1. The first part of the document is a list of references. The references are listed in a standard format, with the author's name, the title of the work, and the publisher. The references are as follows:

 

MicroD
an IBM company

1800 COUNTY ROAD 2, SUFPHSVILLE, MN 55057 USA
TEL 612 436 7057 912 436 7057 FAX 612 436 7057

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file - Votre référence

Our file - Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

**'CLEAN HEARTS AND CLEAN HOMES': THE WORK OF
METHODIST WOMEN MISSIONARIES
AMONG UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS IN EAST-CENTRAL ALBERTA, 1904-1925**

by

Cheri Isabell Rauser B.G.S.

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Institute of Canadian Studies**

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

April 10, 1991

© 1991, Cheri Isabell Rauser

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file / Votre référence

Our file / Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-79872-6

Canada

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

"'Clean Hearts and Clean Homes': The Work of
Methodist Women Missionaries Among Ukrainian
Immigrants in East-Central Alberta, 1904-1925"

submitted by Cheri Rauser, B.G.S.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

.....
Thesis Supervisor

.....
Director
Institute of Canadian Studies

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

May 1991

Between 1904 and 1925 the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church committed financing and forty-four female missionaries to conduct educational missions in the Ukrainian Star bloc settlement in east-central Alberta. Their aim was to fulfil the social service, educational and spiritual needs of new Canadians. Like other non-English-speaking and non-Protestant peoples in Canada, unassimilated Ukrainian immigrants were perceived by English Canadians as representing the danger of cultural pluralism. The primary and religious schooling established by these missionaries was greeted as both serving the community through developing literacy and for delivering Christ's message. Domestic science instruction was implemented in school curriculums to inculcate women and girls in the foreign communities with Protestant domestic ideology. Despite a strong commitment to educational and social service ministries the primary mandate of these women missionaries remained that of conversion-through-uplift and assimilation to Protestant English-Canadian culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to professors Deborah Gorham, Marilyn Barber and Patricia Smart for their steady support and encouragement. I am especially indebted to my thesis supervisor, Debby, for her commitment among other things, to getting me finished.

I would also like to thank all my friends for their unfailing interest in my work, willingness to share their own with me and assistance given in the final days of processing. Finally, a special appreciation to Fred for sustaining me throughout it all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
CHAPTER 1 'FERTILE FIELDS': AN INTRODUCTION TO MISSIONS HISTORY	1
CHAPTER 2 THE PROTESTANT CANADIAN VISION: IMMIGRATION RHETORIC AND PRESCRIPTIONS FOR WOMEN	50
CHAPTER 3 PROTESTANT WOMEN AND THE MISSIONARY MESSAGE OF DOMESTICITY: CANADIAN METHODIST WOMEN MISSIONARIES IN THE UKRAINIAN HOME FIELD OF MISSIONS	85
CHAPTER 4 FURTHER FIELDS OF INQUIRY: CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS REGARDING CANADIAN MISSIONARY WOMEN	161
APPENDICES	171
BIBLIOGRAPHY	174

CHAPTER 1: 'FERTILE FIELDS': AN INTRODUCTION TO MISSIONS HISTORY

In the late nineteenth-century employment opportunities widened for middle-class white western European and North American women. Beliefs stressing women's innate moral superiority to men in part facilitated and sustained this expansion. Women were supposed to possess the abilities to foster a moral transformation of the world community. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the work of forty-four female missionaries¹ assigned by The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada between 1904 and 1925 to the Ukrainian Star bloc settlement² in east-central Alberta.

Like such occupations as teaching, nursing and clerical employment,³ the missionary vocation became a respectable occupation for middle-class Protestant women.⁴

---

¹ Forty-four women are on the published WMS lists, while seven others are mentioned by name as serving in this mission field or had letters published in one of the various missionary journals and reports. Since these women represent an intact population it would be inappropriate to conduct a statistical analysis of them. Instead, in-text presentation of ratios representing various personal and group characteristics will be made when the discussion warrants such information. This decision was made after consultation with Professor Kathy Kelly, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, Carleton University, Ottawa.

² See John C. Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West," Canadian Ethnic Studies/Études Ethniques du Canada, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1977. According to Lehr there are 9 major block settlements of solid Ukrainian settlement located in the three prairie provinces. Star settlement, in east-central Alberta is the largest of them.

³ See Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchison and Naomi Black. "Continuity and Change in Women's Work," in Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: HBJ, 1988). See also Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Opening Doors Through Social Service: Aspects of Women's Work in the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Central India, 1877-1914," in Leslie Flemming et al., Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), p. 29. According to Brouwer, by 1880 single women missionaries and missionary wives together outnumbered male workers in foreign missions and staffs of most North American societies. (p. 29) See also Marjorie King, "Exporting Femininity, Not Feminism: Nineteenth-Century U.S. Missionary Women's Efforts to Emancipate Chinese Women," in Leslie Flemming et al., p. 117.

⁴ Janet T. MacGillivray, "Women's Work for Missions," Reapers in Many Fields: A Survey of Canadian Presbyterian Missions, ed. W.S. MacTavish (Toronto: Westminster Co., 1904), pp. 251-252. Janet
(continued...)

Many religious women's organizations responded to the perceived degraded positions⁵ of women and children in foreign communities. Their work centred on uplifting non-Protestants to the status and equality they believed women enjoyed in Protestant Christian culture.⁶ Missionary communities at home and abroad provided for women what was judged a safe and moral private haven. From that place Protestant Canadian women expected to extend their private moral imperatives into what was viewed as an increasingly 'ungodly' public world.

Groups such as the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada provided outlets for Protestant women's religious sensibilities.⁷ That organization blended the expanding opportunities of the workplace and women's consequent demands

---

⁴(...continued)

McGillivray stated that women's involvement in the worldwide mission enterprise could be traced to mid-nineteenth-century increases in educational privileges for middle-class western women coinciding with opportunities to help women in other countries.

⁵ See Leila Ahmed, "Western Ethnocentrism and Perceptions of the Harem," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, (Fall 1982). Ahmed discusses the relationship between missionary and contemporary western feminism's ethnocentric attitudes towards and assumptions about the position of women in Arab culture relative to that in North America and Western Europe. Ahmed maintains that while Arab women are excluded from male society they in turn exclude men from a female-centred culture. The result may be that such a system is potentially less oppressive to or isolating for women than life in a suburban nuclear family.

⁶ Rosemary Gagan, "More Than 'A Lure to the Gilded Bower of Matrimony': The Education of the Personnel of the WMS of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1881-1925." unpublished paper, 1988. See also Jane Hunter, "The Home and the World: the Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," in Leslie A. Flemming et al., *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), p. 160.

⁷ See Rosemary Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence: The Personnel of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1881-1925." unpublished Phd. dissertation. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, microform, 1989, p. 39. One year after its inception in 1881 the Methodist Woman's Missionary Society had established twenty auxiliary units, totalling nine hundred members who raised three thousand dollars. These women consisted of the volunteers who canvassed for spiritual and monetary support as well as those who joined the executive of Woman's Missionary Society Boards. While 304 actual missionary women were sent out by the W.M.S. during a forty-four year history, thousands of women volunteered the work that made it possible for both female and male missionaries to pursue vocational and occupational commitments and goals.

for activity with traditional concerns of propriety. Many women desired participation in more than the fund-raising and background voluntarism that characterized many church congregations. Field, volunteer and administrative personnel requirements for the world missions enterprise furnished jobs that met the needs of many church women. Desires for full ecclesiastical suffrage as preachers in Canada's Protestant churches were not addressed until somewhat later in the twentieth century.⁸ Central to the growing debate concerning Methodist women's proper role in the public work of the church were broader concerns about the proper sphere of women "and the social role of organized Christianity".¹⁰ The feminization of the mission fields created spaces where religious and social-minded women "could pursue Christian activism as a fulfilling and rewarding career."¹¹

Protestant religious groups actively recruited English-Canadian women into volunteer work for the worldwide missionary enterprise. Membership drives called for women as workers for both foreign and domestic missions.¹² Canadian Methodists and

---

⁸ See *Mandate* (Jan/Feb, 1986), p. 17. "Taking it out of the masculine." On November 4, 1936 at St. Andrew's United Church in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan Lydia Gruchy became the first woman ordained by the United Church of Canada. While the church General Council and presbyteries debated the ordination of women from 1923 until 1936, the eminently qualified Gruchy spent the years as a home missionary among east-European immigrants in the west.

⁹ See Ruth Brouwer, "The Canadian Methodist Church and Ecclesiastical Suffrage for Women, 1902-1914," *Canadian Methodist Historical Society: Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 4. Ecclesiastical enfranchisement was the "right of women to participate as lay members in all areas of church government and administration."

¹⁰ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," pp. iv-v.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Missionary Outlook: Representing the General Missionary Society and the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada in Canada (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms), advertisement, "A Message to Women of Canadian Methodism," (October 1920). In 1920, of 280,000 women members of the
(continued...)

Presbyterians sought women not only as missionaries but as doctors, nurses, deaconesses, church workers, women's auxiliary and Board members. The following advertisement is typical of those found in church tracts and journals of the era:

The demand for earnest, consecrated well-qualified young women has never been more pressing than at the present time. The call for evangelistic workers, teachers for the several departments, doctors and nurses in Japan, China, and the Home Field, is imperative.¹²

The Presbyterian Church's goal was "every woman in the church a [active] member of the Woman's Missionary Society".¹⁴ The Anglican and Presbyterian Churches' "Forward Movement" campaigns¹⁵ sponsored by the missionary societies and auxiliaries¹⁶ encouraged women to go beyond their duties as "simply church-going women".¹⁷ Women and girls of all Protestant churches were identified as "directly

---

¹²(...continued)

Methodist Church, 70,000 were active in the Woman's Missionary Society; Presbyterian and Westminster, (Vol. VII, No. 2, January 8, 1920), p. 56. Missionary Outlook(September, 1913), p. 205. Full-page advertisement specified that "2,000,000 Women Already Enlisted, Opportunity to Know The World, Employment Steady, Chance for Advancement, The Society Atmosphere is Exceptionally Healthful, It Develops Broad Intelligence, Joyous Service, New Delight in Prayer".

¹³ Missionary Outlook(January, 1916), p. 18.

¹⁴ H.L. Platt, The Story of the Years: A History of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada 1881-1906 Vol. I(Toronto, 1908) pp. 146-47.

¹⁵ Presbyterian and Westminster, "National Aspects of the Forward Movement appeal," (Vol. VII, No. 4, January 22, 1920), p. 1. and (Vol. VIII, No.2, January 8, 1920), p. 56.

¹⁶ See The Leaflet, (Vol. 31, June, 1920), p. 248. The Anglican Church Women's Auxiliary did not exercise the degree of independence of the separate Women's Missionary Society Boards of either the Methodist or Presbyterian Churches. They also did not evangelize to the same degree as those other denominations. See also Vera K. Fast, Missionary on Wheels: Eva Hasell and the Sunday School Caravan Missions(Toronto: Anglican Book Centre), 1979.

¹⁷ The Leaflet, (Vol. 31, November, 1919). Missionary Outlook (October 1920), "A Message to Women of Canadian Methodism."

responsible for the missionary work of the church".¹⁸ Religious and secular English-Canadian attitudes towards non-English-speaking cultural and racial groups¹⁹ informed the activities of Protestant Canadian women in the service of the churches. Calls for assimilation to what Howard Palmer has called "Anglo-conformity", accompanied by a new concentration on the Home Field of missions, greeted the increases in Canada's non-English-speaking population. Successful assimilation was seen to promise the survival of a strong and homogeneous Protestant Canada. The process of Canadianization or assimilation to Anglo-conformity²⁰ consisted of instilling through religious, educational and cultural instruction a knowledge of and respect for Canada's dominant Protestant institutions. The church and to a certain extent government and the general public perceived women in roles as the primary socializers required to achieve those assimilation objectives.²¹ Like Protestant American women overseas, Canadian women in the Home Fields were employed as disseminators of Protestant cultural values within non-English-speaking communities.

---

¹⁸ Women's Auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, The W.A. : What It Is and What It Does (Popular Information series No. 10, 1921).

¹⁹ In much of the primary literature to be discussed race was employed in reference to not only colour of skin but also ethnicity and/or nationality.

²⁰ See Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in Francis and Smith, eds. Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation (Toronto: Holt, 1982). Palmer employs the term Anglo-conformity in his discussion of three primary theories of assimilation in operation since large groups of non-English-speaking people began emigrating to Canada. See Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977), p. 341. Kostash refers to Canadianization as a more liberal, yet covert version of Anglicization.

²¹ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 351. After 1900, the W.M.S. of the Methodist Church devoted increasing numbers of personnel and amounts of money to the conversion and assimilation of European immigrants to "the values of an English-Protestant Canada."

As in the earlier established foreign missions enterprise Protestant Home Missions commentaries maintained that only when women evangelized other women and young children would change occur in the foreign settlements.²² Some articles explicitly stated that male teachers and immigrant men were ineffective as socializers for children. Men were assigned the fatherly role of disciplinarian. The nurturing qualities associated with motherhood were required for uplifting and assimilating foreign populations. Disciplined as the immigrants had been by harsh political and economic realities,²³ some commentators suggested that Eastern-Europeans now required the gentler touch of women. In addition, neither Ukrainian nor English-Canadian men possessed the same highly moral capabilities of women to directly influence the development of individuals and communities. Nor could they be trusted to pass on assimilable characteristics to socially and culturally isolated women. One article suggested that "If you can get at the women, you strike at the heart of the problem, for through them the children learn."²⁴ For the W.M.S. the Canadianization of male heads of households remained secondary to the uplift of women and children. A variety of sources insisted that:

---

²² Missionary Outlook(April, 1920), p. 80. Immigrant women were seen by Canadians as socially and culturally isolated due to their lack of English language training. Rural immigrants were viewed as especially so since the settlements in which they lived and worked centred around their own cultural group. Men and children through work and school were exposed to situations where they could learn English.

²³ See Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History, Occasional Paper No.10(Historic Sites Service: Alberta Culture, 1985), pp. 9-21. Martynowych provides a very good overview of the material conditions under which Ukrainian people lived in Europe. They were a subject people, colonized by a succession of European countries. The large peasant class was oppressed by a system that included absentee landlords, an elite clergy, a foreign ruling class, a tax burden out of proportion with their incomes and an almost complete absence of schooling.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

No one but the Canadian women can reach alien women in their homes and provide the acquaintanceship and friendship without which they are limited to alien associates that keep them un-Canadian.²⁵

Much of the primary documentation under discussion in this thesis related glum predictions of the future faced by a Canada filled with unassimilated alien populations. Women had to succeed in incorporating a maternalist vision with the missionary woman's "spirit of service and sacrifice"²⁶ in a committed effort to Canadianize the newcomers.

Christian activism or evangelical social gospelism involved both a spiritual and social service commitment to society.²⁷ The social gospel pledge fit well with women's prescribed roles as the moral guardians of culture. The evangelical commitment and the prescription for women's social welfare work facilitated their access to the public world. According to Howard Palmer, the social gospel as the underlying doctrine for many social reform movements on the prairies "attempted to imbue Protestantism with a concern for the salvation of society as well as the salvation of the individual soul."²⁸ Evangelicalism in the Ukrainian settlements, as elsewhere in Canada, can be understood as a complex

---

²⁵ Missionary Outlook (November 1918), p. 263. "News from Our Missionary Fields."

²⁶ Women's Missionary Society, Alberta Branch, The History of the Women's Missionary Society in Alberta (United Church of Canada, 1951), p. 55. In their 1925 history the W.M.S. stated that the qualities of a good missionary are those of service and sacrifice-the very qualities that Protestant culture considers exemplary in all women.

²⁷ See Salem Bland, The New Christianity or The Religion of the New Age (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, [1920]1973). The social gospel combined the need to reform the sinner (non-evangelical Christian) with the desire to transform the environment in which she or he existed. Such concurrent reformation was necessary to guarantee the eventual complete transformation of society. This transformation heralded the Second Coming of Christ.

²⁸ Howard Palmer, p. 320.

social movement committed to converting the new Canadian population but also to servicing their social service needs on an under-developed western frontier.

Commentators, feminists among them,²⁹ identified late nineteenth-century Canadian women's prescribed primary homemaking roles as potential sources of power in the public realm. Here was an institutionalized private sphere where women's authority was legitimately centred. That sphere functioned as women's base of operation and moral retreat. From their homes women could influence the transformation of unassimilated immigrants and the working-class Canadian.³⁰

The Canadian home was viewed as under attack on many fronts. Church missionaries and commentators were often as scathing in their criticisms of Canadian homes where drinking and Sabbath-breaking occurred, as they were concerning the alien aspect of home and hearth in the immigrant bloc settlements in western Canada. Women were to arrest this moral decline of the Canadian hearth and home. But specifically in these immigrant communities, Methodist women were to influence through Protestant Christian domesticity the training of immigrant girls as the next generation of Canadian wives and mothers. It was expected that those women would in turn manage their homes

---

²⁹ See Nellie L. McClung, *In Times Like These* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972); McClung, *Painted Fires* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1925). McClung, *An Insistent Call* (Toronto: Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Rm. 410 Wesley Building, 1919). See also Patricia Saidak, "The Inception of the Home Economics Movement in English Canada, 1890-1910: In Defence of the Cultural Importance of the Home," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1987.

³⁰ See Janet Sharistanian, ed., *Gender, Ideology and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives*. Contributions in Women's Studies, Number 67 (New York: Greenwood Press), 1986, p. 7. Sharistanian discusses the problems associated with employing the public/private dichotomy in historical analysis. But she goes on to point out that this dichotomy continues to be of value when studying white middle-class western European and North American women existing in specific geographic and cultural contexts.

and influence their children according to the Protestant Canadian ethic. As Protestantism was equated with being Canadian, the Canadian Protestant home became the litmus test for successful uplift and assimilation. Christian domesticity would banish eastern religion from the hearts and instill Protestant ethics of cleanliness into the homes of eastern-European immigrants.³¹

Like their colleagues in other Protestant denominational missions in the various Ukrainian settlements and other missions throughout Canada, Methodist women missionaries of the W.M.S. were committed to the patriotic goal of a "Canada for Christ".³² Middle-class Canadian women took advantage of new opportunities for work outside of the home as well as chances to express their often sincere social service concerns within the missionary enterprise.³³ Published religious and political rhetoric demanding the training of young children and women to the ideals of the Christian Canadian home informed the actions of women working in the Home Field.

---

³¹ See Missionary Bulletin: Containing Letters from Missionaries and Missionary Superintendents to their Fellow-Workers at Home (March-June, 1910), Vol. VI, No.3. Letter from Rev. J.K. Smith, Chipman, Pakan, Alberta, December 8, 1909. "Clean hearts and clean homes" is taken from a letter written by Rev. Smith to his superintendent and reprinted in the Missionary Bulletin. The Reverend felt that work of missionaries among Ukrainian peoples would facilitate their conversion to Protestantism (clean hearts) and quicken their subsequent Canadianization (clean homes). See also Missionary Outlook (March, 1912), p. 65. "Among the Austrians", Ella M. MacLean, Kolokreeka, Alberta. MacLean wrote that "the term 'foreigner' seems to apply less and less, and we get a vision of clean homes and clean hearts, with the better day coming, when this colony in Northern Alberta will be a credit to our land." See also Missionary Outlook (June, 1923), "work Among Our New Canadians in Edmonton and Vicinity," W.H. Pike, Superintendent of Missions, p. 128. Pike also refers to the work towards "cleaner children from cleaner homes."

³² Women's Missionary Society, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Our Jubilee Story, 1864-1924 (Toronto, 1921), p. 80 and Missionary Outlook: Representing the General Missionary Society and the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, October, 1920), p. 219. In their work among Ukrainians the Methodist Church primarily worked in the Alberta settlements with the Presbyterians focusing on those colonies in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

³³ H.L. Platt, The Story of the Years, p. 128.

By 1898 Woman's Missionary Society selection boards began explicitly enquiring into an applicant's spiritual vocation. As a consequence, "the W.M.S. Board of Managers demanded as their representatives clever, experienced and devout women."³⁴ As of 1894 acceptable candidates were required to attend the National Methodist Training School for deaconesses for a minimum of one term. Of the 304 missionary women, approximately one-third attended, with others entering service prior to the requirement or being exempted because they possessed adequate education. "The courses at the Training School were designed to repair a multiplicity of defects in both religious knowledge and character."³⁵ In addition to classroom education the W.M.S. Board of Managers also took into account applicants' command of the womanly arts of "music, painting and fancy needlework."³⁶ Rosemary Gagan points out that many of the applicants and Board members would have been "the daughters of Victorian middle-class families expected to adorn the household with their skills."³⁷ And for women who applied with less than adequate academic schooling or who possessed insufficient training in the womanly arts, domestic experience was regarded as a useful skill. Those women had the skills

---

³⁴ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 62. See also response by missionary correspondent Mrs. W.E. Ross to a letter from pioneering Wahstao missionary Jesse Munro. [The Christian Guardian (September 28, 1904), p. 15.] Ross suggests that the letter illustrates that Misses Munro and Edmonds exhibited by establishing the first W.M.S. mission among Ukrainians "the three requisites in missionaries, Grace, Grit, [and] Gumption."

³⁵ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," pp. 119-120. Gagan relates that one young woman was referred to the school due to a lack of neatness, a prerequisite if she was to work in the Native home missions. She was 'reformed' and later assigned to the home missions where she worked for 30 years.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 58 & 79. According to Gagan, for 40% of the W.M.S. women there was no prior occupational data. But of the women for whom there was data, the majority did not work outside of the home before working as missionaries.

necessary to "work among immigrants and for the operation of boarding schools among the Indians."³⁸ An active church woman applying as a missionary candidate would have been familiar with the W.M.S. Annual Reports detailing the education, experience, age,³⁹ marital status and moral character required.⁴⁰

Personal commitments as well as political prescriptions and social opportunities informed Methodist missionary women's work to uplift and assimilate through the influences of Christian domesticity. Opportunity and commitment constrained by social prescriptions, restrictions and personal limitations alternated with personal and social empowerment in the lives of missionary women. Nationalism, imperialism, racism, religion and a maternalist ethic intersected in the lives of these and other women in the early decades of the twentieth century. These factors informed the development of assimilation rhetoric in Canada.⁴¹ The rapidly changing realities of middle-class and other Canadian women influenced the development of English-Canadian nationalism and the establishment of public education and social services on the prairies.

Protestant Canadian women were seen by others and believed themselves to be uniquely qualified, by virtue of Protestant cultural mores, to integrate new immigrants

---

³⁸ Ibid., p. 89.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 59-60. Official age limits for all W.M.S. missionaries was 22-30 years. 25% of women were actually past thirty upon first assignment, many of whom became home missionaries. Of the lower age limit, only 2% were waived, with that limit being raised to 25 years in 1895.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 70. According to Gagan it is impossible to determine how many missionaries possessed a high school education as each province had different regulations and issued untransferable diplomas and certificates.

⁴¹ See Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century."

into Canadian society.⁴² Despite the invaluable contribution made by missionaries to the social welfare of new Canadians and the development of social services and educational facilities on the prairie frontier, the mandate of missionaries remained that of conversion. Conversion meant not only a religious transformation but also the embracing of a Protestant ideal of what was acceptably Canadian.

All of Canada's Protestant denominations wished to influence the assimilation of non-English-speaking, non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant groups and Native peoples in Canada.⁴³ The Protestant Home Fields included missions not only to eastern-European immigrants, but also to Asian, Native, French, Jewish, and other European and Middle-eastern communities.⁴⁴ The English-speaking state and church perceived immigrants, aside from those of Anglo-Saxon or Northern European descent, as presenting particular problems for a smooth process of assimilation into Canadian culture.⁴⁵ Asian and Native

---

⁴² Michael Owen, "Keeping Canada God's Country": Presbyterian School-Homes for Ruthenian Children," eds. Dennis L. Butcher et al., Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), pp. 187-88.

⁴³ See Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 339. It is possible to group as a whole the missions to European communities in the prairie west, in south-eastern British Columbia and parts of southern Ontario. Gagan splits the home missionary women into four sub-groupings that included missionaries in the Montreal area, work among Natives in British Columbia and Alberta, work among eastern-European communities in Alberta and work elsewhere that included Northern Ontario, other parts of western Canada, and rescue work in Asian communities. Her subgroupings work well for the purposes of this thesis as it is broadly concerned with women ministering in Ukrainian communities in Alberta.

⁴⁴ MacGillivray, Reapers in Many Fields, p. 263. Over time the various Women's Missionary and Church Boards met the changing makeup of Canada's non-English-speaking population. In the last decades of the nineteenth century the Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican Churches recognized the departments of Indians and Miners. By 1925 the W.M.S. of the United Church of Canada had six separate departments conducting medical, educational and social service work. The departments were Indian, Hospital, School Home, French, Social Service, Strangers. See also Missionary Outlook, (July 1920), p. 152; Our Jubilee Story, p. 57; and The New Outlook (Toronto: Ryerson Press, June 10, 1925), p. 31.

⁴⁵ See Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada 1885-1945 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990).

groups were considered unassimilable due to racial and cultural barriers.⁴⁶ The French Canadians simply wore down missionary assimilation efforts. This was largely due to their insistence on a separate cultural identity and an ability to both ignore and resist the missionary presence.⁴⁷ Eastern Europeans also fit into this problem category because of their different culture and presumed racial inferiority. Both church and state believed that white Europeans such as the Ukrainians, Russians and Poles, while culturally very different from English Canadians, could with a lot of help assimilate into the general population. Like most of these groups presenting special problems, the Ukrainian immigrant⁴⁸ became for a time the focus of concentrated assimilation efforts on the part of various church groups.⁴⁹

Early twentieth-century church historians and commentators such as Methodist educator Edmund Oliver saw the history of the Protestant churches in Canada linked with

---

⁴⁶ See Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 358. Gagan states that the head tax of \$500 levied on Asian immigrants as advised by the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration was linked to the belief that Asians were completely unassimilable and as such constituted a danger to the nation.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 350-51.

⁴⁸ The words Austrian, Bukowinian, Galician, Ruthenian and Russian were employed in reference to ethnic Ukrainians in Canada. Austrian and Russian refer to ruling governments, Galician and Bukowinian to geographic provinces and to ethnicity with Ruthenian being a German linguistic term used to describe the speakers of the Ukrainian language. Austrian and Ruthenian were the terms most commonly used by the Protestant Church workers. In order to avoid confusion for the reader as to what group of immigrant Canadians are the subject of the thesis, the now commonly used Ukrainian will be employed throughout. It should be understood by the reader that quotes and notes taken from primary and secondary materials employing Ruthenian, Austrian, Bukowinian, Galician and Russian, are to be read as Ukrainian. I arrived at this decision after consulting with Professor Marilyn J. Barber, Department of History, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1990. See Missionary Bulletin (June, 1910), Vol. VI, No. 4, Rev. J.K. Smith, p. 749-50. See also John C. Lehr, Alberta Historical Review (Autumn, 1973), Vol. 21, No. 4, "Ukrainian Houses in Alberta". Missionary Outlook (June, 1910), p. 143 for missionary Alice Sanford's suggestion that the church employ more correct terminology when referring to the various eastern-European ethnic groups.

⁴⁹ See Edmund Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1933), p. 253. By the end of the 1920's Canada was comprised of at least sixty different nationalities.

national history.⁵⁰ Oliver and his primarily central-Canadian contemporaries⁵¹ identified existing and potential problems with the numbers of unassimilated immigrant communities in the west. They posited from that a "threat [to] Canada's Anglo-Saxon character".⁵² The Rev. E.D. McLaren suggested that the westward-expanding Dominion must build a foundation:

Religion and morality must be built into the framework of our Canadian nationality. If our expectations regarding the land we love are to be realized, the progress of the Church must keep pace with the material development of the country. The most patriotic enterprise a Canadian can take part in is the enterprise of Home Missions.⁵³

Canadian Methodism projected a clear goal of Home Missions expansion into the 'unoccupied areas'⁵⁴ of Canada, thereby winning the frontier.⁵⁵ The mass migration

---

⁵⁰ See Edmund Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier. Oliver identified the spiritual and geographic frontier of the Canadian west as the primary sphere of the Home Missions field.

⁵¹ See Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," pp. 63-64. According to Gagan by 1911, 60% of Canadian Methodism's population lived in Ontario where the spiritual base of Methodism had existed since the late nineteenth century. In 1920, 75% of W.M.S. membership and 66% of W.M.S. revenue came from the Ontario and Montreal Conferences. I believe that central Canada's larger population and consequent greater commitment to Methodism in part explains the disproportionately large numbers of Ontario-born women who worked as missionaries in the west.

⁵² Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932" (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p. 91. See also Oliver, Winning the Frontier. Prior to the first census in 1871 there was little continental immigration, with less than 1% of Canadian population being New Canadians. Those from Britain and the United States were not considered 'new' as they possessed cultural and racial characteristics if not at par with Canadian at least capable of relatively easy reformation.

⁵³ Rev. E.D. McLaren D.D., Reapers in Many Fields (1906), p. 42. See also Mrs. Frederick C. Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, 1824-1924 (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, The Young People's Forward Movement, 1925).

⁵⁴ Missionary Outlook (March, 1920) p. 72. Unevangelized fields or areas of the world were often referred to with military terminology such as "unoccupied areas" or frontier battlegrounds.

⁵⁵ Edmund Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier, pp. v-vi.

of people into the west for the Klondike Gold Rush⁵⁶ and to settle the region with agrarian immigrants facilitated the establishment of the Protestant churches in that region.⁵⁷ The new field of Home Missions came to symbolize not only the geographic frontier but a spiritual one as well.⁵⁸ A W.M.S. history recorded that:

the pioneer missionaries went from settlement to settlement in this new country, preaching and teaching and establishing churches that were to be beacon lights for the years to come.⁵⁹

The religious commitment to a "Canada for Christ"⁶⁰ became the rallying cry of patriotic missionary nation-builders who saw immigrant uplift and assimilation to the Anglo-Canadian norm as a prerequisite to national unity.⁶¹ An editorial in 'the Globe' commenting on the need for law and order on the frontier concluded that

---

⁵⁶ See Women's Missionary Society, Presbyterian Church in Canada. Our Jubilee Story, 1864-1924(Toronto, 1924), p. 79. The Home Mission Fields were first taken up by the Presbyterian Church because existing Societies joining that church wanted their work continued and saw this as a way of involving more women in the field.

⁵⁷ See Our Jubilee Story, p. 57. Settlement on the prairies and in British Columbia opened up districts for the church to continue "enlarging its borders".

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁵⁹ Women's Missionary Society, Alberta Branch. The History of the Women's Missionary Society in Alberta(United Church of Canada, 1951), p. 4.

⁶⁰ Our Jubilee Story, p. 80. See also Missionary Outlook(October, 1920), p. 219.

⁶¹ Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914(Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1970) pp. 217 and 232. According to Berger the development of an English-Canadian patriotism was rooted in the established Protestant mission. Religious and secular purposes were perceived as one and the same in the battle to ensure a Protestant Christian Canada. See also; Missionary Outlook(January, 1920),"The Present Church and the Future of Canada," p. 6.; "The Church and the Commonwealth,"(April, 1920), p. 76.; "Canada for Christ," (October, 1920), p. 219. See also Rev. E.D. McLaren D.D., "Home Mission Methods and Principles," Reapers in Many Fields, ed. W.S. MacTavish(Toronto: Westminster Co, 1904), p. 42. See also The Presbyterian and Westminster, "The Forward Movement of the Presbyterian Church in Canada: the most pressing work is the Home Mission Field," (Vol. VIII, No. 2, January 8, 1920), p. 56. and "National Aspects of the Forward Movement Appeal,"(Vol. VII No. 4, January 22, 1920). See also The New Outlook(June 10, 1925), E.H. Oliver "The Place and Work of the United Church in the Life of Canada."

"Christianity can do more for the policing of the West than even the riders of the plains."⁶² The Home Field became the front protecting Canada from racial and cultural dilution.

After the First World War English-speaking Canadians began asserting Canada's patriotic independence from Britain. Canada's future was tied to but separate from "the Motherland".⁶³ Some patriots perceived the still unassimilated Ukrainian prairie communities as an insult to returning soldiers and Canada's recently fought for Protestant Christian heritage. Such beliefs led to blatantly racist⁶⁴ immigration policies and the development of educational and social programs geared to ensuring a "strong and loyal homogenous population."⁶⁵ In these post-war years English-Canada refocused on establishing the entire country's national character as white-Anglo-Saxon and Protestant.⁶⁶ In 1919 Canadian immigration policy went from being one of active recruitment in the pre-war decades, predicated primarily on

---

⁶² Missionary Outlook (August, 1911), full front page heading, "Mission Work a Patriotic Duty," quoted from an editorial from presumably the Globe and Mail.

⁶³ Missionary Outlook (October, 1920), "Canada for Christ," p. 219.

⁶⁴ The white imperial obligation to discharge the 'white man's burden' through civilizing the ignorant races of the world was translated to a Canadian immigration context. Anglo-Canadian patriotism became synonymous with fulfilling the responsibilities necessary to ensuring English Protestant cultural dominance: discharging the will of God on the home-based front. See also Rev. E.C. McLaren D.D., "Home Mission Methods and Principles," in W.S. McTavish ed., Reapers in Many Fields: A Survey of Canadian Presbyterian Missions (Toronto: Published for the Committee on Young People's Societies, Presbyterian Church in Canada [by] the Westminster Co., 1906), p. 218.

⁶⁵ See Marilyn Barber, "The School in the Community: Rural Saskatchewan in the 1920's," Paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, Vancouver, 1983.

⁶⁶ See Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979).

economic considerations,⁶⁷ to one in which "the principal criteria became political and cultural acceptability".⁶⁸ This new policy restricted emigration for Germans and their war-time allies as well as for culturally distinct groups such as Ukrainians, Russians and Finns. At the same time, the new policy encouraged Anglo-Saxon agriculturalists and industrial workers to emigrate. This more restrictive policy reflected a new stage in the movement to ensure an ethnically pure Canada. Canada still required agrarian immigrants but did not want those of non-British stock.

Concentrated government efforts to quickly assimilate the existing non-English-speaking immigrant population "replaced the pre-war assumptions that European immigrants gradually would be assimilated."⁶⁹ State-sponsored schools and social services within the immigrant communities joined the churches in encouraging assimilation to Anglo-conformity. Canada as a nation responded, not necessarily as positively, to the situation the national churches⁷⁰ had identified fifteen to twenty years earlier. The growing interest of the state in the education and consequent assimilation of these immigrant groups depended, as did the church-initiated work of the pre-war period, on the continued participation of missions-minded English-Canadian women.

---

⁶⁷ *Our Jubilee Story*, p. 80. The church histories see the pre-1914 immigration policy that encouraged an agrarian class of immigrant to settle the prairies, as responsible for the unassimilated nature of the Ukrainian bloc settlements on the prairies.

⁶⁸ Avery, p. 90. Taken from *House of Commons Debates*, 1919, p. 771, 1867073, 2280-90; CAR, 1919, pp. 503-21.

⁶⁹ See Marilyn Barber, "The School in the Community: Rural Saskatchewan in the 1920's."

⁷⁰ The Methodist and Presbyterian Churches considered themselves Canada's national churches.

I am primarily interested in discussing the work of the forty-four Methodist women missionaries who served in the Ukrainian Star bloc settlement. But while the thesis will concentrate on these women and their ministry it will also draw on data from the other denominations and Methodist women in other missions. That information will be employed in defining a general mission credo and an accurate Canadian context in which to view these women. I will also use material from male generated sources such as Superintendents of Missions and letters of General Board missionary preachers.

The thesis is concerned with the years 1904-1925. 1904 was the year that the first W.M.S. Methodist missionaries were sent into east-central Alberta to minister to the Ukrainian population.⁷¹ 1925 was the year that the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches largely merged into the United Church of Canada.⁷² Interest in missions to the Ukrainians tapered off during World War I, giving way to nationalistic hysteria about alien and potentially seditious foreign populations residing in the country.⁷³ In the immediate post-war years investment in missions⁷⁴ and

---

⁷¹ See Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 367. According to the Gagan the establishment of a mission by the Methodist General Board Missionary Society at Paken, Alberta in 1900 was linked to the 1898 petition of English-speaking settlers to the Methodist Church. The Church was requested to ask the federal government to limit Eastern European immigration into the area. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church established itself at Paken in 1904.

⁷² Missionary Outlook (December, 1920), "A Study in Canadian Immigration," p. 266. The Canadian Protestant denominations largely amalgamated into a United Church in 1925, partly in response to Canada's "weak condition" and the "national danger" inherent in the continued existence of unassimilated bloc communities.

⁷³ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," pp. 366-67. In 1898 12,000 Ukrainians settled in western Canada. See also Jean R. Burnet with Howard Palmer, "Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples," eds., R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, The Prairie West: Historical Readings (Edmonton: Pica Press, 1985), p. 134. According to Burnet and Palmer many of the supporters of church union were also "caught up in the agrarian revolt and the Progressive Party."

concerns about unassimilated foreign populations guided the activities of the church and government policy-making⁷⁵ concerning the assimilation of non-English-speaking populations.⁷⁶ The missions became administratively more complicated in the early 1920's when joint committees for Presbyterian and Methodist mission boards were formed in anticipation of eventual church union. The thesis will necessarily address some post-war aspects and church union concerns of this mission field. But such observations will serve mainly to facilitate discussion of the Methodist W.M.S. missionaries. Dates will be more fluid when analyzing the prescriptive literature in Chapter Two. Social transformations occurring throughout nineteenth-century Britain and America influenced beliefs concerning middle-class white Canadian women's proper places in the home and subsequent movements into social-service activities and occupations.

