

PROTESTANT HOME MISSIONARIES
IN SASKATCHEWAN
AND THE CONCEPT OF APPLIED
CHRISTIANITY, 1918-1930

KENNETH R. KAISER

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Protestant Home Missionaries in
Saskatchewan and the Concept of Applied
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Kenneth R. Kaiser

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine Protestant home mission work in Saskatchewan throughout the 1920's, in particular the treatment of Continental European immigrants. The thesis deals with Methodist, Presbyterian, and, after 1925, United Church home missions, and focuses on three areas: medical treatment, education, and socialization of the immigrants. It examines the goals, methods, and successes or failures of home missionaries as one of the main agents of Canadianization during the early part of the twentieth century, while, at the same time, using local institutions as examples.

Saskatchewan became a focal point for missionary activity in Western Canada because of the great numbers of foreign-born immigrants entering the province. Throughout the course of home mission work, evangelism, although always present, was relegated to a secondary position. Canadianization of the immigrants took precedence, and was taught in the medical missions, Presbyterian school-homes, social settlements, settlement houses, school fairs, summer schools, and vacation schools throughout Saskatchewan. It was a prime example of what Protestant home missionaries believed to be "applied Christianity."

Preface

For the past few years I have received financial support from the College of Graduate Studies and Research, and the Department of History. I wish to acknowledge the assistance and encouragement offered by my thesis adviser, Dr. J.R. Miller. My thanks are owing also to the staff of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, especially to Maureen Fox, whose kind assistance was always greatly appreciated. Also, Dr. Michael Owen of Athabasca University deserves special mention for his helpful correspondence. Finally, thanks to my parents, Kasper and Frieda Kaiser, to whom I dedicate this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	i
Preface	ii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Colonization, Accommodation, and the Social Gospel	23
Chapter 3 Medical Mission Work Amongst the New Canadians	44
Chapter 4 Education of the New Canadians	78
Chapter 5 Socialization of the New Canadians	108
Chapter 6 Conclusion	139
Bibliography	158

For Mom and Dad

Chapter 1

Introduction

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Canadian government relaxed its immigration laws. Hundreds of thousands of British, American, and Continental Europeans poured into the Canadian heartland. The influx of so many nationalities in so short a time caused great concern among the established Anglo-Saxon element in Canadian society. Both religious and political leaders believed that the treasured Anglo-Canadian lifestyle would be undermined by the so-called inferior lifestyle of the Continental Europeans. In response to this large-scale immigration the Protestant Churches, in particular the Methodist, Presbyterian, and, after 1925, the United Church, began to place greater emphasis on home mission work amongst the "New Canadians."

During the Wilfrid Laurier administration, 1896-1911, Clifford Sifton, the Liberal federal minister of the interior, turned that department into the most aggressive settlement agency in Canadian history. Sifton preferred settlers who were close to the land. He once stated that "a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children is good quality."¹

¹Quoted in D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy 1896-1905," in The Prairie West: Historical Readings, R.D. Francis and Howard Palmer, eds.

Western Canada had vast areas of uncultivated land that, according to Sifton, needed to be populated, cultivated, and farmed. The government's immigration policy was so successful in attracting Europeans that by 1911 out of a total Saskatchewan population of 492,000, 174,000 were of Continental European descent.² This trend did not stop with the demise of the Laurier government, however, and by 1921 those of European descent accounted for almost one-half of Saskatchewan's population. The total population was 757,510, of which 400,416 were of British or related origin, and 357,094 were from Continental Europe.³

Before the 1920's, non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants were discriminated against socially, economically, and politically because they were not assimilated. At times, restrictive immigration laws were introduced in order to exclude those who were considered culturally or racially inferior. Because of this legislation a vertical order of preference was established. The Northern and Western Europeans were at the top of this order and suffered the least discrimination. They were followed by the Central,

(Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985), p. 295.

²Census of Canada, (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1921), Vol. 1, p. 355.

³Ibid.

Eastern, and Southern Europeans, and at the bottom of the immigration order were the non-whites, the Orientals and Blacks. The European immigrants' customs and habits were considered backwards and lower class. Anglo-Canadian society considered the European immigrants to be peasants, needing social, cultural, educational, and religious salvation. Many of these people were accused of lacking in basic social graces, and they were often pictured as drunken foreigners who often abused their wives, their families, and their neighbors.⁴

In the eyes of the Canadian government, most Southern Europeans, Jews, and Orientals were useless as farmers because they were city-dwellers. They would not be successful farmers and would contribute to urban problems such as poverty and violence. Popular opinion was that the Eastern and Southern Europeans were ignorant, illiterate, and lacked understanding of responsible government. What was needed in Western Canada was peasant stock who would succeed on their prairie farms, and be succeeded by their children.⁵

⁴Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation, R.D. Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1982), pp. 123-129. Ralph Connor, a Presbyterian minister and author, in his book The Foreigner, a Tale of Saskatchewan, presented a graphic picture of the foreigner and his supposed love of liquor.

⁵Hall, The Prairie West, p. 295.

By 1925 a new optimism based on economic prosperity permeated Canadian government and society. Crop yields on the prairies increased dramatically, along with the prices farmers received for their wheat. With this trend came the demand for more agricultural workers. The Dominion Government, intent on attracting more immigrants, relaxed the restrictions on Europeans. In 1925 the Dominion Government reached an agreement with both the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways. Under this agreement the railways were permitted to recruit agricultural workers and domestic servants from Central Europe. In 1925 a total of 39,424 Continental Europeans had entered Canada, while by 1928 that number had more than doubled to 86,259, testifying to the success of the agreement.⁶

Concern for this trend of immigration was aptly expressed in the Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1919 [Saskatchewan Conference], where it was stated that: "In one province every third man is a non-English-speaking European, ... the multitudes who have arrived are but a prophecy of the millions who are yet to come."⁷

⁶Canada Year Book, 1929, Table 4, p. 187.

⁷Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1919, (Saskatchewan Conference), pp. xii-xiii.

The immigrants who caused the most concern for church leaders were those from Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe. The three prairie provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Manitoba received an influx of Austrians [known as Bukowinians, Galicians, or Ruthenians], Hungarians [Magyars], Ukrainians, Southern Germans, and Poles. Consequently, Protestant home missionary activity became concentrated in areas that were saturated by these ethnic groups.

Methodist and Presbyterian home missionaries looked upon these newly arrived immigrants as second class citizens. They were regarded as having certain deficiencies that would hinder their assimilation into existing Anglo-Canadian society. These people brought with them to Canada certain prejudices, attitudes, and habits that were foreign to existing Anglo-Canadian society. These attitudes and habits had been ingrained through traditions and circumstances that had influenced their lifestyles for centuries. Attitudes that developed over so many generations, and had become such an integral part of their everyday life would be hard, if not impossible, to change. They were accused of diluting "the rich wine of national feelings and impulses."⁸

⁸SAB, E.H. Oliver Papers, "The Problem of the New Canadian in Saskatchewan. A Report to the General Council's Board of Education made by the Faculty of St. Andrew's College." (Saskatoon: n.d., p. 3).

The foreign-born's deficiency in the English language was considered one of the greatest threats to assimilation. Lack of a common language threatened Canadian unity and nationality. Canadianization of the immigrants meant that English needed to be taught to the foreign-born as a primary step towards Anglo-conformity. Also, ignorance of Canada's past meant that other subjects such as Canadian geography, history, and civics needed to be taught to the immigrants before they could take their rightful place in Canadian society. Their standards of education were considered too low, and even their methods of sanitation and hygiene were criticized. One missionary wrote: "the homes of the large majority are anything but hygienic. ...it is sometimes a question which is the house and which the stable. ...in one room the entire family eat and sleep, while often in the more remote and poorer homes...the cow is an inmate as well."⁹ These so-called second-class citizens were accused of being easy prey to Bolshevik and other sectarian influences. In short, the foreign-born were accused of undermining the Anglo-Canadian lifestyle that many communities held so dear.¹⁰

The Christian principle of neighborliness, and the concept of the family were seen to suffer at the hands of

⁹SAB, Mrs. C.H. Monro, The Galicians at Home (Saskatoon: United Church of Canada, 1926), p. 1-2.

¹⁰SAB, E.H. Oliver, "The Problem of the New Canadian in Saskatchewan", p. 4.

the foreign-born. The older immigrants found it difficult to adjust to the new Canadian customs, traditions, and language. The young, however, had a much easier time of it and tended to regard the older generation as "old European fogeys." This resulted in a cleavage in family life among the New Canadians, and the Protestant home missionaries regarded it as a tragedy that needed to be rectified.¹¹

To correct the deficiencies, Protestant home missionaries had certain standards or norms to which they wanted the foreign-born to conform. The immigrants were encouraged to learn the Canadian habits of hygiene, house-keeping, and deportment while, at the same time, assimilate the democratic principles of British and Canadian life. In the early 1920's, the Presbyterian Church published a pamphlet on what the Canadian expected of the New Canadian. Upon entering Canada the immigrants were encouraged to exhibit their best behavior. They were expected to elevate rather than lower their spiritual beliefs in order to keep Canada religious. The New Canadians were to exhibit a new spirit of Canadian citizenship and nobility of character. They were to attend school in order to learn the English language and proper Anglo-Canadian customs. They were required to help "keep the home pure, the standard of life high, business dealings honest, and, above all, the thought

¹¹Ibid., p. 5.

of God, vital."¹² All this was designed to prepare the immigrants to be effective workers, good citizens, and good men. As F.C. Stevenson, the secretary of the Young People's Missionary Education League of the United Church of Canada, wrote in 1929:

Canadian standards should be brought home to them; Canadian institutions should be supported; Canadian customs, habits and laws should be made known and explained. ... This Canadianization cannot take place without the aid of the Church. As Christians they will become a higher type of citizen than without the aid and teachings of Christianity.¹³

The home missionaries' treatment of the immigrants concerning medical treatment, education, and socialization was designed to elevate the New Canadians to these expected Canadian norms. In 1920, Hugh Dobson, the field secretary for the Board of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church, attempted to define what Canadianization meant. He wrote:

the purpose of Canadianization is to secure on the part of Canada's total population such an attitude to this country as would prompt every citizen to live, and if necessary die for its welfare.¹⁴

Many of the foreign-born immigrants settled in large,

¹²SAB, E.H. Oliver, What the Canadian expects of the New Canadian (Saskatoon: n.p., n.d.)

¹³F.C. Stevenson, That They May Be One: Our Work With the Ukrainians in Canada (Toronto: By the Committee on Literature, General Publicity and Missionary Education of the United Church of Canada, 1929), p. 79.

¹⁴Hugh Dobson, "Canadianization and Our Immigrants", Social Welfare, 2(4), January 1, 1920, p. 95.

self-contained, self-sufficient communities, thereby providing an obstacle to integration into Canadian society. These colonies would sometimes comprise hundreds of square miles, and in them the foreign-born would continue to use their own languages and follow the customs, traditions, and habits their forefathers had practiced for centuries. Settlement patterns included a large settlement of Ruthenians near Insinger, Saskatchewan.¹⁵ Also, a large Ruthenian colony of some 30,000 persons was established near the town of Canora, Saskatchewan.¹⁶ Wakaw, Yorkton, Canora, and the Touchwood Hills became populated with large numbers of Hungarians (Magyars), Ukrainians, and Russians.¹⁷ In Southern Saskatchewan the situation was similar. Large numbers of Mennonites settled and established colonies south of Swift Current and further north near Warman and Hague. In the provincial capital of Regina it was estimated there were, by 1913, between five and seven thousand foreigners from almost every country in Southeastern Europe, speaking

¹⁵SAB, Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1917, p. xxi. & 1920, p. x.

¹⁶SAB, Eleventh Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913-1914, p. 20.

¹⁷Ibid.

twenty-three different languages.¹⁸

The Ruthenians from Galicia, Bukowina, and districts in the Northeast of old Hungary constituted the largest group of Central Europeans on the prairies.¹⁹ For example, in the Central Saskatchewan municipality of Insinger, the heart of a non-Anglo-Saxon settlement, a house-to-house survey on the origins of the inhabitants was conducted. It was ascertained that out of 3,296 persons surveyed, 2,400 were from Bukowina and Galicia alone. Only 163 were of British origin, and a mere fifty-six from the United States, both of which were considered to be preferred countries. The remaining inhabitants originated in Poland, Russia, Roumania, Bohemia, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries [Norway, Sweden, and Denmark].²⁰ Prominent religious leaders believed that these diverse nationalities would surely bring to Canada a new strain of life with a fresh blending of cultures, but, at the same time, serious moral

¹⁸SAB, J.H. Laird, The Story of Settlement House: Regina, Saskatchewan (Moose Jaw: United Church of Canada, 1932), p. 1.

¹⁹Edmund H. Oliver, His Dominion of Canada (Toronto: The Board of Home Missions and The Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1921), p. 22.

²⁰Ibid., p. 26.

and social problems would be created.²¹

This was the challenge posed by the New Canadians. It was a challenge that Protestant home missionaries confronted with a new vigor in the early twentieth century. Methodist, Presbyterian, and after 1925, the United Church of Canada, began to place greater emphasis on a more systematic, positive approach towards the foreign-born. They relied more heavily on programs, methods, and institutions concocted by their Boards of Home Missions and Women's Missionary Societies. It became a firmly held belief that in cultivating mission fields and, in particular, home mission fields, the most important element was the activity of the local church, the pastor taking on the central role in promoting missionary activity. In 1914, the Methodist Church recommended that in order to promote the cultivation of the Home Base:

there be organized in every local church a missionary Council, representing all the missionary activities of the Church--the Quarterly Board, the congregation, the Epworth League, the Sunday School, the Men's Missionary Committee and the Women's Missionary Auxiliary, and that it be the duty of this committee specifically to take charge of the Home Base.²²

The Board of Home Missions, the Women's Missionary Society,

²¹SAB, E.H. Oliver Papers, "The Problem of the New Canadian in Saskatchewan", p. 7.

²²SAB, Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1914, p. xvii.

and the Young People's Missionary Leagues expressed attitudes, ambitions, purposes, and goals which were, for the most part, similar in tone and structure.

In general, treatment of the non-Anglo-Saxon or New Canadian took three forms: health care, education, and socialization of the immigrant.²³ The Methodist Church (1917), reported that "the time is ripe for real, aggressive work to be done in leading these people to a splendid type of Canadian citizenship."²⁴ This "splendid type" of Canadian citizenship tended to acquire an Anglo-Saxon tone. Church home mission work at this time became primarily directed towards turning foreign immigrants into good Canadian citizens with all the morals, virtues, and ideals of the Protestant, Anglo-Saxon society they were entering. A good Canadian citizen, in turn, would naturally become a good Christian with, of course, the proper Christian guidance; this, according to the home missionaries, would raise the whole moral tone of society, and generally make Canada a much better place in which to live.²⁵

²³SAB, The 101st Annual Report of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1924-1925, p. 22.

²⁴SAB, Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1917, p. xx.

²⁵SAB, Frank Hoffman Papers, "How the work of the Church in Saskatchewan has made a contribution towards making good Canadian citizens out of those whom we have invited to our shores" (Saskatoon, n.d., p. 34).

The quality of immigrants was of great importance in early twentieth-century thought. In 1901, the Christian Guardian's reporter for the Manitoba and Northwest Conference, Reverend John Maclean, commented that:

The general opinion of the people in this country is, that we do not want any more of these people in the west. The quality of the immigrants is more important to us than the quantity. We cannot afford to have the refuse of Europe dumped into our Western country, and an ignorant foreign population can work a great deal of harm.²⁶

These so-called ignorant foreigners were those from Southern Europe, the Southern Germans, Austrians, Russians, and Poles who were accused of bringing to Canada "low standards of morality, propriety and decency."²⁷ This attitude towards the foreign-born was carried into the courts of the day. For example, in 1924, at a sitting of the Court of King's Bench in Yorkton, Justice Bigelow, after sentencing a Ukrainian named Joe Kurchkovski for perjury, stated:

During the few years I have been on the bench I have noticed in some parts of this province that there is a tendency among certain elements of the people to commit this offence [perjury], and I refer particularly to the people who have come from foreign countries or whose ancestors came from foreign parts.²⁸

With this in mind, the Protestant clergy's main concern was for the character of the immigrant, a quality that

²⁶Christian Guardian, May 29, 1901, p.3.

²⁷Ibid., March 11, 1908, p.2.

²⁸Saskatoon Daily Star, November 28, 1924.

greatly affected the character of a developing nation. Other affairs of an economic or political nature were, without doubt, of secondary importance. The primary goal of home missions was cultivating a righteous, true and just temper in the common people. Both national greatness and national stability rested on this foundation.²⁹

This goal took on a greater importance because of the realization that just after the turn of the century the Protestant Churches, in general, had not fulfilled their responsibilities to the foreign-born. In an article published in a local Saskatchewan newspaper one writer castigated the Protestant Churches for their neglect of missionary work. Concerning a rural municipality in Northeastern Saskatchewan he wrote:

Wherein lies the hope of Canadianising these people [Ruthenians]. I say with great solemnity that the Churches, apart from a hospital which one denomination has equipped, have made no contribution towards their Canadianisation in the district where I studied. Only three families read Canadian newspapers in English. The Ruthenian newspapers have, in general, been pronouncedly nationalist in tone. ...There is no hope in Canadianising these people through the papers which most of them read.³⁰

At the same time the Protestant Churches were being

²⁹SAB, Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1920, p. ix.

³⁰SAB, E.H. Oliver Papers, "A Study in the Antecedents of a People and a Present Problem: The Ruthenians of the Prairies" (Saskatoon, n.d., p. 116).

criticized for their neglect of missionary work, the work of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada was in full swing. On December 15, 1915, W. E. Stevenson, the inspector of schools at Balcarres and president of the Saskatchewan Educational Association, criticized the work of the Protestant Churches while, at the same time, he compared it with the evangelistic work of the Catholic Church. It was his belief that:

The Catholic Church has sent its priests throughout the whole country to minister to the people and to build churches. They have been eminently successful and have won many converts and built many churches. ...Now in contrast to this, what have the Protestant churches done? Practically nothing. They have lost most of their opportunities and are quickly letting the remaining few slip away.³¹

Stevenson was adamant in his belief that the Protestant Churches must unite their efforts and assist both the state and school by providing instruction to the foreign-born in such subjects as temperance and morality, home nursing, hygiene and domestic economy, school decorating and gardening, elementary agriculture and farm husbandry. According to Stevenson, schools should act as the centers for social work.³²

This train of thought reflected the dominant attitudes of the day, an attitude that promoted the assimilation of

³¹Ibid., p. 16.

³²Ibid.

the immigrant. It was only as an Anglo-Saxon nation that Canada could impart to its New Canadians "the highest principles of Christianity and civilization."³³ Prominent Methodist theory at this time was that the foreign-born came as:

nominal Christians, that is, they owe allegiance to the Greek or Roman Catholic Churches, but their moral standards and ideals are far below those of the Christian citizens of the Dominion. These people have come to this young, free country to make homes for themselves and their children. It is our duty to meet them with the open Bible, and to instil into their minds the principles and ideals of Anglo-Saxon civilization.³⁴

To the home missionaries, the highest principles of Christianity and civilization actually meant the principles of evangelical Protestantism. The Catholic religion, although recognized by the Protestants as being Christian, was considered somewhat backward and authoritarian. The Catholics had kept the foreign-born "in ignorance, and their religion consists in abject obedience to the dictates of the priest, dreading the displeasure of the church if they digress in the least degree."³⁵ Protestantism was "equated with...industry, freedom, and democracy, whereas Catholicism

³³James S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates or Coming Canadians Introduction by Marilyn Barber, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. xii.

³⁴Ibid., p. xix. Also see Missionary Outlook, June, 1908, p.2.

³⁵Monro, The Galicians at Home, p. 2.

was equated with superstition, ignorance and autocracy."³⁶

To help in the assimilation process missionaries, whether Methodist, Presbyterian or United Church, were expected to perform a wide range of services to the foreign-born. Coinciding with the government's "open door" policy of immigration, the churches in Canada established Denominational Colonization Boards. Service to the immigrant began at port of entry. Upon arrival in Canada, newcomers were greeted by post chaplains whose duty it was to help immigrants link up with their respective churches in all parts of Canada. Missionaries then provided a whole range of social and religious functions. They acted as interpreters, older brothers, and provided protection against exploiters of the different racial and language groups entering Canada. Church services were conducted, and Sunday Schools were established for the New Canadians. In order to reach the more isolated immigrants in Western Canada, religious literature was sent them by mail. Relief on a fairly large scale was provided them without discrimination as to denomination, and missionaries remained active among immigrants whose religious convictions often differed from their own. Regular newspapers and magazines were edited for the foreign-born; one of these newspapers,

³⁶Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: The Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914," National Museum of Man, History Division, 8, 1975, p. 210.

the Az Otthon Hungarian Monthly had, by 1928, reached over 52,000 readers all over Canada.³⁷

The missionary played the part of the pathfinder to the homestead, the postman, the relief officer, the employment agent, and even, at Christmas, Santa Claus. In dealing with religious matters the missionary preached the Word of God, administered the sacraments, performed marriages, and conducted funerals.³⁸

The assimilation process naturally led the Protestant missionaries to concentrate on the young. With the conviction that the hope of both country and church lay in the children of the nation, and with immigrants from so many lands coming to Canada, it was necessary for the home missionaries to concentrate on the homelife of the foreign-born, to reach the children. In an educational report of the Presbyterian Women's Home Missionary Society in 1912, the aim of the society was described as placing

children under the care of cultured Christian women as matrons who will supervise their studies, instruct them in the Bible and catechism, and take them regularly to the Sabbath School and church services.³⁹

³⁷SAB, Frank Hoffman Papers, "The work of the Church in Saskatchewan", p. 34.

³⁸Ibid., p. 35.

³⁹SAB, 10th Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1912-1913, p. 41.

