

**THE BIG PROJECT: JAMES M. SHAVER AT ALL PEOPLES' MISSION,
WINNIPEG, 1921-1941**

by

SHIRLEY FRANCES PAYMENT

A Thesis
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in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
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MASTER OF ARTS

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**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
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Abstract

This thesis is a case study of All Peoples' Mission and its work with non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants in Winnipeg during the inter-war years. It examines the progress and faith of the Social Gospel at a local level during a period in which most historians believed the Social Gospel movement had declined. However, as one examines the citizenship training programs at the Mission, it becomes evident that the liberal social service interpretation of the Social Gospel was practised and successful during James M. Shaver's superintendency. Shaver's goal was two-fold, Christianization and Canadianization, but to Shaver citizenship took priority over conversion. He was firmly committed to the goal of Canadianization through citizenship training into British democratic ideals. The United Church became more concerned with consolidating and organizing after church union and managing finances during the Depression than supporting programs to enhance the Christian Canadian nation it had earlier envisioned. The church became more concerned with the cost of Social Gospel programs like those at All Peoples' Mission and demanded that the Mission justify its work with non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants by increasing membership. This case study elucidates the uneasy tension between evangelism and social service that characterized Social Gospel thought which ultimately affected the success of Christian Canadianization of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants at All Peoples' Mission.

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INTRODUCTION

“Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness and Canada will be added unto you.” So declared Reverend James M. Shaver in 1938 as he sat preparing another report to the United Church on the work which had engaged him at All Peoples’ Mission for twenty-seven years. Shaver had taken over the mission at a critical time in its history following the First World War and the Winnipeg General Strike. Concerns for the future of Canada impressed Shaver and other Social Gospellers with the importance of advancing Canadian citizenship. Introducing immigrants and working people to the values and practices of being Canadian necessarily meant converting immigrant working class to values of their brand of Christianity if Canada was to become the Christian nation Methodist and other Protestant groups envisioned. The two, Canadian citizenship and Protestant Christianity, were integrally intertwined for most Methodists. Shaver himself recognized the dual role of the church when working with immigrants, particularly non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. Given their dire circumstances priority had to be given to meeting their basic needs while educating them in terms of their rights as Canadian citizens. While he fervently hoped that the immigrants would be converted to Methodism through their experience with Methodist missions, he recognized that the ultimate goal might prove elusive. Shaver never lost his vision of the Christian nation, contending this was a fight for more than Canadian citizenship; it was a fight for “the awakening of the church of the need of missionary work today” among non-Anglo-

Saxon immigrants.¹ But by prioritizing the social needs of the immigrant over conversion, Shaver contributed to the tension between those measuring success in terms of converts to Methodism and those who were rewarded by the social service rendered.

This thesis focuses on immigration and citizenship. Its unique contribution is in providing a case study of the role All Peoples' Mission played in Christian Canadianizing of immigrants through the Social Gospel from 1921 to 1941, years during which historians have perceived a decline. The uneasy tension between evangelism and social service that characterized Social Gospel thought and that animated debates among church figures also affected relations between All Peoples' Mission and the Methodist Home Missions Committee and its United Church successor. Working with immigrants at the mission, Shaver learned first hand the burdens poverty and discrimination placed upon recent arrivals. He also appreciated the potential for conflict and social problems that isolation of these immigrants from the Canadian mainstream threatened to provoke. To prevent this, he became firmly committed to the goal of Canadianization through citizenship training into British Canadian democratic ideals. Convinced that social reconstruction would provide the essential first step to the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth, Shaver saw the mandate of All Peoples' Mission as encouraging leadership among immigrant communities to initially spread the democratic ideals.

Shaver advocated a liberal democratic conception of Christian Canadian citizenship. For him good citizenship entailed the ability of community leaders to promote democratic

¹ Rev. James M. Shaver, "Flying Aces Ages 11 & 12," 1938, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 48 (Financial Camp).

participation among new Canadians. Shaver was less committed to a more radical program of citizenship based on national demands for social justice and equality - like J.S. Woodsworth, William Ivens or Beatrice Brigden; from his days in Fort William Shaver conceived of a society based on three interests, capital, labour and public. The size of the immigrant population in the urban and rural west necessarily constrained the ability of All Peoples' Mission to reach all or even most of those in need of social service, democracy and education directly. But the cultivation of a new generation of leaders, fully familiar with a democratic Canada would hopefully be converted to achieving the Kingdom of God on earth, and thereby would ultimately extend the Mission's reach far beyond the numbers of people who ever utilized its facilities.²

Shaver's goal of Canadianization and his strategy of promoting Christian leadership were not easily evaluated. Through the 1920s, as historians such as Richard Allen have explained, the hold of the Social Gospel on the institutional church was weakened by the ambiguities of the church on labour conflict, by defections to the Labor churches, by the appeal of an older style evangelism at the expense of social service, and by the administrative distractions of church union.³ In this context, it was easy for Methodist and later United Church officials to ask All Peoples' Mission, like other Social Gospel agencies, to account

² See Michael William Butt. *"To each according to his need, and from each according to his ability. Why cannot the world see this?": the politics of William Ivens, 1916-1936* (MA, University of Winnipeg, 1993), Allison Campbell, *Beatrice Brigden: The Formative Years of a Socialist Feminist 1888-1932* (MA University of Winnipeg, 1991) and J.S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbour: A Study of City Conditions, A Plea for Social Service* (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1911).

³ Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 355.

for the resources it absorbed. Through the Depression, the United Church's strained finances led it to be even more demanding in wanting numerical results. How had All Peoples' Mission contributed to the growth of church membership? Of course, Shaver could not easily satisfy accountability in such terms. His commitment to social service did not easily or necessarily translate into increases in church membership rolls.

All Peoples' Mission, located at several sites in Winnipeg's North End, was the first Protestant mission of its kind to do institutional work with immigrants in Canada.⁴ Through the work of the Mission and its Superintendent, Reverend James M. Shaver, this thesis explores the often contradictory and conflicting objectives of the Methodist and then the United Church and its most prominent mission between the years 1921-1941.. All Peoples' Mission epitomizes the struggle to carry out the Social Gospel message at a local level where the concern for service to mostly non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants often contradicted the larger ambitions of the Methodist Home Missions Committee for social control and proselytization.⁵ Both could agree on the importance of Canadianizing and Christianizing recent immigrants and the urban poor, but their understandings of the task and evaluations of results often were opposed.

This conflict was due to the existence of two competing visions of God's Kingdom on earth and the means to attain this desired goal - individual evangelism and a more liberal Social Gospel which focused on social service. The early evangelical concept envisioned a

⁴ A. R. (Daisy) Gordon, "Beginning of the Institutional Work of All Peoples' Mission 1904," MNWO-UCA All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 57.

⁵ The Home Missions Committee was based in Toronto.

Canada comprised of British citizens subscribing to British cultural values and mores as well as adhering to the Methodist tradition. As immigrants of non-British stock began to flood into the country a more practical and tolerant Social Gospel vision emerged which was prepared to accept that while there could be more than one path to God's truth, all could become good citizens of God's Kingdom. There remained, however, the explicit expectation that Canada would remain a British Kingdom. Even adherents to the more tolerant Social Gospel were not willing to abandon the assumptions of British cultural superiority and the dream that through evangelism, citizens of God's Kingdom on earth would be converted to Methodism. The first waves of immigrants that flooded into the West challenged this vision. Some Methodists began to recognize that while not all immigrants could be converted to Methodism, all could be assisted in the transition to becoming good citizens of the Heavenly Kingdom to materialize in Canada. While there was still an undercurrent of expectation that British culture and political democracy would remain dominant, the Social Gospel movement was more tolerant and all inclusive than the evangelical vision which implicitly excluded and rejected other religious traditions and cultures.

These competing visions are reflected in the work of All Peoples' Mission, where first J.S. Woodsworth and then later Shaver exemplify both the emergence and the continuation of the Social Gospel movement despite the periodic resurgence of the evangelical view at church headquarters in Toronto. Indeed, the reliance of many historians on documents from church headquarters may have led to the mistaken belief that Social Gospel was in decline during the inter-war period. Despite difficulties, the Social Gospel remained alive and active where it was most important, namely, at the community level working with people in need.

During its half century of existence, the focus of work at the mission alternated between commitments to Christian evangelism on the one hand and social service work of the Social Gospel on the other hand. Changes in direction were very much a consequence of social conditions as well as the convictions of the individuals responsible for mission affairs. In brief, immediately prior to Woodsworth's arrival at the mission there was a flood of immigration. Woodsworth's Social Gospel was a response to the desperate needs of these immigrants. Woodsworth left in 1913 prior to World War I and the consequent halt in East European immigration. Concomitantly central headquarters recommended and implemented the shift towards a more evangelical approach. Following the Great War, European immigration resumed to assist Canada in its economic development. Recognizing the desperate need of these people for help in adjusting to the new country, the Home Missions Committee from church headquarters decided to appoint Shaver to implement Social Gospel policies at the mission. Later, however, as fear grew that this population might overwhelm British culture, there was a resurgence of evangelism. The goal was now to convert immigrants to Methodism and later to the United Church; services were only provided to adherents of the church. The church hierarchy was so convinced that others would recognize the value of their vision that they would readily convert in order to participate. While the focus on evangelism had now become dominant, headquarters at Toronto ostensibly continued to support social service programs. Simultaneously, however, it limited funding, demanded adherence to the evangelical goal of increased church membership and restricted services to members only; it adopted an exclusionary approach. Although this contradiction created difficulties for Shaver, he nevertheless stubbornly continued to provide services

through an outreach vision of the Social Gospel. This contradictory approach by central headquarters may well have led many historians to conclude that the Social Gospel was in decline post World War 1. The practical work of Shaver in meeting the needs of his constituents, however, demonstrated that the Social Gospel remained alive and well from 1921-1941.

In order to understand the theology and world view behind the mission, an explanation of the Social Gospel is necessary. The Social Gospel movement in Canada was part of a larger movement throughout Europe and North America. The Social Gospel was about achieving social salvation. Leading thinkers strove to “revive and develop Christian social insight and apply them to the emerging forms of a collective society.”⁶ The Social Gospel movement in Canada had common roots with Ritschlian theology in Germany and the reform movements which came out of Europe in the late 1890s.⁷ The ideas of men like William Booth, founder General of the Salvation Army, Thomas Hughes, Walter Rauschenbusch, Arnold Toynbee, Benjamin Jowett and T. H. Green were influential in inspiring ministers and some laymen of their generation to take on social responsibility for those less fortunate than themselves.⁸ Salem Bland of Canada and R. J. Campbell of Britain were also part of this

⁶ Richard Allen, *The Social Passion* (Toronto: University of Toronto, Press, 1973), 4.

⁷ Ritschlian refers to a German theologian Albrecht Ritschl (1889), who advocated a theology based on its ethical social content rather than the metaphysical interpretation. He “held that religious judgments are judgements of value and that Christian theology should rest mainly on an appreciation of the inner life of Christ.” Philip Babcock Gove, ed., *Webster's Third International Dictionary* (Massachusetts, Merriam-Webster Inc. 1981).

⁸ See: William Ivens to Rev. A. W. Kenner, dated July 19, 1951 in MNWO-UCA, Biographical file. Also, Sarah Z. Burke, “Science and Sentiment: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1910,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, n.s. v. 4, (1993), 83.

group. They promoted the Social Gospel as a permanent addition in the development of Christian religion.⁹ They strove to raise social consciousness and endeavoured to live a Christ-like way of life. To serve your fellow man before self was a philosophy of the Social Gospel that was central in building and strengthening friendships. Demonstrated love facilitated all common enterprises. Modern thinkers of the time were able to convince many that the road to inner salvation was by an outward demonstration of good works. The Social Gospel was an evolving dynamic movement that needed a “theology to make it effective,” and the theology needed the Social Gospel to “vitalize it.”¹⁰

The Social Gospel was concerned with sin but defined as individual and social. It emphasized the immanence of God not only with the individual but society. Early Social Gospellers were evangelical but the main changes occurred in response to the social crisis of injustice. It can best be characterized as any Christian group or person who sought the redemption of the world and its structures. They strove to eliminate the causes of injustice as well as to minister to the immediate needs of victims of injustice. They believed God is as concerned with the world as with the salvation of individual souls. Injustice was considered a sin against society which called for reform.

Historians have observed that three main theological streams emerged from this movement -- conservative, progressive, and radical. The conservatives were more evangelical and individualistic, the radicals often Christian socialists and the progressives held

⁹ Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28*, 4.

¹⁰ Walter Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1917), 1.

an uneasy and tense compromise position between the two extremes, often supporting parts of the platforms of the other two. The uneasy tension between evangelism and social service evolved into a complex kaleidoscope which constantly shifted over time. Richard Allen defined it as a call for believers to “find meaning in their lives in seeking to realize the Kingdom of God in the very fabric of society.”¹¹ Allen’s approach drew on the liberal reformist interpretation of American historians such as C.H. Hopkins, Thomas Abell, Alan F. Davis and others to formulate his opinion. He worked on the assumption that the Canadian Social Gospel movement developed as part of the Great Awakenings and revivals which had spread throughout North America, Britain and parts of Europe. Allen’s interpretation of the Social Gospel is based on the immanence of God. Life was no longer predetermined by the other dimension; rather, man was in control of his destiny and could create heaven on earth.

Other scholars have expanded upon Allen’s basic definition. They argue that it was a gospel of accommodation. David Marshall accepted a definition proffered by Albert Carmen, the general superintendent of the Methodist Church in Canada, who claimed that it was a Gospel of Justice. “It was deliberately designed to ward off secular socialism” and to entice the urban masses by offering the Christian message of hope based on the example of the Sermon on the Mount.¹² Marshall’s study which extends back to 1840 argues that the Social Gospel movement dissipated slowly over time. While churches and clergy made

¹¹ James H. Marsh, ed. *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), s.v.

¹² David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 69. See also Harry Antonides, *Stones for Bread: The Social Gospel and its Contemporary Legacy* (Jordan Station, Ontario: Paideia Press, 1985), Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) and Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988).

accommodations in demand to popular culture, they in effect, eroded the strength of faith from within.¹³

Harry Antonides, S.D. Clark, Ramsay Cook, and Brian McKillop also view the Social Gospel as a gospel of accommodation. Cook has recently revisited the subject and noted that nearly everyone who has written about the Social Gospel in Canada has adopted the Marxian account. This refers to the notion that “socio-economic changes necessitated alterations in the teaching of Protestantism.”¹⁴ He argues that if the Social Gospel is to be understood, the intellectual origins have to be traced as thoroughly as has “its response to the evils of industrial capitalism.” It is small wonder there is so little consensus on the interpretation of the Social Gospel, for as Cook notes, “most of what has been written so far has been concerned with the sociology of the Social Gospel - its understanding, critique and proposals for the reconstruction in society.”¹⁵

Phyllis Airhart's 1992 exposition is similar but argues that the Social Gospel movement evolved when evangelical consensus collapsed in the nineteenth century. She asserts that Canadian Methodism changed over a long period of time. Emphasis gradually shifted from inner social salvation to religious social reform. By analysing Methodist literature, Airhart concludes that Methodists traditionally strove for both piety and social concern but that as “Protestants divided their energies along lines of support for salvation of

¹³ Marshall, 19.

¹⁴ Ramsay Cook, “Ambitious Heritage: Wesley College and the Social Gospel Re-considered,” *Manitoba History*, 19 (Spring 1990), 2.

¹⁵ Cook, 8 and 9.

souls or the social order, Methodists increasingly became identified with a social Christianity.”¹⁶ Social salvation was the distinguishing feature of the Social Gospel movement.¹⁷

According to John Webster Grant and Benjamin Smillie, the Social Gospel was always concerned with building the “Kingdom of God.”¹⁸ It was a theology that interpreted the “Kingdom” to come through the defeat of Antichrist. Protests against acts of injustice were affirmations of God working for a measure of justice and equality of opportunity for one and all.

What happened to the Social Gospel movement is equally as complex a question. The question is: Did the diffusion of the Social Gospel result in the weakening of its influence within the church itself? Some historians will argue that it did, others attribute its change to social economic responses and argue that its influence waned somewhat, while others argue that its influence was still in the church.

Richard Allen posits that the movement rose to prominence in 1914 and began to decline in 1926. He cites a number of factors for provoking the change: a delayed disillusionment with World War One, factional strife in labour and agrarian sectors, economic decline, secularization of social work, the formation of the United Church in 1925, and a

¹⁶ Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992): 9.

¹⁷ Airhart, 104.

¹⁸ See John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 196; “Unauthoritative Reflections on The United Church’s Story,” *Touchstone*, 12 (no. 1 1994), 5, and Benjamin Smillie, *Beyond The Social Gospel* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1991), 13.

general sense that doing good was a losing battle in a time when large scale organizations began ordering society.¹⁹ Church workers were weary and the idealism of the Social Gospel was somewhat tarnished when interdepartmental strife and factional disputes arose during the printers' strike at the Methodist Publishing House in 1921. The church's advanced social policies were held up to "ridicule by vindictive conservatives and labour alike."²⁰ By 1928, Allen contends that the movement was in retreat and reconsideration.

Other historians examining Canadian Protestant history have attributed the gospel's decline to a myriad of reasons. David Marshall, in *Secularizing the Faith*, viewed the decline in the Social Gospel movement as due to the church's concern for maintaining membership, while relaxing their standards in an increasingly secular society. He argues that people were "not willing to submit to what they considered to be standards too exacting, responsibilities too demanding and doctrines too other-worldly." The church, he said, failed to reach the labouring and poorer classes. The artisans and working class placed their hopes in unions instead of the gospel.²¹ The Church was no longer relevant to people in their struggle.

Harry Antonides, Director of Research and Education for the Christian Labour Association of Canada, lays the demise of the Social Gospel at the feet of liberal Christianity with its social service approach. He asserts that in placing the immanence of God in man to serve the needs of man, religion nullified itself by straying from praise and service to God. Liberal Christianity denied the absolute sovereignty of biblical revelation - "the meaning and

¹⁹ Richard Allen, "Social Gospel" *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed.

²⁰ Allen, *The Social Passion*, 178.

²¹ Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 4, 147.

authority of the Word of God is for all of life.” Social Gospel adherents, he says, were so committed to the ideals that they lost touch with reality. “Instead of accepting the tension between the real and the ideal, between the existing social order and the Kingdom of God, they anticipated the ideal by concluding that it was already potentially given in the real.”²²

Antonides claims that intellectual meddling with the fundamentals of Christian faith caused the failure of Protestant Churches to penetrate Canadian civilization with the Spirit of Christ.

Ramsay Cook in *The Regenerators* examined the nature of social criticism and social reform thought in English speaking Protestant Canada. These leaders, he concludes, achieved the unintended consequence of creating a secular city instead of the city of God on earth as they had hoped. Similar to Antonides, Cook contends that once religious leaders focused on the application of the gospel rather than paying attention to the doctrine they were in fact making the church irrelevant “in a world where other institutions were better equipped to perform the socially useful roles once fulfilled by the church.”²³ The Social Gospel, while espousing a new Christianity, was an attempt to save the church’s role in society by defining a new mission for it. Phyllis Airhart’s slightly different approach elaborated upon the consequences of the Methodist Church’s established gospel. She argued that their radical departure from revivalist piety broke Methodists from their traditional moorings. With the erosion of the nineteenth-century evangelical consensus, Methodists increasingly identified with social Christianity and pursued social salvation rather than individual salvation. By doing so, “Canadian Methodism found its tradition had become part of new streams, and part of

²² Antonides, 3, 84.

²³ Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 4 and 6.

new approaches to religious life and practice within Canadian Protestantism.”²⁴ Once the Church began to adapt its religious beliefs and institutions to social, cultural and intellectual changes, it unwittingly set the forces of change within the church itself in motion.

Brian Fraser, in examining a group of Presbyterian Christian progressive leaders who were responsible for mobilizing the “church to create a Christian nation,” concluded that they only met with very “limited success in the church,” and of no consequence in society. For the Presbyterians, Fraser notes, World War One shattered their vision for a Christian Canada.²⁵

John Webster Grant has argued that the evangelical concern for individual salvation remained alive among the laity of the Methodist and then United Church. As he noted in *The Church in the Canadian Era*, the Social Gospel collapsed under its own weight. He argued that the “movement had never penetrated far beyond the clergy and the service professions.” It did not get a commitment from the middle class, the labour sector, or the farmers.²⁶ He noted that by the 1930s “enthusiasm for the conversion of the world largely evaporated. By the 1950s the old moralism commanded little more than lip service, and in the 1960s the Sunday Schools collapsed.”

Grant attributed the fall of the Social Gospel to the growing dichotomy which arose between the advocates of evangelism and social action. By the 1930s, he says, they were

²⁴ Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 144.

²⁵ The leaders were Charles William Gordon, John George Shearer, James Alexander Macdonald, George Campbell Pidgeon, Robert Alexander Falconer and Thomas Buchanan Kilpatrick. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, x, xiii.

²⁶ John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), 122.

competing for attention; by the 1960s they were talking past each other.²⁷ He asserts that the lack of communication was the root cause of the fall of the Social Gospel within the church. His argument confirms that there was an ongoing battle between evangelism and the social service approach in the Social Gospel movement and that the social gospel was still alive.

Until recently, historians have generally focused on three themes, the accommodation of religion to an increasing secular society, a gospel concerned with Canadian social policy, and a gospel practising social work at a more practical level. More recent historians have examined the Social Gospel more specifically.

New works point to different directions in scholarship. Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau bridge the gap between the discontinuity and continuity debate of the Social Gospel after the First World War. They maintained that historians focusing on secularization completely miss the fact that almost every facet of social reform from the 1920s until the late 1930s was propelled by Christian leadership under the aegis of the Protestant churches. Moreover, they argue that what has “been interpreted as evidence of theological and therefore religious decline was in fact a resurgence of popular forms of spirituality [which stressed] a direct emotional experience of the Divine and antagonistic to elite religion as identified by the niceties of theological controversy and denominational identity.” Christie and Gauvreau view the Social Gospel as a bridge devoted to uniting evangelism with social service. They stress that the Methodist Church and later the United Church recognized the “increasing complexity

²⁷ John Webster Grant, “Unauthoritative Reflections on the United Church’s Story,” *Touchstone*, 12 (January 1994), 9.

and interdependence of modern society and its redefinition of the individual in terms of social experience in the wider transatlantic context of the reinterpretation of liberalism in the early 20th century.” The redefinition of the individual through the tenets of the Social Gospel was a way in which Protestant ministers were able to make religion accessible to ordinary men and women during an age of great insecurity when the settled social order was . breaking down by increased mobility, industrial circumstances and technological innovations. Christie and Gauvreau argue, the accommodation of the new social evangelism not only “safeguarded Christianity but also marked a period of renewal of Canadian Protestantism and its unprecedented expansion into all facets of social and cultural life.”²⁸

In a more recent essay David Plaxton submits the notion that traditional evangelical forms of the Social Gospel existed through a complex mix of “evangelicalism, rational modernism and accommodating liberalism.”²⁹ He argues, most adherents, not feeling comfortable with either the modernist or fundamentalist fringe, chose a middle ground. This, he said, is what formed the foundation of the United Church of Canada. The moderate, liberal evangelical stream existed within the church even though many historians argued that by the 1920s evangelicalism had practically withered away. Plaxton attributed earlier interpretations to the fact that for the most part, historians had only examined the Canadian Social Gospel movement through the eyes of dissenters and those outside of the mainstream. The

²⁸ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill Queen’s University Press, 1995): xi, xii, xiv, xii.

²⁹ David Plaxton, “ ‘We Will Evangelize With a Whole Gospel or None’ Evangelicalism and the United Church of Canada,” in G. A. Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 107.

mainstream, he points out, are the ones who form the foundation of a religion not the actions of dissenters and those outside of mainline religion. Plaxton's argument supports Christie and Gauvreau's assertion "that any religion which diverge[d] from a coherent theology constitute[d] a benchmark of spiritual decline."³⁰ Plaxton argued that the Social Gospel movement held steadfast, although many historians did not recognize it in its transition. More current analysis into the Social Gospel delves into specificity of gender in the Social Gospel interpretation.

