Canadian Mennonites and Citizen Activism, 1970-2000

Laureen Harder-Gissing, *Conrad Grebel University College*

In 1984, just before Christmas, Fred Snyder went to the Sears department store in Kitchener, Ontario and bought out their stock of G.I. Joe action figures on his credit card. After Christmas he returned the toys, explaining his concern about their influence on young children. Sears was obligated to return the figurines to the manufacturer. Fred expressed his wish that if a thousand Mennonites with credit cards would each buy $1,000 worth of G.I. Joes, these "war toys" would no longer be profitable in Canada.[1]

Historical narratives of Canadian Mennonites, peace, justice and activism since 1970 tend towards broad overviews or organizational perspectives.[2] These often miss the stories of "ordinary" Canadian Mennonites, such as Snyder, who sometimes worked in concert with Mennonite organizations, sometimes took contrary positions, and occasionally struck out in new directions where the mainstream organizations did not, or could not, follow. While the overall numbers of citizen activists in Mennonite circles may not have been large, their experiences were clearly meaningful expressions of faith and sources of identity. One woman said that her congregation's peace and justice group has "been salvation to me, it's been the church" for her in those years.[3]

This paper proposes that there is more historical work to be done in order to understand the relationships of Canadian Mennonites to activism in the last three decades of the twentieth century.[4] As Rachel Walter Goossen has written, if we want to avoid either

sentimentalizing or caricaturing our forbearers' "peace commitments, quandaries and lived experiences" we need to delve deeper into their stories. [5] In order to locate the stories of Canadian Mennonite citizen activists, this paper examines archival sources which allow us to attend the meetings of congregational peace groups and coalitions of various kinds, accompany Canadian Mennonites on marches and delegations, observe the increased place of activism in home and daily life, consider conservative and modern Mennonite perspectives, and hear the voices of individuals advocating controversial causes.

Kathy Shantz Good, who itinerated across Canada on behalf of the Mennonite Bicentennial Commission in the mid-1980s, observed in her final report that the "most polarization and the deepest entrenchment of views" among Canadian Mennonites was in respect to the historic peace witness.[6] Her description of the widening understandings of peace, justice and activism among Canadian Mennonites resonates across the period between 1970 and 2000. Some Mennonites maintained the traditional stance of nonresistance, while others moved to embrace social issues or economic justice. Historians have documented the move from "quietism to activism" in the 1960s as Mennonite organizations moved from advocating for conscientious objector status to advocating on a range of peace issues.[7] But at the level of congregations, individuals and smaller groups this progression (if it can be so called) is not as straightforward. The themes that follow identify possibilities for the further historical study of grassroots Canadian Mennonite citizen activism.

Congregations and Generations

Some Mennonites discovered activism through Sunday school. In the 1970s, Christian education in modern Mennonite groups[8] began to be conceptualized as a life-long, experienced-based process. Adult Sunday schools became more oriented towards current issues and less dependent on prepared curricula.[9] In 1979, Valleyview Mennonite Church in London, Ontario began a Sunday school series on the Bible and peacemaking which led to the formation of an ongoing peace group attracting people from the wider community. In 1983, Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church in Kitchener started a class called "Read, Share and Act." The format and structure of the class provided an alternative setting for church members to educate each other on issues of concern and determine how they might respond. As at Valleyview, a spinoff group started

meeting separately and drew in people from the community.[10] A long-time Stirling member recalls the novelty and energy of those twice-monthly gatherings:

> When we actually began to act on some things, *wow*! Every issue we tackled, I just got more enthused, in fact, I could hardly let it go in those early years…. We wanted to have as much time as possible, so we would start at [six] o'clock and go as long as people could handle it. Social issues have always interested me…but I was never with a group that I felt I could connect with on any issues.[11]

Several people joined Stirling because their discovery of Mennonite peace theology filled a gap they had experienced in secular peace movements or in other denominations. One newcomer recalls:

> Though I knew nothing about Mennonites other than that they raised barns and wore black, I ended up living at Conrad Grebel College…. But by the end of orientation week, I felt springtime in my soul. Not only did I meet others who had struggled with the questions I struggled with, but they had an entire theology worked out around pacifism, lived what they believed and even found it practical.[12]

Stirling Avenue became the first Mennonite congregation in Canada to create a peace centre within a congregation (1987). While building on the energy of new members, the centre also had the support of the previous generation of Second World War conscientious objectors (COs) in the congregation.

In Ontario, an Association of Conscientious Objectors held periodic reunions since the 1950s. In the 1980s this group decided to go beyond social gatherings to reach out deliberately to the next generation of young people. The 1982 reunion, characterized as a peace rally, featured female youth pastor Sue Steiner speaking on "Finding the Cracks in the Walls of Missiles." In 1986 the Association planning committee encouraged its membership to continue the CO legacy by supporting the newly formed Christian Peacemaker Teams, and in 1990 they cooperated with Mennonite Central Committee Ontario and Rogers Cable TV to produce a documentary called *The Different Path*. Several former COs and other men and women of the same generation formed "Seniors for Peace" groups across North America in the 1980s to address current peace issues.[13]

Nonviolence, Evangelism, or "Peace Revival?"

While organizing their last event in 1991, the Association of Conscientious Objectors asked the speaker to give a Biblically-based presentation, fearing that "many of our youth (and not so young) endorse peace positions that are unrelated to the teachings of the Bible."[14] The importance of cultivating a Biblically-based peace witness was noted by other Mennonite peace groups such as Charleswood Mennonite Church's proposed (but not implemented) Christian Peacemaker Team. Its founding document resolved to "seek God's direction through biblical study, reflection and prayer." The proposal elaborated: "Peacemaking is first of all the work of God. It requires the nurture of the Spirit of God within ourselves. It recognizes our own complicity in violence and oppression. Peacemaking calls us to repentance."[15]

The intentional marriage of the languages of peacemaking and evangelism was not entirely new. In the 1960s and 1970s, the language of "witnessing to the state" was deliberately used to bridge the gap between traditional and activist Mennonite understandings when Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) opened offices in Washington, D.C. and Ottawa. As Driedger and Kraybill observe, mission language "legitimated the efforts of the activists with some conservatives and also reminded the activists that they were not merely playing political games but were indeed religious envoys."[16]

As the decades progressed, this gap persisted. In 1986, MCC Canada's co-directors of Peace and Social Concerns, Peter and Leona Penner, itinerated through Alberta and Ontario preaching a message of the synergies between peace and evangelism to Mennonite Brethren, Mennonite, and Brethren in Christ churches. They reported warm receptions, and remarked that in some Ontario communities their events were the first time pastors of different Mennonite denominations had met together.[17]