Years later, the Presbyterian Church confirmed its concern for the youth of the foreign-born through the motto: "We are out to win the young people, our work is for the young people, our hope is in the young people."⁴⁰ Hope was placed in educating the young foreigners and, subsequently, sending them forth to teach their own nationalities. They would be, in this manner, a favorable influence not only in their own homes, but throughout the country as well. The educated young people would act as intermediaries between English and non-English speaking citizens, thereby making a valuable contribution towards the Canadianization of peoples of their own nationality.⁴¹

Assimilation was not without its hazards, however, as it was hampered by the intrinsic suspicions and prejudices that the foreign-born brought with them from their native land. Dr. Frank Hoffman, a United Church missionary to the Magyars in Saskatchewan, explained this further when he stated that the foreigner had merely been a foster child in his homeland, not being able to vote or play an active role in either church or political life, his only participation being to work, fight, and pay taxes. Suspicion and

⁴⁰SAB, Eleventh Annual Report of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Western Division, 1924, p. 66.

⁴¹SAB, E.H. Oliver Papers, "A Study", p. 116.

prejudice against authority developed in these former circumstances and this, according to home missionaries, hampered both the Canadianization and Christianization processes. Dr. Hoffman believed that it "takes time, patience and steady work, brotherly attitude and faith to turn such individuals into good neighbours, pleasant companions and good Canadian citizens."⁴²

The home missionary was on hand to protect the newcomers against the ever-present agitator of dubious character who would, and did, try to exploit the foreign-born. This exploitation did serve to deepen suspicion against Canadian society in the minds of the newcomers. Also, unscrupulous politicians proved a hindrance to assimilation when, during elections, they promised the foreign-born better, more prosperous futures, only to forget those promises after the ballot was cast.⁴³

The home missionaries were, therefore, forced to adopt two distinct methods of Canadianizing and Christianizing the foreign-born. The first was a purely evangelical method, one that judged the success of these churches by the number of converts they secured, either new Christians or those coaxed away from other denominations. The second method

⁴²SAB, Frank Hoffman Papers, "The work of the Church in Saskatchewan", p. 38-39.

⁴³Ibid., p. 39.

was, as A.J. Hunter, editor of the Ukrainian newspaper The Canadian Ranok, stated:

that represented by our hospitals, school homes, social settlements and so forth, which aims at the production of a Christian and brotherly relationship between the races and is not primarily concerned with adding members to our own Communion.⁴⁴

This second approach gained support from established society, both religious and political. Hospitals dealing primarily with the foreign-born were built and administered by church organizations. Nurses provided service both in the hospitals and in the homes of the immigrants, bringing with them not only medical care, but goodwill and community spirit as well. In order to support the educational needs of the foreign-born, school-homes and adult night classes were established for the purpose of teaching the newcomers the English language and to instill within them the values, morals, and customs of existing society. The socialization process was also very important. Social settlements were established at various locations throughout Saskatchewan, usually near the heart of non-Anglo-Saxon communities. The administrators of these settlements were fully trained in both social and religious work, and provided a wide range of services to the foreign-born. Services such as night classes, kindergartens, clubs, summer camps, visiting,

⁴⁴SAB, A.J. Hunter, Reflections on the Hungarian Situation (Saskatoon: United Church of Canada, 1926), p. 1.

social services, Sunday Schools, and Sunday services⁴⁵ were designed to aid in the Canadianization and Christianization of immigrants from Continental Europe. It was a prime example of applied Christianity.⁴⁶

⁴⁵SAB, Pamphlet on Home Missions, (Saskatoon: Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1929), p. 3.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 5.

Chapter 2

Colonization, Accommodation, and the Social Gospel

The first few decades of the twentieth century witnessed a rapid growth in Protestant home missionary work. Missionary societies moved into new areas, local missionary work was expanded, new departments and colonization programs were introduced, and home missionaries traversed hundreds of miles in order to both evangelize and Canadianize the New Canadians. Missionary work became a series of intricate, intertwined societies and departments, made up of both sexes and all age groups.

In response to the large numbers of immigrants entering Canada after the turn of the century, Protestant home missionaries devised a system that provided service to the immigrants from the moment they entered Canada. The department organized for this purpose was called the Department of the Stranger. Organization took place in 1911 under the direction of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, with the Women's Home Missionary Society as auxiliary. In 1920, the Methodist Church of Canada followed suit with the establishment of the Methodist Department of the Stranger.¹ Both departments would, upon church union in 1925, come under the direction of the United Church of Canada.

¹ISAB, The United Church of Canada Year Book, 1929, p. 123.

The Department of the Stranger encompassed two major fields of mission work: immigration and migration. From the beginning home missionaries connected with the department had two purposes in mind. First, the department was charged with the task of keeping in touch with European members of the Presbyterian Church who immigrated to Canada and, second, of preserving church membership by keeping track of members who, for one reason or another, found it necessary to move about from city to city, or congregation to congregation.² The department wanted to establish a national network that would enable them to keep in touch with all immigrants and, in particular, Presbyterian and Methodist immigrants who entered Canada. The main objective of stranger work was enhancing and promoting spiritual development. However, home mission chaplains often found themselves involved in tasks of a more earthly nature such as finding living accommodations or jobs for the immigrants.

Home mission contact with the potential New Canadians began through a church representative who was stationed in Europe and whose task it was to communicate with intending immigrants. This representative supplied future Canadians with valuable information about Canadian life, both religious and secular, in preparation for their future life

²SAB, The Story of Our Missions, 1915 (Toronto: Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1915), p. 217.

in Canada.³

First contact with immigrants within Canada occurred at Eastern and Central Canadian ports. Under the direction of the Department of the Stranger, missionary chaplains were stationed at Halifax, Saint John, Quebec, and Montreal. The chaplains were responsible for welcoming the immigrants to Canada, and demographic information such as numbers of immigrants, ages, nationality, and denomination was gathered in order to ensure a speedy transition from ship to shore. For example, in 1926, Reverend S.S. Thompson, the United Church chaplain at Halifax, reported 225 vessels landing at Halifax during the previous year. They came from such places as Liverpool, Glasgow, and other European ports, carrying 1,602 Presbyterians, 350 Methodists, 24 Baptists, and 6,355 members of other Protestant denominations representing twenty-three different nationalities. The report also stated that during 1925 at all ports of entry, the names of 10,554 British immigrants along with the names of 8,415 continental Protestants were forwarded to the main office of the Department of the Stranger. This number, along with the names of 679 migrants, meant that the department had been ready to assume responsibility for a total of 19,648 immigrants.⁴

³SAB, Acts and Proceedings of the 51st General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 3-9, 1925, p. 17.

⁴SAB, The United Church of Canada Year Book, 1926, p. 340.

The majority of immigrants intending to settle in Western Canada were directed by the port chaplains to Winnipeg, which acted as the main distribution point in Western Canada. After spending a certain time in specially equipped immigration halls, the newcomers were shuffled off to various parts of Western Canada for homesteading. Most of the settlers going through Winnipeg were of European origin. In 1926, Reverend G.F. McCullagh, the United Church chaplain at Winnipeg, reported 1,750 immigrants from England, 372 from Scotland, 149 from Ireland, and 2,742 from Europe. Immigration Hall No. 2., for non-English-speaking people, had a daily average of sixty-one immigrants.⁵ Similarly, in 1929, Reverend McCullagh reported that of the 165,000 people coming to Canada in that year, 63,000 had passed through Winnipeg, the majority of whom were non-English-speaking immigrants. The number temporarily housed in immigration halls averaged 253 per day. Home missionaries at this stage of colonization were kept busy giving information and answering questions about Canada, and finding relief for needy cases.⁶

With immigration increasing into Canada after 1925, the Department of the Stranger experienced a pressing need for expansion. Beginning with a handful of workers in 1911, by 1928 the nation-wide organization accommodated approximately

⁵Ibid., p. 340-341.

⁶Ibid., 1930, p. 168.

twenty-five hundred volunteer workers, many of whom represented the various Women's Missionary Societies across Canada. Their task was, for the most part, in serving

the thousands of strangers coming to our [Canadian] shores, or moving among them in adventures in health, education, friendship and employment, striving to keep them in sympathy with the Church in their new home.⁷

It was estimated in 1928 that the department's relatively small salaried staff of twelve could use their resources to reach as many as 25,000 immigrants, while the much larger body of volunteer workers could conceivably reach up to 75,000 immigrants. With this in mind, the department believed the doors of the churches could be opened to upwards of 100,000 people.⁸

To obtain this goal, every auxiliary of the Women's Missionary Society elected a stranger's secretary. It was the duty of this secretary, either alone or with a committee chosen from the congregation, to co-operate with the minister in providing services and hospitality to the immigrants. Because of the evangelical character of the department, migrants needed to be kept track of. These migrants or removals were those who changed residences frequently after their arrival in Canada. The stranger's secretary took on this responsibility. The greatest fear of the Home Mission Department was that, if they lost track of

⁷Ibid., 1928, p. 332.

⁸Ibid.

the transients, a significant percentage of them would be lost to the church. When a member of the church moved, his name and new address were sent to the main office in Toronto, which, in turn, would relay this information to the minister at the new location. It was then up to the stranger's secretary in the new congregation to welcome the newcomer and ensure that he became a part of the church community.⁹

The immigrants were classified into three categories: satisfactory returns, unsatisfactory returns, and the unreported. Satisfactory returns were those who had been visited by representatives of a congregation and had been welcomed to a home church. In contrast, unsatisfactory returns were those who were not located, either because of wrong addresses or because those notified did not make the call before the parties had moved on from a temporary address. Finally, the unreported were simply those whose names had been forwarded to ministers at the supposed destination, but from whom no reply was received.¹⁰ Success of this policy can be measured by examining the numbers of migrants reported over the years. In 1914 there were 214 satisfactory returns reported, and by 1921 that number had grown to 1,614, representing an increase of almost 1400

⁹SAB, Acts and Proceedings of the 48th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 7-15, 1922, p. 16.

¹⁰Ibid., June 6-14, 1917, p. 8.

people during a period of seven years.¹¹

This national network of settling immigrants and locating migrants was seen as a necessary prelude to the evangelical goals of the church because it provided an opportunity for follow-up work in order to keep the immigrants within the church, and to promote good Canadian citizenship. The follow-up would include such humanitarian impulses as visiting patients in hospitals, teaching English to newcomers, and neighborhood and shut-in visiting.¹² Although annual reports dutifully reported the success of the Department of the Stranger in settling and locating immigrants, church officials expressed concern about the neglect in reporting removals. Many were convinced that through "this neglect the Church is losing thousands of members."¹³ This demonstrated that the department may not have been as positive about success as the reports indicated.

Not all missionary colonization programs were carried on only under the direction of the churches, however. One of the most striking examples of immigration and colonization work during the 1920's was carried on by Dr.

¹¹Ibid., June 6-14, 1917, p. 8. and June 7-15, 1922, p. 16.

¹²SAB, The United Church of Canada Year Book, 1930, p. 213.

¹³SAB, Acts and Proceedings of the 43rd General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, June 6-14, 1917, p. 8.

Frank Hoffman. A Hungarian by birth, Dr. Hoffman had émigrated to Canada after the First World War and, after obtaining a degree in Theology, became a United Church home missionary in Saskatchewan. An extensive education in Theology, Agriculture, and Law made Frank Hoffman a good choice as Western Canadian colonization agent for the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways from October 1925 until November 1927.¹⁴ During these two years Dr. Hoffman, as issuing officer, worked in such countries as Serbia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Roumania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary. Dr. Hoffman interviewed 25,000 persons and eventually sent 17,000 settlers to Canada, thirty percent of whom were Hungarians [Magyars], and most of whom would, in due course, end up in Western Canada. During this time he collected approximately 10,000 photographs of immigrants along with pertinent demographic information for future reference.¹⁵

Prospective immigrants were subject to strict screening procedures. Frank Hoffman chose strong, hardy men because he did not like to see "men unfitted to stand the climate here brought out here. He had to have a good chest

¹⁴SAB, W.W. Swanson Papers, "Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, 1930", pp. 109-111.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 116. A very large file containing photographs of the immigrants and all pertinent information is located in the Frank Hoffman papers at the Saskatchewan Archives in Saskatoon. Nationalities represented in the photographs include Czechoslovakians, Germans, Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, and Austrians.

measurement, and fairly broad shoulders and strong and, moreover, he had to be a real peasant."¹⁶ The immigrants' birth certificates, marriage certificates and passports were carefully checked, and the immigrants' religion was ascertained in order that the proper religious authorities could be contacted upon the settlers' arrival in Canada. The future Canadians were also subjected to two medical examinations, one in their country of origin and the second at the port of embarkation.¹⁷ The Hungarians constituted the largest ethnic group selected for emigration to Canada and were, for the most part, slated for settlement in Saskatchewan. Once here, they came under the tutelage of the Hungarian Colonization Board.¹⁸

Dr. Hoffman's career as a United Church home missionary among the Magyars in Saskatchewan spanned three decades. He covered an area comprising sixteen preaching stations "from Regina on the south to Prince Albert on the north and from Lestock on the east to North Battleford on the west."¹⁹ His itinerary carried him a distance of 2,768 miles, stopping at no less than twenty-seven places, not including the dozens of isolated farm houses that required his attention. His

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 128.

¹⁹The United Church Record and Missionary Review, "Helping the New-Comers", July 1930, p. 7.

tenacity and devotion to duty were aptly described by a colleague who wrote:

I can see him now, sitting astride a small pony and riding off into the bushland near Prince Albert. The roads are not yet made. Only trails lead into the new farms where pioneers are pushing back the very fringe of civilization.²⁰

Dr. Hoffman's work amongst the Hungarians developed along three main lines: spiritual, social and patriotic.²¹ Religious attention combined with promoting neighborliness and Canadian nationalism was seen as the ticket to success and became the goal towards which Frank Hoffman strove.

Dr. Hoffman provided a wide range of services to the immigrants mainly because of the isolated conditions in which the immigrants were living. The missionary described his duties best when he wrote:

My work is to locate Magyar-speaking people and those of other nationalities throughout the province, and to establish congregations wherever possible. In addition, I do much social work and act as interpreter for New Canadians in court cases and in business. I visit the prisoners in the gaols and help them after their release. I take sick people to the hospitals or mental asylums.²²

In many instances the congregations that Dr. Hoffman established contained a mixture of denominations. For

²⁰Ibid., "Home Missionaries I Have Met", March 1931, p. 22.

²¹SAB, Frank Hoffman Papers, "United Church of Canada, Hungarian Missions, Brief History of my Field Work, 1920-1945", (Saskatoon, p. 2).

²²The United Church Record and Missionary Review, March 1931, p. 23.

example, at Rothmere, Saskatchewan, a congregation was organized that contained members of the Reformed Church of Hungary, Roman Catholics and Greek Uniates. Surprisingly, this organization did not prove a problem for the immigrants as Dr. Hoffman wrote:

Denominational distinctions do not seem to matter so much up in the bush and in pioneer settlements. It seems so much more necessary to get the Christians together up in those little communities than to divide them by the ecclesiastical distinctions of the more settled districts.²³

As editor of the Hungarian newspaper Az Otthon, Dr. Hoffman provided a periodical that directly addressed the problems of the Hungarian settlers. Printed in the Magyar language, it contained articles on economics, agriculture, horticulture, plant foods, immigration, and cattle and poultry raising. The paper was distributed to the Hungarian population throughout Canada, as well as other lands, thus promoting the ideas of colonization and settlement in Canada.²⁴

Dr. Hoffman was firmly convinced that both the New Canadians already in Canada, and those waiting to emigrate constituted an excellent type of Central European. To help in settling the immigrants he believed that existing organizations should go out of their way to assist the newcomers by extending a cordial welcome and by transmitting

²³Ibid., "Laying Foundations", April 1929, p. 19.

²⁴SAB, Swanson Papers, "Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, 1930", p. 110.

Canadian ideals.²⁵

In order to welcome these immigrants the Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Churches organized local congregational mission circles and mission bands. Whereas the Department of the Stranger had the objective of ensuring that newly arrived immigrants and migrants were placed into congregations, it was the duty of mission circles and bands to welcome these new immigrants and promote the missionary spirit within each congregation. It must be pointed out, however, that this missionary machinery was used for the furtherance of all missionary work in Canada, not just work with the New Canadians. Mission circles consisted of older girls and women who were in sympathy with the aims and objectives of the Women's Missionary Society and, therefore, they were organized into a mission circle under the auspices of the Women's Missionary Society. In contrast, a mission band consisted of groups of children organized under the direction of a superintendent for the purpose of developing and promoting the missionary spirit.²⁶ The active members of mission bands were young, quite often limited to school age; however, honorary members of any sex or age were

²⁵Saskatoon Daily Star, December 10, 1927.

²⁶SAB, The United Church of Canada Year Book, 1926, p. 152.

accepted upon payment of an annual membership fee.²⁷

Most congregations throughout Canada, Newfoundland, and the United Church mission field in Bermuda had either mission circles, bands, or both. By 1929 there were over 1700 mission band leaders registered in these three areas, and although most circles and bands were local organizations, they did possess, to a certain degree, a national, and sometimes international consciousness. Mission bands in all mission fields had the same slogan: "If a thing is worth doing it is worth doing right."²⁸ Perusal of attendance at local mission band meetings in Saskatchewan showed that most bands were relatively small, averaging between four and twenty members depending on the size of the congregation.²⁹

Mission band organization also included a Life Membership Department that was created for the purpose of increasing operating funds over and above the ordinary free-will offerings of the society. For example, in 1920, life memberships ranged from a low of one in areas such as Kamsack and Weyburn, to twenty-three in Moose Jaw, and a high of thirty-one in the larger city of Regina. Total life

²⁷SAB, Presbyterian Church of Canada, "Wolseley: Presbyterian Mission Band Constitution and Minutes, 1896-1900", n.p.

²⁸SAB, United Church of Canada, "Elrose: Records of Mission Bands, 1929-1940", n.p.

²⁹Ibid., n.p.

memberships by 1920 in all of Saskatchewan brought in \$4,025.00 that could be channelled directly into missionary work. The mission bands also had "In Memoriam" memberships that, although utilized by some, were never a major source of funds. Even with this influx of money, however, most church auxiliaries were criticized for not contributing to the Life Membership Department. Throughout 1920, only 70 out of 238 auxiliaries contributed, leaving 168 auxiliaries making no contribution whatever.³⁰ This was cause for concern, as it represented an important, untapped supply of needed missionary funds.

Fund-raising, as with all missionary and philanthropic activities, was a constant affair, and took on, in many instances, some unique forms. For example, on May 12, 1923, at a meeting of the Hearne "Good Cheer" mission band, a motion was made to make candy and sell it as a means of procuring money to pay their share of a missionary's salary. That same year a "Humpty Dumpty" party was held and a total of \$460.00 was raised by the selling of eggs. Also, the mission bands regularly held teas and socials in order to raise missionary funds.³¹

The funds collected were used for a variety of

30SAB, Presbyterian Church of Canada, "Record of Junior Certificates from Mission Bands, 'Report of the Life Membership section for year 1920'", p. 1.

31SAB, Presbyterian Church of Canada, "Hearne Mission Band of the Women's Missionary Society, Recording Secretaries Book, 1925-1935, May 12, and July 10, 1923", n.p.

purposes. Missionary literature was purchased and distributed to the congregations in order to make them more aware of the kind and extent of missionary work being carried out. Money was donated to various relief funds both at home and abroad, and much of it was used to pay missionaries' salaries. Study books were purchased by the Women's Missionary Society and used by the mission bands, and peace and temperance education was taught to its members. The circles and bands provided an opportunity for their members "to express in fellowship and service the world friendship learned through worship and study--namely, in games, handiwork, informal conversation, kindly deeds and gifts."³²

All nationalities were encouraged to join the congregations, and all eligible members of the congregations were encouraged to join the mission circles and bands. Membership fees were reasonable: ten cents annually or five dollars would provide a life membership in a mission band, and an annual fee of twenty-five cents or a lump sum of ten dollars would net you a life membership in a mission circle. The president of the mission circles and the superintendent of the mission bands, combined with the president of the various young women's auxiliaries, the leader of affiliated Canadian Girls in Training groups, and

³²SAB, United Church of Canada, "Elrose: Records of Mission Bands, 1929-1940", n.p.

the superintendent of the baby bands, made up the complete executive of the Women's Missionary Society.³³

Most members of this executive were actively involved in distributing missionary literature. Again, an intricate organization came into being in the form of the Library Department, whose purpose was to furnish the "printed word" where it was needed. For example, the Presbyterian Church's Library Department was described as having three objectives: the distribution of missionary literature in lumber and construction camps in British Columbia and Northern Ontario; the supplying of periodicals to missionaries, doctors, nurses, and most important, to settlers living in isolated areas; and the furnishing of libraries in Sunday Schools, and other educational and medical facilities.³⁴ Presbyteries all over the West were asked to collect and forward books and other reading materials to the Presbyterian school-homes, boarding schools, hospitals, and nursing homes. In 1924 libraries were established at the following places: Assiniboia, Battleford, and Canora School-Homes; Hugh Waddell Memorial Hospital, Canora; Anna Turnbull Memorial Hospital, Wakaw, and the File Hills

³³SAB, The United Church of Canada, The Manual of the Constitution and Government of the Women's Missionary Society Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1928. p. 236.

³⁴SAB, The Story of Our Missions, 1915 (Toronto: Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1915), p. 224.

Boarding School.³⁵

Often, Sunday Schools took it upon their shoulders to supply missionary literature, periodicals and books to new church-operated school-homes on the frontier. One church in the Saskatoon Presbytery is recorded as having mailed monthly magazines to outlying districts as well as distributing literature to hospitals within the city. Similarly, a missionary from the "very lonely place of Meadow Lake" reported that as part of the missionary work in her district, she was distributing magazines.³⁶ In 1924, a travelling library was established for home missionaries and students who had limited access to other sources of missionary literature. Library and literature secretaries were appointed to co-ordinate the activities of the Library Department, and act as liaison between that department and the Women's Missionary Society. The main purpose was to build up interest in missionary work, and, in most instances, favorable reports were received. One literature secretary reported that:

supplies [literature] are being made more use of year by year, and are becoming a real necessity to our W.M.S. and Young People's work, as well as being used in preparing missionary talks in our Sunday Schools, particularly in the remote parts

³⁵SAB, Eleventh Annual Report of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1924, p. 277.

