to which a language was preserved over years and generations. This was certainly the case among the settlers in the German colonies in Central and Eastern Europe, in particular the Mennonites, Hutterites, Moravians,

and German Baptists, but also among Lutherans and Catholics. The desire to retain German continued when the immigrants came to North America. After all, they had left, among other reasons, because they were no longer guaranteed then right to free practice of their religion, and for most this meant the continued use of German in church, in the family and the community. Not surprisingly, the cultivation of the German language in many of its variants represented a high priority in the conservative Mennonite settlements from Ontario to Alberta, and then to British Columbia.

German also played an important role among those immigrants who did not live in block settlements, especially in the Prairies. When they arrived in the Canadian West, they soon discovered that, because of the pattern of settlement required by homesteading, living in Canada meant isolation from other farmers, and that life in the early years meant unexpected hardships. Understandably, the immigrants yearned for a place where they felt that they belonged, and the churches provided just such a place. Religious beliefs offered the community an emotionally satisfying, common unifying bond; church services were held in the mother tongue, and church activities offered an escape from the toil of the workday. The cohesive effect of religion was a facet of pioneer life which profoundly affected the structure and social content of the community. It was the opinion among the scholars of the 1920s and 1930s – and in fact many contemporary sociologists¹²⁸ – that “... the strongest ties which bind German-speaking people in Alberta together and the strongest active forces encouraging the up-keep of German in the homes lie in their religious adherence.”¹²⁹

The ethnic churches were usually the strongest and the most active of all the institutions supporting the survival of distinctive ethnic cultures.¹³⁰ Moreover, it has been claimed that the churches, and particularly their publications, frequently were advocates of national ideology and tended to interpret events occurring in Canada in terms of survival of the interests of the ethnic community.¹³¹ The settlers’ reminiscences abound with references to their great desire to have a church of their own and to be able to “hear the word of God in their mother tongue.”

In spite of the initial desire to have church services offered in German, the churches soon felt the need to offer additional services in English. This was not necessarily due to an increase in the overall anglophone church membership, but mainly because the old people had died, and the young people had learned English and preferred their services in the English language. At first, the churches were reluctant to make the change,¹³² and in some churches, such as the Mennonite, the change to English, on a regional as well as a local basis, was very controversial. This process of Anglicization began as early as the 1930s as the first generation of German-speaking immigrants began to die out, and has continued up to the present. In the non-conservative Mennonite and Hutterite areas, German is still used for the occasional Sunday service in formerly German-language churches, and social and other events are once in a while being organized for speakers of German, especially the old and the very young. With few exceptions, the churches have abandoned efforts to retain the children in church by encouraging parents to send them to their language school because numbers no longer warrant it. Virtually all Protestant, Catholic and German Church of God language schools across the country have either closed or merged with other language schools.

The situation is entirely different, as this investigation has shown, in the regions of Canada where Hutterites and conservative groups of Mennonites live. The Hutterites traditionally have large families, and in the case of the Mennonites, their natural growth rate has been enhanced by a steady stream of Low German-speaking returnees from Mexico, Belize, Bolivia, Uruguay, and other countries. It has been shown in the provincial chapters that German language maintenance and growth is very pronounced in southwestern Ontario, a number of isolated localities in Manitoba and Saskatchewan as well as in northern Alberta and British Columbia. It was concluded that in the not-too-distant future a dialectal variant of German

will be acquired mainly as a mother tongue and used as a home language by the Hutterites, the Old Colony and Old Order Mennonites and the Amish.

6.6 Residence in urban or rural areas

It may be assumed that people in rural areas, where the official language is likely to be less overwhelming at work or at leisure than it is in urban areas, retained their ancestral language longer. The 1931 Census did, in fact, make a very clear statement about the effect of residence in a rural area:

Segregation is a powerful impediment to linguistic assimilation. The more cosmopolitan commercial life of urban centers, on the other hand, favors it.¹³⁵

In 1941, it was reported that “twice as many persons in rural than in urban localities were unable to speak either of Canada’s official languages.”¹³⁴ Conversely, “urban residence favours English more than does rural, urban females favour it more than do urban males while among rural persons there appears to be no sex differentiation.”¹³⁵

In 1961, the next time that the Census addressed the question of age as a predictor for the acquisition of English, the *Report* concluded:

The extent to which children ... learn in early childhood the corresponding mother tongue depends on many factors. Among those that appear to be most important is the relative proportion between foreign-born and native-born segments within an ethnic group. Another is the ratio of rural to urban residents. ... Since a substantial number of post-war immigrant families are resident in urban centers it would appear that Canadian-born children of these families will tend to learn English or French as the language first taught in the home to a greater degree than in the past when a larger number of immigrant families settled in small farm communities, often in blocks of the same linguistic group.¹³⁶

More recently, Prokop’s (1990) study of German language maintenance in Alberta and the data reported in this investigation make it clear that residence in urban or rural areas – nowadays reflecting a religious affiliation – only indirectly impacts the linguistic vitality of a language.¹³⁷ Schrauf (1999) also concluded that in geographically bounded ethnic communities the practice of native religious forms is significantly associated with the retention of the mother tongue into the third generation.

6.7 Level of education

Intuitively, two different statements of a relationship between level of education and language maintenance appear to be equally meaningful: Maintenance of the ancestral language might be higher among those who have a higher level of education because they have a better appreciation of the need for retaining their mother tongue and its culture for themselves and their children; after all, it appears to be an accepted fact in Canadian society, especially among the “professionals,” that knowledge of more than one language is a “good thing” for children from a developmental as well as a practical point of view. Alternatively, it could be that the more highly educated will move in circles where the appearance of being an immigrant and having a foreign accent might be viewed as being detrimental to their social position. They, and their children, may also make a greater personal effort to become as fluent and correct in their use of English as possible.

It appears from the literature that there is an inverse relationship between cultural and linguistic maintenance and the level of education reached.

Anderson found Mennonites with up to high school education were generally in favour of preserving their identity but were resigned to its loss, while those with university education were largely indifferent.¹³⁸ O’Bryan et al. also reported a negative relationship between level of education and the desire to retain

German: 29% of those who had eight or fewer years of education considered it very desirable, but only 18% of those with 13 or more years of education did so.¹³⁹ Similarly, Borhek concluded that formal education was the most powerful predictor of assimilation and in-group choice among his sample of Ukrainians in Alberta. He came to the conclusion that there was a marked relationship between high occupational status and high assimilation among those having high school education or more. Among the less highly educated, high or low occupational status was unrelated to preparedness to assimilate. It seemed that only in the presence of higher formal education did the effects of workplace, occupational status, and place of residence lead to decreasing ethnic loyalties and involvement.¹⁴⁰

O'Bryan et al.¹⁴¹ inferred from a review of the available research that education was negatively related to current level of knowledge of the language; indeed, fluency was found to be lower among the better educated respondents (this is in addition to the observation that the better educated tend to be second- and third-generation Canadians who, in turn, tend to have a lesser knowledge of their ethnic language). They concluded cautiously that "there is some tendency for respondents having more formal education not to know their ancestral language." They gave the following as possible reasons for this state of affairs: those who know the ethnic language may not want to obtain a high degree of formal education because they hold a job which is not tied to their level of education, or because the time and energy required for higher formal education might take time away from the family and the ethnic community and undermine efforts at retaining the ancestral language; schools may downgrade and suppress an interest in ethnic ties; and there might be a lack of opportunity to study and use the language at school and university.

In a multivariate analysis of the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey, Turcotte found that the parents' education made a difference in passing on an ancestral language.¹⁴² "For example, individuals whose mother had a postsecondary education were less likely than those whose mother's highest level of education was elementary school to have learned their parents' mother tongue as their first language: 61% vs. 70%." He concluded, following other studies, that individuals with a higher level of education have a greater tendency to shift to the host country's official language, even for home use. In a related findings, individuals with household incomes of \$20,000 or less used the ancestral language at home, compared with 27% of those with household incomes above \$100,000.¹⁴³ Of course, household income is not only related to educational background, but also to occupational choice.

Prokop established that Albertans with German mother tongue who had less than a Grade 9 education – irrespective of whether they lived in a rural or urban area – were substantially more likely to have retained the mother tongue as their home language than were those who finished high school or had some post-secondary education.¹⁴⁴ Most of these persons are Hutterites and Mennonites; so religious affiliation and its implications may interact with the "level of education" criterion

6.8 Occupational choice

This criterion is related to "level of education," of course, and the implied hypothesis may again be stated both ways. Some tentative evidence regarding this hypothesis is provided by Stadler, who determined that the use of English in her sample increased with socio-economic status among both parents and children.¹⁴⁵ O'Bryan et al. concluded that, according to the available research, income differences should be strongly and negatively related to the current level of language knowledge, although their own research did not reveal such relationships. It could be that in their study positive and negative relationships tended to cancel each other out in the overall statistics. They speculated that

it may be that those achieving economic success are less inclined to have retained the language, but among those who are so inclined, their higher income may be a positive factor in reacquisition or primary acquisition, since currently [1976] almost all costs of such language activities are borne by the individual.¹⁴⁶

In a later analysis, Kalbach and Richard suggested that “ethnic connectedness” was related negatively to measures of socio-economic status achievement, but only for the first generation among whom ethnic visibility is highest. They speculated that “the persistence of ethnic behaviour appears to prejudice [the immigrants’] chances for higher status achievement.”¹⁴⁷

Using 1971 Census data, Wolowyna determined in a study of speakers of Ukrainian across Canada that families in which both parents spoke Ukrainian as their mother tongue were more rural and had lower levels of education and income; the husbands usually worked in primary and blue-collar occupations.¹⁴⁸

In Prokop’s investigation of German language maintenance in Alberta, the highest language retention rates were obtained in the primary occupations (farming, horticulture, and animal husbandry) where 40% of those who had learned German as their mother tongue still used it in the home. Persons in machining and processing occupations and the service industry had substantially lower language retention rates (.23, .21 and .19, respectively). In the other occupational categories, the extent to which a German mother tongue was still used as the home language varied between 10% and 16%. However, an inspection of the distribution of the language maintenance ratio by occupational category and level of education revealed that these differences were due to educational level rather than occupational choice: those with less than Grade 9 education, with only minor exceptions, had the highest language retention rates, with a drop in the rate for virtually all higher educational levels, irrespective of occupation.¹⁴⁹

6.9 Endogamy and mother tongue retention

An important factor in the retention of the ancestral language and traditions is the extent to which immigrants intermarry within their own ethnic group. It may be surmised that the ancestral language will less likely be spoken at home and old traditions cultivated if the spouses belong to different ethnic groups, and even less likely if one of them is the speaker of a minority ethnic language.

In the early part of the 20th century, Canadian censuses did indeed consider intermarriage “at once an index and a method of assimilation”¹⁵⁰ and charted the “progress made in intermarriage with those of British and French origin.”¹⁵¹ Census researchers in 1931 concluded that

in practically every instance, a high percentage speaking one of the official languages of Canada in the home is associated with a large amount of intermarriage with the British and French and vice versa. The two phenomena are closely connected, statistically as well as logically.¹⁵²

As late as 1961, “the degree to which the various ethnic groups intermarry is of considerable interest and importance as a measure of cultural assimilation.”¹⁵³

In the first half of the 20th century, endogamy was highest among members of the Slavic ethnic group (see Table 13) and lowest among the Scandinavians. After World War II, the percentage of husbands married to wives of the same origin was highest among the Italians.

The percentage of German men married to women of German origin declined gradually from 75% in 1921 to about 60% in 1941 and to less than 50% after the War.

Table 13 Percentage of husbands married to wives of the same origin¹⁵⁴

	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Ukrainian	92		80	75	62	54
Russian	77	82 ²	56		48	
Polish	80		51	56	49	43
Italian	81		55		77	76
German	75	67	58	52	52	49
Dutch	47		53	43	55	52
Icelandic	83		42			
Norwegian	59	50 ³	27	36 ³	31 ³	27 ³
Swedish	55		22			
Danish	26		17			

The percentage of women of German origin married to men of the same origin was comparable. In 1921, the average of female endogamy was about four percent higher than male endogamy;¹⁵⁵ in 1951, 52.0% of German men were married to wives of German origin, and conversely, 52.3% of German ethnic females were married to German males.¹⁵⁶

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism examined the relationship between endogamy and mother tongue retention rate in the 1941 Census data. Both endogamy and mother tongue retention rate were highest among Japanese and French origins (see Table 14), but in most instances the retention rate was higher than endogamy (e.g., Ukrainian, Polish, Italian, the Scandinavian languages). In German, the endogamy rate was 58%, very similar to the mother tongue retention rate of 54%.

Table 14 Endogamy and mother tongue retention rate for selected ethnic origins, 1941¹⁵⁷

	Endogamy	Mother tongue retention rate
Japanese	99%	97%
Jewish	95%	76%
French	93%	94%
Ukrainian	80%	92%
Polish	51%	71%
Italian	55%	71%
German	58%	53%
Dutch	53%	61%
Icelandic	42%	81%
Norwegian	27%	66%
Swedish	22%	67%
Danish	17%	61%

Kalbach¹⁵⁸ concluded that the rate of intermarriage depended on nativity and the period of immigration of the foreign-born. Most ethnic groups showed evidence of increasing ethnic mixing as the length of residence increased for the foreign-born (see Table LM.13). But based on 1961 Census data, Kalbach demonstrated clearly that aggregate measures of endogamy are misleading as indicators of assimilation. He argued that since between one half and three quarters of all immigrants entering Canada since 1933 were married, the degree of ethnic mixing was already limited. If there are strong pressures for endogamous marriage in a given ethnic group, the evidence should be found among the native-born as they could still choose whether to marry within or without their ethnic group.

Table 15 shows that among native-born Canadians of German origin the rate of endogamy was consistently lower than for either pre- or post-war immigrants. Among the native-born living in metropolitan areas, about 31% had wives of German origin, compared to pre-war immigrants in metropolitan areas (endogamy rate=ca. 54%) and particularly post-war immigrants (endogamy rate=ca. 82%). The pattern is similar for those living in non-metropolitan urban areas and in rural areas. In other words, for the German ethnic group endogamy among the native-born is relatively low – especially when compared to corresponding rates for Ukrainians where ca. 44% of the native-born men living in metropolitan areas had wives of Ukrainian origin, Jews (89%), and Asiatic groups (72%). Endogamy among native-born Canadians of Scandinavian origin living in metropolitan areas origin was lowest at 13%.¹⁵⁹

Table 15 Percentage of family heads of normal families with wives of the same origin, by area of residence, for German origin of native-born, pre-war and post-war immigrants, for Canada, 1961¹⁶⁰

Total metropolitan areas			Non-metropolitan urban areas			Non-metropolitan rural areas		
Native-born	Immigrants		Native-born	Immigrants		Native-born	Immigrants	
	Pre-war	Post-war		Pre-war	Post-war		Pre-war	Post-war
30.6%	53.6%	81.6%	32.9%	60.6%	77.6%	47.3%	67.1%	80.8%

It has been demonstrated amply that endogamy has a strong effect on mother tongue retention. Stadler, in her 1983 examination of language use and attitudes among German immigrants in Vancouver, showed convincingly that endogamy had a significant positive effect on language maintenance. None of the parents in the ethnically mixed marriages spoke German in the home, and children in these families never spoke German at home, although they were learning German in a German-language school.¹⁶¹

In a custom analysis of 1981 Census data for Alberta, Prokop showed that in families where both parents were of German origin, the likelihood of children acquiring German as their mother tongue was greatest (17%); in mixed marriages, the chance of children learning German as their mother tongue was practically nil: certainly when the husband was of non-German origin, and very low (2%) when the wife was non-German origin. Furthermore, in only 9% of the families where both parents were of German origin did the children use German as the home language, and in all other family types, German was virtually not used as the home language at all.¹⁶²

When the parents' mother tongue – rather than their ethnic origin – is used as the criterion, practically none of the children learned German as their mother tongue in those families where one of the parents did not have German as his or her mother tongue (particularly not where the husband did not have German as his mother tongue): in none of these families did the children use German as their home language.¹⁶³

An analysis of 1996 Census data provides insights into recent trends in endogamy in Canadian society.¹⁶⁴ It comes to the conclusion that

[f]ar fewer children have the heritage language as their home language than as their mother tongue; in other words, although the heritage language may be the first language they learned, they do not use it as their main language in the home. Even in endogamous marriages, fewer than half of the children use the heritage language as their home language, except in Polish, Chinese, Spanish or Vietnamese heritage language families. When only one of the parents has the heritage language as mother tongue, its use as the home language is very rare – less than one in ten children. The only exceptions are children of exogamous marriages where one parent's mother tongue is Chinese, Punjabi or Vietnamese... [Yet the children are often able to

speak the heritage language.] In seven of the 13 largest language groups, at least 90% of children of endogamous marriages knew the heritage language well enough to conduct a conversation. Similarly, the children of exogamous marriages had a far greater tendency to know the heritage language. It is apparent that many children learn their parents' mother tongue as a second language.

