

A NEW SPIRITUALITY FOR A WAR-TORN WORLD: ONE CANADIAN FAMILY'S INVESTMENT IN "MORAL RE-ARMAMENT"

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In the decades immediately following the Second World War, Moral Re-Armament (MRA) under its founder and leader, Frank Buchman (1878–1961), presented itself as a spiritually motivated third party uniquely equipped to achieve reconciliation among former combatants. This article raises a question important to the study of participants in peace movements, namely the influence of family socialization. Drawing on a large archival trove and on interviews, it examines how one Canadian family invested heavily in MRA ideals during the 1940s to 1960s and in the process experienced their own private peace and reconciliation as members tried to further the movement's collective goal.

INTRODUCTION

While spiritual idealism is often central to peace-making, there has been little attention to the role of Moral Re-Armament (MRA) in the reconstruction of war-torn countries in the decade following the Second World War.¹ A polarizing movement that drew extravagant claims of success from its admirers, but also strong criticism from opponents, MRA under its founder and leader, Frank Buchman (1878–1961), presented itself as a spiritually motivated third party uniquely equipped to resolve conflict and achieve nonviolent change among former combatants.² An in-depth objective analysis of the movement is still waiting, but a more balanced assessment is now beginning to emerge thanks to several recent works sensitive to MRA's complexities and tensions. Both Philip Boobyer, focusing on

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Buchman's practical religion, and Daniel Sack, on the American experience, provide important insight into the movement's spirituality and resulting "re-inventions" as it sought to foster peace in a globalizing world.³

This article does not purport to describe and assess the success of MRA's efforts, but offers a more modest approach to the study of faith-based movements in peace building. It raises a question important to the study of participation in peace movements, namely the extent to which involvement can be rooted and shaped by family socialization. Drawing on a large archival trove and on interviews, I examine how one Canadian family invested heavily in MRA ideals during the 1940s to 1960s and in the process experienced their own private reconciliation as members tried to further the movement's collective goal.

FRANK BUCHMAN, THE OXFORD GROUP, AND MRA

A brief overview of the history and ideals of MRA provides the background. A Lutheran minister in Pennsylvania who had moved to England, where he experienced a profound evangelical conversion, Frank Buchman in the early 1930s developed an organization known as the Oxford Group. Propagating a nondenominational Christian spirituality directed at bringing about personal change, the Group mounted carefully staged gatherings in large hotels and private homes. Participants were encouraged to adopt a simple spiritual discipline that consisted of meeting daily in a period of "quiet time," alone or with a partner or small group. Here they were to open themselves to the guidance of the Holy Spirit for the day's activity, confess to one another any sins they had committed and ask forgiveness of those wronged. In 1932 and again two years later, the Group crossed Canada in well-publicized tours that have received attention in several studies on the changing face of Canadian evangelical Protestantism.⁴

By 1934 during the second Canadian tour, as the political situation in Europe began to worsen, Buchman and the Group had begun to recalibrate the Group's nondenominational evangelical message of personal conversion into a demand for world and international change. In May 1938, the shift became formal with a change in name to Moral Rearmament (MRA) and the call for a world-wide reconstruction aimed at averting war through "moral re-armament" on the part of individuals, business, labour, and government leaders. The new approach, that in June 1933 had included an unsuccessful effort through an intermediary to enter into dialogue with Hitler and the

Nazi leadership, led Buchman's opponents (as well as the German government) to view the movement with suspicion.⁵ Safe in the United States when war broke out, Buchman started to look ahead to the eventual termination of hostilities and the need for international reconciliation among former combatants and enemies. Presented as "a 'world philosophy' capable of creating a new era of constructive relationships between men and nations," MRA was to be a spiritual response to the post-war emergence of a global society.⁶ The intent was that by watching dramatic presentations that modeled MRA's moral message and in sharing personal stories, groups of carefully selected civic leaders and former enemies would experience spiritual change which would in turn lead to national and international renewal. With the financial and logistical help of private donors, powerful supporters and a highly committed volunteer work force, MRA's presence and outreach quickly became global.⁷ Attention in the late 40s and early 50s focused in particular on France, Germany, Japan, and the United States, and later in the 1960s on helping neo-colonial African countries prepare for peaceful independence.

Though today MRA's ideals and efforts seem hopelessly simplistic, the movement at its height in the 1960s counted an estimated 3000 full time volunteers working in teams around the world.⁸ Unlike many of the idealistic youth of the 1960s and 70s who gravitated to such secular NGOs such as the Peace Corps in the United States, and Canadian University Students Overseas (CUSO) in Canada, more traditional spiritual values remained a part of personal and professional identity for the cohort of the 1950s when addressing international concerns.⁹ MRA drew its volunteers from a range of social backgrounds, but its spiritual optimism and structured moral approach appealed especially to educated young people of privileged background who had lost interest in an older missionary way of service yet retained a strong sense of noblesse oblige. Reaching adulthood during the late 1940s and 50s, this generation has been depicted by historian Robert Ellwood as conflicted between a yearning for normalcy and a profound sense of dislocation that propelled them into uncharted terrain as individuals and as families.¹¹ Conservative revivalists such as Billy Graham and Charles Templeton met the spiritual search for identity by repackaging evangelical Christianity in ways designed to reflect a growing youth culture. MRA leaders distanced themselves from such revivalists. Instead they offered young people opportunities for self-knowledge and identity formation that, though consistent with their

childhood religious socialization, spoke hopefully of how personal efforts could influence positively a war-torn world in need of healing.

BACKGROUND: THE FLEMING FAMILY, THE OXFORD GROUP, AND MRA

Among the young people attracted to MRA were members of a prominent evangelical Toronto family whose patriarch Robert J. Fleming had served three terms as the city's mayor in the 1880s and 90s. In the course of the late 1940s to mid-60s, Fleming's two youngest daughters, seven grandchildren, and five of their partners served as full-time volunteers with MRA in Canada, Europe, Japan, North Africa, and the United States. As a case study, based on a large body of correspondence, memoirs, and interviews, this family's participation offers meaningful insight into how MRA ideals and practices towards building a lasting peace after the Second World War were translated into a personal search for meaning and reconciliation.