³⁶SAB, 12th Annual Report of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925, p. 81.

of our Province.³⁷

The Library Department and literature distribution developed into a massive operation, with presbyteries all over Canada supplying missionary literature to those most in need of it. In Saskatchewan, the people most targeted for this material were the New Canadians in the school-homes, boarding schools, outpost hospitals, and isolated settlements. It was described as being "one of the most helpful and far-reaching departments of our work in the home land."³⁸

One of the greatest influences on this far-reaching home missionary work, whether it was the national work of the Department of the Stranger or the Library Department, or the local work of the mission circles and bands, was a Christian reform movement known as the social gospel. Originating in the late nineteenth century, the social gospel in Canada was the continuation of a broader European and North American movement to help less fortunate men and women. This was made manifest through the reviving of social welfare programs and other philanthropic agencies whose work was applied to modern, industrial society.

The social gospel took as its premise the fact that Christianity was a social religion. No longer should ministers of the church be concerned only with the

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸ SAB, The Story of Our Missions, p. 224.

individual; instead, the community as a whole needed to be considered. This was not to say, however, that the individual was overlooked. The individual was important, but it was his temporal welfare that social gospellers emphasized. The need to improve existing working and living conditions took on, in many instances, as much importance as the saving of individual souls in preparation for a life after death. Proponents of the social gospel believed that if man's environment was improved, the character of man himself would be improved. The first step towards this goal was the betterment of man's physical well-being. As Richard Allen, a noted Canadian historian and author of the Social Passion, so aptly put it: "It was a call for men to find the meaning of their lives in seeking to realize the Kingdom of God in the very fabric of society."³⁹

During its course of development the social gospel took on a variety of different forms. Radical social gospellers such as J.S. Woodsworth and Dr. Salem Bland perceived abuses within the Methodist Church that forced them to co-operate with non-religious groups in promoting social welfare. Eventually this group became involved with farmer and labor movements and the progressive politics that emerged out of the West.

It was the more conservative social gospellers who

³⁹Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 3-4.

worked within the framework of the church and who, throughout the 1920's, became the leaders of the church-operated social institutions. The desire to improve man's environment, both physically and mentally, was coupled with evangelism. This was clearly evident with the establishment of Sunday Schools in social settlements, and church services performed in mission hospitals and school-homes. This evangelism was less concerned with the theological concept of God, and more concerned with the salvation of man. It concentrated on man's need for repentance and, subsequently, forgiveness. With forgiveness man would live a fuller, Christian life. At the same time, the teaching of the English language and Canadian values to those in need would produce responsible Canadian citizens. Thus, church-operated social institutions would serve a two-fold purpose. Methodism had, by the twentieth century, become the largest Protestant denomination in Canada, and evangelism had become the dominant tendency in Canadian Protestantism.⁴⁰

By 1927 the social gospel as a movement was waning. However, the basic evangelicalism so characteristic of the movement continued to influence religious leaders throughout the country, as evidenced by the statement that:

The Home Missioner labors everywhere and on behalf of all kinds of people. Many of them are highly-trained ministers and settlement workers touching every phase of life. They are evangelists, and circuit riders. They labor among the

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 5.

lumbermen, live with the lonely peoples of the frontier on the fringe of settlement and follow the employees in the construction camps. And behind this sacrificial effort stands the rank and file of the church who give their substance and their prayers to make possible the realization of the Kingdom of God in Canada.⁴¹

It was, in part, the effort to establish the Kingdom of God in Canada that prompted the Protestant Home Missionary Societies to establish mission hospitals for the physical care of the immigrants, and school-homes, social settlements and settlement houses for the purpose of Christianizing, educating and socializing the newcomers. It was through these institutions that home missionaries thought to demonstrate the highest form of Christianity, civilization, and service to the Continental European immigrants.

⁴¹LSAB, The United Church of Canada Year Book, 1928, p. 294.

CHAPTER 3

Medical Mission Work Amongst the New Canadians

Medical mission work was an integral part of the home mission policy of applied Christianity during the early twentieth century. Methodist and Presbyterian home missionaries believed that medical treatment of the foreign-born served three essential purposes that were most valuable in integrating the Continental Europeans into Canadian society. First, medical missions demonstrated to the newcomers that established Anglo-Canadian society was willing to lend a helpful hand in welcoming them, treating their illnesses, and assimilating them. Secondly, treating the sick, injured, and homeless was regarded by home missionaries as simply carrying on the healing work that Christ had practiced during His sojourn on earth. By establishing medical missions, missionaries believed Christ was still carrying on this work through the actions of the doctors and nurses. Lastly, and possibly most important to Anglo-Canadians, medical mission work was regarded as a catalyst that would open and make available to the foreign-born opportunities for further education and socialization to Canadian norms. The medical missions would act as a central point around which all other agents of both Canadianization and Christianization would revolve.

Medical missionaries also had a theological basis on which to justify the operation of the medical missions.

According to the New Testament, disease and sickness did not express God's will, but instead came out of the kingdom of evil and constantly strove against God's divine order. Sickness and disease represented the disharmony and disruption of man's life on earth. In at least two instances Jesus linked the healing of disease with the forgiveness of sins.¹ In treating the sick and injured the mission doctors were fighting against the kingdom of evil and, at the same time, promoting trust and confidence in the foreign-born patients that would, they hoped, lead to assimilation.

The need for medical missionaries among the foreign-born can best be understood in light of the economic and social situation in which the immigrants found themselves upon entering Canada. The majority of Canada's newcomers during the years of increased immigration had been drawn from the peasantry of Europe. Bringing with them very little in the way of material goods these people were, in many instances, pictures of abject poverty. Poverty meant malnutrition and poor living conditions that, in turn, lowered resistance to sickness and disease. Often their first dwelling consisted of no more than a roughly hewn log cabin. Comfort was a luxury that not many could afford. Dr. Frank Hoffman gave evidence of this when he described an original Hungarian homestead during a trip he made to

¹Mark 2:1-12, John 5:1-18.

Norbury District, Saskatchewan, in 1928:

The mother and the grandmother with the help of the children had dug a hole in the ground where they mixed soil with cow manure and plastered with it the outside wall of the two-roomed loghouse.²

Further evidence of the poverty in these rural areas was demonstrated when Dr. Hoffman encountered and conversed with a young woman whose "appearance was very slovenly and the children looked neglected."³

Fact-finding excursions into the foreign-born settlements became commonplace throughout the 1920's. Dr. E.H. Oliver, the principal of St. Andrew's United Church College at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, and Frank Hoffman were among those who spent many days conversing with the immigrants. It was ascertained that the more remote areas of Saskatchewan were not receiving proper missionary treatment, and certainly not enough from the Protestant Churches, whether it be medical care, educational

2SAB, Frank Hoffman Papers. "Excursion to Norbury District," September 1928, p. 7. During this excursion Dr. Hoffman covered the territory between Witchekan Lake and Meadow Lake from September 3, to September 12, 1928. In total he covered approximately 479 miles. He was most concerned with homesteaders of Central European origin, mainly Hungarian, although he did encounter some French settlements. The purpose of this trip was to ascertain the condition of the immigrants and to determine what types of religious direction they were getting, if any. Dr. Hoffman discovered that the Pentecostals and Baptists had been working in that area, although their impact on the settlers was not great.

3Ibid., p. 11.

advantage, or religious instruction. Because of the poor economic conditions and the isolation of the settlers, priority must be given not only to their spiritual and moral salvation, but their physical and mental condition as well. This became increasingly important in the eyes of the home missionaries as the foreign-born population in Western Canada increased. The unorthodox beliefs and manners of the foreign-born settlers posed a threat to the Anglo-Canadian Protestants who, in certain districts, were thought to be "in danger of being absorbed" and "...must be protected."⁴

Medical treatment for Western Canada's new settlers became even more urgent when, during the period of greatest settlement, outbreaks of tuberculosis or white plague occurred among the mixed foreign communities. The young people of all nationalities were often hit the hardest. To contain this contagious disease patients needed to be treated in isolation, thereby extending the need for additional medical facilities, in particular, isolation rooms. Patient records showed that isolation wards were used continually throughout the 1920's. Patients stricken with tuberculosis remained in isolation for anywhere from two days to six months. Very seldom was there not at least one patient in the isolation ward, testifying to the

⁴SAB, A Voice From Wakaw (Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Western Division, 1912), p. 24.

necessity of such additions.⁵ Mission doctors treated such maladies as tubercular disease of the hip joint, severe cases of tubercular glands [often infecting very young patients], and pulmonary tuberculosis.⁶

Tuberculosis, as frequent and severe as it was, was not the only malady that kept doctors busy in the mission hospitals. In 1918 a post-war outbreak of Spanish influenza occurred throughout the province of Saskatchewan. The epidemic reached such proportions that the small communities of Wakaw and Canora experienced over a dozen deaths as a direct result of the flu.⁷ Dr. Robert George Scott, the Presbyterian minister and medical doctor of the Anna Turnbull Hospital at Wakaw, Saskatchewan, testified to the severity of the outbreak in a letter written to Mrs. Kipp, superintendent for medical missions of the United Church of Canada:

The influenza came to Wakaw about three weeks ago, and for a while at first the cases were mild. Then the disease began to spread like a prairie fire, and from all directions came reports of cases. There have been hundreds of cases in the surrounding district. I was called the other day

5SAB, R.G. Scott Papers, "Admission and Patient Records, Anna Turnbull Hospital, Wakaw, Saskatchewan, 1920-1929," n.p.

6SAB, Eleventh Annual Report of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913-1914, p. 25.

7SAB, A Short History of the Wakaw District (Wakaw, Saskatchewan: Wakaw Recorder Publishers, 1932), p. 42.

and found nine children and the mother all down and the father looking after them all. ...You will understand that we have not had much leisure since the epidemic began. ...But really I do not think I have been so busy during the past ten years.⁸

At the height of the epidemic Dr. Scott would leave signed death certificates with the nurses at the hospital before going off on a medical visit to the country settlers. It was the "only thing he could do because the people would come in for death certificates for their dead and he was out looking after the living".⁹ Hospital admission records at this time showed that the hospital was almost always filled to capacity, and many of the worst cases had to be treated in their own homes.¹⁰ The Presbyterian Women's Home Missionary Society documented the severity of the illness in their annual reports. Using more descriptive language to describe death, they commented that many of the stricken "drooped and slipped away like a flower fading before a scorching sun."¹¹ In his correspondence with Mrs. Kipp,

⁸SAB, R.G. Scott Papers, Letter to Mrs. Kipp, November 13, 1918.

⁹SAB, "Interview with Miss Alice Scott (daughter of R.G. Scott), July 18, 1972", by D.H. Bocking, Transcript p. 11.

¹⁰SAB, R.G. Scott Papers, "Admission and Patient Records, Anna Turnbull Hospital, Wakaw, Saskatchewan, 1918-1921."

¹¹SAB, Eleventh Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913-1914, p. 19.

Dr. Scott also documented his encounter and treatment of other serious diseases such as smallpox and diphtheria.¹²

It was a combination of disease, continued immigration into the prairie provinces, and the isolation of the Canadian West that made medical expansion necessary. In many districts the European homesteaders lived miles from the nearest doctor or medical facility; in many areas medical facilities and, therefore, medical assistance, were virtually non-existent, leaving the foreign-born settlers to their own home remedies and ingenuity. With treatment so inaccessible even mild sicknesses or accidents could prove a major problem, sometimes resulting in death. In the early 1920's a survey was taken near Hafford, Saskatchewan, the heart of a large Ukrainian colony. This survey demonstrated that out of 133 patients who had died in a given area only twenty-five had received medical attention, and out of 168 mothers only fifteen received medical assistance upon the birth of their children.¹³ This lack of medical attention naturally resulted in a higher mortality rate among newborns. This was not an isolated case; surveys taken in

¹²SAB, R.G. Scott Papers, Letter to Mrs. Kipp, February 11, 1924.

¹³F.C. Stevenson & Sara Vance, That They May Be One (Toronto: By the Committee on Literature, General Publicity and Missionary Education of the United Church of Canada, 1929), p. 132.

other areas of Saskatchewan showed similar results.

. The dream of medical missions amongst the foreign-born began before the twentieth century, but it was not until the influx of so many Continental Europeans into Saskatchewan that mission hospitals began to sprout up. Originally called "outpost hospitals" because of their location, the vast areas they served, and the fact that they were extensions of the church in the West, these institutions were designed to serve a number of purposes. The most obvious purpose, of course, was medical treatment of the sick and injured. However, mission hospitals were designed to serve both an evangelistic and educational role as well, with the ultimate goal of assimilation and Christianization. The educational role, important though it was, would be regarded as second in importance to the evangelical role throughout the 1920's. The missionary societies of the Protestant Churches entertained a similar belief that these

...services no matter how helpful and philanthropic they may be [must] ...attain to the chief mission of our workers--that of planting Christian thruth [sic] in the heart so that the practical means will lead to the Spiritual end.¹⁴

The Home Mission Department believed that medical missionaries, through their personal devotion to evangelism and as a Christian model to the New Canadians, would show no interest in personal gain of any kind; rather, they would

¹⁴SAB, Pamphlet on Home Missions, p. 7.

strive to use their knowledge as a means of alleviating the pain and suffering of humanity and "using the scientific knowledge of our day as a means by which to preach the gospel to the poor... ."15 Ideally, a medical missionary's work should be:

a direct act of obedience to the mind and purpose of Christ; it is a work of skill and science, undertaken in the love of Christ; it is a center of Christian faith from which proceeds unceasingly the call of the whole Gospel of Christ in most convincing language... .They [Doctors and Nurses] are not substitutes for other Christian workers, they are colleagues and allies. The evangelists, the teachers, the doctors are one team.16

This evangelical purpose of medical missions permeated the thoughts of many writers of the day, and they wrote about it profusely. It was, in effect, a healing ministry. In an article in the United Church Record and Missionary Review, Edward Shillito, M.A. spoke of the role of medical missions in this manner:

Medical missions! The doctors and nurses are missionaries of the Gospel. It is no reduced faith which finds expression in their healing of the sick. It is the full faith of a Christian by which they live and serve; and in the presence of Christ they kneel side by side with evangelists and leaders, and all the company of his servants.17

15The United Church Record and Missionary Review, Edward Shillito, "What Medical Missionaries Are Not", February, 1934, p. 5.

16Ibid., p. 4.

17Ibid.

This Christian attitude was expressed in the daily operation of the medical missions. Mission hospitals needed a constant stream of supplies in order to carry out their daily activities. Bales of clothing for the more destitute patients, food, equipment, beds and bedding, kitchen utensils, and other basic necessities for the smooth running of the hospitals were collected and shipped, under the auspices of the Women's and Home Missionary Societies, to the mission hospitals from all parts of Canada.¹⁸ Through the gifts of such items as shoes, stockings, sweaters, and mittens, the Christian message was delivered to the foreign-born within the reach of the medical missions.

In most instances doctors in charge of the newly established outpost hospitals were not only medically trained, but ordained in the Christian ministry as well. With both professions combined into one, mission doctors could serve a wider variety of needs among the foreign-born. The motto of "live-saving and soul-winning"¹⁹ aptly described the dual purpose of medical missionaries. Their duties included caring for the sick and injured, acting as medical superintendent of the institution, and fulfilling their religious role by conducting church services both in

¹⁸SAB, Tenth Annual Report of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1912-1913, p. 13.

¹⁹SAB, Pamphlet on Home Missions, p. 7.

the mission houses adjacent or attached to the mission hospitals, and in nearby communities.²⁰ The medical missionary was considered the best when he came

nearest to the pattern of Christ, and turns with equal zeal and enthusiasm for thorough work from diseases of the body to the needs of the soul.²¹

Quite often the medical superintendent had either lived among, or had contact with, the foreign-born long enough to become proficient in their major language, as well as acquiring a working knowledge of several others.²² This bridging of the language barrier served the missionary well in many ways. It enabled the doctor-missionary to operate more efficiently among the immigrants, and it provided for a closer relationship between doctor and patient. It would be a sense of closeness and trust that only a common language could promote. Missionary doctors, through dedication to their occupations, endeared themselves to many of the foreign-born and helped to promote the goal of assimilation.

The mission hospital nursing staff, as well, were expected to present a fine example of medical assistance and Christian charity, providing a multitude of services including health care, expressing sympathy to the ill and/or

²⁰SAB, United Church of Canada, "The Historical Record of the Presbytery of Prince Albert, 1929", n. p.

²¹F.C. Stevenson, That They May Be One p. 139.

²²The United Church Record and Missionary Review, "Saskatchewan Conference", November 1928, p. 14.

bereaved, giving advice, and showing friendliness to both the foreign-born patients and their visiting relatives. Nurses accompanying the doctors on their errands of mercy to the nearby farms and settlements became, quite often, sympathetic to the plight of these poor folk. Miss Ruth Jackson, a nurse from Hafford Hospital related her personal feelings towards the foreign settlers when she wrote:

I can't seem to get these people we visited out of my mind. They live so far from everything and everybody, and they don't even speak the same language--one home will be Polish, the next Russian and French, and so on... . I am trying to learn a little of their lingo, but judging by the way the natives laugh when I try it on them I can't be doing very well.²³

It was the philanthropic acts of such dedicated people as Nurse Jackson that led the Board of Home Missions to expect a concrete return on the work of the medical missionaries. Both doctors and nurses were expected to produce results and, for the most part, they were quite successful with those they came into contact with. The good will and Christian brotherhood expressed by the mission hospitals was simply one method of opening up new areas and opportunities for evangelism. It was of prime importance in overcoming language barriers, in breaking down existing prejudices and, of even greater importance, replacing suspicion with friendliness in the foreign-born with the

²³Ibid., June 1926, p. 14.

object of enhancing the assimilation process.²⁴ Medical missionaries believed that foreign-born patients receiving this combination medical-religious treatment would emerge with a clearer sense of what Christianity meant, and they, in turn, would return to their communities and farms carrying with them the same Christian message and spirit that pervaded the mission hospitals. The linking of the medical with the evangelistic made for a more unified Christian service to a people whose religious convictions and manners deviated from Anglo-Saxon norms. What was needed, however, and what was considered the weakest link in the mission chain was follow-up work: to have continued contact with former patients through such organizations as "Sunday Schools, Young People's Clubs, Mission Bands and Mother's Meetings".²⁵ Home missionaries hoped that the availability of doctors and nurses would bring many of the foreign-born into the Christian fold. Once this was done, continued contact with these people was needed in order to keep them.

The first few decades of the twentieth century witnessed the opening of three mission hospitals in the small Saskatchewan communities of Wakaw, Canora, and

²⁴Ibid., "A Good Place For Sick Folk", May 1929, p. 27.

²⁵H.M. Kipp, Our Medical Missions in Canada (Toronto: Literature Department of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1927), p. 4.

Hafford. All three were conveniently located in areas saturated by Continental Europeans. Their main purpose was to deal with the medical problems of the foreign-born. The first hospital, the Anna Turnbull Memorial Hospital, was originally a mission or boarding school for children of the district, the population at that time being mainly Ruthenian and Hungarian, with a sprinkling of Germans, and Americans.²⁶ The Anna Turnbull Hospital can be used as the most striking example of how mission hospitals were run. The range of diseases, treatments, methods of operation, and problems that the hospital encountered were well documented by Dr. Scott. It was originally called the Geneva Mission, so-named because it was situated on the shores of Lake Wakaw which, according to its founders, bore a close resemblance to Lake Geneva in Switzerland. The first missionary-in-charge, Reverend George Arthur, a Presbyterian minister from the maritimes, had prepared himself for missionary work with both theological study and some practical medical training. However, he did not become a medical doctor until some years later.

Throughout the early years of the Geneva Mission, Reverend Arthur was kept busy with a wide range of duties. The lack of professional help, the perpetual shortage of funds and facilities, and the isolated location made this

²⁶The Wakaw Reader, "Anna Turnbull Hospital, 1906-1943." Thursday, October 3, 1946. p. 1.

diversification necessary. Reverend Arthur's home often became a temporary hospital with his wife, a trained nurse, providing care for the sick and injured.²⁷ Because the Geneva Mission acted as a mission before it was a hospital, a school was established in Reverend Arthur's home, with himself as teacher. The pupils, lacking suitable living arrangements, were boarded in the mission house. Through Reverend Arthur's teaching, the children of the foreign-born were given the rudiments of a Christian education and, in many instances, their first exposure to the English language. Although there were a number of Canadian children attending the school, the majority of students consisted of Galicians, Ruthenians [collectively known as Ukrainians], and Hungarians. During his tenure at the Geneva Mission [1903-1908], Reverend Arthur acted as "Minister, Doctor, Postmaster, Teacher, Builder, Magistrate, Clerk of Presbytery, and Miller".²⁸

²⁷SAB, Frederic Passmore, "Methodist Memories of Saskatchewan, 1825-1925," Part II, p. 49. Doctor Arthur completed his medical degree in 1906 and was, subsequently, sent to the Roland M. Boswell Hospital in Vegreville, Alberta, as medical superintendent. The original mission house at Wakaw was a storey and a half high, 36X24 feet with a lean-to, 12X24 feet and this became a center of help for a settlement of newly arrived Europeans within a radius of 30 miles.

²⁸SAB, Scott Papers, Letter from the Anna Turnbull Hospital, n.d., p. 1. As mission work began in Saskatchewan, facilities would constantly be filled. The need for better financing, more room, expanded facilities, and more staff was a common complaint throughout the formative years of medical missions.

