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Work in Mennonite Theological Perspective

JANIS THIESSEN

Twentieth-century Canadian and American Mennonites altered their image as a rural people as they moved to the cities and established or found work in businesses, a process that accelerated after the Second World War. Whereas in 1941, 87% of Canadian Mennonites were rural, by 1971 that figure had dropped to 56%.[1] This rural-to-urban transformation necessitated a re-examination of Mennonite religious beliefs. While there is no explicit and uniquely Mennonite theology of work, Mennonite attitudes toward labour have been shaped by religious understandings of *Gelassenheit,* nonresistance and *agape.* Shifts in emphasis among these three concepts reveal that in the last fifty years, Mennonites have confronted issues of social responsibility and questions of power in their theology, with implications for their response to labour issues.

Gelassenheit often is translated from the German simply as "yieldedness" though it stands for a much more elaborate philosophy of thought, involving not merely the submission to God of individuals as is commonly preached by evangelical Christians, but also submission of the individual to the faith community.[2] *Agape* is a form of love that emphasizes one's relationship with and obligation to one's neighbours. Nonviolence at first was defined as pacifism but later came to be equated with nonviolent resistance. All three of these themes are connected closely to each other, and are interpreted in different ways by three central figures in twentieth-century Mennonite theological understanding: Guy F. Hershberger, J. Lawrence Burkholder and John Howard Yoder.

In the 1940s, Guy Hershberger promoted a concept of nonviolence that strongly emphasized its connection to *agape* and *Gelassenheit.* Hersh-

berger defined nonviolence as the rejection of the use of force in any form. Participation in war, involvement in Gandhian protests, membership in labour unions and exploitative business practices were all, he declared, "violat[ions of] the greater ethic of love and nonresistance found in the Bible."[3] He asserted that there was "no difference in principle between so-called nonviolent coercion and actual violence."[4] Hershberger was one of the first to address seriously the question of Mennonite involvement in the industrial workforce. He believed that "Mennonite businessmen should create islands where ideal relations could exist between boss and worker without struggles for power." While he conceded that in the modern world, workers "would never get justice without some use of power and coercion," he insisted that nonviolence necessitated submission to injustice if the alternative was involvement in conflict.[5] For Hershberger, *Gelassenheit* entailed yielding one's right to justice, refusing to force compliance with one's demands, because to do so would violate *agape* love for the neighbour.

A decade later, J. Lawrence Burkholder challenged what he viewed as the subordination of *agape* to the principle of nonviolence in the Hershberger tradition. "Love itself demands responsible participation in a society for it is in the social realm that the Christian meets the neighbor," he declared.[6] Burkholder argued that Christians were called to a life of nonviolent confrontation with power rather than a meek submission to it.[7]

> The danger of making nonresistance into an absolute is that it leads logically to a lifestyle that is so withdrawn from the conflicts of the world that the real cross is seldom encountered. The cross of Christ is one that is imposed by the world upon those who confront the world and try to change it.[8]

Such confrontation and efforts at transformation necessitated compromise between *agape* and nonviolence--two principles that Burkholder viewed as oppositional. Decisions regarding the nature of this compromise were to be made by the faith community as a whole.

> [O]nly through compromise can love be objectified socially, however imperfectly. To place compromise on a continuum of ambiguity as the subject matter for ethics is a function of the "discerning community." Where to draw the line is the issue. Different times, different circumstances, different identities obviously will bring different answers.[9]

Burkholder's views were dismissed by the Mennonite academic and religious communities at the time, fearing as they did that this emphasis on compromise would "reduc[e] the high cost of discipleship as the believer too easily concedes to the ethics of empire."[10] Consequently, his 1958 Princeton Theological Seminary doctoral dissertation, titled "The Problem of Social Responsibility from the Perspective of the Mennonite Church," was not published until thirty-one years later.

Burkholder was critiqued for his assumption that the abandonment of passivity necessitated by *agape* concern for the neighbour required "some level of involvement and compromise with the institutions and structures of modern society."[11] Historian J. Denny Weaver declared that Burkholder's was a "neo-Constantinian outlook"--anathema to a faith community that came into existence in part because of a belief that sixteenth-century Protestantism had not separated church and state clearly enough. The problem, Weaver explained, was that Burkholder's position assumed that

> Christian social responsibility happens primarily through societal and governmental structures as agents. It assumes that greatest effectiveness occurs through the eventual use of the government's means, namely violence and war, with the criteria for success and relevancy also supplied and defined by those structures.[12]

Weaver's critique of Burkholder was shaped by the perspective of John Howard Yoder, whose writings had become highly influential among Canadian and American Mennonites in the interim between the writing and the publication of Burkholder's dissertation. While Burkholder believed that it was the responsibility of Christians to work within the system for its transformation, Yoder "focuse[d] on helping Christians understand external structures and institutions so they [would] not be seduced by them."[13] He dismissed the classic argument that the Bible addressed personal ethics rather than the power of social structures. Yoder argued that the Christian was called, like Christ, to reject the assumption that it was a moral duty to exercise social responsibility through these structures and institutions.[14] Thus he rejected the belief of evangelical Christians that the way to change society was through individual conversion, "changing the heart" of those in power, or electing Christians to office. Yoder argued instead that "the primary social structure through which the gospel works to change other structures is that of the Christian

community."[15] (Yoder's views find a new incarnation today in the writings of Duke University ethics professor Stanley Hauerwas.)

Yoder viewed the Burkholdian opposition of *agape* and nonviolence as artificial. Christians, he declared, were called to "respect and be subject to the historical process in which the sword continues to be wielded and to bring about a kind of order under fire, but not to perceive in the wielding of the sword their own reconciling ministry."[16] Those who wished to downplay nonviolence for the sake of social responsibility were deceived in their egoism. Christians were those who, like Christ, renounced the claim to govern history.[17] They were to "represent in an unwilling world the Order to come."[18] Despite his argument that it was not the job of the Christian to redeem the world, Yoder was not calling simply for a return to the separatist ethic of Hershberger.

From Hershberger through Yoder to Burkholder, Mennonite theological thinking underwent a shift in the postwar period. From a position that emphasized *Gelassenheit*, submission to the faith community and the rejection of all forms of force, Mennonites moved to one that stressed *agape* as social responsibility and made an effort to distinguish between violence and power. Mennonites' reconsideration of their religious beliefs was prompted in part by the perceived crisis of their postwar entry into the urban industrial world. In turn, the theological arguments they articulated helped to shape the response of Mennonite workers and business owners to their new environment. In the space that remains, I want to highlight a few examples of such responses.

Historian Ted Regehr argues that within Canadian Mennonite workplaces in the immediate postwar period, a clear pattern of deference to authority existed. He asserts that Mennonite employers were

> the bosses, rewarding employees according to what they believed was fair and equitable, much as the head of a farm family expected every member to contribute to the success of the farm and then to be rewarded as the head of the household saw fit. Employees were expected to think first and foremost of the business and, beyond that, to trust the goodwill and generosity of their employer.[19]

The willingness of Mennonites to accept managerial authority, even as they accepted the authority of their fathers, husbands, and church leaders, made them model employees from an employer's perspective.[20] This deference resulted from the Mennonite stance of *Gelassenheit;* humility, meekness and conformity to the community translated into submission in

the workplace. Coupled with the belief that Christians should not make use of the courts or other legal institutions to settle disputes, it is not surprising that Mennonite workers were hesitant to assert themselves.

Gelassenheit had implications for Mennonite business owners as well as their workers. Owners attempted to compensate for their powerful status by avoiding conspicuous consumption and choosing to live in ethnic residential neighbourhoods. For example, according to Art DeFehr, president of Palliser Furniture (Manitoba's second largest employer), the DeFehr family made a "deliberate choice" to remain within the Mennonite community and "subject themselves to its judgment." They chose to live and shop within North Kildonan (a Winnipeg suburb with a large concentration of Mennonites), rather than "fleeing to Tuxedo" (a wealthier Winnipeg suburb).[21] DeFehr's sister, Irene Loewen, explained that their parents exercised personal financial restraint in order not to offend the Mennonite community to which they belonged.

> My father, when they had the means, loved to give luxuries to mother. But she didn't want them, she didn't feel comfortable with them. In the States when she was living there, she had learned to use make-up, she went to movies, even tried dancing. When she moved to North Kildonan she dropped all of it except her intellectual interests in order to fit in with the rest of the women. When dad wanted to buy her a fur stole she refused, feeling she would stand apart from the other women of the church. When she finally did get a fur coat it wasn't the luxury type that dad wanted to buy her.[22]

Such personal decisions on the part of Mennonite business owners probably helped stem critique of their corporate behaviour.

An interesting example of the use of Mennonite religious principles by non-Mennonites is the unsuccessful effort of Winnipeg Local 191 of the International Typographical Union to organize Friesens Corporation (a printing firm in southern Manitoba) in the early 1970s. The Mennonite owners of this company initially agreed to make a joint presentation to the workforce with the union organizer. The union presentation was to equate labour unions, cooperatives and credit unions, emphasizing that all three were member-driven. The *agape* ethic among Mennonites had developed into a strong practice of mutual aid over the centuries, and thus Manitoba Mennonites had a history of commitment to cooperatives and credit unions. In fact, the owners of Friesens Corporation served as directors of such organizations. According to the union organizer, when the owners of

Friesens Corporation saw the union's planned presentation and realized it "had a fifty-fifty chance," the meeting was cancelled.

Among Mennonites themselves, it was not the ethic of *agape* but the principle of nonviolence that shaped their attitude toward unions. Involvement in labour unions was actively preached against in Canadian and American Mennonite churches mid-century, and various Mennonite church conferences issued statements against them. Union membership was rejected in part because the threat of strike action was considered an exercise of force on the part of labour. Management use of force, through the control of labour conditions and terms of employment and the ability to terminate employees, rarely was critiqued in the same manner.[23] As Burkholder's emphasis on social responsibility has taken hold among Mennonites, opposition to union membership has been declining, particularly among more educated urban Mennonites of higher socio-economic status. Surveys conducted in the late 1980s found 54% of Canadian and American Mennonites favoured joining unions.[24] Nonetheless, the percentage of Mennonites who are members of labour unions has not changed significantly (5% in 1972, 6% in 1989).[25]

The decade of the 1970s, with its inflation and unemployment, was notable for its labour activism in Manitoba. A number of Mennonites in this province refused to join unions during this period. Henry Funk, a baker and a Mennonite, was fired from his job at McGavin Toastmaster in Winnipeg for refusal to join the union as per the collective agreement. He applied to the Manitoba Labour Board, requesting exemption for religious reasons under section 68(3) of the Labour Relations Act. As a Mennonite Brethren, he declared he objected to "the violent tactics of unions" and to taking an oath of membership. His application was dismissed as the relevant section was not applicable to his circumstances. Even if it had been, his application would not have been successful, Chair Murdoch MacKay declared, observing that the Mennonite Brethren Church had no official stance against unions at that time and so Funk's opposition to joining one was founded upon personal rather than religious beliefs.[26] Though objecting to the coercion of unions, Funk was not opposed to the coercion of the courts, as he took his case to the Manitoba Court of Appeals, which ruled in his favour in 1976.

Situations like Funk's led Mennonites in Manitoba to request information and assistance regarding their stance towards unions from Mennonite Central Committee Manitoba's Peace and Social Concerns Committee. MCC-Manitoba responded by organizing a series of three

seminars on labour-management relations in Steinbach, Winkler and Winnipeg in January 1976. Political science professor John Redekop, and Gerald Vandezande of the Christian Labour Association of Canada, were the presenters at these sessions. Their comments focused on the need for individual Christian employers and employees to be "salt and light" in the existing system, but did little to question the system itself.

The actions of teachers against the Ontario government in the 1990s prompted yet another examination of the Christian response to labour issues by Mennonites. The *Conrad Grebel Review* published a number of articles on Mennonites, unions and strikes in 1998. John R. Sutherland and Susan Van Weelden, professors of management and business, developed four criteria to determine if a strike was morally justified.[27] Striking was legitimate only if the matter in dispute was gravely unjust, if all other means of dispute resolution were exhausted, if "innocent bystanders" would not be hurt, and if the "legitimate moral rights of others [would not] be violated." Ontario school trustee Ted Martin responded that such criteria required condemning as "morally wrong" the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike and the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott.[28] By ignoring lockouts by employers, transfers of production to other facilities, employer strike-provocation and strike-breaking, the authors revealed their anti-union bias, he declared. Furthermore, collaboration, mediation and other alternative dispute resolution methods "often increase the power of the strong to take advantage of the weak."[29] In the face of an inequitable economic system, unions needed the right to strike.[30] Once again, the argument was whether to place greater emphasis on *agape* or to nonviolence.

In conclusion, an understanding of the changing interpretations of *Gelassenheit, agape* and nonviolence can provide insight into the Mennonite workplace. *Gelassenheit* promoted worker deference while at the same time curbing excesses on the part of employers. The decreased emphasis on *Gelassenheit* among Mennonites, together with new understandings of *agape* and nonviolence in light of Burkholder's critique, may or may not have been translated into class consciousness on the part of Mennonite workers. Investigation of these issues over time in a variety of Mennonite workplaces is required. A number of questions must be addressed. How have Mennonites reconciled their religious beliefs with the capitalist system in which they are immersed? In what ways and at what times have Mennonite employers and employees used their common Mennonite ethos to shape workplace conflict? Have class distinctions

transformed the unity of Mennonite communities over time? How have Mennonites (re)created their identity in the face of the competing claims of class, ethnicity and religion? While some of these questions have been touched on by sociologist Calvin Redekop's studies of Mennonite employers, questions of class, particularly from the perspective of employees, have been ignored. What is needed are micro-histories of Mennonite-owned businesses and Mennonite workforces that acknowledge the importance of religious belief in shaping the Mennonite labour experience.[31] It is only recently that Mennonites in Canada and the United States have shown a willingness to confront problems of power and authority in their theology. Now is the time to make use of these writings to examine these same issues in Mennonite labour history.

Endnotes

1. T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), Appendix F.

2. Laura Weaver, "A Mennonite 'Hard Worker' Moves from the Working Class and the Religious/Ethnic Community to Academia: A Conflict between Two Definitions of Work," in *Working-Class Women in the Academy: Laborers in the Knowledge Factory,* ed. Michelle Tokarczyk and Elizabeth A. Fay (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 116.

3. Lydia Harder, "Power and Authority in Mennonite Theological Development," in *Power, Authority and the Anabaptist Tradition,* ed. Calvin Redekop and Benjamin Redekop (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 84.

4. Guy F. Hershberger, "Nonresistance and Industrial Conflict," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 13, No. 2 (April 1939): 147.

5. Theron F. Schlabach, "To Focus a Mennonite Vision," in *Kingdom, Cross and Community: Essays on Mennonite Themes in Honor of Guy F. Hershberger,* ed. John Richard Burkholder and Calvin Redekop (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1976), 30.

6. J. Lawrence Burkholder, *The Problem of Social Responsibility from the Perspective of the Mennonite Church* (Elkhart IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1989), 25.

7. J. Lawrence Burkholder, "Nonresistance, Nonviolent Resistance, and Power," in *Kingdom, Cross and Community,* 134.

8. Burkholder, "Nonresistance, Nonviolent Resistance, and Power," 136.

9. J. Lawrence Burkholder, "Autobiographical Reflections," in *The Limits of Perfection: A Conversation with J. Lawrence Burkholder,* ed. Rod Sawatsky and Scott Holland (Waterloo ON: Institute of Anabaptist and Mennonite Studies, 1993), 48-49.

10. Scott Holland, "Introduction," in *The Limits of Perfection,* iii.

11. J. Denny Weaver, "The Socially Active Community: An Alternative Ecclesiology," in *The Limits of Perfection,* 78.

12. Weaver, "The Socially Active Community," 78.

13. Harder, 86.

14. John H. Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 100.

15. Yoder, 157.

16. Yoder, 214.

17. Yoder, 241.

18. Yoder, 97.

19. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970,* 158.

20. Roy Vogt, "Entrepreneurs, Labourers, Professionals, and Farmers: A Response to *Mennonites in Canada, A People Transformed," Journal of Mennonite Studies* 15 (1997): 13.

21. Art DeFehr, conversation with the author, Winnipeg Manitoba, 2 September 1997.

22. Mary M. Enns, *Mia: The Story of a Remarkable Woman* (Winnipeg: A.A. DeFehr Trust, 1982), 148-149.

23. Vogt, "Mennonite Studies in Economics," 65; and Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970,* 158.

24. Blue collar Mennonites 58%, business 61%, students 51%, housewives 40%, professionals 65%, farmers 37% (Leo Driedger, *Mennonites in the Global Village* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000], 45, Table 2-6).

25. J. Howard Kauffman and Leland Harder, *Anabaptists Four Centuries Later: A Profile of Five Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Denominations* (Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1975), 146; and J. Howard Kauffman and Leo Driedger,

The Mennonite Mosaic: Identity and Modernization, with a foreword by Donald B. Kraybill (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1991), 92, 207-208.

26. Manitoba Labour Board, Application under Section 68(3) of the Labour Relations Act by Henry Funk, applicant, McGavin Toastmaster Ltd., employer-respondent, and Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union Local 389, bargaining agent and agreement holder, "MCC Manitoba (1974-80)," Volume 3636, Mennonite Heritage Centre, Winnipeg MB.

27. John R. Sutherland and Susan J. Van Weelden, "To Strike or Not to Strike: Job Action in the Context of Justice and Reconciliation," *Conrad Grebel Review* 16, No. 1 (Winter 1998): 19.

28. Ted Martin, "Ontario Teachers and the Moral Obligation to Strike: A partial response to 'To Strike or Not to Strike' by John R. Sutherland and Susan J. Van Weelden," *Conrad Grebel Review* 16, No. 1 (Winter 1998): 24, fn 1.

29. Martin, 29.

30. Martin, 30.

31. The postwar Mennonite workforce at three major Canadian companies, founded, owned and originally staffed by Mennonites, are the focus of my dissertation. These three companies, all located in Manitoba, are Friesens Corporation founded in 1933 (one of Canada's largest printers with more than 600 employees), Loewen Windows founded in 1905 (Canada's largest wood window manufacturer with more than 1200 employees), and Palliser Furniture founded in 1944 (Canada's largest furniture manufacturer with more than 5200 employees).

Quilts, Bandages and Efficiency: Mennonite Women's Missionary Societies and the Formation of a Modern Social-Religious Identity in California, 1930-1960

BRIAN FROESE

Mennonite scholars such as Marilyn Peters and Gloria Redekop have argued that in church Mennonite women have enjoyed the most freedom in missionary activity, and suffered the most restriction at administrative levels where male leadership traditionally shut them out.[1] A result of this hierarchy is, as Virginia Brereton described, "Churchwomen, then, were both insiders and outsiders; they were both *of* [italics Brereton's] the Protestant establishment and yet barred from its inner citadel."[2] This hermeneutic of conflict adds a layer of meaning to women's history in the Mennonite Brethren world. Through an examination of California Mennonite Brethren sewing circles and missionary societies, that complexity of gender relationships, mediated through the process of organizing, is observed. It is, as historian Ann Braude argued, "We must not confuse the ability to endure with the opportunity to influence [and yet] this does not mean that women have been passive victims of religious ideologies."[3] There was always social negotiation and a nuanced relationship with ruling church ideologies, even if, for the moment, those negations were kept to the world of missions.[4]

When the Reedley women formed their sewing circle in 1913, their stated purpose was, "to organize a mission society in order that they as sisters of the church would be enabled to more specifically serve to further the work of the Lord."[5] At their inaugural meeting, they articulated an identity centered around piety, where they were sisters in the church, did the work of the Lord, and prayed and read the Bible. Yet, simultaneously

they developed an organizational culture that was democratically created through the election of officers by ballot when "with great enthusiasm the work was begun."[6]

In promoting their work, both spiritually and practically, the Reedley women sought the blessing of their pastor, Rev. John Berg. Berg "commended them for their noble efforts and advised them to proceed without delay and agreed to bring the matter [of their organizing] to the church membership for approval."[7] He did so and the church membership accepted the group with "their blessing and accepted this project as an official service of the Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church."[8] The support of the church was "an encouragement for a large number of other sisters to join the new organization and become active participants."[9] Their organization was officially recognized at a special church service where Rev. Berg gave a prayer, read Acts 9:35-43, which concerned a women named Dorcas who helped an invalid with garments she made, and "also gave them much good advice which later proved of great value."[10] Though the nature of the advice is unknown, one reads of active church support in the creation of this organization.

There were, however, subtle changes in the representation of this sewing circle in anniversary histories of the Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church. The church, for example, redacted the story into a more pietistic one. Although the text describing the start of the "Women's Missionary Society" in both the 1955 and 1980 commemorative histories are nearly identical in scope and detail, a short phrase was inserted in the 1980 history that deepened an evangelical tone. The 1955 edition concludes with the sentence, "This resulted in the formation of the Pacific District Women's Missionary Service, the object of which is to keep the missionary societies informed of the ways in which they can assist in carrying out conference projects."[11] In the 1980 edition the corresponding sentence reads, "The main functions of the women's district conference group are to inform all missionary groups of the district about ways in which they can assist in conference projects, *and to emphasize the importance of prayer to undergird the work of the Mennonite Brethren*"[12] [Italics mine]. The change signalled a fuller incorporation of evangelical culture where the emphasis on practical affairs shifted to individual expressions of piety.

While Reedley developed its sewing circles, the women in nearby Shafter created a similar organization. The church leadership, all men, questioned the need for such a group. It took two years for the church council to accept the sewing circle in principal, and an additional seven

years to approve it fully, which they did in 1928. The circle disbanded in 1934, and, led by Mrs. P.P. Rempel, was reorganized as the "Bible Class and Sewing Hour."[13]

J.C. Penner and Adolf I. Frantz, authors of the Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church's fiftieth anniversary book, negatively described the delayed approval by the church council. Penner and Frantz noted that most of the clothes and money given by the church to starving Mennonites in Russia and Canada during the 1920s and 1930s came from the women's sewing circle. Yet, despite such a service record, the church council's reluctance to approve the sewing circle only disappeared when the women agreed to buy the church a piano.[14] According to the accounts by Penner and Frantz, it can be argued that the women of the sewing circle exercised agency by creating their own organization within which they chose the work they wanted to do and in resisting church reluctance to include them through negotiation to become an official church organization.

As organizations, the sewing circles were successfully run. According to the "History of the Sewing Circle of the M.B. Church of Shafter," the first recorded meeting was held on 4 September 1923 with thirty-one women in attendance. It was their fourteenth meeting and normally they met in a member's home. These meetings opened and closed with singing, prayer and scripture reading. Like their counterparts in Reedley, the Shafter women held annual relief sales and only missed the 1933 sale when they sewed for the Red Cross.[15] From the records, this was their service pattern for much of the 1920s and 1930s.[16]

On 2 March 1939, the Shafter women initiated a change in their focus, and "met for the purpose of organizing a Bible Class and sewing hour."[17] Reasons given by the group for reorganizing into a Bible Class were that "the ladies strongly desired more time to study the Bible under her [Mrs. P.P. Rempel's] able leadership."[18] Their projects remained mission oriented and included visiting homes and collecting and mending used clothes for missionaries. Bible study then coincided with their mission activities. Both the needs for Bible study and finding "able leadership" were met from within the group. At this time, their insider status was confirmed both by having negotiated the creation of a successful organization in their church and in meeting their spiritual needs on their own terms. Conversely, the church leadership conferred outsider status upon them during the eight years it took to accept them, and then it was only achieved with a negotiated settlement concerning a piano.[19]

After several years, the church deaconate demonstrated some approval of their work when they came to the Bible Class and asked for canned fruit to give to poor people. The women decided to can apricots in June, and requested their membership "to visit some sick or lonely person before the next meeting."[20] They canned the apricots in June and then canned approximately 200 quarts of peaches.[21] By the 1940s, the women of the Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church had established a stable and active mission organization complete with a leadership hierarchy, standardized structure for meeting and exercised agency in deciding on what projects to work, while fulfilling their own spiritual needs from within the group.[22]

According to the fiftieth-year-anniversary history, the Reedley Women's Missionary Society conceived their mission broadly, though largely within the Mennonite community. They raised money and needed items for their church building fund, Kings View Homes, a mental health institute, and the local Home for the Aged.[23] As the Reedley Women's Missionary Society sewing circle steadily grew, it constructed a corporate identity through the manufacture of yearbooks. In their yearbooks, which contain the upcoming year's activities and meeting outlines, a different theme for each year was recorded. In 1940 their motto was, "To serve the master is our aim, M. B. Mission Society is our name." Having asserted their identity in sloganized form, they proceeded to elect a slate of twelve officers to run the group.[24] Throughout the early 1940s, annual themes included a prayer, "Lord help us to accomplish the greatest possible good in the shortest possible time," and in another slogan, "For God and Home and Everyland,"[25] underscoring an identity formed by efficiency and expressed through evangelical catch-phrases.

In 1942 this sewing group, in a mark of self-awareness, created the office of historian. The office of historian went through several incarnations. It began as a separate office in 1942-1943, was combined with Public Chairman in 1944-1945, and dropped completely in 1951 until it was finally paired with the Publicity Chairman in 1957. The duties of historian are not given, but one does find that the historian kept a scrapbook of pictures, such mementos as invitations to banquets, and newspaper clippings that described the group's activities.[26] Although the historian appears to have been more a chronicler, to even create an office of historian signaled a self-understanding of their importance to the church.

The Shafter sewing circle did very well through most of the 1940s. They averaged nearly twenty members a year for over sixteen annual meetings and made dozens of comforters and quilts for the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), an inter-Mennonite international relief agency, to distribute along with the thousands of pounds of clothing they annually donated to the MCC. In addition, they worked on several projects for the church and once with the Boy Scouts.[27] Yet, because their meetings were also about their own spirituality, the 1945-1946 annual report to the church stated, "For our devotions we usually quoted Bible verses and sang songs, not only for devotions, but also while working."[28]

In the late 1940s, the Shafter sewing circle overcame some financial difficulty. After the sewing circle ran out of money in March 1947, an appeal was made to the pastor, Rev. H.D. Wiebe. Wiebe placed an announcement in the church bulletin and a held a special Easter offering for them, which raised sixty dollars.[29] After the special offering they were told, "there would always be money in the church treasury to carry on their work."[30] Actions such as this offering, the pastor helping the circle when in need, and the large amount of work the sewing circle did for the church itself, demonstrated a supportive network between the women and the church leadership. This relationship changed, however, when a new pastor coincided with a growing women's movement to create an umbrella organization throughout the Mennonite Brethren Pacific District Conference.

Women's Missionary Service

In October 1948, the Pacific District Conference asked the Reedley Missionary Society

> . . . to make a survey of the women's groups in the district, and to report on their activities, finances, and on their distribution of the money. As a result of this survey, the conference saw the necessity for coordination. This resulted in the formation of the Pacific District Women's Missionary Service, the object of which is to keep the missionary societies informed of the ways in which they can assist in carrying out conference projects.[31]

The survey found that there were already eighteen women's groups with approximately 380 members and a combined cash income of approximately $20,000.00. When the value of relief materials was added together,

it totalled approximately $40,000.00. Following the report, the Conference was favourably disposed to their formally organizing in order to avoid duplication in the work of individual circles. The Women's Missionary Service (WMS), with the support of the conference and most of the pastors, formally organized on 14 November 1948. There was some resistance, which came mostly from Rev. Waldo Wiebe, the new pastor of the Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church.[32]

After the report was given, all that was left was formal recognition at a service in Reedley in November. In a letter dated 12 November 1948, Waldo Wiebe, writing "in the name of the Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Council," to Rev. J. B. Toews, pastor of the Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church, expressed his disapproval with the whole idea. He informed Toews of the passage of a resolution by the Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Council:

> Now as to the Sewing Circle work and the meeting that is to take place in Reedley Sunday afternoon. You are aware of my personal reaction as to the report at the Conference, and I wish at this time to further convey the feeling of the Church Council which is in perfect agreement and have made the following resolution which we wish that you would present to the sisters who are in charge of calling this meeting: "We, the Church council of the Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church, encourage our sisters to continue with the work but we do not wish them to organize with the intention to report to the Pacific District Conference."[33]

Responding to Wiebe's request to read the resolution at the service, Toews wrote, "After consulting with the brethren H.R. Wiens and B.J. Braun, we felt that it would not be a proper procedure to read your letter to the group for as much as the Conference had passed a resolution recommending that this organization be effected." Later Toews suggested, "It would be the proper procedure to register such an opinion to the Conference instead of to the sisters who have proceeded on the strength of our Conference recommendation."[34] Wiebe was effectively rebuffed by Toews and the service went as planned.

A closer look at the letter by Wiebe is instructive, for he also wrote:

> We have also talked to our Sewing Circle. We have as a church no objection in their planning together and counseling together of how to carry on their work, but our Sewing Circle officers do not wish to

> be presented at the conference in a report that is given by their organization as an official Conference organization. They rather choose to work quietly under the direction of our local relief committee and Church Council who shall make it a point to report and carefully pray and support the worthy efforts of our Sewing Circle.[35]

As Mennonite Brethren historianValerie Rempel described, this was not the case. The Mennonite Brethren women in Shafter believed their ambitions were ignored and their experience misrepresented. The minutes of the sewing circle demonstrate that the women expected to be in Reedley for the service and were surprised by the request of Wiebe not to attend.[36]

They respected his request, though not without disappointment. In the minutes of the Shafter sewing circle, several comments regarding this were underlined, and it is only in regards to this issue that any underlining occurs anywhere in their minutes. The underlined portions include, "This is Wednesday [3 November 1948], we met today because we expected to go to Reedley tomorrow to organize as a womens [sic] mission socioety [sic]." The minutes of 18 November 1948 begin with, also underlined, "We didn't go to Reedley after all." Two weeks later, on 2 December 1948 the minutes read, "For our devotional Rev. Wiebe read Exodus 35:23 to 26[37] and explained to us why he thinks we should not join the womens missionary soicioty [sic]."[38] A year later Mrs. Ruben Becker, Mrs. Henry Duerksin and Mrs. Gus Wyand and Mrs. Dan Loewen reported to the Pacific District Conference on behalf of the Shafter sewing circle. The minutes from that meeting conclude, also with underlining, "We talked about joining the missionary socieyte [sic]."[39] Despite obstruction from church leadership, the sewing circle still found it in their interest to be a part of the larger WMS and worked to that end.

To signal the beginning of the WMS the organizers of the November 1948 service, were prepared for some resistance by local Mennonite Brethren pastors, for, "We felt that we had to expect some opposition, since any new thing, no matter how good, has usually some opposition." The WMS was piously evangelical in their response, "It drove us to our knees, and we prayed much for God's guidance, and that His will be done." Some of the women thought that the problem was in church leaders who feared a power struggle, "It seemed that some [church leaders] were fearful that the women wanted to be on the Conference Program and gradually would take over." After the WMS had grown to twenty-eight circles, with a membership of approximately 900, the leading personality behind WMS' creation, Mrs. Henry Martens, reflected, "We also thank the

Lord for those who were opposed, for it caused us to pray much, and search our hearts to see whether we were really seeking only the glory of God."[40] As WMS' very creation caused concern in the Conference, they resisted such concerns through the evangelical language of prayer, searching of hearts and seeking God's will.[41]

WMS also used the language of exceptionalism to connect their origins and the domestic influence of women to the expansionist trope of the westward course of American settlement:

> As people moved westward and new churches were organized, in time they also had their Missionary Societies, the women realizing that there were some things to be done in the kingdom of God which only women could do. As a relief worker wrote, an expectant mother on the verge of despair because of the adverse circumstances, not knowing how she would clothe or feed her baby, found new hope when she saw the little embroidered designs on the baby garments and the label, "In the Name of Christ!' Today every church in the Pacific District Conference has one or more such groups, with a total of eighteen groups, an approximate membership of three hundred and eighty.[42]

After mixing such images as the westward expansion, maternal strength, and power in child rearing, she acknowledged the historiographical issue of women's history, "It is difficult to give an accurate report of all that the women do, as women do numerous little things in the home that go unnoticed and yet mean so much in making a home pleasant, which is also true in our societies. Too, a great deal has been done of which no record has been kept."[43] The report is a clear articulation of the place of women in their world and their self-awareness of doing unreported, though important, work for family and society. Without formal recognition and a presence at the Pacific District Conference annual meeting, they accomplished plenty both within and without the Mennonite world. The message of traditional womanhood, grounded in the care of a family, was fused with their self-initiated mission activity and even national expansion.

The following year, the WMS Executive spent time locating the functional place of the WMS within the larger machinery of the Conference. In February 1949, they adopted the tentative name "Pacific Coast Women's Missionary Society." The purpose of this society was set out in a series of resolutions: "To be of help and to work with the individual circles; to try and distribute the work of supplying the needs of going

missionaries and those out in the field; to call for unified prayer for our missionaries and relief workers."[44] They "divided the work into 6 phases: Prayer, Missionary Program, Missionary Sewing, M.C.C., Extension Work, and Home for aged." A set of specific responsibilities was drawn up for the six phases "to avoid duplication our work at one place, and perhaps avoid omitting some needs entirely at another field."[45] Their purpose was to organize efficiently the initially grass roots, spontaneously created, sewing circles established before 1948.

Within a year of organizing, there was interaction with male church leaders. On 15 November 1949, Rev. A.E. Janzen, General Conference Missionary Executive Secretary, spoke at the WMS annual meeting. The minutes note, "He stressed the fact to us how fortunate women in America are compared to the women of heathen lands. Christianity changes woman's place from slavery to a higher level of understanding."[46] Although Janzen's view of the role of women within the structures of Christianity is ambivalent from this report, J.B. Toews, who was always supportive of the WMS, spoke in 1956 and "stressed the important part the woman has in the motivation of the spiritual program in our conference."[47] The part that women had in mid-twentieth century Mennonite Brethren Pacific Conference work, while important and understood here as a "spiritual program," expanded dramatically through the 1950s. With such expansion came changes in self-identity.

Through the 1950s, at least two themes dominated the WMS. First, the WMS continued a process of professionalizing and expansion in relief work; and second, the male leadership both sought help from the WMS while expressing a vision of traditional domesticity. In post-war America, an ideal of domesticity was reiterated by society as men returned from war and women were expected to return home from the factories. This process was reinforced by a baby boom in which the women had to raise and nurture a growing number of children. It has been argued that women joined social organizations or clubs as part of this rise in domesticity. Those Mennonite women joined the WMS, as a social organization is clear. Throughout the 1950s attendance rose in California's WMS sewing circles, and the mixing of personal piety and social action was kept intact. The argument for American women, especially homemakers, to join clubs was contextualized by a pervading culture of conformism in the 1950s.[48]

The WMS both encouraged conformism in their organizational structure, and presented Mennonite women with an opportunity to influence the Pacific District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren. It was

an agency of conformism in that all local groups held essentially the same type of meeting, all women in the church were asked to attend, and the stated purpose of the WMS was to provide a unifying structure to relief work to avoid duplication. WMS was a form of corporatism that prized an understood chain of authority, streamlined operations, and sense of professionalizing progress. The WMS also opened up the Mennonite world for its women as Mennonite convictions were finding institutional expression in schools, hospitals and relief work. WMS effectively fused piety, social relief, and professional stratification.

In 1954, the WMS made several decisions to develop its structural identity. A constitution was adopted with nine articles that established the functioning of the society. Their purpose was codified as, "To promote spiritual growth. To help the various needs of our church, District Conference and General Conference with prayers, sewing, donations in kind and cash."[49] Within the constitution a voting mechanism was created, membership requirements established, and an Executive Committee and a smaller Executive Board created. The only deference made to male leadership in the document was the automatic inclusion of pastors' wives in the WMS and the WMS Executive Board. Power within the WMS Executive Committee was increased whereby they could by-pass a two-thirds majority vote and call a special meeting of the executive board. At the same meeting, they decided that the collection of all monies be sent to the secretary-treasurer. This shift implied a growing centralizing of power.[50] By the mid-1950s, the WMS grew more professional, rationalized and the Executive Committee gathered for itself increased authority.

As WMS developed professionally during the 1950s, it also increased its denominational presence. During the fall of 1956, the WMS made two recommendations concerning relief projects. The first supported a missionary nurse at the Maternity Hospital in Africa for $1000.00 a year; the second read, "we accept an educational project [providing] groceries, clothing and baby furniture, at the Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary."[51] Education projects such as the Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary dominated the WMS during the 1960s.

Despite WMS' increased conference presence in supporting missionary work and education, some Mennonite leaders still considered them little more than free help. In 1959, when Pacific Bible Institute and the Junior College opened a new classroom wing, the school held a social function for its dedication. In a letter P.A. Enns, Chair of the West Area Committee, Board of Education, Conference of the Mennonite Brethren

Church of North America and Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church, to the WMS, asked:

> Since the sisters of the Womens [sic] Missionary Service are so actively engaged in the Educational program of our Conference, the committee would like to extend a special invitation to all the sisters of the service. We would further ask whether a represintation [sic] from each of the various circles would be willing to serve the refreshments during the open house.[52]

Despite WMS' expanded role throughout the decade, some in church leadership still treated them as hosts to serve punch.[53]

The process undertaken by the WMS to expand as a relief organization, replete with all the trappings of an institution, was formalized in October 1960. At that time, one of original committees of the WMS changed its name from "Missionary Sewing Committee," to the, "Missionary Supply Committee." With this change, the WMS identified themselves with a broader task than serving refreshments, though not all WMS activity reflected the trend.

