

A Lonely Outpost: The Mennonite Maison de l'Amitié of Montreal, 1973-2006¹

Lucille Marr, *McGill University*

The 1975 decision by the board of La Maison de l'Amitié to hire Chilean refugee Juan Iturriaga to do maintenance work and his wife Graciella to cook for their daycare, set the stage for over thirty years of active refugee ministry.² The Iturriagas had received landed immigrant status in Canada following seven difficult months when Juan was held as a political prisoner in his homeland. Juan and Graciella Iturriaga were among 7000 refugees who fled Chile and other Latin American countries and were admitted to Canada in the wake of the violent overthrow of Salvador Allende's democratically elected Socialist-Communist government.³ With Iturriaga's conversion from Catholic militant to Mennonite pacifist the La Maison de l'Amitié's Board of Directors soon promoted him to community worker, hoping that he could "make full use of his talents in the work of God's kingdom."⁴

Historian Reg Whitaker points out that "despite the imminent danger in which left-wing Chileans found themselves, theirs proved to be a less popular cause than that of the boat people who fled Communism."⁵ Yet for Mennonites in Montreal this Spanish ministry was only the beginning of a long history of support for refugees from a myriad of countries. Established in 1973 in the wake of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, La Maison de l'Amitié established a Mennonite presence in Montreal that reflected the heart for refugees in the larger Mennonite community. Among the most effective lobbyists in bringing in people displaced by Communism after World War II, the Mennonites signed an agreement in 1979 with the federal government to sponsor South East Asian refugees who were displaced following Communist victories in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.⁶ The possibility of private sponsorship made it possible for local Mennonite congregations to play a key role, although this was difficult to implement in Quebec.⁷

With a dozen Mennonite churches in the province but only one in downtown Montreal, the potential for church sponsorship was limited. In 1979 the Montreal Fellowship joined 306 Mennonite congregations across Canada who would sponsor a South-East

Asian family that year and the next.⁸ They also made space for the Vietnamese Alliance Church to meet in their House of Friendship.⁹ But that's where their sponsorship ended. Attempts to broaden the possibilities of refugee support in Quebec, for instance, by pairing the Montreal congregation with sister churches in Ontario and Manitoba proved unsuccessful. The irony was that the French influence in Vietnam and the 1974 language law that reversed the province's historic aversion to immigrants to bolster a sagging population, saw over twenty percent of the Vietnamese refugees admitted to Canada between 1978 and 1982 ending up in Montreal.¹⁰ With perhaps thirty-five members, Mennonites recognized their "weak presence" in a city of over 2 million.¹¹ As MCC Canada's Overseas Services worker Stuart Clarke put it in a May, 1985 letter to Montreal, "You represent an outpost, lonely at times, of Mennonite involvement in Canada."¹²

Although church sponsorship of the Boat People had limited potential, changes in federal and provincial immigration policy (Bill C-24) opened Canadian doors to South Asian refugees and brought opportunities to people seeking asylum from "persecution in their homelands" from a variety of countries.¹³ Worldwide, the refugee population exploded during these years, from the 1.2 million in the early 1960s to ten times that number in 1989.¹⁴ In Canada, between 1983 and 1990, refugee claimants multiplied rapidly, from 6,000 to 36,000 per year. Fifteen per cent of Quebec's immigrants sought refugee status.¹⁵

With more newcomers landing in Montreal than in any other Canadian city, the tiny band of Mennonites there was confronted by French speakers, including Haitians and North African Jews, as well as Latinos from a variety of countries who shared their host provinces' Roman Catholic heritage.¹⁶ Conrad Grebel College professor John W. Miller reported that he saw an amazing blend of people during his sabbatical, which he took with his wife Louise in Montreal in the fall of 1975. In his words, compared to other cities they had lived in--Chicago, New York, and Basel, Switzerland – this was "the biggest mixture of people and languages" they had "ever seen."¹⁷

The prime location of the House of Friendship put it in the path of political refugees who were unwelcome to the Canadian public.¹⁸ Indeed, House of Friendship staff exemplified the Mennonite heart for refugees as they reached out to newcomers, responding to desperate needs, supporting unpopular causes and maneuvering their way through difficult conflicts.¹⁹ An extensive collection of correspondence, board minutes, directors' and program reports, plus a variety of interviews, photographs and *The Canadian Mennonite (Mennonite Reporter)*, provide the basis for this story of the Mennonites who found themselves in downtown Montreal. This paper will argue that the political changes in Quebec that opened

the door to the creation of a multicultural society gave Mennonites an opportunity for service that matched their heart for refugees and their growing concern for justice. Indeed, the coming together of these sociological and theological trends provided the context for Montreal Mennonites, despite their small number located in this "lonely outpost," to maintain a strong momentum of refugee support for thirty years after the East Asian crisis had faded into history.

Mennonite Mission in a Changing Quebec, 1956-1976

An immigrant people who had negotiated separate rural communities on the Canadian Prairies, Mennonites long had been intrigued by "this city of contrasts" where, reporter George Derksen reported in 1958, "the old and the new stand gracefully together, church steeples and skyscrapers." It was difficult for most Mennonites to relate to a city with a population of over two million, of which three-quarters inhabited apartment blocks. Indeed, many would have concurred with Derksen's judgement that Montreal was "a wicked city," with its proclivity for nightclubs and people who preferred a good time to attending church.²⁰

Derksen was struck by the culture, although he seemed unaware of the political changes confronting the Mennonite missionaries arriving in Quebec. Two years earlier the Mennonite Church had sent four missionaries to the province. Tilman Martin, who had converted from his Old Order roots to the Mennonite Church, with his British-born wife Janet, and Harold and Pauline Reesor, also Mennonite Church, had left Ontario to establish a missionary presence in Quebec. And by 1960 Mennonite Brethren missionaries fled the revolution in the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) to join their cousins already established in a Quebec just entering its Quiet Revolution.²¹ From the beginning this mission was "a lonely outpost," as Ontario's decision to defer the setting up of the program to the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities in Elkhart, Indiana suggests.

