Mennonite Missionary Henry Neufeld and Syncretism among the Pauingassi Ojibwa, 1955-1970

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Mennonites have experienced many divisions since the sixteenth century, resulting in diversity across a spectrum from progressive to more traditional groups. Progressive Mennonites in North America adopted new doctrines, Sunday schools, revivals and Bible schools from the Protestant denominations around them. Even conservative branches of Mennonites experienced some change throughout the years as they had new visions, such as Harold S. Bender's revitalizing Anabaptist Vision. American Mennonite historian James Juhnke takes a positive view of Mennonite schism; according to Juhnke schisms brought vitality and new ideas to the various Mennonite groups.[1]

North American aboriginal communities were also diverse. Yet Dennis and Barbara Tedlock, editors of a collection of essays on Indian religions and philosophies, show that historically there were commonalities in the diversity of Indian religions. Most young men, and also some women, went on vision quests of some type to discover new truths and to share them with their communities.[2] As the various tribes came into contact with Christianity, they rejected, accepted or syncretized the old and the new so that their religions sometimes took on different forms. For example, in the 1890s the Paiutes came up with the Ghost Dance, later borrowed by the Sioux and other tribes. The Ghost Dance incorporated a

return to traditional ways with some aspects of Christianity. Another example of syncretism was the Native Church of North America's use of peyote, a mild drug with healing powers taken from a cactus plant, as a sacrament. New religious forms such as these often came in response to persecution caused by white oppression. Thus neither Native religions nor the Mennonite faith remained static over the years. Both were in process, adding to their traditional faith new innovations borrowed from other sources.

Neither aboriginals nor Mennonites were good at separating faith and culture. Theresa S. Smith, a scholar of Ojibwa religion, has observed that "For the Native North American, generally, the foci of religion are so much a part of the fabric of existence that religion here is better understood as a lifeway."[3] For example, the Ojibwas' very livelihood (hunting and trapping) was intricately connected with religious ceremony. Nineteenth century missionaries to aboriginals could not separate faith and culture either. Protestant and Mennonite missionaries in the United States worked hand in hand with the federal government to convert the Indians to their "Christian civilization," in other words, to assimilate the Indian into the American melting pot. Yet missionaries, their boards, and constituencies thought they were bringing a "pure" faith to the people whom they converted, a faith that should completely replace native traditional religions and cultures. This may have been an unrealistic expectation.

In this essay I argue that Mennonite missionary Henry Neufeld who worked among the Ojibwa at Pauingassi on the Berens River in eastern Manitoba, did not expect the Ojibwa to reject all of their cultural traditions and religious practices when they accepted Christianity. Christianity did not necessarily displace all of their past beliefs. Neufeld did not require Pauingassi people to become like mainstream Canadians or southern Manitoba Mennonites. His intent was to improve their lives and bring them to Christ; he did not expect them to reject their culture or language, and they could not completely separate their culture from their faith. He built upon native beliefs that were already extant. On their part, the Pauingassi Ojibwa retained some of their traditional beliefs while embracing Christianity—thus engaging in a form of syncretism.

What is syncretism? According to anthropologist Antonio Gualtieri, syncretism occurs when two religions fuse together to produce a new tradition. Gualtieri visited sixteen Catholic, Anglican, and Pentecostal missions in the Northwest Territories in the 1970s, interviewing missionaries to record their attitudes and judgments about the encounter between Christianity and native religions. Most missionaries whom Gualtieri interviewed were closed to the idea of syncretism. The closest they came to any adoption of native ways was to allow liturgical decorations such as the use of an altar cloth made of sealskin or caribou and decorated with beadwork.[4]

Another anthropologist, Jean-Guy Goulet, argued in 1982 for religious dualism among the Catholic Dena Tha, asserting that "two religious systems, one aboriginal, the other Christian, [were] generally available and meaningful to aboriginals."[5] By 1998, after more fieldwork among the Dene Tha in the Northwest Territories, Goulet had changed his views. He now argued that the Dene Tha had successfully incorporated key Christian symbols into their ways of knowing and living without changing the essentials of their world view. Thus he no longer argued for coexistence of Christian and traditional religions within the same person, but for a merger of the two systems.[6]

Jean and John Comaroff, anthropologists who studied the Tswana in South Africa, found

that "Christians might have believed that they had brought the exclusive truths of civilization to the natives, truths that could not but displace existing heathen customs. But for the Africans it was quite possible for such bodies of knowledge to coexist without threatening each other."[7]

American historian W.M. McLoughlin, writing about missions to the Cherokee, found that there was "A syncretic process at work slowly melding the old and the new religions together."[8] Examples of mergers of traditional religions with Christianity seem to have been universal over time, wherever the two systems met. Because Native religions were of a non-exclusive nature, they often preserved effective elements of traditional religion while drawing upon those elements of the new religion that demonstrated usefulness and power.[9]

Menno Wiebe, formerly Executive Secretary of Mennonite Pioneer Mission, stated that when Henry and Elna Neufeld first went to Pauingassi they went with the attitude that they had the truth in a four-cornered box and were bringing it to the Ojibwa. They might round off the corners a little, but otherwise the truth would remain intact.[10] As the Neufelds interacted with the Ojibwa, they changed their minds. Now in retrospect, Neufeld explains: "We do not have a monopoly on God. He was at Pauingassi before we came. We went in with everything to teach, thinking they had nothing to give. But we changed our minds. We learned from them."[11] In other words, as the Neufelds began to listen and to engage in dialogue with the Ojibwa, their attitudes changed. They began to realize that Christianity could not completely replace Ojibwa culture and religion.