---

⁷⁴(...continued)

⁷⁴ Missionary Outlook(July 1920), p. 147. While physical expansion of the mission enterprise preceded the war, the war years and beyond brought with them a renewed commitment to maintaining and consolidating the fields already held and to the continued work of Canadianizing the immigrant.

⁷⁵ The Federal government, with an active immigration policy was not opposed to bloc settlements in the early years of mass immigration, since the settlements encouraged immigrants to largely remain on the land and not migrate to urban centres.

⁷⁶ Presbyterian and Westminster(Toronto: Westminster Co., Vol. 8, 1920), p. 341. See also Missionary Outlook(January 1930), "The Present Church and the Future Canada," p. 6. This article discusses the missionary commitment to both country and to Christ. It explicitly ties the Protestant missions with the development of post-First World War Canadian nationalism. See also Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Canadian Women and the Foreign Missionary Movement: A Case Study of Presbyterian Women's Involvement at the Home Base and in Central India, 1876-1914," unpublished Phd. dissertation, Ottawa: National Library of Canada, microform, 1988. Brouwer elaborates on the role played by the missions enterprise in first drawing Canada into the "work of empire" and the eventual development of a Protestant Canadian national spirit.

These forty-four W.M.S. Methodist missionaries were stationed in missions and School Homes⁷⁷ located throughout the Star bloc settlement and within the city of Edmonton. The Ukrainian bloc⁷⁸ settlements in western Canada primarily follow the line of the old Canadian Northern Railway running "in a continuous line from South-Eastern Manitoba to Northern Alberta."⁷⁹ The two hundred miles of Saskatchewan Valley between Lloydminster and Edmonton attracted large numbers of immigrants and consequently of missionaries intent on ministering to their social and spiritual needs. Northeast of Edmonton about 50,000 of the approximately 200 ,000 Ukrainian immigrants⁸⁰ to the prairies settled in the Star bloc settlement. According to Orest Martynowych:

By 1914 the [Star] Ukrainian bloc settlement extended over 70 miles from Edna-Star in the west to slawa in the east and over 40 miles from Smoky Lake in the north to the outskirts of Mundare and Vegreville in

---

⁷⁷ See Gagan, "More than 'a Lure to the Gilded Bower of Matrimony.'" The women to be profiled in my thesis constitute approximately 14% of the total number assigned by the W.M.S. in its 44 years of operation in both foreign and domestic fields.

⁷⁸ Howard and Tamara Palmer, eds., Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity(Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), p. 315. The Palmers suggest that bloc settlements served the purposes of attracting settlers to the land; a political purpose later criticized for encouraging cultural pluralism rather than assimilation.

⁷⁹ Robert England, The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement, 1896-1934(London, P.S. King & Son, Ltd. 1936), pp. 203-05. There also existed three smaller settlements north of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, at Leduc, Alberta and in the Peace River. In the 1930's "The Ukrainian communities in Western Canada comprise[d] the largest rural groupings of Ukrainians to be found in any country outside Europe, though there are very large Ukrainian communities in Brazil."

⁸⁰ Estimations of total Ukrainian immigration population varies considerably from source to source as ethnicity was often obscured by inaccurate names such as Ruthenian, Galician or Bukowinian or was hidden by immigrants themselves. Prior to 1921, many ethnic Ukrainians were lost in the census that recorded them as Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, or Russian.

the south. It comprised 70 townships and an area of about 2,500 square miles.⁸¹

This area of Alberta experienced one of the earliest heavy concentrations of Ukrainian immigration to the prairies.⁸² Such numbers may in part explain the intensity of mission to these communities by the Methodist and to a lesser extent the Presbyterian Churches. [See Appendix 7, p. 178]

The Ukrainian Star bloc settlement was not comprised of completely homogeneous ethnic communities.⁸³ Of ten municipalities in existence between 1905 and 1917 50% of the people were of Ukrainian origin. And in only five of those communities did the Ukrainian population reach 75%. 70% of the Star settlement's population, or 27,604 persons had a Ukrainian heritage.⁸⁴ British settlers tended to dominate in the small railway towns with European immigrants settling the rural areas. In the 1870's the first white settlers arrived in the Edmonton area. By the mid-1880's, 25% [1000 people] of the population was still of Native origin. In 1891 the first French-speaking people arrived [63 people], soon to be followed by English-Canadians from Parry Sound, English-speaking Metis, a large contingent of

---

⁸¹ Martynowych, p. 91.

⁸² See Martynowych, pp. 8-11. Major immigration of Ukrainians to Canada occurred in two waves. The first was from 1891 through 1914 and the second was from 1924 through 1930. Approximately 170,000 immigrants arrived in the first wave and another 60,000 arrived in the 1930's. The Star bloc settlement grew out of the first Ukrainian settlement in Canada.

⁸³ See Martynowych, p. 61. There were some homogenous blocs of Doukhobors and Mennonites within the larger Star settlement.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 59-62. All of the statistics employed in this discussion of the ethnic makeup of the population were taken from Martynowych's Occasional Paper.

Americans, some Rumanians and Poles and a substantial number of Germans.⁸⁵ The first permanent Ukrainian immigrants, comprising seven families, arrived in 1892.⁸⁶

By 1931 Canada's population was 10,377,000 persons. The national norm of ethnic distribution was 52% British, 28% French and 17.5% other Europeans. In the newly-populated Prairie provinces ethnic and religious composition deviated from the national norm with 51% from British stock, only 6% of French origin and 41% from European backgrounds. The remaining 2% would have included the substantially-reduced Native population. By the early thirties only 225,113 people in Canada were of Ukrainian origin, comprising just 2.1% of the national population. But 85% of those people lived in the three Prairie provinces.

Martynowych describes the rural communities of east-central Alberta "as a series of interdependent communities".⁸⁷ He does so because not all possessed established schools, churches, community halls, commercial and social services. Each community shared with its neighbours.⁸⁸ One major factor that informed the establishment of these and other services in small communities was the construction between 1905 and 1927 of three Canadian national Railway lines in the area. The railways brought with them educational, religious, medical and legal services, with communities tending to establish adjacent to the railway track. Community prosperity

---

⁸⁵ This population was comprised mainly of ethnic German Mennonites leaving Russia.

⁸⁶ Martynowych, pp. 86-91. On September 7, 1891, two Ukrainian farmers, Vasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw were the first Ukrainian immigrants to arrive in Canada. They travelled west and reported to others in Eastern Europe that the Canadian west was an ideal emigration destination.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 166.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

could be affected by where and when the railroad built its lines. The first track built in 1905 ran from Edmonton to Lloydminster. As a consequence, communities such as Vegreville[east of Edmonton], ministered to by the Presbyterian Church, received many services twelve to fifteen years before the W.M.S. missions and neighbouring communities north of the North Saskatchewan River.⁸⁹ The northerly link was built between 1917 and 1920. So the area north of the river, including communities and missions such as Smoky Lake, Pakan, Bellis, Edward, Wahstao and Kolokreeka remained 'interdependent' communities well into the 1920's.

A lack of European religious institutions ministering to Ukrainians in Canada informed the manner in which both Canadian Protestant and Catholic churches greeted the immigrants. While less well-examined in the literature⁹⁰ the French Canadian Catholic institution was as concerned about Ukrainian immigrants as were the Protestants. But that concern manifested in a different manner. After the Italian and French Catholic European hierarchies were divested of much of their secular power in the late nineteenth-century, religious orders were subjected to virulent anti-clerical attacks and impositions on their ecclesiastical freedoms. In the early twentieth-century Canada's Catholic Church was subjected to similar restrictions, but being independent of France became a refuge for many expelled European clergy and religious people.⁹¹ According to Martynowych, Quebec clergy were certain of their divine

---

⁸⁹ The Methodist home at Chipman, along this early train route was not established until well after the northerly route was built linking the Methodist establishments to Edmonton.

⁹⁰ There may be sources in the French-Canadian Catholic Church literature.

⁹¹ Martynowych, pp. 71-72.

mission to save Catholicism from the dangers of radicalism and secularism represented by political movements both on the European continent and within English-Canada. Part of that mission was a growing interest in Eastern European Greek Catholic immigrants to Canada, in order that they might be saved from free-thinking liberals and of course from Protestantism.⁹² The Roman Catholic Church also feared that Russian Orthodoxy would gain a foothold in the Greek Catholic community, thereby pulling eastern Catholics further towards the Byzantine rite and away from Rome.⁹³ The Russian Orthodox Church was the nearest religious body, based in the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, that could effectively minister the Byzantine rite to immigrants.⁹⁴ The Roman Catholic solution to this problem was to allow some of their own priests to change from the Latin to the Byzantine rite in order to minister to Greek Catholics in western Canada. Another solution was to sponsor Greek Catholic missionaries in missions among new Ukrainian immigrants.

The majority of these immigrants to North America were of the Greek Catholic[Uniate] or Greek Orthodox faiths. Like those belonging to the Greek Orthodox and Russian Orthodox religions, Greek or Uniate Catholics followed the Byzantine rite. And like those Orthodox groups, Greek Catholics also had married clergy. But Greek Catholics owed some allegiance to the Roman papacy. As a consequence of that relationship and a refusal to accept married clergy, the Roman

---

⁹² Ibid., p. 72.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 173.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 170-73.

Catholic hierarchy in North America forbade jurisdiction to 97% of Greek Catholic priests. That decision meant that most Greek Catholic communities did not have a resident priest or even one who appeared on an itinerant basis. Those communities were effectively left with no religious leadership.

Eastern European immigrants to North America, among them Ukrainians, were not pleased with the attention of the Roman Catholic Church. Greek Catholic immigrants in east-central Alberta feared the 'latinization' of their church if they permitted even 'converted' Roman Catholic clergy to minister. For these immigrants, celibate priests represented the educated Polish aristocracy who had subjugated them in Europe.⁹⁵ Beginning in the 1890's large numbers of Greek Catholic congregations converted to Russian Orthodoxy.⁹⁶ By the first decade of the twentieth-century there was a concerted effort on the part of Russian Orthodoxy to convert Eastern European Catholics in east-central Alberta. And by 1917 the Russian Orthodox Church offered its east-central Alberta congregations the services of 9 priests, 16 churches, one monastery, and 12 missions.⁹⁷ Many in those congregations had converted from Greek Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy to Russian Orthodoxy. There was one priest permanently stationed at Smoky Lake near Pakan in the heart of the Star bloc settlement.

---

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 181.

⁹⁶ These early converts would have been primarily in the United States. Until 1917 the Tsarist government provided \$80,000 annually for missionary work among Eastern European immigrants in North America.

⁹⁷ Martynowych, [ ], 174-74.

Being the first Ukrainian mission established by the Woman's Missionary Society, Wahstao mission at the Pakan settlement was located on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan River.⁹⁸ That position placed it in the centre of the Star settlement⁹⁹ approximately seventy-five miles northeast of Edmonton. There was also a ferry service across the river making "this site a natural gateway to the Ukrainian colony."¹⁰⁰ According to historian Walter P. Sharek the small communities in close geographical proximity to Edmonton, "the seat of Ukrainian activity and culture", received more publicity in the Ukrainian press than other more remote areas.¹⁰¹ This proximity to Edmonton and reputation in the local and ethnic presses for communities such as Lamont, Smoky Lake and Vegreville also explains why the W.M.S. missions concentrated in this area of the settlement. Later missions and schools were built as satellites around the original Pakan medical and W.M.S. Wahstao missions. Besides the W.M.S. Methodist women, the church sponsored General Board male missionaries and medical missionary doctors and nurses who staffed facilities in other communities. In addition, both men and women from the

---

⁹⁸ According to Mae Laycock, the Pakan settlement was named for a Native chief. And Ethelwyn Chace suggests in her 1947 memoir, p. 15 that Wahstao was a Native word meaning "The Place Whence Light Radiates."

⁹⁹ See Howard and Tamara Palmer, Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity. Between 1896 and 1914 about 170,000 Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada. The majority of these settled north and north-east of Edmonton. In 1921, there were 106,721 Ukrainians in Canada, with 23,826 in Alberta, with only 450 living in southern Alberta.

¹⁰⁰ G.N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians," Alberta Historical Review (Spring, 1971), Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 8-19.

¹⁰¹ Walter P. Sharek, "Primula-Heinsburg District," in Ukrainians in Alberta (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Pioneers Association of Alberta, 1981), p. 30.

Presbyterian church ministered in this settlement through their own hospitals, schools and missions.¹⁰²

The intention of my thesis is to examine the women who ministered to the Ukrainians in the rural missions, the Ruthenian Girls' Home and its associated school programs in Edmonton. The W.M.S. lists identify the workers at the Home and at other primary schools in Edmonton as being part of their missionary force. Deaconesses working at All Peoples' Missions in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto were assigned and paid by the General Board.¹⁰³ Women working at the Ruthenian Girls' Home serviced young Ukrainian girls seeking work from various communities throughout the Ukrainian settlement. Gagan separates urban missionaries and deaconesses from rural missionaries for the purposes of her quantitative analysis of the personnel of the W.M.S. Out of 304 Methodist women missionaries, Gagan estimates thirty-eight served in these mission communities.¹⁰⁴ Since I have included women who ministered in Edmonton, my numbers come to forty-four.

The Provincial Archives of Alberta houses a substantial collection of pertinent missionary photographs, some administrative records and most importantly working diaries spanning the years 1908-1916. The diaries were daily journals reporting on

---

¹⁰² See Michael Owen, "Keeping Canada God's County": Presbyterian School-Homes for Ruthenian Children," in Dennis L. Butcher et al., Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 1985). The Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church was formed in 1903. By 1914 they had established seven hospitals, seven school homes and paid the salaries of 8 deaconesses in eleven mission fields. By 1924 there were 10 school homes, boarding 190 students.

¹⁰³ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 365. The W.M.S. was not directly involved with the establishment of urban missionary work with European immigrants.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 371.

the comings and goings at Wahstao and Kolokreeka missions written by some thirteen women stationed over a nine year period. The diaries are especially useful in reconstructing the work activities and social life of the missionary community within the settlement. The W.M.S. missionaries employed photography as one means of gaining entry to the homes and society of the Ukrainian people and as a method of recording their work. These photographs of both the missionaries and the Ukrainian people are pertinent to this thesis and would have been useful in my analysis of the missions workers. Unfortunately I was unable to gain access to the photographic collection in Edmonton.

The United Church Archives in Toronto does not contain any personal papers of these forty-four Methodist women missionaries. Of these women, thirty-eight had biographical files at the Toronto archives. Those files usually consisted of a single sheet of paper stating where they were born and died. Other data included training and prior occupations as well as what missions were served in. The six women with no biographical files in Toronto are known to have served in these missions and are on the lists of the published W.M.S. Annual Reports.

In the Annual Reports of the Woman's Missionary Society there is a section devoted to "Austrian Work", in the early years almost exclusively concerning missions among Ukrainians in east-central Alberta. Contained therein are letters and reports sent to the Corresponding Secretary concerning work in the field. This literature also includes pamphlets written by these missionary women for the W.M.S. and by prominent Methodist women such as Nellie L. McClung. Methodist Church

periodicals such as The Missionary Outlook, The Missionary Bulletin, The Methodist Magazine, The Christian Guardian, and the Western Methodist Recorder¹⁰⁵ all contained signed letters from missionaries in the various fields. Although possibly edited for publication, together the letters and articles are important sources of information. These documents reveal a great deal about the W.M.S. agenda and the personal opinions, convictions and experiences of the women stationed at those prairies missions.

These edited letters dating from the first few years of W.M.S. activity among Ukrainians are the least problematic of a body of published material that became less and less a voice of missionary women as the third decade of the twentieth-century progressed. In the era following the First World War signed letters from women missionaries became rare and disappeared altogether as the space for "Austrian Work" reports decreased. The sections became edited reports often consisting of page-long articles written by male missions superintendents. Recently ordained Ukrainian men newly ministering to their own communities also took space in the periodicals previously assigned to the W.M.S. work. The focus of Home Missions shifted from east-central Alberta to Saskatchewan, Manitoba and urban centres with large Eastern and Southern European populations. Consequently, the section devoted to 'Austrian Work' and hence to women's letters became that of all European missions in Canada.

---

¹⁰⁵ In 1904, The Christian Guardian replaced its "Woman's World" column with one entitled "Woman's Missionary Society", assigning Mrs. E. Jeffers Graham the task of editor. Unfortunately, the periodical either reprinted letters directly from the Woman's Missionary Society Annual Reports or the same letters were submitted to each publication. The journal also had weekly columns entitled "The Family", "Young People", and "Deaconess World". Beginning in 1907 the periodical began featuring a column entitled "The Home and its Outlook", consisting of moralizing anecdotes for parents and children.

Rounding out the movement away from a focus on W.M.S. activities in Alberta, the post-war years also brought with them an increased preoccupation with questions of church union.

The primary literature consulted suggests a gendered response to assimilation. It was women who responded to the call for assimilation, performing much of the practical missionary society and field work in the Home Missions.¹⁰⁶ Women's voluntarism made it possible for the Canadian Methodist Church¹⁰⁷ and other Protestant denominations to expand onto the prairies. Both male and female missions societies' personnel and church commentators maintained that church-minded women possessed a gender-specific task to perform in the mission fields: an ability, and hence a duty to educate and uplift the non-white and non-Anglo-Saxon populations to Canadian standards. All sources perceived women as the primary "social housekeeping"¹⁰⁸ workers in the patriotic mission of Canadianization.

The secondary sources consulted include some important Canadian dissertations. Also included are studies in American missions history, articles specific to Canadian church and immigration history, and feminist theory as well as some broader material on Canadian intellectual and labour history. Key Canadian dissertations include Ruth Brouwer's "Canadian Women and Foreign Missionary

---

¹⁰⁶ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 30. Methodism was also characterized by female-dominated boards that often maintained a "fiercely independent stance" from the male-controlled General Boards.

¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Frederick C. Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, 1825-1924 (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, The Young People's Forward Movement, 1925), p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 39.

Movement: A Case Study of Presbyterian Women's Involvement at the Home Base and in Central India, 1876-1914" and Rosemary Gagan's "A Sensitive Independence: The Personnel of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1881-1925." In recent years there has been some interesting work done on women in the American missionary movement and on British 'women's communities'. Those books include Jane Hunter's The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China, Patricia Hill's The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920, and Martha Vicinus' Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women.

One chapter of Vicinus' book is devoted to the religious women of the Anglican high-church sisterhoods and predominantly evangelical deaconess movements. Vicinus concludes that Protestant religious communities were by far the most successful British women's communities. She suggests that these spiritual women expanded the private female moral sphere of influence into the public realm to become 'independent women'. In doing so, the experience of religious women is linked with that of other late-nineteenth to early-twentieth-century women entering newly created or feminized occupations.

Hunter and Hill's volumes firmly place women in the mission enterprise as independent women, choosing active lives as principal contributors to those missionary efforts. As missionaries and church workers in overseas missions these American women were mandated by W.M.S. Boards that supported their independence

from male-controlled boards and missions. Hunter maintains that while promoting the ideal of Protestant Christian domesticity encouraged at home, American women missionaries in exotic locations experienced an independence of spirit and person denied them in America. Personal papers in the form of diaries and unpublished and edited material¹⁰⁹ relating to the Canadian Home Missions are few in comparison to the sources available to scholars like Jane Hunter and Ruth Brouwer. That lack makes it difficult to ascertain the extent to which these women may have formed a woman-centred community¹¹⁰ or enjoyed the relative degrees of independence enjoyed by women stationed in the foreign fields. But it is clear from the small sample of daily diaries kept at Wahstao and Kolokreeka that the women at those missions developed friendships and community that spanned the years served at the missions and afterwards. But they were also part of a larger Methodist missionary community that included the male and female hospital personnel at Pakan, the women at other missions, missions-minded public school teachers and the various General Board preachers that worked throughout the Star colony. Wahstao and Kolokreeka were so closely linked that the diaries employed the same code of capital letters in reference to the various W.M.S. personnel alluded to in the entries. Through geographic isolation and common spiritual and cultural goals these Methodist women

---

¹⁰⁹ See Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 337. Gagan notes that the preserved material is more extensive on foreign than on home missionaries. The corresponding-Secretary for Foreign mission "kept close tabs on her flock." The high turnover of both the home missionaries and their Corresponding-Secretary contributed to the relative lack of surviving material on Methodist home missionaries.

¹¹⁰ See Jane Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility.

and men formed a mutually-rewarding if not an independent women-centred community.¹¹¹

Hunter and Hill both suggest that despite the independence enjoyed by their foreign missionaries, western political and economic interests employed these women as cultural imperialists. Work in the foreign missions was linked with a broader resolution to promote western domestic ideals and uplift foreign communities through Christian domesticity. In a recently published article Hunter postulates that in American foreign missions:

The women's missionary enterprise celebrated Christian domesticity as the solution for the benighted existence of women around the world. Despite the lives of intrepid adventure which they themselves lived, missionary women always defined themselves within this expansive domesticity, endeavouring to embody traditional notions of nurturance, gentility and affection which distinguished them from men. They were not conscious feminists, and in fact defined themselves in opposition to women's rights activists in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹¹²

Methodist missionary women ministering to Ukrainians in east-central Alberta exhibited similar womanly domestic ideals. They created examples of Protestant domesticity in missions, schools and in the promotion of domestic science education

---

¹¹¹ The assignment of the best-educated Home Field missionaries to Ukrainian work suggests that such positions were viewed as important postings within Canada. This special status of Ukrainian missions, the possible exotic nature of the locale, the distance from eastern Canadian family constraints, the single status of the majority of women suggest possibilities for the existence of a 'woman's community'. This is an interesting, but as yet unsupported hypothesis. Further research into the personal correspondence, diaries and published letters of these and other missionary women, as well as extensive comparison to other Canadian women's missionary societies, both foreign and domestic, and to American and British groups is required before I can make firm conclusions.

¹¹² Jane Hunter, "The Home and the World: The Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," Leslie A. Flemming ed., Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989), p. 160.

for Ukrainian girls. These women exported middle-class Protestant Canadian culture into foreign communities on the north-west frontier.

Recent Canadian doctoral dissertations by Ruth Compton Brouwer and Rosemary Ruth Gagan focus on the role of Canadian women in the missionary enterprise. Brouwer's "Canadian Women and the Foreign Missionary Movement" builds on the literature concerning the feminization of missionary work and women's responsibilities as cultural imperialists. Brouwer associates Presbyterian foreign missions with English-speaking Canada's development of a national spirit committed to the work of empire. My thesis provides evidence that in the case of Home Missions, that growing English Canadian national spirit was linked to the development of a home-based patriotic mission calling for a 'Canada for Christ.'

Brouwer also addresses the need to cease avoiding the investigation of some areas of history that are linked with imperialism and racism. She points out that mission history did not appeal to historians wanting to uncover "congenial role models and a usable past."¹¹³ This kind of selective history parallels the tendency in women's history to until recently, only investigate completely 'worthy' women.¹¹⁴ My thesis in part seeks to explore Canada's imperial and racist heritage, including women's complicity in that ongoing process. Like Ruth Brouwer I maintain that

---

¹¹³ Brouwer, "Canadian Women and the Foreign Missionary Movement," p. 9.

¹¹⁴ Leslie A. Flemming, "Introduction: Studying Women Missionaries in Asia," Women's Work for Women, p. 8. Flemming discusses problems in missions history that has traditionally been pro-missionary or guilty of excluding women from the missionary equation. Some recent scholarship has attempted to correct the bias in being anti-missionary and pro-culture. Flemming postulates new directions for a more integrated women's missions history that contextualizes the activities of missionary women and asks new questions concerning the impact on their own lives and on women in the targeted cultures.

history should seek to better appreciate the varied nature of women's involvement in movements such as the foreign and domestic missions enterprise. Our focus should not be confined to an investigation of the restrictions imposed by institutional religion. Such an analysis should also explore "the complex possibilities open to women even within the confines of organizations where sexism was given divine sanction."¹¹⁵ I believe that through investigating the places where women fight against female repression in the midst of seeming collusion, we can come to better understand the difficulties faced by women in diverse circumstances.

In her dissertation "A Sensitive Independence" Rosemary Gagan suggests that mission work was attractive not only as a spiritual vocation. She maintains that it offered, like other vocations and occupations, the possibility of economic and personal independence for educated middle-class women seeking alternatives to homemaking. Gagan suggests that in seeking out and taking advantage of missionary opportunities Methodist women missionaries engaged in professional work.¹¹⁶

Like Ruth Brouwer, Gagan suggests that a hierarchy of fields and assignments existed within the missionary enterprises of both the Methodist and Presbyterian Woman's Missionary Societies. The foreign missions to Japan, China and India

---

¹¹⁵ Brouwer, "Opening Doors Through Social Service," p. 6.

¹¹⁶ See Patricia Hill, The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1921 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985), p. 3. Hill suggests that in the U.S. a process of professionalisation occurred within the bureaucratized leadership of W.M.S. organizations. As the work became more professionalised at the administrative level, the leadership became less connected to the work of the active membership and missionaries in the field.

received the most publicity, greater funding and the best-educated missionary recruits.¹¹⁷ Conversely, Methodist W.M.S. missions in Canada were assigned the least educated women, often possessing less than Normal School educations. But within the Home Field of missions there existed a secondary hierarchy, that drew the best-educated recruits to work among Ukrainians in east-central Alberta.¹¹⁸ Unlike their counterparts in missions among Native and Oriental peoples in Canada, these women very often possessed university educations and experience in foreign missions.

Investigating the nature of professional work for women in the Canadian missions enterprise is the central thesis of Gagan's discussion of Methodist W.M.S. personnel. But her reliance on an essentially male construct, professionalism, to judge the activities and commitment of missionary women is questionable and problematic for a number of reasons. Gagan characterized the Home Fields as requiring:

more B.A.'s to clean the floors in home mission stations[as a means of strengthening and stabilizing] W.M.S. missionary work in Canada which suffered from a shortage of workers and professional commitment.¹¹⁹

In their volume on women in the professions Glazer and Slater define professional work in the following manner. Professional work is considered skilled as opposed to unskilled labour by those who belong to them. Their members are ethically and

---

¹¹⁷ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 332. In the first decade of W.M.S. missions the Home Missions received more funding. As the Japanese and Chinese missions reported "dramatic results" and "captured the member's imaginations" more resources were allocated to the foreign fields. By 1893, the cost of missions in Japan and sending one missionary to China exceeded expenditures on all Home Mission fronts.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 371.

¹¹⁹ Gagan, "More than 'a Lure to the Gilded Bower of Matrimony,'" p. 21.

occupationally autonomous from other occupations and they are accorded status recognized by both those inside and outside the profession.¹²⁰ This definition of professionalism also suggests a group that excludes on the basis of education, and very often according to gender and race.

The female-dominated occupations of social work, teaching, nursing and librarianship have for many years struggled to define themselves within a professional construct.¹²¹ These occupations possess some aspects of traditional professionalism. They are all highly skilled and service oriented. But, such occupational groupings do not enjoy a high degree of autonomy nor are they afforded the same status in culture as doctors or lawyers. Missionary work fits into these types of occupational groupings. As far as women missionaries are concerned their work developed over time from the moral lady bountiful through to a social service occupation. The material considered for this thesis suggests that the Ruthenian Workers[missionaries to Ukrainians] had a self-perception of themselves as professionals. They encouraged that professional image through holding yearly conventions from 1912 through 1924.¹²² But their relative status to other occupations and salary is not congruent with the definition of a profession.

---

¹²⁰ See Penina Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into The Professions, 1890-1940(New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

¹²¹ See Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence", p. 88. According to Gagan, by the 1870's women predominated in the teaching profession.

¹²² The Ruthenian Workers of Alberta held yearly conventions from 1912-1924, missing the years 1920-1923. The conventions were held at General Board and W.M.S. missionary outposts in the Ukrainian Star settlement and were attended by 15-20 workers and church commentators. The conventions were usually four days long, consisting of workshops, lectures, language immersion[Ukrainian] and other types of presentations common to worker and professional organizations.

I am concerned with whether defining women's work as professional in fact limits our ability to understand what women actually do when they work, obscuring the inaccuracies and exclusivity of narrow categorizations like professionalism. My criticism of Gagan's concept of professional and use of the word profession to describe the activities of Methodist women missionaries comes from the knowledge that women were not included in the process of professionalization occurred in post-Civil War America. Glazer and Slater warn that:

The profile of the educated, altruistic, genteel and implicitly male professional was accepted rather uncritically, especially among the middle classes. Native-born white Americans of the middle ranks were unlikely to recoil from or even notice the class, racial, and sexual biases implicit in the developing ideology.¹²³

Gagan uncritically accepts the traditional definition of professional. The categorizing of certain work as professional immediately defines some work as skilled or better and other work as unskilled or less than adequate. It is simplistic to add women and stir them into an equation that ignores the differences between the work men and women traditionally perform and that does not critique the basic inequities of the evaluation process. In attempting to establish missionary work as a female-dominated profession, the exclusivity of male-defined professionalism is upheld.

In employing the category of professionalism to describe the work of missionary women Gagan immediately limits her analysis of women's work to that exclusive realm of professionalism. Gagan equates personal ability and commitment

---

¹²³ Glazer and Slater, p.3.

in the workplace with education and its consequent professionalism. She suggests that:

Quite clearly, the W.M.S. missionaries collectively represented an educational elite and the W.M.S. executive achieved its goal of attracting well-educated women who had demonstrated their ability through academic excellence.¹²⁴

Moreover, Gagan assumes that certain personal and occupational characteristics accompany and are dependant upon receiving a university education. These included "self-confidence, independence, management and administrative skills and social adaptability."¹²⁵ A sense of vagueness results when it becomes clear that Gagan sets up her own definition of what constitutes professional work and who qualifies as professional. Her definition suggests that professionalism is linked to a work commitment or ethic measurable by years served in the missionary field. Gagan then proceeds to compare and judge home missionary women to those in the foreign fields according to the limits of that professional categorization. Home missionary women are found inadequate based on the relatively high rate of turnover that occurred in the Home Fields.

Gagan states her appreciation of the conditions in which many women laboured,¹²⁶ possessing knowledge concerning the false assumptions inherent in the

---

¹²⁴ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 73.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 371.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 335. Gagan shows that not only the less educated but also the less physically robust were routinely assigned Home Missions postings. But not until 1920 did the Board of Managers admit that there was " 'no easy field' for those who could not handle adversity". p. 118. See also W.M.S. Annual Report, 1903-04. Retta Edmonds was one of the first two missionary women assigned to this mission field. She withdrew due to ill health, after enduring physical hardship to establish the mission at Pakan, Alberta. After a few years, her name simply disappears from the lists, making it appear that she never served in the field.

selection process.¹²⁷ And she actually comments that these factors may have contributed to the high turnover of workers in the Home Fields. Despite such observations Gagan continually reasserts that higher levels of education would have encouraged a more 'professional' attitude among home missionary women.¹²⁸ While recognizing that favouritism towards the foreign missions worked to the detriment of women in the Home Field,¹²⁹ Gagan points to the absence of professionalism or lack of advanced education for a relative deficiency in commitment ^{to} Home Missions.

The greater devotion of women in the Asian fields compared to those in Canada can in part be traced to the hierarchical nature of Missionary Societies. The Methodist W.M.S. assigned women according to educational and social status. They prioritized mission fields, the personnel who staffed them and the subjects of their evangelical and social service concerns. Their lack of 'professionalism' could have reflected an unwillingness to dedicate oneself to a system that placed both home missionary women and their work at the bottom of the missions hierarchy. Questions of relative commitment become irrelevant if the best educated and physically hardy

---

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 78. Gagan illustrates that the B.A. was the first necessary qualification for foreign missions service but not for the Home Missions. It was assumed that a higher level of competence was required to serve overseas and that the degree automatically conferred competence on the women to commit professionally and learn a second language. The selection boards ignored that home missionaries would be as likely to need the ability or prior training to learn new languages such as Chinese, Italian and Ukrainian. Gagan, p. 336. In addition, the Board assumed that the Canadian environment was not as demanding as Asian ones on the physical health of the women. This led to a situation where many home missionary women lived and worked in physical environments that would not have been condoned for foreign workers.

¹²⁸ Gagan, "More than 'a Lure to the Gilded Bower of Matrimony,'" p. 21.

¹²⁹ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," pp. 109 and 334. A product of the assignment hierarchy was the wage differential between foreign and home missionaries. In the 1880's there was a \$200. year difference that narrowed to a \$50.00 in 1911. Requirements for time served in the missions in order to achieve a raise and the wage differentials were not eliminated until 1921.

recruits were "syphoned-off"¹³⁰ for the foreign missions, and home missionaries worked in comparably harsh conditions amid assumptions concerning their abilities. Women with advanced degrees living and working in well-established and supportive Asian-based foreign communities were given little reason to express a lack of commitment in their work. Gagan herself concluded that for home missionaries:

The isolation and hardships seemed to present a challenge to some of the women their strong friendships and pride in their independence enabled them to surmount the most daunting obstacles.¹³¹

But Gagan gives those missionary women little credit for the pioneering hardships they endured on Canada's prairie frontier.

Former missionary Mae Laycock in her 1974 history Bridges of Friendship explained the high turnover of missionary women in the Ukrainian missions. Laycock maintained that geographic isolation in rural communities and the different climate and altitude affected the constitutions of many women. In addition, the cultural and language barrier coupled with the institutional nature of their work caused many to head for home. And the distance from home when holidays came around or illness occurred caused many to leave the field. Laycock's list does not actually explain the discrepancy between the staff turnovers in the Home and Foreign Fields. But her observations do encourage a broader approach that takes into account personal motivations and bureaucratic excesses.

---

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 334.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 382.

Like all women, missionary women need to be examined in light of their own lives and work. Missions historiography and women's history must avoid creating new categorizations for women. Identifying one group as the norm while unfavourably assessing and comparing others to it simply patterns women's history according to the research criteria traditionally used to exclude or ignore women in scholarly inquiry. I am concerned with the spiritual vocation exhibited by these Methodists, their social service commitments, the racist nature of their mission and how those factors place them in Canada of the early twentieth century. Evangelicalism underscored the spiritual vocation and social service commitments of each of the forty-four women and undoubtedly women in other missions fields.

There is plenty of data in Gagan's thesis concerning the geographic and therefore cultural origins of home missionary women. That information, combined with my own statistics, informs my understanding of how central Canadian interests were often served by the political economic and cultural decisions made concerning the development of western Canada. It is simplistic to suggest that English-speaking western Canadians were not engaged in efforts to ensure English Canadian domination in the west. The existence of Woman's Missionary Societies throughout the prairies attests to their involvement. But it is equally absurd to ignore that the initial expansion of Canada's Protestant churches into the northwest and the religious and government-sanctioned push for assimilation were largely motivated by central and eastern Canadian fears and agendas.

compare the statistics. Nevertheless, Gagan suggests that what she sees as proportionately more Albertans in the missions among Ukrainians than in other fields refutes the claim made by Emery.

Gagan's error lays in ignoring the proportionate roles of Ontario and Atlantic Canada in the development of the prairie provinces. Gagan's statistics suggest 58% of home missionaries(out of 139) were Ontario-born or resident in that province at the time of their employment by the W.M.S. An analysis of my forty-four women in Alberta missions show that 58% were Ontario-born. On this we are in agreement. But, as overlooked by Gagan, only 7% of all W.M.S. missionaries came from Quebec, recruited to staff Home Missions to French Canadians. These women were probably English-speaking Quebeckers or Protestant French Canadians. Despite comparable populations in Ontario and Quebec, English-speaking Ontario-born women were over-represented in all W.M.S. missions. If the 58% of Ontario women are added to my data suggesting that 16% were from the Maritimes and 9% from Newfoundland, we are left with 16% from British Columbia(1), Saskatchewan(1) and Alberta(5) ministering to Ukrainians in Alberta. Approximately 85% of my intact population of forty-four women (a number that matches Gagan's aggregate statistic) came from established English-speaking communities in central Canadian, Maritime and Newfoundland communities. These areas were and some continue to be at the established economic, political and religious power centres of Canada. The Atlantic provinces, despite their contemporary reputation as economically-depressed regions, have long boasted some of the finest educational facilities available to both women

Rosemary Gagan suggests that her statistical analysis of Home Field missionaries "refutes George Emery's inference that the Methodist Church deliberately sent Ontarians to the west as the messengers of evangelical Protestantism."¹³² Gagan breaks down the province-of-origin data for all 304 W.M.S. missionaries as follows: 58% were residents of Ontario when they joined; 11% Nova Scotia; 10% Other Maritime provinces and Newfoundland; 5% Manitoba; 5% Alberta and Saskatchewan; 5% British Columbia; 4% Quebec(working among French Canadians in Montreal); 2% from outside of Canada(two were daughters of Asian field missionaries). Of the thirty-eight women that Gagan identifies as serving in Alberta missions to Ukrainians, 24% were from Alberta and 18% were from the Maritimes(presumably excluding Newfoundland).¹³³ As pointed out by Gagan there were proportionately more women from Alberta and the Maritimes working in the Ukrainian missions than there were in all missions fields.¹³⁴ But there are some problems with the numbers since Gagan combines Saskatchewan and Alberta for her aggregate statistic and separates them for Ukrainian missions. And she isolates Nova Scotia from other Maritime provinces and Newfoundland in her aggregate statistics and them presumably lumps all Maritime provinces(of course excluding Newfoundland) together for the Ukrainian missions. This makes it very difficult to

---

¹³² Ibid., p. 371.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 63. My data, based on an intact population of forty-four women is as follows: 59%(26) Ontario; 16%(7) Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; 9%(4) Newfoundland; 2.25%(1) British Columbia; 2.25%(1) Saskatchewan; 11.5%(5) Alberta.

