

Consensus

Volume 44
Issue 2 *Canadian Lutheran History:*
Remembering Today, for the Sake of Tomorrow

Article 13

7-25-2023

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Recommended Citation

Ardon, Jennifer; Kuhnert, Hanne; Busch, Marcus; Sjoberg, Donald W.; Jensen, Gordon A.; Achtelstetter, Karin; B., Senait; and Manyon, Rachel (2023) "Canadian Lutheran World Relief and the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2, Article 13.

DOI: 10.51644/TNMW6372

Available at: <https://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol44/iss2/13>

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Canadian Lutheran World Relief and the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada

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Canadian Lutheran World Relief and the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada

WEBINAR III

**Jennifer Ardon, Hanne Kuhnert, Marcus Busch, Donald W. Sjoberg, Gordon A. Jensen,
Karin Achtelstetter, Senait B., and Racheal Manyon***

Jennifer Ardon

We are very grateful to the Lutheran members and congregants who are always working to support CLWR¹ and the work that we do, both with refugees in Canada and working with displaced persons and refugees out in the world who are victims of violence and conflict. So refugee work continues to be important, and your continued support continues to be appreciated.

Hanne Kuhnert - Acknowledgement of Indigenous Neighbours and Territories

Good afternoon, everyone, and thank you all for being with us today. My name is Hanne, and I am part of the Young Canadian Lutheran (YCL)² community.³ I am also a member of the Circle for Reconciliation and Justice Committee for the Eastern Synod and a trained volunteer for the Racial Justice Advisory Committee's "Community Conversations" initiative.

As this webinar is hosted by Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow, representing the ELCIC from coast to coast to coast, we would like to begin by Acknowledging the colonial history of our country.⁴ In particular, we would like to Acknowledge the land we benefit from that has been claimed predominantly by White, Christian Settler people, and whose abundance has been withheld from our Indigenous neighbours all across what we refer to as "Canada."⁵

I invite you, should you know, to share the Traditional Territory that you are residing on in the group CHAT below.⁶ If you are unfamiliar, I have just sent a link, native-land.ca,⁷ to that same website where you can later input your postal code to learn more about the Territories, Treaties, and languages that are linked to the original peoples native to the land that you are on. For myself, I will begin by Acknowledging that I am currently tuning in and residing on the Haldimand Tract, six miles on either side of the Grand River that was promised to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, also known as the Six Nations people.⁸

So we'll just give it a second longer if anyone else is finishing typing where they are from in the CHAT. Feel free to finish that up if you are still typing; no pressure. Thank you all for your contributions in the CHAT. Before we proceed, I invite you to join me in a prayer:

Gracious God, we give you thanks for this safe and plentiful place we call home and for all the peoples who have helped to make it so. Help us to come together to reconcile the wrongs that have been committed on this land in Your name. Be with those who died, and with the families of those who died and continue to suffer as a result of the trauma that was inflicted through residential schools, the Sixties Scoop, foreign illnesses, war, and continued neglect and disenfranchisement from governing powers. May we work towards true community and prosperity, and set aside the comforts of the self-centered greed that we have become accustomed to by way of the

* See the Foreword of this issue of *Consensus* for biographical information.

privileges we inherited from colonial policies. Help strengthen us, God, to care for our neighbours and to share the wealth and abundance that you have blessed us with. Amen.

Thank you. I am looking forward to hearing about the Lutheran Immigration Board today.⁹

Don Sjoberg

Thank you, Hanne, for orienting us to the land, and reminding me of the Psalms that really capture the spirit of what we are doing, I think: “The earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein” (Psalm 24:1). We are all children of the land together, and it’s beautiful. Thank you for doing that.

I am Don Sjoberg, a 92-year-old on this wonderful group of people I’ve come to know: Karen Kuhnert, Gordon Jensen, and Steve Larson; Becki Larson is in correspondence with us, and it has been a great experience. For two years now, we have been working (with help from other people as well) gathering these stories. This is the third of our webinars co-hosted with Lutheran Theological Seminary in Saskatoon and Martin Luther University College in Waterloo-Kitchener. And this one, it really interests me, as this webinar really ties together the work we want to do in our global responsibilities. I think it is great that Marcus Busch has done the research and the writing for this.

Karin Achtelstetter, I talked to you after your visit with the Alberta and Territories synod. And at that time, I was describing all the connections we have had with Canadian Lutheran World Relief over many years. And at the time I mentioned that Marcus Busch’s father had met many immigrants from Europe at Lethbridge. Afterwards at the convention, this gentleman came up to me and said, “I was one of those persons!”

So we are marvellously connected in the work and in the stories that continue to be told. So it is wonderful to look forward to that presentation. And Karin, I am glad that you are here, and with two of your staff members! And we look forward to your words near the conclusion of our webinar (see Appendix). To “get the show on the road,” so to speak, I call upon Gordon Jensen, who will be leading us through the webinar, and for him to introduce our presenter.

Gordon Jensen

Thank you. I am Gordon Jensen, Emeritus William Hordern Professor of Theology at the Lutheran Seminary in Saskatoon. It is my delight today to welcome our speaker, Marcus Busch. He will be speaking on the “Lutheran Immigration Board: Forerunner of CLWR.”

Marcus Busch is no stranger to this topic; for example, he was exposed to postwar immigration as a pastor’s son in Lethbridge in the early 1950s. Marcus and his spouse, Margaret Sadler, have also served as volunteers with the Lutheran World Federation’s Department of World Service in 2000, 2001, and again in 2007 and 2008. He is a past Director and President of Canadian Lutheran World Relief. And he is also the author of two books, the last one being *Parsonage People: The Family Story of Rudy and Emma Bush*. They live in Edmonton. As a history buff, Marcus graciously accepted our invitation to make a presentation on the Lutheran Immigration Board. So welcome, Marcus. We look forward to hearing from you. And please, welcome him as well. Thank you.

Marcus Busch

Good! Thank you for those kind words, Gordon. As part of the Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow Project webinar series of the Canadian Lutheran history project,

I was invited to tell the story of Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CLWR). It is a big story! And after undertaking a review of that subject, I found that that story has been skillfully told by several authors over a period of decades, not to say that there isn't more to say.¹⁰ There was, however, a smaller story, thinly documented, barely a story at all, that was also fascinating and serving as a finger pointing to the incorporation and work of its successor, CLWR. I am referring to the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada, known throughout this webinar as the "LIB," founded in 1923 and "on the books" until 1943, a scant three years before CLWR's incorporation. So it is right and salutary that, on the 100th anniversary of its founding, the Lutheran Immigration Board be led out of the shadows and its story shared with all those who value history/His Story as told through the life and work of this dynamic Canadian Lutheran agency.

So we begin with looking at "the push" from Europe—European immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which involved several factors.

The *Push* of European Emigration in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

The "push" from Europe comprised a confluence of factors: population pressures, land economics, displacement by war and revolution, political repression, and other human rights issues.¹¹ Land in Europe was becoming increasingly scarce, as agricultural holdings became smaller as population increased and the land was subdivided for succession purposes. The Pan Slav movement of the late 19th and early 20th century stoked anti-German sentiment in eastern Europe. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia replaced the Romanov Dynasty with a social experiment that quickly careened out of control. The conclusion of the First World War on the eastern and southern fronts cast off the vestiges of the near-feudal monarchies of the Russian and Ottoman Empires and led to the redrawing of national boundaries effecting many ethnic Germans via the treaties that ended the first world war.

Going back, tens of thousands of German-speaking citizens, settled in Russia for 150 years on the invitation of Czarina Catherine the Great, were now *persona non grata* in Russia, and that included my forebears. Similarly, the *Donauschwaben*—Germans who had settled in the eastern provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire north of the Danube in areas known as Bukovina, Galicia, Volhynia—were also seen as interlopers. And again, I had a grandparent included in this group. These earlier emigrants from German states and principalities were viewed in Germany, and then later in Canada, as less desirable, as accounted for by the distinction between the terms *Reichsdeutsche* and *Volksdeutsche*. Germans from within Germany were known as *Reichsdeutsche*; those living outside the boundaries of Germany were known as *Volksdeutsche* or *Auslanderdeutsche*.¹²

Meanwhile, Germany, after the significant military losses of the First World War, was suffering from a shortage of agricultural workers, compelling it to turn to eastern Europe for manpower. At the same time, in 1924, the German government enacted a decree [the Decree Against Mismanagement of Emigration Matters (*Verordnung gegen Mißstände im Auswanderungswegen*)].¹³ This decree prohibited the dissemination of information on emigration to work abroad. Notably, according to Grant W. Grams, Professor in the History Department at Concordia University of Edmonton, German emigration policy discouraged

emigration to Canada, claiming low wages, rough living conditions, and poor treatment of immigrants.¹⁴

Well, that is the “push” of European emigration, and then there is the “pull” of Canadian immigration.

The *Pull* of Canadian Immigration in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

The “pull” to Canada involved the opposite population density, land economics, political and human rights considerations. Canada, then as now, the second-largest land mass country in the world, had a small population—9.5M in 1926. Canada needed to increase its population to grow as a nation. And there was land, lots of land, to be settled and, unfortunately, to be “exploited.”¹⁵ Even so, Canadian immigration policy forbade citizens of Germany, with which Canada had been at war, from entering the Dominion for five years post-war, until January 1923.¹⁶ And of course, upon closer examination, Canada’s system of immigration in the early 1900s favoured Anglo-Saxons and “whites” and was clearly racist.¹⁷ And it was tragically, as heard in the Land Acknowledgement, a land-settlement system that was genocidal toward the Indigenous population.¹⁸

A German Lutheran Response

At least three German Lutheran agencies concerned with emigration from Europe acted in partnership with LIB. They were:

- Society for Home Mission [VIM (*Landesverein für Innere Mission*), Neumünster-based (Schleswig-Holstein), **Rev. Dr. F. C. Gleiss**, Director]¹⁹
- Evangelical Lutheran Emigration Mission [EAM (*Evangelisch-lutherische Auswanderer Mission*), Hamburg-based], also northern Germany²⁰
- German Foreign Institute [DAI (*Deutsches Ausland Institute*), Rev. Manfred Grisebach, Director of Emigration Consultation] Stuttgart-based in south-western Germany.²¹

A German wanting to immigrate under the auspices of the LIB required a letter of recommendation from the pastor of a local Lutheran congregation, which letter was to include a religious attestation and an identity card.²²

A Canadian Lutheran Response

Meanwhile in Canada, Henry W. Harms, an early Director of the LIB, is quoted as saying:

Thousands in Europe had lost everything [because of the war and the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution] they were looking for an opportunity to start life anew. Many of these people had relatives in this country [that is Canada] but, an agency was lacking to make it possible for them to come across. We set out to be this agency.²³

Writing in 2006, the Rev. Dr. Norman Threinen, who had served as staff person for the inter-Lutheran agency called the Lutheran Council in Canada, noted in his book *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic* that LIB was not a church organization though its eighteen clergy members represented the three German Lutheran bodies operating in Western Canada.²⁴

Threinen began writing about LIB first as a Missouri Synod historian in the 1970s. LIB's membership, he noted, included the church presidents and also pastors who were interested in the growth of congregations. As such, LIB served as an informal arm of Home Missions. As an autonomous organization, LIB had the flexibility to operate as a home-grown *Canadian* organization. This helped it relate effectively with agencies of the government of Canada and with Canadian transportation companies.

The Lutheran Immigration Board was founded in Winnipeg on 26 April 1923. Its purposes were threefold:

- to bring German settlers to Canada,
- to promote the interests of the Lutheran church, and
- to relieve the suffering of Germans in Europe.²⁵

There was another, unwritten, fourth goal, and that was, according to Threinen's writing in 1975 for the 13th Archivists' and Historians' Conference of the Concordia Historical Institute in St. Louis, Missouri, to ensure the continuation of the German language and culture in Canada.²⁶

T. O. F. Herzer

Affiliation with the CPR was helpful in the German immigration process. *Traugott Otto Francis Herzer*,²⁷ a Wisconsin-born ordained minister of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, after resigning from the ministry in Alberta, was made "special agent of foreign colonies" and then manager of the Canada Colonization Association adjunct to the CPR's Department of Colonization and Development, and finally, in 1925, Herzer was appointed the General Manager of the entire Department.²⁸ In this role, according to Grams, Herzer

- travelled to Germany to facilitate the movement of Germans, Lutherans, and others to Canada,
- attended to LIB—and others'—interests in Germany,
- corresponded with the Canadian government on behalf of the LIB, and others, and
- was a member of LIB delegations that periodically visited Ottawa.²⁹

Threinen notes that Herzer was instrumental in providing the channel through which 35,000 German immigrants passed into Canada over four plus decades (1910 to 1956).³⁰

Lutheran Immigration Board: One Organization, Two Branches

The head office of LIB was at 439 Main Street, Winnipeg. Notably, Canada District–Ohio Synod clergy L. F. Tank was the first President, and Edward Schmok, Manager of the Western Branch, served out of the same Winnipeg office for many years.³¹ LIB's Western Branch covered the prairie provinces and included British Columbia. The Eastern Branch covered the territory from Fort William, now Thunder Bay, Ontario, to the Atlantic coast, and had its main office in Toronto.

Legally, the two branches, the Western and Eastern branches, were constituted as separate entities.³² They had different names, different directors, different Articles [letters patent], and dates of incorporation.³³ The Western Branch was incorporated under the federal Companies Act (RSC, 1906) in December 1926. It had fifteen Directors.³⁴ The Eastern

Branch was incorporated under the same name [LIB] in November 1929, with seven directors.³⁵ The directors were all German-Lutheran clergymen.

The branches were bound by a common Executive Committee which oversaw LIB's global work. The focus of the LIB's work was primarily in Western Canada, where it employed a full-time Executive Secretary in Winnipeg. The Eastern Branch had its own volunteer Executive Secretary. And the LIB had a representative in Ottawa, Rev. L. Ebinger.

Parallel Organizations for Immigration

LIB operated at the same time as other immigration organizations, both church-affiliated and secular, and general reading suggests they had the same basic purposes within Canada. Among those promoting German schools, language, and culture were:

- the Association of German Catholics (VDCK³⁶). It is interesting to note that most German-speaking immigrants to Canada were Protestant, although 25 percent were Roman Catholic
- the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, founded in 1922
- the German Baptist Immigration and Colonization Society, founded 1925
- Other religio-ethnic organizations active in the 1920s included those with Dutch, Polish, Norwegian, Danish, Scottish, Hungarian, and Swedish origins.³⁷

North American Lutheran Churches Supporting the LIB

In Canada of the 1920s, three continental Lutheran Church bodies were connected in the LIB. The headquarters for each of these continental groups was in the United States. The original founders, and the 1920s leaders of these groups, were all of German heritage.³⁸ The:

- Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States (known as Ohio Synod),
 - founded 1818;³⁹ a Canada District was formed in 1908. This presentation shows a picture of the commemorative plaque in Sommerset, Ohio, marking the location of the first Regular Session.
- Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (LCMS),
 - founded 1847;⁴⁰
- United Lutheran Church in America (the ULCA merger in 1918 brought back together the groups that had been in a growing alliance since the Ministerium of North America)
 - founded 1748.⁴¹ The "Manitoba Synod" of the ULCA was founded in 1897 as a Synod of the [North American] General Council (est. 1867).

