Introduction

This reference book deals with the lives and work of hundreds of pastors in eleven religious groups who have ministered to their German-speaking congregations in Alberta since the 1880s and have provided spiritual guidance and comfort. In their dedication the pioneering pastors often not only served, but led, bringing their faithful to Alberta and assisting them in establishing their families in the new homeland. They preached and taught, visited and counseled, performed the rites of passage, administered and directed, provided practical leadership in establishing the new congregations and played a pivotal role in developing their internal cohesion. No doubt, these pastors fulfilled an essential function in the settlement history of Albertans of German origin.

Each of the eleven chapters commences with an outline of the early settlement history in Alberta of immigrants of German origin before introducing the German-language pastors themselves.

This Introduction attempts to examine and document in some detail the wider context in which the members of these religious groups and the pioneer pastors came to settle in Alberta (a more exhaustive examination of the issues is available in several books by the compiler on the cultural history of the German-speaking communities in Alberta[1]). Three themes will be addressed: the reasons that brought these families to Alberta from countries in central and eastern Europe, the United States and Canadian provinces; the settlement history of immigrants of German origin in localities across the province and their religious affiliation; and the groups that facilitated their immigration to Canada.

 1. Reasons for emigration to Alberta. Who were these "Germans" who made up almost 11% of Alberta's population by origin in 1911, and what brought them here? Alberta's German-language newspapers in the early 1890s reported regularly and with interest on the arrival of "Germans" in the what would become the province of Alberta in 1905: "German-speaking immigrants arrived in Medicine Hat …," "Another batch of German immigrants from Russia arrived …," "Russian-German immigrants left Russia …," "… a visit to the German colony near Dunmore ..," "The German settlement to the south of Medicine Hat ….," "180 Germans leave Dunmore …," "53 German families from Galicia …" The newspapers were clearly aware of the fact that "the Germans" did not come from the German Empire, but from the Russian and Austrian Empires. Around the turn of the century only about 15% of the immigrants of German origin actually came from Germany; it would take until the 1930s that there was substantial emigration of "Germans" from Germany to Alberta.

1.1 Emigration from eastern and central Europe around the turn of the century. What motivated thousands of families in Galicia, Volhynia and elsewhere in Russia around the turn of the 20th century to pack up and undertake the dangerous journey to a largely unknown, but ostensibly promised land? There were many so-called "push-and-pull factors" that can account for the emigrants' willingness to uproot their families and start over once again. "Push factors" are conditions that drive people to leave their homes, such as scarcity of land, poverty and political or religious persecution. "Pull factors" attract people to a new area, such as the promises of rights and freedoms, land, jobs and opportunities.

1.1.1 Push factors. Among the "push factors" for leaving eastern and central Europe were the ethnic and linguistic tensions between the local and national governments and the population, on the one hand, and the settlers of German descent, on the other. In Russia many people of German origin feared for the survival of their religious and ethnic communities because they had lost their historical special privileges in 1871 (free exercise of religion, freedom of movement, exemption from taxes for many years, local self-government, the right to carry on a business or trade, exemption from military service, and the right to the use of German in churches and schools) that had been given to them "for all time." The systematic

policy of Russification and discrimination against the Germans made living and working conditions ever harder. The number of ethnic Germans after 200 years of supportive immigration under Tsarina Catherine the Great and Tsar Alexander I.—and "benign neglect" throughout this time—was large: By 1897 the number of German settlers in Volhynia numbered 170,000 and 250,00 in the Volga area; according to the first census of the Russian Empire in 1897, about 1.8 million respondents reported German as their mother tongue. Their economic success and constant need for new land brought one third of South Russia's arable land under their control. At the same time, growing conditions had a huge impact on their lives, especially between 1889 and 1892 when the Volga Germans suffered from extremely poor harvests.

The system of land distribution also increased the settlers' "land hunger." The Volga Germans had accepted the Russian *mir* system of communal government; it provided that land was held in common and was re-divided and re-distributed periodically—every 12 years or so—on the basis of the number of male family members, therefore increasing family size and putting even greater pressure on acquiring more land. Among the Black Sea Germans the family land went to one son undivided, which also implied that more land needed to be purchased since every farmer was determined that his sons became farmers as well.

In Austrian Galicia the Polish institutions were increasingly given certain local administrative rights in the second half of the 19th century: they tried to "Polonize" society, discriminated against German speakers in courts and schools and made it hard or impossible to purchase more land. There was already insufficient land to absorb the area's excess population as industrialization lagged far behind other regions in the Austrian Empire. Furthermore, there was pressure on the religious freedom guaranteed by the Holy Roman Emperor of Austria, Joseph II., which extended freedom of worship to non-Catholic Christians living in Habsburg lands.