¹³⁴ Ibid. Gagan's statistics are also based on data for only 21 out of 38 women. My data is based on an intact population of 44 women, for who I have knowledge of where they were born or resided when hired by the W.M.S.

and men in the British Empire. The Canadian-born loyalist had a long history of established settlement in central and eastern Canada. That history must be taken into account when considering who initiated and maintained the assimilation efforts and development policies in ^{the} less central and settled parts of the Dominion.

Patricia Saidak's MA Thesis "The Inception of the Home Economics Movement in English Canada, 1890-1910: In defence of the Cultural Importance of the Home" investigates the growth of the domestic science movement and establishment of it as a female-dominated occupation. According to Saidak:

This domestic ideology defined the ideal wife as naturally and divinely endowed with virtue, a triumph of the moral over the sexual, the guardian of husband and child, and the creator of the stable character of future citizenry.¹³⁵

Like the missionary movement, domestic science sought to confine women to the private sphere by insisting that they possessed "a sexually-differentiated and inseparable association with"¹³⁶ the home and family. But those same women maintained that home and family were centres of female power that could be exploited in public arenas for the betterment of humankind.

Methodist missionary women believed in and were committed to an ideal of the Protestant Christian home and housewife. Saidak states that the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church was one of the first women's groups

---

¹³⁵ Patricia Saidak, "The Inception of the Home Economics Movement in English Canada, 1890-1910: In Defence of the Cultural Importance of the Home," unpublished MA Thesis, Carleton University, 1987, p. 20.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

concerned with the "spread of domestic education" through Native Industrial schools.¹³⁷ "Home economics was a women's movement which chose the domestic sphere as its focus."¹³⁸ By cultivating the introduction of domestic training for women in the public school systems and establishing domestic science as a woman-dominated profession the domestic science movement informed the Protestant missionary enterprise in Canada.¹³⁹

Patterned on this Protestant domestic credo, missionaries worldwide employed domestic science educational methods in order to uplift and assimilate immigrants into English Canadian culture. Missions to not only the Ukrainian people, but also to other immigrant groups, Francophones and Native peoples instructed through this domestic doctrine. Missionaries and home economists shared the responsibility to educate Canada's population along domestic science lines. Canadian missionary women re-created the ideal of the Protestant Christian home in overseas missions, Home Missions and in missions to Ukrainians in east-central Alberta. These women, their homes and schools became patterns for immigrant Ukrainian women and children to observe and thereby emulate in a journey towards uplift and assimilation.

My thesis will not attempt to equate Methodist missionary activities among Ukrainians with the negative impact of industrial training schools on the individual and cultural health of Canada's First nations. *Nonetheless* there is evidence to suggest

---

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 34. Beginning in 1887 Methodist missionary women from Ontario went into government-funded Native industrial training schools to teach domestic science and vocational skills to Native children.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p.4.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

that while the churches were unsuccessful in converting the Ukrainians, Canadian attitudes towards Ukrainians adversely affected the self-image of subsequent generations of Ukrainian Canadians.¹⁴⁰ Further, I am not suggesting that missionary women were professional home economists, though some may well have been. But what is clear from the literature is that missionaries working among most non-English-speaking groups carried with them domestic science educational experience, commitments and ideals. The younger women serving in these missions would have been subjected to domestic science training as home economics appeared in some public school curriculums as early as the 1890's. Similar prescriptive and theoretical mechanisms were at work in the missions and school homes for Ukrainians as were employed in the Native industrial training schools.

Saidak's thesis discusses at length how during the first two decades of this century domestic science education was split into two ideological camps. The 'culturalist' perspective was dominant in both Canada and the United states. Proponents of this position valued and promoted home economics education for all women. 'Vocationalist' saw domestic science as a means of providing women with skills for waged labour. Because of the 'culturalist' focus on training for homemakers, "home economics was largely an urban middle-class school subject on its inception."¹⁴¹ For the purposes of my thesis Saidak's analysis clarifies the preoccupation of missionary women and church commentators with domestic training

---

¹⁴⁰ See Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977).

¹⁴¹ Saidak, p. 4.

and the home environment. References to domestic science and the role of the well-appointed home as an agent of assimilation occur throughout the literature investigated for my thesis.

But the culturalist commitment posed by Saidak poses another question for my thesis. The primary literature suggests that missionaries initially expressed a primary commitment to training homemakers. As the years progressed, with more girls moving to the city and a shortage of domestic servants occurring in Canada, some women began to focus on training girls as domestics for middle-class homes in Edmonton. A debate erupted among the missionaries as to whether they were socializing homemakers or providing skills-training for domestics. Those disagreements, however minor, illustrate that the 'vocationists' did have some followers in Canada.

In conclusion, the secondary sources consulted help to explain the role of women in the worldwide missionary enterprise. For the purposes of my thesis this review of the literature provides a framework for investigating the experience of women in the Methodist Home Field of missions on the Canadian prairies. In the words of missions historian Jane Hunter:

The study of women and missions is rich with possibility and also with small ironies. Posed between sub-fields, it challenges many of the established categories with which historians view the world. It links foreign policy with the history of the family, international relations with religious history, female liberation with domestic piety, the social gospel with cultural imperialism. In its refusal to 'fit' into conventional categories, it casts new light on them all. The missionary message of American domesticity, the interaction between 'the home and the

world', then, is a fertile field for both further empirical and theoretical inquiry.¹⁴²

My thesis ventures into this 'fertile field.' By investigating Canadian Methodist women's missionary work among Ukrainians I have come to appreciate at least in part the complicated nature of the mission experience for these women.

---

¹⁴² Jane Hunter, "The Home and the World: the Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," Women's Work for Women, p. 159.

CHAPTER 2: THE PROTESTANT CANADIAN VISION: IMMIGRATION RHETORIC AND PRESCRIPTIONS FOR WOMEN

Canadian churches responded very early to the 'problem' of non-English-speaking immigrants settling the west. All responses focused on assimilation.¹ But the methods of achieving that goal of 'Canadianization' span the broad spectrum of attitude from racist nativism to radical social gospel. Over time, reactions to immigrants fluctuated along that spectrum. A shifting political, economic and social climate facilitated the development of a narrowly-defined Protestant-Canadian national identity.

White middle-class Canadian women's access to occupational and social opportunities fostered new critical and social interpretations of their proper roles in both the home and in the public domain. Social commentators sought to describe and prescribe for women an ideal that served the interests of the existing social structure. In 1890, Alma Ladies College Principal Rev Austin wrote that:

The future historian of the nineteenth century will find no more prominent or distinguishing feature stamped upon it than the enlarged opportunity of labor and usefulness afforded to women, and the marvellous march of women to the front in almost every field of human activity. . . . an almost complete revolution in the ideas once entertained as to woman's ability on one hand, and her rights and duties on the other.²

Twenty-one years later a W.M.S. church periodical article suggested that:

This era of woman's emancipation is a pivotal time. The issues of the future depend upon the loyalty of our girls, for the girls of to-day will be the women of to-morrow. As they go forth to become centres of larger or

---

¹ See Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts," for a discussion of three theories of assimilation, including 'Anglo-conformity', 'melting-pot' and 'multiculturalism'.

² Rev. Principal A.M. Austin, the Alma Ladies College, St. Thomas, Ontario, "Women and Missions," Chapter XII, in Woman; Her Character, Culture and Calling (Brantford, Ontario: The Book and Bible House, 1890).

smaller circles, we covet for them above all things that they may be Christian women, that they may have a sympathetic ear to hear the cry of human want, and according to their ability strive to relieve that want, and that hand, brain and heart be trained for the duties which await a Christian womanhood.³

Austin's observations were less prescriptive in tone than the W.M.S. comments. But both stressed that women had certain obligations and duties to perform in the public world. Austin's lengthy tome on women went on to expound the virtues and duties of Canadian womanhood. The W.M.S. directive built on that late nineteenth-century prescription for women, detailing for a specific context the newest role of a good Christian woman.

Proponents of progressive social movements such as prohibition and suffrage also challenged the arrival of Eastern Europeans and other 'problem' groups. Non-English-speaking immigrants were perceived as a threat not only to socially conservative ideals. New Canadians were judged incapable of comprehending or supporting the radical social movements that were seen to characterize Canada of the pre- First World War era. According to historian Howard Palmer the pre-war immigration boom coincided with the rise of three social reform movements in Canada that "were determined to shape the region into a new and cohesive society."⁴ Despite their differences, the social gospel, temperance and women's suffrage movements shared the common goal of ensuring the survival of a Canada "based on the British ideals of government and Protestantism."⁵

Canada's missionary effort was not simply a conservative reaction to the non-

---

³ Missionary Outlook(October, 1911), Woman's Missionary Society Young Woman's Number, p. 229.

⁴ Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts," p. 319.

⁵ Ibid.

Protestant immigrant's appearance in the midst and often on the geographic periphery of English Canada. Canadianization efforts by the churches and eventually government agencies were closely related to these then-radical movements. Middle-class feminists and missionaries⁶ maintained that eastern-European men were among "the principle offenders in the abuse of both alcohol and women."⁷ Missionary tracts and sermons related anecdotal evidence based on the experiences of male overseas missionaries. That evidence concluded that such missionaries "found that their progress in foreign work was limited because of one insuperable barrier-the degradation of, and inaccessibility to the women of heathen nations."⁸ Methodist feminists like Nellie McClung were moved to action in their 'knowledge' concerning such abuses of women.

The W.M.S. mandate of specifically woman to woman evangelization grew out of the perceived need, in mid-nineteenth century established foreign missions, for western women to instruct the women and children of the east. As returning male missionaries reported on the inaccessibility to foreign women and children⁹ Canadian women became necessary to the success of the missionary work in those overseas communities. As in other social service occupations it was soon observed that in comparison to men, women's

---

⁶ See Leila Ahmed, "Western Ethnocentrism and Perceptions of the Harem," Feminist Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall, 1982). It was only later that such feminists as Nellie McClung began criticizing English-Canadian men who squandered their pay on alcohol and abused their families. Such criticisms did little to dispel the popular notion that women in foreign parts lead harsher lives with men than white North American and western European women.

⁷ Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts," p. 319. See also Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence", p. 367.

⁸ Missionary Outlook (March, 1905), "Woman's Responsibility and Place in the Evangelization of the World", Mrs. Harry Lavell, p. 63.

⁹ Woman's Missionary Society, Alberta Branch, The History of the Women's Missionary Society in Alberta (United Church of Canada, 1951), p. 10.

religious and moral sensibilities were more developed. The woman to woman and to children mandate remained the 'guiding light' of Protestant women's missionary interests throughout most Societies' histories.¹⁰

Some missionary-minded women involved themselves not only in the social gospel movement but in some cases fused that spiritual conviction with a dedication to temperance and woman's suffrage.¹¹ One article in particular glorified Christian women as cultural missionaries. It called for women to accept responsibility for the social uplift and spiritual salvation of all women throughout the world.

Everywhere in the Bible there is a sweet aroma, a power and influence for women. The tendency of Christianity is to lift woman up, to elevate her to a higher plane. It has been given to woman a larger sphere and has increased her intellectually. The world has never seen what Christianity would do for women if it was only allowed to elevate her. The things which are not Christian are keeping woman down and narrowing her sphere. We must let Christianity have its way, and do what it wants to do in humanizing society.¹²

Similarly, the Women's Department Under the Direction of the National Council of Women of Canada published and distributed a collection of essays entitled Women of Canada: Their Life and Work. The editor, Miss F.E. Murray included in the anthology a short piece entitled "The Church Work of Protestant Women in Canada." Murray wrote that:

The great object of all this work of Protestant women is to extend the knowledge of Christian truth, and the benefits of Christian education and

---

¹⁰ See Brouwer, "Canadian Women and The Foreign Missionary Movement".

¹¹ On two occasions in the Wahstao and Kolokreeka Diaries women reported having attended lectures by Nellie McClung and Mrs. Pankhurst.

¹² Austin, Woman; Her Character, Culture and Calling.

civilization to their sisters deprived of these blessings, by sending out Missionaries and School teachers, and by building and supporting churches, schools and hospitals.¹³

Miss Murray and her contemporaries in the late nineteenth century were early beneficiaries of new opportunities for Canadian women. Many hardworking, well-meaning and unfortunately racist women perceived Protestant Christianity as a locus of change for all women.

Protestant women missionaries believed that despite the shortcomings of their own culture, Anglo-Saxon civilization was based on and exhibited the characteristics of equality between men and women. Missionary Correspondent Mrs. Blanche Johnston, in a item concerning the 'white slave traffic', concluded that "the Christian religion has lifted womanhood to her rightful place as the co-worker and equal of man".¹⁴ In her 1919 W.M.S. pamphlet "An Insistent Call" Nellie McClung asked:

Is our Christian civilization such a boon that we should go out of our way to pass it on to other people? I believe it is - and we should. . . . Child marriages, the burning of widows, the throwing away of girl babies, the abandoning of the old to die, are all, I believe, reasons for our efforts to extend Christianity and its humanities.¹⁵

While expressing quite radical views concerning the position of women in Canadian culture, like her Methodist contemporaries McClung clearly saw the spread of Protestantism as the hope of world womanhood and civilization. McClung wrote that:

---

¹³ Miss F.E. Murray, "The Church Work of Protestant Women in Canada," Women of Canada: Their Life and Work (Paris International Exhibition, Canada Commission, Women's Department Under the Direction of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1900), p. 301.

¹⁴ Missionary Outlook (February, 1912), "A Call to All Christian Women", pp. 38-39.

¹⁵ "Nellie L. McClung, An Insistent Call [pamphlet] (Toronto: Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Rm. 410 Wesley Building, 1919), p. 5.

The Woman's Missionary Society invites every woman who hears these words, to come and share the joy of giving and working and help to show the strangers within our gates, that Christ has risen indeed, and lives to-day in hearts that love and hands that are quick to serve.¹⁶

A W.M.S. page editorial suggested that the church was the first emancipator of women and as such was entitled to expect latitude "in its efforts to free women from the chains and conventions of false conceptions and traditions."¹⁷ Christian writer Helen Montgomery maintained that while wrongs were committed against Christian women at home, those wrongs went against the teachings of Christ. She further asserted that in non-Christian lands such wrongs were "buttressed behind the sanctions of religion..."¹⁸ Nellie McClung contended that "Even the most rabid suffragist who ever scorned our man-made laws, will agree that women are treated with greater respect in Christian and Anglo-Saxon countries, than in any other."¹⁹ For its proponents the Protestant missions became a symbol of humanity's potential for good. Women were encouraged to express their emancipatory rights and Christian duties in the spirit of service and self-sacrifice to others.

Given the limited role of women in the Protestant church, missionary work was one arena that permitted service as decision-makers, educators and occasionally even as lay preachers. Missions historian Leslie Flemming has suggested that due to the Pauline

---

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Helen Barrett Montgomery, Women in American Protestant Religion 1800-1930 (New York: The MacMillan Co. Inc., 1910), p. 45.

¹⁹ McClung, "The Insistent Call, p. 5.

injunction prohibiting female preaching "and because of their identification with domestic, educational and health-related activities in North American culture [women missionaries] responded more strongly to the call to be civilizers" and uplifters than male missionaries or other women.²⁰ But Ruth Brouwer claims that prohibitions to preaching do not totally explain the female commitment to 'uplifting' and 'civilizing'.²¹ Missionary women did not simply fulfil the prescription written for them. Nor did they experience their lives as completely 'independent women'. Social and economic opportunities as well as a racist world view informed the choices made and opportunities accepted by missionaries and other women. We cannot ignore women's sometimes less than altruistic motivations in our examination of women's history. A hierarchical world view secured their persistent commitment to the primary mandate proposed by Woman's Missionary Societies. Their agenda was to promote the reality of "women evangelizing other women" and to "support missionary work among women and children".²²

In this chapter I will sample some of the prescriptive literature found in the form of church periodicals, Missionary Society papers and pamphlets. I want to place the forty-four Methodist missionaries in their early twentieth-century cultural context. That setting granted middle-class white Canadian women greater social freedoms than their mothers and women of other classes and cultures. But while these women were constrained by social mores, as individuals and groups they were still capable of and often

---

²⁰ Leslie A. Flemming, "Introduction: Studying Women Missionaries in Asia," in Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press), p. 3.

²¹ Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Opening Doors Through Social Service," p. 12.

²² MacGillivray, "Women's Work for Missions," pp. 251-252.

did challenge public opinion and the church mandate. However, for most women social prescriptions that sought to constrain all women into an even more idealized vision of womanhood restricted the choices they made. In Chapter Three I will interpret the experiences and attitudes of the forty-four Methodist missionaries through their published letters and institutional diaries. In that chapter I will attempt to reveal some aspects of W.M.S. Methodist missionaries' collective and individual motivations and responses to serving in the Ukrainian missions.

The 'science' of eugenics that typed each ethnic group according to 'known' racial characteristics informed the way in which Canadians perceived immigrants and Natives. Advocates of eugenics and Social Darwinism maintained that non-northern and non-English-speaking races were products of inferior racial and cultural stock.²³ The more culturally similar to the dominant group a set of immigrants proved themselves, the less prejudice they experienced.²⁴ Protestant sects of Mennonites (German) were known for their "diligence, thrift and elevated morals".²⁵ The equally Protestant Doukhobors (Eastern European) were considered to be "an illiterate group of Russian peasants, holding peculiar and heterodox religious opinions, but trustworthy, sober and laborious."²⁶ The highest praise for non-English-speaking immigrants prior to the First World War was

---

²³ See Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race.

²⁴ Howard Palmer, Land of the Second Chance: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta (Lethbridge: The Lethbridge Herald, 1972), p. 252.

²⁵ See Rev. W. Patrick D.D., "Home Missions in Manitoba and the North-West Territories," W.S. McTavish, Ed., Reapers in Many Fields: A Survey of Canadian Presbyterian Missions (Toronto: Published for the Committee on Young People's Societies, Presbyterian Church in Canada [by] the Westminster Co., 1904), p. 75.

²⁶ Ibid.

reserved for the Scandinavians and Germans with the assertion that "these races blend readily with our own."²⁷

The immigration problem as it was then defined focused on Ukrainians, Russians and Poles. These groups were stereotyped in the popular mind "as dirty, immoral, unintelligent, and unenterprising people, overly fond of alcohol and fighting."²⁸ Ukrainians were not perceived as industrious, diligent or exhibiting elevated morals attendant on poor, yet uneducated Protestant immigrant groups. Poverty and lack of education were sinful choices, not products of oppression or circumstance. Simply by being different Ukrainians were cast as inferior.

Due to these observed and known characteristics it was determined that Ukrainians and other Eastern European immigrants required assistance towards assimilating into mainstream English-speaking Canadian culture. It was here that English-Canadian women could intervene. Their task was first to uplift the immigrant to Anglo-Canadian standards of personal hygiene, home economics, and religious practice. Only then could their assimilation into white, middle-class Canadian society be accomplished.

According to historian Marilyn Barber, "demand for action[on assimilation] led in two different directions", that of social control and of cooperation between new Canadians and old.²⁹ For example, some sources suggested that Canadians failed the

---

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Frances Swyripa. Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works(Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1978), p. 222.

²⁹ Marilyn Jean Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perception and Canadian Policies," unpublished Phd. dissertation, University of London, 1975, p. 4.

immigrants in welcoming them as cheap labour as opposed to potential new Canadians.³⁰

Obviously the stretching out of the right hand of fellowships[sic] the task of the Canadian who is devoted to the building of his nation, and he must build with the materials at hand. And if the young Canadian regards the slav as an agent to be exploited-as, unfortunately has been too frequently the case-or as an inferior to be despised, then let him not be surprised at the discovery of distrust instead of confidence, prejudice instead of frankness, and Communism instead of Canadianism. When a man feels that socially he is not mych[sic] better off in Canada than he was in the countries of the Danube, a mistake has been made somewhere which must be speedily be rectified if the pattern of our nation would be kept clear. That social hunger itself is the greatest asset a nation could possess, and it needs only a suitable opportunity to become full-working capital for the health and security of a people. Under indifference and neglect that same hunger becomes quickly transformed into a social danger and menace, and the main responsibility belongs to the source of the neglect.³¹

This cooperative stance rested on back-handed compliments and the basic assumption that with English-Canadians' help the immigrant could and should become less what she was and more like Anglo-Saxon Canadians. That vision was grounded in the "British principles of freedom, democracy, and justice for which Canadians" later fought in the First World War.³² Those principles also informed the pre-war attitudes of many church members concerning Canada's responsibility to the immigrants. In contrast, some Missionary Society tracts focused on the limited ability of the non-British or Eastern European immigrants to be successfully uplifted. Such documents and commentators advocated an approach aimed at minimizing damage to Canadian society. Barber's theory

---

³⁰ Woman's Century(January,1920), Miss Mabel Hanna, "Canadianization," p. 22.

³¹ UCA, Toronto. Methodist Church Missionary Society, (Home Dept.Box 26, File 2), Typescript Chapter, "Immigrants from S-E Europe, n.d., p. 86.

³² Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918," p. 4.

of cooperation and social control methods provides a useful framework for examining the various solutions to the assimilation problem.

Social gospel evangelist Rev. J.S. Woodsworth has been described as a proponent of cooperation and to a certain extent a church-based spokesperson for the rights of immigrants.³³ According to M.J. Barber, Woodsworth was neither fearful of cultural genocide nor did he believe that immigrants would naturally assimilate over the course of time. He advocated that the church assist the immigrant to acculturate.³⁴ Woodsworth's cooperative stance insisted that immigrant foreigners in Canada were at a disadvantage from the start due to "high rentals, high cost of living, irregular work, low wages, lack of education facilities."³⁵ Woodsworth asserted that those were "the evils which are degrading the foreigners and for which this country and not the foreigner is responsible."³⁶ Methodist clergyman the Rev. J.M. Shaver was in agreement with Woodsworth. Shaver maintained that Canadians' attitudes towards immigrants aggravated the situation. "First of all, there is that almost universal assumption that we are [the] chosen people of God, and all others are of an inferior race. This conviction increases

---

³³ See Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children(p. 37). Kostash recognizes that Woodsworth was a "sympathetic and compassionate" churchman, but only in comparison to the racist "yahoos" who characterized Canadian citizenry. Kostash concludes that Woodsworth's sympathy for the immigrant was the sympathy of an elitist.

³⁴ Marilyn Jean Barber, "Introduction", James S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. xvii.

³⁵ Missionary Outlook(July, 1913), Rev. J.S. Woodsworth B.A., B.D., "How to Help Our European Immigrants," p. 150.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

in direct ratio to our ignorance [concerning immigrants]."³⁷ During the war numerous Methodist clergy and workers criticized the Wartime Elections Act that labelled as enemy alien and disenfranchised all Ukrainians and many other Europeans.³⁸ It was felt that such steps sullied Canada's international reputation as a land of equal opportunity.³⁹

Writings from the Woman's Missionary Society pages in church periodicals also called for tolerance. One woman in particular criticised the inappropriate usage of the words foreigner and heathen⁴⁰ to describe non-Christian⁴¹ or non-English-speaking people. An article on the All People's Mission in Winnipeg suggested that:

The task before us is to weld this heterogenous mass into one Canadian people. Our mission sometimes becomes common ground on which various nationalities may become better acquainted with one another, and thus enter more sympathetic relations.⁴²

In a similar vein the Woman's Century often reflected the humanist position concerning the exploitation of the immigrant as a source of cheap labour. Many contributors maintained that Canada was obligated to provide for their social, spiritual and material

---

³⁷ See Missionary Outlook (February, 1917), Rev. J.M. Shaver, "The Problem of the Foreigner in Canada, and How to Meet It".

³⁸ Missionary Bulletin (July-Sept 1918), XIV, No. 3 Rev. J.M. Shaver, "Fighting Ukrainians", p. 399.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Christian Guardian (January 4, 1905), Woman's Missionary Society Page. "A Word Not in the Original Scriptures." The writer maintained that those words never appeared in the scriptures to describe non-Christian peoples.

⁴¹ In the literature under discussion, when Protestants referred to non-Christians they included all non-Protestant peoples in that group. For example, Ukrainian Christians of the Greek Orthodox or Uniate faiths were considered non-Christian.

⁴² The Christian Guardian (November 13, 1907), "All Peoples' Mission, Winnipeg Making Canadian Citizens," p. 19.

needs if it expected to achieve a strong loyal population.⁴³ Throughout the pre-war decade and after these and other words of moderation appeared in the Methodist periodicals.

In the immediate pre-war era and during the First World War the literature reflects an intensification of feeling as to the nature of immigrants and the responsibility of Canada to them. Columnist Mrs. C. Robson in a 1913 article on immigrants to Saskatchewan, stated that corrupt politicians were the only Canadian officials interested in the immigrants.⁴⁴ In a spirit of cooperation Robson declared that it was up to the churches and schools to stand as interpreters between the old and new worlds lest the immigrant be deceived about what they perceived a good Canadian to be.⁴⁵ In contrast, she also explained that her concern was informed by fears that through their ignorance immigrants might constitute a social danger.⁴⁶ Robson also suggested a melting pot

---

⁴³ Berger, p. 227.

⁴⁴ See also Missionary Bulletin(XIII, NO.2, April-June 1917), "The Ruthenian Colony of Northern Alberta," Ulette Smith quoting Mrs. J.K. Smith, missionary wife in Edmonton, p. 294. Smith is quoted as suggesting that the corrupt politician has influence in the colony. Like Robson she does not define specifically what is corrupting about their behaviour. It could be anything from buying votes with alcohol to simply representing what was perceived as a radical political position.

⁴⁵ Missionary Outlook(September 1913), Mrs. C. Robson, "The Foreign Population of Saskatchewan," p. 107. See also Missionary Bulletin, XIII, no.2 (April-June, 1917), Ulette Smith, "The Ruthenian Colony of Northern Alberta." Smith agreed with Robson's assessment of politicians and the role of the church in illustrating the Canadian ideal through Protestantism.

⁴⁶ United Church Archives, Box 26, File 2, Methodist Church Missionary Society(Home Department), typescript chapter entitled "Immigrants from S-E Europe", p. 86. See also Missionary Outlook(April 1909), p. 81 for a discussion of the responsibility of Canadians to educate immigrants, thereby ensuring that the children do not grow up illiterate and "become a menace to our civilization." See also comments on how illiteracy constitutes danger to the body politic in Missionary Outlook(July 1903), "The Foreigners in the North-West," Rev. John MacLean, p. 153.

assimilation model⁴⁷ that supposed all nationalities to have sterling qualities to add to the Canadian type.⁴⁸ Such an ideal diverged from the typical Canadian model of Anglo-conformity. Because of this intriguing mixture of social control and cooperative ideals, Robson is a good example how complicated an issue mass immigration and race relations was for many Canadians.

One particularly unenlightened commentary in 1908 illustrates the social control model of assimilation. The Rev. George H. Long suggested that:

If judged by our standards of intelligence and morality, they are ignorant and immoral, and form a class who will most readily become criminal. They are unacquainted with anything like a popular form of government, and are incapable of appreciating or valuing our representative institutions. They are scattered all over our dominion, but are found mostly congesting our large cities, in colonies on the prairies, or engaged in railway construction. They have already helped very materially to create a slum problem in some of our cities. They are, as a rule, hard-working, industrious, and frugal, and if they can be assimilated into our national life, may, under wise management, become law-abiding and patriotic citizens; but if not, their presence will become a menace to our social, religious, and national life.⁴⁹

Some commentators agreed with his image of Ukrainian people and their consequent inability to be self-regulating and responsible citizens of their new country. Church periodicals regularly disagreed on the churches' ability to effect change in the immigrants, but not on the need for such change. An understanding of how an oppressive political

---

⁴⁷ The melting pot model of assimilation was associated with the United States. Even Canadians who mandated such an approach to assimilation still largely favoured the notion that the result would be more or less an English-Canadian.

⁴⁸ See Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts."

⁴⁹ Christian Guardian (January 15, 1908), Rev. George H. Long "Foreigners in Canada," p. 10.

and economic climate had persecuted the Ukrainian in Europe sometimes accompanied this mixture of social control and cooperative attitudes.⁵⁰ In such mixed accounts Ukrainians were described more positively as simply fun-loving rather than congenitally lazy children. But Protestant-Canadian culture was always presented as the ideal to be emulated.

The secular-mandated yet WASP-oriented journal Woman's Century,⁵¹ reflects a broad range of opinion on how to convert the masses from immigrant status to new Canadian. Secular commentators such as E. Gunn Ramsay, Constance Lynd and Miss Mabel Hanna⁵² discussed eugenics, selective immigration[racial suicide] and the responsibility of Canada to the emigrant.⁵³ Like Mrs. Robson, Miss Mabel Hanna

---

⁵⁰ Missionary Outlook(August 1912), p. 171.

⁵¹ Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898 (September 18, 1893), ed. John T. Saywell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1960). The NCW is technically a non-denominational organization whose mandate incorporates non-Christian women's groups. That mandate did not prevent their appeal from reflecting the patriotism imbued with religious fervour that characterized the call to 'Canadianize' in the early part of this century. The magazine Woman's Century was referred to as the 'organ' of the National Council of Women.

⁵² Miss Mabel Hanna engaged in a several months long series of articles on Canadianization for the Woman's Century. Hanna's commentary was founded on an insistence that Canada and Canadian women were responsible for immigrants beyond the concept of the 'white man's burden'. Hanna's approach was not a call for acceptance of difference. She advocated tolerance for immigrants' 'problems' until they and their communities were successfully assimilated. The 'responsibility' of Canada was not to create a pluralistic culture, but to approach these new Canadians as just "real folks" in an effort to encourage their complete assimilation into WASP culture.

⁵³ See Woman's Century, E. Gunn Ramsay, "Future Immigrants: Whom Shall Canada Welcome?," (June 1919), pp. 10-11.; Editorial Comment (December 1919), p. 53; Miss Mabel Hanna, "Canadianization," (December 1919), p. 30.; Miss Mabel Hanna, "Canadianization," (January 1920), p. 22; Miss Mabel Hanna, "Canadianization," (February 1920) p. 28.; Letter to the Editor, "Canadianization Vital Question," (February 1920), p. 32. Woman's Century, Miss Mabel Hanna, "Canadianization," (December 1919), p. 30. See also Woman's Century, E. Gunn Ramsay, "Future Immigrants: Whom Shall Canada Welcome?," (June 1919), p. 10.; Woman's Century, "Canadianization Vital Question?," (October 1919), p. 32.; Woman's Century, Editorial Comment, (October 1919), p. 53. Woman's Century, Constance Lynd, "Race Suicide," (February 1920), p. 49.

favoured a 'melting pot' approach rather than a model of Anglo-conformity. Her attitude was more co-operative than Robson's as she was able to appreciate at least some of the difficulties facing the new Canadian. Hanna even criticized a system that ignored the plight of immigrant girls compelled into prostitution. She connected the lack of social services for immigrants with the material positions of abandoned women and children. In light of such abuses Hanna challenged other women to accept responsibility for changing a situation created by government indifference. She wrote that:

he that is among us is of us, we will rise or sink together; dwarfed or godlike, bond or free. In any consideration of the future of this country, the foreigner must be counted. Numerically, he is too great to be disregarded; physically, he is too virile; spiritually, he is too potent. For better or for worse, they will leave a lasting mark on our land.⁵⁴

While expressing a more liberal understanding of the issues surrounding immigration, assimilation and the very real social problems facing women, Hanna's agenda echoes that of female church commentators. Like her church contemporaries Hanna's often-stated goal was the eventual Canadianization of the immigrant. Despite a preference for the melting pot, Hanna's alloy remained predominantly Anglo-Canadian.⁵⁵

Woman, with her newly-won rights of citizenship was encouraged to involve herself in extending the female moral imperative to the political realm. Readers of the Woman's Century were sometimes encouraged to conceive of women's role in immigration as not confined to missionary activities. Contributors to that publication

---

⁵⁴ Woman's Century (May, 1919), p. 19. Hanna's comment on the male immigrant's physical virility may come from Protestant culture's sexual dysfunction and attendant fears of non-white male sexual aggression against the white female.

⁵⁵ The History of the Women's Missionary Society in Alberta, p. 58.

often advocated women's active political contribution to immigration policies. An unnamed columnist advocated restricted immigration to Canada⁵⁶ by suggesting that the newly created Minister of Immigration should be viewed as the most important job in the country. She further suggested that women's dedication to the immigration and assimilation concerns qualified them for determining immigration policy at a federal level.

One correspondent wrote that:

Woman, with her rights of full citizenship, should be prepared to voice intelligently her views of the situation, through the medium of her clubs and organizations. To her, when the mess has been made, the world turns. Woman, the creator, the mother, is asked again to step in, to clear up, to bind and heal, to mend, that which has been broken and spoilt. But surely we are not going to be forever content to be the cleaners up of messes made by others. Sufficient demonstration has been given to the world of the creative art in woman. It is now up to them, by united effort to create not only a plan, but a body of public opinion in favour of selective immigration.⁵⁷

Rather than appealing specifically to women's religious sensibilities, this commentator promoted secular maternalism. But the issue, and her response to it were identical to that of missionary women. The message of this article was the insistence that women muster 'moral medical kits' and mend the problem of immigrant bloc settlements. The methods may have differed but the message was the same as that delivered to their missionary sisters venturing into the west.⁵⁸

---

⁵⁶ See also Missionary Outlook (April 1917), "Restricting Immigration," p. 75. Article suggests that Canada should adopt restrictions similar to the United States in order to ensure that the expected immigration after the war brings the "type of citizens Canadians ought to be." The inference was that more English-speaking immigrants should be encouraged into the country to offset the growing numbers of non-English-speaking and unassimilated new Canadians.

⁵⁷ Missionary Outlook (May 1919), p. 19.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

In contrast to the Woman's Century were the Woman's Missionary Society Histories and missionary journals written during that era. While conscious of the social service nature of their work and often expressing dedication to the co-operative ideal such commentaries focused on the observable lack of religiosity evidenced within immigrant communities. The Women's Missionary Society of Alberta remarked in their 1925 history that:

It was felt at this time, that no more effective agency had been found for providing Christian leadership in non Anglo-Saxon colonies, than the School Home. Here children of many nationalities were taught to live as one family in peace and harmony under Christian auspices.⁵⁹

The assumption of this statement and others like it⁶⁰ was that Canada's non-Christian or non-Protestant immigrant population did not already operate from some sort of moral or ethical framework. Such people were thereby incapable of socializing their children appropriately. The Protestant Canadian cultural framework was the assumed prerequisite for establishing oneself as an ethical and patriotic Canadian.

Journals such as The Missionary Outlook regularly printed letters from missionaries in the field. Such edited and printed letters reveal an enormous lack of understanding of the religious practices of the non-Protestant Ukrainian immigrants. One W.M.S. missionary wrote of her work in the Ukrainian missions in Alberta:

When I visited his [Ukrainian man] home, his wife and all the family were opposed to me. I tried to explain to them the difference between the teaching of their Church and the teaching of the Gospel, and to show that

---

⁵⁹ The History of the Women's Missionary Society in Alberta, p. 58.

⁶⁰ The New Outlook (June 10, 1925), p. 41.

the teachings of our Church are founded on Gospel truth.⁶¹

Similarly, in the June 1925 United Church of Canada inaugural edition of The New Outlook periodical one article asserted that Italians are Catholic "by tradition but in little else".⁶² Even after years of ecumenical debating and subsequent union of most congregations of three Canadian Protestant denominations, religious intolerance rather than an acceptance of spiritual and cultural plurality informed the voice of the United Church. Often the only representatives of their particular denomination if not of all Protestants in isolated settlements, Canadian women missionary workers could not help but reflect the lack of religious tolerance that continued to characterize Canadian Protestantism.

Much of the material in the Kolokreeka Diary of 1912 through 1916 and missionary tracts and periodicals suggest that the missionary community perceived the relationship between Protestantism and the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches as one of spiritual and ideological confrontation. There was little concept of the need to transcend one's own assumptions when working with other cultural groups. Canadian Protestants perceived the eastern rites practised in the Orthodox and Uniate sects as nominally Christian.⁶³ The Christian faiths of the Ukrainians were interpreted as superstitious, quaint and potentially dangerous ramblings of spiritually simplistic children controlled by impious orthodox clergy. The following passage expresses the feelings of

---

⁶¹ Missionary Outlook(November, 1920), "Among the New Canadians in Alberta," p. 249.

⁶² The New Outlook(June 10, 1925).

⁶³ Missionary Outlook(June, 1908), p. 130.

many on the topic:

The religion of the Galician is intensely symbolical and ceremonial. There is a very strong religious feeling amongst them, although it is not always as effective in purifying the life as we might wish. Of course, when there is so much ceremony there is sure to be a great deal of superstition, but the free air of Canada, and the steady influence of our own workers, is gradually producing a change. In time there will be less ceremony and a more intelligent faith, fewer forms and more effort after a nobler life.⁶⁴

It was not assumed that Ukrainian religious practice was based on informed piety and faith. The women missionaries clearly saw Methodism as a needed counter to orthodoxy, just as they presented Christian domesticity as a contrast to the less-than-adequate housewifery practised within Eastern European immigrant communities.