Recently Sara Burke examined the question of gender in social service work at the University of Toronto from 1888-1937. She asserted that settlement work at the university was used as a mechanism to entrench the belief that males were society's future leaders, and that "they alone could bring the force of their education" to solve Canada's social problems. Settlement work as taught by faculty members conveyed a message that social reform was a man's responsibility but not a "man's career." Burke also pointed out that Protestant church colleges insisted that their clergymen possess a sound academic grounding in the social sciences. Social sciences, it was reasoned, underpinned social evangelism, thereby providing expertise for the "formulation of social legislation," which could help "transform the scope and responsibilities of the modern state." The Social Gospel message of finding "the highest good," by serving your fellowmen was fundamental at the University of Toronto until 1937.³¹

³⁰ Christie and Gauvreau, xi.

³¹ Sara Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 7 and 48.

Burke's study serves to support Christie's and Gauvreau's argument that the Social Gospel message was disseminated through Protestant churches at local government welfare councils in the practical administration of "orphanages, community centres, and public health clinics." The social service aspect of the Social Gospel can also be linked to the field of social work. Canadian Protestantism held influence through the Social Service Council of Canada until the mid-1930s. The Canadian Association of Social Workers officially formed in 1935, only after funding capabilities of the Protestant churches and their Social Service Councils were drained. Protestant churches now argued that it was the responsibility of governments to "relieve private institutions and to shoulder the burden for sustaining the commonweal."³²

While churches could no longer afford to support the mission in their social outreach programs, they assumed that the goal of a Christian nation would continue under government financing. Further, financial support within the limited means of the church did continue as evidenced through the ongoing work at All Peoples' Mission. As governments assumed responsibility for almost every kind of assistance, historians too easily forget the fact that churches, progenitors of social work, continued in modest ways through their Canadianizing and Christianizing programs.

Other works are important to note because they provide evidence that the amelioration of social concerns was not just limited to religious organizations. Canadian intellectuals along with Protestant leaders fought for social and political reform. Michiel Horn's 1980 study documented a largely forgotten part of a Canadian social-democratic

³² Christie and Gauvreau, 43, 160 and 202.

intellectual organization - the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR). The LSR, formed in 1931 in response to the Depression, advanced the notion that Canada needed democratic socialism to survive. Members fought for an “expanded role of government in the economy and society.” They argued that only the government could control the growth of corporate concentration, thereby protecting minority rights. The League was concerned with the reconstruction of Canada as were Protestant Church leaders. The country was in a mess and great debates on how to change Canada was foremost in most members’ minds. Many of the same goals of the Social Gospel were reflected in the LSR Manifesto.³³ The LSR was short-lived, however; Michiel Horn attributes its demise mainly to the formation of the CCF which took up the fight for victims of injustice. One of the League’s lasting legacies was the publication of two books, *Social Planning for Canada* (1935, reissued in 1975) and *Democracy Needs Socialism* (1938).

Social Planning for Canada is worth mentioning, as it outlines in part an attempt by a group of individuals to create a nation which they hoped would ameliorate some of the social and economic inequalities that existed amongst the masses of Canadians (including immigrants) during the Depression. The authors argued for a democratic socialist system where government by the people “was for the people.”³⁴ The work presented an analysis of the current system and what socialist planning really meant. Although the impact of the ideas presented by the members of the LSR are difficult to discern, we know that members made

³³ Michiel Horn, *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada, 1930-1942* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), vi, viii and 220.

³⁴ Research Committee of the League for Social Reconstruction, *Social Planning for Canada* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Limited, 1935), vi.

lasting contributions to Canadian society. For example, Leonard Marsh, social scientist, professor, director of an interdisciplinary social-science research program at McGill (1930-1941), a founding member of the League for Social Reconstruction, and author of the influential report on social security, left us with the basis of the Canadian Social Security system, which was passed into law in 1966.³⁵

Reform was uppermost in the minds of many Canadians during the inter-war years. A significant study by Allison Campbell serves as a fine example of one woman's devotion to reform. Campbell examined the life of Beatrice Brigden, a Quaker and a devout political and social activist. Her early feminism spanned from religious reform to social reform and finally political reform. Brigden was an executive member of the CCF, was a strong force in organizing women's groups to participate in the political process throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Campbell noted that Brigden maintained her faith in the social service gospel message which was validated by her experiences as a social service worker.³⁶

The secularization of social service work once provided though church initiatives has been examined by a number of historians, namely, James Struthers, Glenn Drover and Allan Moscovitch, P.T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, and Doug Owram. James Struthers' most recent study of Ontario concluded that the evolution of the welfare state could not be attributed to one single group of reformers. Rather, he argued that there were many influences which

³⁵ See: Michiel Horn, *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada, 1930-1942* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), League for Social Reconstruction. Research Committee, *Social Planning for Canada* (Toronto: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1935) and Barry Ferguson, "Social Scientists and Public Policy from the 1920s Through World War II," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 15 no. 4 (1980-1981), 3-17.

³⁶ Allison Campbell, "Beatrice Brigden: The Formative Years of A Socialist Feminist 1888-1932," (MA University of Winnipeg, 1991), 155.

helped shape Canadian social policies. Using six different paradigms for his analysis, he found that none were perfect.³⁷ Struthers conceded that although the ideas of the Social Gospel were a contributing factor, it was only part of the many forces which affected the spirit of the times. A study by Allan Muscovitch and Glenn Drover view social welfare work as a tool for capitalists. While examining the political economy of social welfare in Canada they point out that social welfare reforms actually structure inequality for capitalism rather than “alleviate inequalities and injustices of capitalistic societies.”³⁸ Doug Owram’s analysis of Canadian intellectual activity and the state from 1900-1945 identified four key elements which were responsible in reforming Canada. First were the social, economic and demographic realities, secondly, the change in philosophical precepts, thirdly, the reaction to that change and lastly, current political and economic realities which “channelled reform in certain directions and defined the details of the modern Canadian state.” This process began, Owram observed, as “religion and philosophy yielded to the concepts of technique and management.”³⁹

This shift is evident in one of Canada’s early social reformers. Rooke and Schnell’s biography of Charlotte Whitton described Whitton’s guidance of the Social Service Council

³⁷ James Struthers, *The Limits of Affluence: Welfare in Ontario, 1920-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), Glenn Drover and Allan Moscovitch, “Inequality and Social Welfare,” in *Inequality: Essays on the Political Economy of Social Welfare* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), See also, Howard Buchbinder, “Inequality and the Social Services,” in *Inequality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People’s Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), “Humanitarianism in History: A Response to the Critics,” in Walter I. Trattner, ed., *Social Welfare or Social Control?* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, *The Politics of Turmoil* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

³⁸ Moscovitch and Drover, eds. *Inequality*: vii.

³⁹ Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 328, 331.

of Canada through to the development of the Canadian Welfare Council, a period from 1922-1941.⁴⁰ Rooke and Schnell focused on the feminist side of political thought in institutional development. Whitton, they point out was often at odds the social scientific community. Though she fought for reforms, she was caught in a period when a major shift in Canadian social and political values was occurring. A biographical profile of Thomas C. Douglas, Baptist minister, politician and premier of Saskatchewan, also provides insights into how the progressive Social Gospel played out in Canadian society.⁴¹

These individuals, amongst many others, schooled in Social Gospel principles moved into a secularized arena arguing for the government of Canada to take responsibility for generating comprehensive national programs for social betterment and community development in which housing, planning and public education would be top priorities. They argued that Canadians had a right to live in safe, healthful, comfortable houses and neighbourhoods, even if they could not afford them, and that the state had a responsibility to ensure that good housing conditions were available to everyone. All were individuals who carried a belief in the Social Gospel demand for social justice. Perhaps it was the success of the Social Gospel in building commitment to social improvement that led so many of its adherents to embark upon careers in social work. People like Charlotte Whitton, J.S. Woodsworth, Leonard Marsh and others took the concerns that had formed within the Social

⁴⁰ P.T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, *No Bleeding Heart: Charlotte Whitton a Feminist on the Right* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 1.

⁴¹ Douglas studied for the ministry at Brandon College in 1924 where he was exposed to and embraced the social gospel. See L. H. Thomas, ed., *T.C. Douglas, the Making of a Socialist: The Recollections of T.C. Douglas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1982) and I. McLeod, *Tommy Douglas: the Road to Jerusalem* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers (1987).

Gospel context into new areas. As James Struthers said, “welfare evolved from an uncoordinated structure of private charity, houses of refuge and local poor relief into one of our most complex and controversial bureaucratic structures.”⁴² These structures were influenced by the message of the Social Gospel that embraced the creation of a “Christian social environment where individual and social salvation became one.”⁴³ Although church membership may not have attained the desired numbers, the United Church, nevertheless, maintained its influence through institutional structures and its continued commitment to Christian Canadianizing programs.

The Social Gospel, in its various aspects, has received considerable attention from historians but historians have not often investigated the application of the Social Gospel in the mission field, and as such, have implied that the positions of the parent church characterized all those who worked in its cause. There is practical reason for this, as most mission records have been lost or are currently unavailable. But because of this, there has been a tendency to evaluate the role and actions of various missions in terms of the stated goals of their parent churches. This method overlooks the actual activities and goals of the missions themselves which could differ markedly from those of the parent church. Indeed, the missions’ visions of society and the means needed to bring this vision to reality could be in conflict with those of the parent church. While the parent Methodist Church and later the United Church tried to withdraw from social action and have the state assume greater responsibility, the leaders of All Peoples’ Mission remained convinced of the need for strong social action. By

⁴² Struthers, 261.

⁴³ Harry Dodd, “Report of Committee on Evangelism and Social Service.” in MNWO-UCA, Vertical file.

concentrating on the stated goals of the parent church rather than examining the records of the actual missions themselves, the ideals and practice of the Social Gospel have largely been portrayed by scholars as in decline by the 1920s and virtually gone by the 1930s. An examination of the archival collection of All Peoples', a mission that was dispensing actual services to the immigrants, the poor, and the needy provides abundant evidence to the contrary. Indeed, All Peoples' Mission was deeply grounded in Christian idealism throughout the 1920s to the 1940s, a period of supposed decline.

The next chapter presents the Methodist/United Church view of nation building and an brief overview of their attitudes, before, during and after World War 1. It also includes an introduction to Shaver and his view of nation building, before his arrival in Winnipeg. Chapter three looks at James M. Shaver and nation building at All Peoples' Mission and the challenges he faced as he implemented his view of Christian Canadianizing. It includes a brief background of the mission, staff and programs. Work at All Peoples' mission was based on a gender division of labour. Women were entrusted with the job of Canadianizing immigrant homes. They were responsible for teaching kindergartners and young women leadership skills to impart the art of Canadian homemaking and domestic skills. In addition, women workers were expected to deal with problems arising from immigrant homes. As problems became more complex Shaver lobbied the United Church's national Training School and Department of Deaconess work for professional social workers rather than the traditional nurse-trained deaconesses the school provided. But for men, while they were social workers, they were also involved with evangelizing and creating male Christian leaders. The programs at the mission emphasized the use of athletics and study for boys to create leadership. Shaver

believed that what boys learned on the sports field would shape the rest of their lives. This chapter also discusses girls work, kindergartens, mothers' clubs and social work. Chapter four focuses on Boys' and Men's work, as well as rural and urban outreach programs. This thesis demonstrates the concern for the development of Christian Canadian leadership and how that leadership translated differently for young men and women and the way leadership training was used to integrate immigrants into Canadian society.

CHAPTER TWO

JAMES M. SHAVER AND THE METHODIST VIEW OF NATION BUILDING

To realize the creation of the Kingdom of God based on the teachings of the Social Gospel, Methodist General Conference devoted serious attention to their citizenship and Canadianization programs. In particular, the Church's Committee on Evangelism and Social Service issued major reports on these issues to the 1914 and 1918 meetings. Even before he took his post at All Peoples' Mission, James M. Shaver was actively engaged in the church's Canadianization and social service initiatives as superintendent of the Wesley Institute in Fort William and as Convener of the Standing Committee on Immigration. He along with other leaders of the Methodist Church sought to construct new meaning and values during and after the devastation and brutality of the war in order to more effectively attain the ultimate goal of Christian Canadian citizenship.

When Methodists first entered into the foray of immigrant work, their intent was to assist Methodists immigrating to Canada. However, the focus shifted considerably prior to World War One, as immigrants from the very different cultures of southern and eastern Europe arrived. As these numbers grew, the population of those of British stock fell in comparison to the newcomers, threatening the Methodist vision of a nation built on a foundation of British culture, Protestant religion and democratic government. World War One exacerbated these concerns as Britain and their colonies went to war with many of the homelands of these immigrants. The rise of Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution raised

a new fear that Communism could spread and undermine hard-won democratic freedom and Christian beliefs. The next wave of immigrants following the Great War convinced the leadership of the Methodist Church that they must intensify their role in both assimilating these new immigrants and building a nation based on British tradition, democracy and Protestant Christianity. After the war, church leadership worked for a great spiritual revival, not only to assimilate immigrants but to restore the spiritual health of the Canadian nation as "God's vehicle for the establishment of His Kingdom."⁴⁴

METHODIST VISION OF NATION

Creating God's Kingdom in Canada was critical, as Methodists believed Canada was part of God's plan to civilize and Christianize the world. Canada was to serve as an example. In order to attain their definitive goal of Christian Canadian citizenry, Methodist leaders believed that the nation must contain an underlying spiritual unity. That solidarity could only be achieved by an expansion of a Canadian national consciousness tied with the unity of Christendom. Canada was to be a righteous nation, a nation for the good of the people. Canada, they asserted, must be a Christian nation and to become Canadian each citizen was to be a Christian.⁴⁵ Canadianization and Christianization were two sides of the same coin. Of course, the Christianization they called for was a Protestant Methodist one. All those who came into Canada were expected to integrate Protestant Methodist views into their psyche.

⁴⁴ Mary Vipond, "Canadian National Consciousness and the Formation of the United Church of Canada," *The Bulletin*, 24 (1975), 6.

⁴⁵ Vipond, 6.

Tied to this vision was the responsibility for moulding the character of the people which would determine Canada's future. That character, Methodist leaders argued, must be moulded by the churches.⁴⁶ A real national spirit could only be developed when moral and spiritual factors were instilled properly. Therefore, they saw as their first and foremost duty to "deepen the roots of religion in the hearts of the people."⁴⁷ Methodist church leaders developed a plan for a Kingdom of God in Canada based on the tenets of the Social Gospel, and a theology of hope, love and harmony. They thought that Christian principles would reign within the nation and would ultimately spread throughout the entire world. Church leaders believed Canadians could be forerunners in advancing the brotherhood of men while maintaining the British tradition of democracy and Christianity.

This vision was threatened when immigrants flooded into the country prior to World War One. Between 1900 and early 1912, 2,118,712 immigrants settled in Canada; of these, 543,404 arrived from countries outside of Great Britain and the United States.⁴⁸ Changing demographics caused alarm for Methodist church leaders, as many of the immigrants came from south and east European countries. They came from countries soaked in the culture of centuries, steeped in spiritual qualities that British Canadians did not understand. Many were thought to be dominated by the shackles of Catholicism and tied to the yoke of serfdom. Church leaders assumed that immigrants were ignorant of the first principles of civil liberties

⁴⁶ Vipond, 6.

⁴⁷ "Report of the Committee of Social Service and Evangelism," *Journal of the Methodist General Conference* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1918), 334.

⁴⁸ Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 299.

and any sense of duty of citizenship. Such immigrants were seen as threatening their British Canadian culture.

Although Methodists considered their views enlightened on immigration, they, nevertheless, assumed an air of superiority toward newcomers. They believed the immigrants were largely illiterate, that they held strong religious prejudices and were ignorant of scripture. They thought their moral standards were low and that they possessed few aspirations beyond their next meal.⁴⁹ Immigrant presence posed a threat to the Methodist vision of a Canadian Christian country.

As immigrant numbers increased, so did local hostility and racial discrimination. Church leaders believed that if they did not take responsibility, the “country would deteriorate morally and fall into utterly irreligious ways,” threatening their vision of a Kingdom of God on earth.⁵⁰ Immigrants were only regarded as labourers to advance the material prosperity of the country and to coincidentally secure a small bit for themselves. No one really looked beyond the physical contribution. The challenge was to mould these people to a pattern acceptable to the Canadian Methodist view of nationhood.

In order to attract immigrants to their church Methodists changed their policy from an exclusive evangelical approach to a more liberal inclusive one where the obligation of service to one’s fellowman superseded those of an individual. They built institutes to Canadianize foreigners. The purpose was openly stated, that they were meant “to bind our

⁴⁹ Alexander Sutherland, *The Methodist Church and Missions in Canada and Newfoundland* (Toronto: Department of Missionary Literature, 1906), 235.

⁵⁰ Sutherland, 225.

new fellow citizens, not to our particular church but to our nation and to the Christianity it professes.”⁵¹ Of course that Christianity was the Methodist Protestant model. The hand of friendship was extended and work with immigrants grew to new proportions.

Methodists concerned themselves with larger social and industrial conditions affecting the country. The faults and injustices of the capitalistic system was creating great unrest and bitter resentment. One of the most devastating issues was that of poverty. Poverty had escalated after the large influx of immigrants prior to World War One, and as a result immigrants were amongst the most economically deprived citizens of the country. Methodist leaders thought it incumbent upon the church to take up the cause for those who could not speak for themselves. At their 1914 General Conference meetings, the Committee on Evangelism and Social Service declared poverty a social crime and condemned the current economic system. They asserted that since the “means of production became equal to supplying the needs of the world,” there was no reason for abject poverty to exist. Want existed only because industry had not developed any “form of cooperation and partnership” in which the workers would in a “democratic fashion, share in control, in profit and loss.”⁵²

Therefore, the committee concluded that inadequate remuneration caused conditions for abject poverty, slum housing, inadequate nutrition, ignorance and illiteracy, and furthermore, an exclusion from minimum standards of adequate living. The committee argued that the exclusion of so many from the minimum essentials of decent living was in

⁵¹ W.F. Osborne, “A Work From An Outsider About All Peoples’ Mission, Winnipeg,” in *Practical Christianity*, 1910-1911, in MNWO-UCA-APM, Box B, file 1.

⁵² “Report of Committee on Social Service and Evangelism,” *Journal of the Methodist General Conference* (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1914), 407 and 408.

itself an explicit denial of both Christianity and democracy. Methodists fought for a moral economy based on the principles of the Social Gospel, which would give all a decent living and protect the earth. Their immediate task was to create a system what would minister to the welfare and well being of all people.

When World War One erupted in 1914, attitudes shifted considerably. Prejudice and discrimination reared its ugly head. Certain immigrants were no longer favoured because of intense nationalism. Because Canada was at war with many homelands of the immigrants, fear exacerbated hostility towards them. War hostility, the rise of Communism, and the Russian Revolution all served to intensify that fear. The fear was fuelled by the notion that possible subversives existed among immigrants, some of whom were actually interned during the war. The rise of ideas that seemed alien, especially those of Marxism and Communism, could undermine Canadian democracy and British tradition and cause a serious threat to the religion of Jesus. Germans and immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian empire were persecuted. The Slavic population was suddenly considered a threat to Canadian national life. What really concerned Protestant leaders was that immigrants would bring about the downfall of British culture, democracy, and Christianity. Methodists were convinced that democracy, Christianity and Canadianization were integrally intertwined. Because government had not taken leadership in Canadianizing “immigrant communities into the larger life of the Dominion,” it was largely left to private agencies and Protestant churches to set the direction for citizenship in this great nation.⁵³ The church felt responsible for assimilating “this foreign element,” and rightly so due to Christian focus and Christian element.

⁵³ Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1979), 142.

Moreover, because of disruption in family life, particularly for non-English speaking immigrants, church leaders felt the righteousness of their mission. They believed that divorce, separation, and desertion had increased, juvenile delinquency had escalated, as had the rate of immorality. Church leaders noted that more children were left unsupervised and family support systems had deteriorated. For example, leaders in the community observed that “vocational training, guidance in recreation and play, religious instruction and education,” normally directed by the parents was now lacking. It seemed appropriate that assistance from outside agencies was essential to maintaining Canadianization. Due to anticipated needs in family services, the Committee on Evangelism and Social Service recommended that each ministerial candidate in their colleges be required to take practical courses to deal with family problems in the community.⁵⁴ Together, they could find solutions and keep their vision intact.

In order to protect their vision of a Christian Canadian nation and the goal of the Social Gospel, church leaders believed that Anglo-Saxon peoples and British principles of government were essential to creating and maintaining a Kingdom of God on earth. One of the avenues to accomplish this goal was through education, particularly for non-English speaking immigrants. Protestant leaders passionately advocated education as a prescription for Canadianization. They urged governments to become involved. Education, church leaders argued, ought to be sponsored through a federal government agency and guided by leaders in education, politics, church and labour. This group could determine “common ideas

⁵⁴ “Report of Committee of Evangelism and Social Services,” *Journal of Proceedings of the Tenth General Conference of the Methodist Church* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1918), 340.

on what makes good citizenship,” and thereby guide all educational movements, national in their significance.⁵⁵

At their 1918 meeting, the Committee on Social Service and Evangelism drafted a blueprint for post-World War One reconstruction of Canada. In it they developed a series of recommendations for a unifying process through schools. The committee’s recommendation rested on public schools, community centres, community councils, educational programs, literature, language, compulsory school attendance and child welfare. Education for children and adults was paramount to addressing problems besetting modern industrial life, they argued. The Methodist Church urged government to become actively involved in education and pointed to the failings in the present public education system. The committee proposed establishing community centres in public schools as a beachhead in enacting the Canadianization process.

Public schools could serve as the hub for community activity, thereby maximizing resources. The Provincial Departments of Education were encouraged to provide leadership by organizing lectures and supplying literature appropriate to each community. Community centres, they pointed out, would provide centres for serious discussions on issues affecting the community and double as a venue for entertainment. They could be places for “clean games”, sports fields could be developed, along with spaces for informal social gatherings. They could hold well-equipped libraries with books, magazines, reading and writing rooms. Centres such as this would benefit the “character and conduct of the individual,” thereby

⁵⁵ “Committee on Evangelism and Social Service,” *Journal of the General Methodist Conference* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1918), 339.

benefitting the whole community. Many of the recommendations made by the Committee on Evangelism and Social Service appear to have been modelled on a pamphlet prepared by Hugh Dobson, a member of the committee.

Hugh Dobson's pamphlet recommended that Dominion, Provincial and Municipal governments should set as their objective the "health and happiness, development, productivity and unification of the Canadian people." They could be achieved by a Canadianization programme based around the school in each province. Secondly, he said, the government ought to declare openly that the purpose of a Canadianization program is for the "mutual benefit of all, to encourage and appreciate each other and develop a love of the country." He also suggested that the government appoint a special committee of the Department of Education, with appropriate funding, to aggressively promote a Canadianization program and community centre movement.

The community centre movement envisioned would involve the whole community by using the school as the focal point. It was suggested the Department of Education take the lead by promoting and helping organize community councils, from which an executive could be struck. The teacher could act as secretary of the council and take the role of community organizer.⁵⁶ The community council could act as an umbrella for other organizations and, without affecting their autonomy, could serve as a nucleus for unification.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Hugh Dobson, "The Community Centre and the School as an Instrument of Canadianization," (Toronto: Department of Evangelism and Social Service of the Methodist Church, 1918), 2 and 3. MNWO-UCA APM-Box B, file 60 "Social Issues".

⁵⁷ Organizations such as: Rural Education Association, Farmers Societies, the Red Cross, local social service clubs, boys and girls clubs etc. Dobson, 2.

It was suggested that community councils could also organize educational opportunities for the community. For example, they might provide night classes in the study of English, Literature, History, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and other vocational skills with available local resources. The process of democracy could be illustrated by using schools at election time. Voting at schools would not only demonstrate to students that the act of casting a ballot was the supreme exercise in citizenship but would also create efficiencies by saving the government and municipalities large sums of money for renting voting places.⁵⁸

By using the school as a centre it would reiterate the fact that the function of the school is to make citizens.⁵⁹ Becoming a citizen meant learning a common language so that people would be informed about issues affecting the country. It did not mean that immigrants had to give up their language but only that they should learn English for the formation of a common base for citizenship. The Committee on Evangelism and Social Service recommended that "instruction of the lower grades of all schools in Canada be conducted in English."⁶⁰ This was deemed the easiest way to acquire a working command of English.

