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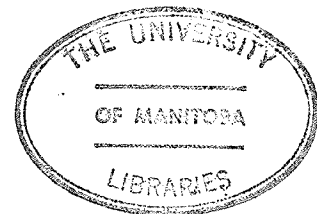
MISSIONARY ON WHEELS: FRANCES HATTON EVA HASELL
AND THE SUNDAY SCHOOL CARAVANS

Submitted to The Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts

Department of History

By

Vera Kathryn Fast
Winnipeg, Manitoba
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VERA KATHRYN FAST

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"I always maintain there is nobody in the world to match the British spinster who is not as young as she was. Such a woman has something unique to give, and when she takes on a job, like the bulldog she never lets go."

Princess Alice of Athlone

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My thanks also to Mrs. June Hayward for typing this paper out of the goodness of her heart. Finally, I would like to dedicate this work to the members of my family, all of whom have suffered and rejoiced with me.

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INTRODUCTION

The Canadian West, from Manitoba to British Columbia, was a rough and raucous place at the dawn of the twentieth century. Settlers were pouring in to claim the land in unprecedented numbers.¹ Their needs were immediate and urgent; they must build shelters for themselves and their livestock; clear and cultivate land for crops and gardens; somehow provide clothing and other necessities of life for their families; dig wells, cut trails and build fences. Drought, torrential rains, hail or prairie fires could obliterate overnight what had taken months to grow or build.

Yet the Church dared remind them that "Man cannot live by bread alone," even when the strain to provide the "bread alone" took every herculean effort of virtually every waking minute. And in their quiet moments the work-numbed settlers, at least a goodly number of them, also recognized their need and longed for the comforts of their Church, whichever one it might be.

Into this vista of loneliness, inadequate spiritual sustenance and material destitution later accompanied by drought, depression and war, strode the resolute, indomitable, thoroughly British and Anglican person of Eva Hasell. She shared with enthusiasm the conviction which the Church

¹For example, in 1901 there were 49,149 immigrants, 11,810 of them from the United Kingdom (U.K.); in 1908, 262,469 with 120,182 from the U.K.; in 1913, 402,432 with 150,542 from the U.K. See Appendix I (A) and I (B) for complete tables and I (C) for a summary of reasons for the increase in British immigration. The settlers, of course, included vast numbers of non-Britishers, as Appendix I (A) shows, but for the purposes of this paper the British immigrants are most relevant.

of England in Canada saw as its mandate: "Keep Canada British! Make Canada Christian!"¹ But she also yearned to alleviate the sorry plight of the many "foreigners," especially women and children, whom she encountered.

This thesis will attempt a biographical study of this remarkable, strong-willed woman and her work, the Sunday School Caravan Mission. The story is told with little reference to the wider condition and work of the Anglican Church, to say nothing of other Churches or political and cultural developments. But that is how she lived her life. She seldom, if ever, read a newspaper or listened to the radio; television touched her life on only one known occasion. She worked in the most isolated regions of the Canadian West and she worked extremely long and rigorous hours. Her work was her world and that world is what this thesis will seek to describe and understand.

¹Bishop L. R. Sherman, quoted in Thine is the Glory (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, 1952), p. 78.

CHAPTER I

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN WESTERN CANADA 1900-1920

Representatives from the dioceses of the Church of England in Canada assembled to constitute the first General Synod on September 13, 1893, but it was not until 1902 that the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.) was formed. This agency was to "supersede, incorporate, or co-operate with" all existing missionary societies and agencies within the Anglican Church in Canada, but it was soon apparent that the Society would be unable to meet the appalling and urgent needs of the Church in the Canadian West. Bishop Jervois A. Newnham summarized the problems when he addressed the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan in 1905: "Churches closed, missions vacant, the support of your clergy promised by the people, yet withheld; congregations far smaller than they should be,...no wonder if the Church has gone backwards instead of forwards."¹ It appeared a dismal picture.

Although finances were a factor, the problem was primarily one of lack of workers, and certainly the lot of the clergy in the frontier dioceses, especially in the rural areas, would cause a strong man to weep and the dedicated saint to falter. Priests were given impossible assignments, and as late as the early nineteen twenties there are instances of districts of 4,000 square miles assigned to a single clergyman to travel

¹T. C. B. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 290.

on horseback.¹ Even in 1946 the rural deanery of Tiger Hills, Brandon Diocese, comprised of 1,600 square miles with nineteen towns and five missions to be served, had only four ordained clergymen to do the work. Small wonder that in 1949 Bishop Walter F. Barfoot of Edmonton lamented, "The clergy who are on the field tend to be overwhelmed by the size of the Parishes committed to their charge."²

That even the rector of an established town parish, however, could not rest at ease in this western Canaan is trenchantly recorded by an Anglican priest, Rev. William Newton, near the turn of the century:

The Church work of the small towns is...a difficult matter, whether the clergyman be...high, or low, or broad Church, or whether he is no Churchman at all. He may be ever so sincere and prudent, and yet he may give offence if he turn to the east in the Creed, or if he does not turn; if the altar have a cross, or if a cross is absent; if he wear coloured stoles or only a black one. He will be too poetical in his preaching for one person, and too dry for another.... The younger he is, the better for him; the more handsome he is, the more charming, especially as a large portion of his stipend is usually raised by 'The Ladies Aid Society.' It is always best to keep popular with them, as otherwise the necessary amount may not be forthcoming. This 'Ladies' Aid Society' can often 'wag the dog,' priest, bishop, and all.... Assistance is difficult to get in carrying on the Sunday Schools and other enterprises.... There is need of patient sowing and planting, but such quiet forms of work are at a discount. No one in these places is likely to believe in any work which does not advertise itself by noise and blare of trumpets....³

¹David J. Carter, Where the Wind Blows (Calgary, 1968), p. 38, notes specifically the case of Rev. R. W. W. Alexander, of the Diocese of Calgary, c. 1922.

²Boon, op. cit., p. 377.

³William Newton, Twenty Years on the Saskatchewan (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), pp. 132-134. Although it might seem that Mr. Newton is too critical of the "Ladies' Aid Society" known later as the Woman's Auxiliary (W.A.) Bishop Philip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada (Toronto: Collins, 1963), p. 209, remarks that by 1895 the W.A. was already the strongest organization in the Canadian Church: "It could speak of 465 branches with 11,168 members. These local branches, and the Diocesan Boards under which they were organized, had a pretty free hand in allotting the funds which they raised."

It is small wonder that the ministry held little appeal for the young men of Western Canada. Bishop Henry Allen Gray chided his flock: "...there is a grave need for a change in the attitude of the laity towards the Ministry as a vocation for their sons. Our people have not been selfish or backward in giving their sons to the service of their country,.... Is the service of God of lesser attraction?"¹

It seems that the priesthood was, indeed, of least attraction, and, inundated by an ever increasing torrent of immigrants, the Anglican Church in Western Canada faced a potentially tragic situation.

Cognizant of this dilemma, in 1909 William Cyprian Pinkham, Bishop of Calgary, appealed in desperation to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Randall Davidson and Cosmo Gordon Lang, for assistance.² After investigating the situation, the Archbishops responded by launching the Archbishops' Western Canada Fund (A.W.C.F.) in 1910, as an attempt to alleviate the critical shortage of both men and money. The plan was to attend to the needs of the numerous British settlers by supplying fifty British clergymen every year for the next ten years to the Church in Western Canada. The men, including some licenced laymen, were to receive only their passage, their keep and basic outfitting, plus £ 2 per month for

¹Quoted in Boon, *op. cit.*, p. 365. Although Bishop Gray posed this question in 1916, the situation remained virtually unchanged from 1900 until the 1950's. Even in 1961, Eva Hasell wrote: "There should be much more teaching at confirmation about service, less worship of 'the almighty dollar,' and parents preventing their sons and daughters serving in the Church" (*Report*, 1961), p. 7.

²Eva Hasell, *Across the Prairie in a Motor Caravan* (London, S.P.C.K., 1922), p. 3, states incorrectly that the Archbishop of Rupert's Land made this appeal in 1910. For an excellent account of the A.W.C.F. see David John Carter, "The Archbishops' Western Canada Fund and the Railway Mission," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. XXII (Winter 1969):13-28.

personal expenses, and in return, "The ministrations of their Church were freely offered during a period of twelve months or even longer, while the congregations should be getting on their feet and acquiring a Church 'plant,' in the shape of a site and building. [The] object was to take a first step towards the permanent establishment of the Church in their midst on a self-supporting basis."¹

In England, Eva Hasell wrote: "The cause [of the A.W.C.F.] interested me extremely and I became one of the collectors for the diocese of Carlisle." Later, having met some of these volunteer priests on the prairie, she comments that they were "for the most part...the pick of the junior clergy from Oxford and Cambridge, men who have sacrificed much in leaving England."²

Mission centres for the A.W.C.F. were established at Edmonton under Rev. W. G. Boyd, at Cardston, Alberta, under Rev. W. H. Mowatt, and at Regina, Saskatchewan, under Rev. Douglas Ellison.

The centre in Regina, which is the mission most pertinent to the subject at hand, focused its attention on immigrants settled along the railway and on isolated farms further into the interior. When Rev. Ellison began his ministry to these people, he used the methods of the Railway Mission with which he had long experience in South Africa; that is, he preached to the railway workers, visited the settlers and ministered to

¹Occasional Paper, Diocese of Qu'Appelle, No. 99 (Summer 1910):24. (Hereafter referred to as Occasional Paper.) Also quoted in Carter, op. cit., p. 15.

²Hasell, op. cit., p. 3 and p. 63. The Diocese of Carlisle contributed generously to the A.W.C.F. According to Hasell they raised £3,000 initially and "later raised another £1,000 towards the £5,000 needed for the endowment of the Western Canada missions."

immigrants on trains.¹ Both the Roman Catholic and Anglican communions had already used railway missions in British Columbia in the 1880's and 1890's, but it was a new work on the prairies.

In June, 1912, Miss Pownall Wright and Miss Mudge, well-known British educationalists, joined the Mission in the interests of founding a hostel for young women teachers. And at St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, England,² where Eva Hasell was in attendance, Aylmer Bosanquet and Nona Clarke applied for Sunday School work with the Railway Mission. They proposed to live on the prairie, funding their own work. Although the A.W.C.F. Secretary, Canon Beal,³ was dubious about two "gently nurtured" young women facing the hardships of pioneer life, their persistence overwhelmed him and in 1915, Bosanquet and Clarke began their missionary endeavours at Kenaston, Saskatchewan. It was Aylmer Bosanquet who awakened in Eva Hasell an awareness of the exigency existing for the Church in remote, rural areas of the Canadian West.

While the A.W.C.F. formed an active core of workers in Western Canada, they were by no means the only Anglican missionaries. The M.S.C.C. has already been mentioned, while the W.A., as of 1911, was pledged to underwrite the work among women and children as well as to support all the

¹The Railway Mission was already long established in India and South Africa. Boyd at Edmonton and Mowatt at Cardston followed the methods of the Australian Bush Brotherhoods. See H. P. Thompson, Into All Lands (London: S.P.C.K., 1951), pp. 505-506. For more information on the A.W.C.F. and the Railway Mission, see Appendix II.

²See Appendix III for further information on St. Christopher's College.

³Canon E. Wallis R. Beal of Calgary was licenced as a lay reader under Rev. A. W. F. Cooper, then after his ordination became priest-in-charge of St. Augustine Church, Lethbridge in 1899. He was asked to be A.W.C.F. Secretary in Britain for the duration of the Appeal. (Information supplied by Dean David J. Carter, Calgary).

women workers on the Canadian mission fields. In addition, Miss Hasell was able to list the following societies as contributing to the early work of the Anglican Church in Western Canada: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.); the Church Missionary Society, which was the oldest and most prominent in numbers; the Colonial and Continental Church Society;¹ The British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society; the New Westminster and Kootenay Association; the Qu'Appelle Association; the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf.² While much could be written about this wider sphere of the work of the Anglican Church, it is necessary here to sharply limit the scope to those missions and geographical areas which relate directly to Eva Hasell's work.

In spite of the many missions, however, the position of the Anglican Church in rural Western Canada at the time of Miss Hasell's first visit in 1920, was critical. The war had decimated the ranks of its clergy, but even more seriously, there were intrinsic problems which were frankly recognized by Rev. F. R. Hillary:

The Anglican Church could and should be dominant, but she is weak in several ways. In the first place, she is exotic and hide-bound and too slow to grasp opportunities. Her organization is antiquated and decentralized, and not suited for the modern developments of a country like this. She lacks, too, a native ministry

¹This society has since changed its name to "Commonwealth and Continental Church Society." See J. W. C. Wand, Anglicanism in History and Today (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), p. 170.

²F. H. E. Hasell, Through Western Canada in a Caravan (London: S.P.G. 1927), p. 251. See Wand, op. cit., pp. 166-171 for a description of the origins of Anglican "Institutions and Societies" which includes the above named groups. Mrs. G. A. Kuhring (ed.), The Church and the Newcomer (Toronto: The Church House, [1924]), pp. 152-187 also has extensive descriptions of work done by the various societies, especially among immigrants. Jean Embury (ed.), History of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle (n.p., 1953), lists smaller and less well-known missions working in that diocese, such as the Railway Mission, the Caron and Herbert Mission, and the Prairie Brotherhood.

in the West, for the majority of her clergymen are English, many of whom are constantly coming and going, thus hindering the continuity of the work.¹

Whether or not his appraisal was accurate, it nevertheless reflected the honest opinion of a sincere Churchman. Yet, paradoxically, in view of Hillary's less than lavish enthusiasm for English clergymen who were "constantly coming and going," it was another English worker, Eva Hasell, also in her own way continually wandering hither and yon, who gave fifty-two years of her life to spread the good news of the Gospel as taught by the "antiquated and hide-bound" Anglican Church to the most hidden and unlikely corners of the Canadian West.

¹Occasional Paper, A.W.C.F., No. 26 (August 1917), p. 10. Quoted also in Carter, op. cit., p. 26. Rev. Hillary, Head of the Railway Mission in 1920 and himself an Englishman, decided to stay in Canada after the A.W.C.F. closed. In regards to English clergy, his was not an isolated view. As early as 1908 Bishop Pinkham of Calgary said, "...in my judgment, the day has long gone by for bringing Bishops from England for Canadian Sees, and in this way appointing leaders who have everything to learn in regard to local conditions, as to the country, its people, and so on." Quoted in Carter, op. cit., p. 23, who then continues, "He was calling for an indigenous episcopacy to better deal with the Canadian situation. It is unfortunate that he was not heard beyond his own Synod."

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY YEARS

A Biographical Sketch

Frances Hatton Eva Hasell was born on December 13, 1886, at Dalemain, Penrith, Cumberland.

Dalemain, the name derived from the Mani's valley, has supported a settlement since Saxon times.¹ The manor house on the estate is a beautiful and gracious country mansion. The oldest part is the Norman pele-tower, while the newest is the front of the house, finished in pink sandstone completed ca. 1750. The wallpaper in one of the drawing rooms was handpainted in China and bought in London about 1750, while the house is rich with portraits by Van Dyck and Carrick, Chippindale furniture, priceless 17th century clocks, and treasures too numerous to mention.

The estate includes four farms in hand with several others let to tenant farmers; the Martindale Forest which extends to some 30,000 acres; a deer park; medieval Dacre Castle; and beautiful gardens and walks.

Eva Hasell was proud of her heritage and the family, even to the present day, has taken care to preserve and maintain its genealogy. The records therefore show that the first Hasell to own Dalemain was Sir Edward Hasell (1642-1707). He purchased the estate in 1679, but came originally from Bottisham in Cambridgeshire where the family can be traced back

¹The information on Dalemain is derived from the booklet by Robert McCosh, Dalemain (Derby, England, 1977). Mr. McCosh is a son of Sylvia Hasell McCosh, the present owner of Dalemain and one of Eva Hasell's closest living relatives.

to the 14th century. Eva Hasell's father, John Edward Hasell (1839-1910) was Squire of Dalemain from 1872 until 1910, Master of the Ullswater Hounds, a leading figure in the Primrose League¹ and in 1887, High Sheriff of Westmoreland. Her mother was Maud Flood of Flood Hall, Viewmount, County Kilkenny, Ireland, as well as of Mt. Few and Paulston Castle. Eva's grandfather, Henry Flood, although a staunch Protestant, was a passionate defender of Irish rights in the British Parliament and well deserved his reputation as an "Irish patriot, statesman and orator." When Henry Flood's only son died tragically as a child² and another daughter never married, Maud Flood Hasell became the sole heir of the Flood estates in Ireland.

Eva had one sister, Dorothy Julia Hasell, born January 13, 1883. These two girls, then, grew up in the security and prestige of a notable and wealthy family at the height of Britain's greatness. From comments appearing throughout Eva's writings, the Hasells appear to have been a happy family. Both girls especially adored their mother.

Eva, brown haired, short, chubby, round-faced like the Hasells³ and with the same flashing brown eyes, enjoyed the advantages of a child of her time and station in life. However, unlike most girls of their class in the nineteenth century, the Hasell sisters, for some reason no longer

¹The Primrose League was a league of Conservatives, founded in 1883, so called because the primrose was associated with the Conservative statesman, Benjamin Disraeli, the anniversary of whose death, April 19, is called Primrose Day.

²The little boy was standing on a chair, looking out of the window awaiting his father's return. When he spied his father approaching, the boy, in his eagerness to welcome the Squire, leaned too far out of the casement and fell to his death at Henry Flood's feet.

³There is a particular resemblance between Eva and her ancestor, Col. Edward Hasell (1796-1872), painted as a young man in uniform, and reproduced in McCosh, Dalemain, p. 7. The original hangs in Dalemain.

remembered, were not sent to a private or "finishing" school to be educated. Instead, they received instruction from tutors and governesses. Very little is known about the content of these lessons. Certainly there were music lessons, probably voice as well as piano. Because of the family's religious bent, it can be assumed that instruction in Bible and the Prayer Book were included. The girls were not encouraged to read newspapers--these were too mundane and inappropriate for young females--but they read widely in the classics. Both Eva and Dorothy were very fond of drama and enthusiastically staged their own theatrical productions. From among the various characters they portrayed, the sisters each chose a nickname for the other, and so Eva became "Crow" and Dorothy, "Fellah." After her first tours in Canada, Eva was dubbed "Beaver" by her family and this nickname remains to the present. "Crow" seems to have been used only between Dorothy and Eva.

The girls were instructed in art by the well-known Lake-country artist, Edward George Hobley, some of whose pictures hang in the Royal Academy. Several examples of Eva's oils and watercolours remain and point to a credible talent as well as to an eye for the details of nature. This love of nature, especially of flowers, was evident throughout Eva's life, from the award she received in 1912 for growing sweet peas,¹ to the entries in her diaries in 1965 extolling the beauty of the prairie crocus.

Eva also rode horseback and played tennis. She loved to go on walking tours and even forty years later, remembered fondly "the long walks as a girl with my father and sister among the mountains of the English Lake District." Participating in these activities surely built up her almost incredible physical stamina which was later to prove beyond price

¹The award, presented by the Penrith Horticulture and Industrial Exhibition, consists of an inscribed parchment, and is still among the Hasell Papers at Dalemain.

in the rugged hinterlands of Canada.

The family enjoyed travelling a good deal - India, Persia, Italy, France, and of course Ireland where the Flood estates were located. In short, Dorothy and Eva enjoyed the childhood and youth of the well-born in the prosperous Britain at the close of the Victorian era. But this world changed for them when, in 1910, their father passed away. The estate, as was common at the time, was entailed to a male heir,¹ and Maud Hasell decided to build Dacre Lodge for herself and her daughters.

The site she chose for her new home was scarcely a mile below Dalemain, in the ancient village of Dacre.² The Venerable Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History (ca. 731) refers to a monastery "being built near the river Dacore," verifying the village roots in pre-Conquest times. Dacre is also the site of the present parish church and here Hasells have worshipped since their arrival in Dalemain. The Chancel has for long years been the property of the Hasell family, with the Squire of Dalemain in the unique position of being also the rector of the church.³

¹Rev. George Hasell (1847-1932), an honorary Canon of Carlisle Cathedral, who owned Dalemain from 1910 to 1920. In 1920 it was taken over by Major Edward Hasell who was Squire until his death in 1972. It then passed to the present owner, his daughter, Mrs. Sylvia McCosh, wife of Mr. Bryce McCosh of Huntfield.

²The information concerning Dacre is largely taken from the booklet by Philippa J. F. Smith, A Short History of Dacre Parish Church (Penrith, Cumbria: n.d.). As Smith relates, Dacre was also the scene of an assembly of historical importance: "...in the year 926, according to the historian William of Malmesbury, Athelstan, King of England, Constantine, King of Scotland and Eugenius, King of Cumberland met at Dacre; the latter two did homage to Athelstan and accepted him as their overlord, and also were baptised into Christianity."

³Information from the Rev. Kenneth Smith, present vicar of the church. Hence, the present owner, Mrs. Sylvia McCosh, also holds the position as rector, surely a distinctive situation in the Anglican Church. Another rather unique feature is that the Church still uses the Service of 1662 in preference to revised editions of the Prayer Book. The name of the church

It was in this ancient, historic village, then, that Maud Flood Hasell built Dacre Lodge, a large, bright, rambling stone house, set in an estate of approximately 150 acres, which was to be Eva Hasell's home, while in England, until her death. Within a year of settling into Dacre Lodge, however, the much-loved mother died, and Dorothy and Eva were left as financially independent young women, free to pursue their various interests.

Young Womanhood

Eva's interests were already quite fixed. The Hasells, especially Eva's mother, were an immensely religious family, and an unmarried relative, Frances Hasell,¹ who lived with them, actively encouraged this tendency. Eva later recalled, "my mother and godmother had taught me about the Life of Christ when I was so young I could not remember the first lesson I had."² This gives credence to a story circulated within the family which maintains that as a girl Eva was so constantly at prayers in her room that the vicar was called to persuade her that there were also other things worthwhile in life. Be that as it may, she was teaching Sunday School at the age of eleven and active in the Girls Friendly Society at seventeen.³ In later life Eva eulogized the "teaching by my mother and godmother in

is St. Andrew's, yet in the Hasell material it is generally referred to simply as the Dacre Parish Church.

¹ Frances Hasell was almost certainly Eva's godmother, although the Dacre Church Register gives only the date of Eva's baptism, "29.1.1887."

² Canadian Sunday School Caravan Mission Report (hereafter referred to as Report): 1952, p. 15.

³ An Anglican organization founded in 1875. See Appendix IV for the official position of the Society.

the Faith of our Church and the extension of Christ's Kingdom, deepened by the Vicar's spiritual influence, [and] the example of my father and mother, including their regular attendance at Church...."¹

It is not surprising, then, that when the Archbishops made their appeal for funds, Eva volunteered immediately to canvass for the A.W.C.F. Since childhood she had "nursed a vocation to serve the Church overseas," but felt that her ineptitude in languages closed the doors to service in foreign lands. Now she realized that it was possible to render missionary service to English-speaking immigrants in far-off Canada, and she responded in the only way open to her at the time.

This interest, and the request from the Diocese of Carlisle to become a Sunday School Organizer, led her to enroll at St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, in 1914. Here she met Aylmer Bosanquet and Nona Clarke who were already making overtures to the A.W.C.F. to be allowed to join the Railway Mission in Canada. A firm friendship resulted from this common interest.

After receiving her certificate in 1916, Eva did, in fact, become a Sunday School Organizer for the Diocese of Carlisle, an unpaid position, but World War I was raging, and there was a demand for workers everywhere. She therefore trained in First Aid and nursing and drove an ambulance for the Red Cross, while also engaged in Voluntary Land Army work near Dacre when she was not needed at the hospital. After the War, she continued as Sunday School Organizer and also became Diocesan Junior Work Secretary for the S.P.G.

¹Report, June 3rd to Oct. 24th, 1944. The Vicar from 1896 to 1914 was the Rev. Francis Hasell. In 1914 Rev. Henry Frankland took over that position, so both would have been influential during Hasell's younger years.

While Hasell¹ was active in Sunday School and War work in Carlisle, Bosanquet and Clarke established themselves in a "three-room shack" in Kenaston, Saskatchewan, in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle. Their living conditions were primitive,² and their work exceedingly strenuous, and after four years, Bosanquet fell ill. It was necessary for her to go to Toronto for a serious operation, and while convalescing, she gave much concerned thought to the enormity of the task of working among the children of Western Canada, and the implications for both the Church and the nation if nothing were done. For Bosanquet, like Hasell, believed firmly in the inter-relationship of Church and State. Hasell wrote of her, "She had a statesman-like grasp of the trend of events, and lived to do a wonderful work in Western Canada, pointing to lofty ideals and raising the standard of public opinion in this young and growing country, not only from the Church point of view, but also from the Imperial standpoint."³

While in Toronto, it occurred to Bosonquet that horse-drawn caravans could be used to visit the isolated homesteads, eliminating the need for a nightly return home, and that trained Sunday School teachers could work with the children and also instruct other teachers to carry on after the caravaners left the area. In winter, these vanners would stay in a centralized town, giving lectures and demonstration lessons, as well as keeping in touch with the isolated rural children using the Sunday School by Post

¹Eva Hasell herself usually addressed her compatriots by their last names, except for Iris Sayle, so following her own example she will henceforth be referred to as "Hasell" in this paper.

²Hasell, Across the Prairie, p. 21, writes, "When I remembered Aylmer's house in England, with its well-trained servants, her car and chauffeur, and all the luxuries to which she had always been accustomed, it emphasized all the more strongly the self-sacrifice of her present life." The same could also be said of Eva Hasell's life.

³Ibid., p. 111.

(S.S.P.), a "mail-order Sunday School."¹

Aylmer Bosanquet wrote to Eva Hasell about her plan, and shortly afterwards, when she returned to England to recuperate, they discussed the matter at length. Hasell was enthusiastic. She insisted, however, that a motor caravan, and not a horse-drawn van would be most practical, and who would drive it but she herself, of course. She not only had extensive driving experience, having obtained her licence already in 1914, but she also knew something about repairing motors. As she noted: "I had been allowed to use our cars throughout the War, in connection with my Sunday School work and a V.A.D. hospital.... Then, too, as our chauffeur was called up and mechanics were scarce, we had to do our own repairs."²

With characteristic aggressiveness, Hasell obtained a six months' leave of absence from her diocese, found a substitute to carry on her work, and began preparations to go to Canada.³ Her first problem was to get a van. She had initially considered buying a Red Cross ambulance then being sold off in London, but transporting it to Canada proved to be an insoluble problem. Miss Bosanquet, meanwhile having returned to her work in Saskatchewan, wrote about the Ford caravan the Saskatchewan Bible Society was using, "in which a man could live and sleep," and the caravan Archdeacon Burgett of Qu'Appelle⁴ was having built for two of his

¹See Appendix IV for a brief history and description of Sunday School by Post.

²Hasell, op. cit., p. 6.

³The following paragraphs are based on her own description, as found in Across the Prairie.

⁴Arthur Edward Burgett, 1869-1942. He was General Missionary for the Diocese of Qu'Appelle from 1913-1923, then was consecrated Bishop of Edmonton in 1932. See A. R. Kelley and D. B. Rogers, The Anglican Episcopate of Canada, Vol. II, (Toronto: The Anglican Church of Canada, 1961), p. 40.

missioners. These seemed to be the answer, and Miss Hasell ordered one for herself, with the "inner fittings" to be decided upon when she arrived in Canada.

"The next thing to do was to find a fellow-worker for the tour; and this was by no means easy, for she must not only have been trained at St. Christopher's [which Hasell considered the epitome of progressive teaching] and be physically strong, but she must be prepared to pay her own expenses, there being as yet no fund to finance the venture. Fortunately, however, an experienced ex-student, Miss Winifred Ticehurst, offered to go. She had trained at St. Christopher's soon after its foundation, and had since had considerable experience in Sunday-school and parish work."¹

Then came the problem of passages and passports. Miss Hasell wished to travel via New York in order to visit some cousins, to meet with Dr. Gardner, the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Department of Religious Education for the American Episcopal Church, and also to observe some American Sunday Schools, so a hard-to-get American visa was necessary. Characteristically, she seems to have obtained one without undue difficulty.

The equipment they brought from England consisted of: a tent with bamboo poles, sleeping bags, a double Primus stove and a "Tommy cooker, a ferrostate flask and two thermos flasks, canvas buckets, clothes both for winter and summer (landworkers' suits for driving the caravan, which, unfortunately, the Canadians regarded as displaying an undue amount of 'Limb!').² Then, for use in the prairie schools, sets of Nelson's pictures

¹Hasell, op. cit., p. 7. Miss Ticehurst received her certificate from St. Christopher's on Oct. 12, 1914, according to the College records housed in the National Society Archives, Dean's Yard, London.

²This opinion was confirmed in an interview with Bishop R. J. Pierce of Victoria, B. C., formerly Bishop of Athabaska, who commented that Hasell

and Sunday-school Institute models (given me by the Girls' Diocesan Association for Carlisle diocese), and a case of books of graded lesson courses and a quantity of postcard pictures of 'The Hope of the World' and 'The New Epiphany'."¹

In February, 1920, Winifred Ticehurst and Eva Hasell embarked at Liverpool for New York.

To Canada

Hasell says very little about her journey across the Atlantic: she herself was never sea-sick:² "The waiters seemed greatly intrigued at my appetite, and I fancy, from the way they pressed the various courses, that they were betting on how much I could eat!" Miss Ticehurst however, was "more or less sick for a week"; there was "a horrid orgy on board" a day or two before reaching New York because many of the passengers, knowing they were entering a "dry" country, "got drunk, shouting and raging all night long," and there was a blizzard with tremendously high seas just before entering New York harbour.

But she enthusiastically describes her stay in New York City itself as "an amazing and exhilarating experience...the restaurants are a paradise for the discerning palate," and she concludes that "a brief but thorough experience of American luxury in a great city was, from its very contrast, a fitting prelude to the rough life of the prairie." After ten days in

wore the equivalent of miniskirts when everyone else was still going about in maxis!

¹Hasell, op. cit., p. 8. Nelson's pictures and Sunday School Institute models are explained in the chapter on methods.

²In her Report, 1965, Hasell complains of sea-sickness, but it was probably a result of aging since she always prided herself on being an excellent sailor.

New York, Hasell and Ticehurst left for Toronto. Here they met with Rev. Dr. R. J. Hiltz, General Secretary of the General Board of Religious Education (G.B.R.E.) for the Church of England in Canada, who briefed them on the opportunities for religious education in this country.

While still in Toronto, Hasell learned that work on her caravan had not yet begun. It is here that one glimpses her maneuvering and rather terrifying determination, as well as her "imperial" connections:

I determined to stop at Winnipeg on my way to Regina in order to see about the matter, and to bring what influence I could to bear upon the coach-building firm. As a member of the Victoria League, I had an introduction to a Daughter of the Empire at Winnipeg, and I wrote and asked her to use her influence in getting my order for the caravan put through without further delay.... I pressed for a promise that the van should be finished by May 1, adding that otherwise I should not pay for it.¹

Having attended to this matter, she and Ticehurst continued by train to Regina. Miss Hasell takes great delight in describing prairie towns so vastly different from English villages as to defy comparison. The "illimitable" prairie also fascinated her, as did "Union" churches ("a sort of co-operative Nonconformity"); houses built of lumber ("trees sawn into boards"); basements under these houses, and elevators ("a high granary for storing the wheat"). The "mutual friendliness" of the citizens "also was pleasant to see, and gave point to the usual greeting: 'Pleased to meet you!'...a phrase which left me at a loss for a suitable reply until I hit upon the plan of always saying it first."

Hasell and Miss Ticehurst stayed in Regina for eight weeks, giving lectures and demonstrations, helping with various parish duties and visiting

¹Hasell, Across the Prairie, pp. 17-18. The Victoria League, now known as the Victoria League for Commonwealth Friendship, was organized in 1901 to promote closer union between different parts of the British Empire (Commonwealth).

Aylmer Bosanquet. During this period, Hasell attended a reception given by the Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.) in the Parliament Buildings, and there was introduced to Premier Martin who was then Minister of Education for Saskatchewan. He promised to give her introductions to the public school teachers in areas the caravaners were likely to visit, so as to facilitate her work. She also met the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Lake. In addition, the I.O.D.E. sent the editor of a Regina newspaper to interview her, and an article appeared in the Saskatchewan Star which she describes as "embarrassingly flattering." Certainly, Regina was giving Eva Hasell a royal welcome.

Some compatriots of hers who did not receive as much attention, were several girls who had come out under the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf (F.M.L.).¹ The aim of the Fellowship was to "Keep Canada British and Christian," and in order to fulfil this purpose, the organization sought to supply young Anglicans, primarily women trained at St. Christopher's, to serve as elementary school teachers in Western Canada, particularly in Saskatchewan. Most of these girls Miss Hasell now met were enrolled in the Provincial Normal School in preparation for taking country schools in the fall, and for these young women Hasell gave a tea-party. She was very pleased with them, and with their "Imperial standpoint."

While in Regina, Hasell carefully worked out her summer itinerary, and after studying the condition of the "unmetalled" roads, came to the conclusion that the caravan would not be able to make more than ten miles an hour, at the most. She wrote to the clergy or leading laymen in areas she was to visit, making the following suggestions:

¹See Appendix VI for a description and brief history of the F.M.L.

We should like to come and stay a week in their locality, living and sleeping in the caravan and doing our own cooking (I wished to make it clear that we should not be burdensome), but we should be glad to receive invitations and hospitality at times in order to get to know the people. Where there was a Sunday School in existence, we proposed to superintend the school and teach, while the teachers watched. Where there was no Sunday School, we should like to have the children gathered together to form one. In this case we hoped that the prospective teachers would come to be shown how to teach, that they might carry on the school when we had started it, helped by the books and pictures which we proposed to leave them. We also requested the trustees to allow us to give Scripture lessons in the day schools in the half-hour allotted for that purpose, and also expressed our great desire to meet the parents....¹

If the suggestions seemed presumptuous, Hasell was totally unaware, and gives no indication that they were received by anything but unqualified delight.

As further preparation for the summer, she took driving lessons in Aylmer Bosanquet's Ford roadster, because she had never before driven a Ford, not to mention a left-hand drive, and she also enrolled in a "motor school and had a course of lessons on Ford repairs and vulcanising tyres." Needless to say, she was the only woman in the shop.

On May 1, 1920, Miss Hasell heard that her caravan was ready, and on May 9, she and Miss Ticehurst returned to Winnipeg to take possession of a:

...caravan -- much like a tradesman's van in appearance. It was painted black, with 'Sunday School Mission, Anglican Church,' lettered in red and gold on one side. The driving seat could be completely closed in when necessary, for, besides the wind-screen, there were half-glass doors on either side, which in hot weather could be taken off and put behind the mattresses. There were two doors at the back of the van, which opened outwards. As the side doors had their catches inside, when we wished to leave the caravan we got out at the back and padlocked these doors.... The back of the driving-seat was hinged and folded forward at night, so that the six-foot mattresses which were strapped back to the van sides during the day could

¹Hasell, Across the Prairie, p. 27.

come down over it. Beneath one mattress was a wooden locker, and under the other a wooden shelf with legs. There was also a shelf on one wall of the van...an electric bulb was fitted to the roof.... We made a bag to hold our tidiest clothes.... We also nailed linoleum on the floor....¹

Hasell admitted that "Even to our fond eyes it could not be called exactly beautiful, but it was rather cruel of Canon X to observe, 'Ah! a Black Maria, I see'."

After buying some extra tools, aluminium cooking utensils and food, they were finally ready to start. But how to get out of Winnipeg? As Hasell said, "What must be, must be," and off into the traffic she swung the van.

The engine was very stiff as it had just come out of the assembly shop and had not been run, so it was difficult to steer and to regulate the speed. Also, it swung a good deal as the body was very long...we nearly ran into a motor bicycle and other vehicles....just as I had turned across the tram-lines...the engine...stopped dead, and there we were, right in the way of the trams. However, by the help of the self-starter, I got it going again and tried to turn but the steering wheel was so stiff that I nearly ran into the pavement...the engine kept stopping, so I turned into a side street, and with a good deal of difficulty found my way out of the town.²

They were on their way!

The "trail" to Regina left somewhat to be desired. Hasell insisted that the "very best trail is much like the worst cart road in England," and described them as "simply earth roads" with "ruts about two feet deep," and full of gopher holes and great lumps of earth. Directions were blazed on telephone poles--R or L--right or left, "it is up to you to guess whether you turn right to go to Winnipeg or to Regina." She gave up relying on these road-signs soon enough, declaring that "one

¹Ibid., pp. 29-30.