Table 16 shows that 61% of children between 5 and 14 years of age learned German as their mother tongue if both parents had German as their mother tongue, but only two percent did so if only one parent spoke German as his/her mother tongue. When both parents had acquired German as their mother tongue, 42% also used it as their home language, but only one percent did so when only one parent had a German mother tongue.

Table 16 Percentage of children learning a heritage language and using it as the home language in endogamous and exogamous marriages, for Canada, 1996¹⁶⁵

Mother tongue	Percentage of children learning the heritage language as their mother tongue		Percentage of children using the heritage language as home language	
	both parents	One parent	both parents	one parent
Chinese	82	13	59	8
Italian	36	2	7	0
German	61	2	42	1
Polish	85	6	56	1
Spanish	81	16	57	6
Portuguese	62	5	34	2
Punjabi	75	15	49	11
Ukrainian	68	3	37	2
Arabic	71	8	41	4
Dutch	24	1	10	0
Tagalog	41	10	16	2
Greek	71	7	33	4
Vietnamese	75	18	58	13

Time also appears not be on the side of language continuity. A study of the determinants of heritage language continuity using standard regression analysis and family data from the 1981 and 1991 Censuses¹⁶⁶ not only confirmed many of the earlier findings, but also found that over the ten-year period the probability that children in families in which both parents have non-official mother tongues would inherit the parental mother tongue was 50.9 percent; by 1991 this probability had fallen to 44.9 percent. Moreover, the proportion of families where such transmission is potentially possible also decreased since 1981. Marriage in which at least one partner had an official mother tongue, whether exogamous or not, accentuated sharply the process of language shift, and such marriages are increasingly common.

Regrettably, more recent data on German are not available. But in 2006, the Canadian census reported that when an allophone lives in a couple with an Anglophone or a Francophone, the language other than English or French is seldom the primary language used at home. For 97% of the cases where the allophone's spouse or partner has English as mother tongue, English is the predominant language at home outside Quebec; In Quebec, the proportion reaches 92%.¹⁶⁷

Does it make a difference whether the mother or the father is the person providing language input? While it is argued by others that women speak to their children differently than men the results of Boyd's investigation show that there is no difference in the level of proficiency attained if the amount of time for which mothers and fathers were at home is held constant.¹⁶⁸

Clearly endogamy plays an enormously significant role in language maintenance. However, with little immigration from German-speaking countries and forty years of residence in Canada the children of the German immigrants of the 1950s and 60s will likely continue to intermarry with members of other ethnic groups, which will lead to a further decline in the number of children who are using German in the home.

6.10 Discussion

In addition to the sociocultural reasons for language retention, language maintenance in the German ethnic group is influenced by a number of factors – recency of immigration, rural or urban residence, level of education and type of occupation, sex, age, the rate of endogamy, and the extent to which German is spoken in the home environment.

The use of the German language in Canada is strongly related to the recency of time of immigration of its speakers. In an all-Canadian study one third of the immigrants from the Federal Republic of Germany reported that they spoke English as their home language after as little as six months' residence in Canada. By extension, the likelihood of language maintenance among those German-Canadians who were already born in this country is even lower.

Whether a person resides in an urban or a rural area of Canada has had a significant impact on language maintenance from the time when such issues were first investigated. Fifty years ago, the census found persons residing in the rural areas to be twice as likely not to speak either of Canada's official languages when compared to urban dwellers. The early Canadian censuses explained this difference by the rural dwellers' lack of contact with the English-speaking world and the vastly greater opportunities for intermingling of the ethnic groups with English speakers in the urban areas. This argument still applies, especially so in the communities which encourage a strict separation of their members from the outside world.

A similar observation was made for sex differences in language maintenance. In the first half of the century, there were a number of reports that foreign-born females were slower to learn English than males were; this was attributed to the fact that most speakers of German in those days lived in rural areas and had little contact with the outside world, and among them women remained in the home even more of the time than men did. Recent census data show the effect of sex on language maintenance to be small, but in the same direction as previously observed.

Another major factor in the retention of German was found to be the level of education. Persons with less than a Grade 9 education showed a rate of language preservation two to three times higher than the rate of preservation of German by persons with any higher level of schooling. The relationship was not linear in nature, however. It is not possible to maintain that the higher the level of formal schooling, the lower the rate of language retention; instead, a plateau appears to be reached with entry into high school, beyond which there are only small differences in language loss and language retention. Once more, the rural/urban distinction made a significant difference: more than twice as many rural than urban residents with less than a Grade 9 education spoke German in the home in 1981.

Occupational criteria are clearly a function of educational background: not surprisingly, persons in the primary occupations, such as farming, and in horticultural and animal husbandry occupations, displayed a higher level of language retention than did persons in any other occupational field. Traditionally, rural residents have tended to value formal education less highly than urban residents. To the present day, certain religious groups, especially the Hutterites, do not generally encourage their children to obtain formal schooling beyond the level of compulsory school attendance.

Age is another extremely important predictor for language loss or language retention. While some 85% of small children of German origin are reported to speak German in the home, this rate declines drastically after the age of ten and reaches a plateau of about 25% after the age of 20. Again, the residence criterion plays a major role in determining the rate of language maintenance: across all age groups, the rural residents use German as their home language considerably more frequently than do urban residents: by age 15, some 15% of the urban residents with German background still speak German as their dominant home language; in the country, as many as two thirds claim German to be the first language of the home.

An association between the desire to marry within one's own ethnic group and the rate of language preservation was noted frequently as early as the first part of the century. It was determined that "the Germans" tended to select a partner outside their own ethnic group more often than most other ethnic groups. This observation holds still today as about three quarters of men and women of German origin marry partners with a different ethnic background; the rate of endogamy is only slightly higher in rural than in urban areas.

The rate of endogamy proves to be a significant factor in determining whether German will be used as the dominant language of the home and, consequently, whether the children will learn German as their mother tongue and the language which they use at home. It was found that the chances for children to acquire German as their mother tongue and as their home language was greatest if both parents spoke German in the home. In one-parent families where the father or the mother was either of German origin, had a German mother tongue, or used German as his or her home language, only a small number of children picked up German as their first language, and virtually none learned it long and intensively enough to be able to use it as the home language. In ethnically mixed families where one partner was unable to use German as the home language, virtually no children appeared to acquire German as the mother tongue or to learn and use it as the dominant home language.

This finding is of great relevance because another part of the present study determined that the skill level to which a child is brought at an early age predicts very strongly the level at which the youngster is able to function later in life. In particular, those who as small children reached a level of proficiency in German at which they understood and spoke German freely and spontaneously, and also read and wrote German at their level as if they lived in a totally German-speaking environment, retained their original high level of proficiency best.

Small wonder that the fluency with which German is spoken by the immigrant generation vs. the second and third generations differs considerably. About two-thirds of the first-generation immigrants perceived themselves to be fluent in the language, but only five percent% of the second generation did so and virtually none in the third generation. In Edmonton, about half of the immigrant population claimed to use German every day; only quarter of the second and a miniscule one percent of the third generation said that they used German every day.

The implications of this tremendous rate of language loss are obvious: if fewer children are learning German as their home language, fewer people in the next generation will be able to use German as the home language in endogamous families. Moreover, there will be more families with only one German-speaking partner; at the same time, we know that practically none of the children in ethnically and linguistically mixed Families acquire German either as their mother tongue or as the home language.

7.0 Conceptualizing the linguistic vitality of German in Canada

It would be an exaggeration to speak of “language death,” but there can be no doubt that German in Canada is seriously lacking in vitality. Sociolinguists and other scholars have tried to conceptualize the process of “language endangerment”. Wurm, for instance, has suggested the following “levels of language endangerment” in the context of language shift:

1. decreasing use of the language by children (**potentially endangered language**);
2. decreasing use of the language by young adults, with very few or no children speakers left (**endangered language**);
3. the same by middle-aged adults, with the youngest good speakers about 50 years old (**seriously endangered language**);
4. the same by the remaining aged speakers whose number is decreasing as they die one after another (**moribund language**);
5. No speakers left (**extinct language**).¹⁶⁹

Using these categories, German must certainly be considered a “seriously endangered language” in most urban areas of Canada, and even a “moribund language” in some. Among the more liberal Mennonite groups, the state of linguistic vitality of German ranges between “seriously endangered” and “extinct.” Among the conservative Mennonites and the Hutterites, the German language, of course, enjoys good health.

Another perspective on the issue of linguistic vitality involves conceptualizing the kind of assimilation that a language group is undergoing over time. Kloss, in one of the first such attempts suggested three types of assimilation:

1. **immediate assimilation**, which takes place already in the immigrant generation;
2. **organic assimilation** where there is at least one generation between the unilingual immigrant and the unilingual native-born generation; this transitional generation receives its education in both languages and thus exhibits a well-developed bilingualism;
3. **permanent retention of the minority language**.¹⁷⁰

In this scenario, most post-war immigrants have been subject to “organic assimilation” as evidenced by the large number of children of German-speaking immigrants learning German in Canadian public schools, colleges and universities from the 1960s through the and 1980s. True, in many cases, assimilation was “immediate”, but then at the other end of the spectrum German has become entrenched “permanently” among conservatives Mennonites and the Hutterites.

Based on J.W. Berry’s work with a psychological acculturation model, Richard Y. Bourhis has recently developed a bidimensional model of acculturation.¹⁷¹ He proposes that immigrants must confront two basic issues, viz. whether or not the immigrant culture is of value and should be retained, and whether it is desirable to adopt the language and culture of the dominant majority.¹⁷² The interaction of the two dimensions, to which Bourhis adds a fifth, results in the following four (five, resp.) orientations:

- The **integrationist orientation** reflects a desire to maintain key features of the linguistic and cultural identity while adopting aspects of the majority culture, including the dominant language.
- The **assimilationist orientation** essentially implies relinquishing the immigrants’ own linguistic and cultural identity for the sake of adopting the dominant language and culture of the majority.
- The **separatist strategy** is characterized by a desire to maintain all features of the linguistic minority identity while rejecting key aspects of the dominant language and culture.

- The **marginalisation orientation** characterizes minority individuals who reject both their own and the dominant language and culture; they may suffer from an anomie syndrome.
- The **individualist orientation** suggests that individuals reject both their ethnolinguistic origin and the dominant majority not because they feel marginalized but simply because they prefer to identify themselves as individuals rather than as members of either a minority or the dominant majority.

Bourhis continued to develop the model by suggesting an interaction between “linguistic and acculturation orientations adopted by the immigrant and national minorities, the linguistic and acculturation orientations adopted by the dominant majority towards specific linguistic minority groups, and interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes which are the product of combinations of linguistic minority and dominant majority acculturation orientations.”¹⁷³ This model takes account of the expectations and pressures exerted by the dominant culture and of intergroup relations rather than focussing on the immigrant’s orientation alone.

According to this model, most post-war immigrants from Germany and other countries subscribed to an integrationist or assimilationist orientation; a few might have felt “marginalized” (providing motivation for returning to Germany, which many immigrants did, in fact). Some persons with high self-esteem may have followed an individualistic strategy in positioning themselves in Canadian society. Certain religious groups, such as conservative Mennonite groups and the Hutterites, may have employed (and may still do so) a separatist strategy by voluntarily segregating themselves from secular society.

Prokop has suggested three patterns of approach to the preservation and cultivation of the German language and culture, which may be functionally characterized as follows:

Type A: Regular and serious participation in various ethno-cultural and social events to “preserve” the German heritage in the family and the province; preservation of a “German” life style and system of values at the home; use of German as the main language of communication in the home and in the church by the older and the younger generation; a deliberate seeking out of the company of other speakers of German just because they are German; formation of a “German island” amidst the anglophone culture, where the stated intention is to pass on German language and culture to the next generation, and members consider themselves to be “German” or “German-Canadian” with strong German background. With this approach, traditional German culture and language will survive beyond the present generation.

Type B: Occasional participation in ethno-cultural activities for nostalgic enjoyment and social mingling; immigrant parents may speak German to each other and to the children when they are still young, but they give up eventually and switch to English when talking with them; children use English among themselves; parents and children follow an increasingly Canadian life style and do not want to appear “different”; the parents may have German-speaking friends, but do not seek them out deliberately; the older members consider themselves “German-Canadian” or “Canadians of German origin,” but the younger members perceive themselves primarily as “Canadian.” In this pattern, the German cultural and linguistic heritage will not survive beyond the immigrant generation.

Type C: Virtually no participation in ethno-cultural activities; immigrants give up German as the home language very quickly, even among themselves; they adopt the Canadian life style and system of values completely; the children are raised as anglophone Canadians for whom German culture is something that was left behind in Europe; if they have German-speaking friends, this is a coincidence; the members of this group consider themselves Canadians. With this approach to the preservation of language and culture, the cultural heritage is being abandoned.¹⁷⁴

Conservative Mennonites and Hutterites could be said to follow a Type A approach to assimilation. No doubt, there were many post-war immigrants in the urban areas as well who tried to raise their children in a German linguistic and cultural environment. These children often turned out to be perfectly bilingual and had – and many still have – a strong affinity to their roots.

In most immigrant families, however, the parents made sincere attempts to teach their children German and to cultivate German culture and traditions at home, and were quite persistent initially. But over time, it became easier for all concerned to use German at home and permit their children to respond in English (Type B assimilation).

In few endogamous families of German-speaking immigrants German was surrendered very soon. But where an immigrant got married to a member of another ethnic group who did not speak any German, the language was not used at all at home or only tentatively. In some cases, such families would send their children to a private German-language school for a while. If the children's resistance became too strong German would disappear more and more from the family's consciousness (Type C assimilation).

8.0 Discussion

It has been shown that "the Germans" in urban Canada have demonstrated a considerable readiness to abandon their ancestral language and that immigrants from Germany feel "right at home" in Canada very quickly; many give up German as the language of the home and perceive themselves as German-Canadians, rather than as Germans, very soon after their arrival in Canada. Compared to some other ethnic groups, "the Germans" use their ancestral language less frequently in the second and third generations (where the language is lost, to all intents and purposes), and they restrict their use of German to the family and a circle of close friends. It is true that the attitudes towards the retention of German expressed by parents (especially recent immigrants who are still fluent in the language and have a relatively low level of education) with regard to the desirability for their children to learn and maintain German has been very strong, but this stated attitude has not necessarily been translated into practice in real life.

It has also been shown that German is alive and well among the Hutterites and conservative Mennonite and Amish groups in certain rural areas of the country, and will continue to flourish there.

But the effect of the drastic loss of German among the present generation of speakers of German in urban Canada, on the one hand, and the small number of future speakers of German being raised, above all in the cities, has already had profound effects (and will continue to do so) on the type of student taking German at the school and the university level. Enrolments in language schools and public schools have suffered serious declines over the last ten years; there do not seem to be enough children from German-speaking families to attend the bilingual schools; enrolments are shrinking dramatically in most church schools where they still exist. The demographic characteristics of the German ethnic group in Canada are changing radically. German – even with increased registrations by anglophone students – will be unlikely to retain its present share of second language registrations over the medium and long term unless there is an infusion of German mother tongue speakers by increased immigration, or unless there is a drastic change in the attitudes towards language maintenance – particularly by persons in the towns and cities of Canada, where the schools are located at which German is being taught.