Despite a number of temperate approaches to defining the character and abilities of the Eastern European immigrants and Canada's responsibility towards them, church sources did not waver in a consensus that the presence of immigrants necessitated assimilation into the Protestant cultural venue. Marilyn Barber has concluded that "in spite of the appeal to cooperation, the new society to be created strongly resembled a perfected version of the old English Canadian society, the superiority of which was not to be questioned."⁶⁵ The range of attitudes and responses exhibited by English-Canadians towards Ukrainian immigrants illustrate how difficult it is to simply categorize a blanket response of women to complicated social issues. While solutions put forth by women in both religious and secular journals spanned the spectrum from social control

---

⁶⁴ Christian Guardian (December 19, 1906), Woman's Missionary Society Page, p. 15, "Christmas Among the Galicians," an article from the Home Mission Pioneer. See also Edith Weekes Leonard, "The Austrian People" and Ethelwyn Chace, "Easter Day at Wahstao".

⁶⁵ Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces", p. 4.

to co-operation ideal, on one thing most were in agreement; Canadianization was also a woman's job.⁶⁶ Articles and sermons in both secular and church periodicals carried fundamentally the same message. In recruiting appeals to clubs, church groups and charities English Canadian women were instructed to the nature of their patriotic responsibility to Canadianize the foreigner.⁶⁷

As the Home Missions expanded, women were considered the obvious workers among foreign women and children within Canada. Columnists throughout the period under discussion promoted this belief in the necessity of women missionary teachers influencing women and children in the Ukrainian communities. Male teachers were viewed as unnecessary disciplinarians among people subjected to excessive authority by the Russian and Austro-Hungarian governments.⁶⁸ Ukrainian women and children were seen to require the nurturing presence of missionaries providing the example of a "quiet influence of a life lived in their midst."⁶⁹ Male teachers "married to some good, motherly woman"⁷⁰ were somewhat better but:

as a general rule female teachers are the best for our purpose. They get at the women and children and there is where our main difficulty lies. You may educate the men for generations and advance no further towards Canadianizing the community. They will still keep to their old customs

---

⁶⁶ Woman's Century(May, 1919), E. Gunn Ramsay, "Immigration is Also a Woman's Job."

⁶⁷ Woman's Century(December, 1919), Miss Mabel Hanna, "Canadianization," p. 30.

⁶⁸ In 1915 missionary Phoebe Code remarked that the General Board was beginning to send male workers into the city to minister to young men who frequented pool rooms and similar kinds of places. She looked forward to the results of combined efforts of the W.M.S. among women and children and the G.B. among young men in the city. UCA, Toronto, Thirty-Forth Report W.M.S., 1914-15, p. cxxi.

⁶⁹ Missionary Outlook(April, 1920), Mr. Ira Stratton, p. 80.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

and ways of living . But if you once get the women and children the thing is done.⁷¹

One reflection on women's role observed that:

. . . camps - . . . places filled with transients, where the settled sanctions of ordinary life do not hold - where men predominate, and for want of the restraining hand of good women and the tender touch of little children grow utterly reckless in their sin.⁷²

Women's Missionary Societies inserted women into the public domain with a specific mandate to change this demoralizing sketch of transient and immigrant life. In recruiting women for those missions, sources clearly requested Canadian women dedicated to an ideal vision of womanly Christian domesticity.

Canadian women were encouraged to involve themselves with missionary work primarily through various educational and to a certain extent medical missions. Missionaries representing all Canadian Protestant denominations and many public school-teachers promoted an educational mandate as the most effective means of acculturating the immigrant.⁷³ The Woman's Century referred to all missions-minded school-teachers as missionaries. That journal observed that such young women were:

endowed with the true missionary spirit . . . in the performance of a bit of patriotic service. . . helping to build up a new Canada by instilling into these new citizens, children and grownups, the highest ideals of

---

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Missionary Outlook(January 1920), p. 6.

⁷³ Missionary Outlook(Special Number), n.d., pp. 99-101. The Presbyterian Church was less focused on conversions to Protestantism than was the Methodist. The Anglican Church in Canada was even further removed from evangelicalism, with its immigrant mandate primarily concerned with ministering to newly arrived Anglicans.

citizenship.⁷⁴

The Presbyterian periodical The Presbyterian and Westminster exclaimed that "these young people [immigrants] become true Canadians, and carry a Canadian - and generally a Christian - spirit back with them to their own homes."⁷⁵ Successful assimilation was linked to the establishment of Protestant school-homes, educational missions and eventually the public school system.⁷⁶ Patriotic and missions-minded Canadians sought to impose the Protestant-Canadian lifestyle onto immigrants through the education of their children.

Canadian Methodists perceived higher education for women as a means of helping to solve social problems in both Canada and throughout the world. "The predominant Methodist attitude to education and learning was a very positive one."⁷⁷ In light of the church's stand on female education Methodists boasted of liberal attitudes towards women. But at the same time Methodism insisted on the maintenance of separate domestic and public spheres for women and men.

In the Methodist context education was not simply viewed as post-secondary education for women and men. By the first decade of the twentieth century Canadian Methodism had embraced the tenets of the social gospel. That perspective shifted

---

⁷⁴ Missionary Outlook (Special Number) n.d. See also Missionary Bulletin (Vol. IX, No. 1, Dec. 1912-March 1913), "Convention of Our Workers Among the Ruthenians," for similar comments concerning the role of female public school teachers as missionaries.

⁷⁵ Presbyterian and Westminster (January 22, 1920), p. 21.

⁷⁶ Woman's Century (Special Number) n.d., p. 101.

⁷⁷ United Church Archives, Toronto (hereafter known as UCA), Henry Manning, "The Changing Mind-Set of Canadian Methodism." Canadian Methodist Historical Society: Papers, Vol. 2, p. 9.

Methodism's emphasis from individual salvation to where such salvation was dependent on first meeting the needs of the community.⁷⁸ Education was viewed as part of the social process employing all people as educators. As Christian educators, converts were expected to lead others to spiritual salvation through an education to an awareness of the Gospel.⁷⁹ Assimilation-minded missionaries understood education as not just a route for the privileged, but also as a tool to convert and assimilate others to the Protestant Canadian ideal.

In order to fulfil their mandate, educated Protestant women were recruited as both missionaries and teachers of homemaking skills for missions and church-run schools in the west.⁸⁰ Organizations such as the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association promoted an ideal of both home and some manner of education for all women. In a 1903 address to the association, Margaret Burwash stated that:

I hold that the chief object of all training of women, is the perfecting of the home- Home is the heart of the nation, the heart of the church and out of it are the issues of life. The higher education of women brings bane instead of blessing unless it gives them a higher ideal of the nobility and sacredness of their calling as home makers. Providence has put into the hands of women, it is the work that they are called to do for the advancement and salvation of the world. A home maker must be trained in a home, but is not only necessary to have a high ideal of the work, but ability to make the ideal a reality. How shall this be acquired by the young women, who spend four years of their early womanhood outside of the influences and responsibilities of home. This is the problem [this

---

⁷⁸ Manning, p. 14.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁸⁰ Owen, p. 185. According to Owen the Presbyterian Women's Home Missionary Society was formed in 1903. By 1914 the society had established seven hospitals, seven school homes with approximately 100 boarders and supported eight deaconesses in eleven home mission fields in Canada. One year prior to union with Methodist and Congregational denominations into the United Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church supported 190 students in ten school-homes in the northwest.

association has] . . . undertaken to solve . . . I hasten to say that we lay the foundation by providing a comfortable, beautiful and well appointed home in which each student will have the same rights that she has in her father's house and that she will share in the responsibility of making it happy and beautiful.⁸¹

As they had been recruited to educate and uplift culturally inaccessible women and children in foreign countries, church women were now pressed to take on "the responsibility to train the girls as Canadian homemakers"⁸² through the example of a 'well appointed home'.

Assimilation processes soon incorporated children into the frontier metaphor often used to describe the expansion⁸³ of missionary influence into western Canada. Children became the new field of potential converts because the young were impressionable and open to conversion.⁸⁴ "There is real estate in the west. In boys and girls we can make an investment, that is sure to bring good returns."⁸⁵ The literature regarding Home Missions in Alberta reflects this shift to children.

The missionary literature focused on the need to assimilate children through education. Various social groups for children were administered in conjunction with grammar and Sunday Schools at missions and public schools throughout the immigrant communities. These were not only social groups. Through instruction in language,

---

⁸¹ UCA, Personal Papers, Margaret P. Burwash, Box 1, File 18. [Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association, Victoria College, Toronto.]

⁸² Owen, p. 95.

⁸³ Military terminology such as 'occupation' often accompanied the use of such expansive metaphors.

⁸⁴ Manning p. 10. This new emphasis on child conversion was based on sociological and psychological theory suggesting that children's early years had a major effect on their lifestyle and character as adults.

⁸⁵ Missionary Outlook (November 1913), p. 253.

sewing, gardening, Bible study and other aspects of English Canadian culture the clubs sought to convert children to Protestantism.⁸⁶ The Methodist W.M.S. combined the focus of educative childhood conversion with their mandate to impose on children the exclusively Protestant Canadian ideal of 'morality, cleanliness and the work ethic.'

Both the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches believed that homes were the best classroom and mothers the ideal moral instructors of children. Missionaries complained about the comparative lack of converts while insisting that mothers were the means of reaching the children. Church historian Michael Owen suggests that women of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church were confronted with a dilemma. Church women found themselves challenged by immigrant mothers they considered 'uneducated and superstitious.' Ukrainian women were known to "lack [the] essential knowledge to transmit to . . . [their] children Canadian ideals, morals and domestic habits."⁸⁷ Methodists felt compelled and justified to step in as surrogate-parents to the Ukrainian children.

Immigrant children under the care of upright Protestant women were seen as the promise of a new generation of Canadians. The Woman's Century entreated Canadian women to approach immigrant women as if they were potential "future mother[s] of

---

⁸⁶ Manning, pp. 9-10. The Canadian Protestant Sunday School movement is the best known example of child-focused conversion organization. Between 1884-1894 Methodist Sunday Schools experienced the peak growth period expected with their establishment. In 1862, 3% of new church members came out of the Sunday School system. In 1894, 19% came out of the Sunday Schools. By the early twentieth century, a full 60% of new converts had attended Methodist Sunday Schools.

⁸⁷ Owen, p. 195.

Canadians-to-be".⁸⁸ Immigrant girls and boys were to be respectively transformed into mothers ideally suited to and responsible for the education of their young and into model fathers providing a family wage to keep the household. But as a vital link to the future of Canada, immigrant childrens' education could not be left to the inexperienced and decidedly non-Canadian ministrations of biological mothers. Protestant women missionaries operating out of the ideal home were to fill an educative void. They were to stand as interpreters "between the old worlds' ideals and the customs and the new worlds' ideals."⁸⁹

It was hypothesized that as 'new Canadian' women and their offspring were assimilated into English Canadian culture, they could in turn become active in morally uplifting and assimilating their own communities. In the pages of the Woman's Century, Mabel Hanna expressed concerns for immigrant mothers. She pointed out that through isolation in the home, women became further segregated from their partially-assimilated children and the dominant culture.⁹⁰ Hanna described these women as:

. . . mothers - wonderful mothers, busy from long before daylight until long after, untiring in their efforts for their home and families, kind and loving in their treatment of their children, . . .⁹¹

While trying to encourage compassion for the problems faced by immigrant women

---

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 195.

⁸⁹ Missionary Outlook(September, 1913), Mrs. C. Robson, "The Foreign Population of Saskatchewan," p. 207.

⁹⁰ Woman's Century(September, 1919),"Canadianizing the Immigrant," p. 30.

⁹¹ Ibid.

Hanna actually subsumed the experience of immigrant women to an ideal concept of self-sacrificial motherhood. At the same time, she recognized that women's work often did take from dawn until dusk. But Ukrainian women's definitions of what it meant to be a good mother were not investigated. So, success and failure to reflect the ideal became the justification for or against compassion for the situation of immigrant women in Canada. Such rewards were most often reserved for the younger women and girls deemed to have successfully assimilated. Echoing the W.M.S. call to arms the Woman's Century suggested to Canadian women that:

Let us now, conscious of our woman's strength, with open eyes and patient hearts strive to unite our nation. This can only be done by the re-creating passion of pity and understanding, by the vision of a wider motherhood that shall embrace all the ignorant and lonely hearts within our land.⁹²

In the move to Canadianize and consolidate the Dominion through the uplifting of womanhood, Canadian women sought to create a global vision of ideal motherhood. There was no room for an alternate vision or model.

The Canadian church and state idealized women's ability to affect social and moral development through education. Despite long-term commitments to that ideal the primary literature reveals that support for 'women's work' in the field changed throughout the years. During the war years and immediately after, Methodist men expressed concern over increasing W.M.S. influence in previously male-dominated church occupations. Church columnist Ulette Smith claimed that General Board missionaries and Woman's Missionary Society workers co-operated as a community pursuing a common

---

⁹² Woman's Century(September 1919), p. 30.

goal with common methods.⁹³ The diaries from Wahstao and Kolokreeka missions support such claims.⁹⁴ Archival papers of the 1917 Sixth Annual Convention of Ruthenian Workers in Alberta reveal a debate about cooperation between different groups and their relative power in the field. Sources suggest that the General Board officially maintained the W.M.S. was doing work the men could not or would not do. But some members wanted General Board workers and their wives in the field to replace the single W.M.S. women.⁹⁵ A former home missionary writing for a church periodical of the same period defined a Home Mission primarily as one receiving the services of a Methodist minister.⁹⁶ This suggests that W.M.S. missions were legitimated within the church hierarchy according to the proximity of a male missionary preacher. Some General Board workers at the convention felt that a married male worker, who was also a minister would have an advantage over single women in the field.⁹⁷ The convention meeting concluded that greater co-operation between the two Boards was necessary to

---

⁹³ Missionary Bulletin(April-June, 1917)XIII, no.2, Ulette Smith, "The Ruthenian Colony of Northern Alberta," p. 296. See also Missionary Outlook(July-August 1921), "Missions in the Alberta Superintendency: Alberta Conference," p. 149.

⁹⁴ Those diaries cover the years 1908-1916. They predate the known debates in the literature concerning the changing role of women in the missions.

⁹⁵ Of the forty-four women only four were married prior to being hired by the W.M.S. There is no mention in the literature of their husbands whereabouts at the time. It is known that eleven women left missionary work to marry or married after leaving the work.

⁹⁶ Missionary Outlook(October, 1913), p. 221.

⁹⁷ Jane Hunter in The Gospel of Gentility discusses the limited scope of married male missionaries and their wives in China. The married women, due to the demands of child-bearing and raising, usually gave up their missionary focus quite soon after assignment. That work only resumed after their children left, some ten years or so later to attend school in the United States. In many cases the women returned home with their children and did not pursue their intended work in the field until themselves close to retirement age.

ensure that the Ukrainian people were adequately ministered to.⁹⁸

This exchange suggests that the Women's Board did maintain a large degree of independence from the General Board.⁹⁹ With time such independence was perceived as threatening to the General Board, which later tried to assert its influence through the Workers' Convention. But it appears that such attitudes were separate from the relationships between male and female workers in the field.¹⁰⁰ As the established field became attractive to male missionaries looking for advancement within the church hierarchy,¹⁰¹ published material and church support waned for women's involvement in missions to Ukrainians.¹⁰² At the Ninth and final Convention of Ruthenian Workers in Alberta in 1924 a debate was flooded concerning the continued effectiveness of female teaching missionaries among Ukrainians. Four years earlier¹⁰³ the convention had once again ratified women's unique role as ideal educators in the Ukrainian missions and public schools on the prairies. A regular missions and Convention correspondent, Mr. Pike questioned women's continued abilities to work that field. Pike's assertion that men, not women, were needed in the field was in direct contrast to arguments set forth twenty

---

⁹⁸ UCA, Box 9, File 9, Sixth Annual Convention of Ruthenian Workers in Alberta, Wahstao, July 31, 1917.

⁹⁹ See Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence".

¹⁰⁰ The relationships between W.M.S. and General Board workers will be dealt with in Chapter Three of this thesis.

¹⁰¹ See United Church Archives, Box 26, File 26, Reports by W.H. Pike on Work Among New Canadians, Alberta, 1924.

¹⁰² As discussed in Chapter One, as General Board missionaries took over in the missions to Ukrainians women's presences in the published literature lessened.

¹⁰³ Missionary Outlook (April, 1920), Mr. Ira Stratton, p. 80.

years earlier. The Reverend T.C. Buchanan, on a 1904-05 tour of the Saskatchewan Valley, remarked on the work of Dr. Lawford and the Misses Munro and Edmunds at Wahstao. He said that the women "have a large and varied field for usefulness and one of great promise. Would that we had a score of such women working among this people."¹⁰⁴ But in 1924 Mr. Pike insisted that "preaching is a man's job-so is teaching in a non-English school."¹⁰⁵ When first established, women's tender moral ministrations were required in the missions. Now at a time when women had won enfranchisement and were being considered for ordination the male authoritative presence was seen as requisite. Pike's reports suggested that young eastern General Board missionaries wished to teach in non-English mission schools as part of the on-the-job training required for advancement to more attractive preaching assignments in eastern Canada. His report called for a combination teacher-missionary preacher who could combine a Christian Canadian spirit with moulding the new Canadians into good citizens.¹⁰⁶ Of course, such positions would through necessity be reserved for men, as women were as yet unordained in the Methodist Church. Men's increasing interest in the field and fears of women's power may have contributed to the decline of W.M.S. influence and overall Church interest in the east-central Alberta missions.¹⁰⁷

---

¹⁰⁴ Missionary Bulletin(Vol. II, No.1-4, 1904-05), Rev. T.C. Buchanan, pp. 661-668.

¹⁰⁵ UCA, Box 26, File 2, Methodist Church Missionary Society(Home Department), Reports by W.H. Pike on Work Among New Canadians, Alberta, 1924. "A Remarkable Convention" Ninth Annual Convention of Ruthenian Workers in Alberta, Edmonton, September 7-9, 1924.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ See Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 380. Gagan suggests that some General Board missionaries resented the trust of the immigrant community for the W.M.S. The G.B. missionaries consequently
(continued...)

Some post-First World War commentators clearly viewed women's recently acquired voting privileges as a problem requiring their attention. One editorial suggested that:

It has been said that 'of all the tides that surge round the globe today, none is more significant, more pronounced, and none augurs more of good or ill to society than the woman movement.' Since the year 1914 twenty-one nations have granted complete or partial franchise to women. How to deal with this new situation, how to direct in the right channels the new energies that are thus demanding an outlet, is a problem that is recognized as vital in its bearing on the future of the Church in the mission field.¹⁰⁸

As when faced some thirty years previous with the prospect of women's increasing public role, social critics sought to prescribe the exact nature of women's activities. Suffrage promised to bring women into politics as consumers and potentially as politicians. Women had already proved their penchant for activism and pacifism both prior to and during the war. Social critics first defined female suffrage as a problem and then proceeded to prescribe the means by which the damage might be contained.

Despite infighting among female and male missionary boards and social critics concerning women's suitability to missionary work, prominent Methodists such as Nellie McClung clearly incorporated social emancipation and political suffrage with women's already established role in the missionary enterprise.¹⁰⁹ During the same period she

---

¹⁰⁷(...continued)

suggested that the missions needed men because the women were not held in very high esteem by the immigrants.

¹⁰⁸ Missionary Outlook (July, 1924), The Woman's Missionary Society Page, Editorial, "The Place of Women in the Church in the Mission Field," p. 157.

¹⁰⁹ See Jane Hunter, "The Home and the World: the Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," p. 160. Hunter maintains that American missionary women also saw Christianity as the liberator of women. But she further asserts that such women were less interested in suffrage for women than in assuring an
(continued...)

wrote W.M.S. tracts extolling the virtues of missionary women in the field and the emancipatory nature of Christianity, McClung agitated for women's suffrage and composed tracts for the Political Equality League of Manitoba. Her pamphlet "The New Citizenship" was concerned with how women would exercise their rights as citizens in the polling booth and as owners of property and recipients of equal pay. McClung wrote that:

Women are awakening to a sense of citizenship. No longer is the ideal woman the one who never lifts her eyes higher than the pantry shelf nor allows her sympathy to extend past her own family. Women who believed they must sit down and be resigned are now rising up and being indignant. The new womanhood is the new citizenship. . . . It is of no use to try and hush us up, we refuse to be hushed. But the dawn is breaking and the long darkness flees away. Women who have sat in their boudoirs like the Lady of Shallot, looking at life in a mirror, are now throwing the glass aside and coming down into the conflict. The awakened womanhood, the aroused motherhood is the New Citizenship.¹¹⁰

Citizenship for English Canadian women was a complement to their moral imperative, not an unexpected factor to be quickly dispensed with.

Into the geographic centre of the Ukrainian settlements missionary women ventured. Their mandate was to re-create the Christian Canadian home for emulation by Ukrainian women and children. W.M.S. missions served not only as day and boarding schools for Ukrainian children. They were also meant to provide a contrast to the

---

¹⁰⁹(...continued)

"acknowledged pre-eminence in a separate world of piety, purity and domesticity." There is room for further speculation on the possible relationship in Canada between social movements such as suffrage and the Protestant missionary impulse. Women such as Nellie McClung clearly viewed women's political rights as compatible with their Christian duties and privileges.

¹¹⁰ UCA, Pamphlets, Nellie L. McClung, "The New Citizenship"[pamphlet], Political Equality League of Manitoba, 1919.

decidedly un-Canadian Eastern European house and home. Visitors to the hospitals and missions focused on the immigrant drunkard or the poorly-constructed and ill-kept immigrant home so as to illustrate the relative degradation of home-life for Ukrainian women and children.¹¹¹ One visitor to a Ruthenian Hospital and School Home in western Canada expressed the kinds of comparisons that were regularly made with the following. He first described a Canadian drunkard and a Ukrainian drunkard on the street. Then:

From this foul atmosphere of profanity, degradation and filth, we passed into a home and an environment that breathed the atmosphere of heaven. The smiling faces of the boys and girls, the happy expression on the countenance of each member of the staff as they stood there clothed in costumes of snowy white; the cleanliness of the building itself: the purity and freshness of the air; the artistic arrangement of the pictures on the wall; the sweet perfume of the freshly gathered flowers which had drunk of the morning dew, filled my soul with gladness and my mind with the beauty of holy things. As I contrasted it all with the scene outside I felt like expressing my feelings in the words of the ancient prophet, as he longed for the communion of God's sanctuary.¹¹²

The female missionary embodied all the virtues of middle-class Canadian culture, the sanctity of the home and the moral purity of Canadian womanhood. She was described thus:

There is the lone missionary in her little home, surrounded by the people she aims to help through a service of love, crowding the rooms with clubs

---

¹¹¹ See Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church towards Ukrainian immigrants (1900-1925): Rural Home Missions As Agencies of Assimilation," unpublished Phd. dissertation, University of St. Michael's College (Toronto School of Theology), 1984. National Library [microfiche]. Olender points out that the middle-class bias of the missionaries prevented them from comparing Ukrainian settlers to "Anglo-Canadian homesteaders who lived in log cabins or primitive sod huts and endured similar primitive living conditions during their first years on the prairies." (p. 115).

¹¹² Missionary Outlook (February, 1918), p. 47.

and other gatherings, rejoicing in every good that comes to them and wishing the days were longer, for there is so much to do.¹¹³

The creation of that little home, complete with clean white sheets, primers and the Bible was the task of the women who served in the Ukrainian settlements in east-central Alberta.

In 1904 the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church sent its first missionaries into the Star bloc settlement. The Annual Report of 1903-1904 described the opening of the new W.M.S. mission field thus:

With the kind co-operation of the members of the General Board, Misses Munro and Edmonds have been able to locate in a choice spot, some twelve miles from Pakan. After spending the summer in tents, they are now sheltered in a hastily but well-built house, which they hope to make the centre of gracious influences to all their neighbourhood.¹¹⁴

Forty-four Methodist missionary women took the gracious influences bestowed on them by Protestantism into their missions homes in east-central Alberta.

---

¹¹³ Missionary Outlook (December, 1923), Mrs. James Harrison, "Austrians and Other Europeans," p. 280.

¹¹⁴ UCA, Toronto, Twenty-Third Annual Report WMS, 1903-1904, p. xix. Field Corresponding Secretary Elizabeth S. Strachan. This report contains the first mention of W.M.S. Ukrainian missions.

CHAPTER 3: PROTESTANT WOMEN AND THE MISSIONARY MESSAGE OF DOMESTICITY: CANADIAN METHODIST WOMEN MISSIONARIES IN THE UKRAINIAN HOME FIELD OF MISSIONS

Middle-class Protestant Canadian women's primary responsibilities were to create homes for their families. But as mothers of the nation their liability extended beyond the household, anticipating the next generation of Protestant Christian homemakers and hearths. Protestant commentator Alice Woodley commented that:

Dear Mothers, do you realize what a responsible, yet privileged, position is yours - that of training the coming generation to lead good and useful lives, to take the places that God has allotted to them in the home, in the world, and in the church.¹

And missionary Margaret Addison wrote of her kindergarten children in Edmonton:

These are to be the mothers of a future generation. Our work among them, and our influence upon them in these formative and impressionable years will do much to mold them in the right way. And we believe the application of the gospel of our Christ will lead them into the fullness and glory of their heritage as daughters and mothers of our fair Canada.²

These statements and others like them proclaim Protestant Christian Canadian women's functions as guardians of both the present and future moral state of womanhood. The frequency of such assertions strengthens my hypothesis that women saw themselves as uplifting educators of women and children.

But this domestic ideology and consequent social service mandate did not preclude the religious component of the missionary agenda. Rather, social service aimed at uplifting the immigrant community to the Protestant Canadian model reinforced the

---

¹ Missionary Outlook (January, 1906), "A Word to Mothers," Alice Woodley, p. 17.

² UCA, Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada [hereafter known as Annual Report WMS], 1913-14, M. Addison, Riverdale, Edmonton, p. cxxvii.

conversion mandate of the missionary enterprise. In her discussion of the work of Methodist missionaries among Ukrainians, Rosemary Gagan suggests that through the years those women shifted the emphasis of their work from conversion to education and assimilation. In making such a claim Gagan implies a deviation in the missionaries' self-perception away from the conversion mandate that characterized the work of most worldwide missionary campaigns.³ A change in emphasis or the tools employed to achieve conversion and assimilation, does not mean an abandonment of the primary evangelical focus of individual salvation through conversion. Myrna Kostash concludes that the education offered by the missions rendered "conversion to the Presbyterian [or Methodist] faith itself . . . almost redundant."⁴ Canadianization implied conversion to Protestantism.

Christian domesticity was employed to impose the ideals of Christian Canadian womanhood onto women and children within foreign communities in Canada. In the Canadian Home Missions, as they had in the foreign fields, missionary women and teachers administered a dream. That dream promoted the well-appointed home and housewife as the model Canadian household. Reflecting that model, the artifacts, rituals and physical aspect of those homes served as cultural standards. Missionary Jessie Munro related an anecdote illustrating the ideal striven for in work among Ukrainian children.

---

³ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence", pp. 378-82.

⁴ Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children(Edmonton:Hurtig Publishers, 1977), p. 81. At the time of publication in 1977, Kostash , a second-generation Ukrainian-Canadian was a free-lance writer living in Edmonton, Alberta.

I am getting pretty tired, so, in view of the Sunday afternoon and evening's work, I stayed at home from Church, but sent my little Mary for Miss Chegwin for company. N___, a transient out of work, said she would like to go too. I buttoned blouses and tied hair ribbons, and used a whisk, and enquired about finger-nails, and did all that mothers do at such times. I gave each a five-cent piece and a hymn book, and sent them off, after receiving their thanks and good-byes and assurances of good behaviour. As they looked back, going out of the gate, with a smile and another good-bye, both so neat and Canadian-like, going to church, it was then I thought I wanted to send you the picture.⁵

The ideal sought here was the well-scrubbed and well-behaved English-speaking Canadian girl on her way to church service clutching a Protestant hymnbook. She was the product of a successful campaign for uplifting education, social service and conversion; inseparable components of missionary work.

In its work in east-central Alberta the W.M.S. aimed at having each mission staffed by a minimum of three women. One woman made evangelistic visits intended to convert those called upon. Another's primary task involved teaching in the nearby or adjacent mission or public school. The third woman's work met the domestic needs of the household, ensuring that the home projected the proper image of piety, morality and domesticity to the community it served. Three women working out of their mission home base were to meet previously unestablished services of a community, such as postal services, letter-writing assistance, medical aid station and community centre. This ideal soon crumbled when of the first two women⁶ to enter the new W.M.S. Wahstao mission one was removed within a few short weeks due to ill health. Retta Edmonds was

---

⁵ Missionary Outlook(August, 1909), p. 191.

⁶ Jessie K. Munro and Retta Edmonds were the pioneering Methodist women missionaries in east-central Alberta. Munro had transferred out of the missions in Japan due to ill-health and Edmonds was soon to leave Wahstao(Pakan) for similar reasons.

immediately replaced. But the number of missionaries at this primary base remained for the first two years of operation the inadequate two rather than the three required to fill the mandate of conversion, education and service.⁷

Missionary Mae Laycock's 1974 published history of the Ukrainian missionaries, Bridges of Friendship clearly states that by 1918, after the influenza epidemic, there was usually a staff of four in residence. Laycock served in the Home field of missions from 1924 until 1949.⁸ While she came into the field near the end of the time period covered in this thesis, her job descriptions for the women are certainly relevant. She reported the job categories, as they existed in the mid-1920's, as those of Matron(House Mother), Teacher, General Health and Clothing, Community Worker and Secretary-Treasurer. As might be expected the Matron was generally a woman of many talents overseeing the smooth running of the home from meal preparation to supervision of household repairs. She was often required to take on the duties of the Secretary-Treasurer unless another staff member had some prior experience. In summing up her duties Laycock concludes that the Matron also served as "hostess for visitors and parents and everything else not otherwise allocated."⁹ The Teacher was responsible for conducting both day and night

---

⁷ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," p. 372. By 1906 there were three female missionaries at the mission, who operated a day school, Sunday school, in the winter a night school for men and boys, women's meetings and English language classes. Weather permitting, the women made visits to individual homes in a horse-drawn wagon. See also Provincial Archives of Alberta[hereafter known as PCofA, Ethelwyn Chace, Memoir. Chace refers to herself, Edith Weeks and Caroline Cartwright as the first 'group of three'.

⁸ Mae Laycock served at Smoky Lake School Home from 1924 to 1930, at the Ruthenian Home for Girl's from 1931 to 1934 and at Wahstao School Home from 1934 to 1937. As matron she oversaw the closing of Wahstao and the transfer of pupils and staff to Vilna in 1937. Her book is a history of the work of Methodism in the Ukrainian settlement rather than a memoir of her own time in the mission field.

⁹ Laycock, p. 11.

schools, supervising study time in the evenings, the library, the playground and sharing in the work of the various Sunday Schools. The staff member in charge of General Health and Clothing took care of supervising baths and hair care for the children, the laundry, ironing, mending and care of clothes and served as a nurse in times of illness. And the Community Worker evolved out of the evangelistic visitor of the earlier years. She was responsible for Christian education, Sunday Schools, Church services, childrens' clubs and Women's Organizations as well as for home visiting. And as always the women assisted one another in their various responsibilities for the missions and schools.

While the work was described in mutually-exclusive terms and justified according to those categories, the sources clearly show that each woman applied her talents to whatever was required. Retired missionary Ethelwyn Chace recalled in her memoir that "We were a staff of three or four, in more prosperous times, and we divided up our work to satisfy each one as much as possible."¹⁰ Chace justified the existence of at least three women with the assertion that it would provide the opportunity for each woman to "apply her talents to the best advantage either as teacher, housekeeper, social service worker or evangelist."¹¹ In 1915, newly-appointed Wahstao missionary Ellen Ferguson wrote that:

When I entered the work as a missionary, little did I realize the variety in the forms of work. One certainly must be able to face almost anything and tackle any job that presents itself, doing the thing that comes to hand to do when it leads to the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God.¹²

---

¹⁰ Ethelwyn Chace, *Memoir*, p. 20.

¹¹ UCA, Box 9, File 9, Sixth Annual Ruthenian Worker's Convention, 1917, p. 2.

¹² Thirty-Sixth Annual Report WMS, 1916-17, Ellen Ferguson, Wahstao, Alberta, p. cxxx.

Missionary women were not trained as highly specialized workers and their positions were not mutually exclusive. Over time the work became even more interdependent, demanding of the women an ability to adapt quickly to the changed circumstances that were a consequence of illness,¹³ overcrowding, overwork and even death.

Pioneering women in western Canada, missionaries among them, were exposed to harsh material conditions that concretely tested their constitutions and resolve. Early commentators on the work of W.M.S. women among Ukrainians remarked on the amount of daily labour undertaken at the missions and the toll it had on health. That work was seen to contribute to the "obvious acceleration of aging".¹⁴ The Associate Home Secretary to the Western Fields made a visit in 1916 to the Ukrainian missions. Her report in the Missionary Outlook stated that it was understandable, based on the number of evangelical visits made each day, that the health of missionary women gave out under the "severe strain".¹⁵

The Kolokreeka Diary of 1912 through 1916 and the Wahstao Diary of 1908 to 1911 reveal the sometimes exhausting load of work that many women were confronted with. Evangelical work in the missions never ended. The women visited, conducted language studies, day and Sunday Schools at various homes scattered throughout the settlement. Moreover, each day was a constant round of such teachings and visits

---

¹³ Rosemary Gagan points out that while the Home field was deemed less rigorous than the overseas ones (Jessie Munro transferred to Home Missions due to ill health), there was far higher attrition from illness and death in the Home field than in Asia. Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence, p. 381.

¹⁴ UCA, Board of Home Missions, Box 6, File 3, Address by Rev. J.A. Doyle. See also Missionary Bulletin (Vol. II, 1904-05), Reverend Lawford at Pagan, p. 863.

¹⁵ Missionary Outlook (December, 1916), "Visit of the Associate Home Secretary to the Western Fields," Mrs. Harrison, p. 287.

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISION^{SM} RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

MicroD
CORPORATION

15000 COUNTY ROAD 2, GLENDALE, OH 43021 USA
TEL: 614 426 7887 FAX: 614 426 7887 TLEX: 510000P488

interspersed with daily cleaning, washing, meal preparations, postal duties,¹⁶ the mending of machinery, the care of farm animals, the repair of horse tack and the maintenance of bridges, gates and roads immediate to the mission. Later on the women were able to depend on the volunteer help of their Ukrainian neighbours and visiting Methodist missionaries. In 1913, new regulations were introduced governing on-duty time and regular time off, including half-days and holidays. The missionary system of leave or sabbatical had early been introduced into the Home Missions enterprise. But such leave occurred only every five and then later on every six years.¹⁷ Subsequent log entries specifically mentioned when someone had an afternoon off and what they did or where they went. Until those guidelines were introduced, with the sheer weight of daily homemaking chores and evangelical duties, the women appeared to have had difficulty coordinating regular days off.

Despite the rigorous nature of their work and the evangelical mandate of the mission, many women maintained a sense of humour and perspective. A number of the women at Wahstao and Kolokreeka seriously studied Ukrainian language in order to aid them in evangelistic visits. One afternoon in late November of 1913 it was logged that "Mrs. Koteck came down for Mrs. Grakos' in a disturbed state of mind to inquire if the bread her mother had baked was bad- a bad result of J's [Mary Yarwood] trying to talk

---

¹⁶ Kolokreeka mission became the postal outlet for its district, with women being appointed in rotation the daily duties of post mistress. In addition, there was a mention that the mission was responsible for the collection of taxes.

¹⁷ May Laycock, p. 32.

Russian."¹⁸ Ethelwyn Chace described her first public language experience with the humour that often only abject embarrassment can bring. A flock of crowing roosters under a nearby bed confronted Chace as she faced conducting a woman's meeting for the first time in Ukrainian. Needless to say her knowledge of the language immediately fled leaving the group with only a clucking sermon for spiritual inspiration.¹⁹

Like non-missionary pioneering women, these W.M.S. missionaries mustered inner strengths and positive dispositions to carry them through difficult situations. Throughout the months spent in establishing this new missions field and during the interminable expansion efforts, situations demanded of them the ability to keep house in shacks and even stables. Ethel Hickman recounted when living in tents and sheds while Wahstao mission was being rebuilt in 1916 that "some hungry four-footed wanderers refreshed themselves" on freshly-made cookies cooling in the tent.²⁰ Jessie Munro and Retta Edmonds lived in such a tent on Dr. Lawford's mission lawn at Pakan for two months while selecting a site and arranging the building of Wahstao mission. They then proceeded to tent for an additional several weeks while the building progressed. Munro describes their first evening at Wahstao thus:

It had been disagreeably damp all day with frequent showers, our goods were scattered and piled about as they had been unloaded. It was almost

---

¹⁸ PAofA. Kolokreeka Diary, November 26, 1913. The Wahstao and Kolokreeka Diaries operated with a joint alphabet code used to indicate missionary women in the logged entries. That code was as follows and can be used to decipher any letter-codes that appear in subsequent quotes in the thesis. A- Edith Weeks; B- Caroline Cartwright; C- Ethelwyn Chace; D- Ella MacLean; F- Alice Sanford; G- Phoebe Code; H- Dell Young; J- Mary Yarwood; K- Ethel Hickman; L- Rubie Robinson; M- Florence Stone; N- Emoline Black; O- Sarah Ferguson.