Western Branch Leadership

The writings by Pastor Arnold Fricke that give substance to *An Historical Review on the 20th Anniversary of the Beginnings of the Canada District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Other States, 1908–1928*, provide considerable insight into the workings of the LIB and those leaders that made it happen.⁴² From this writing it is clear that the membership of LIB's governing board in the west was comprised of three church-appointed members, one from each of the three supporting groups, plus a member from each province.⁴³

An Executive Committee of seven Directors directed the work of the Board. The Ohio Synod's Pastor Edward Schmok was serving the parish of Neudorf, Saskatchewan, when he

became an LIB Director in June 1924. He was elected vice-president of the executive committee at the 1926 annual meeting in Saskatoon. In the same year, Pastor Schmok was also elected Manager of the Western Branch, a role which he held for 17 years, from 1926 to 1943. The engraving on Schmok's gravestone says, "*I am prepared.*"

Roles of LIB

The LIB worked transatlantically with staff, consultants, and allies.⁴⁴ In various times and places, it acted as,

- a researcher and promoter of settlement possibilities
- an emigration-immigration consultancy
- an advocacy organization working with government agencies of Germany and Canada
- a travel agency
- a dockside migrant reception and inland settlement service
- a church-building facilitator for German-speaking Lutheran congregations in Canada, and
- a supporter of the German language and culture in Canada amongst new immigrants.

The Inner Workings of LIB

Here is how LIB's immigration process worked:

1. LIB directors determined which rural Lutheran parishes would be willing and able to receive and care for immigrants, and in what numbers.
2. A local committee of farmers, chaired by the local pastor, was formed.
3. Contracts between local farmer-employers and the local committee were concluded and forwarded to LIB's Eastern or Western Branch offices.
4. When the LIB's executive secretary had twenty-five or more contracts in hand, he cabled LIB's European representative to select the required number of emigrants to match with the available contracts.
5. When the immigrants arrived at a Canadian port, they were met by an LIB representative who held the signed contracts. He assigned the new arrivals to various farmer-employers, had the new arrivals sign their contracts, and facilitated their rail travel, with their contracts in hand, to the matched local committee for placement.
6. The immigrants remained under the jurisdiction of the local committee for one year or until the travel debt to LIB was paid.⁴⁵

Contracting-farmers were required to provide employment that included salary, lodging, meals, and local transportation.⁴⁶ Annual salaries in the 1920s were about \$300.⁴⁷ Half of the first year's earnings went to pay for the transportation to Canada, while the other half was retained by the immigrant.⁴⁸

Partnership with Government

During the First World War, immigrants from belligerent nations who had not become naturalized Canadian citizens were labelled "enemy aliens" and were subject to internment. In 1919, immigration was barred to nationals of those countries with which Canada had been at war. Germany therefore lost "favoured nation" status until a policy change in April 1923. Wasting no time, the founders of LIB acted within that same month to

establish their agency. Nevertheless, immigrants from post-war Germany, as well as those from Eastern Europe, were classified as “non-preferred” immigrants, and only “Ag Labs” (short for agricultural labourers) and domestics were initially admitted.⁴⁹ The Canadian government⁵⁰ viewed the work of LIB (and the other religious immigration boards) in a very positive light as these agencies ended dishonest practices and abuses of the system perpetrated by other agents.⁵¹

Partnerships with Railways

The four Canadian church-affiliated immigration societies mentioned above (Catholic, Mennonite, Baptist, and Lutheran) cooperated with both the CPR and CNR to bring German immigrants to Canada for settlement.⁵² Both railways had their own departments for the settlement of immigrants. The CPR had its Department of Immigration and Colonization; the CNR had its Department of Colonization.

In 1919, the Canadian government established the non-profit Canadian Colonization Association (known as the CCA).⁵³ This association recruited settlers in Europe, assigned them to a district in Canada, and assisted them in finding employment. In this way, the Canadian government organized the immigration and settlement of agriculturists using the railways, which had large landholdings that they were eager to settle.⁵⁴ The government undertook this partnership with the railways to fulfill Canada’s growing labour needs following the First World War.

All told, the CCA was affiliated with twenty-five immigration boards, nineteen of which were headquartered in the three prairie provinces.⁵⁵ The exact state of the administration of CCA from 1922 is unclear until 1925, when the CPR assumed full control.⁵⁶ In September 1925, the Liberal government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King formalized an agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway to take over the sole responsibility of the CCA, giving it the authority to control the recruitment and settlement of European agriculturists.⁵⁷ This *Railway Agreement* of 1925 allowed the CPR to issue occupational certificates to immigrants of the then “non-preferred nations” (the three Baltics—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—and Poland, Russia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Germany, and Austria). The CPR was thus empowered to control who could come to Canada; in essence, a railway monopoly.

The 1925 *Railway Agreement* was cancelled in 1930 by the new Conservative government of Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, due to a lack of fit between new government immigration policy and the settlement goals of the CPR.⁵⁸ Ultimately, however, the cancellation was precipitated by the Great Depression with its rising high rate of national unemployment.⁵⁹

The LIB was affiliated with the CCA and hence the CPR. (Canadian National Railways [CNR] had its own department for religious settlement to promote German immigration, the Department of Colonization.⁶⁰) The CCA is reported to have received \$60,000 to \$90,000 a year from the CPR.⁶¹

A Rival Lutheran Immigration Agency

The internecine struggle involving the two railways, the federal government, and LIB contributed to the formation in 1928 of a rival Lutheran immigration agency for processing German immigrants. In January of 1928, a conference had been held between:

- the Land Settlement Committee of the ULCA’s “Manitoba Synod,”

- a representative of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, and
- representatives of the CNR.

Not surprisingly, most of the congregations of the Manitoba Synod were in communities served by the CNR. The new organization was christened the “Canadian Lutheran Immigration Aid Society (CLIAS).” The CNR ended up providing some financial support for the ULCA immigrant missionaries.⁶² Unlike the LIB, CLIAS had no overseas operation. It worked exclusively with the CNR helping with the settlement of European immigrants in Canada after their arrival in the country, and the resettlement of recently-arrived German Lutherans who felt the need to move within Canada. At first, ULCA pastors Thomas Hartig (Manitoba Synod President and Superintendent of Missions) and Wilhelm Wahl retained their LIB Board positions while also serving on the CLIAS Board.⁶³

Facts and Figures

Precise figures about Canadian Lutheran immigration history are difficult to acquire. Yet some insights can be gleaned from various sources. During the inter-war period, between 1919 and 1935, some estimates suggest that 100,000⁶⁴ German-speaking immigrants arrived in Canada from Europe.⁶⁵ Accurate statistics on the total number of immigrants sponsored by LIB are, sadly, not available. The figures compiled by the source authors as well show considerable variability. What is reported is that during the first three years of its operation (1923–1925 inclusive) the Lutheran Immigration Board brought about 2,200 immigrants to Canada, caring for them without any financial help from any order of government, and managing a budget of \$300,000.⁶⁶

Here are partial LIB statistics for the first five years of operation.⁶⁷

- 1923: Over 300⁶⁸ [400 according to Fricke⁶⁹] immigrants were assisted to come to Canada.
- 1924: For the six months of January to June, 567 immigrants arrived in Canadian ports.
- 1925: 1,300.
- 1926: No figures are available, [although the Board planned to bring over an additional 4,000 immigrants this year].
- 1927: For the nine months from January to October, 924 arrived. Of these, 70 percent (647) were “agriculturists.”⁷⁰ Fifty-seven percent (526) were from Germany and 43 per cent (397) were from outside the boundaries of Germany. In 1927, the immigration status of German nationals (*Reichsdeutsche*) was elevated to “preferred.” This helps explain a bump in immigration numbers for this year.⁷¹

In his 1924 report, Fricke explained that Canadian immigration policy was quite liberal, allowing a significant flow of European immigrants into the country.⁷² From 1923 to 1930, of a total immigrant influx to Canada of 25,000 German nationals (*Reichsdeutsche*), the LIB helped with the immigration of 4,000 (16%).⁷³

Now, of all these numbers, here is the one that I think is the most important, and that is including the *Reichsdeutsche* I just mentioned, the LIB in total assisted 16,000 German-speaking Lutheran immigrants from Germany and other European countries, of which 10,573 settled in western Canada⁷⁴ and 5,427 settled in eastern Canada. Half of the German immigrants to Canada during this time were men, with the remaining equally divided

between women and children. Three-quarters of the adults were between 20 and 40 years of age.⁷⁵

After the crash of the North American stock markets in 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression and then the Dirty Thirties⁷⁶ on the Canadian prairies, Canadian immigration policy changed in August 1930 and again in March 1931, reducing the flow of immigrants entering the country until 1946.⁷⁷

To tell the whole story of German immigration to Canada, it is necessary to mention that then, as now, Canada served as a waystation for many on their way to the United States. And there was significant movement of German-Americans into Canada in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Winding Down

The LIB was a creature of its time. It was not a church organization, yet its board members were all clergy, salaried by their respective church bodies. Church funds were not used in its support—this came from steamship commissions.⁷⁸ Its Winnipeg office, along with that of other immigration boards, was provided by the CPR. And it being a social organism of its time, LIB was entirely male-led and entirely clergy-led.⁷⁹ Sometimes the LIB provided funds to the Mission Boards of the churches—leading to criticism that church and business were mixing. Nevertheless, collective work within the LIB was born of a common need of the churches to spend domestic mission dollars wisely.⁸⁰ The Great Depression marked the end of the inter-war wave of German-speaking immigration to Canada. Schmok and the LIB continued to meet; however, with its *raison d'être* (*Existenzberechtigung*) having largely evaporated, the LIB lost members and vitality. The LIB officially ceased operations in 1943.⁸¹

In his paper of 1975, Dr. Threinen suggested another reason for the decline and demise of the LIB—its lack of transparency. The organization lacked a visual identity (logo); its minutes, governance documents, statistics, and related archival materials are sparse. There was an “aura of secrecy” that surrounded its meetings.⁸²

Although LIB existed until 1943—a scant three years before the formation of its successor, Canadian Lutheran World Relief in 1946—LIB was not perceived as the organization to carry on the work of the post-Second World War settlement of European refugees in Canada, perhaps because of the inactivity of its latter years.⁸³ A new organization was needed to represent all the Lutheran Churches in Canada, a new organization working internationally with the soon-to-be-formed Lutheran World Federation, founded in Lund, Sweden, in 1947. A through-line continued, however, in the person of T. O. F. Herzer, who helped birth the LIB and assisted at the birth of CLWR.

Leading the Way

This treatise tells the story of the remarkable accomplishments of a small, dedicated organization of Canadian German-Lutheran clergy—the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada. The work of the Board shows the evolution and maturing of the Lutheran Church in Canada in several ways:

1. Canadian Lutheran Churches worked together at a time when there were multiple Lutheran Churches with various histories, models of governance, and relationships with other

- churches and each other. They worked together to create an autonomous Lutheran organization with a scope of mission extending into matters of international migration.
2. Canadian Lutherans worked ecumenically, sharing staff resources and experiences to further their mission of helping with immigration from Europe, namely cooperating with T. O. F. Herzer and with the Roman Catholic, Mennonite, Baptist, and other immigration boards.
 3. Canadian Lutherans cultivated autonomy in Canadian church decision-making and action, while at the same time maintaining harmonious relationships with their American church head offices.
 4. Canadian Lutherans worked in partnership with multiple levels of the Canadian government.
 5. Canadian Lutherans worked in partnership with large corporate interests, such as the CPR, CNR, and transatlantic steamship companies.

In these and other ways, the Lutheran Immigration Board was a successful forerunner and model for its successor, Canadian Lutheran World Relief.

Thanks be to God for the blessing that was the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada!

Gordon Jensen

Thank you, Marcus, for your presentation on the Lutheran Immigration Board. As you noted, it was one of the forerunners of Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CLWR), founded in 1946. As with the Lutheran Immigration Board, the first role of CLWR also was the settlement of refugees in Canada (although CLWR, of course, dealt with refugees from the Second World War, and LIB dealt with refugees following the first war). And, while refugee settlement following the destruction wrought by war was the primary focus, it was always not just the *only* task they faced, and you pointed that out.

You also astutely noted that the push and pull connected to the European (and primarily German) immigrants were both driven from the devastation of Europe and of immigrants attracted to the promise of farmland, especially in a country that promised a bountiful life.

I think one of the interesting points that you raise that I'd like to mull over is the unwritten agenda item you mentioned of "preserving the German language in Canada." I was thinking of that because it was only 150 years earlier that the fledgling United States of America narrowly voted to establish English as its language rather than German. I think the vote was only a couple votes different. How might a different outcome in that vote have changed the makeup of North American society?

Marcus, you also perceptively notice the LIB was not a church organization, and I think that we sometimes underestimate the important impact of that (even though they had many Lutheran clergy on their Board for example). I think this presents both challenges and opportunities—requiring those affiliated with various German Lutheran churches in Canada to be (to quote scripture) "As wise as serpents and as innocent as doves" in dealing with the various players.

And I think another part you also mentioned at the same time was that Canadian Lutherans were trying to work out their relationship with the US Lutherans—that sense of autonomy—and this just further complicated it.

But I also found it striking, and even jarring, to be again reminded that one of the major agendas of LIB was blatantly stated as “colonization”—bringing refugees to Canada to create a better life for them—as such actions also created refugees within Canada, namely among the Indigenous Peoples.⁸⁴ Nowhere was this more blatantly stated, perhaps, than in the name of Canada's Department of Immigration and Colonization and the railway companies' Departments of “colonization,” which were tasked with facilitating colonization in Western Canada. I noted in your presentation, on one of the posters, the subtitle was “Keep Canada British;” very interesting.

Our current sensitivity to the problems related to and created by colonization is a reminder of how our *perceptions of settlement* have changed in the last 100 years—but it is also a reminder that in working towards Truth and Reconciliation today, it was not only residential schools that created injustices.⁸⁵ Despite the good and noble intentions of the LIB, the consequent displacement of Indigenous Peoples on the land is something our churches, and our society, need to be cognizant of. There is still much to be done.

You also noted astutely that, among Lutherans (especially German-speaking Lutherans) in Canada, was also one of the benefits—that of engagement within government agencies. There were also significant concerns that arose from the work of LIB. Theologically this is called “unionism.” That is, working with other Lutherans who did not subscribe to the Lutheran confessional documents and the understanding of the inerrancy of Scripture in the same way as yourselves. That was a challenge that the LIB was really never able to adequately address. I don't know if the Lutheran Churches have still adequately been able to address it. Some wondered, “Are other ‘Lutherans’ really Lutheran?”

Sad to say, the fears of “unionism” have prevented full engagement by all Lutherans in many areas of life among Canadian Lutheranism. Fear of losing one's own Lutheran *identity* has led to many Lutherans withdrawing support from fellow Lutherans—fellow citizens—not just in Canada but throughout the world. On the other hand, many Lutherans have also not always cooperated with others in an attempt to be *relevant* to society.⁸⁶ So the struggles between identity and relevance are one of the realities of Lutheranism in Canada—and elsewhere—and they were already seen as present in the Lutheran Immigration Board.

Finally, I would like to highlight the fact that, despite our failures and successes, the Lutheran Immigration Board (and later CLWR) have tried to uphold, I think, one of the most important tenants of Lutheran theology: namely, the importance of caring for the neighbor. Luther's Catechisms are saturated with the importance of seeking what is best for the neighbor, and Luther's calling for that is still foundational for Lutheranism today. We are reminded, however, that care for the neighbor is something that is to be a part of our DNA as Christians in Canada today, and that requires us to constantly re-evaluate who our neighbors in need are, and that is the constant task before us.