In the 1955-1956 yearbook, the Dinuba Mennonite Brethren sewing circle had as its theme, "The Christian Woman." Under the rubric of a Christian woman the following devotionals were held: "Her Church and Conduct," "Her Responsibility and Influence in the Home," "Her Position and Service in the Church," "Her Avenues of Witness and Service in the Community," and "Her Position on the Mission Field."[54] Meanwhile, in Reedley, the themes for much of the 1950s kept to the image of church expansion with one example connecting it to domesticity, "We Sew and Serve." Other annual themes included, "Wider Horizons: The Gospel for the Whole World," and "Spread the Sail."[55] These examples indicate that important social movements work within their own historical universe and as such articulate some of its assumptions. Yet working within that universe of maternal assumptions is only a partial story, for women in these same organizations exercised agency in their responses to the spiritual and social needs they found in themselves, in their church, and the world.

Through the 1960s, some of the older themes continued while new ones appeared. The yearbooks of the Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church's Women's Missionary Society assumed ever-increasing apocalyptic imagery with rocket ships, a clock set to five minutes to twelve and a recurring image of a cross superimposed over the earth. By 1970 the

words, "Behold He Cometh [to] Occupy" adorned the cover of their yearbook.[56]

Conclusion

This essay on gender, agency, identity and organization, supports Amanda Porterfield's thesis that the "authority" of women in "idealized perceptions," while possibly damaging, also carried social agency. Therefore, when women transformed their world by extending the ideals of "domestic pietism," they had extended their roles in family and home outward. For the Mennonites in California, women were part of the "cult of domesticity" exercising "domestic pietism," while seminary presidents came, cup in hand, seeking funds procured initially through "sewing."[57]

Through the WMS, domestic work, such as sewing and mending clothing, was transformed into an efficient set of denominational organizations that, through negotiations, received conference recognition and exercised a measure of influence. In effect, this expanded their domestically defined pietism to incorporate society, on their terms, as derived from notions of responsibility for family. These women did not abandon their Mennonite identity; rather, they used it in the context of social outreach and mission activity to find a recognized role and measure of leadership within the larger denominational structures and community. It was a method to navigate between the insider/outsider dichotomies of their identity in the Mennonite Brethren church.

The WMS provided more than quilts for missionaries. It provided identity and a sense of autonomy for women in a denomination that remained largely ambivalent to their role. In response to that ambivalence, or even outright opposition, they created a social organization and transformed it into a modernized service oriented institution. The process of modernization through the 1940s and 1950s transformed a series of unconnected sewing circles into a large umbrella organization that rose over a quarter of a million dollars for relief work in the 1950s.[58] When male church leaders from various institutions came to the WMS asking for money to help run schools and hospitals, the women discussed and voted on each proposal. Not acting as a rubber stamp, the women discussed and voted on each proposal.

In April 1961, at an Executive Committee meeting of the WMS, perhaps the clearest expression of this identity formation was given:

> Mrs. Brandt reviewed the work of the Women's Missionary Service. She related how the organization had begun with 18 circles twelve years ago and now has 40 in number. She spoke of seeing the Liberty Bell and how it symbolizes freedom, and yet, through the years, so many changes have taken place in our land. So, too, many changes have taken place in the work of the Women's Missionary Service. Our work is increasing as new fields of service are opening. But, we are not to forget the purpose of W. M. S. which was set forth by the first group of sisters as they met to organize. "To promote spiritual growth. To help the various needs of our church, District conference and General Conference with our prayers, sewing, donations in kind and cash." We must forget our personal feelings and seek that which is best for our growing organization.[59]

In addition, this statement, made in the context of navigating the various cultural claims on womanhood, contained a real sense of self-determination. These women experienced and exercised autonomy, made choices and worked with and against the strictures of the day. This statement fused domestic pietism with modernization. Though it supported the traditional church hierarchy, it also subverted it when, in conclusion, the women of WMS were asked to be selfless in regards to their own feelings, not for the church, but for the WMS.

Endnotes

1. Marilyn Peters, "Women in the Christian Church," *Your Daughters Shall Prophesy: Women in Ministry in the Church*, ed. John E. Toews, Valerie Rempel, and Katie Funk Wiebe (Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1992), 157-158, 178; and Gloria Neufeld Redekop, *The Work of Their Hands: Mennonite Women's Societies in Canada* (Toronto: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996), 10.

2. Virginia Lieson Brereton, "United and Slighted: Women as Subordinated Insiders," *Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 147. See also Karen Anderson, "Western Women: The Twentieth-Century Experience," *The Twentieth-Century West: Historical Interpretations*, ed. Gerald D. Nash and Richard Etulain (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 101.

3. Ann Braude, "Women's History *Is* American Religious History," *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, ed. Thomas A. Tweed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 91-92.

4. The women in missions theme has received among the most scholarly attention, for examples of this regarding the Mennonite Brethren see the following two articles by Valerie Rempel, "'She hath Done What She Could': The Development of the Women's Missionary Service in the Mennonite Brethren Churches of the United States," *Bridging Troubled Waters: Mennonite Brethren at Mid-Twentieth Century*, ed. Paul Toews (Winnipeg: Kindred Productions, 1995), 149-164; and "Early Missionary Society Activity Among U.S. Mennonite Brethren Women," *Direction* 24, No. 2 (Fall 1995): 36-46.

5. "History from 1913," in *Diamond Jubilee 75 Years of Service*, 20, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Service 1957-1970, 1985-1988, Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies-Fresno (hereafter CMBS-F).

6. "History from 1913," 20.

7. "History from 1913," 20.

8. "History from 1913," 20.

9. "History from 1913," 20.

10. "History from 1913," 21.

11. *50th Jubilee 1905-1955: Mennonite Brethren Church Reedley, California* (N.p., 1955), 47.

12. *The Church Alive in its 75th Year 1905-1980* (Reedley, CA: The 75th Anniversary Committee, 1980), 105, 107.

13. J.C. Penner and Adolf I. Frantz, *Through the Years: A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church of Shafter, California Its Organization and Its Development 1918-1968* (N.p.: Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration, 1968), 7; and, Valerie Rempel, "'She Hath Done What She Could': The Development of the Women's Missionary Services in the Mennonite Churches of the United States" (M.A. Thesis, Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, 1992), 25-27.

14. Penner and Frantz, *Through the Years*, 7.

15. "History of the Sewing Circle of the M.B. Church of Shafter," Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Microfilm Reel #77, frames 1402, 1404, CMBS-F.

16. "History of the Sewing Circle of the M. B. Church of Shafter," Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Microfilm Reel #77, frames 1441, CMBS-F. By April 1939, singing became a regular feature of meetings.

17. Minutes 2 March 1939, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Microfilm Reel #77, frame 1439, CMBS-F.

18. Minutes 2 March 1939, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Microfilm Reel #77, frame 1439, CMBS-F.

19. Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Microfilm Reel #77, frames 1436, 1439-1440, CMBS-F.

20. Minutes 11 May 1939, and 25 May 1939, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Microfilm Reel #77, frames 1450-1451, CMBS-F.

21. Minutes 19 June 1939, and 10 August 1939, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Microfilm Reel #77, frames 1452, 1454, CMBS-F.

22. Lynda McIntosh Thirlwall, a student of American quilting, observed that "quilting for numerous Mennonites has become a testimony to their commitment to mission work," as it related to an expression of faith in its sale for raising mission money (see Lynda McIntosh Thirlwall, "Mennonite Quilts of Fresno County California: 1900-1940" [M.S. thesis, California State University, Fresno, 1994, 14-15]; Rempel, "She hath Done What She Could," 27).

23. *50th Jubilee 1905-1955: Mennonite Brethren Church Reedley, California*, 47.

24. *M.B. Mission Society Yearbook, 1940*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Society 1940-1947, CMBS-F.

25. *M.B. Mission Society Yearbook, 1940-1941*, and *1942-1943*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Society 1940-1947, CMBS-F.

26. *M.B. Mission Society Yearbook, 1942, 1942-1943, 1944-1945*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Society 1940-1947, CMBS-F; *M.B. Mission Society Yearbook 1951-1952,* Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Society 1947-1957, CMBS-F; *M.B. Mission Society Yearbook 1957-1958*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Society 1957-1970, 1985-1988, CMBS-F; *Scrapbook 1940-1955*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 10, CMBS-F; and *Scrapbook 1965-1977*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 11, CMBS-F.

27. Annual Church Reports, 1 March 1945 to 11 October 1945; 25 October 1945 to 17 October 1946; 24 October 1946 to 2 October 1947; 16 October 1947 to 7 October 1948; 21 October 1948 to October 1949; and 20 October to 5 October 1950, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frames 1406-1411, CMBS-F.

28. Annual Church Reports, 25 October 1945 to 17 October 1946, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frames 1407-1408, CMBS-F.

29. Annual Church Reports, 24 October 1946 to 2 October 1947, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frames 1408-1409, CMBS-F.

30. *A summary report for 1930-1950*, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frame 1436, CMBS-F.

31. *50th Jubilee 1905-1955: Mennonite Brethren Church Reedley*, California, 47.

32. Rempel, "She hath Done What She Could," 35-41; *Yearbook of the 39th Pacific District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, October 23-27, 1948* (Hillsboro, KS: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1948), 37-38. Interestingly, there have been three histories written by the Women's Missionary Service about their organization and only one tells the story of resistance towards this organization (see Mrs. Henry Martens, "Fifth Anniversary," Women's Missionary Service Records, file: Scrapbook, Vol. 1, 1948-1958, CMBS-F). The other two are Mrs. Abe Leppke, "The History of the M. B. Missionary Service of the Pacific District Conference," and Mrs. Abe Leppke, "10th Anniversary," Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Scrapbook, Vol. 1, 1948-1958, CMBS-F.

33. Letter from Waldo Wiebe to Rev. J. B. Toews, 12 November 1948, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frame 1387, CMBS-F.

34. Letter from J.B. Toews to Rev. Waldo Wiebe, 18 November 1948, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frame 1388, CMBS-F.

35. Letter from Waldo Wiebe to Rev. J. B. Toews, 12 November 1948, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frame 1387, CMBS-F.

36. Rempel, "She hath Done What She Could," 38-39.

37. Exodus 35:23-26 specifically states, "And all the skilled women spun with their hands, and brought what they had spun, in blue and purple and scarlet material and in fine linen. And all the women whose heart stirred with a skill spun the goats' hair" (New American Standard Bible).

38. Minutes, 3, 18 November, and 2 December 1948, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frame 1562, CMBS-F.

39. Minutes, 1 December 1949, Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church Records, microfilm reel #77, frame 1570, CMBS-F.

40. Mrs. Henry Martens, "Fifth Anniversary," Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Scrapbook, Vol. 1, 1948-1958, CMBS-F.

41. Martens, "Fifth Anniversary."

42. Report of the M. B. Missionary Society, *Yearbook of the 39th Pacific District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, October 23-27, 1948* (Hillsboro, KS: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1948), 37.

43. Report of the M. B. Missionary Society, *Yearbook of the 39th Pacific District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, October 23-27, 1948*, 37, CMBS-F.

44. Minutes, 2 February 1949, Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Executive Committee 1949-1960, CMBS-F.

45. Minutes, 2 February 1949, Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Executive Committee 1949-1960, CMBS-F.

46. Minutes, Annual Meeting, 12 November 1956, Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Annual Meeting 1948-1959, CMBS-F.

47. Minutes, Annual Meeting, 15 November 1949, Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Annual Meeting 1948-1959, CMBS-F.

48. George Brown Tindall, with David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 1270-1272.

49. *Constitution* [1954], Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Constitutions, CMBS-F.

50. Minutes, 13 November 1954, Executive Committee, Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Executive Committee 1949-1960, CMBS-F.

51. Minutes, 10 November 1956, Executive Committee, Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Executive Committee 1949-1960, CMBS-F.

52. Letter from P.A. Enns to Mrs. Henry Martens, 28 March 1959, Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Executive Committee 1949-1960, CMBS-F.

53. Examples of their work are found throughout their minutes. One example of the tremendous variety of their work is found in, Minutes, 9 November 1959, Women's Missionary Service Records, File: Annual Meetings 1948-1959, CMBS-F. By 1959, the WMS also had fixed an origins narrative to recite at official functions that operated as a form of creedal statement that stressed unity, helping missionaries in a coordinated effort and support for their church conference.

54. *Yearbook, Missionary Sewing Circle, 1955-1956*, Dinuba Mennonite Brethren Church Records, File: Missionary Sewing Circle Yearbooks 1955-1956, CMBS-F.

55. *Yearbooks, Women's Missionary Society, 1952-1953, 1956-1957*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Society 1947-1957, CMBS-F; and *Yearbook, Women's Missionary Society 1957-1958*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Society 1957-1970, 1985-1988, CMBS-F.

56. *Yearbook, Women's Missionary Society 1962-1963, 1969-1970*, Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church Records, Box 5, File: Women's Missionary Society 1957-1970, 1985-1988, CMBS-F.

57. Amanda Porterfield, *Femine Spirituality in America: From Sarah Edwards to Martha Graham* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 5, 14-15, 109-110.

58. Rempel, "She Hath Done What She Could," 51.

59. Minutes, Executive Board, 4 April 1961, Women's Missionary Service, File: Executive Committee 1961-1965, CMBS-F.

Sir Sandford Fleming and Presbyterian Worship

PETER BUSH

> The passengers, being anxious for an evening service, the captain and the Rural Dean requested our Secretary to conduct it. He consented, and used, on the occasion, a form compiled last year specially for surveying parties. The scene was unusual, and perhaps, therefore, all the more impressive. Our Secretary, dressed in grey homespun, read a service compiled by clergymen of the Churches of Rome, England and Scotland; no one could tell which part was Roman, which Anglican, or which Scottish, and yet it was all Christian. The responses were led by the Dean and the Doctor, and joined in heartily by Romanists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians.[1]

So wrote The Rev. George Grant, secretary for Sandford Fleming's 1872 expedition to find the best route for the railway across Canada. The service Grant used on Sunday, 21 July 1872 aboard the *Frances Smith* as it steamed across Lake Superior, had been written by three clergy from Ottawa: an Anglican, a Presbyterian, and a Roman Catholic. Commissioned by Fleming, it was designed for use by survey parties and other individuals far from the reach of regular Sunday worship services, who wanted and needed the life and hope worship brings. Fleming envisioned a service that could be led by the lead engineer on a survey team (or designate) with little or no preparation, and which would be acceptable to a wide range of Christian denominations.

The service began with a preamble:

> Though for the present we are deprived of the regular service to which we have each been accustomed, yet we know that wherever [people] meet for the worship of God there He will be to hear and bless them. He is the Father of us all, our constant Guardian and Protector. Let us, therefore, as is most fitting on this Holy Day of Rest, unite as one family in the solemn duty and precious privilege of worshipping Him; and let us beseech with earnest prayer our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the straight path of those who journey, and the unwearying salvation of those who sojourn, that He may bless us now assembled together in His Name.[2]

Recognizing that "travelling parties" were in unusual circumstances, the preamble invited those gathered to find a common faith commitment in God as the "Father of us all" regardless of denominational label. The invitation was to share in the common need to worship on the "Holy Day of Rest" and to pray in the name of "our Lord Jesus Christ" who was the salvation and path for all Christians. The writers of the service, who remained anonymous, urged worshippers to lay aside divisions that might, under different circumstances, have prevented such a diverse group of Christians from joining together in worship.

Following prayer, a psalm was to be read, followed by the Gloria Patri said as call and response. A hymn was sung, followed by a responsive prayer including the Lord's Prayer said together, using "trespasses" not "debts." A litany of praise was then read by the congregation as they stood; this was followed by a hymn. The service ended with the appointed reader saying the Aaronic blessing. The order of service invited the group to read the hymns if they felt intimidated at the thought of singing them. There was no expectation of a sermon being preached and the only scripture read was the psalms. The order of service was so seamless that Grant asserted it was impossible to identify the denominational heritage of the parts of the service. But this did not mean that the three authors had created a bland, in-offensive service that would not be used.

By 1877, the first edition was out-of-print and Fleming urged a second edition be produced. This expanded edition contained two orders of service and "a short litany," consisting only of prayers. Following the service outlines were twenty-eight psalms in their entirety and a selection of seventy-two verses from Psalm 119. At the end of the book there were hymn words. The original seven-page pamphlet had grown into 124-page book. The preface to the second edition read,

> Although this little work has been primarily prepared for the use of surveying parties, there is reason to think that it may be found adaptable to the circumstances of others, who may be thrown together in small companies or groups, in out-of-the-way places, where there is no settled ministry or where no clergyman may be present. It cannot be expected that a work of this character should receive the official sanction of any ecclesiastical or civil authority. It is nevertheless presented with the private sanction and the earnest approval of clergymen of diverse Christian denominations, and by them recommended as a seemly devotional exercise, under the circumstances referred to, until something better be provided.[3]

This was not the perfect model for church, but it was one that worked in the situation early settlers, railway surveyors, prospectors, and others opening up the Canadian west found themselves in on Sundays. If worship was going to happen, it would be led by lay people. If it was going to happen it would need to cross denominational lines, being open to the full spectrum of the Christian faith. This radically different approach to church was merely a stop gap until a more stable and traditional model of church could be established.

Spending time each Sunday in rest and worship was important, as Grant argued. Physical rest was needed by both humans and animals, for the other six days were packed with work. But if all that happened was rest from work then the fullest good of the day was not realized. Singing a hymn, praying together, listening to the scripture being read, would "do more than anything else to awaken old remembrances, to stir the better nature of all, to heal up little bitternesses, and give each that sentiment of common brotherhood that cements into one the whole party."[4] Sunday was important for the physical rest it provided, but it was even more important for the time to remember the greater purposes of humanity and to have the opportunity both to find and to offer forgiveness. In the process, group morale was raised through the nurturing of its spiritual life.

Fleming's concern for the spiritual life of survey crews and settlers and other isolated groups might be but an interesting footnote to his very full life. Sandford Fleming (1827-1915) came to Canada from Scotland as a teenager, becoming involved first in surveying railroads and then in the engineering of railways. In 1872, Fleming, now chief engineer for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and two friends from Halifax made their famous trip across Canada, seeking a route for the railway. Even more famously, it was Fleming who conceived of Standard Time as a way to

make sense of conflicting railway timetables. Fleming turned his scientifically trained mind to the question of time and how work in the world was changing. Fleming was also a man of deep faith, whose commitment to worship and whose energy and creativity carried him into the Presbyterian worship debates of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[5]

Before exploring Fleming's interest in worship issues further, it is necessary to understand the nature and form of Presbyterian worship in the late-nineteenth century, in order to locate Fleming's contribution to the development of Canadian Presbyterian worship practices. Presbyterians in Scotland were fiercely proud of the free prayer tradition that had become the pattern of the Church of Scotland from the mid-seventeenth century. When individual clergy used prayer books or other forms of printed prayers in worship, they found themselves harassed and held up to scorn. Presbyterians had the *Directory for Public Worship*, written by the Westminster Divines in 1642-3, at the same time as the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. The *Directory* was not a liturgy, it was an outline of the elements to be included in a worship service along with how a service of worship should be conducted. The *Directory* contained no written prayers.

This antipathy towards set liturgical forms, argues Bryan Spinks, had its roots in four factors.[6] First, a set liturgy was too much like Roman Catholic practice, and Presbyterians had little desire to be even the least bit like the Roman church. Second, any set liturgy in the seventeenth century would have required the approval of the government (the magistrate), placing the magistrate over scripture and the church, a violation of Reformed understandings of church-state relations. Third, Presbyterians, though legalistic in many ways, have always had an aversion to order being imposed. Finally, evangelical piety, the spiritual dynamism of one part of the Presbyterian tradition, viewed public prayer as a gift of the Holy Spirit, and therefore no set liturgy was required. Thus week by week Presbyterian clergy led their congregations in prayer extemporaneously. George Hill, Principal of St. Andrews University, Scotland, neatly summed up the Presbyterian view when he told his theological students in 1803:

> The Church of Scotland, in adopting a Directory instead of a Liturgy, considers its ministers as [people] of understanding, of taste, and of sentiment, capable of thinking for themselves, who . . . may be

> permitted to exercise their talents, with a becoming dependence upon Divine aid, in the sacred and important office of leading the devotions of Christian worshippers.[7]

Yet by mid-nineteenth century some Presbyterian clergy wanted to reform the worship life of the church to allow "a combination of free and liturgical prayer."[8] This movement located primarily in the Church of Scotland, found more traction after the Great Disruption of 1844 in which the Free Church of Scotland and Church of Scotland divided from one another. Part of this move towards a defined liturgy was driven by concerns for Presbyterian colonists in various parts of the world who had no easy access to Presbyterian clergy yet wanted to worship within the Presbyterian tradition. For these settlers a book of services and prayers would be extremely valuable. To that end, in 1863, the Church of Scotland published *Prayers for Social and Family Worship*. Social worship occurred when people from various households gathered together to worship the Triune God without the presence of a minister. When a minister was present, it was public worship. This was not the first time Presbyterians had produced a book to be used by lay people beyond the reach of a minister. In 1645 *A Supply of Prayer for Ships* was published; it took the *Directory* and added set, formal prayers to be used when no minister was available. As Spinks notes, "This suggests that conceived or free prayer was regarded as a *ministerial gift*, not a general one. Lay-led worship could, and should, use set prayers" (emphasis in original).[9] If set prayers had a place in aiding social worship, maybe they also had a role in public worship. To this end, the Church Service Society worked within the Church of Scotland to produce a worship book. In 1867, the Society published the first edition of *Euchologion*, which went through seven editions in the next thirty years. Though not officially endorsed by the Church of Scotland, its publication was a major shift from the traditional Presbyterian opposition to liturgical forms. Opposition was still present, largely located in the more evangelical Free Church of Scotland. The work of the Church Service Society and the debate it provoked overlaps the time when Fleming's interest in worship issues was most evident.

Fleming's interest was not limited to aiding settlers and others beyond the reach of "the church bell" to worship God on a regular basis. He was also interested in the public worship led by ministers. As Fleming readily acknowledged, he had no formal theological training nor was he a leading lay person within the denomination,

> I have, however, been a regular attendant at the services of the Church since my infancy, about three score and ten years ago, and during these years I have had opportunities of judging of the needs of my fellow worshippers under all circumstances, and of the merits and defects of the ordinary services of our congregations.[10]

Through these years of experience he had determined that "the ordinary manner of observing public worship in our congregations is in some respects imperfect and not always satisfactory to the worshippers."[11] Fleming was also well aware of the worship debate taking place in other branches of the English-speaking Reformed tradition. He read widely on the topic of worship and his published writings show evidence of that reading.[12]

Fleming believed that "Divine service" had two parts. There was teaching, the minister through the sermon was solely responsible to preach and teach. This could be understood as God speaking to the congregation. There was worship, a shared responsibility of minister and people together, as the congregation spoke to God. In this dialogue between God and the congregation, it was essential that the people not be simply "passive listeners," they needed to have "as full share as practicable in the act of worship." This right to be actively involved in worship was one each worshipper shared with the minister.[13]

Fleming's first publicly expressed his views at the April 1894 gathering of the Theological Alumni of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, when he spoke on the topic of congregational prayer. It is almost certain that his life-long friend, The Rev. George Grant, now Principal of Queen's University, was aware of Fleming's views, and cognizant of the potential debate such views would create within the Presbyterian Church. Fleming's paper on congregational prayer was published in *Queen's Quarterly* in July 1894.[14] Central to Fleming's understanding was his idea that "congregational prayer is an essential part of public worship. Joint prayer is one of the principal objects designed by Christian people in coming together to worship God."[15] Carefully walking through the history of Presbyterianism worship, Fleming noted in early Presbyterianism the presence of a reader who read the prayers, scriptures and psalms, while the minister preached. Over time the role of the reader disappeared, leaving the minister to do everything. Yet there existed a tradition of read prayers, not just extemporaneous prayer. Free or extemporaneous prayer had two flaws, in Fleming's view. First, it was very difficult to do well. Unless the minister was exceptionally gifted it lent itself to "crude unpremeditated

thoughts and imperfect utterances." Ministers would do better, Fleming contended, to prepare their prayers ahead of time in their study, so that these dangers were avoided. Or even to use prayers written by other people and printed for a wider audience. Fleming's logical extension of this point was, if prayers were being prepared or chosen ahead of time then the prayers used in worship could be printed for the whole congregation to use.[16]

Second, in what way, Fleming argued, could extemporaneous prayers, or prayers which were known only to the minister be congregational prayer. "The congregation at best can only follow the minister in prayer . . . the words spoken from the pulpit cannot be called in any correct sense the prayer of the congregation."[17] For the people in the pew to enter into the prayer, so it became the prayer of the entire congregation, they had to be able to follow along with the prayer. Otherwise they were merely the hearers of prayers and not participants in the prayers. To deal with this lack of meaningful participation by the congregation in congregational prayer, Fleming advocated the creation of a book of prayers for use in public worship. In the pew racks there would be a Bible, a hymn book, a prayer book and a Psalter. Fleming believed that the hymn book, the prayer book and the Psalter could be bound together. Each prayer in the book would have a number, and the numbers of the prayers to be used on a given Sunday would be placed on a prayer number board, just as were the numbers of the hymns that were to be sung on a particular Sunday. Members of the congregation could look up the prayer the minister was using and follow along making the prayer their own, a truly congregational prayer. Fleming dismissed the argument that the prayers in such a book would become stale and mere rote. The hymns in the hymn book did not become stale and mere rote by being sung more than once. In fact, no one wanted to have brand new hymns each week, the familiar and the known were good for congregational singing, it would also be good for congregational prayer. It would be left up to each member of the congregation to determine if they would pray out loud or silently as the minister read the prayers for the day. The potential of having congregants praying out loud along with the minister would have struck many Presbyterian clergy and lay people as novel. It does indicate the depth of Fleming's commitment to making congregational a shared activity of the minister and the people. Not all prayers should be congregational prayers in this way, there were times when special prayers were needed, and ministers would need to lead these prayers extemporaneously. Like most of the other reformers of

Presbyterian worship, Fleming wanted a blending of free prayer and liturgical prayer.[18]

Fleming was not content merely to present these views at a conference of clergy, he wanted action. In 1897 Fleming sent a memorial, a formal request, to the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada asking that three worship books be produced. A book for family worship was needed to help busy households have some form of "family altar." In the packed schedules of the modern world, parents often did not have time to plan family worship and a book of devotional exercises for households would be helpful. Fleming had some experience producing such a resource, having compiled *Daily Prayers for Busy Households* in 1879.[19] The second resource Fleming wanted was a book for Social Worship, believing it was needed to respond to the situation on the prairies and in the north where people gathered to worship without the presence of a minister. In presenting his case Fleming made no reference to the Church of Scotland's 1863 *Prayers for Social and Family Worship*. Such an oversight likely means that he was unaware of its existence, because he was familiar with most of the Scottish Presbyterian worship resources of the late-nineteenth century. Finally, Fleming wanted a prayer book produced for use in Presbyterian worship. Extemporaneous prayer had its place as did written prayers that could be followed by the congregation in a prayer book.[20]

The General Assembly's Committee on Conformity in Public Worship was not surprised by the Fleming's memorial, for Fleming had been writing letters to the committee about worship since late 1895. In order to expand and frame the worship debate, Fleming gathered together his memorial, his letter supporting his memorial, other correspondence he had had with the committee, and the presentation made to the Alumni at Queen's, along with worship-related material written by other Presbyterians, and had it published in 1898 as *Divine Worship in Connection with the Presbyterian Church in Canada*.[21] Circulated first to all the ministers within the denomination, the book was interesting enough that in 1900, a lay person's edition was produced. Entitled, *Divine Worship under All Conditions in Connection with The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Edition for Laymen,* the only difference between it and the previous edition was that the 1900 edition had an introductory note written by Fleming explaining the events leading to the laypersons' edition.

Fleming's willingness to broaden the debate to involve the entire church produced a reaction. Not everyone in the denomination was happy

with the development of written prayers. In 1901, The Rev. Dr. Robert Johnston, D.D., of London, Ontario published *Presbyterian Worship: Its Spirit, Method, and History*. Johnston challenged Fleming's underlying assumptions, eloquently defending a worship free from "the outward trappings of form":

> Our free and untrammeled worship demands from the worshipper [their] best; it brings [them] face to face with . . . God, and forbids [them] . . . rest in any mere repetition of a familiar form; it requires of the minister a preparation of both mind and soul, and challenges [them] to spiritual conflict which [they] dare not refuse, while in addition to all this its very freedom renders it adaptable to all the varying circumstances in which a land like our own the worship of God must be conducted. It is suitable alike to the stately city church and to the humble cabin of the settler, or to the mission house of the far West; wherever [people] assemble for worship affords the possibility for seemly, orderly and reverent procedure. Is there any other form of worship suggested for which as much can be said?[22]

This view was widespread in the denomination, growing from the strength of its Free Church heritage.

General Assembly responded to Fleming's 1897 memorial by splitting the request into three parts. A group began the production of a set of devotional exercises for family worship; they completed their work in 1919, held up in part by the denomination's cash crunch of 1912 and the distractions of World War 1.[23] Fleming appears to have had no involvement with this group's activities. An Aids for Social Worship committee was established a year after Fleming's memorial to the General Assembly, with Fleming as secretary of the committee. The third issue, written prayers for Public Worship, was referred to The Committee on Uniformity in Worship. It was not until 1922 that the Presbyterian Church in Canada produced a *Book of Common Worship*. It was designed for the use of clergy alone, it was not put in pew racks so congregation members could follow along, making the prayers their own.[24]

The Committee on Aids to Social Worship, established by the General Assembly in 1898, had seven members, three clergy from Halifax, three clergy from Ottawa, and Fleming as the only non-clergy member of the committee, who was living in both Ottawa and Halifax. Clearly Fleming was the key player in this project. Feeling an urgency to complete

its work the committee in early 1899 circulated a first draft of the *Aids for Social Worship* to the denomination for response. The preface read in part:

> The want of suitable aids to worship on the Lord's Day is constantly felt in remote parts of the Dominion by those who are, for the time, cut off from the ordinary ministrations of the Church, and who desire to unite in the worship of God. The design of this manual is to furnish aids to social worship for those so situated. It may be found helpful to Pioneer-settlers, Explorers, Mounted Police, Volunteers on military duty, Travellers by land and sea, Visitors to sea-side resorts, and other persons. One complete service is submitted, which may be followed as it is given, but from time to time it may be found desirable to modify the words. To effect this end, other prayers are furnished, any one of which may be substituted at discretion, without changing the order of service.[25]

The vision had dramatically expanded beyond the 1877 book. A wide variety of people could find a use for such a book, even urbanites on holidays. As well, in some locations this book would be the only source for worship services for the foreseeable future. The book had to have enough range and variation in style for users to not be tired of it in a couple of months. While the vision had expanded beyond the earlier work, the parallels between this edition of *Aids for Social Worship* and *Short Sunday Services for Travellers* are striking. The first service from 1877 book was reproduced with the addition of a place for a sermon, or alternatively the reading of an extended portion of Scripture. "A Short Litany" from the 1877 book was also included. There were alternative prayers of invocation, confession, supplication, intercession, along with more opening sentences and concluding prayers. A collection of Special Prayers was included for use by people in particular situations: colonists, miners, prospectors, people travelling by ship, and those on military duty. Since it might be that no one present had led a "Divine Service," "it is deemed advisable to furnish somewhat minute explanations and instructions for the guidance of such as may desire them."[26]

The Aids for Social Worship Committee acknowledged that not all of the worship material was of their own creation; a variety of sources were used in compiling the service book. The only printed source explicitly named was the 1877 service book. These prayers were most likely original creations by the three clergy who worked on the 1877 book. Another source for prayers was *Euchologion: A Book of Common Order*

that had been first issued in 1867 by The Church Service Society. *Euchologion* did not have the official endorsement by any Presbyterian denomination and was a step outside of the normal practice for Presbyterians. One of the leading figures in The Church Service Society was Dr. George W. Sprott who had grown up in Nova Scotia where his father had been one of the pioneering Presbyterian clergy. The younger Sprott had served as a minister in both Nova Scotia and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) where he had experienced what could happen when no direction was given regarding the order of worship.[27] Nearly 30% of the prayers in *Aids for Social Worship* were taken either verbatim or adapted from the seventh, and last, edition of *Euchologion,* published in 1896.[28] The Aids for Social Worship Committee also noted their use of unnamed Free Church sources. It has not been possible to trace the sources of all the prayers in *Aids for Social Worship*, and therefore it is impossible to determine which prayers the committee members wrote themselves.

The "Explanations and Instructions" for persons unfamiliar with leading worship services are intriguing. The service was to be "conducted reverently and devoutly," with "hurry and confusion" being avoided. It was assumed that everyone attending the service had access to a copy of the service book, or could share with a neighbour. The "Reader" was instructed to announce the page reference for each prayer, and pause allowing people to find the prayer before beginning. While a "Reader" was necessary to lead the service, all worshippers were on an equal footing and "each person should have an opportunity of taking part in the Service as far as practicable." This could be accomplished in a variety of ways. The Reader's voice might be the only voice heard during prayer, but it was everyone's responsibility to follow the prayer, which they had before them in their copy of the manual, "attentively and devoutly." With the prose hymns of praise, the Psalms, and even occasionally the scripture readings (both the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes were printed in the book), the Reader was encouraged to invite the other worshippers to participate by reading the alternate verses. "All the worshippers should heartily join in the readings with a clear voice." A second person could read the scripture readings, "A second voice is always desirable, as it destroys monotony and promotes interest in the service." The instructions were optimistic about the willingness of small groups of people, usually dominated by men, to sing, "It is not expected that there will be much difficulty in respect to the singing of the Hymns introduced in the order of service." Certainly this was not the experience of missionaries and

theological students on the prairies, who found the singing of the hymns one of the most challenging parts of worship.[29] If singing was not a possibility, the hymns could be read. Specific instructions were given on announcing the scripture readings. If no sermon was being preached, additional scripture readings should be read. The high level of participation expected on the part of the congregation is noteworthy; everyone was to be focussed on the purpose of the worship service: "the common worship of Almighty God." All were to be "equally concerned in the solemn duty."[30]

The document having been circulated through the church, twenty-seven of fifty-two presbyteries responded formally to the committee. Three were opposed to the entire project "on the ground that it is unnecessary and opposed to the spirit of the Church," the other twenty-four expressed support for the project while raising a range of amendments whey wished to see made. The most significant criticism concerned the amount of responsive material in the service book. The Presbyterian desire for freedom from prescribed worship forms and a complete antipathy towards liturgy underlay this criticism. The committee explained that the responsive material was "introduced under the conviction that in some groups of [denominationally] mixed worshippers, composed wholly of lay [people], it would be found that the responses would provide an opportunity for all present participating directly in the service, and thus tend to promote a deeper individual interest in the solemn act of worship."[31] Because a broad range of denominations were represented among those gathered to worship God in the "remote settlements," it was important to have a resource that rather than accommodating one denomination's preferred style accommodated a range of worship styles. As the committee made clear, this worship book was not to be used by clergy, it was to aid lay people in conducting services when a minister was not present.[32]

There was substantial discussion of the resource at the 1900 General Assembly. Because a number of presbyteries had not expressed their views regarding the resource, the committee was instructed to consult further with the church. Dr. John Scrimger, professor of Greek and Hebrew Exegesis at Presbyterian College, Montreal, seconded by the Clerk of the General Assembly brought a motion "That it be an instruction to the Committee to eliminate the responsive portion of the complete service and the litany from the book before sending it to Presbyteries for their opinion."[33] This led to a "lively debate" between those pointing to the need for such a resource "for those beyond church bell and minister," and those

who saw "in 'forms' the 'thin edge of the wedge'" leading to the prescribed use of worship texts. The *Presbyterian Record* described the debate, "The interest centered in the speeches--pro and con--of a venerable Goliath of debate, and a youthful David of the eldership, with honours at least even for David."[34] While the "venerable Goliath" was most likely Scrimger, it is impossible to determine who the "youthful David" was. The debate was so lengthy, the vote on the motion was delayed until the following day. In the end the motion to eliminate the responsive material was passed by the Assembly.[35]

The Committee quickly began work on revisions. "A Short Litany" was removed along with changing all but one of the responsive sections to be for a single voice. One responsive reading, other than the psalms, remained, its continued presence justified because it came from an "ancient," unnamed Presbyterian source. Four alternative orders of service were given, providing for variety. As well, the committee having heard the need for a burial service included one. In addition to the responsive psalms, ten metrical psalms were added.[36] Things happened between the assemblies of 1900 and 1901 to change the atmosphere around the revised service book. New people were added to the committee, including The Rev. John Pringle from Altin, British Columbia, who was spending his days visiting small groups of prospectors spread through a vast area of the north.[37] He saw a need for the book urging its approval. The revised book found its way into the hands of chaplains and others going to the Boer War. Here was a meaningful and immediate application for the book. When presbyteries were asked to respond to the revised service book, thirty-two did so, six were opposed to the book and twenty-six were in favour. Surprisingly, among those opposed were Bruce in Ontario's near north, Melita in rural Manitoba, and Kamloops in the British Columbia interior, areas that would be expected to welcome the book. In total only three prairie presbyteries responded to the committee. This, however, does not necessarily mean Presbyterians on the prairies were cool to the service book, there are many reasons why presbyteries do not respond to requests from national committees.[38]

The debate at the 1901 Assembly was somewhat contentious. The initial motion, "The Committee be instructed to complete the revision of the manual and submit it to the next General Assembly for its approval," was amended by Mr. A. MacKay and Mr. F. A. MacLennan to read, "The Assembly disapprove of the book 'Aids to Social Worship.'" The amendment was defeated and the initial motion passed.[39] Mr. A. MacKay

dissented from the decision of the Assembly, "I dissent against the finding of the Assembly on Aids to Social Worship, because the use of such a book, which calculated to kill the spirit of prayer and make worship formal, will foster a taste for liturgical services, and thus pave the way for the introduction of a liturgy into the Church."[40] The perennial challenge of balancing extemporaneous prayer with written prayers, of balancing freedom of spirit with the beauty of a prepared liturgy, had raised its head, yet again.