In 1992, the mission and service board of First Mennonite Church in Kitchener decided to build on their tradition of twice yearly evangelistic meetings by tackling the "false dichotomy between evangelism and peace/justice work." They brought together pastors and lay leaders of Anabaptist churches in Waterloo Region to plan a "discipleship revival" weekend. Planning meetings were an opportunity for the group to reflect on their roles as leaders in congregations with diverse views. "What do we all have in common?" they wondered, "Can Jesus draw us out of the corners?" After the revival, held in February 1993, the group debriefed on what they felt was mixed results in bringing evangelism and social

justice together in the midst of a "culture of accumulation and self-interest."[18]

Conservative Mennonite groups, by comparison, continued to prefer the language of Biblical nonresistance over the language of peace witness.[19] In a letter to the Minister of National Defence in 1990, Conservative Mennonite Conference leaders described their position as distinct from peace activism:

> We believe there is a distinct difference between Biblical non-resistance and the present day pacifism that engages in marches and demonstrations which place public pressure on the Government to change its policies.... [We] acknowledge that the state, under God's mandate for it...has the right and duty to maintain law and order in society, and therefore must at times use forceful coercion. We believe that the Christian should not resist such action by the constituted authority, but that we can have no part in inflicting it.[20]

This stance did not prevent conservative groups from advocating forcefully, even to the point of civil disobedience, against government policies and regulations that they read as threatening to their communities. One of the thorniest issues for Old Order Mennonites, Old Order Amish, and Hutterites beginning in the late 1960s was their refusal to participate in the Canada Pension Plan (CPP). These groups did not wish to accept government money preferring to continue the tradition of looking after their own elders, while the Canadian government insisted that the plan be universal. Before the matter was resolved (by allowing an exemption for self-employment) some groups refused to submit their required CPP payments. These groups actively enlisted the help of the Kitchener Chamber of Commerce and Mennonite Central Committee Ontario and had sympathetic press coverage. Yet in order to avoid advising the government directly, Amish community leader Joseph Stoll insisted "We are not the ones who are required to find a solution. We feel that is the Government's problem. Our responsibility is to present the church's viewpoint and to bring our witness consistently into line with our profession."[21]

Twenty years later in 1994, Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites objected to Ontario's Farmer Registration Act which required all farmers to register and be assessed a fee to support voluntary, independent farm organizations. Minutes and correspondence in the files of MCC Ontario reveal the distinct edges that these communities continued to draw around their interactions with government, along with their willingness to defy regulations that clashed with their beliefs. One leader noted that maintaining the boundaries was now more difficult because public

consultation had become an increasingly integral part of governments' decision-making processes:

> Since [the] war years and the CPP issue it seems governments' attitudes have changed. Instead of forcing new issues on us, they seem to be willing to contact us first. Where does this different government approach leave us? How much do we respond to governments' invitations for suggestions, if we don't want to be telling government what to do?"[22]

While conservative Mennonite communities define themselves against activism, their efforts to maintain their faith and culture require, as Royden Loewen observes, "constant negotiation and perpetual contestation." They may not align themselves with other anti-modern protest movements, though their way of life is nonetheless an "implicit critique" of modern societies.[23] While they have sought exemptions for their communities alone, their actions have had the ripple effect of challenging public institutions and policies – an effect normally associated with the goals of activism.[24]

Individual Activists

For modern Mennonites in the 1970s discovering "modern understandings and assertive presentations of the self," individual activism became more common.[25] These individual activists stand out from earlier eras. Perhaps the disintegration of Mennonite nonconformity practices in modern Mennonite communities, the increased opportunities for travel, professionalism and education as well as the influence of non-Mennonite citizen activists encouraged more Mennonites to pursue individual initiatives.

In the minutes of MCC Ontario's Peace and Social Concerns Committee, we find numerous examples of individual acts. In 1973, John and Ann Kampen circulated a letter to Mennonite church leaders in the Kitchener area expressing their concerns with labour practices at a local food processing plant. An unnamed Ontario Mennonite in 1980 called President Jimmy Carter to express concern for both the Iranian people, who were experiencing a food boycott, and the families of the American hostages held in Iran. In 1987, Roger Baer wanted to start what today might be called a "citizen science" project to measure the radioactivity content of food, water and soil in Ontario. Baer proposed to enlist Mennonites as volunteers to help organize the project and collect samples.[26]

Other examples include Hedy Sawadsky, an MCC worker, who deliberately lived below the taxable level and participated in vigils

at nuclear weapons facilities in the United States. Fred Snyder, a Second World War veteran, was transformed into a peace activist by a visit to Koinonia Farm in Georgia, an intentional Christian community. Fred and his wife Lorraine became "tax objectors," diverting the portion of their taxes that pays for the military to Conscience Canada's peace trust fund. Lorraine Snyder took part in a demonstration in Ottawa opposing military training flights over Innu land in 1990. This self-described "white haired Kitchener grandmother" was arrested and detained for six hours. Mother Kathryn Flannery made national headlines in 1994 when she objected to the level of violence in the children's show *Mighty Morphin' Power Rangers* and led a campaign that resulted in the Global Television Network editing out some of the more violent scenes. Ron Lentz was fired from his job at a Toronto hospital for having AIDS, but was later reinstated through a precedent setting legal challenge. In 1987, shortly before his death, he cofounded the Toronto AIDS Drop In Centre, which he described as "applied Mennonite barnraising."[27]

Family, Consumerism, and Taxes

Another significant change for the Mennonite peace tradition was the movement of peace issues into the domestic sphere. During the 1940s, Mennonite women mostly played supporting roles for conscientious objector sons and husbands, while the 1970s offered Mennonite women and men chances to exercise their peace positions in daily life. In this sense, modern Canadian Mennonites were participating in a "rising tide" in which peace activism "inserted itself into the social and cultural life of Canadians in new and different ways."[28]

The fantastic success of the economic justice oriented *More-With-Less Cookbook*, first published in 1976, was followed by a book called *Living More with Less* and its accompanying study and action guide. More-with-Less workshops were held in congregations. The Mennonite relief sales caught the attention of some in this movement, who questioned the ethics of these events that seemed to urge people to eat more, not less.[29] Herald Press marketed these books with related titles such as *Add Justice to Your Shopping List: A Guide for Reshaping Food Buying Habits* (1986).