Their location propelled Mennonites, including the handful of Canadian and American students and professors who had chosen Montreal universities, in sociologist Joe Smucker's words, to look at "what it meant to be Mennonite and what it meant to be Christian."²² A people apart, they observed a rapidly changing society. Church attendance among French Roman Catholics dropped a dramatic fifty per cent during the 1960s, while a rising new middle class took "religion, language and the family, the traditional institutions of [Quebec] nationalism," away from church control and made them the property of the state.²³ Social upheaval became violent enough to warrant the Trudeau government's imposition of the War Measures Act in October, 1970. Meanwhile, as language replaced loyalty to the church as the major distinctive of French Canadian culture,

government policy promoting immigration was fast changing the face of the city.²⁴

Evangelization proved difficult in a Catholic culture disillusioned by the church; thus, working with a growing population of immigrants seemed a viable ministry. While the idea of a referendum to decide Quebec's political future gained momentum, Mennonites focused on how they could help the great numbers of poor people overlooked by the rising middle class characteristic of the new Quebec. In the summer of 1973 the Ontario Mennonite Mission Board, Mennonite Central Committee (Canada), the church in Montreal North planted by the Martins and Reesors and an inter-Mennonite group affiliated with the universities, purchased the Ukrainian Community Centre and Credit Union, formerly one of the Jewish Peretz schools, as a centre for their work.²⁵ With its downtown location at 120 Duluth St. East, La Maison de l'Amitié became a presence among some 11,000 families in the area who lived below the poverty line.²⁶ Montreal Mennonites thus joined their history with that of wave after wave of immigrants and refugees who followed the "refugees from the holocaust" who "poured into the neighbourhood" after World War II, while relatives of the former had been re-settled in Ontario and the western provinces after their own dislocation from Russia.²⁷

Although the Mennonite Brethren's absence during these early discussions set a precedent for a more limited inter-Mennonite presence in the city than the group had envisioned, the spirit of the project was one of an evangelical mission. The Board invited Albert Hodder, a Mennonite Mission Board of Ontario worker with a Salvation Army background, who, with his wife Suzanne was active in the Montreal North church, to administer the program and to pastor the fledgling fellowship.²⁸ By its second meeting the administrative board named their project La Maison de l'Amitié, or House of Friendship. The building was dedicated that fall.²⁹

With the arrival of four MCC volunteers the project board established a day care center, for often immigrant women needed to seek employment to help their husbands support their families.³⁰ The Hodders developed boys' and girls' clubs, a women's group and a Mennonite Fellowship of the House of Friendship. Although with their concern for mission social ministry was approached with caution, the Project Service Board was immediately drawn into refugee concerns, for over half of Hodder's congregation was Haitian.

Few Haitians were able to claim refugee status between 1974 and 1978, yet theirs was the leading country of origin among Quebec immigrants, and the most ready source of French evangelicals in Quebec.³¹ Although the 1974 Language Law that made French the official language in Quebec opened the doors to immigration, deportation remained a threat.³² Late that year La Maison de

l'Amitié was approached by Father de Jean, a local Roman Catholic priest, requesting help for unfortunate Haitians facing Quebec's immigration board. It seems that MCC Canada was as yet unprepared to get politically involved. Indeed, the incident seems to have precipitated an administrative change that shifted the focus from working with Haitian refugees to developing a daycare designed to serve neighbourhood immigrant families.³³

Mennonite Response to the Refugee Crisis, 1976-1984

In the summer of 1976, only a few months before the Parti Québécois government took power for the first time, MCC volunteer Vern Redekop, with his wife Gloria, arrived from Saskatchewan.³⁴ Although Montreal Mennonites remained distant from Quebec politics, in Smucker's words, "observers" as opposed to "participants," the emerging philosophy at La Maison de l'Amitié reflected the Quebec Department of Immigration's vision of "cultural communities."³⁵ The emphasis on discipleship had "come to be seen as the mandate to extend Jesus' love to all humanity," with "community values" having the "potential to transform a broken world."³⁶

Melding their Anabaptist heritage with their context, Montreal Mennonites clearly stated their objective as establishing "caring, Christian communities – meeting the needs of the various cultural groups – letting members of each community look after each other's needs."³⁷ La Maison de l'Amitié's decision to establish a daycare designed to support immigrant families in the *quartier* was the beginning of living their interpretation of the Anabaptist vision in the heart of Montreal. By the fall of 1976, thirty children, mostly immigrants from Portugal, represented nine cultures including several South American countries. Workers also reached out to the families, especially mothers who in their isolation often suffered discrimination, misinformation, exploitation, homesickness, illness and theft.³⁸ In the words of one mother, "I felt for the first time since leaving South America that I had a family around me."³⁹

As Redekop's term came to an end in the summer of 1980, the political situation in Quebec destabilized with the failure of the Parti Québécois' first referendum.⁴⁰ Recognizing their need to maintain a firm Mennonite presence, the board thought better of its initial decision to invite Juan Iturriaga to succeed Redekop as administrator. While Iturriaga headed a new Refugee Assistance Program, MCC (Canada) recruited Ernie Dyck to come from Manitoba to run La Maison.⁴¹ A predictable Mennonite presence was solidified that fall with the hiring of Tilman and Janet Martin's daughter Deborah Martin-Koop and her husband Robert. Co-pastors of the Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal, they also oversaw the Voluntary Service unit that helped keep the centre running.⁴² Workers from Canada, the United States,

Brazil and Chile ran the daycare and served the Refugee Assistant Program.⁴³

This work was less dramatic than the assistance churches were offering the boat people, but it was essential in Montreal's fast-changing demography. With the relaxed immigration laws, long-time Québécois residents found themselves "submerged beneath wave after wave of immigrants, each of which for a generation or two adds its distinctive tone to the area, and then, upwardly mobile, moves to make room for another wave," as the House of Friendship Field Guide put it in 1981.⁴⁴ People fleeing persecution in El Salvador, Guatemala and Chile found La Maison de l'Amitié through the daycare centre, other local organizations, and not least through Quebec's Chilean secretary of Immigration. What this meant for refugees was reflected by Iturriaga several years later. Recalling how he had been promoted from maintenance to community worker, Iturriaga commended Mennonites for putting actions behind their beliefs: "...they speak up against discrimination and work against prejudices for reason of language, nationality... They can speak with authority ... that comes from practicing what one preaches," he said.⁴⁵

As "civil war, ethnic strife, persecution, political upheaval and natural disasters in the Third World" made the world refugee situation ever more grim, some host countries closed their doors altogether.⁴⁶ Canadian immigration, too, was tightening up, even as "the pressure on people to leave" both Latin American countries and "other trouble spots," including Zaire, Zambia and Angola, was increasing. Workers welcomed each new wave of newcomers in concrete ways with assistance in translating documents, help in finding housing, food, clothing, employment, and schools for their children, always with opportunities for formal instruction in French.⁴⁷ From the fall of 1980, for instance, La Maison de l'Amitié offered classes set to the standard of the Quebec government's "French to Measure" program.⁴⁸ Three years later, additional classes offered instruction in English and Spanish.⁴⁹ "Specific problems of female refugees" were also attended to, including providing childcare during language classes.