Similar "push factors" drove emigrants to Canada from the Crimea, the Black Sea and Bessarabia, the Austrian Bukovina and elsewhere.

1.1.2 Pull factors. The "pull factors" for the immigrants in the time between 1880 and 1914 was Canada's wealth of newly opened rich land and the promise of guaranteed rights and freedoms. Following Confederation in 1867, Canada was eager for immigrant settlers to fill the sparsely populated area known at the time as the North-West Territories. Canada had realized that settlers were necessary to create a transcontinental nation and to prevent a—possible—American takeover of unsettled land. Immigration, however, remained negligible. Canada's Dominion Lands Act of 1872 aimed to encourage the settlement of the Prairie provinces. The Act was closely based on the American Homestead Act of 1862 and echoed the American homestead system by offering ownership of 160 acres of free land (except for a small registration fee of $10) to any man over 18 or any woman heading a household who agreed to cultivate at least 40 acres and to build a permanent dwelling within three years. A family with several older sons was thus able to purchase a substantial piece of land (one quarter section each) for $10. This offer of free land proved to be very successful for recruitment in Great Britain, but had only measured success in central and eastern Europe. But from 1896 on, under the Minister of Interior, Lord Clifford Sifton, the Canadian government compelled the Canadian Pacific Railroad to make a final selection of the land that they had been given to compensate it for the loans required to build the railroad. Because the C.P.R. had already sold the best land and the land closest to transportation corridors and had blocked the selling of the other land this move by the government liberated more arable land again near the railroad. Perhaps even more importantly, Sifton also created and staffed a federal department, the Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior. He placed agents on commission, blanketed England, Europe and the United States with "propaganda" in the form of flyers, pamphlets, books and maps, paid commission to shipping agents who delivered agricultural settlers to Canada, encouraged irrigation schemes and encouraged the establishment of highly successful colonization companies. Brochures in German and other languages were distributed in central and eastern Europe, and while many of the immigrants came from Britain and the

United States, Canada also gained from a large influx of Ukrainians, Doukhobors and other groups from the Austro-Hungarian Empire (in Sifton's words, they were "stalwart peasants in sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children"). Of course, potential immigrants of German origin were also tempted by this offer of virtually unlimited free, arable land and good political and economic conditions in Canada.

The decision to emigrate to either the United States or Canada was often made simply because likely emigrants received welcoming letters from those who had already become successful in the United States or Canada, respectively. Thus it happened not infrequently that Germans from Russia emigrated to the U.S. first, and came to Canada later when more good land was made available there. However, immigrants to Canada were sometimes disappointed by the climate, the loneliness of living in a vast, empty country, and sometimes by soil conditions, and emigrated to the U.S.

1.2 Emigration from the United States. Among many Americans of German origin, the push-and-pull factors applied as well, especially those in the first and second immigrant generation. At home many were deeply in debt and were unable to escape the status of farm labourer or tenant because of the high cost of American land by the 1880s. So, many German-Americans in Nebraska and especially the Dakotas sold their farms and hoped to pay off their debts by moving to Canada. There were also German-Americans who had "made it" in the U.S., but wanted to increase their landholdings; they sold everything, moved to Canada and purchased huge tracts of land. While for some immigrants from Europe the growing conditions in Canada seemed forbidding, those coming from Nebraska and the Dakotas were already familiar with the hardships associated with farming on dry land and knew how to make the best of it. German-American immigration began in the early 1890s and reached its peak around 1910. Alberta and Saskatchewan were the preferred destinations.

1.3 Emigration from Germany. There was not much immigration from Germany to western Canada before the turn of the century. In spite of efforts by the Canadian government, few *Reichsdeutsche* chose Canada as their destination. Not only was official recruitment in Germany by the Canadian government prohibited, Germany's rapid industrialization was able to "soak up" the excess workers; as a matter of fact, in eastern Germany a shortage of skilled agriculturalists had begun to appear in the 1880s. Moreover, German farmers did not like the western Canadian steppe: they were used to, and preferred, wooded areas and lots of water. The Germans who did emigrate to Canada went to places such as Wisconsin and not to treeless near-deserts like the Dakotas, and Canada appeared little different from the Great Plains. Canada also had an image problem. It seemed to many to be a backward country compared to America, which like Germany was transitioning from a rural to an industrial society. Many potential German emigrants had higher expectations from life than opening and working the soil.

For Germans willing to emigrate it was not so much the farmers but the skilled workers, craftsmen and trades people who saw opportunities for themselves in the towns and cities. But then young emigrants, who might have had difficulty finding a job in Germany and came to Canada in search for a better life, but often wound up working as day labourers or in various low-skilled jobs.