Parenting for Peace and Justice (1981) was another popular book. American parents Jim and Kathy McGinnis documented their attempts to integrate peacemaking into family life. The book received a boost when the authors appeared on the popular Phil

Donahue talk show in 1983. They began an interfaith Parenting for Peace and Justice Network which provided resources, workshops and training. In 1986, ten Mennonites from Canada attended the Network's leadership training. The same year, more than one hundred adults and children attended a "Parenting for Peace" seminar in Winnipeg. In addition to family activities, the adults discussed such topics as building peace through play, dealing with nuclear fear, the global family and media and peace values. Mennonite and Brethren in Christ congregations in Waterloo Region joined together to present a similar seminar in 1992 with topics such as concern for the earth, interracial reconciliation, and conflict resolution in the home. [30]

The issue of "war toys" captured significant Canadian Mennonite attention in the 1980s and 90s, as the story of Fred Snyder that opens this paper illustrates. In 1985, MCC Manitoba issued a bulletin insert warning of militaristic toys marketed to children. About the same time, the Kitchener-Waterloo Alternative Toys Campaign was formed. This group organized a contest for children to draw their favourite nonviolent toys. They distributed flyers at the Santa Claus parade and at a local toy store on International War Toys Boycott Day. In 1993, possibly acting on a suggestion from Christian Peacemaker Teams, some Winnipeg churches asked children to bring in their war toys and violent video games to be destroyed. Children were then given non-violent toys as replacements.[31] Ontario Women in Mission (OWIM) took up the cause in April 1989 with the following resolution:

> [T]hat we will begin a process of reversing this crude and thoughtless 'militarization' of our children by promoting the establishment of War Toy Free Zones in our homes and communities, so that children will have the opportunity to explore the many kinds of constructive play that are presently displaced by violent entertainment and be it resolved that we encourage the women's organizations in our congregations to write a letter to Canadian War Toy Manufacturers expressing strongly our concern about war toys and encouraging manufacturers to produce toys which encourage creative and constructive play.[32]

OWIM issued an open letter to parents, which declared "peacemaking starts at home" and called for a boycott of war toys.[33] In November 1989, Robinsons department store announced it was removing war toys from its Ontario locations. The toy buyer for the chain was quoted as saying this would appeal to customers who tend to be upper-middle class and more likely to be educated and aware of social issues. Although he went on to say that the efforts of lobby groups were not a factor in the decision, OWIM

president Ruth Klassen took this as a win. "So often it is the women who do the purchasing" she wrote, "[w]e have a tremendous ability to make a statement."[34]

The embrace of war toy campaigns by Mennonites and the willingness of Mennonite organizations to devote time and resources to them mirror the popularity of similar campaigns in the wider Canadian society. Braden Hutchinson describes how the group Voice of Women latched on to the idea of a war toys campaign as a form of activism that could motivate both members and the wider public "through everyday activities that required only limited ideological conformity."[35]

Mennonites were also considering how their tax money funded real military action. This issue was studied at the North American church conference level as far back as 1959. In 1975, Canadian Cornelia Lehn requested that her employer, the General Conference Mennonite Church, discontinue forwarding to the government the portion of her taxes that would contribute to military spending. Two large Mennonite conferences passed resolutions in support of war tax objectors (the Mennonite Church in 1979 and the General Conference Mennonite Church in 1983).[36]

In 1979, Quaker Edith Adamson, a grandmother in Victoria, British Columbia, founded the Peace Tax Fund that later became Conscience Canada. The cause got a boost when in 1981, outspoken retired senator Eugene Forsey and six members of parliament signed a letter that was widely published in Canadian newspapers. The letter argued: "In times of military conscription, exemption from service in the military can be claimed on grounds of conscience, and alternate service is approved. It should be equally possible to claim exemption from paying for war preparation, and an alternative provided." The letter encouraged interested supporters to contact the Peace Tax Fund. Adamson received eighty-five letters in the month or so after publication, included one signed by seventeen people from Eyebrow Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan. John R. Dyck, an MCC administrator from Saskatchewan, was also an early supporter of the movement. His actions resulted in legal difficulties and "at times a lack of understanding among his own people."[37] Other Mennonites of similar conviction have since served on the Conscience Canada board.

The idea continued to simmer through the 1980s and 1990s as awareness events were held and the occasional employee of a church organization, including a few pastors, declared their desire to be a tax resister. In 1986 MCC Canada stated that while not in a position to directly support tax resistance, it would look to "grassroots groups" to take action on the issue. In 1990 Fred W. Martin, a

Mennonite Church Eastern Canada (MCEC) employee, requested that MCEC not withhold the military portion of his taxes. The following year MCEC delegates to the annual meeting approved a resolution to "work with the federal government to enact legislation which recognizes conscientious objection to military service and the payment of military taxes and to provide peaceful alternatives."[38] Martin recalls a higher level of comfort among the delegates with resolving to work for the legislated creation of a peace tax fund than encouraging civil disobedience through individual tax resistance.[39]

Over the next two years, MCEC constituency members were active in learning about the issue and lobbying government. In 1990, Dr. Jerilynn Prior, a Quaker, appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada on the grounds that paying military taxes violated her conscience. The court refused to hear her appeal. In 1991, Conscience Canada requested that the UN Human Rights Commission consider her case, but this too was denied. By 1997, the failure of legal challenges and attempts to put bills before parliament seemed to take some momentum out of the issue for Mennonites in Canada. [40]

Agriculture, the Environment, and Recycling

Agricultural and environmental issues increased in importance and complexity for Canadian Mennonites after 1970. Mennonites were migrating to the cities and suburbs. Urban sprawl and other invasions of the rural landscape were concerning for rural Mennonites. The growing distance between farm producers and consumers regarding attitudes to food created misperceptions. The farm debt crisis of the early 1980s required both pastoral care and economic responses.[41] Some Mennonites, such as farmer and pastor Lawrence E. Burkholder, expressed impatience that Mennonites were not responding adequately to the larger economic and systemic forces in play:

> Mennonites have learned to lobby government for humanitarian concerns.... The time has arrived for Mennonites to place before the nation's politicians proposals for aiding Canadians who are in need. It would be ironic indeed if those whose centuries-old heritage has been agrarian and burden-sharing were to be confronted by a fundamental challenge to both of those values and not act.[42]

In 1989, Ontario hog farmer Clare Schlegel wrote with a similar urgency in the *Mennonite Reporter*:

> Why doesn't the church take a leading role in…the fight for the survival of our home, Planet Earth? It appears that our churches are again renewing their interest…. But is this because these issues are now important to the average citizen of Canada and even to the politicians?[43]

At a MCC Ontario environment consultation in 1991 participants shared this frustration, noting that many conference resolutions, seminars, retreats, studies, and educational resources had been produced by Mennonites in the past two decades, but the message was "not getting through either on the theological level or practical level."[44]

One exception to this inertia was the Mennonite enthusiasm for recycling. In 1976, a group organized by MCC Ontario began a series of recycling drives in Kitchener. In her announcement in the *Mennonite Reporter*, organizer Joyce Gingrich noted "the success of the project is entirely up to you." The first event was successful, and the second drive held later that year involved thirty-two Mennonite congregations, twelve truckloads of recyclable materials, and about thirty-five volunteers.[45] A similar project began in St. Catharines. Milkman Peter Wiebe had been collecting separated household garbage on his route in Niagara-on-the-Lake for three years. In 1979, he began organizing drives at local United Mennonite churches. By 1984, he estimated they had diverted a million pounds of garbage from the landfill.[46]

In addition to diverting usable products from landfill, these experimental projects hoped to educate consumers to reduce waste and encourage municipalities to become involved in large-scale recycling. In 1983 Kitchener-Waterloo became the first community in Canada to implement regular curbside recycling pickup, followed by St. Catharines in 1987. Other projects with Mennonite involvement followed in Edmonton, Winnipeg and southern Manitoba.[47]

