

*Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow Project*

THE LUTHERAN IMMIGRATION BOARD:  
A FORERUNNER OF CLWR

by Marcus Busch

May 2023

## THE LUTHERAN IMMIGRATION BOARD: A FORERUNNER OF CLWR

THE LUTHERAN IMMIGRATION BOARD: A FORERUNNER OF CLWR .....	1
The <i>Push</i> of European Emigration in the Late 19 <sup>th</sup> and Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Centuries .....	1
...and the <i>Pull</i> of Canadian Immigration in the Late 19 <sup>th</sup> and Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Centuries .....	2
A German Lutheran Response.....	2
A Canadian Lutheran Response .....	2
T.O.F Herzer.....	3
Lutheran Immigration Board: One Organization, Two Branches .....	3
Parallel Organizations for Immigration.....	4
North American Lutheran Churches Supporting LIB .....	5
Leadership .....	5
LIB’s Representatives in Europe.....	6
Roles of LIB .....	6
The Inner Workings of LIB.....	7
Partnership with Government.....	7
Dealing with Government, Transportation Companies, and Internal Affairs .....	8
Partnerships with Railways .....	9
Labour Embargo of 1925.....	10
A House Divided .....	10
A Rival Lutheran Immigration Agency.....	11
Facts and Figures.....	11
Winding Down .....	12
Leading the Way.....	13
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	14
APPENDICES: Biographies, Definitions, Letters Patent .....	16
APPENDIX I: Biographies.....	16
APPENDIX II: Definitions.....	19
APPENDIX III: Letters Patent .....	20
Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada (Western Branch) – incorporated under the federal <i>Companies Act</i> (RSC, 1906), Letters Patent, 6 December 1926 .....	20
Lutheran Immigration Board of Eastern Canada – incorporated under the federal <i>Companies Act</i> (RSC, 1927), Letters Patent, 28 November 1929 .....	21
ABOUT THE AUTHOR .....	22

## THE LUTHERAN IMMIGRATION BOARD: A FORERUNNER OF CLWR

by Marcus Busch

As part of the *Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow Project* of the Lutheran Church in Canada, I was invited in 2023 to tell the story of Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CLWR). After undertaking a literature review of that subject, I found that that story has been skillfully told by a number of authors over a period of decades (see Bibliography). There was, however, a smaller story, thinly documented, barely a story at all, that was equally 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, founded in 1923 and “on the books” until 1943, a scant three years before CLWR’s incorporation. It is right and salutary that on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding, the Lutheran Immigration Board be led out of the shadows and its story shared with all those who value His Story as told through the life and work of this dynamic Canadian Lutheran agency.

### The *Push* of European Emigration in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> 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 violations.

Land in Europe was becoming increasingly scarce as agricultural holdings became smaller and smaller with population increase and land subdivision.

The Pan Slav movement of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

Tens of thousands of German-speaking citizens, settled in Russia for 150 years on the invitation of Catherine the Great, were now *persona non grata* in Russia.

Similarly, the *Donauschwaben* — Germans who had settled in the eastern provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Bukovina, Galicia, Volhynia) — were also seen as interlopers.

These earlier emigrants from German states and principalities were viewed in Germany, and Canada, as less desirable potential citizens, as accounted for by the distinction between *Reichsdeutsche* and *Volksdeutsche*. Germans from within Germany were known as *Reichsdeutsche*; those living outside the boundaries of Germany were known as *Volksdeutsche* or *Auslanderdeutsche* (see Appendix).

Notwithstanding, Germany, after the manpower losses of the First World War, was suffering from a shortage of agricultural workers, compelling it to turn to eastern Europeans to fill this shortage. At the same time, to restrict the emigration of workers from Germany, on 14 February 1924, the German government enacted the Decree Against Mismanagement of Emigration Matters (*Verordnung gegen Mißstände im Auswanderungswegen*). This decree prohibited the dissemination of information on emigration to work abroad. German emigration policy discouraged emigration to Canada claiming low wages, rough living conditions, and poor treatment of immigrants there (Grams, 2004, p7).

### ...and the *Pull* of Canadian Immigration in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The “pull” to Canada involved the opposite population, economic, political, and human rights considerations. Canada, the second largest country in the world, had a small population — 9.5M in 1926. The reality was that Canada needed to increase its population to grow as a nation. There was land, lots of land, to be settled and “exploited.”