²Ibid., pp. 31-32.

learns to steer by the sun and stars." To ask for directions was as useless as trying to decipher the telephone poles. As she writes, "You will merely be told 'Go five miles north, and three miles east and one mile south and four miles west, and then look for the elevator at So-and-So. You can't miss it.' But you can miss it, very easily."¹

They always camped for the night near a farm-house in order to obtain water, and whenever time permitted, they pitched the tent to provide a "second room" as the van was very crowded for undressing, especially since Hasell, although short, was a stout and hefty woman. Neither she nor Ticehurst spent much time grooming on this trip. As Hasell comments, "We started on our tour with a due regard for appearances, both of us armed with travelling looking-glasses. But these soon got smashed in our bumpy progress, and henceforth we contented ourselves with tidying our hair from our shadows cast on the ground or our reflections in the wind-screen, or, Hyacinth-like, gazed fondly into the sloughs."²

Even a partial description of one day's travel seems a motorist's nightmare: The electric starter went wrong; the engine proved almost impossible to crank; the fan stopped working and Hasell found a nut had not been properly adjusted. Then a five foot hole "yawned across our path as we topped the hill, and there was nothing for it but to plunge through it and down the hill beyond," whereupon the van almost tipped. Shortly after this, the van got stuck up to its axels in sand and after trying unsuccessfully for an hour to dig it out, the women simply "sat down by the roadside to read the service for the day in our prayer-books." By

¹Ibid., p. 35.

²Ibid., p. 37.

the time they were helped out, Hasell's arms had become "very stiff with the vibrations from the steering wheel" which was almost knocked out of her hands whenever a wheel struck a big clod--"One had to hang on like grim death." Hasell comments laconically, "We only did twenty-seven miles that day." Yet it was to prove all too typical of many of the experiences they had during that, and later, summers.

Hardly had Hasell and Ticehurst reached Regina and begun preparations for their work, when they were notified that Aylmer Bosanquet was very ill. Hasell went, on ten minutes notice, to be with her friend, and then accompanied her and Nona Clarke back to Regina under most trying conditions. Within three days Hasell and Ticehurst were on their way, after driving their van where Miss Bosanquet could see it from her hospital window. Her dream had been realized. These two pioneers were never to see each other again, for Aylmer Bosanquet was ordered to a milder climate and died in California on Shrove Tuesday, February, 1921. In a letter written in 1953, Hasell called her "my great friend" and, she might have added, the instigator of what was to be Hasell's lifelong work.

The Early Caravan Years 1920-1925

Although Eva Hasell served in Canada for over fifty years, the pattern for her work was set in the first summers. To understand her mission during these formative years, then, is to understand her labours of a lifetime. These first summers, therefore, deserve at least a cursory overview.

The caravan was to leave Regina on Friday, May 21, 1920. While it was being loaded, "an ominous darkness blotted out the sun," and a fierce dust storm descended on the prairies. They were begged by friends not to start, but Hasell could not be persuaded: "...I had arranged to get to

Buffalo Lake by Sunday, and I had already been obliged to alter the date once owing to the delay in getting the caravan, so I felt that I could not put them off any more. If one delays for difficulties one will never do anything. So we started."¹ She gives no indication that Ticehurst was consulted at any point, and it can only be presumed that she was made of the same relentless stuff as Hasell.

After a series of misadventures they did reach Buffalo Lake in good time for the service, but were rather nonplussed when a young man after the meeting remarked, "We thought your car was a motor ambulance and supposed there'd been a scrap"--which may have accounted for the good attendance.

It was a busy summer for the vanners, visiting homes, starting Sunday Schools, giving Bible lessons, addressing parents and teachers, and enrolling children in the S.S.P. At the conclusion of the tour, Miss Hasell donated the van to the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, with the understanding that it would be used each summer for this work.

The van was indeed in operation again in 1921, but Hasell herself did not come to Canada. She had not dismissed the work from her mind by any means, but was busy in England, organizing meetings in which she described her 1920 tour and raising funds for a continuation of the van work. Her reports mention that Margaret West, a St. Christopher's graduate working in the Diocese of Ottawa, has "offered to take the S. S. Caravan on the prairie in May, and pay all her own expenses.... Miss Higginbotham, from near Glasgow, will sail for Canada on May 11 [1921]. She also will pay all her own expenses, drive Miss West, do the cooking and running repairs of the van...four girls who drove motor ambulances for the Red Cross have offered their services...but their offer had to be refused this

¹ibid., p. 37.

year.... It is hoped that money will be raised in England during the summer so that more caravans can be procured...." Obviously Miss Hasell was not sitting idly by.¹ The following year [1922] she was ready to return. The G.B.R.E. report notes that Miss Hasell "wrote to the G.B.R.E. to the effect that she had succeeded in raising £855, or approximately \$3,824 for the Sunday School Caravan work, and was desirous of again visiting Canada. As a result of correspondence, and on the invitation of the Bishops of Calgary and Saskatchewan, arrangements were made for providing caravans for both these dioceses."²

With money in hand for the caravan work, and with another £500 donated by Hasell herself and her sister Dorothy, the funds were sufficient to buy two new vans, and pay the operating expenses of a third, for the first van, "Pioneer," was to serve its third year in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle.³

Dorothy decided to accompany Eva for the summer to help man the Calgary van,⁴ but they agreed to include a third person who would be able

¹The Occasional Paper, No. 129 (1920), and No. 130 (1921).

²G.B.R.E. report, 1923, entitled "Sunday School Motor Caravan Work."

³A new van at this time cost approximately £300, with the equipment another £20 to £40. The cost of operating a van was about £46, but this did not include board for the vanners, or the cost of transporting them from home to their areas of service.

⁴This was Dorothy's only vanning experience. She supported the work by planning the winter lecturing itineraries, arranging train schedules and the like. Dorothy felt her place to be at Dacre Lodge where she supervised the farm which was very capably managed by Thomas Cowperthwaite, farm manager from 1920 until the 1970's. Dorothy was a very intelligent woman, considered more a "woman of the world" than Eva, and her ideals of service lay in the area of committee work rather than vanning. She was a county, district and parish councillor, as well as a keen worker for the Conservative Party. She was asked to stand as a candidate for Parliament, but refused. She also declined nomination as a Justice of the Peace. Dorothy was involved in a single car motor accident on February 18, 1936,

to continue the work in following years, and so Miss Dorothy Eckersall, "an old Cheltenham girl," and a niece of Lady Willingdon, the wife of the Governor-General, was included in their party. Hasell also secured workers for the Saskatchewan van, Miss Henley and Miss Cicely Jackson, while Miss West and Miss Higginbotham were again manning the "Pioneer" in Qu'Appelle. The daily routine was much like that of 1920, except that, before they even started on the caravans, Hasell came down with a severe case of measles in Saskatoon, much to her annoyance.

While Dorothy Hasell and Miss Eckersall returned to England in the fall, Eva Hasell went on to Kamloops and Vancouver, where she stayed in the home of Bishop and Mrs. De Pencier of New Westminster.¹ She spoke at many meetings and she notes that Bishop De Pencier "finally gave me an invitation to work in his diocese as soon as I could provide a caravan." It was this year also, that the Primate, Archbishop Samuel Pritchard Matheson, officially recognized her work as the "Canadian Sunday School Caravan Mission."

In 1923 a new van was provided for the Diocese of Edmonton, manned by Hasell and Eckersall. These post-World War I and post-A.W.C.F. years were difficult ones for the Church, and Hasell reports that in the Edmonton Mission House, where there had been thirty-seven clergy and laymen, there were now only thirteen, with only thirteen more clergy in other parts of the diocese. Help in the isolated areas was obviously urgently needed.

An accident which demolished the van and almost took the vanners'

and died in the Carlisle Infirmary February 19. Hasell sorrowed, "No one can ever take the place of such a wonderful, loving and self-sacrificing sister...."

¹Bishop Adam Urias De Pencier, consecrated Archbishop of New Westminster in 1925.

lives occurred late in the season. At a level crossing near Daysland, Alberta, a C.P.R. freight train hit the van broadside and completely demolished it. Eckersall was seriously injured, with her pelvic bone badly fractured. She was forced to remain flat on her back until May of 1924, and could not return to England until August of that year.

Miss Hasell, displaying again that undeflectable will, wiped the blood from her head and insisted on taking all her engagements before being X-rayed in Edmonton. There "...the doctor said my scapular was fractured and displaced, and told me to go back...at once and have it set by Dr. Borden."¹ She was forced to stay in Daysland until the end of January, 1924, and here experienced her first Canadian winter.

Hasell returned to England the end of February, 1924, and sailed for Canada again on May 2, having raised £400 in this short interim for her work in Canada. Her plans had been to work in the diocese of Rupert's Land, but because of extremely wet conditions, Archbishop Matheson reluctantly advised her that the prairie trails would be impassable. Undaunted, she went to B. C. to offer her services to Bishop De Pencier, who had probably not expected so prompt an acceptance of the invitation which had "finally" been issued in 1922. Because there was no bishop in Cariboo at this time, the duties of this diocese also fell on Bishop De Pencier, and it was to Cariboo that Hasell was sent. She notes that there were only eight clergymen in the whole diocese that summer.

Before she and Dorothy Miller, her companion for this term, began their activities, they were given a "can shower." These were arranged for

¹Hasell, Through Western Canada in a Caravan (Westminster: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1927), p. 154. The C.P.R. paid the train fare for both Hasell and Dorothy Eckersall all the way to Montreal, when they were able to travel.

all vanners by the W. A. in the "starting" city whenever it was possible, and consisted of donated food--tinned salmon, herrings, smelts, clam chowder, soups, vegetables, fruits, jam, tea, coffee, cocoa, and one year, fifty tins of sardines. They "lived on this food all through the summer, supplemented by eggs, milk and vegetable," a welcome further saving on expenses.

Miss Hasell was very interested in the other Anglican missions on the west coast, and describes with enthusiasm her visits to the Japanese, the Prince Rupert Coast, the Chinese, the Columbia Coast and the Masset Inlet missions. When the vanners were ready at last to go inland, Bishop De Pencier decided to accompany them. They had to cross the American border to get to the Penticton district, and bootlegging was causing so much difficulty that the bishop feared embarrassment for the ladies with their formidable and rather curious vehicle, which had already been locally dubbed "that grey booze-wagon."

This year again, Hasell experienced an accident. The tortuous roads through the mountains were just being built in many areas,¹ and at one unfinished hair-pin curve, the van, too long to negotiate the turn, slid down the steep incline into a creek, and overturned. Miraculously, neither Hasell nor Doris Miller was hurt, nor was the van irreparably damaged.

¹Although the main roads through the mountains improved, many of the side roads did not, even for years to come, and the Dalemmain Papers include the following letter from S. D. H. Pope, Divisional Engineer, Department of Public Works, Kamloops, B. C., dated October 4, 1950: "I have had occasion to watch your van operating...and while I admire the spirit of the girls operating it, I would like you to realize that driving a vehicle of this type between Blue River and Albreda is not child's play and certainly not one that young girls should undertake.... I would ask you to consider this [poor section of the road] before deciding to send out the same van next year. Your drivers handled the vehicle very well, but I am sure there were several times they must have been very nervous."

Hasell had the body of the van shortened by two feet and the top lowered proportionately, and the van continued to serve for many years.

Throughout the Diocese of Cariboo Hasell found, to her consternation, that all Indian reserves had either Roman Catholic or Anglican clergy. She comments, "The little Red Indians in these dioceses are so well looked after that they pride themselves on knowing more about the Bible than the white children." She felt that this neglect of isolated white settlers was most unfortunate, although she realized that the concentration of persons on a reserve certainly made the work there necessary.

Hasell's work in the mountains was incredibly difficult and dangerous, with impossible terrain, tortuous and dangerous trails, and great isolation, but it was tremendously appreciated by children and adults alike, as well as by the Church, and that year the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada passed the following resolution:

That this Synod desires to express its conviction that one of the most effective ways of reaching those members of our Church who are far removed from the Church's administrations, and provide for them that teaching so essential to the building up of Christian life and character, is that which is known as the Sunday-School-by-Post and its related work, the Sunday-School Caravan. We are especially desirous to place on record our grateful appreciation of the splendid services rendered in connection with the Caravan work by Miss F. H. E. Hasell, Sunday-School Organizer for the Diocese of Carlisle, England, without whose aid and untiring zeal and energy this work would not have been initiated.¹

Miss Hasell's work in 1925 was in the diocese of Brandon, under very different, although no less trying circumstances. Instead of mountains there were swamps and endless bush country, as well as unbelievably engulfing hordes of mosquitoes. Yet the human needs of the settlers were the

¹Journal of Proceedings, The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada (1924), p. 48. Also in F. H. E. Hasell, Canyons, Cans and Caravans (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), p. 14.

same. Bishop W. W. H. Thomas¹ of Brandon showed Hasell a letter received from a Britisher settled in a remote area of the diocese for fifteen years: "I think that the members of the Church of England who are more fortunate and have services will feel very sad at the Last Day when God reveals to them the spiritual destitution of me and my wife and the other homesteaders who have been up here fifteen years without a service of any Church."² The settler's little five-year old had died, and there was no minister to conduct a service. The parents felt it too much of an emotional strain to say a prayer, no one had a Prayer Book, and so the child was buried without a prayer or service of any kind. Scant wonder that the newly-consecrated bishop received the caravaners and their ministry in remote areas with the greatest of pleasure, realizing the urgency of their work.

The two vanners (Mary Nettleton accompanied Hasell in 1925) also found much physical suffering among the settlers. Hasell mentions visiting a "poor woman with five children, who was paralysed. Her husband had left her.... When Miss Davis visited her...she found her and the children living on one meal a day of dry bread and potatoes; she made tea by pouring hot water on hay."³ Hasell was quick to provide emergency supplies of groceries and send parcels of clothing, as well as to report such cases to the proper authorities for further aid.

¹Wilfred William Henry Thomas, first Bishop of Brandon was always a friend of Hasell's. He died in 1953. For details of his episcopate, see Kelly and Rogers, The Anglican Episcopate, Vol. II, p. 18.

²Hasell, Canyons, p. 16.

³Ibid., p. 32.

Iris Sayle

The year 1926 marked the beginning of Hasell's association with Iris Sayle, an association which grew into a life-long partnership and a deeply devoted friendship.

Iris Eugenie Friend Sayle, born in 1894, was the daughter of George Moore Sayle, a silk merchant, and Emily Brierley Sayle. She was the fourth of six sisters in a devout, evangelical Anglican family, where family prayers and service to the Church were taken for granted. The motto on the family crest, "Who most has served is greatest," was taken seriously, with the result that the oldest sister, Gladys, founded a private school, Ellerslie, in Malvern, Worcestershire; Pearl spent a lifetime caring for her father after Mrs. Sayle's death in 1913; Agnes, the youngest, became an S.P.G. missionary to India and Pakistan, while Iris trekked with Hasell through the Canadian wilderness. Two other sisters, Winnifred and Violet, died early in life. None of the sisters married.

Iris trained at the Ablett School of Art in London, then taught in England for several years. In 1925 she offered her services to St. Michael's Diocesan School in Vernon, British Columbia, and was subsequently engaged to teach art and English, which suited her training and inclinations admirably. She was an accomplished artist, had always appreciated Shakespeare, and like Hasell, greatly enjoyed acting. Sayle also read with enthusiasm--the classics, and authors such as Elizabeth Goudge and Barbara Cartland.¹

¹Elizabeth Goudge seems to fit quite properly with a person of Sayle's background, but listed under Cartland's authorship, besides a few biographies, are these titilating titles: A Virgin in Mayfair, Again this Rapture, Escape from Passion, The Leaping Flame, etc. It may be that Sayle contented herself with the biographies.

In appearance she was a big, rather angular woman, often rather grim-faced in later years, possibly because she suffered from arthritis and then from Parkinson's Disease. She had a tremendous sense of humour-- "the sort that helps you combat difficult situations"--although at times this wit could become sarcastic and be turned against another or herself.

Sayle was an organizer with great drive to get work done, and every once and again her business sense impinged on her innate sensitivity. At times like this she gave the impression of being all-knowing, and earned for herself the reputation of "a typical English school-mistress type"--prim, aloof, severe. One vanner suggested that "the strain and responsibilities of their work and their way of life" weighed more heavily on Sayle than on Hasell. According to Mrs. Clifford Bell, an S.S.P. Secretary who knew both Sayle and Hasell for many years, Sayle's concern complemented "what seemed to be a happy-go-lucky streak in Miss Hasell. Miss Hasell usually appeared to be relaxed, while Miss Sayle often seemed to be tense."

Certainly Sayle was a forceful woman with great strength of character but touched also by the love of God. To suffer from arthritis and Parkinson's Disease and yet serve forty-six years on vans, with all the discomfort this entailed, bespeaks of great devotion and she was a singularly dedicated woman who loved her Church and desired without reserve to serve her Lord. It was in Vernon, B. C., that Sayle's aspiration for missionary service ripened, and she offered herself to the S.P.G. in March, 1926.

At that time she wrote to her sister Gladys:

I have just with a very light heart written to S.P.G. offering my services conditionally for work abroad.... I am absolutely leaving everything in God's hands.... I felt God's call and I know I am doing His will in answering it as I am. I know you

will rejoice with me, though how God will use me I do not know of course.¹

If Sayle did not know how God would use her, Eva Hasell knew. Hasell happened to be on the Missions Committee at this time and she counselled Sayle first to go vanning with her for the summer and then go into training for the S.P.G. in fall "or any term." Sayle agreed, and on July 12, 1926, recorded in her day-book, "I shall see S.P.G. but I feel that it is more than likely that after getting some more training I shall stay on out here doing Van and S. S. work."

After completing the summer van term, Sayle enrolled at St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, for a course in Sunday School training. Although she and Hasell had first met at Ellerslie, Malvern in 1925,² the summer adventure in caravan missions in Kootenay Diocese marked the beginning of a partnership. Hereafter they were a team, diverse in personality and temperament, but complementing one another and absolutely loyal to one common goal - teaching the Gospel to children and striving to "make God and His world more wonderful."

Van Years 1926-1929

In the summer of 1926, then, Sayle and Hasell worked in the Diocese of Kootenay, an area the size of Great Britain, served by only thirty Anglican priests. The terrain of the diocese was most difficult, with long lakes and many mountains, including the Selkirks and the Rocky Mountains.

¹Letter dated March 10, 1926 and quoted by Doreen Savery in The Western Canada Sunday School Caravan Mission (n. p., 1973), p. 1.

²Miss Agnes Sayle disputes this point, saying Iris had heard of Miss Hasell but did not meet her until the latter came to St. Michael's School in Vernon. However, Hasell herself records this meeting in Ellerslie (Canyons, p. 57) as does Iris's obituary, The Herald, August 11, 1973.

Often they had to pick their way on foot over treacherous paths to visit isolated families. They also suffered intensely from black flies, and Hasell confessed, "Our eyes swelled up and my face bled all over."

It was in Kootenay that they first encountered Doukhobors, and Hasell evinces much interest in their history, their customs and their present condition, although she concludes, "They are a great problem to the Church and the country." She found the following incident very amusing, however:

We walked five miles up a mountain to see a family who had not been to a service for years. It was a very hot walk. I sat down on a log to rest while I talked to the mother about the S.S.P. as she stood packing strawberries into boxes. An old Dukobor [sic] woman came up with her basket full of strawberries to be packed. She looked at me and remarked in broken English: 'You no work. You lazy. You fat!' Then turning to Iris: 'You work very hard. You thin!' After these comments I felt that I must either pack strawberries or go.¹

By the spring of 1928 there were already nine vans. Hasell continued to be financially responsible for them all. On her way West that year, Hasell stopped at Missanabie, a Hudson's Bay Company fur-trading post, and was greatly touched by a donation of thirty-five dollars and fifty cents, from nine Indian women who had sold cakes, bread and needlework to raise this money for her caravan work. Hasell and Iris Sayle, now her constant companion, did not stay long en route, however, for they were headed for the Diocese of Caledonia, to work under Archdeacon Rix.² They went first to Edmonton to examine the possibility of a route to the Peace River and found that the road was, hopefully, to be finished by August. The immediate

¹Hasell, Canyons, p. 132.

²George Alexander Rix, 1865-1945. There had been no bishop in the diocese since the late Archbishop de Vernier, because the financial condition of the diocese was such that it was felt impossible to elect a bishop until an endowment fund had been raised. On June 6, 1928, however, Archdeacon Rix was consecrated Bishop for a diocese which contained 640,000 square miles and had only sixteen clergymen.

and more pressing problem, however, was that the new van had not yet arrived. Hasell wrote to the manager of the Ford factory in Ontario:

...who replied that he would send one as soon as humanly possible. Fortunately, I had a plan of the new chassis, and the body builder was able to work from this. I was desperate, however, for the seasons are so short. Lady Willingdon's niece had driven a van for two seasons and had interested her aunt and the Governor-General in the work. So I wrote to Lord Willingdon asking if he would write to the Ford manager in Ontario. The reply to his letter was very different from his reply to mine. The manager was very sorry Miss Hasell had been delayed and would send off the truck at once. But it had to come by freight train and the distance was so great, the van could not be ready till the end of July.¹

Hasell could not countenance this delay and decided they would start out on foot without waiting for the van. They packed a kit-bag containing waterproof sheets and blankets, "a light tent, a knapsack, some books and pictures, a saucepan bought at Woolworth's for fifteen cents, two aluminium plates, two spoons, forks, collapsible cups, and pocket knives. The cups were always collapsing." Finally, having participated in a Dismissal Service and obtained lay-readers' licences, the two women set out for Pouce Coupé in the Peace River Block, first by train, then by a chance ride, but mostly by foot. Once at Pouce Coupé they set up camp but did not stay long. On they tramped, through driving rain and clinging mud, up steep hills and through rocky ravines, pitching their tent in places various and sundry. They visited communities as far as Hudson Hope, sixty miles past Fort St. John on a rough pack trail. When they returned to Pouce Coupé, they found they had walked over 300 miles "in each of two months" which could mean 600 miles and probably does, for Hasell's year-end report reads "912 miles walked."

On July 28, Hasell and Sayle returned to Edmonton to find their van,

¹Hasell, Canyons, p. 179.

"St. Andrew," ready and waiting, and they continued working in this comparatively elegant comfort in another section of the diocese until the end of the summer. The log for 1928 reads: 912 miles walked, 1,608 miles travelled by van, and 1,633 miles travelled by other means.¹ It was to remain the summer most frequently remembered by them and by many others as "The Summer When Hasell and Sayle Walked Into the Peace River Area."

Before returning to England, Miss Hasell, as was her custom, stopped to lecture at various places across Canada, including Montreal. The meetings here were organized by the "younger clergy" and she notes how attentively they listened to her plea for priests in the West, but especially in the Peace River district. As a result of these meetings, a group of young clergymen "sat in a cafe half the night evolving a plan of campaign." The plan was for a clergyman and a layman--usually a student from McGill University--to go out together during the summer months with camping equipment, and minister in areas in which there were no priests. They decided to name their group the Fellowship of the West. The Fellowship made itself responsible for expenses only, yet in spite of this, the organization attracted a high calibre of both priest and layman, and was to provide succor and consolation beyond words to many in isolated areas. The Fellowship was active until the spring of 1978, when it decided to disband permanently.

Both Miss Sayle and Miss Hasell lectured in England all that winter, 1928-1929, and in early spring sailed again for Canada on the "Montrose." They were returning to the Diocese of Caledonia with a new van, the "St. Cuthbert," donated by the Diocese of Carlisle, with its running expenses

¹One confesses to bewilderment as to how Hasell knew exactly how many miles they had walked, driven or otherwise travelled.

paid by the parishes around Lake Windermere. At the end of the summer, Bishop Rix commended them for their labours: "The work you have done would have challenged the strength and energy of a strong man."

There had been twelve vans and twenty-four workers in eight Western dioceses in this year ending the first decade of the Caravan Mission, and Hasell's general report read as follows: "New members for the S.S.P., 5,436; S.S.P. members revisited, 4,277; Sunday-Schools started, 63; Sunday-Schools helped, 94; Homes visited, 5,796; Day-schools visited and Bible lessons given, 146; Services taken, 121; Extra classes given to children, 218; Addresses given to adults, 160; Children found for baptism ...1,017; Travelled by the van, 36,306 miles; Ridden, driven, or by boat, 3,854 miles; Walked, 1,693 miles."

Her work was well established by now, and following the same general pattern, continued to grow.

CHAPTER III

HER WORK: MEANS AND METHODS

To understand Eva Hasell and the Caravan Mission it is important to look in greater detail at the various activities in which she was engaged, and the methods and materials she used in her work.

Vans

The vans have already been briefly described. Only "Pioneer" was painted black, however.¹ The later ones were mostly blue-grey, "a better match for prairie dust and mud." They had the name of the diocese as well as the name of the van painted on their sides, for each van was designated "St. Christopher," "St. David," "St. Kentigern" (called "Kenny" by vanners) and so on.

Vans were equipped with a portable burner, two folding-down beds, mattresses, pillows, blankets, pots and pans, in short, everything necessary for a spartan existence. In early years there was a strict rule about cooking only outside the van because of the fire hazard, but later vans were equipped with Coleman stoves and an asbestos lining which made life in cold or rainy weather immeasurably more comfortable.

Before putting the vehicles away for the winter, the vanners cleaned them thoroughly and reported to Hasell any breakages, needed repairs and things of that nature. Vans were stored in the diocese in which they

¹In a letter to Dominion Motors, Winnipeg, in 1939, Hasell writes, "Concerning colour, I would rather have green or blue and on no account red. I would rather not have black."

were used, sometimes in a garage built specifically for the purpose, sometimes by a local clergyman, occasionally by a large commercial firm. Dominion Motors in Winnipeg, for example, stored the "Good Shepherd" free of charge, for several winters, "because I am a Ford fleet owner," according to Miss Hasell.

Now and again problems occurred during storage, as when, in 1959, four vans sheltered in a Regina hanger were destroyed by fire, or in 1964, when the "St. Andrew" van and garage were completely gutted. Then in November, 1965, the lock on the garage housing the "St. Patrick" at Smithers, B. C., was broken, "all the windows in the van smashed, the paint on the body scratched, equipment pulled out and scattered about. Nothing had been stolen.... The van was insured for fire and theft. Vandalism did not come under either."¹ And the next year, the "Good Shepherd" in storage in Winnipeg, was also vandalised: books and teaching materials were thrown out and trampled; tools, blankets, mattresses, sleeping bags, everything was stolen, "even blinds and safety belts." Sometimes the diocese involved could replace a vehicle in such circumstances, but more often than not, Miss Hasell assumed full financial responsibility for restoration.²

Hasell's policy in regard to vans was quite specific. She would purchase the vehicle, and after operating it personally for a summer (in most cases, but not all), donate it to the bishop of the diocese under

¹ Report, 1965, p. 5.

² In the Regina fire, for example, gifts from the Diocese of Qu' Appelle replaced two vans; gifts from appeals by Hasell and in response to ads in the Canadian Churchman secured another, while the Mothers' Union of Great Britain paid for the fourth. See Report, 1959, p. 5.

the following conditions:

1. That the van be used in spring, summer and fall for four months or longer. It is to be staffed by two women, one a Sunday-School expert who has been through the training departments for religious education in Canada, or St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, England. She should start Sunday-Schools, visit homes, get new members for the S.S.P. and revisit those already enrolled, visit public schools and give lessons out of hours, find children for baptism and send their names to the clergy, take services for adults where no Anglican clergyman or layman is taking them.
2. The expert should be accompanied by another woman who can drive a car, do running repairs, cook and wash, and, if possible, teach under the supervision of the expert.
3. That money should be raised in the diocese, if possible, for the running expenses of the van and the board expenses of the workers.
4. Should the van in the future not be used for the above purpose, it shall be available for similar work in another diocese under the direction of F. H. E. Hasell, Organizer of the Sunday-School Vans.¹

These conditions show quite clearly the relationship Miss Hasell had to the diocese, and the organizational conditions under which the work was carried on. It should be noted that Hasell never quite relinquished her hold on a van.

Not all bishops were unequivocally enthusiastic about this arrangement. Bishop Robert J. Renison of Athabaska wrote quite bluntly to Hasell in 1932, "in the Agreement the details are too specific and the nature of the work too minute and inelastic to be formally signed at the present time."²

Occasionally, also, a bishop felt that vans were not the most efficient means of work in their particular diocese, and so Calgary did

¹Hasell, Canyons, pp. 13-14.

²Letter in the Dalemmain papers. Bishop Renison, 1875-1957, was to become Metropolitan of Ontario in 1952.



not use vans in 1926, because "motor cars and local workers are quite as efficient."¹ Although this argument had validity it was not adequate in all circumstances, for vans could function in weather and on roads that would absolutely immobilize a car. When a van became too well-used to be reliable any longer, it was put up for sale and the proceeds used towards the purchase of a new vehicle. Hunters in particular were always anxious to get old vans and there was seldom any trouble in selling one, according to Miss K. Alexander, herself a vanner, and later treasurer of the Caravan Mission.

The Vanners

Although vans were basic to Miss Hasell's organization, the women who worked on them were the heart and soul of its success. And vanners were invariably women. While Hasell was co-operating with the G.B.R.E. Joint Committee for Van Work² applications from two men were considered at a meeting on February 8, 1926. The motion was made and seconded that clergymen as well as women should in future be accepted, but the Committee had reckoned without Hasell. She was, of course, unable to be at a winter meeting, and when informed of the recommendation she dismissed it out of hand. The two hopeful gentlemen were referred to the Diocese of Calgary where work of a similar nature was in progress and the vans continued on their feminine way. The matter was raised again in Hasell's last years, and a letter to "Margaret," dated February 10, 1972, comments, "The idea

¹The diocese again returned to the use of vans, and the last one supplied by Hasell was purchased by the diocese when the Rt. Rev. George Calvert became bishop. Miss Elsa Bray, Surrey, England, directed the Calgary work for many years. The last van used in this diocese is now in a museum for old vehicles just outside Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, according to a letter received from Mrs. George Calvert in January, 1977.

²The story of Hasell and the Joint Van Committee is found later in this thesis.

that a man and wife should go on a van is quite good." But then she added immediately and true to form, "The van work was started by women for women."¹ There seems to be no known reason for her unmalleable attitude in this matter, although it is possible that, in a male-dominated society, she feared eventual loss of control if men were allowed into the organization.

Not only were the vanners invariably women, they were also largely British, especially before World War II. In 1930 twenty-one of the twenty-eight were British; in 1937, thirty-three of forty-six, and in 1941, twenty-one of forty-eight. By 1955, Hasell lists thirty-one Canadians, twenty-four Britons, one Australian (recruited in England), one New Zealander and five Americans. And so the complexion of nationalities changed, but never dramatically. In 1957, the last year in which Hasell lists countries of origin, there were forty-one Canadians, and twenty-one Britons. Her decided preference for British vanners raises several interesting questions: Were there not enough Canadians available? Did she believe that someone willing to travel overseas showed more devotion to the mission than someone from, say, Regina? Was she convinced that their education was superior? Was it simply an innate sense of the superiority of all things British? Or could it be that English girls, conditioned by class, accepted her authority with less questioning than Canadians? There are no ready answers, and Hasell's only recorded comment on the matter is a laconic, "I take Canadians when I can."

Who were these women who volunteered for the caravans? Possibly because Hasell herself was well-born, she tended to recruit others of

¹Letter in Dalemmain papers.

similar class for her work, especially in the early years. She made a point of speaking at "Girls' Boarding Schools so that we shall have future van workers," and her roster of recruits was impressive: the daughter of Senator Bostock, Lady Jean McDonnell, the cousin of Lady Halifax, Lady Willingdon's niece, and Margaret Price, whose "mother's brother is Sir John Gilmour." Many others were simply dedicated Anglicans from all walks of life, women such as Miss M'Gonigle who had "taken her M. A. degree and is teaching five languages at Branksome Hall in Toronto"; Sylvia Grove, "champion woman skier of McGill University," and "one excellent worker whose grandparents came from Jamaica, and a North American Indian." In her 1961 Report, Hasell refers to the cross-section represented:

One was an S.P.G. missionary (Borneo), but the doctor said she should not go at present to tropical climates.... The S.P.G. kindly agreed to her joining the Caravan Mission, and she is financed by the latter. There is also a C.M.S. missionary from Ireland who was in China, Africa and Malaya, who had retired owing to age but passed medically for Canada.... A Deaconess from Northumberland, who has been working in Australia is in the party, and several Church Day School teachers.... One of the leaders from the Mothers' Union in the Diocese of Winchester, visiting relations and friends in Canada, therefore paying her own expenses, asked me if she could go on a caravan for two months.

Surely a diversified group. A few remained with the caravan mission for long periods of time. Miss Hasell, in her Report of 1960 singled out Florence Mackinnon "on caravans for eighteen years and many winters at missions," Ruth Yeoman from Yorkshire for fourteen years, Eileen Paris, Calgary, for twenty.¹

One likely source from which Hasell did not draw recruits was

¹The purpose here is not to single out individuals but to show conclusively the dedication of the workers. It would be impossible to list all who served faithfully for long periods of time, or all who had connections with gentry, etc.

from the Sisters of St. John the Divine.¹ For many years the order contributed \$300 annually to her work, and eventually also took over correcting the S.S.P. material in Qu'Appelle Diocese for a time, but in a letter dated February 25, 1936, to Bishop Edwin H. Knowles who had evidently raised the question, Hasell writes that she prefers not to have the Sisters on vans because "their habit confuses them with Roman Catholics, and it is impractical for the rough work. Also they would have to take driver's repair courses, etc."²

Vanners were recruited by personal contact, by notices placed in G.B.R.E. and W.A. publications as well as in the Church press both in Canada and Britain, and later in the United States. Interested women were then sent a copy of the qualifications required.³ Their term of service was for at least five months, although exceptions were often made for teachers. In later years British vanners were required to remain for eighteen months because of the cost of transportation.

Hasell had representatives across Canada who interviewed candidates for her but she always met the British girls personally and examined their credentials. They were required to produce two references, one of which was to be from their clergyman, and included the following seven questions: Was the applicant a regular and confirmed Communicant; what was her real

¹An Anglican order established in Canada in 1884, and "interested in parochial and social and educational work." See Carrington, op. cit., p. 201.

²In Dalemmain papers.

³See Appendix IX (A) for a copy. In her Report, 1947, p. 24, Hasell complains, "On the date the vans should start, May 15th, I was still short six drivers and six teachers. I went on appealing, writing endless letters and putting advertisements in the Church and secular papers. Two drivers volunteered from the Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., so finally all the vans went out."

reason for volunteering, i.e., "is she missionary hearted or is it simply a love of adventure?" Her moral standard was examined - "Do you think she would act with discretion among young unmarried men?"; was she "good-tempered and easy to get on with under difficult circumstances"; was she easily discouraged and would the applicant be a good Sunday School teacher? And finally, would her teaching on the Bible and Prayer Book be sound?

A doctor's certificate was also required, which among other details certified that the candidate's digestion was strong. The volunteers were given a copy of regulations to which they were expected to adhere, although one vanner remarked that Miss Hasell "gave you your head as long as you stayed within her idea of the 'right'."¹

The driver of the van generally did the cooking as well as vehicle maintenance, leaving the teacher time for arrangements and preparation, although frequently both women taught and then the chores were shared. Those who worked during the summer only, taught vacation Bible schools and Sunday School, and gave Bible lessons in day school out of hours. They also taught lessons in camps, or any other appropriate place, enrolled children in the S.S.P., and visited homes. They gave addresses to adults on religious teaching, found children for baptism and confirmation, and taught Sunday School teachers how to teach. At the end of the summer they filled out detailed reports.²

¹See Appendix IX (B) for a copy of the Regulations.

²See Appendix IX (C) for an example. Hasell, in addition, left her successors detailed lists of families, their children's names and ages, church affiliation and comments such as: "Reliable old timer; be sure to call, if possible stay for meal"; "Nice to sleep here, very kind and keen"; "Poor Ukrainian family--rough type," etc.

Those who stayed the winter had additional responsibilities. They had lay readers' licences (as did many summer workers) and therefore could take services. In certain dioceses cassocks and mortar boards were worn if speaking from the pulpit, in others they were not, according to the desire of the local congregation. They taught Sunday School on a long-term, regular basis, had week-day activities for young people, organized Christmas and Easter pageants or plays, and prepared Confirmation candidates. It was a busy life and occasionally conscientious workers over-extended and became quite ill, simply from exhaustion, as Hasell's Reports bear witness.