So thank you, Marcus, for this fine presentation. I am sure many of you will have some comments and questions. And so, after a 10-minute break, we will come back and we will open it up for questions and discussion. So we will take a break now for 10 minutes. Thank you.

Gordon Jensen

Welcome back! Glad to have you back again. I want to thank Young Canadian Lutheran (YCL) and the young Canadian Lutherans that have been helping to facilitate and make this webinar a possibility: Hanne Kuhnert, Jennifer Ardon, and Kristina Kuhnert are part of Young

Canadian Lutheran, and I really appreciate it. Check out their YouTube Channel;⁸⁷ their YCL Bio information is on our web page.⁸⁸

A couple of reminders again—that you can post your questions in the CHAT, and we will have Marcus address them as he can. Thanks to Karen Kuhnert for comments in CHAT about the Prime Ministers of the time,⁸⁹ and also for the note that the records of William Lyon Mackenzie King (as well as many other notable items) are at Laurier Archives in Waterloo that can be explored to your heart's content.⁹⁰

One of the questions Marcus was asked by Ken Kuhn⁹¹ was, “What were the Immigration policies and histories prior to World War I, or is that the topic for your next paper?”

Marcus Busch

Well, there were three major waves of immigration. One between 1885 and 1914—that happens to be when my respective grandparents came, and many others. That was a huge wave. The inter-war period I discussed today was probably a smaller immigration period. And it was followed by, again, a really large wave between 1946 (after the end of the Second World War) until about 1960. Each one had its own characteristics.

I'm thinking here of the population, and I am thinking about the older German-Lutherans. We would have to ride the time machine back to talk to those German Lutherans as these folks are now deceased. But if we had conversations with those who were from the first wave, 1885 to 1914, the inter-war period, and then 1946 to 1960, there would be certain similarities, of course, but also real big differences as well.

And we can see that in our Ukrainian neighbours. I am speaking to you from Edmonton where we have a lot of Ukrainian settlers. And if you meet Ukrainian folks, you would hear the same thing—the stories are very different depending on where they came from—what part of Ukraine.

First of all, because when we were talking about the Bukovina, Galicia, and Volhynia Lutherans, at certain times these were parts of Poland, some were parts of Russia, and then there was the Revolution and collectivization and so on. So, every immigrant from every period will have a different story.

The period before 1914, Ken, was very active around the turn of the century because we had an Interior Minister named Clifford Sifton who was a very active minister for immigration and colonization at that time. And so there was a big period of immigration. And that was when Germany, Germany-proper, was a preferred nation to receive immigrants from. That changed after the First World War. So those are some comments. As with any history, once you get into the weeds—you'll never get out of them.

Gordon Jensen

Also Karin Achtelstetter was wondering whether in your research you encountered material that referred to anti-Semitism. Did the research indicate how the LIB, or Canadian Lutherans in general, felt about Jewish Germans or German-speaking people immigrating to Canada (thinking about the *MS St. Louis* ship that was carrying 930 refugees that was turned away from Canada in 1939).⁹²

Marcus Busch

There was nothing specific that I found in the literature. Under the *Railways Act* of 1925 (where the CPR was given a monopoly of choosing immigrants), there were indications in the literature that I had access to, that the CPR bent a lot of the rules in their own favor.

For example, only agricultural workers were to be admitted, and the CPR, having the monopoly, turned a blind eye, and a lot of people selected for immigration ended up on the CPR payroll. That was one place where the rules were bent.⁹³

We did have this distinction between the preferred immigrants and the non-preferred immigrants. The *St. Louis* vessel that is referred to in the question, of course, was just blatant anti-Semitism. I don't know to what extent Lutherans were involved in that. The really sad quote, I remember of that vessel, was when one of the government ministers, and I don't remember which one, was saying, zero Jews was too many, or rather, "None is too many" was the phrase. So, I can't answer the question more fully than that; it did not appear as a theme in any of the literature.

Gordon Jensen

It may be a very important point for research in the future. Which reminds me that for a future webinar we are "Calling for Papers." That might be one worth considering as well.⁹⁴

Jennifer Ardon raised a question. Did the research reveal what kinds of settlement supports the LIB aided with? Especially for families—such as English language instruction, orientation to Canadian culture, agricultural skills training, etc.? Was there any of that in the material you were able to look at?

Marcus Busch

All the LIB officials from the Board, and down to the parish pastors, were all German-Lutheran pastors [*Herr Pastor*] so I don't believe that was a priority—to integrate folks. I think it was felt that that was going to happen in an organic kind of way. If anything, I think there was an emphasis on the part of the LIB, and German-speaking clergy, that they were going to maintain the language and culture and the forms of worship.

If any of you have a library like Gordon, and certainly my father did, all the hymn books, the Bibles that were used in worship in Western Canada, were printed and imported from Germany, initially any way. Then later from American publishing houses—in German. So no, I do not think that that was a high priority.

An interesting thing was that, from one of the source authors [Grams], this was still a time when the German-Lutheran clergy, a majority, or a significant minority, were immigrants from Germany themselves—born, raised, trained in Germany—and then they came to Canada, so they too were immigrants.⁹⁵ And there was sort of a class distinction between the German-born, educated Lutheran clergy and North American-born, trained Lutheran clergy. The second group was seen as not quite up to the standards of the first group. Being with the name Busch, and having some familiarity with the German personality, I can see how that would have caused some tensions at times.

To answer the basic question, no, I don't think integration into English-speaking Canada was a priority.

Gordon Jensen

Okay, thank you. I think Robert Granke made a comment about one of the permanent results of the LIB, and then later CLWR of course, and that was that LIB provided an arena for Lutherans to actually work together. And one can wonder (I wonder), how this has helped to facilitate inter-Lutheran discussions. And, as we talked about in the first two webinars, the movement towards a possible merger of the three Lutheran church bodies in Canada. Do you want to comment on that at all, share your thoughts?

Marcus Busch

It was interesting, and I hope it came across (there was an accompanying paper that is much larger than what I was able to present today) that there were founding members of the Western Branch and founding members of the Eastern Branch from different Synods.⁹⁶ I have listed the synods that they are from.

An interesting surprise for me was reading about T. O. F. Herzer. But there were others. There was August Beapler from Concordia College, which was a Missouri Synod organization.⁹⁷ There was August Eissfeldt from Winnipeg who was from Missouri.⁹⁸ The Missouri Synod clergy were really active. It is fair to say that T. O. F. Herzer really stands out amongst all for his role not only with LIB, but with other church-sponsored organizations [Mennonites, etc.] as well. He was a real renaissance man. He ran on Ever-Ready batteries! What he accomplished in his life is just amazing. His biography is quite something. So Missouri Synod was very active in the LIB.

You mentioned the unionism issue, and I address that in my paper as well, Gordon. That was an issue, it is an issue, and maybe those themes are still present out there. But certainly, Missouri Synod were real shakers and movers in the LIB and that was quite a surprise for me, coming from an Ohio Synod and American Lutheran Church background as I did. I wasn't aware of that very strong Missouri Synod leadership role.⁹⁹

Gordon Jensen

It's kind of interesting, that on the one hand they have that leadership role in LIB, and on the other hand the unionism concerns.¹⁰⁰

Marcus Busch

Someone should write a stage play about T. O. F. Herzer dropping into a [Missouri] Synod convention where they are having that debate because he seemed to be really beyond that point of view.

Gordon Jensen

One person has asked if there is a history of lay-persons or women being part of the organization in supportive roles. We noticed that it was almost all White male German clergy.¹⁰¹ What's not in the historical records that perhaps could have been, or should have been mentioned?

Marcus Busch

They made the sandwiches and the coffee. That was not in the written record; that is my editorial comment. There was no mention of any women in a leadership role.¹⁰² None. None. None. That really stood out, and that is why I made the comment that LIB was a social organization of its time—male-led and clergy-led. So no, I did not see any evidence of female roles other than what I imagine would have been very traditional roles of supporting the church through traditional roles.

Gordon Jensen

I think that—in the absence of any mentioning of lay-leader involvement and the absence of the mention of any women's involvement—that has been an all-too-common story in a lot of our Lutheran history, and church history, to be honest. For much of our generations. And we need to keep rewriting those histories and rediscovering them.¹⁰³

It reminds me of one time when I was teaching a course on medieval church history, and I was mentioning Julian of Norwich—and to my surprise, one of the students in my class had come from Norwich only 15 years earlier. And when she found out where Julian had her

refuge—it was only a few blocks from her house, but she'd never heard of her— she said it was strange to come to Canada and read about the history of Julian of Norwich when she was living right next door to where Julian was in her anchorage.

The other thing that I think can be further explored that we need to continue to talk about is not just the German refugees coming at the time but also, for example, Scandinavians, who also formed a large part of the Canadian Lutheran history scene.¹⁰⁴ Although, many of the Scandinavians came indirectly to Canada (came indirectly through the United States first), especially in Western Canada. That needs more research. I know my relatives on my dad's side came from Denmark in 1929, not the ideal time to come, but they landed in Halifax at that time so there were also some who came direct.¹⁰⁵

Marcus Busch

I also think, Gordon, and I bow to your expertise on this, but there was a German attitude about the German language (and not just in worship, but also in education and German culture), a theme I have not experienced with Scandinavian-Lutheran folks that I have known over the years. So a different mentality, perhaps? Or a different strategic, very strategic direction, that “We are not going to move forward with our traditional language and culture.” More of an assimilationist idea, perhaps?

Gordon Jensen

I do remember reading reports of a convention of Norwegians in North Dakota in the 1930s, and one of the delegates did stand up and speak and say that, while he realized that God understood English, he was quite convinced that God did not like it as well as Norwegian! And so they argued that worship should stay in the Norwegian language there. So, I think those kinds of feelings have carried through in many different immigrant groups as well.

One of the people has asked if you are interested in doing a paper on other legacies of the LIB, including the ongoing work of welcoming Displaced Persons by people like the Rev. Ernest Hahn (because Hahn was involved in Refugee Sponsorship with CLWR prior to his passing in 2021). So, is there any interest in going to that direction?¹⁰⁶

Marcus Busch

I hope there is. When I was invited to do this project, the original request was to do something around CLWR. And as I said, I found some excellent resource material. Perhaps Karin Achtelstetter will speak about this. When I was on the Board of CLWR, I asked about the archives and I was told how many dozens of boxes there were, but really not a lot of work had been done on the archiving. This is what is so exciting about what is happening in Kitchener-Waterloo with the archives of the Churches, as well as CLWR. They are being formally organized by professional archivists; this is really wonderful. Somebody, or some folks, are going to search in the future and they will have wonderful, catalogued resources at their disposal. Whether it's me, or some other, it will be easier.

Now in my research, there was a Lutheran pastor Hahn who was a Director in the Eastern LIB, but if the Hahn you are describing died in 2021, then probably that is not the same person, but perhaps a successor.¹⁰⁷

What I discovered in this process—and I thank the committee, I thank Karen Kuhnert, Don Sjoberg, you Gordon, and Steve Larson for taking us down the history road—Canadian Lutheran history is just amazing. I had a lot of fun putting this paper together; just doing the research it is very interesting stuff.

Gordon Jensen

Another question: “Why the term ‘refugee’ was not used for resettlement?”¹⁰⁸

Marcus Busch

When we think of the word “refugee,” it has had a shifting meaning over the decades. In the literature that I had access to, if people were leaving Europe, they were “emigrants;” if they were entering Canada, they were “immigrants.” And I think, perhaps, the term “refugee” has a very specific meaning to us nowadays. The International Organization for Migration was one of the first agencies founded by the new United Nations (UN). The UN was founded after the war in October 1945. I think more technical definitions were put together at that time that inform what *we* now think of as a “refugee.” “Refugee” nowadays has a very specific meaning.

In a broad general sense, maybe, they *could* have called some of those people who were *driven out* of some of the Eastern countries in Europe “refugees”—they *might* be considered refugees; yet certainly other folks were *seeking out* a better life. So, perhaps I could have used the term, but because it was not common in the literature, I didn’t use it.

Gordon Jensen

I think sometimes the term “refugee” is more associated with internal displacement in one’s country before immigrating elsewhere. I want to thank you for all of this, Marcus, and for your comments, reflections, and questions. And for the questions from others. I wanted to very briefly comment that we are looking again at a Call for Papers for future webinars, and we would like to reflect upon what topics you all are interested in, and we are looking at perhaps a seminar or conference in-person—at some point down the road—as people who are interested in Canadian Lutheran history. All of this is for keeping in mind.

There was a hand raised.

Senait B.

I was raising my hand. Thank you for the wonderful presentation. Just following up, I did not quite understand the last reply by Marcus. So the term “refugee” was used at that time for people who were fleeing Eastern Europe? Is that what you said?

And my other question is about the Convention and the “refugee” declaration after 1946—when Lutherans were coming after 1946. I ask because back in 2014 we had organized an event for people who came through the *Beaverbrae*, and some people identified themselves as refugees and some said, “We are not refugees.” So, I still struggle to understand. I understand your point prior to 1946, but not after.¹⁰⁹

Marcus Busch

After 1946, the International Organization for Migration was formed and the UNHCR was formed (IOM–1951 and UNHCR–1950). The United Nations High Commission on Refugees continues to this day. I guess the two organizations sort of spell it out. One was called the Organization *for Migration*, and the other an organization *for refugees*.

“Migration,” *to me*, seems to suggest that people are *voluntarily* moving from place to place—to improve their life; there is a voluntary component. Whereas “refugees” are people who are either internally displaced within their own country (so they really have no choice), and they are either *forced* into internal exile within their country, or they are forced over a border. So, in a broad sense, *to me*, refugees have it a lot harder with coercion driving them, whereas I think migrants may be people who have made *a choice* to better their life by

moving. It is probably a continuum. And you probably have a number of other overlapping factors that I haven't thought of.

Senait B.

Thank you.

Gordon Jensen

Thank you very much. Now I would like to turn this back over to Bishop Sjoberg.

Don Sjoberg

Thank you. It is really quite wonderful to think about what has been shared, and to also know that there is much more to research. Thank you for your skill, Marcus, and for that which has prompted you to do that work. No doubt part your experience with Canadian Lutheran World Relief has increased that interest. And I think that is when you came to meet Karin.

Karin Achtelstetter has been with Canadian Lutheran World Relief for some five years now and she has recently signed up for another term—which I think we would celebrate very much (visible applause by the Zoom participants with cameras on). So, Karin, back to you to share and introduce your colleagues.

Karin Achtelstetter

First of all, thank you so much for including CLWR in your webinar series. And I really want to say congratulations, we so much appreciate and admire the substantial contribution of your Remembering research and what you are doing. It has been great to listen to the presentation by Marcus—of course because he is our former CLWR President, and that is lovely—but it is also so lovely to see so many of your faces online.

I would like to introduce my colleagues to you, who are online. Beginning with Jennifer Ardon, Jennifer is our Resettlement Manager in our Kitchener-Waterloo Office. Jennifer majored in Canadian Immigration history. I then want to acknowledge Racheal Manyon. She is CLWR's Refugee Resettlement Program Assistant in our BC Office. She is a former refugee from South Sudan and she came to Canada from Uganda through CLWR's Resettlement Program. Then I also discovered, and we heard her speak, my dear colleague Senait B. who is also online—although she is on vacation. Senait is the CLWR Director of the Refugee Resettlement Program. I had not expected her to be here, but you see how important your research is that we are all joining in to learn more about our own history.