1.4 Inter-provincial migration. For Ontarians and Manitobans of German origin there was only a pull factor: opportunity–the opportunity for some religious groups to establish new communities for themselves in Alberta, or the opportunity to achieve success in the province's towns and cities. They had already been through the Canadian school system, had many excellent qualifications needed here and consequently saw abundant chances for upward social, economic and political mobility.

1.5 Inter- and post-war immigration. The immigration of persons of German origin to Canada was halted by the First World War. In subsequent years, well-known push and pull factors motivated people of German origin to come to Alberta. There were still thousands of ethnic Germans in central and eastern

Europe in the 1920s and 1930s who tried to escape from oppression and looked for a new home, especially the tens of thousands of Mennonite farmers living in desperate conditions in the Soviet Union. But gradually the characteristics of the immigrant population changed. There were fewer "agriculturalists" seeking land; the new immigrants tended to be skilled labourers, tradesmen, small businessmen and the like. The same immigrant profile applied to immigrants from Germany as well.

When Germans were finally allowed to enter Canada again, first in 1923 and then, more broadly, in 1927, life turned out not to be as easy as they had thought because of the economic misery caused by the Depression. Many became unemployed and were deported from Canada. In 1931 German immigration came to a standstill once more.

Several push-pull factors described above also underpinned the immigration to Canada after the Second World War. Tens of thousands of ethnic Germans from eastern Europe who had been displaced as a consequence of the War sought a home here; moreover, there were thousands in post-war Germany who saw little future in their devastated homeland and so emigrated to Canada, and to Alberta in particular, in the early 1950s.

2. Settlement history of persons of German origin and their religious affiliation. The settlement of Alberta by persons of German origin began in the province's southwest and southeast and then steadily moved northwards. The following table provides an overview of the progress of settlement and the religious groups where they can be readily identified.

	Place of Settlement	Group
1883	Vicinity of Pincher Creek	Lutherans and Catholics from the U.S., Germany, Ontario
1887–	Southern Alberta	German-origin Mormons from the U.S.
1889	Dunmore, Gleichen, Seven Persons	Lutheran and Reformed from Galicia
1889–1896	Josephburg, Beaver Hills, Bruderheim, Hoffnungsau, Rosenthal; Bruederfeld, Wiesenthal, Fredericksheim, Gnadenthal, Lutherhort, Rabbit Hill, Leduc, Wetaskiwin, Bashaw	Galicians from Dunmore; Moravians, Baptists and Lutherans from Volhynia
1892–	Calgary (Riverside, Bridgeland), High River	Volga Germans
1893	Didsbury	Mennonites from Ontario
Ca. 1896	Pincher Creek	American Catholics
1898	Rosenthal, Mewassin district east of Stony Plain	Volga Germans
1899–1903	Spruce Grove, Golden Spike, Gnadenthal, Glory Hills; Clover Bar; area east of Lake Wabamun; increases in Wetaskiwin and Bashaw areas	Volga Germans, Germans from Galicia
Turn of the century	Medicine Hat and the area south towards Cypress Hills	Germans from Bessarabia
Turn of the century	Calgary	Germans from the Caucasus
Turn of the century	Carstairs	Settlers from the U.S.
1902	Vulcan and Champion north of Lethbridge; increase in the urban population of Edmonton; Spring Lake	Catholics from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Austria
1902	East Calgary	U.S., Germany, Ontario
1903	Ardrossan; townships west of Ponoka	
1904	Settlement eastward and westward of the Wetaskiwin area, Pigeon Lake, Daysland, Heisler, Forestburg	
1904	Claresholm, Pincher Creek, Magrath, Milk River area and Leth-	German-Americans

	Place of Settlement	Group
	bridge	
1906–1912	Calgary	Volga-Germans
1907–1908	Central Alberta east of the Calgary-Edmonton line in the Acme, Beiseker, Carbon district	
1906–	Rosenheim, Provost	Catholics from the U.S.
Ca. 1907	Didsbury area	Ontario Mennonites
1908	Cypress Hills and Medicine Hat areas	American Germans and settlers from Saskatchewan
1909–1912	Schuler-Hilda-Burstall area, Altario, Compeer	
1910-1916	Northern Alberta: Friedenstal; Dapp, Freedom; areas west of Edson: Tomahawk, Wildwood, Evansburg, North and South Styal; Wolf Creek, Rosevear, Irvine-Walsh area east of Medicine Hat; Granum, Three Hills, Trochu	Catholics from the U.S. and Germany
Ca. 1910	Swalwell northeast of Beiseker	Manitoba Mennonites
Ca. 1912	South of Tofield	Nebraska Mennonites
1918	Hutterite colonies near Raley, Stirling, Fort MacLeod, Rockyford	Settlers from the Dakotas
1923	Coaldale, Namaka, Rosemary, Duchess, Countess, the Burns Ranch east of Olds; La Glace north of Wembley	Mennonites from the Soviet Union
1927–1929	Peace River area: Athabasca, Northmark, Heart Valley, Goodfare, Fawcett, Newbrook, Hines Creek; Thorsby; Patience and Falun; northwest and southwest of Wetaskiwin; Lavesta west of Ponoka; Alhambra east of Rocky Mountain House	

