Bodies, Souls and Visiting Hours: Mennonite Brethren Outreach in British Columbian Hospitals

Brian Froese, *Canadian Mennonite University*

In the mid-1950s, Mennonite Brethren missions leader Jake Friesen reflected on his home and work in British Columbia. Although the province was in the early years of a massive modernization process undertaken by the Social Credit government of W. A. C. Bennett, Friesen found himself a pioneer in the wilds of an "irreligious" frontier. Eschewing modern comforts to advance the Kingdom of God, Friesen wrote in the appropriately named Mennonite Brethren mission magazine, *Western Challenge*:

> In the days when America and Canada were young and had an ever expanding westward moving frontier, it became popular to say to the ambitious youth, "Go west, young man." To the one who followed that call, it inevitably spelled leaving security and comfort in exchange for adventure. Many dangers were connected with life on the western frontier, notably the attacking Indian, wild animals, and the difficulties of pioneer life.[1]

Friesen's frontier spirit was also spiritual: "Jesus Christ has placed before us a similar challenge, when he said, 'Launch out into the deep.' What others are willing to do for the sake of adventure, are we willing to do for the One whom we call LORD and MASTER?"[2] According to Friesen, British Columbia was among the more challenging spiritual frontiers for evangelicals in Canada:

> [In] the province that has been called the most irreligious in Canada we have been privileged to establish so great a work. I believe every M.B. member in B.C. ought to have a part in it. To be on the frontier means to be willing to give up home comforts for the Kingdom's sake. To be on the frontier means to have most difficulties, but also to gain most glory for the kingdom.[3]

There in florid prose was a mid-twentieth century Mennonite Brethren depiction of what was happening in B.C. missions: difficulty, eschewing of comfort, nation building, danger, adventure, and advancement in the Kingdom of God. Even with the passage of time such sentiment remained current. Such a cosmology and view of suffering was also revealed in Mennonite Brethren mission reporting where the composite nature of wellness and illness fused medical cure and religious piety.

To explore the integration of medical practice and religious faith in the Mennonite Brethren context this essay focuses on the experience within British Columbia missions primarily in the 1960s. As the missionary chronicling of religious errand on the frontier-like mission field indicates, these were experiences infused with spiritual—at times otherworldly—encounters, while the advances of the modern world were eagerly embraced. Within the archival record of Mennonite Brethren mission work, the seamless mingling of frontier difficulties, deep religiosity that even felt—at times—the presence of Satan, and casual acceptance of modern technology is clear. Where this cosmological hybrid is especially demonstrated is in relationship to the body in times of physical distress, illness, mutilation, and death. What seems to occur, however, is a presumption that medical professionals will work on the body while the religious community and mission leadership will work on the soul. Moreover, the experiences of the afflicted body were easily given over to physicians and surgeons as the real drama for the Mennonite Brethren was in how physicality presented itself as a soulful teacher for others, or as a stage-setting for the enactment of rituals refocusing physical trauma to a spiritual dimension. These reverent practices and behaviors, along with the fusion of modernity and religiosity, will be explored,

following a brief sketch of the denominational debate at the time, through an examination of mission reporting on healing, persistent illness, death, and community contacts.

Mennonites have tended to valorize their suffering. From the initial accounting of martyrdom in *Martyrs Mirror* (1660) to the continual retelling of their immigration history often through the lens of persecution, to a literary tradition formed around the trauma experienced in Russia, Mennonites tell a story and narrate a history where suffering is a main character. In North America, narratives of westward migration to the Pacific Coast were often made with the frontier tropes of prevailing over rugged terrain, material deprivation, and aching loneliness—themes that appear regularly in mission reports. The missional trope of the faithful worker eschewing modern conveniences is vital to the story.[4]

As Kate Bowler observed, prairie Mennonites modernizing from a theological triad of conformity, simplicity, and suffering into an urban prosperity gospel of freedom, abundance, and health held fast to time-worn narratives of simplicity by holding success at arms' length, while gripping tightly to "discomfort … as a favorite worry stone."[5] In the frontier language used by Mennonite Brethren mission workers in B.C., history is recounted as memories of misery where struggle is virtuous and steadfastness heroic. These lusciously embedded historical backgrounds then extend to the life of the mission worker as one of self-imposed austerity removed from the comforts of modernity.

About fifteen years after Jake Friesen's missive, Paul Unger, pastor of the Mennonite Brethren church in Williams Lake, cast the history of Mennonite Brethren missions in British Columbia with the frontier gold rush of the late nineteenth century:

> About the time devout men in Gnadenfeld talked gospel, men on the other side of the globe talked gold … As news of our forefathers find spread east and west, north and south, so news of the Cariboo's golden gravel spread southward and was borne around the world … Always pushing northward they crossed mountain ranges from whose heights they enjoyed magnificent views … Some portions of the trail lay along frightful precipices beside which tumbled madly rushing rivers. One hundred years ago man and beast cared to cross these scenes of grandeur in search of gold.[6]

Unger praised James Douglas, governor of the colonies of Vancouver Island (1851-1864) and British Columbia (1858-1864) as a man of "vision" for building an eighteen-foot wagon road several hundred miles long that helped reduce food prices, describing how flour dropped from $2 to 35 cents a pound, or butter from 5 dollars

to 1.25 dollars and potatoes from $1.50 to 25 cents a pound. He exclaimed: "this road, which was in many places hacked out of solid rock, was considered the eighth wonder of the world… Where once cribbing and corduroy held up the strain of wagon wheels, asphalt mixes now support transports speeding 60 miles per hour through tunnels, across steel bridges, and over miles of Social Credit highways."[7] Such material progress was paralleled in the church: "There were times when only two families sat on the other side of a crude apple box pulpit in the annex of an old arena. Some would bear me out when I say that it is difficult to preach in air that is still stale with yesterday's tobacco and brew while the latest jazz from the adjoining ice arena rocks the room." Yet the outcome was never in doubt. "But God's Word will triumph wherever and whenever golden nuggets are panned from the rivers of eternal truth."[8]

Bringing this wonderful tale to the present, Unger discovered progress mingled with the diabolic. He recounted an evening in someone's home with a group of people to discuss *The Four Spiritual Laws* of Campus Crusade for Christ when strange things began to happen. A couple of times someone spilt coffee, and then another person exclaimed, "I smell smoke." There were people smoking in the room, but Unger saw something other than normal events at work. He saw the work of Satan showcased. "After all, we know that Satan will do everything in his power to distract men from focusing on Jesus Christ."[9] There on the British Columbian frontier a tale was told that sacralized physical reality, adopted a modern evangelistic technique, and, in the context of coffee, tobacco, and conversation, articulated the clear and present danger of Satan. Without dissonance everything held together.