Reverend Arthur's success in dealing with the foreign-born and the need for expanded facilities prompted an appeal to the Board of the Women's Home Missionary Society for financial support in the construction of a hospital on the mission site. Support was received and, in 1906, the small hospital was completed. In 1908, after George Arthur was transferred to Alberta, Dr. Scott was appointed medical superintendent of the Geneva Mission and hospital. In 1910 the Geneva Mission became the Anna Turnbull Memorial Hospital, named for one of its generous benefactors. The hospital underwent further renovations in 1912, the foundation of which was an isolation ward that was needed to accommodate an ever-increasing patient load, and in 1928 an operating room was added along with a sterilizer room and an addition to the women's ward. The hospital served a district of some 600 square miles and in excess of 1500 persons. The staff consisted of Dr. Scott and three nurses.²⁹

During the first seven months of operation, from June to December, 1910, the staff of the Anna Turnbull Hospital treated 408 outdoor or office patients, and thirty-six

²⁹SAB, A Short History of The Wakaw District (Wakaw: Recorder Publishers, 1932), pp. 43-44. Doctor Scott continued to practice medicine at Wakaw until August, 1946, when he retired. He died in October of that year, one day short of his eightieth birthday.

indoor or hospitalized patients, twenty-eight of whom were of Continental European origin.³⁰ Because of the financial situation of the foreign-born, the majority were forced to rely on charity treatment from the mission hospital. Of the 408 patients treated, 278 were charity cases; also, twenty-six of the thirty-six patients requiring hospitalization relied on Christian charity for their treatment.³¹ Church policy required those with financial means to pay their own hospital expenses; however, those patients lacking the financial means were not turned away. To refuse people simply because of their inability to pay would not have helped the missionary cause, as the original purpose of the mission hospitals was to alleviate suffering and promote Christianity. Often the more destitute, of whom there were many, found other quite ingenious ways of paying expenses. Expenses included medicines and, if hospitalized, a fee of \$1.50 per day per patient. One elderly woman walked four miles to the hospital for a tin of ointment, gathering sticks along the way and bundling them for presentation to the missionary as fuel in payment for the medication.³² Other patients would pay in different ways with meat, wood,

³⁰SAB, Eighth Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1910-1911, p. 27.

³¹Ibid.

³²SAB, Pamphlet on Home Missions, p. 7.

grain, or labor.³³ Annual reports demonstrated that during the early years of the hospital, charity patients doubled and sometimes trebled the number of paying patients. For example, in 1913, 671 charity patients were treated along with 308 paying patients. In 1914 Dr. Scott treated 551 charity patients and 225 paying patients and, in 1915, 550 charity patients were treated as opposed to 262 paying patients.³⁴

With such a large percentage of patients relying on charity, how did these outpost hospitals survive financially? Medical missions received funding from various sources. Municipalities supported them financially in recognition of their service among the communities and, in particular, in recognition of their service to the new immigrants. Mission hospitals received Provincial Government grants amounting to fifty cents a day per person, but to receive this the hospital needed to contain an isolation ward. The Women's Missionary Society supplemented the hospital's coffers when necessary, and donations of both money and supplies from private individuals and organizations were received. Also, gifts of furniture and supplies from Presbyterian churches across Canada kept costs

. 33SAB, Interview with Miss Alice Scott, July 18, 1972, p. 13.

34SAB, Annual Report of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1913, 1914, 1915.

down.³⁵

As the 1920's approached the average settler began to experience better times. Crops in the Wakaw district were better, yielding a greater amount of wealth. As a result, the number of charity patients declined while those able to pay increased. In fact, many of those who had been in debt to the hospital for a number of years were able to pay off their accounts in full, greatly easing the financial burden on the mission hospital.³⁶ Throughout most of the 1920's the economy of the West was in good shape, and this allowed the farming communities to prosper and grow. The number of charity cases in all mission hospitals decreased so much that missionary annual reports ceased to include these statistics.

From the beginning one of the main objectives was to make the mission hospitals self-supporting. A perusal of the correspondence between Dr. Scott and Mrs. Kipp revealed that the medical missionary was determined to moderate his requests for money from the Women's Missionary Society. In doing so, the doctor would quite often use his own money in making purchases for the hospital. Larger pieces of equipment such as an X-ray outfit, or a washing machine for the laundry room, were purchased with funds raised by the

³⁵SAB, Annual Report of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1914-1915, pp. 35-36.

³⁶SAB, Scott Papers, Letter to Mrs. Kipp, April 23, 1919, p. 2.

hospital and mission, either by holding fund-raising drives or simply by use of the collection plate. For example, in 1919 repairs amounting to \$2,250.00 were made to the hospital; these renovations were completely financed through personal contributions.³⁷ The influx of monies and supplies from various sources combined with prudent spending allowed for the continued operation of the mission hospitals. Also, by limiting requests mission hospitals were more likely to be looked on with favor, and granted financing when it was truly needed.

With the financial affairs in order, Dr. Scott was free to concentrate on both his evangelical and medical duties. He conducted religious services on a fortnightly basis for the Protestant population at Hoodoo, a small community situated approximately fifteen miles from Wakaw.³⁸ He also conducted services Sunday nights at the mission house for students, patients, and whoever else felt the need to attend.³⁹

The doctor's medical responsibilities included making house calls or, in this case, farm calls. Accompanied by a

³⁷SAB, Scott Papers, Letter to Mrs. Kipp, July 28, 1926. Also see Report of the Work of the Anna Turnbull Hospital for the year 1919, p. 1.

³⁸SAB, Seventh Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1909-1910, p. 23.

³⁹SAB, Eighth Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1910-1911, p. 27.

nurse, the doctor, with a horse and buggy in summer and sleigh in winter, would cover a large area ministering to the sick.⁴⁰ He would often receive three or four country calls in twenty-four hours, keeping him up most of the night, and his only sleep would be cat naps on his journey home that were obtained by throwing the reins over his head and letting the horses bring him home.⁴¹ On one trip into the countryside the doctor and nurse drove twenty-six miles in 10 degree below zero weather to care for a woman who could not speak a word of English. The trip was successful and she recovered nicely.⁴²

Study of the admission and patient records of the hospital at Wakaw permitted the classification of patients based on illnesses. The first classification was according to diseases and sicknesses ranging from minor problems such as infected fingers, tonsillitis, and ulcers to the larger, more serious problems of tuberculosis, appendicitis, and chicken pox. Appendicitis, in particular, was a major malady with the foreign-born. These illnesses were medical problems and could be remedied with medical treatment.

The second category, however, reflects a much

⁴⁰Malcolm C. Macdonald, From Lakes to Northern Lights (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1951), p. 105.

⁴¹SAB, Interview with Miss Alice Scott, July 18, 1972, p. 10.

⁴²SAB, The United Church Record and Missionary Review, "School Homes and Hospitals", October 1927, p. 27.

different situation, the problem of proper social conduct. These patients were listed in the patient records as being victims of the "disease" of wife beating, stab wounds, or gunshot wounds. Wife beating, in particular, was most common among the Hungarian and Ukrainian population, and its frequency was a threat to the established Anglo-Canadian concept of the family. In dealing with these problems, medical missionaries were not only medical practitioners, but family counsellors as well.⁴³ To the home missionaries, violent domestic crimes were proof of the deficiencies that were characteristic of the foreign-born. When crimes were reported in the newspapers, the nationality of the suspect or suspects was always made known. For example, in 1923 the Wakaw Recorder described a murder in this manner:

The alleged victim was taken violently ill after supper at home Tuesday night and died a few hours later it is alleged of strychnine poisoning. The husband Yakim Trach, was a man of over 50, while his wife is about seventeen years younger. The figures in the tragedy are Ruthenian.⁴⁴

A Christian, unified family was considered necessary in shaping a civilized society, and was also considered the foundation of democracy. As one United Church minister adamantly stated: "If family life breaks down, national

⁴³SAB, Scott Papers, Admission and Patient Records of the Anna Turnbull Hospital, 1920's.

⁴⁴Wakaw Recorder, October 17, 1923, p.5.

life will crack."⁴⁵ It was, then, necessary to treat family interpersonal crises as seriously as any medical problems that might arise.

Dr. Scott's tenure at the Anna Turnbull Hospital, as did Reverend Arthur's before him, saw him perform such diversified tasks as doctor, minister, administrator, pharmacist, medical health officer for the rural municipalities, local coroner and choir leader; he also shouldered the burden of finding adoptive parents for illegitimate children.

Children always played an important role in the work of the medical missionaries, whether it was finding homes for illegitimate children or the better care and treatment of children not yet born. Maternity care took on increased importance in the 1920's. The high mortality rate in obstetrics became the reason for a "Save the Mother" campaign that quickly gained momentum. The infant mortality rate in Western Canada was highest among the rural and frontier communities; notably those areas containing the largest foreign-born population. United Church pamphlets stated the greatest goal of medical missions in Canada was to make motherhood safer, including better and more spacious

⁴⁵Rev. Hugh Dobson, The Christian Family is Essential to Democracy, to Canadian National Life, and to the Coming Kingdom of God. (Toronto: The Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada. 1940), pps. 8 & 15.

treatment facilities for both mother and child.⁴⁶

Crowded hospital wards increased the need for larger facilities. In hospitals where maternity wards never existed, pressure was applied in order to establish them. Dr. Scott's correspondence with Mrs. Kipp showed that he was always concerned with the increasing numbers of maternity cases at the hospital. In the annual report for 1920 he noted that he treated forty-nine maternity patients that year, describing it as an epidemic. In 1923 he reported treating fifty-seven maternity cases, having up to eight babies in the hospital at one time, and in 1928 over one hundred babies were born in the hospital.⁴⁷ In 1923 an additional baby ward was built onto the Anna Turnbull Hospital. It was such a great convenience that Dr. Scott wrote to Mrs. Kipp: "We wonder now how we ever managed to get along without this added accommodation in the past."⁴⁸

This expanded maternity care, along with better, more modern facilities was a priority among mission hospitals and, considering that foreign-born parents had as many as thirteen to nineteen children, was a welcome development. More children than ever before were being born in the safer,

⁴⁶Mrs. H.M. Kipp, Our Medical Missions in Canada p. 5.

⁴⁷SAB, Scott Papers, Annual Report of the Anna Turnbull Hospital for 1920, p. 3. Also see the report for 1923, p. 1., and the letter concerning the local hospital day at Wakaw on July 18, 1929.

⁴⁸Ibid., 1923, p. 1.

more sanitary conditions of a hospital. With a doctor on hand to oversee the birth, complications proved less disastrous, the infant mortality rate declined, and babies were generally healthier. The addition of maternity wards proved a relief to doctors and nurses as the harsh sound of a half dozen or more crying babies in cramped quarters was not conducive to steady nerves. As Dr. Scott wrote in 1923: "When these all [babies] got tuned up in the morning, there was a chorus that could not be truthfully described as soothing."⁴⁹

Although the work of the medical mission at Wakaw was welcomed by most, there was opposition to it which, by the 1920's, had become very heated. The greatest opposition came from a segment of the Catholic element in society. In 1919 Dr. Scott acknowledged this when he wrote: "There is an element among the German Catholics who are at least unfriendly if not hostile to us."⁵⁰ In 1926 a Catholic hospital was established by the Sisters of St. Elizabeth at Cudworth, Saskatchewan, only eleven miles from Wakaw. Dr. Scott believed the motive of the hospital to be "actively hostile towards ourselves." He concluded that certain Roman

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid., Letter to Mrs. Kipp, April 23, 1919, p. 3.

Catholic leaders wanted to "crowd us off the map."⁵¹ The threat was taken seriously because another fully equipped hospital could conceivably entice foreign-born patients away from the Protestant fold, meaning the loss of evangelistic opportunities and loss of revenue for the hospital and mission collection plates.

The hospital at Cudworth caused much controversy among the citizens and clerics of Wakaw. Most believed that with "the Wakaw hospital, here from the pioneer days, and surely getting the support of the people of the Wakaw district and from the north, and even from the south, the large hospital in Cudworth will be a 'white elephant.'"⁵² The Roman Catholics were directing their efforts towards the same element in society--the foreign-born immigrants--and they had more experience in mission work than the Protestant home missionaries. Loss of revenue could, in its extreme form, lead to the demise of the mission hospitals. In order to keep peace between the two denominations open confrontation was avoided. The Protestant home missionaries believed that silence was the best policy:

It is best not to advertise the fact that some of the R.C.'s are hostile towards us, and I should not want this statement printed, but some of them are very aggressive, and do not let us easily forget the fact. But meantime we should stay here

⁵¹Ibid., Letter to Mrs. Kipp, February 24, 1925, and July 28, 1926.

⁵²Wakaw Recorder, December 8, 1925.

and be as strong as possible.⁵³

This rivalry was a continuation of the rivalry between the Protestant and Catholic churches that had existed for generations. It was not, however, strong enough to bring about the downfall of the Presbyterian and Methodist mission hospitals.

The overall scheme of Canadianization and Christianization of the foreign-born meant that the medical missions also needed to establish a link with education. The doctors and nurses would often take the non-English speaking children into their homes to teach them the English language as well as the customs of Anglo-Canadian society. Attention was naturally focused on the young patients who, in many instances, were eager to learn. So eager, in fact, that learners' classes were established in every mission hospital in the West. Home missionaries believed that this aspect of medical mission work was successful in inspiring the foreign-born to learn more about the country of their adoption.⁵⁴ They were confident that:

Medical mission work never fails, and it opens up a way for other work to follow. In our case it opened up the educational work, which has grown to such an extent during the past two years. We are more than repaid when reports come to us of the

⁵³SAB, Scott Papers, Letter to Mrs. Kipp, July 28, 1926.

⁵⁴SAB, Eleventh Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1913-1914, President's Address, p. 11.

diligence and good behavior of these pupils and of the interest they take in memorizing scripture... Children thus trained will be an influence for good, not only in their own homes, but through-out the country.⁵⁵

Inspired by the success of the Anna Turnbull Hospital at Wakaw, and aware of the urgent need for more and increased hospital facilities, the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church opened a second mission hospital at Canora, Saskatchewan on June 18, 1914. Canora was a preferred site for a mission hospital because of its proximity to a large Ruthenian colony of some thirty thousand people. The Hugh Waddell Memorial Hospital was from the beginning a larger endeavor than the Anna Turnbull Hospital, although the goals and methods were similar. The staff was larger, the hospital contained equipment worth over \$50,000, accommodated sixty patients, and had a land area of ten acres and a nurses' home.⁵⁶

The Hugh Waddell Memorial Hospital experienced the same patterns of diseases and patients as the Anna Turnbull Hospital, treating mostly foreign-born. Charity cases accounted for 90% of the patients treated in the first year

⁵⁵SAB, Tenth Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1912-1913, President's Address, p. 13.

⁵⁶SAB, The Story of Our Missions (Toronto: Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1915), p. 206. Canora's hospital remained a church-run institution until 1944, when it was purchased and taken over by the town of Canora and surrounding municipalities. The ten-acre site for the hospital was donated by a resident of Canora.

of operation, and financing was essentially the same.⁵⁷ The medical institutions were first and foremost mission hospitals with missionary objectives. The primary object was to solve what was perceived as the "foreign problem." This problem, according to home missionaries, was no less than the determination of the quality and character of the future population. With this in mind, the hospital at Canora was the first to enlist the aid of church deaconesses. Founded in 1894 by the Methodist Church, the deaconess order or diaconate were the "footsoldiers of applied Christianity."⁵⁸ They served in institutions across Canada, both medical and educational, as caseworkers, teachers, and nurses. As agents of socialization their main task was to transform the foreign-born into respectable Canadian citizens, concentrating on "the poor, the old and the infirm, women and children."⁵⁹ Miss Jessie Oliver, a deaconess at the Hugh Waddell Memorial Hospital in 1921,

⁵⁷SAB, First Annual Report of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1914-1915, p. 36.

⁵⁸John D. Thomas, "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926", Canadian Historical Review, 65(3), September 1984, p. 371. Deaconesses were spiritual tutors, solving the problem of saving the masses by resolving the masses into individuals, and influencing those individuals by the power of personal effort and love. They served as role models for women, taught children and nursed the sick. By the 1920's Methodists contributed as much as \$75,000 a year to the work of deaconesses.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 374 & 379.

explained her task as "urging a better understanding between the English and non-English people of this new country, and a stronger spirit of the trustfulness which characterizes true Christianity."⁶⁰

The third church-operated hospital was opened by the Methodists in 1923 in the small Ukrainian town of Hafford, Saskatchewan. It was to be the only mission hospital established in Saskatchewan during the 1920's. In 1924, Rev. Arthur Rose, a Methodist missionary and medical doctor, was appointed superintendent of Hafford Hospital. The medical and missionary contribution Dr. Rose made to the foreign-born was substantial. The United Church Record and Missionary Review described it in this manner:

Dr. Rose at Hafford is doing his work with rare devotion and finding the greatest response from a wide constituency... . No better investment could be made in missionary effort. For many years Dr. Rose has served the non-Anglo-Saxon peoples, bringing to his task a well-trained mind, untiring activity and rare skill. His name will stand high among the pioneers of Christian service.⁶¹

⁶⁰SAB, Presbyterian Church of Canada, "Minutes of Saskatoon Presbytery of the Women's Missionary Society, 1914-1926", [Oct. 19, 1921], p. 86.

⁶¹SAB, United Church of Canada, Article on Hafford Hospital, June 6, 1932, p. 1. Dr. Rose remained superintendent of the Hafford Hospital until 1937, when a disagreement between church authorities and himself brought about his resignation. The Hafford Hospital served a community of approximately 6,000 embracing four villages along the Prince Albert-North Battleford line. The entire eastern section, with a population of approximately 4,000 was Ukrainian, with some Poles and Russians. The western section was mainly Anglo-Saxon. [See the United Church Record and Missionary Review, February 1931, p. 17]. The hospital was a two-storey building, accommodating 22 beds,

Hafford hospital was as busy as the previous medical missions. In 1923, 129 indoor patients were treated; in 1924, the number was 244; and in 1925, a total of 366 people visited the hospital. No record was kept of the outdoor patients.⁶²

Throughout the 1920's medical missionaries were devoted to duties that transcended regular hospital work. They took an interest in the health of the students in the schools, they performed community welfare work, dispensary work, and carried on nursing-at-home services to patients too ill to be moved.⁶³ Most importantly, however, medical missionary work was seen as opening the doors through which the evangelists could bring the gospel message to the foreign-born. The Anna Turnbull Hospital contained Bibles that were readily available to all patients and translated into English, French, German, Hungarian, and Ruthenian.⁶⁴

As for the success or failure of the medical missions, most of the evaluative statements in this chapter are from the home missionaries. The missionaries, because the hospital reports were public documents, concentrated on the successes of the medical missions, and this is the body of

and had a staff of five registered nurses.

⁶²The New Outlook, "Saskatchewan and the United Church," March 31, 1926, p. 20.

⁶³Ibid., February 11, 1934, p. 7.

⁶⁴SAB, Scott Papers, Letter to Mrs. Kipp, November 30, 1917.

evaluative opinion upon which the historian has to rely. The Home Mission Department was quick to report successes, and pointed out that they often received letters "from many who have come to the [medical] mission for help. It made us feel that although the work has been strenuous, it has been well worth doing."⁶⁵

Throughout the 1920's the medical missions were filled to capacity, precipitating the need for constant expansion. This indicated that the medical missions were successful in attracting the foreign-born to their doors. In most instances, however, this was probably because the isolated settlers frequented the nearest medical facility, and not because of its denominational tone.

There is little evidence of the evangelistic success of the medical missionaries. Many of the patients treated at the medical missions were Catholics, and little is said about the numbers who may have been converted to Protestantism. In fact, there is more evidence to suggest that home missionaries were more intent on setting an example of Christian brotherhood than on trying to convert the patients from one denomination to another.

There are only a few isolated instances in which members of the foreign-born communities openly expressed their views on the medical missions. These views were

⁶⁵Ibid., Report of the Anna Turnbull Hospital for 1929, p. 1.

relayed by the medical missionary to the Home Mission Department and, therefore, they express a positive outlook towards the medical missions. One of these is the testimony of an old Ruthenian woman who when mistakenly asked by Dr. Scott if she was from Turkey replied: "well I guess dat here in Canada all vee are good Canadians."⁶⁶ Another patient, after being discharged from the Anna Turnbull Hospital, dedicated a poem to Dr. Scott. It began:

I was in for thirty days, But I was cured very
nice: For which I thank to God first; And to them
of course...Anna Turnbull Hospital, It is honey
for sick men, And Dr. Scott is a man, looking
after best he can... .⁶⁷

These examples, however, only attested to the medical value of the mission hospital, and did not sufficiently represent the foreign-born client group as a whole.

The medical missionaries had long-term goals which, they believed, were designed to make this life on earth better, cleaner, safer, and happier. This included looking after both the physical and spiritual side of man. United Church home missionaries were confident that:

Each Christian hospital should be a centre of health that educates the community it serves. Its influence must permeate the community as a whole and be manifest in clean streets, a pure water supply, better sanitation and cleaner habits- wherever there is a church its members should lead in the endeavour to make the health enterprise

⁶⁶Ibid., Letter from Dr. Scott to his wife, November 8, 1908.

⁶⁷SAB, Scott Papers, Letter to Mrs. Kipp, April 18, 1920.

thoroughly Christian in spirit.⁶⁸

⁶⁸Kenneth J. Beaton, Growing With the Years (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1950), p. 76.

CHAPTER 4

Education of the New Canadians

The desire for successful Canadianization and Christianization of the foreign-born in Saskatchewan, prompted the missionary societies to assume an approach that would influence every facet of human existence, whether it be medical treatment, socialization or education. All three of these Canadianization agents, their methods and goals, were linked in such a way as to be, in many instances, virtually indistinguishable. Mission hospitals contained educational and religious facilities, and mission school-homes contained provisions for both socialization and evangelism. Educating the newly arrived immigrants became an integral part of the assimilation process. The Methodist and Presbyterian home missionaries concentrated their efforts on two groups: the native population in Saskatchewan and, after immigration increased from Europe, the Continental Europeans. Home missionaries believed that the foreign-born must become responsible Canadian citizens and this could only be done through the teaching of Anglo-Canadian customs, traditions, values and, most importantly, the English language.