Canada was a new nation, having adopted the British form of democracy, which permitted more personal freedoms than most citizens of Eastern Europe were familiar with. Notwithstanding, Canadian immigration policy forbade citizens of Germany, with which Canada had been at war, from entering the country for five years, until January 1923 (Grams 2004, 8). (Upon closer examination, Canada’s system of immigration in the early 1900s, which favoured Anglo-Saxons and whites, was racist [Troper 1988]. And it was, tragically, a land-settlement system that was genocidal toward the Indigenous population.)

### 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 (see Appendix I: Biographies)
- Evangelical Lutheran Emigration Mission – EAM (*Evangelisch-lutherische Auswanderer Mission*), Hamburg-based
- German Foreign Institute – DAI (*Deutsches Ausland Institute*), Stuttgart-based, Rev. Manfred Grisebach, Director of Emigration Consultation

A German wanting to immigrate under the auspices of LIB required a letter of recommendation from the pastor of a German Lutheran congregation, which letter was to include a religious attestation and an identity card (Grams 2004, 10). It was believed that agricultural immigrants from north-central Europe would adapt well to the Canadian climate (Grams 2004, 16).

Immigrants sponsored by LIB were expected to pay the cost of their transatlantic steamship fare.

### A Canadian Lutheran Response

Professor Henry W. Harms, an early director of the LIB is quoted as saying, “Thousands had lost everything [in Europe because of the First World War] and were looking for an opportunity to start life anew. Many of these people had relatives in this country but *an agency was lacking to make it possible for them to come across. We set out to be this agency*” [italics mine].

LIB was not a church organization, although its eighteen clergy members represented the three German Lutheran bodies operating in Western Canada. Its membership included three church presidents and 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 completely indigenous *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:

- i) to bring German settlers to Canada,
- ii) to promote the interests of the Lutheran church, and
- iii) to relieve the suffering of Germans in Europe (Grams 2006, 165).

Another goal, largely unstated, was to ensure the continuation of the German language and culture in Canada. 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 (Grams 2004, 17).

### T.O.F Herzer

Affiliation with the CPR was helpful in the German immigration process. Traugott Otto Francis Herzer (see Appendix I: Biographies), a Wisconsin-born ordained minister of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, after resigning from the ministry, was appointed manager of the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the CPR. In this role, Herzer

- i) travelled to Germany to facilitate the movement of Germans, Lutherans, and others to Canada,
- ii) attended to LIB — and others' — interests in Germany,
- iii) corresponded with the Canadian government on behalf of the LIB, and others, and
- iv) was a member of LIB delegations that periodically visited Ottawa (Grams 2006, 165).

Herzer was instrumental in providing the channel through which 35,000 (Threinen 1975, 81) German immigrants passed into Canada over four plus decades (1910 to 1956; see Appendix Biographies).

### Lutheran Immigration Board: One Organization, Two Branches

The head office of LIB was at 439 Main Street, Winnipeg. LIB's Western Branch, working from this office, covered the prairie provinces and British Columbia. The Eastern Branch, covering the territory from Fort William, Ontario, to the Atlantic coast, had its main office in Toronto.

Legally, the two branches, Western and Eastern, were constituted as separate entities with different names, different directors, different letters patent, and different dates of incorporation. The branches were bound together by a common executive committee whose job it was to oversee the global work of the LIB. The focus of LIB's work was in Western Canada where it employed a full-time executive secretary. The Eastern Branch had its own volunteer executive secretary (Threinen 2006, 119). The LIB had a representative in Ottawa, Rev. L. Ebinger. The Honourable William Daum Euler (see Appendix I: Biographies), MP for Waterloo North

(Ontario) and member of the ULCA, was appointed Honorary Chairman. William George Weichel (see Appendix I: Biographies), MPP for Waterloo North and member of the Missouri Synod, was appointed Honorary Vice Chairman.