In return for their hard work, spartan living conditions and days of loneliness, the vanners received no salary; on the contrary, many paid their own way. Those unable to do so were provided with return travelling expenses from their homes to the base of their operations, their board, insurance against accidents and a guarantee that they would be looked after when sick.¹ The winter workers, Hasell reported, "are given salaries by the Bishops.... They have two weeks holiday with some money at the end of the van season and in the Spring. I pay the British National Health and Pension contributions while they are away."² The salary, in 1961, was \$50 a month plus room and board, while the holiday money

¹A letter to the author from Sybil Bryans of Leeds, England, shows how well this was done: "...I had to go into Winnipeg General Hospital for an operation.... The Caravan Fund had to pay my Hospital fees under the Agreement, and these, being heavy, must have been a worry to Miss Hasell. The situation might have been worse but for the great generosity of the Surgeon who operated on me--Dr. R. L. Cooke of the Manitoba Cancer Clinic--and the Anaesthetist, who both took no charge for their services.

Miss Hasell and Miss Sayle came to see me in the Hospital and brought me flowers. In spite of the problem my illness had caused Miss Hasell, she was good enough to say that she had been glad to have me as one of the workers."

²Report, 1965, p. 6.

consisted of \$100 per year. They were also allowed some financial help to purchase winter clothing, but no exact figure is available.

When one realizes that "Many of these workers have given up salaried posts and even sold a house and car to come,"¹ then the magnitude of their contribution and devotion becomes apparent, especially for those who served for several years. Miss Hasell, however, could never understand that for some vanners, no matter their degree of motivation, willingness and dedication, the financial strain was such that prolonged service was impossible. She complains repeatedly, "I cannot understand why there is such a shortage of teachers and drivers.... It must be the germ of materialism."² Usually it was not the germ of materialism at all, but the healthy antibody of dignified self-preservation.

Although Hasell never mentions discipline problems in her Reports, letters show that occasionally, but surprisingly seldom, personality conflicts between vanning partners caused a dilemma. In one such instance, the Bishop of Athabaska wrote to Hasell, "On at least two of the vans in this Diocese this summer it is reported that the girls' work was damaged by their difficulty in getting along with each other or at least in keeping disagreements from the public."

And at least once an irate parent castigated Hasell for neglect: War had just been declared and Hasell and Sayle decided to return to England immediately to help where they could. The British girls were informed of this and given the choice of either leaving their vans early or finishing the season. On October 12, 1939, Hasell received the following: "I was astounded to learn that you and Miss Sayle had returned and

¹Ibid., 1946, p. 23.

²Ibid., 1948, p. 12.

that the girls had been left behind.... [I] sincerely regret that she [her daughter] ever did go [to Canada]."¹ With the girls legally of age, and having made their own decisions to return to England or to finish their terms, the letter is rather remarkable. Unfortunately, Hasell's answer is no longer extant.

Very infrequently, the placing of vanners caused some problems. One such occasion occurred in the Diocese of Cariboo in 1961.² Miss Grace Solly, Diocesan Secretary, informed Hasell in a very polite and warm letter that a change had been necessitated in the staffing of a van because of desperately needed personnel for a Church camp. Miss Hasell was infuriated:

"Bishop Dean did not expect you to arrange all this without consulting me and I am writing to tell him that I am very upset about it all," she raged. "No Diocesan Secretary in any diocese across Canada interferes with the Van workers without even telling me.... I have not provided...workers to go to Camps.... If there is no other work for St. Bridget to do than to house two workers in Camps I must have the money returned as it was not just given for Camp work. Someone must have given you a wrong idea of the Caravan Mission. It is not run like the Diocese of Calgary.... I am sure that you thought you were doing it for the best but I know that you have given me much trouble and endless things to clear up, all of which could have been avoided if you had telegraphed me collect. Why did you not send a telegram collect? I have still no particulars about Miss Stainton, 'good type' tells me nothing."

When this letter came to the Bishop's attention, he was most perturbed:

I have your letter of July 16th. I am of course naturally sorry that you have been upset by any steps Miss Solly may have taken. I can only say that if she had not taken these steps it is likely that the vans would still be immobile. She acted under my full

¹Both letters in the Dalemain papers. The Bishop's letter is dated October 18, 1952.

²The letters for this section are all in the Dalemain papers. The Bishop is Bishop Ralph Stanley Dean, consecrated Bishop in 1957.

authority and I support her actions entirely.

Surely you must recognize that only those on the spot can make the day to day arrangements.... Your letter forces me to raise the fundamental issue. It is simply this--that when the vans enter my Diocese they and their occupants must be regarded as being under my direction to serve where I think best. This may be a policy which does not commend itself to you but in all honesty I must say that I would not be prepared to accept the vans in future unless this procedure can be followed.

Hasell hastily retreated. She answered Bishop Dean:

...I had no idea that this was your order or I would not have suggested that they should do anything else.... With regard to your wishes that 'when the vans enter my diocese they and their occupants must be regarded as being under my direction....' This has been my policy from 1920 onwards and still is in all the dioceses where I have provided vans and workers, and I do not wish anything else.... I certainly can promise that this policy will be carried out in subsequent years....

The entire unfortunate incident is indicative of how difficult it was for Hasell to accept decisions made by anyone other than herself, and how quick she was to vent her spleen when she blamed the infraction on a subordinate. This is not to say that she would have accepted the same decision made by the bishop with total equanimity, but her response would probably have been a trifle more moderate.

Finances

Miss Hasell financed her work in various ways. Both Eva and her sister Dorothy were generous with their own money and up to 1923, they carried the expenses of the caravans personally, with the aid of friends in England and various collections.¹ In 1923, however, the Dominion Board

¹So the G.B.R.E. Report of 1923, p. 5. The Occasional Paper, No. 135(1923): p. 25, gives more details: "Since her return from Canada last November [1922] she has collected \$430. Out of this \$104 had to go to repay a loan made for work in 1922. The work this year needs \$641, so Miss Hasell has had to borrow \$315, on which she has to pay interest. The Diocese of Newcastle hopes to raise \$300 for the van in which Miss Hasell will travel this year in Edmonton Diocese...."

of the W.A. made grants for this work to the Dioceses of Calgary and Qu'Appelle, and in the spring of 1924, the G.B.R.E. appealed for voluntary contributions by the Church at large to be made to the caravan fund. The M.S.C.C. contributed, while the W.A. remained a source of generous support until 1940, when Miss Hasell, in a tiff about suggestions that a new van committee should be formed, wrote to the Primate, "I have told all the Western Bishops that have Vans I will be responsible for finding all the workers and funds for next summer's work. I have also replied to Canon Dixon's letter of the M.S.C.C. saying I need no help from his Society for Van work, and I shall also not appeal anymore to the Dominion Board of the W.A. They have sent me \$275.00 for winter workers."¹

In the early years, before Dorothy's death, certain ladies of the Penrith area, directed by Miss C. Monnington, regularly staged dramatic performances in aid of the Caravan Fund. Yellowed newspaper clippings recall: "A very charming representation of 'As You Like It' was given on Saturday in the beautiful grounds of the Belsfield Hotel, Windermere, by Miss C. Monnington and her party of over twenty ladies...the proceeds will be given intact to Miss Eva Hasell's 'Western Canada Caravan Fund'...." Again, "Greek Play in Carlisle: Performance by Penrith Ladies...in aid of...Miss E. Hasell's Western Caravan Fund"; "Greek Play at Penrith: Helping Miss Hasell's Work in Canada"; and "Penrith Amateur Dramatists at Windermere."²

¹Letter dated November 7th, 1940, in General Synod Archives, Toronto.

²These clippings, not dated except for one marked "8.2.27" were graciously sent to the writer by Miss Bowser. The women played all characters in the given play, male and female, and so Dorothy Hasell "excelled herself" as King Henry VIII; Miss Bowser "lived the part" of the ruined Wolsey; Miss C. Monnington, "as Iphigenia, touched a high level of dramatic power" and so on. The funds they raised were impressive--according to the newspaper accounts, £35 for a single performance was quite usual.

Always the largest source of income, however, was the lecture tour undertaken by both Hasell and Sayle. In spring and fall they travelled in Canada and sometimes in the United States as well, and during the winter, in Britain. They generally arrived in England a week or so before Christmas, spent the holiday season at Dacre Lodge, and then each went her separate way to tell the caravan story. Sayle usually covered the southern parts of England, and Hasell the northern areas, Scotland and Ireland. In some years even the Channel Islands were visited.

Hasell's speaking schedule was always onerous, occasionally with four engagements a day in Anglican schools, churches, ladies' groups and similar places. During the winter of 1940-41, for example, she lectured 130 times and travelled 12,000 miles, while Sayle spoke sixty-five times and travelled 8,500 miles. Florence Seager, a vanner and former secretary to the Bishop of Carlisle, remembers that very few vanners were given permission by Hasell to speak at public gatherings, even though this would have substantially eased Hasell's own load. The reason was partly that she wished to keep control of everything, but also that she was afraid the mission might be misrepresented and only the adventurous aspects presented. Yet Hasell herself leans heavily towards "scalps and romance" as her books verify. These speaking tours acquainted groups and individuals with the mission and resulted in general gifts but also in contributions for specific projects. So Hasell notes in her Report, 1935, that "the children of Yorkshire gave £300 for a caravan and equipment in Northern Alberta.... Two anonymous donors each gave a van"; in 1937 the Episcopal Church in Scotland donated money for a van; in 1936, "a generous gift was given to me for a church by an unknown friend in Eastbourne"; in 1942, "The Women's Auxiliary of the Dioceses of Albany, Central New York,

Newark, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, Western New York, and Virginia all contributed"; in 1947 four new vans were donated by anonymous British women, and so on. In 1955, faced with continuing financial problems, Hasell suggested, "Perhaps it might be possible to have a Sale of Work or Entertainments in aid of the Fund."

Hasell did not open her financial records to the public as readily as she distributed her Reports, but she frequently refers to financial matters, and seldom without a sense of urgency. As early as 1937 she deplored a debt of £800 for S.S.P. material: "The crisis has been staved off for another year by the generous gifts of personal friends, one sending £200 of her capital." In 1939 the shortage arose because of refugees and fear of war.

Certainly with the beginning of World War II Hasell's financial problems increased substantially, both because the British Government curtailed the export of foreign currency, and because of the falling value of the pound. In 1940 she was allowed only £1,700, "a quarter of what I generally bring out," and in 1947 she lost \$1,000 because of devaluation. She mentions that there were insufficient funds to run the caravans all summer, so "I lent some of my own money.... I am glad to say I was able to repay myself just in time." Because of a further twenty-five percent cut made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1949, Hasell was allowed to bring out only \$2,412 for the support of twenty-one workers: "I appealed [to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Col. Allan Dower, M. P., and to Sir Stafford Cripps], but the Treasury was adamant...."¹

From this time on, Hasell refers more and more frequently to money matters. In the 1951 Report she pleads, "Please help over funds, I am

¹ Letters in Dalemain papers.

dreadfully short of money." In 1952 she sold a Caravan Fund investment which had been held for emergencies--"It was sad to have to use it"; "1954 was a difficult year, financially.... Before leaving Canada, I ordered three new caravans. I had no money for any of them.... The British Fund was badly overdrawn.... It was all a great anxiety." "The overdraft of £800 in the Caravan Fund at the end of the year, 1958, was most depressing Canada gives three-quarters at least of the money required for the whole mission." And so the lament continued.

There is no question that the cost of everything connected with caravaning had increased phenomenally. For one example only, in 1925 the new "St. David" van, fully equipped, cost \$1,533.60; in 1963 the "St. Francis" required \$4,208. But this was the situation everywhere across the country. Van work had not been singled out for the wrath of inflation's god. Hasell, however, had her own rationale as to why times were so financially difficult--materialism was rotting the soul of the British and Canadian Churchman and hence also his pocket-book. In a very typical comment of the time she writes, "The growth of materialism is what we have to fight in this matter, as in others. Business is more important than Christianity."¹ She reasoned in her singularly characteristic way that the British, especially, should be generous, because with the large influx of Britons to Canada, "there should be more employment for those who remain, less people needing food" and therefore, obviously, more riches to be shared.

The extent to which Hasell followed her own dictum is not at all clear. She was very generous with her income and used all of it for the

¹Report, 1948, p. 27.

needs of the mission, but she never touched her own principal, which was considerable. She gratefully mentions friends lending money from their capital funds, often interest free, but she herself never used her own. It is entirely possible that she saw these funds as her last, desperate resort, should all else fail, and this time simply never arrived, in her estimation.

It is interesting to note that in the area of finance, Hasell used some of the methods of so-called "faith missions." Because the caravan work was not endowed or otherwise underwritten by the Anglican Church even though the Church gave her its full moral support, Hasell gathered the needed funds by itinerate lecturing with slides and other suitable illustrations. Then also, she frequently "stepped out in faith" when new equipment was needed and no funds were available. So she writes in 1959, "I ordered the four vans in faith in November, directly after the [Regina] fire. I had no money for them except the insurance."¹ Again, "Early in spring I ordered in faith, a new St. George Caravan.... I had no money for this Van but I am collecting it in Canada."² These were not isolated incidents, but a way of life for Hasell.

Except for the few years (1925-1929 for financial purposes) when the Joint Van Committee was in operation, all funds for the mission passed through Hasell hands. In 1930, Dorothy Hasell assumed full control as Treasurer, and after her death in 1936, Eva herself handled the funds until 1972, with a secretary at Dacre Lodge to assist, and her solicitor, Mr. Verey, to advise. In her Reports, Hasell mentions borrowing money,

¹Report, 1959, p. 5.

²Ibid., 1955, p. 29.

arranging for over-extensions, disposing of bequests and investing for the mission, as well as collecting through lectures and private contacts. Obviously she kept the financial reins of her organization firmly in her own hands.

The Joint Van Committee

Several references have already been made to the Joint Van Committee. As Miss Hasell's work progressed into its fourth year, some questions arose at the annual meeting of the G.B.R.E. in 1924 in regard to the exact nature of her work and its relation to the official Church Boards. As a result of this discussion, it was resolved to arrange a conference between representatives of the M.S.C.C., the W.A., and the G.B.R.E. regarding future arrangements for caravan work.¹ Obviously there was some official concern about an independent mission gaining momentum among Western Canada's Anglicans.

The conference duly convened on October 8, 1924, and here it was decided that a sub-committee should confer with Miss Hasell on November 5, when she was scheduled to be in Toronto. At this November meeting it was agreed that "a Joint Committee, representative of the G.B.R.E. and of the W.A. be appointed to act in conjunction with Miss Hasell in reference to Van Work."² The duties of the Committee were outlined as follows:

1. That all questions of requests for vans and for workers as

¹The material for this section is taken from Minutes and notes referring to the G.B.R.E. Joint Committee, General Synod Archives, Toronto. The M.S.C.C. later decided not to participate in the Committee for reasons of policy and finance.

²The G.B.R.E. representatives were Dr. R. A. Hiltz (the General Secretary), Rev. A. N. Barclay (the Editorial Secretary), and Mr. R. W. Allin. The W.A. members were Mrs. Ferrabee, Miss Halson, Mrs. Donaldson and Miss Cartwright.

well as all offers for service would go to this committee.

2. That all moneys collected for Van Work (in Canada) should pass through the hands of a Treasurer appointed by this committee.
3. That all applications for grants of literature should be made by the Bishop of the Diocese and in each case the name of the person authorized to order such supplies should be given.
4. That as far as it was possible and economical, supplies procured in Canada should be used.

The first meeting of the Joint Van Committee took place on May 11, 1925, chaired by Dr. Hiltz.¹ Ostensibly the relationship between Hasell and the Committee began cordially enough. She was a devoted Churchwoman and was reasonable about an active relationship with an official Church Board.

During the course of the next four years the Committee, with Miss Hasell, decided to use Canadian workers whenever possible, with the following method of accepting them: "Miss Hasell reporting to the Committee and the Committee reporting to Miss Hasell such workers as had applied, and the two mutually agreeing to the appointment."² After the vanners were chosen, Dr. Hiltz assigned them to specific vans, and Hasell either adjusted the recommendations or accepted them. The method was obviously awkward, and both parties were unhappy with it.

There were also other problems. At the May 8, 1928 meeting, Dr. Hiltz pointed out that the "whole future of the Van Work depended largely upon two things, viz: 1st, That a larger support for the work be secured

¹This same Dr. Hiltz allegedly had distributed a Christian Education pamphlet he had written and inadvertently entitled, How to Hold Our Older Girls. He was about to find from practical experience how to alienate them without really trying.

²Minutes of the Joint Committee, April 19, 1926.

in Canada. 2nd, That more workers be secured in Canada." Miss Hasell, while quite amenable to the concept of larger Canadian support, felt strongly that her decision regarding workers should be decisive, and on November 16, 1928, she requested that she "in consultation with each Western Bishop allocate the workers to the Vans," by-passing the Committee altogether on this point.

On February 7, 1929, without Miss Hasell present, the Joint Committee resolved: "That, with a view to expediting the appointment of Van Workers, the names of applicants submitted at the Autumn meeting of the Joint Committee, be passed upon at that time for acceptance or otherwise, and that the Joint Committee then proceed to secure as many Canadian workers as possible...and that only after this, should Miss Hasell proceed to secure additional workers required to fill the remaining vacancies."

A crisis seemed imminent when, on March 5, it was learned that the list of workers submitted by Miss Hasell for 1929, took no cognizance of the Canadian applicants tentatively accepted by the Committee. Both a cable and letter were sent to Hasell immediately, stating, "...the names of the Canadian workers submitted by the Committee to Miss Hasell on February 9th, being fully qualified...must be accepted, and...only the vacancies still remaining can be filled by the names submitted by Miss Hasell."¹ Hasell cabled acceptance of the Canadian workers. She explained that the relevant page of Dr. Hiltz's letter had adhered to another page and had therefore been overlooked, and she apologized to the Committee for the delay in acceptance.

In the meantime, however, the Joint Committee had been considering "Future Policy," and without Hasell present, decided that the Canadian

¹Letter from Dr. Hiltz in General Synod Archives.

Church should gradually assume full responsibility for the caravan work. As expedient and understandable as this decision might be in terms of the desire for autonomy within the Canadian Church, it was most injudicious when made in Hasell's absence, and in connection with a work of which she was founder. To compound the indiscretion, the secretary inadvertently and most unfortunately omitted the word "gradually" from the original minutes. Although it was added when the Committee next met and amended the minutes, the damage had been done.

Hasell, when she received the original account, was livid. She understood it to mean that the Joint Committee was endeavouring to cut her off from her own work, and she reacted accordingly. First she wrote Dr. Hiltz requesting an explanation. Without waiting for a reply she wrote to the Primate, Archbishop Matheson, and also to the bishops of the dioceses involved in van work. As a result, Dr. Hiltz was inundated by letters from these clerics requesting explanations.

In the hope of salvaging the situation, a meeting of the Committee was called for May 13, 1929, when Hasell was expected to be in Toronto. However, before the scheduled meeting, Hasell cabled that her boat had been delayed and she would not be in Toronto until the day following. Because several members could not stay over in Toronto, the Committee convened as scheduled, naturally without Hasell. They discussed the misunderstanding at length and finally passed a Resolution requesting Hasell to write to all the bishops with whom she had previously communicated, advising them that her former letter was due to a misinterpretation of the meaning of the Committee's action. When Miss Hasell met with a sub-committee the following day, she agreed to this resolution. The secretary recorded that the "discussion throughout was quite frank and

kindly...."¹

The Committee had, however, reckoned without Hasell's stern sense of justice. The letter of clarification which she had agreed to write, read as follows:

Dear Lord Bishop:

Dr. Hiltz, the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Van Work, wishes me to explain that the impression given by the words in the minutes of the March 5 meeting on "Future Policy, etc." was not that which they certainly conveyed. If that is so, it is strange that the Secretary should have recorded them thus.

Yours very sincerely,

(sgd.) F. H. E. Hasell.²

The Committee felt angry and humiliated, although the meeting minutes record only that "this letter was not at all satisfactory and that it was couched in terms discourteous to the Committee." But what Hasell had written, she had written and she would not retract.

Now considerable time and energy were expended in an effort to work out arrangements for the appointment of van workers and finances, the two major points of difference,³ which would be satisfactory both to the Committee and Miss Hasell. These exertions ceased abruptly when Hasell "stated in writing that she would not work with the Joint Van Committee...." The G.B.R.E., meeting in October, 1929 and informed of Hasell's action, accepted her decision. They did not appoint a new Joint Committee but

¹All information from Minutes of the Joint Committee, 1929.

²Minutes of the Joint Committee, June 26, 1929. Also in "Memo Re: Van Committee."

³Finances were part of the "Future Policy" which sought to involve the Canadian Church more heavily in the support of the caravans, while the method of securing workers favoured by Hasell was for recommendations by the Joint Committee to be referred to her, with final approval her prerogative in consultation with the Bishops. The Committee favoured joint approval by Hasell and themselves.

instead decided to assist van work in response to requests from individual bishops. The W.A. followed suit.

Shortly thereafter, following the annual meeting of the House of Bishops for the Province of Rupert's Land, Bishop Lloyd wrote to Hasell:

The whole matter of the Vans came up for discussion...and your letters were brought up saying that you could not work with the Committee in Toronto. One or two of the Bishops took strong ground against you and in favour of the Toronto Committee.... I was supported by the Bishop of Athabaska and took the ground that you had begun this work before the Toronto Committee was in existence, and if you couldn't work together it was better to put it back where it was before and let the Toronto Committee drop out. But some of the expressions of the Bishops were pretty stringent as to the impossibility of any body working with you for very long. However, the ultimate decision was to leave everything to the individual Bishop to do as they thought best....¹

Hasell's reply, "Thank you so much for all you said and did at the General Synod to help me...."

The matter appeared settled, but this was not to be.

In 1940, Archbishop Derwyn T. Owen innocently suggested to Hasell that she meet with the Bishop of Niagara, Wilmot B. Broughall, and with Mrs. Donaldson of the W.A., apparently in the hope that the Church Boards could again officially work in co-operation with Hasell. In a letter dated November 7, however, she answered brusquely, "I want to make quite clear that I cannot meet with any committee in connection with Van Work," and again, "I cannot work with Mrs. Donaldson, Dr. Hiltz or Dr. Rogers so it is no use talking things over with them or the Bp. of Niagara.... I know it will ruin the Van Work to have a committee and I cannot agree to work with one."²

¹Letter dated April 1, 1930, in the Dalemain papers. The Bishop of Athabaska was Bishop Edwin F. Robins, who resigned later that year.

²See Appendix X for a copy of the letter, which includes reasons for her adamant stand.

Feeling as keenly as she did, Hasell then resorted to a ploy which had become a pattern for her--she threatened to withdraw financial support. In this instance she warned the Primate, "I have...arranged in my will to leave a sum of money to the Caravan Fund.... I cannot leave this bequest in my will if a Board or Committee is constituted in Canada to manage the work."

Naturally the Archbishop was interested in knowing the whole story and contacted Dr. Hiltz. The latter replied with a letter and two statements--one a brief history of the formation of the Committee, the other a rebuttal of Hasell's contentions.¹ The Archbishop made no further attempt to contain Miss Hasell in any way. It was not until 1973 when Hasell relinquished control that the Canadian Church moved to exercise anything but diocesan authority over the caravan mission.

The Colonial and Continental Church Society Controversy

At the same time that there were difficulties between Miss Hasell and the Joint Van Committee in 1929-1930, she was also embroiled in an acrimonious dispute with the Colonial and Continental Church Society (C.C.C.S.).² It all began innocently enough.

The Ladies' Association of the C.C.C.S. in their annual report for 1928-1929, included a picture of Miss Hasell's "St. George" van and incorrectly labelled it as the S.S.P. van. This mistake was followed, however, by another C.C.C.S. report (no date) showing yet a different one of Hasell's vans and a worker digging it out of the mud, under the caption,

¹See Appendix XI for the rebuttal.

²The letters quoted in this section are all found in the Dalemain papers.

"What the Society [C.C.C.S.] is Doing Today." Hard on the heels of these incorrect claims was another article, "By Post and By Van" which again claimed the van work as C.C.C.S.'s own, and a similar allegation appeared in The Greater Britain Messenger. The mistakes could perhaps be partially explained by the fact that the C.C.C.S. did support two of their own vans in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle and careless research in England took for granted that therefore all vans in Western Canada were affiliated with their Society.

If there was indeed such reasoning, it was of course inexcusable, and for Hasell the whole issue bordered on blasphemy. When the articles in question were brought to her attention, she immediately wrote to Miss Saunders of the C.C.C.S. and in addition to noting the articles, also raged that she had been informed that the Liverpool Mothers' Union had donated a van to the Society, thinking it was synonymous with her own caravan mission. This letter was followed by one on February 3, 1930, addressed to Mr. Bate of the C.C.C.S., in which she demanded:

I want an explanation and an apology from your Society as soon as possible, also a promise that it will never happen again and a promise that some explanation may be put in the Greater Britain Messenger saying I started the van work and gave the two Sunday School Mission Vans.... If the Society does not promise to tell all the speakers about my work and make it quite clear, I shall have to ask the Bishop of Saskatchewan [Bishop Lloyd] and the Primate of Canada [Archbishop Matheson] to take up the matter.... I do not wish in future any of my workers to put any articles or photos in your magazine...and I shall take a Greater Britain Messenger just on purpose to see nothing more is put in. All the money sent to you for van work ought to be paid over to me.

Mr. Bate answered this attack immediately. He bristled, "...those responsible for the conduct of the Society will decline to be moved by such threats as you make in your letter.... Meanwhile I am considering whether I ought not to send a copy of your letter to the Bishop of

Saskatchewan and to other people concerned in order that they may know the attitude you have adopted."

The news of Hasell's altercation with the C.C.C.S. was received among her intimates with consternation and concern. Her friend Gwen, most probably Gwen Davies with whom she travelled to Canada on several occasions, and who signed herself, "Your devoted old hound," wrote immediately, "Now dear, listen carefully to your Uncle Gwen; can you get sick and put off that committee meeting for a month and write them [the C.C.C.S.] a sweet letter? I gather something or other you wrote nearly caused tears in the office." She adds, "Go to your beloved Italy and rest...."¹

But Hasell had stirred the cauldron once too often to withdraw now. On February 24, Dr. A. W. Davies, head of the Society, wrote to her: "You will forgive my saying that it must have been rather difficult for the secretary of any Society, however guilty, to bear with equilibrium the blows which you dealt."

Hasell began to retreat. On March 4, Dr. Davies acknowledged a communication from her: "I am glad to see your letter of 17th January. If you had found it possible to maintain the same tone in your subsequent correspondence it might (I say might) have been possible to find a way through."

Now Hasell showed signs of reluctant retraction. Writing to Dr. Bate on March 11, she rather archly offered: "I should like to withdraw my letter to you dated February 3rd to which your committee took exception...." She continued to request, understandably, but in less imperious tones, that the C.C.C.S. acknowledge that she and not they had bought the

¹Hasell was never again to take a holiday of more than a few days and never at all to return to her "beloved Italy" in her remaining fifty-eight years.

two Saskatchewan vans. Dr. Davies, on behalf of the Society, answered warmly, "I was very glad to get your letter of the 11th.... It cannot have been very easy to write and I greatly appreciate the spirit which prompted you to write it."

At the same time that Hasell was apologizing after a fashion to Dr. Bate, she was doing her utmost to have the C.C.C.S. vans removed from the Diocese of Saskatchewan. Again she resorted to threats. On April 1, 1930, Bishop Lloyd rebuked her:

If you take the ground...you have done, that if the C.C.C.S. cars are allowed to work in this Diocese, you will withdraw your cars, then all I can regretfully say is, you must withdraw them, because no Bishop out in the west would allow anyone outside of the Diocese to dictate as to what he may or may not do inside his Diocese.... If I heard your letter aright, then I think you are going to ruin your own work by taking a very narrow personal view of it, and if you keep to that statement that you will withdraw your two vans, then my answer must be plainly stated, that you must withdraw them. It would be a great misfortune and it will expose me to a certain amount of 'I told you so' from the other Bishops who took the opposite ground in the Provincial Synod, but I can't help that if you take that attitude.

Hasell was chastened. She hastened to assure the Bishop, "It was far from my thoughts to dictate to any Bishop least of all to you.... I am sorry I expressed my letter so badly that it gave you that impression." The storm was over. The work could continue, but Eva Hasell had not enhanced her personal image in the eyes of the bishops of Western Canada.

Her Work

Whether administered by a committee or by an authoritarian Eva Hasell, the caravan mission was of consequence to the Anglican Church and of considerable importance to the settlers. Financially, it is sometimes difficult to know from reports whether a particular donation was Miss Hasell's private gift or whether it was collected money. For example, Bishop G. A. Rix writes in the North British Columbia News (n.d.), "On

Sunday morning we motored to the log church [Sunset Prairie in the Peace River country] recently finished by the generosity of Miss Eva Hasell," while Hasell herself mentions building that same church with £100 given by an anonymous donor in the Carlisle Diocese. To further blur the picture, Iris Sayle, in a letter dated October 25, 1929, notes that Hasell personally gave \$500 for this identical building. In this instance one must conclude it was a co-operative affair.

Sometimes Bishop Rix is more explicit, as when he comments on the new Christ Church in Pouce Coupé: "The cost of this new Church has been provided in part by Miss Hasell, who raised \$500 in England, and the congregation of Christ Church, Harrogate, who gave a further \$800...."¹

Hasell not only helped with the building, she also supplied furnishings for these embryonic churches. The Sunset Prairie congregation received "a cross, vases, Communion vessels and altar linen," as well as hymn books which had been donated to her in England by a "Mrs. M." The hymn books arrived with a bit of a history. Hasell recounts how "the back door [of the van] burst open on the rough road and the packet burst, and Iris had to walk behind picking up A and M books." Sunset Prairie also received an harmonium donated by Hasell's home parish of Dacre, while relatives of "Mr. M." near Carlisle supplied £18. Frontal, linen and Communion vessels were sent to Pouce Coupé; "frontal and hangings" to Monte Creek, B. C.; a font, prayer desk, lectern covers, carpet and "oil cloth" to Clear Hills, Alberta, and so on, almost endlessly.

On several occasions at least, Hasell was instrumental in procuring the very land on which the church was built. In Fort St. John she asked:

Mr. P. if we could have an acre of land on the town site for a church. He replied that he could not give land on the town

¹North British Columbia News, n.d., p. 145.

site, but would sell an acre for fifty dollars...and when the church was built he would give twenty-five towards the cost of the building. I sent word to the Bishop who heartily approved.... The great point seems to me to be to buy land in a good position before the railway comes and sends up prices.¹

In New Brunswick, instead of buying up land before the railway made it difficult, she saved it from the tourists, and collected funds outside of the Diocese of Fredericton to buy a building lot for the church in a small town which was being "bought up by Americans."

Hasell was concerned with the physical well-being of her extended flock as well as with their spiritual needs. Nan Shipley, after an interview with Hasell, recounts that when:

...the inhabitants of Cherry Point begged Miss Hasell to find them a resident nurse, since the nearest doctor was more than 100 miles away, she purchased a little cabin and outfitted it to accommodate a year-round Sunday School and a nurse. The girls who so valiantly undertook the responsibility, Audrey Keillar and Doris Kenny, accomplished innumerable acts of courage and kindness those first trying years. Doris Kenny, the nurse, handled some very serious cases and once, in forty-below-zero weather, took a sick woman by hand-sled up and down dangerous hills fifty miles to a doctor. On more than one occasion she rode with an ailing child in her arms on horseback the same distance.²

In her Report, 1938, Hasell refers to Nurse Kenny and Miss Keillar as "working without a salary; I provide board for them both and a small honorarium of \$2 a month out of the Caravan Fund. [Nurse Kenny] will have to take a paid post in July, 1939, and Geraldine Burke...will take her place. I paid her [Burke's] expenses from Ireland out of the Caravan Fund." Hasell also recruited the first Red Cross nurse in the Fort St. John area of B. C., Miss A. Roberts, whose unselfish service rivalled that of Miss Kenny.

¹Hasell, Canyons, p. 304.

²Shipley, "She Blazes Trails in Canada's Wilds," Empire Digest (April, 1951): p. 15.

Another continuing concern for Hasell was the education of children. She notes with solicitude an area in the Diocese of Athabaska where "Some of the children have been in the district four years with no education. The parents could not pay the School taxes, so the Government could not pay the Teacher."¹ In the same diocese another district was without "even a Day School, although some of the families had been there seven or eight years."²

These were, of course, the years of drought and depression, and the governments of the western provinces simply did not have the funds to supply schools in areas such as the Peace River country where settlements were springing up everywhere, fed by an urgent stream of the dislocated from southern Saskatchewan and Alberta, as well as from the United States and overseas. Hasell was cognizant of the situation, but her concern for the youngsters involved triumphed over her innate respect for government, and she wrote angrily to the provincial Minister of Education. She records the situation as follows:

There are now forty children and still no Day School.... We had reported this to the Assistant Minister of Education for the Province of Alberta the previous year, but nothing had been done. After our visit in 1938 we wrote to the Minister of Education and again remarked that several were children of ex-servicemen, and that we should have to expose it in the newspaper. After my letter, about November, the Inspector arranged for the parents to put up a school. They all gave free labour and procured the logs.³

Hasell refers to this incident again in her 1941 Report, when she admits that she "went to Edmonton and bombarded the education authorities." The account is interesting in itself but it also exposes to view Hasell's

¹Report, 1934, p. 3.

²Ibid., 1935, p. 8.

³Ibid., 1938, p. 9.

method of operation, including the thinly veiled threat--the iron fist in the not-so-velvet glove. Perhaps not surprisingly she was almost invariably successful in obtaining her demands because she generally had a just cause, she herself spoke with self-assured authority, and she had friends in high places. The particular incident recorded here occurred in Alberta, but it could have happened in any of the provinces in which the caravans operated, since Hasell was no stranger to provincial Ministers of Education. In New Brunswick, for example, as late as 1948, she reported a school open only three months in nine years. She visited a family in the area in which the daughter of fourteen could not read, and neither could her mother or grandmother. The teacher shortage at this time was acute throughout Canada as a result of both depression and war. Hasell saw the consequence of this in Canada's "out-back," and did what she could to help her beloved children.

St. Nicholas' House

Closely connected with the secular education of children was Hasell's deep concern for their religious education. To this end she and her van-ners collaborated closely with the S.S.P. and Hasell did all she could to support their work. In 1931 she purchased land and financed St. Nicholas' House in Fairview, Alberta, where the S.S.P. for the Diocese of Athabaska could be located, and where Hasell herself stationed "three workers. There are now 7,800 children on the S.S.P. in Athabaska Diocese."

In 1953 Bishop R. J. Pierce suggested to Hasell that St. Nicholas' House be taken over by the diocese as "another step towards self-support."¹

¹Bishop Pierce's letter is in the Dalemmain papers. Other letters, unless otherwise stated, quoted in this section are in the Archives of the Province of Alberta, released by Bishop Pierce at the request of Dr. Ridge.

In searching through the diocesan records, he had discovered an agreement between Hasell and Bishop Arthur Sovereign wherein Hasell had deeded the property to the Diocese of Athabaska, and the Diocesan Executive Council decided it seemed appropriate at the present time to assume responsibility for all the care and upkeep of St. Nicholas' House which Hasell had been underwriting. As well, the diocese desired greater continuity in the S.S.P. than the vanners were able to provide, and so decided to hire an S.S.P. Secretary.

Hasell answered Bishop Pierce with considerable indignation that the House was still legally hers--Bishop Sovereign may have signed the agreement but she had not, therefore the transfer of the Title Deed was not binding upon her. She was equally piqued at the idea of the diocese hiring an S.S.P. Secretary. "For 15 years I maintained a permanent Secretary or Secretaries for the S. S. by P. but since the war it has been difficult to find anyone."¹

Hasell consulted her lawyer, Mr. Philip Verey, and the matter might have gone to the courts but for the fact that Bishop Pierce had no desire to become legally or even acrimoniously involved with Hasell. The Chancellor of the diocese, Mr. R. Maitland, therefore wrote to the London solicitors:

...the Bishop does not wish Miss Hasell to have any feeling that any agreement with her has not been fulfilled. I am, therefore, instructed to say that if your client...feels that such a procedure is in conflict with her understanding of her arrangement with Bishop Sovereign, the Diocese will arrange to reconvey to her the title to the St. Nicholas' House property, which is presently registered in the name of the Diocese following her transfer of title.²

¹Letter to Chancellor Maitland, April 6, 1953.

²Letter dated March 25, 1953.