In addition, the committee suggested that one million dollars be allocated over a five year period to a special committee of the Department of Education for the explicit purpose of promoting the benefits of a unified Canadianization movement using the school as the "symbol and centre." Pamphlets were to be printed in a number of different languages and

⁵⁸ Dobson, 3.

⁵⁹ Dobson, 2.

⁶⁰ *Journal of the Methodist Conference*, 1918, 338.

distributed throughout the schools. To increase the effectiveness of this program, the committee suggested that a special commission be appointed to prepare “well illustrated booklets on Canadian ideals, standard of living, method of government, history of the country, and great leaders and heroes.” As well, the community council could assist schools by purchasing new equipment and technology, such as the gramophone, stereopticon and pathoscope. It was felt young peoples’ interest would be retained and the rural community would develop an “esprit de cour.”⁶¹

The Committee on Evangelism and Social Service thought the Department of Education could disseminate literature on “economic and social relations” to homes, vocational guides tailored specifically for each community and promote the benefits of what a consolidated school system would bring to their development. Ideally, the committee suggested, the dominion and provincial governments assist by publishing well illustrated books on Canadian citizenship which would include Canadian ideals of “personal, family and national life.” It was suggested that this literature be printed in the language of the immigrants and deposited in the schools and libraries for people to use.⁶²

The committee also recommended that French and English governments prepare a common book of history to promote the use of great masterpieces in French and English in the secondary schools. Also, they should set up an exchange program called “Canadian Comrade Schools,” whereby non-English Quebec schools would correspond with schools in the “English portion of Canada.” As well, the committee recommended that the Dominion

⁶¹ Dobson, 3 and 4.

⁶² Dobson, 3.

Government be asked to provide travelling scholarships for all provinces to encourage active exchange for a few weeks between the French and English segments of Canada. It was hoped that students travelling with the escort of their teachers would be welcomed officially by the towns they would visit. Programs such as this would encourage national unity and promote a greater understanding of each other's culture.

The committee encouraged that "school attendance be made obligatory in all provinces; and that the age limit be raised from fourteen to sixteen years in all public and high schools." They argued that "uneducated or half-educated citizens posed a handicap not only to the country but to themselves as well." It was also an appropriate time for educators to review the whole question of national education, especially in light of the "changed and changing conditions which are inevitable." The committee suggested that educational authorities review the question of educational training in conjunction with the recent Royal Commission report on technical or vocational training. Adequate provision for educational training was an immediate priority if the nation wanted her citizens to make a valuable contribution to "the world programme."⁶³

The committee also explored the impact of new technology. Moving pictures was a new phenomenon, and the church recognized the value of this new form of education, but with a cautionary note. It warned that if the use of this powerful medium was "not turned to good account," it could serve as a demoralizing agency. In that light, the committee

⁶³ "Report of Committee on Evangelism and Social Service," *Journal of the Methodist General Conference* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1918), 338-341 and 346.

recommended that all churches collaborate to “organize a motion picture bureau, national and if possible, international in scope.”⁶⁴

Advocacy for education was not the only issue the church addressed, although it was a priority; they also dealt with the issue of child welfare at their 1918 meeting. Methodist leaders recommended that a Dominion Health Board and Child Welfare Bureau be established throughout the provinces. These agencies would be responsible for studying child welfare and enacting programmes to conserve and develop “human resources of Canada.” Child mortality and disease was preventable, as were mental and physical defects, ignorance and illiteracy, shame and impurity. There was no reason for untrained workers, vacant playless lives, poverty and slums. They only existed because federal, provincial and municipal governments were indifferent to human welfare. The Christian Church, they stated, must deliver a message in very explicit terms that “public indifference is the cause” and that their Department of Evangelism and Social Service in Child Welfare publicize Child Welfare exhibitions to every congregation. These concerted efforts were the beginnings of social action committees in the church.

While the war was in progress, Methodist Church policies changed from the practical tolerant Social Gospel vision back to the evangelical vision which focused on individual personal salvation. Serious doubts were raised about the efficacy of the liberal view of the Social Gospel during the war. Even S. D. Chown, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, questioned Methodism’s course on social Christianity. After his tour of military hospitals and trenches in 1917, he reminded the church “that Christian life is God inspired and

⁶⁴ *Journal of the Methodist General Conference*, 1918, 340-341 and 346.

God centred.” He said that the course of “making man, not God, the centre of our spiritual universe,” was insufficient. Soldiers asked, “How could God be omnipotent and loving if the war was allowed to drag on?” A Christian message of personal salvation was the only one that gave a measure of comfort to spiritually troubled soldiers. They were not particularly interested in the betterment of society through political and economic redress in the heat of the war.⁶⁵ Only an evangelistic message could ease doubts in the presence of a God.

The Methodist Church was profoundly affected and divided by the war. On the one hand, considering itself as the national church, it felt committed to patriotism in national interests. But at the same time, the church could not help but be critical of militarism and human failings. After the war, some Methodists expressed deep anxiety “over the future of Methodism in the country.” The social, economic and political upheavals just added fuel to the unsettled theological and ecclesiastical conditions. Some Methodist church leaders called for a return to aggressive evangelistic programs, but the country was far too fractured by geographic, ethnic and class tensions to “revitalize a core spirituality” on that basis alone.⁶⁶ Pressing social needs had to be addressed.

Simultaneous with the social and economic crisis in post World War One society there was a growing crisis within the church itself, it was caught between evangelism and social need. Many Methodists were disillusioned following the war, questioning the identity and the role of the church. They were losing adherents, society itself was changing, industrialization was wreaking havoc with traditional attitudes to work, employment

⁶⁵ David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 160.

⁶⁶ Semple, 406 and 407.

opportunities and traditional values and morals. Rural society was collapsing, forcing country folk to the cities in search of employment. But returned veterans were also searching for scarce jobs at the same time when immigration was again on the increase. The result was high unemployment, inadequate pay, and civil strife. These conditions supported those who insisted that the church needed to return to its social action role. In fact, not only moral and economic chaos, but renewed immigration increased their concern to maintain their position as leaders in the nation. The emergence of communism, strikes and labour unrest all combined to convince Methodists that they must increase efforts to Canadianize and Christianize. Their concerns were centred around the sheer number of immigrants relative to the decreasing proportion of British Protestants, the lack of their experience with democracy due to their peasant backgrounds and their proclivity to segregation. Many came from autocratic monarchies and had no experience with freedom and democracy. They were woefully lacking in education and too easily controlled by the Catholic church. All these perceived problems mitigated against assimilation into the democratic Christian nation building vision. These issues, coupled with growing dissension amongst Protestant churches because of the prospects of church union, called for strong leadership.

In response Methodists launched an aggressive campaign to “enlist the lives of the masses of people outside the Church in the active service of the Kingdom of God.” They believed they could imbue non-English immigrants of the nation with their convictions so they too could join in becoming the living soul of the nation. It was, leaders declared, the “imperative duty of the pulpit” to restore a sense of personal responsibility toward humanity and to hold as central, “the supremacy of moral law...to the Divine being.” The avenue was

to offer “the peace of heaven through Christ assured to the heart of the Spirit of God, as the source and inspiration of a life of perfect love.”⁶⁷ The General Superintendent, Rev. S.D. Chown, in his address, urged General Conference to support the League of Nations Society of Canada, to assure other religious organizations that they would cooperate in teaching ethical principles upon which a national character must rest and accept as their “highest duty to implant ideals commensurate with the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven.” Methodist Church leaders sincerely believed that history was on their side; that they might be ahead of their time, but with education, economic growth and spiritual guidance, the world would eventually conform to their views.⁶⁸

They created a new vision, a new social Christianity. A Christianity based on individual salvation while providing social services and leadership programs to immigrants and the needy. The actual vision, however, was sharpened and clarified, due to the fact that they had a crisis on their hands. Not only was their British culture and religion threatened by foreigners, but the possibility of western Canadian churches breaking ties with those in the east was intolerable.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ S.D. Chown, “Quadrennial Address of General Superintendent,” *Journal of the Methodist General Methodist Conference* (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1922), 175, 179, 184.

⁶⁸ Chown also reported on the extent of their work with European foreigners. In cooperation with the Presbyterian Church, Methodists had All Peoples’ Missions in Stellarton, N.S. Sydney, B.C. and some work among many nationalities in Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.; they also had missions among the Italians in Montreal, Toronto, Niagara Falls, Welland Thorold, Bridgeburg, Copper Cliff and among various European nationalities in Montreal, Quebec, Ottawa, Hamilton, Fort William and Port Arthur, Ontario; Whitemouth, Beausejour, Winnipeg, and Vita Manitoba, Regina, Insinger, Yorkton, Calder, and Hafford, Saskatchewan, Edmonton, Bellevue Alberta, and Turner Institute and Norwegian Mission, Vancouver, B.C. with another five rural missions in Northern Alberta. “Report of Home Department of Missions,” *Journal of Proceedings of the Eleventh General Conference of the Methodist Church* (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1922), 268.

⁶⁹ Vipond, *The Bulletin*, 14.

Church leaders placed their hopes in the Western Canada, as they had identified it as the frontier and the future home of millions of Canadians. But they feared that sectionalism would leave the region unprepared for renewed immigration after the war. Moreover, the Winnipeg General Strike provoked fears among many that Bolshevism had taken root in the region. They realized that if Canadianization was to succeed, other measures needed to be implemented before the restrictions placed by the War Measure Act were lifted. Various options were proposed. For example, Thomas D. Jones suggested in the *Christian Guardian* that the Government ban foreigners in Canada from holding meetings and publishing literature in a foreign language after they had been residents in the country for a ten to twelve year period and that the government should restrict entry to those who knew the English language and had "a reasonable knowledge of our democratic form of government."⁷⁰ He advised schools to cultivate a Canadian spirit by using the flag, especially among foreigners and opposed the establishment of foreign schools. He recommended that the school term be increased to twelve months of the year and that Government openly state the nature of the programme. This would disarm suspicion among the non-English speaking immigrants and engender support from the people.⁷¹ Not everyone agreed with the direction the church was taking back to social action. Literature indicates strong opposition existed within the ranks of General Conference. For example, a prominent Methodist layman delivering an address

⁷⁰ Thomas D. Jones, "Shall We Develop a Polyglot Canadianism?," *Christian Guardian* (15 January 1919), 7.

⁷¹ Ibid. Further reference to an Immigration Policy outlined by representatives of the Home Mission and Social Service Boards of the Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches and Canada and presented to the Government of Canada, March 1922 can be found in *Building the Nation*, W. G. Smith (Toronto: Canada Congregational Missionary Society, 1922), 195-197.

in one of the Methodist churches in Toronto alleged that the Methodist Church had no mandate to “meddle in industrial problems.” The church was to “teach religion, to lay emphasis upon the things of the Spirit, to give up her time and her energy to preaching the gospel.” Moreover, he insisted the church’s demand for cooperation and service between capital and labour would lead to communism and would only be one short step from Bolshevism. General Conference, in a statement to the *Christian Guardian*, responded by saying that they had “authority to say something about the ethics and religious significance of industrial and economic relations and situations as they [existed].” They insisted the only possible way out of the nation’s moral and economic morass was to inject something of the spirit for which Methodism stood.⁷² The majority in Methodist General Conference believed that it was imperative that the church take leadership in Christianizing the social order. They viewed the circumstances as an opportunity to regain their relevancy and to re-establish credibility as the divinely appointed leaders in nation building.

Furthermore, the church felt it had a special obligation to recapture former combatants back to God’s service, in addition to assimilating immigrants. They not only felt a special obligation to the soldiers but also a sense of duty and obligation “toward the whole national community.”⁷³ They were determined to influence the behaviours of individuals and governments in the name of Christianity. In their 1918 national campaign, Methodists reiterated their commitment to increase the spiritual health of Canadians and to “add one hundred new members to the church and another one hundred thousand to Methodist Sunday

⁷² “The Methodist Programme Criticized,” *Christian Guardian*, 7 (May) 1919, 6.

⁷³ Vipond, *The Bulletin*, 24 (1975), 5.

schools.”⁷⁴ These goals, along with the anticipated arrival of great numbers of European immigrants prompted Methodist church leaders to “determine the future direction of religious and national life.”⁷⁵

Methodists greatest challenge, then, was to “assimilate over onehundred and ten races into beings similar to the Anglo-Saxon stock that [was] the backbone of the country.” “Poles, Russians Ukrainians, Jews, Germans and others,” were encouraged to adopt the traditions, outlook and spirit of the Methodist church.⁷⁶ This meant a “blending of diverse elements of the various peoples of our Dominion into the unity of a national life.” Methodist leaders interpreted Canadianization to mean the “adoption of English speech, of Canadian clothes and manners of the Canadian attitude in politics.”⁷⁷ Canadianization meant taking on the appearance and behaviour of being Canadian.

Timing was of essence as small pockets of foreigners had already begun forming communities as early as 1919. For example, Thomas Jones reported that three communities in Alberta had segregated. They numbered 60,000 people. These foreign communities not only excluded Canadian thought, Canadian ideals, and Canadian principles but were subject to strong factions which were bent on creating their own little empires reflecting the values and culture of their own homelands. Not only were these anti-Canadian forces making neighbouring districts nervous, they dissuaded foreigners from attending English-Canadian

⁷⁴ Semple, 407.

⁷⁵ Vipond, 16.

⁷⁶ W. H. Pike, “Slavic Stock and the New Canadianism,” *Christian Guardian* (3 December 1919): 11.

⁷⁷ W.C. Smith, *Building the Nation*.

public schools and encouraged the maintenance of their own language and culture in the colonies. The few public schools in these communities only stayed open half the year and at best were sparsely attended, despite the fact that there were plenty of children of school age.⁷⁸ This divisiveness and retention of foreign ways is precisely what Methodist leaders feared. By 1919 the foreign segment in the west constituted forty per- cent of the whole population and was steadily increasing. Methodist leaders believed that if they did not assert control of a single educational system reflecting British culture and the English language, then Canada would be divided into many little nations, each demanding rights for self-determination.

Similarly, Winnipeg was experiencing a comparable situation. Winnipeg was becoming a divided city.⁷⁹ The high proportion of immigrants were divided into communities by ethnicity, religion and class. The immigrants, along with returned soldiers who could not find work, coupled with an eighty percent cost of living increase compared to an eighteen percent rise in wages made Winnipeg a hot spot for trouble after the war.⁸⁰ It is no wonder that Methodist General Conference proceeded to implement recommendations passed in their 1918 report and returned to a focus on social service.

⁷⁸ Thomas D. Jones, "Shall we Develop a Polyglot Canadianism?," *Christian Guardian* (15 January 1919): 7.

⁷⁹ Alan F.J. Artibise, "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History*, Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984), 362.

⁸⁰ Betty Banning Clough, *J.H. Ashdown Winnipeg Pioneer* (Winnipeg: s.n., 1982), 34.

James M. Shaver

It is not surprising then that, given his prominence in discussing the problems of immigration, the Methodist Church turned to James M. Shaver in 1921 to head All Peoples' Mission in Winnipeg. In 1917 he had been the Convenor of the Standing Committee on Immigration. Shaver was totally committed to the tenets of social Christianity and Canadianization. Reverend James M. Shaver was born 26 November 1876 in Finch, Ontario, the fifth of six children of William Herman Shaver and Catharine McMillan.⁸¹ He attended Morrisburg Collegiate and taught at Bouch's Hill, Ontario, for two years. In 1899 he entered the ministry of the Methodist Church as a probationer. It was customary for young men to prove their intent before formal acceptance into the ministry was granted. His first circuit was in Fox Bay, Anticosti Island. In 1901 he was granted special ordination at Pembroke, Ontario, and ended his probationary period at Agnes, Quebec (Gow Lake Megantre), in 1902. While serving as a pastor at Portsmouth, Ontario, Shaver entered the arts course at Queen's University in Kingston. Later he studied theology at Victoria University in Toronto. Graduating in 1910, that same year, he married Elizabeth C. Asseltine; they had two sons, both of whom entered the ministry, William Herman and Michael John Victor (Jack).⁸² Shaver died 13 June 1948 at the age of 72.

⁸¹ Conversation with his son Rev. M.J.V. Shaver in Vancouver, 27 November 1996. There is no family connection between James Shaver Woodsworth and James M. Shaver. According to Jack Shaver, his father and J.S. Woodsworth spent many hours tracing family history but were unable to find a link.

⁸² Information was derived from the Twenty-Fifth Annual Manitoba Conference June 6-19, 1949 pp. 32-33 and an obituary notice dated June 1948 in Biographical files of the MNWO-UCA.

Shaver's first step into the realm of nascent social work occurred while he was still a theology student at Victoria University in 1910. He responded to a challenge thrown out by the President of the University of Toronto, Robert A. Falconer. Falconer suggested that faculty and students use their gifts by serving their fellow men who lacked the advantage of an education.⁸³ To this end, the University created University Settlement in 1910 and Shaver and his bride were the first to move in.

University Settlement was created as a practical venue for students to observe and gather facts in a scientific manner to study the social and industrial problems which were generated by the modern conditions of life. By studying the people who were forced to live downtown, university students had a chance to develop "real sympathetic knowledge" and help to foster understanding between the classes in such a way as to satisfy the needs of both."⁸⁴

Shaver, with assistants E. Murray Thomson and W.A. Scott, set up the prototype of a community centre. Shaver was inspired by the work of Jane Addams in Chicago and used parts of her model. He and his associates organized athletic programs, medical and dental clinics, set up a free dispensary and provided educational classes for the disadvantaged at University Settlement.⁸⁵ University students tutored boys who had been forced to leave school because of financial constraints. Classes were organized for the study of English. By the end of the first year sixty students and six doctors gained practical experience by working directly

⁸³ Sarah Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*, 3.

⁸⁴ James M. Shaver, "The University Settlement," *University Monthly* (University of Toronto Alumni Association, Feb. 1911): 112.

⁸⁵ Shaver, 112.

with foreigners. The students and doctors who enrolled in the program were required to volunteer a minimum of one hour a week. The objective of University Settlement was to give students an opportunity to learn and understand, at a very practical level, the real needs of people less fortunate than themselves, and to prove that people acquiring a university education could be "turned to the community's good."⁸⁶ This early experience set a pattern for Shaver and served as a lifelong goal of service to his fellow man.

On completing his preparation for the ministry, Shaver was anxious to apply what he had learned at University Settlement. But, first, he was required to serve another year in his home conference (Montreal) before he was given an assignment in Fort William.⁸⁷ His transfer to the latter posting came in 1912 with high recommendations from Rev. S.D. Chown, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, and Rev. Hiram Hull, pastor of Wesley Methodist Church in Fort William. Shaver was posted to Fort William because church officials anticipated a recurrence of ethnic and class conflict similar to the strike and riot in Fort William in 1909.⁸⁸ Community ministry was essential, Methodist church leaders thought. Shaver was sent to Fort William in this context of concern over the social instability arising from the immigrant presence.

⁸⁶ Shaver, 116.

⁸⁷ Apparently Shaver had completed a survey on conditions in Fort William during his summer vacation and was much chagrined when he had to go to Easton's Corner for a year. James M. Shaver, "The Beginning of Wayside House Fort William Ontario" typescript. MNWO-UCA, PP53 Shaver Papers, Box A, file 14.

⁸⁸ Jean Morrison, "Ethnicity and Violence: The Lakehead Freight Handlers Before World War 1," in *Essays in Canadian Working Class History*, eds. Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1976), 156.

He was well aware of the type of situation he was entering before his official appointment in 1912. He had conducted a census in the foreign district in Fort William while on vacation in 1911. He concluded that the problems centred on the immigrant presence and the commercial interests in them. Shaver's response to the escalating class and ethnic tensions when street railway workers threatened to strike in 1913 revealed his conception of the ideal social order.

As tensions escalated, he was appointed by the local Ministerial Association and the Trades and Labour Council as their spokesman. His solution was to try to explain how Canadian society and capitalism operated in the language of kindness and Christian love. He addressed the men by appealing to their sense of pride, participation and justice. He praised their behaviour in the Labour Day procession he had witnessed the year before. He mentioned how well organized they were. They were "not a disorganized rabble. You were organized brothers, union men." He said he saw that they "could make the City the pride of democracy." Appealing to their sense of reason, he asked, "Would you be carried away by some petty selfish consideration?" He conceived of the industrial world as a trinity: the capitalist, the labourer and the public. He explained that:

Society was run for the capitalist and labour was the machine or one of the machines to supply the market, the public. But Labour was no mere machine and ultimately began to assert itself as interested humanity. humans, brothers of the capitalist. if you will. with a right to use some brains regarding the worth of which he was a part. The public have often showed no interest in either but accepted the production as it was trusting to competition to keep the standard up.

But, as Shaver explained, "Combines eliminated the competition to a great extent and both labour and the public were often exploited." He sympathized and empathized with the

worker. But at the same time he asked the question, if “management of our street railway [has] been toward the placing of the balance midway between these three powers? or to crush out one power altogether.” He warned both management and workers that, if a balance of power was not “set right” and maintained, there would be war. Shaver’s vision was clear. If society did not respect men who worked with either their hands or heads, then “society [was] thrusting a dagger into her own heart and life and she herself must suffer.” Society could not function with each man acting for himself. Rather, he explained, “Society is an organism and every part must help the whole.” It seems that Shaver, rather than clearly taking the side of workers, attempted to advance a “community” or “public” interest, that asserted that society was an organism.⁸⁹ Shaver was devoted to the cause of reconciling hostile ethnic and class divisions toward the larger goal of social cohesion.

When Shaver was appointed to Wesley Church in Fort William in 1912, he had immediately set plans for the development of a settlement house. He was generously supported by the church community for his work in Fort William. The Epworth League, the Women’s Missionary Society and Methodist Home Missions headquarters provided base funding. The Methodist community worked enthusiastically to establish their role in community building. Local congregations contributed generously. This support enabled the church to purchase sixty-six feet of property in the heart of the foreign quarter. Old buildings were utilized and others rented until a new facility (Wesley Institute) could be built. The

⁸⁹ Hand written address by James M. Shaver to “Gentlemen, Fellow Citizens of Fort William,” ca 1913, pp. 1-5. MNWO-UCA, PP 53, Shaver Papers, Box A, file 9.

Women's Missionary Society financed the services of a worker and raised enough funds to hire another worker for the following year.

Shaver referred to Wesley Institute as the house of the interpreter. He said, "it is our business to interpret the Canadian at his best to the non-English speaking Immigrant, the Immigrant at his best to the Canadian, and the different nationalities of Immigrants, who are so often antagonistic, to each other."⁹⁰ The house was not a charitable institution but one where social and spiritual needs would be supplied.

In order to advance his ideas, Shaver implemented new programs. He began a night school, where men were taught "English, history, civics and first aid," by volunteer members of the community. Kitchen garden classes were introduced for girls where they could learn sewing, cooking housekeeping, clay modelling, raffia making and other domestic skills in Canadian ways. Clubs were organized for women so that they could work alongside their daughters in learning Canadian customs and habits. Children were schooled in "almost everything that would make children into the highest type of motherhood and fatherhood." Workers, along with their corps of volunteer "ladies of culture," endeavoured to implant Canadian ideals in the minds of young and old. By extending a hand of friendship in the language of kindness and Christian love, workers accessed one-hundred and twenty-five foreigners homes. Volunteers advanced the cause of Canadianization by "[moulding] their lives into a type of Canadian motherhood of which our land [would] someday be proud."⁹¹

⁹⁰ James M. Shaver, Fort William, to Dear Fellow Leaguers, Dec. 2, 1914, typescript, MNWO-UCA in PP53 Shaver Papers, Box a, file 14.

⁹¹ James M. Shaver, "The Beginning of Wayside House: Fort William, Ontario," typescript, pp. 1-2, in MNWO-UCA in PP53, Shaver Papers, Box A, file 14.