The title of your Project, Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow, indicates how important it is to understand our history. And it acknowledges how our history consciously or unconsciously has shaped us, and what we need to take into account as we imagine our future.

Let me just mention a few emerging topics and burning issues that we in CLWR are addressing at the moment and which also impact our work with regards to Refugee Resettlement and our international work.

On the occasion of its 75th Anniversary, CLWR embarked on a comprehensive anti-racism audit (which included not just our organization, but also our relations with stakeholders, partners and communities). We are still not through with this audit. Not only CLWR, but our whole sector, is challenged to decolonize humanitarian aid, and to reflect about our efforts in the ongoing reconciliation process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships with Indigenous Peoples, and to recognize racism, discrimination, and bias in humanitarian systems and actions.

It is fascinating to see how LIB's history has also shaped CLWR's work.¹¹⁰ I just want to briefly quote from Marcus' presentation that, "LIB Directors determined which rural Lutheran parishes would be willing and be able to receive and care for immigrants, and in what numbers." This is very similar to the way CLWR collaborates and engages with Lutheran congregations today, ensuring that they have the human and financial resources to welcome refugees.

And then one last remark. I am really excited that our archives material is now accessible in Waterloo. And I hope for many, many academic reports, papers, and for research from students and academics who are interested in CLWR's history, so thank you for that. And now I would like to briefly give the platform to CLWR's own immigration historian, Jennifer, so she can share her reflections on her day-to-day experiences of our Refugee Resettlement Program.

Jennifer Ardon

Thank you very much, Karin, and thank you so much, Marcus, for your extensive research and paper on the Lutheran Immigration Board. As someone who works with Canadian Lutheran World Relief, and as a student of Canadian immigration history, I am very grateful for the contributions of your work.

I am particularly fascinated with the similarities between the Lutheran Immigration Board's work and Canadian Lutheran World Relief's Refugee Resettlement work. You can see that there is a strong connection with the work that Lutherans were doing a hundred years ago and that they are doing *now*, such as helping displaced persons to have new lives in Canada, working with congregations who are willing and able to care for newcomers (providing support for one year), and working in partnership with the Canadian government to ensure the integrity of the Refugee Resettlement Program. CLWR is a Sponsorship Agreement Holder with the Canadian government along with other religious and ethno-cultural organizations (and I believe that is from the part of that history of Lutherans, Mennonites, Catholics, who were working to settle displaced persons, that has brought on the program of the Sponsorship Agreement Holders—of which CLWR is a part).

You can clearly see the connections of the Lutheran Immigration Board and how that connects to the work that CLWR is doing, and will continue to do in the future.

Don Sjoberg

That is a blessing shared in different ways, and "blessed to be a blessing" really carries forth in what CLWR is really about, and what you invite us to be doing as partners in this great endeavour.

So to use a version of an Irish Blessing, I say,

May joy and peace surround you,
contentment latch your door,
and happiness be with you,
God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit bless you evermore. Amen. Go in peace, thanks be to God. Amen.

Appendix

Our History With Refugees, Canadian Lutheran World Relief¹¹¹

Origins—Support for Uprooted Europeans

Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CLWR) has always been concerned with the plight of uprooted people; in fact, responding to the needs of refugees was its founding purpose. In March of 1946, representatives from North American Lutheran churches gathered in Ottawa to discuss a pressing challenge of the time: providing support for the millions of Europeans displaced by the Second World War. The outcome was the creation of CLWR to serve as an avenue through which Canadian Lutherans could extend a hand of welcome to loved ones and strangers an ocean away.

CLWR quickly partnered with Catholic, Mennonite and Baptist church agencies to form the Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees (CCCRR) to assist refugees from Germany and Austria in coming to Canada. Strangers to the land, but not to its people, the first arrivals joined relatives already living in Canada, who sponsored them and paid for the costly voyage. Soon, CCCRR's mandate was expanded to include refugees who did not have relatives in Canada.

By the end of 1949, 30,000 ethnic Germans came to Canada as refugees and displaced persons, 206 of whom had no relatives in Canada. The latter were sponsored by CLWR and given employment in farming or service sectors; by 1960, CLWR had provided \$3.2 million in transportation loans and employment assistance to 20,000 refugees and nationals from Germany and Austria.

Cold War Era—New Global Focus

As global dynamics shifted, so did the activities of CLWR. Cold War tensions brought 20,000 refugees from Romania, Russia, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia to Canada. The landscape continued to evolve in the late 1940s, as the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, the independence of India from Pakistan, and civil conflict in China triggered a flood of millions of people into neighbouring countries.

In response, CLWR expanded the geographic focus of its commitment to refugees, by 1960 having provided 7 million pounds of material resources—valued at over \$3 million—to burgeoning numbers of displaced people in Germany, Austria, Jordan and Hong Kong.

As the wave of African countries declaring independence from colonial powers continued into the 1970s, the Lutheran World Federation—a primary partner of CLWR even today—expanded its operations in the continent and began to carry out its work there in conjunction with CLWR and other agencies. Before long, CLWR-sponsored refugees included Africans.

1970s—Agreement with Canadian Government

In the late 1970s, refugees fleeing violence in Vietnam and Cambodia, including those popularly known as the “boat people,” began to arrive in Canada. Their arrival corresponded with the Government of Canada's 1976 Immigration Act and inspired the subsequent creation of the Private Sponsorship of Refugees (PSR) Program.

In 1979, CLWR signed a formal agreement with the Federal Government to become a Sponsorship Agreement Holder (SAH). The formalization of this relationship enabled CLWR to manage sponsorships of refugees in excess of those included in the government's annual quota. In this process, CLWR works closely with congregations and local groups, who provide

emotional and financial support to refugees and refugee families during their first year in Canada.

Post Cold War—Expanding Engagement

The end of the Cold War relaxed global tensions between East and West, but did not ameliorate the plight of the refugee. The breakup of Yugoslavia and ensuing ethnic violence in the Balkans created new refugee flows from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia.

CLWR responded to demands for sponsorship from this and other regions; during 1999/2000, the war in Kosovo incited Lutheran congregations in Canada to sponsor nearly 100 Kosovars. Changes came on an agency level in 1991 when CLWR—headquartered in Winnipeg—opened offices in Toronto and Vancouver dedicated specifically to refugee work.

As the world’s attention turned to the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, CLWR-sponsored refugees began to arrive in Canada from that country and neighbouring Uganda, along with those fleeing conflict in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and Sudan. Displaced people from Afghanistan, Iraq and other regions in Africa, Central America and Asia were also welcomed by congregations.

The Present—75 Years and Beyond

In 2009, CLWR was officially recognized by the Government of Canada for thirty years of sponsorship through the PSR program. The same year, refugees from Afghanistan, Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iraq, Rwanda, Somalia, and Sudan were able to start new lives in Canada through CLWR sponsorship. The year 2011 marked CLWR’s 65th anniversary. Among the arrivals that year were persecuted ethnic Karens from Burma (Myanmar) via refugee camps in Thailand.

Today, CLWR’s long-standing tradition of caring for displaced people continues both locally and nationally through support for sponsoring congregations and community coalitions and active involvement with national organizations such as the Canadian Council for Refugees and a newly formed association of Sponsorship Agreement Holders. Now, as in 1946, CLWR encourages the Canadian Lutheran community to engage in the important ministry of Welcoming the Stranger through the private sponsorship of refugees.

Endnotes

¹ Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CLWR) Our Mission: “Inspired by God’s love for the world, CLWR challenges and responds to the injustices which cause human suffering and poverty. We are committed to working alongside our partners to build resilience through a *continual shared learning approach*. As an international relief and development agency of the Lutheran communities, CLWR provides opportunities for Canadians to respond to national and international needs. Our Vision: A healthy and sustainable world where people live in peace with hope, justice, dignity, and equality. Our Values: *Accountable partnership*: God calls us to work together. CLWR works in partnerships. CLWR reflects intentional and respectful collaboration, mutuality, accountability, and transparency. *Stewardship of creation*: The earth is a gift from God entrusted to our care and nurture. CLWR strives for the sustainable use of Earth’s resources in order to support abundant life for all. *Compassion & justice*: God calls us to show compassion and seek justice. CLWR responds in love to people who are suffering unjust or challenging political, social, economic and environmental circumstances. *Dignity & respect*: Created in God’s image, all human beings have value and should be treated through word and action with dignity and respect. CLWR supports vulnerable individuals and communities in striving for human rights and a sustainable future. For more see clwr.ca.

² Karen Kuhnert notes, Young Canadian Lutheran (YCL) is a relational movement of people within the ELCIC tradition—in the category of age that the Lutheran World Federation identifies as “Young Adults (18–35). The

movement is one of “showing up for each other” in Church and life contexts by those who typically live out their vocational lives in faith in ways that are not *centered* in the Sunday morning pew experience of Church. YCLs are actively contributing to every level of the intergenerational ELCIC (pews included), and they are actively engaged in world-building. Regarding the use of pronouns like she/her, he/him, they/them/theirs see Young Canadian Lutheran, “Finn Talks: Trans & Lutheran” featuring Finn Boehm as posted June 30, 2020, 595 views as of June 28, 2023, https://youtu.be/MbAWuy5_r-Q. Regarding Ableism as a barrier to church participation see “A Church That Works For Me: Autism Awareness Month” featuring Haiden Werboweski as posted April 30, 2021, 83 views as of June 28, 2023, <https://youtu.be/dww53PxxvJE>. Regarding Anti-Racism see “Voice of God | Short Film by Hanna Negussie” created by Hanna Negussie for YCL as posted February 22, 2021, 123 views as of June 28, 2023, https://youtu.be/X0YcsVJ_-9g, and “Hi, I’m Black | Poem Megan McBean” created for YCL and in support of the Sponsorship Program of the Congress of Black Women and CCAWR, featuring Megan McBean (creator) and Mac McBean, as posted February 26, 2021, 57 views as of June 28, 2023, <https://youtu.be/OZjnEBhC7OU>.

³ At the Special Convention of the ELCIC gathered from June 28 to July 2, 2023, the following motions were passed and a resource on the use of Pronouns and Inclusive language were highlighted.

1. For more on the use of Pronouns see <https://elcic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/facts-about-pronouns.pdf>
2. For more on the Inclusive Language Guidelines see <https://elcic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/facts-about-pronouns.pdf>
3. Motion relating to Report and Recommendations of the Task Force addressing Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia, <https://elcic.box.com/s/uk6ag0nxj5kasnerxv3bkrs8u8egn0ym>. (March 2023) As AMENDED APPROVED.
4. Motion relating to the Report of the Task Force on Addressing Racism, White Supremacy and issues of Racial Injustice, <https://elcic.box.com/s/vhuuz3rvw1ufomy3aboutbwxja3q3or>. (March 2023) APPROVED.
5. Motion relating to the Report and Recommendations of the Task Force Addressing Ableism, <https://elcic.box.com/s/hxc8vn3bfj6b0bjk95ha2a2hiboy9xa9>. (March 2023) APPROVED.
6. Motion relating to the Report and Recommendations of the Task Force on Carbon Neutrality, <https://elcic.app.box.com/s/z9gnkt754bbdjuv0nk3ktgmbaxrx2qsl>. (March 2023) APPROVED. Note especially Item 10 on pages 19–24.

⁴ For an orientation to the decolonizing of relationships happening within the ELCIC, see the **Motion** relating to the [Report of the Task Force on Addressing Racism, White Supremacy and issues of Racial Injustice](https://elcic.app.box.com/s/vhuuz3rvw1ufomy3aboutbwxja3q3or). (March 2023). APPROVED. <https://elcic.app.box.com/s/vhuuz3rvw1ufomy3aboutbwxja3q3or>.

⁵ For an orientation to the decolonizing of relationships with the Land happening within the ELCIC, see the Motion relating to the [Report and Recommendations of the Task Force on Carbon Neutrality](https://elcic.app.box.com/s/z9gnkt754bbdjuv0nk3ktgmbaxrx2qsl). (March 2023). APPROVED <https://elcic.app.box.com/s/z9gnkt754bbdjuv0nk3ktgmbaxrx2qsl>.

⁶ Webinar III of the For the Sake of the Gospel Series was a participant-engagement webinar, participants consented to having their engagements recorded and used for educational purposes, some interactions from the public CHAT are included. Biographies for key persons are in bold print with italics, these LIB biographies were written by Marcus Busch from a compilation of source material unless specifically attributed. The emphasis on Ohio Synod biographies is appreciated as these voices are under-represented in Canadian Lutheran history.

⁷ [Native-land.ca](https://www.native-land.ca) is a more recent, advanced, and Indigenous-led Acknowledgement tool than those created earlier in the Truth and Reconciliation era by non-Indigenous principals.

⁸ The resource provided next was used by the Haldimand Tract Ecumenical Partnership and was produced by the Six Nations Lands and Resources staff, <https://www.sixnations.ca/LandsResources/HaldProc.htm>. An alternative understanding of the above note is available through Michelle Filice, “Haldimand Proclamation,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia [Online]*, Historica Canada, June 03, 2016; Last Edited November 10, 2020.

<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/haldimand-proclamation>. Haldimand’s family heritage and professional history should be of interest to readers of Canadian Lutheran History see Stuart R. J. Sutherland, Pierre Tousignant, and Madeleine Dionne-Tousignant, “HALDIMAND, Sir FREDERICK,” last Revised 1983, in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/haldimand_frederick_5E.html

⁹ Additional articles to note in this Issue include Karen Kuhnert’s “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Coastal Compassion, A Propositional History Webinar II” that deals with Scandinavian Lutheran immigration and settlement in Lower-mainland British Columbia (BC) in the mid-1800s and was boosted

by railway completion around the 1890s, and also "Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Mid-Century Concord and Discord, *A Propositional History* Webinar II" that considers the "British" colonial concern about invasion by US forces after the mid-Century American Civil War and the necessity of railroad agreements to populate the "Canada-US" border from the Atlantic to the Pacific with immigrants as a defense against American invasion up through prairies. See Danika Jorgensen-Skakum's "A Decolonial Vision of God: Relationships Between Indigenous Peoples and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada" for the start of insights into how Lutheran immigration and mistreatment of Black and Chinese Settlers to Canada overlap. Note carefully "A Decolonial Vision of God" on the matter of Whiteness as a reference to use of power and privilege (apart from colour-coding and national or ethnic-heritages): "the Doctrine of Discovery linked European colonization with Christian mission, agriculturalism with civility, and Whiteness with superiority,"

⁹ "Whiteness" denotes more than skin colour or ethnicity and refers to a system of power that has variously categorized people as being "White" or "Other." See also the vernacular use of the term "Settler" as an alternative to "White" as it became taken up from the writings of Steve Heinrichs. Heinrich's use was an intentional choice arising from the work of an ad hoc collective within KAIROS of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous leadership to find a term for those who came to the land called Canada after the First Peoples.

¹⁰ Regarding CLWR, see CLWR.ca. Regarding Lutherans in Canada, see also Freitag, Walter, "Lutherans," in *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, edited by James H. Marsh. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988, 1252–53.