The first schools in Western Canada dated back to the early nineteenth century and were, for the most part, established under the initiative of the early church missionaries. The province of Manitoba, before 1870, was

part of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in Rupert's Land, and became home to the first institutions of elementary education in the West. As early as 1819 a Roman Catholic mission school was established at Saint Boniface. Similarly, in 1820 the Reverend John West founded a mission school at St. John, Manitoba, for the purpose of providing an education to the children of both the Selkirk Settlement and the Hudson's Bay Company employees. It was from these small beginnings that educational institutions spread all over the West. The advance of settlement and, in particular the settlement of Continental Europeans, increased home mission commitment to the field of education.¹

Official government intervention in the field of education began in the 1870's when the concept of public schools began to take root. Around 1880 steps were taken to provide public schools with financial assistance from the government, school districts were organized and, by 1886, the school system in parts of the Canadian North West was operational.² Throughout the early twentieth century both the public school system and the system of church-operated schools grew rapidly. Political and religious leaders

¹N.F. Black, History of Saskatchewan and the Old North West (Regina: North West Historical Company, 1913), p. 561. For another interesting account of education in Saskatchewan see Harold W. Foght, Ph. D., A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan (Regina: J.W. Reid, King's Printer, 1918).

²Black, History of Saskatchewan, p. 563.

shared traditional views that co-operation between church and state was necessary in order to deal with the New Canadians who "were regarded as threats to the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Millenium.³

In order to combat this perceived threat, Protestant denominations established a comprehensive support system designed to supply mission fields with educational literature, and to enlighten both English and non-English-speaking Canadians. The Forward Movement of the Presbyterian Church in Canada was inaugurated in 1918 and had as one of its resolutions the aim of educating the presbyteries of the church to the so-called crisis of the foreign-born. Members of the Forward Movement began an all-out campaign to educate the Anglo-Canadian church member on the educational work, based on surveys, that was needed in the foreign settlements. They also campaigned to enlist new recruits in this endeavor.⁴ Also, Young People's Missionary Societies became more actively involved in missionary work, promoting such things as reading contests, reading clubs, and the selling of missionary books.

³Raymond Huel, "Pastor vs. Politicians: The Reverend Murdock MacKinnon and Premier Walter Scott's Amendment to the School Act", Saskatchewan History, 32(2), 1979, p. 61.

⁴SAB, The Forward Movement of the Presbyterian Church in Canada: Its Origin and Aim. Resolution of General Assembly 1918, pp. 1-4. The Forward Movement had other objectives such as securing candidates for the ministry, financial objectives for the maintenance of the church, and to generally promote the Christian spirit.

Educational lantern slides were produced and distributed along with missionary lectures to the various mission fields, summer schools, and Sunday Schools. Missionary literature and program material was supplied to the school-homes and a number of missionary textbooks were published. The Young People's Missionary Education League provided a plethora of missionary literature that reached all organizations throughout the church,⁵ and provided the basis of missionary work for decades to come.

By 1921 the need for English language instruction among the foreign-born was becoming more apparent. Statistical information, for example, demonstrated that in Saskatchewan, 12.22 percent of the Hungarian population ten years of age or older were unable to speak English. Saskatchewan possessed the highest percentage of non-English-speaking Hungarians in Canada at this time. Similarly, 14.72 percent of adult Rumanians in Saskatchewan lacked sufficient use of the English language. The most noticeable, however, were the Ukrainians with 27.62 percent of adults possessing little knowledge of the English language.⁶ Statistics such as these were taken very seriously by political and religious leaders alike, and provided the impetus for the educational movement of the home missionaries. The public

⁵ SAB, F.C. Stephenson, The United Church: Ten Years of Union, 1925-1935, (Toronto: Young People's Missionary Education League, 1935), p. 1.

⁶ Canada Year Book, 1926, Table 44, p. 132.

school system, with its teaching of the English language, needed to be expanded to include these nationalities, and the Protestant home missionaries saw this as an opportunity to participate in both Canadianizing and Christianizing the foreign-born.

The school and the education derived from it were inextricably linked with Canadianism and Anglo-Canadian culture. Schools, whether denominational or sectarian, promoted cultural conformity which became not only a regional, but national concern as well. Anglicization of these people was synonymous with both nationalism and good Canadian citizenship. In his short but explicit book The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan, Principal Edmund H. Oliver summarized what he believed to be the most important factor in developing good Canadian citizens. In it he stated:

The citizenship of our country and the interests of our citizens themselves, both now and in the future, alike demand that every pupil in this Province shall receive an adequate education and a thorough knowledge of the English language.⁷

According to Oliver, the existence of public schools in Western Canada was the manifestation of a policy of Canadian nationalism. He adamantly stated that it "is the function

⁷E.H. Oliver, The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan (Regina: Saskatchewan Public Education League, 1915), p. 3.

of our Public Schools to make Canadians."⁸

Canadianization through education, although important, was only part of the home mission scheme. The missionaries also believed in Christianization through education. It was often stated that "in education lay the only sure highway to evangelism, ..."⁹ Educational evangelism was considered to be the most important "feeder" for the church. It was believed that a complete program of Christian instruction directed at the children of the foreign-born would bring many of them into the church as mature, Christian members.¹⁰ In order to evangelize the foreign-born, communication lines needed to be opened. This entailed the teaching of English to the adults via night schools in social settlements and settlement houses and, more importantly, to the children through the system of public schools. Anglo-Canadians believed that knowledge of the English language was essential in promoting a sense of unity throughout the country. Once the newcomers had a firm grasp of the English language it would be easier to impart to them other qualities that were conducive to rapid assimilation.

There were, however, obstacles to assimilation that,

⁸Ibid., p. 5.

⁹SAB, The Story of Our Missions (Toronto: The Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1915), p. 208.

¹⁰Charles B. Templeton, The Church and its Evangelistic Task (Toronto: The Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada, 1952), p. 5.

prompted by settlement patterns, provided a challenge to the home missionaries. The main obstacle was the formation of block settlements that, by their very nature, were perceived as impeding the progress of education and, hence, Canadianization. Block settlements were, at their extreme, closed communities within which certain nationalities would practice their own religion, culture, and language, with minimal influence from the outside world. Settlements were established by many nationalities including Germans, Ukrainians [Ruthenians], and Doukhobors. Also, a number of large Mennonite settlements were established in various areas of Saskatchewan.

Mennonite colonists settled vast areas in Southwestern and Central Saskatchewan. Villages by the dozens were established, all recognizable by their traditional names. In the area south of Swift Current villages such as Rosenhof, Reinfeld, Blumenhof, Schoenfeld and Springfield dotted the countryside. These were independent communities whose existence successfully implanted both the German language and the Mennonite heritage into this area of Saskatchewan. It would, in fact, affect the nature of local culture for decades to come. Further north, near Warman and Hague, like-named villages such as Blumenheim, Reinland, Blumenthal, and Schoenweise provided shelter for Mennonite colonists. In total over thirty Mennonite villages made their appearance during this time, and although not all of

these villages were considered by missionaries to be detrimental to the proper education of Canadian citizens, enough of them were to merit serious attention from both political and religious leaders.

Those considered the greatest threat to assimilation were the Mennonite Old Colonists [those who maintained and practiced the strictest of Mennonite beliefs]. They retained the right, by law, to establish their own educational institutions in the colony, and the educational curriculum in these villages was limited to reading, using only German textbooks, and the Bible. Promoting godliness seemed to be their main concern, and emphasis was placed on spiritual concerns such as hymn singing and prayer. In many instances the foreign-born were accused of practicing improper methods of hygiene, manners, and morals. What Protestant home missionaries most feared was that the Mennonite Old Colonists were opposed to the idea of public schools that, they [Mennonites] strongly believed, would inevitably bring about the destruction and dissolution of the settlement.¹¹

Chief among the criticisms of the Mennonite settlements was inadequate training of the teachers. Many of the Mennonite teachers could neither speak nor understand the English language and, at times, professed little inclination

¹¹Leonard Bercuson, "Education in the Block Settlements of Western Canada", M.A. Thesis, McGill, 1941, p. 15.

to learn. Students attending these private schools were taught very little Canadian history, geography, civics, or literature, all of which were considered necessary tools in the process of assimilation. Both political and religious leaders believed that:

it is the proper thing, and the right thing, for every student to know his own land first, and to know its history thoroughly. ...It is necessary to know what motives prompted the men who fought for freedom and liberty of ideas in the past in order to realize how Canada has grown to be what she is today. ...A sound knowledge of one's own country is the best possible equipment for a citizen...
.12

It was believed that the best method of teaching the foreign-born children was to teach them English using English-speaking teachers. Bilingual Mennonite teachers who used the native German language as a means by which to teach the English language were not considered sufficient.

J.T.M. Anderson, an inspector of schools in Saskatchewan and later Conservative premier of the province from 1929 to 1934, and E.H. Oliver were particularly vociferous in their attacks on foreign teachers. Both men were prominent members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In Anderson's book The Education of the New Canadian, he cited this example of a foreign-born teacher:

His knowledge of English was very poor, as may be seen from the following sentences [sic] and when addressing his pupils: "How many is your feets? I see today a horses. How many is your head? What that is?" and so on. It was pointed out to the

¹²Wakaw Recorder, June 7, 1927.

trustees that the children would never make much progress under such a teacher, ...¹³

Anderson was a strict promoter of Anglo-Canadian culture; to him, the teaching of English to the foreign-born was of primary importance in developing acceptable Canadian citizens. Ethnic groups must be assimilated for Canada to become truly united and strong. "Teachers," he exhorted:

this is the kind of work required of you in the foreign-settlements. You must get acquainted with these people of diverse nationalities and interpret to them what our Canadian citizenship means. The solution of the racial problem lies almost wholly in your hands; the future of our glorious country largely depends upon your attitude on this national issue.¹⁴

J.T.M. Anderson's views on race and nationality were typically "nativist." This nativist or "anti-foreign" sentiment ranged from an extreme fear of absorption by Continental Europeans to a less severe suspicion of the immigrants' manners, customs, and habits. Nativists believed that Canadian life should be patterned after the British model. Anglo-conformity was necessary to the proper development of Canadian society, and if the immigrants would not conform to this society they should be excluded from entrance to Canada. English Canadians believed that their superior Anglo-Saxon culture and Protestant ideals should determine the character of the West. For example, in 1928,

¹³J.T.M. Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1918), p. 108.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 135.

R.B. Bennett, the Conservative leader of the opposition, expounded the principles of nativism in a speech to the House of Commons. He stated:

... These people [Continental Europeans] have made excellent settlers: ... but it cannot be that we must draw upon them to shape our civilization. We must maintain that measure of British civilization which will enable us to assimilate these people to British institutions, rather than assimilate our civilization to theirs.¹⁵

E.H. Oliver was equally outspoken in his analysis of foreign-born teachers, and the effect they had on the students, the colony, and the goal of producing Canadian citizens. Like Anderson, he believed that knowledge of the English language was the key to successful Canadianization of the different nationalities. Failure to accomplish this, he believed, would result in the establishment of "little Hungaries, little Polands, and little Bohemias" throughout the Canadian West.¹⁶ After one of his many fact-finding missions in which he visited 13 schools in the Mennonite districts he wrote:

Not a teacher knows English well enough to teach if he would. Not a single teacher among the 32 possesses any professional qualifications

¹⁵R.B. Bennett, House of Commons Debates, June 7, 1928, pp. 3925-3927. For a more complete discussion on the ideas of nativism see Howard Palmer's, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation, R.D. Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1982), pp.123-138.

¹⁶SAB, E.H. Oliver, The Challenge and Contribution of the New Canadians (Saskatoon, 1920, p. 3.)

whatever. ... So through seven years they (students) go from October 15th to seeding and again for one month in summer ignorant of the facts of Canadian history, untouched by the loftiness of Canadian ideals and taught that the English language will only make it easier to lapse into the great world of sin outside the Mennonite communities.¹⁷

This same attitude was expressed to the people of Saskatchewan through editorials written in the local newspapers. In Prince Albert, The Daily Herald editorialized:

...the Mennonites desire to educate their children solely in the German language and to devote a great deal of the time of the school hours to the propagation of their peculiar religious beliefs....It is questionable whether a country like Canada desires to cultivate sect peculiarities as the Mennonites particularly desire to perpetuate.¹⁸

One of the problems encountered by the advocates of Anglo-conformity was that the more highly trained English-speaking teachers were reluctant to teach in the colonies. They were required to reside in the colonies while they were teaching, and this proved distasteful to many who did not want to get that close to the foreign-born. Consequently, very few English-speaking teachers volunteered to teach in the settlements. This lack of purely English-speaking teachers meant that, according to the home missionaries, less desirable bilingual teachers dominated the teaching staff in the colonies.

¹⁷E.H. Oliver, The Country School, p. 7-8.

¹⁸Prince Albert Daily Herald, May 8, 1920.

Lack of properly trained teachers was not the only criticism of the Mennonite colonies. Community leaders were dismayed that privately run Mennonite schools remained outside of organized school districts and were free from the responsibility of paying school taxes. This confirmed to the staunch supporters of assimilation that the foreign settlements were backward and unproductive in their educational outlook and, at the same time, demonstrated a clear lack of civic duty by not shouldering their share of the tax burden.¹⁹

Similarly, Doukhobor block settlements were regarded as impeding the educational process in the province. As with the Mennonites their private schools on the settlements concentrated mostly on religious instruction, mainly in their mother-tongue, and little regard was given to Canadian ideals and institutions. Northeastern Saskatchewan was the settling place for most Doukhobors. Two large colonies existed, one about seventy-five miles north of Yorkton and the other south of Prince Albert, both comprising about 270,480 acres of land.²⁰ The Doukhobors were classified into two groups: the Community Doukhobors who were the strict, almost unassimilable Doukhobors, and the Independent Doukhobors who were more relaxed in their views of community

¹⁹E.H. Oliver, The Country School, p. 8.

²⁰Lydia E. Gruchy, The Doukhobors in Canada (Toronto: Committee on Literature, Board of Home Missions, United Church of Canada, 1927) pp. 26-27.

and were perceived as more easily assimilable.

The Community Doukhobors' manner of living was probably the most unorthodox and threatening of the 1920's. Church leaders were aghast at the practice of Doukhobors performing their own marriage ceremonies but taking no formal steps to legalize them. Also, they resisted public schools for fear that the newly educated youngsters would be lured into the big cities where corruption awaited. Similarly, the education process did not prepare the young Doukhobor woman to assume her rightful place in the home.²¹ In other words, a public school education would break up the farming community which was the basis of Doukhobor life and necessary for the survival of the settlement.

It was the Doukhobors' idea of communal living that posed the greatest threat to the process of Canadianization. Peter Veregin, founder of the Doukhobor colony at Veregin, Saskatchewan, admitted that Doukhobor colonies existed in a state of Communism. He stated that their lifestyle was "communistic in a sense, but it is peaceful Communism, a positive Communism, based on religion. It is a Communism for all humanity, a true brotherhood."²² An admission such as this would do little to better relations between the Doukhobor colonists and home missionaries whose goal was to perpetuate ideas of democracy throughout Canada. The

²¹Ibid., p. 43.

²²Wakaw Recorder, October 4, 1927.

communal lifestyle on the colony posed a direct threat to assimilation and Anglo-conformity.

Many of the Doukhobors, however, believed they posed no threat to established Anglo-Canadian society, and that the authorities were reacting to a threat that never existed. Peter G. Makaroff, a Doukhobor who practiced law in Saskatoon, assured Saskatchewan citizens that the young Canadians of Russian extraction appreciated the merits of the British Constitution, British justice and fair play. He added that "no one need feel any concern for Canada and British institutions no matter how many Central Europeans came to this country."²³

In many instances, however, these words fell on deaf ears. The promoters of assimilation feared that these unorthodox lifestyles would hasten the spread of other sectarian influences such as Bolshevism. The Doukhobors and other Continental Europeans, because of their nationality, their place of origin, and events in Europe after 1917, came under suspicion of subversion. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia overthrew the government of Czar Nicholas II and installed in its place a government controlled by Bolsheviks that was ideologically the antithesis of western democracy. The Bolshevik doctrine of promoting revolution throughout the globe spread terror and suspicion throughout the West, and Canada was no exception.

²³Saskatoon Daily Star, September 2, 1926.

For example, in 1919 the Winnipeg General Strike effectively stopped all essential services within the city. Headlines in American newspapers blamed the Communists for the strike, and the One Big Union in that city was definitely interpreted as a Marxist creation.²⁴ Throughout June of 1919 the Manitoba Free Press published scathing articles concerning the necessity of denaturalizing enemy aliens and foreigners, and such phrases as "... for the purpose of converting Canada to Bolshevism..." and "... to establish Soviet rule in the Dominion of Canada,..."²⁵ were commonplace. It was this vision of Bolshevik subversives lurking in doorways that put all foreigners under suspicion, in particular, immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. The peaceful communal lifestyle of the Doukhobors was, according to promoters of assimilation, just as threatening to democracy and Canadian nationalism as the Bolshevik threat of revolution.

Dr. E.H. Oliver, possibly the most prolific Presbyterian and, after 1925, United Church author of the early twentieth century, often demonstrated this fear of Bolshevism. In his book The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan, he stated that the Independent Doukhobors have thrown off the shackles of

²⁴D.J. Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), p. 89.

²⁵Manitoba Free Press, June 4 and June 23, 1919.

Communism,²⁶ but the mere fact that he mentioned it demonstrated his great fear of it. According to men like Oliver, Communism destroyed everything that was considered right in family relationships, and political and religious life. This attitude was typical of Presbyterian and United Church thought as witnessed in the May 21, 1925 edition of the Presbyterian Witness:

The great conspiracy affects everyone. Its aim, everywhere, is the forcible seizure of power, by any and all means, ... the forcible moral and intellectual corruption of all children, male and female, ... the destruction of religion and the church, in short, the extinction of Western civilization and all its traditions, ...²⁷

In keeping with this theme, Dr. Frank Hoffman continually cautioned Canadians about the spread of Bolshevism. At a trade council meeting in Saskatoon on February 15, 1923, Hoffman warned: "if anything is needed in Canada today it is Canadianism, and not Bolshevism. ... Bolshevism is a Russian specialty and has no place outside of Russia."²⁸

For Hoffman, the goal of developing good Canadian citizens through education was the highest priority. Educating the New Canadians would serve a variety of purposes. It would instill pure Christian values into their manner of life which was, in itself, antithetical to

²⁶E.H. Oliver. The Country School, p. 14.

²⁷The Presbyterian Witness, May 21, 1925, p. 2.

²⁸Saskatoon Star, Feb. 15, 1923.

Communist doctrine. Also, and possibly most important to the future of Canadian society, an educated foreign population would prove more resistant towards the paganizing and secularizing influence of Bolshevism.

Rev. James Robertson, home mission superintendent of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, had earlier summed up the anxiety caused by the alien population, especially those in large settlements "where", he wrote, "they will remain undigested, unassimilated, a foreign, unsympathetic, unhealthy element in our body politic."²⁹ These vast colonies of foreigners established and maintained ethnic and religious differences that were considered detrimental to the Anglo-Canadian lifestyle. The very concept of assimilation meant that these differences needed to be bridged, and eventually overcome. Home missionaries believed these differences could be obliterated through a continuing process of Christian education. It would not stop at that, however; the next and final step towards assimilation would be through intermarriage, for it was believed that those who marry outside their ethnic circle contributed to the weakening of that circle and, ultimately, to its destruction.³⁰ In other words, mixed marriages would

²⁹SAB, Acts and Proceedings, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Home Mission Committee, Western Section, 1903-4," p. 5.

³⁰Julius Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation: The Blending of Immigrant Heritages in America (New York: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1920), p. 87.

hasten the process of assimilation by breaking down those groups' opposition to the process.

The method and form of Christian education the Presbyterian, Methodist, and United Church opted for was designed both to socialize and educate the children of the foreign-born. Educating the adult population was considered less important because older people were more set in their ways and harder to reach. Home missionaries truly believed that the "nation's greatest asset is the child and the Church's greatest privilege is his care and culture".³¹ The New Canadians were considered to have a responsibility and an obligation to Canadianize and, therefore, fit into Canadian society. Also, home missionaries believed that Canadians, too, had an obligation to teach and Canadianize the foreign-born; ideally, it would be a reciprocal arrangement. The belief was that Canadian ideals, values, and morals must be instilled within the young people before they could take their place in society as true Canadian citizens, and the Presbyterian Church of Canada thought that Presbyterian school-homes were the answer.

These homes were originally modelled after the Presbyterian residential and day school for French-Canadian girls at Pointe-aux-Trembles, Quebec, and the Methodist

³¹SAB, Reverend Colin G. Young, School Homes: A Fruitful Investment (Committee of the Forward Movement of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1924), p. 2.

school-home for Ruthenian children at Wahstao, Alberta. It was within these two institutions that "educational facilities were placed within the reach of many who could pay but little; and here the poor had the Gospel preached to them."³² The first Presbyterian school-homes were established in Teulon, Manitoba, and Vegreville, Alberta, and they served as prototypes for all other Presbyterian school-homes in Western Canada.

School-homes were originally directed at Christianizing and Canadianizing the largest ethnic group of foreign-born in Western Canada, the Ukrainians [Ruthenians]. The concept was actually quite simple. A "Home" was provided for the Ruthenian children near an educational center. Foreign-born children from frontier settlements would live in the home where religious and moral instruction would be provided. The homes would provide a model for Christian living. The state, at the same time, would provide the education with a curriculum that was based on the public or high school system. The church provided the Christian environment and the state provided the education.³³ Again, the goals of citizenship and national unity were at the forefront of the school-homes. Reverend Colin G. Young, the district

³²SAB, One Great Fellowship: A Record of Service and Sacrifice on the Home Mission Fields of the United Church of Canada in 1933 (Board of Home Missions, United Church of Canada, 1933), p. 36.

³³Colin G Young, School Homes: A Fruitful Investment p. 2.

superintendent of home missions for Northern Saskatchewan in the 1920's, stated:

The Church must co-operate with the state in training cultured Christian citizens. With a citizenship of this type, the foreign problem disappears and the unity of the nation is assured.³⁴

The need for institutions such as school-homes took on a greater importance as the twentieth century moved into its third decade. The vast expanse of the Saskatchewan countryside meant that there was a shortage of educational facilities for hundreds of miles outside the major centers. A home mission report for 1929, using North Battleford as an example, reported that:

For one hundred and fifty miles north and one hundred miles East and West there are no high schools. More families have moved into that district in the last two or three years than in the previous fifteen years. There are more than one hundred school districts where no religious service of any kind is held and thousands of children are growing up with no religious training from any church.³⁵

The school-homes had three main purposes: to help students with school work, including language instruction;

³⁴Ibid., p. 4.