Robert J. Fleming (1854–1925) and Lydia Orford (1862–1937), whom he had married as a young widower with two children, left their family with a compelling legacy of civic and religious service. The son of poor Irish immigrants, Fleming was an active and principled Methodist, a prominent and an ardent prohibitionist, and in the 1880s and 90s a well-liked municipal politician.¹² By the time of his death in 1925 he had served as general manager of the Toronto Railway Company and managed through judicious investments in real estate, stocks, and mining, to ensure a solid financial future for his wife, five daughters, and four sons. Thanks to this, Lydia, his devoutly evangelical widow, and his daughters (Reba, Stella, Victoria, Evelyn, and Agnes) were able to travel widely and devote themselves to charitable causes, most notably overseas missions. A major recipient of Lydia's support was the British Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (ZBMM) in India and its hospital in Nasik in the Punjab, known as "the Canadian hospital." Evelyn, the second youngest daughter, joined its staff as a medical doctor from 1935 until the 1947 partition of India and Pakistan. Widely traveled, the women made several visits to China, where Reba and Stella at different times served briefly on the mission field, and to India where Lydia died unexpectedly while visiting Evelyn in 1937.

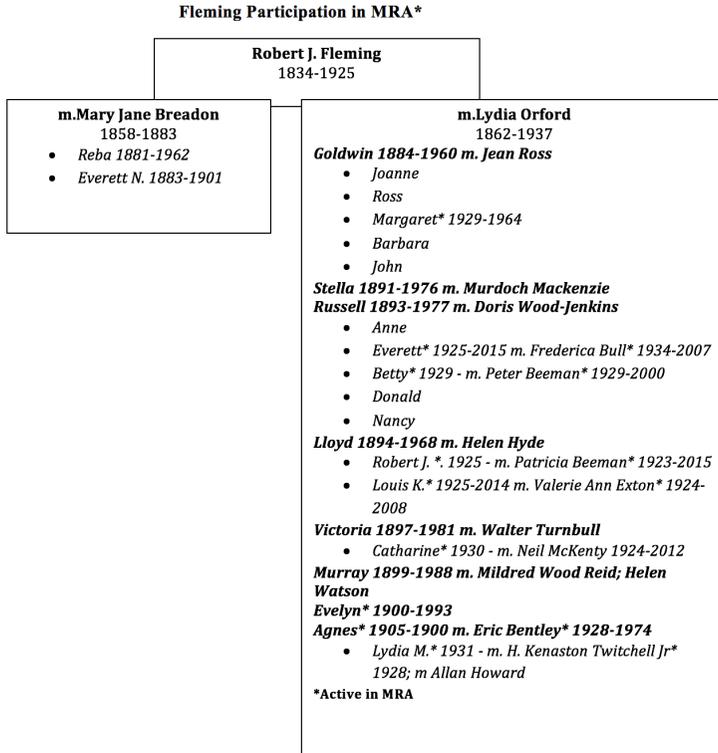
Both parents earnestly saw family harmony as a paramount legacy for their children; Robert's deathbed admonition to the family had been to love one another, while Lydia's had been a fervent prayer that all her children

would be eternally saved. In each case concern for the sons loomed large. Already before their parents' deaths, it had become obvious that the lives of the four Fleming males (Goldwin, Lloyd, Russell, and Murray) would not follow the civic and religious leadership of their parents and sisters. Failure to live up to their father's high expectations and, in the case of the two eldest, the traumatic impact of military service during the Great War resulted in emotional turmoil and family instability. As will be detailed later, for the third generation, cutting through the thicket of a troubled family experience would become a major factor in their involvement in MRA.¹³

The Fleming engagement with MRA began in 1932 in England where Helen Hyde, the wife of Lloyd, the second oldest son, encountered its predecessor, the Oxford Group, and was profoundly attracted to its message of personal change. When two years later the Group made its second highly promoted trip across Canada, Lydia Fleming and Reba, the oldest daughter by Robert's first marriage, joined them at a large house party at the Banff Springs Hotel. Though the women subsequently encountered the Oxford Group at a house party in Mussoorie, India, they failed to become actively involved.¹⁴ The two Canadian tours, however, did see Agnes, the youngest daughter and her newly-wed husband, Eric Bentley, enlist enthusiastically in the movement. Much admired by their nieces and nephews, Agnes and Eric Bentley actively began recruiting family members as the Group reconfigured itself into MRA. Not all the Fleming cousins came on board and most family members held aloof, but seven would serve in MRA for extended periods of time: Bob and Lou Fleming (Lloyd's twin sons), Lydia Bentley (Agnes' daughter), Margaret Fleming (Goldwin's daughter), Betty and Everett Fleming (Russell's daughter and son) and Catharine Turnbull (Victoria's daughter). Each came to the movement for different personal reasons, but family dynamics played an important role.