The programs were so successful that two female employees were forced to leave because of exhaustion after the first year. As well, the workload doubled within two years. By 1914, almost two hundred men had enrolled in night school, forcing the mission to move classes into one of the public school buildings.⁹²

In 1913, Shaver secured the services of a female superintendent, Mabel L. Hannah. She, along with May Harrison, organized clubs for youth, addressed almost every women's group in the city and managed to rally enough volunteer teachers and workers to promote a sense of community between up-town and down-town. A big sister movement was initiated to reduce tensions between the English and immigrant communities. Shut-ins were visited, "little cripples taken for a drive, sick children taken to the doctor and literally the deaf made to hear...." Ambitious workers achieved phenomenal support from their community, but best of all, Shaver believed, Canadian ideals were forever implanted in the minds of young and old.⁹³

Not content just to organize programs at the mission, Shaver became a strong lobbyist. When he first arrived in Fort William, the community was deeply polarized. There was no middle ground between the middle class and the immigrant; civic officials and businessmen were openly antagonistic toward immigrants.⁹⁴ Shaver, much chagrined by the situation, reported to the *Christian Guardian*, that immigrants in Fort William were merely

⁹² James M. Shaver, "Letter from Rev. J.M. Shaver," *Missionary Bulletin*, 11 (1914-1915), 126.

⁹³ James, Shaver, *The Beginning of Wayside House...*, p. 2.

⁹⁴ Jean Morrison, "Community and Conflict: A Study of the Working Class and its Relationships at the Canadian Lakehead, 1903-1913" (MA Lakehead University, 1974), 225 and 240.

considered “a commercial asset” and horrendously exploited. He said that the “real estate agent tries to sell him property,” and insurance agents [prey] on their fears by selling unnecessary policies. “The liquor agent [plied] his trade most ardently” in the foreign section of the city.⁹⁵ Shaver noted that it was quite common to have four beer delivery wagons continuously supplying the area. In fact “two of the rigs never [left] the quarter except to secure fresh loads.”⁹⁶ Determined to combat these unsavoury practices, Shaver organized a Citizens Committee and began lobbying city council in 1913 for temperance and more sanitary conditions for immigrants. Young Ruthenian men from the Mission’s Culture Club obtained three-hundred and sixty-four signatures on a petition “pleading with authorities to stop the traffic in their ward in the city.”⁹⁷

Appealing to a sense of responsibility, the committee’s resolution called for the closure of all bars and liquor stores in Fort William by 4:00 p.m. Shaver argued that, when people could not afford to drink, drunkenness, infant mortality, illegitimacy and crime rates were minimal. The opposite was true, however, when men received their pay from seasonal employment; “much of their pay [went] into drink”; consequently families were deprived of necessities and became a burden on the city, the nation and private charities. If the city would adopt the resolution, Shaver argued, it could reduce costs for its judicial system, thereby creating a healthier environment for all its citizens. Shaver’s understanding of the social

⁹⁵ J.M. Shaver, “Civic Problems and the Immigrant,” *Christian Guardian*, 4 October 1916, 10.

⁹⁶ “Sanitary, Social and Moral Condition of Coal Dock Section Needs Improving,” in *Fort William Times Journal* (Ontario) c. 1913 in USA-MNWO PP53 Shaver Papers, Box A, file 14.

⁹⁷ James M. Shaver, “Letter from Rev. J.M. Shaver,” *Missionary Bulletin*, 11 (1914-1915), 125.

problem attributed responsibility to the poor for their situation. But the state had an obligation to save the weak from themselves.⁹⁸

On the issue of sanitation and general living condition for immigrants, Shaver felt that government intervention was essential. He exposed the plight of ethnic and working class people by writing to the *Fort William Times Journal*. He described social conditions in the overcrowded Latin section of the coal dock where section men had to live. Beds, he said, were rented for ten cents per night, and a dozen or more people sleeping in the same room was not unusual. In one case, seventy-eight men were living in a widow's house. Because overcrowding was endemic, so was disease, especially when people were forced to live in spaces with little or no ventilation. "Barefoot children [waded] in sewage and stagnant water. Every step broke scum from the surface and disturbed bebies of germ laden mosquitoes and flies."⁹⁹

To further emphasize his point, he provided another example. In another block containing 53 bedrooms, Shaver wrote, on average "4 1/2 persons slept in each of these rooms." There were no closets, toilets or baths in any of the houses. Twelve householders reported that garbage had never been removed from their residences; the rest complained that pick-up was infrequent. These local examples were consistent with the findings of a survey conducted by the Bureau of Social Research on ten different districts spanning the three

⁹⁸ Shaver as Committeeman of the Citizens Meeting read a letter he had prepared to sent to, "The Chairman and Board, Provincial Licence Commissioners, Province of Ontario," dated 23 September 1915, 1 and 3, in USA-MNWO, PP53, Shaver Papers, Box A, file 9.

⁹⁹ James M. Shaver, "Sanitary, Social and Moral Condition of Coal Dock Section Needs Improving," *Fort William Times Journal*, ca. 1913. MNWO-UCA, PP 53, Shaver Papers, Box A, file 14.

prairie provinces. It indicated that “among the 937 families investigated, 10 per cent lived in one room and fifty-six per- cent lived in two rooms.” Living conditions were probably worse than figures indicated as “tenants [were] unwilling to admit the number living in those houses where there is the most serious overcrowding.” In such squalor and overcrowding, the health of residents necessarily suffered. Shaver explained that conditions were so bad that most immigrants were forced to live in “crowded city tenements.” Then in order to survive they took in boarders, and the women had to cook, wash and sew for fifteen to twenty men. It was the children who suffered. Babies were quickly weaned, left to the care of an older child and never given a “proper chance” in life. Disease, illness and inadequate medical care created fertile ground for mental and physical defects.¹⁰⁰

These conditions were symptomatic, Shaver argued, of deeper problems of ethnic and class polarization. The foreign “Coal Dock” section of the city was discriminated against in the provision of municipal services. Shaver’s written remarks intended to accompany a slide presentation reveal the conditions that he exposed to public view. He used pictures to illustrate how slum landlords erected shacks on every spare bit of land, “showing the tendency to leave no place for a blade of grass to grow.” The size of the houses could only “be imagined when compared to the height of a six year old boy.” He regretted being unable to describe adequately the smell of a back lane that he showed with “lines of open water closets and overflowing garbage receptacles.” Despite his efforts in organizing immigrant leaders “into a Civic Improvement League to lobby City Hall, the garbage and outhouses “were only

¹⁰⁰ James M. Shaver, Convenor, *Report of the Standing Committee on Immigration* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1917): 4.

emptied at very long intervals.” Without wholehearted cooperation from the city, developing a sense of community within the immigrant section was difficult at best.¹⁰¹

As Shaver’s experience in Fort William demonstrates, nation building was challenging at best. Results were not easily identifiable or quantifiable nevertheless, Methodists were committed to creating a Kingdom of God through their citizenship and Canadianization programs.

Their primary goal was to assimilate immigrants to British, Canadian, Protestant, preferably Methodist culture, and to convert immigrants to the fundamentals of nation building. Methodists were not only concerned with preserving strong British traditions but with creating a united nation. They were concerned that the immigrant tended to settle in self-contained communities in both rural areas and within cities. They tended to retain their own language, failed to learn English adequately and continued their own customs. Visits between provinces and Quebec was a means to obtain greater contact between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians in all provinces. They proposed education as a means to socialize and assimilate. Their concern extended to French Canada as well as to immigrants. For the Methodists the years devoted to nation building were ones of adaptation and therefore of tension between the older and newer interpretations of the Social Gospel. Because the government was inactive in Canadianizing immigrants into Canadian society, Methodists were convinced that they must undertake this responsibility.

¹⁰¹ James M. Shaver, “How Fort William Makes Canadians,” the “Coal Dock” refers to the foreign section of the city. Typescript from a slide presentation given ca. 1917, p. 3.

CHAPTER THREE

JAMES M. SHAVER AND NATION BUILDING AT ALL PEOPLES' MISSION

While general policies and goals were formulated at the head offices of the Methodist Church in Toronto, their implementation occurred at the local missions in various locations. Accordingly, an in-depth examination of one of these missions, All Peoples' in Winnipeg, and the man who led it for many years, will provide a means to determine how appropriate these policies were in meeting the needs of the people they were intended to serve and how effectively they promoted the ultimate Methodist vision of nation building. As Shaver learned through directly working with the people, modifications to the program were essential, but these modifications brought Shaver into direct conflict with his superiors. Nevertheless, even after the presumed demise of the Social Gospel movement, Shaver and All Peoples' continued to work with immigrants towards the goal of building a united Canadian nation..

When James M. Shaver was appointed to All Peoples' Mission in 1921, it was with an expectation that a new flood of immigrants would be arriving. The church shifted its policy as it recognized a renewed need to assimilate and hopefully convert immigrants to Methodism. Concern that Canada's British character would be overwhelmed by immigrants again fuelled a shift to social services as a means to maintain control by incorporating and educating immigrants into British culture and traditions.

Shaver took responsibility for a long-established mission. It began as a Sunday School in McDougall Church at the corner of King and Dufferin Streets in 1889. Miss Dolly McGuire, an Irish Sunday School teacher, invited the rowdy neighbourhood children to join

her class as a way to control the clamour disturbing her teaching. This approach proved to more fruitful than expected, as the parents of these children shortly approached her requesting English instruction. It soon became apparent that the needs in the community were far greater than one Sunday school teacher and her helpers could meet. In response, the Methodist City Mission Board formed a mission to do settlement work among the new Canadians in 1890.

The work grew dramatically. Soon space became a premium as the mission branched out to respond with other services. McDougall congregation expanded its Sunday School program and rented additional space on Main Street North, and it became McDougall Mission. The mission relocated in 1893 when the old McDougall Church was moved to Austin Street to be near the Canadian Pacific Railway Station (CPR). Their services were advertised in eight languages offering :”A House of Prayer for All People.”¹⁰²

In 1901 the Congregationalist Church on Maple street was purchased, and Maple Street Church became the centre of All Peoples’ Mission work until 1907, when Rev. J.S. Woodsworth was appointed Superintendent.¹⁰³ In addition to Maple Street work, a mission was developed specifically for Slavic immigrants by Rev. Hamilton Wigle and Rev. J.V. Kovar in 1904 at the Stella site mission. It was known as Bethlehem Slavic Mission, and later re-named Bethlehem when it moved to Burrows Avenue in 1909. A settlement house, occupied by deaconesses, was to provide an example of Canadian living in the North End.

¹⁰² *Winnipeg Free Press Magazine Section* (Winnipeg), 5 August 1939.

¹⁰³ The first Superintendent was Rev. Paul Morrison in 1901, followed by Rev’s. A.A. Thompson and Hamilton Wigle, B.A. until Rev. J.S. Woodsworth’s appointment in 1907. *Methodism’s Clarion Call* n.d. (ca. 1920): 3, in MNWO-UCA, Shaver Papers PP 53 Box. 1.

Rev. E. Chambers and Rev. A.O Rose, both schooled in Polish language and culture, were in charge of the program.¹⁰⁴ At this point, the mission developed into Institutes for work among foreign populations. Sutherland Institute was built in 1908, followed by Stella Institute in 1909.¹⁰⁵

During its half century of existence, the focus of work at All Peoples' Mission alternated between commitments to Christian evangelism and service work. Changes in direction were very much a consequence of church policy and the convictions of the individuals responsible for mission affairs. Church desires and individual convictions were not always in accord, however, as Shaver and others discovered. Indeed, church directions shifted several times during the lifetime of the Mission, including the momentous emergence of the United Church in 1925, frustrating the work of various mission leaders.

For example, when Rev. Woodsworth took over the work at the mission, he specialized in work among foreigners. By 1909 there were five missions under his jurisdiction: Maple Street, Stella Avenue, Euclid Avenue, Burrows Avenue, and the Exhibition Grounds. The Immigration Chaplain, Wesley College students, along with other workers and volunteers carried on extensive operations.¹⁰⁶ They mounted far-reaching

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Rev Hamilton Wigle donated the land for Sutherland Mission in 1905, "39th Annual Report, (1938), 1 and 3.

¹⁰⁵ Sutherland Institute was first named Euclid Institute. It and Stella Institute were built for \$12,000.00 each. Ibid. The term "Institute(s)" used herein and in all locations of text in this instance and in all future references is Stella and Sutherland Mission, and referred to collectively as All Peoples' Mission. The term is used interchangeably with Mission. The term "Institute" also refers to a permanent teaching component from a Methodist viewpoint; whereas the term Institutional Missions is a United church term that defines places which had little or no worship service.

¹⁰⁶ *Methodism's Clarion Call*, 1.

educational programs which included English language instruction for men, mothers' meetings to teach Canadian household hygiene and family care, classes for girls and young women in sewing, gardening and cooking, kindergarten for young children, and manual training for young men. Sports activities for children and youth became an important form for teaching civility. Woodsworth threw himself into all kinds of social service work for the next six years. He was convinced the church had awakened to "modern needs and was preparing, if slowly, for her new tasks." As church directives shifted once again, Woodsworth became convinced that the "organized Church had become too great an institution with institutional aims and ambitions." It became more concerned with its own institutional needs than those of the community. As the church became increasingly commercialized, its policies were controlled by men of wealth. Woodsworth realized that anything resembling a "radical programme of social reform became in practice almost impossible."¹⁰⁷ He left the mission in total frustration to work outside denominational lines.

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After Woodsworth's departure, the mission's objectives were changed from a non-denominational, national humanitarian approach to an exclusive focus on evangelical work. The Special Committee on Readjustment of All Peoples' Mission recommended that regular

¹⁰⁷ J.S. Woodsworth, *Following the Gleam: a Modern Pilgrim's Progress - to date!* (Ontario: House of Commons, 1926): 8.

¹⁰⁸ For a detailed view of the Mission under Woodsworth's superintendency, see: G.N. Emery, "The Methodist Church and the European Foreigners of Winnipeg: the All Peoples; Mission, 1889-1914," *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions*, 111 Series, 28 (1971-1972), 90-93. See also: Kenneth McNaught, *J.S. Woodsworth* (Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1980);, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); Allen Mills, *Fool for Christ: the Political Thought of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) and, "An Interview with Grace MacInnis," *Manitoba History*, no. 7 (Spring 1984), 23-26.

ordained pastors be stationed at Maple Street Church, Stella and Sutherland Institutes. The Committee requested the services of an Immigration Chaplain and a General Secretary for Winnipeg Church Extension and City Mission Association. The General Secretary's responsibilities would include the "promotion of Church extension work and oversight of all City Mission work within the jurisdiction of the Association."¹⁰⁹ This action took more control from the local level.

Woodsworth's replacements, Reverend A. Cook (1914-1915) and Reverend Arthur O. Rose (1916-1920), found official church policy of evangelizing social work interfered with the actual goal of Canadianizing and integrating immigrants to Canada. Church insistence on Christianizing into Methodism restrained the ability to deliver the social services needed to help immigrants. As a result, All Peoples' Mission was at its lowest point during the war with its emphasis on evangelism and personal salvation rather than social services.¹¹⁰

Church policy reverted to social service with the post-war concern that regionalism and immigration would pose a "serious threat to the Church's conception of a Canadian nation."¹¹¹ Under Shaver's superintendency, All Peoples' Mission returned, after a number

¹⁰⁹ "Report of Special Committee on Readjustment of All Peoples' Mission," 1914-1915 Transcript, MNWO-UCA All Peoples' Mission, Box. B, file 16. The Methodist City Mission Board was incorporated by the Provincial House, (ca. 1910) and in 1911 was renamed The Winnipeg Church Extension and City Mission Association of the Methodist Church. The Association took over City Mission work, plus additional responsibility for "supervision and direction of all departments of Church Extension and City Mission work" in the city. *Practical Christianity: 1910-1911 Reports from the Various Branches of All People's Mission* (Winnipeg, 1911): 16. MNWO-UCA All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 1.

¹¹⁰ Supply ministers were used in the interim whenever there was a gap between assignments. Work generally suffered without continuity and programmes quickly fell by the wayside.

¹¹¹ Mary Vipond, "Canadian National Consciousness and the Formation of the United Church of Canada." *Bulletin*, no. 24, (1975), 6.

of years, to a greater concentration on social service. The emphasis of work at the mission had from its establishment in 1889 as a Sunday School shifted back and forth from an evangelical concern for spreading the word of God to a greater commitment to social service.

Under Shaver's superintendency, All Peoples' Mission developed into a complex enterprise operating out of facilities in several locations in the centre and North End of the city. As well, with the formation of the United Church, Shaver was given responsibility for the Presbyterian Church's urban missions in addition to those of the Methodist Church. Running a multi-site operation necessarily required a dedicated staff to whom specific programs could be delegated. In addition to numerous permanent employees, All Peoples' Mission benefitted from the volunteer contributions of college students, members of local congregations, and community service organizations, such as the Young Mens' Christian Association (YMCA), Student Christian Movement (SCM) and the Rotary Club. As well, work at the mission and its outreach programs were logical assignments for young men and women who had themselves gone through All Peoples' Mission leadership training. James M. Shaver supervised the mission's overall mandate, but at the program level, individual staff enjoyed considerable latitude in emphasizing certain features of the activities for which they were responsible. The most important co-workers were Rev. Harry Atkinson, boys' worker from 1908 to 1926; Rev. Cecil King, boys worker from 1926 to 1934; and Maud Bawden, kindergarten director from 1915 to 1924 and visiting and social service worker, 1925-1936.

Harry Atkinson was responsible for character development in the boys' programs at the mission. He not only worked with the boys at the mission but was also intensely involved in juvenile delinquent work in the city. He was instrumental in creating the first juvenile court

in Canada and introduced the concept of probationary terms for young men. In addition to his work, he acted as interim superintendent for the mission in 1920-1921 before Shaver's appointment, then again in 1924-1926 while Shaver was ill.¹¹² Atkinson's successor, Cecil King, immediately reorganized boys' work upon his arrival in 1926. He disengaged the Mission from juvenile work and placed more emphasis on "preventative work with boys at the Mission."¹¹³ Maud Bawden's career was devoted to All Peoples' Mission. She focused on Christian love and caring, believing all Christian social service work was in one form or other evangelistic. She acted as Kindergarten Directress until enrolment dropped in 1924. She began recruitment in 1925 as well as taking on all aspects of social work. Social work was a vocation of sacrifice during the inter-war years, claiming all her time, seven days a week.¹¹⁴

In 1921, the arrival of James M. Shaver as superintendent re-focused the mission on Canadianizing, Christianizing and character formation. Unlike Woodsworth, Shaver retained a commitment to evangelism but qualified it with a practical non-denominational approach that put service and Canadianization first. He was an evangelical man who lived his life in "fellowship with God, confident that God directed his life."¹¹⁵ Like many Canadians of his

¹¹² Atkinson was appointed Superintendent of the Industrial School at Portage La Prairie, Manitoba. *Reports and Digests*, (Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of Manitoba Conference, 1969), 28.

¹¹³ Cecil a. J. King, "Annual Report 1926-1927, boys Department, All Peoples' Mission," typescript in MNWO-UCA, all Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 27, 2.

¹¹⁴ James Struthers, "Lord Give us Men": Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918-1953," Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers*, (1983), 97.

¹¹⁵ Peter Douglas, "A Family Photo of the United Church of Canada, Winnipeg, 1930 (A Study in Ministry)" (STM University of Winnipeg, 1990), 144.

era, Shaver was concerned with ensuring that the new Canadian nation was a Christian one. He was convinced this could be achieved through the liberal vision of the Social Gospel.

Shaver was inspired by the work of Jane Addams of Hull House in Chicago. Much of his efforts were directed to the reformation of the immigrant. His "BIG PROJECT" was to instill a Canadian conception of freedom and equal justice under the law to the newcomers and to eradicate vice and social injustice. Shaver's passion for justice emerged when he saw Ukrainian immigrants degraded and cheated at one of his earliest assignments in Agnes, Quebec. Shaver lived his life as an example, and this personal philosophy is reflected in the creed of All Peoples' Mission:

WE BELIEVE that Jesus has the solution of all life's problems, personal and social.

WE BELIEVE that all who take upon themselves His idea will experience His personal presence with them as they go about to carry out the programme which is His and ought to be ours.

WE BELIEVE that it is our business to get that experience over to the hundreds of young people who come to us, and, through them to the people of their own race in their own neighbourhood and in Canada and to all races unto the uttermost parts of the earth.¹¹⁶

With this philosophy and a methodology honed by both the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, Shaver set a course to re-vitalize work at the Mission. He combined a common set of evangelical values which offered a unique blend of social and intellectual, as well as moral and religious leadership. His choice was the model of personal friendliness or neighbourliness, as it was called then, which proved most effective for both urban and rural

¹¹⁶ "The 38th Annual Report of All Peoples' Mission," (April 1-Dec. 31, 1927), title page, in MNWO-UCA All Peoples' Mission Box B, file 1.

work. After Shaver arrived he continued to build on and enhance the existing foundation in work with non-English speaking immigrants. He found his workers in a transitional stage from that of the older charity worker to modern social worker. They still “[helped] the sick and the poor,” tracked down runaways, provided family counselling, encouraged immigrant youth to obtain a good education, provided financial assistance and direction for housing and employment.¹¹⁷ They also discussed social, political and religious problems with the non-English speaking immigrant. But times were changing and called for more professionalism in programs offered at the Mission. Shaver re-organized the management of the mission. He introduced cooperative competition amongst his workers and their club leaders by offering extra points and badges for participation at Club, Sunday School or Church Service. Although attendance at Sunday School or Church service was not compulsory, Shaver encouraged children’s presence in order for them to develop “physically, spiritually and socially.”¹¹⁸ The special emphasis placed on children’s work was to train leaders who would learn commitment, dedication to community and country and teach the ultimate vision of a Christian Canadian nation. All Peoples’ served an experimental social training ground. It was a resource for provincial and city social agencies who used All Peoples’ for advice and assistance in responding to social problems.

Shaver was beset by many challenges during his tenure. The combined effects of a changing nation and the church’s re-invention of itself affected the success and failure of the

¹¹⁷ Unsigned typescript to Mr. J.K. Sparling, dated 5 December 1921. p. 5. in MNWO-UCA All Peoples’ Mission, box. B, file 53.

¹¹⁸ Harry Atkinson, “Methodist Mission Institute Report of Boys work, 1922-23,” typescript MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission Papers, Box B, file 19.

larger goal of Canadianizing immigrants into a Protestant model that church policy directed. In addition to shifting church objectives, the mission was constrained by financial cutbacks during a critical time in its history. While the work at the mission successfully provided a variety of programs and services, its vitality diminished surely and slowly as other agencies began providing services during the inter-war years. For any enterprise to be successful, it must be tied to strong financial support. This was not the case at All Peoples' Mission.

During Shaver's tenure, funding for the Mission was reduced yearly even during times of great demand for its programs. Shaver's 1930 annual report, for example, indicates the work was at the height of its success, yet funding had been decreased by 20.3% from its original base of \$14,959.00 in 1921, staffing had been reduced by three, even though the workload had doubled. The report also noted that the two institutions (Stella and Sutherland) were located in the midst of the largest concentration of non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada. They served 4,000 children of school age who lived in the area.¹¹⁹ Ninety-seven percent of the people in the North End of Winnipeg were non-Anglo-Saxon. Much work needed to be done, as North Winnipeg showed the greatest support for ethnic nationalistic, religious, labour and communist organization in all of Canada; yet the Board of Home Missions could not respond. In 1929, the Board of Home Missions reported that on a national scale it had spent \$51,612 less than it had in 1928, and in 1930 \$145,815 less than in the preceding year. Again, "because of the Dominion and world-wide economic Depression and the financial

¹¹⁹ J.M. Shaver, *41st Annual Report of All Peoples' Mission, 1930*, 1, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B.

outlook for 1931, the Finance Committee" requested the Board of Home Missions make further reduction in expenditures for the next year.¹²⁰

Economic circumstances along with church policy dictated success and failure at All Peoples' Mission. In 1922-1923, for example, All Peoples' Mission had fourteen salaried workers, nine women and five men, plus over one-hundred volunteers. After union, salaried workers decreased to ten (seven women and three men), and volunteers only numbered seventy-four (48 women and 26 men). Staffing was further reduced in the period 1930-1933 to a total of seven (three men and four women) salaried employees.¹²¹ Then in 1934-1935, the permanent staff component was reduced to three women workers, Shaver and the caretaker. A small allowance was supplied for two student assistants and a one hundred dollar allowance for transportation costs of volunteers.¹²² In his 1932 annual report Shaver noted that in 1923 the Mission's grant was \$14,959 for the registration of 1,676 students, with a staff component of fourteen. In 1933 the grant dwindled to \$9,906 for registered attendance of 2,515 students and only five staff. He said support "was 40% weaker, 36% fewer workers and the burden 55% heavier."¹²³ It appears that the trend for mission work

¹²⁰ W. G. Sedgewick, Chairman; R.B. Cochrane, Secretary; Colin G. Young, Associate Secretary; K.G. Beaton, Associate Secretary, "Action of the Board of Home Missions to Meet the Present Financial Situation," to all United Church Missions in Canada, Toronto, 22 April 1931, MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 43.