Hasell did indeed wish the title reconveyed to her: "I want all completed before April 30th. I must have the document sent me by Air to sign. I want the transfer deed made for myself and a copy to the Diocese."¹ All her demands were met. Bishop Pierce then asked Hasell to meet with the Executive Committee of the Diocese to discuss remaining differences. "So much more can be accomplished by a face to face meeting than by the interchanging of letters." Consequently, Hasell and Sayle attended an extraordinary meeting of the Executive Committee on May 25, 1953. The Synod Journal for June, 1953, records the results:

At the last session of the Synod a resolution was passed asking for greater continuity in the maintenance of our Sunday School by Post work. Miss Hasell was not able to afford this to the satisfaction of the Diocesan Board of Religious Education and the Executive Committee.... Because Miss Hasell did not wish us to take on this work ourselves in our own way at St. Nicholas' House, which she had provided but which is now diocesan property, your Executive Committee thought it proper to return St. Nicholas' House to Miss Hasell.... The operation of our Sunday School by Post has been transferred to Malvern House at Peace River.¹

In spite of this potentially disastrous division, Hasell continued to work in the Diocese of Athabaska for many years. As Bishop Pierce writes, "Miss Hasell and I always had a happy personal relationship--we differed from time to time on policy--[but] we understood each other and had an appreciation for each other...."²

It was not until 1967 that Hasell finally turned the administration of St. Nicholas' House over to diocesan authorities and even then she retained title until her death in 1974.³

¹Letter dated April 6, 1953.

²Letter to Dr. Ridge, April 3, 1978. Unfortunately for Hasell, not all bishops shared Dr. Pierce's sanguine outlook and nature.

³According to a letter to the author from Archdeacon J. B. Owen, dated March 17, 1978, "Miss Hasell had initiated proceedings to have the

St. Christopher's College, Victoria

St. Nicholas' House was not the only occasion on which Hasell joined issue with ecclesiastical authority. The painful story of St. Christopher's College, Victoria, is probably the prime example.

In October, 1920, the Ottawa Deanery Sunday School Association passed a resolution asking that some steps be taken "towards the establishment in connection with some existing Church Educational Institution of a Department for the training of Canadian Diocesan Sunday School Organizing Instructresses." Dr. Hiltz of the G.B.R.E. looked into the matter and reported that only the Montreal Diocesan College offered some courses in this area, although "the question of starting a St. Christopher's College at Toronto to train teachers for the caravans was discussed at the meeting of the General Synod."¹ Miss Hasell had raised this issue, of course. There were also others concerned with the training of Sunday School teachers, and on April 20, 1922, Archbishop S. P. Matheson wrote to ask Dr. Hiltz: "Have you heard of a project for establishing a Sunday School Teachers' Training College in Toronto, and which a Miss Bosanquet² of the Regina Railway Mission was interested in during her lifetime.... The same lady was heart and soul in establishing a girls' college in Regina under the Sisters of St. John.... My belief is that

property transferred before her death but due to some difficulty locating the title deed (finally located in a safe at Dacre Lodge, Penrith) there was considerable delay and the transfer was not completed until after her death."

¹Letter from Dr. Hiltz to Mr. E. H. Godfrey, November 22, 1921. Unless otherwise stated, letters in this section are found in the General Synod Archives, Toronto.

²This was, of course, Aylmer Bosanquet. Dr. Hiltz in his reply to Archbishop Matheson refers to her as "Miss Bosanquet, who you may remember, did wonderful work in Regina and the West."

this small sum [earmarked 'College Fund Account'] belongs to the Regina College...."

Dr. Hiltz knew of the matter. Mrs. Stuart Strathy, a Canadian residing in England in 1922, had written him that approximately \$600 had been collected: "Just who was responsible for starting the fund I do not know, but I presume that Miss Bosanquet and Mrs. Strathy worked together...." Hiltz acknowledged that an "Institution similar to St. Christopher's, Blackheath, would be of very great value to the Canadian Church.... There is no doubt in my own mind that Miss Bosanquet and Mrs. Strathy raised the money with the thought of establishing a Training School in Toronto. I am extremely doubtful, however, as to the practicability of such a plan...."

Margaret Strathy must not have been aware of Dr. Hiltz's reservations, however, because, on the advice of Bosanquet's solicitors, she wrote on August 7, 1922, requesting whether he "would be willing to act jointly with me as regard [sic] the funds raised by my friend," and outlining Bosanquet's hope of continuing "the work begun at the Bishop Strachan School in 1915 and terminating in 1916 owing to the lack of workers and funds." Dr. Hiltz agreed to the request and authorized the London solicitors to make the Bosanquet funds payable to Mrs. Strathy alone, as requested, in order to facilitate opening the required account. Mrs. Strathy acknowledged the kindness and noted, "I hope still for a St. Christopher's in Canada," but was willing to leave the matter for decision until such a time as she returned to Toronto and could discuss it with Dr. Hiltz in person. He was equally polite: "I feel sure that when you return to Canada and we have had an opportunity of going into the whole question, we shall be able to reach a satisfactory conclusion

as to the disposal of funds."¹

So the matter rested for ten years, until Eva Hasell became involved. On April 29, 1932, Mrs. Strathy wrote Dr. Hiltz informing him that she "was unable to call upon [him] before leaving Toronto," but that, "as you know, [the fund] was left entirely in my charge" and consequently, she had "lent" it to Miss Hasell for the next six months, "with a guarantee in England - in order to save her the great loss that is inevitable at the present moment when sterling has to be converted into dollars."

Dr. Hiltz took exception to the entire letter. He "would gladly have arranged to call" at her home had he realized she would find it impossible to see him. He was "rather puzzled" by Mrs. Strathy's statement that the money was left "entirely in [her] charge" since they were joint trustees. He did not wish to be hypercritical and "would not have you think for a moment that I am raising any objection to your action" [in lending Hasell the fund] but he did think he should have been consulted before, not after the action. It was on this point that Dr. Hiltz remained adamant - if he were indeed a joint trustee then the money must immediately be transferred to a joint account, inconvenience notwithstanding, so that unilateral action would henceforth be impossible.

When Dr. Hiltz and Mrs. Strathy finally met, on December 9, 1932, it was agreed that the joint account would be opened forthwith, and that Miss Hasell would be notified about repayment of the loan. Barely had Mrs. Strathy returned to England, however, when she again reiterated her conviction that she was indeed the sole trustee and as such had decided that, as Miss Hasell was about "to open a S. S. Training College in

¹Letter dated November 7, 1922.

British Columbia...this seems the right moment to dispose of the fund and allow it to be applied to the purposes for which it was raised."¹

In his polite and absolutely impeccable manner, Dr. Hiltz was infuriated. He "suggested" (his word) that until Hasell had returned the borrowed money and it was deposited jointly, there could be absolutely no negotiation of any disposal of this fund, as legitimate as Hasell's proposed training college might be. Further correspondence followed. The end result was that Hasell returned the borrowed money but Mrs. Strathy remained adamant that, as Miss Bosanquet's particular friend, and as originator of the teachers' training fund, she had the sole right to disperse these funds, and to Hasell if she wished. Dr. Hiltz in his turn remained correct and legalistic. At long last Mrs. Strathy capitulated and finally, on March 16, 1933, Dr. Hiltz acknowledged formation of a joint account, and gave the opinion that it would now be possible to consider the disposal of this fund. If Hasell's proposed school was to be the beneficiary, an enclosed list of questions satisfactorily answered would enable him to give a "judgment" on the matter.

Eva Hasell herself answered the five questions: The proposed school was to be for the training of both van and Sunday School teachers. The Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia had given it their backing, asking Hasell to contribute £200 a year to the project while Miss Barbara Carlisle would do the same. Yes, there was an agreement with the bishops as to staff and curriculum. Hopefully the school would be of a long term duration, at least five or ten years. There seemed no more satisfactory place for the school than Victoria, because

¹Letter dated January 29, 1933.

of the availability of a suitable building.

Still the scrupulous Hiltz was not satisfied: Were there documents prepared and signed between Hasell and the bishops, not verbal agreements, but actual legal documents? And could he see them, if there were? When he was assured by Archbishop De Pencier that Bishops Walter Adams of Cariboo, Charles Schofield of Columbia, and De Pencier of New Westminster had consented to support the undertaking, and that possibly Bishop Rix of Caledonia and Doull of Kootenay would also, he seemed cautiously satisfied. In a letter to Mrs. Strathy dated April 6, 1933, Hiltz remarked, "The answers given by the Archbishop of New Westminster are, on the whole, very satisfactory, though there does not seem to be anything definite to guarantee the continuance of the project."

He then wrote to Hasell on October 31, "After weighing the matter carefully, I have conferred with Mrs. Strathy, and have agreed that the proposed school fulfills the terms of the bequest, and I am ready to act with Mrs. Strathy in paying over the money at the proper time to the Treasurer of the Provincial Synod of British Columbia...." The amount finally paid to Mr. G. L. Shetky, the treasurer, was \$612.60.

So St. Christopher's College, Victoria, was launched in October, 1933, under Miss Barbara M. Carlisle as Principal, and with four students in attendance. The college was destined to have a short but stormy life. It was not that the institution was unproductive. Already in 1935 Hasell speaks of vanners who have received their training there. But in 1936 she makes a disapproving reference to the formation of a Governing Body for the College, which is to include "Western Bishops," eight lay representatives, both men and women, the Principal of the College, the appointee of the G.B.R.E., and Hasell herself. The appointment of this Board

appears to mark a watershed in her relations with St. Christopher's.

The story can best be pieced together by correspondence still extant. On December 26, 1938, the Principal, Miss Carlisle, wrote to Hasell:

All I want to stress at the moment of writing to you is that what I am trying to do is to qualify people better for your work.... I do not think you allow enough consideration to the physical effects on these young women of the van work in such close combination with the two long periods of hard study. I do not like giving your workers such a second-rate training as this involves, but I cannot train them any better without more time, and if they have to arrive for the second year--the advanced and more exacting stage--in a worn out condition. I hope you will realize that I am not trying to keep your workers from you, which seems to be your present impression, but to make them fit to do what you want in a proper and adequate manner.¹

Hasell disagreed that the girls were overworked, and rather caustically commented: "I am afraid I am still not convinced as to the harmfulness of Van workers studying at St. Christopher's, Victoria...but you will remember what I put in my letter concerning finance should the Executive Committee decide to approve of the extra term."² There is no elaboration or explanation of the financial terms to which she refers.

Hasell and the College seem to have reached an impasse at this point. In a letter to the Primate, Archbishop Derwin T. Owen, on November 7, 1940, Hasell complained bitterly of the "Board which was set up to manage St. Christopher's College, Victoria, B. C., against my wishes as Founder.... This is the second example of the work being spoilt by a committee, and no attempt being made to take any suggestions of mine." The first example, of course, was the Joint Van Committee of the G.B.R.E.

¹In Dalemmain papers.

²Letter dated Jan. 24, 1939, Dalemmain papers.

But who actually "spoilt" the work of St. Christopher's is a moot point. Although not all information on the subject has as yet been made available, a letter from Bishop Walter Adams to Hasell on March 11, 1940, is frank and revealing. Hasell, in exasperation, had apparently withdrawn her financial support and thereby caused the College to collapse. Bishop Adams wrote:

I do not think, further, that it is exceeding the truth to say that your attitude towards the Board has often been one of disagreement and protest, sometimes on quite minor points...but it was a hard blow when, on account of this disagreement with policy, you withdrew your contribution.... All the Western Bishops on the Board have regretfully approved the step of closing. A few of us are determined to do what we can to collect funds privately for its re-establishment.¹

From the moment of closing, however, Hasell did not cease to agitate for another training centre for women workers. By 1957 Bishop M. E. Coleman of Qu'Appelle wrote to her: "At our Brandon meetings I spoke out strongly on your behalf, and particularly on your suggestion for some Western training centre...and I think things are slowly beginning to move."² But they did not.

Hasell lamented in 1959, "Why the Anglican Church cannot start a Training College for women in the West, I cannot understand." In 1960, "There are never enough trained women workers in Canada...." In 1961, "We need another College in Western Canada for the training of women missionaries." By 1963 there was a possibility that Bishop Coleman of the Diocese of Kootenay would build this long-awaited institution, but

¹In Dalemmain papers. At Sorrento, B. C., it was re-established after a fashion when a training school was instituted to teach short courses for Sunday School teachers and lay readers, but it did not provide the two or three year Christian Education programmes which Hasell desired.

²In Dalemmain papers.

still Hasell was irascible: "The Bishop of Kootenay...tells me he does not think he can find a Principal to take charge for two years.... It is quite impossible to wait that length of time.... How is it that other Churches and sects manage to start Colleges in one year?.... I think our Church must be lacking in spiritual power and faith."¹

Hasell herself was gathering funds to finance this darling of her desires, and by 1964 had received \$600 from various sources, but it was still insufficient. In her last, unofficial report to Canon Philip C. Jefferson of the G.B.R.E. in 1967, her querulous demand was still for a training centre, but she never lived to see another one established. Did Hasell ever regret the star-crossed St. Christopher's, whose "lame and impotent conclusion" she herself had brought about? She left no thoughts on this matter.

Educational Aid

Hasell's concern for the education of children involved her not only in major projects such as St. Nicholas' House and St. Christopher's College, but also in smaller undertakings, such as a hostel in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, where children from scattered, outlying areas could live while attending school. Bishop Tom Greenwood, the diocesan authorities and the W.A. co-operated enthusiastically, and the St. Agnes Hostel opened on October 12, 1952. Hasell conceived the plan and brought it to fruition by providing two vanners as matrons, while the W.A. supplied furnishings, a stove company donated a cookstove, and so on co-operatively. Obviously Hasell's vanners must be women of all seasons, travelling the Daily Vacation Bible School route one day and serving as matrons on another, while

¹Report, 1963, p. 5.

still other exigencies closed in on them as regularly as their night's rest.

One such crisis occurred at Fish Creek, Alberta, when no teacher could be found for the public school. Hasell immediately jumped into the breach and "lent" one of her workers to the school system. This particular vanner had been trained at a Church Day School College in England: "She received no salary till end of March, I looked after her from the Caravan Fund." Compounding the problem, this particular area of new settlers had all crops destroyed by hail that year (1941). "They were so poor they could not buy exercise books so were using the margins of newspapers. There were hardly any reference books. [The children] were all under-nourished.... There were no desks or chairs for nine children."¹ In such circumstances Hasell not only besieged the authorities for improvements in the educational facilities, she also provided material aid for the families.

Material Aid

This material aid could take many forms. In Eriksdale, Manitoba, in 1936, she supplied ninety-eight sacks of potatoes, twelve of carrots, thirteen of onions and thirty of turnips which were then distributed in the district by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.).² Sometimes she sent a bale of sheep's wool to make quilts, or gave fifty dollars to a farmer to raise a heifer into a milk cow for a poor family. For "Clifford" she supplied glasses and overalls and to his grateful mother she

¹Report, 1941, p. 11. Sometimes her stories do sound apocryphal.

²This account, found in her records at Dalemain, indicates that the Lieutenant Governor of B. C. co-operated with Hasell in this venture. How large the sacks were is not indicated.

sent "print material." She paid for an indigent's funeral, bought a horse and saddle for a divinity student and "bedclothes" for a bachelor in Clear Hills. She successfully referred children to the Crippled Children's Hospital in Calgary, was able to get a deaf child admitted to "the deaf and dumb school" in Vancouver, and sent a blind girl to an Institute for the Blind. As William Portman summarizes, "Money was found to get medical help for sick and crippled children; those needing special schooling--the deaf, blind, retarded or brilliant found arrangements made for them; wheelchairs were found for invalids who had been house-ridden for years...."¹

Hasell actively collected clothing, along with funds, for distribution in needy areas, and at Dacre Lodge the assembling and packing of huge bales of clothes in the spring of each year was an annual event until the turmoil of World War II. According to Miss Isobel Richardson of Dacre village, the bales were approximately 6 feet by 3 feet and 2 feet deep, sewn into jute sacking ("Hessian"). There were "probably ten to fifteen tons of clothing in the largest shipments." Children's and adults' clothing was mixed together, but summer and winter garments were baled separately. Hasell and Sayle were around while the clothing was packed by household help, village and family volunteers, but Hasell only "wrote out the labels." While Dorothy was alive, she supervised the effort, but after her death, it was handled by volunteers. Lorries were chartered to take the bales to Liverpool, from where they were shipped, free of charge, on Canadian Pacific boats to Canada. In her Report of 1938 she writes, "It would have been impossible to bring the bales if

¹W. Portman, Frontier Odyssey, (n.p., Program Committee of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, n.d.), p. 7.

the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company had not allowed me to take them free.... The Canadian National Railway and Canadian Pacific Railway took them free to the West." How she managed to arrange this is not indicated.

Queen Mother Elizabeth donated clothing regularly to Hasell's work, and the story is that a parcel sent from Buckingham Palace was impounded by Canadian Customs until "rescued" by the van ladies. Hasell, in an article in The Canadian Churchman, June 6, 1940, wrote: "Her Majesty showed her practical interest in the Van work...by sending me clothes for distribution among the people we visit. There were enough for 100 families. This the Queen did even in the midst of her anxieties and responsibilities at home, after war was declared."

When no used clothing was available, Hasell, in an emergency, paid for new goods ordered from "Timothy Eaton." Another method she employed was to put isolated women in touch with those less disadvantaged, both in Canada and in England, and this usually resulted in an exchange of parcels and letters, which eased the loneliness and alleviated acute material needs as well.

Social Services

In addition to material relief, Hasell showed keen concern for neglected or mistreated children in areas far from any organized social services. She remembered on one occasion visiting a motherless home in which the only food "seemed to be a loaf of bread as hard as stone." She blamed the situation on the father who had sold the last cow on the farm to buy a gramophone, and she comments succinctly, "We reported the family to the department for neglected children at Winnipeg."

On another occasion, a step-son, Pat, "badly treated by his father, who made him sit in the darkest corner of the shack and eat his meals by

his bunk, and never let him sit with the family,"¹ was successfully removed from his unhappy circumstances when Hasell found a woman fifty miles away to board him and send him to school. Hasell supplied the funds and the clothing. Yet another case was that of eight-year-old Georgina, left alone in a tent for the summer, miles from anywhere or anyone, to herd cattle. Hasell managed to place her in a foster home in Edmonton and continued to support the child until she became of age. Examples like these are legion.

Obviously, at a time when governmental social services were only just being developed, Eva Hasell and her vanners had a tremendous amount of social work thrust upon them, and they responded with true generosity and greatness of heart, even if this response involved an element of paternalism. They were particularly conscious of the burdens isolation heaped on women with families, who might have no neighbours closer than fifteen or more miles, and who could never leave their homesteads because of non-existent roads, impossible trail conditions and, of course, family responsibilities. These were the women whom Hasell sought out. She mentions with particular sorrow one unfortunate in British Columbia:

...who had not seen [another] woman for seventeen years; she had been a school teacher, and had had nine children. She finally became mental and committed suicide. I also described a mother and children we visited in the Peace River District, when we walked twenty miles there and twenty back and never saw another house or family all the way.²

This isolation and its effects on women was discussed by Hasell with the R.C.M.P., who told her the part "of their work they disliked most was

¹Report, 1938, p. 7.

²Ibid., 1939, p. 5. Hasell was recounting her visit with their majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

bringing lonely women down to mental homes, breakdowns caused by loneliness, overwork and monotony." Newly arrived British settlers' wives were particularly happy to see Hasell and Sayle, and welcomed them with open arms - to hear "English" spoken, to learn first-hand news from "home," to receive messages sent by individuals contacted on the lecture tours in Britain.

Contacts with these women were not nearly all sorrow and sighing, however. Hasell admitted that sometimes:

...we meet with startling requests. One stout woman produced a scanty piece of bright blue stuff...and requested Iris to cut her out a dress and bolero jacket.... The day was very hot, and the swarming family crowded round to watch this ticklish operation. We knew the creation was destined to be worn at ensuing sports, and we carefully avoided our client thereat lest the costume should reveal an undesired hiatus."¹

Occasionally Hasell's sense of service took the most mundane forms. She and Sayle stopped frequently at a restaurant kept by "Mrs. K." on the Alaska Highway, and did so again in 1952, en route to their area of work. They found Mrs. K. in a state of near exhaustion, working seven days a week, eighteen hours a day, because no help was available. Hasell promptly put Mrs. K. to bed while she and Sayle washed the accumulated dishes and looked after those who came in for meals, cooking the food that was required and praying fervently that no one would ask for anything "complicated." After several hours, Mrs. K. was somewhat refreshed, and the vanners continued on their way, "as we had so much work to do."

On another occasion, Sayle and Hasell "babysat" for a camp foreman and his wife so they could go to a farewell party for a friend. On yet another they came upon an elderly Indian woman who "had not enough wood or water...so with her directions, we sawed up her logs the right size

¹Hasell, Canyons, p. 204.

for her stove. She had to get her water down a steep bank so we filled the pail." And at this time Hasell was herself already sixty-eight years of age.

By Any Means

This same year (1954), Hasell and Sayle had "come a thousand miles by road,...travelled all day and all night and till 4 p.m. the next day. We started lectures immediately.... It was all hard work and a great anxiety."¹ Yet these two indomitable old women did not slow down. Just the year before, when Hasell was sixty-seven, she and Sayle "walked eighty miles along the telegraph line [in northern B. C.]. We saw nobody on the way except at one place where we met some Indians." And in 1957, at sixty-nine, after driving a van 5,335 miles on the Alaska Highway, Hasell dislocated her shoulder, yet faced a thousand mile bus ride as the first leg of her trip home to England. She could not delay the journey because "it was necessary for us to start meetings all across Canada immediately." Mrs. Clifford Bell remembers that even when Hasell was "well on in years, she would not think it too hard to wash her own van or too demeaning to scrub a floor," and Hasell had no intention of slowing down. Five years later, by now a respectable seventy-four, she wrote:

I have had to go to Athabaska Diocese, Northern Alberta, to inspect the Mission House at Cherry Point. This house needs a new foundation and insulation, a new heater and cook stove, etc.... When all this has been accomplished, we return to Winnipeg to take the Good Shepherd van to Edmonton Diocese and work there till the end of September. After that we start meetings in Eastern Canada....

For Hasell to write "we work there till the end of September" sounds so commonplace, so ordinary. It was far from that. A glimpse through her

¹Report, 1956, p. 23.

Reports gives an indication of what this work involved, even only by way of getting from one place to another. "We walked from 8:30 a.m. to 7:15 p.m....in water and willow bushes.... We could never sit down to rest." Again, "Iris Sayle and I had each walked 265 miles in two months." Sometimes the heat was prostrating. "According to the Government records, it was 130° [F.] in the sun." Having experienced this, in the future they wisely left "most of our walking trips till the end of September." Once it:

...poured for days and days.... People swam their horses out for supplies, and tried to discourage us from going deeper into the bush to visit families we heard had moved in the year before. But we pushed on through bush and bog--ten miles of mud holes and swamp.... We held on to willows, caught hold of stumps, and walked along logs. We could not even speak, the mosquitoes were in such clouds, and the water was so dirty that we could not drink at the creeks, though we were very hot and tired from carrying our shoulder-packs. It took eleven hours to make the trip to the nearest cabin....¹

And again she writes, "We were too tired to cook any supper so we went supperless to bed."²

By all means and using various methods those intrepid women covered the Canadian "out-back." They drove the van and walked, travelled in bouncing, empty grain trucks or seated on the mail bags of a government van; they crossed rivers in leaky boats and flooding creeks on logs. It was all part of that "work till the end of September."

World War II

For a short time during 1939 it looked as though the van work would possibly come to a standstill, not only after "the end of September," but

¹Quoted in Shipley, op. cit., p. 14.

²Report, 1939, p. 13.

permanently. War had been declared and Hasell and Sayle returned to England in October, two months sooner than usual, to see what they could do to help. Hasell applied to the Red Cross, was re-examined in Home Nursing, and received a certificate which entitled her to wear the Red Cross Home Nursing Proficiency Bar. She writes:

For the first three months of [1940] Iris Sayle and I were organizing recreations and attending to the various needs of scattered units of the Auxiliary Territorial Service, working as cooks and clerks in twelve anti-aircraft and searchlight camps.... We were asked to do this by the Survey and Extension Company of the Y.W.C.A., London, who felt that our work in Canada fitted us for this which entailed an eighty-mile circuit and much driving in the blackout during the severest winter known for forty years.... I used my little Morris car, the Y.W.C.A. only paying our expenses."¹

With the months of the so-called Phoney War, however, there seemed little of significance that the two women could do, and in response to a felt need, both Sayle and Hasell embarked for Canada again, on May 3, 1940, bringing with them forty-four bales of clothing. In 1941 accumulated garments, stored at Dacre Lodge, were given to the Church Army for distribution among bombed-out victims, since they could not be sent overseas. There seems to have been very little clothing distributed in Canada hereafter.

The War years in Canada were difficult years for Hasell, yet less so than might have been expected. British workers could not come overseas, and many of the Canadian volunteers had enlisted. She writes in her Report, "I hope never again to have so much anxiety and difficulty in finding enough workers." Money was in short supply. Petrol was rationed, but when petitioned, the government generously allowed her enough for each van to drive 4,000 miles. "We are very careful and walk as much as

¹Article in The Canadian Churchman (June 6, 1940).

possible."¹ Even tires were allowed when Hasell could show that an existing one was unsafe, and in 1943 she was permitted to purchase a new "St. Paul" caravan, when the old one proved beyond repair. Then in 1944, with the war situation improving, she was given permits to buy five new caravans, three to replace old ones beyond repair, and two new ones. The government was generous indeed.

Certainly van work was more needed during the war than ever. Many of the clergy had gone as chaplains, theological students also were enlisting, settlers were worried about relatives in Europe. Hasell felt keenly that it "would be a real tragedy if these people were left just now by the Church of England." She was also greatly disturbed with what she saw as an increase in "subservient literature"--probably "subversive" would have been the better word--and echoed the London Times: "It will be of little use to fight as we are fighting today for the preservation of Christian Principles, if Christianity itself is to have no future; or at immense cost to safeguard religion against attacks from without, if we allow it to be starved by neglect from within."²

Constantly during these years, the theme of reconstruction occurs in her Reports. Reconstruction is never clearly defined but Hasell uses it in the context of rebuilding not only the war-torn areas of Europe, but also of the forces of the Anglican Church in its battle for the souls

¹In the Occasional Paper, No. 174 (1943): p. 22, the report of V. E. Lee and S. Hunter of the "St. Margaret of Scotland" van gives an interesting sidelight: "...we had first to procure our gasoline ration books. What a business! Two whole days were spent tramping ceaselessly to and fro between the various offices connected with gasoline control and car licences but finally on the third morning, footsore and weary but triumphant, we were put in a category which would supply us with gasoline proportionate to our needs."

²Report, 1940, p. 3.

of men. Yet had Hasell taken cognizance of what the war years had actually meant for her own mission on wheels, she would have realized it was not retrenchment but expansion that had been experienced. From twenty-four vans and forty-eight workers in ten dioceses in 1939, there were twenty-six caravans with fifty-two workers in thirteen dioceses in 1945.

Hasell and Sayle were not allowed to return to Britain until the end of the war in Europe. When finally they embarked on the "Empress of Scotland" they had been in Canada for five years and seven months. Hasell wrote, "We were never more than two weeks in any one place. We have had no home for five years." Her home in England, meanwhile, had housed war evacuees, and therefore she "had much to arrange [when she returned]. My private secretary has left, her husband has retired from the Navy, but I have an excellent new one." On such a note Hasell returned to Dacre Lodge.¹

Yet Hasell was no "home-body." No sooner had she seen her family, her friends and her property, then the call of the caravans claimed her imperatively. "With great difficulty" (and probably much disingenuous manoeuvring) Sayle and Hasell contrived to return to Canada on the "Ile de France" as repatriation passengers. It was, understandably, not a comfortable trip. There were 8,000 troops on board, as well as 315 war brides. Eighteen women shared one cabin and they were served only two meals a day. The wonder of it all, however, is that Hasell managed to return to Canada at all at that time. Yet not only did she return, she disembarked full of energy, expectancy and new plans. Young war brides, she realized, especially those settling in isolated rural areas with

¹Report, 1945, p. 19.

husbands still overseas, would require a good deal of readjustment. "This will be a most important part of our work," she wrote, "and they will need the S.S.P. for their children." So after twenty-five years in the Canadian West, Hasell was again ready to stride in to meet a need and serve her beloved Church and its people.

Methods

Hasell's primary concern, of course, was the religious education of isolated children. To do this effectively involved using all means possible: teaching a group gathered outside the van, or the children of only one individual family; meeting together in homes, in the rare country church, or in school buildings. These small, rural schools were the most common meeting place. Permission for use was obtained from the local trustees, and classes were conducted after school hours.¹

William A. Plenderleith, a School Inspector in British Columbia, describes these rural schools in some detail:

The schools themselves were of the crudest possible structure--usually built of logs--consisting of four bare walls with no ceiling...in most cases it was impossible to open the windows. The blackboards usually consisted of painted beaver-boards, or in some instances, just plain tarpaper.... No screen doors or windows were provided so it was customary during the mosquito season to be unable to see across the class-room because of the smoke from the smudge that was used to keep out the mosquitoes.

Toilet facilities were of the worst imaginable kind.... No toilet paper was supplied, and it was usual to find in place of this, a Simpson's or Eaton's catalogue.²

¹In her Report, 1946, p. 18, Hasell writes with consternation of a school on Prince Edward Island where the trustee, "an atheist," had refused its use: "The first time this has happened to me from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

²W. A. Plenderleith, "An Experiment in the Reorganization and the Administration of a Rural Inspectoral Unit in British Columbia," Unpublished D. Ped. thesis (University of Toronto, 1937), pp. 49-52.

The description, of course, would not be uniformly true, depending on time and area, but Plenderleith's depiction of conditions in 1933 must be considered as only too accurate for the greater number of schools in rural Western Canada until consolidation became widespread. As primitive as these schools were, however, their closing caused problems for vanners-- there were no longer teachers who knew where each child lived, and there was no building in which to hold Sunday Schools or community services of any kind. Children in these deprived situations simply gloried in what Miss Hasell brought into their lives, and she spared no expense. "One of the heaviest expenses in starting a van is the teaching material required ...," she writes. "This material consists of an almost complete set of Nelson's Bible wall pictures and a set of Copping's,¹ a few models of Eastern homes, etc., books on teaching methods and lesson courses, and material for expression-work, i.e., note books and pencils for senior classes, coloured chalks, plasticine, etc., for the others."² She also thought the St. Christopher series of books put out by S.P.C.K. was "splendid."³ Miss Isobel Richardson also remembers the tea chests full of pictures, bought loose, which were pasted on stiff paper with flour paste by the villagers and family volunteers in Dacre, packed into the chests, closed with tin strips and sent to Canada where they were used by vanners for a variety of purposes.

Hasell's methods were considered in advance of her time in Western

¹Nelson pictures were coloured Bible story pictures, backed on canvas, with rollers. Copping's were similar. Later Elsie Anna Wood pictures were used, which, according to one former vanner, "were very much better."

²Hasell, Through Western Canada, pp. 18-19.

³Some titles: The First Book of Prayers (no author); The Story of St. Christopher (A. C. L. Penrose); The Ministry of our Saviour (n.a.).

Canada when she first began her mission. She used visual aids of various kinds, and handicrafts never before seen in the "out-back." She writes, "We have dramatization, Bible jigsaws, Hymns and songs which the children act. They are very keen on our gramophone, we not only have Hymns but nursery rhymes and all kinds of records."¹ How all this must have thrilled the hearts of her deprived pupils!

As there was usually only one room available for classes, whether in a church, school or home, the customary method was for one vanner to take the children out of doors (weather permitting) and hold a class sitting on the grass, while the others met inside.

We always teach on the life of our Lord, of which there is such woeful ignorance. I arrange my pictures in chronological order before the class begins, and put them up one after the other as I talk about them, by careful questioning bringing out any knowledge which the child may possess. When the school is only visited once we aim at taking the main facts of the whole Life, specially showing Christ teaching, healing, and feeding those who came to him.

I apply the lesson by pointing out that as Christ loves us so much He wishes us to speak to Him. I then teach a simple prayer and give a picture and prayer-card to each child. I also endeavour to get recruits for the S.S.P..... In saying good-bye I call attention to the cross in the Union Jack which is always on a flagstaff outside or hanging inside the school, telling the children that as they look at it each day they will be reminded of the love of Christ.²

In this description of her teaching methods, the theme consciously or unconsciously permeating her life and work--the equation of all that is good with the Empire and its symbols--is patently obvious.

Sometimes the vanners would hold "lantern services" on the life of Christ, using Hole's pictures, with the van battery providing the power needed to run the projector. These were immensely popular in areas where

¹ Report, 1952, p. 11.

² Hasell, Through Western Canada, pp. 18-19.

movies were seldom or never seen. They conducted demonstration classes for those already teaching Sunday School, and they helped with Girl Guides and Scouts wherever these were organized.

Hasell and Sayle had special episcopal permission to take services, as did most vanners. These services were usually shortened Matins or Evensong. The two ladies would divide the service, with one playing if there were a musical instrument, and the other speaking and reading the lessons. Sayle was not musical and had difficulty with that aspect of the service, but Hasell participated with great gusto if not with polish. According to one informant, she always sang in a loud soprano voice and loved music. Hasell recalled that when, at one service on the Alaska Highway:

...a young airman offered to play the hymns, we accepted gladly. I believe he had been connected with the Pentecostals in the past. The last hymn, a mission one, he played in such a stirring way I wondered what the Church of England members present would think. At any rate, it roused us all. Sometimes Anglicans are apt to be neither hot nor cold--that is the worst state of all....¹

Hasell did her utmost to change this lukewarm state of her fellow religionists, and spoke with enthusiasm and conviction whenever she took the service. She was known as "a good preacher." The description she gives of her homilies, however, is rather bland, and does not reflect her innate warmth and ability to communicate: "The address generally bears upon the training of character, showing our Blessed Lord as the Perfect Model. It is divided into three headings: growing in the life of grace by studying God's Word, by prayer, and by service."² Hasell did not need many sermon outlines because she herself rarely came back to exactly the

¹Report, 1953, p. 6.

²Hasell, Through Western Canada, p. 24.

same area. The main exception was, of course, her eleven years on the Alaska Highway. She also served more than one year in several other dioceses, but one year was a general pattern. In 1948, however, Bishop W. H. Moorhead of Fredericton Diocese asked her to take charge of a parish for six weeks. With no clergy to give help of any kind, Sayle and Hasell drove sixty-five miles each Sunday and took three services and three Sunday Schools for these six weeks. Her method involved getting permission from a bishop to work in his diocese, then she and Sayle initiating a van in this new area, and after working for a season, leaving it for subsequent vanners. The year 1937 proved another exception to this rule when Hasell inadvertently wandered into the Diocese of Keewatin. She straightway wrote to Bishop Dewaney "to say we were sorry we had strayed," and to offer her services for 1938. He accepted.

Although Hasell herself usually stayed only one year, she did strive for continuity, but when an area was too large it was simply impossible for vans to visit every year. Yet Hasell felt strongly that caravans should always be on the move--there should be very little permanent or concentrated work as long as vast regions were without any ministry at all. Not everyone agreed with her. The teacher of the "St. Margaret" van in 1939 reported to the Occasional Paper, "When I fully realize what a disappointment it would be to the children and parents not to have a van visit, it does seem that concentrated work could in the long run be of much greater value, especially in isolated areas."¹ But Hasell never could see it that way, and evinced very little understanding for those who did.

¹Occasional Paper, No. 166 (1939): p. 16. Monica Storrs and Marguerite Fowler are two examples of workers who opted for permanent work--Storrs in the Peace River Block, and Fowler in Western Manitoba.

One last aspect of Hasell's work, means and methods, is her writing. She authored three books, Across the Prairie in a Motor Caravan (1922), Through Western Canada in a Caravan (1927), and Canyons, Cans and Caravans (1930), as well as several smaller booklets, the most important of these being The Caravan: A Play About Sunday-School Work on the Prairies (1925), and Caravanning Through Prairie and Mountain in Canada (n.d.). Her articles appeared frequently in British and Canadian Church journals, and as far afield as The Auckland [New Zealand] Diocesan Gazette.

Hasell's writing style was choppy but lucid, although her Reports cannot always be called lucid. They were often written in a great hurry, with amazing results. A few examples: An Englishwoman married "a Russian who served with the Canadians in France in the last war. He was buried in a shell hole and is very delicate" (1943, p. 11); "I feel this service is the most inspiring. [The Indians] join in the hymns and prayers without a book and really do enjoy having one" (1954, p. 13); "The men were on shifts at mines miles away, including Sunday" (1960, p. 8).