¹¹ There are interesting connections between this content and content in Gordon Jensen's reflections in "Remembering Canadians in Global Missions and World Service: Missionaries—For the Sake of the Gospel" within "Remembering Canadians in Global Missions and World Service" by Larson et. al, and also Danika Jorgensen-Skakum's "A Decolonial Vision of God: Relationships Between Indigenous Peoples and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada" both in this issue.

¹² As written by Busch, regarding the terms *Reichsdeutsche*, *Volksdeutsche*, and *Auslanderdeutsche*, German citizenship was not extinguished until German immigrants became naturalized citizens of Canada. Thus, those who returned to Germany without becoming naturalized had fewer legal difficulties than those who became naturalized Canadians. There were many who, because of the economic difficulties in Canada during the depression of the 1930s, chose to return to Germany, especially after 1936 when the Nazi government encouraged the return to the Fatherland of its citizens and former citizens, see Grant W. Grams, 2008, "Immigration and Return Migration of German Nationals, Saskatchewan 1919 to 1939," *Prairie Forum* 33, no. 1: 39–64, 48. Hitler had come to power in 1933. German citizens were either born in Germany or were born to German citizens living outside of Germany. The distinction between German citizens, the *Reichsdeutsche*, and ethnic Germans living outside the borders of Germany, *Volksdeutsche* or *Auslanderdeutsche*, was particularly important at the end of the Second World War more so than during the interwar period (the timeframe of this presentation). After the Second World War, the United Nations International Refugee Organization (IRO) was formed in April 1946 and mandated to help only *Reichsdeutsche*. This helps explain why it was voluntary organizations, such as CLWR, that assisted the *Volksdeutsche*, "Displaced Persons (DPs)" within Germany, to emigrate.

¹³ The Decree Against Mismanagement of Emigration Matters (*Verordnung gegen Mißstände im Auswanderungswegen*) was issued February 14, 1924 to restrict the emigration of workers from Germany.

¹⁴ Grant W. Grams, "Pastor Dr. F. C. Gleiss, Lutheran Immigration Board Representative in Germany," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 46 (2004): 7. Grams is an established scholar listed in the University of Winnipeg's Bibliography for the Field of German-Canadian Studies from 2000 to 2017 available at <https://www.uwinnipeg.ca/german-canadian/docs/bibliography/biblio-german-canadian-sources.pdf>. Grams was a PhD. Research Scholarship Recipient involved in UW's Fellowship Program 1997–2021. Between 1998 and 1999, he studied at Philips University, Marburg, Germany. Printable abstracts for his articles on "Pastor Dr. F.C. Gleiss, Lutheran Immigration Board Representative in Germany", and "T.O.F. Herzer and His work with German-speaking Immigration to Canada" can be found at http://archives.anglican.ca/en/list?q=Lutheran+Immigration+Board&p=1&ps=20&journal_facet=Journal+of+the+Canadian+Church+Historical+Society.

¹⁵ Notably, from the perspective of some Europeans, Canada was a "new nation" and having adopted the British form of democracy (which permitted more personal freedoms than most citizens of Eastern Europe were familiar with) made moving to Canada an additional adjustment.

¹⁶ Grams, "Gleiss," 8.

¹⁷ ELCIC Motion relating to the [Report of the Task Force on Addressing Racism, White Supremacy and Issues of Racial Injustice](#). (March 2023) and Endnote 4 Item 6. Harold Troper, "Immigration," in *Canadian Encyclopedia*,

2nd ed., vol. 2, ed. James H. Marsh (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988), 1045–1047. Karen Kuhnert notes, as a cross-reference, in the earlier 1985 edition of the encyclopedia, Troper uses the language of “white” (no capital) in writing about the time from 1896 to the 1930s, noting,

[Immigration Policy] was enacted within the framework of the British Empire, in which Sifton, the Canadian Government and most English-speaking Canadians believed. The traditional definition of ideal immigrants has been modified but was not radically altered. Unabashedly colonial, the government defined immigrants who did not originate from the British Isles as foreign; and, unabashedly North American, excluded white, English-speaking immigrants from the US from this category. The ideal immigrants were still British or American independent farmers who would settle in the West. Sifton and the government may only have reflected their times, but Canadian immigration policy and public opinion were nevertheless racist. (p. 863, 1985)

Troper’s 1972 University of Toronto Dissertation “Only Farmers Need Apply: Official Canadian Government Encouragement of Immigration from the United States, 1896–1911 can be read online at <https://archive.org/details/onlyfarmersneeda00haro/page/n5/mode/2up>. Troper’s article for the *Canadian Encyclopedia* begins with the view of the populating of Canada as spanning the time from the arrival of “the Native Peoples, whose ancestors migrated across the Bering Strait from Asia, to the most recent arrivals.”

¹⁸ ELCIC Motion relating to the Report of the Task Force on Addressing Racism, White Supremacy and Issues of Racial Injustice, <https://elcic.box.com/s/vhuuz3rvwlufomyy3aboutbwxja3q3or>. (March 2023). For more on the impact of Canadian colonial policies see “Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,” *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (2015), 46, as cited by Danika Jorgensen-Skakum in this Issue of Consensus. Jorgensen-Skakum’s notation on “Whiteness” should also be considered, as in: “The Doctrine of Discovery linked European colonization with Christian mission, agriculturalism with civility, and Whiteness with superiority.”

¹⁹ VIM, *Landesverein für Innere Mission*, Neumünster, Rev. Dr. F. C. Gleiss, Director. **Rev. Dr. Friedrich Caspar Gleiss** was born in Curau, Germany, on 17 July 1863. He was ordained as a Lutheran minister on 11 March 1887. Gleiss retired on 1 July 1929 and died in Neumunster, Germany, on 24 October 1931 (68). Gleiss began working for the Society for Home Mission – VIM (*Landesverein für Innere Mission*) in 1888 and was later appointed director. LIB was affiliated with the Hamburg-based Evangelical Lutheran Emigration Mission – EAM (*Evangelisch-lutherische Auswanderer Mission*), an agency that advised Germans on emigration affairs. In 1924, the German government advocated for these two Protestant emigration organizations to collaborate on emigration matters. This gave Gleiss significant influence within Germany’s two largest Protestant organizations and put him in a position to act as a salaried European representative of LIB from May 1924 to April 1925. Also in 1924, Gleiss visited Canada for six weeks on the invitation of LIB to become familiarized with LIB and the Canadian context, with which he was favourably impressed. Nevertheless, Gleiss’s 11-month tenure in his position with LIB was a stormy one vis-a-vis the German government and its anti-immigrant stance (Grams, “Gleiss,” 5–25).

Gleiss served in the position of LIB’s representative in Germany from May 1924 to April 1925. His role was to assist in the selection of emigrants for sponsorship by LIB. A collaborator with T. O. F. Herzer beginning in the summer of 1924, Grams, “Gleiss,” 13; Grams, “Herzer,” 165. Gleiss was unpopular with the German government (*Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen* [RA], i.e., Imperial Authority for Emigration Affairs) because of his encouragement of emigration from Germany to Canada after the First World War. Germany felt that it needed to retain its citizens to rebuild and develop the nation. Because of Gleiss’s (and others’) work to promote emigration, all emigration organizations were exposed to German administrative measures designed to thwart their goals Grams, “Gleiss,” 5–25. Under duress from the German government, Gleiss gave up his work with LIB in April 1925. He nevertheless resumed his pro-emigration activities as an independent agent in Germany. Grams, “Gleiss,” 23. After Gleiss’s withdrawal from working with LIB, **Hermann Wagner** took up the position of Protestant emigration adviser for Germany in support of LIB’s work. Between 5 May and 21 August 1928, *Wagner* toured the United States and Canada, especially Saskatchewan and Alberta, to assess the suitability of particular areas for German settlement. Grams, “Immigration and Return Migration of German Nationals,” 44. At home, however, Wagner found himself tarred with Gleiss’s brush and in trying to distance himself from his predecessor’s reputation, he himself became involved in interagency intrigues. Grams, “Gleiss,” 24–25.

²⁰ EAM, *Evangelisch-lutherische Auswanderer*.

²¹ DAI, *Deutsches Ausland Institute*, Rev. Manfred Grisebach, Director of Emigration Consultation

²² Grams, Gleiss, 10. It was believed that agricultural immigrants from north-central Europe would adapt well to the Canadian climate (Grams, Gleiss, 16). Immigrants sponsored by LIB were expected to pay the cost of their transatlantic steamship fare (Threinen, "LIB," 72–73). Karen Kuhnert notes, that the people of Maranatha Lutheran Caribbean Mission Congregation discovered in their research (as Acknowledged in "Mid-Century Concord and Discord) that the language of peoples who "adapt well to the Canadian climate" can be understood as language-code and conceiving for limiting the immigration of and granting of settlement to Canada by Black people *from the United States and elsewhere*. The Queen's Bush (inter-lake area of Ontario) was *already substantially peopled* by Black persons before the arrival of German-Lutheran settlers in the mid-1800s. The Civil War in the US created a push and pull for those already in Canada. The War was a chance for freedom back in the US where families were already well established (a pull back to the US) and the surveying and settlement of German Lutherans and others in the inter-lake area was displacing the Black men and families who had established prior to the surveys (push). In the time of the Administration of Wilfrid Laurier the language of Black people being unable to "adapt to the climate" or the climate being "unsuitable for Black persons" was used to legitimize racist immigration policies.

²³ Grams, "Gleiss," 12. Grams found the quote in the Archives of the Province of Saskatchewan R249 (Saskatoon): Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement, Recorded at Saskatoon, Sask. Friday Jan. 31st, 1930, Vol II, pp 25–26."

²⁴ For more on the "Canadian Lutheran Response" see Threinen, Norman J., *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic: A History of Lutherans in Canada*. De Winton, AB: Today's Reformation Press, 2006, 118–20.

²⁵ Grant W. Grams, "T. O. F. Herzer and His Work with German-Speaking Immigration to Canada," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 47 (2006): 165.

²⁶ Norman J. Threinen, "Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada," *Minutes and Reports of the 13th Archivists' and Historians' Conference* (St. Louis, MO: Mimeographed, 1975b), 81. Grams points out that as most of the leadership in the German agencies, LIB included, were clergy trained and *ordained in Germany*, there was some concern amongst members of this group that the *North American-trained* Lutheran clergy were not up to the task of ensuring this cultural transmission.

²⁷ **T. O. F. Herzer** was born on 24 July 1887 in Plymouth, Wisconsin and died in Winnipeg on 7 October 1958. He was a graduate of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, in 1910, also the year of his ordination. For the next three years, he served in British Columbia and Alberta as a superintendent of missions, based out of Mount Calvary Lutheran Church in Calgary. In 1914, he resigned from the ministry and joined the CPR's Department of Immigration and Colonization in the position of Assistant to the Superintendent of Colonization and Development (Threinen, "LIB," 73). In 1925, he became manager of the Canadian Colonization Association (CCA). Three years later, he established and administered the Colonization Finance Corporation (CFC). Herzer's vision was to settle immigrants with their own faith, language, and ethnic grouping to prevent isolation and to keep them on the land. Settlement modelled on this strategy would also make serving existing and new congregations easier. The advantage for the railways was that they could sell land adjacent to their rights-of-way. In 1926, Herzer's pastor brother, **John Emanuel Herzer**, left his church in Calgary to accept the Missouri Synod's call to be an immigrant missionary in Winnipeg. Later, in March 1946 when CLWR was founded, T. O. F. Herzer was elected treasurer; in this position he was able to bring 25+ years of experience of assisting European migrants to bear in the new organization. In June 1947, he added another organization to his long list of leadership roles when he became the "Temporary Chairman" of the Canadian Christian Council for Resettlement of Refugees (CCCRR). In recognition of his work with refugees and his superior knowledge of the workings of "the machinery of immigration," (H. J. Siemens' term), Herzer had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws (*Honoris Causa*) by Valparaiso University (Indiana) in 1948. Additionally, Herzer was awarded a Coronation Medal by Queen Elizabeth in 1954. When Herzer retired in January 1956, according to Grams, he is believed to have been responsible for the immigration of up to 70,000 souls to Canada from Europe (Grams, "Herzer," 181). Threinen ("LIB," 81) says 35,000 souls. Dr. Herzer retired in 1956 and passed in 1958 at the age of 71. On 1 January 1958, the CPR's immigration department was downsized. By September 1962, a decision was made to discontinue the work of the CCA after 31 December of that year. The CCA remained a legal entity until its charter was officially cancelled on 29 May 1972, (Grams, "Herzer," 181).

²⁸ Threinen, *Mosaic*, 118–19.

²⁹ Grams, "Herzer," 165.

³⁰ As above, Threinen, "LIB," 81 Threinen says 35,000 and Grams, Herzer, 181, says 70,000 souls.

³¹ *Pastor Edward Schmok and the Lutheran Immigration Board*. 1926. Translated by Christel Hey (handwritten). 2pp. Edmonton: Lois Knudson Munholland Collection (on loan to author from 29 January 2023). Threinen, Norman

J. 1975. "Adventuring for Christ: The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada," *Consensus*, 1, no.3, Article 6, 31 <http://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol1/iss3/6>. Leopold F. Tank (from the necrology written by Pastor P. H. Kohlmeier, Treasurer of the Lutheran Immigration Board, following the death of Pastor Tank on 4 March 1925):

Pastor Leonard F. Tank had served in the holy ministry for only two years in the Morris-Hancock parish in Minnesota and four years in Washington Heights near Chicago..., and after that for eleven years at the Church of the Cross in Winnipeg [the second pastor of this congregation and brother-in-law of the first pastor, Rev. Gehrke]. These years were more or less a preparation for the deceased...for the posting which God had placed him into as mission director and president. In...1918 the Home Mission Board [*Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Other States*] called Pastor Tank to be the mission director of the Canada District and he was forced to take leave of the Church of the Cross, which he had come to love. He did this with a heavy heart! Now the time had arrived for him to make use of his many talents. While he was in this position one also became acquainted with his noble, exemplary manner and learned to value the noble character of his way of thinking. His superior gifts as a leader caused the district to entrust him with the office of the President in...1920. He administered this position with the same kind of faithfulness and conscientiousness until his death. During the last years he also served as the Chairman and Director of the Lutheran Immigration Board. In this office he soon won the complete trust of his co-workers and the respect of leading men in Canada; especially that of the Minister of Immigration [and Colonization, James Robb].