2.1 Locations of settlement. Settlers of German origin arrived in the southern part of the province first. Subsequent groups of immigrants established themselves near the railroad lines in southern and central Alberta. The north was opened last with substantial numbers of immigrants of German descent from a variety of places.

2.1.1 Southern Alberta. Before the surge of immigration in the late 1880s and early 1890s there was only a handful people of German origin living and working in what would become Alberta. The first well-documented settlement of families of German origin can be dated to 1883 when three families (two from Winnipeg, one from Germany) settled and ranched in an area south of **Pincher Creek**; a few months later another family, this one arriving from Germany, settled nearby, and in ca. 1885 more German Lutherans joined them. In the following few years more "Germans" arrived in Alberta from Ontario and Manitoba as well as from the United States, and a few from Germany. In 1896 German-American Catholics settled in the same area.

The second, much larger, settlement occurred around 1890 south of Medicine Hat. In 1888 a scouting party from Josephsberg and Brigidau in eastern Galicia arrived in southern Alberta and chose the area south of **Dunmore** (near Medicine Hat) for their future settlement. In the following year, 630 settlers reached the area and founded German colonies nearby, Josephsberg and Rosenthal. The majority of these Galician Germans was Lutheran, the remainder were Reformed. They were soon followed by Lutheran Germans from Volhynia. But two years of drought forced the Dunmore settlers to look for land elsewhere, and they selected the area near Edmonton in 1891. Only a few families remained behind and made their livelihood in ranching rather than farming on this dry land. In the late 1890s Lutherans of German origin from Ontario came in large numbers to the Medicine Hat, MacLeod and Lethbridge areas where they ranched. Around 1902 a sizable number of German-Russian homesteaders, mostly Bessarabians, settled southeast of **Medicine Hat** on farmland stretching towards the Cypress Hills.

2.1.2 Calgary area. Lutheran Germans from the Jagodnaya Polyana on the Volga arrived in **Calgary** in 1892; another group, this one from Alexanderdorf in the North Caucasus, followed around the turn of the century. They settled in Calgary's Nose Creek area in what would become Riverside ("Germantown"), north of the Elbow River across from downtown Calgary. Many other Volga Germans settled in the Pine Creek-High River area south of Calgary where they became successful farmers and ranchers.

There were six German-language churches in Calgary around 1910—three Lutheran churches, a German Baptist Church, a Moravian Church and a Congregational Church. Lutheran Church mission work from the Missouri Synod in the Calgary area began as early as 1899 when Rev. Emil Eberhardt from Stony Plain made a trip to southern Alberta to visit Calgary and Pincher Creek. As a result, Immanuel Lutheran Church, the oldest German-language church in Calgary, was founded in 1900. But three synods courted the German immigrants in Calgary, the Missouri Synod, the Iowa Synod and the Ohio Synod. The latter two were doctrinally close and eventually merged. In 1912 an ideological dispute occurred in Immanuel Lutheran Church, resulting in a group of 200 faithful leaving and setting up St. Paul's Lutheran Church. After much acrimony, and a secession of 90 from the 200, the original group organized to form Jehovah Lutheran Church.

Most of the immigrants to Riverside/Bridgeland were Russian-Germans, and understandably they wanted to set up churches similar in the principles of faith to the ones that they had left behind. Their conservative thinking led to the establishment of St. John's in 1909. The congregation preferred membership in the Iowa Synod, which taught the "undefiled and pure doctrine of the Lutheran Church," over the Missouri Synod, which insisted on North American over the European hymnal and traditions. The congregation sought and received a pastor from the Iowa Synod, but after he left no replacement was sent for a long time. Following a brief stint by a pastor from an Iowa Synod church nearby a pastor from the Ohio Synod came to St. John and served the congregation for several years.

The Moravian Brethren's Church was founded in 1902 under the leadership of Reverend Clement Hoyler, the first Moravian Church in Alberta to be established in an urban area. A German Congregational Church, the Ebenezer Congregational Church, was established in Calgary in 1911, and the First German Baptist Church was founded in July 1912.