As for her books, S.P.C.K. printed 2,000 copies of Across the Prairie, which sold well in spite of several negative reviews. Among Hasell's material in Dalemain is a clipping by "A. G. D." who criticizes the book harshly, and ends: "As it stands, the book is a bit of highly overdrawn caricature, wholly inaccurate in the general impression which it conveys." This scathing indictment bothered Hasell not one bit, and her successive books dealt in the same bold manner with "scalps and romance." Through Western Canada (S.P.G.) sold well and went through two editions. When it came to Canyons, Hasell was heady with success. The following excerpt from correspondence with the editorial secretary of S.P.C.K., dated April 3, 1936, tells the story:

You will remember that neither S.P.G. nor we thought that a book of this size was wanted, and that S.P.C.K. yielded, against its better judgment, to your insistence, you agreeing to guarantee the sale of 5,000 by March 31, 1936.... You agreed to purchase at 2s. 4d. a copy the amount by which sales on March 31, 1936, should have fallen short of 5,000. We printed 6,000, gave away 62, and have 2,500 left, so that the total sale is 3,438 ...it leaves a deficiency of 1,562...i.e., £182.4.8 which I am afraid is rather staggering.¹

The secretary then offered to reduce the price and hold the stock in order to sell what might still sell, and give Hasell the option of paying off the charge by instalments. This was done, but Hasell, in the end, was left with boxes full of Canyons, Cans and Caravans, and never again ventured into the area of publishing.

Personal Schedule

It is obvious that Eva Hasell carried the full burden of responsibility for the Caravan Mission by her own choice. Her established schedule demanded that she and Sayle return to England, usually a week or so before Christmas, then begin lecture tours the first or second week in January. They returned to Canada in March or April, travelled across the Dominion, lecturing again, consulting with bishops in whose dioceses there were to be caravans, found workers still needed for the vans, inspected each vehicle for repairs, and after all the other vans were out, she and Sayle would begin their own summer itinerary.

After a full day's work of teaching and driving, they cooked their meal, looked after correspondence, which in one typical period demanded action on: a van damaged by a bus; a replacement for a driver with an emergency appendectomy; the mother of another driver seriously ill-- another replacement and extra funds; floods in British Columbia curtailing

¹In Dalemain papers.

the work and threatening to float a van garage down the Peace River; a worker with scarlet fever; the Cariboo van tipping over. Small wonder Hasell records, "One day we did twenty hours of work...." A seventeen hour day was not unusual, even when Hasell was already in her late sixties. Repeatedly she writes, "I have never worked such long hours."

Illness and Accident

In spite of such a Herculean schedule, neither Hasell nor Sayle were often ill. It is true that Sayle suffered from arthritis and later from Parkinson's Disease, but such was her determination and dedication that, except for a bout with scarlet fever in 1938, she resolutely shadowed the more robust Hasell.

The only illness Eva records is a reference, permeated with disgust, to catching measles in Saskatoon in 1922, which delayed her for a few days only. But while she seemed able to defy illness, she was not immune to accidents. The serious collision with a freight train, in which Dorothy Eckersall was gravely injured and the van totally demolished, was the first of several accidents.

Hasell describes another accident, which occurred in 1938:

We had gone fifty miles on the main Peace River highway, which is an earth road with deep ditches on each side.... We were going quite slowly, about thirty miles an hour, when I heard a sound of escaping air, but there was no time to stop--the Van shot round like lightening and nose-dived into the ditch.... I was shot against the left door...which flew open and I fell into the ditch, dislocating my elbow and fracturing my left arm. Then the Van descended on top of me; I was behind the front wheel and pinned to the ground across the thighs.... Iris Sayle managed to climb out over me; she had a deep gash in her leg.... The only thing for Iris to do was to leave me and go for help.... I wondered how long I could stand the weight of the 30 cwt. Ford lorry. The acid from the battery...was dripping on my arm and legs, and burning them badly.... I never lost consciousness, and was able to direct [the men] from below.... After an hour and a half they were

able to pull me out.... The men went off fifteen miles to get the doctor.... While we were lying by the roadside it was very hot, about 90 degrees in the shade. There was a wasp's [sic] nest near; they came out and stung us....¹

As a result of this accident, Hasell required surgery, but was back on the van again the following spring.

In 1957, she fell from an icy running board and dislocated her shoulder, but managed to drive the van back to Whitehorse where her shoulder was "put in." A more serious incident occurred in 1959, when, at the age of 71, she helped a mechanic lift a heavy garage jack back into his truck, straining "some muscles near my heart and therefore must stay in bed in the Hospital for three weeks." Although later examination in Carlisle showed the muscles to be quite healed, the doctor's advice was for Hasell not to return to the most isolated areas of the Yukon, and after 1959, she contented herself with work in less inaccessible areas. Which is not to say she stayed near urban centres. Far from that. She worked, for example, in the Diocese of Algoma in 1960, and in northern Alberta in 1963-1964; but she never again went into the most remote and difficult areas.

Although only the more serious of Hasell's accidents have been mentioned here, the total number is amazingly small when one considers that each summer, for fifty-two years, Hasell drove an average of over 4,000 miles.² Surely her faith in divine protection was rewarded, for she records, "A friend had given me a medallion of St. Christopher which I had put on the van. The inscription ran: 'Behold St. Christopher,

¹Report, 1938, p. 11 f. Also reported in personal letters in the Dalemmain collection.

²See Appendix XII for a quantitative analysis of her work, including the number of miles travelled.

and go your way in safety.' We were trying to do St. Christopher's work and we felt that his Master had us in His care."¹ "In later years," a friend in Dacre writes, "she wasn't very good at adapting herself to driving her car after driving caravans. One foot seemed to be continuously on the clutch, whilst the other was full rev. [sic], making the car absolutely roar wherever she went; and zooming out of lanes, etc., without looking left or right." She obviously still needed St. Christopher's protection.

¹HaCell, Through Western Canada, p. 193.

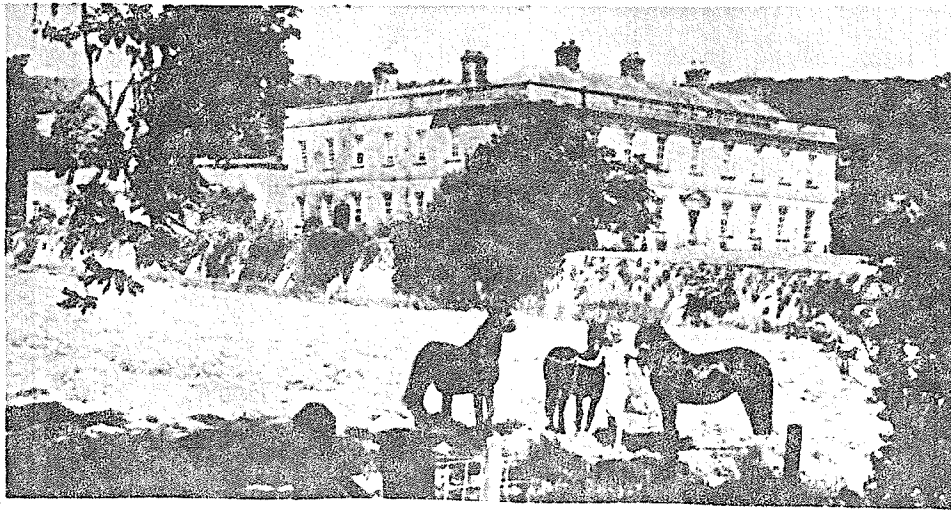


Figure No. 1: Dalemain, Penrith, Cumbria, showing fell ponies in the park.



Figure No. 2: Bales of clothing packed and loaded at Dacre Lodge by staff and volunteers.



Figure No. 3: Bound for Canada. Iris Sayle, front row second from left, standing beside Eva Hasell.

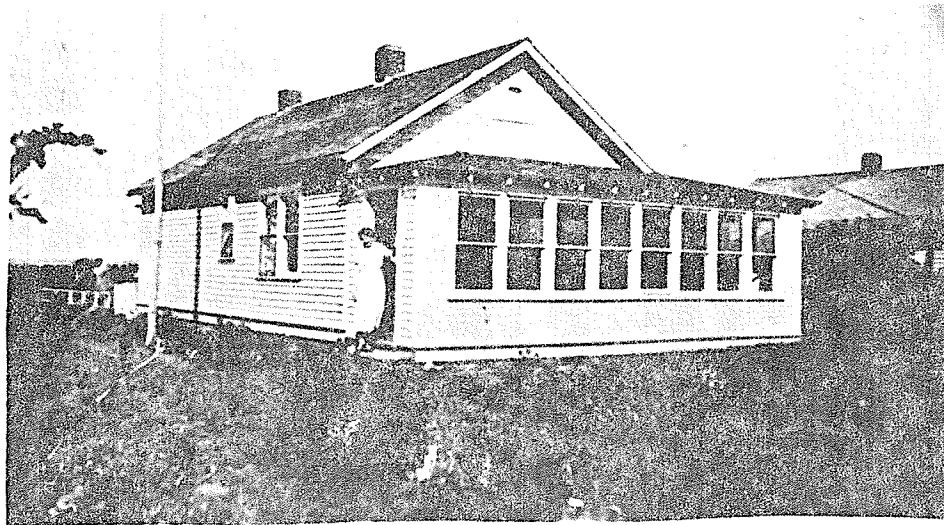


Figure No. 4: St. Nicholas' House, Fairview, Alberta, 1937.



Figure No. 5: St. James' Church, Hines Creek, Alberta, 1937, typical of the rural churches in which Hasell worked.

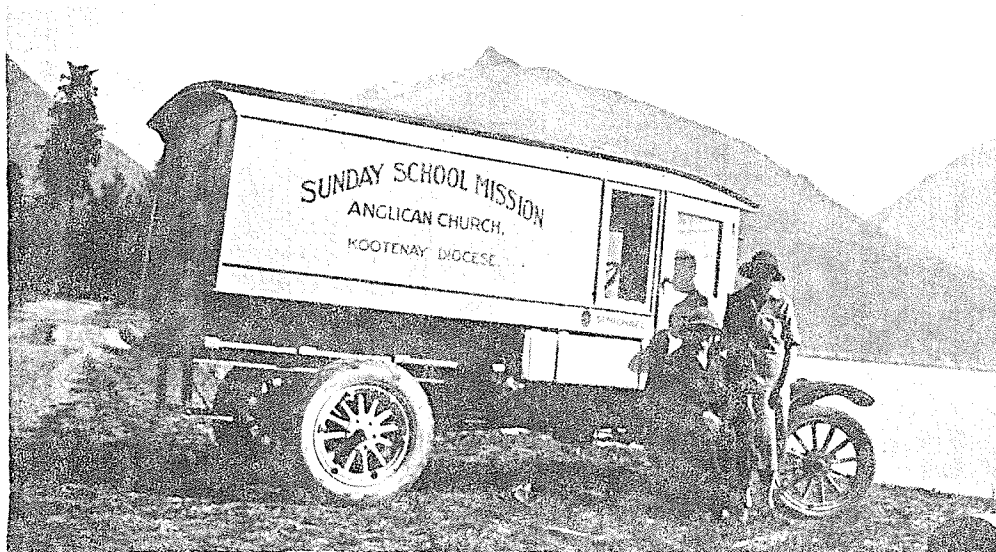


Figure No. 6: Eva Hasell (sitting) and Iris Sayle with the St. Michael van in 1926.



Figure No. 7: Frances Hatton Eva Hasell, c. 1930's.



Figure No. 8: Iris Eugenie
Friend Sayle,
c. 1960's.



Figure No. 9: Iris Sayle, Eva Hasell and Bishop Kingston, 1946.

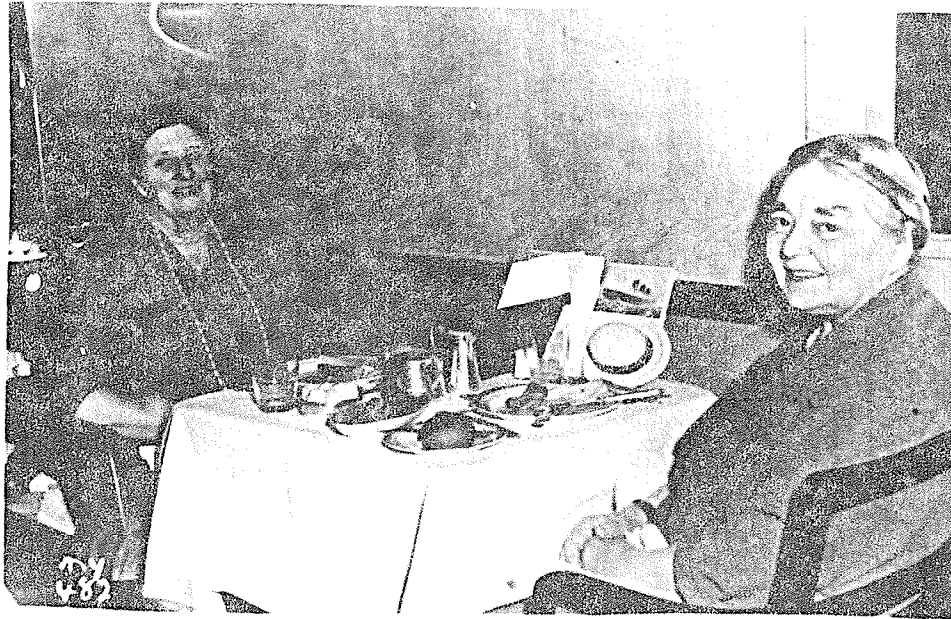


Figure No. 10: Iris Sayle and Eva Hasell on board R.M.S. "Queen Mary."



Figure No. 11: Eva Hasell
after receiving the
degree of Doctor of
Divinity, (honoris causa)
from the College of
Emmanuel and St. Chad,
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan,
1965.



Figure No. 12: Miss Hasell
on the occasion of her
Golden Jubilee, 1970.

CHAPTER IV

HER PERSONALITY AND ATTITUDES

What kind of a person was Frances Hatton Eva Hasell, what were her characteristic patterns of thought and behaviour, and why were they so?

Personality

Certainly she was generous, offering lavishly of her time and energy, indeed of her whole self, to the work to which she had given birth. Financially she was also greathearted, but more astute, never emptying her own private coffers as she emptied herself as a person.¹

Hasell was considerate of her household staff and employees, giving everyone gifts at Christmas time - the wherewithal to make a fruit cake, a chicken, a bowl of hyacinths. For the children there were always books, often those written by Grey Owl. Dacre village friends also received gifts as well as visits, as did her girlhood companions still living in the area, and both assume a new significance when one considers that Hasell usually only returned to England about a week before Christmas, often completely exhausted. It could be argued that these gifts, especially to servants and staff, were tradition rather than generosity, but the recipients interviewed did not share that view.

¹Mrs. Redhead, a former employee, ventured that Hasell "had no concept of the value of money after inflation began," but in the earlier days her concern with the manipulation of financial matters was rather remarkable, although she always had the financial advice of Mr. M. J. Verey, her heir, who handled her personal investments.

In her Canadian setting Hasell also gave gifts and in rather unexpected places. "We gave all the old Indian women a pound of tea as an advanced Christmas present. They always beam as they do love their cup of tea."¹ When Hasell no longer went into the most remote areas, she asked Miss K. Alexander and other vanners to distribute the tea for her.

Hasell was an appreciative person, and valued the work of her household staff. The staff varied in size, but included a housekeeper, cook, parlour maid, kitchen maid, cleaning and gardening help, and a secretary, in various combinations and at various times. She never interfered with domestic help, and allowed them to be as flexible as they wished where the housework was concerned. Indeed, Iris Sayle was said to be more "house proud" about Dacre Lodge than Hasell herself. Hasell realized the problems an empty house could create, and she suggested to the housekeeper that she invite a friend to live with her at Dacre Lodge during these absent months.

She was a kind and reliable landlady, not begrudging repairs to the cottages attached to the estate, and when her farm manager of many years, Thomas Cowperthwaite, retired, she had a cottage built for his use. His daughter, Patricia Farish and her family still live there among their beautiful flowers.

Hasell was appreciative of nature. She loved gardening and the out-of-doors, and descriptions delighting in creation appear everywhere in her Reports: "A prairie sunset is quite beyond description. I have never seen such colours in England." "On the way we had a feast of beauty from the flowers, which are especially glorious now." This love

¹Report, 1957, p. 20.

of nature is also reflected in her painting, as it was in the work of Iris Sayle, an accomplished artist. When one remembers that for fifty-two years Hasell never saw the beautiful grounds of Dacre Lodge during the flowering summer, the extent of her self-giving is somehow enhanced. Hasell also mentions designing frontals. When St. Andrew's Church, Dacre, donated some for use in a Canadian church, she wrote, "As I had drawn the designs which were worked on them, I shall like to see them there [at St. Christopher's Church, Haines Junction]."

Hasell thoroughly enjoyed food, and her praise of New York's restaurants as a "paradise for the discerning palate" is matched by her appreciation of prairie farm food: "Canadian meals are delicious, and we had a sumptuous supper - bacon and eggs, layer cake and stewed fruit, and strong tea."¹ Her staff at Dacre Lodge confirmed her appreciative appetite, but, enigmatically, "she never seemed to have any idea of what she wanted," although she did love sponge puddings. What she did not want was alcoholic beverages, and no wine or sherry was kept at Dacre Lodge.

Eva Hasell appreciated people above all else. She genuinely loved children, and had done so since she herself was only a child. It was not forced because of a sense of duty, although duty may have played a minor role, but it seemed almost to release an area of her inner nature which indicated a deep need to love. Children were the focus of her work and time and again she remarked, "...the children and youth are the most important." There was a great personal love for the individual child as well. She took an interest in the children of Lodge Farm "from the day they were born. She would invite them to the Lodge for tea, play

¹ Hasell, Across the Prairie, p. 49.

dressing-up with them, sing around the piano, and have games in the garden."¹ These games could be hilarious, and they were not confined to the garden. On one occasion, while playing hide-and-seek in the Lodge, Hasell hid under a bed and promptly stuck fast. The "seekers" found her only when, in a little voice, she called out for help. Miss Tait, resident at Dacre Lodge for many years, also commented on Hasell's enjoyment of games. She remembers that after Christmas dinner, Eva would invariably suggest charades, and would enjoy mimicking in a broad Cumbrian dialect. On another occasion in Canada, Hasell and Sayle were playing tug-of-war at a Sunday School picnic when the rope broke and both ladies went tumbling. The children loved it. When she saw two little girls, aged eight and nine, cooking and doing all the chores in a motherless home, she longed to gather them up and "romp and play with them" - a need she recognized to be inherent in children.

While Hasell was appreciative, she could also be most demanding. Her devotion to the mission made it difficult for her to realize that other people often had responsibilities which prevented their giving as freely of their time as she did. Dean J. A. E. Hoskin, of Peace River, Alberta, gives a most illuminating account of one such incident:

There were times when staffing emergencies arose and Miss Hasell would not hesitate to send off a message to someone telling that person to report to this or that Van, and she would be quite upset when the person, thus approached, could not and would not go. On one occasion a Vanner, working in our area, was to be alone for a few days between the departure of one companion and the arrival of the replacement. This Vanner received a message from Miss Hasell informing her that my wife would go with her on the Van for that interval. My wife had never told Miss Hasell that she would do so, but, being relatively free at the moment, she went....

¹Letter from Mrs. Patience Mallinson, June 13, 1977.

Dr. Hoskin also relates the story of Mrs. Randall:

On a warm summer afternoon in the early 1930's, the St. Alban's S. S. Caravan...stopped...on West Prairie River.... Mr. and Mrs. Guy Randall welcomed them heartily.... 'Children in this district are receiving no religious training whatever,' Miss Hasell said bluntly. 'You will have to start a Sunday School, Mrs. Randall.' 'But I have seven children, Lisle is only a baby, I have a huge garden, chickens and turkeys, the housework--.' 'I am sorry-- there is no one else--you must take the Sunday School,' Miss Hasell insisted.¹

And Mrs. Randall did. These incidents were not isolated occurrences, but a way of life with Hasell. Undeniably, she was an autocratic woman.

This autocracy was also apparent in her need to control. An interesting example is related by Rev. Kenneth Smith of Dacre. When he was first appointed vicar of the church, during Hasell's absence, he arranged that the flowers for the services should be contributed by all the parishoners and not only supplied from the Dacre Lodge gardens. When Hasell returned to England, her first words of greeting to the new vicar were: "You never consulted me about the flowers."

The flowers in the Dacre Church were just one negligible part of the myriad of details which Hasell desired to control--the caravan funds and choice of workers; St. Christopher's College and how it was operated; Dacre Lodge Farm where the foreman could never sell anything without permission. Especially in regard to the vans, no detail was left to anyone else. To make certain, for example, that some particular concerning the St. Andrew van was correct, Sayle and Hasell "took a special trip, 600 miles there and back, to see exactly the condition of things." On another occasion Hasell wrote to Robinson and Fane, a firm in Edmonton, "I enclose one windshield lever which I wish used on this...van.... I

¹Letter from Dean Hoskin to author, dated June 21, 1977.

shall not pay for any other type."¹ Dominion Motors in Winnipeg was instructed, "The roof should be treated with boiled oil and then a mixture of white paint and varnish. As this is the only satisfactory mixture, I am afraid I can pay for no other."² Obviously, to enforce her purposes, Hasell was not above using financial arrangements as a tool to ensure compliance. In another instance she "pressed for a promise that the van should be finished by May 1, adding that otherwise [she] would not pay for it."³ Or again, writing to Dominion Motors concerning repairs, "...and if everything is satisfactory I will pay the bill then."

It is small wonder that Hasell has been represented as being "an extremely dominating person who could (and did) put and keep anyone in their place who got in her way (bishops included)." Some bishops, in fact, were said to fear Miss Hasell and sought to avoid confrontation with her. Even the mild Archdeacon Catchpole, who supported her fully, wished she would defer more to the desire of the bishops.

Why did Hasell have this strong need to dominate, this almost compulsive need to control? Without pretending to analyse her personality or to speak with any authority on a psychological matter, there are several possible suggestions from her childhood and youth. She was, after all, a child of the manor, born into a comparative position of authority. With two daughters and no sons, is it possible that their father encouraged self-assertiveness in the girls? And after his death, would the enforced move from their beloved Dalemain have kindled within her a

¹Dalemain papers, dated 1939.

²Letters in Dalemain papers, 1939.

³Ibid.

determination to prove her worth, even though only a female? Then too, with tutors there could never be the interchange, the give-and-take of a school situation with other children. Even Hasell's activities in the G.S.F. during her teen years could have contributed to a tendency to control, for the young ladies of her class took a limited responsibility for lonely girls of a different class, even to directing the activities of a large portion of their leisure time. These are but a few circumstances from her early years which may have influenced a natural bent toward domination.

If she was dominating, she was certainly also a determined and stubborn woman, starting out in a dust storm against all advice and trekking by foot into the wilderness of the Peace River Block. Sometimes it served her well, as for example, when she rented a car and mechanical problems caused her to return late. The car owner wanted overtime, but "he calmed down when he saw I would stand no nonsense." On another occasion, in order to see a van properly overhauled, she decided to stay and supervise the effort: "I knew the garage was open all night... Hour after hour passed. I stood around by the van and handed tools from time to time, and pointed out what I wanted done, and by thus keeping them at it the van was actually finished soon after 7 a.m."¹ One could only wish that the opinions of the mechanic had been recorded.

Yet on the other hand, a vanner who knew Hasell well, and who admitted that she was a "complete law unto herself" insisted that while Hasell was "dictatorial" she was not "bossy" - that she did try hard to get along with others. Iris Sayle, in a letter written in 1926 before

¹Hasell, Across the Prairie, p. 101.

their mutual friendship had ripened, admired her faculty for harmonious relations. "All people think no end of Eva and she always seems to get on splendidly with everyone."¹ In an earlier letter, dated July 2, 1926, she comments, "Eva Hasell is a splendid companion with very many sides to her: if you understand what I mean!" Mr. Michael J. Verey characterized her as a "dictator to people she worked with, but very lovable, kind and affectionate to her family and friends." Vanners and employees saw her as "dominant"; "very kind and thoughtful"; "strong-willed, but we thought highly of her"; "she had the courage of her convictions with everything under her control"; "she was charming and gracious"; "a very warm, affectionate and sincere personality. She was rather a sparkling, bubbly type, always cheerful...."

The conclusion then is: If she considered a course of action, or a person, or an event commendable, she was as a veritable angel of light. If she disagreed, her wrath fell indiscriminately. In one sense this want of distinction, if so it can be called, indicates her fearless nature. She was not frightened by authority, or by anything else for that matter. Her physical intrepidity was as great as her moral courage and she encountered irascible bulls, churlish dogs, gun-carrying men (and children, for that matter) and all manner of physical danger with complete aplomb. One vanner, Miss Florence Seager, said of her, "She was never worried by men or by animals"; while another, Miss Doreen Savery, called her "An amazing person. I think difficulties just didn't exist for her." In part this obliviousness to difficulties was personality, but in part it was also sheer energy and drive. Hasell's physical vigour remained

¹Letter dated July 25, 1926, in Dalemain papers.

after her mental alertness had diminished, while her exploits as a woman in her eighties bear ample witness to her tremendous vitality.

In spite of her own amazing endurance, however, Hasell had compassion for those of lesser strength. Her accounts of "tired and weary laden," forgotten settlers' wives are striking in their tenderness. Again, on a trip down the Alaska Highway by bus she comments, "The man who drove the bus was a splendid driver, he must have been very tired." She was, of course, extremely tenderhearted toward all children and records one instance in which she had trouble telling the story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand because of the abject poverty of her young hearers.

Her compassion notwithstanding, and possibly because of her tendency to dominate, Hasell occasionally gave the impression of being pompous. In a letter to a car dealer she wrote on December 20, 1938, "Would you please send me by airmail across Canada (it costs six cents) a letter giving me an offer." Granted that air mail was not as common in 1938 as in 1978, yet her tone assumes complete ignorance on the part of the dealer. In similar but more humorous vein, she recounts a visit she, her sister Dorothy and Miss Eckersall made to a certain farmer. The farmer asked:

'Are any of you girls married? I have two bachelor sons.' As we were all seated at the supper table it was a trifle embarrassing to the uninitiated. Marriage seems to be the people's first thought out here. Probably herd psychology would explain it as a racial instinct prompting to the strengthening of a new people in a new land.¹

Occasionally, also, Hasell appears self-congratulatory. "It was here [on the Alaska Highway] in 1949 we met Alex Rear...he was deaf and

¹Hasell, Through Western Canada, p. 50. It could be argued that she was presenting her analysis tongue-in-cheek, but in its context, this writer believes she meant it seriously.

so could hardly speak. We arranged for him to go to a specialist in Edmonton.... The R.C.A.F....arranged to fly him out for nothing, the Daughters of the Empire and the Kiwanis Club of Whitehorse helped financially and the Government of the Territory paid the school fees.... It is a good thing the 'Brownies,' as they call us, came along."¹

Although the "Brownies" came along with amazing regularity, they were also surprisingly often late, for Hasell was seldom in a hurry. She has been described as "late by nature" and Miss Isobel Richardson of Dacre remarked that Hasell and Sayle were always late for Church - that one or two hymns would invariably be sung before these ladies came in and seated themselves on the third pew from the front. And that the night before they left for Canada they would, without exception, stay up all night packing because Hasell had been in no hurry previously.

Once in Canada it was a tale-twice-told. Mrs. Olive Bell, an S.S.P. Secretary remembers, "I can't tell you how often, while Miss Hasell enjoyed a last-minute conversation...Miss Sayle would have to interject-- 'Eva, we must go, or we'll miss that train!'--and be perfectly right. Miss Sayle was much the more business-like and better organized of the two, and in this was a necessary asset to Miss Hasell...."²

With Hasell's fierce determination to run her own affairs and her policy of having only women on caravans, it is almost surprising that she was not a feminist. The League of the Church Militant (Anglican) was active in the 1920's, with its "Immediate Object: To promote the

¹Report, 1955, p. 6. Added to this is her taking full credit for the founding of the Fellowship of the West; indeed, she did provide inspiration but there were also other factors. She also assumed all credit for sending the little blind Lea girl to school in Vancouver when the unpublished Storrs' diaries show the involvement of many others, etc.

²Letter dated January 8, 1978.

candidature of women in the Councils and Ministry of the Church, and to safeguard the position of women serving the Church in other ways."¹ Its monthly paper, The Church Militant, contained articles on the Christian attitude towards sex, class and race, and promoted its stand for "equality of men and women in the sight of men as in the sight of God." All these aspects of the Church Militant should have appealed to Eva Hasell, yet there is no evidence of her involvement with this or any similar organization, on any level. Informants who knew her well indicated that she simply had no time for organizations; she was a law unto herself. As with feminism, so with prohibition and other similar movements.

One trait both Sayle and Hasell shared was a sense of humour. Hasell reported with great delight the story of the little girl whose mother was unable to attend a caravan service, but asked the child to remember the Scripture text. It was duly reported as, "Don't worry, you will get the blanket." The puzzled mother finally asked a neighbour who remembered that it was, "Fear not, I will send you the Comforter"; or the youngster whose version of the Fifth Commandment was, "Honour thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long and thy nights short"; and then the ready answer to a request to name the song of the Virgin Mary after the Annunciation, that it must surely be, "Now the Day is Over." She also enjoyed the Alaska Highway described as "miles and miles of miles and miles," and the lady in Ontario who was sure the Highway let in a cold draught from the Arctic.

Hasell's very style of writing betrays her love of the whimsical, as when she describes a particularly muddy hike ending with "a homestead

¹Advertisement, The Year Book of the Church of England in Canada, (1923), p. 31.

on one foot and a quarter section on the other."¹ It is not surprising that she had the reputation of a "giggler," "great fun," with a "tremendous sense of humour." Both she and Sayle also heartily enjoyed the northern witticism, which has several variations - "However far back in the bush you get, the Mounted Police and the Van girls will always find you."

It could well be that Hasell's appreciation of the humorous led her to exaggerate a story in order to utilize it to best advantage. Whether or not this is so, exaggerate she did. She speaks of wheat crops standing six feet high; of forty-foot snow drifts covering a building; of temperatures 80° below zero (F.) and then the opposite extreme--"104° in the shade and 126° in the sun is quite usual during the Canadian summer." She observed a rancher's "small son, three or four, rounding up cattle mounted on a tall steed,"² and she knew of a father who taught his young children to forge cheques. There is a school house in her travelled territory, "put up with free labour and built of logs. It had no windows nor doors." Admittedly this would pose problems. Little Georgina, whom Hasell genuinely loved, was left ten miles from anybody in the 1936 Report, twenty miles from anybody in 1937, and eight miles from anybody in 1940. Then in August, 1939, in northern Saskatchewan, "two hundred German farmers were ordered back by Hitler to serve in the army. They left their wives and families with no means of support." In actual fact, only nineteen pro-Nazi Germans including their families returned in August, 1939, and under quite different circumstances.³

¹Reported in the Regina Leader Post, September 28, 1960.

²Again, her antecedent leaves somewhat to be desired.

³See Jonathan F. Wagner, "Heim Ins Reich: The Story of Loon River's Nazis," Saskatchewan History, XXIX, No. 2 (Spring 1976).

While Hasell's exaggerations were not malicious, they proved to be sources of antagonism when the matters concerned committees or people with whom she worked. This is evident in the tension between her and the Joint Van Committee, when Dr. Hiltz used the terms, "not true to the facts," and "absolutely untrue" to answer several of her accusations.

The most sensational example of her exaggeration is the matter concerning "Bolshevik Sunday Schools." The Occasional Paper of Spring, 1930, carried the following article by the Canadian Press, date lined London, March 7: "There are 1,700 Bolshevik Sunday Schools in Canada and Bolshevik organization among the children of the Dominion is 'far better' than the Christian...Miss Eva Hasell...declared she had this information from an 'authoritative source.' The Archbishop of Centerbury presided at the meeting." The story had been picked up by both the Canadian and British press. One headline read,¹ "Lady Has Discovered 1700 Bolshevik Sunday Schools in Canada," and after quoting Hasell's remarks, continued:

Leading churchmen queried respecting Miss Hasell's statement, admitted there might be a number of Sunday Schools in the country in which 'Radical' beliefs were taught. But the influence of these schools was insignificant and far from the number indicated.... According to His Lordship Bishop H. A. Gray, there are two Bolshevik Sunday Schools in Edmonton, but what the nature of their teachings are and how big the membership is, he is unable to determine.

Another clipping obviously from a Winnipeg paper: "Emphatic denial to a report from London that there are 1700 Communist 'Sunday Schools' in Canada was made here last night by Alderman W. N. Kolinsky, prominent member of the Communist Party of Canada...."

On March 31, Archbishop Cosmo Long of Canterbury sent a rather

¹These are from clippings in the Hasell papers at Dalemain, obviously saved by her, but without date or papers' names. The letters also are in the Dalemain papers.

stiff letter to Hasell, saying among other things, "An immense number of protests have been received here against the statistics quoted by you about Bolshevik Sunday Schools in Canada, and are coming from the highest possible authority there, as well as the Chief of Police. They say that your figures are ludicrously wrong."

By this time Hasell was ready to retract, and offered to do so. The next letter from Lambeth Palace, dated April 7, reads, "His Grace in no way presses you to send a denial to the papers such as you have drafted but will leave the matter entirely to your judgment." There is no evidence that Hasell had her retraction printed.¹

While Hasell obviously sensationalized the communist presence in Canada, her fears were genuine and were shared by others in all Christian communions, as well as by her own Anglican Church. She records:

The General Synod sent a deputation to the Minister of Immigration, asking him to limit the influx of these foreigners because of their low moral standard and the Bolshevik literature which they circulate.... Appeals were continued and in June, 1929, restrictions were at last placed on Central European immigration.²

It was in 1925, in Manitoba, that Hasell first encountered communists. Then in 1926 she was "much distressed" in Salmon Arm, B. C., by "the activities of a number of Reds, Finns and others. They held meetings in the school house, all wearing red sashes and teaching Bolshevism."³

Again she noted:

There are also the Bolsheviks, who told us there was no God, and if we sent them Bible lessons they would burn them. They

¹A check through the London Times and the Winnipeg papers of the period produced nothing, nor did the Occasional Paper.

²Hasell, Canyons, p. 175.

³Ibid., p. 78.

have started a Sunday School, at which they train their children each Sunday to march past a picture of our Lord and spit at it. The Russian and Finn children are in many places going to the same school with the British children, and owing to their home training are teaching them to steal and lie.¹

This sensationalist approach to communism stayed with Miss Hasell. An article appearing in the Daily Colonist, May 6, 1948, headlines, "Bible Misused by Communists says Director," and goes on to quote Hasell: "It has been going on for years, but is worse now...the destructive movements are hard at work. The workers for communism misquote the Bible and use it as a means of preaching disloyalty and treason,...counter-propaganda is necessary to combat disloyal movements. This is our work in Christian teaching in the lonely parts of Canada...." So by 1948 she had begun to see her work as a crusade against subversive political as well as spiritual forces.

Hasell's fear of communism was closely linked with her incontrovertible conviction that her work for the Church was coincident with keeping Canada British, and with inculcating British standards in immigrant children. She heartily concurred in the purpose of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf to "Keep Canada Christian and British," and herein she reflected the dominant British ethos of her time and class. In 1926, for example, there existed a "Guild of Church and Empire" which sent out "parcels of books, tracts, pictures, etc."² to Canada and to other parts of the Empire. And prominent clerics such as Bishop Montgomery agonized, "as the years pass the Canadian problem looms larger and ever larger for us as Churchmen as well as members of the British Empire."³ Again, the

¹Hasell, Caravaning Through Prairie and Mountain in Canada (Westminster: S.P.G. Press, 1928), p. 12.

²Occasional Paper, No. 140 (1926): p. 2.

³Bishop Montgomery, The Church on the Prairie (London: S.P.G.P.P., 1910), p. iii.

Bishop of Kootenay, commenting on Miss Hasell's work in 1926, felt it was "the greatest being done for the Church or the Empire in Western Canada...."¹ Miss Hasell herself remembers a clergyman's report to Arch-deacon Dobie yearning for a van, supplied by "some lover of Christ and of the British Empire."² As late as 1940, Bishop Sherman of Calgary inveighed his people to "Keep Canada British! Make Canada Christian!"³ These examples could be multiplied. It is not surprising, then, that Eva Hasell, brought up in a religious home during the height of Britain's greatness, shared these sentiments, embodying as they did her greatest loves--her Church and her country. She felt a keen responsibility to both, and wrote:

As so many Canadian settlers are Church of England people, the members of that Church who remain in the old country cannot escape responsibility for their spiritual welfare.... As members of the Empire we also owe them gratitude for developing its resources.