¹⁹ PAofA, Chace, Memoirs.

²⁰ UCA, Thirty-Six Annual Report WMS, E.M. Hickman, Wahstao 1916-17, p. cxxviii.

dark and we were tired and cold, but it was with thankful hearts that about ten o'clock we gathered around the tea-table upon the open prairie.²¹

In the Wahstao and Kolokreeka Diaries understatement was often the method employed to record the collapse of a porch in a storm or the windy demolition of the Wahstao mission while in the process of being remodelled.²² In understated yet humorous fashion one diarist recorded the last snowfall of 1916 and the first of 1917 with the following:

May 31[1916] Snow flurries. Not surprising as a short time ago they had two feet of snow in Calgary. . . . August 10 [1916] The roof of the stable covered with snow at 5 A.M. and flurries during breakfast.²³

The published letters of the women reveal an absence of fuss concerning those relatively difficult beginnings and subsequent hardships. Wahstao missionary pioneer Ethelwyn Chace eloquently expressed how adversity was met with inner strengths and a simple love of life with:

All things come to an end and the 'hard winter' of 06-07 was no exception. Sometime in April the snow around the kitchen doorstep began to soften, then decrease, and at last on one sunny day, the moist black earth appeared. I still remember my thrill at the sight. At long last I was seeing Alberta! This was the real thing! So far I had seen only the snow that had blanketed it for so many months. And from then on, this swiftly wasted away. The winds must have made away with it for very few puddles were left on the ground. Very soon, furry little buds were noticed shooting up from the moist earth, then opening into blue crocus-like blossoms - the prairie anemones. Soon the grass was thick with them. How we loved those first early flowers! They were the pioneers of a brilliant succession - Buffalo beans, gay handfuls of yellow; Lady's slipper - also yellow; we could -and did - gather armfuls; Northern bed-straw in

---

²¹ UCA, Twenty-Fourth Annual Report WMS, 1904-05, " 'Report of Galician Work From Its Inception Until September, 1905', Fifteen Months", Jessie Munro, p. lxxxi.

²² PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary.

²³ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1916 and August 10, 1916.

delicate sprays of white; Canada lilies- the prairie flamed with them; and violets, violets, everywhere . . .²⁴

Chace also described the Wahstao region with:

-a wide stretch of plain, bordered by distant pine-covered hills, clotted with clumps of light green poplars and tiny silver lakes, while away on the left a bend of the river brings its surface into view. The only sound to break the evening stillness is a mellowed tinkle from where the cattle are grazing, and the business-like hum of the mosquitoes.²⁵

Chace's personal memoir, the missions diaries and missionary journals are filled with the first sightings of seasonal wild flowers and descriptions of the natural surroundings. The sheer beauty of Alberta often outweighed the trials accompanying life in a tent on the north-west frontier and the disappointingly shortlived and mosquito-ridden summers.²⁶

While missionary life consisted of a daily round of housewifery and evangelistic work, our missionary women for the most part did not lead the isolated lives of many women who pioneered the Canadian prairies. Aside from being stationed with at least one other woman, the Methodist missionary outposts scattered throughout the Star settlement formed an interdependent community reflecting common belief systems and personal goals. This community was comprised of individuals from W.M.S. facilities,

---

²⁴ PAofA. Chace, Memoir, p. 8.

²⁵ Missionary Outlook(September, 1907), "Work Among the Galicians" Miss Chace, p. 190.

²⁶ Other missionary women were emotionally struck by the natural beauty of the area in which they found themselves. Jessie Munro and Mary Yarwood met the eloquence of Ethelwyn Chace in letters later reprinted in the Annual Reports and missionary journals. Missionary Outlook(September, 1904), " 'Correspondence' Letter received from Miss Munro(formerly of Japan) now of Alta, N.W.T.," pp. 208-09. See also UCA, Box 9, The Second Annual Convention of Methodist Ruthenian Workers in Alberta, August 5-8, 1913. See also Missionary Outlook(December, 1912), Miss Yarwood, Kolokreeka, Pakan, Alta. p. 287.

Methodist hospitals, public school teachers, missionary homesteaders²⁷ and itinerant preaching missionaries.²⁸ Methodist and Presbyterian missions communities existed within the Ukrainian bloc settlements, providing some degree of continuity for the women and men who staffed the various missions, schools and hospitals in the region.²⁹

Despite the independent nature of the W.M.S. Board in the Church hierarchy, W.M.S. women generally showed little inclination to isolate themselves socially or insist on the independent nature of their work. But the Ruthenian Workers' Convention was repeatedly reminded of the need to recognize and support within the larger Church community the distinctive character of the work performed by these women.³⁰ Ethelwyn Chace in particular felt compelled, presumably by General Board doubts as to the necessity of W.M.S. work, to continually defend the existence of W.M.S. missions.³¹

---

²⁷ There were two missionary homesteaders settled with their families in close proximity to Wahstao and Kolokreeka.

²⁸ UCA, Records of the Home Department of the Methodist Church(Canada) Missionary Society. Finding Aid 10. Graham Rockingham, "Introduction: Brief History of the Home Department," 1980. The Home Department of the Methodist Church established a mission hospital at Pakan in 1902, two years previous to the assignment of the first two W.M.S. missionaries at Wahstao. It was staffed by a male medical missionary, his family and a support staff of male preachers and female nurses. In 1911, a Methodist mission was founded at Chipman and the next year a hospital at Lamont. The W.M.S. mission Wahstao, initially staffed by two and then three female missionaries, ministered to 250 Ukrainian families in a 600 square mile radius. In 1908 a second mission named Kolokreeka was established sixteen miles northeast of Wahstao near Smokey Lake. In 1911, Kolokreeka mission opened a boarding school for Ukrainian children, reportedly at the request of district parents. Eventually the Wahstao School home was established at Bellis, approximately nine miles from the original W.M.S. mission. By 1906 the Home Department of the Methodist Church Missionary Society had 493 missions in Canada and "by 1912 this number had expanded to 645 Missions among English-speaking people and about 20 amongst newly arrived immigrants and non-English speaking foreigners. . ."

²⁹ In the years just prior to church union in 1925, Methodist and Presbyterian missionary work became more integrated.

³⁰ Missionary Outlook(April, 1911), pp. 94-95.

³¹ Ethelwyn G. Chace served from 1907 through 1943 in various missions fields. She spent 15 years in total at Wahstao mission, beginning in 1907 and ending in 1927. Chace served thirty-seven years with the W.M.S. with approximately twenty-two of those years among Ukrainians in Alberta.

While serving her second non-consecutive term as missionary at Wahstao, Chace addressed the 1917 Ruthenian Workers' Convention. She took pains to distinguish Home Field work from the foreign fields and from that performed by male General Board missionaries in the settlements. Chace stressed that W.M.S. missionaries uniquely focused on women and children through their work as schoolteachers and religious educators, rather than simply as ministers. And her defence also stressed the need for the continued support of at least three workers in those W.M.S. missions.

Proclamations of gender-specific tasks to perform in the field did not exclude the various groups of workers from cooperating in their work and socializing together on a regular basis. An occupational and social intimacy developed between W.M.S. women and the General Board male missionaries and preachers. Women stationed at Wahstao and Kolokreeka often went to General Board services in camps and other frontier communities. The comings and goings of those young male preachers preoccupied many journal entries in the Kolokreeka Diary. The W.M.S. mission homes served as stops for preachers travelling throughout the area ministering at various prayer meetings, private homes and services. Church Board people, missionary correspondents, ordinary travellers and itinerant preachers used the W.M.S. missions much like roadside inns. The entries clearly report time and again that Mr. Sutton spent the evening in prayer and socializing with the women, staying the night before going on to his next stop. In fact, in 1913 Mr. Sutton went so far as to marry Kolokreeka missionary Ella McLean. Mrs. Sutton died

suddenly four months later due to medical complications and in the new year Sutton married Phoebe Code. Ella and Phoebe served together at Kolokreeka from 1910 through 1913. The close friendship continued after Ellen's marriage to Sutton, as she remained part of the missionary community that had introduced them. The intimacy of relationships within that community later facilitated Sutton's marriage to Phoebe.

The missionary social circle extended to encompass many of the missionary-minded government school teachers. Mr. Whitney's arrival in 1915 to teach in the government school was heralded as a popular and successful choice. "He was an earnest Christian and a Victoria[College] student and added not a little to the pleasure of our limited social circle."³² That limited circle included as well many of the nearby female public school teachers. Some of them were regularly published correspondents in the Missionary Outlook and similar church publications.

Another deterrent to complete isolation was the relationship that existed between the various missionary outposts and active missionary-minded women at home. Bales or boxes of items such as clothing, food, books and other necessary and luxury articles were initially sent out from established eastern-Canadian congregations and later from those in the larger prairie communities. Bales were a common means of encouraging various congregations to support missionary work worldwide. In Alberta these bales were especially looked forward to between October and March of each year when supplies were hard to come by and contact from home was much appreciated. The diarists describe a post-Christmas January bale in 1913:

---

³² PA et A, Kolokreeka Diary. 1915.

Mr. Cebuliak brought more boxes, and the children's dining-room was covered with things. The Carleton class sent a splendid gift in 42 prs. stocking[s] 24 prs. mittens, skirts and aprons, candy raisins etc. If we only had the London box with toys and candy for children we would have been content. In the evening G & J sorted for the Gologon S.S.[Sunday School] & D popped corn & filled candy bags. Mr. S. [Sutton] retired at 11 P.M. with sundry remarks about K.K.'s hours. The rest went at 1.15 A.M.

While isolated geographically and undoubtedly lonely on occasion, the missionary community enjoyed a relationship with home and their own "limited" social circle that belies the romantic imagery of complete frontier isolation or lonely missionary martyrdom.³³

Some of these missionaries even crossed the boundaries of their own social circle, becoming intimately involved with the Ukrainian community to whom they ministered. Ethelwyn Chace is an example of someone who, despite her complete and unchanging religious convictions and unwavering commitment to Canadianization, wove her life into the fabric of the Ukrainian community. Of all the missionary women who frequently submitted reports on the work, hers seem the most taken on a personal level with the geography and the people who inhabited it. An expressive affection for the Ukrainian children accompanied Chace's proclaimed established love for the Albertan landscape. She noted in a report that "these children have a great hold on my heart, and I find myself often planning great futures for some of them".³⁴ Like some of her colleagues Miss Chace, as she remained throughout her long life, was committed to learning the

---

³³ See Rev. Principal Austin, "Women and Missions," Woman: Her Character, Culture and Calling for an especially idealistic and consequently racist anecdotal description of life for the missionary "gone to isolation and to the dreariness and monotony of heathen misery." (p. 174)

³⁴ Ibid. p. 216.

Ukrainian language. A need to access the Ukrainian community for the purposes of conversion was tempered by a personal desire to master the language. Consequently Chace achieved a greater degree of competence in Ukrainian than was necessary for such evangelistic work. Chacie, as she was known in her correspondence with missionary friends, exemplified commitment to the Ukrainian people on both a personal and spiritual level.

Chace's actions and words speak of a woman who tried to link her own feelings and experience with that of her Ukrainian neighbours. In her 1947 memoir she wrote to Edith Weeks:

You will not have forgotten how strange all our surroundings seemed when you and I settled first at Wahstao. The muddled houses and farm buildings, not very pretentious in those days, the strange costumes, sheepskin coats, head shawls, and homespun clothing were scarcely more curious than the open prairie and parkland with copses of white poplar. But at least we were in our own country, as we occasionally remembered, and our Ukrainian neighbours, feeling their environment quite as strange as we did, were so far from their own homeland.³⁵

Chace's intense commitment to the Ukrainian community is born out in her continued connection with it after retirement in 1943. Her frequent journeys to east-central Alberta and British Columbia to visit the people she had lived among and their scattered descendants attest to her personal commitment.³⁶ Chace herself best defined the relationship with these words:

God has been good to us that our first trio, you[Edith Weeks], Caroline[Cartwright] and I can still get together once in a while, as at your

---

³⁵ PAofA, Chace, Memoir, p. 1.

³⁶ UCA, Biographical File, Ethelwyn Chace, Statement on her death from Mrs. D.E. Long, Dominion W.M.S. President. 1958.

home not long ago. . . . You two are running a close race in grand-children. But I'm ahead of you. It was in 1918 the 'flu' year that Mary Bilar-Repka's little two-year old started calling me 'Baba' so she became my first 'grand-child'. Now Emilian has two little girls of her own, whose pictures came my way at Christmas time, for are they not my great grand-children?³⁷

While not all women developed the same close ties with the Ukrainian people as did Ethelwyn Chace, those W.M.S. missionaries were both committed to and dependent on the Ukrainian community. The settlement provided pupils for their schools, help in emergencies like the influenza epidemic and for meat, vegetable and grain staples and fodder for the animals. In addition, their very reason for being in Alberta was based on a desire to establish links with the immigrant Ukrainian community. Despite their mandate of conversion and uplift, the Methodist missionaries could not help but be involved on an intimate level with the various individuals of the Ukrainian communities throughout the Star settlement.

Protestant evangelicals such as these Methodist women practised what they viewed as a "practical Christianity".³⁸ Through the early medical or 'healing' missions such Christianity was dedicated to changing the material conditions of peoples' lives. A material shift was deemed necessary that people might be influenced towards spiritual well-being.³⁹ Social service activities also facilitated initial access to the "homes and

---

³⁷ PAofA, Chace, Memoir, p. 14.

³⁸ Barber, "The School in the Community: Rural Saskatchewan in the 1920's," p. 24. See also Campbell, A Lively Story!, p. 59. According to Campbell the W.M.S. saw itself as trying to keep pace with a changing society by making the Gospel applicable to current trends and problems through providing social services and educational facilities that would otherwise have been unavailable to both immigrants and established Canadians on the northwest frontier.

³⁹ See The History of the Women's Missionary Society in Alberta, p. 70. These ministries were perceived by their advocates as so successful in ministering to those material needs, that in their 1911 history the Methodist Women's Missionary Society in Alberta took pains to establish that their's was much more than a healing ministry, being primarily dedicated to delivering the message of Christian salvation.

the hearts" of non-Christian people and non-Protestant people.⁴⁰ The later home-schools and related educational ministries developed as natural consequences of the medical missions' ground-breaking work⁴¹ and also in response to national pressures for women to Canadianize the immigrant through education.⁴² It was in the education of the immigrant population that women were told to locate their special talents of moral righteousness and consequently where women like Ethelwyn Chace situated their lifelong work in the missions. The extensive network of social agencies and programs established by the churches in immigrant communities can and has been used to measure success in the Home Missions Field.⁴³ But the complex relationships that developed between the Ukrainian community and the missionary women precludes a simplistic good or bad analysis of their work.

The availability of education for immigrants and Canadians alike on the northwest frontier was a complicated affair. According to Ukrainian-Canadian historian Orest Martynowych the history of schooling in Alberta is a history of English-speaking Canada

---

⁴⁰ Campbell, p. 32.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 39.

⁴² Ibid., p. 32. Campbell states that it was through medical missions that educational work for children of the immigrants began. Whereas education for Native children preceded the establishment of School Homes. p. 39.

⁴³ See Marilyn Barber, "The School in the Community: Rural Saskatchewan in the 1920's." See also Michael Owen in Prairie Spirit and Mae Laycock, Bridges of Friendship.

trying to control the development of schooling in the Ukrainian bloc settlements.⁴⁴ When the first W.M.S. mission was established at Wahstao in 1904, many Alberta communities had for several years been actively establishing a public school system to service the needs of a growing school-age population. In 1905, when Alberta became a province, Ukrainians were busy establishing most of the new school districts. But the newly-appointed Superintendent of Schools for Foreigners was an English-Canadian who served the interests of an English-speaking government intent on ensuring that Alberta reflected English culture. Subsequent policies aimed at preventing the ascendancy of Ukrainian influence in the province effectively hindered the institution of public schools in Alberta.

There are three main factors that interfered with the early establishment of a public school system in Alberta. Throughout the first two decades of the century the northwest suffered from a chronic shortage of qualified teachers. In addition, some immigrants did not initially see the need for educating children or were concerned about rising taxes and government control in certain areas of their lives. And finally, the Department of Education played a key role in preventing the development of public education with their refusal to cooperate with the Ukrainian community on the issues of staff hiring and bilingual education.⁴⁵

Martynowych suggests that many peasant immigrants took some time before they could see the value of education. Once they became more prosperous, no longer requiring

---

⁴⁴ Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History, Occasional Paper No.10(Historic Sites Service: Alberta Culture, 1985), p. 205.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 209-212.

children's labour year-round and capable of providing adequate clothing for the winter months, parents were more likely to send their children to school. Equally important in early resistance to schools was a fear that they were simply an excuse to raise taxes. Peasants in the Ukraine had been overtaxed in proportion to their incomes. Many families had emigrated to Canada to escape that burden. School trustees were often obliged to provide only very basic services so as to lower such fears. Martynowych reported that:

During the war, Wasyl Swysta lamented that trustees closed schools to cut down on expenses; forbade children over 15 to attend schools; forbade teachers to teach children games lest they tear their clothes on the playground; objected to extra-curricular activities such as school concerts which kept children away from the farm;. . .⁴⁶

A number of factors exacerbated teacher shortages in the new province of Alberta. The rapid growth of population on the prairies exceeded Canada's ability to meet the demand for schoolteachers. Initially, many qualified eastern and British educators refused work among the Ukrainians. Some of their excuses were racist, but others focused on the lack of suitable living accommodation. Many were unwilling to live in pioneer shacks that housed not only people but often animals as well. Those who did respond to the need often did not last very long. Consequently many school districts tended to get older teachers who were rigid disciplinarians, others who abused the children or were simply incompetent or lazy.⁴⁷ Before the late 1920's the school year consisted of about 160 days, much of which was conducted in the summer months between seeding and

---

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 207.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 208-209.

harvesting.⁴⁸ Increasingly, the schools hired unqualified university students seeking summer employment. Teachers were also subject to low and irregular pay. This situation discouraged many from making a commitment to the occupation. Women and non-English-speaking or non-white males earned even less than the standard low wage. So for many young women, teaching became something to fill one's time between school and marriage.⁴⁹

Policies designed by the Alberta Department of Education for Foreigners to deal with the teacher shortages aggravated the problem rather than solved it. Martynowych suggests that like efforts to obliterate the French language in Canada, Anglo-Canadian educators wanted unilingual education in prairie communities.⁵⁰ The struggle for control of the public school system in the bloc communities centred around how one qualified to teach. Certification depended upon whether the teacher possessed a certain command of the English language. Many Ukrainian men who had qualified in Europe were thereby excluded from teaching in Canada.⁵¹ The Manitoba and Saskatchewan Departments of Education established qualifying training schools for Ukrainian men with some education in order to solve their teacher shortages.⁵² The Alberta Department did not want to

---

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 103.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 204.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 217.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 209.

⁵² Manitoba eventually reversed its decision concerning bilingual schooling in a 1917 Education Policy dedicated to Canadianization.

encourage segregated training or more importantly, bilingualism in the schools.⁵³ Fears of 'radical' agitators and grassroots movements for bilingual education who wished to preserve Ukrainian culture and language informed the restrictive policies of the Department and the attitudes of the general public. The immediate consequence of not resolving the issues of qualifications and bilingualism, was that many Ukrainian school districts did not operate for much of the year and at times of acute shortage during the war numerous districts were unable to offer any schooling to area children.⁵⁴

The struggle for control of public education in the bloc settlements created a need that was met in part by Protestant missions schools.⁵⁵ As the school-homes became more established they "provided opportunity for children with no school or only a summer school in their district to receive a regular year-round education."⁵⁶ Martynowych suggests that the public school system, as defined by the Department of Education for Foreigners, only served the interests of state in its efforts to Canadianize and thereby decimate Ukrainian language and culture.⁵⁷ Martynowych judges the school-homes run by Protestant missionaries as generally benefitting children in the settlements.

---

⁵³ Martynowych, p. 212.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 216. Shortages were a consequence of not only young men serving overseas but also in large part to many Ukrainian men being prohibited from teaching due to their enemy alien status during the war. Also see Kostash, All of Baba's Children.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 198. See also Harry Piniuta, Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914 (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978). See also Stephen Urchak, "Boys' and Girls' Homes in Vegreville," Ukrainians in Alberta (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Pioneers Association of Alberta, 1981). Both Piniuta and Urchak give pro-missionary reports of the work accomplished by the school-homes, being either reluctant to criticize or not feeling the need to do so.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 198.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 217.

These schools provided medical and educational facilities, hygiene training, child-care and sick-care instruction unavailable to immigrants in any other setting.⁵⁸ So while home-schools and educational missions were centres of assimilation they also provided schooling and social organizations in rural communities where public-funded institutions had difficulties becoming established.⁵⁹

The establishment of public schooling on the prairies, regardless of the specific historical process, eventually mandated the school as the means of Canadianizing the foreigner. In 1917, the Woman's Century referred to Manitoba public school teachers' residences as 'community centres' where Canadian ways of homemaking and hospitality could be demonstrated to the community.⁶⁰

As far as possible we take the school to the community instead of forcing the community into the school, and in this way the influence of the school extends far beyond the actual teaching of the children.⁶¹

---

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 197-198.

⁵⁹ Owen, p. 200. Publicly-funded school systems were not fully extended across the northwest until the late 1930's. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Alberta began hospitals and schools that were sometimes acquired by provincial governments as late as the 1930, 40's and 50's. Some areas had provincially-funded and administered education while others relied on church-run home-schools or educational missions until well into the 1950's.

⁶⁰ Missionary Outlook (March, 1923), "Missionary School Teachers," p. 53. See also Woman's Century (Special Number), pp. 99-101.

⁶¹ Missionary Outlook, "Making Canadians Out of Foreigners," (April 1920), Ira Stratton Inspector of Public Schools in Manitoba, p. 80. In subsequent efforts to establish rural government-funded and run schools in Manitoba, despite strong opposition from groups committed to bilingual education, institutions were favoured that promoted a "Canadiar atmosphere" in non-English-speaking settlements. In the early 1920's the Manitoba Department stated its intent to build teachers' residences alongside already existing rural church residential schools. So like the churches, the expanding school system saw itself as fulfilling a social need in conjunction with facilitating the government's wish to assimilate the non-English-speaking.

These residences were meant to provide a focal point for the public school to continue the facilitative work of the church in teaching Canadian ways. The Missionary Outlook broadly stated that:

Where the public school teacher in a new Canadian district is missionary at heart the service he or she can render is almost limitless. The work is difficult. . . . and demands a great patience and resourcefulness, but its value is inestimable . . . . One of the services our missionaries to new Canadians seek to render is to befriend the teachers, and help them in leading their pupils and their communities into full realization of Christian Canadian citizenship.⁶²

Model missionary homes with resident female missionaries and model teachers' homes and classrooms offered educators the same promise of immigrant assimilation.⁶³

Within the missions-based community centres that evolved, missionary administrators employed a mixture of child and women-centred organizations to service local needs and to socialize immigrant foreigners. Hannah Paul, an early missionary working among Doukhobors and Finlanders in Frank, Alberta remarked that with these people eager to learn English "the open door is for educational and social service work".⁶⁴ While the immigrant community saw the missionary schools as opportunities for some education the missionaries interpreted participation as a eagerness for Canadianization, and seized the opportunities for gaining entrance to homes for the purposes of evangelization. For many rural Alberta communities the teacher's residence at the school-home or the mission school-room became the meeting place for child-

---

⁶² Missionary Outlook (March, 1923), "Missionary School Teachers," p. 53.

⁶³ Woman's Century, "New Schools for New Canadians," (Special Number), pp. 99-191.

⁶⁴ Missionary Outlook (June, 1911), p. 142.

centred activities. Such groups included Sunday Schools, Young People's Clubs, Mission Bands, Women's Sewing Groups and later Canadian Girls in Training.

Through the years this Home has been used for day school, night school for children and adults, and for [a] hospital when needed. It was the centre for old and young, always trying to meet the needs of the growing community and bridging the gap between the old world and the new.⁶⁵

Protestant missionaries defined the needs of the Ukrainian community, not the immigrant parents and community leaders. As will be illustrated later in this chapter, missionaries and Ukrainian scholars interpret the impact of missionary activity on the immigrant community in quite different ways.

While increasingly devoted to directly educating and uplifting children, missionary efforts in the settlements commonly expressed a secondary, though no less important goal. Assistance and social services rendered, while offered with a good heart, were also seen as the means to gain access to parents. It was felt that such indirect approaches through children into the homes⁶⁶ would strengthen the campaign to convert and assimilate the coming generations of New Canadians. "In two years most of these girls will be married. Now is the time to capture them for God and good, so that their homes, their children, may be accessible."⁶⁷ Missionary Margaret Addison related an incident where she was able to render assistance to a family sick with typhoid. When all had recovered, but one child who died, she reported in a letter to the Missionary Outlook that "the little help that was given has made admittance possible into a home which had not

---

⁶⁵ The History of The Women's Missionary Society in Alberta, p. 61.

⁶⁶ Missionary Outlook(1906), Miss Weekes, Kolokreeka, p. 47.

⁶⁷ Missionary Outlook(July, 1909), "Galician Work," p. 167.

11

before been friendly."⁶⁸ Ethelwyn Chace also described homes that invited or permitted them to preach or evangelize as being "friendly".⁶⁹ Ella McLean of Kolokreeka mission described her work as a evangelical visitor with:

The evangelistic work consists of visiting, and we have found the house-to-house plan and individual work the most satisfactory. Our visits vary from homes where the women run in and shut the door in fear when they see us coming, to homes that receive us as if we were relatives, and give us and our message a royal welcome. In some instances the search for the truth is deep. While driving to school people have come out to the road and asked us to come in and read.⁷⁰

People who exhibited signs of interest or acceptance of the missionary gospel were labelled the most likely to succeed as Canadians. Similarly Edith Weekes commented in a missionary tract, written for the W.M.S. after her sojourn as a worker, emphasizing that "Again, a good Canadian is a Christian".⁷¹

Ethelwyn Chace commented that despite different mandates, delegates to the 1912 Ruthenian Workers' Convention were all agreed as to the best method of assimilating the Ukrainian into Canadian life. Missionaries were encouraged to primarily work towards "a definite personal religious experience on the part of the individual."⁷² That personal experience consisted of conversion to Protestantism.⁷³ There are few specific examples

---

⁶⁸ Missionary Outlook(May, 1914), "Austrian Work," Margaret Addison, Riverdale, Edmonton. p. 127.

⁶⁹ Missionary Outlook(June, 1914), "Our Field Correspondents," Miss E.G. Chase at Chipman, Alberta, p. 143.

⁷⁰ Missionary Outlook(May 1911), Miss MacLean, Kolokreeka, Pakan, Alberta. p. 120.

⁷¹ UCA, Pamphlets, Edith Weekes Leonard The Austrian People. 5.

⁷² Missionary Outlook(December 1912), Ethelwyn Chace at Chipman, Alberta, p. 287.

⁷³ The primary literature makes it very clear that Methodists ultimately viewed the Ukrainians as non-Christian. There are constant references to the need for conversion to Christianity, or at best a conversion to the Gospel as defined by Methodism. No distinction was made in the literature between different Christian denominations either within Protestantism or between the various forms of Catholicism. If you were not Protestant, you were not Christian.

in the literature of actual proselytizing among the children who stayed at the missions' boarding schools. But the anecdotes that did make their way into the Kolokreeka Diary imply that active conversion was sought by the missionaries. During an outbreak of scarlet fever at Kolokreeka in January of 1915 one log entry reported that:

During the quarantine a revival breaks out in the school and the Christian pupils Peter Corkan and Annie Kossey take an active part in helping the others. John & George Pelot, Willie Penoznk, Annetza Boyozuk, Katrina Socholosky, Mina Kossey and Pete Gorminiuk accept Christ and our thanksgiving is unbounded.⁷⁴

Another diarist described one missionary as having a "little talk with the children in the evening. Lena was deeply touched, and the boys listened earnestly."⁷⁵ One young girl rejected numerous suitors until "a young Christian convert " from Calgary was accepted by both herself and the missionaries.⁷⁶ The women occasionally encountered resistance to the establishment of Sunday Schools in various Ukrainian homes in the district.⁷⁷ They were reportedly "feared as Baptists who will turn the children from their faith."⁷⁸ The log entry does not deny that allegation but remarks on the renewed determination to establish a Sunday School at the home in question. So while committed to providing

---

⁷⁴ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, January 1915.

⁷⁵ Ibid., January 19, 1913.

⁷⁶ Ibid., January 19, 1913.

⁷⁷ Ibid., Sunday August 17, 1913 and May 13, 1916.

⁷⁸ Ibid., May 13, 1916.

basic education and meeting the social needs of Ukrainian children and their families the fundamental goal of missionary work remained conversion-minded throughout the years.⁷⁹

Within a half dozen years after the establishment of Wahstao mission the mandate to educate children occupied much of the work of missionaries at that outpost. Education increasingly became the favoured agent of enculturation and eventual conversion. The busy time of year for the boarding and day schools began after the end of harvest in the first week of November.⁸⁰ In connection with the rather short school year, summers were in part spent soliciting, cajoling and persuading parents to permit their children's attendance at the mission school.

As already suggested, the Ukrainian community was often quite resistant to either boys or girls attending area schools. Reluctance to sending children to Protestant schools was complex and changed over time. The Kolokreeka Diary reports that initially the Orthodox priest, presumably at Pakan, advised his parishioners to allow their children to attend the English school.⁸¹ This can be contrasted to later missionary reports in 1913

---

⁷⁹ It is doubtful that a reformation of the Orthodox rite would have satisfied the Protestant missionaries, since that would have made the Ukrainian culturally linked with the French Canadian Catholic. Such a relationship would have been seen as diluting the Protestant influence in Canada. The Protestant missionary was interested in complete conversion to the Protestant vision of Christianity. A vision that did not include the cultural trappings of what was considered an outdated, superstition-based Catholic expression. See Orest Martynowych The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History, Occasional Paper No.10(Historic Sites Service: Alberta Culture, 1985).

⁸⁰ See Martynowych, pp. 201 and 205. By the late 1920's the supply of qualified teachers, many of them Ukrainian, matched the demand for educators in the public school system. Before the 1920's, during the heyday of missions schools, the public school year was only about 160 days in length with approximately 50-60% attendance.

⁸¹ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, December 8, 1913.

that "outsiders" had held a meeting at the church with "evidently an anti-Protestant feeling in it".⁸² Outsiders were Ukrainians from outside the immediate mission community who argued against the mandate of Canadianization. These people were undoubtedly the dissidents and radicals feared by the Catholic and Orthodox priests and the Alberta Board of Education. That there was anti-Protestantism within various Ukrainian communities is apparent from earlier-expressed fears that Ukrainian children were being turned into Baptists. The community's desire to access the services being offered by the missionaries tempered their resistance to the Protestant influence. Anxiety concerning government and church control through taxation as well as the family's continued need for child labour sharpened Ukrainian resistance to the establishment of public schools.⁸³

The Kolokreeka Diary is littered with the details of excursions made "to hunt up pupils for the school".⁸⁴ Hunting pupils often involved inviting the girls as well as the boys to attend. But the missionaries soon learned that Ukrainian families, if inclined to send their children, were more prepared to spare a boy than a girl. Myrna Kostash suggests that "when Ukrainian girls were educated, it was often accidental."⁸⁵ Even after the work of harvest, in a household-based economy girls were indispensable as

---

⁸² Ibid., Sunday October 19, 1913.

⁸³ See also Marjorie Cohen, Women's work, markets, and economic development in nineteenth-century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988) for a discussion of the role played by both women and children in ensuring the survival of agrarian-based families.

⁸⁴ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, Sept 25, 1913.

⁸⁵ Kostash, p. 74.

homemakers and child-minders. Parents often "thought they couldn't spare them."⁸⁶

Ella MacLean at Kolokreeka recalled the first day of school in November of 1912.

So they have come, mostly boys, We have had fourteen boys here, and four girls, not all at once, for they come and go. Some can only stay a month, some two months, but that is better than nothing, and we think that another year more will be able to stay the entire term. We hope, too, that more girls will be allowed to come. Miss Code and I visited three homes one afternoon where we felt they should send a girl to school, but in every case she could not be spared. She must 'mind the baby' while the mother does outside work, for often the father works somewhere during the winter to get a little cash.⁸⁷

For many years and during rough times the soliciting of children for school was synonymous with boy-hunting, as boys were all they could get.⁸⁸

But drawing Ukrainian girls into the schools was initially perceived as more important than influencing the boys. In the case of schooling the W.M.S. mandate to concentrate on Canadianizing women and children was interpreted as female children. Numerous diary entries remark if the family cannot spare a girl for the school that the missionaries will take a boy. As early as 1912 Phoebe Code reported in the W.M.S. Annual Report that "the parents do not yet see the need of educating their daughters. We purpose working more earnestly along this line during the coming winter."⁸⁹ Methodists in general were in favour of compulsory schooling for children. The missionaries among Ukrainians were no exception. Missionaries Margaret Armstrong,

---

⁸⁶ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, January 3, 1913.

⁸⁷ Missionary Outlook (July, 1913), "Austrian Work", Miss MacLean, Kolokreeka, p. 167.

⁸⁸ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, July 8, 1913.

⁸⁹ UCA, Thirty-Second Annual Report WMS, 1912-13, Kolokreeka, Phoebe M. Code, p. cxxxi.

Hattie Chisholm and Elizabeth Hawken reported on that mandate in the 1918 edition of the W.M.S. Reports.

Feeling that the great need of the colony is the uplifting of the homes and womanhood, which are so far below our own ideals and Christ's teachings, we have felt that one of our big problems is to get the parents willing to let their girls come to school. A request for prayer on behalf of the girls was made, and as a result, when school opened, the girls came pouring in until we had fourteen, and it rejoiced our heart to be obliged to change dormitories, giving the girls the larger one. May we ask for definite prayer for the girls of the Ruthenian Colony in this Canada of ours. Girls with no higher knowledge or ambition than to marry at fifteen years, feed their husband's cattle, plough the fields, pitch the hay, and, incidentally, be the home-maker and mother of the children who will some day make or break this our beloved land.⁹⁰

Certainly reading and writing were part of the mission school curriculum. But more importantly, for the purposes of uplift and assimilation, was the socialization of young women. They were to be drawn away from working in a household based economy dependent on their labouring potential, towards an identifiably Canadian vision of homemaking and housewifery.⁹¹

By 1908, despite a personal vocation for evangelical visits, Edith Weekes at Wahstao mission advocated a setting aside of such visiting in favour of women's meetings. Earlier attempts at such meetings and more recent attempts at visitation had elicited little response. Weekes decided to favour an approach that meant fewer would be reached, while hoping that the increased frequency might lead to a positive

---

⁹⁰ UCA, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report WMS, 1918-1919, Armstrong, Hawken, Chisholm, p. cxxxviii.

⁹¹ See Nellie McClung's W.M.S. pamphlet "An Insistent Call" for eloquent anecdotal propaganda describing the life of "little Emma Hammochsky" as either a Ukrainian or a new Canadian wife and mother.

response.⁹² But again the women's meetings were found to be not much more successful than conversion through evangelistic visits.⁹³ One of the first two missionaries at Wahstao, Jessie Munro observed that all the neighbour women had small children to care for. It was determined that household, field and childcare labour for Ukrainian women, like their older children, made it difficult to attract them to the mission for instruction in knitting and sewing accompanied by Bible reading.⁹⁴ This early attempt to convert through education and social service to the community was repeated in subsequent years as evangelistic visiting gave way in part to children and youth organizations, day and night schools as well as domestic science education in the mission Homes.

The missionary school-room was initially established for children perceived as receiving little or no secular or religious teaching in the settlements.⁹⁵ Upon opening the mission at Wahstao Jessie Munro bemoaned the apparent lack of education for children:

Not a school in this entire district of 300 families extending over several townships, nothing whatever being done for these children. Dr. Lawford preaches in 8 different places on each side of the river, but as there are no churches, or no school-houses the services are held in the homes of the people. These homes are so small that almost always the children must go out when the people gather, for there is no room for them, so that they do

---

⁹² Missionary Outlook(March, 1908), "Galician Work," Miss Weekes, p. 72.

⁹³ Missionary Outlook(January 1907), "Using Every Opportunity" Miss Weekes, Wahstao, Pakan, Alberta, p. 22.

⁹⁴ Missionary Outlook(1904), "Work Among the Galicians," Jessie Munro and Missionary Outlook(December, 1905), "The Galicians" and "Here a Little, There a Little," p. 286.

⁹⁵ Missionary Outlook(November, 1906), Edith Weekes, Pakan, p. 2623-263.

not even get the instruction that the grown people get. This is lamentable.⁹⁶

Munro and subsequent workers were painfully aware that prairie children were not able to acquire the basic education available to children in more settled and established areas of Canada. That knowledge in part motivated their dedication to the mission schools. But as suggested in the above quote the schooling designed to address this lack consisted not only of day-schools offering the opportunity to learn the basic Three R's. Sunday Schools for both adults and children were deemed necessary to address the problems. The underlying assumption was clearly that in addition to receiving no primary schooling, children's religious and hence moral educations were at risk in their parent's settlement homes.