2.1.3 Edmonton area. The geographical origins of **Edmonton's** German community differed substantially from Calgary's. While Calgary's "Germans" around the turn of the 20th century came mainly from Russia, in Edmonton the immigrants of German origin arrived mostly from Germany and the United States. They tended to gravitate to the downtown, in East Edmonton and, later to Strathcona across the Saskatchewan River. This pattern would hold for decades. Outside of Edmonton, "German" settlers originated from many places in Russia and Galicia in the early settlement period.

Around the turn of the century, numerous congregations of various faiths located in the **vicinity of Edmonton**. In the first decade of the 20th century three German-language Lutheran churches, a German Baptist church and two Moravian churches ministered to the spiritual needs of the faithful. In Strathcona, the history of the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church congregation began in the late 1800's with the immigration of Lutherans from Germany, Poland, Austria and Russia into the Strathcona District. Initially, they settled in communities adjacent to Strathcona, such as Bruderheim and Bruederfeld. By the early 1900s, however, a sufficiently large German population in Strathcona had developed through emigration from the rural areas to warrant the establishment of a Lutheran church there. The first services for what would become St. Peter's Lutheran Church were held in 1894 by Pastor Emil Eberhardt from Stony Plain.

The first churches founded in Edmonton were the First German Baptist Church (1900), Trinity Lutheran Church in Strathcona (1902), St. John's Lutheran Church (1903), St. Peter's Lutheran Church (1904), Strathcona Moravian Church (1905) and the Norwood Moravian Church (1907). It was reported in one of

Alberta's German-language newspapers in 1906 that at least one German-language service per month would be held in the new Immaculate Conception Church.

Three centers of settlement developed outside of Edmonton. To the west, the Lutherans from Galicia founded **Hoffnungsau** (Spruce Grove) and **Rosenthal** (Stony Plain) in 1891 with Rev. Emil Eberhardt and Rev. Ferdinand Pempeit as their pioneering pastors. Subsequently Volga Germans followed into this area. After 1901, immigrants from Galicia established **Golden Spike**, where, around 1910, German families from Russia settled as well.

Large numbers of "Germans" of different faiths settled to the east of Edmonton. Northeast of the city, the majority of the Galician Reformed settled near Josephburg east of Fort Saskatchewan. The **Bruderheim** community was started as a Moravian settlement by German-speaking emigrants from Volhynia in 1895 under the leadership of lay pastor Andreas Lilge who brought them from Volhynia. A few months later the **Bruederfeld** Moravian Church was established. In 1896, the first pastor, the Rev. Clement Hoyler, arrived; he was joined by a co-pastor, the Rev. William Schwarze, both of whom would help the Moravian communities grow and develop. In 1896 Rev. Hoyler helped his countrymen from Volhynia establish **Heimthal.**

The first Baptist settlers from Volhynia came to the **Heimthal** area southeast of Edmonton in 1889. In 1892 Rev. Petereit, the first Baptist missionary, organized the first Baptist church in Alberta at Rabbit Hill south of Edmonton. Under the leadership of Rev. Frederic A. Mueller the Baptist settlers put roots down in the **Leduc** district and in nearby **Wiesenthal** and **Fredericksheim** (1893).

German Lutherans from Volhynia settled in the Leduc-Wetaskiwin area; they founded **Heimthal** near Rabbit Hill and, to the north of it, **Lutherhort** (1892). The area west of Wetaskiwin, which had been settled by Germans from Russia in 1892, continued to grow as a result of the steady influx of Lutherans and Baptists from Volhynia. In 1894 settlers took up land in the area beyond Bittern Lake, west of **Camrose.** Immigration to this area was particularly strong between 1895 and 1905; the region was the chief destination of Germans from Volhynia immigrating to western Canada.

Of course, after the initial establishment of churches by the various faith groups described here many more were founded across the province.

2.1.4 Settlement by Catholics. German-American Catholics moved into the **Pincher Creek** area in 1896 and into the **Spring Lake** area in 1902. In 1902 a large German Catholic colony emerged at Spring Lake near Daysland with settlers coming from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Germany and eastern Austria. A parish was founded there in 1903 by Oblate Father Wilhelm Schulte.

Catholics of German origin put down roots in the area northwest of Edmonton, in St. Albert and **Morinville**. Close by, **Ste. Emerence** located west of Morinville was home to Catholics, all from Germany and Ontario. Father George Nordmann, the first German-speaking Oblate in the country, devoted himself to the missions of St. Albert (1895–1897) and Rivière-qui-Barre (1897–1901).

Settlers from the U.S. homesteaded in the **Rosenheim** area in east-central Alberta starting in 1906, and the building of St. Norbert's Catholic Church in Rosenheim Parish was begun in 1909. It was an extension of the large German Catholic St. Joseph's Colony across the border with Saskatchewan. Both diocesan and Oblate priests looked after the spiritual welfare of the residents.