When the Committee reported in 1902, only one presbytery was expressing reservations, not with the book itself, but with the "literary style." The need for this service book was now widely recognized. Even before its formal approval by the Assembly, "urgent requests have been received from missionaries and from students working in outlying parts of the Dominion, for a number of copies of the Manual." The committee anticipating approval had been shipping ten copies to anyone asking for it. In shipping multiple copies to individual congregations, the committee expected the members of these congregation to participate in worship "as far as was practicable." The committee was correct in its anticipation of the Assembly's action; *Aids for Social Worship* was approved.[41] The committee's final report ended, "It has come to the knowledge of the Committee, since their appointment, that the need for such a work is great, and they hope and believe that, with God's blessing, this little Manual, in spite of its imperfections, will prove profitable to many, and eventually result in great benefit to the whole Church."[42]

While not designed to be used by clergy, "this little Manual" was the only Canadian Presbyterian worship book available until 1922. There is strong evidence that some clergy used it in conducting worship services. A well-worn copy owned by The Rev. Angus Sutherland (my wife's grand-father), a student minister in The Presbyterian Church in Canada from 1915 to 1919 and an ordained minister from 1920 to 1928, has marginal notations at a couple of points. An opening prayer for evening services is inside the front cover. A prayer for use by soldiers on the front lines has been modified to be prayed by those at home remembering soldiers overseas. Poignantly, the burial service has been amended so it could be used for the burial of a child.[43]

For over thirty years Sir Sandford Fleming, a lay person, sought to aid lay people beyond the reach of the church bell to worship the Triune God. Aware that survey crews would be away from the reach of ministers, he urged the development of an ecumenical service book, a remarkable

achievement in its own right. Catching a vision for what this could mean not just for survey crews Fleming had the book expanded and its goals broadened. Fleming knew that worship matters. In the worship of God, these small, scattered gatherings of Christians found their lives enriched, the struggle of their lives given meaning, and they were reminded of a community of faith that reached beyond the realities of their present situation. Fleming's commitment to aiding people to worship highlights the Reformed understanding that human beings find their highest calling and true meaning in the worship of the Triune God.

The debate created by Fleming's desire for a more formally liturgical, less free worship style points to the tension that exists within the Reformed tradition over balancing freedom and form. While the worship debates of the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries may use different language, the substantive issue remains the same, how to balance freedom and form in worship?[44] But what drove Fleming to raise these concerns must not be lost. By limiting clergy freedom in worship Fleming believed that all worshippers would be able to participate in the worship life of the congregation. Fleming wanted congregational prayer to be truly the prayers of the whole congregation, the community of faith gathered in prayer.

Finally, Fleming's deep interest as a lay person in the worship of the church highlights the central Reformed doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Fleming had integrated his faith and life into one. Not only was he a Christian when he designed railroads and bridges, and organized time, he was also a systematic thinker about matters of Christian worship. By bringing his finely trained mind to the worship debate, Fleming marked out a path for other lay people to become deeply engaged in significant dialogues about the faith and life of the church.

Endnotes

1. George Grant, *Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872*, rev. ed. (Toronto: The Radisson Society of Canada, Ltd., 1925), 28.

2. *Short Sunday Services for travelling parties being a simple devotional form of prayer and praise for the use of Christians on the Lord's Day*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1877), 7.

3. *Short Sunday Services*, 2nd ed., 3-4.

4. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 132.

5. As Mario Creet writes in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* vol. 14 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), "Fleming has not been well served by historians." L.J. Burpee's *Sandford Fleming: Empire Builder* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1915) was the first biographer of Fleming, and his work remains the best overall account of Fleming's life. Lorne Green's *Chief Engineer: Life of a Nation-Builder* (Toronto: Dundern Press, 1993) does not add much to Burpee's work. Clark Blaise's *Time Lord: The Remarkable Canadian Who Missed His Train, and Changed the World* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2000) has attracted a great deal of attention and gives a good overview of Fleming's scientific understanding. Fleming's faith appears in this account, but as a substrata.

6. Bryan Spinks, "The Origins of the Antipathy to Set Liturgical Forms in the English-Speaking Reformed Tradition," in *Christian Worship in Reformed Churches Past and Present*, ed. Lukas Vischer (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 67-76.

7. George Hill, *Theological Institutes* (Edinburgh, 1803), 294; cited in Henry Sefton, "Revolution to Disruption," in *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland*, eds. Duncan Forrester and Douglas Murray (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1984), 74.

8. Douglas Murray, "From Disruption to Union," in *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland,* 86.

9. Spinks, "The Origins of the Antipathy to Set Liturgical Forms in the English-Speaking Reformed Tradition," 79.

10. Sandford Fleming, "Letter on the Subject of Family, Social, and Public Worship," in *Divine Worship Under all Conditions in Connection with The Presbyterian Church in Canada, Edition for Laymen* (1900), 1.

11. Fleming, "Introductory address to Presbyterian Laymen," in *Divine Worship Under All Conditions*, iii.

12. Letter from Sanford Fleming to Dr. Laing, #2, 26 November 1895, and Letter from Sanford Fleming to Dr. Laing, #3, undated, in *Divine Worship*, 103-105, 105-109. Letter #2 lists three Scottish Societies working on Presbyterian worship, including The Church Service Society, discussing their various worship service publications. Letter #3, outlines the history of worship developments in Scotland, and ends with a seven item bibliography.

13. Fleming, "Introductory," in *Divine Worship*, iv-v.

14. Fleming, "Congregational Prayer: An Address to the Theological Alumni of Queen's University, 25 April 1894," *Queen's Quarterly* 2, No. 1 (July 1894): 1-10.

15. Fleming, "Congregational Prayer," in *Divine Worship*, p. 90. In his view of congregational prayer Fleming was in line with Calvin who understood prayer to be the "common task" of all who had gathered to worship.

16. Fleming, "Congregational Prayer," in *Divine Worship*, 90-93.

17. Fleming, "Congregational Prayer," in *Divine Worship*, 90, 92, 93.

18. Letter from Sanford Fleming to Rev. Dr. Laing, #1, 26 November 26, 1895, in *Divine Worship*, 99-102.

19. Sandford Fleming, *Daily Prayers for Busy Households* (Montreal, 1879). I have not seen a copy of this 70-page book. Burpee in his biography of Fleming, *Sandford Fleming: Empire Builder*, lists this title in the Fleming bibliography.

20. *Divine Worship*, iii-viii, 1-21; *Acts and Proceedings of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (hereafter *A&P*) (1897), 55; and *A&P* (1898), 66.

21. *Divine Worship in Connection with the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, (Montreal: The William Drysdale Co., 1898). The 1900 edition was published by The Westminster Company, Limited in Toronto.

22. Robert Johnston, *Presbyterian Worship: Its Spirit, Method, and History*, (Toronto: The Publishers Syndicate, Ltd., 1901), 162-163.

23. *The Book of Family Devotions (approved and commended by the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada)* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1919), viii.

24. *Book of Common Order for use in Church Services and Offices* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1922).

25. *Aids for Social Worship: Short Sunday Services being simple forms of Prayer and Praise for the use of Christian on the Lord's Day when they are at a distance from Regular Church Services submitted by The Special Committee of the General Assembly* (Toronto: The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1899), 3.

26. *Aids for Social Worship* (1899), 3-4.

27. Murray, "From Disruption to Union," 81-88.

28. The Church Service Society, *Euchologion: A Book of Common Order*, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1896), 43-284. Examples of prayers from *Euchologion* found in *Aids for Social Worship* are:

    Prayer, *Euchologion*, 56-57; Prayer #6, *Social Worship*, 38-39.
    Prayer, *Euchologion*, 72; Prayer #8, *Social Worship*, 68-69.
    Prayers #1, 3, *Euchologion*, 253-254; Prayers #8, 9, *Social Worship*, 40.
    Prayer #2, *Euchologion*, 257; Prayer #5, *Social Worship*, 49.
    Prayer #5, *Euchologion*, 272-275; Prayer #5, *Social Worship*, 77-80.
    Prayer #4, *Euchologion*, 280; Prayer #3, *Social Worship*, 100.
    Prayer #9, *Euchologion*, 282; Prayer #5, *Social Worship*, 102.

29. Peter Bush, *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885-1925* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Pub. Ltd., 2000), 80-81.

30. *Aids for Social Worship: Being Short Services Prayer and Praise for the use of Christians* (Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd., 1900), 233-239.

31. *A&P* (1900), 287.

32. *A&P* (1900), 288.

33. *A&P* (1900), 48.

34. *The Presbyterian Record*, July 1900, 199.

35. *A&P* (1900), 48, 61.

36. *Aids for Social Worship*, 3. The Committee made no changes to the book after late 1900. The 1902 edition of the book, was the revised edition produced following the 1900 Assembly with a one-page synopsis of the process leading to the approval of the book glued inside the title page.

37. Bush, *Western Challenge*, 171-172.

38. *A&P* (1901), 284.

39. *A&P* (1901), 57.

40. *A&P* (1901), 57.

41. *A&P* (1902), 69, 306. In an ironic twist, the motion to approve *Aids for Social Worship* was moved and seconded by the Clerk of the General Assembly and Prof. Scrimger, the same people who demanded the removal of the responsive material from the book.

42. *A&P* (1902), 306.

43. Copy of *Aids for Social Worship* (1900), in the possession of the author.

44. See "A Common Reflection on Christian Worship in Reformed Churches Today," in *Christian Worship in Reformed Churches Past and Present,* 285-286.

Negotiating the "Sacred Village": *Dietsche* (Low German speaking) Mennonite Women in Southern Manitoba

TINA FEHR KEHLER

Dietsche or Low German speaking immigrant women's acculturation into Canadian society is affected by the legacy of the Mennonite sacred village in Latin America. That is, their experiences in, and response to, their sacred village heritage, with its interconnection between culture and religion, shapes how they preserve and transmit their culture and how they access or become part of the larger Mennonite and Canadian society.[1] Typically, effective integration into the host society depends on an ability to maintain one's culture while being able to access the larger society.[2] However, maintenance of *Dietsche* culture, that is, the sacred village, generally elicits an attitude of separation from society. The Latin American sacred village acts as a repertoire to which they refer when settling into life in Canada. They choose, unconsciously or consciously, certain elements from their past culture and search for an appropriate environment that reflects these elements to some degree. They then assimilate the new community of southern Manitoba into their perception of Mennonitism. This makes it possible for most to identify with the community, adopting new ways of being while attempting to maintain continuity with the past. It is through the Mennonite community in Canada that they become part of the larger society.

This paper arises out of a qualitative research project conducted for my Masters thesis in sociology. It focuses specifically on women's experiences and voices to understand better their specific location in the

preservation and transmission of cultural and religious traditions to their children because it is often women who are charged with these tasks.[3]

History

To contextualize the present situation of the *Dietsche* Mennonites in Canada it is necessary to give some background history surrounding their departure and return. The history of dislocation, difficulties and re-migration of the *Dietsche* Mennonites is an important element in understanding the divergent interests in cultural and religious preservation and transmission of identity to their children.

Different groups have used various terms to distinguish this group of Mennonites from others. They are typically known as "Mexican Mennonites" by those who live in southern Manitoba; many immigrants have spent most of their lives in Mexico. "Kanadier," is the term used by some academics and Mennonite Central Committee to distinguish these Mennonites with their Canadian roots from Mennonite immigrants from other countries. I use the expression *Dietsche*, the Low German word for German, because this is how most of the women identified themselves. They are the descendants of Mennonites who migrated from Russia to Canada in the 1870s. Here they attempted to transplant their traditional religion and way of life based on the concept of the sacred village. When their way of life was threatened, that is, the boundaries were unable to separate them from the larger world, the most conservative members of the most traditional Mennonite churches left Manitoba for Mexico. Thus the *Dietsche* are those Mennonites who have re-migrated back to Canada from Latin America. Several factors including political, religious, economic and cultural, led the most traditional to leave Canada for Latin America.

Mennonites initially migrated from Russia to Canada in the 1870s. Here they attempted to transplant their traditional religion and way of life in closed communities. This included operating their own independent educational institutions, living in bloc village settlement patterns, and governing their own village affairs. These rights were protected by the federal government in a special *Privilegium*. A *Privilegium* refers to a set of special rights that governments throughout history have granted Mennonites allowing them to live relatively autonomously within the countries to which they have migrated. After having lived in Manitoba and Saskatchewan for a generation, many of conservative Mennonites felt these rights were threatened in several ways. The Mennonites were

included in the Anglicization program to assimilate immigrants on the prairies. Because education was under the jurisdiction of the provinces, the Mennonites' right to their own schools that had been granted by the federal government did not stand. Thus, they were no longer allowed to manage their own separate schools, something they knew was paramount to socializing their children.[4] The government further provoked the Mennonites by imposing conscription upon all young males; this negated the Mennonite's right to military exemption, which the Canadian government also granted them upon arrival to Canada.[5]

Several divisive forces within the Mennonite community also influenced the decision to relocate to Latin America. The most traditional Mennonites resented the tactics of progressive Mennonites from the United States espousing Protestant revivalism.[6] Protestant revivalism with its focus on individual piety and conversion introduced ideas contrary to the traditional Mennonite collectivist philosophy. Also, to gain a foothold in the Mennonites communities were individualistic farming practices where a family lived on a separate acreage farming their own land. This contradicted the traditional shared land system as well as village life central to their culture and religion. This last process initiated a breakdown of common fields, self-contained bloc settlements, and village life to the dismay of those wanting to maintain traditional cultural practices.[7] Additionally, those who moved viewed migration outside Canada as a way to separate the true believers from those who had waned in their religious convictions and become seduced by the world.[8] High birth rates and a shortage of territory that would allow for enclosed settlements also influenced their relocation. Maintaining kinship ties and an agrarian lifestyle were just as fundamental to the Mennonite community as its religious ideals. Instead of succumbing to what many saw as the inevitable dissolution of their cultural and religious way of life, many opted to migrate once again, this time to Latin America.

As a result, nearly two-thirds of Mennonites from the most conservative churches, the Old Colony (5,500),[9] and Sommerfelder (several hundred) immigrated to Mexico in the 1920s. The government of Mexico granted them autonomous settlements in various locations across northern Mexico with the same type of *Privilegium* Canada had given the Mennonites in the 1870s.[10] In an attempt to preserve their traditional culture and religion, that is, the sacred village, the Mennonites attempted to isolate themselves from the larger Mexican society that surrounded their various settlements.[11]

In Latin America, families lived in semi-extended family units on farmyards that bordered both sides of a long street making up a village.[12] A colony was comprised of several villages whose religious and secular affairs were run by the men within the church. At a community level, the women were involved in the informal activities such as preparations for funerals and weddings. On a daily basis they were responsible for raising the children, caring for the household, which included tending a garden, and conducting farm work.

Despite the original will to maintain and preserve the "traditional" Mennonite culture, a significant number of descendants eventually left Mexico.[13] They have been steadily re-migrating back to Canada. A common motivatin factor for the *Dietsche* people is the poor economic situation of the colonies in Latin America. Helen said they left because, "Well it was that there were such poor years, and there was little rainfall, and then it became poor there." She speaks to forces beyond her control such as the devaluation of the peso, and drought. A growing population and shortage of arable land also left many without a means to earn a livelihood. Continued connections with Mennonites in Canada broke down barriers those in the Mexican colonies had placed around themselves to maintain their separate way of life. Issues around the use of rubber tires on tractors, and the use of electricity and other technologies divided the people. Many of the most traditional left the original colonies in Mexico for new settlements in other parts of Mexico and Latin America. Thus those remaining in the original colonies tended to accept some changes predisposing them to leave the colonies to find a way to earn a living when it was not possible to do so within the colonies. Most of the women I interviewed came from these latter communities.

Theoretical Framework

I use the concept of the sacred village as a heuristic tool to explore how *Dietsche* women preserve and transmit their culture within Canadian society. Sociologist Leo Driedger describes the dynamics of a "sacred village.[14] It is a space that encompasses community life at the organizational, cultural, familial, economic, educational, friendship and religious levels. It is "sacred" because these Mennonites considered themselves a religious people whose organizations and families were under the authority of their church. In traditional sociological framework, generated by Emile Durkheim, that which is "sacred" is so because of prohibitions that serve

to separate it from something else thereby making that from which it is separate "profane."[15] The boundaries, in terms of proscriptions and prescriptions, defined everything within the bounds of the village/colony as sacred. Therefore, that which was outside the boundaries, physical and metaphorical, was designated "of the world" or profane. The *Dietsche* women interviewed engage in negotiating this sacred village tradition, that is, they "choose" which elements to maintain and transfer. This results in a range of possible acculturation strategies.

John Berry's acculturation typology illuminates how *Dietsche* immigrant women's everyday experiences serve to acculturate them into the larger Canadian society. Berry has proposed four strategies that individuals adopt in order to acculturate. They are based on individuals' "orientation to two issues: cultural maintenance (to what extent it is important to maintain one's cultural heritage and identity); and contact and participation (to what extent is it important to seek out and participate with other groups in the larger society)."[16] Assimilation occurs when there is little desire for cultural maintenance and one seeks contact with other cultures. Separation develops when there is high cultural maintenance and low contact with other cultures. When an individual prefers cultural maintenance and contact with other groups, integration follows. Finally marginalization results from minimal interest or possibility of cultural maintenance and contact with other groups. While these are ideal types and several of these strategies may exist in one person, nevertheless, this typology aids in understanding how immigrants become part of, or acculturate into, a new plural society.

A feminist framework for conducting research and feminist theory also informs this work. As a daughter of *Dietsche* immigrant parents and a mother raising her children as cultural and religious Mennonites, I was interested in the extent that *Dietsche* women have been able to preserve and transmit their cultural and religious traditions to the next generation. I sought to explore women's lived experiences within this community because "the only way of knowing a socially constructed world is knowing it from within."[17] The ways in which women re-create or negotiate their culture in a new society occurs in a particular manner because they are women. Gender becomes the lens through which the process of negotiating culture and religion is accomplished.

As well, feminism also contributes the idea of the link between the "private" realm, the institution of the family, and the "public" realm, often related to economic and political institutions.[18] I am interested in the

discourse on public/private dichotomy insofar as it helps to examine *Dietsche* women's lives in their preservation and transmission of their culture and religion. In beginning from the place of Dietsche women's lives, that is, their role as mother in the family, it has become clear that their relegation to the private realm in the Mennonite community is a result of their "choice" to perpetuate certain elements of their sacred village heritage. They have undergone a shift from a relatively self-sufficient way of life that resembles the pre-industrial world with its interconnection between the public and private realms, that is, the sacred village, to a "modern" society, which is based on a dichotomy between the public and private.[19]

Findings and Theoretical Analysis

Dietsche immigrant women's experiences in, and response to, their sacred village heritage, with its interconnection between culture and religion, shape how they preserve and transmit their culture and how they relate to the larger Mennonite and Canadian society. The majority of the women stated that they moved to southern Manitoba because they wanted to continue to identify with the Mennonite community. They wanted to maintain a sense of their sacred village community:

> Tina: When did you and why did you move to Manitoba?
>
> Susan: Well, here (in southern Manitoba) at the schools, here they still prayed, in the school.
>
> Tina: Oh, in Ontario it isn't in the public school?
>
> Susan: No, there it isn't. And we wanted not to live in the city, we wanted to live in the country. Not always holidays (easy) when one has to keep the kids locked up inside, so that they can't go play outside when they are used to going to play outside. We moved to Blenheim, there we lived in the city and it was very hard with the children always so that when they went outside to play then one always had to be around. There were many kidnappers there.

Because the public school still allows prayer and Bible readings, southern Manitoba is viewed by many *Dietsche* women as a Christian friendly environment. The area provides a safe environment for her children from

the larger society, represented by Susan as "kidnappers." Women, like Susan, and their families moved to the area because it was populated by Mennonites, because it was rural and contained villages that were familiar to them in their Latin American Mennonite colonies. Marie said, "I thought this was still villages and a lot like the place where we came from." All the women perceived that migrating to a predominantly Mennonite area would provide the greatest opportunity to maintain a sense of their Mennonite identity.

Statements made by the *Dietsche* Mennonite women suggest that they are actively engaged in the process of negotiating their ethnic and religious culture in a new cultural environment. The women's past, or habitus, in the sacred village "becomes a stabilizing influence that shapes the flow of effort and allows them to sustain identities, meanings, and interactions over time."[20] They exert their agency (applying effort) by selecting the sacred village (their habitus) elements of religious community lived out in a particular geographical location separated from secular society and projecting it onto the Mennonite community in southern Manitoba. In doing so they maintain a particularly *Dietsche* Mennonite ethnic and religious identity. In this respect, the majority tend to separate themselves from the larger secular society, but integrate into the larger Mennonite society by assimilating or merging the larger Mennonite society into their conception of their past Mennonite sacred village experience. Upon leaving Latin America, they seek something familiar, and finding that which is most familiar integrate it into their religious and ethnic Mennonite identity. Thus "through this active process of recognition and assimilation [*Dietsche* Mennonite women] actors contribute to a sense of continuity and order within temporally evolving experiences."[21] In this way, many separate themselves from the larger society while becoming part of the larger Mennonite society and maintain a Mennonite identity that is particularly *Dietsche*.

This tendency is further evidenced in hopes for and actual marriage patterns of their children. Women like Mary and her family emigrated from Latin America so their husbands could obtain employment, but chose southern Manitoba to ensure the maintenance of their cultural identity for their children:

> Mary: There was very little for the children (unclear). There were Mexicans and (unclear). And they made friends with them. When they would have gone to school for 17 or 18 years, then they would

> have had friends to whom they could have gotten married. And we thought about it a lot, so we moved out here.
>
> Tina: So you didn't want your children to marry. . .
>
> Mary: Dark people. I wanted them all to [marry]. . .
>
> Tina: . . . with Mennonites?
>
> Mary: Mmhmm (yes).
>
> Tina: So have all your children married Mennonites?
>
> Mary: Such as there are (those that have married have married Mennonites).

Mary was living in the United States in an area populated with many Hispanics. She said she saw her children making friends with people of different ethnicities and knew that if they stayed where they were, her children would possibly not marry other Mennonites. One of the motivations for coming to southern Manitoba was its high Mennonite population where her children could find Mennonite partners. All the women wanted their children to marry Christians, most, like Mary, thought it best if they were Mennonites. This may sound rather ethnocentric, that is, the belief that one's ethnic group is superior to others.[22] However, this attitude is in response to separate nature of the Latin American community which is based on the biblical mandate that Christians are to separate themselves from unbelievers (see 2 Corinthians 6:14-18.) Their concern also derives from the realization that the perpetuation of their culture and religion depends on endogamy.

Southern Manitoba acts as a Mennonite ethno-religious enclave[23] for these women and their families where, for example, public prayer at civic functions continues to be the accepted norm and traditional gender ideologies and roles predominate. Thus the Mennonite community in southern Manitoba can be construed as a "quasi-sacred village" for these women. The *Dietsche* women interviewed maintained that by living in this Mennonite enclave they are better able to preserve their ethnic and religious identity and ensure its continuation in the next generation. Weinfeld suggests that "Ethnic residential concentrations, whether as ghettos or neighbourhoods, have been linked to ethnic communal cohesion

and to the preservation of communal and cultural ties."[24] He adds that living in ethnic enclaves seems to be voluntary. The participants uphold this suggestion because actors, such as Mary, state that they move to the area willingly to perpetuate their Mennonite identity by living with other Mennonites. This enables their children to continue to identify by greatly increasing the likelihood of marrying other Mennonites, because, as Weinfeld states, "ethnic intermarriage (marrying someone outside of one's ethnic group) is usually seen as both a consequence of, and contributor to, the process of decreasing ethnic cohesion and ultimately, assimilation."[25]As Mary and other *Dietsche* Mennonite women with adult children have attested, their children have predominantly married Mennonites. This illustrates their tendencies toward separation from the larger society, but integration into the larger Mennonite society.[26]Their children's marriage to a Mennonite partner is, however, the culmination of years of dedication to raising their children to become Mennonites.

Within this "quasi-sacred village," women take on the responsibility to raise their children to be religiously and ethnically Mennonite and the home itself is part of this sacred realm. Nettie's response is typical of most women when asked what was important to teach their children: "I don't know, what kind of words I should use. I wanted to bring them up to be Christians." Caring for their children is their religious mandate. Mothers are unofficially sanctioned to perform this religious and cultural duty. This is evidenced by Marie's statement about the use of babysitters:

> Marie: I have used a babysitter only when I needed to go to the doctor or, there was a babysitter when I went to Bible study. I have almost had no use for babysitters. I mean babysitters are fine if you absolutely need them in an emergency. I don't know, but otherwise I always said, "We got our children for the hours that it's convenient and also for hours that it's inconvenient; they're ours." And they're just ours and we're responsible for them. And I'm not willing to let other people instill their values in our children if they're different from ours because somebody is going to instill values in the children. And they better be us because they're ours and we know what we want . . . I mean they're ours and who else should be having the privilege of raising them than us? And that's why I think it's sad that so many people and many small children have to go to daycares.

Mothers are obligated to stay at home to care for their young children, to instill cultural values and religious imperatives upon them. Alternative

care for their children is viewed as a threat to the role of mothers in the home and the transmission of one's culture and religion to the next generation. All the women interviewed cared for their children and their households on a full time basis until their youngest children could be cared for by older siblings, thereby overcoming this perceived threat.

Theoretically, all of women's work in the home takes on religious significance within the construct of the sacred village since their work maintains the larger Church community by socializing its members. However, there seems to be a disconnect between what they do as mothers and what is considered religious. This is noted in Justina's response to my question about what she did during her day that was religious:

> Justina: I guess basically what I do during the day that is religious is make sure that we pray before meals and after, to thank Him [God] for the food. I guess basically when I do my work, well that everybody does so there isn't much religious or not religious about it but (chuckle).
>
> Tina: But do you consider your work to be religious, something that you do that is part of your idea of what faith is about?
>
> Justina: Right, I guess yeah, staying at home, being here for the children when they come home and stuff, I do believe that is important for that [as part of being religious] too.

Because "everybody" does the type of work she does as a mother, she checks herself for thinking that it is religious. In questioning her about whether she does consider it to be religious, she consents that it is. While they are charged with the mandate to raise their children to become Mennonites, the mundane work that takes up much of their time, which is so much a part of the task of raising children, is not a church recognized religious task. It is just that, mundane. Nevertheless, they believe that their role in staying at home to raise their children to become religious Mennonites is of infinite value.

Dietsche women as actors tie together their task of childrearing with religious work; it is again something done out of an engagement with their past repertoire.[27] They select the role of mother in the home with which they are intimately familiar in the Latin American sacred village, infusing it with an invigorated religious purpose: they are the ones responsible for transmitting Mennonite religious identity to their children. As they did in

Latin America, they continue to raise religious Mennonites for the larger Mennonite community because they have internalized the larger community into their conception of their own Mennonite identity. Typically, feminists "have questioned the universality of the distinction between public and private spheres."[28] A feminist analysis exposes the ways in which the private sphere, the family, and public sphere, in this case the church and community, are mutually integrated rather than separate.[29] The *Dietsche* women whom I interviewed defied the dichotomization of the private and public spheres. Though the women function primarily in the "private" sphere of the home, they see it as integral to the larger Mennonite society in which they live. Their work in the home is religious because it creates the space in which the future generation of the Mennonite society is perpetuated. This way of being is a continuation of their sacred village in Latin America. These women migrate from a sacred village where all they did including raising children, socializing them into the church and community, sustaining the largely self-sufficient farm household and completing farm work, connected their economic, cultural and religious spheres. The lines between public and private were blurred. They continue to blur these lines in their new society.

While raising children is their primary task, household production along with providing economically for the family are also important but tend to fit in around children. There is a definite shift in the way children are perceived and the mother's role in raising them from Latin America to Canada. In Latin America, children fit in among the various tasks necessary to run a farm and household and were expected to contribute at early ages to their operation. Trudy recalls her own experiences as a child:

> I often had to stay home from school to help mom wash. My mom was . . . when my last brother was born I was eleven years old and then my mom's fingers became very sore and she could not work. Then I had to stay home a lot, always kneading dough and making food.

Mothers did not cater to their children's needs, rather children, like Trudy, were expected to aide in the maintenance of the household and farm. In North America, the priorities for children change. Mothers come to realize that their children cannot appropriate better jobs without at least some high school education.

> Tina: So for you that is important to go to school.
>
> Susan: Well, if they want to. It has to be that one has to have a high school diploma if they want to get a decent job.

While Susan realizes the necessity of a basic education, she leaves this choice to her children. This is in itself a change, because in Trudy's case she was not given a choice. In Latin America, religious education was administered through church-run schools. In Canada, Sunday schools (religious instruction on Sunday mornings in churches) take the place of these schools. The majority of the socialization is relegated to mothers. Religious education for their children is also seen as important by the women interviewed:

> Justina: I guess also we never went to Sunday school. And we only started going to church when we were teenagers, basically that's when we were allowed to go to church and I definitely believe that a child should be taken to church from the beginning as soon as it's born. So that we do different.

Even though Justina's children attend a private Mennonite school with Christian curriculum, it is important for her that her children become part of the institutional church at a very young age. Children's development, instead of their "usefulness" becomes a priority for these women as they appropriate North American cultural values regarding children and their future employment. In addition, the women see the need to perpetuate their religious and cultural values for the future through their children's development.

Working for pay often revolves around their children and at times involves them. Susan said that, "One just has to spend more time with them. That's the [reason] I started working outside the home for pay at night. I felt that my kids needed me to spend more time with them, if I wanted to teach them. I started working the nights when they sleep." The other shifts available at the factory in which she works would take her out of the home in the evenings for two weeks out of the month. Thus Susan in compelled to renegotiate her perception of being a mother in conjunction with employment options regardless of the economic constraints. In order to be the role model she feels her school age children need, and to earn a living, she reorganized her life working at night and sleeping during

the day when her children are at school. Susan's negotiation of work and childrearing was similar to that of the other women in the study. Trudy only worked during the summer for a vegetable farmer, where she could bring her children along. Marie ensured that her children were part of the family business:

> Well they went along with him (her husband) before they went to school. And I mean I was there often at the work site too. And when he was working, like he did a lot of floor installations, I remember I just waited till they were home from school and we all packed up and we went to where he was and helped him whatever needed to be done.

The children's first responsibility was their education, however, Marie continued to want her children to play an active role in their family's company, just as children in Latin America take part in the family's operations. Actions by Marie and Trudy in involving their children in the realm of work, blurs the lines between the public and private.

Self-sufficiency and a connection to the land are two important *Dietsche* Mennonite cultural values that many of the women attempted to perpetuate in Canada. By perpetuating this aspect of their *Dietsche* heritage, they attempted to reduce the bifurcation encountered in their new society. Many grew gardens, and raised or had access to farm animals, whereby they could supply many of their needs. Mary grew a garden but was unable to keep animals in the small town in which she lived; still she maintained a connection to the farm particularly for the sake of her children. She, along with other mothers, stated that they wanted their children to have an appreciation for food's origins and self-sufficiency:

Tina: Did you always have a garden?

Mary: Always. Every year we had one and the children had to help. And we slaughtered chickens.

Tina: You did that too?

Mary: Mmhmm, they were supposed to know how to do that too. Now it's not so necessary because you can go and buy it in the store. But I have nevertheless, the older ones anyway, taught them how to slaughter chickens.

Tina: Ok. Did you also slaughter pigs?

> Mary: Mmhmm. Every year we did one. And when we slaughtered they had to help. We just bought it from my husband's uncle. And we drove there often so that the children could be on the farm among the chickens and pigs and so they could see everything. And now almost all of them know what it looks like. Well, not how much work it all is, that they don't know about. But that is a lot of work.
>
> Tina: Did you wish that you could have a farm with all the animals and everything?
>
> Mary: Yes.
>
> Tina: But you couldn't?
>
> Mary: No, we . . . well my husband was always [busy working] when we first got here. He didn't want to. I wanted to because I wanted the children all to learn it.
>
> Tina: Mmhmm. But you tried to have them learn a little bit.
>
> Mary: We drove to places where all that sort of stuff was . . . I wanted them to know what it was about.

Women such as Mary wanted their children to be familiar with and have an appreciation for their heritage culture. Even though circumstances at times did not allow some of the women to be as self-sufficient as they would have liked, many found ways to transmit elements of an agrarian life to their children. This self-sufficiency allowed women with few employment opportunities due to their often definitive ideas regarding division of labour based on gender, lack of education or limited English language abilities, to provide for their families.

Thus "as actors respond to changing environments, they must reconstruct their view of the past in an attempt to understand the causal conditions of the emergent present, while using the understanding to control and shape their responses to the arising future."[30] As Emirbayer and Mische suggest for all acts of agency, the past lies at the base of how *Dietsche* women interpret what they want in the future and the means by which they arrive there.[31] The past has a stabilizing effect allowing individuals to maintain identities and meanings in the present and for the future. One of agency's dimensions, is the "practical-evaluative" wherein

a problem is encountered, is related to the past, is thought about as to possible consequences of actions and decisions are made whether deliberately or unconsciously.[32] Several problems arise due to the *Dietsche* women's migration and change in environment. Many of the women's actions were simultaneously oriented to the past and future. In encountering a new way of life, Mary wanted to maintain and have her children be exposed to their past self-sufficient agrarian way of life by growing gardens and accessing animals. As well, a change in the way work is accomplished meant making decisions that would accommodate their work around their traditional role as mother. However, in this process change does occur though it continues to be oriented around their habitus. Mother's roles become more centered around their children, while the role itself become more oriented towards religious and cultural transmission. These changes reflect the operation of a third dimension Emibrayer and Misch describe as being interconnected with the iterational and practical-evaluative: the projective dimension.[33] This consists of goals and hopes about the future. The projective is oriented to the past, but is done so with reference to future possibilities. *Dietsche* Mennonite women reflect on the past to change the present actions for future benefits which ultimately refers to the continuation of their children's Mennonite identity.

Conclusion

Dietsche women have been successful in preserving their culture and religion in several ways. One way they have done so is by migrating to an area that resembles their cultural heritage. By positioning themselves within this Mennonite enclave most are able to associate themselves with this new community allowing them to transfer aspects of their *Dietsche* Mennonite culture and religion. They separate themselves, as they see it, from the larger Canadian society by migrating to southern Manitoba; this is an act of preserving their sacred village heritage, that is, of being separate. It also serves the purpose of promoting endogamy, which supports the continuation of their culture and religion. Another way in which they have been successful in preserving their culture and religion is by concentrating on raising their children in the home, allowing as little as possible any outside influence, particularly in their early years. As well, many of the women have been able to involve their children in work and/or household production, which is an important aspect of their culture. Finally, many have continued some degree of self-sufficiency and

connection to farm life, including children in these tasks. A testimony to their success is that the majority of the women's adult children married Mennonites and remained in the area.

Particular concepts and theories help one to understand *Dietsche* women's lives. Taken together, the concept of the sacred village and Berry's acculturation typology inform the various ways in which *Dietsche* women acculturate into the larger Canadian and Mennonite society. The concept of the sacred village, with its emphasis on segregation, predisposes the *Dietsche* women to exhibit an "attitude of separation" to the larger Canadian society, that is, many of the *Dietsche* women were concerned about cultural maintenance and did not seek out contacts with the larger society. To maximize their Mennonite identity in the face of migration to Canada, they integrate, to greater and lesser degrees, into the larger Mennonite society in southern Manitoba. Feminist theory also assists in understanding *Dietsche* women's everyday lives by illuminating the gendered nature of the preservation and transmission of culture to the next generation and exposing the false dichotomy between the public and private spaces in which this occurs. The women interviewed center their efforts around the home, but at the same time contextualize their activities in the larger Mennonite community.

While this paper has focused on how *Dietsche* immigrant women maintain and transfer their traditional culture and religion to the next generation it must be understood that not all the women share equally the desire for retention. Also, the environment in Canada is significantly different from that of Latin America so a considerable amount of change inevitably occurs. Migrating to Canada allows some of the women the ability to discard aspects of their traditional culture and religion with which they no longer wish to connect, such as conformity to a certain mode of dress. In traditional Mennonite culture, their way of life and religion are intimately connected; in Canada new ways of doing the Mennonite religion are introduced as well new occupations and educational models. Mennonite culture and religion in Canada, with its adaptation to the Canadian environment, causes the "traditional" *Dietsche* culture to change and adapt as these Mennonites incorporate Canadian Mennonitism into their own way of life.