As cousins they were a tightly knit group. "Donlands," their grandmother Lydia's stone house on a 950-acre farm just north of Toronto (now the intersection of Eglinton Avenue and Don Mills Road) was a favourite gathering place. This was also the home of Catharine and her mother, Victoria, who had lost her missionary husband, Walter Turnbull, in a tragic car accident just before their daughter's birth. In 1935 following family breakdown, Lloyd's wife and her ten-year-old twin sons, Bob and Lou, also came to live at Donlands, leaving behind their father in England, whom the boys would not see again until 1948. For the cousins living or visiting

at Donlands, the example of their beloved grandmother's intense busyness with missionary interests and the more austere spirituality of their unmarried aunt Reba, made global missions and awareness a household reality.¹⁵



In 1941 Bob and Lou were the first of the Fleming cousins to become involved with MRA. In an effort to translate Buchman's teachings into ways that involved the young in the country's war effort, their mother sent the boys to work in Quebec's Eastern Townships. There they spent the summer on the farm of friends and prominent MRA supporters, Bernard and Alice Hallward, the only daughter of Hugh Graham, publisher of the *Montreal Star*.¹⁶ Life at Camp Hatley, as their farm was known, was run on

a daily regime in accordance with MRA principles and brought the two boys into close contact with counselors who served as strong male models. The previous year the Donlands house had been destroyed by fire and, in the fall, the boys moved in with the Bentleys whose Toronto home had become a prominent hub of MRA activity and hospitality. The following autumn in 1942, seventeen-year old Bob, who had become an accomplished amateur photographer, was permitted to take a leave of absence from school and join a team of MRA workers as a photographer assistant. Featuring a patriotic musical revue, *Pull Together Canada*, the team, which included his uncle Eric Bentley, embarked on a two-month brief tour through Ontario and Quebec, followed by longer stay in Atlantic Canada.¹⁷ The revue was patterned on the 1940 MRA musical, *You Can Defend America*, and the Maritime sojourn was launched in response to an invitation by the executives of the Dominion Steel and Coal Company and the trade unions of the Halifax dockyards. Its purpose was to bolster the Canadian war effort by promoting Ontario Victory Loan bonds but also, importantly, the MRA ideal of harmony between labour and management. Typical of the revue's message were the theme song's opening lines: "You can fight for Canada / You've got something to do / Clean up the nation from bottom to top, / Start with yourself in the home and the shop!"¹⁸

Three years earlier, young Bob had seen a photo of a small girl being comforted in the arms of a rescuer after the bombardment of Warsaw. It had made him aware of the camera's power "to move people's hearts and spur their spirits," and during the Maritime tour his inspiration was reinforced. Now serving in close quarters as photographer assistant to one of his most admired mentors at Camp Hatley, he saw MRA's daily spiritual practice. Each day his mentor would rise early and sitting up in bed with a notebook and paper would organize his day and use the time to think about "the wider outreach and purpose of his life." Known as "quiet time" or "listening to God," this simple regime reflected the core of Buchman's admonition that "if you want to change the world, you had better start with yourself." Frequently billeted in local homes, Bob and the other MRA workers spent their days talking to large groups of dockyard workers, performing *Pull Together Canada* to a total of 18,000 miners, dock and steel workers, and their families, as well as attending several elegant receptions, all to the enthusiastic acclaim of the press. The following summer was less exciting, working long days with his brother on the Donlands farm as part of their contribution to

the war effort at a time of serious labour shortage.

When by 1942 it had become clear that his approach of “moral” rather than military re-armament had failed, Buchman opened a conference centre in a dilapidated hotel on Mackinac Island in Lake Michigan.¹⁹ Soon expanded, it was intended as an American base from which to begin to articulate his vision of a post-war world united “in constructive relationships between men and nations.”²⁰ In 1944, following a brief visit to Mackinac with his mother and twin brother, Bob was sufficiently attracted to MRA to become a full-time volunteer. By this time Mackinac was drawing conferences of a 1000 and becoming an MRA training Centre. Here 19-year-old Bob came under the tutelage of Arthur Strong, a British portrait and news photographer who since 1938 had been working full time for MRA. Along with helping him hone his skills, Strong provided important contacts with some of the many media, arts, and motion picture personalities drawn to the movement. Such networks with influential supporters became an important part of MRA identity.²¹

In 1946 thanks to the purchase of a large bankrupt hotel in Caux, Switzerland, by some sixty Swiss families, MRA acquired a strategic European site. Located in the mountains above Lake Geneva, Caux provided MRA with a centre for a more informal level of international reconciliation than that pursued by national governments. As the Cold War intensified into a struggle between two alternatives, communism and democracy, Caux became “a world ideological training center for democracy” and drew 4000 participants each summer from 80 countries. Strategically located in a neutral country and near the hub of international organizations, it brought together carefully selected French and German civic leaders and representatives of labour and management in the thousands, the sectors seen to be most urgently in need of reconciliation and most vulnerable to the inroads of communism.²² To stem the spread of communism with its “tremendous propaganda for a false idea,” MRA drew on its earlier tools, explicitly now called “weapons” such as plays, musicals, and movies that reflected the growing role of media in post-war America.²³

MRA’s efforts at a parallel diplomacy were informal and therefore hard to document. However, there is general agreement beyond its own membership on one result. In fostering personal relationships among French and German coal and steel industrialists and union leaders, the 1946–1950 meetings at Caux were a helpful step in the economic and political discussions

which resulted in the Schuman Plan that integrated the French and German coal and steel industries into the European Coal and Steel Community. It in turn laid the foundation for the formation of the European Economic States Community. Significant participants in the efforts at Franco-German reconciliation at Caux were Robert Schuman (the French foreign minister) and Konrad Adenauer (the former mayor of Cologne) and at the time president of the German Constitutional Assembly. Both subsequently acknowledged Buchman's role with a decoration by their respective governments.²⁴

MRA EFFORTS AT INTERNATIONAL RECONCILIATION: THE MALE FLEMINGS AND FAMILY DYNAMICS

Caux, also known as "Mountain House," would play an important role in the Fleming family's engagement with MRA. In 1948, impressed by MRA's approach to post-war reconciliation taught at the Mackinac conferences, Bob Fleming traveled to Caux and joined an MRA international task force of several hundred as they toured major cities in the Ruhr region in West Germany. Under the aegis of the British, American, and French Control Commissions, the group staged a musical, *The Good Road*, aimed at bringing reconciliation among Germans and their former French, Dutch, and British enemies. In addition, with the goal of forestalling conflict between labour and management and preventing communist inroads, the MRA group engaged in round-table discussions with business, labour, civic, and academic leaders, and with large numbers of students. Billed with German families and performing in cities still in ruins, the volunteers gained first-hand impressions of the devastation caused by the war, some of it captured in the photos Bob took of the encounters. These were later collected in a booklet, *The Road from Ruin*, with appropriate captions advertising MRA's ideals.²⁵