With *Garderie Duluth* turned over to a parent-controlled board, and with the relocation of the Voluntary Service unit to a house a couple of blocks away purchased by Joe Nighswander (whose daughter Emily directed the daycare) House of Friendship became more intentionally focused on the refugee problem.⁵⁰ The Spanish ministry relocated to La Maison's third floor and Dyck was now able to devote more of his energy to refugee work.⁵¹ In the fall of 1981 he invited Quebec's deputy minister of immigration, Louise Gagne, to meet with his volunteers and a variety of others concerned with the plight of refugees. This meeting put Mennonites on the map in this growing phenomenon as it was manifesting itself in Montreal.⁵²

Mennonites were in a growing company of Montrealers who worried about the refugee explosion. In sharp contrast to their support for the boat people, Canada like other countries, was turning its back on this new wave of refugees. It was as the *Mennonite Reporter* explained:⁵³

The cases are heartbreaking. Families who have, in the two years or so during which their claim for refugee status is processed, established themselves in our society, are once again uprooted. Whereas Canadians easily raised about \$100 million for the boat people, in Montreal the House of Friendship goes begging for funds to buy tickets for refugees deported from Canada to go to Spain or France or Germany while Canada processes their applications.⁵⁴

Sixty-two organizations replied to the House of Friendship's invitation to investigate ways to respond to the mounting crisis. Political pressure included several requests sent to federal immigration minister Lloyd Axworthy. These included the following: immediate suspension of the practice which promptly expelled those denied refugee status, a request that permission be granted to refugees holding "a Quebec Certificate of Acceptance to make their application for immigrant status from within Canada" and, in keeping with its commitments in signing the Geneva Convention on refugees, for Canada to be declared "a country of 'first asylum.'"⁵⁵ These initiatives helped to bring Axworthy's attention to the refugee cause. By the spring of 1982 not only were all deportation orders affecting Chileans suspended, but Axworthy invited House of Friendship's Juan Iturriaga to showcase the work of the Montreal Refugee Assistance Program at a symposium the Federal Immigration Department was sponsoring in Toronto.⁵⁶

What proved to be most fruitful for La Maison de l'Amitié, however, was the credibility this exposure brought to the broader Mennonite church. The nascent Spanish ministry in Toronto seized the opportunity to learn what it could from Iturriaga. Meanwhile, the Mennonite Conference of Ontario embraced their Montreal outpost in an expanded Mennonite Conference of Ontario and Quebec. It acknowledged *Iglesia Christiana Hispana* with Iturriaga as pastor and committed itself to an annual stipend of nearly \$50,000 to support the ministry to refugees.⁵⁷ MCC Canada also institutionalized its support of the work in Montreal.⁵⁸ With the flurry of aid to the boat people past its peak, MCC pledged an annual stipend of nearly \$60,000, with close to 20% ear-marked specifically for the refugee program.⁵⁹ Thus, despite limited support from Canada's Federal Department of Immigration and Quebec's Ministry of Cultural Communities and

Immigration, La Maison de l'Amitié was able to institutionalize its aid under the paradigm of justice emerging in the larger Mennonite church.⁶⁰ As Dyck wrote to *Update* readers in October, 1981, "If you believe in peace, you must be concerned with justice."⁶¹

With government cutbacks on-going, Dyck found himself inundated with requests to help people from a multitude of countries all escaping their own particular hell.⁶² During the first week of January 1983 alone, he fielded assistance for refugees from Vietnam, Tanzania, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Poland, Lebanon, Ethiopia, the Dominican Republic and Zaire. As he indicated to Montreal's Dominion Douglas Church, in an appeal for support for three Zairean men, "usually newly-arrived persons are penniless and bewildered by a foreign language, red tape, and insecurity."⁶³

Occasional government grants awarded to special projects did not keep the ministry going. As Dyck's August, 1983 letter to Herb Diller of Toronto's Steele Avenue Mennonite Church illustrates, they were simply "limping along on government grants" which only covered special projects. Salaries were extra.⁶⁴ Bulky correspondence files suggest that Dyck counted on the support of Mennonite congregations across North America. Thank-you letters traveled west to congregations, young peoples' groups and women's groups in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and to points in the United States. Dyck always described the work at La Maison, often by giving a mini-sermon on it.⁶⁵ Take for instance this note to the church at Kola, Manitoba: "Your support enables us to witness to the saving power of Jesus Christ in a part of the city where loneliness and alienation reveal the power of darkness."⁶⁶

Records illustrate the kind of moral support suggested by its name extended to the many people who came through the House of Friendship's doors. Correspondence files hold reference letters for refugees seeking asylum, or work; house services included meals for those who found it too difficult to feed their families while they waited.⁶⁷ Comfort abounded in a tradition well established since World War II, of giving quilts to those in need.⁶⁸ Through ecumenical connections, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, a shelter for men called L'Abri des Réfugiés, an inner-city day camp, Camp Le Sablier at Joliette and a Spanophone Circle of Friends also provided community support.⁶⁹

Much less happy were the circumstances in which the administration found itself responding to refugee claimants who wound up in detention centers, where conditions were grim for lack of fresh air, appropriate food and exercise at a premium. Chowdury Fahman Mahbubar, Yaw Nikromah-Adasah and Mafodeh Jawneh were personalities, not just files, at the House of Friendship. Especially after his participation in the 1983 Canadian Standing Conference on

Refugees in Aylmer, Quebec and the follow-up meeting the next year in Montreal, Dyck saw the potential for exerting political pressure on the federal government; he urged MCC Canada to lobby the Canadian government to honour safe third-country laws and visa requirements for refugees who risked becoming lost in the growing backlog of files, which by the end of the decade swelled to over 80,000.⁷⁰

Tensions had also arisen among the staff and there was “an operational deficit that wouldn’t go away,” as *Mennonite Reporter* editor Ron Rempel put it.⁷¹ A thorough review spearheaded by the missions committee of the Mennonite Conference of Ontario and Quebec brought changes designed to make the House of Friendship work in its context. In April 1984, when Dyck completed his second voluntary service term to return with his wife Tina and several of their children to their native Manitoba, MCC separated itself from the project.⁷² Gentrification in the area raised questions about the type of ministry needed and a recognition of the necessity to function in French in the new Quebec called into question running a Voluntary Service unit that was largely anglophone. As MCC broadened its focus to be open to a project by project basis, the board became local with the possibility of doing its business in the primary language of the province. Harold Reesor, who had been in Quebec now for nearly thirty years and on the Montreal Service Project board since its beginning, stepped out from his position as chair to take on the challenge of “wind[ing] down the programming at the House of Friendship.”⁷³

A Ministry of Quebec, 1984-2005

Under the new regime decisions on how to manage the House of Friendship lay within Quebec. The Board of Directors was designed to give equal representation to the four MCOQ congregations – Iglesia Cristina Hispania, Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal, and the French churches in Joliette and Rawdon.⁷⁴ Although none of the four original missionaries was still on the board, with Reesor as interim administrator and their family members playing an active role, the Reesor-Martin legacy had been clearly established.⁷⁵