Further research on preservation and transmission of culture to the next generation needs to be conducted. It is often only in-depth qualitative research that reveals the finer nuances of acculturation. Particularly with respect to the *Dietsche* people, this type of analysis needs to occur in other

geographic locations in which they reside, such as southern Ontario and northern Alberta, to explore differences and similarities. As well, research on ways in which men preserve and transmit must also be performed with analysis that also explores the integration between private and public realms. Finally, how the children of *Dietsche* immigrants come to internalize and express their *Dietsche* Mennonite identity and their own estimations of their parents' efforts needs further exploration.

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Reverend Henry Cochrane: "Excellent Native Preacher," "Bad Example" and "Innocent Victim of European Clerical Jealousy"[1]

DEREK WHITEHOUSE-STRONG

In 1888, Bishop Richard Young used the career of Henry Cochrane to illustrate the importance of the character of "the man himself" in missionary work. He noted that Cochrane, an ordained Priest in the employ of the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), had "laboured successfully and acceptably among the Indians" of the Canadian north-west and that "[n]o man ever experienced a stronger influence over our foremost indians [sic] viz. of St. Peter's [Reserve]." The Bishop lamented, however, that "blighted family happiness & yielding to drink marred his ministry & compelled his suspension" and suggested that had this not been the case, "the Church in Rupert's Land would have had no more eminent clergyman in the Indian field."[2] From the CMS's perspective, Cochrane's career thus was one of failure, disappointment and unrealized potential.

An analysis of Cochrane's career, however, reveals that he was and continued to be an influential religious, spiritual, and community leader to many of his aboriginal congregants. The controversies surrounding the priest illustrate that the aboriginal peoples of the Canadian north-west had distinct and defined expectations regarding the roles, responsibilities and obligations of CMS proselytizers, and that these expectations could differ from those held by the proselytizers themselves.

As is often the case when studying aboriginal persons in the nineteenth-century Canadian north-west, documentary evidence about Cochrane's early life is sparse. It is clear that he was born to Cree parents who by the 1850s had settled at what came to be known as St. Peter's

Indian Reserve.[3] In 1834, Reverend David Jones, one of the first CMS agents in the Canadian north-west, baptized the infant Cochrane.[4] Contemporaries described the priest as "a pure Indian,"[5] and the only recorded occasion that Cochrane identified himself as a non-Indian occurred in 1871 when, while applying for his deceased son's Métis Scrip, he stated that he was a "half-Breed [sic]."[6]

After being employed as a schoolmaster and catechist at several CMS missions in the 1850s,[7] Cochrane studied under Bishop Anderson and later "at the Collegiate School" in Red River.[8] He was ordained a Deacon in 1858,[9] married Elizabeth Budd (daughter of Reverend Henry Budd) in 1859,[10] and later that year was ordained a priest.[11] Cochrane was then appointed to St. Clement's Church at Mapleton where he remained until 1864 when he moved to Holy Trinity Church at Headingly.[12] In 1866, he was appointed "Native Pastor of the Indian Settlement" at St. Peter's.[13]

Throughout the 1860s, agents of the CMS characterized Cochrane as being "very acceptable,"[14] "an excellent native preacher,"[15] and a man who was "respected & beloved by his people."[16] They commented that was he a "ready speaker in Cree"[17] and in English,[18] that he delivered in a "rich & soft voice" sermons that were "valued" by his parishioners,[19] and that he fully exploited his Cree ancestry and his "knowledge of" Cree "language & habits" to facilitate his evangelizing efforts.[20]

The CMS also viewed Cochrane as the first true success of its efforts to train aboriginal proselytizers in the Canadian north-west. Throughout the nineteenth century, the CMS worked to educate and train persons of aboriginal ancestry to disseminate an evangelical Anglican interpretation of Christianity[21] and middle-class Victorian values, morality and culture to the peoples of the Canadian north-west.[22] The CMS, however, never intended to maintain a permanent presence in Canada; rather, its goal was to raise a body of trained aboriginal clergymen who would be supported by their own congregations and who eventually would become part of the colonial Anglican Church.[23]

Indeed, Bishop David Anderson hoped that Cochrane might have been "the first Miss[ionar]y of our own supported by ourselves."[24] Upon Cochrane's ordination in 1858, the Corresponding Committee of the Diocese of Rupert's Land confirmed that "his salary would be provided by friends of the Church Missionary Society in Edinburgh guaranteed for three years, so as not to fall upon the Parent Society."[25] More importantly to the CMS, however, Cochrane's aboriginal congregations began contributing to his support in 1861.[26]

The inability or lack of desire of many aboriginal congregants to contribute to the financial support of Christian missionaries,[27] however, forced the CMS to place Cochrane on "its list of the Native Clergy" in 1862.[28] Consequently, while his aboriginal parishioners continued to support Cochrane partially though monetary contributions and contributions in kind, the Society assumed the responsibility for paying the bulk of his salary and continued to do so for the next two decades.[29]

Although Cochrane enjoyed professional success during the 1850s and 1860s, he also experienced personal setbacks and tragedies. His first wife (Elizabeth Budd was Cochrane's second wife),[30] his sisters, and his three children (by two marriages and including his "last & only child") all died during this period. As well, he lost his stables, barn, and horse to fire.[31] It is possible that these setbacks and his inability to deal with them in a manner that the CMS deemed appropriate contributed to his troubles with alcohol.[32]

In the late 1860s and early 1870s, the Bishop of Rupert's Land twice "seriously admonished" Cochrane "for gross intemperance." Because these events occurred privately (once in the Bishop's house and once in Archdeacon Cowley's house), the Bishop judged it prudent to limit his disciplinary action to personal warnings.[33]

Six years after his appointment to St. Peter's, however, Cochrane seriously transgressed the CMS's bounds of acceptable behaviour for clergymen when he became drunk in public. Expressing his own "pain," "grief," and "shame" about the incident, Archdeacon Cowley informed the CMS that on 11 July 1872

> Rev. H. Cochrane went up the Settlement to do some business for his father-in-law, Mr. Budd of Devon, Boats from the Saskatchewan being then here, & fell into temptation, & a snare, which overcame him. He drank & was drunken! Lord this was known to many.[34]

When challenged about the accusations, Cochrane admitted that the charge against him was "substantially correct." Concerned about the impact that Cochrane's public drunkenness would have on the CMS's efforts to inculcate Victorian notions of morality and respectability, Archdeacons Cowley and McLean suspended the priest until they could reach a permanent decision about the matter.[35]

Cochrane's parishioners, however, did not perceive his drinking to be a significant cause for concern, and considered his ability to interact

with them in their own language and their own cultural contexts to be of greater importance. Consequently, the "Xtian Indians" reacted to the news of Cochrane's punishment with great "excitement & distress." Cowley, in fact, advised the CMS that "after the second Sunday's suspension they seemed unable to bear it." Individually Cochrane's congregants lobbied on his behalf, and as a group they "drew up & presented a petition to Dr. McLean praying that their beloved Minister might be allowed one more trial."[36]

In response to the actions of the parishioners, McLean "called a counsel [sic] of clergy & laity, to advise" him on the case. After evaluating the situation, the Society's agents determined that Cochrane's public actions and his perceived lack of self-control threatened the CMS's entire mission on St. Peter's Reserve because they diminished both his personal stature within the community and his ability to lead by example.[37]

The Council, nevertheless, determined that given the demonstrated and wide-spread support for Cochrane, as well as the tension and dissension caused by his suspension, continuing to enforce the censure would do more harm than good. It "agreed that, under the circumstances which were fully discussed, it would be well to receive and act upon the prayer of the petition"[38] and therefore reinstated Cochrane. Two months after Cochrane's suspension ended, Cowley reported that "Mr. Cochrane is going on very nicely, and effectively; and apparently avoiding occasions of evil, and circumstances of temptation."[39]

Cochrane's congregants welcomed the end to the controversy and were thankful that the priest would continue to work amongst them.[40] In late 1874, however, the CMS's agents regretfully reported that the Reverend "has again fallen"[41] and had been "commonly charged with having become intoxicated."[42] Archdeacon Cowley expressed "much pain & annoyance" at Cochrane's latest lapse and informed the Society that "I fear no sufficient guarantee can be had against occasional outbreaks, such as alas we have too often heard of, so long as he should remain within the reach of temptation."[43]

In 1872, the Society's representatives in the Diocese of Rupert's Land had forgiven Cochrane's excessive public consumption of alcohol as being a singular lapse in judgement; in 1874 a pattern of behaviour began to emerge. Cochrane's history suggested that unless he left St. Peter's, he was likely to repeat his offence to the detriment of his own authority and that of the CMS. The Finance Committee determined that "only one course remained & that was to place him away from the cause

of temptation."[44] Because it was "forbidden by stringent Laws to import liquor into, or to have any in the interior, i.e., the North West Territory,"[45] the local Committee agreed to send Cochrane to Stanley in the English River district where "he will not get liquor."[46]

As they had in 1872, many in Cochrane's congregation did not believe that his actions were overly serious and rose in defence of their minister. They asked the CMS's representatives to grant Cochrane another chance and even conveyed "a threat of withdrawing from the Church if he were permanently removed."[47] Cochrane, however, realizing that the CMS was losing patience with him, willingly accepted the transfer and thereby effectively frustrated the efforts that his congregants undertook on his behalf.

In August of 1874, Mr. and Mrs. Cochrane left St. Peter's.[48] Mrs. Anabella Cowley, wife of the Archdeacon, described the Cochranes' departure as a "very sorrowful parting to us all." She informed the CMS that "[n]umbers stood on the bank to shake hands, as they went to the boat & all were in tears, scarcely any one could say 'Good Bye.'"[49] Unfortunately, Cochrane was unable to perform some of the more mundane responsibilities of mission work at Stanley. Cowley reported that Cochrane "is incompetent to manage the Grist mill or the press; and . . . he cannot without the aid of an efficient carpenter carry on the contemplated building in which provision has been there made."[50]

In light of these inadequacies, in May of 1875 the Bishop of Rupert's Land removed Cochrane to Cumberland where he would "be associated" with his father-in-law Reverend Henry Budd who was stationed at Devon.[51] Budd, however, died less than two months later.[52] Although he was deeply saddened by Budd's passing, Cochrane proactively assumed Budd's responsibilities and informed the CMS that he was working at Devon Station "as if I had been appointed officially."[53] In recognition of his initiative during a time of great personal distress, the Finance Committee formally authorized Cochrane to "take charge of Devon for the present."[54]

Cochrane fulfilled his missionary responsibilities to the satisfaction both of his congregants and of the CMS; he even served as an official interpreter during the Treaty Five negotiations.[55] The Committee nevertheless remained concerned about the Reverend's weakness for alcohol and in 1877 denied his request to visit either the Province of Manitoba or England.[56] These concerns proved to be well-founded because in early 1879, Elizabeth Cochrane charged her spouse "with having imported

spirituous liquors, drinking himself drunk, courting her two sisters, Mrs. Ballentine, & Miss Eliza Budd, & with beating herself with his fist, & with a horsewhip."[57]

Mr. Adams, the Hudson's Bay Company Postmaster at the Pas independently confirmed to Archdeacon Cowley that there was "a considerable ground for scandal" at Devon. Adams' concern led him to recommend that "an investigation should be had" and to suggest that it would be beneficial to "change" personnel. The Postmaster did not find any fault with Cochrane's preaching; rather, he suggested that the priest's tumultuous personal life was having an ill effect upon the people of Devon. Adams advised Cowley that "we all bear great responsibility for the example we set in our daily life either for good or evil" and noted that Cochrane's example was very poor.[58]

In response to the concerns expressed by Adams and Mrs. Cochrane, Cowley proceeded to Devon to investigate the matter. In a lengthy report to the CMS, Cowley wrote:

> Mrs. Cochrane affirmed the truth of all she had written against her husband, and . . . she also stated that it was on this account that she had left him, taking refuge with Mr. Clemons, over the river. Mr. Cochrane denied being drunk, & taking improper liberties with his sisters-in-law, but admitted slapping his wife, on account of her morose conduct, & unreasonable suspicion; producing in confirmation of what he said, a . . . [?] paper which he had found in the house in her, Mrs. Cochrane's, handwriting. Here it is only proper for me to say that long since she had shown me a paper in Mr. Cochrane's handwriting, upon which she grounded in part her suspicions of evil, & that she then & there referred to that slip of paper.[59]

Cowley continued:

> The interview was long & very painful. In summing up the evidence I addressed them both seriously, & showed the possible effect upon the people of the Mission Station of their conduct, culminating in the one fleeing from the other, & their living apart, might have; & begged them to reconcile themselves, & again dwell together in unity. At my instance [sic] they kissed each other, & Mrs. Cochrane consented to remain in the Mission house. I remained ten days at the Mission going in & out among the people, visiting all the Indians living at the Station, & also the Company's people. Found the Indians very

> reticent; but the general impression seemed to be that Mr. & Mrs. Cochrane were living a cat & dog life, & that he drank.[60]

Thus, while Cowley was uncertain about the veracity of the charges against Cochrane relating to improprieties with his sisters-in-law,[61] and observed that "some people think that she is not blameless, & that she is wanting in prudence,"[62] he was convinced, but lacked solid proof, that the priest had resumed drinking. Nevertheless, Cowley hoped that the damage might be minimized if the Cochranes could maintain the appearance of civil cohabitation that was expected of missionaries and their wives. [63]

"[M]atters," however, "did not improve" as that autumn the "chief of the Devon Indians" informed Cowley that he was dissatisfied with the local state of affairs.[64] Whereas the parishioners of St. Peter's had been confronted solely with Cochrane admitting to drunkenness, at Devon the charges against Mr. and Mrs. Cochrane were more far-reaching. In addition to accusations of drunkenness, questions regarding marital improprieties and their living apart threatened the image of the middle-class Victorian home that the CMS was trying to instil.[65] The Chief wrote:

> I am very sorry to say anything that would be wrong – but I want you to take notice to what I have to say. The best thing that can be done is to remove our minister to some other place for we see the bad example. Send us someone in his place at once if possible.[66]

The Chief's words confirmed to Cowley that Cochrane's actions were negatively affecting "the public morals" and led him to conclude that, whatever the truth of the matter, "Cochrane's influence for good, at Devon, is lost."[67]

After reading the Archdeacon's report, Bishop Machray concurred with Cowley's analysis. He believed that "the charges of immorality . . . probably simply came out of jealousy & [?] . . . imagination," but was inclined to accept the veracity of "Mr. Cochrane having been seen the worse of liquor." Although he too lacked firm evidence against the Priest, Machray relied upon his previous experience, and informed the CMS that "[f]rom my knowledge of Mr. Cochrane's character I suspect there is ground for this part of the charge."[68] Like Cowley, the Bishop concluded that "Mr. Cochrane's usefulness was gone, & that the Mission was deteriorating."[69]

Faced with diminishing support from his counterparts in the CMS and from his congregation at Devon, Cochrane "tendered his resignation"[70]

and advised Archdeacon Cowley that "as soon as I can be relieved of this Mission, my connection with the CMS & church will cease."[71] Cowley forwarded the document to the Bishop of Rupert's who, because of the uncertainty surrounding the case, temporarily delayed accepting Cochrane's resignation.[72]

The Society's missionaries in the Diocese of Rupert's Land struggled with the dilemma posed by Cochrane. Three times the priest had been accused of public drunkenness, and each time his counterparts noted that his actions hurt not only his position within his parish, but also, by his setting a bad example, the parishioners themselves. The Finance Committee discarded the idea of transferring Cochrane to the Diocese of Moosonee because it believed that in that locale "his language would not serve." It also rejected sending him to missions that bordered on the Saskatchewan River because "his whole case would be known, & his influence of little avail for good."[73] It further dismissed Touchwood Hills because of the "general feeling" that "temptations" there "would be quite equal to those at Devon." After "very serious" and "pained" discussions, the Finance Committee regretfully informed the CMS that it lacked "confidence that [a] change of place would guarantee efforts of resistance & transformation."[74]

The action that finally led the Bishop and Finance Committee to sever Cochrane's connection to the CMS, however, was his "objectionable & treacherous" decision to offer his services "as a minister" to the Wesleyan Methodists. After tendering his resignation, Cochrane suggested to the Wesleyans that if they appointed him to St. Peter's "he could bring over the Indians."[75] Cognizant that he still exerted significant influence among many of the Protestant inhabitants of St. Peter's, Cochrane informed Archdeacon Cowley that "he would do all he could to open the door in this Reserve to dissenters."[76]

Given Cochrane's history with alcohol, his actions towards the Methodists, and doubts about his ability to convey appropriate middle-class Victorian values, the CMS's agents recommended that the Society accept his resignation. Reverend Richard Young wrote:

> Our desire all thro' this has been to treat Mr. C. with the greatest leniency & forebearance & we felt that the same standard could not be applied to him as a native that we should require of a European, but still with every allowance we have come to the conviction that to allow things to go on undealt with might only lead to yet greater offence.[77]

The local Finance Committee also hoped that accepting Cochrane's resignation would minimize his corrupting influence at CMS's missions and that it would "prove such a shock to his feelings . . . [that it] shall lead him to reflection, repentance, and thorough transformation of his life."[78] The CMS concurred that Cochrane had "lost all influence . . . of the right kind" and accepted his letter of resignation.[79]

The Bishop of Rupert's Land informed Cochrane that the Society had "removed him from their list" and cautioned that "it was most unlikely that they would again place him on their list." He then suspended Cochrane's "License for 3 years and [would] not renew it then nor afterwards unless [he] . . . had satisfactory evidence of his conduct for 3 years."[80]

Despite these sanctions, when Cochrane returned to St. Peter's in the Summer of 1880, he "held [religious] services" that were "contrary to the order of the Church of England because he lacked the consent of either Archdeacon Cowley or the Rev. Gilbert Cook who were in charge of the Parish and Mission."[81] Furthermore, Cochrane informed Cowley that he would continue to work against the CMS's efforts at St. Peter's. He wrote:

> I have tried all I could to keep the people quiet ever since I came, but from now on I will encouraged them to do as they please & let me tell you here, a great many of them are in favour [of] going over to the dissenters, & have actually made overtures to them.[82]

Cochrane continued: "I will not hide from you that I will do all in my power to open a door for them [the Methodists] among these people."[83]

The CMS's agents underestimated both Cochrane and his popularity among his parishioners. Soon after Cochrane returned to St. Peter's, Cowley advised the Society that the priest posed a very real threat to the mission. He warned that Cochrane "[is] a very able & eloquent preacher" who "has entire possession of his mother tongue, the Cree, & also is very competent in Saulteau [sic]."[84] In fact, Cowley reported that by virtue of "his powerful eloquence in Cree, & his fascinating address," as well as "[h]is urbanity, commanding voice, native ease, & pleasant temper," Cochrane had succeeded in "draw[ing] after him a large number of the congregation."[85]

Cowley was frustrated and disappointed that many of the parishioners of St. Peter's Reserve would support Cochrane in open defiance of the CMS. He lamented that "the action of the Indians has shaken my

confidence in their spiritual mindedness; & it grieves me greatly to see them carried away by eloquence, almost to ignoring the sin of drunkenness."[86] In particular, Cowley disapproved of the parishioners' willingness to "think so lightly" of "the sin of drunkenness, & especially drunkenness in a clergyman!"[87]

When deciding how best to deal with Cochrane's return to St. Peter's, however, the Society's agents failed to consider adequately the perspectives of the aboriginal congregants. Although they accurately observed that Cochrane's oratory ability and personality led many St. Peter's parishioners to abandon the CMS's services, they underestimated the deep dissatisfaction that many congregants felt regarding the abilities and actions of their current CMS sanctioned clergyman, Reverend Gilbert Cook.

The parishioners of St. Peter's, therefore, surprised the CMS's agents when many abandoned Reverend Gilbert Cook's ministrations in favour of Cochrane's. The missionaries believed that Cook was "a very estimable man" and although they admitted that he had been unable "to wi[n] . . . the affection of the people," they were confident that he was "conscientious in the discharge of his duties." Archdeacon Cowley stated that the "discontent" against Cook was "was only the work of a few" and that many of the charges brought against him were "trivial."[88]

Cook, who also was of aboriginal ancestry, similarly described many of the complaints against him as being petty and unimportant. He noted that some individuals expressed ill-will toward him for such minor issues (at least from his perspective) as his "wanting something to kneel on when offering prayers in the houses & not shaking hands with everybody."[89] Consequently, when Cochrane held "divine services on Sundays, morning & evening, in the upper and lower parts of the parish" for several weeks in a row,[90] the CMS's sanctioned representatives "[a]t first" took no direct action believing that it was "advisable to leave the agitators alone."[91]

The missionaries soon recognized, however, that as the "passionate clamouring ["by the Indians"] for Mr. Cochrane" continued to grow, so too did the "feeling of hostility manifested against Rev. G. Cook."[92] Archdeacon Cowley informed the CMS that many of the parishioners of St. Peter's Reserve complained that Cook's health, temperament, and disposition were not what they expected of a clergyman.[93] One parishioner argued that Cook was "not fit to be in the Parish, too weak for the Parish, too proud for St. Peter's, too wicked (i.e. short tempered) to be a clergyman, [and] . . . keeps too much spite." Other parishioners agreed,

suggesting that the Reverend was "a weak man" both in terms of personality and physical ability, bemoaning that Cook was "too proud," and noting that his poor health left him incapable of carrying on religious services. Still others noted that Cook spoke their language poorly and that they could not hear his sermons because he was too quiet in the pulpit.[94]

In contrast, parishioners praised Cochrane's ability to interact with them on a personal level and to conduct in their own languages meaningful services that addressed their spiritual needs. One congregant stated: "I want Mr. Cochrane. I feel his preaching in my heart." Another noted: "We loved Mr. Cochrane from the first. When he left the place [it] felt like our place was falling down & [the] church [was] falling down.[95]

Further, Cowley reported that although the details of Cochrane's various failings were well known to the people of the Parish, the congregants did "not believe Mr. Cochrane [was] guilty" of an offence serious enough to warrant the severing of his connection to the CMS.[96] He advised the CMS that "Mr. Cochrane's followers are raising the cry of persecution, & representing him as the innocent victim of European clerical jealousy, & malice." Cowley noted that the congregants attacked and "abuse[d]" him "as the channel through which Mr. Cochrane's deeds have seen the light, & as a barrier against the progress of the efforts of the disaffected."[97] Cowley informed the CMS that John Thomas, who had been a "vestryman [for] about 18 years & [a] church warden before that," warned a CMS delegation that "[i]f we do not get him [Cochrane] back we will not go back to the church (applause)." Thomas continued: "If it is impossible to get him back we will follow him (applause)." Cowley reported that another person also received a round of "loud applause" for proclaiming that "[i]f we do not get Mr. Cochrane [we] will go elsewhere."[98]

Thus, although CMS agents believed that the criticisms that the local congregants levelled against Cook were "trivial,"[99] many of the congregants expressed an intense personal dislike of the priest and doubted his ability to meet their needs and expectations of a minister.[100] Cowley advised the Bishop that "neither in our visiting the houses nor at the Public Meetings were there any warm expressions in his [Cook's] favor [sic]. All that was said amounted to 'Have nothing against Mr. Cook.'"[101] In contrast, Cowley informed the Society that "there was either silence about Mr. Cochrane or strong expression of feeling in his favour."[102] In fact, at a meeting called during the investigation, less than one in ten of those present voted to retain Mr. Cook's services at the Parish, while a "large majority" voted "in favour of Mr. Cochrane."[103]

In addition to abandoning Cook's services in increasing numbers, many in the parish employed other more direct and proactive tactics to demonstrate their support for Cochrane and their opposition to the unilateral actions of the CMS. These activities included holding "Public Meetings," circulating petitions to secure Cochrane's re-appointment as their minister,[104] and "attend[ing] the services of the Wesleyan Methodists" at Selkirk.[105]

By early 1881, Cowley regretfully informed the CMS that its efforts to introduce the concept of self-support had produced unintended results: "a subscription list for . . . [Cochrane's] support is in circulation." Moreover, Cowley noted that "the last phase [of "how matters go here"] is the attempt to introduce the "the 'Reformed Episcopal Church' which originated . . . some years ago in the United States." Cowley wrote that "one of its bishops [sic]" was in "communication" with Cochrane and sent him "encouraging letters."[106]

Fortunately for the Society, at around the same time that the Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church made overtures towards Cochrane, a new government-funded school opened on St. Peter's Reserve. Chief Henry Prince, hoping to diffuse the increasingly tense situation on the Reserve, advised Cochrane "to take the school." Both Prince and Cowley also recommended that Cochrane accept the position in order to stem the flow of Protestant children to a day school that the Oblate Father Reverend J. Allard had established "without instruction" from the Department of Indian Affairs.[107]

Cochrane, who was no longer receiving a salary from the CMS, had been conducting classes "in the old school house" prior to the construction of the new building,[108] and "consented to accept" the position of schoolteacher should "the Government" offer it to him. Further, he pledged to "use his influence [as schoolteacher] to maintain order & quietness."[109] Cowley observed that this event "seem[ed] to have influenced Mr. Cochrane to abstain from holding religious services in this Reserve."[110]

Edgar Dewdney, the Indian Commissioner, reported to his superiors that Cochrane was "willing to undertake the duties [of schoolteacher] and as the Indians have confidence in him as a teacher, I would recommend that he be appointed."[111] The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, however, preferred that a teacher with a "first class certificate" fill the position and doubted that Cochrane "comes within that category."[112]

When the position was advertised in early 1881, only two applications were received. The first application was from one H.A. Ross, who

only possessed at "3rd Class Certificate from the Board of Education"[113] but who had previously taught at another school on the reserve.[114] Ross, however, subsequently withdrew from the competition due to "a change in . . . [his] affairs."[115]

Henry Cochrane's was the second application,[116] and it included character references and a "Certificate of Competency"[117] confirming "his qualifications for becoming teacher in any of the Indian schools to which he may be appointed by the Department."[118] The Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs acknowledged that Cochrane had "lost his position [?] as a Clergymen for intemperance," but commented that his character references combined with a letter from Archdeacon Cowley led him to "hope he has reformed."[119] The Department of Indian Affairs, therefore, "provisionally" appointed Cochrane for one year as the teacher at the new school on St. Peter's Reserve.[120]

Because the parishioners of St. Peter's were satisfied that Cochrane would remain among them, they directed their efforts to securing the removal of Reverend Gilbert Cook. Even after they were informed that Cochrane had accepted the position of schoolteacher and therefore would not be reinstated as their minister, "many" parishioners insisted that "that they will not again enter our church till Mr. Cook is turned out and Mr. Cochrane put in as Minister."[121] In direct response to the "agitation"[122] and the general sense of "crisis,"[123] the local Finance Committee "came unanimously to the conclusion that it was advisable to remove Mr. Cook while recognising no culpabilities [sic] on his part."[124] In 1881, with Cochrane voicing approval,[125] it replaced Cook with Reverend Benjamin McKenzie, another clergyman of aboriginal ancestry.[126]

Many individuals nevertheless continued to press for Cochrane to be "reinstated as Minister of the Parish." Although the CMS believed that McKenzie was proceeding satisfactorily, and although he was more acceptable to the inhabitants of St. Peter's than Cook, congregants criticised his inability to speak fluent Cree. In contrast, parishioners continued to praise Cochrane's oratory ability and his "genial" personality. Cowley therefore did not doubt that if the decision to appoint clergymen was left to the parishes, "the Indians would be very clamorous for the reinstatement of Mr. Cochrane, as Minister of St. Peter's."[127]

The decision to appoint clergymen, however, was not the responsibility of the parishes, and Cochrane never applied to have his license reinstated. His salary of $504 per annum[128] was equivalent to his previous salary of º100 per annum as a Priest in the CMS's employ,[129] and school

inspections that followed described him as being "well fitted for the position."[130] Further, he remained active on the reserve, but not as a clergyman. Rather, he "read the lessons in church," took part in "frequent Temperance meetings,"[131] and remained employed as a teacher throughout the 1880s.[132]

Representatives of the CMS and Protestant members of St. Peter's Indian Reserve thus had distinctly different visions of what was required of an ordained clergyman. The CMS initially portrayed Cochrane as the embodiment of what it could achieve under its Native Church policy. It believed him capable of embracing and inculcating the elements of middle-class Victorian values and religion that it wished to spread to the aboriginal peoples of the Canadian north-west. After witnesses on several occasions accused him of public drunkenness and sexual impropriety, however, the CMS no longer believed that he possessed the moral authority and respectability required of a Christian clergyman and severed its connection to the priest. From the perspective of his missionary contemporaries, Cochrane's career thus was one of failure, disappointment, and unrealized potential.

To the Protestant aboriginal parishioners of St. Peter's Indian Reserve, however, Cochrane was and continued to be an important and influential religious, spiritual, and community leader throughout his career. The fact that Cochrane became drunk in public on several occasions was less important to the congregants than was his ability to interact with them in their own language and in a manner that made Christianity vital, relevant, and appealing. Because he met their needs as a clergyman and later as a schoolteacher, many of the parishioners of St. Peter's therefore were fiercely loyal to Cochrane, to the point of actively challenging the CMS and threatening withdrawal from the Anglican Church.

Endnotes

1. Hunter to Chapman, 7 October 1862, C.1/O (A91), Church Missionary Society Microfilm, Public Archives of Canada [hereafter cited as CMS]; Machray to the "Parishioners of St. Peters' Parish and Mission" [c. 1881], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS; and Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

2. Anderson to Fenn, 20 September 1888, C.1/O.2 (A115), CMS.

3. Anderson to Venn, 27 September 1957, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS. The area was also known as St. Peter's Dynevor Parish. Regarding the various names associated with this parish and Indian Reserve, see T.C.B. Boon, "St. Peter's Dynevor, The Original Indian Settlement of Western Canada," *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions* 3, No. 9 (1952-1953), and "Canada Department of Indian Affairs Treaty List for St. Peter's Dynevor Reserve, 1871-1883," Microfilm Reel M12, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB.

4. Anderson to Venn, 27 September 1858, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

5. Anderson to Venn, 27 September 1957, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

6. "Claim of Henry Cochrane as Sole Heir to his Child Arthur H. Cochrane," 14 July 1871, Vol. 1319, Series D-111-8-a, RG15.

7. See Budd to Secretary, 31 July 1855, C.1/M.5 (A79), CMS; Journal entry of Budd, 13 June 1855, C.1/O (A83), CMS; and Cowley to Straith, 10 September 1858, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

8. Anderson to Venn, 12 January 1858, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

9. Anderson to Venn, 27 September 1858, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

10. Journal entry of Cowley, 23 October 1859, C.1/O (A87), CMS.

11. Journal entry of Cowley, 27 December 1859, C.1/O (A87), CMS.

12. Boon, "St. Peter's Dynevor."

13. CMS to Cowley, 14 December 1866, C.1/L.3 (A76), CMS.

14. Journal entry of Hunter, 29 May 1862, C.1/O (A90), CMS.

15. Hunter to Chapman, 7 October 1862, C.1/O (A91), CMS.

16. Annual Letter of Cowley, 25 November 1868, C.1/O (A87), CMS.

17. Annual Letter of Hunter, 14 February 1862, C.1./O (A91), CMS. See also Budd to Secretary, 31 July 1855, C.1/M.5 (A79), CMS.

18. Machray to Fenn, 17 December 1871, C.1/M.8 (A80), CMS.

19. Annual Letter of Hunter, 14 February 1862, C.1./O (A91), CMS.

20. Hunter to Venn, 1 December 1864, C.1/O (A91), CMS. For a discussion of this topic, see Derek Whitehouse-Strong, "'Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman': The Impact of Race, Ethnicity, Status, and Gender on Native Agents of the Church Missionary Society in the Nineteenth Century Canadian

North-West" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 2004), 164-165.

21. See Whitehouse-Strong, "Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman," 18-19.

22. See Chapter Two of Whitehouse-Strong, "Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman." Defining and characterizing the middle-class is beyond the scope of this study. See G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (London: Methuen, 1962); J.F.C Harrison, *Late Victorian England, 1875-1901* (Glasgow: Fontana Press, 1990); and Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind: 1830-1870* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).

23. Whitehouse-Strong, "Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman," 89.

24. Anderson, 12 January 1858, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

25. Minutes of the Corresponding Committee, Red River, 28 May 1858, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

26. Hunter to Straith, 19 June 1861, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

27. Whitehouse-Strong, "Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman," 186-190.

28. Hunter to Chapman, 7 October 1862, C.1/O (A91), CMS.

29. Resolutions of the Corresponding Committee of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 9 September 1879, Minutes of the Finance Committee, CMS, 1877-1885, Typescript (P.338), Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB [hereafter cited as AEPRL].

30. Journal entry of Budd, 10 July 1968, C.1/O (A98), CMS. See also Journal entry of Cowley, 23 October 1859, C.1/O (A87), CMS; and Cowley to Secretaries, 3 August 1867, C.1/O (A87), CMS.

31. Cowley to Secretaries, 3 August 1867, C.1/O (A87), CMS.

32. Machray to Fenn, 20 September 1888, C.1/O.2 (A115), CMS.

33. Machray to the "Parishioners of St. Peters' Parish and Mission" [1881?], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

34. Cowley to Secretaries, 26 July 1872, C.1/M.8 (A80), CMS.

35. Cowley to Secretaries, 26 July 1872, C.1/M.8 (A80), CMS.

36. Cowley to Secretaries, 26 July 1872, C.1/M.8 (A80), CMS.

37. Cowley to Secretaries, 26 July 1872, C.1/M.8 (A80), CMS.

38. Cowley to Secretaries, 26 July 1872, C.1/M.8 (A80), CMS.

39. Cowley to Secretaries, 20 September 1872, C.1/M.6 (A80), CMS.

40. See Cochrane to Indian Affairs Branch, 3 November 1873, File 2673, Vol. 3604, Record Group 10, Public Archives of Canada Microfilm [hereafter cited as RG10]; and Asham to Minister of the Interior, 19 November 1873, File 2819, Vol. 3605, RG10.

41. Grisdale to Wright, 10 September 1874, C.1/M.9 (A81), CMS.

42. Machray to Fenn, 10 September 1874, C.1/O (A100), CMS.

43. Cowley to Secretaries, 22 October 1874, C.1/M.9 (A81), CMS.

44. Machray to Fenn, 10 September 1874, C.1/O (A100), CMS. Refer also to Grisdale to Wright, 10 September 1874, C.1/M.9 (A81), CMS.

45. Cowley to Secretaries, 22 October 1874, C.1/M.9 (A81), CMS.

46. Machray to Fenn, 10 September 1874, C.1/O (A100), CMS.

47. Machray to Fenn, 10 September 1874, C.1/O (A100), CMS.

48. Grisdale to Wright, 10 September 1874, C.1/M.9 (A81), CMS.

49. Anabella Cowley to Secretary, 1 September 1874, C.1/M.9 (A81), CMS.

50. Cowley to Wright, 1 May 1875, C.1/M.10 (A81), CMS.

51. Minutes of the Finance Committee of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 17 May 1875, Minutes of the Finance Committee, CMS, 1850-1876, Typescript (P.338), AEPRL.

52. Grisdale to Wright, 8 July 1875, C.1/M.10 (A81), CMS.

53. Cochrane to Secretaries, 12 August 1875, C.1/M.10 (A81), CMS.

54. Minutes of the Finance Committee of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 9 June 1875, Minutes of the Finance Committee, CMS, 1850-1876, Typescript (P.338), AEPRL.

55. See *Treaty 5 Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians at Beren's River and Norway House with Adhesions* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969).

56. "Copy of the Minutes of a Meeting of the Finance Comtee." of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 10 March 1877, C.1/O.1 (A102), CMS.

57. Cowley to Wright, 1 August 1879, C.1/O.1 (A103), CMS.

58. Adams to Cowley, 27 May 1879, C.1/O (A103), CMS.

59. Cowley to Wright, 1 August 1879, C.1/O.1 (A103), CMS.

60. Cowley to Wright, 1 August 1879, C.1/O.1 (A103), CMS.

61. Adams himself doubted these charges. Adams to Cowley, 27 May 1879, C.1/O (A103), CMS.

62. Cowley to Wright, 2 July 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

63. See Chapter Seven of Whitehouse-Strong, "Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman."

64. Machray to the "Parishioners of St. Peters' Parish and Mission" [1881?], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

65. See Chapter Seven of Whitehouse-Strong, "Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman."

66. Machray to the "Parishioners of St. Peters' Parish and Mission" [1881?], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

67. Cowley to Wright, 12 December 1879, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

68. Machray to Secretary, 12 November 1979, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS. See also Machray to Wright, 25 August 1879, C.1/O.1 (A103), CMS.

69. Machray to Fenn, 28 January 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

70. Cowley to Wright, 29 October 1879, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

71. Cochrane to Cowley, 26 August 1879, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS. Note also Resolutions of the Corresponding Committee of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 19 February 1880, Minutes of the Finance Committee, CMS, 1877-1885, Typescript (P.338), AEPRL; and Machray to the "Parishioners of St. Peters' Parish and Mission" [1881?], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

72. Machray to Secretary, 12 November 1979, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS. See also Machray to Fenn, 28 January 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS. The CMS left Cochrane's case in the Bishop's hands, see Cowley to Wright, 29 October 1879, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

73. Cowley to Wright, 12 December 1879, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

74. Cowley to Wright, 23 January 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

75. Machray to Fenn, 28 January 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

76. Cowley to Wright, 5 November 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

77. Young to Wright, 5 February 1880, C.1/O (A104), CMS. The issue of standards and expectations of English-born clergymen being applied to native-born proselytizers is discussed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six of Whitehouse-Strong, "Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman."