Within this frontier world the Mennonite Brethren displayed a seamless integration of modernity and the supernatural. If a person's home used for evangelistic conversation was also a site for demonic distractions, it is no surprise that one of the hallmarks of a modern evolving society growing in sophistication and material health—the hospital or clinic—should concurrently be a site of divine drama. Although, as James Opp argues regarding faith communities steeped in healing miracles, "the cultural practice of faith healing [may be seen] as both a devotional observance and point of resistance to conventional medicine," the Mennonite Brethren never went as far to resist modern medicine.[10] Ritual calls for prayer, conscientious and regular visitation, and routinely recorded concern for the sick or hurt were practices that assumed meaning—at times lessons—in suffering. Mennonite experience merged religious errand with conventional medicine

elsewhere—for example, south down the pacific coast in California, where Mennonites built a sanitarium and mental health facilities, while sacralizing their surroundings—and British Columbia was no exception.[11] Yet, the miraculous potential of God's intervention was always assumed possible.

Denominational Debate

The Mennonite Brethren experience in British Columbia existed in a larger denominational context where charismatic Christianity, including questions of healing, was a matter of debate.

In the early 1970s, with the charismatic movement born in the 1960s in full bloom, Mennonite Brethren writers in the denominational periodical, *MB Herald*, wrestled with the adoption of practices and theological emphases of the charismatic movement. As this emerging charismatic movement, called neo-Pentecostalism, gained influence, Mennonites took stock of what the so-called "charismatic gifts" meant to them. Peter Penner, from Toronto, argued that while the charismatic gifts—specifically "tongues"—had biblical precedent, gifts that are more practical (such as the "utterance of wisdom" and love, the "Christian everyman's gift") should be desired more so. Furthermore, Penner asserted that while speaking in tongues had usefulness, it paled next to "proclamation," and he championed such "proclaimers" as the evangelical luminaries Charles Haddon Spurgeon, Charles Finney and Dwight L. Moody.[12]

To contextualize the issue for his Mennonite Brethren readers, Penner sketched a brief history of the "'new penetration' of tongues," then only four years old. Reverend Dennis Bennett, vicar of St. Mark's Episcopalian Church in Van Nuys, California, alarmed his congregation "of old line, stand pat, liturgical American Anglo Catholics" on April 3, 1960, with an account of how he had been baptized in the Holy Spirit and now spoke in tongues. Apparently seventy people already had the experience in his church, yet that did not forestall the call for his resignation. He resigned and decamped to Seattle, Washington at St. Luke's.[13]

As the story goes, in just over two years Bennett turned this wasting-away parish into a flourishing vibrant community. During the time of St. Luke's flowering, Mennonite Brethren ministers from the Fraser Valley came to visit it and form their own opinions. In only four years, Bennett's movement spread from Van Nuys to Seattle to Kincolith, on the border of British Columbia and the southern tip of the Alaskan panhandle, and eastward to the

Midwestern states and even Toronto. Clearly this was a dynamic, eagerly embraced, and widely appreciated phenomenon. But was it of the Lord? Penner outlined various responses found in several Protestant periodicals. He observed that both *Christian Life* (out of Wheaton) and *Trinity* (an "Episcopal-tinted" publication from the Blessed Trinity Society) affirmed the "new penetration." Two linguists assessed the tongues themselves in *Christianity Today* and found them to be "nothing more than repetitive sound—hardly a medium for conveying edifying truth." Quoting an unnamed evangelical minister, the movement was discounted as a "spiritual binge" by an unnamed president of an evangelical college who cautioned people to use discernment. Despite such caution, Penner was thankful that "the Pentecostals no longer have a monopoly of the mystery and/or gift of speaking in tongues."[14]

Significantly, however, Penner references an unnamed Mennonite Brethren conference leader who "looks upon the new penetration, in my [Penner's] own words, as a satanic job of side-tracking the church from the real issue." In fact, according to one of the linguists [unnamed], "modern glossalalia [tongues] is a gross and sad deception."[15] Though Penner concedes the potential for satanic abuse, he notes that the modern healing and tongues movement is "the driving evangelical force in Latin America and other Spanish-speaking areas of the world. In the meantime … may I ask what is holding up revival in our Anabaptist-Mennonite churches?"[16]

In a two-part response, *MB Herald* editor John H. Redekop took Penner to task for what he saw as an unfair critique of the charismatic movement. Redekop kept his remarks almost solely in the context of Reverend Bennett and St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Seattle, where Redekop happened to live at the time and visited on several occasions. In particular, Redekop found Penner's critique to lack nuance and found his reliance on a few unnamed sources unpersuasive, especially because Penner had very limited exposure to Bennett's preaching and theological thinking. Conceding the real possibility of satanic influence on tongues speaking, Redekop offered the possibility that maybe Satan was undermining the entire Holy Spirit movement because of its effectiveness as a witness for the gospel. While Redekop offered a nuanced critique of Penner's treatment of Bennett and St. Luke's, both he and Penner worked from a cosmology rich in supernatural reality and the tangible presence of Satan. Significantly, both used the category of evil and Satan in the context of Christian charismatic expression and experience—something that evidently formed part of the Mennonite Brethren worldview.[17]

On the issue of healing specifically, the highly regarded Mennonite Brethren theologian F. C. Peters weighed in. Peters affirmed his belief in the veracity of miracles, notably the healing stories of Jesus in the New Testament, and he recorded, as if in a ledger, the similarities and differences between Jesus' healings and those of the faith healing variety in the early 1970s. While similarities included agency on behalf of the sick—a desire to be well and a sincere belief that one can become healthy through the prescribed treatment of a physician or a healer— there were important differences, or as Peters put it, "they just aren't the same class."[18] Without explanation, Peters observed firstly that in the case of faith healers people are led to believe falsehoods, whereas Jesus' healings led to an articulation of deeper truths; and secondly, like the aspirins of his "aspirin age," faith healing treated symptoms not causes. Where Jesus healed to teach the message of "sin no more," faith healing was on the level of taking "bicarbonate of soda" to cure "indigestion" caused by hostile "resentment."[19]