The programming looked much the same as before. The Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal members who supported the Person to Person project that had recently hired Tilman and Janet Martin’s son Luke as coordinator and the Iglesia Cristiana Hispana which continued to support Iturriaga’s ministry to Latin Americans, all met in the building on Sundays. Garderie Duluth continued to serve the local community during the week, and language classes had become a consistent service for refugees and immigrants.⁷⁶ The most nebulous remained the ongoing call for support of those among the three hundred refugees landing in Montreal each month who came to La

Maison de l'Amitié looking for help.⁷⁷

Although refugee work was not the calling Reesor had envisioned when he had come to Quebec thirty years earlier, his missionary heart was sensitive to the Bible's injunction on "the treatment of strangers."⁷⁸ As claimants continued to flow in from Iraq, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Egypt, Upper Volta, Guatemala, Turkey, and the Dominican Republic," Reesor quickly recognized that "the flow of refugee claimants [was] on the increase rather than on the decline."⁷⁹ Requests for advocacy, including signing bonds to release refugee claimants from detention, helping asylum seekers find work and lodging, and providing office support for groups such as the Association of African Refugees of Montreal required increasingly more time. It thus became clear that this was not the time to wind down refugee work after all.⁸⁰

With invitations by parliamentary committees and other churches who wished to draw on the House of Friendship's expertise, the organization came to play an important role among NGOs who, "generally hostile" to "government initiatives" became, in Reg Whitaker's words, "a permanent and highly respectable non-governmental pro-immigration lobby."⁸¹ In August, 1985, for instance, the *Montreal Gazette* featured an article on workshops Reesor and Martin-Koop had given in various church communities as well as their contribution to the parliamentary committee for refugee issues.⁸² Their public role brought them into the centre of controversy. For instance, with sister United Churches on their Comité d'aide aux Réfugiés, Mennonites found themselves responsible to Canadian Immigration for eight men who had broken their bonds, with a bill amounting to \$46,000.⁸³

The most contentious controversy emerged from the hunger strike Iturriaga organized in the winter of 1987. His effort to protest the Refugee Reform Bill that allowed Canadian immigration officers to refuse entry to claimants arriving from a safe third country ended in disaster.⁸⁴ Iturriaga was among a large number of Canadians concerned about this move, as the 1000 people who joined House of Friendship's candlelight vigil in the spring of 1986 to publicize the cause suggested.⁸⁵ Ten months later Iturriaga organized a hunger strike to draw attention to 108 asylum seekers from his native Chile who had been de-planed in Buenos Aires en route to Canada. Like the candlelight vigil the hunger strike brought positive media attention.⁸⁶ The problem was the lack of respect the strikers showed to their hosts.

Legal threats from St. Jean's Roman Catholic church, where the strikers had wracked up huge long-distance telephone bills to Chile, was the final blow in a history of tense relations with Iturriaga. When he refused the sabbatical leave offered by MCOQ and MCC

in an attempt to diffuse the situation, the latter came to the difficult decision of withdrawing their funding for Iglesia Cristiana Hispana unless Iturriaga stepped down.⁸⁷ His threats to take them to court with accusations of wrongful dismissal forced the church bodies to cut funding to the Spanish church and to banish it from 120 Duluth. With the Spanish church and refugee program gone, La Maison de l'Amitié rented space to the Ghanaian community and looked for ways to continue its sponsorship program, largely supported by Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal.⁸⁸

Two years later Reesor and the Martin-Koops resigned. A wide search – if the advertisements in a variety of Mennonite publications are any indication – again resulted in the hiring of a board member. John Docherty, a man with Reesor's "listening ear" and a personal sense of what refugees might be going through that was possible only for someone who had experienced immigration himself, accepted the challenge.⁸⁹ With Docherty's hiring in January, 1989, for the first time in the history of the institution the director's sole task was working on refugee issues.⁹⁰

Having specialized in missions at Kitchener's Emmanuel Bible College, Docherty and his wife Mary Lou had come to Quebec to study French with dreams of serving in Haiti. After several years attending various Quebec churches including the Mennonite Fellowship, the French church at St. Laurent and a stint at pastoring the church in Rawdon, he accepted the offer to serve as director of Maison de l'Amitié. He stayed at this position for the next 13 years.⁹¹ Most of his time now focused on issues concerning refugees whom he perceived as having "fallen through the cracks." Not surprisingly, Docherty quickly became frustrated with the "fragmentation" in the counseling, detention work, sponsorship and board work with such sister organizations as Comité d'aide aux Réfugiés, which had recently discussed negotiating space in the building.⁹² He had a heart to help people deal with the emotional traumas they encountered as they resettled, and thus his major preoccupation was counseling those dealing with the stresses of refugee experience. Within his first month at the House of Friendship, he and Mary Lou housed a Chinese couple that would stay with them for three months. Then they boarded a man from Mozambique whose only escape from detention was to live with them.⁹³ Docherty walked with many others, including Somalis, Haitians and refugees fleeing Sierre Leone, to name only a few. "Il n'est past difficile de trouver la motivation nécessaire quand on veut aider ces gens," he reported to the Board of Directors that summer.⁹⁴

Docherty continued to feel troubled by the lack of cohesion in the House of Friendship's disparate ministries. Nor was it clear how the new Iglesia Mennonita Hispana Shalom and the Ethiopian

Meserete Kristos church gathering on Sundays would contribute.⁹⁵ With MCC's support through its local representative and Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal's cautious agreement to lend physical and financial support, Docherty was able to implement a new vision for creating an environment where like-minded organizations would be lodged in the House.⁹⁶

A first step was to convince the Board of Directors of the wisdom of this move that meant giving Garderie Duluth its notice. Although the daycare's management was disgruntled and some on the House of Friendship board had a vision for moving towards handicapped ministries, Docherty continued to make his case: "we have reiterated time and time again, that we aren't interested in duplicating services and programs that are to be found elsewhere," he insisted.⁹⁷ With the decision to ask the Garderie to relocate, some on the board were ready to look for a more suitable building. Lengthy discussions resulted, finally, in the decision to renovate. This made space for two emergency shelters, allowing the House of Friendship to live up to its name in a new way.⁹⁸

For some time Docherty had been in discussion with the United Church's Montreal City Mission and Action Refugié Montreal, which had grown out of Tyndale St. George's Anglican. By January 1992 Montreal City Mission agreed "to take up occupancy."⁹⁹ Meanwhile, he was able to convince MCC and Mennonite Church Eastern Canada's (formerly MCOQ) Mission and service commission to continue their refugee support in Montreal under the new vision.¹⁰⁰ By late summer 1994, after a twenty year tenancy Garderie Duluth moved on to allow the United Church Project Refuge to set up its shelter on the third floor of 120 Duluth. Docherty's heart for victims of torture resulted in the development of an intervention network – Réseau d'intervention auprès des personnes ayant subi la violence organisée – better known as RIVO. It also rented space in the building.¹⁰¹