78. Cowley to Wright, 23 January 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS. Refer also to Resolutions of the Finance Committee of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 8 January 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

79. CMS to Machray, 20 January 1880, C.1/L.4 (A77), CMS.

80. The Bishop noted that this evidence would be required of an English Clergyman in a similar situation. Bishop of Rupert's Land to the "Parishioners of St. Peters' Parish and Mission" [1881?], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

81. Machray to the "Parishioners of St. Peters' Parish and Mission" [1881?], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

82. Cochrane to Cowley, 30 September 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

83. Cochrane to Cowley, 30 September 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

84. Cowley to Wright, 5 November 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

85. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

86. Cowley to Wright, 5 November 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

87. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

88. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

89. Gilbert Cook as paraphrased by Cowley in "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

90. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

91. Machray to Secretaries, 29 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

92. Machray to Secretaries, 29 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

93. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

94. () in original. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

95. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

96. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

97. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

98. ( ) and underlining in original. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

99. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

100. Cochrane to Cowley, 30 September 1880, C.1/O.1 (A104), CMS.

101. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

102. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

103. At a public meeting in the afternoon, only four parishioners raised their hands in favour of Cook. Cowley recorded that fifty-six parishioners attended a similar meeting that morning. Although Cowley did not provide figures for the attendance at the afternoon vote, an estimate of fifty parishioners is used for the above calculations. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

104. Machray to Secretaries, 29 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

105. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

106. Cowley to Secretaries, 18 March 1881, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

107. Graham to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 10 August 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10. See also Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 A109), CMS.

108. Graham to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 20 June 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

109. Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 A109), CMS.

110. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

111. Dewdney to Macdonald, 18 December 1880, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

112. [?] to Dewdney, 4 January 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

113. Ross to Graham, 26 March 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

114. Graham to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 14 April 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

115. Ross to Graham, 15 April 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

116. Cochrane to Graham, 5 April 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

117. Graham to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 14 April 1881, File 9375-2,Volume 3658, RG10.

118. Pinkham to Graham, 5 April 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

119. Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to Macdonald, 27 April 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

120. Telegraph from [?] to Dewdney, 28 April 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

121. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

122. Cowley to Secretaries, 31 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

123. Monkman as quoted in Cowley, "A Report on St. Peter's Mission" [c. 1880], C.1/O.1 A109), CMS.

124. Machray to Secretaries, 29 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

125. Cowley to [?], n.d. May 1884, C.1/O.2 (A112), CMS.

126. Machray to Secretaries, 29 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

127. Machray to Secretaries, 29 December 1880, C.1/O.1 (A109), CMS.

128. Memorandum, 30 January 1882, File 19,418, Volume 3707, RG10.

129. Resolutions of the Corresponding Committee of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 9 September 1879, Minutes of the Finance Committee, CMS, 1877-1885, Typescript (P.338), AEPRL. In the Canadian north-west, º1.00 was valued at approximately $5.00 in 1870s and 1880s. See McLean to Cowley, 31 May 1872, C.1/O (A100), CMS; and Annual Letter of Mackay, 6 December 1886, C.1/O.2 (A114), CMS.

130. McColl to Dewdney, 13 May 1881, File 9375-2, Volume 3658, RG10.

131. Cowley to [?], n.d. May 1884, C.1/O.2 (A112), CMS. See also Cowley to Fenn, 28 April 1885, C.1/O.2 (A113), CMS.

132. [?] to Indian Commissioner, 5 August 1889, File 60,470, Volume 3824, RG10.

Achille Delaere and the Origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Canada

PAUL LAVERDURE

One Catholic missionary stated that to be a saint in Europe, one had to sleep on the floor. On Canada's prairies, sanctity was much easier: to be a saint one had to sleep in a bed. It was guaranteed to be full of fleas. The typical missionary among Canada's Ukrainians should wander from place to place, not to search for lost souls, but to escape the vermin and find a clean place to sleep. Naturally, a good missionary should also console himself with the thought that the redemption of the world was not accomplished without the spilling of blood. On the same or a somewhat deeper level of devilry as Canada's vermin, mosquitos, immense distances, and the weather, were Protestants: usually Presbyterians setting up schools and providing nurses or social workers to attract the immigrants to their churches. One hundred years ago, to be a Roman Catholic missionary on the prairies among the eastern Europeans seemed to require heroic suffering.[1]

As part of a larger project to publish the history of the eastern rite Redemptorists for their centenary in 2006, the present article sets out the conditions in Canada and a brief biography of the Flemish priest, Achille Delaere, the first Roman Catholic Redemptorist to adopt the eastern rite. Previous historiography gives Delaere credit for initiative in the evolution of the Catholic Church in the prairie parkland[2] from Oblate missionary territory, to Redemptorist mission parish, to diocese--or eparchy as it is called by the eastern canon lawyers. To understand Delaere's life, to alert scholars to a longer work that will be published in 2006, and to complete the historiography of the early years of the Ukrainian community, which

identified the Belgian Redemptorists as one of the main problems and a reason for the many defections from the See of Rome in the early part of the twentieth century, a study of those origins from Redemptorist sources provides a corrective. This article will include other individuals in the narrative of the origins of the eastern rite clergy and of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada: Archbishop Adélard Langevin of Saint Boniface, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviv, and, above all, Father Basil Zoldak.

The Roman Catholic Church faced a new situation with the arrival of Ukrainian speaking, eastern-rite Catholics, usually called Greek or Byzantine--or Uniate to indicate their union with Rome. They were from the province of Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire beginning in the 1880s when census data began formally asking about Galicians. Formerly an Oblate mission serving French, Native and Metis populations, western Canada's Catholic Church was radically transformed with the arrival of the eastern Europeans. Although Ukrainians, both Christians and Jews, have been present on British North America's soil since at least the War of 1812 when mercenaries from the Austro-Hungarian Empire received land along the Rideau and in the Red River Valley, British and later English Canadian authorities did not take notice of the settlers until their numbers began to increase dramatically.[3] It has been estimated by Ukrainian scholars that in the area that became the Province of Saskatchewan, the number of Ukrainians jumped from three thousand to over thirty thousand in the 1901 to 1911 census period.[4] They were then known as Ruthenians or Rusyns, as well as Galicians, although Galicia refers to a place while Ruthenian and Rusyn refer to the languages now known as Ukrainian and Slovak. Because Ukraine did not exist politically, Ukrainians were by nationality also known or classified as Polish, Russian, Austrian or Hungarian. The majority coming to Canada were from Polish and Austrian Galicia, were Greek Catholics using the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom--but not in Greek--in Old Church Slavonic. Fewer Ruthenians came from Bukovyna, which was under Hungarian rule, and were in the majority Greek Orthodox. Fewer still were Russian Orthodox.[5] The Greek Catholics were originally under the jurisdiction of Lviv, that is to say, of the Metropolitan Archbishop, Count Andrew Sheptytsky.[6]

The historiography of the origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church[7] is sparse and complicated by the three main languages involved--Ukrainian, French, and Flemish--and the additional required to examine the primary sources.[8] Furthermore, no one has examined the Italian and

Latin documents now available in the Congregation for Eastern Churches in the Vatican for the period after 1904, the papers of Propaganda Fide housed in the Vatican's Secret Archives prior to 1904, or the modern Redemptorist archives, all of which the present article incorporates.

The Roman documents highlight the contributions of several other people who not only supported Delaere's pioneering work, but who also were actually the initiators of his eastern-rite work. They had the ideas and made the decisions that Delaere carried out. In Delaere's official biographies, the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument was made that because Delaere adopted the eastern rite, organized the eastern-rite clergy, and struggled for the establishment of the hierarchy, he was the instigator and the cause for each of these steps. While the Orthodox histories also emphasize the role of the French-speaking and Belgian clergy in alienating eastern-rite parishioners, Delaere cannot be called the founder of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; he was not the only person involved. Three other people did more to shape the origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada than he: Archbishop Adélard Langevin of Saint Boniface invited the Redemptorists and set the sometimes disastrous parameters for their work. Father Basil Zoldakidentified the problems caused by Langevin's directives and suggested the solutions.[9] Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky lobbied Rome for the implementation of the solutions: eastern-rite priests and, later, bishops for North America. Langevin and Sheptytsky were briefly identified by the Canadian church historian Terry Fay as important actors in the history of Catholicism in western Canada. The documents in the Redemptorist and the Vatican's Secret Archives show Zoldak's role as Sheptytsky's emissary and give further details of Langevin's and Sheptytsky's work in Europe.[10] The present article concentrates on Basil Zoldak's reports and his work with Achille Delaere.

The hostility of American and Canadian Roman Catholic bishops to married clergy and to different rites is well documented for the period prior to 1904. Archbishop Ireland as early as 1888 argued for abandoning the rite in North America, in his opinion, a territory entirely Latin in jurisdiction.[11] The canon lawyer Pospishil states that Propaganda Fide agreed and on 7 May 1890, declared that Patriarchs--and by implication Metropolitan Sheptytsky--do not exercise jurisdiction outside their patriarchates. Because Rome is the patriarchal see for the western world, the faithful are subject to the Latin ordinary. By October of 1890, Propaganda Fide asked that all married and even widowed clergy be

recalled.[12] Clearly, the care for eastern-rite Christians in North America fell to Latin-rite bishops. Nonetheless, Metropolitan Sheptytsky continued to care for his people, by sending clergy, many of whom were rejected by Latin bishops.

In Canada, the search for celibate clergy to care for the new immigrants from eastern Europe began in earnest just before 1898. The Oblate bishops of western Canada--Bishop Albert Pascal of the Saskatchewan Vicariate and Archbishop Adélard Langevin of Saint Boniface--discussed bringing the Redemptorists into western Canada in the hopes that the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer would send some of their Austrians to staff the house and care for the Galicians in the area.[13] The Redemptorists are a religious congregation of priests and brothers founded in 1732 by Saint Alphonsus Liguori in Naples for missions and retreats especially to the poor and most abandoned. They are attracted, therefore, to rural areas. They had expanded rapidly in the nineteenth century into the Austro-Hungarian Empire and were already well-known in North America for their work among immigrants.[14]

Bishop Pascal wrote to Cardinal Ledochowski, prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (commonly called Propaganda Fide) about the four colonies of Galicians in western Canada: Dauphin and Dominion City in Manitoba, one in his own vicariate of Saskatchewan (probably Yorkton), and St. Albert, near Edmonton. He warned Rome that the Galicians, upset by the events in the United States where married and even widowed clergy were being chased away by the Americanizing bishops, were ready to leave for the Orthodox if Latin priests were sent. He had gone to Austria and even to Galicia as far as Lviv to ask the Metropolitan Archbishop of Lviv, Count Andrew Sheptytsky, for help and for members of the religious order of Saint Basil.[15] While they would come in 1902, the need was immediate.

The Austrian and Polish Redemptorists were busy in other mission fields, so the Belgians, who had helped to establish monasteries in French and English Canada, were asked to establish a monastery in Regina. The Redemptorists, however, preferred to establish St. Augustine of Canterbury, in Brandon, Manitoba, which was better linked to transportation routes.[16] Because the French and English Canadian Redemptorist monasteries had just been formed into semi-autonomous vice-provinces, the Belgians were ready for a new mission. As the Provincial of the Redemptorists in Belgium announced, the students were inflamed with a holy desire for the western Canadian missions.[17] The Redemptorists

immediately sent two Redemptorist priests, one to work in English and one to work in French and sent two others to Galicia to learn the local languages. One of them, Achille Delaere, was to go to Canada after his studies in Tuchow.[18] All of the priests destined for the west, except those working in the French ministry, were usually Flemish, on the grounds that they already knew more languages than the French-speaking Walloons (Belgian high school education took place in French) and could readily learn more.[19]

Who was Delaere? His colleagues painted him as a man of courage and perseverance, but not of talent. Born in 1868 in Lendelode, Belgium, he was the son of a farmer and had very little polish, because his father often needed him and kept him on the farm. The young man eventually joined the Redemptorists in 1889 and was ordained in 1896. Ordination is not necessarily a civilizing influence: he had a habit of telling his confreres exactly what he thought of them. Even Canada's Apostolic Delegate learned about Delaere's frankness. Delaere once told him that only liars and scoundrels wrote to complain to the Apostolic Delegate. The Delegate replied with a smile that sometimes Bishops and Archbishops also wrote to the Apostolic Delegate. Clearly, many people stated, Delaere was more comfortable around horses than people.[20] One of his closest co-workers, Noel Decamps, described him as a conqueror and a builder, letting others take care of the details. "It was just too bad for you if in his rush, he insulted you or stepped on your toes."[21] Otherwise, he was morose, taciturn, and caustic--or sad, discreet, and witty, depending on whether he was liked or not by the person describing him. As for his language skills and his knowledge of the eastern rite, his closest associates declared that he never learned even French properly and at best was mediocre in Ukrainian, but his zeal and his capacity for work made him indispensable to his superiors even though they did not care for his rustic ways. As a community man, he was able to get along with those who worked as hard as he did. They were rare.[22] Was this the man to examine a situation and create solutions?

Delaere was sent to Canada on the *Scotsman* out of Liverpool. It wrecked off Belle Isle; sixteen people died. Delaere survived and continued his journey to Brandon, arriving on 11 October 1899. He was welcomed by his fellow Redemptorists as the Apostle to the Poles.[23] Delaere began his work in an area called Hun's Valley because of the number of Hungarians--in reality Hungarian Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Poles--and around what was known as the Kant mission, which was named

for the Polish Saint John of Kant. This required long hours of travel by horse and sled or buggy through the usual extremes of weather in western Canada.[24] Delaere had joined the Congregation to work for God and he did the work assigned to him without complaint. His confreres agreed that he could work.

During all of these years, Delaere said mass in Latin and preached in Polish, but he had quickly realized that the majority of Galicians in the pews were actually eastern-rite Ruthenians. Still, for the five years that he worked in Hun's Valley and at St. John of Kant, there were no major problems except for the distance from Brandon. The Catholic communities became well organized as they usually were when a religious congregation such as the Redemptorists dedicated itself to gathering the faithful, establishing the parish, and organizing the parish societies. It helped that the Poles outnumbered the Ruthenians in the Brandon area.

Elsewhere, by the spring of 1900 the entire hierarchy in Canada was becoming concerned about the growing number of defections of the eastern-rite Galicians to other religious groups. The Apostolic Delegate Falconio ordered the Oblate Father Lacombe to obtain Galician priests from the Austrian Emperor.[25] The Oblate bishops, however, opposed Falconio's desire for Galician clergy. The bishops, with Langevin of Saint Boniface at their head, claimed they had had some difficulties with individual Galician diocesan priests and preferred sending religious clergy, such as the Redemptorists and the Oblates, as well as some hand-picked diocesan clergy, in order to keep the people entirely within the Roman Catholic Church.[26]

The Bishops' complaints about such eastern-rite clergy in North America was due in part to the differences in canon law, language, and ritual as well as the Latin's suspicion and fear of the eastern clergy's acceptance of married men for ordination. The immigrants were also unfamiliar with the new country's voluntary support of religion, unlike in Europe where churches were financially supported by the government. Langevin wrote to the Redemptorists:

> The best would be to leave Latin-rite religious take care of these people. For centuries these unhappy races have been given over to wavering in their faith and to betraying Grace. Bastardized and ignorant races, unable to profit from the freedom of this country. They passionately tie themselves to the rite--to exterior practises--in inverse proportion to any serious belief. Our religious missionaries are a revelation to them. One Latin priest like one of your Redemptorists,

> an Oblate, an Assumptionist, is worth ten of their priests! So, let us save as many as we can and the rest will go to Hell.[27]

The Redemptorists formally accepted work among the Ruthenians until Langevin's own diocesan priests could take over.[28] There was no question of bringing in eastern-rite clergy. Delaere immediately began to organize the Ruthenian parishioners in the Shoal Lake and Hun's Valley districts.[29] Still, immigrants were pouring into Canada and even more Galicians had settled in the Yorkton area. The Oblates were pulling out of the Parkland area. Archbishop Langevin, alarmed at the Presbyterians, the establishment of public schools, and the growing propensity of the Galicians to go to any church where Ruthenian was spoken and send their children wherever there were schools, even if taught by Protestants, asked the Redemptorists to abandon St. John of Kant. It had become an organized district he could entrust to a Polish diocesan priest.[30] He hoped that the Redemptorists would go to Dauphin, now in Manitoba, where there were about 8,000 Galician Catholics. At his wits' end, he asked if the Redemptorists would care for all of the Galicians in the entire archdiocese.[31]

One of the most important events in the origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada was the visit of Basil Zoldak, a priest of the eparchy of Lviv, who had been sent on a fact-finding mission organized by Metropolitan Sheptytsky throughout North and South America and approved by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Although some bishops were unclear on his powers or jurisdiction--he was Metropolitan Sheptytsky's secretary, but he was paid by the Austrian Emperor to serve as an official Visitor--his report in the Vatican Archives is comprehensive and gives a wide context to Archbishop Langevin and the Redemptorists' rhetoric of crisis. At the beginning of 1903, he wrote, there were about 60,000 eastern Catholics of the Byzantine-Slav rite, most of them from Galicia, all understanding Old Church Slavonic. Brazil had about the same number while the United States had three times as many--180,000. Of the three areas, the saddest picture, he claimed, was Canada. In Brazil and in the United States, there were eastern-rite diocesan and religious priests, the Basilians, who had organized the faithful into communities and parishes. The United States was only suffering from the fact that the diocesan clergy from Lviv, about fourteen in all, were subject to Latin bishops, some of them unsympathetic, and were independent or isolated from each other. In Canada, Russian Orthodox clergy sent out from San Francisco were

stirring up anti-Latin sentiments. The Ruthenian clergy of the United States who were unhappy about their treatment and status under Latin bishops were writing critical articles in Ukrainian in the American newspaper *Svoboda*. He suggested that an eastern-rite Bishop be named for Canada and the United States to organize the diocesan priests and to forestall the anti-Roman sentiment growing in North America.[32]

Zoldak examined the archdiocese of St. Boniface even more closely on behalf of the Apostolic Delegate, Sbarretti, and stated that most--15,000--of Canada's Galicians were under Archbishop Langevin. By 24 March 1903, when he wrote his report, he stated that many of them were now going over to the Orthodox, especially the 600 families in the Yorkton region. He also pointed out that there was not a single Catholic school for any of these families and most of the children were growing up without any education.[33] The Catholic population was becoming restless and the Archbishop's attempt to appropriate all of their self-built churches to protect the properties from other denominations and gain collateral for the building of other institutions such as schools had been misunderstood as an attempt to deprive them of their money. This opinion was being actively spread by the Russian Orthodox bishop Tychon, and his priest, Popoff, who visited Winnipeg and its surrounding regions.[34] Schismatics ordained by an individual calling himself Serafim, who claimed to be the Russian Orthodox Bishop for America and who ordained people for a fee, had also come into the Yorkton region.[35] According to Zoldak, there were six Serafimists recently ordained in Yorkton itself and fifteen others working in the region, none of whom had much education, but who were all eagerly accepted by the people happy to have clergy who spoke their own language and were not under the French Archbishop.[36] Although Serafim was quickly unmasked as an adventurous imposter,[37] his clergy continued to bring some of their people into the Presbyterian Church, although most became independents.[38] Langevin confirmed Zoldak's statistics, but asked for more religious clergy not a bishop.[39] Langevin offered to pay for the higher education in Lviv of any Canadian priest who wished to study the Ruthenian language. He already had one volunteer.[40] While Langevin's intentions were admirable, his solutions were inadequate. *The Manitoba Free Press* of 12 March 1903 reported that Ruthenians were repudiating Langevin and his French-language clergy in ever greater numbers.[41]

The Provincial of the Basilians in Canada, Platonides Filas, who was working in Alberta with his confreres since 1902, quietly suggested to the

Apostolic Delegate that the incorporation papers of each of the chapels could have a simple sentence stating that the Archbishop of Saint Boniface would hold the property "in trust" until such time as the Galicians had their own bishop.[42] A bishop, of course, as Zoldak had written, would be the solution. The other Oblate bishops agreed and the Basilians in Alberta quietened much of the problems there. Langevin continued to refuse.

In the meantime, Zoldak proposed Delaere visit Yorkton at least once a month. He had worked with Delaere; as Langevin wrote to the Redemptorists: "We must hurry to save the Galicians if we want to keep their children from falling into the mouths of the wolves–the English Protestant schools."[43]

The Redemptorists, however, at first resisted going to Yorkton because an early informal census reported that Yorkton only had ten Catholic families, seven of them English, and three Polish.[44] The Greek Catholics were in the rural areas around Yorkton. Florent Borgonie, another Redemptorist stationed in Brandon for the Poles visited Yorkton in early 1903 and was astonished at the recent growth in the area. He claimed there were now thousands of people and hundreds showed up for the mass. Twenty-seven babies were baptised and two marriages celebrated in one day. Despite Delaere's hope to stay in the Brandon area to deal with the Galicians there, many of whom had accepted the ministrations of Delaere as a Latin-rite priest and had come to accept life within the Polish community as he himself had, Delaere and other Redemptorists began to visit the Yorkton area once a month as Zoldak had suggested.

Delaere himself was stunned by the amount of work required and reported that the territory was actually half the size of Belgium with only thirty to forty English families and was entirely neglected by any other Catholic clergy since the Oblates had moved out. False priests, Orthodox priests, and Protestants had all established themselves in the area. The Redemptorists reported seventeen Protestant ministers in the Yorkton region.[45] Delaere immediately begged for help, encouraged French Canadian seminarians to study different languages, and brought in Father Kryzhanowsky, a Basilian monk, to help him in the various colonies."[46]

On meeting one of the Serafimists in the home of a colonist, Delaere was challenged to defend the Latin-rite bishop. How could the Roman Catholics and Delaere's French Bishop claim to be helping the Ruthenians when they refused them their own eastern-rite, married priests when such priests were actually allowed by Rome and eastern canon law?[47] Faced with increasing hostility, defections, and the lack of help from Archbishop

Langevin, Delaere adopted all of Zoldak's opinions. He established the Redemptorists' monastery in Yorkton on 12 January 1904, to care for the Galicians. It still exists, as St. Gerard's parish, a Roman Catholic parish in the Archdiocese of Regina. That very year, he petitioned to adopt the eastern rite. Delaere became an eastern-rite priest in 1906. Other Belgians soon followed. Although some French Canadian priests did the same, all but one eventually returned to the Latin rite. Delaere and his confreres left St. Gerard's to found a purely Ukrainian monastery, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, now called St. Mary's, Ukrainian Catholic Church. It is in the Eparchy of Saskatoon, part of the Archeparchy of Winnipeg. In this house lived the Belgians and increasingly, the Ukrainian Redemptorists who began to groom young vocations for the priesthood. Delaere also began to argue for the appointment of an eastern-rite bishop to organize the Church in Canada.[48] Zoldak's reports had also made its way to Metropolitan Sheptytsky, who visited Canada in 1910 and confirmed Zoldak's findings. Sheptytsky nominated another of his diocesan clergy.

On his arrival in Canada in 1912, Bishop Nicetas Budka found five Basilian Fathers, seven eastern-rite diocesan priests, four Belgian Redemptorists and five French Canadian priests who had adopted the rite, for a total of twenty-one clergy. There were four small communities of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate and eighty Ukrainian Catholic churches, most of them small chapels on the prairies, all of them in Western Canada, half of them in Delaere's area of work, the other half in the Basilian area. There were three Ukrainian Catholic schools, two of them in Yorkton and a Catholic weekly printed in Ukrainian.[49] This was a fully formed Eastern Catholic Church in Canada, a land formerly considered entirely Roman Catholic territory.

Insistence by the United States' Roman Catholic bishops and Canada's Langevin on a celibate clergy using the Latin rite reflected an uncomprehending attitude toward eastern rite Catholics that encouraged the new settlers to break communion with the Catholic Church. Three hundred thousand Eastern Catholics left Catholicism in the United States.[50] Between 1901 and 1931, roughly two-thirds of all Eastern-rite Catholics in Canada eventually did the same. Redemptorist missionaries in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1904, were part of Saint Boniface's Archbishop Langevin's plan to counteract Protestant proselytism and create a Roman Catholic community among the Galicians in the prairie parkland. Delaere and his colleagues willingly served Langevin and succeeded against the Protestants, but the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada now

became intimately bound up with the phenomenal growth of Orthodoxy in Canada, where most immigrants made their way after leaving Rome.

For the next thirty years, Delaere and other Belgian Redemptorists quietly organized the distant chapels, parishes, schools, orphanages, and halls on Canada's prairies while Ukrainian-born Redemptorists gradually learned from the Belgians how to do the same. The new generation of Ukrainian Redemptorists then reassured and guaranteed an authentically Eastern Church in communion with the See of Rome in Canada, the United States, and eventually in Australia. The Redemptorists, with Delaere as their founder among the Ukrainians, merely implemented their bishops' instructions and continued to suffer from the vermin, the climate, the Presbyterians, and prepared to suffer the Independents who would eventually organize the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

Endnotes

1. Notes by Father DeCoene, CSSR, File 4.7.1.7.4.4.2 in the Archives of the Flemish Redemptorists (henceforth AFR), presently stored in Katholiek Documentatie- en Onderzoekscentrum Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KADOC), Belgium.

2. The prairie parkland is that band of arable land roughly arcing north from Winnipeg to Edmonton, dividing the Canadian shield from Palliser's triangle. As the historiography of Ukrainians in Canada show, the Parkland was settled after the more fertile Palliser Triangle was full with English-speaking or preferred immigrants. More importantly, the United States had closed its own frontier. The eastern Europeans were consciously sent to less desirable lands, but they were enthusiastically taken up by the newcomers because, although marginal, there was wood and water, both luxuries in Galicia.

3. Zoriana Yaworsky-Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1891-1939," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighborhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, ed. Robert F. Harney (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 279-302.

4. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, ed., *A Statistic Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), Series 20.40-62, 36.

5. For further discussion of these political, ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences, see Paul Laverdure, "Murder in the Monastery: Catholic and Orthodox in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1935," *Redemptorist North American Historical Bulletin* (May 2001): 1-20.

6. The best biographical study of Sheptytsky is Cyril Korolevsky, *Metropolitan Andrew (1865-1944)*, translated and revised by Serge Keleher (L'viv: Stauropegion 1993).

7. The closest thing to a general history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada consists of three books: the 1941 Jubilee Book, *Пропамятна Книга, З Нагоди золотого Ювілею Поселення Українского Народу в Канаді* (Yorkton: Упожена Українськими Католицькими Священиками під проводом свого Епископа, 1941); the 1955 *Ювілейна Книга Українців Католиків Саскачевану*, by Volodymyr Iwashko and Bohdan Kazymyra (Володимир Івашко і Богдан Казимира), *Апостольського Екзархату Українців Католиків Саскачевану : Jubilee Book 1905-1955. Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatchewan*, (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Catholic Council of Saskatchewan, 1955); and Panteleimon Bozyk, *Церков Українців в Канаді. Причинки до Історії Українського Церковного Життя в Британській Домінії Каналі, за Час бід 1890-1927* (Subtitled *Church of the Ukrainians in Canada*) (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian 1927). It is possible that an English language translation of this work will soon be available from his son, Volodymyr Bozyk, Winnipeg. Understandably, the first two sources are concerned with descriptions of growth as revealed by the barest statistics of parish formation and expansion rather than with challenges and problems. The third, and oldest, by Bozyk is more of a description of the state of religious belief, including the Protestant and Orthodox, among the Ukrainians. The further one leaves the early period, the more the books rely upon Delaere's role in the origins of the church. All agree upon the date of his transfer to the eastern rite, his fostering of eastern-rite vocations and an indigenous Eastern-rite clergy, and his role in having an eastern-rite bishop named.

8. Emilien Tremblay's *Le Père Delaere et l'Église Ukrainienne du Canada* (Berthierville: n.p., 1960), Roman Chomiak's many articles in Ukrainian (1989), summarized in his unpublished 80-page manuscript, "The Yorkton CSSR Province: A Historical Review" translated from the Ukrainian by George Perejda, CSSR (Yorkton: n.p. n.d); and Jozef De Vocht's Delaere biography in Flemish, *Pater Achiel Delaere. Eerste Redemptorist van de Griekse Ritus. Een Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van de Grieks-Katholieke Kerk der Oekrainers in Canada* (Jette: Missieactie der Paters Redemptoristen, 1954) cover the French, Ukrainian and Flemish materials in Canada and in Belgium, but the only English language work is by the late George Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan who was fluent in Ukrainian and who wrote a brief biographical article about Delaere in *Saskatchewan History* based on Chomiak's work in Ukrainian ("Father Delaere, Pioneer Missionary and Founder of Churches," *Saskatchewan History* 3, No. 1 [Winter 1950]: 1-16).

9. Using modern transcription methods from Ukrainian Cyrillic, the name would now be spelled Vasyl Zholdak, but contemporary documents and the man himself used Basil Zoldak. Throughout this article, the former transcription methods are used.

10. Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 177-178.

11. Kenneth Simon, "The Ruthenian Emigration in the United States of America: The Earliest Years (1884-1894): The Earliest Ecclesiastical Structures Viewed with the Aid of Documents Preserved in the Archive of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches" (Diss. Ad Lauream in Facultate Scientiarum Ecclesiasticarum Orientalium apud Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Rome 1982), 105.

12. *Ex Occidente Lex – From the West, the Law: the Eastern Catholic Churches under the Tutelage of the Holy See of Rome* (Carteret, NJ: St. Mary's Religious Action Fund, 1979), 24.

13. Pascal to Langevin, 28 October 1898, in French, copy in Provincial Series, Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Yorkton (henceforth ARPY), original in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of St. Boniface (henceforth ASB).

14. A brief introduction to the Redemptorists, their historiography, and to their Ukrainian apostolate in Canada can be found in the monograph, Paul Laverdure, *Redemption and Renewal: The Redemptorists of English-Canada 1834-1994* (Toronto: Dundurn Press 1996).

15. Pascal to Ledochowski, 19 December 1898, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY.

16. Adélard [Langevin] to Provincial [16 May 1898], in French, File 4.7.1.7.4.3, AFR.

17. Van Aertselaer, CSSR, to Langevin, 6 January 1898, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original in ASB.

18. Provincial J.R. Van Aertselaer to Father General Raus, 19 July 1898, in French, File 3 (Vice-provincia Canadensis), Section 6-B (Belgica), Historical Archives of the Redemptorist General Government, Rome (henceforth AGHR). Actually, Delaere was expected to learn Ukrainian, the language of the Hungarian Galicians, but the Polish Redemptorists suggested that he learn Polish. They argued that more people spoke Polish and that more Poles lived in the Brandon area than the Slavs or Slovaks, as the Poles incorrectly identified them (see, ? to Van Aertselaer, 12 December 1898, in French).

Conter mistakenly believed Delaere began the study of Croatian (see Conter to Vice-Provincial De Vocht, 11 March 1949, in French, Delaere File, AFR).

19. Varia, File 3.6/3, 3, AFR.

20. Antoine Conter, CSSR, to Fr. Vice-Provincial [De Vocht], 11 March 1949, in French, Delaere File, AFR.

21. Decamps to [De Vocht], 29 May 1951, in French, Delaere File, AFR.

22. "Notes données par l'ex-Père Decamps," Decamps File, AFR.

23. "Chroniques de la maison de Brandon, Man., 1899," File 4.7.1.7.4.2, AFR.

24. Joseph M. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Ethnic Press Association of Ontario, 1967), 2, 39, 54, 64-66, 223-225.

25. Lacombe to Langevin, 27 March 1900, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original in ASB.

26. Langevin to Falconio, 18 July 1900, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, from Coll. P. Jean, OSBM, 14, original in ASB.

27. Langevin to Lemieux, n.d., in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB. Father Lacombe, working with contradictory orders from Falconio and from Langevin, wrote in secret to Langevin that he was able to obtain a compromise from Rome for two sub-apostolic delegates, one for the United States and one for Canada, who would work as bishops under the apostolic delegates. These sub-apostolic delegates, however, could only work if a Latin bishop accepted him into his diocese, thus protecting the individual Latin bishop's autonomy and the Roman nature of the Catholic Church. Naturally, the individuals would be unmarried clergy (see Lacombe to Langevin, 14 September 1900, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB). The reality was that in the Ukraine, the clergy were usually married and were rapidly becoming more educated and better prepared for pastoral duties than at any previous time in its history. There was also already a move towards celibacy even among the eastern-rite clergy. The higher education, standards of conduct, and celibacy culminated under Sheptytsky as Anibal Soutus writes in "La formación del clero greco-católico Ucraino en Galitzia en el período e la ocupación austriaca (1772-1918)," Tesis para el doctorado en la Facultad de Derecho Canónico Oriental (Roma: Pontificio Instituto Oriental, 1991).

28. J. Favre, CSSR, to Provincial of Belgium, 9 August 1900, in French, File 4.7.1.7.4.5.3, AFR.

29. Delaere to Father Vice-Provincial [Lemieux], 25 February 1901, in French, File 3 (Vice-provincia canadensis), Section 6-B, AGHR.

30. Langevin to Lemieux, 4 January 1902, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB. Delaere repeated the arguments to his provincial (Varia, 150, Section 3.6/3, AFR).

31. Langevin to CSSR Superior General, 4 March 1902, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB.

32. Zoldak to His Excellency, 28 February 1903 [in Italian], Nr. 110, File "Ruteni (Melanges)," Fonds Nunz. Canada 184/1, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (henceforth ASV). A useful finding aid is Claudio De Dominicis, *Inventario dell'Archivio della Delegazione Apostolica del Canada (Nunziatura apostolica dal 1969), Scatole 1-191* (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1989), 272 pages.

33. Zoldak to Sbarretti, 24 March 1903, in Italian, copy in ASV. Zoldak's views have been confirmed by the Orthodox: Archimandrite Serafim (Surrency), *The Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America: A History of the Orthodox Church in North America in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Saints Boris and Gleb Press, 1973), 22, states that the "return" of the Uniates was of major importance to the life of American Orthodoxy.

34. Zoldak to Sbaretti, 6 April 1903, in Italian, ASV.

35. Delaere to Father Visitor [Lemieux], 2 February 1904, in French, copy in Varia, 3.6/3, AFR. See especially, Delaere, *Memorandum on the Attempts of Schism and Heresy among the Ruthenians (commonly called "Galicians") in the Canadian Northwest* (Winnipeg: West Canada Publishing Company, 1909), 10-13.

36. Zoldak to Sbaretti, 21 May 1903, in Italian; and Langevin to Sbarretti, 18 July 1903, in French, ASV.

37. *Svoboda*, 24 August 1903, in Ukrainian and French, copy and translation, ASV.

38. The most complete account of the early years is in Semen W. Sawchuk and George Mulyk-Lutzyk, *History of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, 4 vols. (Winnipeg: Ecclesia Publishing Company, 1984-89), published in Ukrainian. The most accessible in English is Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), which is a continuation of his "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948).

39. Langevin to the Apostolic Delegate Sbaretti, forwarded to Propaganda Fide's Cardinal Prefect Gotti, 1 March 1903, in French, ASV.

40. Langevin to Godts, 15 July 1903, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB.

41. Ivan (John) Bodrug, a Ruthenian settler who had been ordained by Seraphim and then entered the Presbyterian ministry, claimed that the English and French Catholics were too busy squabbling about the future direction of the Catholic Church while the Orthodox, too, were divided between different nationalities. He joined the Presbyterian church to establish schools for his people. He also claimed that troubles only broke out when the Archbishop of St. Boniface insisted that all chapel, church, and school properties donated by the Galician settlers for their own use be handed over to the Roman Catholic Church. See Edward Nicholas Bodrug, *John Bodrug: Ukrainian pioneer preacher, educator, editor in the Canadian West, 1897-1913* (n.p., n.d.), 52 [Copy available in the United Church of Canada Archives]. See also John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs pertaining to the history of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the years 1903 to 1913,* ed. J.B. Gregorovich, Introduction by Senator Paul Yuzyk (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation 1980), 159 pages.

42. Filas to Sbaretti, 10 May 1903, in Italian, ASV. For Langevin's problems with diocesan clergy such as Zaklinski, see Langevin to Godts, in French, copy in Provincial Series, ARPY, original ASB.

43. Langevin to Lemieux, 4 January 1902, in French. Original in the Archives of the Redemptorists of the Sainte Anne-de-Beaupré Province, copy in Box 3, Section 4.47 (Yorkton), of the Redemptorist Archives of the Edmonton-Toronto Province.

44. Notes by Father DeCoene, CSSR, File 4.7.1.7.4.4.2, AFR.

45. Notes by Father DeCoene, CSSR, File 4.7.1.7.4.4.2, AFR.

46. Delaere, *Memorandum*, 36. This is borne out by Foundation Series, Yorkton, ARPY.

47. Delaere, *Memorandum*, 15.

48. Decamps to [De Vocht], 25 April 1951, in French, Delaere File, AFR, discusses Delaere's disagreements with Budka.

49. Joseph Bala, "Pioneer Bishop," in Iwashko and Kazymyra, *Ювілейна Книга Українців Католиків Саскачевану*, 135-136. Joseph Bala, Budka's secretary who later joined the Redemptorists, wrote that after fifteen years of work Budka left twenty-nine secular priests, eighteen regular priests, for a total of

forty-seven clergy, 299 parishes and missions, twenty-six evening schools, five schools and five orphanages. How much of this growth was accomplished despite Budka or because of him is an open question.