Something about the synergy between traditional habits of thriftiness and caring for God's creation caught the imagination of some Mennonites. Mennonite thrift stores proudly promoted their environmentally-friendly credentials. Bothered by seeing plastic bags blowing around her local landfill, Rhoda Rempel of Fort Garry Mennonite Fellowship created a nylon "Ecobag" which proved a popular fundraiser for MCC. Two sisters in Manitoba were known for their radical thriftiness: LaVerna Klippenstein and Helen Eidse preferred to support the Canadian Foodgrains Bank or mission projects rather than buy new clothes. Eidse took her own bags to the grocery store – a concept so foreign at the time that occasionally clerks would refuse to pack her bags.[48]

Abortion

The issue of abortion ignited for Mennonites and Canadians generally in 1988, when the Supreme Court eliminated hospital boards placing the decision to end a pregnancy with a woman and her doctor. At a Canadian Women in Mission executive meeting that year, Conference of Mennonites in Canada chair Walter Franz encouraged the group to approach the issue "from a Christian perspective, rather than aligning ourselves with Pro-Life and other protest organizations."[49]

The Mennonite position on abortion had been debated by Mennonite conferences in the 1970s and 1980s resulting in the issuance of several conference position statements. In 1982, MCC Canada produced a pamphlet called *The Problem of Abortion: A Service Response*, which built on these conference statements. The pamphlet steered away from activism towards a response of offering practical help to women considering abortion, with the hope that they would choose to carry their babies to term. The pamphlet specifically mentioned the Pregnancy Distress Service in Manitoba where MCC had placed volunteers for some years.[50]

This issue particularly captured the interest of Mennonite Brethren churches in British Columbia, where some churches supported group homes for women carrying babies to term. A ministry of support to single mothers and their children called Open Door began in Vancouver. Its founder, Elvera Corben, was supported in part by MCC's Local Voluntary Service program. Mennonite and Mennonite Brethren women in other British Columbia communities also organized local Open Door groups.[51]

While one pastor said that abortion is simply not discussed in some British Columbia churches because the confrontation is too uncomfortable, others took activist stances. Fraserview Mennonite Brethren Church encouraged pro-life advocates to seek positions on the local hospital board. Some participated in letter writing campaigns while others took up civil disobedience by joining a blockade at a women's health centre in Vancouver. Barbara Armstrong, a member of the Richmond Bethel Mennonite Brethren Church, described her experience in the *MB Herald*:

> We espoused no violence; we sang hymns and choruses of praise and prayed often for the babies, their mothers, the clinic staff, the authorities, ourselves. When the police came, we listened respectfully, but we could not co-operate with them when they wanted us to move. To move would allow the abortuary to open….[52]

Armstrong was sentenced to sixty days in prison for her part in the protest. She describes the reaction of churches and families to the group's actions: "[Some] were confused as to how to respond to us. Some avoided us and the issue; some offered prayer support; some asked questions, some disapproved and told us; some disapproved and left it to someone else to tell us." Armstrong wrote that she too had tried letter writing and other legal means of protest but had seen no results. She pointed out that MCC was willing to support blockades for Indigenous land claims, and that her work too was peacemaking – for babies, their mothers and society. Another protester observed that their "radical stance is perceived as militant and therefore an embarrassment to a Mennonite community whose core of faith is pacifism and non-political action."[53]

Overall, Canadian Mennonite uptake of the "service response" seems to have been muted. After lengthy discussions, MCC Ontario did not place workers in pregnancy crisis centres as originally planned.[54] Despite outreach by MCC Canada in the late 1980s, Canadian Mennonite churches did not seem inclined to increase their involvement in voluntary service efforts around this issue.[55]

Interposition and Solidarity

In the 1980s, Mennonites participated in grassroots interventions ranging from placing themselves between conflicting parties (interposition) to supporting local people in their efforts to halt violence (solidarity). Although grassroots nonviolent interventions have a longer history, they began to grow in popularity in the mid-1980s.[56]

"Witness for Peace" began in 1983 with one hundred and fifty U.S. Christians conducting a peace vigil in Nicaragua to protest the U.S. supported invasion. Nicaraguan Christians requested that they continue. A permanent vigil, involving rotating groups of volunteers, was organized on the Nicaragua-Honduras border. MCC determined it could not officially take part lest its people and programs in Central America be jeopardized and the level of individual risk-taking prove too high. However, it did encourage its constituency to support Witness for Peace. The first Canadian delegation was organized out of Kitchener in 1985. Potential volunteers were told they needed to be "comfortable with a biblical faith-based approach in personal and group life, willing to offer their talents and strength to the victims of the war, and committed to nonviolence." Upon their return, participants were asked to counteract media distortions and political partisanship regarding

the situation in Nicaragua, raise public awareness and speak to government. The potential danger of the situation was illustrated by the fact that a few weeks before the departure of this first delegation, one of the villages they intended to visit was attacked by CIA-backed forces resulting in the killing of fourteen civilians and the kidnapping of thirty.[57]

Being part of these delegations left indelible marks on many participants. An Ontario farmer told an audience in Waterloo: "I experienced a conversion. Now, making my farm successful and providing a good life for my family isn't so important anymore. I don't know anymore what I'll do."[58]

Options for interposition and solidarity were brought home for Canadian Mennonites participating in the activities of Christian Peacemaker Teams in Canada. CPT's Canadian activities can be traced back to an inter-Mennonite consultation called "The Innu Crisis and the Call of Christ" held in Ottawa in February 1990. One hundred participants heard from Innu leaders about the effects of low level military flights over their territory; the event concluded with a prayer vigil on the steps of the Department of National Defence.[59]

A few months later, the Oka crisis erupted in Quebec. At the request of Mohawks to CPT, local Mennonites acted as observers to the standoff. Eight people from the Mennonite Fellowship of Montreal spent Labour Day observing police activity near Oka as part of a United Church effort to show support. Some Mennonites attended an ecumenical worship service at a public park nearby. On September 5, about ten people from the Fellowship drove to a barricade to "exchange songs and prayers with local Natives, as arranged earlier." A group of 40-50 white vigilantes "was restlessly patrolling the area." They moved back to their cars to sing and pray but were drowned out by the angry crowd. Deborah Martin-Koop observed: "We felt the presence of evil there…. There was an awful lot of tension." The Mennonites left when asked to by the Canadian army. For CPT, the lesson learned was that it may have been better to have trained CPTers on site rather than "local church people who had brought children and picnic baskets."[60]

The Mennonite Brethren congregation in nearby St. Eustache experienced the crisis differently. In an interview in the *Mennonite Reporter*, Pastor Jean-Victor Brousseu noted that his congregation included French Canadians from Oka, and thus was trying not to take sides. While he recognized the rights of the Mohawks to make claims and praised the work of MCC, he also expressed concern that MCC has taken the Mohawk side too strongly. This proximity to a societal crisis was a new experience

for his evangelical congregation, and a challenge "to get involved to promote the kingdom of God." However, he also noted that his formerly Catholic congregants were reluctant to take part in ecumenical prayer meetings.[61]