Humankind, if rightly directed, Buchman announced in 1954 to an MRA assembly in Washington, D.C., was "heading right out for a brand new world."²⁶ Critics (and there were many) labeled such MRA discourse as simplistic, naïve, and overly optimistic. However, successfully bringing together international groups was hard work, and the movement's approach to personal and collective spiritual change was highly demanding, practical, and structured. "Whatever MRA achieved in the way of brokering social or national reconciliation," notes Philip Boobbyer in his analysis of the movement, "would not have happened without careful planning by Buchman and

his team.” The conferences at Caux were meticulously planned to identify and bring together European and Asian elites who were in a position to bring about change. The world trips were also organized to the smallest details, including sensitivity to cultural differences.²⁷

MRA’s reconciliation efforts at Caux fired the idealism of other young Flemings. The three male cousins (Bob, Lou and Everett) married full-time MRA volunteers and would spend a significant number of years with MRA. In each case the work required a full-time total commitment that extended to accepting the leadership’s scrutiny of marital relations and family size.²⁸ Bob’s twin brother, Lou, married a British MRA worker, Valerie Exton, in 1952 at Mackinac. The daughter of parents with a lengthy involvement in MRA, she directed plays and music as a form of reconciliation and healing at the Westminster Theatre in London, England. An elegant building with 600 seats, the theatre had been purchased in 1946 as a memorial to the British MRA men and women who had died during the war. For the next two years, with Lou as technical manager of theatrical productions, the couple traveled with a group of 200 MRA workers to India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, in an effort aimed at “breaking down barriers between East and West.”²⁹

In 1955, Bob, now as official staff photographer, accompanied a three-month “Statesmen’s Mission” in which a group of 400 European MRA workers and former political leaders, toured Asia, the Middle East and Africa. One of the musicals, *Vanishing Island*, was directed at a peaceful resolution of impending postcolonial hostilities. Among the travelers on the Asian contingent was his aunt Evelyn, who had become one of MRA’s two full-time physicians. She had been drawn by the movement’s efforts at reconciliation in the troubled aftermath of India’s independence and the partition of Pakistan. Students of Buchman’s spirituality have emphasized the central role he assigned in MRA to confession of wrong and forgiveness. On this tour to the Far East, Evelyn witnessed the process of reconciliation applied at the national level. Writing from Manila to her sister Agnes in Canada, she expressed her admiration at the role assumed by the high-ranking Japanese accompanying the MRA group: “The effect of asking the forgiveness of the Filipinos has been tremendous. It has been very costly since there were terrific atrocities in these islands, there is much bitterness.”³⁰

Man without God could not make peace, Buchman had insisted in 1939 even before war broke out. In his view, the international conferences of the 1940s and early 50s could only be effective in their aim at bringing

about peace if they had a spiritual dimension. When the post-war period opened up new opportunities for a lasting peace, he proclaimed in a speech in 1952, that the Holy Spirit was “uniting humanity through men who listened to and obeyed Him.”³¹ Concerned especially about the moral implication of communist atheism, MRA increasingly presented its vision for creating the “new man” as democracy’s alternative to the communist, materialistic programme.

Inspired by Buchman’s post war idealism, the Flemings were able to observe and/or in modest ways participate in MRA’s efforts at “uniting humanity” through spiritual change. However as young men and women in their early twenties they also carried unresolved family concerns which called for personal peace and reconciliation. For the Fleming twins, Bob and Lou, separated from their father Lloyd in England since 1935, the journey to reconciliation with their father would be lengthy. A much-anticipated meeting in 1948 in Paris turned into a searing disappointment for Bob. Seeing through his father’s efforts to keep up appearances, he was devastated by his alcoholism and obvious economic destitution. In time, helped financially and morally by his sisters and through the urging of his sons, Lloyd would become an active participant in Alcoholics Anonymous. AA’s “Twelve Steps” of recovery through small group participation had been modeled in the 1930s on the Oxford Group, although since then the two organizations had gone their separate ways.³² When in 1960 Lloyd took up residence in Spain on the Costa del Sol, he founded the first AA in Torremolinos, a loosely knit voluntary fellowship appropriate for the area. At his death in 1968 he received much appreciative acclaim from local Spanish civic authorities for his efforts. By then there had also been reconciliation with his sons who along with their wives and children, and their mother were with him in his final days.

Family dynamics were different for the children of Russell, the second of Robert J. Fleming’s sons. His career aspiration had been to teach classics rather than agree to his father’s insistence to assume management of the family’s two large farms in Pickering. Throughout his adult years he struggled with anger and the economic vagaries of farm life, challenges to family life that drew his children into strongly supporting one another.³³ His oldest son, Everett, after joining MRA in 1955 on several occasions interrupted his work with the organization to look after his youngest brother who had been most affected by their parents’ eventual marriage breakdown and divorce.

Everett had first come into contact with MRA in 1952 at Mackinac where he attended the wedding of his cousin, Lou. Impressed by the liveliness and caliber of the young volunteers he met there, after working briefly as a lay pastor in Sudbury, he became actively involved with the Toronto team of MRA. One of Buchman's reasons for success was his ability to attract and promote the presence of prominent individuals in his movement. In their memoirs, the male Fleming cousins would include this as evidence of MRA's influence in bringing about change. The Toronto team, for example, as Everett noted in an autobiographical account, included "some able executives at the vice-presidential levels of General Electric, Shell, Ontario Hydro, Nabisco."³⁴ In 1955 following much soul searching, he left what promised to be a successful career in finance at Burroughs to join his aunts and cousins in Caux.