German and German culture have become museum pieces to many immigrants, to be dusted off once in a while, but ignored for most of the year. Only on certain holidays and festival days do some of the "Germans" get together and talk and behave "like Germans," get young girls to wear dirndls, engage in some *schuhplattling*, and consume copious amounts of German foods. At all other times, however, they take pains to show that they have been acculturated to the mainstream "Canadian way of life" and to Canadian social expectations. They have "submerged their identity" and have become an "invisible minority."

One of the reasons for the lack of participation among the majority of young people of German origin surely is what has been referred to above as a “museum approach to German culture”: to cherish and preserve stereotypical aspects of German culture (folk dancing, folk singing, wearing folk costumes) while they are on the verge of extinction in Germany – aspects which, for better or worse, have little relevance in present-day German culture, at least to the young people who have grown up in Canada

Many immigrants, above all those who fled or were expelled from Eastern Europe, did not want to accept the changes which have occurred in the relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Socialist countries; many of them felt that they had been “sold out” and thought of the “real” Germany, as they knew it, as having ceased to exist in the 1970s. Thus the cultural perceptions of the older immigrants have become petrified in their memories.

The children, for psychological reasons (being “German” made them different, and adolescents do not want to be different from their peers), have resisted their parents’ attempts to get them to learn German, steadily undermining their parents’ determination and perseverance until they finally gave up. Of course, some parents never had the resolve to teach their children German in the home or the time and energy to drive their children to German school; it certainly was a great deal easier to become simply assimilated into the anglophone mainstream.

The fact that Canadians, and particularly western Canadians, tend to be suspicious of the “hyphenated Canadians” and the fact that they have considered foreign languages unnecessary frills (this attitude is definitely still prevalent regarding the teaching of second languages in high school and regarding the imposition of a second language requirement, for all students, for graduation from high school) have assuredly contributed to a weakening of the will power of the German-speaking immigrant to maintain his or her knowledge of language or culture.

German clubs and associations across the country will lose continue to lose more of their membership by death than new members can be added. With the disappearance of the German ethnic group, there will be commercial implications as well: there will be less need for German-speaking paediatricians, gynaecologists, doctors, real estate agents, lawyers, delicatessens, and so on.

This is not to say that German culture in Canada – i.e., popular culture – will disappear altogether: There will probably always be a German tent at the various heritage celebrations across the country where German sausages and sauerkraut will be consumed; anglophone connoisseurs will continue to buy their bread and pastry at German bakeries and will discover the delicious flavour of German prepared meats. Unfortunately, there will be no one in the beer tents, pastry shops, and delicatessens who will be able to speak and understand German.

APPENDIX

Religion and “German”

Canadian censuses have examined the relationship between religious affiliation and ethnic origin several times. For instance, in 1941, 31,469 of the 111,554 (28%) Canadian Mennonites gave “German” as their racial origin, 64,941 (58%) were of Netherlands origin, and 7,206 (6%) claimed Russian origin. These numbers are of doubtful accuracy, however. Canadian census authorities¹⁷⁵ and scholars have stated that during World War II thousands Canadians of German origin reported another origin, such as Dutch or Russian, in order to avoid stigmatization.

For 1961 and 1971, statistics are available on the interrelationship between ethnic origin and membership in a religious group.¹⁷⁶ In 1971, almost a quarter each of Canadians of German ethnic origin belonged to the Catholic or Lutheran churches, respectively, another 16% to the United Church, ca. nine percent to the Mennonites, and smaller numbers to the Anglicans, Baptists, and Pentecostals. Keeping in mind the traditional religious affiliations of the German ethnic group, it is likely that the members of the Anglican and United Churches – and possibly the Baptist and Pentecostal Churches – had a German forefather somewhere in their family past. After all, the 1971 Census asked respondents to state to which ethnic group they or their ancestors on the male side had belonged on coming to this continent.

There was relatively little change in the decade between 1961 and 1971. Among Canadians of German origin, the percentage of Mennonites claiming German origin increased slightly as did the percentage of Pentecostals and Catholics. On the other hand, of all Hutterites in Canada 86.3% claimed German ethnic origin in 1971, as did 68.3% of all Mennonites, 45% of the Lutherans, 16.8% of the Adventists, and 10% of all Mormons said that they were of German origin.

The 1991 Census also examined the relationship between religion and ethnic origin. Of the 21,495 Hutterites in Canada at that time, 18,630 (87%) claimed German ethnic origin, 215 (1%) Ukrainian origin, 1,375 (6%) other Western European origins, and 220 (1%) other Eastern European origins. Of the 207,965 Mennonites reported by the 1991 Census, 102,430 (49%) were of German ethnic origin, 24,115 (12%) of Dutch origin, and 1,325 (1%) of Ukrainian origin.¹⁷⁷

In other words, the percentage of Hutterites having German origin remained virtually identical over the 20-year period while the percentage of Mennonites claiming German origin declined from 68% to 49%.

The Mennonites

In 1901, the Mennonites appeared for the first time as a separate religious group (although including the Hutterites) in the Canadian census. Their numbers grew rapidly from ca. 32,000 at the turn of the century to ca. 125,000 by 1950, and by 1991 exceeded the 200,000 mark (see Table 17). However, ten years later the total number of Mennonites in Canada fell by almost 8% to about 191,000, mostly in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Quebec. Ontario saw a strong increase, and in Alberta their number increased slightly because of the return of thousands of Mennonites from South America. It was also recently reported that some 2,000 *Aussiedler* (emigrants from the former Soviet Union) who had lived for a while in Germany have settled in southern Manitoba since ca. 2000.¹⁷⁸ (See below for a detailed description of the various groupings)

Table 17 Numerical distribution of Mennonites, for Canada and the provinces and territories¹⁷⁹

	1971	1981	1991	2001
Canada	168,150	189,370	207,970	191,465
Newfoundland and Labrador	45	90	30	10
Prince Edward Island	15	5	20	10
Nova Scotia	90	220	560	790
New Brunswick	90	180	240	155
Quebec	655	1,075	1,665	425
Ontario	40,115	46,485	52,645	60,595
Manitoba	59,555	63,490	66,000	51,540
Saskatchewan	26,315	26,265	25,240	19,570
Alberta	14,645	20,540	22,330	22,785
British Columbia	26,520	38,895	39,055	35,490
Yukon	55	45	110	40
North West Territories	45	80	85	50
Nunavut				10

According to Statistics Canada, of the 191,465 Mennonites across Canada 29,550 were immigrants in 2001.¹⁸⁰ 8,525 Mennonites had arrived in Canada before 1961 and 1970, another 3,070 came between 1961 and 1970, 4,155 between 1971 and 1980, 6,240 immigrated between 1981 and 1990, 3,405 in the five years between 1991 and 1995, and 4,160 between 1996 and 2001; 995 Mennonites were non-permanent residents. In the decade between 1991 and 2001, more than half of the newly arrived Mennonites went to Ontario (4,130), 545 to Manitoba, 125 to Saskatchewan, 1,055 to Alberta, and 535 to British Columbia. These new arrivals have been referred to several times as the reason for the strong growth of German as a mother tongue and a home language.

In 2001, the median age of Mennonites was 32 years. Of the 191,470 Mennonites across the country, 26% were children between 0 and 14 years of age, and another 15% were between 15 and 4 years old. These ratios are substantially higher than in the general population where 19% were children in the lower and 13% in the higher age group in 2001.

Table 18 Numerical distribution of Mennonites by age groups, for Canada and selected provinces¹⁸¹

	Age groups					
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65-84	85+
Canada	50,290	29,025	51,875	37,540	20,650	2,090
Alberta	6,955	3,370	6,645	3,830	1,870	120
B.C.	7,940	5,010	10,005	8,150	4,000	380
Saskatchewan	4,010	2,930	4,970	4,300	2,955	405
Manitoba	12,070	7,630	13,710	10,765	6,590	775
Ontario	18,895	9,905	16,105	10,150	5,135	405
New Brunswick	15	10	45	55	25	10
Nova Scotia	345	65	215	125	40	0

It is wrong, of course, to presume that all Mennonites speak German. In fact, it was reported above that only 49% of Canadian Mennonites were even of German ethnic origin. The following Table 19 shows the diversity of mother tongues spoken by the Mennonites. It turns out that German was the mother tongue of 45% of Canadian Mennonites in 1991 – in other words, there appears to be a close relationship between

German origin and German mother tongue. Similarly, 12% of the Mennonites claimed Dutch origin, and 12% indicated that they had Dutch as their mother tongue.

Table 19 Mennonites and their mother tongues, for Canada, 1991¹⁸²

Mother tongue		Mother tongue	
Aboriginal	460	Italian	40
Arabic	160	Polish	45
Dutch	2,360	Portuguese	15
English	106,240	Punjabi	30
French	1,360	Spanish	485
German	91,130	Ukrainian	220
Greek	30		

The “Mennonites” are not, of course, a monolithic religious group – on the contrary, because of their respect for local circumstances and spiritual needs there is a huge diversity of Mennonite groupings in Canada, ranging from very traditional to very progressive in their view of the outside world and on church discipline.

More than 100 years ago, the ideal for all Mennonite groups was a rural community based on close, intimate ties of blood, land, and kinship; a community where people respected tradition and preferred to remain and interact with kind and friends of their own group, rather than with strangers in a more urban, cosmopolitan, and less rooted society. As soon as the Mennonites arrived in North America from Central and Eastern Europe in the late 19th century, divisions began to appear between the traditionally oriented and progressive factions. These divisions have not abated. In the period after World War II, progressive Mennonites – those now more open to contact with outsiders and who exercise little collective discipline any longer (e.g., Mennonite Church, General Conference Mennonites, Mennonite Brethren) – have left the rural community for the opportunities of the city. Often these moves are associated with higher education and upward social mobility.

More culturally conservative Mennonite groups (e.g., the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite; the Old Order Mennonites; Old Colony Mennonites, the Reinland Mennonite Church) – who are less open to outsiders, retain a higher degree of control over individual members, and take pains to maintain clearer boundaries between themselves and the larger society around them – hold more firmly to tradition in general and to the ideal of maintaining the rural community.¹⁸³

The maintenance of the German language among these diverse groups also varies greatly; differences and implications will be discussed in the section on Ontario below.

Due largely to the resettlement of the *Umsiedler* from the Soviet Union and thousands of returnees from South America, the number of Mennonites who use German regularly has risen in recent years. However, in the urban areas, the impetus for German language maintenance has shifted from the churches to other organizations, such as the German-Canadian Congress and, in Manitoba specifically, the Manitoba Parents for German Education, which are strongly supported by the Mennonites. The Mennonites have also made use of the resources supplied by the Federal Republic of Germany for the encouragement and preservation of the German language.

Although a 1986 study showed that about 50 percent of Canadian Mennonites retained High German and/or Low German skills, the German language among Mennonites who do not live in a viable German community has become a thing of the past. This has meant that for some High German is at best a literary language, learned at school and perhaps used for academic, artistic, or professional purposes. Attempts

have been made to preserve *Plautdietsch* by regularizing its orthography and publishing Mennonite classics.¹⁸⁴

Alberta. According to the Canadian censuses, there were 14,645 Mennonites living in Alberta in 1971, 20,540 in 1981, 22,330 in 1991 and 22,785 in 2001.¹⁸⁵ According to the 2001 Census, there were 22,790 Mennonites living in Alberta, an increase by two percent between 1991 and 2001.¹⁸⁶ Based on 2001 Census data, of the 22,790 Mennonites, 3,085 were immigrants.¹⁸⁷ 800 Mennonites had arrived in Alberta before 1961; between 1971 and 1980 another 215 immigrated, in the following decade 370; between 1981 and 1990 645 Mennonites came to the province, and 1,055 between 1991 and 2001. According to newspaper reports,¹⁸⁸ as many as a thousand Mennonites came to La Crete in northern Alberta from drought-stricken Bolivia in 2001.

In 2001, almost one quarter of the Mennonites lived in the cities like Calgary (3,590) and Edmonton (1,525), but were otherwise spread out over the entire province. Large numbers of mostly conservative Mennonites have settled in the north of the province near Fort Vermilion and La Crete (e.g., in the Mackenzie SM) and in the Grande Prairie region near the Alberta-B.C. border (e.g., Clear Hills MD, East Peace MD, and Greenview MD).

East of Edmonton, Mennonites live in towns such as Tofield and Stettler, and in central Alberta there are large numbers of Mennonites in towns and villages such as Beiseker, Didsbury, and Linden. Other localities with large concentrations of Mennonites can be found in southwestern Alberta (e.g., in Lethbridge, Pincher Creek, Coaldale, Taber, and north to Vauxhall) and southeastern Alberta (Medicine Hat and north to Duchess, Rosemary, and Gem).

Many Mennonites in Alberta still speak German, but not all, of course, do: In 1991, 10,145 Mennonites of the ca. 22,000 Mennonites in Alberta – less than half – said that they had acquired German as their mother tongue.¹⁸⁹ As a matter of fact, in the traditionally Mennonite localities, such as Coaldale, Hanna, Tofield, and Linden, no children were reported by the 1996 Census to grow up with German as their mother tongue, and there were no children in these places who were learning German as their home language. On the other hand, in the Mackenzie MD in northern Alberta – in particular La Crete and its surroundings where conservative Mennonite groups (especially the Old Colony Mennonites¹⁹⁰) have re-migrated from South America in recent years – the 2001 Census found 4,790 Mennonites.¹⁹¹ In 1996, 4,385 persons in that MD stated that they had learned German as their mother tongue, and 3,740 indicated that they used German as their home language. By 2001, the number of residents of the MD with German mother tongue increased to 5,395.

The age distribution of Mennonites in Alberta is strongly skewed in favour of the younger age groups: In 1991, 6,640 Mennonites were children below the age of 15; there were 3,790 persons between the ages of 15 and 24 and another 6,860 between 25 and 44; 3,405 ranged in age between 45 and 64, and 1,630 Mennonites were older than 64.¹⁹²

British Columbia. According to the 2001 Census, 35,490 Mennonites lived in British Columbia, most of them in the Fraser Valley Regional District (N=14,195), the Greater Vancouver Regional District (N=11,095), in the Central Okanagan Regional District (N=1,970), and the Peace River Regional District (N=1,615). Almost one third of all Mennonites in British Columbia resided in Abbotsford alone (N=10,120). Smaller numbers of Mennonites were located in Prince George, Williams Lake, near Terrace in the northwest, on Vancouver Island, and elsewhere. About 22% of the Mennonites in the province were children between 0 and 14 years of age, and another 14% ranged in age between 15 and 24 years.

The earliest Mennonite roots in British Columbia go back to about 1910 when a Mennonite settlement was established at Renata on the Arrow Lakes in southeastern British Columbia. The settlers' source of livelihood was fruit growing and timber processing. In the 1920's thousands of Mennonites from Russia settled in the Lower Mainland: in 1925 Mennonites from the Prairies settled in Chilliwack and the Vanderhoof/Burns Lake area west of Prince George; in 1928 more Mennonites came to Yarrow southwest of Chilliwack (now part of the City of Chilliwack), later near Abbotsford, especially around Clearbrook (now part of the City of Abbotsford). Old Colony Mennonites came to Burns Lake in 1940 and to Fort St. John in 1961.¹⁹³ In 1990, the Old Colony Mennonite Church in British Columbia had three congregations with 700 members in the Christian community.

In 2001, 43% of the Mennonite immigrant population reported to have arrived in Canada before 1961. In each of the following decades an average of 800 Mennonites came to British Columbia, with Vancouver drawing most immigrants.