¹²¹ Salaried workers include the caretaker. Annual Report, 1922-1923, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 22.

¹²² There were seventy-five volunteers by their own people and forty-one from outside the Mission. Ibid., file 37.

¹²³ James, M. Shaver, 43rd. Annual Report - All Peoples' Mission, 1932, in Ibid., file 37.

was diminishing. External forces further decreased the mission's and Shaver's ability to realize the actual goal of Canadianizing, Christianizing and integrating immigrants into Canada.

All Peoples' Mission took its purpose to be to facilitate the integration of immigrants into the community. Although human needs were critical, there were developments moving in opposing directions. Shaver's commitment to more professionalism reflected his commitment to social service programs intended to cultivate leadership and form character as the key elements in the Canadianization of immigrants. But greater professionalism diminished the visible religious character of the mission at a time when changes within the church gave evangelization a higher priority. In part there was a re-assertion of what had been a continuing commitment. But it also expressed an attempt to evaluate the costs and benefits of mission work at a time of necessary financial retrenchment during the Depression. Conversion and church membership were easier to calculate than the more abstract qualities of leadership and character. The old ways of doing things were constantly re-evaluated. Insistent voices carped on the lack of membership from an immigrant sector that were neither British or Protestant. Constant scrutiny increased anxiety for Shaver and his staff as many forces beyond their control contributed to a sense of insecurity. These were church union in 1925 and the need for financial re-entrenchment, member disaffectation upon union, and more significantly the Depression of the 1930s. A large mission field and a lack of fiscal and human

resources contributed to the straitened circumstances at the Mission.¹²⁴ All of these factors affected the Missions' future developments.

The church's concern for retrenchment led it to find ways of evaluating its various operations. One measure adopted by Home Missions Committee was an internal review of church membership and conversions.¹²⁵ As the committee charged with the responsibility of guiding immigrants into the nation's life, they wanted to know how many immigrants, many of whom were Catholic, converted to Protestantism.¹²⁶ As early as 1921, the Board of Home Missions appointed a committee to "investigate the work of All Peoples' Mission."¹²⁷ Further non-Anglo-Saxon Commissions were also appointed in 1930, 1931, 1932, 1934, 1935, 1936 and 1938 to study its ministry to non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians.¹²⁸ Although the Committee supported Shaver's work, it was challenged to find some way to evaluate the costs and benefits and the success of the mission.

Shaver was severely challenged to keep the mission operating. Shaver's nemesis began with a condemning letter addressed to the Laymen's Association of the Manitoba Conference from Rev. Wellington Bridgman in 1921. Bridgman took exception to the

¹²⁴ Brian Clarke, "English Speaking Canada from 1854," in *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 342.

¹²⁵ Clarke, 342.

¹²⁶ See Cormie Papers in MNWO-UCA, Box 1 files A-H.

¹²⁷ James M. Shaver, Winnipeg, to The Laymen of Manitoba Methodist Conference and All Other to whom it may Concern, Dec. 1st, 1921, typescript by J.M. Shaver, MNW0-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 18, 1.

¹²⁸ "Reports on New Canadian Work Adopted From Time to Time by the Board of Home Missions," and "The United Church of Canada and its ministry to Non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians," in MNWO-UCA, Conference General Administration, Box B.

amount of money expended by the church in its work for non-Anglo Saxons.¹²⁹ Bridgman asked what the Missionary Society had to show for the \$166,000.00 spent over the past twelve years.¹³⁰ He questioned the lack of membership at the mission and the value of the work; he made a point to mention that every child attending Kindergarten and Sunday School was a baptised child of another creed.¹³¹ The Institutions, Stella and Sutherland, were accused of not putting enough emphasis on English-speaking Methodists when they came west. He charged that the Institutes were accepting another creed and another set of dogmas, as well as putting the “finishing touches” on foreigners so that they would be prepared for heaven.¹³² He accused the men in charge of the missionary enterprise of wasting their time and imputed that Shaver was dishonest and that the “effort was not worth the candle.”¹³³ Furthermore, he claimed, that these foreigners were responsible for murderous crimes and that the church ought to close the doors to these dangerous people.

Much chagrined, Shaver responded to the charges . He provided clear evidence in respect to the value of the work. He retorted that the “the Methodist Church [did] not

¹²⁹ Wellington Bridgman was an early church pioneer during the early eighties between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains, he was appointed “Garrison Chaplain in 1916, later Chaplain to the 251st. Battalion C.E.F. Rev. (Captain) Wellington Bridgman, *Breaking Prairie Sod*, (Toronto: Musson Book Company Limited, 1920).

¹³⁰ The questions are excerpted from an Unsigned typescript to Mr. J.K. Sparling, 5 December 1921, is likely by James M. Shaver, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 53.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

assume that [the] people came here without any creed or church affiliation."¹³⁴ The mission's role was to instill the "teachings of the Master."¹³⁵

Bridgman's query started a trend which never seemed to end. Five months later, Shaver found himself justifying the work at the mission to Mr. Sparling, the Convener of the Laymen's Association investigating the work of All Peoples' Mission, on another charge - that not enough religious work was being done at the Institute.¹³⁶ Shaver promptly informed Sparling that one of the terms he exacted before accepting the position was to be allowed to conduct religious services and Sunday School. He included a copy of a timetable which indicated a full day jam-packed from ten in the morning until ten at night, including services designed to include all age groups. Starting with a Bible class for young boys at ten in the morning, Sunday School classes, primary classes and young men's meetings in the afternoons. In the early evening picture services for children were provided: then at 7:15 p.m. a gospel service was held for adults, ending with a song service at 8:30 p.m. which was conducted on the steps in the summer and upstairs during the winter.¹³⁷ Perhaps the meaning

¹³⁴ Ibid. See also: Rev. (Captain) Wellington Bridgman, *Breaking Prairie Sod: the Story of a Pioneer Preacher in the Eighties with a discussion on the Burning question of To-Day, "Shall the Alien Go?"* (Toronto: Musson Book Company, Ltd. 1920).

¹³⁵ Ibid. In this same letter of rebuttal Shaver mentioned Bridgman's less than illustrious career, and reported noted that the writer was Superintendent at the Industrial School at Portage la Prairie and failed, he was released twice by the military authorities of Military District no. 10. and from being hospital chaplain on account of his unfitness for work. p. 3.

¹³⁶ James M. Shaver, Winnipeg, to Mr. Sparling, 13 may 1922. Typescript, in MNWO-UCA, Shaver Papers, Box A, file 14.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

of religious service was different for the Laymen's Association than for Shaver. As far as Shaver was concerned, he was providing religious services.

Additional difficulties were imposed by the Board of Home Missions in 1929. Shaver now had to report directly to the Committee on Institutional Missions. As of October 1929, its mandate was to coordinate the work of various missionary institutes within the city of Winnipeg and bring all administrative work under one body.¹³⁸ All applications for positions on staff appointments and resignations had to be vetted by the committee, then forwarded with their recommendations to the Home Missions Committee, which in turn passed them on to the proper authorities for action.¹³⁹ This administrative reorganization curtailed Shaver's ability to appeal directly to the people he knew at headquarters in Toronto.

Shaver experienced further difficulties with his work with immigrants most of whom were Ukrainians. When church union came into being in 1925, it brought with it the Presbyterian perspectives of Rev. J. Cormie and Rev. P.C. Crath. Cormie had extensive experience with Galicians and became a formidable opponent to Shaver's work at the mission when he became Superintendent of Missions in Manitoba and North Western Ontario Conference upon union. Crath had analyzed the Presbyterian encounter and reported, some time after 1925, that the Presbyterian Church had spent over \$800,000.00 from 1903 to 1925 for mission work amongst Ukrainians with little result. He wryly noted that the Greek Independent Church claimed some 40,000 souls and at the present time there "are less than

¹³⁸ "Report on Committee on Institutional Missions in Winnipeg," Winnipeg Presbytery - Home Missions Committee Minutes, 1929-1936, MNWO-UCA, Winnipeg Presbytery, Box, D.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

500 people in the United Church.”¹⁴⁰ According to Crath’s analysis, Presbyterians ought not to have pursued the melting pot for the first generation.

It became apparent that Shaver’s view of nation building coincided neither with the Manitoba Laymen’s Association nor with the goals and objectives of Home Missions Committee. The question of how to address both the spiritual and practical human needs of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants in the district without contravening church direction was a conundrum which Shaver faced throughout his career. He chose to focus work not on creed or nationality, but “on the divine Fatherhood of God and the equally divine brotherhood of man.” He prodded the church about the need for missionary work among the many non-Anglo-Saxons in their midst.¹⁴¹ Ever resourceful, he turned to the private sector for supplemental funding when the Board of Home Missions was unable to sustain the financial resources need to operate the mission.

Financial retrenchment and changes in church policy made it increasingly difficult for Shaver to maintain programs at All Peoples’ Mission. Nonetheless, he remained unshakeable in his belief that the Social Gospel was about achieving social change and basic human rights for every Canadian citizen. His convictions appeared clearly in the programs related to social work, kindergarten, girls’ and Sunday School work.

Women workers formed the core at the mission. They were expected to minister to the poor, visit the sick, visit homes, organize fresh air camps for girls, nurse, teach

¹⁴⁰ P.C. Crath, “A Statement of the Ukrainian Mission work of the United Church of Canada,” 6pp., n.d., in MNWO-UCA, Cormie Papers PP6, file 1.

¹⁴¹ James M. Shaver, “Letter from Rev. J.M. Shaver,” Missionary Bulletin 11 (1914-1915), 123.

kindergarten and Sunday school and be prepared to serve in whatever capacity they were needed. As Neil Semple noted, women were the “foot soldiers of Methodist applied Christianity.”¹⁴² Women at All Peoples’ were employed in many capacities. The mission employed social workers for community service. These workers provided a wide range of services and acted as the mission’s ambassadors. The female worker’s role was most important in that she spread the Christian message of love and caring. In this sense Christian social service work was perceived as a form of evangelism.

During most of Shaver’s tenure, Maud Bawden promoted the Mission’s services.¹⁴³ Her duties were enormous. She made home and hospital visitations, acted as counsellor, employment agent, educator, teacher, nurse, homemaker, welfare agent, and leader in Sunday School classes. In 1924, she had three-hundred and twenty families in her case load and noted that this was a decrease from earlier years. A reporting form indicated fifty-nine different categories of tasks which could be filled out.

Her principal means of contact with women in the district was generally through sewing and selling second hand clothes and home visitations. While at the home, Bawden would inform mothers, mostly foreign, about the services available at the mission. She encouraged them to send their children to kindergarten and invited the mothers to attend Mothers’ Meetings at the various missions. She would at the same time conduct a critical inspection, making note of the number of people living in the space, and record any particular

¹⁴² Neil Semple, *The Lord’s Dominion*, 281.

¹⁴³ Miss Bawden served the mission from Shaver’s appointment until 1936. Her name does not appear on the staff list for 1937.

problems she observed or was told about. Then she would minister to the sick and needy if the situation warranted action.

It was the social worker who had the responsibility of organizing Mothers' Meetings. Bawden's 1922-1923 report shows that she had an enrolment of sixty-three foreign mothers from two missions. She notes that mothers work at Stella and Sutherland had to be carried out differently from MacLean Mission, as she had to use "personal contact, advice and sympathy."¹⁴⁴ At MacLean Mission, most women spoke English and came to partake in programs freely, while foreign mothers were unaware of services proffered. According to Shaver and Bawden, work with foreign mothers was much more difficult, because of their lack of "the English language and their uneducated mind."¹⁴⁵

Mothers' meetings were held twice a week. A typical meeting began with a cup of tea and fellowship. A baby clinic was sponsored by the Child Welfare nurses' department every mothers' meeting day. Each meeting held an educational component on practical subjects. Miss Bawden spoke about her association with other agencies, especially the "Margaret Scott Nursing Mission, the Social Department of the General and Children's Hospitals, Mrs. MacKinnon from Child Welfare and the nurses from the Child Health Bureau."¹⁴⁶ Mothers were also taught hymns and nursery rhymes for teaching their children. At the same time, English classes were conducted. Miss Bawden taught sewing and demonstrated how mothers

¹⁴⁴ Maud Bawden, "Report of Mother's Work," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 21.

¹⁴⁵ James Shaver, "Report of All Peoples' Mission," - 1924-1925," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 23.

¹⁴⁶ Maud Bawden, " Social Welfare and Mother's Worker for All Peoples' Mission,- 1925-1926," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 24.

could make over old clothes so they could stretch their meagre budgets. Mothers made quilts for sale from leftover materials and samples supplied by Eaton's. Proceeds were used for supplies and unsold quilts were distributed to the poor. Bawden found it interesting that Catholic mothers turned to the United Church instead of the Sisters of their own church. She comments about the "terrible superstition" held by the women and hoped that by "showing [their] faith in a living heavenly Father, rather than in a cruel judge," the women might realize that they had an option.¹⁴⁷ While the social services used by Catholic mothers did not result in their conversion to the Methodist/United Church, some aspects of British Canadian democracy were likely transferred. The program was successful in that it did educate women into Canadian mores, but failed to succeed in its ultimate goal of conversion.

In addition to work with immigrants, Bawden also gathered a group of women of supporting churches of the Mission. Bawden founded a North End Women's Club at Stella Mission in 1928. They met once a week, with the intent of planting the seed of cooperation and helpfulness. The programme was mostly educational and often featured speakers. The overall benefit was that it gave women hope during those trying times.¹⁴⁸

The social worker had to be well trained in child care. She had to have a knowledge of health needs, ability to help mothers with housekeeping problems, budgeting, food preparation and so on. One of the principal parts of Bawden's work was to act as a convener. She found employment for people and made arrangements for people to attend hospital clinics

¹⁴⁷ Maud Bawden, "June Report from the Visiting and Social Worker - 1928," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 28.

¹⁴⁸ Bawden, 1928 June Report.

for pre-natal, eye, ear, dental, skin and other treatment. She investigated cases which appealed for relief and worked to obtain help, and made arrangements for pensions benefits. She consulted with other agencies and they consulted with her. For example, the Mission and the Rotary Club clothed a deaf and dumb boy to enable him to attend a school for the deaf. According to Bawden, the mother was mentally defective and the father was worthless. For some time Bawden confronted bureaucratic obstacles before she could have the young lad enrolled. But through persistence, she was able to end her report with the words, "at least he could become self-supporting."¹⁴⁹

Visitation work was curtailed dramatically in 1929 as the effects of the Depression set in and the demands on Miss Bawden's time exceeded the days of the week. Much time was spent on meeting preparation: two mornings a week for mothers meetings, one day a week devoted to visiting the hospital and shut-ins.¹⁵⁰ Relief work consumed a great deal of attention, and a lot of time was spent consulting with other agencies, and preparing the English Women's Club for Friday evenings. June and December were taken up with meetings, investigation, calling and arranging for Fresh Air Camps, Christmas cheer and different Christmas activities. She mentioned the tragedies she encountered; one mother was confined to King George Hospital for eleven months and her children had to be placed in homes. Another mother was badly burned and had to spend three months in hospital. Her three month old baby was taken care of by a neighbour who hardly had enough to subsist on

¹⁴⁹ The Mission spent \$35.00 and the rotary Club \$25.00. Maud Bawden, "Social Welfare and Mother's Worker - Report 1924-1925," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 24

¹⁵⁰ Maud Bawden, "Report of Visiting and Social Service Worker of the Mission - 1924-1925," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples Mission, Box B, file 22.

herself. In another family, the father was killed and the mother was left with six girls, the youngest three months old.¹⁵¹ These are only a few of the situations with which she dealt.

Poverty increased for residents in the North End as the Depression deepened. Very few families in the district were self-supporting, and the demands on the Mission's resources increased. Support was extended through the Margaret Scott Mission, Social Service Department of the Hospital and the Day Nursery. The mission received assistance from the Women's Missionary Society and individual societies in the country. The mission was also supplied with goods such as clothing, quilts, boots, meat, fowl, canned goods and preserved fruit outside the church community. In 1930 the mission did not spend as much on relief work as the year before because the winter was milder and the "city opened unemployment and relief earlier. Women worked in market gardens that summer and paid their back rents and outstanding grocery bills".¹⁵²

Nineteen thirty-four saw the mission deeply involved in the whole question of deportation.¹⁵³ Due to the Depression and the lack of adequate social services, deportation seemed to be the solution to the city's straitened circumstances. Immigrants who failed to become independent and self-reliant shortly after their arrival were targeted for deportation. Front line workers understood the complexities of the situation much more than federal policy

¹⁵¹ Maud Bawden, "Social Service and Mothers Work Report," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 32.

¹⁵² Maud Bawden, "Social Workers Report - 1930," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 33.

¹⁵³ See, Henry F. Drystek, "The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing with them": Deportation from Canada before World War II," *Histoire Sociale - Social History*, 25 no. 30 (November 1982), 407-41 and Barbara Roberts, "Shovelling out the Unemployed," *Manitoba History* 5 (1983), 12-23.

makers. The mission stepped in and financially supported six families until the ban was lifted. One friend of the mission took on the entire support of one family, except the rent, for several months. Other families received partial support from friends of the mission. The intended deportees worked at the mission as a way of repayment. Bawden reports that Shaver lobbied authorities and was “instrumental in having the fear of being deported stopped.”¹⁵⁴ If one wonders how Bawden was able to cope with the workload, her 1930 report is telling; she notes “that all valued accomplishments were due to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁵⁵

The social worker’s aim was to educate mothers. Workers at the mission assumed that most mothers suffered from sheer ignorance and apathy. Bawden and her assistants aspired to create an atmosphere of companionship for discussion on the responsibilities of mothers. All mothers using mission services were told that they were responsible for the physical, moral and spiritual welfare of their families. They were “encourage[d]... in this big work.”¹⁵⁶ Bawden acknowledged that immigrant mothers were difficult to change but thought the work important in that “they do influence the children.”¹⁵⁷ Social work at the mission was least affected by shifting church policy between evangelism and individual salvation because of the nature of work. Bawden and her assistants reflected Shaver’s vision in community service. They used the language of kindness and Christian love, which did not

¹⁵⁴ Maud Bawden, “Social Service Work - 1934,” in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box, B, file 40.

¹⁵⁵ Maud Bawden, “Social Workers Report - 1930,” in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 33.

¹⁵⁶ Mawd Bawden, “Mother’s Work Report, MacLeans Mission - 1922-1923 in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples Mission, Box B, file 21.

¹⁵⁷ Maud Bawden, “Report of Visiting and Social Service Worker of the Mission for 1924-1925,” in MNWO-UCA, all Peoples’ Mission, Box, B, file 24.

necessarily translate into membership but did expose immigrant families to British mores and their view of nationhood.

When Rev. Shaver was appointed to All Peoples' Mission, churches carried the burden of the nation's social service responsibilities.¹⁵⁸ There was wide enthusiasm for the idea of reconstructing a new Canadian nation after the destructive forces of the First World War. To this end, the Methodist General Board of Education, believing that prevention was better than cure, "launched a movement for the Canadian churches to take control of religious education."¹⁵⁹ Although All Peoples' Mission already had a well-established kindergarten program in place, the goals and objectives were refined and articulated when the General Conference recommended the reorganization of the Religious Education Council of Canada in 1922.¹⁶⁰ At that time it was important for the Church to court non-Anglo-Saxons, as it saw its future resting on a successful appeal to them. Programs were designed to attract every member of every family at "each stage of his developing life [so that he] may be led to know and love and serve God as revealed in Jesus Christ."¹⁶¹

Shaver embraced the challenge of the big project and implemented the new objectives. He worked assiduously to attract every available member of the community to the school. Once the children were in school, programs were offered to bring members of the

¹⁵⁸ See Lorna Hurl, "The Politics of Child Welfare in Manitoba, 1922-1924," *Manitoba History* no. 7 (1984), 2-8.

¹⁵⁹ Margaret Prang, "The Girl god Would Have me Be': the Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939," *Canadian Historical Review* 66 (1985), 157.

¹⁶⁰ Religious Education Council became known as the General Board of Religious Education. *First General Council of the United Church of Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1925), 89.

¹⁶¹ *United Church of Canada Year Book* (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1927), 131.

school to Christ and the Church. Children were trained for an intelligent and effective Christian life and service.¹⁶²

One of the Mission's primary aims in kindergarten was to prepare children, most of whom were Ukrainian, for public school. It was imperative for the children to attain attitudes and habits of middle class Canadians to survive. Workers from the mission reported that parents generally welcomed them. When they came to the door, they appeared "eager to send their children to [them] for instruction."¹⁶³ Shaver was delighted as he was a zealous advocate for more education of immigrants. Immigrants hoped that education would help their children achieve success in a new country.

Children were trained to develop their physical, spiritual, intellectual and social skills. Teachers at the mission appear to have embraced their work with enthusiasm and delight. They were, after all, shaping "little lives." They helped children lengthen their attention spans, introduced them to the rhythm of music by singing, gave them cutting and pasting projects to refine their motor skills, taught reading and arithmetic, science, and civics.¹⁶⁴ Since immigrant children were raised in different cultural practices, teachers instructed the "little ones" in proper manners and a reverential attitude so they could progress to a "higher

¹⁶² *United Church of Canada Yearbook, 1926 and Record of Proceedings of the Second General Council*, (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1926): 381.

¹⁶³ J.M. Shaver, Winnipeg, to The Laymen of Manitoba Methodist Conference and All Others to whom it may Concern, Dec. 1st, 1921, typescript by J.M. Shaver, MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 18, p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ Olive Shaw, "All Peoples' Mission - Sutherland Kindergarten Report, 1935," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 42.

way of life when they [began] to attend Sunday School.”¹⁶⁵ Through work and play kindergarten teachers aimed to teach the give and take of social life, respect for the rights of others, social hygiene, household tasks, such as washing dolls clothes, nature study and the care of plants and home repairs with the proper use of tools.¹⁶⁶ Teachers were innovative, always looking for creative ways to reach children. For example, in 1935 Stella Mission closed kindergarten on Fridays, and teachers visited the homes of the children. They looked for any special talents the family held to see if they could relate it to the class. In one instance, they found a family who held a great interest in ships. The teacher brought this idea to the classroom where they studied the structure of a ship and built models out of plasticine.¹⁶⁷ As Shaver’s report reiterates, the children from the mission became better prepared for public school. The children skipped the usual “preparatory grade for non-English speaking children” and went immediately into grade one. They were prepared in “orderliness, devotion and self control and to be better citizens and Christians when they grow up.” Teacher visitations to children’s homes served as a means of transforming social relations and reported on living conditions in the community.

Kindergarten programs received regular supplementary support from outside the mission. Broadway, Fort Rouge and other churches in dominantly British areas of the city

¹⁶⁵ James M. Shaver, “Annual Report All Peoples Mission, 1927,” in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 1.

¹⁶⁶ See Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991) and Sybil Shack, “The Education of Immigrant Children During the First Two Decades of This Century,” *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions*, ser. iii no. 30 (1973-1974), 17-32.

¹⁶⁷ R. M. Lough, “1935 Stella Mission Annual Kindergarten Report,” in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 42.

funded extra curricular activities, such as picnic parties, Christmas lunches and excursions to Gimli. They also knitted "mittens for scores of little cold hands in winter."¹⁶⁸ Young United Relief Committee, supplied milk and biscuits for children who were underfed. The Women's Union of the United Church provided funding for lunches from November to March. Donations of toys, books and clothes came from professors at Wesley College. At Christmas, the *Tribune* newspaper supplied apples, oranges and candy from the *Tribune* Empty Stocking Fund. Dr. Wadge, a physician, regularly visited the mission and provided medical services. The Young Women's Association (YWA), which was composed of the leaders and older girls from the mission, helped out with girls' work, as well as any other mission work. They raised funds and formed literary, social, missionary and musical committees to set the programmes for the year.¹⁶⁹

Unfortunately, kindergarten attendance was inconsistent throughout the years, primarily due to many external factors and the transient nature of the population in the North End. A good example is supplied from the 1924-1925 kindergarten report from Sutherland Institute which indicated attendance was down due to extreme poverty. Parents spent their limited resources on children going to public school, with nothing left to send little ones to kindergarten. In 1930-1931 low attendance was attributed to Ruthenian holidays, epidemics, illness and an outbreak of chicken-pox, whooping cough, scarlet fever and diphtheria.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ James M. Shaver, "1924-1925 Annual Report," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 23.