The residents that came through these programs supported a community drop-in where, in the words of Luke Martin, now assistant director, House of Friendship offered "newcomers an opportunity to rebuild relationships, develop a sense of community and recapture a feeling of home."¹⁰² Friday dinners and special Thanksgiving and Christmas meals helped shape the latter. In 1993 nearly one hundred were served at a full sit-down turkey dinner where, while parents conversed and laughed together and "children move[d] from lap to lap," Docherty shared slides and stories from his trip on a Christian Peacemaker Team delegation to Haiti earlier that fall.¹⁰³

Building renovations allowed the refugee apartment, still operated by House of Friendship, into the building. This vision took five years of "struggle to get a city subsidy to help ... with the project and several false starts." But persistence won out, allowing House of Friendship

to take advantage of government funds for sponsoring refugees such as the Haitian family that had arrived in the late summer of 1994.¹⁰⁴ Docherty's heart for refugees, deepened during his experience with Christian Peacemaker Teams, finally manifested itself in Project Family, which opened when the renovations were completed in the fall of 2000.¹⁰⁵ Subsidized by SARIMM, the social services office that referred clients to Project Refuge, a new Mennonite Voluntary Service unit initially funded by the Commission on Home Ministries of the General Conference Mennonite Church's City on the Hill project, provided staffing.¹⁰⁶ Services included accompaniment, advocacy at welfare and immigration, agency visits, assistance to find housing and legal aid, Christmas baskets, follow-up and support, donations of furniture, income tax clinics, medical referrals, information about churches and ethnic associations, language courses and employment references.¹⁰⁷

Rich connections between refugee families and young Mennonites who came to Montreal to serve in the new Voluntary Service unit blossomed until Mennonite Church Canada budget cuts closed down the program four years later. Meanwhile, other Mennonite organizations, including le Conseil Mennonite Québécois formed in 1997, developed close connections with this Anabaptist presence in Montreal.¹⁰⁸ In 2001 Docherty stepped down as administrator to continue his studies and work for RIVO and Luke Martin filled his place.¹⁰⁹ Restructuring and budget cuts in the larger church, along with changes in federal safe third country laws, created the opportunity to look for ways to fill new needs in Martin's administration.¹¹⁰ In September 2005 the House of Friendship board reached consensus on moving forward on a new project that would provide housing for Montreal students wishing for community and give them an opportunity to participate in social outreach. Start-up was projected for September 2006.¹¹¹

The history of refugee work in Montreal suggests that even if Canadian Mennonites failed to catch a full vision for the potential of helping newcomers through their Montreal "outpost," local passion for mission kept the Anabaptist vision for creating community along with peace and justice alive during a stressful time of political change. During these years, as social and political commentator Henri Comte put it in a 1993 column in *Le Devoir*, Quebec's leading intellectual and nationalist newspaper: "Quebecers are suffering from a profound identity crisis. Commentators and politicians do not know what to call immigrants, do not know who a Quebecer is."¹¹² Working in an environment where old-time Quebecers were generally reluctant to move towards the multiculturalism enshrined in Canadian law in 1987 and faced with continual out-migration of immigrants and refugees to other parts of Canada, Mennonites in Montreal lived out their vision of community and justice for all.¹¹³

A steady handful of Mennonite expatriates, most of who came to Montreal to study or to work, maintained a vibrant community that supported hundreds of refugees. In the early years MCC workers saw themselves as paying back their own social debt – in Ernie Dyck’s words, as “strangers in a foreign land.”¹¹⁴ Later, John Docherty’s motivation was similar, while missionaries Harold Reesor and Tilman and Janet Martin, who left the legacy of their children, Debby and Luke, expanded their original intention to serve French Canadians so as to embrace refugees from many countries. For Mennonites in the rest of Canada the House of Friendship and the Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal continue to be their hands and their feet. The new student residence will continue to provide outreach in this eastern outpost, complementing refugee advocacy by embracing young people who arrive as strangers in a city of contrasts to be strangers no more.

Notes

- 1 I am grateful to Roy Loewen in the chair of Mennonite Studies at the University of Winnipeg, Juanne Clarke, professor of sociology at Wilfrid Laurier University, and Luke Martin, Director of La Maison de l’Amitié for their vision and financial support of this project. I would also like to thank Lauren Clarke and Dora-Marie Marr Goulet for their careful research assistance, and the *Journal of Mennonite Studies* assessor, Luke Martin, John Docherty, Joe Smucker and Richard Lougheed for their editorial comments.
- 2 La Maison de l’Amitié (hereafter MA) Board of Director’s Minutes, 8 June 1976, D005; David E. Hostetler to Vern Redekop, 15 January 1979, G009, MA files.
- 3 Salinda Hess and Charles Smith, *Repression and Exile: a study of Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Haitian Refugees in Montreal* (Montreal: McGill University Anthropology Department, 1984), 2; Howard Adelman, “Canada, Quebec, and Refugee Claimants,” in Joseph H. Carens, ed. *Is Quebec Nationalism Just? Perspectives from Anglophone Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), 85; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 164-65.
- 4 MA Board of Directors Minutes, (9 January 1979), G006; *Update* 2, 3 (1978), F004; David E. Hertzler to Vern Redekop, 15 January 1979, G009, MA files.
- 5 Reg Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy since Confederation* (Ottawa, ON: Canadian Historical Society, 1991), 21.
- 6 For instance, in 1956 Canada had accepted 37,000 Hungarian refugees and in 1968 some 12,000 Czechs who fled from Communist oppression. In 1971-72 an influx of draft dodgers were also accepted as refugees. Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy since Confederation*, 21-22; Martin Pâquet, *Toward a Quebec Ministry of Immigration, 1945 to 1968* (Ottawa, ON: Canadian Historical Society, 1997), 18; Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates*, 162-66; Adelman, “Canada, Quebec, and Refugee Claimants,” 85; William Janzen, “A History of the MCC-Ottawa Agreement,” presented to the “Mennonite Hosts and Refugee Newcomers” conference, University of Winnipeg, 30 September 2005.
- 7 Janzen, “A History of the MCC-Ottawa Agreement;” Mabel Paetkau, “A Unique Experience: MCC and Refugee Co-ordination,” presented to Mennonite Hosts and Refugee Newcomers conference.
- 8 Larry Kehler, “Refugee sponsorship study (1): Good experience for sponsors,” *Mennonite Reporter* (hereafter *MR*) (30 March 1981), 7.
- 9 MA Board of Directors, Minutes, 26 March 1979; 6 June 1979, G006; Arthur Driedger to Vern Redekop, 9 July 1979, G009; *Update*, Vol. III, No. 3 (21 September 1979) G007; Ernie Dyck to Jake Letkemann, 15 March 1984, Correspondance, L361, MA files.