Reverend Edward Schmok was born on 17 July 1886 in Russia and lived in Winnipeg from 1891 to 1906. He attended elementary school and the Collegiate Institute in Winnipeg before entering Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1906, graduating in December 1911. Pastor Schmok was the second son of the pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Cross, Winnipeg, to be ordained. After he had travelled as a Missionary in Saskatchewan, living in Craik and Holdfast, he was called to the Neudorf congregation in 1914, but only after marrying Emma Blume on 29 December 1913. Besides being pastor to his congregation, he was Chairman of the Neudorf Public School Board, Secretary-Treasurer of the Neudorf and Rural Trustees Association, and Secretary of the Board of Management of the Canada District–Ohio Synod. He was also Treasurer of the Building Committee, which was building a new Luther College in Regina for the sum of \$130,000. In addition, he was Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Canada District, Ohio Synod. In 1926, Pastor Schmok was elected Manager of the Lutheran Immigration Board (Western Branch) with headquarters in Winnipeg. When the congregation of Neudorf was told about his leaving, and while they were saddened to see him go, they understood that he would be an effective manager of the Lutheran Immigration Board. Indeed, Schmok seemed well suited for managing the Lutheran Immigration Board—he was a former pro hockey player, boxer, community leader, money manager, diplomat, negotiator, and mediator. After the closing of the LIB in 1943, Schmok served as parish pastor at Christ Lutheran in Vancouver and Christ Lutheran, Kelowna. Edward Schmok entered eternal life on 11 August 1955. He is buried in the Kelowna Memorial Park Cemetery (written by Marcus Busch)

³² Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada (Western Branch)—incorporated under the federal *Companies Act* (RSC, 1906), Letters Patent, 6 December 1926 The eleven purposes for which the board of directors of the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada (Western Branch) were responsible, set out in its letters patent, were:

1. To assist in the settlement of lands in Canada and to aid Lutheran people in Europe to come to Canada as settlers and to establish them on farms in Canada; and to maintain and assist such settlers as may be deemed proper by the corporation to carry out this purpose;
2. To acquire agricultural lands situate in Canada from any person or company for the use of such settlers;
3. To purchase from any person or company any stock, machinery, equipment or supplies that is or may be required by the settlers;
4. To sell to the settlers any land, stock, machinery, implements, equipment, supplies, goods and improvements which may be deemed necessary or advisable by the corporation to establish them, on such terms that the moneys received from the settlers for same will cover the amount of all expenditures and costs of operations, of whatever nature whatsoever made and carried on in their behalf and incidental thereto, together with interest on moneys subscribed or advanced for this purpose;
5. To make any arrangements with any person or company for the transportation and care of any of the proposed settlers or for the transportation of any stock, equipment, or supplies for their use;

6. To lend money to any of the settlers and to guarantee the performance of any contracts made by them and to take such security from them for the repayment of moneys advanced to them or for sales made to them as may be deemed necessary or advisable by the corporation;
7. To obtain contributions of money and other property to be used for the advancement of any of the objects of the corporation and to take, receive, and enforce payment of subscriptions or promises to pay, or promissory notes, or bills of exchange, given in connection with any such contributions;
8. To purchase, rent, sell, lease, establish, construct, maintain, regulate, and operate agencies in any place suitable for the operation of and carrying out the business and affairs of the corporation and to undertake agencies for other persons or companies;
9. To act as agent with remuneration for the listing, sale, exchange or improvement of lands, natural resources, businesses, industries or other enterprises in Canada, and as such agent to enter into agreements for sale, or to give options upon any land, natural resources, industries or enterprises sold through the agency of the corporation; and to enforce any agreements of agency or sale which may be made with or by the corporation, and to take, receive and enforce payments of reasonable commission or other remuneration for such services, to be used for the advancement of the objects of the corporation;
10. To appropriate and use any of the assets of the corporation for any of the objects of the corporation and for the purpose of defraying the necessary costs, charges, and expenses of the corporation;
11. To invest from time to time any of the moneys of the corporation not required for its immediate use in Canadian government bonds or in such investments as are authorized by the Government of Canada or the Governments of the respective Provinces of Canada.

Lutheran Immigration Board of Eastern Canada—incorporated under the federal *Companies Act* (RSC, 1927), Letters Patent, 28 November 1929. The twelve purposes for which the board members of the Lutheran Immigration Board of Eastern Canada were responsible, set out in its letters patent, were:

1. To counsel and advise Lutheran people intending to immigrate to the Dominion of Canada
2. To make any arrangements for the transportation of such people and any stock, machinery, equipment or supplies for their use;
3. To assist Lutheran people to come to Canada as settlers and to establish them on farms or otherwise, and to protect, maintain, care for and aid such settlers in all ways that may be deemed advisable, and to assist in the settlement of lands in Canada;
4. To acquire agricultural lands situate in Canada for the use of the settlers;
5. To purchase any stock, machinery, equipment or supplies that may be required for such settlers;
6. To sell to such settlers any land, stock, machinery, implements, equipment, supplies, goods, and improvements which may be deemed necessary or advisable by the corporation to establish and assist them on such terms of payment and security therefore as shall be deemed advisable by the corporation;
7. To lend money to any of such settlers and to guarantee the performance of contracts made by them and to take such security from them for the repayment of moneys advanced to them or for the guarantees given or other obligations incurred on their behalf or for sales made to them as may be deemed necessary or advisable by the corporation;
8. To obtain and receive contributions of money and other property to be used for the advancement of any of the objects of the corporation;
9. To purchase, rent, lease, establish, construct, maintain, regulate, operate and sell or otherwise dispose of agencies in any place suitable for the operating of and carrying out the business and affairs of the corporation and to undertake agencies for other persons, firms, or corporations;
10. To act as agent, with or without remuneration, for the listing, sale, leasing, exchange or improvement of lands, natural resources, business, industries or other enterprises in

Canada, and as such agent to be used for the advancement of the objects of the corporation;

11. To appropriate and use any of the assets of the corporation for any of the objects of the corporation and for the purpose of defraying the necessary costs, charges and expenses of the corporation;

12. To invest from time to time any of the moneys of the corporation not required for its immediate use in such securities as the corporation may deem advisable.

³³ The Honourable William Daum Euler, MP for Waterloo North (Ontario) and member of the ULCA, was appointed an Honorary Chairman of the LIB. William George Weichel, MPP for Waterloo North and member of the Missouri Synod, was appointed an Honorary Vice Chairman of the LIB. *William Daum Euler* (1875–1961), Honorary Chair of LIB in 1925, was Mayor of Berlin, Ontario from 1914–1917 (including when Berlin was renamed Kitchener in 1916). He was a federal politician and the first Chancellor of Waterloo Lutheran University. At the time of his appointment as honorary chair of the LIB, Euler was the Liberal Member of Parliament for Waterloo North (1917–1940). Interestingly, Euler had been preceded in this role as MP by *William George Weichel*, Conservative MP for Waterloo North, 1911–1917. Weichel had defeated William Lyon Mackenzie King as MP in 1911. He ran again for MP in 1917 as a Unionist but was defeated by Euler. Weichel operated a hardware-related businesses in the area, was director for several insurance companies, and was the Mayor of Waterloo in 1922–1923. At the time of his appointment as Honorary Vice Chair of LIB, Weichel was Member of Provincial Parliament for Waterloo North (1923–1929). (written by Marcus Busch).

³⁴ Formally, the “Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada (Western Branch).” Its directors were:

1. Rev. Henry Harms, Saskatoon, Ohio Synod
2. Rev. Henry Becker, Winnipeg, ULCA
3. Rev. Paul Kohlmeier, Winnipeg, Ohio Synod
4. Rev. Edward Schmok, Winnipeg, Ohio Synod
5. Rev. Arthur H. Eissfeldt, Winnipeg, Missouri Synod
6. Rev. Walter August Baepler, Edmonton, Missouri Synod
7. Rev. Wilhelm Wahl, Edmonton, ULCA
8. Rev. Christian T. Wetzstein, Regina, Missouri Synod
9. Rev. John Fritz, Regina, Ohio Synod
10. Rev. Thomas Hartig, Markinch (Saskatchewan), ULCA
11. Rev. August Mueller, Calgary, Missouri Synod
12. Rev. Julius Zachtachky, Calgary, Ohio Synod
13. Rev. Ernst Hertz, Melville (Saskatchewan), Ohio Synod
14. Rev. Gustav Heimann, Emerson (Manitoba), ULCA
15. Rev. Clemens Thies, Wetaskiwin (Alberta), ULCA

Pastor Paul Henry Kohlmeier (1885–1966) was born in India to German missionary parents. In 1906, he was the first son of Lutheran Church of the Cross, Winnipeg, to be ordained, during the pastorate of Reverend George Gehrke (Ohio Synod), the inaugural pastor of this influential congregation. A year earlier, Kohlmeier appears as a seminary student in St Paul, Minnesota, in the 1905 Minnesota census. Married in 1911 to Aminda Schenk of Winnipeg in St. Paul, Minnesota’s Lutheran Church of the Redeemer (written by Marcus Busch).

³⁵ Formally the “Lutheran Immigration Board of Eastern Canada.” The Eastern Branch had its own volunteer executive secretary (Threinen, *Mosaic*, 119). Its directors were:

1. Rev. Otto Stockman, Tavistock (Ontario), ULCA [Rev. Dr. O. T. C. Stockmann <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/results?fsu=Stockmann%2C+O%2E+T%2E+C%2>]
2. Rev. Arthur Gallmeier, Elmira (Ontario), Missouri Synod
3. Rev. Frank Malinsky, Stratford (Ontario), Missouri Synod
4. Rev. Gustav Zeimer, Neustadt (Ontario), ULCA
5. Rev. Dr. Otto Klaehn, Montreal, ULCA (<https://libarchives.wlu.ca/index.php/otto-c-d-klaehn-fonds>)
6. Rev. Dr. Herman Spearling, Kitchener, ULCA [Rev. Dr. Hermann A. Sperling see <https://www.stpeterskw.ca/home/about-us/> or <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/90674911/herman-a-sperling#view-photo=60532155>]
7. Rev. Ernest Hahn, Toronto, Missouri Synod

Karen Kuhnert notes that biographical details for many of the clergy that are not noted by Busch can be found in the works by the following: Carl Raymond Cronmiller, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada*, Toronto: Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, 1961; Valdimar J. Eylands, *Lutherans in Canada*, Winnipeg: Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America; 1945; and Frank Malinsky, *Grace and Blessing: A History of the Ontario District of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*, n.p., 1954. Dr. Otto C. D. Klaehn, chairman of the Eastern Branch and an immigration missionary, welcomed immigrants harbourside. Dr. Klaehn was the President of the ULCA's Canada Synod. Although immigration almost stopped during the 1930s, Dr. Klaehn was retained in the capacity of a social mission worker until his death in Montreal, 5 March 1941 after 16 years. He died at age 64 years. Dr. Klaehn was assisted in the LIB by Pastor Ernest Hahn, secretary of the Eastern Branch. Klaehn was born 7 June 1876 in a Lutheran parsonage in Mecklenburg, Germany. His uncle was bishop of the Lutheran Church in Mecklenburg. He pursued his studies at Schwerin and Kropp Seminary. His ordination took place at St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Hamilton, Ontario, 21 July 1897. Pastorates were served [in Ontario] at Muskoka, 1897-1900; Sullivan, 1900-1905; and Stratford, 1905-1925. In 1926 and for 15 years until his death, the Canada Synod, in cooperation with the United Lutheran Church's Inner Mission Board, called Dr. Klaehn to be the Immigrant Mission Pastor with an office in Montreal. In this capacity, he served by helping and advising thousands of immigrants. Cronmiller, *A History*, 232-233).

³⁶ The VDCK was founded in 1909 as the *Verein für Deutsch Canadier Katholiken* (Association of German Catholics – VDCK).

³⁷ Specifically: the Holland Immigration Board; the Polish Immigration Board, the Norwegian Lutheran Immigration Board, the Danish Immigrant Aid Society; the Scottish Immigration Society; the Atlantic Hungarian Board (Grams, "Herzer, 166), the Swedish-Lutheran Immigration Board (Threinen, *Mosaic*, 119).

³⁸ The establishment of continental and regional synods and districts is treated more thoroughly in this Issue elsewhere by the Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow Project.

³⁹ Karen Kuhnert notes, more information on the Ohio Synod operating in Canada is available through Laurier Archives and Special Collections, see <https://libarchives.wlu.ca/index.php/american-lutheran-church-canada-section-joint-synod-of-ohio-other-states>. For an English text on the larger story of the founding of the Joint Synod of Ohio ("Joint" meaning multiple districts, and exceeding just Ohio), see, for example, *A Century of Lutherans in Ohio* by Williard D. Allbeck, The Antioch Press, 1966. The 1818 convention at Somerset marked the independence of the "Ohio Lutherans" who were formerly organized as a mission field of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania beginning in 1804 with George Simon (connected to Hagerstown, Maryland), and then licensed Catechist Johannes Stauch (Stough). Beginning in 1793, Stauch was a pioneering missionary Catechist in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Western Virginia and was later ordained by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (Allbeck, 22–23). Most notably for Canadian Lutheran history, when pioneering Canadian Lay-leader Adam Keffer set off from Vaughn in 1849 to secure an English-speaking pastor for his congregation, he was seeking a meeting with Rev. John Nunemacher of the Eastern District of the Synod of Ohio who had served the Lutherans North of Toronto in 1845 and 1846 (Cronmiller, *A History*, 130-131). When the inter-Lutheran Evangelical Lutheran Union of Canada was formed in 1853 (concurrent with the second meeting of the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod in October of 1853), Rev. Jacob Hoelsch was an invited visitor in attendance (Cronmiller, *A History*, 138-139). Hoelsch was a member of the Eastern District of the Ohio Synod serving the people of the congregation at Preston, Ontario, beginning in 1850 and serving historic St. John's, Waterloo from 1856-1873 (Cronmiller, *A History*, 118). See Kuhnert, *Mid-Century*.

⁴⁰ Karen Kuhnert notes that additional information on the launch of the Missouri Synod in Canada can be found in Malinsky, *Grace and Blessing: A History of the Ontario District of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod*.

⁴¹ Diegel, Michael, "Martin Ruccius and the Synod of Manitoba and Northwest Territories," *Consensus*: Vol. 36: Iss. 1, Article 3, 2015, <https://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol36/iss1/3>. Karen Kuhnert notes that the ULCA's "Manitoba Synod" was launched as an *independent* Synod in 1897. The phrase "Manitoba Synod" is almost always used as a short form in Canadian Lutheran history—but the short form can mislead and confuse researchers. The Synod of Manitoba and Northwest (sometimes North-west) Territories came into being in 1897. In 1907 with provincialization (the creation of provinces from territories) the synod was called the Synod of Manitoba and Other Provinces, or sometimes the *Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen* as can be seen in the Synod's Jubilee publication (1879–1922): <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/4740/17.html>. *The Synod had an organizational existence before becoming an independent Synod of the General Council*. As the character of the synod changed over time (and in-migration was a factor) it can be helpful also to think of the synod changing from the Synode von Manitoba ... to the Synod of Manitoba and Other Provinces. Similarly, the term

“Canada Synod” is a short and sometimes misleading form. The Canada Synod began as an independent Synod in 1861 (formerly the Canada *Conference* of the Pittsburgh Synod) and was comprised of both English-speaking and German-speaking congregations. With the temporary withdrawal of many of the English-speaking congregations from the Synod, it too became more characteristically the *Synode von Canada*. In 1925 with a reunion of congregations, the synod became officially a dual-language synod (operating in both English and German languages). The Presidency of Otto Klaehn gave way to the Presidency of John Reble in 1925. Both these leaders were exceedingly active in Immigration. John Reble served CLWR from Germany after his retirement as Synod President and his accessible collection of writings and personal photographs would make for an excellent research paper.

⁴² Arnold Fricke, *An Historical Review on the 20th Anniversary of the Beginnings of the Canada District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Other States, 1908–1928*, ed. and trans. Horst W. Gutsche (2012), (Edmonton: Don Sjoberg Collection), n.d., 23.