Aside from these few articles, Mennonite Brethren writing on the issue of illness, healing, and hospitals was limited in the late 1960s and early 1970s. There were articles on how to prepare for a stay at the hospital in a practical manner (including how to be an appropriate visitor), and there were reflections on the pain of death, when God does not heal, where a "healing faith" is argued to be an all-encompassing faith that God can but may not heal. Such faith, it was argued, requires adherence to God's will without attempting to coax healing through spiritual gusto or passionate display.[20]

Within the context of a larger denominational debate on the charismatic and miraculous but tucked away in the British Columbian frontier, the stories were simply told and the supernatural casually assumed. The tenuous nature of mortality and the need for evangelistic action was considered obvious. This earnest urgency was demonstrated in September 1964, when "Bro[ther] Neufeld" of Mountain View reported on the consequences of putting off speaking to the ill about Christ. He wrote:

> Once solemn thought of perhaps there not being another opportunity to speak to someone was also again emphasized as one of our members told of his intention to witness to someone in particular but had kept putting it off. [sic]The man took sick and was admitted to Shaughnessy Hospital and our member decided he would write him a letter. He placed the letter in the mailbox and later his married son noticing the letter in the box took it out and brought it to his father and said, "Dad, didn't you hear, Mr. Wilson passed away yesterday."[21]

Furthermore, following the neo-Pentecostals, Mennonite Brethren mission workers were in tune to the presence of Satan. Regarding the closing program for Vacation Bible School in the summer of 1966, Brother Balzer of Ocean Falls wrote, "'We noticed very much how the devil was trying to conquer V.B.S."[22] Although the report does not elaborate on the satanic attack, we are immediately informed of the "harrowing experience" of three young women, implying a connection. They were crossing a bridge when,

> some drunks … formed a chain to barricade them … when one of the drunks threw a beer bottle he [a male companion] ducked and it hit one of the girls on the back of the head and almost knocked her out. She had to be assisted the rest of the way and was brought to the hospital for checking. For a number of days she had rather bad headaches but everything seems to have turned out all right.[23]

What appears as an unfortunate and violent drunken encounter was interpreted with satanic design.

At times the mission workers even believed God to have struck people so as to bring them to a hospital. "[A] marriage was about to break up when God intervened and put the man on a hospital bed," comes a report from Dawson Creek. "Now the family is concerned about him and this has helped his attitude but he still is not willing to give himself to the God. We need to pray for this family."[24] Whether of Satan or God, events explainable by the exigencies of life were easily read as cosmic in nature, but not to obviate human agency.

Healing

Reports of actual healings among the Mennonite Brethren in 1960s British Columbia, of a sudden—even miraculous—quality, were few in number and almost entirely related to recovery from addiction or nervousness, seemingly presaging Peters's own observations, though without the mediation of a faith healer. Three cases of this nature were reported in a five-month period in 1966.

In May 1966, an unnamed woman was suddenly delivered from alcoholism. "She had come to her wits end and desperately wanted help," we are told. "She has made an experience of salvation before, she believes, but she does not have victory. I pointed her to the victory possible in Christ and through the power of prayer. She was quite relieved." Though the time frame to assess her recovery was brief, victory was claimed. "Several days later I contacted her

again and she had been able to stay away from the beer parlor even through her friends had lured her and taunted her."[25]

Similarly, in Vancouver, that same May, there was another story of healing from the desire of alcohol. A fellow named Frank (no last name) "accept[ed] a miracle from the Lord to deliver him from any desire for drink." Then two men, "Br. John and another worker," prayed for Frank and he declared, "I am healed." The report from Vancouver's Grace Mission stated further, "Two days later he came back to report that he had been with a buddy of his who had opened a big bottle of wine and he had had no desire for it whatever. He still was praising the Lord that he had been healed."[26] Again, only a brief amount of time passed to claim victory.

In the late summer of 1966, the mission report from Mountain View noted that a Mennonite Brethren woman of twenty years of age,

> has shown a spirit of rebellion in many ways, especially at home … then she told of how the Lord had dealt with her over the past eight months. Her miserableness caused her depression which in turn was diagnosed by the doctor as nervous exhaustion but when she yielded to the Lord He healed her of everything or as she said "it may sound stupid to you but the Lord just healed me."[27]

The immediate release from bondage—in these cases depression and alcohol abuse—was attributed to divine intervention, even if the evidence of such a healing was given on a track record of only a few days. In these earnest yet all-too-brief accounts, the authors mix modernity (physicians and hospitals) and religious faith (intervention of Christ, prayer, and miracles) without hesitation; they are confident in the deliverances they describe. Nonetheless, such stories were the exception; persistent illness was the norm.

Illness Persists

On the other side of healing was the reality of persistent illness, and here too the hybrid nature of health and recovery, both medical and religious, is manifest. For those reporting from various mission outposts in British Columbia, the hospital was much more than a site of medical wonder; it was contested terrain where sick residents not only received necessary bodily treatment from physicians and nurses, but also where souls dwelt in a state of

suspense waiting for prayer from visitors. In Williams Lake, the congregation asked for "intercession in a special way" for Peter Krahn, a thirty-one year old Abbotsford man in the hospital for a month due to an appendectomy. As reported, "the doctors said that it was a miracle that he was alive for his appendix was ruptured three weeks earlier. Peter is under conviction. We cannot point to any definite decisions for Christ but there is a young man who is searching."[28] Similarly, when the seventy-four year old husband of a member at Lake Errock was admitted into a T.B. Sanatorium, it was reported that "he said he would die as he had lived. We pray for his conversion."[29]

At times families of the sick saw a loved-one's illness as reflective on themselves. In Vanderhoof, Henry Froese experienced a "nervous breakdown" and was improving at the time of the report. Froese was described as having attended Prairie Bible Institute, was in Crease Clinic, and "a number of his brothers reacted negatively to this situation in their spiritual life. This has also been a matter of grave concern to the folks at Vanderhoof."[30]