The “Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada (Western Branch)” was incorporated under the federal *Companies Act* (RSC, 1906) on 6 December 1926. Its directors were:

1. Rev. Henry Harms, Saskatoon, Ohio Synod (see Appendix I: Biographies)
2. Rev. Henry Becker, Winnipeg, ULCA
3. Rev. Paul Kohlmeier, Winnipeg, Ohio Synod (see Appendix I: Biographies)
4. Rev. Edward Schmok, Winnipeg, Ohio Synod (see Appendix I: Biographies)
5. Rev. Arthur H. Eissfeldt, Winnipeg, Missouri Synod (see Appendix I: Biographies)
6. Rev. Walter August Baepler, Edmonton, Missouri Synod (see Appendix I: Biographies)
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

The “Lutheran Immigration Board of Eastern Canada” was incorporated under the federal *Companies Act* (RSC, 1906) on 28 November 1929. Its directors were:

1. Rev. Otto Stockman, Tavistock (Ontario), ULCA
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 (see Appendix I: Biographies)
6. Rev. Dr. Herman Spearling, Kitchener, ULCA
7. Rev. Ernest Hahn, Toronto, Missouri Synod

Rev. Dr. Otto C. D. Klaehn (see Appendix I: Biographies), chairman of the Eastern Branch and an immigration missionary, welcomed the immigrants harbourside. Dr. Klaehn was assisted by Pastor Ernest Hahn, secretary of the Eastern Branch.

## Parallel Organizations for Immigration

LIB operated at a time when other immigration organizations, church-affiliated and secular, were active. These organizations were active in immigration simultaneously and for the same fundamental reasons as the Lutheran Immigration Board.

Within Canada, the following church-affiliated immigration boards, like LIB, promoted German schools, language, and culture.

- *Verein für Deutsch Canadier Katholiken* (Association of German Catholics – VDCK), founded in 1909 (most German-speaking immigrants to Canada were Protestant; 25 per cent were Roman Catholic);

- the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, founded 1922; and
- the German Baptist Immigration and Colonization Society, founded 1925.

Other religio-ethnic organizations active in the 1920s included:

- 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 2006, 166),
- the Swedish-Lutheran Immigration Board (Threinen, 2006, 119ftnote).

### North American Lutheran Churches Supporting LIB

In Canada of the 1920s, as in the United States, a number of Lutheran churches had been constituted, each representing the ethnic origin of its founders. All were headquartered in the United States. Three Lutheran churches involved in cooperative work in Canada and in the formation and work of the LIB were:

- Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States, German, founded 1818; Canada District formed in 1908
- Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (LCMS), German, founded 1847; Canada District formed in 1879; renamed Ontario District in 1922
- United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA), German, founded 1918

### Leadership

The membership of LIB's governing board comprised three church-appointed members, one from each of the three supporting synods, plus a member from each province (Fricke n.d., 23).

The work of the board was directed by an executive committee of seven directors. Pastor Edward Schmok (Ohio Synod) of Neudorf, Saskatchewan, became a director in June 1924 and was elected vice-president of the executive committee at the 1926 annual meeting in Saskatoon on January 5–6. In 1926, Pastor Schmok was also elected Manager of the Western Branch. With Pastor Schmok in this position, there was an LIB representative in every province available to represent the interests of German Lutheran immigrants. Pastor Schmok served as manager of the Western Branch for seventeen years, from 1926 to 1943 (see Appendix Biographies).

Other members of the executive committee of 1925 were:

- Pastor Leopold F. Tank (see Appendix I: Biographies) 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 (Ohio Synod)



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 n.d., 27).

## LIB’s Representatives in Europe

Rev. Dr. Friedrich Caspar 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 2004, 13; Grams 2006, 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 2004) (see Appendix Biographies). 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 2004, 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 2008, 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 2004, 24–25).

German-born Pastor Theodor Wedekind of Winnipeg succeeded Wagner as European representative of the LIB (*Pastor Schmok* 1926), 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 (*Pastor Schmok* 1926).

## Roles of LIB

LIB worked transatlantically with staff, consultants, and allies. LIB acted as, variously,

- a researcher and promoter of settlement possibilities in Canada
- an emigration–immigration consultancy for those wishing to migrate
- an advocacy organization working with government agencies in Germany and Canada to increase the flow of migration from Europe to the Dominion
- a travel agency, undertaking transportation arrangements with steamship lines and railways
- a dockside migrant reception and inland settlement service (providing accommodation, mediation, translation, orientation, facilitation, and ancillary services)
- a church-building facilitator for German-speaking Lutheran congregations in Canada
- 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 (Threinen 1975, 72-73).