Religious and Social Background of the Pauingassi Ojibwa

The Ojibwa creation story, passed on through oral history, taught that a Manitu created the world and later saved the animals from a flood by providing them with a raft. The muskrat then went down and brought up some soil from which the Manitu made a new world and tribes of Indians. The Manitu expected the Indians to share food and game, and to respect the elderly. The Manitu (neither male nor female since the Ojibwa language distinguishes grammatically only between animate and inanimate) was not concerned with the earth or with human beings after creation. That task was left to powerful spirits whom the anthropologist Hallowell named other-than-human persons. Other-than-human persons could take the form of humans, animals, rocks, the sun, the wind, or Thunderbirds. They had more power than humans. Humans needed the help of other-than-human persons to achieve their goals. Other than human persons revealed themselves in dreams to give guidance to human beings.[12] The central goal of Ojibwa life was longevity, health, and freedom from misfortune. This goal could not be achieved without help from both human and other-than-human beings and personal effort. Human and other-than-human beings were mutually obligated to one another in a reciprocal relationship. To receive blessings from other-than-human beings who were owners or bosses of plants and animals, individuals had to fulfill their parts.[13]

Great Moose, the earliest remembered resident of Pauingassi, was born sometime around 1820. He is an example of how culture and religion meshed in the Ojibwa lifeway. Great Moose was a renowned hunter who believed, as did all the Ojibwa, that successful hunting was closely connected with spiritual power. Great Moose had six wives and twenty children

thus becoming the ancestor of most of the people at Pauingassi.[14] His son, Fair Wind, born in 1851, was father to Angus and Alex Owen of Neufeld's time period. Fair Wind was famous for a powerful drum dance that was said to have extraordinary healing powers. From the perspective of anthropologists, the Pauingassi Ojibwa were rich in cultural traditions and connections. The songs that accompanied Fair Wind's drum dance have been linked to ceremonies known in parts of Minnesota and Wisconsin as early as the 1870s.[15]

From the perspective of the 1955 Mennonite Pioneer Mission (MPM) board, the Pauingassi residents were as "culturally backward" as the people in the Amazon jungles of South America. Because of their isolation, most of the Pauingassi Ojibwa had not seen cars, horses, or cows.[16] They were very poor, "neglected by church and state." The government had made no provision for education before 1955 because Pauingassi did not have reserve status. Yet the school at Little Grand Rapids was inaccessible for Pauingassi children because of the distance and because of the swampy bush and rapids along the path between the two places.[17]

History of European Economic and Religious Contact at Pauingassi

When Hallowell visited Little Grand Rapids and Pauingassi in the 1930s, he felt that he was making "an excursion into the living past." The Pauingassi Ojibwa, however, were not as isolated as Hallowell believed since they had had many encounters with fur traders and missionaries. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) post at Little Grand Rapids was in sporadic winter operation since 1801, and opened officially in 1888. Jacob Berens, the treaty chief for the whole Berens River area, had been baptized by the Methodist missionary George McDougall at Norway House in 1861. Berens was probably one of the Ojibwa who invited Egerton R. Young to come to Berens River. Young was the first resident missionary at Berens River from 1873-1876 and it is quite likely that he visited Pauingassi.[18] Native communications systems were quite efficient; the Pauingassi Ojibwa doubtless heard about Christianity through Berens or others before Young visited them.

After Young left, missionaries who succeeded him at Berens River visited the upriver Ojibwa. Luther Schuetze, probably the first resident missionary at Little Grand Rapids, visited Pauingassi often between 1927 and 1938. He remembered indoor winter church services with "rabbits hanging over the stove thawing out...and falling on the hot stove, singed hair fouling up the air." Schuetze baptized at least one adult at what he called "Upon Gashing" (Pauingassi). Schuetze found that the Ojibwa were kind-hearted and generous, not "black-hearted and stiff-necked" as they had been described in the past. "They would do anything for you," wrote Schuetze, "oftentimes many things that would put a white man to shame."[19]

Ojibwa good nature notwithstanding, the Pauingassi Ojibwa were not always compliant to the HBC. Apparently Fair Wind's family (who took the surname, Owen) had their own ideas about with whom they would trade. Although they traded with the HBC, they also sold their furs to independent traders. In 1913 the HBC trader at Little Grand Rapids, William Chapman, called the "Owens camp" "the most awkward crowd in the L.G.R. band" because they challenged HBC authority. They got credit and outfits at the HBC, but they would

pay their debt and then take the rest of their goods elsewhere.[20]

The Ojibwa east of Lake Winnipeg displayed the same attitude toward the early missionaries who found them "extremely obdurate to conversion." Young and the missionaries who succeeded him encountered various responses to Christianity. They "ran the gamut from confrontations and avoidance to dialogue and conversion or creative syncretism." Jacob Berens illustrated the flexibility of the Ojibwa in the Berens River area when he told his son William: "Don't think you know everything. You will see lots of new things and you will find a place in your mind for them all."[21] Historically, the Ojibwa in the Berens River area did with the missionary's message whatever suited them best within the circumstances in which they found themselves at the time.

The Mennonite Pioneer Mission, later Native Ministries

Although the Pauingassi community and Ojibwa belief system described thus far were very different from Mennonites and their Anabaptist faith, these two worlds intersected when the Mennonite Pioneer Mission sent missionaries to northern Manitoba. MPM was begun in 1944 by the Bergthaler Mennonite Church of southern Manitoba but was under the supervision of the General Conference Mission Board. After 1960, it was administered by the Mission Board of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada. Originally, MPM sponsored missionaries to Mexico but the mission there did not work out as planned. Meanwhile, during World War II, Mennonite conscientious objectors taught on Indian reserves. Through their work, Mennonites became interested in mission work among the Indians. Like Presbyterians and Methodists, Mennonites classified missions to Indian reserves as foreign missions because the stations were "just like foreign mission [stations]" since faces were brown and the language was not English. When the mission board considered the Ojibwa "customs, superstitions, and backwardness," they concluded that mission work with these people was much as it was in "heathen" countries even though the missionary in Pauingassi was only 200 miles away from Winnipeg. MPM goals for Pauingassi were to bring Christ to people who did not know about Him, to open a school where the Indians could learn to read and write, and to raise the Indians' standard of living.[22]

In 1956 (one year after MPM sent Henry and Elna Neufeld to Pauingassi) the Chairman of MPM, George Groening, deplored the ignorance of the Pauingassi Ojibwa. "They still build little houses on their graves for the spirit to live in," he wrote to the constituency. "On certain occasions they still beat their tom-tom drums. Witchcraft is still practiced although in secret. They still fear the witch doctor, who is able to cast an `evil-eye' on them."[23] The Board wrote in 1958 that conjuring and magic had been discontinued at Pauingassi only a few years ago.[24] In their view, many Ojibwa religious practices were based on "superstitions" that had been handed down to them from "their heathen ancestors."[25]