¹⁶⁹ James M. Shaver, "1924-1925 Annual Report."

¹⁷⁰ Miss Martens and Miss Matthews, "Annual Report Kindergarten Work - Sutherland, 1930 in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 33. It is important to remember that families were generally quarantined during epidemics.

The effects of the Depression also left its mark on the kindergarten programs at the mission. The 1930-1931 annual Kindergarten reports reveal high levels of anxiety amongst the teachers. They reported that both the annual grant and private funding were cut for their programs. An early winter and high unemployment caused havoc with enrolments.¹⁷¹ Attendance continuously fluctuated; some children transferred to other kindergartens or to public schools; some were dropped and others were removed. All was not doom and gloom, however, as the spiritual side provided light for the dark days. As one of the teachers wrote in her 1930 report, she was happy to keep “children’s eyes open to see the beauty of the heavenly Father who loves them and desires that we should lead them to know him and His son Jesus who dearly loves the little ones.”¹⁷² Were some of these reasons just grasping at straws to explain the failure to attract students, or was attendance a reflection of shifting church policy from social service to evangelism and individual salvation?

Kindergarten at the mission served more than just as an agency for the church. It served as a day care for working mothers; children were taught English so they would get a good start in school, and it was a training ground for “Canadian home making.”¹⁷³ It also served as a partner with the state. Education in that period was not just to teach people to read or think. Rather Dr. R.S. Thornton, Minister of Education from 1916-1922, said that

¹⁷¹ Ibid., and R. M. Lough, “Stella Mission Kindergarten Annual Report, 1931,” in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 35.

¹⁷² M. Matthews, “Annual Kindergarten Report - Sutherland Institute - 1930,” in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 33.

¹⁷³ James M. Shaver, “Annual Report - All Peoples’ Mission, 1932,” in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 32, p. 6.

“his work was to break down barriers between different ethnic and religious groups so that a Canadian British nationality could evolve.”¹⁷⁴

In general, the glowing reports of kindergarten programs lead one to believe that they were successful, but in practice, poor attendance could be related to an obviously overt goal of brainwashing children in British culture, home inspections, and the Methodist/United Church goal of nation building. Even though Shaver was given authority to continue school and young peoples' work according to their practice at the time of union, greater emphasis placed on evangelism and membership probably contributed to the immigrants reluctance for their children to partake in programs offered at the mission.

Another cause may have been the quality of the kindergarten programs at the mission. When Shaver arrived, he reorganized and attempted to professionalize the quality of his staff in order to attract more immigrant children. At that point kindergarten directresses and their assistants carried the bulk of the responsibility for kindergarten work. They did not appreciate his suggestions. He not only met resistance from his front line workers but also from his administrators. They could not provide him with the human resources he felt he needed to effectively run programs.

One example clearly illustrates the limitations of the church in providing resources needed to achieve the goals they set. When Shaver wrote to Rev. Hiram Hall, Secretary, at the National School for Deaconess, six months after his arrival, he applied for trained kindergarten teachers because the mission would be dropping two women off staff the

¹⁷⁴ Morris K. Mott, “The foreign Peril: Nativism in Winnipeg 1916-1923,” (MA University of Manitoba, 1970), 81.

following year.¹⁷⁵ He suggested that Miss Bawden, the current directress, be reassigned to visiting and the new teachers be assigned to the teaching posts. Rev. Hull responded indicating that they had no deaconesses who also had a certificate for teaching kindergarten but “had someone who had a full certificate issued by the City Playground Association.”¹⁷⁶ Hull and Shaver debated the merits of this direction.

Unfortunately, Hull could not fulfil Shaver’s request. Instead, Hull had Miss Bradley re-instated and suggested that he was willing to send an efficient assistant for kindergarten work even though she lacked “professional certification in kindergarten work.” He was of the opinion that “Winnipeg Methodism” needed a nurse-deaconess type, even though Shaver said the city had enough. Hull had consulted with the Margaret Scott Mission which, of course, expressed the need for more nurse types.¹⁷⁷ Shaver’s drive to professionalize kindergarten positions was unsuccessful. Miss Bradley fell ill with sleeping sickness a year later.¹⁷⁸ He replaced her position with Miss Berryhill. This appointment did not sit well with Miss Sherwin, a long term employee. Shaver subsequently apologized, explaining to Miss Sherwin, that since both Bradley’s and Berryhill’s positions were funded by the Women’s

¹⁷⁵ James M. Shaver, to Rev. Hiram Hull, Toronto, 7 February 1922, typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 59.

¹⁷⁶ Hiram Hull to Rev. J.M. Shaver, Winnipeg, 14 February, 1922, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box A. file 59.

¹⁷⁷ Rev. H. Hull to Rev. J.M. Shaver, Winnipeg, 15 March 1922, typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 59. Shaver had released Miss. Bradley earlier.

¹⁷⁸ Hiram Hull to Rev. J.M. Shaver, Winnipeg, 23 March 1923 typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 59.

Missionary Society, he felt it was "impossible to [him] to break the engagement."¹⁷⁹ He asked Hull to find Sherwin work in the East.

Shaver's efforts to professionalize teachers in kindergarten added to the difficulties in meeting the actual goal of Canadianizing and integrating immigrants into Canadian society. There was, however, a small measure of success for the children who did graduate from the kindergarten programs at the mission. They at least understood English when they entered public schools.

In addition to kindergarten programs, the Sunday School program facilitated the interests of the church's larger ambition of Canadianizing immigrants into the Protestant model which they envisioned. The Board of Religious Education provided specific leadership for Sunday Schools. The purpose was to convince large numbers of youth in this country to "publicly declare their acceptance of the person and programme of Jesus Christ."

New immigrants utilized the services offered through Sunday School classes in the mission. Sunday School, however, was most challenging to Rev. Shaver, as he professed in his 1922-1923 Annual Report: "Sunday School is the most cheerful and depressing departments of the work."¹⁸⁰ This was because the mission received very little funding and was faced with very strong opposition from the parents. Although parents were anxious for children to learn English, they were suspicious of the language of Christian love and friendship. Nevertheless, seven hundred children attended Sunday School classes as reported

¹⁷⁹ J.M. Shaver, Winnipeg to Miss Sherwin, Toronto, 4 July 1923, typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, box B file 57.

¹⁸⁰ *United Church of Canada Yearbook* (Toronto: Offices of the United Church of Canada 1927), 131.

in the 1922-1923 Annual Report. The following year, classes were so popular that the mission was forced to conduct classes in two sections. Each school was divided into four grades. Beginners and primary attended classes in the mornings under the superintendency of the kindergarten directress and assistants. In the afternoon, Juniors met in kindergarten rooms under special superintendents and the intermediate and seniors met in the assembly halls. It was in the Sunday School and in the Canadian Standards in Educational Training (CSET) and Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) week day programmes where children got their best training for service. In 1927 twenty-eight young people obtained teacher training for Sunday schools and several others achieved standard certificates.¹⁸¹ Subsequent reports up to 1938 indicate Sunday School enrolment remained a strong component in the mission's work.

Registration information indicates that most participants were from non-Anglo-Saxon homes. Shaver's 1927 Annual Report indicated that immigrant children comprised ninety percent of the participation rate. Immigrant children not only attended Sunday School classes but took advantage of leadership training courses offered at the mission. Shaver proudly reported a "staff of fifty-seven teachers and officers, twenty-five of whom were produced in the mission, nineteen of the latter are from new Canadian homes."¹⁸² As Shaver's reports indicate, All Peoples' Sunday School programs were well attended until 1928. The mission received support from boys and girls who had completed their certificates at the mission. It

¹⁸¹ James M. Shaver, "Annual Report - All Peoples' Mission - 1927," in MNWO-UCA All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 1, p.6.

¹⁸² James M. Shaver, "All Peoples' Mission - Annual Report - 1927," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 1.

also received assistance from the “uptown churches, Wesley College and the University.”¹⁸³ The efforts set forth by the Religious Board of Education met with some measure of success with the Sunday School program. Shaver’s approach in practical non-denominationalism succeeded in attracting immigrants’ children to the Sunday School program, but that did not translate into increasing church membership as the Board of Home Missions expected.

The mission also ran programs for girls and directed an active Sunday School program. The programs were carried out by a strong corp of salaried, full and part-time female workers and a corp of volunteers. The most important leaders for Sutherland and Stella Institute were Mrs. W.C. Williams, Bertha Bradley, Grace Peacock, Maud Bawden, Edith Sherwin, Dorothy Doyle, and M.L. Champion. Their reports consistently indicate inadequate staffing. Nevertheless, creative means were found to promote the mission’s goal of Christianizing and Canadianizing.

Girls and women were considered to be the country’s most valuable asset. Their standards and ideals were of utmost importance in terms of family and the community.¹⁸⁴ At the mission, girls’ work followed the Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) pattern as prescribed by the Religious Education Council of Canada. Similar to, but definitively distinct from the

¹⁸³ James M. Shaver, Annual Report- All Peoples’ Mission - 1924-25,” in MNWO-UCA, all Peoples’ Mission, Box B. file 23.

¹⁸⁴ See: Sharon Anne Cook, “Earnest Christian Women, Bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth: the Ontario Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Scientific Temperance Instruction, 1881-1930,” *Ontario History* 86 (September 1994), 249-267; Diane Pedersen, “Building today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow: Businessmen, Boosters and the YWCA, 1890-1930,” *Urban History Review* 45 (February 1987), 225-242; Nancy M Sheehan, “Women Helping Women: the WCTU and the Foreign Population in the West, 1905-1930,” *International Journal of Women’s Studies* 6 (November-December 1983), 395-411; Christina Simmons, “Helping the Poorer Sisters: The Women of the Jost Mission, Halifax, 1905-1945,” *Acadiensis* 14 (1984), 3-27 and Mariana Valverde, *the Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1991).

boys' Trail Rangers and Tuxis programs, girls' work was organized to follow the four-fold program which targeted the physical, intellectual, devotional and social aspects in a girl's life. It was believed that home, school and church were the most important institutions in a girl's life. Educational programs were designed to follow the social service aspect with emphasis on social community responsibility that was Christian rather than a concentration on the redemption of the individual.¹⁸⁵ A society based on cooperation was idealized and nurtured at the mission in the hope that those ideals would be transmitted from one generation to the next.

Prior to entry into CGIT programs, young girls attended Mission Bands, Sunshine Clubs and Golden Key Clubs.¹⁸⁶ Girls were taught basic hygiene, sewing skills, and the art of choosing good books. They were introduced to the world around them and other cultures at the Golden Key level. For example, in 1929 the Golden Keys worked on a project designed to understand and promote goodwill toward the Jewish race.¹⁸⁷

Girls then progressed into CGIT programs at the ages of 12-14 for the intermediate level and ages 15-17 at the senior level. Deaconesses and their assistants led the programs based on the four fold life plan designed for girls.¹⁸⁸ For physical development Sunday School sports were organized to teach girls ladylike behaviour and the art of self-control in

¹⁸⁵ *First General Council of the United Church of Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1925), 88.

¹⁸⁶ James M. Shaver, "38th Annual Report of All Peoples' Mission," 1926-1927, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission Box B, file 1, 4.

¹⁸⁷ Girls Work Report - Stella Mission, 1929 in MNWO-UCA All Peoples' Mission, Box, B. file 32,

¹⁸⁸ For an in-depth review of CGIT see: Margaret Prang, "The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939," *Canadian Historical Review* 66 (1985), 154-184.

competitive situations.¹⁸⁹ Competitions were arranged between mission teams and “uptown girls” as a way of breaking down class distinctions and “to build a spirit of unity.”¹⁹⁰ Activities included basketball, volleyball, baseball groups, team games, swimming, hiking, camping, outdoors sports and health talks.

Creative and intellectual skills were stimulated through group discussion and lectures, story telling, drama, arts and home crafts. The girls made artifacts for home and worked on community projects such as making quilts for Vita Hospital, scrapbooks for children at the Children’s Hospital, dressing dolls for the kindergartens, knitting scarves and packing hampers at Christmas time.

The devotional portion of the four- fold plan was fulfilled by attending and or leading Sunday School classes, and participation in devotional group meetings held mid-week. A typical mid-week meeting began with a ceremonial opening, a short business meeting, followed by a ten minute devotional period.¹⁹¹ Young Peoples’ Societies and Mission Band members followed monthly missionary programs and listened to missionary stories told by the leader.

Prior to union the spiritual aspect of the CGIT four-fold program appeared to be successful, according to Deaconess’s reports, as an “atmosphere of worship and the living

¹⁸⁹ M. Champion “Girls Work Annual Report - Stella Mission - 1922 in MNWO-UCA All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file, 16.

¹⁹⁰ James m. Shaver, The 38th Annual Report of All Peoples’ Mission, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples Mission, Box B, file 1, p. 4.

¹⁹¹ Prang, 163.

presence of Jesus," existed in the Mission.¹⁹² The program was revised by the National Girls Work Board (NGWB) and the Women's Missionary Society (WMS), in 1927 when it was decided that "the four- fold approach had been less than successful in integrating the spiritual aspects with other aspects of the program." The new program required that one group meeting a month must be devoted to a "missionary theme and no CGIT group could be officially registered unless it gave due emphasis to Missionary Education and World Friendship." The project method emphasized girls' relationships in the home, school, church and the community, believing that girls would subconsciously assume their responsibility in this world.¹⁹³ The change to this portion of the CGIT program appears to have occurred in response to an obvious shift in church policy from social service to evangelism and a drive for increased membership. The social development segment of the four-fold program was devoted to cultivating girls organizational skills in preparation for responsibility in leadership. Young girls learned to organize social functions, were taught about different cultures, learned music and songs, arranged one act plays, held stunt nights and organized fund raising drives.¹⁹⁴ Other activities included working at fresh air camps in Gimli, and at Kirkfield, along the Assiniboine River. Girls took leadership courses at the senior level and began teaching Sunday School classes. Leadership training not only provided Sunday School teachers for

¹⁹² These statements and others similar in nature appear in Girls' Work Annual Reports submitted by Edith M. Sherwin and Ida Pitt from Sutherland and Stella Institutes respectively, throughout the years 1926-1932. MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B. files 32-36.

¹⁹³ Prang, 173, 176.

¹⁹⁴ Edith M. Sherwin, "Annual Report of Girls Work - Sutherland Mission, 1931 in MNWO-UCA All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 34.

the mission and leaders for the younger groups, but girls were expected to assume responsibility for leading devotion, plan meetings and lead discussion groups in the more serious issues in life.¹⁹⁵

Girls' work at the mission appears to have been relatively successful in terms of social outreach but was subject to shifting church policies between emphasis on social service and emphasis on evangelism and individual salvation. Enrolment took a sharp decline in the 1930s. Part can be ascribed to the Depression, the change in requirements for membership in CGIT and a maturing Ukrainian community. One telling remark exists in a report by Deaconess E.M. Sherwin, who said, "many of the older girls who had come up through the mission had left because of the influence of the Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian National Movement."¹⁹⁶ It would seem that the girls transferred their skills to their original Christian traditions. In order to counter the trend, the mission began offering Sunday evening service in both English and Ukrainian.¹⁹⁷ The programs were successful in terms of social outreach but not in meeting the goals of evangelism and church membership. They did, however, take the ideals of British Canadian democracy back to their communities.

Shaver's success with Canadianizing through leadership training did not produce the results the church hoped to achieve. After the United Church was formed and especially

¹⁹⁵ James M. Shaver, "Annual Report for All Peoples' Mission - 1926," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box, B, file 1, 4. Also, the 1937 Report of Activities stated that of 116 units which demanded volunteer leadership, 75 were supplied by the young people from the Mission and 41 from outside.

¹⁹⁶ E.M. Sherwin, Annual Report of Girls' Work - Sutherland Institute, 1932 in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 36.

¹⁹⁷ E.M. Sherwin, "Annual Report Sutherland Institute - 1932." in MNWO-UCA, all Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 36.

during the 1930s, financial resources diminished. Shaver was challenged to keep mission work among non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants ongoing. His strongest opponent was Dr. Cormie, Superintendent of Manitoba and North Western Ontario Conference.

Impossible orders were issued by an administration that had no idea of what the execution of their directives really meant. Shaver could not persuade Dr. Cormie from further cuts to his staff in 1935, even with supporting recommendations from the Home Missions Committee of Winnipeg Presbytery. A heartbreaking letter written to Rev. Kenneth Beaton, Secretary to the Board of Home Missions in Toronto, illustrates the depth of agony Shaver experienced as he fought for funding. He referred to Cormie's "slashing attack" on All Peoples' Mission's budget, even though the mission implemented the evangelical directives they were given. He was specifically distressed about the cut to the "girls' salaries," and said he would accept them if the cut was applied "throughout the whole Church." He pointed out that the girls had been "real missionaries and [had] spent too much promoting the work in which they [were] engaged." He said because of this cut they would not "be able to put anything aside for their old age." Shaver indicated he would have been willing to take the cut to his own salary except that he and his wife would never have been able to survive if it would not have been for Mrs. Shaver's small income which she was "fortunate enough to receive."¹⁹⁸

Girls' work and subsequent attendance was affected by church policy changes. The church's changing fortunes directly affected programs designed to instill British family values

¹⁹⁸ J.M. Shaver to Rev. Kenneth J. Beaton, Toronto, 11 March 1935, typescript, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 40.

and traditions in their quest to convert immigrants to the Protestant model of Canadianization. The next chapter examines the boys' work and the success of the social service approach until church union and a change in policy. It will demonstrate how Shaver was caught in the middle between directives from the church which he could not influence and workers at the mission he could not control. The chapter will also focus on rural and ethnic outreach programs Shaver undertook.

CHAPTER FOUR

FROM IMMIGRANT YOUTH TO CANADIAN LEADER

When Shaver was appointed to All Peoples' Mission in 1921, it was with a mandate to Canadianize and Christianize immigrants into a Methodist Protestant model which utilized a liberal Social Gospel interpretation. Shaver's methodology of ignoring denominational lines in Canadianizing immigrants appears to have been successful until church union in 1925. He maintained that the mere presence of Protestant missions among immigrant communities benefitted them in two ways; immigrant leaders were forced to modify their policies to real needs, and services provided by the mission assisted them in the transition of Canadian citizenship. Shaver believed that if you taught people democratic practice and leadership and taught them how to think and act for themselves on their own decision, they would no longer feel comfortable within the autocratic Orthodox and Catholic churches. He believed antagonism between Catholics and Protestants was a waste of time. Instead, he advocated citizenship training. By focusing on ministers, mission workers and leaders, the training programs, in essence, were turning out Methodist/United Church leaders. Shaver firmly believed his methodology was the most effective way of assimilating immigrants into the new country. By cultivating leadership as a way of promoting citizenship, he believed immigrants would eventually choose denominations or religions for themselves that were less autocratic than Catholicism. The differences between Shaver's methodology before and after union is well exemplified with the mission's work for boys under Atkinson's and King's leadership.

When church policy changed, Atkinson was replaced by Rev. C.M. King who adopted a more evangelical approach endorsed by the church's new policy. As superintendent, Shaver was caught in the middle between directives from the Church which he could not influence and workers at All Peoples' Mission whom he could not control. Shaver's commitment to Canadianization through leadership development within a non-denominational approach could not satisfy the church hierarchy. They believed that Canada's future greatness depended upon the young "to become the next generation of leaders in church and state," but expected converts and growth in church membership rolls for their efforts.¹⁹⁹ Boys' work, urban and rural outreach programs exemplify Shaver's vision that it was not necessary to convert and adhere to Protestantism to build the nation. However, this was not a quantifiable measure.

Boys' work and leadership programmes for young men were essential parts of Shaver's approach to Canadianization. Activities at All Peoples' Mission were intended to create leaders from within immigrant communities, who would then promote Christian citizenship in the city and beyond. The training and assignment of students missionaries to work in rural communities, then, was a logical extension of Shaver's concern.

In boys' work, the mission engaged in educational programs as a means to transform young boys and young men into the church's vision of Christian Canadian character. By assisting disadvantaged boys, the workers endeavoured to instill the ideals of the Social Gospel in the brotherhood of humanity. Four keywords form the essence upon which boys' character training was based: idealism, leadership, vision and service. Idealism called for

¹⁹⁹ Patricia Dirks, "Getting a Grip on Harry: Canada's Methodist Response to the Big Boy Problem, 1900-1925," in *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* 7 (1990), 70.

professionalism in any endeavour, maintaining the principles of honor and purity over pleasure. Leadership called for sharing the spirituality of God's purpose. Vision referred to the call of the coming victory, the discovery that Jesus, as an example, in his devotion to doing the will of God has opened the gateway to the light of life in fellowship. The final aspect stressed service and selflessness toward fellowmen. Young boys and young men were reminded that God had bestowed each with great gifts and these ought to be shared, for the Lord said, "He that saveth his life loseth it."²⁰⁰ Young boys were taught that only through selfless service could they achieve true greatness. Religious education at the mission served to inculcate Christian values and encourage male youth to publicly declare their allegiance to a Christian church. Boys' and young men's programs were significantly different from those of girls. Boys' work was given higher priority because the church viewed their potential loss as "devastating in a world where leadership of church and state remained virtually a male preserve."²⁰¹ Boys' work prepared males for the larger world of politics and commerce, while girls' work focused on family-oriented goals.

Religious education was transmitted through club programs designed for Tyros, Trail Rangers, Tuxis, and later a modified form of the Explorers' programme was introduced.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Rev. Aldworth Eardley, "What Will You Do With Your Education for the Kingdom of God," *Vox* (1931), 19.

²⁰¹ Dirks, 68.

²⁰² Cecil King, the new Boys' Worker introduced the modified Explorers Programme. Cecil King, "Boys' Department Annual Report, April-December 1927, All Peoples' Mission," p. 2. MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 28.

Boys were generally divided into groups according to age.²⁰³ Names of the groups varied according to time and population. Beginners (ages 6-8) were called Preparatory Trail Rangers, Tyros, Explorers, or Terriers. The next level were either Tyros or Explorers (ages 8-12), progressing to Trail Rangers (ages 13-15), and reaching leadership training at the Tuxis level (ages 16+).²⁰⁴

Athletics were utilized to teach boys the British model of freedom, democracy, equal opportunity, fair play and progress. Their activities were organized according to season. In winter the boys began preparing for competitions in swimming, club games, basketball (midget and intermediate), Junior and Senior Boys gym. Hikes, parties and visits to industrial plants were included for diversion.²⁰⁵ Spring and fall found the boys engaged in football, baseball, the continuation of basketball (the favoured activity), track and road races, culminating in an Annual Jamboree. The Jamboree was an event at which various groups from the "three Missions competed for a Shield, in group games and tests."²⁰⁶ They also held the three mile and one mile road race at this event. The missions rented empty lots for game competitions and allotted any excess land to boys' families for gardens.

²⁰³ Standards were flexible, for example, one group of Trail Rangers could be (ages 11-12) at one Institute and (ages 8-10) at another.

²⁰⁴ Tuxis group is known as a square from the four square programme based on St. Luke 2:52. "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man and from the ideal of four square growth - intellectual, physical, devotional and social for each boy." "Tuxis Tenacity," by Gordon Lapp in MNWO-UCA Shaver Papers, Box A, file 14.

²⁰⁵ For a few years the boys had a skating rink and hoped to have a hockey team; however the idea was abandoned since most families could not afford the equipment.

²⁰⁶ Harry Atkinson, "Methodist Mission Institutes report of Boys' Work, 1922-23," typescript in MNWO-UCA, all Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 19.