- 10 Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy since Confederation*, 21; Adelman, "Canada, Quebec, and Refugee Claimants," 88-89; "Canada rejects refugees, says Quebec minister," *MR*, 2; Louis Jacques Dorais, *The Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese in Canada* (Ottawa, ON: Canadian Historical Society, 2000), 8.
- 11 Administrative Report March 1982. J216; Research Project, 26 October 1984. L332, MA files.
- 12 Letter from MCC Canada, 26 May 1985. M169, MA files.
- 13 Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy since Confederation*, 20-21; "Canada rejects refugees, says Quebec minister," *MR* Vol. 11, no. 17 (14 September 1981), 2.
- 14 Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates*, 170.
- 15 Adelman, "Canada, Quebec, and Refugee Claimants," 85.
- 16 Howard Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada since Confederation* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 23; Paquet, *Toward a Quebec Ministry of Immigration*, 3; Janet Martin, "Montreal House of Friendship: a place for people to meet each other," *Mennonite Reporter* (12 December 1977), 11.
- 17 John W. Miller, "Montreal Journal: Thinking and Believing," *Mennonite Reporter* (15 September 1975), 5.
- 18 Hess and Smith, *Repression and Exile*, 2-3; Paquet, *Toward a Quebec Ministry of Immigration*, 2-3, 18-19; Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates*, 166; Liane Ottman-Clish, "Accessibility of health and social services for cultural communities in Montreal metropolitan area," (Montreal: Concordia University, 1986), 2-3, 83-84; Ninette Kelley, *The making of the Mosaic: a history of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 391-92; Beth Chittim, 23 March 1982, J215; MA Board of Directors Minutes, 6 June 1979, G006; Community Diversity in St. Louis Sud, October 1979, G006; *Update*, Vol. II, no. 3 (30 November 1978); Vol. VIII, No. 3 (21 September 1979), G007, MA files.
- 19 Art Driedger to Vern Redekop, 17 April 1979; 25 April 1979; 23 May 1979, G009; *Update* Volume III G007; Dave Dyck, report to MCC Canada, 19 November 1982, J076, MA files.
- 20 George Derksen, "Cradle of Canadian Culture now presents many contrast," *The Canadian Mennonite (TCM)* (31 October 1958), 3.
- 21 "Inter-Mennonite Group Planned for Montreal," *TCM* (7 December 1956), 1; "Montreal Mennonites Organize," *TCM* (4 January 1957); "Tilman Martin," 12 July 1976, *Mennonite Reporter*, p. 9. Mennonite House of Friendship Field Guide, 1981, 1009, MA files; Susan Mann, *The Dream of Nation: a social and intellectual history of Quebec* (Toronto: Gage, 1983), 299.
- 22 Smucker, "Montreal: renewal and acceptance," *TCM* (19 March 1973), 4.
- 23 Mann, *The Dream of Nation*, 299-301.
- 24 Mann, *The Dream of Nation*, 303, 324.
- 25 Montreal Program Philosophy (1973). A001/X001, MA files; Mann, *The Dream of Nation*, 329.
- 26 Arnold Gingrich, "Montreal's inner city: heart transplant needed," *The Canadian Mennonite* (hereafter *TCM*) (4 June 1968), 1; Emily Nighswander, "Maison de l'Amitié celebrates 20 years of mission," *MR* (23 August 1993), 17.
- 27 J. Zipper, "On the occasion of the 50th Jubilee of the Jewish Peretz Schools," Z037, MA files.
- 28 Montreal Service Project, Minutes (4 June 1973), A003, MA files; "Begin new," *MR* (25 June 1973), 10; "Getting a toehold: 'Voluntary Service'," *MR*, (21 January 1974), 9; Nighswander, "Maison de l'Amitié celebrates...," 17.
- 29 Montreal Service Board, Minutes 26 June 1973; 28 September 1973. A003.
- 30 Franca Iacovetta, *Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1997), 15.
- 31 Hess and Smith, *Repression and Exile*, 10, 11, 14; Richard Lougheed, Lecture to Canadian Church History class in the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill University, 14 February 2006.
- 32 Mann, *The Dream of Nation*, 1974, 197.
- 33 *MR* (26 July 1976), 11.
- 34 See MA Board of Director's Minutes (7 February 1978) for an articulation of the philosophy of "the projected ministry" as seeing "man" (sic) as "a whole being." F003, MA files; Mann, *The Dream of Nation*, 327-28.
- 35 "Montreal Mennonites discuss implications of independence," *MR* (18 April 1977), 7.
- 36 For further discussion of changes in the church's thinking from nonresistance and peace to justice,