His arrival coincided with the arrival of the "Statesmen's World Mission" following their three-month tour staging the review *Vanishing Island* in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. He immediately joined its 400 volunteers as they continued their tour in Scandinavia, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. The following year he spent time in Morocco as part of a small MRA contingent active in preparing the colony for independence from France. Because of MRA's persistent self-promotion, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the organization's efforts to promote peace in the transitions from colonialism in Africa were successful. However in the case of Morocco, independent sources do agree that MRA workers in behind the scenes diplomacy at Caux, Aix-les Bains, France, and Casa Blanca played a role in helping Morocco peacefully gain independence in late 1955.³⁵ By the time Everett arrived in Casablanca in 1956, MRA efforts at maintaining this peace focused on providing support and building on a network of French, Arabic, and Berber communities. This had been the work of Swiss MRA workers, Pierre Spoerri and his father, Theo, recently retired as rector of Zurich University. Thanks to the financial support raised by the Spoerri's, MRA was able to buy a house just beside the Sultan's palace. At one point a half dozen members, including Everett, were received in audience by the Sultan in recognition of the key role which two MRA members, an Arab Moroccan and a French Moroccan, had played in making possible the Sultan's return from exile. "It was my only reception ever by a reigning monarch," Everett noted, though with characteristic honesty he assessed that his role in Morocco had been modest and largely defined by waiting each

day to look for God's guidance and seeing how the hours would unfold. For a highly driven young man, MRA's frequent unstructured use of time, an approach intended to further the movement's stress on self-discipline, was a challenge.³⁶

Returning to Mackinac in 1957, he took on the responsibility of organizing conferences and carrying various MRA plays and films across North America. In 1962, he was back in Toronto, this time "effectively in charge of the Canadian work,"³⁷ but also again challenged by the unstructured nature of many of his days. It was during that year, that he followed through and finally proposed marriage to a young woman, Frederica Bull. The two had met seven years ago in Toronto at a family dinner and again later at Caux where she too had become a full-time MRA volunteer. Her father happened to be Canada's ambassador to Japan and the couple's wedding in 1962 became an international event, coinciding with the opening of a new MRA centre in Japan and the completion of Bull's diplomatic posting. Held at the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo, the wedding party included eight MRA friends of the bride from various nations as attendants, with groomsmen to match. Among the guests were thirty ambassadors, members of the Japanese government, the parents of the Crown Prince and Princess, and the sister-in-law of the Emperor. To add to the eclectic mix were Chief Walking Bull of the Stony Indians, a longtime supporter of MRA, as well as a large contingent of MRA leaders on hand for the opening of the new Japan centre.³⁸ Another important guest was the Primate of the Anglican Church in Canada, Howard Clark, who happened to be in Japan and who assisted in the ceremony. Afterwards the Crown Prince and Princess received the couple. Frederica Bull would maintain a lifelong friendship with the Crown Princess, exemplifying MRA's spirituality and organizational strategy to bridge ethnic differences and national divisions.³⁹ Everett and Frederica took up residence at Mackinac Island where for the next few years they helped run the conference centre in the summer and at other times took theatrical productions across Canada and the USA.⁴⁰

MRA, FAMILY DYNAMICS, AND RECONCILIATION: THE FEMALE COUSINS

Four of the female Fleming cousins were also drawn to the work of reconciliation promoted at Caux. The fact that one of the cousins, Lydia Bentley, and her parents, were working at Caux after briefly being in charge of the

MRA house in Ottawa, was a powerful attraction for the others to stop by in the course of European visits. The first to visit were Catharine Turnbull and her mother, Victoria, in the summer of 1950 as part of a six-week tour intended to meet their aunt Evelyn while on furlough from her work in India.⁴¹ At Caux that summer was a delegation of 1500 Europeans, including Germans. All were from war-torn countries and were invited in the belief that reconciliation would be facilitated as participants from former enemy countries shared their stories and listened to one another. The delegations at Caux included diplomats, civic leaders, British dockworkers, Italian factory workers and owners, and Marxist trade union leaders from the Ruhr who had been active in the resistance to Hitler. The participation of these latter groups reflected how the concern to halt the spread of communism had become an MRA priority by 1950. To twenty-year-old Catharine, “the energy in the plenary sessions in the large domed meeting hall was electric. Stories were being told whose depth and humanity were profoundly moving. ... With my own eyes, I was seeing people finding their way through the darkness of war.”⁴² On her second day she found herself unexpectedly involved in one of the stories when she spontaneously volunteered to fill in for a German interpreter. The speaker, Moni von Cramon, a member of the German delegation, was a longtime supporter of Buchman and had been much criticized for actively trying to convince Hitler and the Nazis to avoid war. In the course of the war she had lost her son in Stalingrad, and her son-in-law had been executed in 1944 on Hitler’s orders after the “Generals’ Plot.” “Her story went right through me and out to the audience,” Catharine recalled. Over lunch the next day she saw reconciliation in practice when von Cramon and a French resistance fighter, Irène Laure, Secretary General of the national organization of socialist women and a recently elected M.P. for Marseilles, wept and listened to one another’s stories.⁴³

Catharine’s own life had been in turmoil for quite some time, brought about by the loss of a father she had never known, by her search for a more satisfying spirituality than the moralistic Christianity of her aunt Reba, and by a sense of homelessness that went back to the destruction by fire years earlier of Donlands, her family home. MRA’s efforts in Caux at reconciliation through life-changing attitudes replaced these negative experiences with a clear sense of purpose. Accordingly upon graduation from Victoria College in 1952, she returned to Caux and spent the next four years in Europe, during the winters joining an MRA team of young people working in the

Ruhr coal mining area of Germany. Not many Canadian students were able to travel in Europe so soon after the war and she felt privileged.