50. Simon, "The Ruthenian Emigration in the United States of America," 225.

Sustaining the Faithful and Proclaiming the Gospel in a Time of Crisis: The Voice of Popular Evangelical Periodicals During World War Two

JAMES ENNS

The general trajectory of the Protestant evangelical movement in the first half of the twentieth century has been, by most historical accounts, a journey from homogeneity to fragmentation and diversity. This has been the evangelical story on both sides of the Atlantic.[1] Challenged on multiple fronts by adversaries such as higher criticism, rival eschatological theories, the social gospel movement, and Darwinian evolution, the broad evangelical consensus of the late-nineteenth century had splintered into a variety of separatist and accommodating camps by the early 1920s. But by the outbreak of World War Two there were signs that significant segments of this fractured movement were once again forging a kind of recognizable, if tenuous, evangelical unity.[2] How the war itself influenced this process is difficult to assess. The extant literature on the history of evangelicals mostly tends to treat World War Two as a convenient dividing point or marker from which to trace larger trends and activities in the movement. Other than giving attention to the formation of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1943, little mention is made of other activities in which evangelicals were engaged during the actual war years. The tacit assumption in such an approach is that little of consequence was happening during the war itself. Evangelicals were in a holding pattern while their young men went off to fight the Axis powers, and it was only after V-J Day that any activity of consequence began.

The purpose of this essay is to address this oversight and challenge the above assumption. But rather than studying the actions of key leaders,

such as Harold Ockenga or Carl McIntire, this study will focus on a limited selection of popular periodicals produced by evangelical publishers in Britain, Canada and the United States. There are at least two reasons for taking this approach. First, historians such as Mark Noll and George Rawlyk have convincingly argued that evangelicalism's strength invariably flowed from its populist roots. Second, as someone whose livelihood depended on understanding the power and role of the media, former American President John F. Kennedy once observed that magazines are "the interior dialogue of a society."[3] Therefore, to understand what evangelicals were up to during the war years it seems only fitting to examine the concerns and activities about which they were writing in their popular periodicals during this period. In view of the assertion noted aove about the emergence of an identifiable evangelical unity, two key questions must be asked when examining this popular literature: 1) is there evidence of such unity in this literature, and 2) if so, what are its defining contours?

Publications from the last century have not been widely explored by historians and as a result little statistical data exists when it comes to ascertaining the precise number of periodicals published by evangelical organizations, or obtaining accurate subscription lists.[4] The sample of periodicals used in this study was determined by immediate, local availability. Fortunately the library holdings of Prairie Bible College, the school at which I teach, included the back issues of six periodicals from World War Two.

While these six magazines are not a scientific sample, it can be argued that they are a represent a cross-section of popular voices. There are two reasons for making such a claim: first, they represent the geographic span of the trans-Atlantic, English-speaking evangelical community, with two publications each from Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. It could be argued that even within Canada, for example, the selection of *Evangelical Christian*, which was published out of Toronto, and *Prairie Pastor*, put out by Prairie Bible Institute in Three Hills, Alberta, represent regional voices within this country.[5] The two American periodicals used in this study, *Sunday School Times* and *Moody Monthly*, came out of Philadelphia and Chicago respectively. Both British publications, *The Dawn,* and *World Dominion in the World Today* (known simply as *World Dominion)*, were based in London, but they also represented distinct currents in the evangelical stream. Reflecting the ecclesial orientation of its editor, E.M. Panton, *The Dawn* drew heavily on the

voices of non-conformist evangelicals; *World Dominion* tended to favour articles written by evangelical Anglicans.[6]

Second, all six publications were produced by para-church organizations, whose appeal and circulation crossed denominational boundaries. As George Marsden, Joel Carpenter and John Stackhouse have argued, the activist evangelical impulse in the twentieth century has been expressed most visibly in its para-church organizations, such as faith mission societies and Bible colleges, rather than by denominational church organs.[7] Many evangelicals supported both denominational and para-church based ministries refusing to see the issue as an either/or choice. Applying these observations specifically to magazines it can be argued that evangelicals likely subscribed to both denominational and trans-denominational (i.e., para-church) publications, and that the latter in fact represented a kind of loose evangelical ecumenicity.[8] Steven Board's analysis of evangelical periodicals bears this out. Using the four-quadrant matrix replicated below, Board categorizes magazines on a two-dimensional continuum: the horizontal axis measuring the degree of editorial independence by private individuals versus greater official institutional control, and the vertical axis measuring the publication's agenda as cause-

From less to more official

Increasing control by readers ↓	Independence	Official Body
Cause driven	The agenda is that of the vision or cause of the owner or chief supporters. I	The agenda is that of the organization or official body. II
Market driven	The agenda is regulated by the subscribers or target market. III	The agenda is that of a constituency sharing common membership. IV

driven versus market-driven. Board's fourth quadrant contains consumer magazines, which reflect the highest measure of accountability to their

readership, through both the direct economic measures of advertising and subscription revenues, and the indirect measure of voluntary donors such as school alumni.[9] Given these criteria, all six publications examined in this study fit into this quadrant. Board points out that magazines in this category, whether secular or religious, provide the best read-out of public opinion for the larger constituency of their chosen market.[10] As such even this limited sample of six periodicals will provide a helpful initial snapshot of the evangelical community's response to the crisis of the war.

When asking the first question, "do these periodicals reveal a discernable unity among trans-Atlantic evangelicals during this time?" the answer is a definite, but qualified, "yes." This unity manifested itself primarily in two ways: first, in a congruence of themes and format, and second, in their shared sources and networks affiliations.

Congruence of Themes and Format

Four of the six publications are very similar in their overall layout. *Moody Monthly, Evangelical Christian, Prairie Pastor,* and *The Dawn,* led off each edition with a compendium of short articles or editorial notes on a variety of international and domestic political or social issues intended to give their readers a sense of the spiritual pulse of the world. L.E. Maxwell, who in addition to being the principal of Prairie Bible Institute was also co-editor of the *Prairie Pastor,* chose the title "The World of Today–In the Light of the Word," for this regular feature, while his Canadian counter-part J.H. Hunter, editor of the *Evangelical Christian,* began each issue with "The March of Events."[11] South of the border the *Moody Monthly* opened with the less flamboyant title, "Editorial Notes . . ." while across the ocean *The Dawn*'s editor, D.M. Panton, settled on the more ominous title, "The Outlook of the Hour," for his opening global assessment.

The two remaining periodicals offered slight variations. *Sunday School Times* stood slightly apart from the other five periodicals in that it was issued weekly rather than a monthly, and was formatted like a broadsheet rather than a journal. It also had a more didactic focus as part of its overall mission. Most of its content functioned as a theological resource and pedagogical aid to Sunday school teachers; however, once a month it also included a similar feature on global events tucked further back in the issue simply titled, "A Survey of Religious Life." *World Dominion,* the other British publication, was unique in two ways. It was,

first, more scholarly in its orientation than the other periodicals. Most of its articles were written by authors who held graduate degrees, and it included three university professors among its consulting editors, one being historian Kenneth Scott Latourette. Second, its focus was exclusively on international affairs of both a political and religious nature. Its regular survey of global events was placed at the back of each edition, and rather presumptuously titled, "The World Today–And Tomorrow."[12] Qualitatively *World Dominion* also showed its uniqueness by the way it interpreted and assessed these events. More often than not its authors sought to explain the events they described not in reference to the immanent return of Christ, but with the assumption that the complicated and messy state of international relations would continue for quite some time, and therefore Christians needed to take the long view by actively engaging and transforming their world instead of separating from it. By contrast, when the other five periodicals reported on a particular political or military event they either interpreted it through apocalyptic lenses, or pressed it into service by using it to illustrate a spiritual lesson, similar to an anecdote in a sermon.

These peculiarities aside, the range of the articles and regular features in these magazines encompassed the following common agenda: making sense of current events in light of biblical wisdom, offering expositional instruction on passages of scripture, telling inspirational stories of personal conversion and/or divine provision, and informing readers of ongoing global missionary endeavour.[13] Such an agenda indicated that these publications' respective readers shared a general set of interests and values when seeking information about what was happening in their world.

Shared Sources and Network Affiliations

The sense of a unified evangelical voice is more strongly evident when one examines the sources these periodicals used for their information. Editors of the above magazines frequently reprinted each other's articles. Without exception such citations expressed favourable agreement with the editorial line taken by the borrowed publication. For example, *The Dawn* used material from the *Moody Monthly, Evangelical Christian* and *Sunday School Times,* while *Moody Monthly's* editors used material from *Evangelical Christian* as well as other evangelical publications, such as the *Gospel Herald.*[14] The most prolific borrower from other periodicals

was *Prairie Pastor*. Maxwell, and his co-editor Dorothy Ruth Miller, included material from all five other publications during the war years, *The Dawn* and the *Sunday School Times* being the most frequently cited.[15]

This editorial coherence was also evident through loose but important network affiliations, especially among the North American publications. *Sunday School Times,* gave a favourable review to a book written by J.H. Hunter, editor of *Evangelical Christian*.[16] *Sunday School Times'* editor, Philip Howard, had his daughter Elizabeth (who later became famous in evangelical circles as missionary widow and author Elizabeth Eliot) attend L.E. Maxwell's Prairie Bible Institute. Moody Press published Maxwell's first book, *Born Crucified*.[17] *The Dawn, Evangelical Christian* and *Sunday School Times* were all ardent supporters of the Keswick holiness conferences held on both sides of the Atlantic, and reported faithfully on the work of the same overseas missionary organizations, perhaps most frequently to the work of the China Inland Mission. These specific network connections were woven into a larger network fabric of shared references to the same pool of itinerant Bible teachers, revival and deeper life conferences, Christian edification literature and missionary endeavor.[18] The fluidity of these informal networks gives support to the work of Ian Rennie and others who have explored the transnational and trans-Atlantic character of evangelicalism, which had its roots as far back as the eighteenth-century travels of George Whitefield.[19]

From careful and detailed reading of all six periodicals it is clear that certain theological differences existed. However, the manner in which the editors cited and complimented each other shows a fairly unified and coherent voice. Clearly their periodicals were not to be platforms from which to argue about their differences. In modernists, Fascists, Communists, Darwinists, anti-prohibitionists, and, worst of all, theological liberals, there were enough enemies outside the evangelical camp to deter these editors from engaging in the kind of internecine attacks that had become a hallmark of the early fundamentalists.

Such intentional coherence during the early 1940s also suggests that these efforts were important in laying the groundwork for the formal institutional expressions of evangelical unity that were to emerge shortly after the war. While the National Association of Evangelicals came into existence during the war years, in relatively short succession the Evangelical Press Association was created in 1949, followed a year later by the founding of the Christian Booksellers Association.[20]

Defining Contours of Evangelical Unity

If evangelicals were speaking with a coherent and informally unified public voice, what issues and opinions were they rallying around? From this limited sampling of magazines there are six identifiable issues on which the editorial lines reflect varying degrees of concurrence. On two issues the concurrence could be described as soft, yet recognizable. These had to do with specifically with war itself. All six publications ran numerous articles offering a Christian response to the Allied war effort. A second related set of articles dealt with the issue of understanding the war in light of biblical prophecy.[21] On another three issues the editors shared a stronger consensus: the importance of evangelizing the Jews and rallying to the cause of a Jewish homeland in the face of Nazi atrocities; the concern for moral decline in the homeland precipitated by the crisis of the War; and finally a shared belief that the reading and distribution of the Bible was the key to moral rehabilitation.

But beyond these matters, the one issue that received most frequent treatment and reflected the strongest consensus was the ongoing importance of overseas missionary outreach and evangelism. All six periodicals dedicated space in each issue to report on the work of missionaries around the globe. The picture that emerges challenges the tacit assumption of historians that evangelicals went into a maintenance pattern during the war years. In spite of the devastation and disruption brought on by the war, the reports from overseas and domestic missionary agencies indicate that their people were aggressively pressing forward with the tasks of evangelism, Bible translation, and humanitarian aid in all regions of the globe.

God, War and Prophecy

On the issues of softer consensus, all six periodicals offered a virtually identical response to the question, "why has God allowed this war?" War had come because of God's judgment on apostate nations, and not just those countries ruled by totalitarian leaders, but especially to western democracies. In his article, "God and this Warring World," editor of the Canadian *Evangelical Christian*, J.H. Hunter thundered:

> Our own nation, and the British Commonwealth of Nations has departed far from the laws of God. What are we to think of the orgies of gambling and drunkenness that have left such a stain on our

> national life . . . What of the desecration of the Lord's Day by multitudes of people and its commercialization of selfish interests and evil men. What of the empty churches and the crowded movies; the wickedness of past years in high places in England . . . Could God be indifferent to these things? We should not marvel that judgment has fallen--we marvel that it was so long delayed.[22]

In the same vein both *Sunday School Times* and *Moody Monthly* opined that war had come to the United States because it was "a God-forgetting nation" whose "national sins . . . for many years have been crying out to high Heaven for punishment . . ."[23] Similar declarations were made by British evangelicals; D.M. Panton likened his country's spiritual decline to that of the nation of Israel during the life of the prophet Habakkuk.[24]

While these writers cited parallels between their own times and God's judgment on Israel's apostasy in the Old Testament books, their assertions were also tempered by an awareness that God's purposes were much more complex than such limited reductionism. Both L.E. Maxwell and J.H. Hunter used the prophet Isaiah's words as a caution that "God's ways are not our ways, nor his thoughts are not our thoughts."[25]

If evangelicals on both sides of the Atlantic were agreed on the diagnosis of the situation, there were varying opinions of how Christians should respond to war and plan for its aftermath. All agreed on the necessity for repentance, prayer and revival through personal conversion, but not all were agreed on whether Christians should actively support the war itself. American publications were strongest in their support of the war effort, with Canadians close behind, but the British magazine, *The Dawn*, was strongly pacifist, and ran several articles warning believers not to confuse nationalist aims with those of the divine kingdom.[26] It is uncertain how widely such a position was endorsed among evangelicals at the time, but the fact that *The Dawn* was read on both sides of the ocean, and was financed by both subscription levies and voluntary donations indicates that enough evangelicals tolerated or endorsed its editorial position to keep the magazine afloat.

In spite of this varied outlook, all six periodicals expressed a degree of consensus on a second theme: understanding the war in light of biblical prophecy. The leading voice on this theme was *The Dawn.* Throughout the war its editor stressed the importance of the prophetic task for Christians in times of crisis, and frequently invoked the language of the Old Testament prophets to interpret wartime events.[27] Inevitably though, evangelicals looked to the apocalyptic passages of the New Testament

writers to explain their situation. *The Dawn,* along with its North American counterparts speculated about Hitler's identity as the anti-christ, especially as his genocidal program for the Jews became more apparent.[28] However, it was the detonation of the atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki that really stoked the fires of eschatological rhetoric. The dramatic purging of heaven and earth described in 2 Peter took on a sudden literalism, unimaginable prior to 6 August 1945. Writing in *Moody Monthly,* Rev. Donald J. Holbrook declared:

> In the passage from II Peter [verses 3,7, 10, 12] the final destruction of the earth is described as the breaking up of the elements with a glaring heat and with a great roaring noise. When we remember that the chemistry books tell us that an atom is the smallest part of an element, we see that the atomic bomb is an exact picture of what God will do to this present earth and the present heaven at the great day of judgment.[29]

Alongside this new understanding of apocalyptic global destruction was the pessimism toward plans for the post-war world. L.E. Maxwell lamented both the spiritual and political naiveté of the documents produced by the Dumbarton Oaks Security Conference and the San Francisco Conference for World Peace. The editors of *Evangelical Christian* took a similar view of the Yalta Conference.[30] In the midst of this gloom evangelicals were able to find hope, but for the most part, that hope lay outside of history, not within it. There was a strong sense that they were living in the sunset years of history.

Issues of Stronger Consensus–Jews, Moral Decline and Bible Reading

Flowing out of their common understanding of the war as both a divine judgment on complacent and formerly "Christian" nations, and as a decisive step toward the close of history, evangelical periodicals rallied around a second set of three concerns. They were keenly interested in the fate of the Jewish people, they spoke out on the moral and spiritual decline in their respective homelands, and took hope in the widespread distribution of Bibles, understanding this as a sign of spiritual hunger for truth and meaning in the midst of chaos and destruction.

The plight of the Jews in Europe was an important matter for evangelicals for at least two reasons. Tied to their strong apocalyptic, premillennial understanding of the war was the role played by the Jewish

people in the fulfillment of prophecy. The reconstitution of the Jews as a visible nation with a homeland in Palestine was seen as an important signal that Christ's return could not be far off. *Evangelical Christian* kept the closest watch on Jewish national aspirations and reported its findings in a regular feature entitled "The Sign of the Fig Tree." This column called readers' attention to the Nazi genocidal program, and became sharply critical of British and Canadian foreign policy decisions that ignored the plight of the Jewish people.[31] However, across the wider spectrum of evangelical commentary on the Jews, the primary concern was their conversion.

Wartime displacement and systematic extermination of European Jews led evangelicals to believe that Jewish populations in North America and Britain were especially receptive to the message of the Christian gospel as never before. Their only hope lay not in separation or assimilation, but in "redemption, regeneration, reconciliation through the Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah, the Son of David, the Saviour of a lost world, the King of Israel."[32] Additional articles used conversion testimonials of Jewish converts to inspire fellow believers to take up or continue their evangelistic outreach efforts among God's chosen people.[33]

A second dominant theme was the lament over moral decline in the homeland. In 1943 *World Dominion* ran an article entitled "The Seamy Side of Life" in which a counselling professional testified that he had documented 12,000 cases of mental distress and moral perplexity among participants in a national survey.[34] By the end of the war the same magazine ran an article by the Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Rochester who commented on the sad state of affairs in England. Citing a recent Report on the Commission on Evangelism released by the Church of England, he stated that ninety percent of the country's population owed no allegiance to any Christian communion, that people's ethical standards were no longer based on Christian principles or biblical teaching, and that there was a strong drift in public attitudes toward naturalism.[35]

In Canada and the United States the indicators of spiritual and moral decline were somewhat different, but the conclusions the same. Lacking the tradition of an established church which their British counterparts frequently used to measure the spiritual pulse of the nation, North American evangelicals charted the rise of social vices to argue for increasing moral waywardness. Citing a stories that appeared in several editions of *Time* and *Newsweek*, *Prairie Pastor* lamented that in the past year America's great war production had not been in armaments, but in

saloons, theatres, night clubs and brothels. These wartime "factories" did not turn men and materiel to effectively take on the country's enemies, but instead produced rape, robbery, juvenile vagrancy, prostitution and drunkenness.[36] According to the *Moody Monthly* this nation-wide wallowing in the cesspool of moral vice was obvious: "In case any of our readers are not yet convinced America needs a moral bath…How desperate is America's condition! Unless we have a revival we might well expect the judgment of God."[37] Concurring with his Christian brothers at *Moody Monthly*, *Prairie Pastor* editor L.E. Maxwell responded in typical evangelical fashion: "Let these staggering conditions drive us afresh to our Bibles and to our knees and out into the highways to win the lost."[38]

If the Bible was a source of comfort and hope for evangelicals during these troubled times, their periodicals suggested that many others were also turning to the Christian scriptures. In 1943 *World Dominion* reported that since the outbreak of the war 1,750,000 copies of the Bible had been distributed to military personnel alone.[39] On the other side of the Atlantic, *Sunday School Times* reported that according to a recent national survey Americans were reading the Bible in greater numbers and with greater regularity than ever before.[40] Both *Moody Monthly* rallied the faithful to distribute the Scriptures to more people in order to spread the Gospel. "What is needed today is more earnest endeavour to enlist men and women in the reading of the Bible, rather than in a few defending it . . . The Bible will be its own best witness . . . it can speak for itself."[41] This same understanding was echoed in *Prairie Pastor*, which claimed "Life is not in the sower, but the seed . . . In scattering divine literature we liberate thistledown, laden with precious seed, which, blown by the winds of the Spirit, floats over the world."[42] These periodicals went on to report that evangelicals were heeding these injunctions with great zeal and effectiveness.

Bible distribution in the countries of Europe affected by the war provided a source of hope that in the midst of such great conflagration God was at work to bring souls into his kingdom: however, evangelicals were at their most hopeful when they announced the successes of Bible translation by overseas missionaries. By 1945, *Evangelical Christian* and *Moody Monthly* both announced that the Bible had effectively circled and permeated all regions of the globe.[43] Complementing reports of broad global success were numerous regional stories of Bible translators establishing new beachheads, whether in China, Liberia, Ceylon, or even among Yiddish Jews in America, the Bible was being read by greater

numbers of people in more languages than ever before. As a result evangelical readers could rejoice along with John Fosai of the Solomon Islands, who laughed for joy "because it sound[ed] so good to hear God's Word in [his] own language."[44]

For every joyful silver lining evangelicals could also find numerous dark clouds of sober concern. While acknowledging the progress of Bible translation, D.M. Panton of *The Dawn* drew his readers' attention to the great task yet remaining: "We are far from finished: so long as 170,000,000 people, speaking 1,000 different languages, have not a single syllable of the word of God; so long as four-fifths of those for whom the Word has been translated do not possess copy it . . ."[45] These statistics were daunting, but the challenge to spread the gospel to "every tribe and tongue" was clearly one to which evangelicals rose. If there was one issue on which evangelicals showed the strongest consensus during the war years, it was the importance of overseas missionary outreach.

The Issue of Strongest Agreement – Supporting Overseas Missions

Prairie's L.E. Maxwell epitomized the spirit of other evangelical editors when he noted that the crisis of war represented a great opportunity for people to hear the Christian gospel.

> Christians everywhere should pray that while the Lord tarries he will keep the doors open to the gospel. In many heathen lands the hearts of people are open to the gospel as never before and missionaries who are enabled to remain on the field are seeing rich fruitage as a result of their ministry . . . No danger should slacken in zeal for the spread of the Gospel. On the contrary we must speed up every effort to win souls.[46]

Evidence that evangelicals were responding positively to Maxwell's exhortation was supplied by other periodicals. Of the six periodicals, the one that featured the most consistent and detailed reporting on missions was the Toronto-based *Evangelical Christian*. This was hardly surprising since its founder, R.V. Bingham, was also the founder of the Sudan Interior Mission. Both *Sunday School Times* and the British *World Dominion* were close behind, running regular surveys on foreign and home missions. Even if the remaining three magazines did not have dedicated sections surveying missionary work, the frequency of testimonial accounts

by missionaries, which graced their pages, left no doubt that this particular theme was important to their editors and readers alike.[47]

Much of the reporting on missions had an inspirational tone. Article titles often drew on the triumphalistic military rhetoric assuring readers that God's truth was indeed marching on. *Evangelical Christian* ran headlines such as "Missionaries are Heroes" and "Missionaries Do Not Run Away," while *Moody Monthly* trumpeted "Medicine for the Glory of God" when reporting on hospital work in Cameroon.[48] Evangelicals saw World War Two not only as an actual physical war, but also as a metaphor for a global spiritual war, in which the prize was not more *lebensraum*, but the eternal souls of men and women. So when *Prairie Pastor* ran a semi-regular feature entitled "Notes From the Front," the news was not about the movements of enlisted men and the grand strategy of Allied generals, but about the activities of Prairie Bible Institute alumni overseas, such as Henrietta Watson in Bombay and Maybeth Judd Grey.[49] This larger spiritual understanding of the war was best summarized by F.J. Miles in *Sunday School Times* when he stated: "We all face a war conditioned by *time*: Christians are challenged to carry on warfare characterized by *eternal* issues! Our troops have gone into *some* foreign lands. Christian soldiers are sent by their Commander-in-Chief 'into all the world" [italics his].[50] All six periodicals supplied ample proof that evangelical missionaries were faithfully responding to this spiritual call to arms, and establishing active and fruitful theatres of operations in all parts of the globe. Those who did not serve directly as overseas missionaries were active in their support from home. Both *The Dawn* and *Evangelical Christian* reported that in the face of rationing and general privations of wartime giving to missions had actually increased during the war years.[51]

Missions reporting could tend toward the propagandistic, but evangelicals were not one dimensional in their reporting; it was not all celebratory. Setbacks, shortages, persecutions, and even failures found their way into these magazines. Articles in *The Dawn* and *World Dominion* were sometimes critical in its analysis of missionary methods, all the while championing the cause of overseas outreach.[52] Columnists highlighted areas of need so that their readers would be able to pray more intelligently for God's intervention and aid. This was particularly evident in the case of China and Japan. The internment of many missionaries to China by occupying Japanese forces was reported regularly and at length by both *Evangelical Christian* and *Sunday School Times.* But even with setbacks such as this, evangelicals still wrote about the steady growth in

numbers of converts in China.[53] A similar scenario occurred in Ethiopia, where the Italian invasion of the 1930s led to missionary expulsion; yet by 1944 members of the Sudan Interior Mission reported vast growth in the number of indigenous churches.[54]

Encouraging as numerical increase in human and financial resources may have been, of even greater inspiration were personal stories of missionaries who testified to God's specific provision, be it a harrowing escape, a miraculous cure from disease, or a dramatic conversion. Both *Sunday School Times* and *Prairie Pastor* provided a detailed account of missionary survivors who had been aboard a ship named the *ZamZam,* enroute from Baltimore to an African port when it was shelled and sunk by a German naval vessel. *Evangelical Christian* inspired its readers with the story of Russell Abel, who related incidents of miracle cures among the tribal people of New Guinea (the miracle cure for infection was a new untested drug called penicillin), while *Sunday School Times* joyfully recounted the conversion of an Italian Roman Catholic priest.[55]

One of the most moving accounts of divine protection appeared in *Prairie Pastor* late in 1945. The article "Delivered From Internment" recounted the story of a young Canadian boy named Philip Paulson. The child of missionary parents to northern China, Philip was somehow separated from his parents at the outset of the war. While they managed to make their way out of the country, Philip was interned by the Japanese along with other missionaries near Shantung. In August 1945, the camp was liberated by the allies, and after a separation of just over five years, eleven year-old Philip was finally re-united with his family.[56]

As the war drew to a close in 1945, evangelical editors shifted from testimonial articles to ones of exhortation and opportunity. *Evangelical Christian* noted with enthusiasm that one thousand servicemen were intending to become either missionaries or ministers once demobilized.[57] In the same issue evangelicals read about American industrialist Robert G. LeTourneau's plans to use his $13,000,000 Foundation to fund the development of a missionary fleet of planes and pilots to fly missionaries into remote areas of the globe with the gospel.[58]

Concurrent with the above, readers were also made aware of the immensity of the missionary task that still remained. In *Prairie Pastor* Maxwell confronted his readers with these words: "Heaven must weep over sleeping saints who sail the surface of these heaving seas oblivious of humanity's *deep* and hidden need. We seem utterly too callous to care, much less descend to deliver those who are swallowed up in the depths of

darkness and woe."[59] Historian Joel Carpenter notes that the early post-war years saw a tremendous upsurge in conservative Protestant missions.[60] In examining the periodical literature of the time it becomes clear that this numerical rise was not haphazard or accidental. Evangelicals were not in a holding pattern during the war years. Rather, through their periodicals, they carried on their own interior dialogue, and thus found a discernable, albeit loosely knit unity that allowed them to speak with a common voice on the vexing theological and social issues of the day, and most prominently, helped them mobilize the faithful to the task of outreach and evangelism.

Endnotes

1. See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989), 181-228; Robert A. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition, 1914-1945," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch Publishing Co., 1990), 139-197; Mark Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 136-160; D.G. Hart, *That Old-Time Religion in Modern America: Evangelical Protestantism in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002), 66-67; George Marsden *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 184-195; and Joel A. Carpenter *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 33-56.

2. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again* 141-186. For a condensed version of this account see Joel A. Carpenter, "From Fundamentalism to the New Evangelical Coalition," in *Evangelicalism in Modern America,* ed. George Marsden (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 3-16. For developments in Britain and Canada see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain,* 249-270; and Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition," 164-165.

3. Stephen Board, "Moving the World with Magazines: A Survey of Evangelical Periodicals," in *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media,* ed. Quentin J. Schultze (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1990), 119.

4. As Richard N. Osting notes formal record keeping of these periodicals improved in 1949 with the founding of the Evangelical Press Association (see Richard N. Ostling, "Evangelical Publishing and Broadcasting" in *Evangelicalism in Modern America* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984], 48-49). From the citation in Board's essay, it is apparent that he encountered similar obstacles in his own research on evangelical publications (see Board, "Moving the

World with Magazines," 139, n. 3; 140, n. 22; and 141, n. 30). It is clear that significant challenges remain when it comes to recovering the historical data. Many of these magazines have ceased publication, or their sponsoring institutions, as in the case of Prairie Bible Institute, did not archive subscription lists or other circulation records from these early years.

5. What is lacking from the American side is a west-coast publication, such as *King's Business*, put out by Biola College. It would be interesting to see if evangelical periodicals from west coast, both in the United States and Canada, reflected views on the war particular to that region. Did these publications concern themselves more with the war against Japan than with events in the European theatre, and did they broach issues such as the internment of ethnic Japanese Americans and Canadians?

6. These generalizations can only be taken so far. Here again, subscription lists would be valuable in confirming or challenging this non-conformist/establishment delineation. David Bebbington has traced the regional demographics of both groups of evangelicals for the mid-nineteenth century, noting that non-conformist evangelicals were more numerous in northwest England and Wales, while the Church of England's evangelicals were more populous in the southeast (see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain,* 109-111).

7. George Marsden, "The Evangelical Denomination," in *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, *xi-xv*; John Stackhouse Jr. *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 7-17; and Carpenter, *Revive Us Again,* 28-31. Bruce Guenther has challenged the hegemony of the para-church thesis, arguing that it ignores the significant activist roles played by a variety of evangelical denominations such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Mennonite Brethren. Guenther's challenge rightly calls for a more nuanced portrayal of the relationship between church and para-church in the evangelical story ("Training for Service: The Bible School Movement in Western Canada, 1909-1960" [Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 2001).

8. This portrayal of mid-twentieth century American evangelicals is made by Carpenter. He notes particularly the crucial role played by para-church organizations for evangelicals who wished to remain in denominations that tolerated liberal voices, but were sympathetic to the fundamentalist call for separation (see Carpenter, *Revive Us Again,* 53-56).

9. Board, "Moving the World with Magazines," 120-123.

10. Board, "Moving the World with Magazines," 126-129. Board uses *Moody Monthly* as a representative case study for periodicals in this category, realizing that its loyalty to advertisers and wider readers carefully balanced

with loyalty to the educational agenda of its parent organization, Moody Bible Institute.

11. Maxwell only began this feature in 1943, but continued it well after the war. For sample issues of both see *Prairie Pastor* (hereafter *PP*) 16 (November 1943), and *Evangelical Christian* (hereafter *EC*) 39 (March 1943).

12. For a sample of each see *Moody Monthly* (hereafter *MM*) 43 (September 1942); *Sunday School Times* (hereafter *SST*) 85 (4 July 1943); *The Dawn* 19 (January-February 1942); and *World Dominion (WD)* 22 (January-February 1944).

13. A wider periodical sampling would no doubt serve to reinforce this common agenda. Periodicals such as *Alliance Weekly, Gospel Herald, Christian Herald, Christian Digest,* and *Christian Life* tended to offer similar kinds of articles and regular features.

14. Examples of these re-printings can be found in *The Dawn* 20 (March 1943): 119-121, 124-130; and 21(December 1942): 517; *MM* 43 (July 1942): 654, and 43 (September 1942): 5-6, 13.

15. For examples see *PP* 13 (June 1941):40; 14 (April-May 1941):8; and 14 (August 1942): 1. Maxwell used material from *The Dawn* over ten times in issues from the war years.

16. *SST* 84 (24 January 1942): 79.

17. L.E. Maxwell, *Born Crucified* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1945).

18. J.H. Hunter was an ardent promoter of the Canadian Keswick conference centre located just north of Toronto in the Muskoka Lakes district. He was also a supporter of the World Christian Fundamentals organization. *EC's* founder and Hunter's predecessor as editor was R.V. Bingham, who began the Canadian Keswick conferences in 1924. Bingham's life and Christian ministry illustrate the connection and even overlap of agencies such as overseas missions, conference centres, and print media, which made up the evangelical para-church network.

19. See Ian Rennie, "Fundamentalism and the Varieties of North Atlantic Evangelicalism," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990,* eds. Mark A. Noll et. al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 333-350. Susan O'Brian, Harry S. Stout, Michael Gauvreau explore variations of trans-national evangelicalism in their chapters in this volume.

20. Ostling, "Evangelical Publishing," 47-48.

21. Editorial positions on the Christian response to the allied war effort were the most varied. While the Canadian and American publications favoured a range of qualified support for military action, the British periodicals were more varied. *World Dominion's* writers acknowledged the necessity of military resistance against the Axis powers, but they were careful to point out the dangers of an allying Christian causes with state foreign policy. See "The Secret of a New World Order," *WD* 20 (April-May 1942): 91-93. *The Dawn* took a position further away from the other five in advocating a kind of pragmatic pacifist position, see "The Outlook of the Hour," *The Dawn* 18 (December 1941): 388; and "The Christian and War," *The Dawn* 22 (January 1945): 856.

22. "God and this Warring World," *EC* 38 (January 1942): 29.

23. "Why Pearl Harbor" *MM* 44 (May 1943): 510; and "The Pearl Harbor Disaster," *SST* 84 (18 April 1942): 307.

24. "Why Does God Not Stop the War," *The Dawn* 17 (October 1940): 295-299.

25. "Topsy-Turvydom" *PP* 18 (August 1945): 186; and "God and this Warring World," *EC* 38 (January 1942): 5.

26. For examples, see "The Church and the Nations" *The Dawn* 19 (June 1942):217-221; "The Church and the State" *The Dawn* 19 (February 1941): 515-18; and "The Church and War" *The Dawn* 22 (January 1944): 467-468.

27. "Denouncing Prophecy," *The Dawn*, 20 (June 1943): 230-234; and "The Wrath of God," *The Dawn* 18 (October 1941): 295-299.

28. For examples of such biblical interpretation, see "To-Day's Forecast of the Great Tribulation," *The Dawn* 18 (July 1941): 177-179; "Hitler Will Fail," *MM* 44 (July 1943): 618-619; "The New Order," *EC* 39 (March 1943): 107; and "Can Hitler Win the War?" *SST* 84 (29 August 1942): 679-681.

29. "What About the Atomic Bomb?" *MM* 46 (November 1945): 124. The other periodicals echoed a similar understanding. See "Prophetic Aspects of the Atomic Bomb," *SST* 87 (1 September 1945): 666; "The Purpose of Prophecy," *The Dawn* 22 (December 1945): 2090-2093; and "Hamburg Holocaust," *PP* 16 (November 1943): 78-79.

30. "Big Five," *PP* 17 (December 1944): 230 and "San Francisco," *PP* 18 (September-October 1945): 219; and "The Yalta Conference," *EC* 41 (April 1945): 163.

31. For a good sample column see "The Sign of the Fig Tree," *EC* 38 (July 1942): 280. *Evangelical Christian* was especially critical of the British White Paper of 1942, which seemed to undermine the Balfour Declaration of 1917 by

limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine.

32. "The Hated Jew," *SST* 83 (1 November 1941): 876. "The Modern Jew and Jesus Christ," *WD* 20 (January-February 1942): 33. Both of these articles were written by converted Jews, thus giving both credibility to their analysis of the collective spiritual pulse of the Jewish community, and inspiration for fellow believers to take on the task of evangelism to the Jews.

33. For examples, see "The Conversion of a Rabbi," *The Dawn* 19 (March 1942): 81-82; "The Sign of the Fig Tree," *EC* 39 (April 1943): 116; and "Prophets of Doom," *WD* 23 (May-June 1945): 142-144.

34. "The Seamy Side of Life," *WD* 21 (May-June 1943): 154-156.

35. "Towards the Conversion of England," *WD* 23 (September-October 1945): 266-270. This same report was also discussed in *The Dawn* 22 (November 1945): 2053.

36. "Sin," *PP* 17 (February 1944): 29.

37. "What's Wrong?" *MM* 44 (March 1943): 395.

38. "Sin," *PP* 17 (February 1944): 29.

39. "War and the Bible," *WD* 21 (January-February 1943): 56.

40. "Increased Bible Reading," *SST* 86 (22 January 1944): 49.

41. "What the Bible Needs," *MM* 44 (September 1942): 14-15.

42. "Thistledown," *PP* 14 (June 1941): 5.

43. For the advance of the Bible among POWs, see "The Bible Among Russian Prisoners," *MM* 43 (August 1942): 705-706; "Nazis Studying the Bible," *SST* 87 (17 November 1945): 901; and "The Challenge of the Aftermath," *WD* 23 (May-June 1945): 162-164. For articles on the progress of global distribution of Bibles see "The Bible Circles the Globe," *SST* 87 (20 January 1945): 46; and "The Bible Circles the Globe," *EC* 41 (April 1945): 200.

44. "Scriptures in the Solomons," *EC* 41 (April 1945): 200.