As good arable land became increasingly scarce in central Alberta from the 1910s on, the **Peace River** area attracted homesteaders. It was then that the first settlers of German origin began to homestead there. Among them was Peter Gans, a Catholic from Rüdesheim in Germany, who became a real pioneer in the Peace River country when he established his home near Fairview in 1910 and founded a Catholic settlement that would be called **Friedenstal.** He worked hard at bringing local Catholic settlers together

for a school district and parish, and soon St. Boniface Church, a landmark of the area, was among the first Catholic church in the Peace River country to be built. Many priests of the Order of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate ministered to their faithful in the **Grouard-Fairview-Friedenstal** area starting with Father Hess before the turn of the century and Fathers Mathis and Wagner in the early 1900s.

2.1.5 Mennonite and Hutterite settlement. Details of Mennonite and Hutterite ministers are not included in this book. Briefly, of the early Mennonite immigrants, few came to Alberta directly. The first major group of Mennonite settlers originated in Ontario. In 1893, Jacob Y. Shantz of Berlin, Ontario (Kitchener) selected **Didsbury** as a suitable location for a Mennonite settlement. In April 1901, Mennonite settlers of "Old" Mennonite Church background from Waterloo County settled nearby in the Carstairs-Didsbury area. Other pioneers came from northern Iowa, Indiana and Michigan. After 1910, Mennonite churches were established by settlers from Iowa and Nebraska near **Tofield**. The majority of the settlers, however, came to the Didsbury area after World War I as part of the Mennonite emigration from the Soviet Union between 1922 and 1927.

From early summer 1918 on, there were occasional reports of "Germans" entering Alberta from the U.S. who bought up huge tracts of fertile farmland in the south near **Raley, Stirling, Fort MacLeod**, some amounting to 5,000 acres in size. These "Germans," the **Hutterites**, were met with great hostility because of their anti-war convictions, their land purchases, and their apparent clannishness and refusal to integrate in Canadian society. After the establishment of six colonies in Manitoba and four colonies in Alberta, the government, under pressure from the local population, stopped the further immigration of Hutterites.

2.1.6 Settlement by other religious groups. After the turn of the century, several other religious groups sprang up in Alberta among settlers of German origin. The **Seventh-day Adventists** arrived in Alberta before the turn of the 20th century. In 1898 the first Adventist church in Alberta was organized in Leduc, and in 1899 the first permanent pastor for German-speaking settlers was posted in Leduc. Around 1905 American preachers from the **German Church of God** came to Edmonton and Calgary to spread the word among the German-speaking settlers. Another Church of God leader arrived from the U.S. in 1907 and visited south-eastern Alberta. He evangelized among the German-speaking immigrants from eastern Europe around Medicine Hat and won many adherents to the Church. **Congregationalism** appealed to Russian Germans, particularly those from Lutheran parishes. They had been raised in a milder Lutheranism than was often encountered in the United States, and some had actually experienced revival and regeneration in Russia. Congregational churches began to be established overwhelmingly in southern Alberta, with the first congregation founded in Calgary in 1911, and many more Congregational churches were subsequently established in the south. After its founding in 1906 in the U.S. the **Pentecostal movement** reached Canada soon, and by 1910 there were Pentecostals on the east and west coasts as well as in Winnipeg and Toronto. Revival meetings and baptisms were held in 1908 in Calgary and in 1918 in Edmonton, especially among people of German origin who had immigrated from the United States. The several congregations of the **Evangelical Reformed Church** were founded at different times. The Stony Plain congregation began its church services in 1898; the Duffield congregation met in the homes of its members from 1900 until 1926 when a building was erected in the Mewassin district. The Spruce Grove congregation was established in about 1907. In Vegreville just to the east of Edmonton two German-Russian congregations were founded, the Salem Reformed Congregation and the Brush Hill Reformed Congregation. The **Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada** had its beginnings in 1902 in the Didsbury area, and preaching took place in the Mayton region in subsequent years. Churches were built in Carstairs, Warner and Medicine Hat, and services were held with groups of German people in Calgary in 1913 and in Edmonton in 1914.

2.1.7 Post-war immigration. The **First World War** ended immigration from Germany. It took until 1923 when most and finally (1927) all restrictions were lifted on immigrants of German origin, and thousands came again from Central and Eastern Europe, this time in significant numbers from Germany as well. Of special note are the Mennonites from Russia in the late 1920s and early 1930s who fled from repression and persecution in the Soviet Union. Bowing to public pressure Canada re-imposed restrictions on immigration of Germans in August 1930; they were further tightened in March 1931, which virtually halted all immigration from the Weimar Republic, including Jewish refugees.