There was also the story of Margaret Oxendale. As reported by Jake Friesen: "I would like to underline particularly that Mrs. Margaret Oxendale, who accepted the Lord recently, is going through times of crises. There is difficulty in her relationship in the home because her husband is strongly Roman Catholic. Pray that God will give her the victory over herself in all things and that she might be in the Lord's will."[31] Having made a decision for Christ in the fall of 1964, Oxendale found herself in distress and wished to see Friesen. Her marital difficulties, combined with the "limitations and isolations" of Ocean Falls, made for a rough time. There was also an unnamed "physical incident in the home at the beginning of the year," which exacerbated her suffering. She was ultimately admitted to Crease Clinic, though apparently "She is obviously not prepared to face the basic issues of her lack of commitment [to Jesus]."[32] Nevertheless, her dire situation was also occasion for the Mennonites to make contact with her husband:

> When I asked him [her husband] whether he considered her situation to be mental illness or a personality problem, it was interesting to see that he was not sure which it was. Neither did the doctors in Ocean Falls and Crease Clinic agree. The doctor here thinks it is a deep mental problem whereas the doctor in Ocean Falls thinks that it is alcoholism. It was remarkable that Mr. Oxendale, a strong Roman Catholic, appreciated the efforts of the Gospel Chapel and the believers here for their efforts with Mrs. Oxendale and that she had been put on the right track.[33]

The Mennonite Brethren were concerned for her and in the midst of her move to the clinic and contact with her husband they called for people to "Pray, especially for Margaret Oxendale, who at present is ill." And that too meant mission workers needed divine help on occasion. "Pray also that we might have much grace and wisdom in dealing with her," they asked. "She is very moody."[34]

Not all cases of alcohol abuse were miraculously mended. In Port Edward in the summer of 1962, for example, Tim Derrick, who had attended church membership classes for a time, was "having much difficulty with his drink problem. It was only by the Lord's intervention that he did not take his own life … Much prayer is needed for this man. No human wisdom, no human strength is sufficient to break the power of sin in Tim's life. Much fervent believing prayer is what we ask for on his behalf."[35] Similarly, there were reports in April 1967 that Harold Wright and others in his family "have again been drinking rather heavily and the work with them is oftentimes very discouraging." The remedy, again, is prayer. "We need to really lay hold on God that he is going to give them complete deliverance."[36] These mission workers, honest in their discouragement, found hope in apparently divine intervention as Derrick did not take his life, even though the problem with drink remained. The Port Edward case is significant in that it is among the few cases where affliction is tied to sin and the call to prayer was intensified. The concern for these people is evident, sincere, and heartfelt—but constructed around the primacy of the soul and spiritual health.

Considering the evangelical inclinations of the Mennonite Brethren reporting from British Columbia, it is perhaps not surprising to find that the Mennonite Brethren leaned heavily on nondenominational evangelical literature in their hospital visitations. Campus Crusade's *Four Spiritual Laws* was a particular favorite, used to encourage just about anyone. In Fort St. John, for example, concern for a Mr. Wilson ran deep on account of his lack of Christian faith. When the opportunity to minister to him was afforded by the strains put upon him by his wife's stroke, we are told that,

> his wife is a Christian, a member or at least adherent of the Alliance Church … He is not a Christian, admitting this quite freely to me when I visited the home. Was not ready to make a decision, so I left him the 4 law booklet and he promised to read it.[37]

On another occasion the Mennonite Brethren from Fort St. John visited Joe Neimic, who was in the hospital for a broken leg. At one

point he is quoted saying, "'I'm supposed to be Roman Catholic, but I never go.'" He was given literature to read.[38] George Middleton said he lived by the Ten Commandments and "our conversation revealed that he had always been able to keep them," but then he "admitted he had no hope after death," despite his satisfaction with life. "Left him with copy of '4 Spiritual Laws'"; he said "church guy" could come back.[39]

The booklets were deliberately simple, and Campus Crusade never claimed that they completed one's spiritual development. Campus Crusade encouraged new converts to join Bible studies and churches to deepen one's understanding and experience of the gospel. However, the tract that gained such popularity and was used so prominently in the B.C. Mennonite Brethren mission experience explained the Christian gospel message through the following four "laws":

1. God loves you and has a wonderful plan for your life.
2. Man is sinful and separated from God, thus he cannot know and explain God's plan for his life.
3. Jesus Christ is God's provision for man's sin through whom man can know God's love and plan for his life.
4. We must receive Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord by personal invitation.[40]

Typically, responses to the *Four Spiritual Laws* were not recorded. However, there were moments of resistance to the literature reported about a Mr. and Mrs. Sandberg. "She has some strange ideas about these matters [regarding the booklet]," the Progress Report reads. "Pray for understanding of spiritual things there, for Satan has certainly clouded their minds to the truth of the Gospel."[41] Such resistance, however, was very rare—at least according to the record.

Regardless of spiritual laws, medicine wields exceptional power in society, documenting a person's very existence through the issuance of birth and death certificates, impeding or confirming one's access to a host of societal privileges, even overriding parents and religious belief and practice on child healthcare issues and more. While faith healing proponents represent the most direct challenge to medical authority, the Mennonite Brethren never took the path of confrontation with medicine. However, regardless of the efficacy of medicine or scalpel, they acknowledged ultimate authority over pain, suffering, illness, and body belonged to God. This ordering of healthcare was cosmological in nature, with Mennonites trusting their ultimate fates to God *and* having confidence in the God-given talents in the

hospitals and clinics, but never confusing the two. Unlike the faith healers, then, this cosmology did not, for the most part, equate illness with sin.[42] Nor was there defeat in persistent affliction.