To refuse to help is spiritual selfishness.... Helping overseas missions is not the mere hobby of the few, but the duty of all; and it is the least return we can make for Canada's sacrifices in the War [World War I].⁴

Repeatedly in her Reports she makes remarks such as "All this points to the great need of our work from the Imperial as well as the religious standpoint." Or, it "made us realize how important our work was, not only to the Church but the Nation."⁵

¹Hasell, Canyons, p. 113.

²Hasell, Across the Prairie, p. 105. The original quotation is from S.P.G. Reports, Vol. 1920-1923, p. 23.

³Thine is the Glory, p. 78. Another example of the same sentiment is the speech made to the Qu'Appelle Association (n.d.) by the Bishop of London: "We want to keep Canada British, Christian and Church."

⁴Hasell, Through Western Canada, pp. 251-252.

⁵Report, 1938, p. 11, and Report, 1941, p. 5.

Naturally Hasell felt a great love for, and loyalty to, the Royal Family.¹ In 1939 King George VI and Queen Elizabeth inspected the caravan, St. Margaret of Scotland, in Regina, with Hasell and Sayle in attendance. It was a great moment in their lives, and Hasell later wrote, "Showing the van in 1939 to the King and Queen will always remain with us as a very sacred memory." It also stimulated the interest of the Queen. During the financial crisis in Britain, when Hasell was so handicapped by the Treasury's limit on the exporting of funds, the Queen offered to send her caravan donation of \$10 to Canada in dollars. She also provided new, signed photographs of herself and the Princesses to Hasell periodically, and on at least one occasion, asked Princess Alice to get in touch with Hasell and Sayle. In a letter dated March 9, 1977, the Queen Mother's Private Secretary acknowledged, "It is perfectly correct that Queen Elizabeth took a keen interest in both these ladies, having first learned of their dedicated lives during a visit that Her Majesty paid to Canada in 1939. From that time onwards The Queen Mother followed their careers closely and whenever it was possible gave support to their work."² This interest continued through the years.

¹The Hasells have a tradition of loyalty to the crown. On the floor of Dacre Church is a brass plaque in memory of Mrs. Jane Hasell, whose father, Sir Timothy Fetherstonghaugh, was beheaded for his loyalty to Charles I (See, A Short History of Dacre Parish Church). Then too, one of her ancestors, a Lennon, fought under General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, "attended the famous Review which took place after the victory and fell dead on the parade from heatstroke. His wife and children... had gone out to Canada with him and proved to be a perfect nuisance on the voyage home, particularly the Mama, who, when she got back to Ireland,... proceeded to try and sponge on everybody. Eva's great-grandmother was a Lennon, and this man was, we think, her great-great-grandfather's brother" (Letter from Mr. M. J. Verrey, January 25, 1978).

²Letter to the author. Every year from 1956 until her last Report (1965), Hasell quotes in full or in part the Queen Mother's message and contribution to her Caravan Fund. It was very important to her.

When Elizabeth II was crowned, Hasell and Sayle, far up the Alaska Highway, arose at 2 a.m. to listen to the service of coronation, and Hasell remarked, "We followed the Service to the end and felt we also must dedicate our lives afresh to God...."¹ Accurately observant, Mrs. Robert Little, writing in the Canadian Churchman of October, 1936, commented, "[Hasell] represents, in some way they [the settlers] do not reason out, England, the King, and the Empire." Church and state were obviously and irrevocably linked in Hasell's thinking and attitude.²

Feeling as she did, it is small wonder that Miss Hasell expressed considerable distrust of "foreigners." She acknowledged that the Japanese and Chinese in B. C. were "clean, industrious, and honest," but on the other hand, "it seems certain that it is this race which circulates the drugs which are working such havoc among some of the young people of British Columbia. They also do a great deal of harm with their gambling dens."³ In her visitation work, she comments that "you never know what types you will find - in one house an English army officer, and in

¹Sayle and Hasell also watched a service in Canterbury Cathedral on television in rather unique circumstances. "One day, when visiting, we found a trailer, the door open, but nobody there. We went in, the television was on, we heard Church music. We actually saw and heard the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury just as clearly as if we had been in the Cathedral.... The owner of the trailer arrived rather astonished to see two strange women. She was a Lutheran. We explained we were interested and she seemed to understand" (Report, 1961, p. 9).

²The thought that Christian and British (or Canadian) is synonymous is, of course, not Hasell's prerogative. It was the common Canadian attitude in the early 20th century, and Ralph Connor (C. W. Gordon) has his preacher, Brown, say, "I can teach them [foreigners] English...doctor them...teach them some of the elements of domestic science; in short, do anything to make them good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing" (The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan [Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd., 1909], p. 253).

³Hasell, Through Western Canada, p. 250.

another, an [sic] Ukrainian three centuries behind civilization."¹ Or again, walking through a train, she finds only four English-speaking families: "The rest were Ukrainians. They looked the dirtiest and most criminal lot of people I had seen for a long time."²

She also had a faintly anti-American bias, and when northern Alberta was being developed, she worried, "Many of the companies are from the United States and often those who come in to open up mines are apt to be materialistic; they do not always want to finance church work. In Yukon the companies are mostly Canadian."³ Yet, almost incongruously, there was a great deal of respect between Hasell and the Indians. While she was chagrined that "Red Indians [are] being much better instructed in religious matters than our English-speaking children," she nevertheless evinced a real appreciation of their culture and watched their dances, for example, with keen interest, describing them as "wonderful." She treated the individual Indian as a person and a friend, and when she found on one occasion, that someone in the Department of Indian Affairs told a native who had phoned for an ambulance that they could not come until the next day, she promptly assumed her authoritarian role, peremptorily demanded the Department send both an ambulance and a nurse, and both arrived within a few hours.⁴

This authoritarian role came naturally to Hasell. She was, of

¹Hasell, Canyons, p. 63.

²Ibid., p. 174.

³Report, 1952, p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 14. This is only one of many examples which could be cited. In the Diocese of Keewatin Hasell had the reputation of being able to summon help to outlying areas faster than any other man, woman, or organization.

course, a child of the manor, connected by blood relationship to some of England's notable families, and all her life moved in relatively elite circles. It seemed natural to her that Lady Willingdon should "press a gift" into her hand; that she should receive a letter from Lord Tweedsmuir about her work, or that the Earl of Athlone should visit her caravan and ask her to lunch at Government House.¹ As a matter of fact, she visited the Athlones quite regularly in Ottawa, "to give a confidential report of our work to the Earl," and Princess Alice became a Patroness of the Caravan Mission (in 1942), as did the Countess Alexander of Tunis (1946). In her Report, 1948, Hasell notes, "The Viscountess Alexander of Tunis invited us to Government House to tell her the latest news and Lady Clutterbuck, the wife of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, had a meeting at Earnslcliffe in aid of the work."² In 1942 Lady Hamilton introduced Hasell to Eleanor Roosevelt. Hasell writes they had "a very interesting talk about the Caravans" at the White House. And so it went--Archbishops, royalty, the titled--Hasell had an entree into so many worlds. Even the Canadian House of Commons invited her to address them, rather incongruously, on the effects that the dumping of Russian wheat would have on Western Canadian farmers,³ while Western provincial politicians were well-acquainted with her work and tactics, as were the R.C.M.P.

¹Lord and Lady Tweedsmuir "invited us to lunch in their special train," and then arranged with Hasell to ship B. C. vegetables to the drought-stricken prairies as personal aid. The above-mentioned, were, of course, all Governors-General of Canada or their spouses. Lady Byng, wife of another Governor-General, also attended Hasell's Ottawa meetings.

²Viscountess Alexander was a cousin to Lady Katherine Seymour, the Queen Mother's Lady-in-Waiting during much of the time Hasell corresponded with Buckingham Palace, and it was Lady Katherine who introduced Hasell to the Viscountess.

³Occasional Paper, No. 152 (1922): p. 3.

Hasell did not hesitate to use these connections when she thought it necessary. She took co-operation and aid for granted.

Although Hasell had connections in high places she seemed to accept the egalitarian situation in the Canadian West. She notes, for example: "The farm hands sat at the same table - in this democratic country no longer below the salt." And in spite of her strong pro-British bias, she sincerely sought to serve settlers of all racial origins. While this service was freely and lovingly given, it had strong paternalistic overtones, which are indicative both of Hasell's personality and of her times. A reoccurring stream of thought running through her years of Reports is, "We have looked after them for years, body and soul."¹ The "body" part she looked after with material aid. The "soul" part was her missionary mandate. She wrote, "Pray we may understand all the different nationalities with whom we all come in contact and members of different churches, so that we may help to bring unity, peace and love among all nations."²

Other Denominations

In this spirit of congeniality Hasell responded enthusiastically to the challenge of "The Russians and others [who] cannot be looked after by their own Church and are ready and anxious to be taught by us...."³ Bishop Harding of Qu'Appelle had written in the Occasional Paper, "Our great need at present appears to be priests speaking the Russian language, and ministering to the members of the Russian Church who have been committed to the care of the Anglican Church...that it is not possible for

¹Report, 1940, p. 11; also 1941, p. 9; 1953, p. 10, etc.

²Ibid., 1960, p. 21.

³Hasell, Caravaning Through Prairie and Mountain in Canada, p. 15.

us to minister to them in their own language is proof that we have been too English, and not sufficiently catholic in our language, policy and outlook."¹ The background for this concern stems from a visit by "a Bishop of the Church in Russia [who] while on a visit to Regina, made known his desire that in the absence of the ministrations of the Russian Church, his people should avail themselves of the ministrations of the Anglican Church."² While Hasell would not for one moment agree that her Church had been less than catholic in language, policy and outlook, she nevertheless sought to respond to the needs of these Orthodox Christians. But she was not correspondingly anxious to share this responsibility with any other denomination: "There were a very large number of French Roman Catholics, also Ukrainians, who ought to have come to the Anglican Church as they were Russian Orthodox and are in communion with us, but had wandered off to the United Church and Sunday School."³

For Hasell, the Church of England embodied all that was best in Christian teaching and practice, and she was always pained when Anglican children or those in communion with the Anglican Church, attended other Sunday Schools. These "union" Schools seemed better to her than no Sunday School at all, but not very much better. Her concept of exactly what a "union" Church or Sunday School was, appears to be uncertain - at one point she maintained that they were comprised of "children of all denominations," including Anglican - while her argument that too many principles had been compromised for the sake of unity is vague and generalized. She wrote in 1922, "In many places there is a 'Union' Church and Sunday

¹Occasional Paper, No. 133 (1922): p. 14.

²Ibid., No. 156 (1934): p. 25.

³Report, 1962, p. 13 f.

School. This is a sort of co-operative Nonconformity, the ministers of the different denominations officiating alternately.... The plan has been adopted to economise in men and money; but its weak point seems to be that, as the ministers have to please all denominations, the teaching is apt to become wishy-washy."¹ Hasell also felt that community Sunday Schools were particularly damaging to the Anglican Church because they did not lead to Confirmation classes, and Miss Margaret West, one of Hasell's early vanners, agreed: "Children in the small towns attend the Union Sunday Schools and will eventually be lost to our Church."²

This being the case, it is understandable that Hasell harboured a deep suspicion of the United Church of Canada after its formation in 1925. Bishop Rix wrote to her about a work which she wished to establish in the Montney area of the Peace River Block, "...our word has been given to the United Church not to interfere in the Monterey [sic] district...." To which Hasell replied, "...the United Church will not keep their word, they have not done so in the Diocese of Athabaska.... Iris Sayle and I know more about the country and the people up there than any of them [referring to Anglican workers in the Peace River Block]."³ And Sayle confirmed Hasell's opinions: "...the United Church and the Roman Catholics are trying to squeeze out of existence the Anglican Church."⁴ Hasell's attitude softened in later years, although there is no record of how she felt about talks of union between the United Church of Canada

¹Hasell, Across the Prairie, p. 19.

²Occasional Paper, No. 141 (1926).

³Bishop Rix's letter dated December 5, 1930; Hasell's reply December 21, 1930. Both letters in Dalemain papers.

⁴Letter written in 1931, Dalemain papers.

and the Anglican. Those who knew her well felt she probably would have accepted the accomplished fact, as she had already accepted the local United Churchmen and co-operated with them whenever necessary.

Hasell had surprisingly little to say about the Roman Catholics other than to comment upon the presence of their hospitals and their priests on several occasions. She did, however, entertain a profound dislike for all sectarianism, and observations such as: "howling dervishes calling themselves Nazarenes"; "a family of Russian Mennonites - queer," are not at all uncommon. But the Pentecostals, invariably called the "Holy Rollers," called forth her special reprobation:

Holy Rollers are so called because they get very excited at their services and shriek and shout, which they call speaking in tongues. It is a form of self-hypnotism. They roll about the floor and go into a kind of a trance, remaining motionless for some time. When they come round they are said to be saved. A number get religious mania and go mad.¹

She describes another service, reported by "eye-witnesses," where the "preacher gets up and begins to speak in excited tones, gradually working himself up into a frenzy and becoming unintelligible. This is contagious, and the audience soon become frenzied also, finally rolling about the floor - hence the name by which the sect is known. When the people are in this ecstatic state they are persuaded to sign cheques for large amounts. The Holy Rollers will not come to a town unless a considerable sum is first guaranteed...."²

While Hasell disliked the Pentecostals, she never accused them of disloyalty or subversion. The same cannot be said for the Jehovah's

¹Hasell, Canyons, p. 107.

²Hasell, Across the Prairie, p. 106.

Witnesses or International Bible Students.¹ In 1926 she describes them as "a mixture of Communist and the most outlandish views on the Bible," while Sayle records: "We had a tremendous argument yesterday with a man who is...an International Bible Student.... He must have been a Communist too, but we gave him back answer for answer."² During World War II Hasell reported several Jehovah's Witnesses to the authorities for disloyalty. She castigated them for being "not at all loyal to the government of any country and are certainly undermining the Anglican, and also other Christian Churches."³ A year earlier she had written, "Many of these sects are also not loyal to Canada or the Commonwealth. They are not helping with peace and goodwill among the nations of the world."

Her battle against the sects was a life-long struggle. In 1957 she reported that "they," in this case Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals and Mormons, whose churches she sometimes refers to as "synagogues," "always have plenty of money and missionaries. They have training colleges all across Canada, cars and aeroplanes; from one college in Southern Alberta a thousand men and women finish their training each year and go as

¹Also known as "Russellites," "Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society," and "Millennial Dawnists." They are a sect founded by Charles Taze Russell (1852-1916) in the United States, but are now a world-wide organization, known commonly as Jehovah's Witnesses. Their principal characteristics involve their curious millennial concerns, intense proselytizing efforts, and refusal to acknowledge loyalty to any state.

²Letter written July 2, 1926, Dalemain papers. Hasell, Report, 1929, p. 7, writes, "I took one of their books away from a girl which said, 'Capitalists and clergy were all works of the devil'." She is incorrect when she says girls at street corners with Jehovah's Witnesses' material receive \$7 per day (Report, 1948, p. 19). This is a required discipline, not a paid position.

³Report, 1958, p. 8.

missionaries in Western Canada and Overseas."¹

In spite of her awareness of the menace of the sects, Hasell's innate sense of fairness rebelled when there was any suggestion of foul play. So she writes with indignation of the "Hutterites'" experience in a community named Wildwood: "Some of the people did not want them to settle there, so they burned their baled hay. It seemed to me a most un-Christian act."² Hutterites, living in communities closed to Hasell (and others), dressing in "strange" clothing, practicing pacifism, and non-English speaking, were natural objects for Hasell's wrath, yet she championed them when she believed them wronged.

Obviously she had mellowed in her attitude towards these "foreign" groups. She wrote, in 1962, "Pray for us that we may treat with sympathy and love the different Christian Churches and sects, and be guided by the Holy Spirit in all we say and do."³ Hasell's answer to this involved problem of Christian fragmentation was quite simple: "Our Church must do more than in the past, especially with definite teaching of the Bible for all, and simple but sound doctrine for Anglicans."⁴

Her "Theology"

This, indeed, was Hasell's answer to the whole spectrum of the world's political and social ills - "teaching of the Bible for all, and simple but sound doctrine for the Anglicans." There is no indication that Hasell was in any way touched by the Social Gospel as it swept

¹Report, 1957, p. 5. Surely the thousand in one year is an Hasellian exaggeration.

²Report, 1962, p. 18.

³Report, 1962, p. 21.

⁴Ibid., 1957, p. 15.

through the Canadian West, or that she was even aware of men such as J. S. Woodsworth, Salem Bland, A. E. Smith, or others who worked and wrote in the West, or that the Labour Church was known to her. There is a possibility, however, that she may have equated "Communist Sunday Schools" with the Labour Church schools, or their successors, the Labour Party forums. In any case, she worked in such isolation that she appears to have been quite uninformed about other religious activities or movements. Her own views of the Gospel and society were simple. She believed deeply that "We shall never have unity and peace in the world without Christianity. We shall have more and more strikes and wars."¹ Again, "We need more unselfishness and self-sacrifice in the world. That will lead to peace and goodwill amongst all men. This will prevent strikes and so disunion shall grow less and less.... Pray that all wrong doctrine, especially the denial of the Divinity of Christ and all subversive propaganda may be overcome by the teaching of the gospel of peace."²

Clearly, social ills could be overcome by "True Religion." "Many [sects] under the guise of religion, are spreading subversive propaganda. This is very dangerous, and must at all costs be offset by true Religious Teaching.... Racial discrimination can only be offset by the teaching and practice of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."³ War also could be averted. "We must do away with these fatalistic ideas that there will always be wars in the future.... Let us begin with the children and youth, teaching right ideas that God loves all His children, and

¹Report, 1965, p. 3.

²Ibid., 1957, p. 25.

³Ibid., 1962, p. 21. Note that subversion of the state is a crime against "true Religion"; she carried the doctrine of the unity of church and state with her to the grave.

wants all nations to love one another. So inspired by the Holy Spirit we may go forth as peacemakers."¹ She felt with equal conviction that "the only way to counteract atom bombs is to teach Christianity."²

The root cause of these problems was materialism, which only could be counteracted by the gospel of peace: "We have not spread Christianity as we should and a great deal of the root of the evil is money and materialism."³ "Help us to fight all the materialism in the world and to remind ourselves, 'We cannot serve God and Mammon,' to teach the gospel of peace and goodwill to all men so there may be more love among the nations of the earth."⁴ Hasell saw her mission to be a "fight against materialism and the worship of the 'almighty dollar'," but the "materialistic atmosphere" was making this vocation very difficult:

Even in the Church, sacrifice and service is not put before [young people] strongly enough, especially at confirmation age. That they are put into this world to make it a better place for others because of their life, and to hand on the faith...is not taught enough. They need to be reminded that they are 'bought with a price,' that everything they have, their brains, talents, health, also money should be used to the glory of God and the benefit of mankind, not selfishly for themselves.⁵

Her prayer is that the "Holy Spirit may inspire us to more zeal and self-sacrifice."

With her faith in the divinity of Christ, the atonement, the Holy Spirit as well as in the fatherhood of God, Hasell was obviously an orthodox Christian, as one would expect her to be. She believed in the

¹Report, 1944, p. 19.

²Ibid., 1953, p. 31.

³Ibid., 1950, p. 28.

⁴Ibid., 1956, p. 22.

⁵Ibid., 1955, p. 30.

Creed, the truths contained in the Bible and Prayer Book, and she believed in the "means of grace" as administered by a clergyman. Without doubt she assented to the Thirty-nine Articles. Those who knew her well speak of her as "quite humble as a Christian"; a "middle-of-the-road Anglican"; "not High Church nor Low Church but in the middle"; "tending from evangelical to middle Church." She disliked incense intensely but also disapproved of the informality and simplicity of the Low Churchman. The important aspect of Hasell's Christianity was obviously not her doctrinal stance within in the Church of England, but her overwhelming love for her fellowmen.

For Hasell, the Church was the great love of her life. Prayer was personal and meaningful to her and she thrilled to the prayers of dedication spoken over her and Sayle by the bishop each spring before they set out. Once she recorded the entire prayer. In 1936, at All Saints' Church in Winnipeg, Archbishop Harding intoned, "Go forth on this blessed mission in peace; hold fast that which is good; be strong and courageous; feed the lambs of the Lord Jesus Christ; strengthen, support, console; rejoice in the Presence and Power of the Holy Spirit."¹ But it was Bishop Alexander Doull who used "specially beautiful prayers," which henceforth formed the basis for the dismissal services for all vanners.² Two of the prayers, beginning "Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings," and "O God, Who bestoweth Thy mercy at all times," are ancient prayers, dating back to the old Latin Roman Catholic missal. She obviously appreciated the beauty and solemnity of this liturgy.

¹Report, 1936, p. 2.

²See Appendix VII for a copy of the entire service as supplied by Archbishop G. F. C. Jackson.

Hasell firmly believed in foreign missionary work, which included Canada. During her Carlisle days she served as a Youth Secretary for the S.P.G., and they in turn helped her financially during the first years of the caravan mission. She regularly attended St. Andrew's Church, Dacre, when she was at home, participating in the 8 o'clock Communion service as well as later Matins. She would never have a meal before the early service, considering it an offense to the intrinsic meaning of the Eucharist. Every Palm Sunday, according to the vicar, she gave a caravan lecture in the church, and every Easter supported St. Andrew's with a generous offering. Giving of herself as a missionary and of her financial means for the support of the Church were an intrinsic part of her practical "theology."

Criticism and Concern

It is evident that Eva Hasell dearly loved the Church of England. Yet her love was not without discrimination or even rather harsh criticism.

In the early years her concern was for the plight of the destitute, drought-stricken farmers of the Canadian prairies, and the lack of priests to serve them. "The Diocese [Rupert's Land] and the farmers could not find the money in these hard times, but the Church of England in other parts of the world could have done so." Again she grieved: "It seemed sad that the laity with means in England could not have sent an emergency fund to the Bishop in the drought area for these splendid clergy and their families."¹ Lack of clergymen resulted in a woman in Athabaska Diocese who had not been able to attend Communion for nineteen

¹Report, 1936, p. 5, and *ibid.*, 1937.

years, while in the Diocese of Keewatin the last service in an isolated area had been held thirty years previously. There simply were no funds to pay the priests even the meager wages they had been receiving; Hasell mourns, "It seemed so sad that these British farmers and...some poor woodsmen...should be left without the sacraments because they were without money."¹

As the years progressed, Hasell's criticism grew sharper. In 1946 she wrote, "Why are our young people not more missionary hearted? Why is it so difficult to get enough Van Workers? There is something very wrong. We need the inspiration and power of the Holy Spirit to overcome the great materialism of the present day."² When some Anglicans were baptized by a Pentecostal minister in New Brunswick, "One felt this was happening because our Church had left these people." "The Mother Church should certainly look after them [immigrants and war brides]. They have left endowments which belong to them just as much as those who stay in Britain."³ By 1950 she felt that "Our Church is not advancing but is retiring, however, it is not too late if the Anglican Church would rise to her responsibilities."⁴

Always she returns to the problem of "materialism," year after year: "So many in our Church seem so calculating, material things seem to loom large." "The 'Sects' start up Colleges and finance them. What is the matter with the Anglican Church?" "Then there is the materialistic

¹Report, 1937, p. 3.

²Ibid., 1946, p. 14.

³Ibid., 1948, pp. 17 and 27.

⁴Ibid., 1950, pp. 11-12.

spirit. No one wants to do anything without salary."¹ One basic problem for Hasell, of course, was that her vanners served without salary, and the difficulty in finding volunteers fused many of her denunciations of materialism. Love of money and lack of dedication were closely allied in Hasell's thinking, and once, after a tirade against the lack of money, she laments, "I think our Church must be lacking in spiritual power and faith."² These are strong words, but they mirror the increasing disillusionment of an aging woman, faced with the prospect of leaving her life's work without a sure knowledge of its continuance.

Already in 1950 Hasell began castigating the young priests who "go to the Episcopal Church of the States, because they get higher salaries, a car, better houses, etc.," or those who did not have "the spirit of adventure" to serve in poor, outlying areas. She became increasingly defensive when young clergymen complained that vanners were implying that they, the priests, were delinquent in their duties. Tension between them grew and in some areas it became significant. To exacerbate the situation, Hasell was not reluctant to complain about clergymen to their bishops. In one such instance, Bishop Munn of Caledonia answered sternly, that if she was of the opinion his clergy were not doing "their priestly duty, I think you cannot have met them.... I cannot imagine any more devoted, consecrated and faithful group of priests anywhere. But I feel sad that it was said, however groundless it is."³

That same summer Hasell also wrote to the Bishop of Algoma:

¹ Report, 1953, p. 30; *ibid.*, 1964, p. 3; *ibid.*, 1966, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, 1963, p. 5.

³ Letter dated July 24, 1961, in Dalemmain papers.

The young clergy do not seem to understand why I started the Van work. It was NOT to take the place of a clergyman but to help them with the Religious teaching and training of the young.... I feel there is an undercurrent among the Clergy across Canada who do not understand what the aims and objects of the Caravan Mission are or they would not try and get rid of the vans....¹

Although "getting rid of the vans" was a strong expression, there were unquestionably an increasing number of dioceses which felt they no longer needed the pioneer work done by the vanners. The situation had changed and a new era had begun. Therefore, had the Bishop of Algoma been in contact with Bishop Alexander O'Neil of the Diocese of Fredericton, he would have been aware of Hasell's near-paranoia about her caravans. Bishop O'Neil wrote Hasell in April, 1959, that because more clergymen were now available, the caravan work would not be as urgently required after that year, and she should therefore feel free to take the van where a greater need existed. She responded, not accepting the Bishop's explanation, "May I ask you to give the Real reasons. We have known each other long enough not to beat about the bush." The Bishop reiterated his original rationale for the van's removal, adding that the Synod "plans to send you special thanks.... However, it was unanimous and I do not think they will want to take time having a prolonged discussion."²

The Diocese of Rupert's Land also felt:

...that as they had Field workers, they should be sufficient to take the Bible Vacation Schools and visit the families.... He

¹Letter dated June 22, 1961, in Dalemain papers.

²Letters all dated in April, 1959, in Dalemain papers. In her Report, 1960, p. 6, Hasell mentions quite calmly, "I would like friends and subscribers in Fredericton Diocese, N. B., to know why the St. John van has been withdrawn. The new Bishop in 1959 wrote to me commending all my workers had done. He said he now had more clergy and thought there might be more needy parts of Canada, therefore for the present he did not wish me to renew the St. John van which I was just about to do."

[the Archbishop] commended the work done in the past by my workers. They would hand back to me the two caravans.... I was very sorry, as I knew the amount of work this would entail...and all the S.S.P. family in Rupert's Land could not be visited. This proved to be the case.¹

Immediately after Archbishop Barfoot's resignation, Hasell contacted the new Bishop, Dr. Clark, pointing out to him that Rupert's Land was really not able to get along without her, and offering to again put vanners into the Diocese. Dr. Clark answered politely that he must "go along with arrangements made by Archbishop Barfoot" but that he would review the situation. Fredericton, Algoma and Rupert's Land were only three of the dioceses which found their requirements altered. There were others. But Hasell blamed most of these withdrawals not on changed conditions, but on the antagonism, real or imagined, of the younger clergy, and therefore she found retrenchment a difficult process.

Her complaints took on a more serious note. In her last Report (1966) Hasell contends, "One of the clergy in an Eastern Diocese of Canada was so unsound in his teaching that his Bishop would not allow him to continue his ministry there. He had much to do with the General Board of Religious Education."² This was the culminating point of her recriminations. The G.B.R.E. had appointed the Joint Committee for van work. The G.B.R.E. in the person of Dr. Hiltz had been responsible for her problems with borrowing the "College Fund" monies from Aylmer Bosanquet's estate. The G.B.R.E. was represented on the St. Christopher's College Board which never took her advice although she was its founder. Now the G.B.R.E., she implied, was negatively influencing the doctrine of some of the clergy.

¹Report, 1960, p. 5.

²Report, 1966, p. 4.

Added to this, Hasell had not been happy with the successive sets of new materials issued by the G.B.R.E. in the last years, both because of changes in form and philosophy, and because she felt that they were entirely unsuited for her caravan work and the S.S.P.¹ She was not alone in this respect. Mrs. Bell, an S.S.P. Secretary for many years, comments:

...the writers and planners back east just didn't seem to understand what western rural life was like and based their premises on the most advanced urban educational trends.... There was one sheet, I remember, which said 'Use this after you have been out raking leaves with your child.' In the first place, not many farm mothers have time to rake leaves, even if there are any to be raked, or any reason for raking them....²

It appears as though the G.B.R.E. embodied all that frustrated Hasell in her mission work and in the Church. Yet it is important to emphasize that Hasell loved the Anglican Church, and would have defended the G.B.R.E. also, had it come under attack from outside her own communion. She regularly sent her Report to the Board, and was in contact with its General Secretary, yet the G.B.R.E. also bore the brunt of her suspicions and frustrations. Hasell was a devoted daughter of the Church but she was also its untiring critic.

Attitudes of Mind and Appearance

Hasell's criticism of the Church of England, however, was experiential and emotional. It was not an intellectual exercise. She was intelligent, but she could never be called an intellectual in the sense of action based primarily on the exercise of a studious intellect. She was certainly well educated in the manner of her time and class, but

¹In 1961 Hasell wrote, "If it [the new material] is an economy stunt it is a very bad one.... Of course it will be very dry and the Pentecostals etc. much more interesting. The Sects and the United Church and others are copying our methods and we pull out."

²Letter to author dated January 8, 1978.

Hasell never developed intensive critical reading habits, for example, which might have influenced her philosophy of life. She rarely mentions books. She did on one occasion, send someone "'The People's Life of Christ' by Patterson Smyth,"¹ and on another mentions that "books for example like 'Just think, Mr. Berton,' by Ted Byfield, the answer to 'The Comfortable Pew' are excellent,"² but otherwise the Prayer Book and Bible seem to have formed the basis of her reading. Of course she had no time to read while caravanning, and lecture tours in England were no less strenuous; still, had she been keenly studious, there would be evidence of this.

As Hasell was no scholar, neither was she fashionable in dress. Her appearance mattered little to her, as long as she was relatively clean and tidy. Nan Shipley writes that her clothes were "chosen for durable qualities, rather than modish lines - blouse, skirt and jacket of khaki, with stout shoes, rubber boots and felt hat. Even with care this costume, new in May, falls to pieces from hard wear by October. Occasionally some item meets with disaster before that time, as when a teething baby chewed holes in Miss Hasell's hat!"³ Patience Mallenson commented, "She always wore the same clothes when she was here [in Dacre], every year without a change: brown coat, hat, and ankle-high suede boots." Although there were occasions when Hasell and Sayle dressed more formally, generally they wore these "Brownie" uniforms

¹Report, 1949, p. 15. The book and author are actually John Paterson Smyth, A People's Life of Christ (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921), which went through fourteen editions. A popular book, obviously.

²Report, 1964, p. 11. Edward Bartlett Byfield, Just think, Mr. Berton (a little harder) (Winnipeg, Company of the Cross, 1965); Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1965).

³Shipley, op. cit.

everywhere, even to Cathedral services, according to Miss Elsa Bray, which is why the children of Western Canada nicknamed them "Brownies." The uniforms were made for them in Dacre-Penrith by Mrs. Richardson, a friend, while their hats were bought from "Henry Heath Limited, Hatters, Oxford Street, London" - although Hasell was indifferent, Iris Sayle was very fond of hats.

Clothes were only of practical importance to Hasell, but sometimes she used most impractical means of obtaining them. During the war, for example, while in Canada, she ordered shoes from a firm in Northampton. Of course they could not be sent because of rationing. On another occasion in February, 1942, her private secretary at Dacre Lodge, Miss G. Windsor, wrote in consternation to Miss Gladys Sayle, Iris's sister: "Yesterday the wife of one of the farm labourers here came to me and told me that she had had a letter from Miss Hasell saying that she and Miss Sayle needed mackintoshes and asking her to collect coupons in the village for them! I am afraid there are no spare ones!"¹ Eventually Miss Windsor found that no ration coupons were needed for mackintoshes so she had them made up and sent to Liverpool, only to be refused by Customs because no rubber could be exported. This incredible thoughtlessness on Hasell's part, writing from Canada to a farmer's wife in war-torn England for clothing, seems inexplicable. It remains an enigma, although it is consistent with her sense of the superiority of all things British and the sublime confidence that whatever she needed she would, somehow, receive.

¹Letter in Dalemain papers.

CHAPTER V

THE LATER YEARS

Van Work

The number of vans on the road peaked in the 1950's. There were thirty vans from 1951 to 1954, then thirty-one from 1955 to 1959, with sixty-two vanners, working in fifteen dioceses.¹ Thereafter vanning began to decline. By 1966 there were only twenty-three caravans in eleven dioceses. In 1967 an additional eight vans were unused because of lack of volunteers - "Expo has added to the difficulty of finding workers and also Centennial projects." Where before only expenses were provided, now Miss Hasell offered small bursaries to students who volunteered. This, and the addition of a camper truck in 1972 seem to be the only alterations Hasell made in her programme.

Honours and the Jubilee Year

Miss Hasell had been honoured with the Order of the British Empire (M.B.E.) in 1935, and on May 5, 1964, she became the first woman to be awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity, honoris causa, by the University of Emmanuel College.² Then on October 28, 1969 she was invested with the

¹The dioceses were: Algoma, Athabaska, Brandon, Caledonia, Calgary, Cariboo, Fredericton, Keewatin, Kootenay, Moosonee, Nova Scotia, Qu'Appelle, Rupert's Land, Saskatchewan, Yukon.

²The name of the degree granting institution under which the Anglican College of Emmanuel and St. Chad is organized in affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, according to Rev. Eric Bays of the College.

Medal of Service of the Order of Canada, which entitled her to use the initials S. M. after her name. Although the Order of Canada is for Canadians, and Miss Hasell stated, "I am proud to be a Canadian," there is, strangely enough, no official record according to the Department of the Secretary of State, that she ever formally became a citizen of this country.¹ Be that as it may, the Canadian Government formally took cognizance of her service as a valuable contribution to the lives of thousands of the country's isolated citizens.

Nineteen Seventy marked her Jubilee Year. Hasell was now eighty-four years old and still on vans every summer. The Jubilee was celebrated in March at St. Andrew's, Dacre, by a service of thanksgiving arranged by the vicar, Rev. Kenneth Smith, and conducted by the Bishop of Carlisle. The Canadian flag flew from the church tower in honour of the occasion. Florence Seager, a former vanner, attended the service and wrote, "...we thought both [Hasell and Sayle] were looking worn out when we saw them. It was a most impressive Service in Dacre Church; and Miss Hasell walked up in the processional with such dignity for so small a person."² In Regina, Saskatchewan, Archbishop G. F. C. Jackson led a similar service on June 7, attended by former vanners and S.S.P. pupils, as well as by both Hasell and Sayle, who had just arrived in Canada. And as a tribute to her work, Rev. William Portman published the booklet, Frontier Odyssey: Canadian Sunday School Caravan Mission 1920-1970.

Friends suggested to Hasell that this was a propitious time to retire. Sayle went into hospital in Edinburgh during the year to be

¹Official search dated November 30, 1977.

²Letter to Miss Atherton Radcliffe, dated November 3, 1970, in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle Archives, Regina.

treated with the new L. DOPA pills for her Parkinson's Disease, and although the medication helped her considerably, she was far from well. Her family was deeply concerned. But Hasell remained adamant. She would never retire, she maintained, and so Iris Sayle, too, endured.

Decline

Yet indications that Hasell was failing were everywhere evident. As early as 1950, she began to reminisce extensively in her Reports, something she had not done previously. She also repeated the same information several times in the course of one Report, and began to include absolutely irrelevant material. Her style of writing, never smooth and flowing, became extremely choppy. But a cause for greater alarm was that the ever-buoyant Hasell began to sound weary and harassed.¹ Yet there was also always an element of unexpected, eternal youth bubbling up in her. For example, when she first saw modern "rock" dancing at a party in England during these latter years, she thoroughly approved of it and thought it looked like fun!

Hasell's formal Reports became irregular after 1966. In 1967 she wrote a personal account of her work for Canon Jefferson of the G.B.R.E., but it was in typescript and only two pages in length, compared to the usual printed format of about thirty pages. In it she complained that her report was incomplete because she had not yet received all those from her vanners. Rev. William Portman contends, "Many reports to her in later years were faked by vanners in collusion with diocesan authorities - to show that her policies were being continued when in fact diocesan needs as were then apparent were not being met. This was necessary because

¹For examples see especially Report 1954, 1964, 1965, 1966.