Henry Gerbrandt, MPM secretary from 1950 to 1966, was more understanding of the Ojibwa way of life. Gerbrandt was able to empathize with northern missionaries and native people to some degree because he had done his alternative service at Cross Lake.[26] After visiting Pauingassi in 1957, he described problems that characterized mission work in the North. First, missionaries were not coming to people who were "fresh clay." They had been

in contact with Christianity before and had perhaps been nominal church members for over 100 years. Secondly, there was no literature in the Saulteaux (Ojibwa) language. Thirdly, Indians were Canada's "original inhabitants," yet they had been displaced. Through treaties signed with the Canadian government, they had lost their land and were now thought of as wards of the federal government who could, in this paternalistic system, become dependent upon outside help. In Gerbrandt's opinion "the Gospel must be practical. It must apply to the whole man and must have a solution to his problems."[27] In his final report in 1966, Gerbrandt noted changes in board policy that had come about since 1955. He admitted that in the past Christian missions had been "unkind to Native spirituality and culture." They had "cooperated too uncritically with government agencies in trying to conquer the Native people and rid them of their `savage habits.'" He continued:

> That approach has been wrong and needs to be faced, confessed, and corrected. At the same time, the Gospel ceases to be the saving Gospel when the unique historical Christ is removed from its centre. We cannot let that happen....During the early days of MPM we did not even begin to understand what is now called Native spirituality. And the brief encounters we had with it only fortified our misconception that it was demon-influenced.[28]

After 1966 Menno Wiebe, a trained anthropologist, became the Executive Secretary of MPM. Wiebe tried to discover how Native people could become Christians without giving up their own cultures. He asked such questions as, "What happens when an agricultural people, with a progress oriented ethic touches the world of the Algonquian hunters," and "What happens when a Christian theology is imposed upon pre-Christian concepts of God and the world?" To reflect new ways of doing missions, MPM's name was changed to Native Ministries with the objective of creating Indian and Metis congregations that would be fellow Mennonite congregations, not missions. In the 1972 *Bulletin* published by the Conference of Mennonites in Canada, Native Ministries stated that their missionaries on reserves had the intention of acknowledging "native religions and art forms as authentic expressions of the Algonquian faith in the Kitchi Manitou" and restoring "native pride which had almost vanished."[29] The 1980s Native Ministries mission statement emphasized:

> sharing of the Christian Gospel in word and deed with Canadians of native ancestry to the end that caring and responsible fellowship of believers be established and nurtured and that native and non-native persons live together as brothers and sisters in Christ. Included in this is a sincere effort to assist native and non-native people in bringing about justice for native people.[30]

The Mennonite Missionaries, Henry and Elna Neufeld

Henry and Elna Neufeld first entered the domain of the Pauingassi Ojibwa in 1955. Neufeld, originally from Leamington, Ontario, was inexperienced and young. He had three years of education at the Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg where he met and married Elna Friesen from Homewood, Manitoba. After their wedding in 1952, they taught

for two years in a two-room school on the Moose Lake Cree reserve. Although they had begun to learn the Cree language, they wanted to be in a place where they could both teach and open a mission. After a visit from Jake Unrau, MPM missionary at Matheson Island who told them that the Pauingassi Ojibwa needed a school and a mission, the Neufelds asked MPM if they could begin a mission at Pauingassi.[31] During the school year 1954-1955 Henry taught at Little Grand Rapids where the Neufelds first learned to know Ojibwa people and met some of the Pauingassi residents who came to visit at Little Grand Rapids.

Clearly, Neufeld had been interested in Pauingassi since he heard of it in 1954. In 1955, Neufeld and Chief Alex Owen discussed possibilities for a mission at Pauingassi. Neufeld wrote that "in general the chief thought the people would be very glad to see a mission opened up there." The Catholics had inquired if Pauingassi children wanted to go to a residential school but parents were opposed to this idea. Owen "did not like to see things the way they were,...no children baptized and no young people married." Owen said that in the past, the Ojibwa way of life had been adequate. Now, however, they saw that their children were entering a different world and that they would need to speak the English language in order to get jobs. Owen asked Neufeld to be their teacher and missionary.[32] In May 1955, the MPM Board agreed to send Henry and Elna Neufeld as their missionaries to Pauingassi. Neufeld held his first meeting at Pauingassi in May 1955 with Alex Fisher from Little Grand Rapids as interpreter, the Little Grand Rapids chief, and thirty-five to forty Pauingassi Ojibwa in attendance. They talked about various concerns and had a short service.[33]

Together, the Neufelds made house visitations, cared for the sick, and helped the people improve their dwellings. They worked with the people rather than for the people. Neufeld wrote:

> Christ's invitation to follow him was not only part of Sunday services but also involved the needs of the whole person as we worked together, played together, hunted, visited, laughed and cried together. We soon realized that for them there was no separation between the physical and the spiritual as is often the case in our own culture.[34]

The Board had contacted Indian Affairs with regard to beginning a school but Indian Affairs responded negatively at first, saying that "they had a ten-year plan for the area and that they did not want much interference." Eventually, however, they gave grudging permission and a promise of a minimum of $4.50 per month per child.[35] What the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) objected to was a missionary and teacher who wanted to learn the Ojibwa language. Apparently DIA officials thought that to speak the language of the people was to encourage them to regress and that the Ojibwa would lose respect for the Neufelds if they spoke Saulteaux (Ojibwa).[36]

Henry began a school and taught until 1960, with Elna spelling him off when he was busy at building projects. They taught in the English language but in all informal settings, the children were allowed to speak Saulteaux. In their 1991 book, Henry and Elna wrote:

> Communication on the settlement was totally in their own language. Therefore, the aim to teach the children English as fast as possible and for us to learn Saulteaux

> even faster, was a difficult task. To help the children get a grasp of the English vocabulary, we used a bilingual approach as much as possible.[37]