Dairy farming, fruit growing and poultry raising are still important ways of making a living, but since the 1950s the Mennonites have become more urbanized – and secular – as the Fraser Valley has acquired urban characteristics. Mennonites worship in a variety of languages, including German, English, Mandarin, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Punjabi, Spanish, Russian, Indonesian, Arabic, Farsi, Laotian, Korean, and American Sign Language.¹⁹⁴ German is certainly no longer a major language spoken at home. For example, the 2001 Census recorded 10,120 Mennonites residing in Abbotsford in 2001; there were 6,600 persons with German mother tongue (Mennonites and others), but only 485 persons spoke “only” German at home, and another 560 used “mostly” German as their primary home language.¹⁹⁵

Saskatchewan. Since World War II, the urbanization of Mennonites in Saskatchewan has been increasing as the communities have continued their integration into the mainstream of provincial life. Mennonites have been involved in a wide range of trades and professions, business, the civil service, government services, education, and politics. This development has resulted in an almost total use of English as the first language, especially in the urban areas.¹⁹⁶ Sustained use of German is likely only with the Bergthaler (N=900 in 1990, mostly in the Herbert and Hague areas) and Old Colony Mennonites (1990: 750 members, mostly in the Carrot River area¹⁹⁷; also in Blumenheim near Hague¹⁹⁸).

The number of Mennonites in Saskatchewan has been declining gradually. In 1971, the census recorded 26,315 Mennonites; ten years later 26,265; in 1991 there were 25,240 Mennonites, and 19,570 resided in the province in 2001.¹⁹⁹ There has been some immigration to the province: between 1971 and 1980 there were 105 immigrants, in the following decade another 115, and between 1991 and 2001 another 90 Mennonites immigrated to Saskatchewan. Among the Mennonite population in 2001, all age groups were very well represented:

Of the 19,570 Mennonites reported by the 2001 Census, the vast majority lived in the area encompassing Saskatoon, Corman Park RM, and the towns of Warman, Osler, and Martensville (N=9,340). Another 3,850 Mennonites resided in and near the town and the rural municipality of Rosthern, Laird RM, the town of Hague, and the village of Hepburn. Another 300 lived in the town of Herbert. The old Mennonite settlements located north and south of a line extending from Swift Current to Waldeck and on to Herbert (in Swift Current, Coulee RM, Lawtonia RM, Morse RM, Victory RM and Excelsior RM) are still home to some 1,600 Mennonites.

845 Mennonites resided in Regina; in the region east of Prince Albert lived 915 Mennonites, with large populations in Moose Range RM (N=405), the town of Carrot River (N=180), and the rural municipality of Nipawin (N=115). In addition, smaller Mennonite settlements were scattered across the province.

Manitoba. In the mid-1870s, the Canadian government set aside two large areas in southern Manitoba for Mennonite settlements, the so-called East Reserve (extending from Hespeler [Niverville] in the west to Blumenort in the east and to Landskron and Neubergfeld in the south, and including the communities of Steinbach, Blumengart, Heuboden, Gnadenfeld, and Bergfeld) and the West Reserve (encompassing an area from Morden in the west to Rosenfeld and Halbstadt village in the east and in the south to the U.S. border and including Sommerfeld village, Altona, Winkler, etc.). Most Mennonites still reside in these areas.

For most Mennonite immigrants, maintaining their German language and their culture was of the utmost importance. For some *Russlaender*, “Germanism” was indeed a “holy cause,”²⁰⁰ and some Mennonites even believed that Christianity was tied to German.²⁰¹ This belief had strong roots. For many,

the preservation of the German language, as the preferred language of religious instruction and worship, or as a spiritual, cultural, or ethnic treasure, or simply as the necessary means to communicate with older members of immigrant communities was still a matter of great concern to some Mennonite leaders in the 1930s.²⁰²

Accordingly, the Mennonites established bible schools, published newspapers and journals in German, and finally set up language schools for the children. They also supported the teaching of German in the public schools; earlier private schools had been exclusively been taught in German,

The emphatic insistence on maintaining German as the language of the community was not shared by all Mennonite congregations and individuals. Not only did it hamper the missionary outreach to the neighbors, it also kept the Mennonites in isolation from the world surrounding them. In several congregations, this desire to use German or Low German as a “dike” against the encroachment of the world²⁰³ was quite deliberate. A member reflected publicly on this question:

Could we possibly be using the German language in our church services, not for any love of its aesthetic beauty or its utilitarian values, but rather because it is so effective as a barrier against outside influences and thus a definite help in preserving our religion and culture in pristine purity?²⁰⁴

As early as the 1930s, English became more and more important as the language of the community, but the years after the Second World War brought even greater changes for the Mennonites in Manitoba, namely an end to their previous relative isolation. Modern means of transportation, the increasingly widespread availability of radio and television, the introduction of the large composite school, the disappearance of the small farm, and the resulting exodus of many young people to the city had a strong impact on the Mennonite way of life. The move to the city accelerated the changeover from the German to the English language, just as the loosening of family ties and intermarriage with individuals of non-Mennonite heritage encroached on the common culture.²⁰⁵

By the end of the 1950s, most Canadian Mennonite Brethren congregations had made the transition to English; in the rural areas, German was retained for a longer period of time, and the smaller and more traditional western congregations (e.g., the Old Colony Mennonites and *Reinlaenders* in the West Reserve) kept German worship well into the 1970s.²⁰⁶ German services continue in a number of rural congregations.²⁰⁷ The majority of congregations in the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba had switched to English in the 1960s.²⁰⁸

Driedger’s survey of Mennonites in a Saskatchewan bloc settlement in 1955²⁰⁹ did indeed show that at that time Mennonites, in general, could, and often did, speak Low German at home, in business and at work. Fifteen years later, Anderson²¹⁰ reported that 97% of the Mennonites claimed to be able to speak their mother tongue, and 69% said that they spoke it “frequently” – a finding confirmed subsequently by

Driedger.²¹¹ In 1977, Driedger²¹² was able to observe that the rural Mennonite communities in the former East and West Reserves were still highly German in language and culture. Low German could still be used in all community activities in church, in communication with neighbours, and in business transactions. As a matter of fact, some of the older Mennonites could hardly speak English.

In Winnipeg – the city with the largest Mennonite population in the world – , the situation was markedly different: Although in the mid-1970s cultural identity was still found to be strong among students (79% attended a Mennonite church at least twice a month; 77% chose mostly Mennonites as their best friends, and 79% reported no exogamy in their family), linguistic proficiency was said to be considerably less (44% of the students spoke Low German or German at home). Driedger concluded that adherence to Mennonite culture would likely continue, but that the use of the German language would decline.²¹³

A number of the 38 Mennonite churches in Winnipeg (in 2003, there were over 50²¹⁴ did indeed still hold services in German in the mid-1980s, but much of the business in the city was conducted in English, and English was used with neighbours.²¹⁵ A small-scale revival of the German language occurred in the 1980s as a consequence of the bilingual program sponsored by the Department of Education, but apparently few children of Mennonite Brethren churches attended these classes.²¹⁶

It has been reported that thousands of Mennonite returnees from Latin American countries have settled in Manitoba. More recently, the *Mennonitische Post* reported that more than 2,000 *Aussiedler* from the former Soviet Union, who lived temporarily in Germany, have settled in southern Manitoba.²¹⁷

Ontario. The Mennonites have a long and complex history in Ontario, and their many well-acknowledged sub-groupings make it impossible to make general statements about their desire and success to maintain German. The *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*²¹⁸ distinguishes the following groupings:

1. **The Amish:** The Amish in Ontario, which began as a split-off sect of the Swiss Mennonites during the late 17th century, came to Ontario in 1824 and were soon joined by other Amish folk from Alsace-Lorraine and southwest Germany. Many of them were headed to Waterloo County, first to Woolwich Township and then, in particular, to Wilmot Township (New Hamburg was founded by Amish and Old Order Mennonites in 1837). As more settlers arrived from Europe, the Amish community spread westward to what is now the South Easthope (Perth County) and East Zorra (Oxford County) Townships (1837); they also settled along the Huron Road to Goderich and towards the town of Tavistock.²¹⁹ By 1850 there were about 1,000 Amish in Upper Canada.

The third area in which the Amish settled was in the Hay and Stanley Townships in Huron County (1848) in the vicinity of what today is Zurich. Another congregation was organized in Wellesley Township in 1859. The settlement spread westward toward the town of Wellesley and towards North Easthope in Perth County (1859). Finally, Mornington, Ellice, and Elma Townships were settled in the 1860s and 70s.

In 1886, the rather small groups in Wellesley and Mornington Townships formed the nucleus of what was to be called “Old Order Amish” over the issue of whether to build meetinghouses for worship services. In 1905 a settlement was begun in Canboro Township (Haldiman County), but it did not survive for very long.

From 1953 to 1969 a wave of Amish migration from Ohio resulted in settlements in Aylmer, Chesley, and other parts of the province, such as near Norwich in Oxford County, St. Marys (Lakeside), Gorrie in Huron County, Wallacetown, and another one near Mt. Elgin north of Aylmer. Several other settlements were founded but did not last very long.²²⁰

Today, Amish congregations are located in Aylmer (3), Newton (Steckley District), Chesley (Owen Sound), Tavistock, Linwood, Elmwood, Wroxeter, Wellesley, Baden, Atwood, Brunner, Millbank, Ailsa Craig, Cassel, New Hamburg, Crosshill, Norwich, and Zurich. Their current population is believed to be around 1,500.²²¹

- Among the Amish, the **Old Order Amish** are among the most conservative descendants of the 16th-century Anabaptists. The Old Order are usually distinguished from the Amish Mennonites (now largely absorbed into the Mennonite Church or various conservative Mennonite groups), Beachy Amish, and the New Order Amish by their strict adherence to the use of horses on the farm and as a source of transportation, their refusal to allow electricity or telephones in their homes, and their more traditional standard of dress, including the use of hooks-and-eyes fasteners on some articles of clothing. For many people, “Amish” has become synonymous with “Old Order Amish.” In 1988, the Old Order Amish had about 260 members in five congregations in Ontario (Perth and Waterloo: 3, Elgin: 1, Grey: 1). According to Raber’s 2004 *Almanac*, Old Order Amish congregations are located in Milverton, Green Bush, Kincardine, Aylmer, Victoria County, Owen Sound, Norwich, Mt. Elgin, Lakeside, and Lucknow.²²²
- In 1988, the **Beachy Amish Mennonite Fellowship** had five loosely affiliated congregations in Ontario, located in Mornington Township (Perth County), in Wellesley Township (Waterloo R. M.), and in Red Lake. [1997: nine congregations in Hudson, Sioux Lookout, Red Lake, Dinorwic, Milverton, Brunner, Atwood, Fort Severn, Wellesley, Bearskin Lake (Fellowship).
- The **Conservative Mennonite Conference** was organized in 1910 as the Conservative Amish Mennonite Conference. The word ‘Amish’ was dropped from the name with the adoption of a revised constitution in 1957. In 2001 the only Conservative Mennonite Conference congregation in Canada was the Red Lake Mennonite Church in Red Lake, Ontario.

Amish schools have been established in Aylmer, Chatsworth, Desboro, Kincardine, Millbank, Milverton, Newton, Tiverton, and Wingham.²²³

2. In 1988, there were 181 congregations of the **mainstream and conservative Mennonite and Brethren in Christ** bodies in Ontario, which cooperate closely in the Mennonite Central Committee, Ontario. According to the *Canadian Encyclopedia Online*, there are roughly 2,500 adult Brethren in Christ in Ontario.²²⁴

3. Another major group is the **Ontario Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches** which had 4,019 members in 24 congregations in 1996.

4. The **Old Order Mennonites** in Ontario stem from an 1889 division in the Mennonite congregations in Waterloo County who rejected the then current “modern, evangelistic practices” and wanted to continue to cultivate discipline, obedience, and discipleship, rather than the modern Sunday schools, prayer meetings, and revivals.²²⁵

The main body of the Old Order Mennonites is located in the northern part of Waterloo Regional Municipality and extends about ten miles beyond the boundaries of the county. There are meetinghouses for church services – all in the vicinity of Elmira – in Clear View, Weaverland, Linwood, Conestogo, Peel, Wallenstein, Elmira, North Woolwich, Olivet, Winterbourne, and Martins.²²⁶ A daughter colony, established thirty years ago in the Mount Forest area, has four meeting houses (Westdale, Farewell, Spring Creek, and Cedarview). An additional 90 members reside in five new communities: Chesley, Teeswater, Kinloss (at Holyrood), Dunnville, and Lindsay.²²⁷

In 1990 the group had 2,470 baptized members²²⁸ [2002 membership: 3,000]. Adherents (those under 18) could account for another 2,000.

5. The **Old Colony Mennonites**²²⁹ have their primary roots in those elements of the Flemish congregations of Danzig and West Prussia which, in 1789, founded the Chortitza "Old" Colony in South Russia. In 1875 the first of some 3,200 persons from Chortitza, and its daughter settlement of Fürstenland (established 1864), settled along the Canada-United States boundary in Manitoba, west of the Red River. In 1876 the government of Canada accommodated them by establishing the Mennonite West Reserve of 17 townships (612 square miles/1,620 square kilometers) on their behalf. In Manitoba they proclaimed themselves the *Reinländer Mennoniten Gemeinde*, and set about recreating a cultural landscape characterized by a *Straßendorf/Gewannflur* pattern of occupancy, an internal self-administration in which ecclesiastical authority dominated, and an economy based upon grain crops and livestock. They persisted in viewing themselves, and continued to be viewed by others, as *Altkolonisten* (Old Colonists).

Over the years, the Old Colony Mennonites have tried to stay away from Canadian secular society by moving first to Saskatchewan, then to Alberta; in 1922, the majority of the Manitoba Old Colonists emigrated to Mexico. Until the early 1960s it was possible for the remaining settlers to avoid this threat by homesteading beyond the fringes of built-up settlement, on the agricultural frontiers of northern Saskatchewan and in the Peace River region of Alberta and British Columbia (Carrot River, La Crete, Fort Vermilion, Worsley, Ft. St. John, Burns Lake, Dawson Creek, etc.) When the secular world, and particularly the public schools, penetrated their settlements, the more conservative would move on. Upon the consolidation of the schools and raising of school-leaving age to 16 years in the late 1950s and early 1960s, this strategy was no longer workable, and a substantial number emigrated to new frontiers of settlement in British Honduras [Belize] and the Santa Cruz region of Bolivia.

Despite majority emigration including that of their spiritual leaders, Old Colony Mennonites reorganized and have maintained a presence in all their original areas of settlement in western Canada. Since colonization in Latin America began in the 1920s, there has been a persistent flow of people of Old Colony background to Canada, capitalizing on retained Canadian citizenship or that of immediate forebears. In the 1930s returnees from Mexico tended to relocate in their former home communities, or on the frontiers of settlement, especially in the Peace River country of N.W. Alberta.

In the late 1950s and mid-1960s small numbers of people of Old Colony background from Chihuahua participated in settlement ventures in the Clay Belt of northern Ontario (Matheson), soon abandoned, and in the Rainy River area (Stratton) of Ontario. As of 1990 no further group agricultural settlements had been attempted in Canada by Old Colony Mennonites.

Old Colonists from Mexico began arriving in southern Ontario in 1954. Since the late 1960s the dominant destination in Canada has been the intensive farming and industrial region focusing on the Ontario county of Essex, and the Regional Municipalities of Haldimand-Norfolk and Niagara, where many have become affiliated with the Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference (EMMC).

According to the *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, there are Old Mennonite Colonists in Stratton (Rainy River), Moorefield (Mapleton TWP), Wheatley (Chatham-Kent City), Port Rowan (Norfolk C), and Aylmer (Elgin County).²³⁰ In 1990, the community numbered 4,800 baptized members.

6. The **David Martin Mennonites** originated through division from the Old Order Mennonites by David B. Martin over doctrine, particularly how rigorously to use the ban on matters of church discipline.²³¹ There is a Meetinghouse in St. Jacobs (Woolwich TWP, Waterloo R.M.) and two more in Wallenstein (Mapleton TWP, Wellington County) where German is the language of worship.