At times Mennonite Brethren mission leaders marveled at the resilience some had with continuously serious health issues as they contemplated conversion. Considering the story of Alex Sreliof in Oliver, Helmut Klassen observed,

> [he], who has had many physical trials, has begun to just drink in the things of the Lord, and is attending evening services and our Wednesday cottage meetings … [He] admits that he is a great sinner and that he needs and wants Jesus. It may be that he has already passed over from death unto life. He has had several strokes and a near successful suicide attempt.[43]

Yet the overriding concern was the health of one's soul, even when prayer is requested specifically for the body and nothing more. A report from the town of Oliver, for example, notes that "Martha Penner, whom we mentioned in the last synopsis, has again been seriously ill and we want to pray for her recovery."[44]

The experiences of children, however, took a stronger emotional tone concerning both body and soul. Nonetheless, accidents and illnesses involving children were understood in a similar fashion to incidents involving adults, as offering a type of spiritual education. "We thank God further for some difficult and trying experiences this month," reads a 1968 report. "An accident resulting from a tumble off a horse put 13 year-old Ronnie Wiebe into the hospital for several weeks. But we rejoice at the discovery that just a few months previous he had accepted Christ." That same report also notes that "1.5 year old Bradley Willms is hospitalized with meningitis," and adds that "We would solicit prayer for him and his parents. He is not responding to treatment very well, and seems to be very slow in recovering."[45] While the state of the soul remained paramount in the hierarchy of concern, the use of more descriptive language in these passages is significant. These were difficult and trying times, it is clear, and there was rejoicing, soliciting, and even some detail on children's evolving physical condition.

Garnering particular attention was the young daughter of Dave and Anne Fehr of Fort St. John, Lois Fehr. Lois lost a hand, and in the process of recovery from her amputation moved the world around her by demonstrating the power of her faith. Her physical impairment became a demonstration of her spiritual strength:

> To say thank you to God when a 13 year-old girl loses her right hand is not easy, especially for the parents. But we marvel at the grace of God in the way Dave & Anne Fehr have accepted the fact that Lois has been thus disabled. While this was an extremely hard experience, it has done something for them personally in their spiritual lives.

John Schmidt, reporting on these events, noted it was also an occasion of increased spiritual responsibility for him. "Certainly this has been a most enriching time for me, for it has afforded counseling opportunities otherwise impossible."[46]

Yet the focus of Schmidt's report was on Lois' recovery and shining example of courage and spiritual calm. "We praise God too for the way Lois has accepted this from the Lord," he writes. "When she came out of anesthetic her first question was 'What did the Doctor do to my hand?' When I told her they had to take it off after trying everything possible, she said, 'I guess God must have wanted it this way.' Her testimony to the doctors and nurses was very positive, and the whole incident was a means of witness to many." For Schmidt, the dramatic sequence of events of young Lois' accident, amputation, and faithful commitment to God was a moment to demonstrate the peaceful life to be found in Jesus. "The entire hospital staff as well as many others was stunned by this accident," he writes, "but we believe through it Christ will accomplish His purposes. How wonderful at times like this to have a Savior who gives 'more grace as the burdens grow greater.' Continue to remember the family in prayer for days of adjustment ahead. Lois will like[ly] go to Vancouver later in fall for an artificial limb."[47]

Death

Sick and broken bodies were not the only vehicles of divine pedagogy. Dead bodies taught and motivated the living. Throughout Christian history the dead not only have never left, but they have remained active coaches for those they departed from.[48] As Edward Muir argues, it is relatively recent where death and dying is something to be ignored. In fact, he states, at least through the seventeenth century "death could be said to be the central concern of life."[49] In his study of ritual in the Reformation era, death is everywhere, where life extends beyond the grave into purgatory, where graveyards are more important for the soul of the deceased than any survivor. Graveyards were sacred places where the living and dead "interacted."[50] In regards to the

experience of death, the Reformation was very significant as a "forceful rejection of the ritual industry of death with all its expensive commitments to priestly intervention." The rites of passage to the next world had become, for reformers like Martin Luther in his confrontation with the sale of indulgences, less a spiritual consolation and more a burden.[51]

For the Anabaptists and the Mennonite Brethren to follow, the dead are dead, and funeral and death rituals have nothing to do with the departed soul's protection or status. Rather, the dead become cautions or models for the living. Such a perspective and practice was congruent with their centuries-long history from the Reformation which dispensed with any miracle of transubstantiation or real presence of Christ at the Lord's Supper, understanding it instead as symbolic. In fact, this pivotal issue in the Reformation (nature of the Eucharist) and the Mennonite understanding of it as a memorial was more associated with confession of sin and the maintenance of community—a view similar to how bodily illness and death were treated.[52]

However, as Thomas Laqueur demonstrates, for Protestants "the dead lived on without the old soteriology. Dead bodies did not lose their aura even if they lost their institutional and theological support." Forms and practices may change, but the dead are always vital members of society. In the context of Mennonite Brethren missions, sick and dead bodies do something important: They call the faithful to pray and visit, and they draw the attention of others to the mission. Dead bodies in particular also offer up a cautionary tale, a heuristic grounded in lamentation.[53]

Death mediated mission contact. Though not centered on the hospital, funerals and grief counseling were also places of transcendent importance. "God is speaking in a special way these days through the death of a 16 year old native girl who lived in Port Edward and whose sisters have been coming to our Sunday School and church services very faithfully," notes one report. "Pray that God will really be able to speak to the parents, family, and friends so that souls might come to Him through this bereavement."[54] Or, in regards to the tragic tale of an infant's death in Williams Lake: "We would like to mention the Vic Lunds and commit them to our intercessory prayers. I had the opportunity of conducting the funeral service for their nine month old baby. The baby had developed a brain tumor. The occasion gave me an opportunity to witness for Christ as well as to preach at the service. The possibilities for further contact with this young couple seem to be very good."[55]

Even in the cauldron of a family member's suicide, evangelical hope waxed eternal:

> Recently, Satan filled a man with such frustration and depression that he shot himself. In her heart-breaking sorrow and in utter desperation a sister-in-law of the dead sought help and healing in the home of one of our church members. There she wept and poured out her grief stricken soul. Then and there God moved in, bringing love, peace and joy to a shattered heart. Later in her home, she communicated all she knew and experienced to her heart-broken husband. God moved in. At the sad funeral people did not understand her and her husband's facial expression. New joy and peace would not let sorrow shine through. It was triumph through tragedy.[56]

Further evidence of this tragedy working a wondrous miracle was given as this couple ran a carpet store and "their employed carpet layer" noted a change over them.[57] Such eternal hope was present in other suicide attempts, as well: "An Anglican Woman, Mrs. Pat McMillan, son [sic] shot himself through the jaw, not fatal, and a Mr. Dillabough's wife took her life [and he] had spiritual conversations with some of the Mennonite Brethren."[58]