The Neufelds taught school only in the mornings because they felt that half a day was long enough for children who were not accustomed to sitting indoors. In 1956, they had an enrolment of fourteen, and Henry wrote:

> I certainly hope there will not be more for quite a while yet, because if there are it means that the families are coming back from the trapline. This is very bad, because when the men try to trap and still stay on the settlement they certainly do not produce much fur, wherefore they have little to eat. I feel that if they move in too much, it would be better to close the school during the best trapping season so there would be nothing to keep them here.[38]

The following year, Neufeld taught school for half-days, only from October to the end of March so that families could go to their traplines together.[39]

In 1958, with a change in the federal government, relationships with the DIA improved. They provided school supplies, rent for the building, and tuition for each child. By 1966, the Division of Indian Affairs and Northern Development had taken over the school. Progress was slow because the children did not want to speak English at all times. Indian Affairs, however, pressured teachers to make the children speak English on the playground and at other community events such as children's clubs, ladies' groups, Sunday school, and worship services. A language specialist who came to Pauingassi in 1966 was furious that the children were speaking in their own language in informal settings but when she left, Neufeld and the teachers continued to allow the Ojibwa language on the playground. This practice seemed most sensible to them. Though the language specialist contacted Menno Wiebe, Executive Secretary of MPM, asking him to stop the Neufelds from allowing the use of Saulteaux, Wiebe chose to ignore their request.[40]

Along with progress at Pauingassi, came problems. One problem that Neufeld encountered was denominational differences. In January 1955, when Alex Owen asked Neufeld to baptize Ojibwa children, Neufeld had to explain that Mennonites did not baptize infants. Owen wondered if "this was a different religion or whether it was the same one" as the United Church. Later Neufeld observed that the Ojibwa did not have trouble accepting the Jesus of the Bible but they had trouble with Jesus being presented in many different ways.[41]

Another problem the Neufelds faced at Pauingassi was learning the Ojibwa language. In the summer of 1955 upon the recommendation of the MPM board, Henry and Elna attended the Summer School of Linguistics at Caronport, Saskatchewan but Ojibwa proved to be a difficult language to learn. Until Neufeld had a strong grasp of the language, he was dependent upon the interpreter, Jacob Owen, who was sometimes out on the trapline. Problems connected with this arrangement were acknowledged by the Board in 1957 thus:

> ...there is one tremendous barrier. That is the language. And a language does not only consist of words. The interpreter can sometimes translate words but not concepts. It will take time for the Neufelds to learn the language sufficiently to speak intelligently to the people about spiritual things. It will also require time for the

Indian to comprehend the truths of the Gospel.[42]

In 1958 Henry was fairly fluent in conversational Ojibwa though he still depended upon an interpreter when he preached. By 1963, both Henry and Elna had become fluent Ojibwa speakers with the ability to converse and preach in the Ojibwa language.[43]

The religious language was a problem for the Ojibwa as well, since their copies of the Bible and song sheets were in Cree syllabics, developed by James Evans in the nineteenth century. This made for more language difficulty and confusion. Neufeld, in correspondence with Wiebe, wrote about the difficulty the Ojibwa Christians had in reading Cree. The language problem was illustrated by Lucy Owen, Jacob Owen's wife, who led in prayer during a regular evening meeting. Her words were as follows: "Lord, it is not very long since I started walking this way. I am so slow, so very slow at reading. And this Cree it is so terribly hard. If this [the Bible] were written in Soto right away it would make a world of difference.[44] Neufeld requested Ojibwa hymnbooks, but they were not available and so the Pauingassi residents received Cree hymnbooks from the Northern Canada Evangelical Mission in Saskatchewan to replace their mimeographed Cree song sheets.[45]

Although Neufeld was concerned for the physical well-being of the Ojibwa, he was waiting for a spiritual breakthrough, when the people would commit their lives to Christ. Neufeld wrote that he kept reminding himself that they were "called to be faithful; the Lord would do the rest." Neufeld did not believe in pressuring the Ojibwa into a decision to convert. In an interview, he said that he and Elna did not push their way in "with a machete." They were not there to play a "numbers game" or to save souls from hell but to help the Ojibwa walk with Jesus and build upon the faith they already had.[46]

Ojibwa Response

Although the Ojibwa were glad to have a teacher and a missionary, they were slow to respond to Neufeld's message of salvation. After over four years at Pauingassi, Neufeld observed that drinking and fighting were increasing. Some Ojibwa who used to come to services now stayed away. When Neufeld talked to them about making a personal decision for Jesus, he noticed some Ojibwa snickering. One man said that he chose to follow Satan rather than the Lord and called the Neufelds devils. The Neufelds, in their prayer letter, explained these responses as the result of a spiritual battle between God and Satan. "We feel that the Lord is really speaking to them," they wrote, "but Satan is certainly trying to strengthen his hold on them."[47]

In the summer of 1960, Spoot Owen and St. John Owen came to Henry Neufeld with their personal problems. They both seemed interested in being converted but apparently Neufeld did not feel that they were ready and did not pressure them. Then came another setback. William Owen's oldest son beat up several old men, and Neufeld, upon request and against his better judgment, called the police. After the police took charge, a trial was held. At this trial, Jacob Owen (the interpreter), who had failed to appear at a Little Grand Rapids trial the previous summer for charges of drinking and making home brew, was sentenced to one month in prison. Jacob was very angry with Neufeld. When Neufeld shook hands with

the policeman who was leaving on the plane that took Owen to prison, one of the Ojibwa laughed and said: "You shake hands with him?" Neufeld was sure that he had alienated the people. Yet the next day, being Sunday, Neufeld was pleasantly surprised to see fifty people out for the service who bore no visible malice against him.[48]

Early in 1966, St. John Owen, Jacob Owen, and his wife Lucy joined an instruction class in preparation for baptism. Jacob, however, was still "involved with dreams and spirits." These three persons were baptized upon the confession of their faith on 27 February 1966.[49] By March 1968, there were twenty converts at Pauingassi. Although some who had decided to become Christians returned to their old way of life, the local membership stood at twelve.[50]