Staying in the homes of German families and hearing their stories of loss and bombardment during the war, she realized that her own comparatively minor suffering allowed her to connect deeply with others. In MRA much of the life changing took place through interaction with other members of the group, which in her case included young Germans, former Norwegian and Danish resistance fighters, and a Czech member of the senior MRA team who had lost both parents and a leg. She valued their courage in returning to the country of their former enemy and experienced “an honesty in the group which included young Germans, and the camaraderie of working towards a shift in the direction of history.”⁴⁴ Unlike these people, she felt disconnected from her own personal story but she listened and did what she could, including washing the walls and ceilings of a massive house in the Ruhr on loan from a mining company as a place where miners and management could meet to hammer out a new partnership.⁴⁵ Summers were spent at Caux, often heading up a work team in the dining room, preparing for large groups of guests, and translating German into French. Long hikes into the mountain meadows allowed her to enjoy the magnificent scenery when her shift ended. In 1955, during her last winter she travelled as a props and staging assistant with the German cast of the theatrical *Der Mann mit dem Schlüssel* (The Man with the Key), “a play originally produced at Caux to express a new approach to diplomacy.” Staying with different families every few days, the cast after each performance went into the audience and talked until late into the night about the new Europe envisioned by the play.

Initially all of this was deeply satisfying but as the four years wore on inner questions increasingly re-surfaced. Insecurity was encouraged by the structure of MRA whereby senior members decided on the postings and directed sharp criticism at any woman with a public profile, which in her case was that of German translator.⁴⁶ Many years later, looking back, she realized that one of the attractions to MRA had been its promise of meaning and security at a time when she had felt overwhelmed and confused by the sudden freedom from family expectations she had experienced at university. At the end of her last summer at Caux, an experience took place that gave her greater self-understanding and revealed MRA’s teaching on forgiveness in a very personal way. A stopover in Detroit en route to Toronto offered her a chance to meet with a sister-in-law from a previous marriage of her

father. The woman's lively stories about the father she had never known suddenly turned him into a real person from the icon he had become in her mother's reminiscences. Her longtime anger with a God who did not seem to care, began to soften. A further shift in her understanding of herself and God happened during that same visit. At a church service she met by chance for the first time the driver whose momentary distraction had been the cause of her father's death many years ago. This man had since become a missionary in Thailand, and was able to tell her about his agonizing remorse and how her mother's forgiveness had saved him from despair. Listening to him, Catharine, as she later remembered, "felt a great current of love and forgiveness running between us."⁴⁷

Family dynamics and reconciliation with self took a different turn for her cousin Betty who also in 1950 had also come into contact with MRA but in Toronto. At that time she had been deeply moved by one of its plays, *The Drugstore Revolution*, the story of a broken family brought together by the efforts of one of the sons. With the active encouragement and financial help of her aunt Agnes, she traveled to the Netherlands the following year. There she began a twelve-year mission with MRA, which included several stints of caring for the children of traveling MRA couples, as well as time spent at Caux and Mackinac. A young woman of deep evangelical spirituality, she was initially caught up in the idealism of MRA. When her parents visited her in Caux in the course of a European holiday hoping to restore their marriage, she had a profound experience of an inner voice directing her to go to her father and forgive the wrongs she had long held against him. Other aspects of MRA proved to be less rewarding. A number of incidents such as members being forbidden to attend Billy Graham's 1954 revival meeting in London, helped her to realize that her spiritual needs were not met in MRA and that, as a woman with a deep sense of insecurity, she was being relegated to its margins. In 1964 after some interruptions for family reasons, she permanently left the movement, though subsequently she married a former MRA worker.⁴⁸

In August 1954, yet another Fleming cousin, Margaret, who was the daughter of Goldwin, Robert J. Fleming's oldest son, became an enthusiastic volunteer with MRA. She would remain so until her tragic death ten years later while working in Japan. The carefully preserved letters she wrote home offer a valuable entry into the motivation and daily work of a highly intelligent, introspective MRA volunteer. Her father, Goldwin, like his father

before him, was a man of strong views with high expectations of his intelligent and talented children.⁴⁹ His categorical insistence that Margaret break off her relationship with a Roman Catholic young man, along with her own growing sense of discomfort with what she considered a superficial life, led her to abandon a short career as a school teacher and accompany her brother Ross to England. While he pursued further medical studies, she and her younger sister Barbara embarked on a European tour. In what was intended to be a brief stop at Caux, the sisters met with Agnes and Eric Bentley, their aunt Evelyn, and their cousins Catharine, Lydia, and Bob. As she joined her cousin Catharine in heading up a dining room team, Margaret fell under the spell of Caux: its magnificent setting on Lake Geneva and its surrounding mountains, the presence of a large contingent of family and friends, and the interesting and important guests staying at what were by then two MRA hotels.

Her immediate family had been critical of MRA and, considering herself quite informed of its ideology, she had had no intention of staying at Caux. However, after only a week, she began to waver. In detailed and well considered letters to her startled and dismayed brother and parents, she laid out her reasons for her change in plans, leaving her sister Barbara to continue with a friend the planned European trajectory. What drew her most, as she explained to her parents, was the clear sense of purpose and honesty of the MRA volunteers, something that was far removed from the evangelical spirituality that she and her cousins had come to dislike. "There is nothing sentimental or aunt Reba-ish about it," she wrote her parents two weeks after arrival, "it is clean, hard fighting." "They have discovered the real way to live," she enthused a month later to her brother, Ross. "Up till now, I have had no other goal except how to get the most for myself ...how to satisfy my terrific ambition to be somebody and to do something. I've always wanted to give to other people ...and yet I can see that there are few people as selfish as I have been. I haven't been able to teach really effectively because there has always been this desire to please other people and have them think I am a lot better than I really am. I think many of us are like that. And this leads to a sort of wall being built up to protect the person we know is the real me, and to protect it from being vulnerable to criticism and hurt."⁵⁰