45. "Scripture," *The Dawn* 22 (September 1945): 1092.

46. "Not has Passed," *PP* 14 (July 1941): 6. See also "The Last Hour of Foreign Missions," *The Dawn* 19 (January - February 1942): 17-20.

47. The school-based publications, *Moody Monthly* and *Prairie Pastor*, regularly reported on the missionary work of their own graduates, but the three other periodicals had regular departments that broadly surveyed missionary activity

by evangelical trans-denominational faith-mission agencies and denominational mission boards.

48. "Miss Rev of the World," *EC* 38 (November 1942): 455; and "Missionary Department," *MM* 43 (September 1942): 24..

49. "Notes From the Front," *PP* 15 (October 1942): 11-12.

50. Global Warfare and the Gospel," *SST* 86 (19 August 1944): 581.

51. "Missions," *The Dawn* 19 (May 1942): 149; and "Mission Contributions in War Time," *EC* 40 (February 1944): 85. *Prairie Pastor* also noted that times of war had historically led to increased missionary activism, especially in the founding of Bible and Tract societies (see *PP* 13 [June 1940]: 3).

52. For examples see "A Romantic Story," *WD* 23 (May-June 1945): 148-152; and "The Call to the Mission Field," *The Dawn* 22 (August 1945): 1070-1072.

53. "The Foreign Missionary Crisis in the Far East," *SST* 84 (12 July 1941): 563-564; and "China," *EC* 39 (March 1943): 128.

54. "Outlook," *The Dawn* 21 (January 1944): 453.

55. "How God Delivered Us From the Sinking of the ZamZam," *SST* 83 (9 August 1941): 661-662; and "The Sinking of the ZamZam," *PP* 15 (December 1942): 3-10. "Miracles in Papua," *EC* 42 (January 1946): 39; and "How an Italian Priest Came to Christ," *SST* 83 (29 November 1941): 996.

56. "Delivered From Internment," *PP* 18 (December 1945): 305-06.

57. "Service Men Want to Be Ministers," *EC* 41 (November 1945): 579.

58. "Wings for Missionaries," *EC* 42 (January 1946): 43.

59. "The Great Deeps," *PP* 18 (February 1945): 43.

60. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again,* 181-186.

The Canadian Experiment with Social Engineering, A Historical Case: The Mohawk Institute

WENDY FLETCHER

Education is always a hegemonic discourse. Through education, dominant culture in every society seeks not only to transmit a body of knowledge, but also values a "normative" hermeneutic. However, if all education is hegemonic discourse, residential schools have been uniquely so.

Residential school education for Canada's First Nations's children was a whole child experiment. It undertook not only the intellectual, but also cultural, linguistic, spiritual and practical renovation of the indigenous child. This social engineering experiment, which was undertaken as a nation, was a failure. The horrific parameters of its failure might offer a new and critical eye with which to consider the underlying hegemonic discourse of all efforts that have been named as education.

With this paper I invite a consideration of the paradox of failure which the residential school experiment represents, through a consideration of the development of what I am naming an "assimilationist monologue" (government policy) and its meaning. As one drawn to social history, I am inclined to make meaning through particulars. As such, after offering some comment on the movement by the Canadian government and some to an assimilationist praxis, I will offer some particulars drawn from a historical case study--the Mohawk Institute on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario.

The paradoxical failure of the residential school experiment lies in the fact that its outcomes were the opposite of its intent. It was aimed at humanizing, at contributing to the building of a new Canadian democracy, but it ultimately dehumanized and undercut the very fabric of a democratic

nation, which lies at least partly in the protection of human beings, of human rights. This Canadian social engineering experiment became a human rights nightmare.

It can be argued that the foundational bi-cultural, historical discourse in this country has been the dialogue between British dominant culture and First Nations voice. Naming this discourse as dialogue, however, misrepresents the fundamental framework of the conversation. Although with the Imperial Proclamation of 1763 an attitude of friendship and respect for tribal self-government was announced by the British, in less than half a century that climate of respect and toleration had deteriorated into a government policy aimed at civilization (the attempt to encourage First Nations people to become like other Canadian). Ultimately, commitment to civilization metamorphosed into a policy of assimilation, whereby the frame of the discourse had shifted into a one-sided assumption of British superiority and the silencing of aboriginal voice through the legalized de-humanization of First Nations peoples. And here one encounters the paradox–the very attempt as a nation to frame a democracy through increased enfranchisement meant the diminishment of everyone through actualized and systematic dehumanization of this land's earliest peoples.

By 1890-1891 the government of Canada had signed agreements with a number of church partners and a per-capita funded residential school system was up and running. This does not mean that there were no residential schools in Canada prior to the government's decision to institute them. The residential school, which is the subject of my case study, began in 1827 and was well established by 1834. The Mohawk Institute was initiated on the Six Nations Reserve, Brantford, Ontario through the auspices of the New England Company. The New England Company (hereafter NEC) began in England in 1649 as a Protestant mission society aimed at the promotion of the gospel among North American Indians. Its North American mission was first to indigenous people of New England (hence its name), mainly in Massachusetts, but also in Connecticut and Rhode Island. However, after the American Revolution the Company transferred its work to Indians in what was then British North America, specifically those who had migrated north of the border.

The Six Nations had sided with the British in the American revolution and after the British loss in 1776 followed their leader, Mohawk Joseph Brant (Tyendinaga) across the border to settle in the fertile Grand

River area of what is now southwestern Ontario, with land deeded to them by the British government in appreciation for their loyalty. Brant asked the New England Company to provide a missionary, a church and education for the people of Six Nations and the NEC responded to this request by beginning a mission with the Six Nations people in their new settlement.

From 1834 a fully established residential mechanical school originally only for male children was operating. This school was known from close to the beginning of its history as the Mohawk Institute (hereafter MI). The MI existed as a place for the residential education of indigenous children from that point until the Canadian government moved to close its residential schools in 1969.

The history of the MI is a lengthy narrative. Between 1834 and 1891 the MI was run solely and exclusively by the NEC. The NEC set the rules, hired employees including principals who served as the on-site representatives of the NEC, monitored quality of care and education, paid all of the bills and made all administrative decisions. In 1891, the NEC applied to the Canadian government to become one of its schools, and thereby eligible for the receipt of an annual per capita grant. Under this arrangement, the government forwarded quarterly cheques for the maintenance of pupils at the MI. The per-capita grant at that time was $60 per child per year, while the assessed cost of caring for a child at the MI was $79 per year. The NEC covered costs beyond the per capita grant for the care of children and the maintenance of the property.[1] Despite this transfer of money, the school and its management remained the exclusive preserve of the NEC, with the caveat that general Department of Indian Affair's (hereafter DIA) policies for the management of its schools were to be observed. However, very little monitoring of accountability for the money by the DIA took place in that period.

In 1911, the DIA introduced a series of new management agreements for the residential schools. With these agreements the government and a church managing partner became signatory partners. The terms of mutual responsibility were elaborated. Effectively it was agreed in these documents that the government set policy and paid the bills while church partners served as the on-site managers of the schools. In 1911, the MI was of course still run by the New England Company, which was an ecumenical but predominantly Church of England mission society. The usual Anglican partner for Canadian residential schools was the Mission Society of the Church of England in Canada. The MI, along with St. George's

residential school in Lytton were anomalous in that their church management partner was the NEC.

With the signing of this agreement, a system of inspection and reporting to the DIA were initiated. The form of this inspection and reporting will be explored further in a consideration of the latest two periods of management in the school's life. Very little at the MI changed, however, as the principalship of the school remained for the most part with the family which had held responsibility for its management for most of its history.[2]

It was not until 1921 that the picture of school management began to shift. Through the First World War, the NEC had difficulty maintaining its commitment to the MI. After the war it asked the DIA to consider purchasing the MI and assuming full control of it. After lengthy negotiations, it became clear that no agreement could be reached. As such, the DIA offered to enter into a lease agreement with the NEC for the management of the school. Under the terms of this lease, the DIA would assume all financial and management responsibilities for running and maintaining the school. The NEC in turn handed over all authority to the DIA, requiring an ongoing dimension of religious instruction in the faith of the Church of England, as part of an MI education. The NEC would also send the sum of 1,500 pounds sterling a year toward the cost of the principal's salary and the upkeep of the Mohawk Chapel.[3]

Although the DIA became its own defacto managing partner from 1922, the NEC still received regular reports on the school from the principal and on occasion from the DIA. In fact, the principal appointed by the NEC stayed in charge of the school until 1929. In 1929, the DIA acted without consultation with the NEC and removed Rogers as principal. He had been failing to provide adequate reporting, had mismanaged finances and was known as an alcoholic and a physically violent overseer at the MI.[4]

The action of removing the incumbent principal from the MI precipitated a small crisis. How would the new principal be chosen? The DIA assumed that the terms of its lease dictated that the principal should be an Anglican clergyman. This was an error in memory on the part of the DIA, as no such stipulation was made in the lease.[5] However, the DIA did not consult the NEC, but did consult the Bishop of Huron and ask him for a recommendation regarding a priest for appointment as principal at the MI. The Bishop nominated the Reverend Horace Snell. Snell's appoint-

ment as principal ran from 1929 until 1944. He had the task of managing the school through the depression and the Second World War.

As Snell anticipated retirement, the lease between the NEC and the DIA ran its course. A new lease was required. However, it was the middle of the war and it was not until the war had concluded that the details of a new lease were finally negotiated. Once again, as the negotiations unfolded the NEC asked the DIA to purchase the MI. The Diocese of Huron also expressed interest in assuming full responsibility for the school, including ownership at that juncture. However, when it became clear that the NEC wanted to make money from the transference of ownership, both the Diocese and the NEC backed away from the deal. Finally a lease for another twenty-one years was signed between the DIA and the NEC in 1946. The Diocese of Huron was to have no part in the management of the school. The terms of the lease did not mention the diocese with regard to the management of the school.[6]

On the way to the completion of the lease the question again arose as to who should be appointed as principal of the MI. By this time, the DIA knew that it was not obliged to appoint an Anglican priest. Through its own internal discernment process, and upon the recommendation of the local Indian superintendent at Six Nations, the DIA wanted to appoint an indigenous man who lived at Six Nations and who had taught in the reserve day school for many years.[7] Mr. Joseph Hill was well regarded by the Six Nations Band Council. The DIA felt strongly that he was the man who could give the leadership that the school required. The Bishop of Huron had another opinion. He argued that the terms of the lease (to which he did not have access) required the appointment of an Anglican priest. He nominated one of his diocesan clergy, the Reverend John Zimmerman. The Bishop and the DIA went back and forth over this issue. However, Snell ended his time and the Bishop of Huron sent John Zimmerman to assume this work. John Zimmerman began his work on 10 August 1945. The DIA decided not to take issue with this action and resigned itself to work with Zimmerman as the principal of the school. He remained in this work until it closed in 1970.

It is the latter two chapters of the MI's life as defined by principalships that will serve as a lens for my consideration of the outcome of this discourse of assimilation. The language of assimilation is by definition one-sided. The point of an assimilationist relationship is the sublimation or eradication of one culture by another. As such, the dominant culture speaks and the subject culture is forced to listen.

The social historian knows that narrative and its meaning are played out most deeply at the level of everyday experience. It was at the level of everyday experience that the meaning of this colonial discourse of dehumanization played itself out. What was the everyday experience of children who were raised over several generations at the MI? What does the content of the experience say about the lived meaning of an assimilationist monologue?

The economics of enforcing an assimilationist monologue through a residential school system led to the dehumanization of indigenous children. How money is spent money reveals much about what people value, speaking louder than any text about the philosophy of life and values. Such was certainly the case at the MI. The financial story demonstrates that aboriginal children were not valued as fully human nor their dignity respected. I turn know to a consideration of the ways in which governance and economics shaped the everyday experience of indigenous children at the MI.

As noted above, from 1922 the DIA had sole authority to manage the MI and provided all financial resources for its administration. The documents suggest that the MI was chronically underfunded by the DIA. This underfunding created a chronic situation of lack, neglect, inadequate supervision, substandard education, and often of violence and violation. Allegations of mismanagement or mis-use of funds by both of the principals considered here does surface in DIA correspondence in several instances.[8] The point is that both underfunding and apparent mismanagement combined to create a climate of suffering for children which is documented in government records. Both the principals of the school and successive Bishops of Huron made repeated entreaties to the DIA for increased funding that would allow an improvement in the quality of life and education at the MI. Until the very end of the school's history (the last decade), these requests failed to produce a significant amelioration in conditions at the school.What are the diverse ramifications of underfunding? Underfunding at the MI meant that the physical plant at the MI was poorly maintained and often in dismaying condition through most of its history.

When the DIA signed its first lease with the NEC it became responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of MI buildings and property. Despite the fact that it continued to spend what it understood to be considerable money on the building, it continued in a dismal state. An internal report between government officials Hoey and McGill, both of the

DIA, toward the end of the Snell era (1942) documents this concern. Noting that Snell had never been a good administrator and had always been poor with finances, Hoey documents that the buildings were dismal and in poor repair.[9] When the Brantford League of Christian Women visited in 1946 they were shocked by many things, including the poor condition of the physical plant, which extended to inadequate sleeping and toilet facilities, named as "abysmal and below any standard suitable to human living."[10]

Two years after the *Brantford Expositor* article, another internal DIA inspection report gave an account of the sub-human standard of accommodation in a more graphic way. Photographs and diagrams were included with this report to illustrate the gravity of the situation. Inspector Doucet wrote to Neary in Ottawa noting the sense of depression he felt when inspecting the dormitories and playroom. Children wandered aimlessly without any purpose with no resources to occupy their free time. In addition to being depressing, dormitories were also without adequate provision in case of fire. The toilet facilities in the boys' dormitories were unhealthy, with toilets open and close to the beds. The girls' dormitory toilets were in a similar situation, totally in the open with no privacy, no ventilation, no toilet seats and inadequately functioning plumbing. In the basement there were more toilets and showers for both boys and girls. These were found to be in similar disarray. In the girls washroom, there was some evidence of fragments of toilet tissue, none in the boys. Neither had privacy of any kind, although the facilities were separated by gender. Only one toilet had the remains of a seat fragment. Drainage in the floor was inadequate and attendant problems resulted. Doucet wrote that, "Conditions are not good enough for a school whose objective is to raise the cultural and moral level of children who have already had a lower than average start. Conditions in the washrooms would by ordinary white standards be called degrading."[11]

Despite the clarity of Doucet's report little was done to ameliorate physical conditions at the MI. Doucet did not remain long as an inspector for the DIA.[12] In 1950, a Grand Jury was summoned to hold an inquest into conditions at the school. It found the condition of the dormitories and bathrooms in a "deplorable state."[13] At the time of the inquest, there were 153 children in residence at the school. The Grand Jury not only recommended that the conditions of the toilets and dormitories found to be in a deplorable state be rectified with the "least amount of delay," but it was also so concerned about conditions that it recommended that the school

should be "watched exceedingly closely" for the next five to six years by succeeding grand juries.[14] That recommendation did not come to pass. Only inspectors internal to the DIA monitored life at the school over the next number of years. In response to the Grand Jury report, the DIA and its representative, local Indian agent Colonel Randle were defensive stressing that things were not that bad, and that conditions had greatly improved from what had been the case in the Snell era.[15]

Physical conditions at the MI did not experience a period of significant amelioration until its last decade. By the end of the 1950s, plans were in the works for new classrooms, a new kitchen, and upgraded laundry facilities. By the time the renovations and additions were completed, students had only six years left to live in the building before it was finally closed at the end of the 1960's. In January of 1961 the local newspaper, the *Brantford Expositor* was able to print the headline, "The Mohawk Institute Boasts an Efficient Modern Kitchen."[16]

Government underfunding meant that questions about the adequacy of food, clothing, medical and dental care continually surfaced. Throughout the periods under consideration here, issues repeatedly surfaced from a variety of quarters with regard to the physical care of the children.

As early as 1932, Dr. Landimore, the dentist employed to care for children's teeth at the MI, wrote to the DIA and notes that the condition of the children's teeth was improving thanks to the fact the Snell has provided the children with toothbrushes.[17] From 1929, he had been asking the DIA to provide money for toothbrushes. The DIA insisted that the cost should come from the per-capita grant and would not authorize extra money. Eventually Snell just gave in and bought all of the children toothbrushes as a Christmas present with his own money.[18] Throughout his time at the school, Snell wrangled with the DIA about the provision of adequate dental care. Letters moved back and forth consistently between the Secretary of the DIA, Snell and the dentist Dr. Landimore as they attempted to deal with the situation of the children's teeth. Only once in the Snell era is a five-day dental clinic held and this was to deal with accumulated problems. No preventative dental care was paid for--only emergencies such as infected tooth extractions. Although it appears that there was no more than one day of dental attention a year given to students at the MI, still the DIA objected that the MI was spending more money on dental care than other residential schools.[19]

The dental care issue highlights a consistent theme in the residential school narrative. The assimilationist monologue is to be carried on as

cheaply as possible. Children are not given an ordinary standard of care, relative even to the standard of the dominant culture of the day.

Medical care for children at the MI was provided through a combination of means. Urgent cases requiring hospitalization or hospital care were taken to the Lady Willingdon Hospital on the reserve. When a situation required removal to a Brantford hospital where a fee would be charged for care, the principal of the MI would have to seek written authorization from the DIA in Ottawa for that care. My review of the material available suggests that often times the condition of children significantly worsened, sometimes resulting in death before written permission was received. Permission was not always given. You have then a situation of a bureaucracy, which had the right to decide on a case by case basis, with an emphasis on predominantly financial considerations, which children would live and which would die when medical emergencies arose.

One narrative will illustrate the point. Wilhemina Hill was four or five years old (the school staff did not know for sure), and a student at the MI in 1934, when she contracted tuberculosis. Wilhemina's number was 01059. Because she had been assessed as being tubercular she could not stay at the MI. She could not go home because her mother had died and there was no other alternate supervision. Snell wanted to send her to the Sanitarium in Brantford, but could not do this without authorization from the DIA, as the cost for her to live at the Sanatarium was $1 per day. The DIA Secretary in Ottawa, Mr. Mackenzie, did not agree to pay the $1 per day. He asked the DIA-appointed physician, Dr. Davies, to assess the situation. Dr. Davies confirmed the diagnosis and recommendation. The government felt unable to authorize the extra money (considerably more than the per capita allowance they would have paid for her to live at the MI).[20] The correspondence went back and forth.[21] Wilhemina died at the MI before any authorization was given for the transfer. Several other students contracted TB. False economy? Obviously, the value of an indigenous child's life was limited in the ethical system of the assimilationist monologue.

Students from several decades of life at the MI contend that they were not adequately fed while students in that institution.[22] This concern was also raised by parents of children at the school and outside inspectors looking in at school life.[23] In 1950, an internal DIA report noted that between 1948 and 1950 thirteen children belonging to six different families had requested that their children be removed from the MI to the

Shingwauk school because conditions, including inadequate food at the MI were harming their children. These parents were willing to pay additional money to have their children moved to a school with better conditions. These transfers were allowed as parents were available to complain and willing to pay for a transfer.[24] Where parents or resources were not present conditions were usually unquestioned. The Brantford League of Christian Women found in 1946 that children were underfed and that inadequate food made it particularly concerning that there was no regular medical or dental care for the children at the MI.[25]

The adequacy of children's clothing persisted as a constant refrain through the decades of our narrative. In 1939, an anonymous writer sent a letter to the DIA reporting that it was well known in Brantford that the children were not adequately clothed. The letter noted that it was then November and "the boys are still without underwear. They only received stockings one month ago. Light cotton clothes are worn summer and winter. Even the poor clothes they have are often dirty and ragged."[26] Colonel Randle, the Indian agent at Six Nations, in keeping with his usual perspective, insisted that there were no issues and that all was well at the school.[27] When the Brantford League of Christian Women exposed their concerns about conditions at the MI, lack of adequate clothing was on their list. Most notably they expressed concern that children were not provided with socks, winter coats or boots in the middle of southwestern Ontario winters.[28]

Well into the 1950s, the question of providing adequate clothing with the limited DIA allowance for provision was still at issue. In 1955 with 165 students in residence at the MI, Zimmerman wrote to the Ottawa office of the DIA stressing that the only way he had been able to clothe the children at all adequately had been because of church donations. The Anglican Woman's Auxiliary had given a total assistance in clothing of over $2,500. Zimmerman insisted that if the point of a residential school education is to prepare children to become part of dominant culture (Brantford society) then they must be dressed as white children are.[29] Davey responded with some sympathy.[30] However, his sympathy ultimately did not translate into the increase which Zimmerman requested.

The quality of education at the MI was often under critique. Under funding by the DIA affected education in many ways. It meant that for most of the MI's history, teachers who would work for less or who could not find work elsewhere were hired, and usually there was an inadequate number of available teachers. In 1930, shortly after Snell assumed the

principalship, he reported to the DIA that there were 134 pupils in residence between the ages of 6 and 18. At that juncture, most of the pupils were drawn from Six Nations. Students were divided into two groups. Two teachers were hired to teach all 134 students.[31]

The curriculum taught at that time was partly academic and partly industrial. Students spent half their day in the classroom and half engaged in manual labour designed to "train" them for service work employment. Boys worked on the MI farm and girls worked in the kitchen, laundry and as seamstresses and housekeepers. Girls were also sent off the property to work as servants in some wealthy Brantford homes for which the school received a stipend. This off-site work often ended in complications for young girls who returned to the MI pregnant at the hands of those in whose homes they worked.[32]

The combined education/work model of education combined with the small number of teachers meant that an MI education in that period often left students barely literate. However, several did continue on to study at the local Brantford high school each year and some even went on to university. However, it may be that the exception proves the rule as most students did not matriculate from high school.[33]

The theme of an inadequate number of teachers at the MI continued into the Zimmerman era. The *Brantford Expositor* article that told the story of local women's concern in 1946 stressed the issue of education. The Brantford League of Christian Women had paid a visit to the MI while the principal was out of town. His wife kindly showed them around the school and they were astonished at the conditions they found. Of interest here are the comments on the teaching resources. The women found that there was no manual training instructors, or domestic science teachers despite the fact that the school retained its identity as an industrial training facility. The women compared the school to the public schools their children attended and were shocked that there was no music and arts teacher, no proper library, no quiet study space, no physical education facilities, and no proper classroom equipment of various kinds.[34]

The public nature of these concerns caused considerable furor in Ottawa and the Bishop's office of the Anglican Church. The local Indian agent, Colonel Randle who had primary oversight of the situation at Six Nations was quick to argue that things were fine and the ladies were exaggerating.[35] However, the concerns raised by that visit were echoed over the years by many different voices.

As late as the last years of the 1950s, Zimmerman and the DIA still went back and forth about the question of hiring adequate and sufficient teachers. It was not until 1960 that the MI came to be treated as a public school, with its teachers receiving the same salary and benefits as public school teachers. By 1961 the MI had five licensed teachers with a total student population of 140, with a few attending the local high school.[36] By that point the demography of the student population at the MI had changed. Most of the students were no longer from Six Nations. Increasingly they came from Quebec and northern Ontario as children who either were orphans, delinquent or disabled in a variety of ways. By the time the MI received the status of a public school it had in fact moved to become a predominantly special-needs school, which then required another complex kind of resourcing, which the government was again unable to address adequately.[37]

Consistent underfunding by the DIA affected the quality of life that children enjoyed outside of the classroom. It meant that there was inadequate after-school and night-time supervision of children, including inadequate supervision of recreation, which led to peer oppression and on occasion accidental death.

Effie Smith is an example of such a situation. Effie was a thirteen year-old girl living at the MI when she died in 1936. The school lacked playground equipment. For many years there was a hand-made toy known as the May Pole. The May Pole was an automobile wheel on a shaft adapted to fit at the top of a pole. The device was used to swing around, as in the traditional May Pole dance. Children often used this device unsupervised. Over the years this May Pole was used variously, sometimes as a form of peer punishment. An unpopular child was strapped by the arms to the device and swung round and round until he or she vomited.[38] The day Effie died there were no adults supervising the play. Apparently the wood broke away on one side causing the pole to fall and Effie was crushed in the midriff. She died of internal hemorrhaging at the scene of the accident. There was an inquest and the finding was for accidental death. Proper playground equipment, maintenance and play supervision was recommended. The mother of the child did not blame the school, but in fact requested a spot for her younger son in her daughter's place.[39] Funding to increase supervision of the children was not forthcoming.

In 1947, Zimmerman reports to the DIA that he had caught some boys, "in the act of homo-sex," for which he wanted permission to use behaviour modification based on the "pleasure-pain" principle as

punishment, rather than the DIA proscribed hand strapping.[40] The DIA reiterated that their policy of strapping on the hands was sufficient.[41] There is no record that Zimmerman ever again raised this question with Ottawa. However, there is significant oral history testimony that the pain–pleasure principle of behaviour modification was regularly used in violation of DIA policy. [42]

The incident recorded in this letter is disturbing for the way it details, not an act of "homo-sex," but of rape. "One lad was holding down a younger lad and the third caught in the act while stripped."[43] Lack of supervision meant lack of protection for younger children in particular.

Sexual activity involving children at the MI was an issue, although it is difficult to find traces of that narrative. One such trace exists in a letter that Zimmerman sent to the DIA in Ottawa, again around money. He was requesting extra money to improve laundry facilities. Venereal disease was rampant at the MI and Zimmerman argued that it was being spread by towels. He wanted better laundry facilities to counteract the spread of the venereal disease.[44]

Throughout the period under consideration here, the MI was inspected, monitored and assessed by the DIA and associated government offices. By 1960 besides the DIA and its usual plethora of accountabilities, several other bodies were involved in monitoring and supporting the work of the MI. These included the Children's Aid Society, the local Mental Health Clinic, the National Health and Welfare Service, a Brant Public School inspector, Superintendent of Schools Regional Office, and Six Nations Inspectorate of schools.

What began as bi-lateral discourse in the context of friendship ended as an assimilationist monologue--the language of communication--a hegemonic discourse. The residential school experiment was designed to build the new nation of Canada, through re-creating indigenous persons in the image of the dominant euro-descent culture. Rather than promoting enfranchisement and nurturing democracy, Canadians saw the fabric of their basic convictions cut away as the experiment in social engineering became a human rights nightmare. Throughout, the basic assumption that indigenous children were somehow less than others was used to justify government underfunding and what amounted to callous disregard for human suffering. At the level of social history the meaning of opting into a model of confluence characterized by an assumption of racial superiority and justifiable dominance is clear--it did not work. Paradoxically in fact

it took Canadians away from the primary project named as democratic humanization, toward dehumanization and loss of national soul.

Endnotes

1. NEC Minute Book, March, 1893, Guildhall.

2. The principalship of the MI was passed by the NEC Board of Governors to various generations of an English family who had been involved in the MI from the early years. It was not stipulated at that juncture, nor in fact in any of the subsequent leases, that the principal be a clergyman of the Church of England in Canada. The NEC appointed a Chief Missioner to Six Nations who also oversaw the running of the school, although not necessarily at the level of daily contact. This system was replaced with the direct appointment of a principal when the per capita grant system of 1890 took effect. From 1890-91 Robert Ashton was appointed by the NEC as principal. He was followed briefly by his son Nelles Asthon, a military man not a priest. After the failure of that brief appointment the NEC appointed a Church of England priest by the name of Cyril Turnell who came from England to run the school. He was terminated after less than three years, however, as he was spending too much money to provide for the needs of the children. The NEC had historically underfunded the school meaning stark conditions for the children. He was replaced by the daughter of former principal Robert Ashton and her husband, also not clergy persons, Alice and Sydney Rogers.

3. NEC Minute Books, 1919-22, Guildhall. No requirement was made for the principal of the school to be a member of the Anglican clergy, as the then principal was the layman appointed by the NEC, Mr. Rogers. The Mohawk Chapel had been built by the NEC at Six Nations at the close of the eighteenth century. It has survived to this day as a duly constituted Anglican Church. When the diocese of Huron was formed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Bishop of Huron assumed an oversight responsibility for the chapel, issuing licenses for the clergy who served there. When the principal of the MI was a priest, he also served as incumbent of the Chapel and provided religious instruction for students at the MI. The principal was often paid by the NEC a small stipend in addition to his principal's salary for his work as incumbent of the Chapel. This money was funneled through the DIA prior to World War Two and through the Diocese of Huron after that time. Students at the MI attended Anglican services of worship at the Chapel only during warm weather. During other times of the year services were held in an MI classroom.

4. Letter from DIA to NEC Board of Governors, NEC Minute Books, 1929, Guildhall.

5. The terms of the lease which governed the NEC and DIA lease for the management of St. George's School, Lytton made this stipulation. Assuming this was the situation in the MI case opened a process for appointment which could have been otherwise. In other words, the DIA did not need to consult the Bishop of Huron regarding this appointment.

6. NEC Minute Books, 1944-1946, Guildhall, RG-10, Volume 8605, File 451/1-13, Part 1.

7. Letter from Colonel Randle to Hoey, DIA, 01 June 1945, RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 4.

8. An instance of this surfaces with regard to Horace Snell. Questions were raised about his reporting. Principals were required to submit reports on all expenditures and use of government resources. In one instance he was caught lying about his use of wartime gas coupons. In a letter dated 10 November 1944 a Mr. MacKeighan of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board writes to Mr. McGill of the DIA and reports that Snell has claimed that he has used 150 gas coupons issued for arms work for the farm tractor and truck. The watchdog of the Prices and Trade board discovered that the vehicles for which the coupons had been issued had been in disrepair and unusable during the time that Snell made use of the coupons. Snell was not criminally prosecuted (as he could have been under wartime legislation), but he was reported to the DIA.

9. Letter from Hoey to McGill, 09 November 1942, RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-23, part 1.

10. *Brantford Expositor*, 22 February 1946.

11. Report from Doucet to Neary, 23 November 1948, RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 5.

12. A pattern can be observed in the reporting process over time. When a DIA inspector such as Doucet raised concerns about conditions at the MI he did not remain long as an inspector. A critical inspector was usually followed by an inspector who would remain for several years and whose reports indicated that things were fine. I

13. *Brantford Expositor,* 19 March 1950.

14. *Brantford Expositor,* 15 March 1950.

15. *Brantford Expositor,* 16 March 1950.

16. *Brantford Expositor,* 20 January 1961.

17. Letter from Landymore to the Secretary for the DIA, 15 April 1932, RG 10, Volume 6202, file 466-13, part 1.

18. RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 1.

19. RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 2.

20. The per-capita grant was approximately $150 per annum per child.

21. Letters and telegrams from Snell to Mackenzie and also to and from Dr. Davies, 04 July 1934 to 30 July 1934, RG 10, Volume 6202, file 466-13, part 1.

22. See oral histories included in *The Mush Hole,* complied by Elizabeth Graham, 1997.

23. Letter from Gauthier to IAB, DIA, 25 July 1950, RG 10, Volume 6202, file 466-10, part 6.

24. Letter from Neary to Gauthier, 31 July 1950, RG 10, Volume 6202, file 466-10, part 6.

25. *Brantford Expositor,* 27 February 1946.

26. Letter from Hoey to Colonel Randle, 06 November 1939. RG 10, Volume 8606, file 487/1-13-001.

27. Letter from Randle to DIA Secretary, 22 November 1939. RG 10, Volume 6202, file 466-10, part 6.

28. *Brantford Expositor*, 22 February 1946.

29. Letter from Zimmerman to Davey, 01 August 1955, RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 4.

30. Letter from Davey to Zimmerman, 05 August 1955.

31. RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 4.

32. One of the two teachers who worked at the MI in 1930. Her name was Susan Hardie. She herself was the product of such a liason. Her mother had been a student at the MI who was sent to work in the home of a prominent Brantford legal mind, Judge Hardie. Her mother returned to the MI and gave birth to Susan. Susan's biological father paid the cost of her maintenance at the MI. Susan went to Normal School and returned to the MI to teach. In 1930 she had taught at the MI for forty-two years (RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 2).

33. Quarterly reports submitted by the principals to the DIA from 1929 to 1969 show that no more than five percent of MI students in any given year attended the local high school (RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-23, part 1; RG10, Volume 8605, file 451/1-13, part 1; and RG 10, Volume 8606, file 487/1-13-001).

34. *Brantford Expositor*, 22 February 1946.

35. Letter from Colonel Randle to Hoey, DIA, 23 February 1946, RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 4.

36. Letter from Davey, DIA to Regional Education Supervisor, 24 April 1961, RG 10, Volume 8606, file 487/1-13-001.

37. Internal DIA letter from Morris to Davey, 24 July 1959, RG 10, Volume 7188, file 451/25-1-004.

38. Internal school memo. RG 10, Volume 8605, file 451/1-13, part 1.

39. *Brantford Expositor,* 16 May 1936; and Letter from Snell to Secretary of the DIA, 25 May 1936, RG10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 2.

40. Letter from Zimmerman to Neary, 06 December 1947, RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 5.

41. Letter from Neary to Zimmerman, 15 December 1947, RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 5.

42. OHI #6; 14; 11. Litigation currently in the court system alleges the use of physical violation and violence as a regular form of discipline.

43. Letter from Zimmerman to Neary, 06 December 1947, RG 10, Volume 6200, file 466-1, part 5.

44. Letter from Zimmerman to Neary, 1951, RG 10, Volume 8606, file 487/1-13-001.

Going Mobile: The French-Canadian Immigrant and the European Attitude Towards Movement

TIMOTHY J. LEBEAU

I am concerned with two meanings of religion in this essay. The first is that of the Catholicism of French-Canadians during the nineteenth century. The second meaning has to do with the way in which human beings meaningfully inhabit the world in relation to ultimate reality. This understanding of religion is intimately tied to notions of identity, the social body and the way in which they are oriented to and make sense of the world and the people inhabiting it. It is from this vantage point that I will outline two modes of French-Canadian identity in North America. The first is that articulated in the notion of *la survivance*, which runs like a mythic thread throughout the French presence in Canada. I will suggest that there is an alternative understanding of French-Canadian identity that can be found in the *movements* of French-Canadians across the continent, and that this identity can be discerned *prior* to that explored in *survivance* in time and in the consciousness of not only French-Canadians, but also in all new world peoples.

It has been noted that the experience of space in North America has played a more important formative role in the shaping of Christianity--and the European identity in general--than the experience of time.[1] The journey to the Americas itself demanded an unprecedented length of time at sea away from even the vaguest hint of dry land. And once arriving in the "New World" the sheer vastness of the landscape was unlike anything before experienced by Europeans. A plethora of personal accounts made by the earliest explorers, priests and traders from France, Britain and Spain document the inability of these Europeans to make sense of the newness

of their experiences. The colours of birds, the magnitude of varieties of flora and fauna, the otherness of the indigenous populations they encountered could only be explained in terms already available in the European languages of discovery, politics and religion.[2] But at the same time, there is the sense that these writers were quite aware that these people, plants, and animals fell far outside the boundary of all previous experience. Their reaction to this newness, suggests literary critic Stephen Greenblatt, was like the startle reflex of babies exploring the world for the first time.[3] The radical alterity of the new world was not only immediately apparent to those first explorers, but it also shook them to the core of their identity. Their own sense of the order of the world was jeopardized by this previously unknown landmass and the peoples who inhabited it. Where did they belong in God's plan? They were no longer certain of exactly who they themselves were.

But this experience was masked in a language of what Europeans expected to find in these lands across the ocean. Columbus died convinced that he had not discovered something new to the European imagination, but something quite old.[4] Later conquerors and colonists interpreted their experiences and understandings of the peoples they encountered in light of political and religious traditions of Europe. Traders and colonists from France sought furs, never meaning to stay long in North America. They found noble savages who appeared to be one with the natural world of the continent, and many French endeavoured to learn their ways. But once stable French colonies dotted the landscape and pushed further inland, these Mi'kmaq, Abenaki, Huron, Iroquois, and the *coureur de bois* who travelled, lived with, and wed them, became something less than noble in the European imagination.[5] They were understood as a danger not only to themselves, but also to the good of civilization. Puritans from England sought a land of freedom where they could set up a purely religious community that would become the model adopted by all of Europe and so usher in the founding of the New Jerusalem.[6] The plan had always been to return to Europe. Wholly dependant upon the local indigenous people that first winter, the Puritans never did leave North America, and the following winter they raided the food stores and assaulted their native providers.[7] Seeking a land and city of Paradise, they had found Satan's minions running through the dark forests of New England.

This is to say that Europeans have had a rather ambivalent relationship with notions and the act of movement across space in relation to sedentary patterns of living.[8] This is perhaps revealed best in the peculiar

social status of the European pilgrim on his way to the Holy Land. On the one hand, the pilgrim attained high social prestige in his or her act of moving from one location to another: from a marginal point in the European sacred geography to a sacred centre, a location that served to orient the Christian world to a specific geographical point that was potent with the manifestation of God's power on earth.[9] But on the other hand, as a result of his or her liminal status--of being betwixt and between[10] the normal social, political and geographical order of Christendom--the pilgrim was understood to be at risk of falling prey to sins and evils to which the normal Christian, content to remain at home, was not subject.[11]

Travel of any kind is dangerous. Whether it is from one known location to another, or from one social status to a different one, the period of transition that exists betwixt and between these stable positions is chaotic. Fundamentally, these liminal spaces constitute the utter unmaking of the individual followed by the reconstitution of that person in his or her new identity.[12] For a time, the individual has no status--not human, but not non-human. Between neighbour and stranger, between child and adult, human beings have recognized the powerful and dangerous nature of the boundary, and have devised rituals to guide the individual or community through those border zones. The potentiality and creativity of the liminal space is necessary for the existence of human communities, but there is a danger that accompanies this space. It is impossible to remain in a liminal status: such an attempt would lead to destruction rather than creation, as the person or group of people would lose their status, their identity--they would no longer have a viable place in the larger social body, except at its margins.[13] In Europe of the Late Middle Ages, women, the insane and pilgrims were all considered to partake of this dangerous aspect of liminal status to varying degrees.