7. The **Waterloo-Markham Conference**, founded in 1939 and stemming from the Old Order Mennonites, had 1,035 baptized members in ten congregations and was largely found in the Waterloo area in 1990.²³²

8. In Ontario, **Conservative Churches of Pennsylvania Swiss Mennonite** origin include:

- the Conservative Mennonite Fellowship (founded 1956; 118 members in two congregations in 1997 in Milverton, Parry Sound, Emo).
- The Conservative Mennonite Church of Ontario (founded in 1959; 361 members in nine congregations in 1997 in Baden, New Hamburg, Heidelberg, Fort Stewart, Kippen, Hawkesville, Barwick, Mine Centre, Tavistock). The *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online* also lists Manitou Rapids and Stratton (Rainy River District), Millbank and Carthage (Perth East), Lakeview (Malahide TWP, Elgin), Bancroft (Hastings), Zurich (Bluewater, Huron), Elmira (Woolwich TWP, Water-loo R.M.) as locations of congregations, but some are small and may have disappeared since.
- and the Midwest Mennonite Fellowship whose eight churches in Ontario are part of a 34-congregation fellowship in North America. The Ontario congregations resulted from divisions in the Conservative Mennonite Church and the Old Order Amish.

9. **Reformed Mennonites** have a congregation in New Hamburg and at Stevensville with a membership of 162 in 1988.

10. Southern Ontario is home to various other groups of Russian Mennonite origin, including a congregation of **Sommerfelder Mennonite** immigrants from Mexico. A major movement of Old Colony Mennonites to Canada from Mexico occurred in the 1970s and 1980s. Ontario was home to four such congregations of 1,122 members in 1990. The **New Reinland Mennonite Church** in Leamington and Aylmer, which was formed out of a division within the Old Colony Mennonites in 1984 has three congregations with 464 members (worship in German and English, 464 members).²³³

11. The **Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference**²³⁴ was formed on July 1, 1959 from the Rudnerweider Mennonite Church, which had been organized in 1937. There were a number of factors leading to this reorganization. While the centralized ministry had its strengths, many felt that a more localized leadership would be more effective. The growing diversity in the church made it difficult for all ministers functioning in the circuit to relate well to every community. Increasing urbanization, higher education, the shift to the English language, and new vocational interests among members all contributed to the call for change.

In southern Ontario, the Conference discovered a spiritual need among Mennonite immigrants returning to Canada from Mexico. By the mid-1980s EMMC efforts had resulted in at least six church centers in the Aylmer, Leamington and Kitchener areas. Also by this time the Aylmer Bible School, established to meet the unique needs of these congregations, had been in operation for about a decade.

According to the *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, there are congregations in Aylmer (Elgin County), Tillsonburg (Oxford County), Port Burwell (Norfolk TWP), Leamington (Essex County), Kitchener (Waterloo R.M.), Blenheim and Collingwood (Chatham-Kent City), Palmerston (Town of Minto, Wellington County), and Stratford (Perth County).

12. Other Mennonite churches represented in Ontario include the **Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference** (with congregations in Aylmer, Leamington, and St. Thomas), and **Church of God in Christ, Mennonite**.

The use of German by Ontario's Mennonites. The more conservative Mennonite groups are, by definition, more likely to maintain traditional customs, including the use of German. In southern Ontario today some groups, such as the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite, continue to use Pennsylvania Dutch in everyday communication although English is taught and Standard German is used in church matters; often English is the predominant language in home and community, and a change of language in worship may be inevitable.²³⁵

According to the Librarian and Archivist at Conrad Grebel University College in Waterloo, the only groups that still routinely speak German dialects (Pennsylvania German or Low German) are the Old Order Mennonites, David Martin Mennonites, Old Order Amish and Old Colony Mennonites. Markham-Waterloo Conference Mennonites, Beachy Amish, and some small Amish-Mennonite groups speak a lot of dialect, but English is likely the language of the children in most cases. Some smaller "Russian Mennonite" groups (Evangelical Mennonites, Evangelical Mission Mennonites) would also speak Low German, but again children will probably use English fairly early on.²³⁶

The Old Order Mennonites continue to hold on to the German language or related dialects; Although services are usually in German, the ministers usually preach at least some in English if they realize that there are people in attendance who understand no German.²³⁷ Old Order Mennonite children learn Pennsylvania German as their mother tongue. Before they start school, most of them have learned English as well. All classroom work is conducted in English in Mennonite parochial schools, except for a few hours of German lessons per week. English speaking is recommended on the playground as well.²³⁸ The reason why this group has maintained Pennsylvania German so well is the fact that the languages are kept separate: Pennsylvania German is only spoken and is the language of the home and community. English is read and written and is only spoken when dealing with non-Pennsylvania German-speaking outsiders. According to sociolinguists, this sort of strict "compartmentalization" of the languages is necessary if the languages are to survive alongside one another.²³⁹

The early Amish Sunday schools were German language schools for children and young people. A German ABC reading book was used to teach the German language in most congregations till about 1930. Even though the Amish did not object to having their children taught the English language in the public schools, they were opposed at first to the use of English in their worship services. But soon English became acceptable in Amish worship. Today the only German spoken is perhaps an occasional hymn in some of the congregations.²⁴⁰

Virtually all of the Beachy Amish congregations have made the transition from German to English as the language used during public worship services.

According to the *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, many congregations of the Conservative Mennonite Church of Ontario are holding their worship services in English; in most cases the language of worship cannot be determined. Many Russian Mennonite churches in Canada continue to have German church services, and people still speak German regularly. The younger generations, however, are mostly speaking English.

Old Colony Mennonites from Latin America began to arrive in 1954. Since the late 1960s, the dominant destination has been the intensive farming and industrial region focusing on the County of Essex and the regional Municipalities of Haldimand-Norfolk and Niagara [e.g. Chatham, Aylmer, St. Jacobs, Frogmore]. Most recently, large numbers of Low German-speaking returnees from Mexico, Belize, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay. According to the Regional Manager of the MCC Aylmer Resource Center, at least 10,000 people in the area are estimated to listen to a low-power FM Low German radio station which was put up recently.²⁴¹

Despite having lost the actual dialect, many Ontarians of Mennonite ethnic background maintain some of this accent in their use of the English language. But for most Mennonites of the 1980s, who do not live in a viable German linguistic community, the German language has become a thing of the past. This has meant for some that High German is at best a literary language, learned at school and perhaps used for academic, artistic, or professional purposes. In the case of *Plautdietsch* attempts have been made to retard its loss by regularizing its individualistic orthography and publishing the Mennonite classics of Arnold Dyck and other authors. Some writers, like Rudy Wiebe and Armin Wiebe, have made effective use of *Plautdietsch* in their English novels, the latter by inventive translations of the dialect idiom (referred to as "Flat German") into a comic context not too different from that created by Arnold Dyck in his *Koop en Bua* stories.²⁴²

Thus, while for many the original view that saw a necessary connection between faith and language has largely been overcome, the original "mother tongue", whether Low or High German, is still much in evidence.

The Old Order Mennonites [and Old Order Amish] are triglossic – Pennsylvania German, English and High German. Pennsylvania German is usually only spoken and is the language of home and the community; English is read and written and is only spoken when dealing with non-Pennsylvania German-speaking outsiders. High German – the version of the Luther Bible is only used for religious purposes.²⁴³

The size of the Mennonite population. The number of Mennonites in Ontario has steadily grown since separate records for Mennonites and Hutterites were kept for the first time in 1971. In that year, the Census reported 40,115 Mennonites; in 1981 there were 46,485, ten years later 52,645, and by 2001 the Mennonite population of Ontario increased by 15% to 60,595.²⁴⁴ A large portion of this increase is attributable to immigration: Between 1981 and 1990, 4,130 Mennonites immigrated to Ontario, and another 4,130 arrived between 1991 and 2001.²⁴⁵

More than a quarter of the Mennonite population of Ontario resided in the Waterloo Regional Municipality in 2001 (see Table 20); about 6,000 Mennonites each lived in the Niagara Regional Municipality and in Essex County.

In the Waterloo Regional Municipality, the localities with the largest numbers of Mennonites (see Table ON.23) were Woolwich Township (N=4,270), Wellesley TP (N=4,175), and the Kitchener (N=3,115), Waterloo (2,500), and Wilmot Townships (N=1,835), but the locality with the largest number of Mennonites was the town of Leamington (N=4,385) in Essex County. Other localities with large Mennonite populations were Perth East TP (N=3,165) in Oxford County, Mapleton TP (2,990) in the Halton R.M., the City of Norfolk (N=2,840) in the Haldimand-Norfolk R.M., St. Catharines (N=2,610) in the Niagara RM, and the Township of Malahide (N=2,120) in Elgin County.

Table 20 Counties, divisions, and regional municipalities with a Mennonite population of more than 1,000, for 2001²⁴⁶

	Mennonites
Ontario	60,595
Waterloo Regional Municipality	16,665
Niagara Regional Municipality	6,130
Essex County	5,910
Elgin County	5,060
Wellington County	4,590
Perth County	4,485
Haldimand-Norfolk R. M.	2,890
Huron County	2,195
Oxford County	1,835
Chatham-Kent Division	1,535
Toronto Division	1,240
Grey County	1,110

It is difficult to compare the Mennonite populations of various localities between 1991 or 1996, respectively, and 2001 because almost 600 changes in boundaries and names of localities were made for the census in 2001.²⁴⁷ A good example is Leamington which had 1,385 Mennonites in 1991 and ten years later 4,385: however, it turns out that it was amalgamated with the TP of Mersea before the 2001 census.

A sampling of those localities which did not undergo an administrative change between the two census shows a mixed picture: In Howick TP, the number of Mennonites jumped by 167% from 260 to 695, in Southwest Oxford the increase was 90% (from 150 to 285), and in Wellesley TP the number grew from 3,725 to 4,175 (+12%). In towns and cities like Waterloo, the number also rose by 21% (from 2,065 to 2,500) and in Stratford by 103% from 195 to 395. On the other hand, in Kitchener the number of Mennonites fell from 3,480 to 3,115 (-10%), in St. Catharines by 18%, Niagara Falls by 20%; in some of the rural areas, such as Wilmot TP the number decreased from 1,990 to 1,835 (-8%), in East Zorra-Tavistock TP by 10% and in North Dumfries by 33%.

New Brunswick. The number of Mennonites in New Brunswick is small, totalling 150 in 2001. They had been living there for a long time, but only 10 of them were immigrants who had immigrated before 1961.²⁴⁸

There were Mennonites living in Campbellton (N=35) and Addington Parish (N=10) nearby in Restigouche County; in Moncton (N=20), the town of Riverview (N=10) and the village of Petitcodiac (N=20) to the east of Moncton; and in the Johnston (N=15) and Kingsclear (N=10) Parishes in the Fredericton-Oromocto area.²⁴⁹ But it not at all clear to what extent these Mennonites are of German origin.

According to the *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia*, there are Mennonite churches in Lower Sackville, Dartmouth (closed down a few years ago²⁵⁰), Moncton, Campbellton, and Petitcodiac.²⁵¹ Localities where Mennonites had settled showed substantial numbers of older German mother tongue speakers: In Johnston Parish, all German mother tongue speakers in 1996 were 55 or older; the same was true in the town of Riverview and the village of Petitcodiac. Only in Kingsclear Parish west of Fredericton were the ca. 30 German mother tongue speakers distributed over the entire 25 to 65 age group. Table NB.10 shows that German is virtually not spoken as a home language in these areas.

All Mennonite churches in New Brunswick, except Petitcodiac, belong to the Mennonite Brethren congregation. They are relatively new plants, and German is not spoken in any of their churches. Almost 100% of these congregations do not have an ethnic Mennonite German background; they are locals from the Maritimes who were attracted to the MB denomination through the efforts of church planters, and the pastors do not have Mennonite background themselves.²⁵²

The church in Petitcodiac belongs to the Mennonite Church Canada. Its congregation was founded by five families who from there from Ontario. About half of the pioneers had ethnic Mennonite background, but only one or two have a knowledge of German. A number of families have since joined the congregation, some of whom speak German, but German is not spoken in church. At least three families immigrated from Germany some time ago, and occasionally after the service a few of the German speakers will carry on a conversation in their mother tongue.²⁵³

It may be concluded that German does not play a significant role in New Brunswick's Mennonite community.

Nova Scotia. According to the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Mennonites came first to Nova Scotia in 1954, and in the 1980's two colonies of conservative colonies were established in the province; more than 30 families of the *Kleine Gemeinde* from Belize settled at Northfield, ca. 40 km southwest from Truro in East Hants MD. Several families of the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, also purchased farms near Tatamagouche,²⁵⁴ west of Pictou.²⁵⁵

The Northumberland Church of God in Christ, Mennonite Congregation, began services in 1985. In 1996 there were 34 members; in 2000, the congregation had 40 members.²⁵⁶

The 2001 Census recorded 795 Mennonites living in Nova Scotia, 100 of whom were immigrants. 55 had arrived in the 1980s, another 40 in the 1990s, and 40 between 1991 and 1996.²⁵⁷ The Census showed 55 Mennonites residing in Subdivision B of Colchester County where Tatamagouche is located, and another 10 Mennonites in Pictou.²⁵⁸ There were also 15 Mennonites living in Antigonish, 10 in Cumberland County, and 30 in Truro. Significantly larger numbers of Mennonites were found in East Hants MD at Northfield (N=235), in Kings County, Subdivision A and C (N=175), 275 in Halifax RGM, and 10 persons in Annapolis, Subdivision A. Almost half of the members of the Mennonite community were youngsters between the ages of 0 and 14.

Quebec. In 2001, there were 425 Mennonites in Quebec, 325 of whom lived in Montreal.

The Hutterites

The Hutterites appeared as a distinct group in Canadian censuses in 1981 for the first time; previously they had been included with Mennonites or other religious groups (see Table 21). They numbered 16,530 in 1981, 21,495 in 1991 and 26,295 in 2001 – an increase by more than 22%. Most Hutterite colonies are located in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba; there are two colonies in British Columbia, and a few individuals in Ontario.

Table 21 Numerical distribution of Hutterites, for Canada and the provinces and territories²⁵⁹

	1971	1981	1991	2001
Canada	13,650	16,530	21,495	26,295
Newfoundland and Labrador	0	0	0	0
Prince Edward Island	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	3	0	0	0
New Brunswick	0	0	0	0
Quebec	175	5	20	0
Ontario	260	105	0	55
Manitoba	4,790	5,940	7,445	8,795
Saskatchewan	2,215	2,980	3,950	4,895
Alberta	6,100	7,395	9,980	12,330
British Columbia	75	100	95	220
Yukon	0	0	0	0
North West Territories	0	0	0	0
Nunavut				0

It has been shown in this study that the rate of German language maintenance among the Hutterites – facilitated by their relative isolation from the surrounding world – is very high. As a group, they also enjoy a very high growth rate. In 2001, the median age of Hutterites was 22.2 years, in British Columbia an astounding 15.5 years. Across the country, 9,615 of the 26,300 Hutterites (=37%) were children below the age of 15, another 18% were between 15 and 24 years of age. In other words, 55% of the Hutterite population of Canada was less than 25 years of age, compared to 32% of the general population:

Table 22 Numerical distribution of Hutterites by age groups, for Canada and selected provinces²⁶⁰

	Age groups					
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65-84	85+
Canada	9,615	4,685	6,880	3,765	1,265	85
B.C.	105	35	60	15	0	0
Alberta	4,540	2,300	3,160	1,685	605	40
Saskatchewan	1,785	835	1,305	690	265	20
Manitoba	3,155	1,515	2,330	1,375	390	35

This age distribution clearly has an impact on the extent to which German will be spoken on Hutterite colonies in the future as well as on the state of German as a mother tongue and home language in the provinces where they are located.

Hutterites use a dialectal variant of German on the colonies while High German is taught in the colonies' schools.