Car accidents, logging mishaps, and the sea itself provided sudden opportunities for talking about the gospel to those without it, as in a logging accident that nearly killed Mr. Harris of Lake Errock. "We have often hoped to reach this family somehow and we believe this may be the opportunity which the Lord is giving us," reads a 1965 report.[59] Similarly, when a Bob Ulmer was "in hospital from car accident. Driver killed," it is noted that he is "Open to the gospel. Claims to be a Christian. Wife admitted to need of personal relationship with Christ."[60] The watery graves also gave voice to evangelical hope: "One man, who recently lost his son at sea spoke up at Sunday night service. We were told afterwards that he had advised all people to listen to the good news we preach and to change their life by taking Jesus into their heart. God knows if a real change took place in his heart—we trust it did."[61] Finally, all the contexts of illness, suffering, and death not only focused Mennonite Brethren attention to eternity, the soul, and lessons for the living, but they also created spaces for community contact.

Community Contact

Most prominent was how sites of illness were also places of community contact. Illness seems to routinely bring people

together. There was a seventy-three year old man, Claud Butt, described as "in the hospital being very close to a decision for Christ. Prayer is requested for him."[62] Furthermore, there was a serious emphasis on counseling in Kitimat that "spent considerable time counseling believers." On one occasion it was noted a believer took up three hours of Br[other] Schmidt's counseling time, while another was "still ensnared by Rosicrucianism," and "still another M.B. member has marriage problems."[63]

Serendipity too visited hospitals. In Williams Lake, after Edward Litzenberger came to the Lord, Paul Unger related an encounter echoing the biblical story of the Ethiopian at the side of the road (Acts 8: 26-31). "I was making a hospital visit when I noticed Ed in the Men's Day Room. He was paging through a Bible. When I asked him if he understood what he was reading, he replied, 'No, but I would sure like to.'"[64] The hospital in the Mennonite Brethren mission cosmology was a site where the terrestrial and transcendent clearly intersected, as seen in lengthy stories as well as such brief, even terse, notations such as, "Mrs. Nielson: hospital call. Divorced. Real spiritual needs."[65] In the equally laconic report of a man named Roy who had been in the local hospital for months, the reader learns of "a Roman Catholic by the name of Fabean d'Aragon who has expressed interest in the Gospel, and Mr. Doug Diggens who is in the hospital with a broken foot."[66] Even in one's room assignment such providence was seen, as in the case of a woman in Ocean Falls hospital who wanted a faith similar to a Mennonite Brethren woman who was staying there. It seems she made a "decision for Christ."[67]

Through such reporting the world in which people live is somewhat revealed. In Oliver, "Martha Penner, whom we mentioned in the last synopsis, has again been seriously ill and we want to pray for her recovery."[68] The February 1962 report from County Line noted that the local "'storeman'" north of their church "is down with a serious back ailment. He professes to be an atheist and he has been contacted with the Gospel and prayer is requested for him."[69] In Hazelton, early 1966, Braun reported on the situation of a sixty year old man, Oscar:

> I should mention that I met this chap in the Hazelton Hospital in January and had not seen him since I worked in the Silver Standard Mine in Hazelton in 1952. He is a hardened sinner and Tom Loewen and I both had the opportunity to talking to the Lord about him. I heard later that he had been very ensensed [sic] about this. I would ask you to pray that the Lord may deal with this man."[70]

These encounters reveal at times the occupations and pre-occupations of people in these areas of British Columbia and the significance of community connections, even if initiated by pain.

At times these stories were directly connected to the frontier-like conditions of British Columbia and its continuing progress. In an appeal for Christian healthcare workers to come to Williams Lake, the evolution of the small gold rush town to a rapidly growing population centre was emphasized. Originally named Borland, Williams Lake was a gold-rush settlement. As transportation to the area improved, more ranchers moved in and sawmilling became an important industry. The population rose from 500 in 1950 to 6000 in mid-1960s, and with expansion came employment opportunities. In a bid to attract others to the area for work and Christian witness, the author stressed the abundance of jobs in virtually all trades, as a construction boom in houses and new industrial buildings such as a planer mill and plywood plant, among others, was underway. Such boosterism also included appeals to women: "And mother don't be afraid; Williams Lake has a Safeway store, or if you prefer Super Value, Overwaitea or Shop Easy. And Eatons has an ordering office, and Simpson Sears has one too."[71]

Then came the pressing need for the Mennonite Brethren mission: "The new 75 bed hospital speaks of an opportunity for the Christian doctor and nurse. Christian doctors and nurses can be a tremendous blessing and a real asset to the church of Jesus Christ in any area, but especially in an area where witnessing opportunities are needed so very much. Christian doctor, dentist, nurse, we need your witness in Williams Lake!"[72] The Mennonite Brethren in Ocean Falls, also hoping for Christian nurses, noted that "the hospital here is in real need of Registered Nurses including a Matron. There is a Nurses Residence for single ladies. Let us pray that the Lord will direct the right people to accept these opportunities."[73]

Community contact also benefited larger church ministries, as when in Fort St. John, "[we] met her [Mrs. H. Gunn] in the hospital while visiting her mother, who passed away Christmas Eve. A Follow-up call to their home has resulted in her coming to SS [Sunday school] & church as well as bringing her 6 [year] old daughter, plus two daughter-in-laws with her. Presently she is the hospital recovering from surgery."[74] They also helped connect the suffering to, ideally, helpful interventions both medical and spiritual. In one case, also from Fort St. John, a woman welcomed the Mennonite Brethren outreach. "Mrs. Bridge, Roman Catholic, hasn't found what she needs in the Roman Catholic Church. She

left a 'Van Dusen letter' [suicide note] for her to read." Bridge was admitted to the hospital for "emotion problems" and visited with Ann Fehr and the pastor from North Peace Mennonite Brethren Church, when she confided to be looking for peace, but "'in the wrong place.'"[75]

The one time a hospital patient was specifically identified as a Mennonite was the case of Mrs. J. Giesbrecht,

> an Old Mennonite from the Prespetou Settlement. I [unnamed visitor from North Peace Mennonite Brethren] visited her in the hospital for about an hour one day trying to show her that salvation was not dependent upon baptism. She cannot grasp the truth of assurance. It was a most frustrating experience, and yet for me a good one, not only that I had to really rely on God to speak to her in German!, [sic] but also to realize what a tremendous blessing it is to have assurance of salvation. These poor people are in darkness and need the light of the Gospel.[76]

Even in the case of ministering to their Mennonite cousins in the hospital, the soul was their concern and bodily care by medical staff assumed and never discussed.