Through the 1990s, Canadian Mennonites found themselves in proximity to Indigenous rights issues very close to home. In Saskatchewan, Mennonites settlers near Laird had been beneficiaries of land taken from the Young Chippewayan Band by the Canadian government in 1876. The band began seeking a settlement in 1976, and engaged with Mennonites and Lutherans in the area to find an equitable solution. In Ontario, the killing of Indigenous protestor Dudley George by a member of the Ontario Provincial Police in 1995 was a crisis that elicited responses from local Mennonites. Members of Valleyview, Zurich and Nairn Mennonite churches attended church services on the Kettle and Stony Point reserve, and courthouse hearings for members of the Stony Point First Nation charged in the Ipperwash Provincial Park occupation. A group from Zurich participated in a quilting bee organized by Dudley George's sister as well as other gatherings of support. Eighteen Mennonites and other Christians attended a "peace witness" workshop at Zurich sponsored by MCC Ontario with the aim of being available as observers should conflict at Ipperwash escalate again.[62]

Some churches began to consider their buildings as sites of activism. In 1982, a Presbyterian church in Arizona became the first American church to declare themselves a sanctuary for refugees. The congregation took in Central American refugees, citing Leviticus for declaring their sanctuary as a safe haven for people fleeing violence. The movement spread, coinciding with the displacement of millions in war-torn Guatemala and El Salvador, and by 1984 included three thousand sanctuary groups in thirty-four states. Among these were seventy-five Mennonite and Brethren in Christ congregations. As the vast majority of refugees from Central America were denied asylum in the United States, American Mennonite churches became part of the "overground railroad" assisting refugees attempting to make claims in Canada.[63]

Sanctuary in Canada has been described as less of a movement than a scattered collection of local incidents. Of thirty-six incidents of sanctuary that have been identified between 1983-2003, most were undertaken by United, Catholic or Anglican churches.[64] A dramatic and possibly singular example of a Mennonite church offering sanctuary in Canada occurred when Langley Mennonite Church in British Columbia took in a Muslim Somali widow and her four sons in 1993. Canada had issued her a removal order, and

Langley offered sanctuary to allow time for a further appeal. Pastor Henry Krause explained, "what we are doing is extra-legal. We are not offering resistance. We haven't barricaded the doors. We are asking the government to respect our call for compassion." Referring to Russian Mennonite history Edith Krause commented, "we must be compassionate. Anything else would betray the past."[65]

The congregation's decision to welcome the family had not been easy, but the supportive response of the local non-Mennonite community as well as a growing friendship with the family made the congregation feel more comfortable. A number of guests in the adult Sunday School's "Refugees and Sanctuary" series that spring indicated the level of expertise in the community: a representative of a United Church in Vancouver which had provided sanctuary in another case, an immigration lawyer, and an MCC refugee worker. Despite these efforts the final appeal was rejected after about five weeks, and Henry Krause had to escort the family to the U.S. border.[66]

In response to the events at Langley, MCC Canada and the Inter-Church Committee for Refugees created a new program to link churches anonymously with failed refugee claimants. Churches would pledge to advocate for the refugees, but have no direct contact. The creation of this alternative seems to indicate that other Canadian Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches were in the position of contemplating providing sanctuary. However, up until 2003, no other Canadian Mennonite church is known to have done so.[67]

Mennonites also participated in transnational citizen peace delegations. For example, in 1983 John Hess, pastor at Warden Woods Mennonite Church in Toronto, and fellow church member Will Neufeld joined an ecumenical peace mission by Christian Initiative for Peace to Washington, Moscow and Ottawa. Their aim was to convey messages of peace from community leaders and ordinary citizens. Prominent Catholic activist Mary Jo Leddy expressed the hope that the messages "will be going on behalf of the little people everywhere…they are ordinary people showing other ordinary people that they, too, can do something and make a difference." For Will Neufeld, the most significant moment occurred during his meeting with officials at the Russian embassy in Washington, D.C. Neufeld spontaneously gave his lapel pin of a wooden dove carved out of Russian birch to embassy secretary Vladimir Kulagin "in memory of my [Soviet Mennonite] grandfather lost in the Stalinist purge."[68]

Militarism and Protest

Mennonites concerned with disarmament in the 1980s often joined one of many local coalitions that proliferated during this period. Project Ploughshares began in 1976, with Mennonite involvement, as a research project of the Canadian Council of Churches. It soon developed a national network of community chapters, which brought together individuals concerned about nuclear weapons from a variety of backgrounds. In Kitchener, a Local Militarism Research Coalition created a booklet and map to raise awareness of military industries in the community. The coalition held demonstrations at Diemaco (later Colt Canada), a manufacturer of small arms. In Winnipeg, a vigil group at Boeing protesting nuclear missile contracts explained their actions in a pamphlet called *A Message to Boeing Employees*. The pamphlet began: "You may well have asked yourself, 'What in the world are those weird people huddled together around a cross doing every Monday morning when we come to work?' The answer is that we are praying." The vigil was given leadership by the Grain of Wheat Church Community, a non-denominational group, but participants included Mennonites. In Saskatchewan, the Warman and District Concerned Citizens Group stopped the building of a nuclear refinery in this mostly Mennonite farming area, bringing together conservative and modern Mennonites in common cause.[69]

The Persian Gulf War in 1991 created a new urgency for anti-militarism protest. Manitoba's Project Peacemakers newsletter *Peace Projections* went from full coverage of nuclear arms protests to full coverage of the war. Stirling Avenue members took part in weekly public vigils, prayer services, workshops and the "No Blood for Oil" campaign. Valleyview members held weekly peace marches outside their member of parliament's local office. Peace worker Keith Moyer reflected:

> With Canada's involvement in the Gulf War, we find that for the first time many of us are asking ourselves questions about war and our potential contribution to it. Many of our members are being asked to stand up and be counted by their fellow workers, neighbours, friends, etc. It is not an easy thing to do but the test of our convictions can strengthen them, or if we fail the test our peace convictions will be lost.[70]

In 1999 the war in Kosovo was similarly described by a Mennonite pastor as an "opportunity to rethink [our] historic peace position in a way that had not been done quite this intensively for some time." This sense of being unprepared to face challenges to

the peace position in a time of actual war (both from the larger society and internally from fellow Mennonites) is a recurring theme in Canadian Mennonite history.[71]

Although some Mennonites participated in marches and rallies, there was considerable ambivalence about this tactic even among those inclined towards activism. One Mennonite participant in the "Refuse the Cruise" mass rally in Ottawa in 1982 reported that:

> he felt some alienation at the university students lofty discussion of the issues, and noted the disparity of the participants (he rode next to French Communists) but he was impressed favorably by the speakers, and in sum, felt confirmed in his belief that nuclear weapons were wrong, and that the Christian perspective was important. The attendance was 15,000; the Mennonite banner was 'Men – 'no' – nites refuse the Cruise.'[72]