The training programs were so effective that mission boys provoked fear and envy among other clubs in the city.²⁰⁷ All Peoples' Boys' Clubs were first in many competitions. For example, in 1924-25, the Tuxis boys won the dominion, provincial and city track meets. The team won all four shields in the Sunday School Basketball League and two from the North End Basketball League. The Trail Rangers took the pennant from the City Trail Ranger Pow Wow. The Mission's teams participated and reached several finals in the city playground contests. The boys won the shield for Norquay School in the city schools' swimming contest.²⁰⁸

The boys accumulated many trophies, shields and badges. These honors were not as important in the eyes of Shaver and Atkinson, however, as the high degree of sportsmanship the boys exhibited in competition. Shaver and Atkinson's aim was "to make the teams from All Peoples' Mission evangelists of a higher type of sportsmanship."²⁰⁹ Boys were inspired by the message of Jesus through group meetings, Sunday School classes and Sunday evening discussions. Sports and games taught young men team work, fair play and commitment, skills which were not only sports skills but life skills.²¹⁰ The achievements of boys' work at the

²⁰⁷ Other teams in the city met Mission boys with great trepidation because they knew that All Peoples' Mission teams were well trained. H. Atkinson, "Report of the Boys' Department of All Peoples' Mission, 1925-1926," 2. Typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 28.

²⁰⁸ James M. Shaver, "Report of the Work Done in All Peoples' Mission, Year for 1924-1925," 2, typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 22.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ The phrase, missionary attitude is meant to be of service to others and to help those in less advantaged circumstances than they are.

mission certainly seemed to show an outstanding success of the social service approach in Canadianizing young men.

When young men attained Tuxis group level, they assumed responsibility for leadership in Tyros and Trail Rangers programs and provided mentorship to the younger boys. One of the most valuable aspects of the leadership training program was training and participation in parliamentary procedure. The boys at All Peoples' Mission learned parliamentary procedure and debating rules by attending Older Boys' Parliament where they discussed current topics of the day. They made up electoral parties and held mock elections in order to win election to the Provincial Boys' Parliaments which then qualified them to "run for National Parliament."²¹¹ These were held "annually across the Dominion in every provincial Parliament building except Quebec's."²¹² They attended Provincial Conferences and leadership training camps. The leadership training programs were held at summer camps in Gimli. In 1923-1924 and 1924-1925, Rev. Atkinson led the provincial training camps and two district boys' camps. He was assisted by young men who had grown up through the Mission. Training sessions generally lasted one week to ten days and formed the highlight of the year's work.

Summer camps presented the best opportunity for shaping character. It provided an excellent training ground for their leaders. Leaders developed closer relationships with boys while participating in games, hikes and swims. Activities generally ended with story hours

²¹¹ M. Lucille Marr, "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls in Training, 1919-1939," *Historical Studies in Education* 3, 2 (1991), 253.

²¹² Marr, 253.

where spiritual values were transmitted. Working with small groups made character construction easier. The Vigil Test was another method used to shape character.²¹³ The requirements were to sleep one night alone, a mile from camp. This gave the young man an opportunity to think about the problems in his life work, and “bring him face to face with vital issues he never forgets.”²¹⁴ Eighteen boys had passed the test in the summer of 1923 and most of those were preparing to give leadership.²¹⁵

Camp attendance was high during Atkinson’s career at the Mission. The summers of 1923, 1924 and 1925 had an attendance of three hundred, four hundred and five hundred respectively. Summer camp provided a great opportunity for young people to escape the city for some fresh air, collegiality and fun. Here the boys could become one with nature. Atkinson’s reports also illustrate at an emotional level the work the mission was trying to do. In one particular instance Atkinson recounted an experience which provided a surety of the programmes used at camp and what brought him a small measure of reward. The day had been hot, the mosquitoes bad. Tempers flared. Atkinson had gone down to the lake to watch the sunset (and perhaps to get away from the rousing rabble). It was not long before the boys gathered round him, and he noted how their chattering ceased as they became entranced with the enchanting sunset. The leader suggested they take off their caps and pray. After the prayer one boy said to the leader, “It makes you want to be better doesn’t it?” This scene

²¹³ James M. Shaver, “Report of the Work Done in All Peoples’ Mission. Year of 1924-1925,” typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples Mission, Box B, file 23, p. 2.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

sums up the ideal of the boys' work around All Peoples' Mission. "We are seeking to make boys want to do better."²¹⁶

In addition to the mission's formal training programs, special boys' clubs were organized by workers for those who could not or would not participate in the mission's regular programmes. For example, the 1922-1923 Annual Report indicated thirty Jewish Boy Scouts attended the mission, thirty members were enrolled in a German Club and seventy-four boys formed Clubs as irregular members at the three Missions.²¹⁷ Methodist Church concern for the welfare of young boys led laymen and clerics to work "within two non-denominational organizations, the International Sunday School Association and the YMCA."²¹⁸ Young Mens' Clubs were most popular during periods of high unemployment. In order to keep morale up, the workers at the mission, along with the help of the Secretary of the North End YMCA, "provided recreation, contests and helpful talks two afternoons a week."²¹⁹ The young men were either referred to businesses where they could learn a trade or were encouraged to go back to school.²²⁰

²¹⁶ "Report of the Boys' Department of All Peoples; Mission 1925-1926," unsigned typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B file, 27.

²¹⁷ If the Mission could not provide leadership for the Jewish boys, arrangements were made from alternate agencies such as the Boy Scouts. Jewish boys and others were allowed access to the facilities as long as they exhibited proper behaviour. James M. Shaver, "Annual Report of the Superintendent of All Peoples' Mission 1923-1924," 4.

²¹⁸ Dirks, 69.

²¹⁹ James M. Shaver, "Report of the Work Done in All Peoples' Mission, year of 1924-1925, Typescript in MNWO-UCA in All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 24.

²²⁰ Harry Atkinson, "Methodist Mission Institutes Report of Boys' Work, 1922-23," in MNWO-UCA All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 19.

The mission's social outreach included a deep commitment to juvenile rehabilitation work. Many immigrant boys were caught up in gangs. Harry Atkinson, boys' work leader, assumed responsibility for organizing programs. He served as counsel and mentor for immigrant delinquents. In 1922-1923, for example, forty-seven delinquent boys were ordered to report to him. As well, Judge Hamilton put three gangs under his supervision and Atkinson found placement for twenty other boys on farms who would have landed in Reform School.²²¹ The next year Atkinson was called to investigate eleven gangs of boys and in that year placed another twenty-eight boys on the farm programme.²²²

The farm programme was thought to be particularly effective. There, it was assumed, a young man could live in a better environment, live honestly and earn a living at the same time.²²³ Atkinson recounted a story of a young man who recognized him in a street car in Chicago as the man who had placed him on a farm seven years earlier. The young man expressed his gratitude to Atkinson. Atkinson recalled that the young man's mother had died and his father deserted him, so he stole to survive. Now he was married and had a good

²²¹ Harry Atkinson, "Methodist Mission Institutes Report of Boys' Work, 1922-23," typescript, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 19. See also, Rebecca Coulter, "Not to Punish But to Reform: Juvenile Delinquency and Children's Protection Act in Alberta, 1909-1929," in *Studies in Childhood History*, Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell, eds., (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1982), 167-184 and David Howell and Lindsay Peter, "Social Gospel and the Young Boy Problem, 1895-1925" *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 17 1 (1986), 75-87.

²²² James M. Shaver, "Annual Report of the Superintendent of All Peoples' Mission 1923-24," typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 23.

²²³ The Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act was passed in 1908. Winnipeg was the first city in Canada to establish a juvenile court in 1910. Dorothy McCarton "75 Years in Winnipeg's Social History," *Canadian Welfare* 25 (Oct. 1949), 14.

job.²²⁴ Very few boys ever reappeared in juvenile court once they had been through the programme. Numbers placed on farms for 1924-1925 were omitted in the mission's annual report, however, 1925-1926 shows there were thirty-two boys under supervision on farms.²²⁵ The programme gave the boys a sense of worth, a small salary, three square meals a day and kept them busy.

Winnipeg's service clubs were also very supportive of the mission's work. Rotarians played a prominent role. For example, the 1921-1922 annual report states that the organization gave \$150.99 to Rev. Atkinson for the purchase of an artificial leg for a boy who had lost his in an accident. In 1923-1924, Atkinson again called upon the Rotarians for assistance to organize a boys' club in Elmwood. Apparently there were eleven gangs of boys with time on their hands. The Rotarians quickly responded by renting an old warehouse in the district, outfitted it with gym equipment and gave voluntary leadership for six months in the winter. Two-hundred and five boys registered the first night and another seventy-five the following night. Only one per cent were members at other organizations. Atkinson recommended that another three clubs could be organized to keep the boys occupied.²²⁶ Cooperation with community service organizations formed part of the inclusive social outreach Shaver promoted in terms of character formation.

²²⁴ James M. Shaver, "Report of the Work Done in All Peoples' Mission. Year of 1924-25," typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box, B, file 24.

²²⁵ "Report of the Boys' Department of All Peoples' Mission -1925-1926, unsigned typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 26..

²²⁶ James M. Shaver, "Annual Report of the Superintendent of All Peoples' Mission, 1923-1924, typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 23, p. 4.

A marked contrast appears on issues of evangelism, social outreach and church policy after union in 1925 when the United Church re-organized the administration and activities of its founding denominations. Membership in boys' work, for example, declined after Atkinson's departure in 1926. Subsequent annual reports reveal boys' work suffered under Reverend Cecil King's leadership. A number of factors explained some of the difficulties King encountered during his appointment (1926-1934). The primary one was church union and the formation of the United Church of Canada. When Cecil King arrived on the 15 July 1926, James Shaver was away on sick leave. His absence caused King difficulty in conducting classes in Bible study at Sutherland, along with changes in administrative procedures.²²⁷ Reporting processes had also changed. The United Church now asked for weekly (The Sunday Schools and Through-The-Week Religious Education Activities), and quarterly reports instead of an annual report.²²⁸

Annual reports also reveal basic philosophical differences between the attitudes of Atkinson and King to their work. Atkinson was deeply involved in social outreach, King immediately disengaged the mission from it. He felt that one or two evenings a week were not sufficient, and, given the limitations of time and equipment, he decided to focus primarily on the good boys rather than "pursuing redemptive work."²²⁹ Although King acknowledged

²²⁷ Shaver became ill in 1924-1925. He took treatment at Paso Robles Sanatorium (Methodist Episcopal Church Sanatorium) in California. He found it necessary to ask for and extension of his sick leave which was granted.

²²⁸ A sample of Schedule A (R.E.), which all workers had to sign may can be found in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box, B, file 30.

²²⁹ Cecil A.J. King, "Annual Report 1926-1927, Boys' Department, All Peoples Mission," typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples Mission, Box B, file 27, p. 2.

that delinquent boys should not be neglected, he argued that the “greatest good to the greatest number [would] result by following what [he considered] to be preventative work.”²³⁰

In the Boys’ Clubs, King’s approach diverged significantly from those of Shaver and Atkinson. They viewed Jewish boys’ participation at the mission as a cause for celebration, because their presence broke down prejudice. King, on the other hand, in sympathy with new church policy, stressed stronger evangelism in character formation programs.²³¹ He expected boys to put evangelism in the centre of their hearts.²³² In 1929, he remarked that “Hebrew boys were difficult to attract for instruction of an inspirational nature.”²³³ In 1930 he reported that since most clubs “have been Hebrew and no progress on character building lines seem possible,” he intended to discourage further formation of these groups. He discontinued leadership for these groups on the ground that those who only used the facilities for physical work “receive little else...,” and “as a result little constructive work can be done in terms of character training.”²³⁴ Ironically, membership in the Boys’ Club increased in 1931 and 1932.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ “The readiness to serve ... a readiness to cooperate in our enterprise of establish the Kingdom,” indicated success in character formation. Cecil A. King, “Boys Dept. Annual Report, 1928, All Peoples’ Mission, Jan. 3, 1929,” typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 29.

²³² Cecil M. King, “1929 Boys Department Annual Report, All Peoples’ Mission,” typescript (15 January 1930) in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 32, p. 5.

²³³ Cecil King, “1929 Boys Department Annual Report, all Peoples’ Mission,” typescript MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Bob, B, file 32.

²³⁴ Cecil M. King, “1930 Boys’ Department Annual Report - All Peoples’ Mission,” typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 33.

King was able to organize four groups of sixty-five boys and eight clubs with one hundred boys who engaged in lectures, discussions and debates.

King's reports reveal that he followed new church policy by emphasizing the evangelical aspect in boy's work. However, he had a great deal of difficulty in interesting boys in the more spiritual aspects of the programs. His reports consistently express his deep disappointment. In report after report he notes, for instance, that the Explorers program was not being followed "because it [was] unsuitable," and boys energies were exhausted in "physical group games, swimming and story period," with an occasional worship period. Similar comments are made in respect to the Tyros (ages 11 and 12), which was a bit more organized in terms of team games, group games and hobbies.

Comments on Trail Rangers projects are illuminating. King emphasized dramatics, story-telling, musical numbers, woodworking (in winter), essay writing, recitations and concerts.²³⁵ Whereas his predecessor hoped to promote the evangelical message through physical activity, King preferred a more intellectual approach.

The faltering boys' programs at the mission contributed to the lack of leadership. In 1928 King let young people run their own services which gave him more time to conduct services for teenage boys and girls.²³⁶ He said that employment opportunities had increased,

²³⁵ Cecil M. King "Annual Report, All Peoples' Mission Boys' Work," 1930, 1931, typescript in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, files 33 and 34.

²³⁶ Cecil M. King, "1928 Boys' Department Annual Report, All Peoples' Mission." typescript (3 January 1929) in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 29.

and as a result, "there were fewer mission boys leading groups at camp."²³⁷ By 1929, he received assistance of a full-time boys' worker from the college. Although the quantity of work had improved, the quality had not. He argued that the program was designed to build character and could not be done en masse. "It requires personalized attention."²³⁸ To alleviate the problem at the mission, the church called upon more experienced leaders from other churches, including United, Presbyterian and Greek Orthodox. This approach was unsuccessful, as those who could volunteer their time could not commit themselves to run mid-week programs on a regular basis. By 1931, the situation had not improved, even when boys from the Tuxis program were unemployed. Their attentions were attracted to the YMCA. King notes in his 1931 report that it was very difficult to maintain interest.

To add to King's frustration level, he was assigned responsibility for Robertson House in 1931. He warned Home Missions, the body to which he reported, that with the increased workload "there would be a corresponding reduction in service to men's and boys' work. The work will be more superficial and inefficient."²³⁹ Along with an increasing workload, workers experienced a reduction in income. As King pointed out, the need for service was just as great. However, the reduction in income "involves personal economies which take time and substance which might otherwise be devoted to the work at heart." He cut back on

²³⁷ "39th Annual Report All Peoples' Mission The United Church of Canada, Winnipeg, 1928," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission Box B, file 1.

²³⁸ Cecil M. King, "1929 Boys' Department Annual Report, All Peoples' Mission," typescript (15 January 1930) in MNWO-USA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 32.

²³⁹ Cecil M. King, "Annual Report, All Peoples' Mission, Boys' Work for 1931," typescript (26 January 1932) in MNWO-USA, all Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 34.

outside committee work and “spent more time visiting other organizations and making direct contributions to groups of young people and leaders.” He began serving as chaplain to the Sir Hugh John McDonald Memorial Hostel for Boys where a large percentage of boys from the mission’s district ended up. King reasoned this was another “way to retain contact with the boys.”²⁴⁰

King’s career at All Peoples’ Mission was beset by challenges. Not only was he caught in the throes of the Great Depression, he did not have adequate facilities. Whether the facilities were not suited for his purposes or whether they were unsuitable because of age is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, King made mention of the lack in his reports. People who lived in his district were for the most part unemployed. Young people, especially boys, were increasingly restless and rebellious. Nevertheless, King reported in 1932 that he was able to maintain a measure of control and took heart in “the steady increase in the number of those who [would] respond to any reasonable demand for service within the limit of their ability.”²⁴¹ Character work progressed, albeit slowly; some boys caught what was called the spirit of the mission. While some boys were totally devoted, King noted that for the most part the boys used the mission until something else diverted their attention. He took comfort in the fact that the boys under the mission’s influence seldom appeared in juvenile court and those who attended the mission’s programmes faithfully “rarely get into trouble.”²⁴²

²⁴⁰ C.M.J. King, “1932 Annual Report, Boys’ Work, All Peoples Mission,” typescript (2 February, 1933) in MNWO-USA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box B, file 36.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁴² *Ibid.*

After King's departure in 1934, boys' work declined, even though work was carried on by leaders from other churches and faculty and students from Wesley College. The decline in the effectiveness of the mission's programs can be directly linked to changes in church policy and the financial stringencies of the United Church. In 1931, at its November 24th meeting, Home Missions Committee of the Winnipeg Presbytery recommended that the "aim of every mission is and must be to win people for Christ and to build up a worshipping and active congregation."²⁴³ Each mission was directed to develop a space, wherever possible, exclusively for the purpose of worship and prayer. The committee also recommended that Shaver obtain and maintain contact with people in their homes, especially in the case of non-Anglo-Saxon people. Furthermore, the committee recommended that the Home Missions Board not curtail boys' work and that it ought to be extended with the appointment of an additional boys' worker.²⁴⁴ In addition to the imposition of a policy to which Shaver objected, his budget for student assistants was cut. He said that one student assistant could not possibly handle all the boys' work at both missions in one evening. Moreover, the missions were one mile apart, and he could not ask one student to spend four nights a week on boys' work, "with all the preparation and organization entailed."²⁴⁵ Shaver himself could not take on more responsibility, and he argued

²⁴³ The Home Missions Committee of the Winnipeg Presbytery was constituted 1 January 1930.

²⁴⁴ Report on Committee on Institutional Missions in Winnipeg, 1929-1936, MNWO-UCA, Winnipeg Presbytery Minutes, Box D.

²⁴⁵ James M. Shaver to Rev. Kenneth J. Beaton, Toronto, March, 1935, typescript in MNWO-UCA All People Mission, Box B, file. 40.

that the \$150.00 for a second student would make a success of the work or “practically wreck it.”²⁴⁶

Programs declined in quality and quantity, not only because of a change in church policy and financial constraints but because other factors entered into the equation. The lack of stability in leadership contributed to the decline, as did the Ukrainian National Movement, a new Greek Orthodox Church in the area, and alternative choices for young people. These factors contributed to declining enrolments at the mission. By 1939 there were only ninety-four boys enrolled in programmes. Clearly, the mission needed a new strategy to attract young people to its facilities. Mission enrolment declined further with the outbreak of the Second World War. Young men went to war, creating a shortage. Many of the church’s ministers were called to service as chaplains, and many enlisted as ordinary citizens. The shortage of leaders, coupled with the great debt of the church, left the church less able to sustain religious education programs. These leadership problems also compromised the effectiveness of the mission’s outreach programs.

In addition to regular programs at the mission, Shaver’s leadership training programs extended beyond the doors. They included outreach to rural immigrant communities. Shaver believed the immigrant could be reached with a “mighty passion,” and lead into personal fellowship with the loving Christ,” as long as church programming did not overtly promote church membership.²⁴⁷ He said if the United Church was moved with a single passion to “lead

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 2.

²⁴⁷ In the rural municipality of Stuartburn (near Vita), there were sixteen churches, of which three had weekly services, some only had services four to five times a year and others twice a year, at Christmas and Easter. In Sandy Lake, once a month, in the Brokenhead district two to three times a year at \$15.00 per

our people into fellowship with Christ,” then let them “work out their future in the way peculiar to their genius, she shall not lose by it in the end, for it is true here as elsewhere: He that saveth his life shall lose it, He that loseth his life for Christ sake shall find it.”²⁴⁸ This, he believed, was the recipe for Canadian unity. Conversion to United Church membership was not a priority for Shaver; more important was the word of God and the transmission of British Canadian democratic ideals.

Shaver knew people in rural areas received very little attention from their denominational churches, whether Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox. This opened a place for a United Church missionary presence. Even though enmity existed between some Protestants and Catholics, Shaver believed the mere presence of Protestant missions in the midst of “these people [forced] the immigrant church leaders to adapt [their] policies more and more to the real needs of the people...”²⁴⁹ Even if converts were not won for the United Church, the quality of religious life would improve in rural districts.

Shaver was deeply committed to rural Ukrainian communities. He devised a program in indigenous ministry in 1924, and began a rural outreach work with graduates from the program in 1925. The idea was to place Anglo-Saxon and Ukrainian student ministers

service. John Korchik, “A Confidential Report on Survey Based of the leading Ukrainian Districts of Western Canada,” typescript 23 December, 1929, in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Shaver Papers PP 53, Box A file 5, p. 18.

²⁴⁸ John Korchik and James M. Shaver, “Summary and Conclusion: John Korchik Report to the Board of Home Missions based on a Survey of the Leading Ukrainian Districts of Western Canada by the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, December 20th, 1929, in MNWO-UCA Shaver Papers PP53 Box A, file 7.

²⁴⁹ “The Immigrant: Care, Financial Assistance and Advice,” in MNWO-UCA, Shaver Papers PP53, Box A, file 8.

together in poor rural Ukrainian communities during the summer. They were to provide social services in the hope that they would win some followers to the Kingdom of God. Shaver theorized that the young men living together could provide an excellent example of intercultural cooperation. His experiment began in 1925 with young men generally serving anywhere from twelve to twenty-one weeks during the summer. Their objective was to “chum up,” to be friendly with all in the community, so that a trust could be forged. It was expected that the leaders in immigrant communities could “show the way to their people.”²⁵⁰ The young ministers served in Teulon, East Braintree, McMunn, Glenn, Reynolds, Tolstoi, McMillan School, Komarno, Netley Creek, Strig School, Dundas, Light School, Elma and Whitemouth.

The work was challenging. These missionaries began with a methodology based on social, spiritual and physical programs. Sunday School lessons were offered; sports and games were organized in an effort to get their ideals across. Students told stories, sang songs, showed slides, held wiener roasts, games and competitions. Medical and dental services attracted many to their programmes. Some students worked as farm hands during harvest season. The job of chumming up was not exactly defined and led to some confusion as to what the students were supposed to be doing. Students adjusted programs to each town and the degree of acceptance in the community. In Elma, in 1925, for example, students used Sunday School, church services and sports. They told stories about heroes such as “Grenfell, John Eliot, Mary Slessor, etc...fairy stories and ancient myths with their images of their love of valour, honour, kindness and love.” Lessons were chosen from the Old Testament to meet

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

needs perceived by the young men. "Cain and Abel was used to illustrate being and doing one's very best, Abraham and Lot for thoughtfulness of the other fellow. Jacob was used to illustrate deception and its sequels." Students, Peter Dobush and Arthur Hay, who were posted to the Ukrainian mission field noted that it might be better to deliver these messages through the school rather than Sunday School because "attendance diminished somewhat after that on Sundays."²⁵¹ In essence rural Ukrainians were rejecting the United Church's spiritual message by voting with their feet, though they welcomed other aspects of this social outreach programs.

In addition to difficulties in the rural experiment, the young missionaries experienced competition from the Canadian Sunday School Mission in 1927. It was organized by a group of interdenominational evangelical bodies concerned with the fact that the Gospel was unavailable to many children in rural district in Manitoba. There were 145,000 children in the rural areas of Manitoba who were more or less "untouched by the influence of Sunday School or church service."²⁵² This group's aim was to plant Sunday Schools wherever there was a need.

Nevertheless, Shaver's rural mission experiment continued until summer excursions were ended abruptly in 1929. John A. Cormie, Superintendent of Missions for Manitoba Conference, refused permission to continue the work. Shaver appealed to the Board of Home Missions in Toronto and was refused again. The official reason given was that student

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² J.Lloyd Hunter to Dear Sir and Brother,....1927, MNWO-UCA, Winnipeg Presbytery Minutes, Box, D.

ministers were “products of a Mission, not a congregation.”²⁵³ Therefore, they were not considered as members proper of the United Church.

Not to be daunted, the six students involved in the experimental project prepared a joint letter of appeal to the Winnipeg Board of Home Missions stating that as far as they were concerned, “the solution to the rural problem [could] be reached only through the personal service of men who [were] fully convinced that Jesus [had] the solution of life’s problems.” To that end they offered their services free on mission fields for the summer.²⁵⁴ The young men were under the impression that there was a question in respect to a student’s level of commitment. Their convincing six page letter request was politely received for information, but denied.