Conclusion

Of the myriad of life's exigencies, status of health and body received most attention in the 1960s reports of Mennonite Brethren's missions efforts in British Columbia. Even in times of economic disruption—the closing of a mill, for example, which would be recognized as important and prayed for—rarely was one's employment status noted, for example. Authors of mission reports recorded marital status nearly as often as health status, but the spiritual health and status of a person or community was clearly above all categories of human organization and experience.

On one hand some of this seems cold or even opportunistic, yet healthcare, care of the body, medicine, and modernity were not at all rejected or even thought of dismissively. However, within this taxonomy of needs, the soul was always most precious and received special attention in times of physical stress. The Mennonite Brethren took seriously the hospital and clinics as a sacred space where body and soul both received care. These were places where body and mind received treatment as conversations about possible satanic attack or demonic possession were held. A needle was threaded as Mennonite Brethren mission reporting remained very much congruent with church leaders such as F.C.

Peters at a time when there was suspicion of Pentecostalism while living with an understanding of existing amongst devils and demons. Peters and others acknowledged the real possibility of miracles from God, but remained strongly restrained in any support of "faith-healing" as a ministry. Yet, the Mennonite Brethren lived and worked through a cosmology that crackled with cosmic significance and it melded seamlessly with what modernity offered.

However, this seeming harmony was not always the case. For example, one report notes that, "Frank Koops told Ernie Riemer recently that all his pet theories based on psychology were crumbling in rapid succession. Pray with us that this will be the beginning of a spiritual comeback for this dear couple."[77] Such responses are rarely mentioned. Following Muir's work on ritual and Opp on faith healing, we can say that the hospital and clinic are liminal spaces where modernity operates its technologies on the body, to even manufacture limbs, and yet where religious spirituality, faith, and prayers are technologies operating on souls.

For Mennonite Brethren of this period, the body was a cosmic location leading from the temporary to the eternal. From the ritual call to prayer to the construction of physical incapacitation in the conservative evangelical lens, from persistent ailments to sudden deliverances, these experiences in the "wilderness" of British Columbia are part of a larger imaginative landscape that meshed modernity with Mephistopheles.

Acknowledgements

Research for this article was supported by grants from the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and Canadian Mennonite University.

Notes

1 Jake Friesen, "The Western Challenge," *Western Challenge* 1:4 (July-August, 1956), 3. MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.11 Box 11 File 16 Western Challenge, Mennonite Historical Society of British Columbia Archives, Abbotsford, BC (MHSBCA).

2 Ibid. I retained his capitalizations.

3 Ibid.

4 Kate Bowler, "Harvest Time: Modernizing Mennonites and Hutterites with a Prairie Prosperity Gospel," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 33 (2015), 25-26; and, Robert Zacharias, *Rewriting the Break Event: Mennonites and Migration in Canadian Literature* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013).

[5] Bowler, 27.
[6] Paul Unger, "Nuggets of the North," *Mennonite Brethren Herald* 29 March 1968, 7.
[7] Ibid., 7-8; and, Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 421.
[8] Unger, "Nuggets of the North," 7-8.
[9] Ibid., 8.
[10] James Opp, *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine, & Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 4.
[11] Brian Froese, *California Mennonites* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 58-62, ch. 8.
[12] Peter Penner, "The Current Tongues Movement, Part II," *MB Herald* (29 May 1964), 4-5.
[13] Peter Penner, "The Current Tongues Movement, Part I," *MB Herald* (15 May 1964), 4.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 5.
[16] Ibid.
[17] John H. Redekop, "What about Glossalalia? (Part 1)," *MB Herald* (10 July 1964), 2; and John H. Redekop, "What about Glossalalia? (Part 2)," *MB Herald* (17 July 1964), 2.
[18] F. C. Peters, "Faith Healing and the Healing of the Gospels," *MB Herald* (5 March 1971), 2.
[19] Ibid., 3.
[20] Irene Labun, "So You are Going to the Hospital?" *MB Herald* (22 October 1971) 6-7; Katie Funk Wiebe, "When God does not Heal," *MB Herald* (20 April 1973) 22-23.
[21] [Bro. Neufeld, Mountain Lake], "Synopsis of September Monthly Progress Reports Issued October 14, 1964," 1. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA. When possible, full names are used. Otherwise, I retain the convention of the day.
[22] [Br. Balzer, Ocean Falls], Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the July Monthly Progress Reports Issued August 12, 1966," 2. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.
[23] Ibid.
[24] [Br. Siemens, Dawson Creek], George L. Braun, "Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Report Issued April 18, 1967," 1. 992.1.7 Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.
[25] [Br. Siemens] Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for April Issued May 11, 1966," 1. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.
[26] Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for April Issued May 11, 1966," 5. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA. No reporter named.
[27] [Br. Neufeld, Mountain View], George L. Braun, "Synopsis of the August Monthly Progress Report Issued September 21, 1966," 2-3. 992.1.7 Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.
[28] [Bro. Unger, Williams Lake], "Synopsis of September Monthly Progress Reports Issued October 14, 1964," 5. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[29] [Bro. Isaac, Lake Errock], "Synopsis of September Monthly Progress Reports Issued October 14, 1964," 1. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[30] Jake H. Friesen, "Synopsis of February 1962 Reports to the Committee Members," 3; and, Jake H. Friesen, "Synopsis of September-October 1962 Progress Reports," 2. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[31] [Jake H. Friesen], "Running Record – January 12, 1965." MBCH 4 Ocean Falls Gospel Fellowship Fonds, File: S3-1/3 Correspondence 1956-1965, MHSBCA.

[32] Jake H. Friesen, "Running Record for Ocean Falls, March 21, 1965." MBCH 4 Ocean Falls Gospel Fellowship Fonds, File: S3-1/3 Correspondence 1956-1965, MHSBCA.