- see *the transforming power of a century: Mennonite Central Committee and its Evolution in Ontario* (Kitchener, ON and Waterloo, ON: Pandora Press/Herald Press, 2003), and Leo Driedger and Donald Kraybill, *Mennonite Peacemaking: From Quietism to Activism* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1984).
- 37 Janet Martin, "Montreal House of Friendship: a place for people to meet each other," *MR* (11 October 1977), 11; *Update*, vol. 1, no. 2 (29 September 1977) D006; Service Project Board Quarterly meeting minutes, 25 June 1977 E004; Minutes 7 February 1978, F003, MA files.
 - 38 Quebec 11 (12 December 1977), K525; *Update* Vol. 1, no. 3 (27 December 1977), D006; *Update* vol. II, no. 2 (12 September 1978), F003, MA Board of Directors Minutes (26 March 1979), G006; *Update* Vol. IV, no. 1 (9 January 1980), A018, MA files.
 - 39 Emily Nighswander, End of term evaluation (11 December 1979), B004, MA files.
 - 40 Mann, *The Dream of Nation*, 329.
 - 41 Chronological Correspondence file, 21 October 1981, MA files.
 - 42 MA Board of Directors Minutes, 9 January 1979, G006; Administrator's report, August 1980, H018; Press release, 19 October 1980, H007, MA files; "Quebec," *MR*, Vol. 10, no. 2 (29 September 1980), 15.
 - 43 Correspondence file, 30 March 1981; "Retreat," *Update*, Vol. 10, no. 22 (27 October 1980), 12; letter to Society of Brethren (17 September 1980), H017; MA Board of Directors Minutes (16 June 1981), J048, MA files.
 - 44 Montreal House of Friendship Field Guide, 1981, 1009, MA files.
 - 45 *Update* Vol. VIV, no. 1 (9 January 1980), H018, MA files.
 - 46 Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates*, 170.
 - 47 Mennonite House of Friendship Refugee Assistance Program, April 1981, I009, MA files.
 - 48 Rapport SERCOM (September-November 1980), H013; Letter from Quebec government (12 June 1983), K801.Proposal of Social Committee (8 October 1982), J215, MA files.
 - 49 Dyck, handwritten account of programming for his year-end report, 28 November 1983, K716, MA files.
 - 50 *MR*, Vol. 10, no. 26 (22 December 1980), p. 20; "First meeting for 'Garderie Duluth'," *MR* (28 June 1982), 13; Emily Nighswander, conversation with author, Kitchener, ON, April 2005.
 - 51 *MR*, Vol. 11, no. 9 (27 April 1981), 12; Harold Reesor to Quebec government, Chronological Correspondence file, 5 May 1981; Report for Mennonite Mission Board of Ontario funding, 1981, I011, MA files.
 - 52 "Canada rejects refugees, says Quebec minister," *MR* (14 September 1981), 2.
 - 53 Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*, 22.
 - 54 "Quebec groups formulate on political refugees in Canada," *MR* (21 December 1981), 3.
 - 55 "Quebec groups formulate on political refugees in Canada," *MR* (21 December 1981), 3. See also Adelman, "Canada, Quebec, and Refugee Claimants," 84.
 - 56 SERCOM Report, January, February, March 1982, J206; S.O.S. Refugiés, 25 January 1982, J215.
 - 57 Handwritten description about Toronto Hispanic Community, 1982, J214; Dyck, Report to La Maison board, 23 September 1982, J218; Dyck to Bill Janzen, 9 October 1982, J017; Dyck to Hubert Schwartzentruber, 9 November 1982, J019; MA Board of Directors, notes, December 1982, J071; Mennonite Church of Ontario and Quebec to Iturriaga, 16 July 1985, M1111, MA files; "Quebec group wants greater voice.....," *MR* (4 October 1982), 5.
 - 58 Reesor, reference letter for Beth Chittim, no date, L361; Dyck to Immigration Centre, 26 August 1983, J237; MCC Brochure, "Service Opportunities," 15 December 1983, L050, MA files.
 - 59 MA Board of Directors Minutes, 12 January 1982, J216; November 1982, J217; Reesor to "To whom it may concern," 17 April 1984, L219, MA files.
 - 60 MA Board of Directors Minutes, 3 March 1981, I048; Report on Refugee Services, November 1982, J065; Montreal House of Friendship, November 1982, J217, MA files.
 - 61 MA *Update* (14 October 1981), 1050, MA files. See also Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*, 22.
 - 62 Adelman, "Canada, Quebec, and Refugee Claimants," 90-91; Iturriaga to Dyck, 6 January 1983, K020, MA files.
 - 63 Dyck to Gerhard Ens, 10 January 1983, J237; Dyck to no addressee, 3 February 1984, Rattansi,

- L111; Shirley Minnich to Dear Friends, 11 August 1983, K584; Administrative report to MA Board of Directors, September 1983, K613; Dyck to Annie Wiebe, 8 September 1983; Dyck to Hedy Dyck, 22 November 1983, J237, MA files.
- 64 Dyck to Diller, 22 August 1983, J237, MA files.
- 65 Examples include Dyck to David Rempel, 17 February 1983, Dyck to Elsie Neufeld, 16 May 1983; Dyck to Young People's group in Winnipegosis, 24 August 1983; Dyck to Annie Wiebe, 8 September 1983, J237, MA files.
- 66 Dyck to congregation at Kola, Manitoba, 1 June 1983; K434, MA files.
- 67 MA Administrator's report, March 1982, J216, MA files.
- 68 Dyck, News Release, 25 August 1983, K597, Dyck to Ottawa Mennonite Church women, 23 March 1983, J237; Dyck to Schlegel, 8 August 1983, J237; Schlegel to Dyck, 24 October 1983, K672; Dyck to Winnipegosis Mennonite Church, 4 January 1984, L361; Dyck to Zion Mennonite, Swift Current, SK, March 1983, J237. MA files; For a history of women's sewing circles and relief, please see *the transforming Power of a Century*, 31ff, 41ff, "and my 'The Time for the Distaff and Spindle': The Ontario Mennonite Women's Sewing Circles and the Mennonite Central Committee," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* (1999).
- 69 Notice to Board, 12 January 1982, J221; MA Board of Directors Minutes June 1982, J217; Rapport du groupe d'orientation pour femmes Latino-Américaines, 1 December 1982, J136; handwritten description about Toronto Hispanic Community, 1982, J214; Chittim to Harold Peacock, 3 November 1983, J237; Camp Report, 1983, K654; Chittim to Peacock, 26 January 1984, L361; Chittim to Bob Lindsey, 17 May 1983; Dyck to Dorcas Guild, Montreal United Church, 21 December 1983, J237, 22 March 1982, 10; Montreal Interchurch committee, 24 November 1982, J098; Dear Friends, no date, K164; Catholic Immigration Service, 30 December 1983, L001; Administrator's report, March 1982, J216; MA Board of Directors Minutes, September 16, 1981; October 6, 1981, 3 March 1981, I048; Rapport du camp, 30 August 1984, L313, MA files; "Montreal committee to focus on refugees," *MR*, March 22, 1982, p. 10.
- 70 Minutes from Canadian Standing Conference on Refugees, K516; Invitation from Federal Government, 27 October 1983, K694; Dyck to Driedger, 14 February 1983, Correspondence, Bill Janzen to Dyck, 12 July 1983, Dyck to J.M. Klassen, 6 December 1983, J237; Reference letter for Chowdhury Mahbaba Rabpositice, 16 May 1983, Chowdhury Asikur Rab, 16 May 1983, Ullah Shaid, May 1983; Chowdhury Foiz Ahmed, 20 May 1983, Faiz Choudhury, December 1983, J237; Janzen to Dyck, 23 September 1983, K491b; Arthur Driedger to Dyck, 6 December 1983, K814b; Report to Parliamentary Committee on Refugee Detention Issues, 11 June 1985, M085; Administrator's report, March 1982; Bon de garantie, 25 February 1982, J215; MA Board of Directors Minutes, 23 March 1982, J217; House of Friendship personnel to Board of Directors, 19 April 1983, K352; many performance bond agreements appear in the files; K-524; L113; L221, L328, M061, M062, M080, M086, M152, M163; MA Board of Directors, Minutes, 2 April 1984, L360; Release hearing for Pena Cabrera, 21 October 1985, MA files; Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*, 22.
- 71 "If this is program review, let's have more of it," *MR* (9 July 11 1984), 6.
- 72 MA Director's report, April 1984, L171, MA files.
- 73 MA Board of Directors minutes, 2&3 December 1979 G006; MA Program Review Report, March 1984, L203, MA files.
- 74 Montreal MA, report to annual meeting, 13 November 1984; Dave Dyck to Reesor, 25 March 1985, M081, MA files; Ron Rempel, "More local control for Montreal program; expanded role for MCC in Quebec," *Mennonite Reporter* (9 July 1984), 1.
- 75 Erwin Dueck to Dave Dyck, 13 November 1984, L342, MA files.
- 76 Conseil Chrétien de Réconciliation, 2 November 1983, J237. Depuis 1973, 1984, L338, MA files.
- 77 Dyck to Reesor, 17 June 1983, J237; Reesor to Shantz's 18 May 1984, L361; Board of directors, 16 July 1984, L317; John Docherty, interviewed by Lauren Clarke, April 21, 2005, Montreal, QC, MA files.
- 78 Reesor in *Update*, Christmas 1986, N103, MA files.
- 79 Reesor, Report to MCC, 24 October 1985, MA files.
- 80 MA Board of Directors Minutes, 24 January 1985, M020b; Salvation Army West Island Corps to