As the missionaries became more familiar with Ukrainian home-life they judged it as wanting. And as it became apparent that day and Sunday Schools were not well-attended the missionaries turned their attentions to Boarding Schools and Homes. Ethelwyn Chace's memoir suggests that the establishment of these schools was partly in response to requests from Ukrainian parents wishing their children to "learn the English language and Canadian ways more quickly." ⁹⁷ As Ella McLean explained, the reason for expansion from Wahstao to Kolokreeka was linked not only to the missionary impulse

---

⁹⁶ Missionary Outlook (September, 1904), Jessie Munro, p. 209.

⁹⁷ PAofA, Chace, Memoir, approximately 1907, p. 12.

but to meet the needs and requests of parents to educate their children during the winter months.⁹⁸

But the Methodist missionaries misread parental agreement to enrol children in school and social programs as permission to acculturate. For the immigrant the English language and Canadian ways did not include religion, as it did for Protestant evangelicals. The aspiring to education and a materially comfortable life was interpreted as a desire for the spiritual truths offered through Protestantism.⁹⁹ Phoebe Code at Pakan described her children as being delighted in attending school, giving rapt attention to her teaching as this was their only opportunity for education.¹⁰⁰ Other missionaries expressed similar reactions on the part of children, concluding that they were delighted with the opportunity it being their only chance at an education.¹⁰¹ The missionaries identified the primary reason the Ukrainian population permitted missionaries into their lives, but they simply ignored it.

The desire to remove children from the influences of Ukrainian homelife informed the establishment of Protestant Boarding Schools. Edith Weeks admitted in 1908 that while trying to accommodate children from outside the district who had no school to

---

⁹⁸ UCA, Thirtieth Annual Report WMS, Kolokreeka, Ella MacLean p. cxiii. See also Missionary Bulletin, IX, No.1, Rev. C.H. Johnson, p. 98. Johnson reported on the activities of the WMS among women and children. Documents and letters describe how workers were requested to allow children to come for the winter to live in the mission or even to take children as wards.

⁹⁹ Missionary Outlook(January, 1917). Mrs. Yarwood, Kolokreeka, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰ Missionary Outlook(October, 1911), p. 239.

¹⁰¹ See Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History.

attend, Boarding Schools were also agents of Canadianization. Weeks wrote to the

Missionary Outlook that:

We have four little girls staying with us, one has been here over three weeks, the others about two. . . . We had been asked several times before we finally decided to take them in, and now we expect others in a short time. They have the advantage not only of the school, but of life in a Canadian and a Christian home, and our earnest hope and prayer is that their young lives may thus be influenced for Christ.¹⁰²

At the Sixth Annual Ruthenian Workers' Convention in 1917 the second Mrs. Sutton, ex-missionary Phoebe Code, was quoted as showing in her presentation:

The advantages of the Boarding Schools in teaching punctuality, truthfulness, sanitation, household science, and particularly religion. There is not much opportunity for the public School teacher to deal with these important things, or to supervise recreation as the Homes can. The convention agreed that our Institution should be kept open all the year and that it was very desirable that there be more of them.¹⁰³

Once the practice of boarding children was established, field workers began requesting funding and support from the W.M.S. Board and membership. Wahstao Matron Alice A. Sanford most eloquently described the role of Boarding Schools in the patriotic work of Canadianization.¹⁰⁴ Sanford wrote that:

We firmly believe that much of the hope of this work lies in the children whom we have come in closest contact with in the home, and that the sooner provision is made for keeping more children constantly in the house, the better for them and for all future of this neighbourhood. We have seen changes accomplished in a short time in the children we have known best, and we have found higher ideals of life among those now

---

¹⁰² Missionary Outlook(January, 1908), p. 22.

¹⁰³ UCA, Methodist Church of Canada, Board of Home Missions, Box 9, File 9, Sixth Annual Ruthenian Workers' Convention, July 31, 1917, "Our Boarding School," address by Mrs. Sutton, Kolokreeka, Smoky Lake Alberta.

¹⁰⁴ See Christian Guardian(August 13, 1924), W.H Pike.

113

grown up who were formerly in touch with the workers preceding us. Will you not give us more room, so that we can do better work among the children?¹⁰⁵

Day, night, Sunday and Boarding School influences were meant to permeate every aspect of the immigrant home and family life. In 1918 Edith Weeks of Wahstao commented concerning her adult English pupil Mr. Shiller that " he has shaved off his beard since starting to night school."¹⁰⁶ Eight years later at Kolokreeka one diarist recorded in all seriousness that "Mr. Hannotchko buys underwear."¹⁰⁷ The W.M.S. women knew such things since they regularly lent their services to neighbours wishing to fill out Eaton's catalogue order forms. Edith Weeks early considered it a victory when one of her young girls in sewing class "asked to be allowed to make underwear for herself, as usually they wear none."¹⁰⁸ Public school teachers like Dora Smith and her sister went into the Ukrainian settlements to instruct children in basic reading and writing skills. But as noted in a 1919 letter to the Missionary Outlook, Dora took her role as cultural uplifter as seriously as women labouring in the Methodist missions. She wrote that:

At first we ordered bread and butter from town, but we discovered that the girl at the house where we got our milk and eggs could make both. Now Ruthenian butter and Ruthenian bread are not very tempting articles of food, but this girl had been working at a Canadian farm house and could make real Canadian bread and butter. Besides she kept her home very

---

¹⁰⁵ UCA, Thirty-First Annual Report WMS, 1911-1912, Wahstao Alice A. Sanford, p. cxi.

¹⁰⁶ PAofA, Wahstao Diary, Dec. 2, 1908.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., Decemuer 2, 1916.

¹⁰⁸ Missionary Outlook(April, 1906),"A New Teacher Come to the School," Edith Weekes.

clean and had made some really modern changes in it. It was taking a chance, but we decided to trust to Jenny's products. They were good.¹⁰⁹

The women interpreted as major steps in assimilating into mainstream Protestant Canadian culture what we perceive as simple things. Myrna Kostash has posed the question that:

When faced with the fact that some Ukrainians had flour but no shoes, does one call it a lie, or a racial characteristic? Between the two is the truth of the matter: when you're poor and have only fifty cents to spend, you'll feed yourself before you clothe yourself. When you have a dollar, you'll do both.¹¹⁰

The missionaries failed to recognize that shaving one's beard, buying underwear, presumably making bread with yeast rather than sourdough and the implementation of household improvements resulted from material wealth and not the uplifting influences of Methodist Christian culture.

But considerations of the possible appropriate nature of Ukrainian homelife simply never occurred to the Methodist women. Their understanding was that only a Protestant Canadian household could socialize good, god-fearing Canadian citizens. Ella McLean at Kolokreeka Mission emphasized that:

An English home amongst these people means very much. Over fifteen women came for slips from our plants this last year-that is a small thing, perhaps, but it is significant of a larger. They come in and watch us about our housework, how we can fruit, how we make a cake or a custard, how we cut out a shirt, etc., and they want to do likewise. In the course of a year we touch about one hundred homes, and with an average of five to a home, that means five hundred people. And they are needy. Many who hardly realize it are hungry for the bread of life. Ours, too, is but one

---

¹⁰⁹ Missionary Outlook (March, 1919), "Canadianizing Ruthenians", Dora Smith BA, p. 55.

¹¹⁰ Kostash, p. 29.

little corner in the colony. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth laborers into His harvest.¹¹¹

English women in their English homes not only provided skills training, such as much-needed canning technology. The housewifery skills and aesthetics were part of a grand ideal that included the domestic rituals and the womanly arts of Protestant piety.¹¹² Alice Sanford and other women at Wahstao echoed that connection between domestic ritual and religious piety.

Many are still seemingly content with old forms, customs and ceremonies. While their neighbours seek for what is new, but even the former unconsciously adopt new ideas and sometimes listen with wistful eagerness to the old story that is never new.¹¹³

As custom and practice in the domestic arts was seen to change in the Ukrainian community, it was then assumed that church practice would naturally veer towards Protestantism.

As part of their efforts to uplift and assimilate, missions' day, Sunday and Boarding Schools were also devoted to patriotic education; the preparation of the next generation of model Canadian citizens. Citizenship education accompanied religious conversion, English-language training and instruction in the domestic arts. At Kolokreeka mission the women took exhibitions of patriotism quite seriously, especially during the First World War. In April of 1916 a Patriotic concert was held. Each day for the previous two weeks the children practised a flag drill and patriotic songs to perform. The concert was later

---

¹¹¹ UCA, Twenty-Ninth Annual Report WMS, 1909-1910, Ella McLean. p. ciii.

¹¹² See Jane Hunter, "The Home and the World: the Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity."

¹¹³ UCA, Thirtieth Annual Report WMS, 1910-11, Alice A. Sanford, p. cxi.

deemed a success.¹¹⁴ At the Sixth Annual Ruthenian convention in 1916 it was reported that:

On thursday evening a concert was given by 40 Ruthenian children under the leadership of Miss Robinson of Wahstao Home. It was a good program and well rendered, the children showing that they are making good progress in grasping Canadian ideals and the kanguage[sic] of their adopted country.¹¹⁵

At Chipman mission Ethelwyn Chace remarked that "We have also organized a Mission Band, to which children and young people of all nationalities come. We are all Canadians together."¹¹⁶ Similarly, in 1916 a worker at the Home for Ruthenian Girls in Edmonton expressed the patriotic ideal striven for in the various missions:

We realize more and more as the days go by the magnitude of the work that lies before us as Canadians, if we would reach these people and make of them good loyal citizens and lead them to know the truth as we know it.¹¹⁷

One of the most potent patriotic images was that of the rural schoolroom described here by a correspondent for the Woman's Century:

Upon entering any of the schools . . . one sees first of all a fine map of the Dominion that is never rolled up. Always before the eyes of these children of foreign parentage is the map of their new country -Canada.

---

¹¹⁴ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, April 13, 1916.

¹¹⁵ UCA, Sixth Annual Ruthenian Convention, 1917, Box 9, File 9.

¹¹⁶ Missionary Outlook(June, 1916), "Austrian Work" Miss Chace, Chipman, p. 143. According to Edith Weekes Leonard in 1910 Wahstao and Kolokreeka missions expanded to Chipman, "a small English-speaking town on the Canadian Northern Railway, about fifty miles southwest of Wahstao and surrounded by part of the same large foreign colony."

¹¹⁷ UCA, Thirty-Sixth Annual Report WMS, 1916-1917, Mary S. Dever, Ruthenian Home-Edmonton, p. cxxiv. See also Quadrennial Report WMS, 1921-1925, Dever, Fitzpatrick, p. clxxxv. See also Thirty-Third Annual Report WMS, 1913-14, Riverdale. Margaret Addison, p. cxxvi.

Over the board is the flag of the Empire and the first English words that many of them learn are Canada and Union Jack.¹¹⁸

Many church and secular commentators saw the unrolled map on the wall, placing Canada within the British Commonwealth, as a potent socialization tool. Whether awe-inspiring or simply intimidating, this symbol of English Canada was intended to instill respect for Anglo-Canadian institutions into the hearts and minds of New Canadian schoolchildren.¹¹⁹ All schoolrooms ideally possessed the requisite map on the wall and the missionary-minded woman at the helm.

Missionaries strove for what they described as a 'normalcy' of homelife in the institutions established to house Ukrainian children. In fact, Florence Stone at the Kolokreeka Boarding School insisted that aside from a rising bell her establishment was more a home than an institution.¹²⁰ Workers at the Girls' Home in Edmonton described it as a "real home"¹²¹ for working girls. But despite these and other assertions of

---

¹¹⁸ Woman's Century, (Special Number). See also Oliver, Edmund H., The Country School In Non-English Speaking Communities (Saskatoon, 1920-1935). Reverend Edmund Oliver was a staunch supporter of the public school system as the primary socializer of the immigrant population. Despite his stature within the church community by the early 1920's Oliver maintained that the church missions had made little headway in 'Canadianizing' the rural immigrant population since such enterprise failed to primarily focus on teaching the English language in their assimilation agenda. Oliver and church periodicals like the Missionary Outlook saw the proliferation of foreign languages in the rural settlements and urban communities as keeping 'new Canadians' tied to foreign politics and customs, thereby impeding the successful inculcation of Canadian cultural standards. He felt the church should take a more active role in imposing the English language on the immigrant child. The assumption was that simply by learning English a person would slough off their own cultural heritage and embrace an obviously more 'advanced' cultural system.

¹¹⁹ Oliver, The Country School, p. 6.

¹²⁰ Missionary Outlook (January, 1917), "A Kolokreeka Friday" Miss F.E. Stone, p. 15. Miss Stone claimed that the only thing at Kolokreeka making it institutional was the rising bell. She then briefly described a typical day to make it seem 'homey and normal'.

¹²¹ UCA, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report WMS, 1918-1919, p. cxxxiv.

homey surroundings, children whose parents worked or were committed to asylums¹²² would have undoubtedly suffered at being removed from familiar surroundings and placed in an institution. The Superintendent of Delinquent Children removed a young woman from her parent's custody and placed her in the Edmonton Home. The parents' crime was in refusing to allow their daughter to follow the advice of W.M.S. workers and pursue her education while working as a domestic. Her parents' felt that such education was at the expense of the families' economic survival.¹²³ While concern for this young woman's future education motivated the actions of the workers, they erred in labelling a child delinquent and her parents criminal for refusing to permit that education. As suggested by Martynowych, incidents such as these undermined children's respect for their origins, destroying in many a sense of identity and pride in self.¹²⁴ Few children would have felt or even identified with the 'homelike' atmosphere of schools and homes under such traumatic circumstances.

The establishment of mission homes and the placement of moral and upright Protestant women in strategic locations did not completely fulfil the uplifting mandate of the W.M.S.. The women and girls of the various Ukrainian districts required instruction in order to emulate the model Canadian home and ideal Christian woman. That instruction was accomplished through a varied theoretical and practical domestic science curriculum. Housewifery was marketed as a vocation for all women. Special efforts were

---

¹²² Missionary Outlook(March, 1916), "Home and School for Ruthenian Girls," p. 71.

¹²³ Missionary Outlook(October, 1911), "Ruthenian Home and School, Edmonton", Miss Clarke, p. 239

¹²⁴ Martynowych, p. 220-221.

made to instruct young women¹²⁵ at the missions schools in this science of homemaking. Missionaries at the Kolokreeka Residential School were especially concerned with "giving the girls more definite teaching along domestic science lines."¹²⁶ At Kolokreeka "the older girls are learning to help very materially in the kitchen, and their lessons in cooking and housekeeping will be invaluable to them."¹²⁷ Sewing classes, housekeeping duties, kitchen tasks and gardens were all used to instruct the children in the domestic arts and sciences.¹²⁸ Facility in those domestic skills formed the heart of the ideal-driven Protestant woman's self-definition.

Established in 1909 the W.M.S. Ruthenian Girls' Home was meant to service the perceived needs of young Ukrainian girls working as domestics, waitresses, factory hands and in need of rescue from prostitution.¹²⁹ The Home concurrently met the mandate of the W.M.S. for work among women and children in addition to providing the girls' needs for accommodation. Rev. W.H. Pike described the social control work in the Home as follows:

And so the work goes. Every type of girl has to be dealt with. Sometimes there is need of drastic measures- they are applied; sometimes need of tact and discretion- they, too, are used; sometimes need of patience

---

¹²⁵ UCA, Thirty-Seventh Annual Report WMS, Hattie Chisholm, Elizabeth Hawken and Margaret Armstrong, p. cxxxviii. See also Forty-Third Annual Report WMS, 1924-25. The workers reported that not only the girls but the boys as well showed "keen interest in their sewing and cooking classes. Besides their mending they have sewed up about 300 yards of new material. And the boys vie with the girls as to who can make the best pies, cakes, tea biscuits, etc." (p. cxiv)

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ UCA, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report WMS, p. cxxxix.

¹²⁸ UCA, Forty-Second Annual Report WMS, 1923-24, Armstrong, Addison, Heather, Irwin.

¹²⁹ Gagan, p. 376.

and yet more patience-it is never lacking sometimes need of counsel and warning-these, too, are wisely and firmly given; sometimes need of love and prayer- they are always forthcoming. The wayward and rebellious girls are corrected and guided to a better life, the discouraged and heart-broken are cheered and encouraged to take up the broken threads again, the weak and giddy strengthened and stablished in a more earnest and Christian purpose in life.¹³⁰

Moreover, during the early decades of the twentieth century there was a great demand for immigrant girls as domestics.¹³¹ The Girl's Home helped meet those requirements for domestic labour by training many young Ukrainian girls for work in middle-class Edmonton households. The domestic science promoted in the Home Missions reflected a belief that an uplifting Christian domesticity should be promoted as training for Ukrainian girls and women. Missionaries at Wahstao and Kolokreeka hoped that such instruction would prepare girls as the next generation of wives and mothers. But for girls seeking work in Edmonton, workers provided both the example of a well-appointed home and housewifery in addition to skills training for domestic service to Canada's growing middle-class.

The young girls and women who boarded at the Home were there for a variety of reasons. Church workers estimated that between 1911 and 1913 Edmonton's Ukrainian population rose from 2,000 to 5,000 persons.¹³² By 1915, the Home provided for nearly

---

¹³⁰ PAofA, Pamphlet re: Ruthenian Home, Edmonton.

¹³¹ Alison Prentice, et al., "Continuity and Change in Women's Work," Canadian Women: A History. Alison Prentice et al. (Toronto: HBJ, 1988), p. 123. According to the authors, in 1891 41% of all women working in Canada at waged labour were domestic servants. By 1921 only 11% of those women laboured as domestics. There had occurred a movement out of domestic service into manufacturing and service occupations.

¹³² George Emery, "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring 1971).

100 young women, thirty-one of whom were steady boarders throughout that year.¹³³

In 1913 Ethelwyn Chace reported the following:

The girls on the top floor are mostly roomers, who work in restaurants or some such places, going out early and coming in late. Transients, too, are put up here, girls out of work, looking for another place; girls sent here by the Department for Neglected Children, found working in hotels under age, it may be; girls coming to town for the first time and in need of shelter. What we call our family are the regular boarders, left here by their guardians, and two little wards.¹³⁴

In addition to the Department for Neglected Children, residents were brought in by the police, the Y.W.C.A. and through other church workers and friends.¹³⁵ But according to Miss Inglis of the Home "the majority come from the country, many directly- from Austria, all seeking employment, and an introduction to Canadian life."¹³⁶

Ukrainian women's entrance into the public world of waged work tested the missionary agenda to prepare young girls for motherhood and housewifery. Some missionaries faced with the growing numbers of Ukrainian women in Edmonton suggested that until marriage most young women were better off in domestic service than in other waged labour. It was further reasoned that if young girls were going to go out to work they needed a home that provided the proper influences. By living and socializing in the Ruthenian Girl's Home and working in middle-class employers' homes, Canada was

---

¹³³ Gagan, p. 376.

¹³⁴ Missionary Outlook(June, 1913), p. 143.

¹³⁵ See UCA, Thirty-Fourth Annual Report WMS, 1914-15, p. cxxi; Thirty-Eighth Annual Report WMS, 1918-1919, p. cxxxiv; Missionary Outlook(September, 1924), p. 208 & 211.

¹³⁶ UCA, Methodist Church of Canada, Board of Home Missions, Box 9, File 9, The Second Annual Convention of Ruthenian Workers in alberta, August 5-8, 1913.

assured that these young women existed in uplifted surroundings.¹³⁷ Patricia Saidak's thesis on home economics states that few Canadian reformers or domestic scientists supported the vocational application of domestic science as preparing women for an inevitable stint in the waged labour market. She concludes that home economists favouring the domestic science training of all women were more influential in Canada than those who saw its application as "skills preparation for waged labour."¹³⁸ While not in disagreement with Saidak's basic position this part of my thesis will discuss the way in which Methodist missionaries attempted to both educate Ukrainian women as homemakers and provide them with skills training.

Women stationed at the Ruthenian Girls' Home in Edmonton sought out domestic positions for girls who had been working in restaurant and hotel kitchens, bars, industry and sometimes as prostitutes. Mary Dever, Superintendent of the Home remarked in 1917 that "we are glad to see most of our better girls working in private homes, in preference to the restaurant."¹³⁹ Her comments support the predominant ideal of the Protestant middle-class home as a centre of moral instruction. Dever and her co-workers reasoned that girls would be safer from unsavoury influences and "stand a better chance of improving themselves"¹⁴⁰ in a good middle-class home than as independent workers living in rooms. Ida Snyder noted that in 1916 that "there is no difficulty in placing the

---

¹³⁷ Prentice, et al., p. 123. The authors suggest that domestic service was promoted by many women's organizations who actively recruited immigrant women to come to Canada as domestics.

¹³⁸ Saidak, pp. 138-139.

¹³⁹ UCA, Thirty-Sixth Annual Report WMS, 1916-17, Mary Dever, p. cxxiv.

¹⁴⁰ UCA, Fortieth Annual Report WMS, 1920-21, Mary Yarwood and Ethel Hickman, p. cxlix.

129

girls in private homes, in fact, there is a great demand for more girls than we can find."¹⁴¹ Missionary Outlook correspondent Mrs. Jean Blewett reported on the domestic servant situation in Edmonton. She visited a household where the nursemaid had lived at Wahstao under the direction of Jesse Munro. The following conversation was reported:

[Mina says that missions] ". . . is for teach poor girl, to make the good homes,"
[hostess] "Yes, . . . Mina is right about the work done for girls. We housewives feel grateful to Miss Monroe[sic], for she, in a way, has most of the newcomers in training before we secure them for domestics- and after."¹⁴²

Encouraging the entrance of Ukrainian girls into service was an acceptable means of meeting both the labour requirements of the middle-class and the missionary mandate of uplift and assimilate.

Like their rural counterparts, workers in the Edmonton Home employed the ideal middle-class Canadian home, its cultural artifacts and rituals as tools to encourage morality, political and cultural conformity within the immigrant class. The advocates of domestic science training perceived urban immigrant women differently than immigrants in the rural communities. Missionaries at the various facilities prepared urban women and girls, as they did rural women, for Canadian housewifery. But those skills also trained them to serve as domestics and even as factory hands for the very people who advocated their training in domestic science. At the Riverdale Home in Edmonton Margaret Addison reported on sewing classes:

---

¹⁴¹ Missionary Outlook(August,1916), p. 191.

¹⁴² Missionary Outlook(March, 1911), "Our Foreign Folk," Mrs. Jean Blewett, p. 65.

The sewing-school, too, is [a] most interesting branch of the work. How the kiddies love to sew, to make 'clothes'. After a great deal of patience, and yet more patience, the clumsy little fingers can ply the needles and then stitch the pieces into creations most fearfully and wonderfully made. Who knows but that in the coming years, when they have come to womanhood, they will be the expert seamstresses in our manufactories and in our homes, and shall be able to work in better surroundings than those of the basement kitchen of a hotel, or the backroom of some third-rate cafe. Thirty-seven are on the roll[registered]: sixteen come to stitch, stitch, stitch regularly.¹⁴³

Mae Laycock sums up the work of the Ruthenian Girl's Home with an assertion that the Home helped "the girls to understand Canadian housekeeping while assisting them in learning English, so they would be more employable. Then they helped them find positions in good homes."¹⁴⁴

Edmonton workers were more likely than their rural colleagues to stress the need for skills training for girls and in later years for Normal School education as opposed to a mission of evangelical conversion. By the time most girls entered the Home they were of an age where conversion to Protestantism was not as actively sought as with younger children in the rural missions. According to Mary Dever and Mary Fitzpatrick by 1924 "one of the salient features of the home is that the girls are allowed religious freedom. Only in cases where the children are very small is any effort made to alter or direct their beliefs."¹⁴⁵

---

¹⁴³ UCA, Thirty-Third Annual Report WMS, 1913-14, Riverdale, Edmonton, Margaret E. Addison. Very little information was available on the Riverdale School in the material consulted. It seems to have been a W.M.S. facility that offered day, night and Sunday Schools for immigrant children and their families. It's unclear whether the workers lived at the facility or were stationed at the Girls' Home. It seems to have operated with a similar mandate to that of the Wahstao and Kolokreeka missions and Ruthenian Girls' Home in Edmonton.

¹⁴⁴ Laycock, p. 30.

¹⁴⁵ Missionary Outlook(September, 1924), Mary Dever and Mary Fitzpatrick.

In contrast to this predominantly urban focus on skills training many rural missionaries stressed the ideal of equipping young women for their roles as housewives in rural communities rather than as domestics in the city. One woman was especially adamant that their young charges were being trained for housewifery not domestic service.

She wrote that:

To our regular day and evening school sessions we are adding household science on a larger scale than a year ago. The girls in turn are being trained by Miss Yarwood to set and serve the teachers' table, and to prepare simple dishes for it. She also has a class in sewing. Each girl is making a work apron for herself like those sent by the young ladies of Carlton Church two years ago. They are quick to learn, and enjoy the work immensely. We believe, and shall I say hope, they are not being trained to go to Edmonton, where they can secure good wages as maids in English homes, but rather to be good little homemakers in their mother's home, and later creditable wives for the rising generation of Austrian-Canadian young men of our colony.¹⁴⁶

This was extracted and published from a private letter from Phoebe Code to the editor of the Missionary Outlook. The writer was undoubtedly aware that a personal letter to the editor had the potential for publication. Code obviously seized the opportunity to express her views on domestic service for young Ukrainian girls. On the one hand Code opposed the training of Ukrainian girls for service to English women in Edmonton. But she also opposed most waged labour for the young girls, preferring them to remain in the colony to become the next generation of women dedicated to Christian domesticity.

Code's opposition to skills training for Ukrainian girls is not to suggest that all rural missionaries fought such education, or that the Girls' Home in Edmonton exclusively trained domestics. In 1919 missionaries at Kolokreeka reported to the W.M.S. Board that

---

¹⁴⁶ Missionary Outlook (January, 1914), " 'Everyday Life at Koiokreeka' ", extracts from a private letter from Phoebe Code to the editor, p. 16.

"the three older girls are being trained as maids. It makes the work more strenuous, but we find it more satisfactory in many ways than having a regular maid in the house."¹⁴⁷

In 1916 Mary Dever at the Edmonton Girls' Home wrote that:

we realize, too, that a great responsibility rests upon us in this Home, as we have the opportunity of touching so many young girls and women who will be the future homemakers among their own people.¹⁴⁸

Whether encouraging girls to remain as wives and mothers in the home or to acquire skills training W.M.S. missionaries strove to control and minimize the danger of unassimilated Ukrainian women either in the colony or working in Edmonton shops, restaurants and industries. Once Ukrainian girls arrived in Edmonton the Girls' Home steered them into domestic service ostensibly for their own protection. According to Gagan, the women who staffed the home expressed fears of young women working in factories and hotel dining-rooms being affected by radical labour and political movements that existed among immigrant groups at this time.¹⁴⁹ There is no identifiable appreciation in the literature for the dangers of employment in middle-class homes where male heads-of-households considered female domestic servants their sexual property. Ida Snyder of the Girls' Home suggested that:

There is a marked difference in appearance and English between them[girls who work as domestics] and the girls who work in restaurants or hotels. It may be that one of the benefits from the hard times will be that the girls will be forced into private housework. As it is, many chose the restaurant

---

¹⁴⁷ UCA, Thirty-Ninth Annual Report WMS, 1919-20, Kolokreeka; Hawken. Armstrong and Yarwood, p. cxxxv.

¹⁴⁸ UCA, Thirty-Sixth Annual Report WMS, 1916-17, Mary Dever, p.cxxiv.

¹⁴⁹ Gagan, "A Sensitive Independence," pp. 377-78.

23

because of higher wages, and also their ability to spend their evenings as they chose.¹⁵⁰

Girls who chose to work in other than domestic service¹⁵¹ were seen to assimilate less readily into Edmonton's English-speaking population. These young women faced different problems than their sisters on the farms. Such women were primary targets for unscrupulous employers all too ready to take advantage of them both sexually and economically. Such dangers posed problems for city church workers committed to 'saving' these young women from sexual promiscuity, Chinese restaurants¹⁵² and the radical Ukrainian class that encouraged non-conformity rather than assimilation. Work in hotels, restaurants and factories facilitated contact with other Ukrainians. That connection reinforced young Ukrainian women's cultural heritage through social interaction with the Ukrainian community rather than increased isolation within the English-speaking middle-class household. Such independent living intensified Ukrainian autonomy and resistance to cultural assimilation. The moral middle-class Protestant and missionary homes were seen as effective means of maintaining social control.

Various church commentators were also supportive of skills training for Ukrainian women. In her monthly column "Thoughts for Mothers" in the Missionary Outlook

---

¹⁵⁰ UCA, Thirty-Fifth Annual Report WMS, Ida Snyder, Ruthenian Home and School-Edmonton, 1915-16, p. cxxxv.

¹⁵¹ Prentice et al., p. 124. According to the authors of Canadian Women: A History, fewer women were choosing domestic service as an occupation by the 1920's than before. There was a high turnover in service, a direct result of sexual and wage exploitation, little or no time off, a lack of privacy and loneliness resulting from isolation from a peered community.

¹⁵² See PAofA, Pamphlet re: Ruthenian Home, Edmonton, W.H. Pike reported that one young girl of thirteen was rescued from a Chinese restaurant and taken to the home. Workers were concerned that Ukrainian girls were working under age instead of being in school. The implication in the pamphlet was also that this young girl was at greater risk sexually and culturally through contact with the Chinese community.

Alice Woodley suggested that young middle-class women should not be taught that "matrimony is the chief end and aim of life."¹⁵³ But like Nellie McClung she admonished mothers who encouraged in their daughters the attitude that housework is "dull and disagreeable".¹⁵⁴ Woodley wrote that:

Our daughters should be taught that housework is not degrading and should learn to do everything in a home. Housework is conducive to health, the different kinds of work bringing into action the different sets of muscles, more real good to them physically than most athletics."¹⁵⁵

Nellie McClung was also very concerned with middle-class women's distaste for housewifery, their abuse of domestic servants and how those two factors affected the shortage of domestics in early twentieth-century Canada.¹⁵⁶ McClung wrote that:

Housework is not in itself dull and disagreeable and it would appeal to the average girl who has an aptitude for it but for the cold stupidity of the mistress of the average home. They are the people who have pushed housework down on the bottom of the list and have driven out of the ranks of homemakers many bright girls who would have served them well. The average woman has been afraid to break the pattern-the pattern which says that a maid must wear a cap, use the back door, cheerfully give up her afternoon and evening if necessary, and efface herself except when she is needed. She must be diligent, capable, amiable and serene at all times and know her place! What this programme lacks is a recognition that the maid is a human being, not a robot and has ambitions, desires and sensibilities of her own and must be allowed a certain amount of liberty so that she can have a life of her own. She needs friends and relaxation.¹⁵⁷

---

¹⁵³ Missionary Outlook(February, 1907), p. 43.

¹⁵⁴ McClung, The Stream Runs Fast, p. 258.

¹⁵⁵ Missionary Outlook(February, 1907), p. 43.

¹⁵⁶ See Alison Prentice, et al., "Continuity and Change in Women's Work." As had happened in Britain and the U.S., Canadian women working in industry found the wages better, the hours shorter and their off-duty time less controlled by employers than in domestic service.

¹⁵⁷ Nellie McClung, The Stream Runs Fast, p. 258.

On the surface it seems that McClung and Woodley championed the need for a rise in status of housewifery among the middle-classes. And certainly McClung expressed in her writings and lectures fairly radical attitudes around servant management.¹⁵⁸ But these women never suggested that middle-class women should perform their own household labour. Middle-class women were only advised to train their daughters to supervise a household. What was called for was a change in attitude towards the work and those who displayed an 'aptitude' for it. McClung even refers to domestic service as housewifery, thereby making little distinction between the work of a wife and a maid. This may have been part of the effort to make the work attractive to immigrant girls and young women. If Ukrainian girls and young women were to see domestic service as an appealing occupation, then Canada's middle-classes would be assured of a steady supply of new recruits from the bloc settlements.

According to Mae Laycock, by 1924 the function of the Ruthenian Girl's Home in Edmonton began to change. The need to accommodate the growing numbers of girls pursuing academic and business training at Victoria High School and Alberta College shifted the emphasis from providing skills training to that of residence accommodation.¹⁵⁹ Providing Ukrainian working girls with homelike accommodation and good influences was still important but as succeeding generations of young women gained more

---

¹⁵⁸ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, August 2, 1916. In a entry reporting on the annual Ruthenian Workers' Convention, the diarist remarked that: "We were honored in the afternoon by a visit from -Mrs. Nellie McClung who came to hear the discussion on 'The Ruthenian Servant in the Canadian Home,' led by Mrs. Sutton and Miss Black. Mrs. McClung made a short impromptu speech telling how she treated her own servants."

¹⁵⁹ Mae Laycock, Bridges of Friendship, p. 30.

independence the Home served more as a Residence than a 'home'.¹⁶⁰ The shift from domestic skills to academic and business training was a logical step for a mandate that strove to move Ukrainian womanhood away from the fields and towards the middle-class ideal. Laycock further suggests that by 1937 with the closure of Wahstao's boarding school, that institution had become primarily part of the social welfare system. Most of the children had been apprehended by social service agencies and placed there as government wards. Depression-era finances and an increased focus on community service rather than education led the church to conclude that the government must accept responsibility for children deemed delinquent.

The diaries of the Kolokreeka and Wahstao missionaries are filled with examples of how the Protestant hierarchical world view informed their perceptions of other people. Those culturally-defined limitations constrained their ability to really understand and appreciate the individual characters or the social milieu of the people among whom they worked. On one particular occasion Kolokreeka workers Mary Yarwood and Ethel Hickman made a visit to Mrs. Hutzuliak and Mr. Geo. Chahalay's sister. Their mission was to 'offer truth' to the Ukrainian women in the form of Protestant Bible teaching. Upon entering a ". . . little boy fled under the bed & could not be coaxed out. Both women listened as if the story were new of the lost sheep."¹⁶¹ The New Testament parable of Christ's relationship as shepherd to a lost flock of sheep may have simply been an unwelcome intrusion in the lives of Uniate Catholic or Orthodox Christians. It is

---

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁶¹ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, Jan 21, 1913.

unlikely the women would have understood English or the broken Ukrainian of the educated and obviously forthright English 'panyas'.¹⁶² Ella McLean judged Ukrainian women and children as frightened of the missionaries rather than actively resistant to their proselytizing. Only men, young and old were perceived as deterrents to evangelization efforts.¹⁶³ Women and children in the Ukrainian settlements were considered prime fields for missionary activity in precisely the same way that non-Christians overseas were. They simply needed to be shown the path to Protestant salvation.

As part of encouraging the Ukrainian towards Protestantism the missionaries actively observed the various festivals occurring on the Ukrainian church calendar. The Kolokreeka diarists religiously recorded each and every "Russian Holy Day". Brief and to the point commentaries on the significance of those festivals to the Methodist characterized the form of entry. Many of the sermons delivered from the pulpit, the Sunday School lessons presented in area homes and lectures given at Ruthenian Worker Conventions dealt with the differences between Methodism and the Catholic and Orthodox faiths practised in the settlement. They often focused on suggesting the best methods of influencing the Ukrainian people towards Protestantism. Topics included "Fasting, their teaching and ours"¹⁶⁴ and "Confession: Greek Orthodox teaching and how to meet it by Bible Teaching".¹⁶⁵ In April of 1909 the Wahstao Diary recorded that a "second

---

¹⁶² Panya is the Ukrainian word for lady. According to missionary sources it was employed by the Ukrainian people in reference to the W.M.S. missionary women at Wahstao and Kolokreeka.

¹⁶³ UCA, Pamphlets, Edith Weekes Leonard, The Austrian People, p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, October 25, 1913.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., September 17, 1913.

attempt[is made] to get Mrs. J. Skorako to desecrate the holy day". Desecration could have involved something as simple as doing laundry.¹⁶⁶ One Wahstao diarist reported that on Palm Sunday of 1910 "Palm Sunday- No palms. Called at Old Mrs. Muskalek's to substitute Hoffman's paintings for her crude imagery[of Christ]."¹⁶⁷ Even the pious old were not safe from proselytizing Methodist missionaries.

There is little evidence in the diaries of the missionaries attempting or being able to 'bridge the gap' that existed between Methodist strictures concerning dancing and Sabbath-breaking and the Ukrainian incorporation of music and dance in both their secular and religious lives.¹⁶⁸ Myrna Kostash comments that during those early years misunderstandings arose concerning the Ukrainian propensity for these art forms. She suggests that "these remained spontaneous expressions of feeling and philosophy among illiterate immigrants with few other means of letting each other know what was on their minds."¹⁶⁹

The Methodist women's distaste for the dancing and drinking that accompanied Ukrainian festivals, especially marriages, is evident throughout the diaries. One article in the Missionary Outlook reported on the elaborate toasting that occurred on such occasions. This event was seen through the eyes of a temperance woman who wrote that:

---

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., Monday, April 7, 1913 "Russian holiday so Lena did not wash[clothing]."

¹⁶⁷ PAofA, Wahstao Diary, April 9, 1910.

¹⁶⁸ Howard and Tamara Palmer, Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity (Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), p. 321. Missionaries believed that Protestantism could save Ukrainians from the vices of card-playing, dancing and drinking.