Contracting farmers were required to provide employment that included salary, lodging, meals, and transportation. Annual salaries in the 1920s were approximately \$300 (\$30-\$40 per month over a seven-to-eight-month season, paid out over 12 months). Half of the first year's earnings went to pay for the transportation to Canada, the other half was retained by the immigrant (Threinen 1975, 73).

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 2004, 19).

## Partnership with Government

During the First World War, German immigrants who had not become naturalized Canadian citizens were labelled "enemy aliens," and subject to internment. In 1919, immigration was barred to nationals of those countries with which Canada had been at war. Germany 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 LIB. Nevertheless, immigrants from post-war Germany, as well as those from Eastern Europe, were classified as "non-preferred;" only "ag labs" (agricultural labourers) and domestics were admitted (Bassler 1999, 11).

As a condition for receiving legal recognition as a bone fide immigration agency under the *Immigration Aid Society Act* (Threinen 2006, 118) 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 (Grams 2006, 165).

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 2004, 12).

### Dealing with Government, Transportation Companies, and Internal Affairs<sup>1</sup>

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

---

<sup>1</sup> Threinen 1975

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 (Threinen 1975, 80).

### Partnerships with Railways

The four Canadian church-affiliated immigration societies mentioned above (Catholic, Mennonite, Baptist, and Lutheran) cooperated with the CPR and CNR to bring German immigrants to Canada for settlement (Helling 1988, 897).

In 1919, the Canadian government established the non-profit Canadian Colonization Association (CCA) (Grams 2006, 164). This association recruited settlers in Europe, assigned them to a district in Canada, and assisted them in finding employment. Via this organization, the Canadian government organized the immigration and settlement of agriculturists through the railways, which had large landholdings that they were eager to settle (Bassler 1999, 12). 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 (Grams 2006, 166).

The exact state of the administration of CCA from 1922 is unclear until 1925 when the CPR assumed full control (Grams 2006, 164).

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. 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). If these immigrants did not find farm work within a year of their arrival, they were subject to deportation at the expense of the railway company. The railway itself often flouted the agreement by hiring recruited immigrants to work for it.

The *Railway Agreement* was cancelled in 1930 by the new Conservative government of R.B. Bennett, due to a lack of fit between new government immigration policy and the settlement goals of the CPR. Ultimately, however, the cancellation was precipitated by the Great Depression with its high rate of national unemployment (Gagnon et al. 2023).

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 [Grams 2006, 167; Threinen 1975, 77]). The CCA is reported to have received \$60,000 to \$90,000 a year from the CPR (Grams 2006, 167).

## Labour Embargo of 1925

Via 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 (Threinen 1975, 79).

## A House Divided

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 1982, 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 1982, 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 1975, 79).

## A Rival Lutheran Immigration Agency

The internecine struggle involving the two railways, the federal government, and LIB led to the formation, on 4 January 1928, of a rival Lutheran immigration agency for processing German immigrants. On that date, a conference was held between:

- the Land Settlement Committee of ULCA’s Manitoba Synod,
- a representative of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, and
- representatives of the CNR.

The new organization was christened “Canadian Lutheran Immigration Aid Society (CLIAS).” Most of the congregations of the Manitoba Synod were in communities served by the CNR.

Unlike LIB, CLIAS had no overseas operation. It worked exclusively with the CNR facilitating the settlement of European immigrants in Canada after their arrival in the country, and the resettlement of Lutherans who felt the need to move within Canada.

Initially, ULCA pastors Thomas Hartig and Wilhelm Wahl retained their ties with LIB while also being involved with CLIAS.

The CNR provided some financial support to ULCA immigrant missionaries (Threinen 1975, 81).

## Facts and Figures

During the interwar period, 1919 to 1935, estimates suggest 100,000 (Fricke n.d., 12; 23) German-speaking immigrants arrived in Canada from Germany, Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Bukovina (Ukraine), and the Baltics (Helling 1988, 897) — that is, both *Reichsdeutsche* and *Volksdeutsche* (see Appendix).

Accurate statistics on the total number of immigrants sponsored by LIB are, sadly, not available. What is reported is that during the first three years (1923–1925) the Lutheran Immigration Board brought about 2,200 immigrants to Canada, caring for them without financial assistance from any order of government, managing a budget of \$300,000 (*Pastor Schmok* 1926).

The following are partial LIB statistics for the first five years of operation (Grams 2006, 168).