After the **Second World War** persons of German origin who had lived in central and eastern Europe and were displaced by the Soviets were allowed to enter Canada from 1947 on. It took until 1950 when German nationals were admitted to Canada as well. This loosening of restrictions on immigration led to the arrival of thousands of Germans in Alberta.

3. Aiding the emigrants of German origin to settle in Canada. The "Germans," just like other ethnic groups, were assisted in coming to Canada and to Alberta, in particular, and in finding a place to live and work for themselves. Some were for-profit groups, others were run by various religious groups.

In the late 19th century privately owned colonization companies were set up to promote and coordinate immigration and settlement. They usually received blocks of land at reduced rates from the government for their efforts. They published brochures attracting potential settlers' attention, arranged for transportation to the block, helped settlers select land, provided (or helped them buy) equipment and seed for the first crop, and assisted with the construction of homes. Once a group of settlers was established, the surrounding land would become more desirable to other settlers and therefore more valuable to the company.

In the 1880s and 1890s Alberta attracted many investors who saw great opportunities in the development of ranch and farmland in southern Alberta. **Colonization companies**, operating under the auspices of railway companies or the Department of Immigration, were successful in the West because of the massive influx of settlers and the great demand for land, which lasted until World War I. By 1885 four companies (the Stewart Ranche Co., the Military Colonization Co., Quorn and the Alberta Ranche Company) controlled 42% of the leased acreage (883,500 acres). Around the turn of the century, more land development and colonization companies were set up, many from the United States where entrepreneurs had already successfully sold huge tracts of land to settlers and speculators.

Among the companies which settled "Germans" in Alberta before World War I were the following. The **Calgary Colonization Company** was run by three businessmen from North Dakota, led by the vaguely "German" Thomas Beiseker, who bought a large acreage around what today is the town of Beiseker. Between 1907 and 1914 the company sold land to numerous German families from North Dakota and other states, often to religious groups, such as Catholics, Lutherans, Congregationalists and Seventh Day Adventists. The **German-American Colonization Company**, under the presidency of John Steinbrecher, located some 400 homesteads in the Stettler district and purchased and developed land for urban settlers in Calgary's northeast. The **German-Canadian Farming Company** was established to develop an entire colony for German officers and noblemen around 1914 in and near Hussar with farms and residential housing.

By far the largest colonization company was the **Canada Colonization Association**, a subsidiary of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, which virtually developed the Canadian West single-handedly. Its agents operated in many overseas locations as well as in the United States. Immigrants were often sold a package which included passage on a C.P.R. ship, travel on a C.P.R. train and land sold by the C.P.R. Railway. From 1914 on it was run by Rev. Traugott Herzer who had been the first minister of Mount Calvary Lutheran Church in Calgary. He resigned from the ministry in 1914 and joined the Canadian Pacific Rail-

way's Department of Immigration and Colonization. He became a key person in Canada's settlement efforts. From 1925 until his death in 1958 he was the general manager of the Canada Colonization Association. Beginning in 1946 he was treasurer of the Canadian Lutheran World Relief, and in 1947 he became Chair of the Canadian Christian Council for Resettlement of Refugees (see below); the refugees which his work assisted were mainly German-speaking Lutherans and Mennonites. Other pastors were involved as well in helping Lutherans emigrate to Canada; for instance, Rev. Georg Juettner was the manager of the **Canadian Lutheran Immigration Aid Society** between 1930 and 1945.

Following the so-called Railways Agreement with the Canadian Government in 1925, agencies of the Canadian railways in co-operation with Lutheran, Catholic, Mennonite and Baptist immigration boards—the *Lutherische Einwanderungsbehörde von Canada* (**Canadian Lutheran Immigration Board**), the *Volksverein Deutschkanadischer Katholiken* (**Catholic Immigration Aid Society**), the **Mennonite Colonization Board,** the **German Baptist Immigration and Colonisation Society** as well as the **Swiss Settlement Society** and the colonization and development departments of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways—coordinated recruitment in Europe and settlement in Canada. The C.P.R. with its Canada Colonization Association placed immigrants in southern Alberta through local colonization boards while the CNR worked with such boards in northern Alberta. They put company officials in touch with prospective immigrants and sponsors and provided employment for the immigrants on arrival.

After World War II some factors made Germans eager to emigrate from Europe while other factors drew them to Canada. Major push factors were the unsettled economic, social and political conditions in central Europe in the early 1950's, i.e., unemployment due to the large number of refugees waiting to be integrated into the war-ravaged and dislocated economy and the deep fear of a communist advance into western Europe in the wake of the Korean War. Among the pull factors were thousands of German-Canadians willing to sponsor the immigration of relatives from Europe, the opportunities for instant employment in the expanding Canadian economy, and the prospect of personal security in a prosperous and neutral land untouched by war and assured of a great future. The **Assisted Passage Loan Scheme**, introduced in 1950, added further to the attractions of immigrating to Canada. With it, Canada offered interest-free loans to immigrants whose skills were needed; from 1955 on their families were also eligible for the loans. The loans provided for travel costs and required repayment within 25 months after arrival.