³⁵SAB, Pamphlet on Home Missions, p.5. The report goes on to state that although there were more centers for high school work south of North Battleford, students were forced to leave home and find refuge in cheap, sometimes unsanitary boarding rooms. They were obviously stressing the need for more school-homes that would provide better living conditions. Unsanitary living conditions, although everywhere a problem, were a more urgent problem in the larger cities because of the slums that developed. Home missionary treatment of the foreign-born differed in the large cities from the rural areas primarily because of the slums.

to promote health both in body and mind, and to build a fine Christian character.³⁶ Of secondary importance, but still crucial to the purpose of school-homes, was instruction in proper home life and care, training in accepted social manners, instruction in maintaining personal appearance and hygiene, and supervised study hours. Also regular church and Sunday School attendance was required of the students. The overall aim, according to the home missionaries, was "to give young people the best possible start in life, that they may get the most out of it themselves and render the best service to their Church, their country and the world".³⁷ Assimilation and integration into Canadian society were the main ideas. The successful end product would be a young, knowledgeable, Christian citizen.

The first Saskatchewan school-home was established at Canora in 1917, although before this the hospital at Wakaw had made provisions for educational instruction to the children of the foreign-born. The Nisbet School-Home in Prince Albert was established shortly afterward in 1918. The 1920's, however, witnessed an escalation in this type of missionary work with the opening of a succession of school-homes in Battleford in 1920, the Yorkton School-Home for

³⁶Ibid., p. 5.

³⁷SAB, The Corridor of Time: A History of the Saskatchewan Conference Branch of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1905-1961 (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1965), p. 56.

boys in 1921, and the Assiniboia School-Home for girls in 1924,³⁸ all under the direction of the Home Mission Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The school-homes at Canora and Wakaw existed in conjunction with a medical mission and were expected to provide a model social and moral environment for the newly educated Ruthenian youth to carry back with them to their respective settlements.³⁹ Aspirations for the homes were high. Home missionaries were convinced that if administered properly these institutions would produce not only good Canadian citizens, but also religious leaders as well; they, in turn, would carry the Christian ministry to foreign settlements throughout Canada.⁴⁰

In analyzing the goals and methods of Presbyterian school-homes in Saskatchewan, the Nisbet School-Home can be

³⁸The United Church Record and Missionary Review, "School Homes in Saskatchewan", May 1930, p. 27. The majority of school-homes in Saskatchewan were established to serve the needs of the foreign-born. The Assiniboia School Home for girls, however, mainly housed Canadian girls. In this case school curriculum differed as there was no need for English language instruction. Also, treatment in the home differed, although the element of Christian teaching remained the same.

³⁹Michael Owen, "Keeping Canada God's Country: Presbyterian School-Homes for Ruthenian Children," in Prairie Spirit: Perspective on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West Dennis L. Butcher, Catharine Macdonald, Margaret E. McPherson, Raymond R. Smith, and A. McKibbin Watts, editors, (Manitoba: The University of Manitoba Press, 1985), p. 196.

⁴⁰The United Church Record and Missionary Review, "School Homes and Home Schools", October 1925, p. 14.

used as an example. The building, located on 20th Street West in Prince Albert, was presented to the Presbyterian Church by Mrs. Belle Nisbet, wife of R.A. Nisbet, founder of the home, and came under the direction of the Home Mission Board. This institution was originally intended for Ukrainian [Ruthenian] children from the outlying districts. However, between 1918 and 1929 over three hundred boys representing ten different nationalities including Norwegian, Swedish, Swiss, Anglo-Saxon and, of course, Ukrainian, passed through the school-home.⁴¹ Despite the diverse traits, traditions, customs, and languages in the home at one time, the boys were generally able to get along. In fact, perusal of the Nisbet School-Home annual reports during the 1920's indicated very little personality clashes that would lead to any form of dissension or fighting. The co-operative atmosphere in the home was attributed to the goal of the home missionaries, which was to keep "the atmosphere of the Home as home-like as possible-the spirit and atmosphere of a good Canadian, Christian home."⁴²

The annual reports of the Nisbet School-Home read like

⁴¹SAB, The Historical Record of the Presbytery of Prince Albert, (Prince Albert, 1929), p. 1.

⁴²SAB, Sixth Annual Report of the Nisbet School Home, Session 1923-1924, (Prince Albert, 1924), p. 1. Any problems between students or students and missionaries may not have been published for fear that the school-homes' reputation may suffer. Annual reports were unlikely to carry bad news; however, given the limited size of school-homes, and the fact that most students were Ruthenian, serious problems were not likely to arise.

a real success story. Academically, the boys were portrayed as successful and eager to learn, most of them being promoted from year to year. In fact, the Ukrainians, in general, were portrayed as being especially eager to learn the English language and Canadian ways. The reports tell of students winning scholarships for their academic prowess, and engaging in debates and other forms of public speaking.

Academic enrichment was only part of the complete program offered by the school-homes. The students were also encouraged to develop physically, socially, and religiously. The physical well-being of the student was looked after through such sports as hockey in the winter, and baseball and basketball in the summer. During organized sports games team-play and co-operation were constantly stressed. Home missionaries believed that it was on the playing fields, basketball courts, and ice rinks that the foreign-born students were given self-confidence, and trained "to act on their own judgement and to work together, not each for his own selfish advancement but for the success of the team."⁴³ Socially, the boys were encouraged to organize social evenings at which they were taught to act the perfect gentleman at all times.

This educational, physical, and social dimension was complemented by constant emphasis on religious training. Everything the students did or were exposed to was based on

⁴³The Missionary Messenger, Oct. 1916, p. 273.

Christian principles and "the life of Jesus was ever held up to them as the most perfect pattern to follow".⁴⁴ Weekly Bible classes were held in which hundreds of Bible verses were committed to memory. In addition, prizes were awarded for proficiency in such areas as education, public speaking, farm machinery, team games, physical competitions such as running, jumping and throwing, refereeing, world brotherhood, and Bible study.⁴⁵

The school-homes were most concerned about establishing contact with the foreign-born at an early, impressionable age. Dr. Arnold, a Presbyterian home missionary, believed that to properly mold these young people into responsible Canadian citizens what "we must look for here is, ... first, religious and moral principle; second, gentlemanly conduct; and third intellectual ability.⁴⁶ He felt sure that the children, if contacted early enough, could be molded into any one, or all of these categories.

The Presbyterian ministers in charge of the school-homes greatly influenced the direction and character of the home. These men would, throughout the course of their

⁴⁴SAB, Seventh Annual Report of the Nisbet School Home, 1924-1925 (Prince Albert, 1925), p. 4. Games such as Hockey, Baseball and Basketball were the games that were played by the Anglo-Canadian children in the educational institutions. Because of this it was quite natural for them to be learned and played by the foreign-born children as well.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁶Ibid., Eleventh Annual Report, 1928-1929 p. 5.

superintendency, instill their own characters into the very fibre of the home. Reverend W.A. Macdonall, principal of the Nisbet Memorial School-Home in the 1920's, was a good example of this. He believed the school-home system to be one of the wisest ever undertaken by the Presbyterian Church. "The School," he stressed, "makes possible the development of fine qualities of citizenship and of Christian character."⁴⁷ His duty was not only to provide religious instruction, but also to act as a role-model in fine Canadian citizenship.

School-homes did play a role in educating and socializing children of the foreign-born. Their goals were well-defined and those they came into contact with were favorably influenced. However, a major stumbling block that constantly plagued missionary school-homes was the lack of facilities and space. The Battleford School-Home was the largest school-home in Saskatchewan with a capacity of ninety students. Later, the capacity was expanded, but it never contained more than 105 to 110 students at any one time. The Nisbet and Assiniboia School-Homes were somewhat smaller, accommodating approximately thirty students. These were the homes that were established in areas containing thousands of newly settled Ruthenians. The question needs to be asked- Were they large enough and numerous enough to

⁴⁷The United Church Record and Missionary Review, "Home Missionaries I Have Met", May 1931, p. 22.

significantly affect the ethnic character of these areas?

According to Presbyterian home missionaries the school-homes were successful. It is true that there was never a shortage of boarders for the homes, although because of such limited space this is not adequate proof of the overall popularity of the homes. The Missionary Monthly did, however, editorialize about the favorable reception the foreign-born gave school-homes by stating that "...the foreigners themselves are growing more and more appreciative of what is being done for their children. ... Parents are... anxious to have the care of cultured Christian women."⁴⁸ By 1930, plans were unfolding to establish additional school-homes in Shaunavon, Eastend, Swift Current, and Saskatoon.⁴⁹

The published annual reports of the missionary societies took great pride in relating school-home success stories to their readers. This, however, only gave the opinion of the assimilators, and, as with the medical missions, the opinion of the foreign-born as a client group was not adequately represented in the reports. Only a number of isolated, individual accounts of foreign-born success are presented in the reports. For example, the

⁴⁸Missionary Monthly, January 1918, p. 3.

⁴⁹The United Church Record and Missionary Review, May 1930, p. 27. For the resolution on establishing a school home in Saskatoon for New Canadian girls see the Minutes of the Saskatoon Presbytery, October 11, 1923, p. 2. There was, at this time, no supervised accommodation for New Canadian girls in the city.

report for 1924-1925 related the story of an Icelandic boy who had graduated from the Yorkton School-Home, and became a teacher in his own district. In relating his life after the Yorkton School-Home the graduate wrote: "All my life I will look back at being one of the Hartley boys."⁵⁰ Home missionaries throughout the 1920's extolled the advantages of being a school-home graduate, often stating that "scores of them [foreign-born graduates] have now grown up and most of them are leaders in their communities."⁵¹ However, the opinions of these foreign-born leaders were not documented in any source. School-homes were considered by most Presbyterian home missionaries to be the most effective way of providing Christian leadership for the non-Anglo-Saxon. Within these homes the mingling of Anglo-Saxon with non-Anglo-Saxon was encouraged as:

the free mingling of young people from all racial groups affords the greatest possible Canadianizing influence. The divisions of the Old World will be forgotten in the camaraderie of the New, and friendships will be formed leaving behind all distinctions of race.⁵²

Reverend G.W. Kirby, principal of Mount Royal College in Calgary, addressed a convention in Saskatoon in 1920

⁵⁰SAB, The 101st Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1924-25, p. 23. Reverend J.C. Hartley was in charge of the Yorkton School Home in the 1920's.

⁵¹SAB, The United Church of Canada Year Book 1927, p. 118.

⁵²The United Church of Canada Year Book, 1926, p. 350.

affirming this principle when he stated that: "We must quit rearing Germans and Austrians and rear 100 percent Canadians."⁵³ Kirby was convinced that if home missionaries could get near enough to the Canadian children, the face of Canada could be changed in one generation.

The school-homes did offer access to educational facilities for many of the Ruthenian children, and some of the graduates did eventually become ministers, teachers and outstanding members of the community. It is unlikely, however, that the homes successfully transformed the Ukrainian culture in the Canadian West. As Dr. Michael Owen suggests in his article on Presbyterian school-homes, the foreign-born were more likely to have sent their children to the homes in order to take advantage of a public school education than out of a desire to receive the religious education or cultural assimilation offered at the homes.⁵⁴ Also, school-homes were too few and the Ukrainian population was too large to effect much of a change. It would not be until later with the full extension of the public school system in the 1930's and, of course, the element of time that the process of assimilation would accelerate.

⁵³Saskatoon Daily Star, February 27, 1920.

⁵⁴Owen, "Keeping Canada God's Country," p. 200.

Chapter 5

Socialization of the New Canadians

The Protestant home missionaries' concept of applied Christianity was not complete with mission hospitals and school-homes. Institutions that concentrated on socializing the foreign-born immigrants were established to complement both medical treatment and education. This program was implemented through such institutions as settlement houses, social settlements, summer schools, and summer camps. The main purpose of these institutions was maintaining the home missionary goal of transforming the European immigrants into good Christian, Canadian citizens. As with the school-homes and hospitals, Canadian norms would be imparted to those whose traditions differed from established society. The social settlements would serve, for the home missionaries, as the main agents of socialization. They were church-created community service institutions, providing a center of sympathy, help, hope, and instruction to the foreign-born newcomers.

The concept of settlement houses was originally an English phenomenon that was transported to the United States and, thence, to Canada. They were concentrated in large cities, and were primarily directed against the problem of urban poverty. The growth of slums with their accompanying filth, squalor, poverty, and despair provided a focal point upon which urban reformers were to concentrate. New methods

needed to be devised to combat this growing urban disease. Some missionaries believed that working with the poor, in particular with the children of the poor, provided the best opportunity for reform. This, combined with a sincere desire to bring about major social changes in the urban environment provided the main impetus for reform. Problems such as poor housing, unemployment, and lack of education were inseparable from a growing urban environment. Settlement houses were established in order to improve conditions in the slums. Most often, these neighborhoods were populated by newly arrived immigrants. The settlement house became a "social center, school, homemaking class, kindergarten, play and recreation center, and an informal housing and employment bureau."¹

By 1920, social settlements were established in various locations throughout Canada. Settlement houses such as Chalmers House, Montreal; St. Columba House, Pointe St. Charles, Montreal; St. Christopher House, Toronto; Robertson Memorial Institute, Winnipeg; and the Vancouver Community House were constructed and strategically placed in the most densely populated areas. For example, St. Christopher House in Toronto was placed in an area that represented twenty-eight different nationalities and served, in a single year of operation, 660 families amounting to over three thousand

¹Allen Freeman Davis, Foreword by Richard C. Wade Spearheads for Reform (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. viii.

individuals.²

In Saskatchewan, social settlements were established by Presbyterian and Methodist home missionaries, and conveniently placed in areas that were most heavily populated by foreign-born immigrants. One noticeable difference between the two areas of Canada, however, was that the two largest cities in Saskatchewan, Regina and Saskatoon, were not nearly as large as the Central Canadian cities of Toronto and Montreal or, for that matter, the burgeoning city of Vancouver, British Columbia. For example, in 1921, Toronto's total population was 521,893; Montreal was even larger at 618,506; and Vancouver's population at this time was 117,217. In contrast, the population of Saskatoon was a mere 25,739, and Regina's population, although higher, was still only 34,432.³ This vast difference in population meant that although the settlement houses on the prairies were established for the same purposes as those in Central Canada, the emphasis and sense of urgency would differ because the poor areas in Regina and Saskatoon were much smaller than the slums of Toronto and Montreal.

In Saskatchewan, the greatest percentage of the population was located in the rural farming areas.

²The Presbyterian and Westminister, Frank Yeigh "Our Social Settlements", March 4, 1920, p. 240-241.

³Sixth Census of Canada (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1921), Vol. 2, Population, 1921, p. 66.

Increased immigration into Saskatchewan combined with the purposeful directing of immigrant groups into certain areas by the Federal Government, resulted in the establishment of large foreign-born settlements. The development of these communities meant that there were larger concentrations of foreign-born immigrants in the rural communities than in the cities. It was for this reason that social settlements were established near the small centers of Wakaw, Calder, Canora, Insinger, and Hafford.

In accordance with social gospel thought, it was believed that the settlement houses and the social settlements could, in fact, help to change man's environment by providing a model Christian, Canadian environment within which the non-Anglo-Saxon could learn proper Anglo-Canadian customs and norms. It was an attempt to establish the "Kingdom of God" on earth. The home missionaries' supreme desire was to

make the whole community a little more like heaven than it has ever been before-to help in the realization of the prayer, 'Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, in Calder as it is in heaven.⁴

It is obvious from this quote that Protestant home missionaries believed foreign settlements such as the Ruthenian colony at Calder needed the most attention.

⁴United Church Record and Missionary Review, Denzil G. Ridout, "Home Missionaries I Have Met", January 1931, p. 19. For a comprehensive history of the social gospel movement in Canada see Richard Allen's The Social Passion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

Because of the nature of the locations, foreign-born immigrants in the rural areas were treated differently from those in the cities. Settlement houses in the urban centers were primarily directed at reducing the impact of growing slum areas, and fighting the crime that was associated with, and often perpetuated by, poverty. Foreign-born children were considered more susceptible to the evils of city life because they inhabited the slums, and the slums were considered the breeding grounds for crime. The settlement houses did, however, attempt to provide opportunities for the youth of the foreign-born to receive an education, both religious and secular, in order to transform them into good citizens.

In contrast, social settlements in the rural areas were not as concerned with the growth of slums and the influence of crime. Poverty and crime did exist, but not with the same intensity as in the cities, and the missionaries in rural Saskatchewan had more time to concentrate on the basics of Canadianization and Christianization through education and socialization:

Its [social settlement's] aim to make true Canadians out of all who may come within its influence, regardless of race or creed, with a primary emphasis on the development of Christian character, makes such an Institution truly Christ-like in its ideals and service.⁵

In Western Canada the settlement house had its

⁵The Presbyterian and Westminister, March 4, 1920, p. 240.

beginnings in the All People's Mission at Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1911. This mission was designed to provide a variety of services to the foreign-born, all directed towards integrating and assimilating the newcomer into Anglo-Canadian society. J. S. Woodsworth, a Methodist minister and founder of the All People's Mission, believed that it was the city itself that menaced modern civilization. According to Woodsworth, the city has

replaced simplicity, industrial freedom, and equality of fortune with complexity, dependence, poverty and misery, close besides a barbaric luxury like unto that of ancient Rome. Vice, crime and disease have come in. The death rate has increased, while infectious diseases and infant mortality ravage the crowded quarters. The city has destroyed the home, and substituted for it the hotel, flat, tenement, boarding house, and cheap lodging house.⁶

In Saskatchewan, the settlement house at Regina that was established in 1916 was based on J.S. Woodsworth's ideas of social reform and assimilation. In fact, acting on the direct advice of Woodsworth, a two-storey house was rented in the foreign section of Regina, and aptly named Settlement House. At the time of opening it was estimated there were

⁶J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1911), p. 23. Settlement houses were also established in the larger centers of Vancouver and Toronto, both of which were based on the same foundations as the mission in Winnipeg. This was to promote the overall welfare of the people living in the poor sections of the city, and also to improve living conditions within the city. For a complete account of J.S. Woodsworth's ideas on urban reform see J.S. Woodsworth's My Neighbor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972). Also, a good biography of Woodsworth is contained in Kenneth McNaught's A Prophet in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

between five and seven thousand immigrants in the Eastern section of the city from almost every country in Continental Europe, speaking up to twenty-three different languages. In this area eight different churches were represented: Russian, Roumanian, Serbian, Greek Orthodox, Serbian Nazarene, Seventh-day Adventists, German Lutheran, and a Jewish Synagogue. Also, the Roman Catholic Church was active in this area of Regina.⁷

Home missionaries believed that these various denominations had failed in their attempt at interpreting Christian ways to the foreign-born. They had also failed in their attempt at raising the immigrants' moral standards. The immigrants had not been taught the ways of honesty that were so important in promoting a stable family and community life. Protestant home missionaries believed that the foreign-born came to the West as strangers in need of a real friend both to aid in the assimilation process, and to protect the newcomer from unscrupulous men who would exploit them.⁸ It was the social settlements and the settlement houses that, according to home missionaries, were designed to rectify these failures.

⁷SAB, Mrs. J.H. Laird, The Story of Settlement House, Regina, Saskatchewan, (Moose Jaw: The United Church of Canada, 1932), p. 1.

⁸SAB, Saskatchewan Conference Branch of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, May 18, 1926-September 14, 1930. "Address of Miss Nellie Forman of Regina Settlement House," p. 4.

Settlement House was to be a "House by the side of the Road." It would be a community mission where people of all nationalities would feel welcome, and no one would be turned away. The missionary in charge would live in the mission from which he or she would conduct missionary work. The missionary would act as an interpreter of Canada to the New Canadians, the ultimate goal being to produce Christian Canadians. Miss Nellie Forman was the first resident missionary, and she continued in this position throughout the 1920's. Settlement House was a controlled missionary venture. Furnishings such as furniture, bedding, and linen were received from various women's auxiliaries and church circles throughout Saskatchewan. Administration was by a committee called the Board of Control of Settlement House, and this, in turn, was under the control of the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada [Saskatchewan Branch].⁹

With the large number of nationalities represented in the foreign section of Regina, the home missionaries

⁹Ibid., p. 2. Miss Nellie Forman served in the position of resident missionary at Settlement House, Regina, from its inception until June 1, 1929 when, due to family reasons, she retired. Because of the overcrowded conditions a new Settlement House was built and dedicated on Sunday, October 23, 1927. It cost approximately \$22,000, of which a grant of \$18,000 was received from the Home Missions Board, and \$4,000 was received from the sale of a house on Victoria Avenue. In June of 1929, the mission was taken over by the Home Mission Board and ceased to be a W.M.S. mission. In 1931, Reverend J.T. Stevens, a worker of several years' experience at Calder, was transferred to Regina and put in charge of Settlement House.

considered their tasks of Canadianizing and Christianizing to be enormous. However, reports of the work of Settlement House throughout the 1920's were usually favorable. On August 25, 1926, Miss Forman spoke of everyday life at Settlement House when she stated: "Glad days and sad days, comedy and tragedy are the sum of it, but from the contact splendid Christian Canadian citizens are being developed."¹⁰ Throughout the 1920's Settlement House gained a reputation as being "a house of many nations" where such nationalities as Roumanians, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Danes, Bohemians, and many others found what home missionaries described as a "common footing as Canadians."¹¹

This so-called common footing was the result of missionary intervention in almost all facets of human life. The worker at Settlement House attempted to reach all members of the family group, regardless of age. Education, as in the mission hospitals and school-homes, was of prime importance in bringing Canada to the newcomers. To begin with, a night school for adults was held twice a week with the primary object of teaching them the English language. The school was divided into three classes based on the degree of education needed. The first class was a basic

¹⁰SAB, Scrapbook of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1926-1938 (Saskatchewan Conference), August 25, 1926.