- 1923: over 300 (400 according to Fricke, 23) immigrants were assisted to come to Canada
- 1924: for the six months January to June, 567 immigrants arrived in Canadian ports
- 1925: 1,300
- 1926: No figures available, although the board planned to bring over an additional 4,000 immigrants this year (*Pastor Schmok* 1926)
- 1927: from January to October, 924 arrived. Of these, 70 per cent (647) were “agriculturists” (Grams 2006, 168). Fifty-seven per cent (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 (Helling 1988, 896).



In his 1924 report, Fricke explained that Canadian immigration policy was quite liberal, allowing a significant flow of European immigrants into the country. From 1923 to 1930, of a total immigrant influx to Canada of 25,000 German nationals (*Reichsdeutsche*), the LIB facilitated the immigration of 4,000 (16%) (Grams 2006, 168). Including these, the LIB assisted 16,000 German-speaking Lutheran immigrants from Germany and other European countries, of which 10,573 settled in western Canada (Grams 2006, 168; Grams 2008, 48) 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 (Fricke n.d., 12).

After the crash of the North American stock markets in 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression and Dirty Thirties on the Canadian prairies, Canadian immigration policy changed in August 1930 and March 1931, significantly restricting the flow of immigrants entering the country (Grams 2006, 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 2008, 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 mine].

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 having said that, it is also true that there was a significant movement of German Americans into Canada in the early decades of the twentieth century.

## Winding Down

In many ways, the LIB was a creature of its time. It 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.) LIB 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. Its Winnipeg office space, along with that of other immigration boards, was provided by the CPR. In some instances, it was LIB that provided funds to the mission boards of the churches, leading to criticism that church and business were mixing. A social organism of its time, LIB was entirely male-led and entirely clergy-led. Nevertheless, cooperation within the LIB was born out of a common need of the churches to spend domestic mission dollars wisely (Threinen 2006, 119).

The Great Depression, as already noted, 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 (*Pastor Schmok* 1926).

The Rev. Dr. Norman J. Threinen, a Missouri Synod historian, suggests another reason for the decline and demise of the LIB — its lack of transparency. The organization lacked a visual

identity (logo), and its minutes, governance documents, and related archival materials are sparse. There was an “aura of secrecy” that surrounded its meetings, says Threinen (1975, 81).

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 (Threinen 1975, 81). 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 (Lund, Sweden, 1947). (Perhaps in parallel fashion, the Lutheran World Federation superseded the Lutheran World Convention that had been founded in 1924.)

A through-line continued, however, in the person of T. O. F. Herzer, who helped birth both the LIB and 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.

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, theological differences, and relationships with other churches and each other, to create an autonomous 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 the CCA, and with the Roman Catholic, Mennonite, Baptist, and other immigration boards.
3. **Canadian Lutherans cultivated autonomy in Canadian church decision-making and action**, while 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!**



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bassler, Gerhardt. 1999. "Arrival and Settlement of German-Speaking Peoples in Canada." In *The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Cherland, Clarence M. 1964. "CLWR and Its Human Involvement." Master of Sacred Theology thesis, Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa.
- Cronmiller, Carl Raymond. 1961. "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada – Part II." In *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada, 1, 232–233*. Toronto: Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada.
- Fricke, Arnold. n.d. *An Historical Review on the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Beginnings of the Canada District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Other States, 1908–1928*. Edited and translated by Horst W. Gutsche (2012). Edmonton: Don Sjoberg Collection (on loan to author from 29 January 2023).
- Freitag, Walter. 1988. "Lutherans." In *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 1252–53, edited by James H. Marsh. Edmonton: Hurtig.
- Gagnon, Erica, Monica MacDonald, Daniel Meister, Siniša Obradovic, Jan Raska, and Steven Schwinghamer. 2023. "Railway Agreement, 1925." Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21. Accessed January 28, 2023, at <http://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/railway-agreement-1925>.
- Grams, Grant W. 2004. "Pastor Dr. F. C. Gleiss, Lutheran Immigration Board Representative in Germany." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 46 (2004): 5–25.
- Grams, Grant W. 2006. "T. O. F. Herzer and His Work with German-Speaking Immigration to Canada." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 47 (2006): 161–183.
- Grams, Grant W. 2008. "Immigration and Return Migration of German Nationals, Saskatchewan 1919 to 1939." *Prairie Forum* 33, no. 1: 39 – 64.
- Helling, R. A. 1988. "Germans." In *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 896–99, edited by James H. Marsh. Edmonton: Hurtig.
- Knudson Munholland, Lois. 2006. *Bread to Share: Stories About Saskatchewan's Early Lutheran Pastors and Their Wives*. Strasbourg, SK: Three West, Two South Books.
- Library and Archives Canada. "Joint Agreement between Canadian Pacific Railway, Canadian National Railway and Department Relating to Immigration." R1206-127-4-E, Vol. 262, file Part 1, 1 September 1925.
- 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* 1:3, Article 6. Available at: <http://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol1/iss3/6>
- Threinen, Norman J. 1975. Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada. Minutes and Reports of the 13<sup>th</sup> Archivists' and Historians' Conference, St. Louis, MO: Mimeographed.