In 1986, the MCC Ontario peace committee expressed hesitancy about participating in the local Kitchener-Waterloo Mother's Day march for disarmament because of "the way in which fringe groups sometimes distract from the purpose of such demonstrations by carrying banners bringing attention to controversial causes." They were later assured by the organizers that this behavour would not be tolerated.[73]

The "Sing for Peace" rally of 1999 was a more comfortable public expression for hundreds of Mennonites. The idea of Darrel Toews, pastor at Tavistock Mennonite Church, the rally brought five hundred Mennonites of all ages from all parts of Ontario to sing hymns on Parliament Hill expressing their hopes and prayers for peace in Kosovo. Jim Penner wrote: "The choral gathering in Ottawa was a profound moment of speaking out. It was not a denominational event organized by a bureaucracy. It was a congregation of the faithful."[74]

Conclusion

While the overall numbers of Canadian Mennonite citizen activists may not have been large, these individuals and groups were able to act where larger church organizations were not. Occasionally, their activities captured the imagination and participation of the wider church. Both modern and conservative Mennonites sought to ground their interactions with government and society in Biblical terms, though their language and interpretations were quite varied. Mennonite activists built ecumenical bridges and sometimes bridges between Mennonite communities.

Any one of the themes above would benefit from further exploration. Activist individuals and groups are often too pressed for time and resources to leave archival trails. However, I have been pleasantly surprised to discover a significant number of archival collections, oral history interviews and published materials that bring to light the stories of Mennonite citizen activists. Activist voices can also be found (sometimes centrally, most often peripherally) within the records of congregations and institutions. However gaps still exist, and this paper is in part a plea for Canadian Mennonites to examine their attics and church closets for missing records.

The archival collections, by their nature, testify to the ways in which activists sought and shared information. These acts of information sharing contributed to community building among Mennonite activists in the pre-Internet era. Creating newsletters, resource centres, phone trees, peace libraries, workshops and coalitions were bonding experiences for Mennonite activists and helped to build alternative narratives about how the world is and how it should be. The peace committees of Mennonite Central Committee and various church conferences played vital roles as coordinating bodies. Driedger and Kraybill write that networking was probably the most significant aspect of the work of MCC's Peace Section as it provided a hub for "hundreds of Mennonites who found support and solidarity for convictions which would have likely been silenced or marginalized in their home congregations."[75]

Canadian Mennonites from 1970 to 2000 were on the edges of activism in many ways. Observed from the outside, conservative Mennonite edges around nonresistance seemed firm, though examination of those edges occurred within. In modern Mennonite congregations, individual activists took up personally meaningful causes and women took up activist roles in significant numbers. The locations of peace work for ordinary Mennonites broadened beyond the alternative service camps and relief depots of the Second World War to include the home, the sanctuary, the public square and marginalized places near and far. Mennonites got to know their Anabaptist, ecumenical and secular neighbours in activist movements, though conscious of when they were coming up against the edges of distinctive theologies. In recycling drives, war toy campaigns and four part harmony on Parliament Hill, some modern Mennonites found their comfort level by pushing the edges, gently. Others expressed impatience that Mennonites were for the most part followers in the middle rather than leaders on the cutting edges of social and political change. Some Mennonites, qui-

etly or publicly, opposed the activist directions of their fellow congregants. But wherever they were located in relation to activism, Canadian Mennonites in the latter third of the twentieth century contested with their peace tradition and their role as citizens and were challenged to consider, at least occasionally, where they stood.

Notes

1 Nan Cressman, "Let's Clear the Shelves of War Toys, says Peace Educator," *Mennonite Reporter*, November 25, 1985, 5.

2 See, for example, Adolf Ens, *Becoming a National Church*; Esther Epp-Tiessen, *Mennonite Central Committee in Canada;* Lucille Marr, *The Transforming Power of a Century*; Royden Loewen and Steven Nolt, *Seeking Places of Peace*; T. D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*

3 Carrie Harder quoted in Laureen Harder-Gissing, "All of a Piece: Twenty Years of Congregational Peacemaking," September 7, 2005, Peace and Justice Working Group, Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church fonds (hereafter PJWG SAMC), Mennonite Archives of Ontario (hereafter MAO), XIII-2.15.5.4/1.2. By "citizen activists" I am referring to citizens who are not politicians, peace educators, peace studies academics or conflict resolution professionals, but who nonetheless seek on a largely volunteer basis to bring change to some aspect of society or public policy. I have not focused on those who primarily advocate for change within their church.

4 This paper concentrates on the period marked by the emergence and growth of Mennonite citizen activism in Canada. After about the year 2000 the landscape of activism shifts with the rise of the anti-globalization movement, the advent of information and communications technologies, the events of September 11, 2001 and the significant reorganization of several North American Mennonite denominational and organizational structures. I suggest the more recent period requires separate analysis.

5 Rachel Waltner Goossen, "A Gender Gap Among Mennonite Peacemakers," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 73, n.3 (1999): 540.

6 Kathy Shantz Good, "MennoVan Summary," [1986?], Mennonite Bicentennial Commission fonds, MAO, XV-56.12/2.

7 T. D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996), 383-385; Leo Driedger and Donald B. Kraybill, *Mennonite Peacemaking from Quietism to Activism* (Scottdale, PA.: Herald Press, 1994).

8 I use the term *modern* to describe Mennonite groups with no visible symbols of separation from the larger Canadian society, and *conservative* for groups that retain some visible symbols of separation. This is similar to Sam Steiner's categories of "assimilated" and "conservative" in *In Search of Promised Lands: A Religious History of Mennonites in Ontario* (Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 2015), 595n3.

[9] Harold S. Bender *et al*., "Sunday School," *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, last modified 1989, https://gameo.org/index.php? title=Sunday_school

[10] Laureen Harder, *Risk and Endurance* (Kitchener, ON: [the Church], 2003), 191; Mission and Social Concerns Committee, Valleyview Mennonite Church fonds, MAO V-8/7; Harder-Gissing, "All of a Piece."

[11] Elaine Shantz quoted in Harder-Gissing, "All of a Piece."

[12] Sue Klassen quoted in Harder-Gissing, "All of a Piece."

[13] Association of Conscientious Objectors fonds (hereafter ACO), MAO XV-65/1. In addition, COs in western Canada published books about their experiences to inspire young people to work for peace, notably A.J. Klassen's *Alternative Service for Peace in Canada during World War II* published by Mennonite Central Committee British Columbia – Seniors for Peace and John C. Klassen and Jake Krueger's *ASM*: *Alternative Service Memoirs* containing reminiscences primarily of COs from western Canada; Winnifred N. Beechy, "Vision of New Grass-roots Movement: Seniors Seek Peace," *WMSC Voice*, February 1988, 8-9; Atlee Beechy, *Seeking Peace: My Journey* (Goshen, IN.: Pinchpenny Press, 2001), 171-173. See also Seniors for Peace fonds, MAO XV-86.