¹¹The United Church Record and Missionary Review, Kenneth D. Miller, "Ukrainians Turning to the Gospel." February, 1928, p. 14.

course directed at those with absolutely no knowledge of English. In this course the Eaton's catalogue was used as one of the textbooks: the abundance of pictures made learning English easier. The second or intermediate class was for those who could speak English fairly well, but could not read or write; and the third or advanced class was for those who wanted more advanced instruction in such subjects as grammar, composition, spelling, and Canadian history. Classes were taught by volunteers, many of whom were public school teachers, and attendance was reported to be good.¹²

Night classes became so popular that every corner of Settlement House was utilized. One visitor to the school reported:

One class was being held in the kitchen, where a small blackboard had been installed; another class occupied the parlor; another the dining room, and one bright young man was receiving lessons in Canadian civics and geography, in a small den, his teacher being a young man from the first class Normal.¹³

Night schools such as the one at Settlement House were considered one of the most important steps in Canadianization. J.T.M. Anderson believed that schools such as this should be established in "every village, town and city in our province where there is a large non-English

¹²SAB, Mrs. J.H. Laird, The Story of Settlement House, p. 2.

¹³Regina Leader, February 11, 1919.

element."¹⁴ According to Anderson it was the responsibility of Canadians to provide this service to the newcomers.

It was also the responsibility of mission workers to accommodate the needs of young girls aged ten to fourteen. A kitchen-garden class was held, in which the girls were taught the basics of housekeeping and sewing. These classes were primarily directed at young women in order to promote skills that home missionaries believed would reinforce the accepted role of women in society. The mastery of these skills would, according to home missionaries, strengthen family life. This was an important concept as a stable family was considered the very foundation of Anglo-Canadian society.¹⁵

The older, married women were given considerable attention at Settlement House. One afternoon a week was set aside for mother's meetings. These were informal gatherings at which both established and New Canadian women met and discussed points of interest. These points of interest were initiated by the Canadian women and, not surprisingly, concerned issues that promoted proper Canadianization; topics such as religion, early marriages, cooking, and customs were discussed.¹⁶ These meetings promoted and

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵SAB, Mrs. J.H. Laird, The Story of Settlement House, p. 3.

¹⁶Ibid.

carried on activities such as making quilts, sewing for the needy, and working for the Red Cross.

The resident missionary at Settlement House was in continual contact with the foreign-born by visiting their homes and helping the people through difficult situations in order to assist them in adapting to life in a new land. The missionary encountered a variety of situations ranging from the less extreme such as teaching the New Canadians "how to can fruit" and helping them to choose "a dress from a mail order catalogue," to the more extreme problems of "runaway daughters" and "a man deserting his wife and family." There were "folk to be comforted in times of bereavement; folk needing jobs; and sometimes folk wanting to know more about the way of life."¹⁷

One example of the extent to which the missionary went in helping the immigrants was the case of a man who deserted his wife and family. Since he had fled to the United States the police in Canada could do nothing about it. Miss Forman wrote an explanatory letter to the mayor of the U.S. city the man fled to. A few weeks later a reply was received stating that the man had been "up" in court, and from that time on his deserted wife received a fortnightly cheque.¹⁸

Also, baby clinics were held in Settlement House on a weekly basis by the City Health Department. New Canadian

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

mothers took advantage of these clinics, filling them to capacity with as many as forty-three babies at any given time.¹⁹

The young men in the vicinity of Settlement House were also given attention. A boys club called the East End Trail Rangers was organized, accommodating boys up to fourteen years of age. Missionaries believed that boys were born neither good nor bad, but with a tremendous capacity to become either. Therefore, the primary purpose of this club was to "provide opportunities for adults of the finest type to share their lives with boys as they are facing their life situations, out of which character must surely develop."²⁰

The club stressed the Christian concepts of co-operation, team spirit and good-will, and promoted a healthy attitude towards sport and recreation. The games played by the boys were, as in the case of the school-homes, designed to promote assimilation into an Anglo-Canadian society. Home missionaries believed it was the task of the church to "interpret our Canadian ideals of justice and fairness to them....to teach them by games, etc., the joy of working together, playing the game, taking the bumps, and they do

¹⁹SAB, Scrapbook of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, May, 1926.

²⁰Saskatoon Daily Star, November 28, 1927.

learn."²¹ As with the school-homes, Rugby was a popular team sport, along with hockey and basketball.²² To promote a stable family life a father and son banquet was held and was deemed so successful that it was followed by one for mothers and daughters.²³

The department that home missionaries were most proud of was the Sunday School. During the first few years of operation, the Sunday School at Settlement House grew from fifty to one hundred persons, and then to such an extent that it had to be divided into two sections meeting at two different times. At times the building was so crowded that even the stairs and bathroom were occupied by those anxious to attend.²⁴ Reports of the progress of the Sunday School throughout the 1920's were filled with praise, and it was with a sense of achievement that the 1934 report showed the enrollment at 250 members.²⁵ Although these numbers show a marked increase in attendance, they cover a period of approximately eighteen years. By 1931 the foreign-born

²¹SAB, The United Church Record and Missionary Review, Reverend J.T. Stevens "Kabbages, Kings and Kindergartens," October, 1933, p. 11.

²²SAB, United Church Settlement House, Regina, "Report from September 1st to December 31, 1934".

²³SAB, Mrs. J.H. Laird, The Story of Settlement House, p. 3.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵SAB, United Church Settlement House, Regina, "Report from September 1 to December 31, 1934", n.p.

population of Regina had grown to 15,539, not taking into account those of mixed parentage.²⁶ When looked at in these terms, a Sunday School membership of 250 is not a significant percentage of the foreign-born population. These numbers demonstrated that, although the Sunday School was successful, it was a limited success.

Settlement House was also involved with promoting and hosting vacation schools. Held throughout the summer, these schools were, as the name implied, an attempt to provide Christian instruction in an atmosphere of vacation-like fun; yet, underlying the whole concept was the Anglo-Canadian concept of assimilation. The vacation school program followed a specific pattern that included a combination of religious worship and more earthly pursuits such as team sports and handicraft workshops. The young girls in the school would do needlework while the boys would make things with their hands such as cradles or miniature boats. The whole program was an attempt to interpret Canadian ideals to the foreign-born children, and to instruct both males and females in proper roles. Once again, church officials stressed the tremendous success that the vacation schools attained. United Church periodicals proclaimed: "Here they come! Serbian, Roumanian, German, Ukrainian- Canadians all!

²⁶Census of Canada, (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931), Volume 2, Population, Table 50, p. 778.

One big happy family, eager, enthusiastic, energetic."²⁷ If there were any problems or conflicts that arose out of the vacation schools, they were not discernible in any of the literature of the time. Home missionaries believed it was more important to stress the positive character-building aspects of the schools and, in many respects they did build character, but it was an Anglo-Canadian character they strove for.

While the work at Settlement House was proceeding, social settlements were being established at various locations throughout Saskatchewan. The first was opened at Insinger in 1916, with Reverend T.W. Johnson as missionary-in-charge. A second center was opened at Calder in 1920 under the direction of Reverend William Banks. Also, a social center was opened in conjunction with the medical mission at Hafford in 1924 with Reverend George Dorey in charge.

The Anglo-Canadian element in these rural communities believed that an institution whose main purpose was to Canadianize the immigrants was a necessity, especially in areas where the non-Anglo-Saxon outnumbered the Anglo-Canadians. Annual reports on the progress of settlement work in these areas demonstrated, in many instances, an attitude bordering on paranoia. Canadianizing the foreign-

²⁷The United Church Record and Missionary Review, Reverend J.T. Stevens "Settlement House Vacation School", November, 1931, p. 14.

born immigrant took on an importance of unprecedented proportions. One Methodist home missionary vividly expressed his reason why settlement work was an important part of Canadianization. Taking a small town in his mission field as an example he assigned blame for many of the ills of society on the foreign-born immigrant. Unhesitatingly he wrote:

...it is surprising how much sin can be carried on. Big gangs of men, mostly foreigners were employed last fall. Pool halls were filled, gambling joints worked in three shifts. Men lost as much as \$1700.00 in one night. Drinking was common.²⁸

The printing of statements such as this in published annual reports would instill within the many readers the belief that settlement work was necessary. It would serve to enhance the suspicion that Anglo-Canadian society had towards the New Canadians.

The men and women who volunteered for missionary work in these rural settlements demonstrated complete devotion to their cause. Home missionaries were dedicated to bringing educational training and medical treatment to the foreign-born settler. They were intent on practicing the Christian principles of neighborliness, promoting fair dealing, and giving both fellowship and friendly counsel to the settlers within their jurisdiction. A few of the more notable missionaries who took positions in the social settlements

²⁸SAB, The 101st Annual Report of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1924-1925, p. 21.

were Mr. Peter Yemen, who was stationed at Insinger, 1916-1918, and his successor Reverend Thomas W. Johnson, 1919-1928; Reverend George Dorey was stationed at Hafford, and Reverend William Banks and later Mr. J.T. Stevens were placed in charge of the social settlement at Calder.²⁹

As with Settlement House, Regina, the work of the missionaries in these settlements received favorable reports. The United Church Record and Missionary Review often ran an article entitled "Home Missionaries I Have Met." In it, various home missionaries, including those from the social settlements, were profiled. Their work, their ideas, and their goals were there for all to read. However, the articles mainly related the positive aspects of home mission work. The non-Anglo-Saxon was portrayed as one who was eager to accept and respect the home missionaries. This was made evident in statements such as: "I found they [foreign-born] all respected him [home missionary] greatly, and were ready to heed what he might have to say to them."³⁰ It was portrayed as a paternal relationship, the missionary being the loving, yet strict father, and the foreign-born

²⁹These were the men most often mentioned in the annual church reports. The social settlements most often mentioned in these reports were those at Insinger, Calder, and Hafford. Other less prominent missionaries included Reverend J.M. Singleton at Blaine Lake and Reverend G.G. Heffelfinger at Buchanan. The progress of these social settlements was seldom mentioned, possibly because of the much smaller community they served.

³⁰The United Church Record and Missionary Review, January 1931, p. 20.

being the obedient, learning children.

The missionaries in charge of the social settlements conducted programs that, as in the settlement houses, were meant to influence all facets of human life. Their aims were described as being in the best interests of the foreign-born; however, these aims were oriented towards promoting an Anglo-Canadian society. Home missionaries believed in bringing the concept of democracy to the settlers and assisting them in learning both the language and customs of Anglo-Canadian society. Home missionaries often stated that the immigrants were not expected to give up all traditions from their homeland, yet very little was said about letting or encouraging the foreign-born to practice these traditions. In fact, they were often encouraged to make new friends outside of their own nationalities. This could be interpreted as a subtle attempt to break down whatever solidarity existed among the immigrant groups in order to make them more approachable and more easily assimilable.

This attempt by the home missionaries at breaking down nationalist sentiment did encounter some resistance. For example, throughout 1924 the Calder Social Center had been experiencing a severe epidemic of diphtheria. Reverend William Banks, the missionary-in-charge at that time, documented the resistance demonstrated by foreign-born school trustees. He wrote:

We have been having an annual diphtheria epidemic. To check it I made application to the Department and succeeded in securing their co-operation in the use of antitoxin. But it was necessary also to persuade the school trustees to use it. They opposed it as being a British idea and therefore a covert attack on their nationalism.³¹

Most families did, however, receive inoculations for diphtheria, and those who did not were adversely affected by the disease. In schools where no one was inoculated some deaths were recorded.³² This account demonstrated that the situation with the foreign-born settler was not always as rosy as the missionaries portrayed it. There was always a concern among certain elements in the foreign-born community with keeping certain aspects of their traditions. However, the fact that antitoxin was available and its use questioned by the foreign-born only made the missionaries more firm in their belief that Anglo-Canadian customs, traditions, and medicine were superior.

Medical treatment was part of the continuing work in the social settlements. Nursing services were an integral part of promoting goodwill between the cultures. For example, in 1924, Nurse Laura Parkinson reported treating over 131 patients, and spent over 90 days nursing in the

³¹SAB, The 101st Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1924-1925, p. 22.

³²SAB, Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1924, p. 22.

homes of the foreign-born in the Insinger district.³³ Nurse Parkinson was instrumental in organizing a home nursing class among the older girls in the town of Insinger, and it was reported as "flourishing well, as the girls all take a keen interest in the work and seem to enjoy it thoroughly."³⁴ This class had two purposes: it would train the foreign-born women to care for themselves and their families, and this, in turn, would lessen the workload of the missionary nurse. It was considered the best that Anglo-Canadians had to offer, and the home missionaries believed the foreign-born needed to accept it for the good of both their children and the community.

It was the resistance to assimilation that home missionaries believed to be their greatest threat, and it was for this reason that they used the social settlements as foundations upon which to build good Canadian, Christian characters. Even though the home missionaries believed they had the best interests of the children in mind, they became aware that as the children grew into adulthood they would, with the guidance of the social settlements, develop different ideals than their parents possessed. This, however, did not deter the home missionaries, for they believed that the impact of this break or conflict between

³³SAB, The 101st Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1924-1925, p. 23.

³⁴SAB, Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1924, p. 59.

parent and child could be lessened by the expression of a kindly Christian attitude by the younger generation towards the older.³⁵ This, again, was important to Protestant home missionaries because a stable family life was the foundation of a stable Anglo-Canadian society. The goal of Canadianization was most important, but Canadianization and a stable family life were not considered mutually exclusive; in fact, one complemented the other. Both could be, and needed to be, achieved and maintained with proper Christian guidance.

The Canadianization process in the social settlements included organizing school fairs for the children of the foreign-born. The activities carried on at the fairs were oriented towards promoting a healthy community spirit. The surrounding villages and schools competed for prizes for proficiency in such tasks as writing, drawing, composition, cooking, and sewing. Ethnic designs and costumes were embroidered, but instead of wearing these handmade traditional costumes, the girls would enter them in the fair as exhibits. This was an indication that the younger generation was losing its taste for wearing traditional dress, the intricately designed clothes being used more often for show. In accordance with the Anglo-Canadian tradition, most of the young girls made the dresses they

³⁵SAB, The United Church of Canada Year Book, 1930, p. 165.

wore from patterns. Simple, neat cotton dresses modelled after those worn by the home missionaries were taking the place of traditional garb. School teachers and others in positions of authority did their part in Canadianizing the dress of the children by helping the girls make their first dresses.³⁶ Annual reports, in reporting the success of the school fair, stated that: "the most encouraging thing to report is the decided change of attitude on the part of many of the young people, especially toward Canada and things Canadian in general."³⁷

More influential members of the foreign-born community also stressed the importance of the school fairs. Dr. G.E. Dragon believed that they stimulated "healthy competition, co-operation, community spirit and good citizenship."³⁸ School fairs, he believed, helped to allay unpleasant feelings against the foreign-born. This was particularly true of the Ukrainians, who were striving to become better Canadian citizens. The school fair could be used as an instrument in bridging the gap between the nationalities. Dr. Dragon further stated:

We [Ukrainians] have put our shoulders to the wheel. We are giving our brains and energy for

³⁶Mabel Ruttle Nebel, "Reverend Thomas Johnson and the Insinger Experiment", Saskatchewan History, 11(1), 1958, p. 9.

³⁷SAB, Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1918, p. xxii.

³⁸Saskatoon Daily Star, July 16, 1927.

the building of this country and we are willing to work and co-operate. Our children know no other native land but Canada, and for these reasons we protest against the brand of 'foreigner' being applied to hundreds of thousands of Canadians and we have no reason to be ashamed of our ancestry.³⁹

Another method of promoting community spirit was the organization of sports days for the community served by the social settlements. Administered by the home missionaries and held on Saturdays, the sports days proved quite popular. Families walked as far as five or six miles in order to take part in such sports as baseball, football, and track events. Footraces were organized for all age groups and prizes given to the winners.⁴⁰ All this was designed to bring the best of Anglo-Canadian society to the children of the foreign-born. Home missionaries believed it would make Canadian society more attractive and thereby make assimilation easier. The keynote of all the speakers at the sport's day was Canadian citizenship, and the organizers believed that the foreign-born "seemed to be rapidly assimilating Canadian ways... ." ⁴¹

With the same purpose in mind, school picnics were held frequently throughout the summer months. Again, Anglo-Canadian games and sports were played, and a sense of community involvement was promoted. The picnic was usually

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Saskatoon Phoenix, June 25, 1921.

followed by the showing of movies on a variety of topics ranging from farm management to more religious topics.⁴² Whether secular or religious, all films were oriented towards helping the New Canadians learn more about, and become accustomed to, Canadian society. Pathescopic films and lantern slides became an integral part of home mission work; not only were they shown at picnics, they were also shown at schools in the surrounding districts.

Home missionaries expressed confidence that the social settlements were producing loyal Canadian citizens. For example, upon listening to a group of foreign-born children singing "O Canada," Reverend J. T. Stevens commented that:

if this Canada, about which they are brokenly singing, is not 'the land of their fathers,' it will be 'the land of their children,' and somehow it makes all worth while.⁴³

Throughout the 1920's readers of the missionary periodicals were inundated with reports of all nationalities becoming one large happy family through the work of the home missionaries in the social settlements. J.T. Stephens again wrote: "...we play together, sing together, and, when the evenings begin to draw in study together. Ukrainians,

⁴²Ibid., p. 12. The films included such secular topics as: How to raise chickens. What are the advantages of thoroughbred stock? How to make Grade A butter. Films were also used to train young people to become home and foreign missionaries. They were considered valuable tools in home mission work.

⁴³The United Church Record and Missionary Review, Reverend J.T. Stevens, "Christmas Choruses at Calder", December 1930, p. 14.

Germans, English and Scotch Canadians all-we form a happy family."⁴⁴

It was a desire to promote this "happy family" that prompted Protestant home missionaries to establish summer schools. The most important purpose of the school was to provide trained leaders not only for home mission work, but for all departments of the church. It was a recruiting ground for volunteers for the mission fields, both home and foreign. Summer schools were established throughout Canada and were usually of two types. The first was a general summer school that provided a program designed for all departments of church work, and was intended for workers in smaller districts. The second category was a specialized summer school. This school was designed to serve a larger area and was organized to train workers for specific departments such as "Children's Workers, Boy's Workers, Girl's Workers, Young People's Workers, and Missionary Workers."⁴⁵

Church leaders believed that summer schools were "a proven agency for the inspiration and enrichment of life and definite training of Christian workers."⁴⁶ Inspiration and

⁴⁴Ibid., Reverend J.T. Stevens, "All in the Day's Work", October 1930, p. 13.

⁴⁵Ibid., Reverend J.C. Robertson, D.D, "Summer Schools For Inspiration, Education and Recreation", May 1926, p. 8.

⁴⁶Ibid., Reverend Manson Doyle, D.D., "Why Go To Summer School", June 1938, p. 16.

character development were main tenets of the schools. Readers of United Church periodicals were told that:

The value of these schools from an inspirational point of view alone would fully repay all the effort and expense involved in carrying them on. Many a father can testify as to what it has meant in character development for his boy to spend a week or ten days in God's out-of-doors in company with a group of manly men and boys, all together seeking to live their whole life in Jesus' way of living.⁴⁷

The summer schools received assistance from the Young People's Forward Movement. They supplied literature, lantern slides, moving pictures, and other equipment. They helped to secure missionaries, missionary secretaries, and other experienced workers who would lead mission study classes and conduct conferences on missionary methods.⁴⁸

In Saskatchewan, the best example of a summer school was the Lumsden Beach Summer School on the shore of Last Mountain Lake, located approximately nine miles north of Lumsden. This location was considered ideal for a summer school because of its abundance of trees, sandy beaches, and ideal boating, bathing, and fishing conditions. A camping ground was available for complete families where they would spend a week during the summer immersed in a completely

⁴⁷Ibid., Reverend J.C. Robertson, D.D., "Summer Schools For Inspiration, Education and Recreation", May 1926, p. 8.

⁴⁸SAB, Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada, 1914, p. xviii.

Christian atmosphere.⁴⁹ The school also provided a meeting place for other organizations such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. Established in 1908, the school was owned and operated by the Methodist Church of Canada until the church union of 1925 brought it under the auspices of the United Church of Canada. It was directly controlled by an executive elected at the annual business meetings.

The purpose of the Lumsden Beach Summer School was in keeping with the social settlements, and carried on many of the same activities. It was to

encourage ... religious training and educational purposes; to promote the games of golf, baseball, tennis and kindred sports and athletics, amusements and social intercourse, and to do all things necessary or usual for such purpose or purposes.⁵⁰

The rates for the Lumsden Beach Summer School were reasonable and within reach of most. For the duration of the school [one week], a flat rate of \$10.00 was charged; children under twelve were charged half price [\$5.00]. If one wished, a day rate of \$1.50 was charged. Both of these fees included meals and accommodations. On top of this, a

⁴⁹SAB, Methodist Church of Canada, Program of Lumsden Beach Summer School, Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan, July 17th to 24th, 1924. The Lumsden Beach Summer School was the leadership camp for Southern Saskatchewan. The northern area of Saskatchewan was looked after by a leadership camp at Lake Wakaw. For a complete listing of summer schools throughout Canada see The United Church Record and Missionary Review, June 1935, pps.16-17.

⁵⁰SAB, United Church of Canada, Province of Saskatchewan, "Declaration Under The Benevolent Societies Act, 1938", n.p.

registration fee of \$1.00 was charged.⁵¹ This, however, was not the only source of funding. The school received additional funds from various organizations and church groups in Saskatoon.

The summer school was portrayed as being very successful. Often the number of children enrolled in the school exceeded 150. According to church policy nobody was turned away, and all age groups were accommodated. There were regular visitors to the school. Reverend T.W. Johnson made it his duty to bring a fairly sizeable contingent of New Canadians from Insinger every year. Because it was a regular event, this group had a special railway coach from Insinger to Lumsden Beach and back each year.⁵² The regular attendance of so many foreign-born children meant, as far as the home missionaries were concerned, that the New Canadians were responding to the efforts of the church.

Summer schools were an indispensable part of the home mission plan of Canadianizing, Christianizing, and training young people in missionary work. It was a complete program of instruction. The place of missions in the summer school was

not alone in the mission study classes and

⁵¹SAB, Methodist Church of Canada, Program of Lumsden Beach Summer School, Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan, July 17-24, 1922.