Her comments echo the observations of Paul Tournier, a well-known Swiss Christian psychiatrist and writer, who had been deeply influenced

when he first met Buchman at a house party in Oxford in 1937. Until then as Tournier later explained in an interview, he had been “a very closed man, who found it practically impossible to make personal contact with anyone.” His experience of Buchman’s approach to personal relations based on honesty, forgiveness, and reconciliation was sufficiently transformative to change his clinical practice to one centred on spiritual health.⁵¹

As was the case for Tournier, the Fleming cousins and their two youngest aunts reached adulthood in an upper middle-class culture which imposed high parental standards on youth and offered little space to strike out in new directions. Their encounter with MRA took place at a time when they were in search of channeling a privileged life into something more meaningful and satisfying. For their grandmother and aunts Reba, Stella, and Evelyn, foreign missions had been the obvious choice. In the post-war period, although MRA had points in common with Christianity and foreign missions, young people socialized in Christian institutions were eager to find exciting new expressions for moral concern. Once critical of MRA, Margaret now saw it as offering volunteers a new and meaningful way of life. “Here at Caux I have really found how to get rid of the barriers I have built, and to face (without fear of being hurt) the real me inside,” she confided to her brother. “Because here at Caux, men and women from everywhere are demonstrating a practical, positive, outgoing, happy, and satisfying way of life that is really working miracles in human relations around the world. They are showing that democracy can be just as straightforward and just as powerful as the strongest communism—and they are out to convince the ‘democratic’ countries of that before they are swept up by the passion of communism.”⁵² By this time the movement’s aim of international reconciliation had begun to focus heavily on communism’s threat to freedom as represented by American democracy. In Margaret’s eyes, what needed to be challenged was any effort to undermine this freedom, including, as Buchman also believed, the communist witch hunts by Republican Senator Eugene McCarthy then taking place in the United States. As she warned her brother, “You and I know how powerful are the communists and the supposed ‘anti-communists’ in the U.S. (McCarthy!). We’ve seen how petty and destructive a man like McCarthy can be, and the effect he’s had on the country. Yet we do absolutely nothing about it!”⁵³

Convinced that MRA’s approach to improving human relations and to communism brought purpose to her own life, Margaret decided to stay

on at Caux that summer. The decision embarked her on a quite different trajectory from that expected by her parents and the friends she had left behind in Toronto. Initially working at the MRA British headquarters in London, she helped spread MRA teachings among university students through dramatic productions and personal conversations. At the same time she daily practiced MRA's spiritual regime of waiting for spiritual guidance and seeking forgiveness and reconciliation with those wronged. Each of the Fleming cousins had experienced its power as they confronted their own longstanding losses and hurts. In Margaret's case, reconciliation happened in the course of her father's visit to London in April 1956, four years before his unexpected death. Time was spent briefly thereafter with the MRA mission in Morocco, in which her cousin Everett was actively engaged. This was followed by more sustained periods of work at an MRA centre in Kisco, New York, and in various Canadian cities and towns. The summer of 1962 found her in Mackinac Island preparing for a posting at a girls' school in Tokyo, where upon arrival she was fortunate in October to attend the "story book" wedding of her cousin Everett. Two years later, she was eager to avail herself of the chance to accompany a prominent Japanese family and MRA supporter, Masahide Shibusawa, to London to stay with the family of Peter Howard, who following Buchman's death in 1961 headed MRA. Sadly she was unable to make the journey, for a minor injury left untreated too long resulted in pulmonary embolism and her death on 5 October, 1964, at age 35.⁵⁴

TRANSITION, RE-EVALUATION AND LIFE AFTER MRA

Despite the reconciliation with her father, Margaret's immediate family had retained their misgivings about her decision to join MRA and was devastated by her death.⁵⁵ The event was part of a larger unraveling of the Fleming family's involvement in MRA. MRA's sense of mission had begun to wane in the early 1960s when first Buchman, and then suddenly in February 1965, his successor, Peter Howard, had died. By the late 1960s, ambivalence and, for some, disillusionment concerning MRA had surfaced among most of the Fleming volunteers as they moved on to new career opportunities.

With the honesty characteristic of volunteers trained in daily introspection, some in time came to recognize a darker side to MRA. One of the most obvious elements was how control of volunteer behaviour by MRA leadership succeeded in fostering cultish and group-mind characteristics.⁵⁶

Looking back many years later, Everett reflected that his wife's lifelong battle with debilitating migraine headaches might have originated from the stress caused by sexual abstinence during the years at Mackinac when their work and travel precluded any thought of having children.⁵⁷ For his cousin Catharine, subsequent reading in psychology helped to understand why supporting a cause and being part of a likeminded group could have such an attraction for young people, especially introverts like herself, frightened by their newly found freedom. She especially took issue with a group mind that considered itself representing "the ideology of the free world." The hubris of such absolutism contradicted the very idea of freedom. "When any one group or individual claims to have snaffled a monopoly on this wisdom," she warned, "it is time to watch out. And so I had found to my cost. It is important to have a good grasp of your own story."⁵⁸

For the Fleming cousins, the years with MRA had become a means to seek reconciliation in often unexpected ways and to shed bitterness in addressing the unique challenges of their own story. That journey had begun within the framework of MRA's discipline of confessions and forgiveness. To change the world one had to start with oneself. Like the evangelical Christianity out of which it had emerged, MRA's approach relied on personal, not on structural and humanitarian changes as championed by liberal Protestant internationalists such as J. King Gordon.⁵⁹ Here the movement also differed sharply from other more well-known Canadian faith-based peace movements. Unlike the communist sympathies of former Chinese missionary and Canadian peace advocate James Endicott and the Canadian Peace Congress founded in 1948, MRA sought the cooperation of heads of state and leaders of industry.⁶⁰ Instead of confrontation and structural change, Buchman wanted harmony and envisioned MRA as an organism whose volunteers were drawn from many nationalities. Participating "in a global collective or family," they were to bring about a revolution that began within each member.⁶¹ Not surprisingly therefore, the impact of MRA as a peace movement could best be understood through personal stories of change. For the Fleming volunteers, those stories did not end when the time came to leave MRA.