Alberta. According to the censuses, there were 6,100 Hutterites in Alberta in 1971, 7,395 in 1981, 9,980 in 1991, and ten years later 12,330 Hutterites resided in the province. Of the latter, the great majority lived in the south of the province: in the Lethbridge area (N=ca. 4,400), the Medicine Hat area (N=1,680), the Calgary area (N=2,000), east of Drumheller (N=400), in the Red Deer region (N=2,200), north and east of Edmonton (N=1,100), and in the Grande Prairie area (N=400). Twenty colonies were founded between 1996 and 2000²⁶¹: two in the Medicine Hat area, eight around Lethbridge, four in the Drumheller area, three near Red Deer, two east of Edmonton, and one north of Grande Prairie.

There has been some immigration of Hutterites to Alberta. According to the 2001 Census, of the 12,330 Hutterites in the province, 200 were immigrants. 95 had entered Alberta before 1961; subsequently, about 20 Hutterites have immigrated every decade.²⁶²

British Columbia. In 2001, there were two Hutterite colonies in British Columbia, one of them located in the Peace River District in the province's northeast near Farmington with 120 members (by 2003 there were two colonies²⁶³), the other one in the Okanagan Similkameen district south of Princeton (100 members).²⁶⁴

Saskatchewan. Currently existing Hutterite colonies have been founded in Saskatchewan from the 1950s on. The 1971 Census, which for the first time counted Hutterites separately from Mennonites, recorded 2,215 Hutterites; their number increased to 2,980 ten years later, to 3,950 in 1991, and 4,895 in 2001.²⁶⁵ In 2003, there were 60 colonies in Saskatchewan,²⁶⁶ most of them located in the western half of the province bordering Alberta.

Manitoba. The Hutterite presence in Manitoba goes back to the fall of 1918 when first a few – and soon almost all seventeen – original Hutterite communities in South Dakota migrated to Canada because they did not perceive their religious and political beliefs to be sufficiently respected and safeguarded in the U.S. when anti-German and anti-Kaiser feelings ran high, and Hutterite men were brutally mishandled at induction centres. They settled in southern Alberta and rural Manitoba, especially in the rural municipality of Cartier west of Winnipeg; between 1918 and 1922 nine colonies were founded in Manitoba and fourteen in Alberta.^{267 268}

The Hutterites were no strangers to Canada. As early as 1873 they had visited Manitoba, and later again in 1899, when they considered seriously emigrating from the U.S. in the event that military conscription became an issue during the Spanish-American War. In 1898, a colony was set up east of Dominion City on the Roseau River, but this group returned South Dakota in 1905 when the threat of conscription had passed.²⁶⁹ In the 1930s, some hostility arose against the Hutterites because of their substantial land purchases that allegedly resulted in a decline of the rural population and of rural prosperity. Although this sentiment was not as strong in Manitoba as it was in Alberta – where the 1942 Land Sales Prohibition Act prevented the sale of land to “enemy aliens, Hutterites, and Doukhobours” – and fewer restrictions were imposed, it persisted into the 1940s and 50s and, sporadically, beyond.

According to Peters' estimate,²⁷⁰ there were 3,059 Hutterites in Manitoba in 1957. In 1958, there were 25 colonies in Manitoba; the R.M. of Cartier west of Portage la Prairie alone had ten colonies, and the rural municipality of Portage la Prairie was second with five Hutterite communities. The 1971 Census showed that 4,790 Hutterites in the province; by 1981 their number had risen to 5,940, and to 7,445 by 1991. By 1993, there were circa 90 Hutterite colonies in Manitoba, most of them located in the region between Portage la Prairie and Winnipeg, and the others spread over much of the province.²⁷¹ Between 1996 and 2001 at least 12 colonies were founded (two in Franklin RM, two near the town of Carman, and one each near Somerset, Neepawa, Elkhorn, Oak River, Portage la Prairie, Petersfield, Hazelridge, and Piney). In 2001, 8,795 Hutterites in Manitoba lived on 101 colonies.²⁷²

Ontario. According to the 2001 Census, there were 55 Hutterites in Ontario, 15 in the town of Richmond Hill and 40 in the City of Toronto.²⁷³ Ten of them came to Ontario in the period from 1991 to 1995.²⁷⁴ Tourist guides occasionally refer to market days in St. Jacobs where Hutterites are selling meat, but these persons more likely belong to a different groups, such as the Old Order Mennonites. No other information is available.

NOTES

- ¹ This paper is an updated and expanded version of the final chapter, “The Dynamics of Language maintenance,” in Manfred Prokop and Gerhard Bassler, *German language maintenance: A handbook* (Sherwood Park, 2004).
- ² Census of Canada (henceforth cited as CC) 2001, 97F0007XCB01002, CC 2006: 97-555-XCB2006007. Note 1: Chinese, not otherwise specified.
- ³ Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population, Statistics Canada catalogue no. 97-555-XCB2006016.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Manfred Prokop, *The German language in Alberta. Maintenance and teaching* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990), pp. 82-94.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ The large 75+ age group for German mother tongue speakers in Norfolk County is probably due to the older Mennonite returnees from Central and South America.
- ⁹ Personal communication from Abe Harms, Regional Manager of the MCC Aylmer Resource Centre. Received on June 2, 2004.
- ¹⁰ CC, Vol. XIII, p. 551.
- ¹¹ Alberta Department of Education, *Annual Report*, 1903, p. 50; *AR*, 1919, p. 69; *AR*, 1920, pp. 92-93.
- ¹² Earl Clifford Stacey, ed., *Beaverlodge to the Rockies* (Beaverlodge: Beaverlodge and District Historical Association, 1974), p. 298.
- ¹³ Earl Clifford Stacey, ed., *Early Furrows* (Provost: Senior Citizens Club of Provost, 1977), p. 381.
- ¹⁴ John Kralt, “Language in Canada,” CC 1971, Vol. V, Part I (Bull. 5.1-7), p. 24.
- ¹⁵ Kralt, pp. 72-73.
- ¹⁶ CC 1981, 99-935, n.p.
- ¹⁷ Jean-Pierre Corbeil and Christine Blaser, Demography Division, Statistics Canada: The Evolving Linguistic Portrait, 2006 Census: Findings. Catalogue no. 97-555-XWE2006001.
- ¹⁸ For present purposes, a “German” is someone who considers himself, or is considered by others, to be German. Among the criteria for referring to someone as being of German origin include having a connection with German culture, speaking the German language, or having ancestors who lived in Germany or an area which at that time was part of Germany or was otherwise considered German. In a broader sense, the term refers to all who learned German as their mother tongue. – For various attempts at defining “German,” see, for example, Manfred Richter, “Who are the German-Canadians?” in Peter Liddell (ed.), *German-Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches* (Vancouver: CAUTG, 1983), pp. 42-48. In addition to discussing the difficulties involved in interpreting census statistics, Richter reviewed various approaches to defining an ethnic group. Leo Driedger (“In Search of Cultural Identity Factors: A Comparison of Ethnic Students,” *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12, 1975, 150-162) identified six cultural components in the definition of a cultural group, viz. language use, endogamy, choice of friends, religious denomination, parochial schools, and voluntary organizations. Alan B. Anderson and James S. Frideres (*Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives*, Toronto: Butterworths, 1981, p. 40) maintained that cultural groups can be defined by ethnic origin, ethnic-oriented religion, and folkways, i.e., the practice of certain customs unique to the group. David Artiss (“Who Are the German-Canadians—One Ethnic Group or Several?” In Peter Liddell (ed.), *German-Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches*, Vancouver: CAUTG Publications, 1983, pp. 49-55) struggled with the difficulties in defining what is “German.” He suggested four tests of “German-ness”: historical, linguistic, cultural, and geographic. In relation to Lunenburg’s history, Artiss would have us ask this question: “Has this piece of land been owned and occupied by German settlers and their descendants uninterruptedly from the first days of colonization until now? If the answer is yes, may we not describe the present occupiers as German-Canadian, whether they speak German or not?” (p. 55). The difficulties inherent in dealing with immigration statistics and in defining “German” were also discussed at length by Gerhard P. Bassler, “German Overseas Migration to North America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Recent Research from a Canadian Perspective,” in Hartmut Froeschle, ed. *German-Canadian Yearbook*, Vol. VII (Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada Inc., 1983), pp. 8-21.
- ¹⁹ Joshua A. Fishman’s (1966) *Language Loyalty in the United States. The maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups* is the definitive pioneering work on language

maintenance. Among many other issues, it explores the characteristics of ethnic groups and the impact of ethnic-language media, schools and churches on individuals and groups, and examines interacting language maintenance contexts and processes in the family and the ethnic organization. For German, Heinz Kloss contributed an immensely readable chapter on “German-American language maintenance efforts” (pp. 206-252); see Notes 6 and 7. In *The survival of ethnic groups*, Jeffrey Reitz (1980) focussed on ethnic community formation, ethnic group cohesion, and the economic position of ethnic groups. See also David Bobaljik et al. “A preliminary bibliography on language endangerment and preservation” (1996) for an extensive bibliography on language endangerment, esp. pp. 193-212.

²⁰ See, for example, CC 1961, Vol. VII, Bull. 7.1-5, p.24) and CC 1971, Vol. V, Bull. 5.1-9.

²¹ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1961, Vol. VII., Bull. 7.1-5, p. 24.

²² See CC 1931, Vol. 7, Table 69; CC 1931, Vol. 7, Table 49; CC 1941, Vol. 7, Table 12; CC 1951, Vol. 4, Table 12; CC 1961, Vol. 3.1, Table 21; CC 1971, Vol. 3-3, Table 4; CC 1981, 92-918, Table 1; CC 1986, 93-154, Table 2; “Immigration Statistics,” annual reports (Ottawa: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Statistics Section); Canada. Statistics Canada, CC 1971, Vol. V, Bull. 5.1-9, Chart 10. For a detailed analysis of Canadian immigration policy between 1951 and 1957 and the occupational characteristics of the German immigrants see Ron Schmalz, “A Statistical Overview of the German Immigration Boom to Canada, 1951-1957,” in Lothar Zimmermann and Hartmut Froeschle (eds.), *German-Canadian Yearbook*, Vol. XVI (Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada, 2000), pp. 1-38.

²³ See discussion in Jetske Klatter-Folmer and Sjaak Kroon, “Introductory remarks on Dutch as an immigrant language” in Jetske Klatter-Folmer and Sjaak Kroon (eds.), *Dutch overseas. Studies in maintenance and loss of Dutch as an immigrant language* (Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1997), pp. 1-19; the “Dutch-Canadian can be considered a ‘vanishing species’, as his language (H. Ganzevoort, “The Dutch in Canada: the disappearing ethnic.” In R.P. Swierenga, ed., *The Dutch in America. Immigration, settlement and cultural change*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1985), pp. 224-239. Michael Clyne and Anne Pauwels (“Use, Maintenance, Structures, and Future of Dutch in Australia, in Klatter-Folmer and Kroon (eds.), pp. 33-49) have shown that “the Dutch have consistently experienced the highest rate of language shift to English [in Australia] of any of the larger ethnic groups. In 1991 it was 57% in the first generation, 88.7% in the second where both parents were Dutch, and 97.5% in the second generation where only one parent was Dutch.” (p. 35). See also Clyne and Pauwels’ (pp. 38ff.) detailed discussion of factors promoting language maintenance or language shift.

²⁴ Adapted from CC 1971, Bull. 5.1-9, Table 16.

²⁵ Heinz Kloss, “German-American language maintenance efforts,” in Fishman (1966), pp. 206-252, observed that “we can only (at best) expect the children of immigrants, but *never their grandchildren* to consider German as their native tongue” (p. 214). Ursula Irwin (“A study of German language maintenance in the San Francisco Bay area,” M.A. thesis. San Francisco: San Francisco State University, 1985) confirmed this observation in her investigation. She noted, however, that “a rekindling of interest seems to take place in the fourth and fifth generations which may, perhaps, be related to current interest in one’s ethnicity” (p. iii).

²⁶ Kloss identified a number of factors that influence language maintenance, six of which are said to contribute directly to language maintenance:

- religio-societal insulation,
- time of immigration: earlier than or simultaneously with the first Anglo-Americans,
- existence of language islands,
- affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools,
- pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts, and
- former use as the only official tongue during pre-Anglo-American period.

Nine other factors—which according to Kloss may work either for or against language maintenance—are:

- high educational level of immigrants:
- low educational level of immigrants,
- great numerical strength,
- smallness of the group,
- cultural and/or linguistic similarity to Anglo-Americans,
- great cultural and/or linguistic dissimilarity between minority and majority,
- suppression of minority tongue(s),
- permissive attitude of majority group,

- sociocultural characteristics of the minority group in question (pp. 206, 209-213).
- ²⁷ The Volga Germans settled in compact colonies and were isolated from the remaining population and could thus preserve more easily their dialects, customs, and traditions. The Black Sea Germans, on the other hand, adopted a system of entailed estates, bought additional land and had closer contacts with the native population (James Long, *The German-Russians: A Bibliography*, p. 4). Settlers in other areas, such as the Bukovina or Volhynia were even less isolated.
- ²⁸ Arthur Stelter from Volhynia, in Yedlin, ed., *Germans from Russia in Alberta: Reminiscences* (Edmonton, CEESA, 1985), p. 3 remembers that “[if] you were German speaking, the top authorities at that time were the Lutheran Church officials. German Lutherans, however, could not try to convert any of the Russians. This was not allowed and both the Russians and Germans would go to jail. Their lives in general were very separate. They went to separate schools even though the Germans eventually had to also teach Russian in their schools.”
- ²⁹ “[My father said] that the Ukrainians who lived there were very backward. He said that they knew absolutely nothing about farming. He said the only things that Germans ever learned from Ukrainians was how to cross swamps” (Arthur Stelter, in Yedlin, p. 2).
- ³⁰ This love for the German language and German culture was then transferred to Canada; the German-language newspapers at that time were full of exhortations to the immigrants and their children not to abandon their linguistic and cultural heritage. See the review of such arguments by Kurt Tischler (“The efforts of the Germans in Saskatchewan to retain their language before 1914,” in Hartmut Froschle, ed., *German-Canadian Yearbook*, Vol. VI. Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada Inc., 1981, p. 43).
- ³¹ See Tischler (1981, p. 42) for an account of Anderson’s and Driedger’s hypothesis about why the Mennonites lost the Dutch language in their move to Germany, but not the German language in their move to Russia: “They speculate that when a minority exists where the majority is considered by the minority to be more advanced in culture and education, the minority will become linguistically assimilated. However, when the minority considers its own culture to be superior to that of the majority, they will retain their language.”
- ³² See, for example, Elvire Eberhardt, *The Bessarabian German Dialect in Medicine Hat, Alberta*. Ph. D. dissertation (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1973), pp. 20-21.
- ³³ See, for example, “Edward Wolter from Volhynia,” in Yedlin, p. 111; “Bernhard Krueger from Solonovka,” p. 160, and “Jacob Eichele from Ochakov,” p. 177.
- ³⁴ “[After World War I], pupils were sent to public schools where they came into closer contact with English, and no doubt felt the suspicion their language aroused in their classmates. One might conjecture that before long they became infected with the notion that German was in some way inferior and so adopted English enthusiastically” (Richard d’Alquen, *Phonology of the Galician dialect of Stony Plain, Alberta*. M.A. thesis (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1962), p. 7; see also Gerda Alexander, *Three German dialects in Barrhead, Alberta*. M.A. thesis (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1975), p. 8.
- ³⁵ Alexander, p. 8; “Arthur Stelter from Volhynia,” in Yedlin, p. 25.
- ³⁶ Yedlin, p. xv.
- ³⁷ “At the public school, German was prohibited from being spoken on the school grounds, because ‘the war was on’” (“Arthur Stelter from Volhynia,” in Yedlin, p. 16); Bertha Knull from Volhynia remembers these times: “The war years were difficult years for the Germans. They were not allowed to speak German in public, but some of the people couldn’t speak English, so they spoke German anyway. One time I was talking to my husband in German in a restaurant and they came over to tell me to stop. I was about to answer them when a lawyer we knew came over and said I shouldn’t say anything. In the countryside it was different. It wasn’t too bad in Leduc, but we heard that it was bad in Edmonton. They hated the Germans there (“Bertha Knull from Volhynia,” in Yedlin, p. 55).”
- ³⁸ For example, in the case of German Catholics, Lutherans, Baptists and Moravians, but not with the Mennonites who came in large groups (Yedlin, p. xiii).
- ³⁹ Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies. A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 262.
- ⁴⁰ “The war years really hastened the process of assimilation. . . The German people settled in little colonies at first, but the schooling in English and the war years really broke up the group and ethnic identity” (“Joe Frison from Selz,” in Yedlin, p. 69).
- ⁴¹ For a detailed description of the role of the churches in German language maintenance in Alberta see Prokop, *The German language in Alberta. Maintenance and teaching*, pp. 116-137.
- ⁴² This point is repeatedly made in the *Germans from Russia in Alberta* and elsewhere, for instance, by “George Webber from Norka, Volga Region,” in Yedlin, p. 41; by “Julius Oswald from Volhynia,” *ibid.*, p. 31; Alexander,