⁵²SAB, Methodist Church of Canada, "History of Lumsden Beach Summer School on Last Mountain Lake", Saskatoon, n.d., p. 3.

missionary addresses, or in the groups the missionaries attract for conversation and first hand information, for every item of the programme contributes to deepening the spiritual life, the expression of which must be missionary service.⁵³

This complete program of instruction was also a part of the social settlements. The goal of the home missionaries in the social settlements was to present the best of Anglo-Canadian society to the immigrants with the hope of producing responsible, law-abiding citizens. In the course of their duties the missionaries came into contact with a large number of immigrants and the helping hand they held out was, in many instances, accepted. It was difficult to determine success more completely, however, as the opinion of the foreign-born, other than a few isolated instances, was never fully documented. The only substantial evaluative body of opinion the historian has to rely on is that of the home missionaries themselves. It would be safe to assume, however, that considering the wide variety of religious denominations served by the settlements, they would be more successful in their humanitarian, socializing, and educational efforts than in their evangelical endeavors.

According to the home missionaries, the socialization of the foreign-born towards an Anglo-Canadian lifestyle would be successful if all the institutions discussed above were operated efficiently, and in co-operation with one

⁵³The New Outlook, "Young People in the United Church", April 28, 1926, p. 24.

another. Effective socialization did not, however, mean just playing games, attending school fairs, sports days, and picnics. The elements of medical treatment, nursing care, and education were also important ingredients in the process of socialization. With this in mind, the home missionaries believed that the institutions and programs described in this chapter could only be truly successful when combined with the work of the school-homes and outpost hospitals. It must be remembered that both the school-homes and medical missions were also agents of socialization. It was the combination of all these institutions that would provide the instruction, treatment, education, and socialization necessary for turning the foreign-born into responsible, Christian, Canadian citizens.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The first few decades of the twentieth century were a formative time in Western Canadian history. The great numbers of Continental Europeans entering Canada, and the speed with which they came, served to modify the ethnic character of the Canadian West. This influx of so many immigrants presented a threat to the Anglo-Canadian ideals and customs that had attained a prominent role in the Canadian West by the turn of the century. In the face of this perceived threat, political and religious leaders combined forces to promote Anglo-Canadianism. The Dominion Government regulated the immigration policies that allowed for increased immigration into Canada, and local organizations such as the churches, schools, and colonization boards shouldered the greatest burden of Canadianization after the newcomers had arrived. The Saskatoon Daily Star summed it up in this manner:

Officially the government was pleased to turn the task of Canadianization over to the Local Colonization Boards whose special duties it became to assist immigrants in learning the English language and to organize educational courses for them.¹

The Protestant Churches, in particular, dutifully accepted the task of Canadianizing the foreign-born. In just a few short years a nation-wide network for recruiting,

¹Saskatoon Daily Star, May 28, 1924.

transporting, and accommodating the immigrants was established. The Presbyterian Department of the Stranger combined forces with the abundance of local mission circles and bands to welcome the immigrants to Canada. Mission work in Western Canada had expanded enough that by 1927 approximately 2,339 areas were ministered to by United Church home missionaries. In the same year, missionaries boasted that 15,400 immigrants in Saskatchewan had been ministered to by the Department of the Stranger, and more than 6,000 hospital visits and 2,797 other calls had been made on patients and newcomers.²

By 1927 the United Church operated twenty-six mission hospitals in pioneer and foreign communities, and twenty-six school-homes and boarding schools were maintained throughout Canada. In addition, there were seventy-six missions among Central Europeans throughout Canada, and six chaplains and twelve trained women workers were permanently stationed at Canada's ports to welcome newcomers.³ The missionary enterprise was fortified by the work of various auxiliary organizations such as the Women's Missionary Society, the Epworth and Young People's Missionary Leagues, and the Forward Movement. This vast network of societies and

²SAB, Scrapbook of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, August 25, 1927.

³The New Outlook, "The United Church of Canada Home Mission Work", August 17, 1927, p. 20.

leagues attempted to fulfill two goals: to interpret Canadian ways to the immigrants, and to educate the Anglo-Canadian to the problem of the foreign-born.

This so-called problem of the foreign-born was presented quite regularly in Methodist and Presbyterian annual reports, yearbooks, and articles, and varied in degree according to nationality and religion. The Doukhobor and Mennonite communities were presented as the greatest threat to Anglo-Canadianism, while the Hungarian and Ukrainian population was usually depicted as more accepting of Canadian ways. Doukhobors, in particular, were accused of maintaining an almost hostile attitude towards Anglo-Canadianism. They "decline to take out naturalization papers; live very much in their own communities; do not learn English; do not admit non-Doukhobors to reside in their communities and hold the Canadian government in suspicion."⁴ Similarly, the Mennonites were accused of living a "detached and isolated life, having little to do with the authorities, supporting their own schools, and seeking to shelter their little ones from the worldly influence of secular institutions, and the life outside their own communities."⁵ In contrast, the Hungarians and Ukrainians were almost always pictured in a more favorable

⁴The United Church Record and Missionary Review, "The Ukrainians and Doukhobors", April, 1927, p. 27.

⁵SAB, Edmund H. Oliver, "A Study," n.p.

light. Dr. Hoffman had once stated that they were "...anxious to adopt Canadian ideas and the difficulties of language might be easily overcome."⁶

The treatment of Continental Europeans was also influenced by the extent to which certain individuals or groups adhered to nativist principles. J.T.M. Anderson believed that the melting pot theory was, by far, the best solution. This, he believed, needed to be accomplished through the system of public schools. Traditional melting pot theorists called for a biological merging of settled communities and immigrants, and the blending of both cultures into a unique Canadian culture. Dr. Anderson wrote:

The only logical way of training and educating our New Canadians to be loyal and patriotic citizens is to place before them in the public schools strong types of Canadian manhood or womanhood.⁷

The major problem with the melting pot theory was that under the influence of men like J.T.M. Anderson, it quite often became an Anglo-Saxon melting pot.

E.H. Oliver, another proponent of Canadianization through the public schools, was more prepared to soften his opinion on Canadianization. Like Anderson, he believed that the foreign-born must still learn the English language through the public schools; but, unlike Anderson, he

⁶Saskatoon Daily Star, Dec. 10, 1927.

⁷Anderson, Education of the New Canadian p. 153.

believed that this should not exclude them from retaining qualities of their former heritage. This served to strengthen his conviction that

in this Dominion we shall have a composite result--those who will have the good qualities of all the races blended, those who will have the bad qualities of all, and every conceivable distribution and gradation in between these two extremes.⁸

According to Dr. Oliver this "new strain of life is bound to create rich and varied genius."⁹ Oliver's view of Canada was one of unity without complete assimilation and destruction of the old customs. He believed that Canadianism could be achieved without the loss of the foreign-born's culture or native language. In 1926, he wrote:

we need the artist, the poet, the thinker, the musician and composer quite as much as the sewer-digger and the track-layer. It is high time we encourage these people to bring their best to us.¹⁰

The controversy between assimilation or melting pot and mosaic ideas of Canadianization heated up during the 1920's. More enlightened members of the community envisaged a society that contained elements of different cultures. The newly arrived immigrants could make a positive

⁸SAB, E.H. Oliver. "The Problem of the New Canadian In Saskatchewan." (Saskatoon: n.p., n.d.)

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰E.H. Oliver, "The Settlement of Saskatchewan to 1914," TRSC, 1926, p. 87.

contribution to a new Canadian culture. One writer editorialized:

It used to be said that we must 'assimilate' these foreigners as if Canadian social life were some huge digestive system. The idea is that unity is to be secured by superimposing a set of ideas which are supposed to be Canadian. This conception is based on the fallacy that the immigrant has all to receive and nothing to contribute.¹¹

It was difficult, at times, to determine official United Church policy on certain matters, and the treatment of the foreign-born was no exception. While a number of prominent church members were espousing a more relaxed point of view on the assimilation question, other members of the Women's Home Missionary Society were criticizing this approach. Using the United States as an example, they believed that Anglo-conformity was the only solution. They were convinced that the traditional "melting pot theory in regard to immigrants has failed-that idea that all you had to do was to fuse them by one national melting pot theory has been a failure."¹² Home mission work amongst the New Canadians during the 1920's was geared more towards Canadianization through assimilation to Anglo-Canadian norms. However, home missionaries did not dispute the fact that the New Canadians would find it difficult to completely abandon their former heritage, and because of this

¹¹The Regina Leader, May 7, 1920.

¹²The Missionary Messenger, Mrs. H.P. Plumptre, "Immigration", September, 1924, p. 244.

missionary rhetoric became conciliatory while, at the same time, continued to promote Anglo-Canadianism. Home mission work was depicted as giving the "opportunity for the expression of the gifts and graces of the New Canadian, while at the same time introducing him to the ideas of a lofty Canadianism."¹³

The immigrants' response to the services of the Protestant home missionaries ranged from outright rejection, to silent compliance, to complete adoption. With this in mind, Western Canadian society became a mixture of nationalities, some accepting the home mission principles of evangelical Protestantism and Anglo-conformity, and some rejecting them. It was neither a melting pot nor a mosaic, but a curious mixture of the two.

It was the attempt to impart Anglo-Canadian customs and ideals to the Continental Europeans, and to promote a fine sense of Christian awareness that led to the concept of applied Christianity. Each of the three institutions designed for this purpose, the medical missions, the school-homes, and the social settlements, combined their main purpose with elements of the other two institutions. For example, although the outpost hospitals' main purpose was the humanitarian impulse of healing, it also contained provisions for education and socialization. Similarly, the

¹³SAB, Finishing the First Decade, 1925-1935, (Toronto: Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1935), p. 1.

school-home combined its main goal of education with elements of humanitarianism and socialization. In keeping with this trend the social settlements and settlement houses not only provided a place for people to interact, play games, and socialize; it also provided night schools for education and nursing services for the sick. At the same time, all three institutions contained religious undercurrents. They were multi-purpose, multi-faceted, church-operated agencies that were designed to both Canadianize and Christianize the foreign-born immigrant.

The success of the home mission concept of applied Christianity was difficult to determine. The majority of research material available is contained in Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Church documents. These documents, however, only represent the views and opinions of the assimilators. Naturally, these views were expressed with the utmost confidence and optimism concerning the work of the home missionaries. Many of these documents were published, had a wide distribution, and therefore exemplified success rather than failure.

It was in the unpublished material that doubt was expressed about the effectiveness of home mission work among the non-Anglo-Saxon. In response to a questionnaire sent to various ministers of the United Church throughout Saskatchewan, Gordon Melvin, minister of Knox United Church in Regina, wrote:

I believe our work has been effective, but we have failed to gather up its results in concrete organic form. ...we have no edifice attractive to non-Anglo-Saxons who have been accustomed to worshipping in a beautiful church. ...Our work is expensive and while it is a great leavening influence, it remains largely ineffective while we have no communion roll, no proper church organization and therefore, no definite sense of loyalty to the United Church of Canada.¹⁴

The medical missions, school-homes, and social settlements did contain elements of religious teaching. Doctors were ordained ministers, Christian education was taught in the school-homes, and Sunday Schools were a weekly activity in the social settlements. However, there was little evidence of actual conversion from one denomination to another. Perusal of primary material revealed that although evangelism was a part of home mission work, it was not conversion to Methodism or Presbyterianism that missionaries considered their main task. Reverend J.T. Stevens of Calder Social Center summed it up in this manner:

We try in every possible way to hold up to these people the Christian standard. They may find their inspiration in their own church and it would be foolish to force upon them something artificial. ...On the other hand I do not believe that one is justified in accepting salary from the United Church and then refusing in giving it the credit for any work which he may do in the

¹⁴SAB, United Church of Canada, Letter from Gordon Melvin to Professor M.F. Munrow, St. Andrews College, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1931. This letter was in response to a questionnaire sent to various ministers throughout Saskatchewan. The questionnaire was inquiring into the extent and success of non-Anglo-Saxon work by the United Church in rural Saskatchewan.

community.¹⁵

E.H. Oliver had earlier expressed the same view when he stated that the religious policy of the United Church "avows a definite responsibility for every Community, Anglo-Saxon and Non-Anglo-Saxon, of Canadian people 'not' adequately provided for spiritually or morally by any other religious body."¹⁶

The mission hospitals were most successful in their medical efforts. The greatest part of the medical missionaries' day was spent in treating and healing the sick in emulation of Christ's work on earth. It was believed that the patients' trust and loyalty would be gained through these efforts and they would become more receptive towards other Christianizing work. Many missionaries thought that so "long as we can enlist the loyalty of these people we should not worry about peculiar beliefs and practices."¹⁷

The patients' opinion of the home missionaries was less clear simply because the clients did not express their sentiments on paper. The isolation in which many of the foreign-born settlers lived, and the scarcity of medical facilities in the rural areas of Saskatchewan, would

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶E.H. Oliver, His Dominion of Canada (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1932), p. 284.

¹⁷SAB, United Church of Canada, Saskatchewan Conference, "Report of Conference Committee to Study the Non-Anglo-Saxon Problem", (Saskatoon, n.p., 1930).

indicate that most visited the hospitals primarily for medical attention, not spiritual enlightenment. The large number of Catholics registered at the hospital would attest to that fact. However, it was in carrying out their healing duties that the medical missionaries were able to demonstrate the best of Anglo-Canadian hospitality, and, in many instances, win the favor of the patients.

Although the evangelical success of the home missionaries was vague and unclear, their humanitarian impulses could be measured with greater accuracy. In the plethora of missionary literature written during the 1920's, success was measured in terms of demand that, in this case, meant numbers. The number of patients treated in the hospitals, the number of students enrolled in the school-homes, the number of students turned away because the homes were full, and the number of immigrants being served by the social settlements became the yardstick by which this success was measured. As long as the numbers increased every year, the missionaries were confident of their success. It was with a sense of achievement that missionaries wrote of those who were turned away because of full accommodations. One missionary wrote: "So well and favorably known have these 'Homes' become that already this autumn fifteen girls and four boys were refused admission to

two of them because they are filled to capacity."¹⁸ Expressing the same confidence, another missionary editorialized: "The work has been most satisfactory this year and I have seventeen when we really have room for fourteen."¹⁹

Although the full accommodations indicated a modicum of success, the missionaries seldom wrote about what percentage of the population they were reaching. Settlement patterns of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan since the turn of the century had placed large numbers of settlers at Yorkton, Canora, Insinger, Prince Albert, Wakaw, Rosthern, and Hafford. These settlements, in most instances, contained thousands of Ukrainian settlers. In contrast, the majority of Presbyterian school-homes had a limited capacity, most housing under thirty students, and only one exceeding ninety students. Because of the limited capacity of the homes, it was unlikely that the school-homes could have housed a significant percentage of the Ukrainian population in these areas.

Home missionaries expressed confidence that the school-homes would provide an environment from which many of the

¹⁸United Church Record and Missionary Review, Reverend Colin G. Young, "School Homes and Home Schools", October, 1925, p. 14.

¹⁹Ibid., "School Homes in Saskatchewan", May, 1930, p. 27.

children would emerge as future religious leaders.²⁰ There was very little to indicate, other than the missionary periodicals, that this was, in fact, what happened. With the scarcity of educational institutions in rural Saskatchewan during the 1920's, the prime motivation of the immigrants would be to acquire a public school education for their children.

The religious tendencies of the Ukrainian Canadians during the 1920's meant that a significant percentage of them would not have attended a Presbyterian school-home for religious reasons. Statistics showed that by 1931, 58% of Ukrainian Canadians were Ukrainian Catholic, 24.6% were Greek Orthodox, 11.5% were Roman Catholic, and a mere 1.6% were members of the United Church.²¹ According to the Census of Canada, it was not until the 1950's and 1960's that the United Church began to make significant gains among the Ukrainian population.²²

As Dr. Owen correctly suggested, the Presbyterian school-homes did achieve a certain amount of success; however, this success was limited to the Protestant

²⁰The United Church Record and Missionary Review, October, 1925, p. 14.

²¹Census of Canada, Volume 1, 1931, p. 248.

²²Census of Canada, 1961, Table 43, and 1971, Table 9. Also see Paul Yuzyk, "Religious Life," in Manoly R. Lupul's A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 166.

Ukrainians that, in fact, represented a small percentage of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan. The Roman Catholics had established boarding schools that were often in direct competition with the Presbyterian school-homes, and when looked at in terms of numbers these schools experienced a much greater success among the Ukrainian Catholic population.²³

The social settlements had more success with the number of immigrants they came into contact with. In many instances the foreign-born population was not required to commit as much of its time to the social settlements as the school-homes. Contact with the New Canadians was often on a casual basis, answering any questions or solving minor problems the immigrant may have. Nevertheless, this contact did afford the opportunity to bring to the immigrants what the home missionaries believed to be the best of Canadian society. This, according to the home missionaries, was the "noblest and most effective form of patriotic service."²⁴

The concept of applied Christianity was an attempt at building a unified nation based on Anglo-Canadian ideals. The outpost hospitals, school-homes, settlement houses, and social settlements were described as "interpreters [that were] situated in the great rural colonies of immigrants

²³Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians and Private Education," in Lupul A Heritage in Transition, pp. 248-253.

²⁴SAB, Scrapbook of the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, August 25, 1926.

where old customs, languages, traditions and prejudices persist with a tenacity that defies description. They provide the 'friendly touch.'²⁵ It was with this friendly touch that Protestant home missionaries believed the church could

make a valuable contribution toward the attainment of a higher type of manhood and womanhood. ...and that the lives thus served...will be able and willing to render a larger service to the state in the active life of citizenship.²⁶

With the influx of so many nationalities and religions in the Canadian West at the turn of the century, Protestant home missionaries became aware that proselytization would not be effective among many Central and Eastern European immigrants and instead concentrated on the gospel of Canadianization. An important component of this Canadianization was the social gospel. As Richard Allen and Marilyn Barber correctly stated, it was an attempt to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. God had, according to social gospellers, attained immanence in the world. Consequently, it followed that a society in which God was immanent was one that would eventually become the Kingdom of God on earth. Both historians also agreed that the traditional emphasis on man's relationship with God shifted to a focus on man's relationship with man. For Protestant home missionaries this attempt to improve relationships

²⁵SAB, Finishing the First Decade, p. 1.

²⁶Saskatoon Daily Star, May 1, 1920.

between men was made manifest in the medical missions, school-homes, social settlements, and settlement houses. It was the effort to change man's environment that strengthened the social impulse in the Protestant churches, and led to the concept of applied Christianity.

Both Richard Allen and Marilyn Barber in their discussions on the social gospel, and its effect on Western Canadian society, and Michael Owen in his discussion on Presbyterian school-homes, allude to the home mission goal of nation-building. To Dr. Owen, nation-building meant developing responsible Canadian citizens through the school-homes and public schools, and to the social gospel historians it was through social reconstruction. The home mission attempt to Canadianize the foreign-born was, indeed, an attempt at nation-building that took all of these themes into account, and it was done through the system of applied Christianity.

Ramsay Cook, in his book The Regenerators, puts forth the hypothesis that Protestant social gospellers, in an attempt to "emphasize social utility and to downplay or ignore doctrine, were in fact making the church irrelevant in a world where other institutions were better equipped to perform the socially useful roles once fulfilled by the Church."²⁷ Protestant English Canadian thought, according

²⁷Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 6.

to Dr. Cook, was becoming more secular. It was true that social gospellers were more concerned with man's adaptation to existing society and his physical well-being than the salvation of individual souls, and this could be interpreted as a trend towards secularization. Indeed, even in the concept of nation-building just mentioned, one can discern a faint trend towards secularization in the fact that evangelism was relegated to a secondary position.

Ramsay Cook wrote about the growing emphasis on social service among Canadian Protestants in the early twentieth century, and the home missionaries' concept of applied Christianity can be considered a part of this trend. When examining Michael Owen's and Marilyn Barber's concepts of nation-building and Ramsay Cook's emphasis on increasing social services in the medical missions, school-homes, and social settlements, one can discern greater success in the building of good citizenship than in proselytization. However, because these institutions were church-operated, evangelism and proselytization, although in many instances a secondary consideration, remained a part of the home mission concept of applied Christianity throughout the 1920's.

This same trend was evident in the outpost hospitals and social settlements. Contact with the New Canadian was designed to promote good-will between the newcomer and existing Canadian society. It was, as both Marilyn Barber and Michael Owen suggest, a trend towards nation-building by

promoting better relationships between ethnic groups, and hence, producing better citizens. Although religion played a role in school-homes, hospitals, and social settlements, it was less doctrinal and oriented more towards the practical or social.

The outpost hospitals had, by the 1920's, come under attack by elements within the church itself. In 1926 a movement was afoot to withdraw church support from the mission hospitals, and turn their operation over to the municipalities. Dr. Scott expressed his concern to Mrs. Kipp over this issue:

You state that the representatives who visited Wakaw were very much pleased with the work, and reported favorably of the splendid work being done by [the staff], but added a recommendation on two different occasions, that the W.M.S. discontinue supporting the work at Wakaw. They maintained that the pioneer missionary work was done. It was only a medical practice now, nothing more.²⁸

This attempt to disassociate the mission hospitals from the church supports Ramsay Cook's argument that the churches' emphasis on social service had the tendency to secularize religion by making the service to society a matter of higher priority than evangelism.

Because many of the New Canadians dealt with in this thesis lived in rural Saskatchewan, it was difficult to make many meaningful comparisons with Donald Avery's study in Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour

²⁸SAB, Scott Papers, Letter to Mrs. Kipp, December 30, 1926.

Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932, which dealt with labor radicalism. However, the general feeling of suspicion towards the foreign-born that Avery presented was, in many ways, akin to the feelings and sentiments of many home missionaries about elements of the foreign-born in Saskatchewan. The Dominion Government's fear of Bolshevik influences among the foreign-born during the 1920's was mirrored in the writings and speeches of men like Frank Hoffman and E.H. Oliver.

After the 1920's the institutions of applied Christianity remained, but changed in form. The church tenaciously held on to the school-homes throughout the 1930's and many were still operating, although in a different form [social settlements and community centers], into the 1950's. A number of the outpost hospitals remained nominally church hospitals in the 1950's and 1960's when the municipalities took them over.

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