This setback did not represent an abandonment of rural outreach. The United Church, including Shaver and his association in the rural ministry, collaborated with the Canadian National Committee of Mental Hygiene in 1929 to study the progress of settlement in the major Ukrainian districts of Western Canada.²⁵⁵ Colin H. Young from Toronto and John

²⁵³ Peter Douglas, “A Family Photo of the United Church of Canada Winnipeg, 1930 (a study in ministry).” STM University of Winnipeg, 1990, 153.

²⁵⁴ Typescript by, Stanley Smith, Alex Nitchuk, Peter Dobush, J. Korchik, Wm. Korchik, Kasmir Jastremsky, to Board of All Peoples’ Mission Feb. 20th, 1929, MNWO-UCA Winnipeg Presbytery, Box D.

²⁵⁵ The eighty-seven page *Confidential Report* also served as a research document for chapter thirty-two of *Ukrainians in Canada* translated by Peter Dobush. See also, *Summary and Conclusion of the Korchik Report and the Board of Home Missions based on the Survey of Leading Ukrainian Districts of Western Canada*, in MNWO-UCA Shaver Papers, Box A PP53 files 5 and 7 respectively. See also Henry F. Drystek, “The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing With Them: Deportation from Canada before World War II,” *Historie Sociale/Social History* 15 (November 1992), 85-100; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992); Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990) and Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991).

Korchik, acting as interpreter conducted the survey. The two men travelled for three months to each Ukrainian district in the prairie provinces during the summer. They surveyed ten nationalities and interviewed three-hundred people in a variety of occupations. Their report was followed up with a detailed conclusion by John Korchik, compiled and arranged in conjunction with James Shaver which found Ukrainians as a whole good Canadian citizens, and for the most part prosperous and successful.²⁵⁶

The study inspired the Board of Home Missions to continue its work with Ukrainians, even though they were studying the whole question of non-Anglo-Saxon work internally. On the one hand, they were committed to providing religious leadership in Home Mission territory where a considerable number of people were unfamiliar with the English language. On the other hand, Home Missions was pressured by church administration to produce tangible results from the programs and activities it funded. The church had achieved some success in the urban immigrant community with a Ukrainian United Church in Winnipeg. Rev. R.G. Katsunoff, minister, and Dorothy N. Kushner, Deaconess, provided services.²⁵⁷ Its presence alone did not silence those who wondered, however, if the “results warranted the expenditure of money,” even though it followed Protestant dogma.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the United Church reiterated its commitment in 1930 that it had a “definite responsibility for

²⁵⁶ *The Confidential Summary and Conclusion: John Korchik Report and the Board of Home Mission based on the Survey of leading Ukrainian Districts in Western Canada.* MMWO-UCA, Shaver Papers, PP53, Box, A, file 7.

²⁵⁷ *Ukrainian United Church* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1929), booklet reporting its services and accomplishments. The Church was located on the corner of Pritchard Avenue and McGregor St. in MNWO-UCA Shaver Papers PP53, file 14.

²⁵⁸ *Ukrainian United Church*, 14.

every community, Anglo-Saxon, and non-Anglo-Saxon of Canadian people not adequately provided for spiritually and morally by any other religious body.”²⁵⁹ It was also motivated by the fact that the non-Anglo-Saxon proportion of the population was steadily increasing and that if it could not “attract a considerable number of non-anglo-Saxons into its fellowship” its future on the prairies was considerably diminished.²⁶⁰ It believed it could still influence the thoughts and serve the spiritual needs of those, who for the predictable future, would form the leadership and control wealth and social prestige in Western Canada.²⁶¹ Interestingly, records indicate Shaver sent two students out to the Broad Valley Mission field in 1930. One was a Ukrainian student, Willam Korchik, with brother John pinch-hitting when other commitments called him away, and the other was Shaver’s son W.H. Shaver, also a student.

As part of a strategy to reach the immigrant community, Shaver urged the United Church to continue assisting Ukrainians who wanted to break away from the Greek Orthodox Church and establish their own congregations in affiliation with the United Church.²⁶² Shaver was attracted to ethnic United Church congregations, as the first step in assimilating

²⁵⁹ “The United Church of Canada and its ministry to Non-Anglo Saxon Canadians,” in MNWO-UCA, Conference-General Administration Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission, Reports, Correspondence, Box B.

²⁶⁰ “Reports on New Canadian Work by the Board of Home Missions,” in MNWO-UCA Conference-General Administration Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission, Reports, Correspondence, Box B.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁶² According to a United Church analysis, Ukrainian communities were suffering from a lack of leadership due to the downfall of organized religion in Russia. The normal supply of educated priests had been cut off and as a result both Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches tried to establish authority and control. The confusion of authority, coupled with new and progressive ideas of younger and better educated people resulted in a dramatic decline of membership in traditional Ukrainian churches. The disaffected group related to the United Church’s faith and creed and looked to their institutions for assistance in establishing their own church.”The Ukrainian People in Canada and Our Work Among Them,” typewritten address by Dr. A.E. Archer, Lamont, AB 1931 in MNWO-UCA Cormie Papers, PP6 files A-H, doc. 1.

immigrants into the United Church, and as a useful step in Canadianizing immigrants. Separate ethnic congregations would provide a field of activity for the young immigrant men who had gone through the various leadership programs that Shaver sponsored. Upon returning to their community, they would convey to others the benefits and principles of Canadian citizenship. Shaver upheld the ethnic church as one of the best building blocks for the Canadianization of the immigrant community.

Accordingly, Ukrainian missionary leaders supported his observations. They reported that many Ukrainians had broken away from their own faith and were seeking new direction, but were very suspicious of the United Church's efforts in Canadianization.²⁶³ They reported that Ukrainians wanted no part of a Canadianization program that even hinted of religion, believing that it was no different than Austrian, Russian or Polish imperialism.²⁶⁴ Upon the recommendations of the Ukrainian missionaries, the Commission for Non-Anglo-Saxon People endorsed the provision of church services in languages other than English. It strongly advised that great care be taken to secure and train an adequate number of missionaries from both the Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo-Saxon population. In addition, the Board of Home Missions believed that leadership of the various national groups could only be effectively given when it was provided by themselves, thereby supporting Shaver's conviction.²⁶⁵ The Commission also reiterated that the "aim of the United Church was to create a distinct

²⁶³ "On the Position of the Ukrainian Ministers Working among their Own People in Canada," unpublished typescript in MNWO-UCA, Shaver Papers PP53, Box A file 14.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission, "Reports on New Canadian Work," MNWO-UCA Conference-General Administration, Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission Reports, Correspondence, Box B.

Christian community.”²⁶⁶ Though it endorsed regular habits of worship as a means to achieving the goal it also recognized that Christian character and citizenship could be developed in different ways. For a brief time, Shaver enjoyed respite from the nagging criticism of work in the Ukrainian community.

This was short lived. In 1931 Shaver received a letter from R.A. Magee of Saskatchewan Conference, again criticizing Shaver’s work among non-Anglo-Saxon people.²⁶⁷ No response has been located in the files, but a non-Anglo-Saxon Commission was appointed to study the issue in 1933. An in-depth survey was conducted by representatives of the Western Section of the Committee on Non-Anglo-Saxon Work.²⁶⁸ Western Ukrainian ministers were invited to a work study group and asked to give an outline of their work and their experiences. In addition, they were asked nine specific questions regarding the methodology used in immigrant work with Ukrainians. Specifically, the committee wanted to know about the effectiveness of Sunday School work. It wondered why the Independent Greek Church they were supporting collapsed, and if the autocephalic Greek Orthodox Church had any effect. It asked them to consider if the United Church should continue cooperating with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. They also wanted to know what Ukrainian public school teachers attitudes were toward nationalism and bilingualism. It

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 2.

²⁶⁷ R.A. Magee to Rev. William Shaver, 14 March 1931, MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission, Box, B, file 33.

²⁶⁸ “Meeting of Representatives of the Western Section of the Committee on Non-Anglo-Saxon Work with Western Ukrainian Ministers of the United Church of Canada, Dec. 5, 1933,” MNWO-UCA, Cormie Papers PP6, Box 1, files a-h, doc. 14.

queried whether there were other movements of Ukrainian origin working among the Ukrainians, and if nationalism was growing and why. Also, the ministers were asked if the United Church should continue to proselytize, and continue distributing literature.²⁶⁹ Again, Ukrainian missionaries reiterated the fact that any Canadianization program would be more successful if it were directed by their own people.

From its investigations, members of the Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission now recommended that the Board of Home Missions insist that Institutions serving non-Anglo-Saxon urban communities strongly encourage active membership in the life and work of the church.²⁷⁰ This was a shift from social service nation building to conversion and evangelism. Shaver faced severe criticism from Cormie when Ukrainians developed their own sense of identity and built their own church; nevertheless, Shaver believed that leadership training of immigrants through educational programs at the mission transmitted the church's national and moral values, and thereby created committed Christian citizens.

In 1934, the Board of Home Missions issued a statement revising the standards by which institutional missions would be judged. Each institutional mission had to have a church membership roll. The membership were expected to take on "responsibility and leadership roles for every phase of the work, and were expected to provide financial support for the institution."²⁷¹ By 1938, a Winnipeg Sub-Committee report charged that the mission

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission, "Reports on New Canadian Work," MNWO-UCA Conference-General Administration, Non Anglo-Saxon Commission Reports, Correspondence, Box B.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

enterprise failed to realize that its main aim was to evangelize Catholic immigrants and their descendants.²⁷² They saw no movement toward Protestantism as a result of the missionary efforts. Only a small fraction of the total number of immigrants from the non-Protestant centres of Eastern and Southern Europe and of Latin America had become members.²⁷³

Moreover, by 1938, a Greek Catholic Church and a communist hall had been constructed in the city's North-end.²⁷⁴ Both Catholic and Orthodox priests and nationalists warned Ukrainian people to beware of men working for the English church: "These men are traitors and hirelings who want to destroy your nationality," they warned.²⁷⁵ Attendance at mission programmes diminished significantly that year. Cormie and the Board of Home Missions conceded it was through their own fault because support was withdrawn by the Board of Home Missions.²⁷⁶

They resigned themselves to the fact that mission work among Non-Anglo-Saxon people had not produced the results they had anticipated. After more than forty years and the cost of approximately a quarter of a million dollars, missions only reported a communicant

²⁷² Report of the Sub-committee, Winnipeg to the Urban Committee, Toronto, Aug. 13, 1938, "The United Church of Canada and its ministry to Non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians," in MNWO-UCA, Conference, General Administration Reports, Correspondence, Box B, p. 5.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 5.

²⁷⁴ James M. Shaver, Annual Report of All Peoples' Mission, 1938," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B.

²⁷⁵ "Minutes of Western Section Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission -Oct. 18, 1933," MNWO-UCA, Cormie Papers PP6, Box, 1.

²⁷⁶ J.S. Cormie, *United Church of Canada Year Book*, (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1936), 111.

role of less than three-hundred non-Anglo-Saxon individuals.²⁷⁷ What Cormie and the Board of Home Missions failed to realize was that the United Church had helped to form social structures within immigrant communities with the leadership programs provided through their missions and theological programs in their colleges. Furthermore, the United Church was hampered in their work by the lack of ministers. They could not find suitable missionaries to cover the fields which needed to be supplied.²⁷⁸ The Ukrainian population had increased. Cormie noted that there were “nine thousand fewer people of British origin in Manitoba than at the beginning of the decade and twenty-seven thousand more non-British.”²⁷⁹ The demographics had changed, and by 1938, as Shaver noted, the new Canadian was beginning to find its own identity.

It was only logical then, given the United Church’s lack of financial and human resources, that the church adopted recommendations of the non-Anglo-Saxon Commission in 1940 for the continuance of their Canadianization programs. Rev. E. Eustache, the minister for the Ukrainian congregation was responsible in the area for linking non-Anglo-Saxon people with the “whole work of the church.”²⁸⁰ Leadership of various national groups were now to be provided by themselves. Church services were now given in the language of the people who were not familiar with the English language. Services were conducted in both

²⁷⁷ Report of the Sub-Committee, Winnipeg to the Urban Committee, Toronto, Aug. 23, 1938, in MNWO-UCA General Administration Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission, Reports, Correspondence, Box B.

²⁷⁸ J.S. Cormie, “Manitoba Conference,” in *The United Church of Canada Yearbook* (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1939), 92.

²⁷⁹ Cormie, 91.

²⁸⁰ “All Peoples’ Mission,” undated document (ca 1943) in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples Mission, Box B file 38.

English and Ukrainian. Other recommendations from the members of the Commission included dropping the term mission from their Non-Anglo-Saxon pastoral charges and having all their institutions clearly identified as part of the United Church of Canada. They wished to project their institutions as agencies for “evangelization and Church organization as well as for humanitarian services.” The members strongly suggested that ministers in Non-Anglo-Saxon work recruit young men for the ministry “with the purpose of serving their own people.” They also suggested the Western Theological Colleges provide courses to facilitate understanding the background of Non-Anglo-Saxon people and the “significance of population statistics for the future of the United Church.” In addition, they asked that a short course in Christian religion be designed for the express purpose of training interested young Non-Anglo-Saxon lay people who could then interpret Protestant Christianity intelligently to the people of their own race.²⁸¹ Leadership in the forties came from missionaries trained for non-Anglo-Saxon work, whereas in the 1920s leaders were Anglo-Saxon.²⁸² Significant change had taken place as Ukrainians developed their own sense of identity within the Canadian nation.

After two decades of stewardship in non-Anglo-Saxon work, Shaver was forced to retire from his Big Project in 1941. Both he and his wife were ill from years of sacrifice and

²⁸¹ “The United Church of Canada and its Ministry to Non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians,” 1938 in MNWO-UCA General Administration Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission, Reports, Correspondence, Box B.

²⁸² This resulted from a recommendation made by the Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission in 1934, in MNWO-UCA Manitoba Conference - General Administration Non-Anglo-Saxon Commission, Box B.

devotion to the service of new Canadians. His lasting legacy was the powerful agency All Peoples' Mission had become in the neighbourhood.²⁸³

Shaver's retirement, the Second World War, and changes in policy necessitated the way in which All Peoples' Mission carried out its programs. The focus of the mission in the 1940s was considerably different from the 1920s. By the end of Shaver's superintendency in 1941, the mission had turned inward focusing on religious centering, church membership, developing a congregation and planning a new hall for Christian fellowship.²⁸⁴ The purpose had changed from social to religious. Christian character building remained; however, the emphasis was directed to church centred programs. By 1943, eight Sunday school sessions were held each week. The Mothers' Meetings became sewing and Bible study, rather than occasions to address social concerns as they had earlier in the mission's history.²⁸⁵ The mission still continued to be a centre for the community in kindergarten work, children's, and boys and girls and youth work through club organizational work.²⁸⁶ Sport activities continued, although not to the same degree of intensity for boys as they were when Shaver was superintendent of the mission. More emphasis was placed in favour of projects, handiwork and preparation for worship than on leadership training for the world of politics

²⁸³ R.B. Cochrane, Toronto, to Dr. Shaver, 8 April, 1941, typescript in MNWO-UCA, Shaver Papers PP53 Box A, file 11.

²⁸⁴ "All Peoples' Mission," undated (ca. 1943) 4 page document in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 59.

²⁸⁵ "All Peoples' Mission," undated document (ca 1943), in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples' Mission, Box B, file 38.

²⁸⁶ "All Peoples' Stella Avenue 60th Anniversary 1889-1949," in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples Mission, Box B, file 59.

and business.²⁸⁷ The mission had completely disengaged itself from juvenile delinquency work even though juvenile delinquency was thought to have increased since the outbreak of the war.²⁸⁸ There were few leaders to tackle boys' work as most of the leaders trained at the mission were in military service. Mission programs no longer attracted young boys. They were engaged in extra curricular activities at school and other organizations in the neighbourhood.²⁸⁹ Mission staff continued to provide social service work in the community outside itself in an advisory capacity but was no longer deeply engaged in Christian Canadianizing of immigrants.²⁹⁰

Shaver's commitment to the liberal social service interpretation of the Social Gospel demonstrates that the Christian Canadianizing of immigrants was practised and successful at the grass roots level at All Peoples' Mission during his superintendency. He maintained a policy of friendly helpfulness. Shaver's goal was two fold, Christianizing and Canadianizing. His primary goal was to raise the standard of life and character of the immigrant rather than proselytization. Ideally, he always worked with the hope that immigrants would convert to Methodism or to the United Church, but he recognized that the inculcation of character formation into Canadian British democratic ideals was much more important to the larger goal of creating a Christian Canadian nation than allegiance to any particular church. One poem

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ F.J. Douglas, Winnipeg, to Dr. J.A. Cormie, Winnipeg, 3 April 1942, typescript in MNWO-UCA Winnipeg Presbytery, Home Missions Committee-Correspondence 1929-1942 - Box D, p. 2.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 4.

written by a Canadian Ukrainian war veteran characterizes the many letters of gratitude in Shaver's papers and expresses the profound pain and confusion many Ukrainians felt as immigrants in a new country. The gentleman wrote about serving in the War and buying Victory bonds and in general participating as a citizen. He ended his letter with the following:

The question is what is wanted from us?
 What is just wanted, we are not told.
 Do you correct when you do scold?
 This is exactly what is here done.
 We are scolded-and flesh and bone-
 Yet no one did us honestly tell
 why for did raise they such cry and yell
 Against the humble workers of shop
 and want deport them in full round-up?
 We did our duty and always will do
 And yet no friends, Sir, except, Sir you.
 Be blessed, my Dear Sir, as not in vain.
 Through such men as you, Christ speaks again.
 Its the same Mammon with hypocrites
 Who do deny us a Christians' rights.
 We know their moral value and weight;
 To themselves even they are not straight.
 They killed their conscience and froze their hearts,

 They are not Christian though they play "smarts."
 They'll reach the climax hard they will die
 Yet try to save them please, do try.²⁹¹

This poem is but one of many notes and letters sent to Shaver throughout his career.

²⁹¹ There are many letters from Ukrainians which express deep gratitude to Shaver for his many acts of kindness and his support for Ukrainian people as a class. A particularly interesting poem in one letter poignantly expresses Ukrainian immigrant frustration in the assimilative process. See the letter from D.J. Hysling-Prystash from Vegreville, Alta. in MNWO-UCA, Shaver Papers, Box A, file 8.

Shaver committed his life to crusading for human rights; he acted as an advocate on behalf of the poor and the marginalized. He believed that the institutional church had a critical role to play in social change and he as God's servant was ready and willing to bring forth the good news.

CONCLUSION

Scholars in examining the Social Gospel have attempted to explore the relationship between social service and evangelism. Historians who have looked at the institutional level have ignored the grass roots level and have exaggerated the shortened length of the Social Gospel movement in Canada. By looking at a local mission we can see an ongoing commitment to the principles and practices of a liberal and reformist interpretation of the Social Gospel at All Peoples' Mission in Winnipeg during the inter-war years. In these decades the Methodist Church and later the United Church of Canada devoted considerable time and resources, both fiscal and human, to the Canadian Christianizing of immigrants in a quest to build a Christian Canadian nation based on Canadian British democratic ideals and traditions.

In 1921 the church appointed James M. Shaver to implement their goals of building a Christian Canadian Nation through all Peoples' Mission. Shaver held a steadfast vision of promoting democratic process and leadership training for immigrants regardless of their denominational affiliation. He recognized that character was more important than membership in any church. His primary aim was to raise the standard of life and character of immigrants who came to the mission. He sought grounds for mutual understanding, respected what was best in the immigrants' old system and shared what was best in the United Church in the hope that eventually immigrants would choose liberal democratic ideals the church upheld.

The mission offered leadership training for both boys and girls. It assisted immigrant families in Winnipeg's North End with a wide range of services and programs "including evangelization, education for all family members, social and unemployment assistance," training in household sciences and domestic skills, as well as opportunities for recreation and social integration.²⁹² Not content with just operating the mission, Shaver organized rural outreach into Ukrainian communities. The leadership programs at the mission created leaders from within immigrant communities to go out and advance Christian Canadian citizenship and the benefits of Canadian Protestantism. This work was abruptly curtailed in 1929 when funding was withdrawn for the project. The ethnic church work represented the grounds for compromise to conversion. For Shaver, the evangelism the mission offered was not direct proselytization to the United Church; rather, its evangelism offered people an alternative to autocratic, liturgical, superstition-based religions. It taught a measure of independent thinking, demonstrating how immigrants could control their own leaders.

The problem he encountered was that United Church bureaucrats, with whom he was working, were concerned more with church growth than promoting Christian Canadianization in a practical manner.. The concern was legitimate as economic conditions worsened in the 1920s and 1930s. Divisions within the United Church arose when church supported missions failed to meet institutional objectives which hoped to increase membership rolls. As financial resources diminished, the church demanded to know the results of the character formation programs and activities it funded in Non-Anglo-Saxon work. It believed that it could no longer support programs which would not sustain their institutions. As the United Church

²⁹² Semple, 305.

re-organized the administration and activities of its founding denominations, especially in the context of limited financial resources in the 1930s, it emphasized evangelism rather than social service. Its vision of building a Christian Canadian nation based on a liberal view of the Social Gospel changed to an evangelical approach as economic realities became the primary considerations. The church concluded that All Peoples' Mission was a failure because it did not attract new members to the United Church. In consequence, the church grew unwilling to contribute the financial resources needed to sustain the mission's social services. Shaver's commitment to Canadianization through leadership development could not meet the standards of cost effectiveness demanded by his superiors, especially those with a more evangelical approach to mission work.

In the 1930s the United Church studied its ministry to Non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians. The members of the commission recommended that the United Church continue its extension work among the Non-Anglo-Saxons who were not Protestants, even though the church realized very little return for their efforts. The concern centred around the overwhelming increase in the Non-Anglo-Saxon sector of the population, especially in the west. The church supported ethnic congregations by providing scholarships and training for future ministers and lay people from the immigrant community in their theological colleges as a means of control to ensure the ideals of British Canadian freedom and democracy prevailed. Shaver endorsed this approach as these ideals would continue to be transmitted through their leaders in their own communities and was consistent with Shaver's higher priority for citizenship.

Shaver was convinced that, if Protestant clergymen lived by a Christlike example, demonstrating that "religion places a definite obligation, moral and spiritual and social upon

priest and people alike, the program would be successful.”²⁹³ Despite Shaver’s long frustration with the church and its demand for membership, he never lost sight of the goal that social reforms were best accomplished with the church. He believed that the work through a liberal view of the Social Gospel transformed culture and through individual action, social transformation could come about through Christian behaviour. In the end, in fact, Shaver’s vision did prevail. Leadership and ideas of Canadian citizenship migrated outwards through leadership training into the Ukrainian community and their Catholic churches, much perhaps to the dismay of the officials who adhered to a strict evangelical vision of the United Church.

Both Shaver and the United Church assisted Ukrainian immigrants into Canadian society. Though Canadian leadership programs were designed as an instrument of power to enact British form and order for the purpose of control, they did achieve the larger goal of the United Church in Canadianizing immigrants by transmitting moral values and democratic process. They assisted the Ukrainian community during a time of crisis of leadership in the Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities. Ukrainian immigrants derived many benefits and advantages from their association with a religious denomination separate from its own Catholic community. By using the services provided at the mission, immigrants took what they had learned and incorporated some of the programs into their own institutions and organizations. They learned democratic process and formed their own associations.

Many immigrants came from countries with autocratic governments. In general, Methodists and United Church people regarded the Catholic Church as equally autocratic.

²⁹³ James M. Shaver, “Annual Report of All Peoples Mission, 1938” in MNWO-UCA, All Peoples’ Mission Box B, file 59.

Shaver's advocacy of citizenship might be seen as a way of compensating for or overcoming the effects of "autocratic" Orthodox and Roman Catholicism. Thus, the promotion of ethnic Protestant Churches was far more desirable for him than the perpetuation of ethnic Catholic churches. With Shaver's methodology and his liberal-reformist view of the Social Gospel, immigrant communities experienced a smoother transition into Canadian society because of to the education and training immigrant leaders received at All Peoples's Mission.

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Mission All Peoples' Mission

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