[14] [Rufus Jutzi?], Letter to Tom Yoder Neufeld, May 18, 1991, ACO MAO XV-65/1.

[15] Fred Unruh, Letter to Carrie Harder, February 3, 1988, PJWG SAMC MAO XIII-2.15.5.1/3.

[16] Driedger and Kraybill, *Mennonite Peacemaking*, 118.

[17] Minutes, October 27, 1986, Peace and Social Concerns Committee, Mennonite Central Committee Ontario fonds (hereafter PSCC MCCO), MAO XIV-3.4.1.

[18] "Discipleship Revival" minutes, PJWG SAMC MAO XIII-2.15.5.5/24

[19] MCCO Peace Consultation, February 16, 1991, ACO MAO XV-65/1.

[20] Conservative Mennonite Church of Ontario [and other provinces], Letter to Hon. Bill McKnight, December 19, 1990, ACO MAO XV-65/1.

[21] Steiner, *Promised Lands,* 379-381; Martin Buhr, "Amish Continue Struggle for Religious Freedom," *The Canadian Mennonite*, March 12, 1968, 1,4.

[22] Farmer Registration Act meeting, January 27, 1994, Agricultural Concerns Committee, MCCO MAO XIV-3.19/4. Other examples of regulatory clashes from this time period include the Old Order Amish dispute with the Ontario Milk Marketing Board over milk and cream storage (1976 and 1995), and concern over the wearing of hard hats (1996).

[23] Royden Loewen, *Horse-and-Buggy Genius* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 2016), 11, 13, 19.

[24] Education has been another pressure point in Ontario, a site for civil disobedience on the part of old order, conservative and low-German groups and a challenge to the public education system. See Janice Harper, "Creating a Public Secondary School Program for a Religious and Cultural Minority: An Innovative Collaboration with Conservative Mennonites, 1996-2012," MA Thesis, University of Waterloo, 2018.

[25] Driedger and Kraybill, *Mennonite Peacemaking*, 53.

[26] John and Ann Kampen to Church Leaders, May 31, 1973, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1; Minutes, June 23, 1980, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1; Roger

Baer to Peace and Social Concerns Committee, March 30, 1987, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1.

27 Lucille Marr, *The Transforming Power of a Century* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 2003), 274-275; Marcus Shantz, "From Airforce Enthusiast to Peace Activist," *Mennonite Reporter*, January 24, 1994, 12; Seniors for Peace minutes, May 11, [1990], MAO XV-86; Patricia Chisholm, "Power to the People," *Maclean's,* November 21, 1994*,* 52; Barbara Aggerholm, "Mom Goes into Action to Curb Kids' TV Program," *KW Record*, October 4, 1994, B4; Ken Bechtel, "Relying on His Mennonite Heritage," *Dialogue*, May 1989, 3-4.

28 Braden Hutchinson, "Fighting the War at Home: Voice of Women and War Toy Activism in Postwar Canada," in *Worth Fighting For*, ed. Michael Dawson, Lara Campbell, and Catherine Gidney (Toronto, ON: Between the Lines, 2015), 147.

29 Minutes, June 1, 1981, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1. On the impact of the *More with Less Cookbook*, see Malinda Elizabeth Berry, "The Gifts of an Extended Theological Table: MCC's World Community Cookbooks as Organic Theology," in *A Table for Sharing* (Telford, PA.: Cascadia, 2011), 284-309.

30 "History of the Institute for Peace and Justice," The Institute for Peace and Justice, accessed November 4, 2018, https://peaceandjusticeinstitute.org/home/about; James McGinnis and Kathleen McGinnis, *Parenting for Peace and Justice: Ten Years Later* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990), ix; "Leaders for Family Life Network," *Mennonite Reporter*, February 17, 1986, 17; Wilma Derksen, "Focus on Peacemaking, Family Style," *Mennonite Reporter*, July 7, 1986, 10; "Focus on Families at Mannheim Workshop," *Mennonite Reporter*, March 23, 1992, 20.

31 Minutes, October 15, 1985, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1; Minutes, October 27, 1986, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1; Minutes, January 11, 1988, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1; Nan Cressman, "Protest Against War Toys Draws Wide Support," *Mennonite Reporter*, December 22, 1986, 1; Minutes, October 27, 1993, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1; Christian Peacemaker Teams – Campaign Against Violent Toys, PJWG SAMC XIII-2.15.5.2/3.5. See also Rachel Waltner Goossen, "'Like Entering an Armed Camp': Christian Peacemaker Teams and the Language of Violent-Toy Protests," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 86 (1): 49-74.

32 Conference minutes, April 29, 1989, Ontario Women in Mission fonds (hereafter OWIM), MAO XIII-1.5/2.

33 "An Open Letter to All Parents," [1989?], Issues – War Toys, 1986-1990, OWIM MAO XIII-1.5/2.

34 Nan Cressman, "Let's Clear the Shelves"; "CGMC Release: No War Toys" (draft), January 11, 1990, Issues – War Toys, 1986-1990, OWIM MAO XIII-1.5/2. At the end of the draft text someone, presumably Klassen, wrote "Women's Groups can take action as Peacemakers."

35 Hutchinson, "Fighting the War at Home," 151.

36 Driedger, and Kraybill, *Mennonite Peacemaking*, 131; Harold S. Bender and Donald D. Kaufman, "Taxes," Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online, last modified 1989, https://gameo.org/index.php?title =Taxes

37 Scrapbook, 1981, Conscience Canada fonds, MAO XV-42.2/16; Bulletins, Eyebrow Mennonite Church fonds, Mennonite Heritage Archives, v. 1123;

Cornelius J. Dyck and Victor Wiebe, "Dyck, John R. (1913-1988)," Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online, last modified 2001, https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Dyck,_John_R._(1913-1988)

38 Minutes, October 27, 1986 PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1; Mennonite Church Eastern Canada annual report, 1994, 41-43, MAO XXIX-1.

39 Fred W. Martin, "War Tax Resistance in Biblical Perspective" (unpublished manuscript, 1992), 26. MAO XXVI-18/19.

40 Minutes, 18 June 1997, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1.

41 MCCO environment consultation, November 2, 1991, Ad Hoc Committee on the Environment, PSCC MCCO XIV-3.4.3/7; "Plans for 1990," August 13, 1990, Agricultural Concerns Committee, MCCO XIV-3.19/1.

42 Lawrence Edward Burkholder, "The Mennonite Church and the Farm Crisis in Ontario," *The Conrad Grebel Review* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1987): 62.

43 Clare Schlegel, "Concern for the Earth is Will of God," *Mennonite Reporter*, May 29, 1989, 7.

44 MCCO environment consultation, 2 Nov 1991.

45 Joyce Gingrich, "Recycling drive on May 8," *Mennonite Reporter*, April 19, 1976, 16; Joyce Gingrich, "Raise $1,300 in recycling drive," *Mennonite Reporter*, November 15, 1976, 3.