The **Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees** made the most significant contribution to German immigration after 1947. By 1950 it had arranged the immigration of 15,000 German-speaking immigrants to Canada, and by 1953 a total of 30,000. The CCCRR was founded in Ottawa in 1947 with the support of the Canadian government by representatives of the Canadian Lutheran, Catholic, Mennonite and Baptist churches, and the Sudeten Germans.

Aside from the CCCRR, the **Canadian Mennonites**, particularly those who had immigrated after the First World War fleeing from repression and persecution in the Soviet Union, managed to bring *Volksdeutsche* to Canada as early as 1947. Because of their own refugee experience, the *Russländer* sympathized greatly with the plight of German-speaking refugees and expellees, and with their efforts were able to prevent the forced repatriation to Soviet Asia of the 10,000 Mennonite refugees who had managed to flee to the western zones of Germany.

4. Creating a spiritual home in Alberta for German immigrants. The mass immigration of German speakers from Europe increased the size of potential membership in all churches, and in some cases revitalized them. Churches that had switched the language of their services to English from the 1930s on now found large numbers of faithful who wanted to listen to the word of God in German. In Edmonton, Pastor Robert Badke, who had to flee with his family from Poland, established **St. Paul's Lutheran**

Immigrant Church under the aegis of the Missouri Synod in 1951; it became the primary spiritual home for many post-war Lutheran German immigrants in Edmonton.

Catholics soon sought to have their own German-language churches. The Pallottines, priests belonging to the Society of the Catholic Apostolate, helped them build churches and communities—the **St. Boniface Catholic Churches**—in Calgary (under the leadership of Father Gemke) and Edmonton (Father Bertsch) in 1956.

After the end of World War II many ethnic **German Church of God** believers from eastern Europe immigrated to Canada. Some previously well-established German Church of God congregations, such as those in Wetaskiwin and Medicine Hat, were greatly revitalized. In other places where only English-speaking Church of God congregations had existed, such as Edmonton and Calgary, new German Church of God congregations emerged. By 1955 the German-speaking congregation in Edmonton was numerically larger than the Englis h counterpart in that city.

The number of German Baptists in Alberta also increased dramatically. The **North American Baptist Immigration and Colonization Society**, founded in 1929, made it possible for thousands of displaced persons to come to Canada, and local pastors facilitated their integration into Canadian society. This new immigration in the 1950s re-Germanized the three oldest German Baptist city churches (Edmonton, Calgary, Medicine Hat).

5. Conclusion. It is hoped that this expansive overview of "German" immigrants to Alberta, their religious affiliation and their settlement in the province will aid the reader in placing the lives and work of German-language pastors in their broader historical and geographical context.

Endnote

[1]Manfred Prokop*, German language maintenance across Canada: a handbook* (2004); *A history of Alberta's German-speaking communities. Volume 1: From the 1880s to the present* (2007); *A history of Alberta's German-speaking communities. Volume 2: Profiles of German-Albertans. 1953 to the present (2007)*; *A history of the teaching of German in Alberta* (2009); *The settlement of immigrants of German origin in southern Alberta between the 1880s and 1910s: A fact book* (2010); *The settlement of immigrants of German origin in northern Alberta: From the 1880's to the 1910's: A fact book* (2013); *A cultural history of Alberta's German-speaking communities between 1919 and 1939 (2015)*. Each volume presents a wealth of data, analysis and visuals on between 300 and 400 pages. The books are out of print, but are available at the University of Alberta Library and at many other libraries across Alberta, Canada and the U.S. — The searchable *Annotated Bibliography of the Cultural History of the German-speaking Communities in Alberta: From the 1880s to the Present*, containing more than 10,500 entries of varying lengths, is available on the Internet at https://sites.ualberta.ca/~german/AlbertaHistory/. This site also contains *Profiles of the German-speaking communities in Alberta*. It is detailed narrative account of the socio-cultural history of the many German-speaking groups in Alberta from the 1880s to the present, accompanied by photos and excerpts from original documents. The site consists of sections on (a) the immigration history of Alberta's German-speaking communities; (b) their geographical origin in Central and Eastern Europe, and Canadian immigration regulations; and on (c) 13 German-speaking communities. There is also a discussion of the possible reasons for the decline of German as a mother tongue and home language in the province.