- Reesor, 05 May 1985, M098, MA files.
- 81 Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy since Confederation*, 23; Memo to MCC Canada, April 1985, M089; Report to Parliamentary Committee on Refugee detention issues, 11 June 1985, M085; Director's report, September 1984, L305a; *Update* (Christmas 1986), N103; Canadian Refugee report, MCC Consultation, 8 October 1987, MA files.
- 82 *Gazette* (6 August 1985), M116, MA files.
- 83 Performance Bond for Mohammad Reza Miri, 01 March 1984, L113; Director's report, 5 June 1985, M099; Bonding for ... MCC Canada, 4 December 1985, M170; Luc Martin to Employment and Immigration Canada, 17 December 1985, M155; CAR Memo, 6 June 1986, N050; CAR Memo, 3 November 1986, P073; Memo from MCC Canada, 30 September 1986, N086; Brief by CAR, April 1987, P018, MA files.
- 84 Memo, Overground railroad, 5 December 1986, N091, MA files; Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates*, 171-72; 175; Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*, 22.
- 85 Report to Dave Dyck, 18 April 1986, N044; Administrator's Report, 29 May 1986, N054, MA files.
- 86 Irwin Block, "Chileans protest tough refugee rules," *The Gazette* (February 1987); Monelle Saindon, "Requête pour les réfugiés bloqués en Argentine," *Le Journal de Montréal* (26 February 1987); Debbie Parkes, "Weakened fasters vow to stick it out," *The Gazette* (no date), P097, MA files.
- 87 St. Jean Church to Juan Iturriaga, 16 April 1987, P099; MA Board minutes, 16 April 1987, P095; Iturriaga to Balmer and Zehr, 25 April 1987, P028; Confidential report, 6 May 1987, P029 Frais occasionnés, 11 May 1987, 22 June 1987; St. Jean's to Reesor, 25 June 1987; St. Jean's to Iturriaga, 25 June 1987, P099; Pierre Goldberger to Reesor, 29 July 1987, P051; MA files.
- 88 Administrator's report, 10 June 1987; 13 August 1987, P095; Profile of Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal, August 1987, P058; Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal Memo, 23 August 1987, P055, MA files.
- 89 MA Board minutes, 4 February 1988, Q076; Comment on 1978, May 1988, Q046; *Update* (Noel 1988), Q077; MA board to MR, 2 September 1988, Q059, MA files; Docherty, interview.
- 90 Minutes and Reports, 23 February 1989, R102; Staff, 27 January 1989, R004, MA files.
- 91 Docherty, interview.
- 92 Site application for Fellowship Program of Urban Ministry, November 1989, R090; Board meetings, 16 January 1989; 25 April 1989; 22 June 1989, R041, MA files.
- 93 Administrator's report, 12 September 1989, 10 November 1989, R102, MA files.
- 94 Docherty, interview; Administrator's report, 29 June 1989, R102, MA files.
- 95 Debbie Martin Koop, MCC Canada Annual Report, 1991, T149; MA Annual Report, March 1995, W064, MA files.
- 96 MCC to Reesor, 20 April 1988, Q043; Debbie Martin Koop, MCC Canada Annual Report, 1991, T149; Board, 1 August 1991, T146, MA files.
- 97 MA Administrator's report, 16 July 1991, T146; Program evaluation, April 1990; 5836; programs, 20 August 1990, S058; 30 May 1991, T070, 81, MA files.
- 98 The records hold reports of many discussions around building changes in late 1991 and early 1992, T146, 001, T107; Docherty to Garderie Duluth, 4 December 1990, S109; Newspaper article, "Cherchons garderie pour nos enfants," winter 91-92, T1S1; Administrator's report, 16 July 1991, T146; Board meeting, 25 May 1992, V001, MA files.
- 99 MA Administrator's report, 10 November 1989; Board meeting, 9 January 1992, V001, MA files.
- 100 MCC Canada to Docherty, 11 April 1991, T066; Docherty to Marv Frey, 4 May 1991, V24; Docherty to Hugo Neufeld, 12 June 1991, V30; Board meeting, 5 September 1995, X076, MA files.
- 101 RCA, no. 90, 11 February 1991, T146; Réfugiés à Montréal, 1991, T146; Report, June 1991, T094; Board, 20 October 1992, 17 November 1992, V001; 19 March 1993, V057.
- 102 Maureen Hastie, "House of Friendship draws together many cultures," *TCM* (25 May 1998), 29.
- 103 *Update*, Christmas 1993, V133. Information letter, 4 August 1992, V39; Board, 8 December 1992, V001; 29 January 1993, V057; Docherty in *Update*, Christmas 1993, V133, MA files; Docherty, "I dare to hope that something good is happening here," *MR* (27 May 1997), 8.

- 104 MA Annual Report, 1999; Carnes, 89; Board, 9 September 1992, V001, MA files; "Renovations securing future of Montreal ministry," *CM* (2 October 2000), 15.
- 105 MA Board of Directors minutes, 25 April 1989, R102; MA Board of Directors minutes, 16 March 1994; 2 August 1994, W039; Administrator's report, February 1994, W064.; Docherty to Eugene Murphy, 17 February 1994, W011, MA files.
- 106 MA Annual Report, 2000, MA files; "Montreal named City on a Hill," *CM* (12 April 1999), 16.
- 107 MA Annual Report, March 1995, W064, MA files.
- 108 MA Board of Directors minutes, 24 October 1996, W024; CMQ meeting minutes, 17 January 1997; MA Annual Report, 1999, MA files.
- 109 Luke Martin, interviewed by Lauren Clarke, Montreal, QC.
- 110 Adelman, "Canada, Quebec, and Refugee Claimants," 83- 86.
- 111 MA Board minutes, 28 September 2005.
- 112 Joseph O'Shea, "Individual Versus Collective Rights in Quebec," in *Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge*, edited by Leo Driedger and Shiva S. Halli, 88.
- 113 Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*, 23; Joseph O'Shea, "Individual Versus Collective Rights in Quebec," 87, 89, 90.
- 114 *Update* (14 October 1981), 1050; Dyck to the Wiebes, 7 March 1983, Correspondence (March 1983), J237, MA files.