¹⁶⁹ Kostash, p. 178.

Then, more than before the horror and pity of it was borne in upon me as I saw women drink in company with their husbands whose drunkenness they have lamented, and fathers urge little boys take their part in the ceremony. What surer way than this to raise up a new generation of drunkards?¹⁷⁰

One woman recorded that June 16, 1916 was "A big Russian Holiday-much drunkenness . . . ." ¹⁷¹ On other occasions it was remarked that attendance at Sunday School was up or down depending on whether the holiday demanded an afternoon or evening dance.¹⁷² Other women commented on having attended wedding festivals they would preferred to have stayed away from. "Attend wedding at Halisky's, and wish we hadn't."¹⁷³ Later entries recorded the declining of wedding invitations once it was realized that drinking and dancing abounded at these occasions. Missionary women might attend the church service but they learned that the wedding supper meant heavy drinking. Myrna Kostash and Orest Martynowych have both commented on peasant immigrant weddings. Kostash maintains that such occasions, like most Ukrainian festivals, were opportunities for socializing in an exuberant and oftentimes bawdy manner and for work-driven immigrants to simply "get out from behind the plough and stove and socialize like a civilized human being."¹⁷⁴ Martynowych suggests that these occasions "often were violent and drunken affairs". But he maintains that the missionaries':

---

¹⁷⁰ Missionary Outlook(May, 1906), "A Russian Wedding".

¹⁷¹ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, June 15, 1916. See also Ralph Connor, The Foreigner(Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd.,1909).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, June 5, 1913, May 14, 1916 and June 15, 1913.

¹⁷³ PAofA, Wahstao Diary, May 31, 1909.

¹⁷⁴ Kostash, p. 176.

incessant concentration on the negative aspects of Ukrainian immigrants' lifestyle only demoralized the children and encouraged them to reject their parents' heritage in to to and dismiss Ukrainians as 'bad people'.¹⁷⁵

'Bridging the gap' was a one-way process. The expectation was that Ukrainian immigrants would and should make the journey from their world into that of the Protestant Canadian home.

As already suggested, many Ukrainian and other Eastern European histories and recollections contrast with Methodist condemnation of Ukrainian spiritual and familial life. In 1888 Mary Lowenberger Popp's family emigrated from Austria to Canada. They settled in Langenburg, Manitoba where Mary was born in 1897. Her memoir recalls a harsh pioneer existence in the early years, coupled with a deep commitment to family and community life that centred around the social expression of music and dance. She recalls that around 1910:

. . . as we grew up we did have a nice family life, what with teasing, fighting, playing, later on dancing, practising the newer dances, two step, three step, four step, Jersey, French minuet, and also new square dances, we could all play the mouth organ, and with some of the brothers small and not enough to make a set for square dancing, we would still practice . . . Even if we worked very hard all day, we still played at nite, sometimes cards or storytell. . . And when we grew bigger, there would be choir practice, dances, concerts, and parties, our place would be a gathering place, the older people in the living-room, the young people in the kitchen, playing full show, and we would dare to go and get some of the parents in our games. Then played the mouth organ or somebody would have an accordion and have a few dances, . . .¹⁷⁶

---

¹⁷⁵ Martynowych, p. 198.

¹⁷⁶ National Archives of Canada[hereafter known as NAoC], Mary Popp Memoirs, MG 31 H17, 1967, p. 30-31.

Popp's memoir provides an alternative portrait of 'Austrian' family life. Her memories suggest that many incidents identified as 'problems' by the missionary community were overly-critical misinterpretations of Ukrainian culture. This memoir also commented at length on both the kindness and the excesses of various schoolteachers in her district. And she related numerous humorous anecdotes involving other pioneers and even district missionaries. Prior to Mary's birth in 1897, her parents' and older siblings "dug a cave in the side of a hill for their first home."¹⁷⁷ The family's first introduction to the missionaries occurred during a winter blizzard.

In the winter they would get bad blizzards with high drifts, and one time a missionary drove out to visit those new settlers, and he drove over the roof of my parents dwelling, they heard this voice on the roof, when they went out to look, he had driven over the roof and didn't know it.¹⁷⁸

In order to address the apparent laxity in moral instruction illustrated by the home life of children like Mary Popp, missionaries such as Wahstao's Alice Sanford proclaimed that:

. . . the educational and more strictly evangelistic work have gone on as usual, with some discouragement and some success. . . . The hope of the work lies in the children, especially in those who are brought in daily contact with the life of a Canadian Christian home.¹⁷⁹

Elizabeth Hawken predicted that their only "hope" of success in the settlements was through the children. Only by such efforts would the colony "be a very different place

---

¹⁷⁷ NAofC, Mary Popp Memoirs, p. 6.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁹ Missionary Outlook (September, 1912), pp. 214-15. See also Missionary Outlook (May, 1912), Phoebe Code, Kolokreeka, Alberta, p. 119.

in the next generation."¹⁸⁰ The assumption was and always remained that children received no ethical instruction in the home. Most Canadian Methodists could not recognize Ukrainian religious conviction or family custom as other than a misguided culture requiring Protestant uplift. Kolokreeka missionary Florence Stone summarized the Methodist position on Ukrainian culture and the need to rescue the children:

In the whole work the chief aim has been to set up standards, to have the children recognize them as their own and to endeavour to make all live up to them. To do this at times there seems to have been crowded out the sympathy which is essential to the best growth and development, but we feel that the efforts to live up to them have not been in vain, when it means obedience, purity of speech, no swearing at K.K.K.(Kolo-Kreeka Kindness). It will be a glad day when truth and honesty can be put into the same list.¹⁸¹

Making a lasting impression on children¹⁸², enabling them to influence parental homes and future offspring remained the primary aim of missionaries in the Ukrainian settlements.

An interesting complement to the missionary community's lack of religious tolerance was an absorbing interest in Ukrainian culture; language, dress, food, and festivals. For instance there was usually at least one missionary at Kolokreeka who did photography for the surrounding communities. Picture-taking was used as a method of gaining entrance into the people's homes for the purposes of evangelization. The Ukrainian population appreciated this as another service available to them through the

---

¹⁸⁰ Missionary Outlook(March, 1919), "One Year's Experience at Kolokreeka," p. 71.

¹⁸¹ UCA, Thirty-Fifth Annual Report WMS, 1915-16, p. cxxxvi.

¹⁸² UCA, Thirty-Third Annual Report WMS, 1913-14, Ruthenian School Home-Edmonton, Ida Snyder, p. cxxiv.

missionaries. Wedding¹⁸³ and funeral groups, visitors from other Ukrainian settlements and young girls freshly home from a stint of work in Edmonton approached the women for photographic services. Sometimes arrangements were made for the women to photograph a family group or even a corpse at the church.¹⁸⁴ The missionaries often returned home from evangelistic visiting to find groups waiting for the arrival of the photographer. Social calls often ended in the taking of pictures, which were later developed at the mission and distributed to the interested parties. A fairly elaborate occasion was reported near Easter of 1914 with:

A big holiday-Enreia. F and J go as per arrangement to Boychuks. House in beautiful order and a well-cooked nicely served dinner ready- silver plated knives and custard pie made J stare. All the neighbours called in to have photos eleven in all- then a sing. And Bible reading- a hearty welcome and a good time.¹⁸⁵

Photography was as much a method for record-keeping as it was an evangelizing tool and a community service. But more than that photography and the consuming interest that missionaries displayed in recording details about Ukrainian culture indicate an almost anthropological preoccupation with the people. Photographic subjects often centred on a missionaries' keen interest in attending Orthodox church services, recording the details of Holy Days, commenting on the perceived nature of various Ukrainian customs or dropping the wet laundry to catch a glimpse and a picture of the visiting

---

¹⁸³ These photographs would be taken after the church service and before the reception.

¹⁸⁴ PAofA, Kolokreeka Diary, May 8, 1916.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1914.

Orthodox priest.¹⁸⁶ The Wahstao diarists recorded in March of 1910 that "We attend church, see interesting genuflections."¹⁸⁷ And again in August of 1917 from Kolokreeka mission "N.[Emoline Black] and Annetza[Ukrainian girl] attend the Greek church and see a sacrament service."¹⁸⁸ On another occasion Miss Yarwood stopped to observe a festival dance "under the Jack pines on the hill" while on her way home from a poorly attended Sunday School.¹⁸⁹ And in February of 1913 "Lena[Ukrainian girl], Mr. S. Taranty[convert] and J went to witness a Russian wedding in the church in morning-found the ceremony very interesting."¹⁹⁰ Phoebe Code either borrowed or purchased a "Russian costume" to take with her to Ontario. No explanation was given as to why.¹⁹¹

When recorded as purely cultural activities, Ukrainian religious practice was not described in terms of its lack in relation to the gospel of Methodism. Descriptors such as 'interesting' and 'observed' were frequently employed to relate missionary impressions of Ukrainian material and artistic culture. Observations of an anthropological nature were recorded in the following manner:

Russian New Years' day. Lena told us of how the young people on New Year's dressed up in funny ways and called on people to make them laugh so they would have a joyful year. They scatter grain when they go on

---

¹⁸⁶ PAofA, Wahstao, July 11, 1909.

¹⁸⁷ PAofA, Wahstao Diary, March 30, 1910.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., August 27, 1916.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., June 5, 1913.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., February 13, 1913.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., May 1913.

New Year's Day to ensure prosperity- and fires are kindled near the house, or on the roadside.¹⁹²

When observing the local farmer, Mr. Dupetz, his work was described with: "-saw them cleaning wheat in the primitive way."¹⁹³ As far as Ukrainian civilization was concerned, our missionary women approached the language, religion and dress as interesting but very primitive artifacts. Myrna Kostash has defined such English-Canadian 'friends' of Ukrainian-Canadians as "positive racists". Kostash points out that it was common for people like missionaries to comment at length on what they perceived as the positive attributes of Ukrainian culture. They included, as in the case of Mr. Dupetz, observations on how much the Ukrainian loved his land. The colourful clothing of women and their beautiful embroidery were also held in esteem. Hence, one missionary took a costume home to Ontario. What I have defined as anthropological observations are what Kostash suggests were a focus on very ordinary aspects of Ukrainian life.

Kostash asks if it is:

really necessary to see picturesqueness and artfulness in the perfectly mundane in order to accord the Ukrainians dignity and personality? It is only necessary if you had imagined them otherwise.¹⁹⁴

This anthropological abstraction of Ukrainian people and their everyday lives suggests that the Methodist missionary women's anthropological musings were actually examples of 'positive racism'.

---

¹⁹² Ibid., January 14, 1913.

¹⁹³ Ibid., April 27, 1916.

¹⁹⁴ Kostash, p. 41.

In an attempt to contrast with the primitive or simply outdated Ukrainian homemaking, farming and less well-evolved religious practices, missionary women set up their theoretically ideal Protestant households. Patricia Saidak's thesis on home economics describes the domestic sphere of women at this time as being both "separate and sacrosanct" as well as the "locus of control for social change".¹⁹⁵ For missionary women worldwide the domestic sphere became a tool for social change in their mission to assimilate foreign populations. The Protestant Canadian home was meant to facilitate changes in the Ukrainian settlements. The ideal private home of Protestant Canada was constructed in the missions in order that the Ukrainian community could learn its secrets and eventually emulate its inner workings.

Throughout the missionary literature the home became a physically constructed ideal. The mission schools, residences and boarding homes are all referred to as Homes and the people residing in them as families. Clean, Christian homes were the school-rooms deemed most likely to inculcate appropriate personal and domestic habits into children of questionable foreign background.¹⁹⁶ At Wahstao, missionary Ellen Ferguson observed that "We endeavoured to show them what a true Canadian Christian home should be, and also to implant in their young lives the seeds of godliness, truth and righteousness."¹⁹⁷ Ethelwyn Chace judged the local community by those rigid standards of cleanliness. In a pamphlet entitled "Easter Day at Wahstao" she strove to find in the

---

¹⁹⁵ Saidak, p. 8.

¹⁹⁶ Missionary Bulletin, IX, no.2, Rev. C.H. Lawford M.D. "Work Among the Austrians," p. 326.

¹⁹⁷ UCA, Thirty-Sixth Annual Report WMS, 1916-1917, p. cxxx.

lives of Ukrainians an image that would counteract the ones of eastern Catholicism and what was considered slovenly housekeeping. After a lengthy description and criticism of Eastern Orthodox rites she noted that:

No one could fail to notice the general air of cleanliness that pervaded the first home at which we called. A door-yard swept bare, a fresh coat of whiteness without and within, betokened that the spring house-cleaning had been completed.¹⁹⁸

While Chace was certainly more sympathetic to the Ukrainian community than many of her colleagues this passage suggests that she exhibits some signs of being a 'positive racist'. That one could not fail to notice the air of cleanliness suggests that the Ukrainian housekeeper did not often meet the standards set by the Protestant 'angel of the hearth.'

The activities of the missionaries were by no means the only representatives of Christian domesticity in the missions fields. The architecture of Canadian Methodism also characterized their domestic gospel. The cultural hierarchy supported the existence of an architectural one, embodying the ideal characteristics of the true Canadian home.¹⁹⁹ In his pamphlet "A Graceful Tribute", missions commentator W.H. Pike described Kolokreeka mission as follows:

It is a sight for tired eyes to look down the distance from one of the 'rises' in the trail and see a great extent of country dotted with neatly fenced farms with their white-washed, mud-plastered, thatched-roofed farm-houses, and their scattered outbuildings, while nestled snugly in the centre of all stands the W.M.S. Mission, Kolokreeka- "a house by the side of the road." There it stands, a pleasing contrast to the Ruthenian farmer's style of architecture, a monument to the generosity of our Methodist women, a dispenser of the blessings and privileges of our Methodism, a dynamo of

---

¹⁹⁸ UCA, Pamphlets, Ethelwyn Chace, Easter Day at Wahstao, April, 1909, p. 6.

¹⁹⁹ See Missionary Outlook (April, 1917), Miss Ferguson, Wahstao Mission, pp.94-95; (May, 1917), "Austrian Work," Martha Tuttle BA, Edmonton, pp. 118-119.

Christianizing and Canadianizing forces that are moulding the present generation and creating untold blessings for the generation that is to be.²⁰⁰

The atmosphere of the home and the personality exhibited by the workers were indicators of domestic piety and the positive influences directed at children and women.²⁰¹ But that atmosphere was in part dependent on the very physical structure and aspect of the house in which the missionary family resided.

That ideal of structure and internal fixture and artifact consistently reappeared in the pages of the Woman's Missionary Society Annual Reports. Jessie Munro described the physical and spiritual nature of the newly constructed Home for Ruthenian Girls in Edmonton.²⁰² She wrote:

We are to take possession of the new Home, 107 Elizabeth Street, on the 15th of November. The double drawing-room will serve as a school-room, and, if furnished comfortably and attractively, will be a pleasant sitting-room for the girls, and we hope to make it as enticing as our lawn and pansy bed have been this summer. . . . Our Home must be made and constantly kept attractive, both in its furnishings and atmosphere. Everything in and around it must be uplifting.²⁰³

---

²⁰⁰ Missionary Outlook(February, 1914), "A Graceful Tribute," W.H. Pike, p. 47.

²⁰¹ UCA, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report WMS, 1918-19, Armstrong, Hawken, Chisholm at Kolokreeka, p. cxxxix.

²⁰² See Mae Laycock, Bridges of Friendship for an outline history of the establishment of the Ruthenian Girls' Home. Two Edmonton women, one from Social Services the other with the Provincial Police responded to the need to assist rural Ukrainian girls in Edmonton seeking work and accommodation. One rented a room in her own boarding house providing "personal service" and English lessons. A house was purchased through the McDougal Church in 1909. Pioneering missionaries Retta Edmonds and Jessie Munro were transferred from Wahstao to establish this new work.

²⁰³ Missionary Outlook(January, 1910), Jessie Munro, p. 23. There are some discrepancies between Mae Laycock and the periodical reports as to when the various homes were built. I have elected to follow the periodical whenever possible as Laycock was not a missionary during the period in question and her chronicle was written several decades after the fact.

Three years later Ethelwyn Chace described in intimate detail even newer housing for the Girls' Home; from the size and location of bedrooms and bathrooms, to nurse's room and linen closets. Chace thought it important to relate that each room had its own clothes closet, with clothes-chute, dumb-waiter and speaking-tubes lessening steps and work for the family.²⁰⁴ Taking the reader on a tour of the new home Chace wrote:

Come now as a visitor and see the Home. The square, three-story, red-brick front is relieved by an artistic verandah and a balcony, all in white, a similar porch at the side admitting the girls. The doors are of clearglass, of pretty design. The vestibule opens on the lift into a reception, tastefully if plainly decorated. The presence of a piano suggests delights in the days to come, when the staff may have time to play. Next behind is found the teachers' dining-room, and a large one for the girls, decorated in dark green wainscoting, buff walls and cream ceilings. The former is furnished in mission style and contains a handsome fireplace, the gift of the contractor. These three rooms can be thrown together. At the back again is a large, well-shelved pantry and a bright kitchen. Across the dividing hall[sic] are two school-rooms with tables, the girls' sitting-room, and a comfortable office, the latter in front between the two entrances.²⁰⁵

With each new change in residence the Ruthenian Girls' Home kept pace with new household technology. Not only would Ukrainian immigrant households have had difficulties bank-rolling such developments, but so would most ordinary working Canadians of the period. Jessie Munro eloquently told her readers that:

Sometimes I have great satisfaction in the work. Yesterday a girl dropped in for the first time who could only stay for a few minutes. Fortunately I was ready for her. The school-room was warm and inviting, with its open organ, the lovely Easter lily, with its three blossoms, on the sewing-machine, the bright-colored geranium in the curtained window, the Lesson Roll making that side of the room gay, and on the blackboard easy sentences to be read and to form the basis of a talk on the pure life lived

---

²⁰⁴ Missionary Outlook (June, 1913), "Miss Chace Describes the New Home for Ruthenian Girls," p. 142.

²⁰⁵ Missionary Outlook (May, 1913), p. 119.

by the good in heaven - simple words and a simple theme to which she listened attentively.²⁰⁶

Ida Clarke commented upon learning that a new Home was an assured fact, that "we have visions of the greater work that will be accomplished with its many facilities and increased accommodation."²⁰⁷

Despite visions of greater work to be accomplished with bigger and better facilities and more staff there is little evidence that missions among Ukrainians greatly affected religious life in the Ukrainian community. Methodist W.M.S. missionaries and their peers were largely unsuccessful in their stated aims of conversion and assimilation. Rev. W.H. Pike remarked in 1924 that in the past ten years:

More than 600 children have passed through our W.M.S. homes. No record has been kept of conversions but there are very few that we have no reason to be proud of. Among the Ukrainian young people you will not find a better type than those who have passed through our institutions. Those who are now school teachers and doing a high standard of work, both educational and moral, are those who have been under our influence and guidance. We have not had all the fruits we wanted but have certainly had much good fruit. There is a good leaven at work in the colony the fruits of which will be more apparent in the coming years.²⁰⁸

Pike's remarks suggest that despite the present lack of complete conversions, the seed of Protestantism had been planted in the Ukrainian community.²⁰⁹

---

²⁰⁶ Missionary Outlook(July, 1909), p. 167.

²⁰⁷ UCA, Thirty-First Annual Report WMS, 1911-1912, p. cxii.

²⁰⁸ Christian Guardian(August 13, 1924).

²⁰⁹ See Michael Owen, p. 200. Owen suggests that despite such "pretentious claims" that it is unlikely that the school-homes had much effect on the culture of the Ukrainian community.

Impact seems to have been minimal on the overall survival of a large and vibrant Ukrainian community in Canada. According to Michael Owen despite assertions of impact made by the Protestant Churches, Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Church accounts tend to "virtually ignore the existence of Presbyterian school-homes and other Protestant missions activities among prairie Ruthenians."²¹⁰ According to George Emery:

for all its physical expansion, the Ukrainian work appears to have achieved little by 1914. Although the missions influenced many and might have won up to fifty converts to Methodism, the gains were insignificant in relation to the total population.²¹¹

In 1907 Wahstao missionary Edith Weeks admonished her readers to not judge the Ukrainian until they had the benefits of the missionary example for a longer period of time.²¹² Her comment rose out of frustration in the knowledge that children were kept out of Sunday School to go berry-picking. Almost twenty years later Mae Laycock and her colleagues made similar comments based on their knowledge that each generation of Ukrainian young people preferred dancing and music to Protestant cultural events. The Kolokreeka missionaries reported that:

---

²¹⁰ Owen, p. 220.

²¹¹ George Emery Alberta Historical Review, vol. 19, No.2(Spring 1971), p. 18. Emery also sees conversion as the primary agenda of the missions, despite their focus on providing education and social services. However, he depicts Canadianization as a secondary process of primarily language training, easily sacrificed to conversion, rather than as a process that included conversion, education and social service. See also Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-19310: A History.

²¹² UCA, Twenty-Seventh Annual Report WMS, 1907-08, Edith A Weekes, Wahstao.

The young people of our district need our prayers. Many of them have earnest desires, but the midnight dance is of frequent occurrence and we are grieved to see the lowered moral standard which has taken place.²¹³

The missionaries were concerned about the same cultural traits twenty years after establishing themselves at Wahstao. These women seem to have had less impact on the Ukrainian community than the Ukrainian people had on them.²¹⁴

Unlike the Methodist church the Presbyterians had slightly more success in converting the Ukrainian population. The Independent Greek Church was the brainchild of three educated radical immigrants. They wanted to prevent Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox and Greek Catholic priests from having influence over immigrants in the New World. These men were attracted to Presbyterianism as step towards democratization of Ukrainian society, so they approached the Canadian Presbyterian church for support. The Presbyterian Board elected to support missionaries in the Edmonton and Krakow-Smiatyn-Zawale regions where the majority of sympathizers lived with their families. Many of the converts were well-educated men. By 1907 2,484 families in the prairies had converted with 948 other families sympathetic to the newly-formed Independent Greek Church.²¹⁵

The relationship between the Independent Greek Church and the Canadian Presbyterian Church was strained from the beginning. The Canadian Church saw the establishment of the Independent Church as the first step in a quick process towards

---

²¹³ UCA, Quadrennial Report WMS, 1921-25, Kolokreeka Armstrong, Addison, Laycock.

²¹⁴ Michael Owen has suggested that some Ukrainian church histories have judged the impact of Protestantism as negligible. Social historians Orest Martynowych and Myrna Kostash agree that Ukrainians and their descendants were affected negatively by racist attitudes emanating from Canadian society as a whole.

²¹⁵ Martynowych, pp. 177-179.

Anglo-conformity. The Ukrainian radicals viewed the church's role as facilitating the gradual (over fifteen to twenty-five years) spreading of literacy and education among immigrant peasants. They regarded conversion as assimilation, but not complete eradication of Ukrainian culture. When rapid conversions did not result the Presbyterian Church withdrew support, directing its attention to rural school homes where they could attempt to "isolate and socialize a loyal immigrant elite with their culture, values and ideology."²¹⁶ In 1911 Independent congregations that had not in a limited manner converted to Presbyterianism or to a larger extent gone back to the Orthodox Church formed the first Reformed Presbyterian Ukrainian Canadian congregation in Edmonton.²¹⁷ Ukrainian historian Vivian Olender suggests that the irony for the Presbyterian Church was that despite their Home Mission program spanning 1901 through 1925, the work did more to "reinforce the identification of Ukrainian ethnicity with the two traditional Ukrainian Churches" than if conversion had not been attempted.

Despite evidence that they were not influencing the Ukrainians away from their churches, conversion remained uppermost in the Methodist missionary agenda. The general tone of missionary reports reflected a knowledge of the lack of success in conversion or in attracting large numbers to the various activities offered at the missions. In a letter to the Missionary Outlook, Ethelwyn Chace criticized the tendency to count heads with the following:

---

²¹⁶ Ibid. p. 179.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 179.

The attendance at the outside schools is not as large just now as we would desire, but I wish we could get past counting heads, as numbers are not a true test here, if indeed they are anywhere.²¹⁸

But such outspoken criticisms were rare, and did little to prevent the missionaries from keeping and reporting in exhaustive quantitative records on attendance at mission activities.²¹⁹ The numbers in registration, not attendance, and in the number and variety of the various activities offered through the mission were the measures of success in the early years of the missions. Dr. Lawford, the General Board missionary doctor at Pagan reported in the early months of Wahstao mission that "the work of Misses Monro[sic] and Edmonds, the workers of the W.M.S., is progressing most encouragingly". A list of organizations followed including Sabbath School, day and night schools, mother's meetings and the dispensary. Fifteen years later Kolokreeka missionary Margaret Armstrong noted in a published letter to a friend that:

We have come to think very much of the various workers. They put the winning of souls as their supreme aim; and though it is discouraging work and slow, very slow, for sure result, they are all optimistic and full of purpose for the future of the colony.²²⁰

Those years had done little to alter the attendance or conversion rates in the missions. Missionaries commonly expressed their frustrations in letters to friends and the Corresponding Secretary that were often later printed in the Missionary Outlook.

---

²¹⁸ Missionary Outlook(January, 1918), p. 23.

²¹⁹ UCA, WMS Annual Reports, 1904-125. Each report on the missions was followed by totals of children or adults registered in activities, and the numbers who actually attended. These records present problems of interpretation since often the numbers registered for various clubs and schools far exceeded the numbers who actually attended. These quantitative records were used for a time to measure the success of the W.M.S. missionary activity. My research did not extend to records kept by male G.B. missionaries.

²²⁰ Missionary Outlook(October, 1919),"Snap Shots from Kolokreeka, Alta," Miss Armstrong, p. 234.

The educative mandate of Methodist missionaries made it difficult for them to also convert their charges. Establishing primary educational facilities on the prairies, at a time when public schooling was not settled, provided a much-needed and ostensibly much-appreciated social service. The offering of education in order to gain access to children and through them their parents subsequently undermined missionary conversion efforts. Ella McLean at Kolokreeka Boarding School reported that during the 1911-12 winter seven different children boarded, a number that made them feel as if "fruitful work" was being accomplished. But she also suggested that the time had come "to make our home not only a school for English education but a place where the spirit of Jesus Christ may make itself felt in the lives of the children."²¹ Not surprisingly, missionaries seeking validation for their vocation chose to interpret eagerness to acquire education as a desire for religious instruction. Like W.M.S. histories that later stressed the conversion mandate of missions, missionaries in the field were hard-pressed to make their true mission known to communities wishing to utilize the schools and hospital facilities available. The missionaries juggled a conversion mandate with a commitment to offering primary education for children. Sometimes the education became the more successful and focused part of the work. So despite measuring the success of the field by numbers of children reached rather than conversions, the Methodist women were very conscious that their primary objective was an elusive one. One Kolokreeka worker in 1920 clearly described the ambiguous nature of success in the mission:

---

²¹ UCA, Thirty-First Annual Report WMS, 1911-1912, Ella A. MacLean, Kolokreeka, p. cxv.

We are encouraged in thinking that the influence of the school is moulding the lives of our boys and girls, making them know what is good, is beautiful, and desirable. We are disappointed in having no definite decisions for Christ. Without these, we know our work has much of failure. Yet most of our boys and girls show keen interest in the daily Bible teaching in the home and school. 'The entrance at His Word giveth light.' As God sees it, there may be much fruit being developed.²²²

This passage illustrates the common way that the missionary women mediated between their heart-felt desire to convert, their subsequent failure to do so and a belief in the good to be achieved through the primary education of children.

The key to understanding the lack of success in conversion and the survival of the Ukrainian community in Canada resides in the history of that people. Ukrainians in Europe withstood concerted attempts by a variety of political states to both convert them to Roman Catholicism and to culturally assimilate them.²²³ By the time these people began emigrating to Canada, the culture had developed built-in mechanisms for resisting assimilation pressures, while utilizing services offered.²²⁴ Ukrainian immigrants to Canada took what they wanted from English-speaking Canadians and rejected what they did not. And like so many other people drawn to Canada, Ukrainians responded to the promise of bright futures for their children.²²⁵

---

²²² UCA, Thirty-Ninth Annual Report WMS, 1919-20, p. cxxxvi.

²²³ Martynowych, pp. 13-15.

²²⁴ See Savelia Curnisky, "How To Teach a Ukrainian," Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, ed. Martin L. Kovacs, Canadian Plains Studies #8, Canadian Plains Research Center: University of Regina, 1978.

²²⁵ Martynowych, pp. 219-221. Curnisky suggests that Ukrainian parents wanted education for their children and perceived a necessity for English. But at the same time they insisted on the right to preserve Ukrainian language and culture through encouraging young people to train and then return to the communities as teachers and community leaders.

As the Ukrainian community in east-central Alberta grew in political and economic strength and numbers, church workers responded negatively. In the area of education commentaries were particularly adamant that more English Canadian influences were required. After the First World War, increasing numbers of Ukrainian young people trained as teachers, many of whom had begun their training at the mission schools. By the early 1920's teachers of Ukrainian descent predominated in the settlement public schools. One church worker commented that:

One of the most urgent needs in the Ukrainian colony at Smoky Lake is for Christian teachers in the government schools. Owing to strong Ukrainian prejudice, many school boards are employing Ukrainian teachers. Some few of these are sympathetic with our work, but the majority prove a hindrance to the Canadianizing of the children under them.²²⁹

The church had enjoyed a relatively free hand in providing educational services to the Ukrainian settlement: a situation that provided ample opportunities for influencing children towards Protestantism and Canadianization. They were not happy about giving up that privilege and power to the Ukrainian community.

As illustrated, the presence of Protestant missionaries among Ukrainians affected or did not affect their religion and education in very specific ways. What is less measurable is how missions affected the psychic health of the community and subsequent generations of Ukrainian Canadians. Both Orest Martynowych and Myrna Kostash suggest English Canadian culture had a detrimental impact on the Ukrainian Canadian population. That impact can best be described as cultural shame.

---

²²⁹ Missionary Outlook (February, 1924), "Busy Days Before Christmas at Kolokreeka," p. 43.

Ukrainian immigrant parents employed survival strategies similar to those used by working-class and immigrant parents in other parts of the country.²²⁶ Missionary reports and articles in the church periodicals often referred to parents requesting their children be boarded at the rural missions for the winter or at the Girls' Home in Edmonton while young girls worked in the city. Ukrainian requests to these facilities are similar to the use by mid- to late-nineteenth-century working class Montreal parents of orphanages and creches. These parents left their children for indeterminate periods of time when experiencing financial stress or the loss of a breadwinning parent. The missionaries seized these opportunities to 'influence' the children towards Protestantism.²²⁷ Reports on the Ruthenian Girl's Home state that they had a good reputation throughout the colony, and that while the girls balked at some of the restrictions, the home was always full to capacity. It makes sense that Ukrainian parents felt safe sending their young girls to Edmonton knowing the Home was available to them as a residence. If assured that the 'Baptists' were not interested in conversion of older children, few Ukrainian parents would have objected to their young daughters residing in a chaperoned home in the city.²²⁸

---

²²⁶ Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," Joy Parr, Ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982). See also Joy Parr, Labouring Children (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

²²⁷ UCA, Thirty-Ninth Annual Report WMS, 1919-1920, p.cxxxii; Thirty-Sixth Annual Report WMS, 1916-17, p. cxxxii; Thirtieth Annual Report WMS, 1910-11, p. civ; Missionary Outlook (September, 1913), Mrs. C. Robson, p. 207.

²²⁸ Nellie McClung, The Stream Runs Fast, p. 162. McClung idealizes the gratitude expressed by the Ukrainian community towards the W.M.S. who provided boarding school education for their children.

In tracing the roots of Ukrainian Canadian shame Martynowych focuses on the basic misconceptions that Canadians, among them Protestant missionaries, entertained concerning Ukrainians. He suggests that missionaries exaggerated the peasant behaviour pattern and generalized it to the entire population. Martynowych describes the basic peasant view of life as resigned or fatalistic, a consequence of a society characterized by "scarcity and insecurity".²³⁰ He identifies the misunderstanding of Protestant missionaries for the problems facing the immigrant peasant with the following description:

Protestant missionaries failed to understand why the morality of peasant immigrants was 'weak'. If peasant immigrants were deceitful, intemperate and inconsiderate toward their neighbours it was not because they were being held in 'bondage' by the clergy, but because scarcity, isolation and exploitation were the basic facts of life as they knew it. To let down ones' guard, to love ones' neighbour, could imperil the survival of the peasant and his family.²³¹

In other words, peasant culture encourages an individualistic approach to survival. A second primary misconception was that uneducated peasants were potential converts, in the absence of religious clergy, of "radical socialist and atheist agitators."²³² The Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic hierarchies also regarded Ukrainian immigrants with no spiritual guides as potentially dangerous social agitators. And finally Martynowych suggests Protestant Canadians believed that the resilience of Ukrainian language and culture, through the existence of Ukrainian newspapers and bilingualism in the schools, slowed assimilation to modern culture. These beliefs about the backwardness

---

²³⁰ Martynowych, pp. 95-100.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 195.

²³² Ibid.

of Ukrainian peasants, their inabilities to be good neighbours and Canadian citizens, their propensity for radical politics and refusal to admit the English language into their lives determined the oppositional manner in which English Canadian institutions approached Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants.

Martynowych suggests that children were made to feel ashamed of their Ukrainian culture in public school-rooms, mission Sunday Schools and the playgrounds of heterogeneous east-central Alberta communities. Rather than slowing assimilation, Ukrainian advocates²³³ of bilingual schooling saw schools with bilingual teachers serving as positive role models for Ukrainian children. These teachers used the tales of Ukrainian heroes to teach the children history, fostering a sense of identity and pride in themselves and their heritage. In doing so they cultivated "respect for education and enthusiasm for learning" rather than complicating and magnifying "the problems which already beset demoralized peasant immigrants".²³⁴ In assessing the situation Ukrainian educators were convinced that this:

was the only way to break the vicious circle of despair, self-abnegation and fatalism in which many of the immigrants were caught. A school system staffed by English-speaking teachers bent on assimilating the immigrants as rapidly as possible would fail in this objective and would only demoralize the immigrant children.²³⁵

---

²³³ Ibid., p. 219. Many of these advocates and educators were informed by current psychological and sociological theories that studied assimilation through education and its negative impact on children.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 219.

²³⁵ Ibid.

First-generation Ukrainian Canadians learned to be ashamed of their culture, language, history and parents. Unilingual schooling reinforced the peasant traits of self-contempt, inferiority and despair.²³⁶

Myrna Kostash's discussion of the shaming of Ukrainian immigrants focuses on the specific problems of first and second-generation Ukrainian Canadians. The first generation, as suggested by Martynowych, was caught between their parent culture and English Canadian expectations. Kostash points out that despite efforts to the contrary, nothing could make Ukrainian immigrants into Anglo-Saxons. They lived their lives in Ukrainian-speaking communities where they largely laboured in low-paying and low-status jobs. Their children were the hope.²³⁷ Kostash eloquently describes the next generation as:

Canadian-born, educated in Anglophone schools, accessible to the media, consumers of Canadian-made artifacts and workers not without ambition, they were incipient 'common citizens' to whom friendship and confidence could be extended if ethnic institutions and nationalist propaganda didn't get to them first and twist their identity around the excruciating hyphen.²³⁸

Kostash suggests that the subsequent generation, to which she belongs, either assimilated or resisted. But both choices were painful, potentially alienating and often led to ambivalence around cultural identity. Kostash declares that:

---

²³⁶ The previous two paragraphs, aside from exact quotes are direct paraphrasing from Martynowych's discussion on the impact of cultural institutions on Ukrainian immigrants in Canada.

²³⁷ Kostash, p. 340.

²³⁸ Ibid.

The next generation emerged with a radically different psychological perspective. Canadian identity was their birthright, Ukrainian loyalty a learned response. . . It was the Canadian-born who attached ideological and sentimental importance to Ukrainian-bred behaviours. The parents were Ukrainian. The children paid homage to them by declaring they were, to. . . The hyphenated consciousness allowed the ethnic to feel at home at a time when the Anglo-Saxon manor was double-locked from the inside and the Ukrainian cottage was fallen down, broken in the bush.²³⁹

While Methodist missionaries and their colleagues in other Canadian cultural institutions had negligible impact on the religious life of Ukrainian immigrants and actually provided much-needed educational services, they also helped to instill shame in Ukrainian children for their heritage, language and parents. Historian Sybil Shack concludes in a similar vein that:

If there is any doubt that the public school has or had a powerful influence on the moulding of a new generation in Canada, one has only to listen to those of us who came through the system. We are Canadian, we are Anglicized, we are even in a sense Christianized, in the Protestant image, although we remain strongly Jewish, or Greek Orthodox or Catholic or what have you.²⁴⁰

The post-First World War movement to secure "Canada for Christ" brought conversion once again to the forefront of missionary endeavours and the popular mind. The further shaming of Ukrainian Canadians during the war, through withdrawing citizenship privileges and job opportunities, continued in the post-war era with renewed interest in assimilating the blocs of Ukrainians on the prairies. While assimilation through education had become the primarily stated objective, the universal conversion

---

²³⁹ Kostash, p. 367. The preceding paragraph, aside from exact quotes are direct paraphrasing from Kostash's discussion on the impact of cultural institutions on Ukrainian immigrants in Canada.