These were the dangers that lurked in the forests and grottos across Europe and the ocean beyond the sight of land. Wild men, mermaids, witches, warlocks, and the dreaded wandering Jew, were creatures of the European imagination that lived in no fixed location and could be found anywhere and everywhere just beyond the power of the local lord or the next unknown island. The land between home and destination were unknown, and the potential for imagining what a traveller might encounter was limited only by the bounds of cultural creativity. But a pilgrim did not just run the risk of encountering one of these creatures; he or she could become one of them if distracted on their quest and wandered from their path.[14] This risk was serious enough to have been identified as one of the

chief sins of the middle ages: curiosity. Though pilgrims undertook the journey between human settlements in a sanctioned traversal through Christendom's sacred geography, by that very same act their own status within the social order of towns and cities was unfixed. While performing this sacred rite across the landscape, pilgrims could be accused of wandering without purpose, the last thing a good Christian should do. Wandering was perceived as a threat to the stability of the social order, and religious and political authority.[15]

Further, the voyages of exploration symbolized by Columbus' journey across the Atlantic can be understood as commensurate with the older tradition of religious pilgrimage.[16] These voyages suggested a new mode for the understanding of the meaning of human movement between stable human settlements while remaining within the same general framework as the pilgrimage. In Columbus's voyage one finds the last pilgrimage and the first voyage of discovery: curiosity became the rule, though what continued to be perceived as aimless wandering remained deviant. In other words, the attitudes, language and meanings surrounding the Christian pilgrimages remained as vital sources of meaning for the interpretation of not only the voyages of exploration, but also for the dynamics of colonialism, and were utilized to carve meanings out of both sides of contact zone boundary.[17]

I am suggesting that this ambivalent attitude concerning the status of those who were perceived to be wandering without reason was carried across the Atlantic by European priests, traders and colonists, and the language and attitudes surrounding this subject were quickly deployed in an effort to make sense of the newness of the new Wworld. The language developed in Europe to talk about people and things that existed or travelled between the settlements of the continent--and even the very act of making pilgrimages--can be seen as providing colonial Europeans in North America with a concise worldview concerning movement and settlement. More often than not, the religious attitude developed in Europe concerning wandering was used to justify the subjugation and exploitation of North Americas indigenous peoples. In Canada, the Jesuits and other missionary organizations quickly discovered that the best way to Christianize and civilize the Native Americans they encountered was to separate them from other native communities and move them into sedentary missionary towns. The United States employed a similar tactic in its efforts to move native communities out of the way of its westward expansion, and in the early twentieth century implemented the Dawes Act,

which forced tribal groups to give up their communal land and settle on small, privately owned plots.[18] The status of human being came with geographic fixedness. The measure of rational thought and human freedom was marked by one's location in relation to a centre of religious and political power.

But this ambivalence was not deployed solely to signify the indigenous populations of North America. Though the language of wandering was deployed to distinguish and reify notions of European civilization from the modes of living of non-western peoples, it could also be deployed to signify groups and individuals internal to the west. Immigrant communities were interpreted under this rubric, perhaps none more so than those French-Canadians who emigrated from Quebec during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to New England. And so the problematic nature of the validity of the binary formulation primitive/civilized is raised. Though these terms have fallen out of fashion in most academic fields, for the most part it seems that the use of the now preferred designations non-western/western is usually more cosmetic in nature rather than substantive. This is part of what I would like to suggest by focussing on French-Canadian immigrants to the United States. The categories employed by the human sciences to make sense of the world since the beginning of the European colonial enterprise have served more to obscure the intimate and material relationships--the blending, blurring, and mixing--between peoples and places that occurred as a result of that colonization. The experiences of French-Canadian immigrants reveal that the west's empirical other is not located in some distant time or space, the west is the non-west, the primitive is the civilized, and vice versa.[19] The strangers are at home where the indigenous are strangers.

Stand in the Place which You Were

Language, religion and land were held as the core of French-Canadian identity as it was formulated by many of the Catholic clergy in Quebec.[20] During the second half of the nineteenth century, in the face of the growing urban and industrial centres of Canada and the United States, French-Catholic clergy began to place an even greater importance on these "pillars of *survivance.*" In order to worship the Lord properly and fruitfully, French-Canadians pleaded for their right to speak their mother tongue.[21] In Ontario and further west, this notion became the centre of decades of bitter legal, ecclesiastical, and sometimes physical conflict.[22]

And while the promise of better paying jobs for less hours of work lured the young and lonely to the cities, Catholic clergy in Quebec preached a message concerned with a return to the land and protests against the material and moral manifestations of the western expression of modernity.[23] They laid claim to the expression of French-Canadian cultural memory: the land fed by the St Laurent had been given to them by God, and had supported French-Canada for four hundred years. The French-Canadian occupation and transformation of the land of North America was a revelation of God's power and His design for humanity, a design that featured French-Canadian Catholics in the central role.

But despite this claim to propriety based on divine revelation and term of habitation, hundreds of thousands of French-Canadians found the work and the land of Quebec too hard. The clergy of Quebec located the identity of French-Canadians in their rootedness to particular geographic locations and to particular modes of meaningfully inhabiting those regions. French-Canadian Catholics were *habitants*. But this definition neglected a large portion of the history of francophones in North America, as well as an ever increasing portion of the French-Canadian population.

Underneath the history of farming was a history of trapping, fur trading, exploring, and missions across nearly the whole of North America. The claim that French-Canadians rightfully inhabited the portion of the continent demarcated as Quebec denied a history of movement and the forming of relationships that harkened back not only to the earliest *voyageurs* and *coureur de bois*, but also to those Europeans who first crossed the Atlantic, and further to those theorized earliest modes of human existence that were trans-humance in nature.[24] So fundamentally, the reification of an identity based on fixedness in space was in fact denying the very locus of French-Canadian identity founded in the movement across space, and in the experience of the confrontation with the material forms of the world in that act of movement. It was a refusal to except the reality of the situation that French had not always been spoken in North America, a refusal to remember that French-Canadians had once been strangers and that this land they now called home had once been called home by other human communities. The reification of this claim meant in a very real sense that those prior communities' right to claim the land of the St Laurent as home would not be acknowledged, and that those French-Canadians who felt the impossibility of living a meaningful life in Quebec and chose to move themselves and their families

to the mill towns of New England had become traitors to *survivance* and to the French-Canadian race.

New England was never a place the immigrants from Quebec planned on remaining for very long. The mills offered a promise of quick and easy money, but the United States held the threat of godlessness and a loss of self. From the pulpits of Catholic churches across the province, and into the popular imagination of many French-Canadians, the United States was, on the one hand, recalled as a place of material gain and spiritual destitution. Quebec, on the other hand, seemed to offer the exact opposite, and for those who chose to emigrate, neither option appeared as a viable mode of existence. The movement of Europeans in the new world was always movement away from a stable centre in search of a spiritual or economic gain, but this movement always implied a return to the centre. The fact that the return trip was rarely ever made--became the locus for a new sense of self that led to the obfuscation of the initial act of movement that had brought them to their new home in the first place.

But the activity of moving across North America had been the primary mode of life for French-Canadians long before sedentary colonies began to thrive. The act of immigrating to the United States was consummate with this sense of self stemming from the origins of a consciousness that was distinctly French-Canadian and no longer French. So in a sense, the immigrant was taking part in an activity that was a founding experience in what it meant to be French-Canadian.

This was encouraged in part by the proximity of Quebec to the states of New England. The ease of traversing this distance made the meaning of the United States quite a different one for the French-Canadians than it was for other immigrant communities coming to the country from Europe. One could always return to Quebec, so the pressure to take on the citizenship and language of the United States was never greatly felt until the early years of the twentieth century. And further, had not much of this land once been claimed by France? New England was part of the collective history of the French experience in North America. New England was not wholly other; the border between the United States and Canada was hardly a real separation, and many of the towns in northern Maine rarely heard a word spoken in English.

During the first fifty years of French-Canadian immigration to the mill towns of new England--from around 1830 to 1880--the farms and forests of Quebec were returned to quite often. As one can imagine, the number of French-Canadian immigrants who returned to Quebec was

disproportionally greater than any other immigrant who returned to their home country. In the summer, many families would return to their farms to visit relatives or to work the land. In the winter, many young men made their way to the logging camps of Quebec and northern New England. And even those who spent most of their time at factory work in New England moved about not only from job to job in a given factory, but also from factory to factory, earning themselves the revealing title of *coureur de facteries*.[25]

The ease and frequency of this movement by the French-Canadian immigrant communities in New England was at the root of the American imagination of them as empirical others. For Charles H. Long, the empirical other is "a cultural phenomenon in which the extraordinariness and uniqueness of a person or culture is first recognized negatively."[26] Instead of being recognized as joint members in the construction of the new world and as long-time geographical neighbours, the immigrants from Quebec were identified with just about every irrational or deviant category in the American academic and popular imagination. Though language and religion were the primary otherly qualities singled out as negative in the United States, these modes of expression were fuelled and reified by the nearness of Quebec to New England.

The language used to marginalise and demonize the French-Canadian immigrants, like all language of deviance deployed by the modern nation-state, was shaped and altered by events and people around the globe that were imagined as threats to the stability of the United States.[27] When labour strikes broke out in Fall River, Massachusetts in the 1870s, French-Canadians were flagged as deviant papists.[28] Later, these immigrants were documented in 1881 by Carroll Wright of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour Annual Report as the "Chinese of the East."[29] At the same time, Protestant religious revival was sweeping through the eastern part of the country, and the United States army was deployed to exterminate native American communities and chase Bringham Young's Latter-Day Saints across the continent. In its attempt to solidify a distinct "American" identity, the United States was following the pattern set down in the formation of the nation-states of Europe: national identity was formed by the exclusion of individuals and communities from a geographical area based on religious, political, and ideological distinctions rather than a recognition of those who happened to inhabit a given region.

The ambivalent language and attitude concerning movement can be seen in the twentieth century as well. Following the end of the First World War, the dominant academic and popular discourse in the United States was concerned again with national identity and Protestant morals and worldview. Simultaneously, secular scientific theories riding the wave of Newton, Bacon and Darwin, began to gain popularity, and new hypotheses of the origin and nature of the world and humanity vied for dominance alongside biblical interpretations of existence. Revolution in Russia in the name of economic equality and Lenin's secular vision of humanity added to the religious and national fervour in the United States.[30] All of this provided new ways of talking about movement in the same fashion as European pilgrimages. Communists could be found wandering about anywhere and godless theories were in every direction threatening to swallow God's chosen people.

Similar cases and results occurred elsewhere in the country, and the charges of "godless" theories blended with the language of marginalization already being used to make sense of the French-Canadian presence in New England. The language deployed to make sense of these immigrants was made up of the headlines of the early twentieth century. Many were identified as being Sacco-Vanzetti anarchists on top of being satanists. In these terms, French-Canadians were threats to the good Protestants of New England, who could--in the opinion of some--bring about the downfall of the entire United States.[31] The habit of the French-Canadians to remain partial to their own language to the near complete exclusion of English, and their still vital, continual movement around the towns of New England and back into Quebec were felt to shake the stability--the fixedness--of the religious, social, political and economic structures of the country. In a sense, the movement of the immigrants from Quebec forced Americans into an uneasy confrontation with the fact that their country and ways were contingent and not a *de facto* part of reality. Their refusal to accept the meaning of the United States as a sacred space and time as a viable mode of being for them was apparently understood as a chaotic danger to the political order and authority of the United States.

In the 1920s, pro-union and reform-minded Franco-American newspaper writers in Rhode Island protested factory conditions and pleaded for language rights while at the same time calling for national-style churches. French-Canadians, once they realized there was no going back to Quebec, quickly adopted the United States as their home, but in order for it to be a viable one, they wanted access to what was most

meaningful to them. This earned them the ire of the United States--who marked these writers as dangerous communists--and the Pope, who excommunicated the staff of the *Sentinelle* until they signed a document renouncing their demands.[32]

The multivalent assault on the French-Canadian right to speak French served to unify the once disparate communities of francophones in North America, and those living in northeastern Ontario and New England quickly went from being traitors to French-Canadian Catholicism to being the *avant-garde* of a half-dreamed of francophone Catholic colonial empire. The ambivalent western attitude towards the status of movement becomes clear here, when suddenly those who were once beneath contempt were now given at least a symbolic position of honor.

The very act and manner of this movement across a portion of North America by these immigrants, therefore, helped to create and maintain a conscious sense of a distinct identity that was rooted in the primary modes of being of the first French-Canadians, but took into account the newness of their experience in the mills of New England. Those French-Canadians who never returned to Canada and made New England home knew they were no longer Canadian, but also recognized that their history and experience in North America was distinct from that of the United States. They were French-speaking Catholics in an English-speaking Protestant country and the name the community elites took on themselves reflected this awareness. As Franco-Americans, these recognized that they were new world people.

Movement has played a fundamental role in the shaping of the consciousness of North Americans, and it has been through a denial of the meaningful nature of this movement that political and religious authorities have exerted their power to marginalise and silence individuals and communities in an effort to reify their own understandings of meaningful existence to the exclusion of all other potential modes. Movement forces a recognition of the ever-changing nature of life, it allows for the recognition of intimate and fluid mutual relationships with others and with the world. The urban centre deploys a central ordering structure onto the world, and its centripetal and centrifugal dynamics of power--economic, religious, political, social--define human relationships with themselves and with matter in a manner that attempts to obscure the origins and meaningful exchanges.[33] Relationships become defined in terms of productivity, profit and usefulness instead of mutuality and reciprocity. The land of North America was seen as vast and empty by European colonists, ripe for

economic exploitation because the actual people inhabiting the land were not using it in ways consummate with a European understanding of meaning. Their movements across the landscape were pointless and dangerous because they did not appear to be productive but only mindlessly wandering.

But the Europeans, when they reflected upon it, saw their own movement as potent with meaning; their movement would bring riches, technology, civilization and perhaps even the New Jerusalem.[34] But, there is also the sense that the Europeans and their descendants in North America never acknowledged their movement in any meaningful fashion. The fact that a three-month ocean voyage had been necessary to bring them from Europe, and the subsequent movement across the geography of North America was obscured by a language that never fully developed a way of expressing the radical newness of the European experience of the new world. Instead, actions, expressions, sights and sounds continued to be expressed in manners proper for Europe.

In the context of North America, the European attitude towards movement has helped to create a situation where individuals and communities are seen as strangers in their own homes. The French-Canadian immigrant experience of undergoing the new world raises the problematic nature of this dynamic historically while delimiting a space for the interpretation of new world peoples that would recognize what those communities who have had to undergo the European colonial process have always known; they too are the other, and there is more than one way to tell the story of the new world.

Endnotes

1. Sydney Mead, *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), Chapter 1.

2. Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 95-97.

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5. Robert Choquette, *Canada's Religions* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004).

6. Winthrop, John. "A Modell of Christian Charity," in *The Puritan Tradition in America, 1620-1730*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), *passim*.

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8. Charles H. Long, *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (Aurora, CO: The Davies Group Publishers, 1999), 92.

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10. Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), 95.

11. Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

12. Arnold van Gennep, *Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1960), 24.

13. Turner, *The Ritual Process,* 95.

14. Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970); and Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 42-43.

15. Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, 123.

16. Long, *Significations,* 109. "Columbus understood his voyages as pilgrimages . . . What he noticed in the world he travelled through were landmarks, and these marks were placed within the context of an inner piety and faith recorded in his spiritual diaries, combining the inner and the outer pilgrimages in a manner reminiscent of the stations of the cross" (110).

17. Robert Choquette, "French Catholicism Comes to the Americas," In *Christianity Comes to the Americas*, ed. Charles H. Lippy, et al. (New York: Paragon House, 1992), 183-185. A useful example of this is Choquette's discussion of the attitudes of French missionaries and French colonials toward the brandy trade in seventeethn-century New France. For the missionaries, the trade and the traders were identified as evil, while for the colonial administration, the trade was eventually deemed vital to the survival of the colony.

18. Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died For Your Sins* (New York: Avon Books, 1970).

19. Charles H. Long, "Indigenous People, Materialities, and Religion: Outline for a New Orientation to Religious Meaning," in *Religion and Global Culture: New Terrain in the Study of Religion and the Work of Charles H. Long*, ed. Jennifer I.M. Reid (Lanham, MA: Lexington Books, 2003), 174.

20. Claire Quintal, ed., *Steeples and Smokestacks: A Collection of Essays on the Franco-American Experience in New England* (Worcester, MA: Institut français, 2003), 2.

21. Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English/French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 71-72.

22. Choquette, *Language and Religion.* See especially Part I: Preliminary Skirmishing.

23. Philippe Sylvain, and Nive Voisine, *Histoire du catholicisme Quebecois 2, 1840-1898* (Montreal: Boreal Express, 1991).

24. Long, *Significations,* 109.

25. Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire de Canadiens français* (Montreal: Boréal, 1998), 91.

26. Long, *Significations*, 90.

27. Jon Oplinger, *The Politics of Demonology: The European Witchcraze and the Mass Production of Deviance* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1990), 257-260.

28. Philip T. Silvia., Jr., "Neighbors From the North: French-Canadian Immigrants vs. Trade Unionism in Fall River, Massachusetts," in *Steeples and Smokestacks*, 151.

29. Gerard J. Brault, *The French Canadian Experience in New England* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986).

30. Oplinger, *The Politics of Demonology*, Chapter 7: The Red Scare.

31. Calvin E. Amaron, *Your Heritage, or New England Threatened* (Springfield: French Protestant College, 1891), 128.

32. Sorrell, "*La Sentinelle* . . ." 344.

33. Long, *Significations,* 79.

34. Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions*, 27, 68.

Maude Royden's Guildhouse: A Nexus of Religious Change in Britain between the Wars

ALISON FALBY

This paper will describe how some British people redefined their beliefs during the 1920s and 1930s. The interwar period was a time of vibrant heterodoxy for intellectuals, middle-class youth, workers and women in particular. The religious changes of the period contributed to the development of a spiritualized lay psychotherapy and interest in Eastern religious philosophy, both of which continue to influence many people today.

This paper will focus on the Guildhouse, a non-denominational church in London, founded by the feminist pacifist Maude Royden in 1921. Like other unorthodox religionists of her day, Royden revised traditional Christian doctrines in light of social, physical and biological science. She redefined "salvation" as psychological, and conceived of immortality in terms of collective consciousness or energy. Composed primarily of women and young workers, the Guildhouse's 1,000-strong congregation took an active interest in fellowship, decolonization and Gandhian principles.[1]

Royden and the Guildhouse are significant illustrations of the religious vitality of the British interwar period, the increasing influence of lay people on religion, particularly women, and the role of scientific discourse in religious change. This paper will explain these changes by highlighting the following themes: the intersection of scientific and religious discourse; the increasing influence of Eastern religious philosophy; and the role of "colonial modernities" in religious change.

The Guildhouse and Maude Royden

Maude Royden is a neglected figure-- too neglected, given her status as the alleged first Anglican woman preacher.[2] Born lame, she grew up in a wealthy family, daughter of Liverpool shipowner, Thomas Royden. Thomas served as Lord Mayor of Liverpool beginning in 1878, and as the Member of Parliament for West Toxteth (1885-1892).[3] Educated at Oxford in a day when few women were, Maude began her career doing settlement work in Liverpool. Working among the poor evolved into teaching the poor, and then into preaching to the poor. Active in the women's suffrage and pacifist movements, she preached her first sermon at a non-conformist church, the City Temple, in London in 1917. She did so on the Sunday before the Dean of Durham and future irascible Bishop Hensley Henson was to preach there.[4] She continued to preach at non-conformist churches and colleges over the next few years, and then in 1921, she gave the Good Friday sermon to over 900 people at the Anglican St. Botolph's Church in London. She did so against the objections of the diocesan Bishop,[5] and despite a number of threatening letters. While the congregation was respectful, clergy at the subsequent diocesan conference were not, "howling down" St. Botolph's rector, Hudson Shaw.[6]

In 1920, Royden founded a "Fellowship Guild" at Kensington Town Hall with the Anglican clergyman and theologian Percy Dearmer, and the organist Martin Shaw.[7] The Fellowship Guild became "the Guildhouse" when they moved to a "converted" (so to speak) Congregationalist chapel in Eccleston Square a year later.[8] Backed by prominent feminists such as Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and prominent churchmen such as William Temple, the Guildhouse received considerable financial backing from Royden's brother, the then-chairman of the Cunard Cruise Line.[9] The Guildhouse stayed at Eccelston Square until 1936 when it moved to Gordon Square in Bloomsbury, and it dissolved shortly thereafter. In its prime, its "members at large" (overseas members) extended to Australia, Canada, China, India, New Zealand and the United States, with a few in Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Japan.

Royden claimed that she did not intend the Guildhouse to be a schismatic church, or a new sect, and hence only held services on Sunday afternoons and evenings, and did not offer communion.[10] The services combined liturgical and non-liturgical elements. Given her combination of militancy and unorthodoxy, it is entirely possible that Royden considered the Guildhouse to be a sort of church, especially given the lower-classes'

propensity for attending evening services at that time. She said in 1920, "But if those of us who desire reform are all forced to leave our own churches we shall found another church. People who desire any great reform must create a fellowship in which to work for it."[11]

Increasing Influence of Laypeople and Women

Royden and Dearmer founded the Guildhouse "to develop the ministry of women" and involve lay people in fellowship.[12] Royden herself is the most obvious example of women's ministry, and she developed her already formidable skills at the Guildhouse. Her role included the usual clerical duties: leading Sunday services, preaching and taking "confessions" from congregation members upon request, but she also involved herself extensively in mission work (in the United States, Canada and India, among other places), peace work, political activism and in conducting retreats.

Royden's success convinced many of the need for female ordination. One journalist wrote, "All who still maintain that the Ministry should be rigidly closed to women should, if and when in London, worship at the Guildhouse. If they do, they are almost certain to be convinced of the error of their ways."[13] Another suggested that Royden "will be a favourite candidate if the Episcopal Bench ever ceases to be a monopoly of men."[14] It is fair to say that Royden helped pave the way for female ordination, and not simply because she founded the Anglican Group for the Ordination of Women to the Historic Ministry of the Church in 1955.

The Guildhouse attracted many female parishioners, especially young single women. In addition to serving tea, these women were active in various Guildhouse groups: the League of Nations Union, the Guildhouse Women Citizens Group, the Guildhouse Girl Citizens Group,[15] and various groups devoted to the promotion of peace through international understanding. Examples of the latter category included the Russia Group and the India Group, which "organized parties and made friends with Indians and Russians, combining their social activities with a serious study of the problems affecting the countries in question."[16] Female parishioners also gave lectures on such topics as travel abroad,[17] attended model conferences of the International Labour Organization,[18] and presented the occasional sermon.[19]

Royden's most infamous initiative concerned the formation of a Peace Army. Inspired by Gandhi, she and two fellow pacifists called upon

Christian, non-violent resisters to interpose themselves between Chinese and Japanese combatants in Manchuria in February 1932.[20] Although the Peace Army inspired many to volunteer their services (900 by May 1932),[21] it didn't see action until 1937 and 1938, when the Guildhouse sent two members to Palestine for the purpose of reconciliation. As the historian Martin Ceadel put it, the "minute scale" of this endeavour "negated its original strategy."[22]

Nonetheless, early enthusiasm for the Peace Army inspired many Guildhouse women to attend classes for instruction in Russian, the principles of Bolshevism and Esperanto, and to read French and German newspapers on a regular basis.[23] The original Peace Army initiative in 1932 marks the point at which Guildhouse members became actively involved in the peace movement. In 1934, several women formed a study group on Fascism and ways to combat it;[24] in 1936, the Guildhouse initiated a "Peace Week";[25] and in 1937 and 1938, the Guildhouse sent two groups of two to Palestine.

The Guildhouse also served as a nexus for more traditional forms of fellowship. Royden founded a women's fellowship group, the "Little Company of Christ," in 1919. The group's original members intended to form a religious order, but decided to form an order "not with material houses and churches and cloisters, but with their spiritual equivalent."[26] This group spawned several others, all of which took saints' names. By 1934, the "Little Companies" had 155 members,[27] and they lasted into the Second World War. Their significance is not so much in their numbers but in their reflection of increasing lay, particularly female, spirituality in the period as a whole.

These groups considered themselves responsible to the Guildhouse, and gathered together for an hour and a half on a weekly basis for meditation, silent prayer, "liberty of utterance" and intercession.[28] They believed the ideal group number to be about ten to twelve persons in size, and group members took turns conducting the meetings.[29] Group members referred to themselves as "Companions," and new Companions were given "Godmothers" who gave them "information and guidance."[30]

Group Therapy and Eastern Religious Philosophy

There are obvious parallels between the "Little Company of Christ" and the Society of Friends, and also with "mutual assistance movements" such as Alcoholics Anonymous, which also met weekly for meditation,

silent prayer, "liberty of utterance" and intercession, although Alcoholics Anonymous uses different terminology. I have already written about the role of the Guildhouse in developing lay psychotherapy, so suffice it to say that lay fellowship groups helped facilitate such intellectual transformations as the medicalization or pathologization of sin and the popularization of public confession "epitomized by talk shows today."[31]

In addition to promoting lay spirituality, Royden also promoted interest in "the East," especially in India and its religions, and to a certain extent she can be seen as part of the larger context of the New Age movement. Obviously, "the West" had been "interested" in "the East" for centuries, but in the interwar period Britain saw a particular increase in interest. This interest can be related to three developments: one, the influence of Gandhi; two, the Indian independence movement; and three, the increased presence of prominent Indian intellectuals in Britain--not only Gandhi, but also the Nobel prize-winning poet Rabindranath Tagore and the Oxford philosopher Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

The influences of Gandhi, the Indian independence movement and Indian intellectuals converged at the Guildhouse, helping make it a nexus for religious change. Already a pacifist, Royden reinforced her pacifism by meeting Gandhi in India in 1928 and 1934-1935, preaching about him in London, and hosting him at the Guildhouse. And like other women of the period such as Annie Besant, Royden's support for decolonization stemmed from her feminism. In 1935, she attended the annual meeting of the All-India Women's Association in Karachi, and its members persuaded her to support the nationalist cause. She did so in her sermons, lectures and political activism, voicing her support for Indian independence and continually emphasizing India's "spiritual gifts."[32]

Finally, the Guildhouse benefitted from the direct influence of Indian intellectuals and through its "India Group" (mentioned previously), which corresponded with Tagore. Guildhouse members were exposed more indirectly to Indian religious philosophy through a number of Sunday afternoon lecture series. A very popular lecture series entitled, "The Evolution of Religion in the Twentieth Century," featured talks by British Vedantists, a Theosophist and an Anthroposophist, among others.[33] Other lecture series explored such subjects as: "The World's Beliefs," with lectures on Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam; "Some Current Forms of Religious Thought," with lectures on Spiritualism, Theosophy, and Christian Science;[34] and "Why religion?" with lectures on eastern religion and western psychology.[35]

Discourse and Religious Change

Royden's own intellectual eclecticism and the intellectual eclecticism of the period made her open to non-religious disciplines, particularly science. And the Guildhouse itself, in providing a home for art, music, science and literature, sought to "reveal" religion through diverse media. These media or disciplines each had their own languages in a sense, and Royden emphasized the importance of finding appropriate languages to explain religious ideas and experience. She argued that Christ had been "obliged to use the language of his generation," and that the newer scientific disciplines made it possible to understand his original meaning better than ever before.[36]

A number of intellectual historians have used a discursive approach to the history of religion.[37] But although concerned with religion, few of these historians have focussed on the history of religious change. Two exceptions are Callum Brown and Sarah Williams. Williams suggests that religious change may be viewed as a process of exchange between different "types of religious discourse,"[38] whereas Brown argues that secularization is essentially a "decay in discursive religiosity."[39] Williams' approach is particularly appropriate to the study of unorthodox religiosity in early twentieth-century Britain given lay religionists' extensive appropriation of terminology from psychology, biology and eastern religious philosophy. One new way of "being religious," in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was to find a new language(s) for old ideas–old wine in new bottles. Royden's Guildhouse was one context for discursive religious change in early twentieth-century Britain.

Royden borrowed extensively from the language of science, especially biology, to describe the Christian community.[40] She described the human race as a "multi-cellular organism," and suggested that "we have got to realize St. Paul's saying not as a platitude, but as a scientific truth."[41] The saying to which she was referring, of course, was Romans 7:4-5: "for as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office; so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members of one another." St Paul meant that people all have to come together if they are to be saved.

But saved from what? Up until the mid-to-late nineteenth century, most Christians would have characterized salvation as the literal coming of the kingdom of God and the assurance of their own ascension into heaven. But in the latter half of the nineteenth century, philosophical

Idealists, Natural Theologians and the Holiness Movement began to define salvation psychologically. That is, they characterized it as salvation from individualism and loneliness.[42]

Royden echoed this view. She suggested that "Work in groups [by which she meant fellowship] . . . is a way by which we can combat the modern despair of the individual living soul."[43] And she used the language of physics to describe the "spiritual power" of prayer: "When a great congregation prays together . . . I seem to see God sifting out every atom of worth that there is in those prayers and using it for all it is worth."[44] She suggested that life operated according to "spiritual laws," and characterized Jesus as a scientist: "He who is our Newton, our Darwin, our Galileo, all in one."[45]

Royden's references to spiritual laws are especially reminiscent of nineteenth-century natural theology. But although she was not original in her scientific conceptualization of religious ideas, her invocation of scientific concepts reinforces the significance of the Guildhouse as a nexus of discursive religious change.

Conclusion

In the grand scheme of things, the Guildhouse's success was short-lived. Royden departed from it in 1936, after which it lost many of its adherents, and the building was bombed during World War Two.[46] But many aspects of the Guildhouse presaged late-twentieth and early twentieth-century spirituality: the increasing influence of women, increasing interest in "Eastern" religions, and the loose use of scientific concepts and language to explain religious ideas. Royden helped disseminate these changes at the Guildhouse, on her speaking tours abroad, and, after the war, on the radio.[47] She was "one of the most popular speakers on the BBC's Silver Lining programme when it was launched in the 1950s," listened to by Christians and non-Christians alike.[48]

Endnotes

1. On the working-class composition of the Guildhouse congregation, see Sheila Fletcher, *Maude Royden: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 225. On the Guildhouse lectures on India, see "India," *Guildhouse Monthly* 5, No. 45 (January 1931): 22; and "The India Group," *Guildhouse Monthly* 9, No. 89 (January 1935): 110. On Gandhi, see Mohandas Gandhi, "Voluntary Poverty," *Guildhouse Monthly* 5, No. 53 (October 1931): 208-215.

2. The only full-length work devoted to Royden is Sheila Fletcher's biography, *Maude Royden*. Royden merits mention in Sybil Oldfield, *Women Against the Iron Fist: Alternatives to Militarism 1900-1989* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 52-64; Johanna Alberti, *Beyond Suffrage: Feminists in War and Peace, 1914-1928* (London, 1989), 17, 42; and Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain, 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

3. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 5.

4. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 152-153.

5. See *Daily Chronicle*, 26 March 1921.

6. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 196.

7. Dearmer and Shaw compiled the well-known hymnbook *Songs of Praise* with Ralph Vaughan Williams. See *Guildhouse Monthly* 10, No. 110 (December 1936): 291.

8. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 209.

9. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 210.

10. Maude Royden, "The Fellowship Guild," *Guildhouse Monthly* I, No. 1 (January 1927): 28.

11. "The Church of England and the Free Church--Miss Royden at the City Temple," *The Coming Day*, March 1920, 112-114.

12. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 210.

13. "As Others See Us," *Guildhouse Monthly* 1, No. 6 (June 1927): 164.

14. "Some Press Cuttings," *Guildhouse Monthly* 2, No. 18 (July-August 1928): 239.

15. The Girl Citizens Group disbanded in 1934. "Guild of Girl Citizens," *Guildhouse Monthly* 8, No. 81 (April 1934): 97.

16. "What Should I Do About Peace?" *Guildhouse Monthly* 10, No. 102 (March 1936): 69.

17. "Miss Kemble's visit to Russia," *Guildhouse Monthly* 5, No. 45 (January 1931): 22.

18. "League of Nations Union," *Guildhouse Monthly* 4, No. 35 (February 1930): 46.

19. "The Pulpit," *Guildhouse Monthly* 5, No. 45 (January 1931): 20.

20. Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain, 1914-1945*, 93. The other two pacifists were H.R.L. "Dick" Sheppard and A. Herbert Gray.

21. "Guildhouse Peace Work," *Guildhouse Monthly* 6, No. 60 (May 1932): 127.

22. Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain, 1914-1945*, 96.

23. "Guildhouse Peace Work," *Guildhouse Monthly* 6, No. 58 (March 1932): 70.

24. "'New Britain' Group," *Guildhouse Monthly* 8, No. 81 (April 1934): 100.

25. "Guildhouse Peace Week," *Guildhouse Monthly* 10, No. 102 (March 1936): 65-67.

26. "Little Company Information" [c. 1924], 8, A.M. Royden Papers, Women's Library, London Metropolitan University.

27. "Little Company Conference--12 March 1934," A.M. Royden Papers, Women's Library, London Metropolitan University.

28. "Little Company Meetings" [c. 1934], A.M. Royden Papers, Women's Library, London Metropolitan University.

29. "The Little Company of Christ," *Guildhouse Fellowship* 10, No. VI (November 1942): 1.

30. "Little Company Information," 2 [undated].

31. Alison Falby, "The Modern Confessional: Anglo-American Religious Groups and the Emergence of Lay Psychotherapy," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 39, No. 3 (Summer 2003): 251-267.

32. For example, Maude Royden, "The Genius of India," *Guildhouse Monthly* 6, No. 59 (April 1932): 80; *Britain and India* [sermon delivered 2 December 1934] (London: Guildhouse Publications, c. 1934/5); "Where India Leads--Her Deep Spiritual Tradition--Speeches by Dr. Royden & Mrs. Ashby," *Hindustan Times*, 9 January 1935.

33. "Five Quarters," *Guildhouse Monthly* 6, No. 63 (September 1932): 216; and "Five Quarters," *Guildhouse Monthly* 7, No. 67 (January 1933): 313. Speakers in the first series included Royden, Oxford professor of divinity L.W. Grensted, journalist J. Middleton Murray, philosopher and Vedantist C.E.M. Joad, and Christian philosopher John MacMurray. Speakers in the second series included popular science broadcaster and Vedantist Gerald Heard, Theosophist A. Hawliczek, Anthroposophist George Kaufmann, and the Unitarian head of Manchester College and *Hibbert Journal* editor, L.P. Jacks.

34. Women's Library, London Metropolitan University, A.M. Royden Papers, 7 /AMR, File 7/1: Leaflets & Typescript Notes Relating to Lectures at the Guildhouse ("Five Quarters").

35. "Why Religion? An Important Conference," *Guildhouse Monthly* 9, No. 93 (May 1935): 216. Speakers included Rabbi Mattuck, novelist J.D. Beresford, Geraldine Coster (author of *Yoga and Western Psychology*) and Gerald Heard.

36. Maude Royden, "The End of the World III. What Did Christ Look for?" *Guildhouse Monthly* 2, No. 20 (October 1928): 288. See also Maude Royden, "The Theologian and the Scientist," *Guildhouse Monthly* 1, No. 10 (November 1927).

37. Joy Dixon, "Ancient Wisdom, Modern Motherhood: Theosophy and the colonial syncretic," in *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, ed. A. Burton (London: Routledge, 1999), 193-206; Joy Dixon, *Divine Feminine: Theosophy and Feminism in Englan*d (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); J.J. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment: the Encounter Between Asian and Western Thought* (London: Routledge, 1997); and R. King, *Orientalism and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1999).

38. S. Williams, "The Language of Belief: An Alternative Agenda for the Study of Victorian Working-Class Religion," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 1 (1996): 314.

39. C. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001), 13.

40. See Maude Royden, "Books That Have Helped Me--Conception of Religion Enlarged by Modern Science," *T.P.'s and Cassell's Weekly*, 15 March 1924, 750; and Maude Royden, "Science and Life--What Religion Owes to Research," *The Western Daily Press*, 15 February 1927 [also printed in *Scarborough Evening News and Post*].

41. Maude Royden, "The Fellowship of All Humanity," *Guildhouse Monthly* 1, No. 2 (February 1927): 37.

42. See Falby, "The Modern Confessional," 253-256.

43. Maude Royden, "Group Work in the Modern World," *Guildhouse Monthly* 8, No. 81 (April 1934): 82.

44. "High Leigh Retreat --September 1937," 6, A.M. Royden Papers, The Women's Library, London Metropolitan University.

45. A. Maude Royden, *Can We Set the World in Order?* 3rd rev. ed. (London: League of the Church Militant [Anglican], n.d.), 14.

46. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 276.
47. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 282.
48. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, 284.