- p. 8; d'Alquen, p. 6. Joe Frison from Selz reported that "the first generation of men picked up English through interaction with others. They became involved with municipal politics—town counsellors, etc. and were able to function fairly well in English. In his own family, despite the fact that he married a German-speaking woman, they did not speak German with the children, except when the grandparents were around" (in Yedlin, p. 68). Eberhardt provides the following description: "For some years, a few of the men worked in [Medicine Hat] until farming sustained the family. Thus almost all men of this group understand English and speak it to some degree, but the women who spent most of their life at home often have no knowledge of English. Families of this type have moved to the city only at retirement age and still associate mainly with German speakers" (Eberhardt, pp. 25-26).
- ⁴³ Minnie Grunwald from Volhynia reminisces: "I learned a little English from the young people when I arrived in Canada. But I studied English with my children. I would look at the books they brought home and help them with their school work" (in Yedlin, p. 48). Erdman Rosenau (in Yedlin, p. 64) tells how his mother did not see any need to learn English. She said that she had lived in Russia without learning Russian, and did not see why she had to learn English.
- ⁴⁴ "When my children went to school we tried to speak English at home as much as possible so that they could learn the language better. There were some in our district, however, that were against the use of English in the home and would not let their children use it. Later the children had a terrible time when they had to use English" ("Minnie Grunwald from Volhynia," in Yedlin, p. 48); "We spoke German at home until the kids went to school and then we tried to speak English.... We spoke English so that when the girl started school she would know how to speak English. She learned it quickly" ("Bertha Knull from Volhynia," in Yedlin, p. 54).
- ⁴⁵ See, for example, "Julius Oswald from Volhynia," in Yedlin, p. 30.
- ⁴⁶ See several statements to this effect in Eberhardt, p. 174, and Alexander, p. 11.
- ⁴⁷ Friesen, p. 267.
- ⁴⁸ Friesen, p. 268.
- ⁴⁹ Kate Burrige, "Steel tyres or rubber tyres—Maintenance or loss: Pennsylvanian German in the 'horse and buggy communities' of Ontario," in David Bradley and Maya Bradley (eds.), *Language endangerment and language maintenance* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), pp. 216-217.
- ⁵⁰ Friesen, p. 271.
- ⁵¹ Alan B. Anderson, *Assimilation in the block settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan*. Ph.D. Dissertation. (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1972, pp. 366-367.
- ⁵² Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Canadian Immigration and Population Study: Three years in Canada. Vol. IV. First report of the longitudinal survey of the economic and social adaptation of immigrants* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1975), Table 11.11.
- ⁵³ Canada, *Canadian Immigration and Population Study*, p. 109.
- ⁵⁴ Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Canadian Immigration and Population Study: Three years in Canada. Vol. IV. First report of the longitudinal survey of the economic and social adaptation of immigrants* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1975), Table 11.11.
- ⁵⁵ K.G. O'Bryan, J.G. Reitz, and O.M. Kuplowska, *Non-official languages: A study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1976).
- ⁵⁶ O'Bryan et al., p. 100-101.
- ⁵⁷ Raymond Breton, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach, and Jeffrey G. Reitz, *Ethnic identity and quality. Varieties of experience in a Canadian city*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). For a review of studies on the development of ethnic identity over three generations see Isajiw in this volume (pp. 38-48).
- ⁵⁸ Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Ethnic identity retention," in Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz (1990), pp. 34-91.
- ⁵⁹ Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Identity and identity retention among German Canadians: Individual and Institutional," in Angelika E. Sauer and Matthias Zimmer (eds.), *A chorus of different voices. German-Canadian identities*. New York: Peter Lang, 1998, p. 76.
- ⁶⁰ Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a multicultural society* (Ottawa, 2003), Cat. No: 89-593-XIE. Additional tables were provided by the authors, Carole Sawaya and Jennifer Chard at Statistics Canada, for whose generous assistance the author wishes to express his gratitude. For details on the *Survey* see <http://www.statcan.ca/english/sdds/4508.htm>.
- ⁶¹ *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, p. 8.
- ⁶² Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002 (unpublished data). Notes: 1. Responses from 40 ethnic groups (single and multiple responses) were collected by the *Survey*; data refer to the non-Aboriginal population aged 15

- and over. In the following tables, only the highest- and lowest-scoring groups are reported. 2. Row totals may not add to 100% because the categories “not asked”, “refused” or “don’t know” are not reported here. 3. In several instances the *Survey* recommended “caution” in the interpretation of the data. See source document for details.
- ⁶³ “Immigration Statistics”, annual reports (Ottawa: Department of Citizenship and Immigration); Table 051-0006 – Immigrants to Canada, by country of last permanent residence.
- ⁶⁴ Canada. Statistics Canada, CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004.
- ⁶⁵ See Table LM.3. A “-“ denotes data considered by the *Survey* too unreliable to be published.
- ⁶⁶ See Table LM.4.
- ⁶⁷ See Table LM.4.
- ⁶⁸ See Table LM.4.
- ⁶⁹ *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, pp. 9-10.
- ⁷⁰ See Table LM.3. Sample item: “Using a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is not important at all, and 5 is very important, how important is it for you to carry on ethnic customs and traditions, such as holidays and celebrations, food, clothing or art?”
- ⁷¹ “Most of the Low-German speaking people in southern Ontario would be newcomers that have come from Mexico, Belize, Bolivia, Paraguay or perhaps even Uruguay. We just recently put up a low-power FM Low German radio station and we estimate that at least 10,000 people could understand us.” (Personal communication from Abe Harms, EMMC, received on June 2, 2004). It has also been estimated that some 2,000 Mennonites returning from Latin America have settled in the Taber and La Crete regions of Alberta. In the former, the school systems are finding it difficult to integrate the children because of their lack of knowledge of English.
- ⁷² David Bradley, “Language attitudes: The key factor in language maintenance,” in David Bradley and Maya Bradley, eds., *Language endangerment and language maintenance* (New York: Routledge Courzon, 2002), p. 1.
- ⁷³ O’Bryan et al., p. 75.
- ⁷⁴ O’Bryan et al., p. 88.
- ⁷⁵ O’Bryan et al., pp. 95-96.
- ⁷⁶ O’Bryan et al., p. 88.
- ⁷⁷ O’Bryan et al., pp. 106-107.
- ⁷⁸ Ruth Gump, “Language loss and language retention among German post-war immigrants in Vancouver, 1945-1971,” in Hartmut Froeschle (ed.), *German-Canadian Yearbook*, Vol. XIV (Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada, 1995), pp. 75-88.
- ⁷⁹ O’Bryan et al., pp. 46-48.
- ⁸⁰ O’Bryan et al., p. 49.
- ⁸¹ Jeffrey G. Reitz, “Language and ethnic community survival,” in Raymond Breton, ed., *Aspects of Canadian Society* (Canadian Sociological Association, 1974), p. 111.
- ⁸² Quoted in Leo Driedger and Peter Hengstenberg, “Non-official multilingualism: Factors affecting language competence, use and maintenance.” Paper presented at the eighth biennial conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, Montreal, October 1985.
- ⁸³ O’Bryan et al., p. 55.
- ⁸⁴ O’Bryan et al., p. 56.
- ⁸⁵ *Canadian Immigration and Population Study: Three years in Canada*, p. 99.
- ⁸⁶ *Canadian Immigration and Population Study: Three years in Canada*, p. 104.
- ⁸⁷ O’Bryan et al., pp. 61-66.
- ⁸⁸ Adapted from Tables 4.25 and 4.26 in O’Bryan et al.
- ⁸⁹ *Alberta Herald*, “Sprechen Sie Deutsch!”, October 29, 1909, p.1.
- ⁹⁰ *Alberta Herald*, “Sprich deutsch!”, March 23, 1911, p. 3.
- ⁹¹ Elizabeth Gerwin, A survey of the German-speaking population of Alberta. M.A. thesis (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1938), pp. 59-67.
- ⁹² O’Bryan et al., pp. 120-121.
- ⁹³ O’Bryan et al., pp. 125.
- ⁹⁴ O’Bryan et al., pp. 123-124.
- ⁹⁵ Beatrice Stadler, *Language maintenance and assimilation: The case of selected German-speaking immigrants in Vancouver, Canada* (Vancouver: CAUTG, 1983).
- ⁹⁶ Stadler, p. 22.
- ⁹⁷ Stadler, pp. 30-34.

- ⁹⁸ Stadler, pp. 36-37.
- ⁹⁹ Stadler, p. 39.
- ¹⁰⁰ Stadler, p. 40.
- ¹⁰¹ Stadler, pp. 43-44.
- ¹⁰² Stadler, p. 16.
- ¹⁰³ Stadler, pp. 50-58.
- ¹⁰⁴ Stadler, p. 83.
- ¹⁰⁵ Prokop (1990), pp. 99-102.
- ¹⁰⁶ The data reported in this section are from Alberta alone. However, there are two studies using 1986 Census data which examined the issue of transmission of German as a mother tongue to children between the ages of 0 and 14, both considering only transmission from mother to child. Harrison (1990) found that German ranked 16th (with 26% transmitting German only to their children) after Italian (38%) and before Ukrainian (20%) and Dutch (8%). 69% of the children in the German group adopted English only, compared to 49% of the Italians and 76% of the Ukrainians and 89% of the Dutch (p. 38, Table 9). Kralt and Pendakur (1991), using 1986 data for Canada excluding Quebec, found a transmission rate of 27.4% for the Germans, 30.8% for the Italians and 8.2% for the Dutch (Table 13a).
- ¹⁰⁷ Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "The process of maintenance of ethnic identity: The Canadian context," in Migus (1975), pp. 226-227.
- ¹⁰⁸ Roma Chumak, "Language behaviour in the Ukrainian home: An interactional perspective," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *Osvita. Ukrainian Bilingual Education* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, 1985, pp. 187-190).
- ¹⁰⁹ Reitz, p. 120.
- ¹¹⁰ Reitz, p. 115.
- ¹¹¹ Prokop (1990), pp. 104-108.
- ¹¹² Number of students in high school German 10, 20, and 30: 134 students; in private schools: 84; in bilingual schools: 93; in non-credit pre-school and elementary courses in private language schools: 86.
- ¹¹³ For a review of recent studies of ethnic identity maintenance and heritage language retention see Henry P. H. Chow (2001).
- ¹¹⁴ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1921, Vol. II, p. xvii.
- ¹¹⁵ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1931, Vol. I, p. 246.
- ¹¹⁶ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1941, Vol. I, p. 258.
- ¹¹⁷ Prokop (1990), p. 86.
- ¹¹⁸ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1931, Vol. XIII, p. 552.
- ¹¹⁹ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1931, Col. XIII, p. 681.
- ¹²⁰ Prokop (1990), pp. 86-87.
- ¹²¹ Canada. Statistics Canada, CC 1971, Vol. V, Part 2 (Bull. 5.1-9).
- ¹²² Kralt and Pendakur, p. 13.
- ¹²³ Kralt and Pendakur, p. 12.
- ¹²⁴ Corbeil and Blaser, op. cit.
- ¹²⁵ Stadler, p. 39.
- ¹²⁶ Prokop (1990), p. 90.
- ¹²⁷ Prokop (1990), p. 85.
- ¹²⁸ As recently as 1999, Kalbach and Kalbach (1999) observed in their analysis of 1991 Census data that there was a strong positive relationship between ethnic identity and "ethnic connectedness": Almost 19% of German Lutherans, Mennonites and Hutterites reported to speak German at home, compared to .7 and 1.4% of ethnic Germans belonging to the two major Canadian churches, the Anglican and the United Church (p. 89). It could be argued, however, that pooling urban and rural Lutherans together with the Mennonites and even the Hutterites is an obvious weakness in the design of the study. Interestingly, Kalbach and Kalbach found that greater ethnic connectedness among the "Germans" was associated with a low level of educational achievement, low occupational status, and low family income – all three could be said to be characteristics of Mennonites and certainly of Hutterites.
- ¹²⁹ Gerwin, p. 146. See also R. Breton, "Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants," in B. R. Blishen (ed.), *Canadian society: Sociological perspectives* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 77-94.

- ¹³⁰ David Millett, "Religion as a source of perpetuation of ethnic identity," in Migus (1975), p. 105.
- ¹³¹ O'Bryan et al., p. 18.
- ¹³² Millett (1975) suggested that the introduction of linguistic diversity in the churches may well have been intentional, for it justified their further existence (pp. 106-107).
- ¹³³ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1931, Vol. XIII, p. 552.
- ¹³⁴ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1941, Vol. I. 258.
- ¹³⁵ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1931 Census, Vol. I, p. 252.
- ¹³⁶ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1961, Bull. 7.1-9, pp. 9-29.
- ¹³⁷ Prokop (1990), 1990.
- ¹³⁸ Anderson, 1972.
- ¹³⁹ O'Bryan et al., pp. 106-107.
- ¹⁴⁰ J.T. Borhek, "Ethnic group cohesion," *American Journal of Sociology*, 76 (1), 1970, 32-46.
- ¹⁴¹ O'Bryan et al., p. 166.
- ¹⁴² Martin Turcotte, "Passing on the ancestral language." *Canadian Social Trends* (Spring 2006), p. 22. Statistics Canada – Catalogue No. 11-008.
- ¹⁴³ Turcotte, p. 25.
- ¹⁴⁴ Prokop (1990), pp. 90-92.
- ¹⁴⁵ Stadler, p. 48.
- ¹⁴⁶ O'Bryan et al., p. 166.
- ¹⁴⁷ Warren E. Kalbach and Madeline A. Richard, "Ethnic-connectedness: How binding is the tie?" in Tova Yedlin (ed.), *Central and East European ethnicity in Canada: Adaptation and preservation* (Edmonton: CEESSA, 1985), pp. 99-109.
- ¹⁴⁸ Oleh Wolowyna, "The effects of intermarriage on bilingual education among Ukrainian Canadians," in Lupul (1985), p. 208.
- ¹⁴⁹ Prokop (1990), pp. 92-93.
- ¹⁵⁰ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1931, Vol. XIII, p. 546.
- ¹⁵¹ *Origin, birthplace, nationality and language of the Canadian people*. A Census study based on the Census of 1921 and supplementary data (Ottawa, 1929), p. 121.
- ¹⁵² Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1931, Vol. XIII, p. 679.
- ¹⁵³ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1961, Vol. 7.1-6, p. 35.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Origin, birthplace, nationality and language of the Canadian people*. (A Census study based on the Census of 1921 and supplementary data (Ottawa, 1929), Table 60; CC 1931, Vol. 13, pp. 546; Enid Charles, *The changing size of the family in Canada* (Census Monograph 1) [based on 1941 Census data] (Ottawa, 1948), p. 55, Table XXIII; CC 1951, Vol. III, Table 144; CC 1961, Vol. 7.1-6, p. 36; CC 1971, Vol. 5.3-3, Table 8. Notes: 1. The definition of endogamous marriage changed over time. 1921: endogamous marriages among parents of children "born in the registration area;" 1931: percentage of males who married within their race; 1941: percentage of fathers of legitimate children married to mothers of the same racial origin; 1951-71: husbands married to wives of the same ethnic status. 2. Slavic. 3. Scandinavian.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Origin, birthplace, nationality and language of the Canadian people*, p. 118.
- ¹⁵⁶ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, CC 1951, Vol. III, Table 144.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Origin, birthplace, nationality and language of the Canadian people*. (A Census study based on the Census of 1921 and supplementary data (Ottawa, 1929), Table 60; CC 1931, Vol. 13, pp. 546; Enid Charles, *The changing size of the family in Canada* (Census Monograph 1) [based on 1941 Census data] (Ottawa, 1948), p. 55, Table XXIII; CC 1951, Vol. III, Table 144; CC 1961, Vol. 7.1-6, p. 36; CC 1971, Vol. 5.3-3, Table 8. Note: 1. The definition of endogamous marriage changed over time. Note 2: 1941: percentage of fathers of legitimate children married to mothers of the same racial origin.
- ¹⁵⁸ W.E. Kalbach, *The impact of immigration on Canada's population* (Ottawa, 1970), pp. 332-335.
- ¹⁵⁹ Kalbach, p. 335.
- ¹⁶⁰ Based on Table 5.46 in W. E. Kalbach, *The impact of immigration on Canada's population* (Ottawa, 1970), p. 335.
- ¹⁶¹ Stadler, p. 31.
- ¹⁶² Prokop (1990), p. 100.
- ¹⁶³ Prokop (1990), p. 101.