⁴³ In addition to Pastor Schmok, other members of the Western Branch Executive Committee of 1925 were:

- Pastor Leopold F. Tank of Winnipeg (President of the Ohio Synod’s Canada District), inaugural chairman
- Pastor Arthur H. Eissfeldt (Missouri Synod) of Winnipeg, corresponding secretary
- Pastor Paul H. Kohlmeier (Ohio Synod) of Winnipeg, treasurer
- Professor Walter August Baepler, Concordia College (Missouri Synod) of Edmonton, executive secretary
- Professor Henry W. Harms of Saskatoon, President of Luther College and Seminary

On 1 December 1926, Pastor Paul Kohlmeier was appointed “missionary for immigrants” in Canada by the Ohio Synod-Canada District. “His entire ministerial activity was to be of benefit to the immigrants who were arriving in great number,” said Pastor Fricke in his report of 1927 (Fricke, *Historical Review*, 27). Karen Kuhnert adds, According to Eylands, Heinrich Becker was President of the Synod of Manitoba and Other Provinces from 1907 to 1925 when illness confined him to bed and Rev. Dr. Thomas Hartig took over as Synod President from 1925. Becker had been Superintendent of Missions of the Manitoba Synod from 1914 through 1924 (Eylands, 250–51). Upon Becker’s partial recovery, the ULCA in 1926 Called Becker to the Inner Mission Board of the ULCA as “Immigrant Missionary” and City Missionary for Winnipeg. Hartig (as a pastor at Strathcona from 1909 to 1917), helped launch the General Council/ULCA’s western Canadian seminary with Jurgen Goos. The illness of Becker may be a factor in the LIB list above for 1925. Hartig was Superintendent of Missions during his time as Synod President. Hartig was appointed first President of the inter-Lutheran Canadian Lutheran Commission for War Services for World War II until his death. Hartig’s daughters are remembered in Canadian Lutheran History as Elfriede Hartig, Educational Missionary for Eastern Canada (Cronmiller, 228, and “Remembering Our Legacy in Diaconal Ministry: A Deacon Dialogue” in this Issue), and Elizabeth Hartig, missionary nurse (deaconess) serving in India (Cronmiller, 229, and “Remembering Canadians in Global Missions and World Service” this Issue).

⁴⁴ German-born Pastor Theodor Wedekind of Winnipeg succeeded Wagner (see Endnote 23 above, Wagner followed Gleiss) as European representative of the LIB, assuming his duties after taking up residence in Hamburg. Under his direction, representatives to relate to LIB were recruited from all European nations where significant German Lutheran minorities existed. *Schmok*, 1–2. For an excellent read on immigration to Saskatchewan, see Lois Knudson’s writing, Knudson Munholland, Lois. 2006. *Bread to Share: Stories About Saskatchewan’s Early Lutheran Pastors and Their Wives*. Strabourg, SK: Three West, Two South Books.

⁴⁵ Threinen, “LIB,” 72–73.

⁴⁶ In instances when disagreements arose between the employing farmer and the immigrant, LIB members, especially within the first year, would act as mediators to resolve issues as amicably as possible, Grams, “Gleiss,” 19.

⁴⁷ \$30–\$40 per month over a seven-to-eight-month season, paid out over 12 months was the full annual salary as noted above.

⁴⁸ Threinen, “LIB,” 72–73

⁴⁹ Bassler, Gerhardt. “Arrival and Settlement of German-Speaking Peoples in Canada.” In *The Encyclopedia of Canada’s Peoples*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, 11.

⁵⁰ As written by Busch for his original submission,

The writings by Grams on Herzer and Gleiss provide considerable specific detail on the partnership between the LIB and governments. As a condition for receiving legal recognition as a bone fide immigration agency under the Immigration Aid Society Act via the federal Department of Immigration and Colonization, the LIB committed

itself to finding employment for German-speaking immigrants within affiliated Canadian German-speaking Lutheran congregations. In January 1926, Edward Schmok, manager of the Western Branch, requested from the Minister of Immigration and Colonization, a grant of \$5,000 to cover the expenses of LIB's European representative. This figure represented half of LIB's annual \$10,000 budget. The only real source of income for LIB was from commissions earned from steamship companies. The salary of the European representative was \$1,800 per year and actual travel expenses. In the end, although the Minister declined to give LIB the grant, he agreed to temporarily engage the LIB representative in Europe for 90 days at the rate of \$150 per month plus expenses, the latter not to exceed the salary paid in any month. This arrangement was extended for a further 90 days (to a total of six months) for a total payment of \$900 plus expenses. This was well short of the \$5,000 ask but was, nevertheless, a contribution from the government of the day. At this time, Schmok's salary in Winnipeg was \$2,400 per year plus living and travel expenses not exceeding \$100 per month. The CPR was approached to support the manager's position in Winnipeg, although it is not recorded if this request was satisfied. The Canadian government viewed the work of LIB (and the other religious immigration boards) in a positive light as these agencies ended dishonest practices and abuses of the system perpetrated by other agents. Grams, "Gleiss," 12.

⁵¹ Grams, "Gleiss," 12.

⁵² For more on the CNR and CPR with Lutherans as one of the "Parallel Organizations" (Endnote 41 above) read Threinen's *Mosaic*, 118–20, on the "Lutheran Immigration Board" and continue to read into the section on the "Canadian Lutheran Immigration Aid Society." See also works related to Herzer as already referenced. For more on the experiences of diverse "Germans" see the writing of Rudolph Helling in R. A. Helling, "Germans," in *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, ed. James H. Marsh (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988), 897. Karen Kuhnert notes, that it is interesting to compare "Germans" by Helling as cited above with the writing on "Lutherans" in the same publication by Walter Freitag, see: Freitag, "Lutherans," 1252–53.

⁵³ Grams, "Herzer," 164

⁵⁴ Bassler, "Arrival and Settlement of German-Speaking Peoples," 12.

⁵⁵ Grams, Herzer," 166..

⁵⁶ Grams, "Herzer," 164.

⁵⁷ See also, Gagnon, Erica, Monica MacDonald, Daniel Meister, Siniša Obradovic, Jan Raska, and Steven Schwinghamer. 2023. "Railway Agreement, 1925." Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, at <https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/railway-agreement-1925>.

⁵⁸ Gagnon et al. "Railway Agreement, 1925.

⁵⁹ Karen Kuhnert notes, for more information on "the Great Depression: see "Great Depression in Canada (Plain-Language Summary)." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published July 09, 2021; Last Edited July 09, 2021, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/great-depression-in-canada-plain-language-summary>.

⁶⁰ Grams, "Herzer," 167; Threinen, "LIB," 77.

⁶¹ Grams, "Herzer," 167.

⁶² Threinen, "LIB," 81.

⁶³ Threinen, "LIB," 81.

⁶⁴ Fricke, *Historical Review*, 12, 23.

⁶⁵ Germany, Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Bukovina (Ukraine), and the Baltics (Helling, "Germans," 897.

⁶⁶ Fricke, *Historical Review* 12, 23.

⁶⁷ Unless otherwise noted, these numbers are from *Schmok*, 1-2.

⁶⁸ Grams, "Herzer," 168.

⁶⁹ Fricke, *Historical Review*, 23.

⁷⁰ Grams, "Herzer," 168.

⁷¹ Helling, "Germans," 896.

⁷² Fricke, *Historical Review*, 12.

⁷³ Grams, "Herzer," 168

⁷⁴ Grams, "Herzer," 168; Grams, "German Nationals," 48.

⁷⁵ Fricke, *Historical Review*, 12.

⁷⁶ Karen Kuhnert notes, for more information on “the Dirty Thirties” see the long version of the aforementioned entry in the *Canadian Encyclopedia* online, Struthers, James. “The Great Depression in Canada.” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published July 11, 2013; Last Edited August 13, 2021, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/great-depression>.

⁷⁷ Grams, “Herzer,” 171. Ironically, after the Nazis took power in Germany in 1933, they passed laws to restrict the emigration of Germans abroad to preserve the labour pool in Germany (Grams, “German Nationals,” 52). In partial fulfillment of the second purpose of the LIB, to promote the interests of the Lutheran Church, Pastor Fricke says in his 1924 report, “the [Canada] District express[es] the hope that the work of the Lutheran Immigration Board would continue to grow *for the benefit of our congregations*” [italics added]. LIB actively operated within the second wave of immigration to western Canada between 1923 and 1930, the interwar years. (Wave Number One was between 1885 and 1914; Wave Number Three was between 1946 and 1960, the post-Second World War period.)

⁷⁸ Threinen, *Mosaic*, 119.

⁷⁹ According to Busch, this insight was obvious, though not highlighted by the source authors.

⁸⁰ Threinen, *Mosaic*, 119.

⁸¹ *Schmok*, 1–2.

⁸² Threinen, “LIB,” 81

⁸³ Threinen, “LIB,” 81.

⁸⁴ See also in this Issue of *Consensus* the Article by Danika Jorgensen-Skakum called “A Decolonial Vision of God” with Introduction by Gordon Jensen and “Remembering Canadians in Global Missions and World Service: Missionaries—For the Sake of the Gospel” by Gordon Jensen within “Remembering Canadians in Global Missions and World Service” by Larson et. al.

⁸⁵ See the works in Endnote 20.

⁸⁶ Karen Kuhnert notes, perhaps Jensen is referencing here, as he sometimes does, the “double crisis” described by theologian Jürgen Moltmann in *The Crucified God*, these being, the crisis of identity and the crisis of relevance. See also, Kuhnert, *Consensus*, 2012.

⁸⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/c/YoungCanadianLutheran>

⁸⁸ <https://canadianlutheranhistory.ca/stories>. The Young Canadian Lutheran “35 Under 35” project collected biographies of Young Canadian Lutherans from coast to coast to coast in Canada and broadcast them on Social Media to uplift the voices of a younger generation of ELCIC engagers in the contemporary church and society. More bios can be found posted to their Twitter Account: <https://twitter.com/ElcicYoungAdult> or Instagram: <https://www.instagram.com/elcicyoungadults/>.

⁸⁹ Rev. Karen Kuhnert is a Project Coordinator for the Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow Project and a webinar host for the For the Sake of the Gospel Webinar Series. Kuhnert, (she/her) MDiv, is Archivist (Story-keeper for the Eastern Synod, ELCIC). For more on Canadian Lutheran History and Identity by Kuhnert, see Kuhnert, Karen (2012) “Only If”: Lutheran Identity in Canada,” *Consensus*, 34, no. 1, Article 3, <https://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol34/iss1/3> and Kuhnert, Karen (2022) “2SLGBTQIA+—Sexuality in Changing Canadian Lutheran Contexts and Identities,” *Consensus*, 43, no. 2, Article 7. DOI: 10.51644/IIZK7015, <https://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol43/iss2/7>. Kuhnert’s 2005 Clinical Pastoral Education research was published in *The Spiritual Care Giver’s Guide* (2008, O’Connor, Lashmar, Meakes) and she was awarded the 2007 Student Research Award for this work by the Society for Pastoral Counselling Research.

⁹⁰ Karen Kuhnert notes, the archives for William Lyon Mackenzie King can be searched at <https://libarchives.wlu.ca/index.php/william-lyon-mackenzie-king-collection>. Laurier Archives holds a considerable amount of the Lutheran Church and Immigration material used by Scholar Elliot Worsfold to write his PhD Dissertation in History for the University of Western Ontario. The Abstract and Dissertation are available online at Worsfold, Elliot, “Welcoming Strangers: Race, Religion, and Ethnicity in German Lutheran Ontario and Missouri, 1939-1970” (2018). Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository. 5678. https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/5678/?utm_source=ir.lib.uwo.ca%2Fetd%2F5678&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages.

⁹¹ Rev. Dr. Kenneth C. Kuhn, is a retired ELCIC pastor and sociologist, born in British Columbia and now living in Winnipeg. In his final year of seminary (Lutheran School of Theology-Maywood) he joined the march into Montgomery, Alabama on the final day of the historic Selma Civil Rights March, see <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/2-winnipeggers-just-realized-they-were-both-at-1965-selma-march-1.3004547>. Ken served Lutheran congregations in Alberta and British Columbia and as the campus pastor at the University of Alberta. He studied sociology there and taught as a sessional lecturer at Concordia Lutheran

University College in Edmonton, the University of Alberta, and the University of Winnipeg. He served in the national ELCIC office as the Executive Director of the Division for Church and Society, and Director of the Millennium Study of Pastoral Leadership Needs. He completed his pastoral service as a chaplain in the Correctional Service of Canada (written by Marcus Busch).

⁹² Karen Kuhnert notes that for background on this question generally, see

<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ms-st-louis>. For further study on how this may have connected with Canadian Lutherans, readers may wish to research Rev. Dr. Ulrich Leupold, President of the Lutheran Seminary at Waterloo, he was of Jewish descent by his mother. His Aunt's life was ended in Auschwitz. The young Dr. Leupold was an activist, and he became a graduate of the Confessing Church in Germany. Because of his heritage, Leupold was not legally able to be ordained in Germany and he moved to Canada via the United States and was ordained by the Canada Synod in 1939. Online reading of the *Consensus* article on Leupold by Dr. Paul Helmer (McGill) can be found at Helmer, Paul, "Ulrich Siegfried Leupold (1909-70)," *Consensus*, 34, no. 1, 2012, Article 2. Available at: <http://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol34/iss1/2>.

In his longer work, *Growing with Canada: The Émigré Tradition in Canadian Music*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 2009, Canadian Lutheran Paul Helmer, Associate Professor of Musicology at McGill, goes to lengths to describe Leupold's life and gifts in the contexts of his being a German-born Jewish Lutheran before World War II and his becoming a pastor and Dean of Waterloo Seminary in Canada. For additional insights Jennifer Ardon recommends *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* by Irving Abella. Helmer takes the work of Abella and Troper seriously, see p. 10 of *Growing with Canada* for an example.

⁹³ As written by Busch in the section "Labour Embargo of 1925" from Busch's larger research paper:

By powers given to the CPR in 1925, it was given authority by the government to recruit and select immigrants from the "non-preferred" countries of central, east, south, and southeast Europe. Thus, immigrants selected by the railway were included in the flow of transatlantic emigrants, unscreened by the immigration boards, including LIB. This meant that not all immigrants fit LIB's criteria for settlement. As settlement continued and farms filled up, the Department of Immigration and Colonization imposed an embargo on single farm workers from non-preferred countries. Schmok complained to Minister Robb in January 1926 that LIB's exemplary track record in placing new arrivals in western Canada, usually within 24 hours of disembarkation, should exempt LIB from the embargo. Schmok pointed out that the glut in the agricultural labour market was precipitated by the steamship companies affiliated with the CNR. While the Minister's final decision about exempting LIB from the embargo is not known, what is known is that his officials advised against it, claiming there was no need for more farm labour in the West. This point of view was supported by the premiers of the three prairie provinces.