Before Neufeld left in 1970, Menno Wiebe came to Pauingassi to organize local leadership. After the congregation nominated Jacob Owen, St. John Owen, Spoot Owen and David Owen for the leadership position, Wiebe wrote their names on the blackboard. Then he asked for an election, but the people indicated that they wanted the four men, rather than one, to form the leadership team that would take responsibility for the local Mennonite church. Larry Kehler, an MPM representative, described the Pauingassi Mennonite Church thus:

> The church at Pauingassi is developing its own unique style and structure. Some of its practices were introduced by the Henry Neufelds, others have been picked up from missions in northern Ontario and the Lake Winnipeg region. An Apostolic group from Berens River has had considerable influence on the church at Little Grand Rapids, and some of this is now being picked up at Pauingassi. Denominationalism appears to have little appeal to the Indian people. They pick up what they like from various places.[51]

Syncretism at Pauingassi

The effects of contact with civilization and Christianity resulted in a curious religious syncretism at Pauingassi. Glimpses of syncretism come to us through three different windows. The first glimpse comes through the window of anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell's visit to the Berens River area in the 1930s. The second glimpse comes through the window of Neufeld's missionary tenure from 1955 to 1970. The third glimpse comes through the observations of Maureen Matthews (a CBC documentary journalist) and Roger Roulette (an Ojibwa teacher and linguist) who visited the Pauingassi Ojibwa in 1994.

Long before Neufeld came, the Ojibwa were incorporating both Christian and native religious elements into their ceremonies. In 1933, when Hallowell visited Pauingassi, Fair Wind told the anthropologist about the gift of healing he had received associated with the drum dance. After his favorite grandson died, Fair Wind was completely dejected, ready to give up. He journeyed into the bush, hoping to find a cure for his despondency. He then lay down on a rock and "gave himself up" to his spirit helper, after which he received the gift of the healing dream dance.[52] Fair Wind's experience on the rock is similar to a conversion experience. He gave himself up because he had reached the end of what he could do through his own efforts. His life took a new direction guided by a higher power.

Fair Wind's son, Angus, had a similar experience. When his brother's son died, Angus went north to hunt and to obtain healing for his sadness. He also heard a voice that promised him a gift. Angus, however, did not attribute his gift to a spirit helper. He told Hallowell, through William Berens, that the gift he received came from God, not from a dream guardian or from the spirits of the dead.[53]

Hallowell observed that when Fair Wind performed the drum dance ceremony he began with a smudge. The smudge was an offering of sweet grass or tobacco given before a ceremony to keep out negative spirit beings and to welcome positive spirit beings. Fair Wind also offered dishes of food to relatives "who look down upon us" (those who had died). He said they had once been sent to earth from above and that "Jesus, too, came from above to be the boss of the earth." Adam Owen, Fair Wind's grandnephew, said that Fair Wind used to call people to worship on Sundays by ringing a bell and then "praying from a Cree syllabic Bible."[54] In many ways, Fair Wind's experiences and activities incorporated both native and Christian religions collected from intermittent missionary influence among the Ojibwa east of Berens River since Young's visits in the 1870s.

Hallowell was impressed with the healing ministry of Fair Wind's ceremony, but even more with its power as a communication system between the living and the spirits of the dead. When Hallowell visited Little Grand Rapids to observe a drum dance, Kiwitc, who conducted the ceremony said he had not gone as far as to communicate with the dead.[55] This part of the ceremony may have been more a remembering and honouring of the dead than what we today call necromancy or the occult. What is significant here is that Fair Wind spoke of the dead "who look down upon us," not about the "old people down south." Fair Wind seemed to imply a Christian heaven rather than the traditional Ojibwa home for the dead.

Neufeld observed many examples of syncretism at Pauingassi between 1955 and 1970. One example was a child's funeral in 1956. Parents and friends prepared a box-like casket lined with white linen and decorated with flowers. The oldest Indian and a councillor spoke and chanted. Then George Groening, chairman of MPM who happened to be at Pauingassi, spoke. After the child was buried, the family built a house over the grave, the community had a drum-dance, and home-brew was distributed.[56] The funeral appears to be a mixture of Ojibwa and Christian observances and cultures.

In 1955 there were many evidences of religious changes taking place at Pauingassi. The school building was built on a site previously used for drumming and dancing. Alex Owen supervised the burial of special rocks from the dancing area in 1957. The 1930s medicine lodge where Fair Wind and his four sons conducted healing ceremonies was also gone. Charlie George Owen told Neufeld: "My father is gone and the *Waapanoowin* practice is a thing of the past. I too used to be a part of it at one time, but not any more. I will take my father's tools and dispose of them in the bush."[57]

On the other hand, native religion was still alive and well. A pole stood at the edge of the water, with flag-like bands of material and a strip of hide taken from a bear cub's nose. These poles were erected to honour the bear to ensure successful hunting in the future. Ribbons and tobacco were hung on the pole as offerings.[58] The Ojibwa also tied bundles of bones together and placed them behind homes to return something from the hunt so that the gods would be appeased. The Neufelds wrote that they too, should be grateful to God for

his gifts and give something back to Him.

In 1959, drumming parties that created a "tense" atmosphere were still taking place at Pauingassi. About drumming Henry and Elna wrote:

> Just because we do not understand and appreciate that continuous throb, does not mean it is not good; or even evil because we do not practice it. We must not forget that we were brought up...under different circumstances.[59]

Though drumming, from the Neufelds' perspective, created tension, it brought happiness for the Ojibwa. The Neufelds observed that the main drum dance was held in spring after the trappers returned. The Ojibwa told the Neufelds that this drum dance gave them pleasant dreams about prolonged life.[60]

In 1960, St. John Owen struggled with an illness that he thought was caused by a spell that had been placed on him. When he became concerned about his health he asked Neufeld to pray for him. St. John had already given up tobacco and alcohol but according to Neufeld, was still "tied to witchcraft very much."[61] In Ojibwa thought, illness was often attributed to sorcery, or mistakes, or taboos broken in the past, even by one's parents. The victim was probably responsible because he had offended the sorcerer (shaman) or one of the animal bosses or had committed a wrongful act.[62] In 1961 St. John had not overcome his problems. In their prayer letter, Henry and Elna wrote, "St. John has by trusting the Lord overcome a great deal of the spell that was drummed on him 3 1/2 years ago, but it seems that something still is there at times."[63] St. John's tie to past native beliefs about spell-induced illness parallels the story of William Berens of Berens River, whose parents had already been connected to the Methodist Church. Berens did not take the blessings and medicines offered him in a dream. Many years later he felt pain in his knee and was convinced that shot had entered "through an Indian's magic powers." Fears such as St. John experienced were common among the Ojibwa.[64] Of course, all of this was before any Pauingassi Ojibwa were converted and baptized.