- ¹⁶⁴ Brian Harrison, "Passing on the language: Heritage language diversity in Canada," *Canadian Social Trends* (Statistics Canada, Cat. 11-008, Autumn 2000), p. 17.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid. Note: Children aged 5 to 14, single responses only.
- ¹⁶⁶ Robert Swidinsky and Michael Swidinsky, "The determinants of heritage language continuity in Canada: Evidence from the 1981 and 1991 Census," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 29(1), 1997.
- ¹⁶⁷ Corbeil and Blaser, op. cit.
- ¹⁶⁸ See Sally Boyd for a review of the more recent literature on the contribution of mothers and fathers to the children's acquisition of a minority language ("A minority language as mother tongue or father tongue. Does it make a difference? In Tom Ammerlaan, Madeleine Hulsen, Heleen Strating, and Kutlay Yagmur (eds.), *Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives on maintenance and loss of minority languages* (Münster: Waxmann, 2001), pp. 33-45.
- ¹⁶⁹ Stephen A. Wurm, "Strategies for language maintenance and revival," in David Bradley and Maya Bradley (eds.), *Language endangerment and language maintenance* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), p. 14.
- ¹⁷⁰ Heinz Kloss, "Der sprachrechtliche Rahmen," in Leopold Auburger, Heinz Kloss, and Heinz Rupp (eds.), *Deutsch als Muttersprache in Kanada. Berichte zur Gegenwartssprache* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), pp. 53-57.
- ¹⁷¹ Richard Y. Bourhis, "Acculturation, language maintenance, and language shift," in Jetske Klatter-Folmer and Piet Van Avermaert (eds.), *Theories on maintenance and loss of minority languages* (Münster et al.: Waxmann, 2001), pp. 5-37.
- ¹⁷² Bourhis, pp. 21-32.
- ¹⁷³ Bourhis, p. 24.
- ¹⁷⁴ Prokop (1990), pp. 15-16.
- ¹⁷⁵ CC 2001, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/concepts/definitions/ethnicity.htm>.
- ¹⁷⁶ CC 1971, Vol. 1.4-7, Table 18.
- ¹⁷⁷ CC 1991, Catalogue 93-319, Table 6.
- ¹⁷⁸ Kennert Giesbrecht, "Tausende Deutsche in den letzten Jahren nach Südmanitoba gezogen," *Die Mennonitische Post*, July 4, 2003.
- ¹⁷⁹ CC 1971, Vol. 1.3-3, Table 10; CC 1981, Vol. 1, Catalogue 92-912, Table 2; CC 1991, Catalogue 93-319; CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004; Table 075-0016 – Historical statistics, principal religious denominations of the population. Note: Mennonites in Canada before 1961: 1901 (N=31,797), 1911 (N=44,625), 1921 (N=58,797), 1931 (N=88,837), 1941 (N=111,554), 1951 (N=125,938), 1961 (N=152,452). Mennonites were included with the Baptists in 1871 and 1881. In 1891, they were included in "other" denominations. Between 1901 and 1961 they included the Hutterites.
- ¹⁸⁰ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004.
- ¹⁸¹ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01002.
- ¹⁸² CC 1991, Catalogue 93-319, Table 7.
- ¹⁸³ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Rural Life." <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/R86ME.html>. Accessed on August 25, 2003.
- ¹⁸⁴ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "German language." <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/G476ME.html>. Accessed on August 25, 2003.
- ¹⁸⁵ CC 1971, Vol. 1.3-2, Table 10; CC 1981, Vol. 1, Catalogue 92-912, Table 2; CC 1991, Catalogue 93-319; CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004; Table 075-0016 – Historical statistics, principal religious denominations of the population.
- ¹⁸⁶ CC 2001, Census of the Population (Provinces, Census Divisions, Municipalities: Housing costs and Religion. Alberta. E-STAT.
- ¹⁸⁷ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004, Alberta.
- ¹⁸⁸ *National Post*, July 2, 2002.
- ¹⁸⁹ CC 1991, 93-319, Tables 6 and 7.
- ¹⁹⁰ Diether Götz Lichdi and Loretta Kreider (eds.). *Mennonite World Handbook. Mennonites in Global Witness* (Carol Stream, Ill.: Mennonite World Conference, 1990), p. 406.
- ¹⁹¹ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004; Table 075-0016 – Historical statistics, principal religious denominations of the population.
- ¹⁹² CC 1991, 93-319, Table 2.

- ¹⁹³ Calvin Wall Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites. Dilemmas of ethnic minority life* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 20.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Language." <http://www.mhsc.ca/mennos/clanguage.html>. Accessed on March 12, 2004
- ¹⁹⁵ CC 2001, B.C., *Income and Social and Economic Characteristics of Individuals, Families and Households; Housing costs and Religion*.
- ¹⁹⁶ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Land distribution (Canada and Latin America," <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/L323ME.html>. Accessed on September 29, 2003.
- ¹⁹⁷ However, the 1996 Census reported only 15 persons in Carrot River who spoke German as their home language.
- ¹⁹⁸ The Old Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan has four congregations with 750 members in the Christian community. See Calvin Wall Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites. Dilemmas of ethnic minority life* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 408.
- ¹⁹⁹ CC 1971, Vol. 1.3-3, Table 10; CC 1981, Vol. 1, Catalogue 92-912, Table 2; CC 1991, Catalogue 93-319; CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004; Table 075-0016 – Historical statistics, principal religious denominations of the population.
- ²⁰⁰ Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982), p. 518.
- ²⁰¹ T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970: A people transformed* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 313.
- ²⁰² Regehr, p. 231.
- ²⁰³ William Neufeld, *From faith to faith. The history of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church* (Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1989), p. 209.
- ²⁰⁴ Quoted in Regehr, pp. 312-313.
- ²⁰⁵ Gerhard Lohrenz, *The Mennonites of Western Canada* (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers Ltd., 1974), p. 43.
- ²⁰⁶ Regehr, p. 314.
- ²⁰⁷ Personal communication from Lawrence Klippenfeld (November 23, 2003).
- ²⁰⁸ Anna Ens, *In search of unity. Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1996), p. 118.
- ²⁰⁹ Leo Driedger, A sect in a modern society: The Old Colony Mennonites of Saskatchewan. University of Chicago: Unpublished M.A. thesis, 1955.
- ²¹⁰ Alan Anderson, Assimilation in the bloc settlements of North-Central Saskatchewan: A comparative study of identity change among seven ethno-religious groups in a Canadian Prairie region. University of Saskatchewan: Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1972.
- ²¹¹ Leo Driedger, "Mennonite change: The Old Colony revisited, 1955-77," *Mennonite Life*, 32, 1977, 4-12.
- ²¹² Leo Driedger, *Mennonite identity in conflict* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988), p. 124.
- ²¹³ Driedger, 1988, p. 176.
- ²¹⁴ Personal communication from Lawrence Klippenfeld (November 24, 2003).
- ²¹⁵ Driedger, 1988, p. 124.
- ²¹⁶ Neufeld, p. 210.
- ²¹⁷ Kennert Giesbrecht, „Tausende Deutsche in den letzten Jahren nach Südmanitoba gezogen,“ *Die Mennonitische Post*, July 4, 2003.
- ²¹⁸ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Ontario," <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/O5830ME.html>. Accessed on September 13, 2003. Locations of the various congregations were identified by a search of the entire website of the *Mennonite Historical Society of Canada*.
- ²¹⁹ Names and dates of Amish settlement areas have been taken from Orland Gingerich, *The Amish of Canada* (Waterloo, Conrad Press, 1972), 29-39.
- ²²⁰ Gingerich, pp. 162-164.
- ²²¹ The *Canadian Encyclopedia Online* reports 1,000 baptized persons (<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0000071>. Accessed on May 12, 2004).
- ²²² Raber's *Almanac* (Baltic, OH: Raber's Book Store, 2004), pp. 75-76. Personal communications from David Luthy, Director of the Heritage Historical Library in Aylmer. Received on June 15 and July 5, 2004.
- ²²³ CC 2001, <http://80-www.statcan.ca.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/english/concepts/ESIS/institution/institution22.htm>
- ²²⁴ *Canadian Encyclopedia Online*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0000978>. Accessed on May 11, 2004.

- ²²⁵ Isaac R. Horst, *A Separate People. An insider's view of Old Order Mennonite customs and traditions* (Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 2000), p. 29.
- ²²⁶ Horst, p. 18.
- ²²⁷ Horst, p. 30.
- ²²⁸ Diether Götz Lichdi and Loretta Kreider (eds.), *Mennonite World Handbook. Mennonites in Global Witness* (Carol Stream, Ill.: Mennonite World Conference, 1990), p. 408.
- ²²⁹ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Old Colony Mennonites," <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/O533ME.html>.
- ²³⁰ Lichdi and Kreider (eds.), pp. 405, 407.
- ²³¹ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "David Martin Old Order Mennonite Meetinghouse (St. Jacobs, ON)," <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/D27.html>.
- ²³² Lichdi and Kreider (eds.), p. 405.
- ²³³ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Ontario," <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/O5830ME.html>.
- ²³⁴ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference," <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/E9365ME.html>.
- ²³⁵ Gingerich, p. 174.
- ²³⁶ Personal communication from Sam Steiner, Librarian & Archivist at the Conrad Grebel University College. Received on May 18, 2004.
- ²³⁷ Horst, p. 35.
- ²³⁸ Horst, p. 220.
- ²³⁹ Kate Burrige, "Steel tyres of rubber tyres—Maintenance or loss: Pennsylvanian German in the 'horse and buggy communities' of Ontario," in David Bradley and Maya Bradley (eds.), *Language endangerment and language maintenance* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), pp. 216-217.
- ²⁴⁰ Gingerich, pp. 69, 110.
- ²⁴¹ Personal communication from Abe Harms, Regional Manager of the MCC Aylmer Resource Centre. Received on June 2, 2004.
- ²⁴² *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "German language," <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/G476MEhtml>.
- ²⁴³ Burrige, pp. 210-211.
- ²⁴⁴ CC 1971, Vol. 1.3-3, Table 10; CC 1981, Vol. 1, Catalogue 92-912, Table 2; CC 1991, Catalogue 93-319; CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004; Table 075-0016 – Historical statistics, principal religious denominations of the population.
- ²⁴⁵ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004, Ontario.
- ²⁴⁶ CC 2001, Income and Social and Economic Characteristics of Individuals, Families and Households; Housing Costs and Religion, Ontario (Census Subdivisions), E-STAT.
- ²⁴⁷ For details see <http://stds.statcan.ca/english/sgc/2001/2001-sgc96-to-sgc01.asp>.
- ²⁴⁸ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004.
- ²⁴⁹ CC 2001, Census of the Population (Provinces, Census Divisions, Municipalities: Housing costs and Religion. New Brunswick. E-STAT.
- ²⁵⁰ Personal communication from Pastor Werner De Jong, Petitcodiac Mennonite Church, received on September 24, 2003.
- ²⁵¹ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Atlantic Provinces." <http://www.mhsc.ca>. Accessed on August 22, 2003.
- ²⁵² Personal communication from Pastor Werner De Jong, Petitcodiac Mennonite Church, received on September 24, 2003.
- ²⁵³ De Jong. The view that very few if any members of the congregations in Campbellton, Halifax, and Riverview (part of Greater Moncton) speak German at home or anywhere else is confirmed by Pastor Scott Mealey, pastor of the Pool in Moncton.
- ²⁵⁴ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, "Atlantic Provinces." <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/A85ME.html>. Accessed on August 22, 2003.
- ²⁵⁵ In 2000 there were three congregations in New Brunswick and two in Nova Scotia (Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, "Atlantic Region Mennonite Brethren congregations," <http://www.mbconf.ca/mbstudies/holdings/ma/conf.en.html>. Accessed on September 23, 2003).

- ²⁵⁶ *Canadian Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, “Northumberland Church of God in Christ, Mennonite (Tatamagouche, NS),” <http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/N67866.html>. Accessed on September 23, 2003.
- ²⁵⁷ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004
- ²⁵⁸ CC 2001, Census of Population; Income and Social and Economic Characteristics of Individuals, Families and Households; Housing Costs and Religion; Nova Scotia: North Shore, Annapolis Valley, Halifax. E-Stat.
- ²⁵⁹ CC 1971, Vol. 1.3-3, Table 10; CC 1981, Vol. 1, Catalogue 92-912, Table 2; CC 1991, Catalogue 93-319; CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004; Table 075-0016 – Historical statistics, principal religious denominations of the population. Note: The Hutterites were included with the Mennonites between 1901 and 1961.
- ²⁶⁰ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01002.
- ²⁶¹ Ibid.
- ²⁶² CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004.
- ²⁶³ *James Valley 2003 Address Book*. (James Valley, MB: James Valley Book Centre, 2003).
- ²⁶⁴ 2001 Census of Population (Provinces, Census Divisions, Municipalities): Income and Social and Economic Characteristics of Individuals, Families and Households; Housing Costs and Religion. Peace River D and Okanagan Similkameen A.
- ²⁶⁵ CC 1971, Vol. 1.3-3, Table 10; CC 1981, Vol. 1, Catalogue 92-912, Table 2; CC 1991, Catalogue 93-319; CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004; Table 075-0016 – Historical statistics, principal religious denominations of the population.
- ²⁶⁶ *James Valley 2003 Address Book* (James Valley, MB: James Valley Book Centre, 2003).
- ²⁶⁷ Victor J. Peters, All things common: The Hutterites of Manitoba. M.A. Thesis. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba, 1958, p. 34ff.
- ²⁶⁸ See John Ryan, *The agricultural economy of Manitoba Hutterite colonies* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), p. 278ff, for the names and locations of Hutterite colonies in Manitoba.
- ²⁶⁹ John A. Hostetler, *Hutterite society* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 126.
- ²⁷⁰ Peters, p. 105.
- ²⁷¹ Map of Hutterite Colonies of Manitoba, 1993.
- ²⁷² Map of Hutterite Colonies of Manitoba (Hawley, MN: Spring Prairie Printing, 2000); *James Valley 2003 Address Book* (James Valley, MB: James Valley Book Centre, 2003).
- ²⁷³ CC 2001, Income and Social and Economic Characteristics of Individuals, Families and Households; Housing costs and religion. Ontario. E-STAT.
- ²⁷⁴ CC 2001, 97F0022XCB01004.