Miss Hasell controlled the purse strings."¹ There is no other evidence of such collusion but then it is not the kind of information contained in minutes of meetings or committee reports. In any case, the Report for 1970-1971 appears to have been the final issue.

Hasell and Sayle came home in August, 1971, instead of December as had been their habit, and although they returned to Canada in 1972, it was a short and rather painful stay. Sayle by this time had great difficulty in moving about freely and it was only sheer determination which kept her mobile to any extent at all. It was in 1972 also, that Hasell requested Miss Katrine Alexander and Miss Doreen Savery, both active in the caravan mission, to come to Canada, in her words, to "reorganize the fleet." As a result, twenty vans were sold, while eleven were kept in the dioceses. It was Hasell's first step in relinquishing control of the mission.

Whether it was Iris Sayle's wisdom or whether Hasell finally capitulated may never be known, but on January 8, 1973, Hasell circulated a letter informing her constituency:

Katrina [sic] Alexander and Doreen Savery have been appointed as Assistant Treasurer and Secretary, and communications are to go through them.

The fund will still be at the Midland Bank, Penrith, and a small Committee is being formed to deal with various aspects of the work. Jennifer Haynes, on the staff of the Derby Training College, will be one member who will interview candidates when desired....

At about the same time Iris Sayle wrote to Archbishop Scott, as Primate of Canada, about proposed changes in the organization of the Caravan Mission, suggesting two committees to co-ordinate the work - one in England, and a Canadian Policy Committee in Toronto to look after

¹Letter to the author dated January 12, 1977.

administrative details. Hasell was finally surrendering her absolute control. Yet life seemed to retain its interest for her. In a letter to Ruth Manning, a former vanner, dated February 7, 1973, Hasell mentions, "Iris and I seem to keep busy all the time, although we are not going to Canada this year." Not only were they not going to Canada, however, these two indomitable old ladies--Hasell was eighty-seven and Sayle was seventy-nine--were home in England to stay. Although Sayle's mind was perfectly lucid, she was physically unable to continue. Her illness was causing her to fall more and more frequently, and finally she broke her hip and was hospitalized. She died peacefully in hospital on August 6, 1973.

Hasell also had been failing for some time. Whether she had a stroke or whether it was arteriosclerosis is not clear. She became very difficult, quarreling even with Sayle while the latter was still alive. Yet as long as Iris was near her, Hasell was more easily managed. After Iris's death, however, Eva's deterioration accelerated. Miss Tait, a long-time resident of Dacre Lodge and a good friend, called her a "dark edition of Queen Victoria" in her loneliness. She wandered pathetically from room to room in Dacre Lodge, looking for Sayle, her companion for forty-seven years, and calling her name.

Yet Hasell still washed up after lunch at times, as had always been her habit, and did her private laundry, but she was no longer responsible for her actions. Once, during this last time, she slipped alone and unnoticed out of the house, through the fields and into her beloved Dacre Church where she was finally found by her frightened staff. Mrs. Bernard, the District Nurse, began stopping in regularly and there were various private nurses, with Sister Pye staying for several months. She would

drive Hasell into the countryside and during these rides Eva seemed less confused and very contented. She knew all the area round about Dacre intimately, and loved to absorb the beauty of the hills and brooks, forests and lakes. But even the most capable nurses found her difficult, and finally the decision was made by her family to put her in a nursing home.

Mr. Michael Verey, her solicitor and heir, was in southern England, therefore the burden of making arrangements fell on Margaret Washington and Sylvia McCosh, daughters of Mrs. Edward Hasell of Dalemain. Mrs. Washington writes, "I would say the family as a whole helped when and where necessary. Mr. Verey was insistent no money should be spared to make her comfortable, and let us do what was necessary...."¹

As Hasell altered for the worse--one friend said, "Her mind seemed to cease"--she was hospitalized with a nurse in constant attendance. Doreen Savery recalls, "The last time I saw her when earthly things were passing, I said in farewell, 'God bless you' and such a lovely light came over her face. The dawn of a greater light to come."²

Eva Hasell died quietly in her sleep on May 3, 1974, in her eighty-ninth year. Miss Savery, remembering the difficulties as well as the triumphs of the long years for both Iris Sayle and Eva Hasell, quoted Bishop Moule with references from Pilgrim's Progress, "The last care... felt, the last exhausting effort...made, the last witness under difficulties borne, the last sorrow faced and entered, the last words spoken.... Then I heard in my dream that all the bells in the City rang for joy, and

¹Letter to the author dated December 9, 1977.

²Letter to the author dated July 24, 1977.

that it was said, 'Enter thou into the joy of our Lord'."¹

Not many came to Hasell's funeral on Friday, May 10, at Dacre Parish Church. As Miss Isobel Richardson says, not many came because the local people no longer knew her, and the many who knew and loved her were an ocean away. But those who did gather were a distinguished company. They included the rich and well-born, former vanners, household staff, old friends. The Bishop of Carlisle read the Lesson. The Government of Canada was represented. Bishop W. H. H. Crump addressed the congregation on behalf of Archbishop E. W. Scott. Even the Times of London honoured her in her death with an editorial, "A Tribute to Miss Eva Hasell," which appeared on May 6, 1974.

On Sunday, August 10, 1975, Archbishop Scott, Primate of Canada, officiated in St. Andrew's Church, Dacre, at the dedication of a memorial to Eva Hasell. He reaffirmed the value of her work in Canada, and reiterated the intention of the Anglican Church to continue it.

The Caravan Mission After 1973

The caravan mission did not "go out like the snuff of a candle" when Eva Hasell relinquished control in early 1973, as she had feared. In a very concrete way, however, both Sayle and Hasell had themselves contributed to its continuity, for Sayle left a legacy of £500 to the mission, and Hasell £10,000, from her total fortune valued at £200,000 before taxes.²

¹D. Savery, "Western Canada S.S. Caravan Mission," n.d.

²According to a letter dated January 25, 1978, from Mr. Verey, "All estates are open for anybody to see, and in Eva's case she left property, stocks and shares, personal possessions, jewellery, etc., to the total of £200,000. The estate duty payable to the Government was approximately £100,00 and of that sum she left rather over £10,000 to Canadian charities of which £10,000 has gone to the Caravan Mission. It will perhaps be

During that first post-Hasell summer of 1973, caravans were active in the Dioceses of Qu'Appelle, Caledonia, Calgary and Saskatchewan. In a letter to Ruth Manning, Hasell included Moosonee and Nova Scotia as well, but Miss Savery does not mention them in her report. There was definitely interest in continuing the mission, as Bishop Crump had already stated at Hasell's funeral: "We in Canada intend to carry on the work she began and directed for fifty-four years. It will be adapted to the changing times and needs but we will remember her great objective: 'To take religious education to the family and help the parents to teach their own children and so make God and His world more wonderful'." Now (1974) Archdeacon G. E. Hobson wrote to Miss Alexander confirming the Church's desire to maintain the mission, but "in a manner that meets the present needs in a realistic way and at the same time carried on the vision of Miss Hasell and Miss Sayle." Miss Alexander sympathized with this emphasis, for she recognized that Miss Hasell "didn't quite realize how times were changing and when sometimes vans were no longer appropriate."

With this predisposition the work was established as a Canadian organization under the name "Western Canada Sunday School Caravan Fund" (W.C.S.S.C.F.). A constitution, to be effective January 1, 1974, was formulated.¹

thought that this was a rather small sum related to her fortune but it should be remembered that she always regarded the half share which she received from her sister to be something which she should never dip into as it was earmarked for me. She would, therefore, have regarded herself as ending up after duty with only \$50,000, of which she gave a fifth to the Mission and a good many other charities, I believe, benefited from legacies which she put in her will." Dorothy Hasell had made her will in 1919 and never altered it, leaving instructions to Eva to leave the money to Michael John Verrey, a first cousin to Hasell's father.

¹ See Appendix XIII for a copy of the Constitution.

The W.C.S.S.C.F. agreed "to make funds available not only for the ongoing diocesan programs but also capital funding should be made available to assist in the purchase of vehicles. It was also agreed that it is now the responsibility of the individual dioceses to recruit the workers for the summer programs in their dioceses."¹

So the work continues to the present day. When the British Fund closed in 1975, Miss Alexander, as treasurer, transferred to the W.C.S.S.C.F. a cheque for \$5,000. In 1976 the program in the Diocese of Cariboo supported a theological student who provided "leadership to a group of young people struggling with their identity and their relationship to the Church structure."² In Moosonee a Christian education program carried out by the "Wind Children" from California was financed. In the Dioceses of Calgary, Athabaska and Saskatchewan volunteers operated vans in the traditional manner, while in Qu'Appelle funds were made available to assist in the purchase of a school bus to transport Indian children and adults from Gordon's Reserve to services and activities at St. David's Church, Punnichy. This was a far cry from Hasell's original methods, but true to her vision and in tune with "the present needs in a realistic way."

¹From the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the W.C.S.S.C.M.F. The word "Mission" was added officially to the title at this same meeting.

²Report of the W.C.S.S.C.F., 1976, p. 74, which also contains the information in the above paragraph.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

It is not a simple matter to assess Eva Hasell and her work. She was a product of her time and class, as was her unflagging desire to serve her Church and country.

In the rural areas of Western Canada, early in her career, she was well ahead of her time in teaching methods and innovativeness and Mrs. Clifford Bell, who knew her for many years said, "She was always willing to listen to new ideas and was not averse to change (in fact was often very interested in innovations) but she knew very well that not all change is either necessary or good...so she stuck to what she had learned from experience."¹

It is precisely at the point of her "experience," however, that she can be accused of becoming a reactionary in later years, because she seemed to "freeze" her thinking, her methods and her attitudes "at the period between the wars, or at the latest, the early 50's"² so that ever thereafter "experience" became her shibboleth. If an area needed vans in 1926 it must still need vans in 1966, although rural circumstances in most places had been transformed; if vanners were volunteers in 1922, they should still be volunteers in 1972 although social and financial

¹Letter to the author, dated January 8, 1978.

²Rev. William Portman expresses this view of Hasell in a letter to the author dated January 12, 1977.

conditions had changed beyond recognition.

Nor did "experience" essentially reshape Hasell's character. Rather the reverse is true, that her personality shaped her work. Except for a slight softening of attitude--towards "foreigners" and the United Church of Canada, for example--there is little or nothing to indicate that Hasell's character altered significantly over the years. Her strong personality and equally inexorable convictions, which, if anything, rigidified as she grew older, aroused in many of her colleagues an ambivalent attitude. This was especially true of her association with those in positions of power - bishops, the G.B.R.E., and various levels of government. But it may well be that a pioneer work as comprehensive and demanding as that of Miss Hasell requires an autocratic personality in order to succeed. One need only look at two of her compatriots, Bishop G. E. Lloyd and Dr. P. J. Andrews of the F.M.L., as concrete examples. Yet in interactions with those around her, there is one voice recalling Hasell as "very warm, affectionate and sincere," for every voice impressed with her as "dictatorial and imperious."

Hasell retained a strong need to be in absolute command throughout her long years of service in Canada. Every detail must be her decision, or so it would appear. Iris Sayle attended every meeting and sat in on every conference,¹ howbeit, unofficially, and surely her opinion carried considerable weight with Hasell. "Miss Sayle was always with her," Mrs. Bell recalls, "one really cannot think of Miss Hasell without thinking also of Miss Sayle. They were a team and complemented each other."

¹See, for example, the minutes of the Joint Van Committee, where Hasell is invariably listed under "Members present" and Sayle under "Also attending."

Under these circumstances, it would be almost inconceivable that many decisions and opinions voiced by Hasell were not actually reached in consultation with Sayle. Yet Sayle received no honour, no publicity. Nor did she seek it. Had she done so, her relationship with Hasell could never have survived.

Hasell's need to control may also have been responsible for her sense of being indispensable and therefore refusing to retire. Against all advice from friends and family, she remained active until she was eighty-six. Instead of handing the onerous task of leadership to an associate or to a committee while she herself assumed a less demanding role, she tenaciously retained absolute authority until both she and her mission began to flounder seriously. It was a combination of simply staying on too long and of changing circumstances in Canada which she refused to recognize.

Hasell's strong sense of the necessity of the imperial connection also became outdated. As late as March, 1970, an article in the Church Times acclaimed, "...the British Empire is stronger and happier because of the work of Eva Hasell." Yet Canada as a nation had grown to maturity within a Commonwealth no longer an Empire, while still maintaining its loyalty to the Crown. The Church of England in Canada also became autonomous financially and master in its own house, changing its name to the Anglican Church of Canada. This is by no means to say that connections with the Mother Church ceased. But money now flowed in both directions and the Canadian Church had its independent voice on the councils of world-wide Anglicanism. In spite of recognizing this independence of the Canadian Church, and in spite of a softening in her attitude towards "foreigners," Hasell's sense of the superiority of all things British

remained with her until the end. And understandably so, considering her age and upbringing and her experience of Canada.

Having said all this, it is nevertheless irrefutable that Eva Hasell's work yielded rich returns. This is attested to by the number of children baptized, confirmed and taught the Scriptures through her efforts and those of her vanners. It is the witness of the young clergyman thanking Hasell, saying "his earliest recollection as a boy was the Sunday School Van coming around..., the workers staying a week giving Bible and Prayer Book lessons and enrolling him on the S.S.P. There are so many young clergy who have had the same experience."¹ It is echoed by the considerable number of young soldiers during World War II who sent money to her from their first pay cheques to show their gratitude for her help during their early years. It is evidenced by the touching letters from the lonely, the isolated and the desperately needy.

Hasell worked "in season and out of season" on behalf of these unknown and religiously uncommitted thousands. Rev. Kenneth Naylor eulogized, "I was speaking once to a woman worker in another Communion than our own; she commented, 'There is one reason I should like to belong to the Church of England, they have the Sunday School Mission Caravan'."² Hasell also did much to keep isolated Anglicans faithful to their Church, and it is not without reason that Archbishop Harding said of her, "In my judgment the Mission has accomplished one of the most valuable pieces

¹Report, 1954, p. 9. This includes some bishops, such as the Rt. Rev. David Somerville.

²Xeroxed "Letter to the Editor," Montreal Churchman, n.d., in General Synod Archives, Toronto.

of mission work ever undertaken by our Communion in Western Canada."¹

The words of an expression of thanks voted to Hasell by the General Synod in 1950 are succinct and still applicable. She was "a source of untold blessing and inspiration through personal visitations on endless trails, through Bible instruction and Church teaching. [She] brought together Vans, teachers, and drivers and Sunday School by Post secretaries to do a great and demanding task. [She] raised large sums of money in the Old Land and in Canada by ceaseless and intensive effort."

Hasell's work, then, was appreciated by her Church and by the settlers to whom she ministered. Some of her weaknesses--fierce determination, sublime self-confidence, autocracy--were also strengths in certain circumstances. Although her faults of personality were exacerbated by advancing age, these must not be allowed to dim the splendour of the work which she accomplished.

¹Report, 1944, p. 20.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I (A)

17.--NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS IN CANADA, 1897-1920.

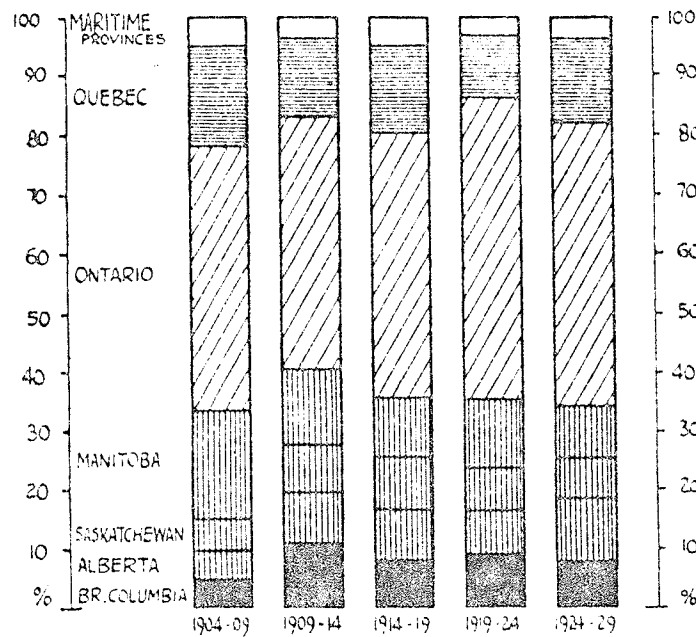
Fiscal Years	IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS FROM			Total	Fiscal Years	IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS FROM			Total
	United Kingdom	United States	Other Countries			United Kingdom	United States	Other Countries	
	No.	No.	No.	No.		No.	No.	No.	No.
1897 ¹ ...	11,383	2,412	7,921	21,716	1909....	52,901	59,832	34,175	146,908
1898 ¹ ...	11,173	9,119	11,608	31,900	1910....	59,790	103,798	45,206	208,794
1899 ¹ ...	10,660	11,945	21,938	44,543	1911....	123,013	121,451	66,620	311,084
1900 ² ...	5,141	8,543	10,211	23,895	1912....	138,121	133,710	82,406	354,237
1901....	11,810	17,987	19,352	49,149	1913....	150,542	139,009	112,881	402,432
1902....	17,259	26,388	23,732	67,379	1914....	142,622	107,530	134,726	384,878
1903....	41,792	49,473	37,099	128,364	1915....	43,276	59,779	41,734	144,789
1904....	50,374	45,171	34,786	130,331	1916....	8,664	36,937	2,936	48,537
1905....	65,359	43,543	37,364	146,266	1917....	8,282	61,389	5,703	75,374
1906....	86,796	57,796	44,472	189,064	1918....	3,178	71,314	4,582	79,074
1907 ³ ...	55,791	34,659	34,217	124,667	1919....	9,914	40,715	7,073	57,702
1908....	120,182	58,312	83,975	262,469	1920....	59,603	49,656	8,077	117,336

¹Calendar year. ²Six months, January to June, inclusive. ³Nine months ended March 31.

Taken from The Canada Yearbook, 1920, p. 120.

APPENDIX I (B)

DESTINATION OF BRITISH IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA (VIA OCEAN PORTS)



TOTAL IMMIGRANTS

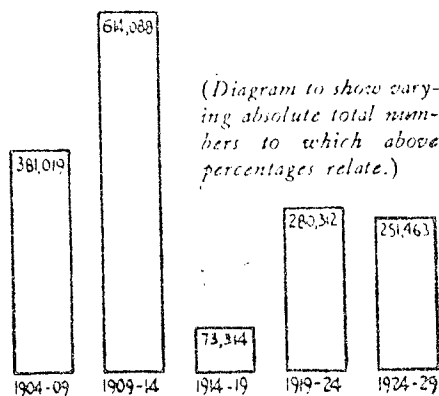


FIG. 3.—Destination of British Immigrants to Canada, 1904-1929.

Reynolds, Lloyd G., The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 42.

APPENDIX I (C)

BRITISH IMMIGRATION TO CANADA 1900-1920

There were reasons of attraction to the new country as well as reasons for departure from the old for the large numbers of British immigrants to Canada.

The allurement for the period 1900-1914, included relatively high wages for skilled workers in Canadian industry, continuous employment, and free land in the West. The Canadian government also actively promoted immigration with vigorous propaganda, opening immigration branch offices, and using various means of advertisement, as well as offering bonuses to agents for each immigrant secured. Railway and steamship lines were equally active in soliciting for immigrants.

Then there were the elements of "regional myth" in which the Canadian West symbolized the frontier which was competitive and individualistic, where there was social equality; where there were fewer corrupting influences, and where there was faith in education and in the political system.

Howard Palmer summarizes other reasons for this "mighty movement of people" to the Canadian West, especially in the period to 1914: "The Yukon gold rush, the completion of the first trans-continental railway and the building of other lines, the closing of the American frontier, [and] new developments in dry land farming...."¹

¹Howard Palmer, ed., Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturation (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975), p. 7.

The impetus for emigration on the other hand, involved factors such as the rigidity of the British occupational and class structures, and the naked reality that British industry was "no longer able to promise the worker either security of employment or a steadily rising standard of life."¹

The British Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905 assisted approximately 21,000 men to emigrate, while voluntary and charitable organizations such as the Salvation Army aided between ten and fifteen thousand emigrants annually.

After World War I emigration from Britain was concentrated between the years 1919 and 1929, but with numbers only half as large as in the decade preceding the War. This post-1918 wave was caused largely by results of the War, during which large numbers of men "acquired habits of physical and mental mobility," both as soldiers and as industrial workers. A free-passage scheme for ex-servicemen helped 26,650 men to emigrate to Canada between 1919 and 1922, while the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 empowered the British government to spend up to £1,500,000 annually for fifteen years, partially to help emigration as a means of "redistributing the white population of the Empire," according to Reynolds!

One other factor which should be noted as peculiar to British emigration and of importance to Eva Hasell and the Anglican Church, is the prevalence of emigration in family units, indicated by the high proportion of children under ten years of age--15.3% as compared with 9.7% for European immigrants.²

¹So Floyd G. Reynolds, The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 43.

²See Reynolds, op. cit., p. 47.

Small wonder that the Church of England was concerned for its communicants among the 1,600,196 (1904-1929) immigrants to Canada. And as Eva Hasell states, "It was the British immigration of 1913 and 1918 which called me to the prairies...."

APPENDIX II

THE ARCHBISHOP'S WESTERN CANADA FUND

AND THE RAILWAY MISSION

The Railway Mission, at its peak in 1914, was able to report that thirty-five churches, mainly wooden buildings designed to hold from seventy-five to a hundred people and costing from \$200 to \$400, had been built, "in addition to nine vicarage-shacks and seven stables. Seven churches formerly under the mission had been termed 'on their feet' and turned over to the diocese,"¹ while fifty-eight congregations received regular services.

The A.W.C.F., during the ten years of its existence (1910-1920) had attracted 138 workers (instead of the projected 500), obtained 168 sites and actually built a total of seventy churches as well as twenty-five parsonages.

In his article on the A.W.C.F., Dean David J. Carter presents the critique of Roland Allen who researched the Mission extensively:

He claimed that the Great War was not the real cause of any failure to attain the ends and objects of the A.W.C.F....it was obvious by 1913 that the missions had fallen far short of the mark in terms of finances and manpower. The War dealt a death blow to the work and left a convenient excuse for the collapse of the mission.... Mr. Allen criticized the missionaries for organizing as if there would be a full supply of clergy readily available from England to carry on the work. They overbuilt... 70 [sic] churches had been built but by 1924 only 34 [sic] of

¹D. J. Carter, "The Archbishops' Western Canada Fund and the Railway Mission," Saskatchewan History, Vol. XXII, No. 1 (Winter, 1969) which is the basic source for the material in this section.

them were having services. Mr. Allen faulted the missionaries for overstressing the need to come to church services and to contribute. He also faulted them for attempting to run a large number of little congregations precisely as a clergyman in England would run a parish. There is not a shadow of a doubt that many of the missionaries sent out under A.W.C.F. were exceedingly good men, and some of them very able men. They were simply in bondage to a tradition."¹

Carter essentially agrees with Allen's critique, but points out that Allen himself overlooked the problems inherent in the Anglican Church at the time: The name, "The Church of England in Canada," was a drawback to working with nationalities other than English. Then too, "The missionaries had a close identity with England, possibly they had difficulties in identifying themselves with the Western Canadian growing experience. They saw themselves as being primarily chaplains to Anglicans. They came from the background of a National established church and found Canada a radically different situation."²

To mark the closing of the A.W.C.F., a special service was held in Westminster Abbey on June 8, 1920. The money raised at this service, £36,000, was presented to the Dioceses of Calgary, Edmonton and Qu'Appelle as a parting gift. These funds are still held in trust by the Central Board of Finance, and are available only for mission stations in the dioceses named.³ According to the Qu'Appelle Occasional Paper, monies from this source have been used for the repair and furnishings of the mission house in Regina; equipment of single missionaries working in pioneer areas; outfit grants for newly-ordained deacons, and so forth.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 25

² Ibid., p. 27.

³ S.P.G. Report, Vol. 1920-1923, p. 15.

⁴ Occasional Paper No. 151 (Winter, 1931), p. 10.

Carter ends his informative and interesting article by affirming that the A.W.C.F. "represented a relatively fresh missionary approach to an emergency situation. They came, they saw - maybe in their hard work they didn't conquer" but they certainly put forth every effort.

APPENDIX III

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S COLLEGE, BLACKHEATH¹

The proposal for establishing a Church of England college for the training of workers in religious education was first suggested by Rev. William Hume Campbell, M.A., at a Sunday School Institute meeting in July, 1908. On October 6 of the same year the intention became a concrete resolution and on February 3, 1909, St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, London, was formally opened by Archbishop, Randall Davidson of Canterbury.

Three resident and two non-resident students were enrolled, and in the third term, Miss Winnifred M. Ticehurst joined the group. She was to become Eva Hasell's first vaning companion. By the time Ticehurst received her certificate (October 12, 1914) Miss Aylmer Bosanquet, Miss Nona Clarke and Eva Hasell, among others, had also enrolled. All four were eventually to work in western Canada.

Although the College was designed specifically for training workers in religious education, its students were not exclusively women as has sometimes been suggested. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) for example, sent two clergymen to Madras, India, in 1916, who had received training at the school, while the records list four priests taking courses in 1919. Occasionally parish priests interested

¹The research for the content of this study was done in the archives of the National Society, Dean's Court, London.

particularly in children's work also enrolled in particular courses.

The College offered lectures primarily in theology, history, psychology and method, with lectures bearing titles such as: "Limelight Views on Italian Artists"; "Education as the Science of Putting in as well as Drawing Out"; "Locke as an Educationalist" and many others. The main thrust, however, was on how to teach religious education to children, and classes were conducted on the training of Sunday School children from the lowest levels to adolescence. One example of methods used must suffice. The Principal and founder of the College, Rev. W. H. Campbell, journeyed to Palestine for authentic Biblical background in such areas as the Eastern life-style--clothes, houses, grinding stones--and St. Christopher's students were then taught to make models to depict Biblical times so children could better understand the Biblical narratives.

When a student graduated from the College as a certified organizer, he/she would give talks to teachers, demonstrate model lessons and visit Sunday Schools to see how teaching methods could be improved.

From 1909 to 1936 St. Christopher's was linked with the Sunday School Institute. In 1936 this organization merged with the National Society to become the Central Council for Religious Education, and the "Trust Deeds" of the College passed to the Central Council. In 1948 the Church Assembly Council for Education was formed to take the place of the Central Council while the National Society became independent, although it continued to make contributions to St. Christopher's. In 1955 the Church Assembly assumed responsibility for this payment.

The College was now seen as having two objectives: To be a study and research centre in Religious Education; and to provide adequate training for Diocesan and parochial advisors ("Scripture Specialists") and for

"voluntary religious education leaders from Dioceses or Parishes at home or overseas who require courses of varying length."

The decision to move out of London to a university town was also made at this time, as well as an interesting discussion initiated on whether the Principal should be a man or a woman. It was decided that the "right person" for the position was more important than either "sex or ordination," and consequently Miss K. M. Darroch, M.A., B.D., was appointed Head from July, 1963. The College, after selling its Blackheath buildings to the Church Army, moved to Canterbury in September, 1963, while its students worked for Cambridge College Certificates.

On October 18, 1965, a meeting of the Executive Committee responsible for the College decided to close St. Christopher's by the end of the year because of lack of students--there was one full-time student in residence at the time, although there were also seven lodgers.

In 1969 the funds of the institution were placed in the "St. Christopher's College Education Trust." Should the time come when the Church of England decides there is again a need for St. Christopher's and a plan is submitted, then the "Secretary of State would have to be asked to approve [this] new scheme and that in framing such a scheme any positive recommendations of the Commission on Religious Education established by the National Society in association with the Church of England Board of Education over which the Bishop of Durham is Chairman should be taken into account."¹ Under these conditions, the College could again spring into life.

¹Minutes of the National Society, July 9, 1968.

APPENDIX IV

Three Reasons why I wish my Daughter to be a G. F. S. Member.

1. Because I like her to have good friends wherever she goes, who will encourage her to keep steady and respectable, and will help her in any difficulty when she is away from her parents.
2. Because the Girls' Friendly Society offers her many useful means of help, such as Bible and other Classes, Respectable Lodgings, pleasant Recreation Rooms, and Convalescent Homes and Homes of Rest if she is ill or overworked.
3. Because I like her to feel that she can help other girls by setting an example of steadiness and quietness of manner, and by being a good friend to those who are younger or more easily led than she is herself.

CENTRAL RULES.

1. Associates to be of the Church of England (no such restriction being made as to Members), and the organization of the Society to follow as much as possible that of the Church, being diocesan, ruri-decanal, and parochial.
2. Associates (working and Honorary) and Members to contribute annually to the funds; the former *not less* than 2s. 6d. a-year, the latter *not less* than 6d. a-year.* Members' payments to go to the Central Fund.
3. No girl who has not borne a virtuous character to be admitted as a Member; such character being lost, the Member to forfeit her card.

OBJECTS.

1. To band together in one Society ladies as Associates and girls and young women as Members, for mutual help (religious and secular), for sympathy, and prayer.
2. To encourage purity of life, dutifulness to parents, faithfulness to employers, temperance, and thrift.
3. To provide the privileges of the Society for its Members, wherever they may be, by giving them an introduction from one Branch to another.

* Every Member of a Branch pays 1s. a-year, of which 6d. is paid to the Central Fund, and the other 6d. is retained for the expenses of the Branch.



TO WORKING MOTHERS:

A Word about the G.F.S.

THE Girls' Friendly Society, founded in 1875, has an object different from that of many good and excellent societies for girls. It is meant to join together women and girls of all kinds of different positions in life who have always borne a virtuous character, and no one who has not done so can join its ranks.

Since it was first founded it has grown very much, both in the number of girls who have joined it and in the number of places where Branches of it are to be found. There are over 200,000 Members and Associates belonging to it in England alone, and it is to be found in Canada, the United States, South Africa, Australia, and many other parts of the world. All who belong to it are bound to show by their example and by their modest manners that they know that the good character of a woman or girl is the greatest treasure that she can have, and is of the highest value, not only to herself, but to her parents, her neigh-

bours, the man she may marry, and the children she may bring up.

We know how hard it is often for girls to keep themselves respectable when they are far away from their homes, and have no one they know to take an interest in them. This Society is called the Girls' Friendly Society because it seeks to provide friends for the girls wherever they may go, who are interested in their keeping respectable. The Associate who admits the girl into the Girls' Friendly Society is bound to be a friend to her while she is living at home, and mothers know how often a little bit of wise advice from a friend will help a girl to be a better daughter and a better sister. When she goes to another place a letter is sent by her home Associate to an Associate in the place where she is going to live, who will be a friend to her there, and may introduce her to other respectable girls so that she may have a nice set of friends of her own age. If she is ill or wants help or advice in her new home she can go at once to this Associate, who will do all she can to help her.

If a girl has not to leave her home, and even does not need to be befriended in a

strange place, she may yet be able to help others by joining the Girls' Friendly Society. No one can help girls so well as one of themselves. If a girl is inclined to be thoughtless or to get herself into trouble by reckless ways, no one can make her so ashamed of herself as a girl friend whom she respects, and who she knows would be ashamed of her if she 'let herself down.' The Girls' Friendly Society offers girls the help of good friends for themselves, and the opportunity of being good friends to other girls who want help which they can give. We want all kinds of girls, of all classes, and all ranks, and occupations, to fight side by side in the battle which has to be fought on behalf of purity and modesty, and to help each other like soldiers in the same regiment when the enemy is before them.

And if you like your girls to join this Society while quite little, so that they may be trained early in modest and helpful ways, they can be enrolled as Candidates till they are old enough to be admitted as Members. We shall be especially glad if you will bring them to us yourselves, to show that you trust them to us.

APPENDIX V (A)

SUNDAY SCHOOL BY POST

The work of the Sunday School by Post (S.S.P.) was begun in 1905 when Mrs. Gwynne, a Sunday School superintendent in the parish of Grenfell, Saskatchewan, became concerned about the ten to sixteen children in her church unable to attend Church School because of distance and other reasons. With the co-operation of the Rev. T. C. Beal, the rector, she began typing out lessons and sending them to the children, who then returned their written assignments for marking. Soon she had 200 children in the surrounding countryside on her mailing list. According to T. C. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies, (Toronto, 1962), Archdeacon Lloyd of the diocese of Saskatchewan adopted the plan for this diocese, ca. 1906.¹ Other dioceses followed suit, until it had spread to all the Western Canadian dioceses and some Eastern ones, like Keewatin and Quebec.

The S.S.P. is really a "correspondence school in religious education," and with growing enrollment, the preparation of lessons passed out

¹In G. A. Kubring, ed., The Church and the Newcomer (Toronto, n.d.), p. 105, it is stated that Bishop Lloyd conceived the plan when he was Archdeacon but both Boon, op. cit., and Embury, History of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, n.p., 1953, credit Mrs. Gwynne. Bishop Carrington, on the other hand, states, "Sunday School by Post, which was based on a weekly correspondence system, had been first devised in Tasmania, and was introduced into Canada by Bishop Lloyd...." (Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada [Toronto: Collins, 1963], p. 255), while Occasional Papers, No. 155(1933):p. 2, maintains, "The scheme of the S.S.P. was first started by Bishop Montgomery, and was begun in Qu'Appelle in 1923."

of the hands of local people to be prepared and published by the General Board of Religious Education (G.B.R.E.).

The G.B.R.E. regularly sent lessons graded in difficulty to these isolated children, and for dioceses just beginning this work, G.B.R.E. provided a limited amount of literature free of charge. With frontier conditions and resultant poverty, it was felt inadvisable to charge the children directly for their lessons in any case, so only families able to do so contributed to the cost.

The initial expense of organizing S.S.P. was met by a grant from the diocese. With literally thousands of children enrolled,¹ however, the cost could be quite overwhelming, so Hasell contributed to the project regularly. In her Report of 1941 she records that the W.A. also had voted to give \$5,000 to pay for papers and postage where these costs could not be carried by individuals.

Usually the work of marking was carried on in some diocesan centre under the direction of a superintendent or secretary. Often this work of marking the papers and sending out lesson materials was done by volunteers. The materials were sent either every four weeks or every quarter, according to the courses being taken. Often personal letters were included by the children when they returned their lessons, and these were answered by those returning the papers. Whenever possible, "good magazines" or other reading material was sent with the lessons to help meet an urgent need in isolated homes.

The children were encouraged to write the Annual Examination

¹The exact number cannot be ascertained because there was never a central S.S.P. headquarters. Being under diocesan control, with much of the work voluntary, not all areas kept accurate records.

conducted by the G.B.R.E., and high standing was considered a great achievement. Certificates of promotion were awarded when passing from one level of instruction to another. The S.S.P. was also used in some areas to prepare candidates for confirmation.

Miss Hasell's vanners provided valuable assistance to the S.S.P. both in finding children to enroll and by providing volunteer help in marking and mailing. In 1924, Hasell commented on "a special course being prepared by a committee with representatives from the dioceses of Calgary, Edmonton, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan and Rupert's Land. Some of the members of the committee have travelled in Sunday School Mission caravans, so have first hand knowledge of the kind of lessons that are required. These lessons will be published by the G.B.R.E."¹ Hasell was less pleased with subsequent revisions of the G.B.R.E. material, and verbally abused at least one edition as a very bad "economy stunt."

The S.S.P. had a long range vision:

With a view to helping the members of the S.S.P. to realize that they are part of the Church at large, and that they can have some share in the general work of the Church, arrangements are made whereby the boys and girls may become Lone Scouts or Guides, and the older ones members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew or of the W.A.

In this way they are kept in touch with the service side of the Church's work and are made to realize that, even though separated, they can join their efforts with others in the furtherance of the Church's great task

In a word, the S.S.P. has proved to be one of the best means of holding the ground in outlying districts until the Church has been established.²

In the Dioceses of Nova Scotia and Fredericton, the clergy initiated a radio broadcast for children from 9:00 a.m. to 9:30 on Sunday, which

¹Hasell, Through Western Canada, p. 248. See Appendix V (B) for the 1933 lesson outline.

²Kuhring, op. cit., pp. 110-11.

centred on the same subject as that week's S.S.P. lesson. It was of very significant help to the children, and was received with great appreciation by whole families as well as by S.S.P. secretaries.

As conditions changed in the 1960's, however, the S.S.P. was no longer of the same vital importance as before. A reduced rural population served by better roads and with access to automobiles, made it possible for almost everyone who wished, to attend a church. In the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, according to Archbishop G. F. C. Jackson,¹ where Hasell began her work, the S.S.P. is now carried on under the title "Church at Home," and so, similar changes occurred across Canada. With the opening of the North, the situation is again in a state of flux.