Yet, syncretism was still evident in 1994, when Maureen Matthews and Roger Roulette visited Pauingassi. Charlie George Owen, Fair Wind's grandson, told them about his grandfather's drum dance ceremony.[65] Charlie George was also one of the staunchest pillars in the Mennonite Church. According to Neufeld, Charlie George had his own story to tell which paralleled Fair Wind's and Angus Owen's stories. One day when Charlie George was out on the trapline, his son committed suicide. After Charlie George had returned home and had seen his son, he went back to the trapline. There he had a vision of "a being coming in and it was dark." Then again "a being came in and it was light." Charlie George went home, asked the leaders to pray for him, and became a Christian.[66] Charlie George Owen also had a powerful experience of dying and being brought back to life by his grandfather's drum dance.[67]

St. John Owen told Roger Roulette about community participation in Fair Wind's drum dance. Ojibwa dreams were usually kept private but Fair Wind was instructed by his dream visitor to disclose this vision to others. Thus, according to St. John Owen's version of the story, Fair Wind invited the community to participate in the preparation and performance of the ceremony. The themes of community and shared gifts are peculiar to the Mennonite

tradition and may have influenced St. John. Although he was talking about past events, he may have woven the theme of community according to his Mennonite experience into the already many-stranded story. St. John, though a Mennonite elder, was active in a medical practice that specialized in sicknesses that came from breaking Ojibwa taboos. He said he received the gift for this practice from Jesus.[68]

Conclusion

There is abundant evidence that the Pauingassi Ojibwa Christians kept major components of their belief system. Neufeld came to a community that was particularly persistent in their native beliefs. Bruce White has written about the meanings Ojibwa people attach to gift giving in cementing a relationship.[69] What happened in the relationship between Neufeld and the Pauingassi Ojibwa was not so much tangible gift giving as a reciprocal giving up process. There is no doubt that the Neufelds were in a position of power since they were backed by the MPM board and their constituency in southern Manitoba through whom they had access to many modern conveniences and a salary. Yet they gave up many comforts as well. First, they gave up the comfort of speaking their own language to learn the Ojibwa, since they found that it was indispensable if they wanted to communicate meaningfully with the people. Then, they gave up their ideas of what a school should be like, what kinds of progress students should make, or what ideal attendance patterns should be. To them, it was more important that the Ojibwa economic needs be met than that children should be in school. The Board gave theNeufelds freedom to make decisions and they responded by giving the Ojibwa cultural latitude. One example was their resistance to the Department of Indian Affairs stance against their use of the Ojibwa language in church, at girls and boys clubs, and on the school playground. The Neufelds, backed by their board, continued to speak Ojibwa since this seemed to make more sense at Pauingassi.[70] They also made a long-term commitment to Pauingassi, first by living with the people for fifteen years and then by continuing active and ongoing visitations to Pauingassi from Winnipeg. Perhaps most importantly, they were willing to build upon native beliefs rather than demolishing all former convictions and leaving the people with nothing familiar.

Neufeld did not expect the Ojibwa to become white Indians who spoke only English and adapted to "civilization" like western capitalists. In Neufeld's opinion, cultural baggage was not important because it was not the Gospel. He thought that new Christians must change some things, keep some things, and let go of some things in their culture. This was a process over time, not to be enforced by the missionary but by insights that came gradually to native Christians.

Neufeld found that the Ojibwa had been a very spiritual people even before he came. Neufeld's discovery likely came gradually, as he learned to know the Ojibwa and their belief system and as he dialogued with them. Real dialogue could only take place after 1963, when Henry and Elna were proficient in the Ojibwa language. They may also have gained further insights through ongoing visitations between their departure from Pauingassi in 1970 and the publication of their book in 1991. The book, *By God's Grace: Ministry with Native People in Pauingassi*, was written in hindsight. Henry and Elna Neufeld learned that, as among

Mennonites, Ojibwa culture and faith are inseparable. A hunting people's very livelihood was intricately connected with religious ceremony, but as long as Christ was central, ceremonies were peripheral. The Ojibwa Christians still lived their traditional lives and their belief systems still held their worlds together.[71]

On their part, the Pauingassi Christians gave up some things as well. According to Nuefeld, four rocks with special names had at one time been located in the center of a diamond-shaped dance area. Of their own volition, they buried the rocks that had been part of their drum dance ceremonies. Since rocks were animate in Ojibwa thought, this was a major sacrifice. The Ojibwa also gradually gave up their practice of medicine lodge ceremonies. St. John Owen was expected to give up his fear of sorcery. Although Neufeld was accommodating of many Ojibwa beliefs, he was opposed to sorcery and he said the Ojibwa themselves knew that sorcery was wrong.[72]

But they did not give up all their traditional beliefs. Spoot Owen said after he had been a Christian for some time: "I never thought that all of the past [was] wrong."[73] This statement could have several meanings. It could mean that he now saw that some of his native traditions were wrong. It could also mean that even though he had become a Christian, he still held precious the traditions of his ancestors, which he never had considered wrong.[74]

My argument has been twofold: First, that Henry Neufeld's ministry at Pauingassi resulted in a syncretized or somewhat transformed kind of Christianity, as the Ojibwa kept many aspects of their own traditions and added the Christian religion. That should not be new to Mennonites who have freely borrowed from Protestant mainline churches and Western society around them while keeping their own core values. Secondly, Henry Neufeld and his Board could not make a clean break between Ojibwa religion and culture since such a break did not exist. Again, Mennonites are not able to make such a break either. Therefore, it should not be difficult for Mennonites to understand syncretism among the Ojibwa and the Mennonite missionary Henry Neufeld.