²⁴⁰ Sybil Shack, "The Immigrant Child in the Manitoba Schools in the Early Twentieth Century," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Papers. Series III, No. 30, 1973, ed. Linda McDowell, p. 30.

mandate of Protestant evangelicalism had only to be reasserted publicly. In 1920 Kolokreeka workers Elizabeth Hawken, Margaret Armstrong, and Minnie Hind echoed workers of fifteen years previous in a letter to the W.M.S. They wrote that

we are grateful to God for the privilege of sewing where we see the need is so great and thank our W.M.S. mothers for their untiring efforts and prayers. We are out for souls and count on your intercession.²⁴¹

The great purifier and guarantor of a nobler life was Canadian Protestantism. Armed with exalted notions of superior morality and family ideals, the promise of female emancipation²⁴² and confident in their greater devotion to the work ethic, Canadian Methodist women missionaries went into the west to uplift and assimilate.

---

²⁴¹ UCA, Fortieth Annual Report WMS, p. cli. See also Missionary Outlook (April, 1920), "This Colony Will Yet Be Won for Christ," Kolokreeka, p. 95.

²⁴² Missionary Outlook (June, 1908), p. 130.

CHAPTER 4: FURTHER FIELDS OF INQUIRY: CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS REGARDING CANADIAN MISSIONARY WOMEN

Canadian home-based missionary women expressed a dedication to and were described as committed to the patriotic and religious mission of Canadianization. The degrees to which Protestant denominations involved themselves in that assimilation mandate suggests that Canadianization was an imperialist process where religious emotion was infused into a secular purpose.¹ As missionaries and church workers English-Canadian women responded to the call for aid in acculturating, among other groups, Ukrainian immigrants to the prairies. Missionary women's responses to Canadianization primarily reflect a determination to consolidate Protestant Canada through the spread of the Protestant gospel and its attendant Christian domesticity.

Despite such conclusions, the lives and work of my forty-four missionaries and their numerous colleagues cannot be easily categorized in terms of the work they performed or the ideas they espoused. Certainly the feminization of various occupations and the liberalization of attitudes towards women in the church informed the choices made by these women. According to Patricia Saidak:

The historical experience of women can defy the 'fit' of theoretical constructs in a culture where demands for equality and the celebration of difference co-exist and the constraints of gender ideology interact with economic opportunity.²

Saidak's observation identifies one problem associated with adding gender to an analysis of the work done by missionary women among Ukrainians in Canada. Methodist women

---

¹ Berger, p. 217.

² Saidak, p. 10.

165

such as Nellie McClung and the missionaries who attended lectures in Edmonton given by both herself and Mrs. Pankhurst, existed in a culture that was rapidly changing. Women were demanding the vote in Britain, America and Canada at the same time many were insisting on the innate moral superiority of Protestant Christian womanhood. Women moved into new arenas of occupational endeavour at the same time they were repeatedly admonished to not jeopardize their femininity with still inappropriate forays into the public world. Increased work and social opportunities for moral Christian women intersected as well with ethnocentric and racist attitudes towards non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants to Canada. That equation further complicates an easy examination of missionary women and their impact on targeted cultures. And the individual component cannot be ignored. Politics and religion informed each woman's belief system and commitment. But those factors were also filtered through individuals who expressed themselves in unique and often unexpected ways.

The social service mandate of missionaries could be held up as the ultimate justification for any excesses that may have resulted from zealous proselytization. But scholars concerned with and survivors of missionary endeavours express conflicting opinions: there is little agreement as to the true nature of missionary work and the eventual impact on those host societies. I have striven to sustain the focus of my thesis on the missionaries themselves while maintaining a stance that is sensitive to the issues of missionary impact. I consider my evaluation strengthened by appreciating the limits of missionary women's social context, the extent of their complicity and through expressing a sensitivity for the feelings and perspectives of the Ukrainian people in

Canada. According to critic Frances Swyripa, "the Anglo-Saxon, except in rare instances, remained an observer on the outskirts of the vital happenings in the lives of Ukrainians."³

I would be in error if this thesis indulged in 'observing' the lives of Ukrainians rather than exploring the work of the missionaries and further understanding the impact of that work upon Ukrainians and their communities in Canada.

Both Jane Hunter and Leslie Flemming maintain that more work needs to be done on the nature of missionary impact on targeted communities. They suggest that due to women's special nature and capacity for nurture the missionary enterprise may actually have drawn those women unexpectedly closer to the women in the cultures targeted for uplift.⁴ The example of Ethelwyn Chace in Alberta suggests that such cases, while rare, did in fact occur in Canadian Home Missions. Hunter also suggests that in questions of cultural imperialism we must be careful not to "inflate the powers of a few isolated Westerners to effect change upon an unresponsive host society."⁵ The cultural survival, but undeniable psychic trauma experienced by the Ukrainian Canadian community suggests that the consequences of missionary activity are multi-layered and generational.

Flemming agrees with Frances Swyripa's admonishment that we must also investigate missionary impact from the perspective of the host communities, not just the missionaries. Hunter has also done some theorizing around such a perspective. She

---

³ Frances Swyripa, Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1978), pp. 24-25.

⁴ Jane Hunter, "The Home and the World: The Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," ed. Leslie Fleming, Women's Work For Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984), p. 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

suggests that some Chinese girls in the post-Boxer era rejected the ideal of the home and Christian domesticity promoted by the foreign missions. Some of these young women were seen to adopt lives of political activism that mirrored the autonomous life of the single missionary women. In her discussion on impact Hunter also postulates that Black women in South Africa have embraced the ideal of an "inviolable Christian home", employing it as an ideological tool against apartheid labour policy that negatively affects black families.⁶ I would caution that if taken too far such strategies for inclusion could result in imposing a definition of how other cultures should define their own history. The theoretical perspective may be shifting towards a balanced understanding of missionary work but the epistemology of the historian is rooted in her own culture. Chinese and Black women are writing their own history. Missions historians must at least listen to their interpretations and definitions.

Hunter's and Hill's arguments around the domestic nature of many missionary endeavours and the culturally imperialistic nature of that ministry provided the starting point for this thesis. The conclusions drawn in the thesis concerning the domestic nature of missions among Ukrainians and how the conversion mandate was channelled through religious-inspired domestic education connect the work of women in the home field of Canadian missions with both Canadian and American foreign missionary fields. Ruth Brouwer's study of Presbyterian women in India supports my conclusions that the Home Fields were linked to the rise of English Canadian patriotism and the work of empire. The thesis can firmly conclude that through the spread of primary, religious and domestic

---

⁶ Ibid.

science education, Canadian Methodist missionaries among Ukrainians were committed to consolidating Canada for a Protestant Christ. Like their counterparts in China, Japan and India home missionaries practised a domestic-based gospel.

Many missionary women made careers of their work, especially in the Asian missions. But arguments that insist on the professional nature of such work, while at the same time disregarding the evangelical mandate of the missions, distorts the complicated reality of women's experience. Workers in the Ukrainian field saw themselves as performing uniquely gendered work and they also organized with male colleagues into a workers' organization. The scholarly argument concerning professionalism is neverending. This thesis maintains that the label of professionalism employed by Rosemary Gagan limits the level of analysis required to investigate the activities of women both in the home and engaged in public pursuits. In the case of the Ukrainian missions it promotes the social service activities of the W.M.S., thereby obscuring the conversion mandate of Canadian missions. These forty-four women were committed and dedicated workers. Their professionalism is a debateable topic.

Missions history is a relatively open field as regards the experience of women in the enterprise. In terms of the Home field of missions the theoretical material exists, thanks to the work of Brouwer, Gagan, Hunter and Hill, with which to conduct studies on the experiences of women missionaries within Canada. There is need for more investigation into how autonomous and potentially woman-centred these domestic missions were in relation to the foreign fields of both Canadian and American Protestant denominations. The nature of autonomy for women in the home missions is a question

unanswered by this thesis. There is theory concerning the degrees of autonomy experienced by women in the foreign fields.⁷ But at this stage of my research I am still experiencing a lack of evidence to support any parallel claims of a woman-centred community in the Ukrainian Home Missions. The Wahstao and Kolokreeka Diaries revealed a great deal about the community these women lived within. These and other sources warrant further analysis in terms of the possibilities for a woman-centred community existing within the larger missionary population.

Denominational differences have yet to be adequately examined by historians. Questions to be asked include the manner in which denomination affected the response of various groups of missions-minded women. Also of interest is to what extent those characteristics may have constrained or empowered individuals working on a volunteer basis for missionary societies and in the mission fields. In addition some missions-minded Canadian women appear to have been quite comfortable with both church and suffrage work. Jane Hunter has suggested that such was not the case in the United States. Finally, the Home Missions field as a whole is worthy of study. Ukrainian immigrants comprised only one of many targeted groups in Canada. And each denomination had its own strategy and mandate for working with Canada's immigrants and First Nations.

Missions history is an expanding field of scholarly enquiry that warrants serious and extensive investigation of the role women played in the enterprise. While missionary work may only have been conducted by a relatively small group of individuals their activities were often representative of the concerns and ideals of contemporary culture.

---

⁷ See Jane Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility.

The Home Missions enterprise cannot be isolated from Canadian history in order that such information not contaminate our heritage. Missionary Ethelwyn Chace closed her memoir with the following assessment of both her *memories* and the work she had recalled:

This yarn of mine seems to be concerning itself with everything else than our real work but that went on all through the months and years.⁸

This comment exemplifies the spirit of the material investigated for this thesis and the spirit in which we should explore their lives. The women of those far-away missions in east-central Alberta were representative Canadians who, in the words of one of their own, simply lived their work.

---

⁸ PAofA, Chace, Memoirs, p. 18.

APPENDIX 1

The following 1925 advertisement for the United Church of Canada illustrates the disproportionate numbers, as compared to other non-English-speaking groups, of missionaries and workers working with New Canadian (primarily Eastern-European) and Asian people in Canada. The numbers were already disproportionate before the union of the Protestant Churches in 1925.

CANADA FOR CHRIST

-1773 Missionaries and Assistants helping to Make Canada His Dominion.

Missionaries and Assistants

1,407 Missions	1,175- English-Speaking
81 Missions	185- Native
25 Missions	33- French
81 Missions	264- New Canadians
6 Missions	15- Rescue Homes*
27 Missions	87- Orientals
7 Missions	14- Immigration Centres**

THE UNITED CHURCH
OF CANADA
IS A MISSIONARY CHURCH

---

*most rescue missions focused on 'rescuing' Asian women from Asian culture

**these centres were located in urban areas where large numbers of immigrants regularly disembarked

Source: Compiled from The New Outlook, a United Church of Canada periodical. (June 10, 1925), p. 40.

APPENDIX 2

Population in Railroad Towns (of over 100 inhabitants according to Ethnic Origins, 1931)- towns of particular interest to this thesis.

<u>Town</u>	<u>Total/</u>	<u>Ukr/</u>	<u>Br/</u>	<u>Fr/</u>	<u>Aus/</u>	<u>Rum/</u>	<u>Pol/</u>	<u>Rus/</u>	<u>Ger/</u>	<u>Je/</u>	<u>Sc</u>	
Lamont	507	43	239	1	26	9	19	31	82	12	13	
Chipman **	284	114	104	2	-	-	-	7	-	36	7	11
Vegreville	1659	544	643	104	10	37	43	3	86	82	55	
Smoky Lk.*	366	291	37	4	-	12	8	-	6	-	-	
Bellis*	117	79	7	2	-	-	3	2	14	3	-	
Andrew	115	89	13	-	-	1	1	1	4	5	-	

Source: Martynowych, Orest. The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History. Occasional Paper No.10. Historic Sites Service: Alberta Culture, 1985. p. 283.

Ukr- Ukrainian	Pol -Polish
Br - British	Rus -Russian
Fr - French	Ger -German
Aus- Austrian	Je -Jewish
Rum- Rumanian	Sc -Scandinavian

*Smoky Lake and Bellis are the only communities in the area immediate to the W.M.S. missions at Wahstao and Kolokreeka and the G.B. Hospital at Pakan to possess at least 100 inhabitants in 1931. This was 14 years after the railway line north of the North Saskatchewan River was built, linking these more isolated communities to the southern communities of Vegreville, Chipman and Lamont.

**Vegreville is popularly known as a Ukrainian community. But a close examination of the chart reveals that this community was home for more British than Ukrainian people. It was the other European ethnic and religious minorities that increased the ratio of English-speaking to non-English-speaking peoples. But if we look at the populations of Smoky Lake and Bellis, and extrapolate from those numbers a composite for Wahstao, Pakan and Edwaud, it is clear that the more northerly communities claimed higher densities of Ukrainian settlers. Population statistics are largely unavailable prior to 1926.

APPENDIX 3

Educational, Religious and Professional Services available in Towns along the 1905 CNoR line(c.1930) and the 1917-1920 CNoR/CNR line- public schools, public/high schools, high schools, churches, hospitals, nurses/doctors in towns of interest to this thesis.

<u>Towns</u>	<u>Pu.Sc.</u>	<u>Pu.H.Sc.</u>	<u>Hi.Sch.</u>	<u>Chur.</u>	<u>Hosp.N/D</u>
Lamont (05)	-	1	-	2	1 3/7
Chipman (05)	1	-	-	3	- -
Vegreville (05)	1	-	1	6	2 6/11
Radway Centre (17)	-	-	1	4	1 2/5
Smoky Lake (17)	-	-	1	5	1 4/4
Edwand (17)	1	-	-	1	- -
Bellis (17)	1	-	-	1	- -

Source: Orest Martynowych, Source: Martynowych, Orest. The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1931: A History.
Occasional Paper, No.10. Historic Sites
Service: Alberta Culture, 1985. pp. 259 &
262.

APPENDIX 4

**Ethnic Origin of the Population of Alberta
(percentages 1901-1981)**

	1901	1911	1921	1931	
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	
British	47.80	57.49	59.80	53.21	
French	6.18	5.50	5.25	5.24	
Dutch	.51	.85	1.61	1.87	
German	10.73	11.13	6.01	10.18	
Italian	0.15	0.57	0.68	0.65	
Jewish	0.02	0.40	0.55	0.51	
Polish	6.64	0.61	1.22	2.89	
Russian	6.60	2.15	3.61	2.24	
Scandin.	5.40	7.90	7.56	8.13	
Ukrainian	0.87	4.70	4.05	7.64	
Other Eur.	1.93	3.77	5.90	4.48	
Asian	0.34	0.56	0.73	0.67	
Nat./Inuit	18.38	3.05	2.47	2.08	
Other	0.45	1.32	0.56	0.21	
	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
British	50.17	48.08	45.18	46.79	43.49
French	5.40	5.98	6.25	5.81	5.05
Dutch	2.57	3.13	4.17	3.60	2.94
German	9.76	11.49	13.76	14.19	10.53
Italian	0.61	0.64	1.13	1.52	1.20
Jewish	0.52	0.12	0.33	0.44	0.43
Polish	3.37	3.16	3.04	2.72	1.70
Russian	2.43	1.63	1.35	0.63	0.35
Scandin.	7.97	7.55	7.20	6.05	3.55
Ukrainian	9.03	9.26	7.95	8.32	6.18
Other Eur	4.79	4.10	5.43		
Asian	0.53	0.79	0.94	1.58	3.20
Nat./Inuit	1.58	2.26	2.14	2.74	2.71
Other	1.21	1.51	1.13	6.22	6.35

Multiple Origins 12.32

Source: Palmer, Howard and Tamara. Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity.
Saskatoon: Western Prairies Producer Books, 1985.

APPENDIX 5

Education and Work Experience of Forty-four Methodist Missionaries Among Ukrainians in East-Central Alberta. According to Work Experience, Training and Province of OriginWork Experience*

	Ont	N.S./N.B.	Newfound.	Alta.	Sask.	/B.C.
Teacher	8	-	3	-	-	1
Nurse	4	-	-	-	-	-
Deaconess	2	-	-	-	-	-
Trades	-	1	-	-	-	-
Other**	8	6	1	4	1	-

*Data was unavailable for five of the forty-four women.

**Other refers to the following: women possessing no prior work experience(usually in their mid to late twenties);women recently completed their training in High Schools and Normal Schools: those just trained at the Methodist National Training School. It is difficult to categorize these women as some had training but no practical experience and others had training and experience that overlapped several categories. This category also includes two women who had just received college and university degrees prior to entering the missionary field.

APPENDIX 5 - continued

Training*

	Ont.	N.S./N.B.	Newfound.	Alta.	Sask/BC.
Normal/ Public	9	1	2		- -
Meth.Nat. Training	13	1	2	1	- -
Teaching Certif.	6	-	2	-	- -
Victoria College	1	-	-	-	- -
Univ. of Toronto	1	-	-	-	- -
Nursing Course	4	-	-	-	- -
Bible College	1	-	-	-	- -
Ukrainian Language	2	-	1	-	- -
German Language	1	-	-	-	- -

*These figures do not reflect real numbers of women as some possessed multiple qualifications whereas others had only one. For example, Mary Fitzpatrick, a milliner from New Brunswick possessed both a high school education and later attended the Methodist Training School. One woman, Phoebe Code attended the Lillian Massey School, possessed a Second Class Teaching Certificate and went to the Methodist Training School. Code had 15.5 years teaching experience upon entering the missions, with eight of those as a principal. Lena Day, a teacher, possessed a First Class Teaching Certificate but also trained as a stenographer. And Eva Empey an accomplished pianist, with no prior work experience, had included in her qualifications the ability to read, write and sing in Ukrainian.

Source: United Church Archives, Biographical Files.

APPENDIX 6

Teacher Employment, Pupil Enrolment, Numbers of Schools and Established School Districts in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1896-1914.Teachers Employed

	<u>1896</u>	<u>1904</u>	<u>1916</u>
Manitoba	1,143	2,365	2,864
Saskatchewan	433	1,017	4,501
Alberta	-	729	3,978

Pupils Enrolled

Manitoba	37,987	64,123	93,954
Saskatchewan	12,796	31,275	111,059
Alberta	-	28,728	89,910

Schools

Manitoba	1,270	1,478
Saskatchewan	873	3,055
Alberta	570	2,027

School Districts

Manitoba	1,399	1,784
Saskatchewan	1,190	3,523
Alberta	746	2,360

Source: Marilyn Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perception and Canadian Policies," Phd. dissertation. The University of London, 1975.

As suggested by Barber, these statistics present some problems as teachers might be teaching in more than one school and pupils may enrol but not attend.

Source: Compiled from 2 hand-drawn maps. UCA, Methodist Church of Canada, Board of Home Missions, Box 9, File 11 [probably drawn by Ethelwyn Chace]; Mae Laycock, Bridges of Friendship, 1974. Housed in the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, University of Alberta, Edmonton and The Provincial Archives of Alberta.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Anglican Church Archives. Christ Church Cathedral, Ottawa. Women's Auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. Anglican Church: 1885-1935, pamphlet.

Anglican Church Archives, Christ Church Cathedral, Ottawa. Leaflet The (The Letter Leaflet). Vols. 31-32, November 1919 -July 1921. Women's Auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.

Anglican Church Archives, Christ Church Cathedral, Ottawa. Roxburgh, Margaret J. Women's Work in the Church of England: A Consideration of the Last Hundred Years. London: Unwin Brothers Limited, 1958.

Austin, Rev. Principal, A.M., B.D. of Alma Ladies College, St. Thomas, Ont. A Galaxy of Distinguished Authors in the United States and Canada. Woman; Her Character, Culture and Calling: A Full Discussion of Woman's Work in the Home, the School, the Church and the Social Circle; With an Account of Her Successful Labors in Moral and Social Reform, Her Heroic Work for God and Humanity in the Mission Field, Her Success as a Wage-Earner and in Fighting Life's Battle Alone; With Chapters on All Departments of Woman's Training and Culture, Her Claims to the Higher Education, and the Best Methods to be Pursued Therein. Brantford, Ont.: The Book and Bible House, 1890.

Aberdeen, Lady Ishbel. The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898. Ed. John T. Saywell. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1960.

Bland, Salem. The New Christianity or The Religion of the New Age. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. [1920]1973.

Campbell, Jean G. A Lively Story!: Historical Sketches of the Women's Missionary Society [Western Division] of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1864-1989. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

Cameron, Agnes Deans. The New North, An Account of a Woman's 1908 Journey Through Canada to the Arctic. Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1986.

Conor, Ralph. The Foreigner. Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd., 1909.

Cummings, Willoughby, Mrs. Our Story. Some Pages From the History of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, 1885-1928. Toronto, 1929.

England, Robert. The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement (1896-1934). P.S. King & Son, Ltd.: London, 1936.

Forbes, Jean Gordon. Wide Windows: The Story of the Woman's Missionary Society of The United Church of Canada. The Literature Department, The Woman's Missionary Society, 1951.

In His Service: St. Augustines' Lethbridge 1886-1976. Lethbridge: Lethbridge Anglican Church, 1976.

Knox, Ellen M., Principal of Havergal College, Toronto. The Girl of the New Day. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919.

Kennedy, Howard Angus. New Canada and the New Canadians. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. Ltd., 1907.

Laycock, Mac. Bridges of Friendship. 1974. Housed in the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, University of Alberta, Edmonton and The Provincial Archives of Alberta.

MacTavish, W.S. ed. Missionary Pathfinders: Presbyterian Laborers at Home and Abroad. Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1937.

MacGillivray, Janet T. "Women's Work for Missions," Reapers in Many Fields: A Survey of Canadian Presbyterian Missions, Ed. W.S. MacTavish. Toronto: Westminster Co., 1904.

McClung, Nellie L. In Times Like These. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

McClung, Nellie L. The Stream Runs Fast. Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1945.

McClung, Nellie L. Painted Fires. Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1925.

McLaren, Rev. E.D., D.D. "Home Mission Methods and Principles." Reapers in Many Fields: A Survey of Canadian Presbyterian Missions. Ed. W.S. MacTavish. Toronto: Westminster Co., 1904.

Methodist Missionary Society. Faith of Our Fathers: The Story of One Hundred Years of Victory. October, 1924.

Missionary Bulletin: Containing Letters from Missionaries and Missionary Superintendents to their Fellow-Workers at Home. Vol. II, No. 1-4, 1904-05 through Vol. XV, No. 1-4, 1919. Methodist Young People's Forward Movement For Missions, Methodist Missions Rooms: Toronto.

Missionary Outlook: Representing the General Missionary Society and the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada. Vol. XXI, no. 1. January 1902 through Vol. XLV, no. 8 August 1925. Methodist Mission Rooms: Toronto.

Montgomery, Helen Barrett. Women in American Protestant Religion, 1800-1930. New York: The MacMillan Co. Inc., 1987, orig. publ. date 1910.

Murray, Miss F.E. "The Church Work of Protestant Women in Canada." Women of Canada: Their Life and Work. Paris International Exhibition, Canadian Commission, Women's Department Under the Direction of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1900.

National Archives of Canada. Woman's Home Missionary Society. Presbyterian. Vol. 113-114.

National Archives of Canada. Mary Popp, Memoirs. MG31 H17, 1967.

New Outlook. Vol. 1, June 1925 - May 1926. Toronto: Ryerson Press.

Oliver, Edmund. His Dominion of Canada; a Study in the Background, Development and Challenge of the Missions of the United Church of Canada. Toronto: The Woman's Missionary Society and the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1932.

Oliver, Edmund. The Winning of the Frontier. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1930.

Oliver, Edmund Henry. The Country School in Non-English-Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan. Saskatoon, 1910-1915.

Patrick, Rev. W., D.D. "Home Missions in Manitoba and the North-West Territories." Reapers in Many Fields. W.S. McTavish Ed. Toronto: Westminster Co., 1904.

Platt, H.L. The Story of the Years: a History of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada: 1881-1906 Vol. I. Toronto, 1908.

Presbyterian and Westminster. Vol. 8, 1920. Toronto: Westminster Co.

United Church Archives. Biographical Files:

Addison, Margaret	Heather, Eunice Grace
Armstrong, Margaret A.	Hickman, Ethel M.
Ball, Elma, L.	Hawken, Elizabeth
Black, Emoline	Inglis, May W.
Boyce, Mary Anne	Laycock, Edith Mae
Cartwright, Caroline	Mattatal, Violet E.
Chace, Ethelwyn G.	McLean, Ella
Clarke, Ida M.	Munro, Jessie K.
Chisholm, Hattie	Nancekievill, Frances J. A.
Code, Phoebe	Patterson, Willa
Cawson, Louise	Robinson, Jeannie
Day, Lena	Robinson, E. Rubie
Dever, Mary S.	Sanford, Alice Amelia
Edmonds, Retta	Shuttleworth, Velettia A.
Empey, Eva L.	Snyder, Ida
Fennell, Margaret Belle	Stone, Florence E.
Ferguson, Sarah Ellen	Wagg, Martha P.
Fitzpatrick, Mary Elizabeth	Weekes, Edith A.
Follett, Pamela Ann	Yarwood, Mary
	Young, Dell

No Biographical Files

Gray, Fannie, S.	Irwin, Marion
Hind, Minnie	MacLean, Annie
	Tuttle, Martha

United Church Archives. Methodist Church of Canada, Board of Home Missions.

Box 6: Conference Missionary Committee Minutes.

File 3: Alberta Conference, 1914.

Box 9: Ukrainian Work

File 9: 1913-1917 The Second Annual Convention of Methodist Ruthenian Workers in Alberta August 5-8, 1913. Sixth Annual Convention of Ruthenian Workers, Wahstao, July 31, 1917.

File 11: Correspondence

Box 26:

File 2: Typescript Chapter "Immigrants from S-E Europe."

122
Address on Work Among New Canadians in Western Canada. Given by Rev. J.A. Doyle
Before the General Board of Missions October 18, 1921.

Reports by W.H. Pike on Work Among New Canadians, Alberta, 1924 "A Remarkable
Convention"

United Church Archives. Pamphlets.

Cnace, Ethelwyn G. Easter Day at Wahstao, April 1909.

Hunter, Rev. A.J., M.D., D.D. The Work Among Ukrainians. Woman's Missionary
Society of the Methodist Church, Rm. 410 Wesley Building, Toronto.

King, Bertha Pratt. The Worth of a Girl. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company,
1916.

Leonard, Edith Weekes. The Austrian People.

McClung, Nellie L. The New Citizenship. Political Equality League of Manitoba.

McClung, Nellie L. An Insistent Call. Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist
Church, Rm. 410 Wesley Building, Toronto, 1919.

Rose, W.J. The Early Home and Life of the Ruthenians. Woman's Missionary Society
of the Methodist Church, Rm. 410 Wesley Building, Toronto.

United Church Archives. Personal Papers.

Burwash, Margaret: Box 1, File 18

Dorey, George: Box 2, File 24

Gibson, Paul: microfilm

McGillivray, Janet: Box 1, File 1

Silcox, Louise, M.: Box 1, File 5

United Church Archives. Records of the Home Department of the Methodist Church
(Canada) Missionary Society. Finding Aid 10. Graham Rockingham,
"Introduction: Brief History of the Home Department," 1980.

United Church Archives. Manning, Henry, "The Changing Mind-Set of Canadian
Methodism," Canadian Methodist Historical Society: Papers. Vol. 2.

Woman's Century: Official Organ of the National Council of Women in Canada. 1918-
1921 inclusive. September 1918, Special Number: "A Series of Articles on Live
Subjects from Live Women of Canada". Toronto.

Women's Auxiliary to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. The W.A.: What It Is and What It Does. Popular Information Series No. 10., 1921.

Women's Missionary Society, Alberta Branch. The History of the Women's Missionary Society in Alberta. United Church of Canada, 1951.

Women's Missionary Society, Presbyterian Church in Canada. Our Jubilee Story, 1864-1924. Toronto, 1924.

Woodsworth, James S. Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Secondary Sources

Ahmed, Leila. "Western Ethnocentrism and Perceptions of the Harem." Feminist Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall, 1982).

Avery, Donald. "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

Barber, Marilyn. "The School in the Community: Rural Saskatchewan in the 1920's," Paper presented to The Canadian Historical Association, Vancouver, 1983.

Barber, Marilyn Jean. "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces, 1896-1918: Canadian Perception and Canadian Policies." Phd. dissertation. The University of London, 1975.

Berger, Carl. The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Boudreau, Joseph A. "Western Canada's Enemy Aliens in World War One." Alberta Historical Review. Vol. 12, No. 1(Winter, 1964).

Boyd, Lois A. and Brackenridge. Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status. Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1983.

Brouwer, Ruth Compton. "Opening Doors Through Social Service: Aspects of Women's Work in the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Central India, 1877-1914," Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia. ed. Leslie A. Flemming. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989.

- Bradbury, Bettina. "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885." Joy Parr. Ed. Childhood and Family in Canadian History. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.
- Brouwer, Ruth Compton. "Canadian Women and the Foreign Missionary Movement: A Case Study of Presbyterian Women's Involvement at the Home Base and in Central India, 1876-1914. Phd dissertation. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, microform, 1988
- Brouwer, Ruth. "The Canadian Methodist Church and Ecclesiastical Suffrage for Women," Canadian Methodist Historical Society: Papers, Vol. 2.
- Cohen, Marjorie. Women's work, markets, and economic development in nineteenth-century Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.
- Curnisky, Savelia. "How To Teach A Ukrainian." Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education Ed. Martin L. Kovacs. Canadian Plains Studies #8, Canadian Plains Research Center: University of Regina, 1978.
- Drucroq, Francoise. "The London Biblewomen and Nurses Mission, 1857-1880: Class Relations/Women's Relations." Women and the Structure of Society. Selected Research from the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women. Eds. Barbara J. Harris and Joan K. McNamara. Duke University Press, N.C., 1984.
- Eddy, John et.al., The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa first assert their nationalities, 1880-1914. London: Allen and Unwin, 1986.
- Emery, George N. "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement 1890-1914." The Bulletin, 26(1977), pp. 104-19.
- Emery, George N. "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians." Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring, 1971).
- Fast, Vera K. Missionary on Wheels: Eva Hasell and the Sunday School Caravan Missions. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1979.
- Flemming, Leslie A. "Introduction: Studying Women Missionaries in Asia," and "New Models, New Roles: U.S. Presbyterian Women Missionaries and Social Change in North India, 1870-1910," Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia. Ed. Leslie A. Fleming. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989.

- Gagan, Rosemary Ruth. "A Sensitive Independence: The Personnel of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1881-1925." Phd. dissertation. Ottawa: National Library of Canada [microform], 1989.
- Gagan, Rosemary Ruth. "A Lure to the Gilded Bower of Matrimony: The Education of the Personnel of the WMS of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1881-1925." unpublished paper, 1988.
- Glazer, Penina Migdal and Miriam Slater. Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987.
- Goresky, Isidore et. al., Eds. Ukrainians in Alberta, Vol. Two. Trident Press: Winnipeg, 1981.
- Hancock, Carol L. No Small Legacy: Canada's Nellie McClung blazing a trail for faith and justice. Winfield: Wood Lake Books, Inc., 1986.
- Headon, Christopher. "Women and Organized Religion in Mid and Late Nineteenth Century Canada." The Bulletin, 20 (1978), 3-18.
- Hill, Patricia R. The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1921. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1985.
- Hunter, Jane. "The Home and the World: The Missionary Message of U.S. Domesticity," Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia. Ed. Leslie A. Flemming. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989.
- Hunter, Jane. The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China. London: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Jaenen, Cornelius J. "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada: 1897-1919." Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West. Ed. David Jones (et.al.). Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1979.
- Keller, Rosemary Skinner. "Creating a Sphere for Women in the Church: How Consequential An Accommodation?" Methodist History. XVIII(January, 1980).
- Kostash, Myrna. All of Baba's Children. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977.
- King, Marjorie. "Exporting Femininity, Not Feminism: Nineteenth Century U.S. Missionary Women's Efforts to Emancipate Chinese Women," Women's Work

- for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia. Ed. Leslie A. Flemming. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989.
- Lehr, John C. "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in The Canadian West." Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques du Canada. Vol. IX, No. 2, 1977.
- Lehr, John C. "Ukrainian Houses in Alberta." Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Autumn, 1973).
- Martynowych, Orest T. The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History. Occasional Paper No. 10. Historic Sites Service: Alberta Culture, 1985.
- McIntire, C.T. "Approaches and Themes in the History of Missions," Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820's-1960's. Eds. John S. Moir, C.T. McIntire. New York: Peter Lang, 1988.
- McLaren, Angus. Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada 1885-1945. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.
- McPherson, Margaret E. "Head, heart and purse: The Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society in Canada, 1876-1925," Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West. Eds. Dennis L. Butcher et al. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Mitchell, Norma Taylor, "From Social to Radical Feminism: A Survey of Emerging Diversity in Methodist Women's Organizations, 1869-1974." Methodist History. XII (April, 1975).
- Mitchison, Wendy. "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence." Atlantis, 2 (1977).
- Nakoda Institute, Indian Education in Canada, Vol. 1, The Legacy. Nakoda Institute Occasional Paper No. 2. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
- Olender, Vivian "The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900-1925): Rural Home Missions As Agencies of Assimilation. Phd. Dissertation University of St. Michael's College (Toronto School of Theology) 1984. National Library [microfiche].
- Olender, Vivian. " 'Save Them For the Nation': Methodist Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation." Journal of Ukrainian Studies, 8, no. 2 (Winter 1983).

3 1 of/de 3

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISION^{SM} RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

Metro
OF CALIFORNIA

1480 COUNTY ROAD 6, BURNING WOOD, OHIO 44027 USA
TEL 812 488 7887 FAX 812 488 7887 TLR 518888488

- Olender, Vivian. "The Canadian Methodist Church and the Gospel of Assimilation: 1900-1925." Journal of Ukrainian Studies, 7, no.2(Fall 1982).
- Owen, Michael. "Keeping Canada God's Country": Presbyterian School-Homes for Ruthenian Children," Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West. Eds. Dennis L. Butcher et al. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985.
- Palmer, Howard. "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian views of Multiculturalism in the twentieth-century." Ed. Francis and Smith. Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation. Toronto: Holt, 1982.
- Palmer, Howard. "Strangers and Stereotypes: The Rise of Nativism; 1880-1920." The Prairie West: Historical Readings. Eds. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer. Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985.
- Palmer, Howard and Tamara, Eds. Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity. Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985.
- Palmer, Howard. Land of the Second Chance: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta. Lethbridge: The Lethbridge Herald, 1972.
- Pedersen, Diana. "'Keeping our good girls good': the Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920" Thesis(M.A.) Carleton University, 1981.
- Piniuta, Harry, Trans. Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978.
- Prentice, Alison and Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchison and Naomi Black."Continuity and Change in Women's Work." in Canadian Women:A History. Toronto: HBJ, 1988.
- Roberts, Wayne. "Rocking the Cradle for the World': The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto 1877-1914." A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880'-1920's. Ed. Linda Kealey. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979.
- Saidak, Patricia. "The Inception of the Home Economics Movement in English Canada, 1890-1910: In Defence of the Cultural Importance of the Home." unpublished M.A. thesis. Carleton University, 1987.
- Semple, Neil. "The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord: Nineteenth Century Canadian Methodism's Response to Childhood." Histoire Sociale-Social History, Vol. XIV, No. 27(May 1981).

Provincial Archives of Alberta. Edmonton. Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada. Acc.: 75.387, Box 12.

List of Workers at Wahstao, Edmonton, Kolokreeka, Bonnyville, and Radway, Item: 339

Sundry historical notes on homes, missions, and schools, Item: 340

Vol II of a diary kept at Wahstao 1908-11 Item: 357

Recollection of pioneer days at Wahstao in letters from Ethelwyn Chace to Edith Weekes [memoir], Item: 358

Diary of events kept at Kolokreeka, 1912-16, Item: 359

Sketch Plan of premises at Kolokreeka, by W.H. Pike, 1917, Item: 382

"Work Among the Ruthenians - Is It Worthwhile?" an article by Will H. Pike, October 20, 1915, Item: 420

Pamphlet re: Ruthenian Home, Edmonton, Item: 421

Stephenson, Frederick C., Mrs. One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, 1824-1924. Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, The Young People's Forward Movement, 1925.

Strachan, Elizabeth. The Story of the Years: History of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada 1906-1916. Vol. II. Toronto, 1916.

United Church Archives. Annual Reports of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada. 1903/04 to 1923/24 inclusive. The Quadrennial Report of the Woman's Missionary Society 1921 to 1924. Toronto: William Briggs, Methodist Book and Publishing House, Wesley Buildings.

Shack, Sybil. "The Immigrant Child in the Manitoba Schools in the Early Twentieth Century." Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Papers. Series III, No. 30, 1973, Ed. Linda McDowell. pp. 17-31.

Sharek, Walter P. "Primula-Heinsburg District." Ukrainians in Alberta. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Pioneers Association of Alberta, 1981.

Sharistanian, Janet. Ed. Gender, Ideology and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives. Contributions in Women's Studies, Number 67. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.

Strasser, Susan. Never Done: A History of American Housework. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Strong-Boag, Veronica. The New Day Recalled: The Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939. Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books, 1988.

Strong-Boag, Veronica. "Peace Making Women: Canada 1919-1939." Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives. Ed. Ruth Roach Pierson. New York: Croon Helm, 1987.

Swyripa, Frances. "From Princess Olha to Baba: images, roles and myths in the History of Ukrainian Women in Canada." unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Alberta, 1988.

Swyripa, Frances. Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works. Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1978.

Urchak, Stephen. "Boys' and Girls' Homes in Vegreville," in Ukrainians in Alberta. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1981.

Vicinus, Martha. Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985.

END

26 | 05 | 93

FIN