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.

Threinen, Norman J. 2006. *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic: A History of Lutherans in Canada*. De Winton, AB: Today's Reformation Press.

Troper, Harold. 1988. "Immigration." In *Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 1045–1047, edited by James H. Marsh. Edmonton: Hurtig.

## APPENDICES: Biographies, Definitions, Letters Patent

### APPENDIX I: Biographies

**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 Pfotenhauer, 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 2006, 119). Baepler continued to serve as LIB executive secretary after his return to the classroom (Threinen 1975, 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*.

**Reverend Arthur 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 1919–22, 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).

**William Daum Euler** (1875–1961), Honorary Chair of LIB in 1925, was mayor of Berlin, Ontario (1914–17), a federal politician, and the first Chancellor of Waterloo Lutheran University. At the time of his appointment as honorary chair, Euler was the Liberal Member of Parliament for Waterloo North (1917–40). Interestingly, Euler had been preceded in this role as MP by

**William George Weichel**, Conservative MP for Waterloo North, 1911–17. (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 hardware-related businesses in the area, was director for several insurance companies, and was the mayor of Waterloo in 1922–23. At the time of his appointment as Honorary Vice Chair of LIB, Weichel was Member of Provincial Parliament for Waterloo North (1923–29).

**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 Neumünster, 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-à-vis the German government and its anti-immigrant stance (Grams 2004, 5–25).

**Professor Henry W. Harms** was born in Hohne, Hanover, Germany, on 21 September 1883. He was ordained as a Lutheran minister in Strathcona (Edmonton), Alberta, in November 1907. He was appointed President of Luther College and Seminary of Saskatoon in 1918 and served in this capacity until 1931. He was appointed an inaugural member of the executive committee of the Lutheran Immigration Board in 1923. He later served as president of LIB's Western Branch (1927-1929) (Grams 2008, 48).

**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 (23), also the year of his ordination. For the next three years, he served 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, 1975, p73). 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 of 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, 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 (CCCR). 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, he is believed to have been responsible for the immigration of up to 70,000 (Grams 2006, 181; Threinen says 35,000 [1975, 81]) souls to Canada from Europe.

Dr. Herzer retired in 1956 and passed in 1958 at age 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 2006, 161–183].)

**Rev. Dr. O. C. D. 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. Also, from 1921-1925, 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 (64 years) (Cronmiller 1961, 232–233).

**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.

**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 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, Secretary of the Board of Management of the Canada District, Ohio Synod (Lutheran Church). 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 Edward 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, and 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.

**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]” (Frick n.d., 24).

**William George Weichel** (1870–1949) — see **Euler**, above.

## APPENDIX II: Definitions

### **Citizenship; *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 (Grams 2008, 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 paper. (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.)

### APPENDIX III: Letters Patent

#### **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.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Marcus Busch was exposed to postwar immigration as a pastor's son in Lethbridge in the early 1950s.

He and his spouse, Margaret Sadler, were volunteers with the Lutheran World Federation's Department for World Service (LWF-DWS) in Mauritania (2000–01) and Cambodia (2007–08).

Marcus Busch is a past director and President of CLWR (2009–18). He is the author of two books, *Angkar L: A Short History of LWF Cambodia 1979 to 2007* (2008) and *Parsonage People: The Family Story of Rudy and Emma Busch* (2022). He lives in Edmonton.

Margaret Sadler is a professional editor who greatly improved the final form of this paper.