Notes

[1] James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America 1890-1930* (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1989), 110.

[2] Dennis and Barbara Tedlock, eds. *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy* (New York: Liveright, 1975). There are exceptions to the sharing aspect. The Ojibwa usually did not talk to their communities about the gifts and powers conferred to them in their visions. If they did, they lost them. They shared their gifts through deeds, such as curing, but did not talk about the gifts themselves.

[3] Theresa S. Smith, *The Island of the Anishnaabeg: Thunderers and Water Monsters in the Ojibwa Life-World* (Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1995), 24.

[4] Antonio R. Gualtieri, *Christianity and Native Traditions: Indigenization and Syncretism Among the Inuit and Dene of the Western Arctic* (Notre Dame, Indiania: Cross Cultural Publications, Inc., 1984), 8, 27, 117.

[5] Jean-Guy Goulet, "Religious Dualism among Athapaskan Catholics," *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3.1 (1982): 1.

[6] Jean-Guy Goulet, *Ways of Knowing: Experience, Knowledge, and Power Among the Dene Tha* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 212-222.

[7] Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revalation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, Volume I (The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 225.

[8] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 344.

[9] James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Context of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 19.

[10] Interview by Alvina Block with Menno Wiebe, 30 January 2000.

[11] Interview by David Balzer with Henry Neufeld, 30 January 2000 on Connecting Points, CFAM.

[12] Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (University of Toronto Press, 1987), 9-11. Smith calls the Creator Nanahbuzhoo. The High God, or *Gitichi Manitu* is above Nanahbuzhoo. Hallowell did not think that the Ojibwa conception of *Gitichi Manitu* is a result of the missionary message. A. Irving Hallowell, *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba: Ethnography into History*, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1992), 61-64, 70-72, 82-85.

[13] A. Irving Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View," in *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*, eds. Dennis and Barbara Tedlock (New York: Liveright, 1975), 171-173.

[14] Such family arrangements were common for a great Ojibwa hunter who brought home more furs, skins, and meat than one wife could process. The Keeseekoowenin reserve also has a great hunter ancestor—Michael Cardinal, who had three wives and many children. See Alvina Block, "George Flett, Native Presbyterian Missionary: 'Old Philosopher'/'Rev'd Gentleman'" (Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1997), 20-21.

[15] Jennifer S.H. Brown in collaboration with Maureen Matthews, "Fair Wind: Medicine and Consolation on the Berens River," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, n.s., vol. 4 (1994): 57-58, 60, 64.

[16] Mennonite Heritage Centre (MHC) Mennonite Pioneer Missions Collection (MPM), vol. 362, "Pauingassi Trip Report," author unknown (likely a board member), 1957. The author of this report probably did not consider Winnipeg children culturally backward because they had never seen a moose, a caribou, or a dogsled.

[17] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Henry Gerbrandt to Harvey Toews, 13 May 1955.

[18] Hallowell, *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba*, xii, 8, 13, 35. See also Hudson's Bay Company post history for Little Grand Rapids. See Victor Lytwyn, *The Fur Trade of the Little North: Indians, Pedlars, and Englishmen East of Lake Winnipeg, 1760-1821* (Winnipeg: Rupert's Land Research Centre, 1986), 100. According to Lytwyn, David Sanderson had a post at Little Grand Rapids in the 1801-1802 season. See also Susan Elaine Gray, "The Ojibwa World View and Encounters with Christianity along the Berens River, 1875-1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1996), 163-164. Norway House Methodist missionary William Mason reported an earlier baptism at Berens River in 1851. Young was at Berens River when the Ojibwa signed Treaty Five in 1875. See Brown and Matthews, 62.

[19] Gray 164-165. Luther Schuetze Memoirs, manuscript available at the United Church of Canada: Archives of the Conference of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario (UCA). Schuetze, a United Church missionary, seemed to think of Pauingassi people as more backward than Little Grand Rapids people. Yet Henry Neufeld sawed lumber for Little Grand Rapids at Pauingassi because of "the superior working habits of the Pauingassi men." MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Henry Neufeld to Ike Froese, 8 October 1968. For a record of the baptism, see UCA, Little Grand Rapids Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials."

[20] Brown and Matthews 60-61.

[21] Brown and Matthews 62. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "A Place in Your Mind for Them All: Chief William Berens," in *Being and Becoming Indian*, ed. J.A. Clifton (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989), 210.

[22] Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith* (Altona: D.W. Friesen and Sons Ltd., 1970), 333-341. Edna Dalke, "Teaching at Pauingassi—A Joy and a Job," *MPM Quarterly* 16.3 (December 1960), 3-4. Dahlke taught at Pauingassi for a few years in the 1960s. MHC, MPM, vol. 362, 1958 brochure. This brochure is in the German language. The words in quotation marks were translated into the nearest correct meaning.

[23] George Groening, "Mission Report," *MPM Quarterly* 12.1 (April 1956): 5.

[24] Apparently "conjuring and magic" had not ceased. See for example MHC, MPM, vol. 362, January 1961 prayer letter where Henry and Elna Neufeld write about St. John's continuing preoccupation with "a spell that was drummed on him 3 1/2 years ago."

[25] 1958 brochure. The Board did not take into consideration that "one man's superstition is another man's religion" and that "superstition has no objective reality." James Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 13. Usually the word was used by an ethnocentric group to denigrate the religion of another group. Some of this ethnocentrism is revealed in Board reports.

[26] "The Program of Mennonite Pioneeer Mission," *Bulletin: Conference of Mennonites in Canada* 2.3 (12 April 1966), 3-5.

[27] Henry Gerbrandt, "A Visit to Pauingassi," *MPM Quarterly* 12.2 (July 1957), 7.

[28] Gerbrandt's farewell speech, in Henry J. Gerbrandt, *En Route: Hinjawaeajis: The Memoirs of Henry J. Gerbrandt* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1994), 211.