[33] Jake H. Friesen, "Running Record on Margaret Oxendale, Saturday, May 29, 1965." MBCH 4 Ocean Falls Gospel Fellowship Fonds, File: S3-3/3, MHSBCA.

[34] John Balzer to [Jake H.] Friesen, correspondence, 25 March 1966. MBCH 4 Ocean Falls Gospel Fellowship Fonds, File: S3-2/3 Correspondence 1966-1967, MHSBCA.

[35] Jake H. Friesen, "Synopsis of July, 1962, August Reports," 4. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[36] [Br. Schmidt, Port Edward], George L. Braun, "Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Report Issued April 18, 1967," 3. 992.1.7 Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[37] North Peace, "M.B. Mission of B.C. (W.C.C.M.) Progress Report, December 1967, p. 1-2, MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.1 Box 1 File 27 North Peace MB, MHSBCA.

[38] John Schmidt, North Peace Mennonite Brethren Church, Fort St. John, BC, "Progress Report for July 1968," p. 1, MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.1 Box 1 File 27 North Peace MB, MHSBCA.

[39] North Peace, "M.B. Mission of B.C. (W.C.C.M.) Progress Report, May 1968, p. 3, MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.1 Box 1 File 27 North Peace MB, MHSBCA.

[40] John G. Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 99. The little booklet that became known as *The Four Spiritual Laws* evolved from 1957 to the early 1960s under the guidance of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade for Christ. Upon hearing the advice by Bob Ringer, salesman and member of the affluent First Presbyterian Church of Hollywood (Hollywood Presbyterian) attended by successful businessmen, Hollywood stars, and the generally wealthy, Bright was inspired to prepare a coherent summation of Campus Crusade's basic evangelistic message. He came up with a twenty-minute presentation, called "God's Plan," for his staff to use. By 1959 Bright boiled it down to four basic principles, and in 1965 businessman Gus Yeager from Toledo, Ohio, had them formatted into little booklets and published them as *Have You Heard of the Four Spiritual Laws?*, eventually to be called *The Four Spiritual Laws*. *Four Spiritual Laws* became an exceptionally popular evangelistic tool far beyond college campuses: from 1965 to 1970, twenty-five million copies of the booklet were printed.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Opp, 208-209.

[43] Helmut Klassen to George Braun, correspondence, 1 October 1968. MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.2 Box 2 File 2 Oliver MB, MHSBCA.

[44] [Oliver, BC], Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for December Issued January 11, 1966,". 4. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[45] John Schmidt, North Peace Mennonite Brethren Church, "Progress Report for July 1968."

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] See Peter Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015); and Thomas W. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015).

[49] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 44-45.

[50] Muir, 49-50.

[51] Muir, 52.

[52] Muir, 181.

[53] Laqueur, 47-48, 85.

[54] [John Schmidt, Port Edward], "Synopsis of September Monthly Progress Reports Issued October 14, 1964," 4. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[55] [Br. Unger, Williams Lake], Jake H. Friesen, "Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for February Issued March 17, 1966," 5. 992.1.7 Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[56] Paul Unger, "A Testimony for the Progress Report," [c. 1966 place in file], MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.2 Box 2 File 5 Cariboo Bethel, MHSBCA.

[57] "Williams Lake," *Western Challenge* 11:1 (January, 1967), 2. MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.9 Box 9 File 8 West Coast Children's Missions, MHSBCA.

[58] [Br. Schmidt, Port Edward], Jake H. Friesen, "Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for February Issued March 17, 1966," 4. 992.1.7 Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[59] North Peace, "Mennonite Brethren Mission of B.C. Monthly Progress Report," November 1968, MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.1 Box 1 File 27 North Peace MB, MHSBCA; and, [Br. Issac, Lake Errock], Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for October Issued November 16, 1965," 2. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[60] North Peace, "Mennonite Brethren Mission of B.C. Monthly Progress Report," November 1968.

[61] Jacob and Elsie Bergen, "Reaching the Indians on Village Island," *Zirkular der W.C.C. Mission* (Februar, 1952), 1-2. MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.9 Box 9 File 8 West Coast Children's Missions, MHSBCA.

[62] [Br. Aaron, Kitimat], Jake H. Friesen, "Synopsis of February 1962 Reports to the Committee Members," p. 1. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[63] Ibid.

[64] [Williams Lake], Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for July Issued August 23, 1965, 6. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[65] North Peace, "Mennonite Brethren Mission of B.C. Monthly Progress Report," November 1968, 1.

[66] [Bro Balzer, Ocean Falls], Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for January Issued February 17, 1965," 2. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[67] Jake H. Friesen, "May-June Progress Reports for the Committee Members," [1962], p. 1; and, Jake H. Friesen, "Synopsis of July, 1962, August Reports," p. 2, 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[68] [Oliver, BC], Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for December Issued January 11, 1966," 4. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[69] Jake H. Friesen, "Synopsis of February 1962 Reports to the Committee Members," 1. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[70] [Br. Braun, Hazelton], Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for February Issued March 17, 1966," 2. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[71] "Report – Williams Lake," [c. 1964], 1-2. MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.13 Box 13 File 9 Williams Lake, MHSBCA.

[72] Ibid.

[73] [Br. Balzer, Ocean Falls], Jake H. Friesen, "The Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports for December Issued January 11, 1966," 3. 992.1.7 MB/BOCE/BC Box 7 File 39: Synopsis of the Monthly Progress Reports, MHSBCA.

[74] North Peace, "Mennonite Brethren Mission of B.C. Monthly Progress Report," January 1969, 1. MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.1 Box 1 File 27 North Peace MB, MHSBCA.

[75] North Peace, "M.B. Mission of B.C. (W.C.C.M.) Progress Report, May 1968, 1, 3. MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.1 Box 1 File 27 North Peace MB, MHSBCA.

[76] North Peace M.B. Church, "M.B. Mission of B.C. (W.C.C.M.) Progress Report," October 1967, 2. MB/BOCE/BC 992.1.1 Box 1 File 27 North Peace MB, MHSBCA.

[77] North Peace, "Mennonite Brethren Mission of B.C. Monthly Progress Report," January 1969, 2.