As written by Busch in the section "Dealing with Government, Transportation Companies, and Internal Affairs" from Busch's original paper:

In 1975, Threinen recalled the following incident in LIB history to the 13th Archivists' and Historians' Conference. In the closing days of 1926, Western Branch manager Schmok left Winnipeg on a fact-finding trip to Europe. On Boxing Day, he stopped off in Ottawa and Montreal to confer with government and CPR officials. On 29 December, while in Montreal, he received a telegram from his Winnipeg office advising that the Canadian government had agreed to review their six-month commitment to cover the salary and expenses of LIB's European representative, Rev. T. Wedekind, payment of which was to begin three days hence (1 January 1927). Back to Ottawa he went on 30 December to lobby the government for more favourable terms. He succeeded only in getting assurance that the arrangement might be extended in the future. Returning to Montreal on the same day (30 December), Schmok encountered an issue involving the CNR's Department of Colonization's steamship partner, the North German Lloyd Steamship Company. A manager of North German Lloyd had approached Schmok in the fall of 1926 about LIB dealing directly with North German Lloyd. Schmok responded by saying that LIB would only deal with the colonization departments of the railways and had, in fact, already put an order in for CNR to transport 500 agricultural workers and 50 families from Germany. CNR had then arranged with North German Lloyd for the sea transport of this contingent. Schmok was met by Herr Kessemeier, the General Manager of North German Lloyd, who expressed the wish of his company that LIB deal directly with it in terms of LIB's "Cash and Credit" business. When Schmok indicated that the matter had been settled, Kessemeier threatened to organize a Christian Immigration Board comprising all the religious immigration boards. Schmok stated that he was not interested in joining such a board nor was he afraid of any organization that might be created, and that LIB would continue to function independently as it had since its formation in 1923. Unbeknownst to Schmok was that LIB's Eastern Branch had struck its own deal with North German Lloyd for

the transport of 65 agricultural labourers. It communicated this arrangement to LIB's European representative asking him to provide all assistance to North German Lloyd in fulfilling this contract. When Schmok learned of this arrangement, he rescinded the order, placing it instead through CNR which ultimately gave the order to North German Lloyd. LIB sorted the matter, resulting in Dr. Klaehn, chairman of the Eastern Branch, retracting his instructions to the European representative and committing to issuing orders only after they had been cleared with the Western Branch. In this way, and others, the Western Branch asserted its ultimate control over the entire LIB organization. Schmok was finally able to embark on the CPR steamship *Montclare* for the eight-day voyage to England, arriving there on 8 January 1927, where he consulted with officials of the CPR and CNR. Then he was off to Germany for meetings with LIB European representatives, CPR representatives for Germany, Poland, and Romania, agents of North German Lloyd, and German government officials who were less than enthusiastic about migration out of Germany. Another issue that reverberated through the LIB-government-railway web had to do with the perception the government had of the LIB-CPR relationship. Officials in the Department of Immigration and Colonization viewed LIB as acting as an agent of the CPR and therefore more interested in furthering transportation interests over immigration matters.

⁹⁴ Karen Kuhnert notes that for a basic online read on Immigration to Canada, see <https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/canadian-immigration-acts-and-legislation>. Jennifer Ardon recommends: *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* by Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebillock.

⁹⁵ As Grams points out, that as most of the leadership in the German agencies, LIB included, were clergy trained and ordained in Germany, there was some concern amongst members of this group that the North American-trained Lutheran clergy were not up to the task of ensuring this cultural transmission. **Karen Kuhnert** notes, that more information on the way different generations of German-Canadians understood their inclination to join in with Canadian society or maintain home-country comforts is dealt with in *Being German Canadian: History, Memory, Generations* by editor Alexander Freund a professor of History at the University of Winnipeg where Freund holds the Chair in German-Canadian Studies and was a founding director of the Oral History Centre. The Chapter in Freund's book by Elliott Worsfold, "Gatekeeping in the Lutheran Church: Ethnicity, Generation and Religion in 1960s Toronto" builds on Franca Iacovetta's work in the context of "Herr Pastor" versus Waterloo Lutheran Seminary intern insights in congregations in Toronto in the era of Otto Reble's leadership in Mission development. Otto Reble, son of John Reble, also went on to serve as President of the Eastern Canada Synod (the "Canada Synod"). See also, the H-Net Review at <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showpdf.php?id=56961> by Jan Raska of the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.

⁹⁶ This use of Synods means different kinds of Lutherans, not regional groupings of the same kind of Lutherans.

⁹⁷ Professor Walter August Baepler (1893–1958) served as executive secretary of LIB's Western Branch for six months in 1925. A Professor at Concordia College, Edmonton, he was granted leave by the College's Board of Control on the request of T. O. F. Herzer and Missouri Synod President Frederick Pfothner, to undertake a tour of Europe to assess conditions in England, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, and Germany. He also had responsibilities to appoint LIB representatives in these countries. In Canada, he set up the Western Branch's office in Winnipeg (Threinen, *Mosaic*, 119). Baepler continued to serve as LIB executive secretary after his return to the classroom (Threinen, "LIB," 74). Later in his career, Baepler was president of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (LCMS) from 1952 to 1956 and during the same time was president of Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, Illinois, from 1953 to 1958. He wrote a centennial history of the LCMS, entitled *A Century of Grace* (written by Marcus Busch).

⁹⁸ Reverend August Herman Eissfeldt was born in 1894 in Illinois to the Rev. Carl Eissfeldt and Anna Marie Schuricht. With Marie Alberta Shetterly, Eissfeldt had two sons (one a pastor) and two daughters. After education at Concordia College, Milwaukee, and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, his first charge was in Estuary, Saskatchewan. From 1919 to 1922, he was a travelling missionary in Saskatchewan, serving ten congregations (Moose Jaw, Corinne, Elbow, Tuqaske, Parkbeg, Morse, Verwood, Edgewood, Aquema, and Cadillac). In 1923 he was called to Holy Cross Lutheran in Winnipeg where he served until 1935, during which he taught parochial school and served a congregation in Transcona, Manitoba. At the same time, he was corresponding secretary of the Lutheran Immigration Board. After two more parishes in Saskatchewan, he was called to St Paul's Lutheran Church in Kitchener–Waterloo, Ontario, and served there from 1943 to 1964. He died in 1969 and was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery, Waterloo (from online obituary in family tree; written by Marcus Busch).

⁹⁹ As written by Busch in the section "A House Divided" from his original paper:

1927 saw an eruption of discontent in one of the partner churches—the Missouri Synod. The Missouri Synod’s Manitoba and Saskatchewan District convention of that year discussed the propriety of Missouri Synod involvement in the LIB. Apart from the issue of supporting the flow of immigrants into western Canada, it was felt by the majority, voting on a suite of related resolutions, “That we as a District not use the Lutheran Immigration Board” and “that those pastors of the District who are members of the Lutheran Immigration Board should leave the same.” Notwithstanding, the related resolutions were rescinded at the 1928 convention with the proviso that “the administration of the immigration work [be left] to the discretion of the Missions Commission.” In 1929 the District called Rev. John Emanuel Herzer, brother of T. O. F. Herzer, to serve as “immigrant missionary” out of Winnipeg. Rev. Herzer regarded the LIB as a useful organization supporting his work and soon became a member. Threinen, Norman J. 1982. *A Sower Went Out: A History of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan District of Lutheran Church – Canada* (Missouri Synod). Regina: Self-published, 2.

“Unionism” was the underlying issue. Unionism refers to uniting as one and projecting an image of unity when it does not exist. The concern was that the cooperation of Missouri Synod pastors with other Lutherans in immigration work through the LIB would promote the idea that the three German Lutheran churches in Canada were the same. Pastor Francis W. Wyatt of Luseland, Saskatchewan, in a 1929 letter, thrashed the Board of Immigrant Missions. Bringing immigrants from Europe “...and then turn[ing] them over to a synod that harbours teachers who say that the Holy Scriptures are not identical with the Word of God is not CHARITY—it is DECEPTION. All of our pastors who are participating in this work are either directly or indirectly telling people to go to such a synod. This is INDIFFERENCE” (Threinen, *A Sower Went Out*, 2). Despite the reversal in the direction of the 1927 vote, the spectre of unionism continued to haunt the Missouri Synod’s perceptions of LIB. This led to the Missouri Synod directors on LIB’s board state their intention to work to remove the “bad features” of the LIB and to withdraw from the organization, which they ultimately did at the close of the decade. (Threinen, “LIB,” 79)

¹⁰⁰ “Unionism” and the link to “Inerrancy of Scripture” is addressed in the first webinar of this Webinar Series.

¹⁰¹ See Jorgensen-Skakum’s Endnote on Whiteness, and see also Kuhnert (Acknowledging Webinar I Endnote on the perspective of KAIROS Indigenous Rights Elders referencing the term “Settler.”

¹⁰² Karen Kuhnert notes, that while there was no mention of women in leadership roles in the LIB literature read by Busch, the stories of women in Lutheran Immigration and support for Refugees can be recovered by looking at other source materials. See, for example, “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Coastal Compassion, *A Propositional History*,” in this Issue (look specifically at the Endnote citations for how to find the participation of women.) In this Article, researchers will find a trail from the original Nidaros and Mount Zion Scandinavian Lutheran Immigrants to later support for CLWR’s work with the peoples in El Salvador, as well as support for B. C. First Nations and Northern LAMP missions. Note also the connection between these Lutheran Immigrant women and Canadian Lutheran Foreign Missionaries like Brian Rude (in El Salvador as in the article “Remembering Our Legacy in Global Missions and World Service” and “Coastal Compassion”) and Daniel Nelson (as a Missionary to China) and Yuk Klong Chong (as a missionary to Canada for the relocated Northern Chinese to North Borneo Basel Hakka Mission in Canada), in this issue in “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Coastal Compassion, *A Propositional History* Webinar II.”

¹⁰³ Responding to questions and comments in the CHAT about “women in leadership roles,” Karen Kuhnert noted in the CHAT that there are stories of female Immigration Workers and Immigrant women and children in the Laurier Archives for research and development (though these may not link to LIB directly). Two substantial (but manageable) resources are available: first, the Minutes of the Canada Synod/Eastern Canada Synod/Eastern Synod include yearly data that includes immigration statistics and budget figures as well as convention reports from CLWR (and documentation on the founding of CLWR), and second, the Canada Synod’s *Canada Lutheran* publication included considerable Social History content—including photos of those who arrived as well as those who served them in the East, and including some immigrants moving “out West.” Substantial information is available, for example, on Katrine Petersens. There are reports and articles written by her and about her. The Latvian born multilingual Petersens was herself a Displaced Person and her skills as a Port Worker—fluent in 1951—in English, German, Latvian, Russian, Polish and French is on record. Her picture hangs in rotation in the Canadian Immigration Museum at Pier 21. Cronmiller, writing in *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada* (1961) on “Immigration” in the East references front line workers. Following Cronmiller’s writing about the 1925–1941 work of Dr. O. C. D. Klaehn and the Inner Mission Board of the ULCA (with an office in Montreal called in later times the “Referral Centre,” he notes that after the death of President Klaehn, the Rev. S. M. Friedrichsen reopened the

immigrant work in Montreal, April 1, 1948, “Where he rendered a splendid service for the next three years. He gave special attention to the personnel of the nine refugee ships which landed in Halifax from Sweden...” And Cronmiller recalls Friedrichsen’s words about the service done by his wife, “My dear wife prepared countless meals and lunches for the unfortunates.” He continues, “In 1951, Miss K. Petersons took over the work in Montreal. She had previously been the Lutheran immigrant representative at Halifax. Mrs. Edith Pauley took her place in Halifax, and later became the immigrant representative in Toronto”, Cronmiller, 231-232. See also Roy Grosz on “Referral Centre” in *Mission and Merger: Wheels of Change—A History of the Eastern Canada Synod*, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada, Eastern Synod, 1989, 190.

¹⁰⁴ Karen Kuhnert notes that information on Scandinavian Lutheran Immigration specifically can be found in the ELCIC Archives at Wilfrid Laurier University, and points to the nine refugee ships which landed in Halifax from Sweden as attended by Friedrichsen in the Endnote above. Additionally, Laurier Archives holds the collections not just for the ELCIC, but for the ELCIC and predecessor churches so information on “Augustana” and “Norwegian” Lutherans will also be found in Waterloo. Finally, provincial archives sometimes organize their content by faith traditions. For example, the Provincial Archives in Alberta (PAA) is currently digitizing online access to the records of the “Evangelical Lutheran Church,” meaning the ELCIC and predecessors (meaning the ELCC and LCA and also their predecessors) and the collections include terms like “Synod of Alberta and The Territories,” and also “Augustana Synod,” “Icelandic Synod,” “Norwegian Lutheran Church of America,” “American Lutheran Church” etc. From correspondence in July, 2023, PAA shows 133 pages of collection notes that will soon be placed in the Access to Memory (AtoM) system. Information on Scandinavian Immigration generally can be found through both Pier 21 and the National Library and Archives. General source material for understanding Scandinavian migration to Canada can be found online through the *Canadian Encyclopedia Online* as exemplified by this article on “Swedish Canadians” at <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/swedes>. The updated version of Troper’s original article on Immigration to Canada is at <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/immigration>.

¹⁰⁵ Karen Kuhnert notes, for more on the impact of the Scandinavian migration, see E. Theodore Bachmann in *The United Lutheran Church in America, 1918–1962*, Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 55ff. Bachmann calls this the “first of three blows” that brought down the continental General Synod by schism. The second blow was the removal of the Southern States and the third was the removal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium which created the rival continental General Council. Bachmann’s Chapter 3: Schisms and Reunion, 1861–1918 is about these blows and the reunion in 1918 of the re-formed former General Synod as the ULCA. The “Manitoba Synod” of the General Council was created during the schism. For more on recovering first person voices in stories written by Lutheran lay-leaders, see the Propositional History Article in this Issue called “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief For the Sake of the Gospel: Relationships: Coastal Compassion” from Webinar II. In this writing several Scandinavian lay-leaders share their versions of Lutheran settlement.

¹⁰⁶ Karen Kuhnert notes that at Laurier Archives, information on Displaced Persons can be found in Church Records as well as publications such as the Canada Synod/Eastern Canada Synod’s *Canada Lutheran*, as well as in the Fonds of Canadian Lutheran World Relief. Information on Displaced Persons or “DPs” can be found in the Dissertation by Elliott Worsfold previously cited.

¹⁰⁷ For clarification on the Rev. Ernest Hahn that the question referred to, see his story at <https://www.henrywalsers.com/memorials/ernest-hahn/4812544/> as accessed June 28, 2023.

¹⁰⁸ Jennifer Ardon, in response to post-webinar inquiries, has provided some additional clarification of terms. When referring to *post-war refugees from Europe*, the term commonly used was DPs (displaced persons). The term “refugee” was mostly used after the creation of The United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951). “The Convention” as it is sometimes referred to, provided the legal framework for designating refugee status. The term “IRO” stands for International Refugee Organization (founded in 1946). The IRO was a precursor to the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees founded in 1950). The term “IOM” stands for International Organization for Migration (founded in 1951). The IOM was established to help the transportation of refugees to their resettlement countries.

¹⁰⁹ Karen Kuhnert noted in the CHAT that numerous Oral History accounts of passengers on the Beaverbrae (and connected to CLWR) can be found online through the work of Ambrose University Student Researchers and Professor of History Kyle Jantzen. Jantzen is among the Canadian Scholars interested in further research on Canadian Lutheran Immigration History, see <https://publichistory.ambrose.edu/refugee-stories-project/project-description/>. Interviews currently posted (posted with consent and Ethics Oversight) include the stories of Ingrid

Black, Emmy Fercho, Elke Harinck, Helene Hein, Sigi Hermann, Getraude Rose, and Walter Wagner. Additional Oral Histories are still in process.

¹¹⁰ Excellent videos on CLWR, particularly from the 75th Anniversary celebrations can be found on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/@CLWRvideo>.

¹¹¹ <https://www.clwr.org/refugee-resettlement/refugee-history>. Printed in Consensus with permission.