[29] T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 337. Menno Wiebe, "Mennonite Pioneer Mission," *Bulletin: Conference of Mennonites in Canada* 9.1 (28 May 1973), 10-11. *Bulletin: Conference of Mennonites in Canada* 8.1 (26 May 1972), 18-19.

[30] Anna Ens, *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1996), 114.

[31] Henry had a permit while Elna was a certified teacher. Henry and Elna Neufeld, *By God's Grace: Ministry with Native People in Pauingassi* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1991), 6-8. MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Neufeld to Gerbrandt, 21 February 1954. Neufeld felt that he should not begin a mission at Moose Lake because Anglicans and Catholics already had stations there. For a glimpse of Unrau's missionary work among native peoples, see Jake Unrau, *Living in the Way: The Pilgrimage of Jake & Trudy Unrau* (Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1996). Unrau writes that when he began his work with MPM in 1948 on Matheson Island he "had little appreciation for other religious expressions." Later, he could "acknowledge freely that Indian values, spirituality and lifestyles...had a profound influence on [his] own spiritual formation."

[32] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Neufeld to Gerbrandt, 2 February 1955. See also Henry and Elna Neufeld 11.

[33] Henry and Elna Neufeld 8-10. See also MHC, MPM, vol. 362 Neufeld to Gerbrandt, 15 May 1955.

[34] Henry and Elna Neufeld 21-22. The Neufelds wrote this in hindsight, when they wrote their book published in 1991. Here they clearly state that culture and religion cannot be separated among the Ojibwa.

[35] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Gerbrandt to Henry and Elna, 12 May 1955.

[36] Henry and Elna Neufeld 12. It seems that assimilation was still the goal of the Department of Indian Affairs.

[37] Henry and Elna Neufeld 13.

[38] Henry Neufeld, *MPM Quarterly* 12.1 (April 1956): 11.

[39] Henry and Elna Neufeld, "Pauingassi," *MPM Quarterly* 13.2 (July 1957): 3.

[40] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Henry Neufeld to David Neufeld, 20 September 1963. Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February 1999. There are no Department of Indian Affairs records at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba about language specialists' visits to Pauingassi. However the sessional papers for 1966-1967 report that "a comprehensive testing program was carried out

by the language arts specialists which covered all aspects of the teaching of English in the federal schools" during the 1966 to 1967 school year in schools operated by the Education Division of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Annual Report of Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1966-1967*, 48-49.

[41] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Neufeld to Gerbrandt, 2 February 1955. Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February 1999.

[42] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, 1957 trip report, author unknown.

[43] Clarence Epp, "A Word from Pauingassi," *MPM Quarterly* 14.3 (October 1958), 3. MHC, MPM, vol. 362, report of the Executive Secretary, 30 September to 2 October 1963.

[44] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Neufeld to Wiebe, 17 November 1966.

[45] Henry and Elna Neufeld 21. See also MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Neufeld to Gerbrandt, 5 December 1955 and Gerbrandt to Neufeld, 23 December 1955.

[46] Henry and Elna Neufeld 22-23. See also MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Groening to Neufeld, 31 May 1957. Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February 1999.

[47] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Henry and Elna to "dear praying friends," December 1959.

[48] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Elna and Henry to Groening and Gerbrandt, 5 June 1960. Elna and Henry to Groening, 15 January 1961.

[49] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Neufeld to Wiebe 5 January 1966. Henry J. Gerbrandt, "The Birth of a Northern Church, *Bulletin: Conference of Mennonites in Canada* 2.3 (12 April 1966), 5.

[50] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, report by B. Harry Dyck, 23 June to 11 August 1967; memo to CMC Mission Board from Menno Wiebe, 25 September 1967; Neufeld to Wiebe, 12 March 1968. See also Henry and Elna to "Dear Friends," January 1969.

[51] Interview by Alvina Block with Menno Wiebe, 20 December 1998. Larry Kehler, "Larry Kehler reports: Pauingassi," *Bulletin: Conference of Mennonites in Canada* 7.3 (28 May 1971), 5.

[52] Ronald Niezen observed that Cree elders recommended going into the bush as a valuable therapy for people who suffered emotional disturbances. In "Healing and Conversion: Medical Evangelism in James Bay Cree Society," *Ethnohistory* 44.3 (1997): 466. Matthews and Roulette 340.

[53] Maureen Matthews and Roger Roulette, "Fair Wind's Dream: Naamiwan Obawaajigewin, in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown & Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 350.

[54] Matthews and Roulette, 336 note 1, 350-351. This bell was still at Pauingassi in the 1990s According to oral tradition, it was stolen long ago from a tractor train that brought freight to Pauingassi. Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February 1999.

[55] Matthews and Roulette 333; 333 note 2.

[56] George Groening, "An Indian Funeral," *MPM Quarterly* 12.1 (April 1956): 3-4.

[57] Henry and Elna Neufeld 3.

[58] Henry and Elna Neufeld 3. See also Sam Gill, *Native American Religions: An Introduction* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982), 117.

[59] Henry and Elna Neufeld, "Customs and Beliefs," *MPM Quarterly* 14.2 (June 1958): 4.

[60] Henry and Elna Neufeld, "Customs and Beliefs, *MPM Quarterly* 14.2 (June 1958): 4.

[61] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Gerbrandt to Neufeld 17 March 1960. See also Elna and Henry to Gerbrandt and Groening, 5 June 1960.

[62] Hallowell in Tedlock 170. Thus when the Ojibwa were sick they asked: "Who did this? Who is responsible?

[63] MHC, MPM, vol. 362, Henry and Elna Neufeld to "Dear Praying Friends," January 1961.

[64] Brown in Clifton, 211-216.

[65] Matthews and Roulette 334.

[66] Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February 1999.

[67] Matthews and Roulette 341.

[68] Matthews and Roulette 336, 354.

[69] Bruce M. White, "Give Us a Little Milk," *Minnesota History* 48.2 (1982), 60-65.

[70] Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February.

[71] Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February 1999.

[72] Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February 1999.

[73] Interview by Alvina Block with Henry and Elna Neufeld, 19 February 1999.

[74] In a telephone conversation with Henry Neufeld on 1 March 2000, he seemed to indicate that the latter meaning was correct.