46 "Former milkman is a believer in recycling," *Mennonite Reporter*, January 23, 1984, 13A.

47 John Longhurst, "Edmonton Begins Largest Recycling Program in North America," *Mennonite Reporter*, January 9, 1989, 3.

48 MCC Canada release, "Manitoba Woman Creates Reusable Grocery Bag," *Mennonite Reporter*, March 19, 1990, 3; Wilma Derksen, "Conservation as a Way of Life," *Mennonite Reporter*, January 22, 1990, 12.

49 Canadian Women in Mission minutes, February 4-6, 1988, Secretary's file – 1988, OWIM MAO XIII-1.5/2.

50 Marr, *Transforming Power*, 279.

51 John Longhurst, "Open Doors: Support to Single Mothers," *MB Herald*, February 3, 1989, 2-3.

52 Barbara L. Armstrong, "If the Church Does Not Act, Who Will?" *MB Herald*, May 26, 1989, 10.

53 Lois Siemens, "The Abortion Dilemma: British Columbia Churches Disagree over Abortion Response," *Mennonite Reporter*, September 18, 1989, 8. A Women's Missionary and Service Commission periodical states that a group of Ontario women "marched against abortion" (*WMSC Voice*, October 1987, 4). I have not found other evidence of this action.

54 Marr, *Transforming Power*, 279.

55 Reports to the MCC Canada annual meeting, 1987, 1989.

56 See Robert J. Burrowes, "Cross-border Nonviolent Intervention: A Typology," in Yeshua Moser-Puangsuwan and Thomas Weber, *Nonviolent Intervention Across Borders: A Recurrent Vision*. (Honolulu, HI: Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i, 2000).

57 Overseas Services and Peace Section International, Letter to Latin America Interest Group/Latin America Hotline, August 31, 1983, PSCC MCCO XIV-3.4.2; Witness for Peace, C. Arnold Snyder fonds, MAO Hist.Mss.1.264.3.

58 Margaret Loewen Reimer, "Tell our Story, Beg Nicaraguan People," *Mennonite Reporter*, November 25, 1985, 9.

[59] This is probably the event, noted above, where Lorraine Snyder was arrested.

[60] Margaret Loewen Reimer, "Quebec Mennonites Experience Tension at the Barricades," *Mennonite Reporter*, September 17, 1990, 5; Kathleen Kern, *In Harm's Way: A History of Christian Peacemaker Teams* (Eugene, OR.: Cascade Books, 2009), 291.

[61] Margaret Loewen Reimer, "Quebec Church Forced to Deal with Oka Crisis," *Mennonite Reporter*, September 17, 1990, 1.

[62] Leonard Doell, "Young Chippewayan Indian Reserve No. 107 and Mennonite Farmers in Saskatchewan," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 19 (2001): 166-167; Rick Cober Bauman, "Violence at Ipperwash One Year Later," *Mennonite Reporter*, October 14, 1996, 1,5; Ipperwash Mennonite peace witness, Native Concerns/Aboriginal Neighbours, MCCO MAO XIV-3.20.3/27.

[63] Sharon Erickson Nepstad, "Sanctuary Movement," in *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, ed. Nigel Young (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), 12; Guy F. Hershberger and Atlee Beechy, "Relief Work," Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online, last modified 1989, https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Relief_work; Margaret Loewen Reimer, "Churches urged to become sanctuaries for refugees," *Mennonite Reporter*, April 18, 1983, 3.

[64] *Randy K. Lippert, Sanctuary, Sovereignty, Sacrifice (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2005), 13, 38.*

[65] Bruce Hiebert, "Langley Church Offers Sanctuary to Muslim Family," *Mennonite Reporter*, April 19, 1993, 1-2.

[66] Hiebert, "Langley Church Offers Sanctuary"; Bruce Hiebert, "Langley Sanctuary Effort Fails," *Mennonite Reporter*, May 3, 1993, 3; Bulletins, Langley Mennonite Fellowship fonds, Mennonite Heritage Archives, vol. 3259.

[67] "Churches Offered Alternative to Sanctuary for Helping Refugees," *Mennonite Reporter*, March 7, 1994, 1; *Lippert, Sanctuary, 38.* An example soon after this time period occurred in 2006 when Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church considered offering sanctuary to a refugee family. In this case, the claim was resolved successfully without the family occupying the church building.

[68] Tom Harpur, "Peace Pleas Will Go to Moscow," *Toronto Star*, April 16, 1983, A3; Ron Rempel, "'It was Our Mennonite Faith that Propelled Us,' Say Peace Messengers," *Mennonite Reporter*, October 31, 1983, 5. See also John Hess, Will Neufeld and Connie Zehr, Letter to Ray Schlegel, July 5, 1983, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.2. The Christian Initiative for Peace, made up of Mennonite, Roman Catholic and United Church clergy, nuns and lay people was formed in Toronto after the bombing of Litton Industries (1982) to dispel the notion that the peace movement was made up of "extremists." For an overview of the phenomenon of transnational citizen peacemaking in the 1980s, see Vincent C. Kavaloski, "Transnational Citizen Peacemaking as Nonviolent Action," *Peace & Change* 15, no.2 (April 1990): 173-194.

[69] Jacquetta Newman, "Surviving the End of the Cold War: Project Ploughshares in the 1990s," *Peace Research* 31 n.4 (November 1999): 48-9; Local Militarism Research Coalition, PJWG SAMC MAO XIII-2.15.5.2/1; *A Message to Boeing Employees*, [1988?], SAMC PJWG, MAO XIII-2.15.5.1/3; Gail A. McConnell and Mennonite Central Committee Canada, *The Warman Sto-*

ry: The Refinery That Never Was (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Central Committee Canada, 1989).

70 "Personal Reflections on MCCO Peace Consultation," April 25, 1991, ACO MAO XV-65.

71 Victor D. Kliewer and Essex-Kent Mennonite Historical Association, *Mennonite Peace Perspectives from Essex and Kent* (Leamington, ON: [the Association], 2001), 6; Steiner, *Promised Lands,* 191.

72 Minutes, November 30, 1982, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1.

73 Minutes, March 24, 1986, PSCC MCCO MAO XIV-3.4.1.

74 Jim Penner, "Mennonites Gather in Ottawa to Sing for Peace," *Canadian Mennonite*, May 24, 1999, 26. For additional accounts of the event see *Mennonite Peace Perspectives from Essex and Kent*.

75 Driedger and Kraybill, 144. This dynamic was reflected by Mennonite Church Eastern Canada staff person Doug Pritchard who wrote: "my sense…was that each congregation had [one to four] persons interested in [peace and justice] and were hungry for ideas, resources, and especially encouragement." Doug Pritchard, Letter to Carrie and John Harder, January 5, 1999, PJWG SAMC MAO XIII-2.15.5.5/33.