The need for S.S.P. has decreased, but in the many years of its operation, the organization proved itself over and over again as a means of saving many isolated rural families for the Anglican Church.

¹Letter to author, dated January 6, 1977.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS

A Series of Courses

By The

Editorial Department

The General Board of Religious Education

604 Jarvis St. Toronto, Ont.

The following is a list of our Lesson Courses in their order:

BEGINNERS' COURSE:—4 and 5 years of age.

1.—The Father's Children.

2.—The Father's World.

PRIMARY COURSE:—6, 7 and 8 years of age.

3.—The Father's Love.

4.—Love and Obedience.

5.—Love and Worship.

JUNIOR COURSE:—9, 10 and 11 years of age.

6.—The Christian and His Heavenly Father.

7.—The Christian and His Saviour.

8.—The Christian and His Guide.

SENIOR COURSE:—12, 13 and 14 years of age.

9.—The Christian's Loyalty to His Church.

10.—The Christian's Loyalty to Truth (Church Catechism).

11.—The Christian's Loyalty to His Ideals.

JUNIOR BIBLE CLASS COURSE:—15 to 17 years of age.

12.—The Christian's Books.

13.—The Christian's Calling.

14.—The Christian's Master.

14A.—The Christian's Problems.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S BIBLE CLASS COURSE:—17 to 25 years of age.

15.—The Christian's Church (A history of the Church).

TEXT BOOKS

On the following Courses are now prepared:—

No. 3.—The Father's Love.

No. 4.—Love and Obedience.

No. 5.—Love and Worship.

No. 6.—The Christian and His Heavenly Father.

No. 7.—The Christian and His Saviour.

No. 8.—The Christian and His Guide.

No. 10.—The Church Catechism.

No. 15.—A History of the Church.

Taken from the Yearbook of the Church of England in Canada 1933. This outline formed the basis of Miss Hasell's curriculum, and that of the Sunday School by Post, although there were adjustments for isolated areas, as has been noted.

APPENDIX VI

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE MAPLE LEAF

The Fellowship of the Maple Leaf (F.M.L.) has its origins in the "Maple Leaf Workers," a group organized in 1903 in Tunbridge Wells, England, by a Mrs. Stamford, sister of Dr. George Exton Lloyd. Lloyd, later Bishop of Saskatchewan, was at the time involved in the emigration of the Barr colonists, but when he returned to England, he became prime mover in a reorganization of the Maple Leaf Workers which began in May, 1916, and during which the name was changed to The Fellowship of the Maple Leaf. The first executive committee meeting of the F.M.L. was held on July 26, 1917, with Rev. Lloyd as Director of the organization, and Rev. H. A. Edwards, of Jasper Park, as Organizing Secretary.

Surviving records do not state just what the aims or functions of the Maple Leaf Workers were, but the aim of the F.M.L. was quite explicit: to "Keep Canada British and Christian." For a long time its organ, Monthly Letters, bore on the four corners of its covers the initials, K.C.B.C. ("Keep Canada British and Christian."), while the printed Annual Reports of the Fellowship had printed on their inside cover the principles of the F.M.L.: "the maintenance of Religion; the estates of the realm; and the unity of the Empire under the Crown." The badge of the Fellowship consisted of three flags - the Union Jack, the Canadian flag, and the Church flag - with the letters ML (Maple Leaves) imposed on the staffs.¹

¹The F.M.L. sent workers also to Australia which seems rather incongruous, but Canada was its major field, and the one with which this paper is concerned.

In order to fulfil its aims and principles, the F.M.L. sent workers, primarily teachers, to the Canadian West. The emphasis was on young women, trained at St. Christopher's, Blackheath, an Anglican training college for Church workers, but young men were also enlisted.¹ A pamphlet entitled, The Future of Western Canada makes an appeal for "One hundred young men and Four Hundred young women, Each Year for at least Ten Years to come for the Government Schools in Western Canada.

They must be Churchmen, Baptized - Confirmed - Communicants, of real Christian convictions and sound British instincts, over eighteen years of age, with a reasonable English education and ordinary health of mind and body. Willing to do something beyond what they are paid to do, for the sake of CHURCH and EMPIRE."²

This same pamphlet notes that the young male teacher could be issued a lay reader's licence to enable him to conduct services where no clergyman was available, and "When these young men go on the field and see for themselves the need of the Church, it is confidently expected that many will offer to become candidates for the Ministry...."

Two reports on the early days of the F.M.L.³ state that the first teachers sailed for Canada in 1917, but handwritten notes, presumably minutes from the first meeting, state: "July, 1918: first teachers sailed, Mr. D. Jones, the Misses Palmer, Lee and Fox." Be that as it

¹This fact is often overlooked, as in the "Introduction" to the F.M.L. Papers, Anglican General Synod Archives, where only "Christian young women" are mentioned.

²The pamphlet has no place of printing, and no date.

³Dr. Millman's two page typed report, and "Introduction" to the F.M.L. Papers. These were sent to me from the Anglican General Synod Archives as was the handwritten material. None of it is adequately identified.

may, the movement gained momentum after the War years, and an issue of the Qu'Appelle Occasional Paper (n.d.), states that 110 teachers have been sent out in "the past eighteen months," probably from 1921-1923.

The Fellowship maintained its educational aims but extended its work into other areas. From 1929 it gave support to the S.S.P., and by 1935 was subsidizing the Bishop's Messengers. It aided lay and clerical workers from Eastern Canada who served in the West, particularly in Peace River country. From England it sent out bales of clothing in drought years. It entered the sphere of medical missions, supporting doctors and small hospitals in a number of localities. It even gave some assistance in 1931 in recruiting men for the Church's ministry to be trained in the Montreal Diocesan Theological College. Through the munificence of an "Anonymous Donor," later identified as Mrs. Marion Beatrice Smith, came money to build many hostels and churches across the West in Regina, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Peace River.¹

The headquarters of the F.M.L. were bombed during the Second World War and many of its papers lost. Those remaining were deposited in the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada, in 1971.

Rev. Philip James Andrews, O.B.E., D.D., was "an Irishman, who was ordained in Canada and worked there for many years before shouldering the responsibility for the organization as its secretary and nerve centre in London."² He served admirably for fifty-five years, and was constantly travelling to raise money for the "loan bursaries" which were used to help candidates receive Canadian teaching certification, as well as for the Fellowship's many other projects.³

It is quite obvious that the Fellowship had the same aims and purposes as did Eva Hasell.

¹Quoted from "Introduction" to the F.M.L. Papers.

²Dr. R. D. Symons, "Companions of the Peace," p. 314.

³Canon Stephen Burnett notes that when Dr. Andrews "saw the Union Jack dropped as the Canadian flag, he lost interest" in Canada. Fortunately, the F.M.L. did not.

Yet there was virtually no co-operation between them, largely, it would seem, because of a personality conflict between Hasell and Dr. Andrews. Hasell was considered "almost Victorian" in her methods and attitudes by Dr. Andrews, who considered himself much more progressive, and when two such dominant personalities meet, it is less than surprising that there should be conflict. According to Canon Burnett, Dr. Andrews was "low born, working class, became a snob and recruited only from the high born." Recruiting from the same class could likely also have brought him into conflict with Hasell.

When Dr. Andrews retired in 1965 (he died in 1974), Canon P. S. Burnett became Secretary of the Fellowship. A tall, genial and extremely busy man, he outlined the present work (1977) of the F.M.L. as follows:
Contributing to the support of:

- (1) Sorrento Centre near Kelowna, B.C.;
- (2) A director of Field Work and Continuing Education for the College of Emmanuel and St. Chad in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan;
- (3) A priest in the Diocese of Cariboo doing Indian work;
- (4) A party of clergy from Canada visiting England to participate in a workshop on the ministry.

Canon Burnett also noted that new projects were constantly being considered and developed. Obviously the F.M.L. is still very much alive and well, its Executive Committee meeting in London twice yearly.

APPENDIX VII

COMMISSIONING OF VAN WORKERS:

THE ORDER OF SERVICE

Hear the words of the Gospel written by St. Matthew, the 28th chapter, and the 18th verse.

"Jesus came and spake unto them saying: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.

V. Our help is in the Name of the Lord.

R. Who hath made heaven and earth.

Let us pray.

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with Thy most gracious favour, and further us with Thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued and ended in Thee, we may glorify Thy Holy Name, and finally by Thy mercy obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God our Heavenly Father, Who didst manifest Thy Love by sending Thine only-begotten Son into the world, that all might live through Him, pour Thy Spirit upon Thy Church, that it may fulfil His commands to preach the Gospel to every creature; send forth, we beseech Thee,

labourers into Thine harvest; defend them in all dangers and temptations; and hasten the time when the fulness of the Gentiles shall be gathered in, and all Israel shall be saved. Through the same Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

O God, Who bestoweth Thy mercy at all times on them that love Thee, and in no place art distant from them that serve Thee, direct the way of these Thy servants in Thy will, that having Thee for their protector and guide, they may walk without stumbling in the paths of righteousness; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Take thou authority to perform in this Diocese the work whereunto God hath called thee. Amen.

Go forth upon thy journey, in the Name of God the Father, Who created thee; in the Name of Jesus Christ, Who suffered for thee; in the Name of the Holy Spirit, Who strengthens thee; in communion with the blessed saints and aided by angels and arch-angels and all the armies of the heavenly host.

God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, preserve and keep you, now and forevermore. Amen.

THE DEDICATION OF SUNDAY SCHOOL MISSION CARAVANS

The clergy, choir and van workers will lead the procession from the Church into the parking lot, where the new vans will be dedicated:

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST. AMEN.

V. Our help is in the Name of the Lord

R. Who hath made Heaven and earth.

V. O Lord, hear our prayer

R. And let our cry come unto Thee.

V. Blessed be the Name of the Lord

R. From this time forth for evermore.

Hear the words of our Saviour Christ written in the Gospel according to St. Mark, chapter 10, verse 13:

"They brought young children to Christ, that He should touch them; and His disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, He was much displeased, and said unto them, - Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not; For of such is the Kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the Kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And He took them up in His arms and blessed them."

Hear also the words of Holy Scripture written by St. Paul, in his second Epistle to Timothy:

"From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for

doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. Therefore preach the word; be instant in season, out of season, watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an Evangelist; make full proof of thy ministry."

Let us pray:

In the faith of Jesus Christ we dedicate and set apart this Van:
In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Almighty God, Who lovest little children, bless we beseech Thee these vans, in the work for which they are set apart and dedicated, and grant that by means of Thy Word taught in their journeyings, many of Thy little ones may be brought to the knowledge of Thy love and into the fellowship of Thy Holy Church; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God, our heavenly Father, Who art present in Thy power in every place; preserve, we beseech Thee, all who travel in this Van; surround them with Thy loving care, protect them from every danger; and bring them ever in safety to their journey's end; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Everlasting God, Who hast ordained and constituted the services of angels and men in a wonderful order; mercifully grant that, as Thy holy Angels always do Thee service in heaven, so by Thy appointment they may succour and defend us on earth; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Blessing.

APPENDIX VIII

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE WEST

By 1928 the influx of immigrants to the virgin lands of the Peace River country was presenting monumental problems to those concerned with the spiritual as well as the material well-being of these new settlers. Miss Eva Hasell and Miss Iris Sayle walked into the area in 1928, organizing Sunday Schools and providing S.S.P. material. They visited the Peace River Block again in 1929, but their work was primarily with women and children. They could do very little for the general population. When their summer's work was completed, these resourceful ladies visited many Anglican churches throughout Canada and Great Britain, to lecture on their work, both to acquaint people with the need and to raise funds.

One of the cities Miss Hasell visited was Montreal, and here, the desperate need for priests, especially in the dioceses of Caledonia and Athabaska, touched a group of the younger clergy. Three Montreal priests, Geoffrey Guiton, Elton Scott, and R. K. Naylor,¹ saw a threefold need: "(1) To emphasize the oneness of the Church by sending from the East help in prayer, men and money (2) To widen the individual experience of some clergy and young laymen by field-work and pastoral training in

¹Rev. Geoffrey Guiton went to India as a missionary and died there in 1947, while serving as Headmaster of the High School at Palampur; Prof. Kenneth Naylor, later became Archdeacon of Montreal and Rector of Trinity Church; while Elton Scott, son of the famous Padre Scott of World War I, became professor of Pastoral Theology, Bishop's University, Lennoxville. This information supplied by Bishop Russel F. Brown, himself a Fellowship of the West missionary in 1936-1940.

circumstances different from their own. (3) To bring to the Church in Montreal fresh information and knowledge of the Church in the West."¹

With the encouragement of Bishop Farthing of Montreal, and Dean Arthur Carlisle, the Fellowship of the West was organized to fulfil this expressed purpose.

In the summer of 1929, two motor cars with four workers went to the Peace River: Scott and William Springer,² a layman, to the diocese of Caledonia; Naylor and Selwyn Willis, not yet ordained, to the diocese of Athabaska.³ Giving up their holiday time, and with only their expenses paid, they worked during the summer and returned to their own duties after this three-month leave. During the winter they reported on conditions and needs in the Peace River area. Students from King's College, Nova Scotia, as well as those from McGill became involved. Ottawa and Toronto both organized branches but it was in the diocese of Montreal that the work had its base.

The priests who experienced the need in the Peace River were convinced that summer work alone could not provide enough help, and when Bishop Rix of Caledonia urgently requested a resident clergyman for the Fort St. John area, the Rev. George H. Wolfendale responded.⁴ His salary was paid by the Fellowship, although Monica Storrs of Fort St. John contributed almost half of his living expenses, according to Dr. R. D. Symons.

¹"Fellowship of the West," in The Living Message, p. 14, (n.d.).

²Springer was killed over London in 1940, a pilot in the R.A.F.

³T. R. Millman, ed., Publishers of Peace (n.p., The Joint Committee on Conferences and Summer Schools of the Church of England in Canada, 1942), p. 62, says work began in the Diocese of Athabaska, when in fact, it began simultaneously in both Athabaska and the Diocese of Caledonia.

⁴Wolfendale died of wounds in Italy in 1944, having served first as a stretcher-bearer, then as a Chaplain.

The position in Fort St. John continued to be filled by members of the Fellowship until it became an independent parish, in 1952. A similar work was carried on in at least two places in the diocese of Athabaska.

The summer work continued as well, with members of the Fellowship doing mission work, helping in the construction of churches, parsonages or parish halls, and doing whatever needed to be done.¹ Assistance was given in three dioceses, Athabaska, Caledonia and Edmonton. During World War II, the Athabaska Highway ran through this territory and provided even greater challenges for the ministry.

The work of the Fellowship of the West continued actively into the 1960's, with summer assignments by students still being carried on in 1977. In the spring of 1978, however, it was decided to terminate all further activity. The papers of the Fellowship are scattered and information has been difficult to obtain. However, Bishop Russell Brown of Quebec (retired), a former Fellowship priest, informed the writer that an effort is being made to have their story in print for its Jubilee Year, 1978.

This prayer, used at all Fellowship meetings, exemplifies its spirit:

O Loving Father of all men, who hast brought into this land the people of many nations, we thank Thee for faith and fellowship, and for the lives of those who have passed on to us the gift of Christianity. Give us more zeal to make Thee known to those in our land who know Thee not, and to those who have been left without the ministrations of Thy Church, that we may make this Dominion Thine from sea to sea.²

¹Carrington, op. cit., p. 267, says, erroneously, "There was also an auxiliary corps of devoted ladies who were known as the Companions of the Peace and were led by Miss Monica Storrs...." These ladies in the Fort St. John area were indeed devoted and accomplished a great work, but they were not an auxiliary corps to the Fellowship of the West. Storrs came out in 1929 to work independently, and it was she who encouraged the Fellowship to place permanent workers in the area. The soon-to-be-published Diaries of Monica Storrs, edited by Prof. W. L. Morton, are most informative on the subject.

²Quoted in T. R. Millman, op. cit., p. 63.

APPENDIX IX (A)

I. QUALIFICATIONS FOR TEACHERS ON

SUNDAY SCHOOL CARAVANS

1. Must be confirmed and regular communicant of the Church of England in Canada.
2. Must forward a reference from a Clergyman who knows candidate well.
3. Must volunteer for at least five months, and if possible, longer.
4. Must be at least 21 years of age, and if in charge of a Van, 26 or over.
5. Must have been trained at Deaconess House, Toronto, or any recognized Anglican Training centre, or have passed the highest grade of the G.B.R.E. Correspondence Course in New Testament, Prayer Book, Church History, Methods of Sunday School Teaching, and Child Study. This correspondence course training is for those who have had practical teaching experience.
6. Must have had practical experience in a well organized modern Sunday School. Candidate must forward a certificate as to her teaching capabilities from a trained expert whose name will be sent to her.
7. Must have a recent doctor's certificate, stating that applicant is strong enough to undertake this work in any altitude, especially as regards heart and nerves. Form can be obtained from Miss Hasell's representative.
8. No salaries are given for Van Work, but travelling expenses from home to Western Canadian destination and return and board whilst on the Caravan will be provided, unless workers can help with or pay their own.
9. Teachers must have an interview with Miss F. H. Eva Hasell, M.B.E., Founder and Hon. Organiser, or one of her representatives who will communicate with her, and she will decide whether volunteer is qualified for the work. Miss Hasell's address, from which letters are always forwarded: c/o Synod Office, Trinity Hall, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

.....

All Workers are insured against accident and looked after when sick.

II. FOR THE DRIVER

- i. Must be a member of the Church of England and a regular Communicant.
- ii. Must be able to give letters of reference, preferably from a clergyman.
- iii. Must produce a doctor's certificate to the effect that she is physically fit for the work.
- iv. Must have had experience in driving large Ford truck and have taken a course at a garage in running repairs.

N.B. (a) In each van there must be a trained teacher and an expert driver who can do repairs. In case of a third worker going, it will not be necessary for her to have the qualifications above mentioned.

(b) One of the workers must be at least twenty-five years of age and no worker younger than twenty-one.

(c) One of the workers must be able to wash and do camp cooking.

APPENDIX IX (B)

REGULATIONS

1. No smoking while working with Caravan Mission.
2. No Theological students or unmarried men to be taken on van.
3. No expeditions to be made alone with men.
4. Workers not to camp too long with any one family and avoid going constantly to Rectories for meals.... The rural clergy and their wives are very hospitable but have very small salaries.
5. Only the driver, drives.
6. No cook stove to be lighted in the van - insurance does not cover this.
7. Workers to always sleep in van unless bad storm or on walking expeditions.
8. Workers should go together if walking or riding.
9. Teacher must get lists of S.S. by P., families on routes to be visited.
10. Give written reports to each Rector before leaving his parish.
11. Follow itinerary given by the diocese - drawn up by Diocesan Board of Religious Education or Van Committees.

Remember you are Diocesan workers under the Bishop and do all that he and his clergy wish.

APPENDIX IX (C)

REPORT OF SUNDAY SCHOOL MISSION CARAVAN WORK

(1st Half)

Diocese.....	Date
	From.....
Names of Workers.....	
.....	To.....
Number of new members enrolled in the Sunday School by Post	.....
Number of Sunday School by Post members revisited	.....
Number of Sunday Schools started	.....
Number of Sunday Schools taken	.....
Number of homes visited	.....
Number of Bible lessons given in classes in Vacation Schools	.....
Number of Vacation Schools held	.....
Number of Services taken	.....
Number of lessons given in Children's camps	.....
Number of lessons given to children in Sunday Schools, homes or anywhere	.....
Number of addresses given to adults on religious teaching and training in prayer and worship for children	.....
Number of addresses on any other subject	.....
Number of children found for Baptism and names given in to the Clergy	.....
Number of candidates found for Confirmation	.....

Number of miles travelled by the Van
Number of miles ridden, driven, or
by boat or train
Number of miles walked

Total number of miles

Please fill in this form from beginning of tour to August 20th, and send at once to Miss F. Eva Hasell, c/o Box 31, Whitehorse, Y.T.

N.B. -- Make any remarks about work on back of form.

APPENDIX X

COPY OF LETTER FROM MISS HASELL TO THE PRIMATE

This address
will get me all
winter. Miss Sayle
and I are staying in
Canada all winter.

ADDRESS for letters:
c/o Synod Office,
Trinity Hall,
Winnipeg, Man.
Nov. 7th, 1940.

Your Grace:

I have received no answer to my letter, asking why you wished me to meet the Bishop of Niagara and Mrs. Donaldson?

I want to make quite clear that I cannot meet with any committee in connection with Van Work in Western Canada, except the Western Bishops and their Diocesan Boards of Religious Education in each Diocese in which there are Vans. My vision of the work, since I started it 21 years ago, has been that it should be worked on Diocesan lines.

As you know, Archbishop Matheson, then Primate, allowed me to start in 1922 the "Western Canada Sunday School Caravan Fund" in Canada and in England. The manager of the Royal Bank of Canada, Avenue Road Branch, Toronto, receives the money and keeps the accounts in Canada.

As you know I founded the work in 1920 and gave the first Van, and my sister and I gave the Calgary Van in 1922. Archbishop Harding gave me permission to work in his Diocese in 1920, and I have never started any Vans without the request of the Bishop of the Diocese: and we work under them. There are now 24 Vans and 48 Hon. workers in eleven Western Dioceses.

I also have representatives all across Canada who interview candidates for me. I have also arranged in my will to leave a sum of money to the Caravan Fund, and also named experienced Van workers who shall carry on finding workers and raising funds for the Bishops and the D.B.R.E. in the Western Canadian Dioceses.

I cannot leave this bequest in my will if a Board or Committee is constituted in Canada to manage the Van Work. This of course does not mean the Western Bishops and their D.B.R.E.

Reports of the Van Work are always sent to Dr. Hiltz to read out

at the G.B.R.E. Annual Meeting.

My reasons are the following for not wishing for a Board or committee:

1. The work was nearly wrecked before by a committee of which the three chief members who made things impossible were, Dr. Hiltz, Dr. Rogers, and Mrs. Donaldson.

e.g. The late Bp. of Kootenay and his clergy asked me to raise money for a Van in 1925 and come myself in 1926 with a companion to his Diocese.

The Van committee said he shall not have a Van, there were no passable roads. If I had not brought the money earmarked from England and said that Miss Sayle and myself were willing to go, there would not have been a Van in that Diocese. There are now 3 Vans and 6 Workers. The committee ignored the Western Bishop's ideas and requests.

2. While I was in England collecting funds, in the winter, quite unqualified workers were accepted by the committee; some could only go for 2 months instead of five and others had had no training in religious education. I had drawn up qualifications for drivers and teachers which had been passed by the committee, but they did not keep to these.

The workers were accepted without consulting me. I was responsible to the Western Bishops for these workers and the waste of money.

They also had a meeting while I was in England arranging how the money I collected in England should be spent, and I did not receive the minutes till the meeting was over.

I saw Archbishop Matheson and the Western Bishops and explained it was an impossible situation and I could not carry on.

The General Synod therefore did not re-elect the Van committee.

I cannot work with Mrs. Donaldson, Dr. Hiltz or Dr. Rogers so it is no use talking things over with them or the Bp. of Niagara.

It will only lead to disagreeables, which I do not wish in the Church.

I would like to have a private conversation with you, if you have time, when I am in Toronto on Dec. 7 - 8, 9, 10 or I may be there on Dec. 11th. I know it will ruin the Van work to have a committee and I cannot agree to work with one. The Board which was set up to manage St. Christopher's College, Victoria, B.C., against my wishes as Founder, has been closed, just at the time when we need Canadian trained teachers on Vans. This is the second example of the work being spoilt by a committee, and no attempt being made to take any suggestions of mine.

Money has come in wonderfully this summer to the Caravan Fund in

England, and the Treasury will allow Missionary Funds to come to Canada next Spring. It was only I had had my quota for this year.

I can support the British workers staying over this winter. Miss Sayle and I are also staying the winter in Canada. I am finding the expenses of eleven British and two Canadian winter workers. I have told all the Western Bishops that have Vans I will be responsible for finding all the workers and funds for next summer's work. I have also replied to Canon Dixon's letter of the M.S.C.C. saying I need no help from his Society for Van work, and I shall also not appeal anymore to the Dominion Board of the W.A. They have sent me \$275.00 for winter workers.

I hope you will forgive me for writing so strongly on this matter, but I thought it was better you should know my views before any meeting was arranged, as I certainly cannot attend one.

Yours sincerely,

"F.H. Eva Hasell"

APPENDIX XI

COMMENTS RE MISS HASELL'S LETTER TO THE PRIMATE

UNDER DATE OF NOV. 7, 1940

1. As no suggestion was made that the Van Work should be brought under the direction of a Committee, most of Miss Hasell's letter seems entirely beside the mark. The proposal of the Executive Council was that a Committee should be appointed to confer with Miss Hasell on the Van Work.
2. Miss Hasell claims that Archbishop Matheson authorized her to start the Western Canada Caravan Fund.

This, of course, merely means that the Archbishop gave it his personal blessing. He would have no authority, as Primate, to authorize such a fund.

3. Miss Hasell claims that the Van Work was nearly wrecked by a Committee once before. This is not true to the facts. (See Minutes of Annual Meeting of G.B.R.E. held in Vancouver October 1929)

The Committee was disbanded, not by the General Synod, but by the G.B.R.E. itself, on the suggestion of the Chairman of the Committee, and with the full consent of the Committee, the reason being that Miss Hasell refused to work with the Committee.

4. The statement that the Joint Committee objected to a van working in Kootenay Diocese, and that it ignored the wishes of the Western Bishops is absolutely untrue, as is also the statement that the Committee accepted workers who did not fulfil the qualifications agreed upon. All workers accepted by the Joint Committee were in accordance with the agreement entered into between the Committee and Miss Hasell herself.

APPENDIX XII

A BRIEF QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS (1929-1966)

A complete quantitative analysis of Eva Hasell's work is not possible because she did not file reports for the years 1922-23 and 1926-28, and none after 1966. The statistics for the earlier years could be gleaned, at least in part, from her three published books, but here a new difficulty arises, because the categories included are not consistent during these formative years. Therefore, the years 1929 to 1966 have been selected as being indicative of the scope of her own personal work and that of her mission. The categories selected are those for which there were statistics throughout this period.

	Years	Miles Travelled	Sunday- Schools Started	New S.S.P. Members Enrolled	Home Visitations	Names of Children For Baptism To Clergy
Eva Hasell	1929-66	160,221	267	14,318	19,757	4,152
General Report	1929-66	2,643,251	1,535	117,053	387,634	37,828

The highlights in each category are as follows:

	Miles Travelled	Sunday- Schools Started	New S.S.P. Members Enrolled	Home Visitations	Children For Baptism
Eva Hasell	6,140 (1949)	25 (1930)	1,292 (1931)	869 (1946)	287 (1937)
General Report	91,657 (1958)	92 (1930)	5,671 (1947)	11,901 (1940)	1,434 (1947)

APPENDIX XIII

THE WESTERN CANADA SUNDAY SCHOOL CARAVAN FUND

The Western Canada Sunday School Caravan Fund is hereby established as a separate and autonomous organization and shall be governed under the terms of the following constitution, effective 1 January 1974.

C O N S T I T U T I O N

NAME

The name shall be THE WESTERN CANADA SUNDAY SCHOOL CARAVAN FUND hereinafter referred to as THE FUND.

PURPOSE

The purpose of THE FUND shall be to give assistance to dioceses of the Anglican Church of Canada for Christian Education work in sparsely populated parts of Canada.

As much as possible, THE FUND will maintain the program and standards established and maintained by the Founder of the Western Canada Sunday School Caravan Mission, Miss Eva Hasell, M.B.E.

ORGANIZATION

THE FUND shall operate as a trust fund and shall be organized and operated in strict accordance with The Regulations of THE FUND.

In the event that the Directors of THE FUND agree that THE FUND should cease to exist, all assets of THE FUND

shall be turned over to the Anglican Church of Canada.

QUORUM

At the annual meeting, six persons shall constitute a quorum.

AUDITORS

The Directors shall appoint an auditor at the annual meeting.

AMENDMENTS

Amendments to the CONSTITUTION or the Regulations shall only be made at the annual meeting and shall have at least the support of two-thirds of the members present.

THE REGULATIONS OF THE WESTERN CANADA

SUNDAY SCHOOL CARAVAN FUND

1. THE FUND shall receive and hold all monies given to THE FUND including all interest earnings and other accretions.
2. There shall be a body known as the Directors which shall consist of the following:
 - (a) The Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada.
 - (b) All Metropolitans of the Anglican Church of Canada.
 - (c) At least one additional bishop who shall be the bishop of a diocese which is actively involved in ministries to sparsely populated areas and which has received grants from THE FUND.
 - (d) The Treasurer of THE FUND.

(e) The Secretary of THE FUND.

(f) The remaining three members of the COMMITTEE.

(g) The Directors may co-opt up to four additional Directors.

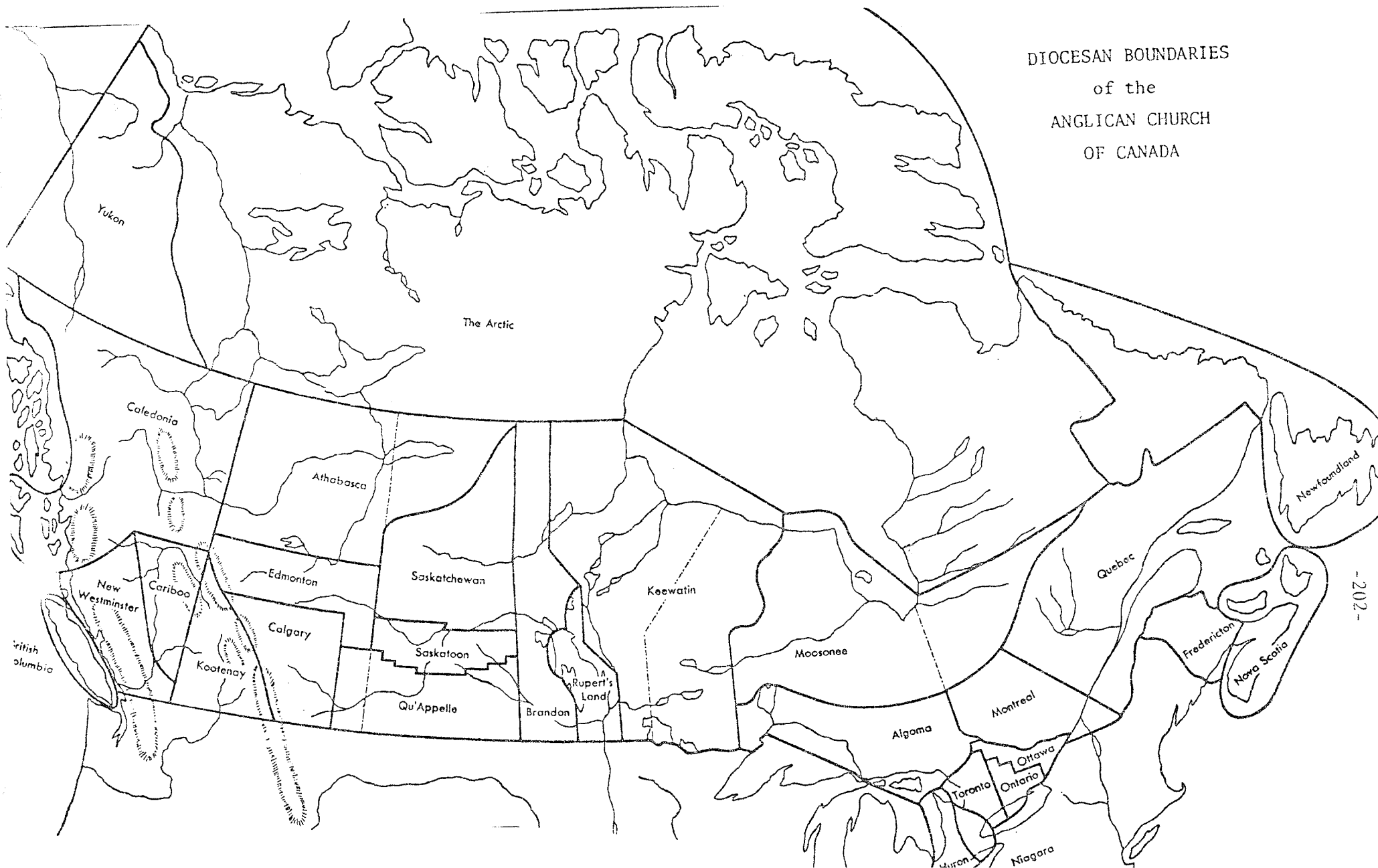
3. Any individual donating one hundred dollars or more in the previous twelve months shall be entitled to attend the annual meeting as a director.
4. The Directors shall meet annually to review the annual financial statement and to conduct any other business of THE FUND.
5. The annual meeting of the Directors shall appoint the COMMITTEE for the ensuing year.
6. The Chairman of the annual meeting shall be the Primate or his appointee.
7. The Secretary of the annual meeting shall be the Secretary of the COMMITTEE.
8. The COMMITTEE shall consist of five (5) persons appointed by the Directors. The COMMITTEE shall include at least one bishop, one priest and one lay person.
9. The Primate shall be an ex-officio member of the COMMITTEE.
10. At the first meeting of the COMMITTEE, they shall elect a Chairman, a Treasurer and a Secretary.
11. The Officers of THE FUND shall be the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Primate and one other member of the COMMITTEE chosen by the Committee.

12. (a) All applications for grants from THE FUND shall be made to the COMMITTEE on forms supplied by the COMMITTEE.
 - (b) The form shall indicate that Diocesan funds are also being allotted to the program seeking a grant.
 - (c) Grants shall only be made to dioceses of the Anglican Church of Canada.
 - (d) All forms shall be signed by the bishop of the diocese indicating his approval.
 13. Each diocese receiving a grant or grants shall be asked to submit a report on the project to the annual meeting of the Directors.
 14. THE TREASURER. It shall be the responsibility of the Treasurer to receive and account for all money paid to or received by THE FUND. He shall keep all necessary books and accounts and prepare a financial statement for the annual meeting of the Directors.
 15. THE SECRETARY. The Secretary shall keep a record of all meetings of the COMMITTEE as well as the annual meeting of the Directors. He shall be responsible to maintain a working relationship with the committee or committees in Britain which are a continuation of Miss Eva Hasell's concerns for Christian Education work in rural Canada. He shall also maintain liaison with the Federal Government to ensure that THE FUND is registered as a charitable organization for income tax purposes.
- The Secretary shall prepare a report for the annual meeting outlining the work of the COMMITTEE for the previous year.

16. It shall be the responsibility of the Committee to see that No part of THE FUND other than such part as is required to pay taxes, fees, administration costs and other reasonable expenses shall be used or diverted to purposes other than as outlined in the CONSTITUTION.
17. The Committee may conduct its business with three or more members present.
18. The official address for THE FUND shall be:

THE WESTERN CANADA SUNDAY
SCHOOL CARAVAN FUND
The Anglican Church of Canada
600 Jarvis Street
Toronto, Ontario
M4Y 2J6

DIOCESAN BOUNDARIES
of the
ANGLICAN CHURCH
OF CANADA



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Brown, Rt. Rev. Russel F. Bishop, Montreal, Quebec.

Bryans, Sybil. Vanner, England.

Carter, Very Rev. D. J. Dean, Calgary, Alberta.

Haythornwaite, Mrs. Janet. Vanner, England.

Hobson, Ven. G. E. Secretary, W.C.S.S.C.F., Toronto, Ontario.

Hoskin, Very Rev. J. A. E. Dean, Peace River, Alberta.

Jackson, Most Rev. G. F. C., Metropolitan of Rupert's Land.

Kidd, Miss Frances M. Gardner, friend at Dacre Lodge, England.

Lilliat, Martin. Private Secretary to Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother.
Mallinson, Mrs. Patience. Dacre Lodge Farm, Cumbria, England.
Owen, Ven. J. B., Archdeacon. Diocese of Athabaska.
Pickering, Dr. W., F.M.L. Committee, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England.
Portman, Rev. William. Rector, Weyburn, Saskatchewan.
Powell, Trevor J. D. Archivist, Regina, Saskatchewan.
Ridge, Dr. A. D. Archivist, Edmonton, Alberta.
Savery, Doreen F. Vanner, Secretary, Caravan Mission, Suffolk, England.
Verey, Mr. Michael John. Barrister, Hasell's Heir. London, England.
Washington, Mrs. Margaret. Owner, Dacre Lodge, Cumbria, England.

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