Evaluating the return home of another idealistic cohort who volunteered with CUSO in the 1960s and 70s, Ruth Brouwer has concluded that "personal gains and potential contributions to Canadian society equaled or exceeded their overseas contributions."⁶² This was also true for the Flemings.

As they left MRA and moved into new opportunities for service, they drew on the practical experience, contacts, and, in most cases, the self-confidence they had acquired. Despite some negative assessment, as he looked back on his fourteen years as a volunteer with MRA Everett Fleming saw it as “an incredible education in how the world works, constantly in touch with all races and social ranks. ...It also left me with a legacy of friends from every continent who enriched my life beyond measure.”⁶³

Careers opened that allowed each to build in new ways on their former identity as MRA volunteers: nursing for Betty, finance for Everett, and theatre management for Lou. Lou's twin brother Bob moved into photo-journalism with *Pace*, an innovative news and photo magazine centred in Los Angeles, initiated by several former MRA members. Catharine joined her cousin as a researcher, uncovering global stories of human interest, such as the stories recorded by Bob's stark photo reportage in 1962 of the suffering and malnourishment among peasant migrants in famine-devastated northern Brazil.⁶⁴ Both later returned to Canada to join the Ontario public service, Catharine as a speechwriter for Robert Welch, Minister of Education in the Bill Davis government, and Bob as an administrator of the Ontario Legislature, all the while continuing his photography of national and international celebrities. Catharine's life took a sharp turn when in 1972 she married a journalist and former Jesuit priest, Neil McKenty. The couple moved to Montreal where they would actively involve themselves in a Christian Meditation Centre in Montreal, founded in 1978 by Father John Main, a Benedictine monk. Influenced by an Indian teacher, Swami Satyananda, whom he had met while in Malaya in 1955, Main became a key figure in introducing forgotten Christian meditation practices to North Americans who like the McKentys were searching for contemplative forms of spirituality that revitalized faith by recognizing an indwelling universal spirit of love.⁶⁵ To Catharine this expression of Christianity was in keeping with her own family's values and with MRA's goal of global harmony through forgiveness and reconciliation. In her late seventies, she authored the story of her Irish-born aunt Polly Verner (1837–1918) who modeled the Fleming family's hopeful approach to adversity and loss. The book is now on display at St. Columb's Park House, a Northern Ireland peace and reconciliation centre in Derry.⁶⁶

As a fourteen-year old, Bob Fleming had first recognized the power of the camera to raise awareness of human hope and tragedy. In a sensitive

study of “cultural responses to loss and well doing,” Jill Scott has argued that Fleming’s photographs of immediate postwar Germany could be a powerful means to promote engagement and strengthen antiwar sentiment.⁶⁷ Bob would attribute his subsequent wide-ranging photographs chronicling his times to the early training in MRA where he had been taught “the power of the camera to be an uplifting force in the world.” Well into his 90s, he published a collection of his photographs and their accompanying stories in the belief “that regardless of age, race, or creed, we are all bound by common bonds to make the world a better place.”⁶⁸ Here succinctly was the point where the life stories of the Fleming volunteers had synchronized with the ideals of Buchman and MRA. Having enlisted in MRA with the hope of making the world a better place, each person had in his or her own way become aware that peace making is a long and arduous process that begins with personal change.

END NOTES

1. For example, Thomas Matyók, Maureen Flaherty, Hamdesa Tusso, Jessica Senehi, and Sean Byrne, eds. *Peace on Earth: The Role of Religion in Peace and Conflict Studies* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), makes no mention of MRA. Evidence of the lack of interest in the role of religion in peace movements more generally is Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney eds., *Worth Fighting For: Canada’s Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* (Toronto, ON: Between the Lines, 2015) which devotes only one of seventeen chapters to the topic. Notable exceptions which offer analyses of religion as a meaningful participant in conflict resolution, and of MRA’s role as a third party are Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson eds., *Religion, The Missing Dimension of Statecraft* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994) and more briefly, Vamik D. Volkan, Joseph V. Montville, and Demetrios A. Julius eds., *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships. Volume 2: Unofficial Diplomacy at Work* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1990). A sympathetic insider examination of MRA’s peace-building efforts globally is Michael Henderson, *The Forgiveness Factor: Stories of Hope*

in a World of Conflict (London, UK: Grosvenor Books, 2006).

2. See for example the praise of MRA's peace work in Asia and Africa in R.C. Mowat, "Moral Re-Armament's Initiative in Asia," *The Modern Churchman* 45, no. 2 (June 1955): 108–111. For an example of thoughtful negative criticism, see Donald M. C. Englert, "Buchmanism or Moral Rearmament," *Interpretation* 12, no. 3 (July 1958), 310–316, and the more negative "M.R.A. The New Druseanism" [an unattributed review of three recent books by MRA supporters], *Christian Century*, 31 March 1965, 399–400.
3. Philip Boobyer, *The Spiritual Vision of Frank Buchman* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Daniel Sack, *Moral Re-Armament: The Re-invention of an American Religious Movement* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). A biography by a committed insider that provides much helpful detail, is Garth Lean, *Frank Buchman: A Life* (London, UK: Collins, 1985).
4. Kevin Kee, *Revivalists: Marketing the Gospel in Canada, 1884–1957* (Montreal, PQ /Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 53–95; conflicting interpretations of the Group's impact are David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief 1850–1940* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 213–227, and Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada 1900–1940* (Montreal, PQ /Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 227–234.
5. The Nazi leadership distrusted the Oxford Group and by 1942 the German Army was forbidding officers from having anything to do with the movement. For the Nazi relationship with Buchman and his movement under either name, see Lean, *Frank Buchman*, 203–243; Boobyer, *Spiritual Vision*, 136–140.
6. Boobyer, *Spiritual Vision*, 132.
7. Like the Oxford Group, MRA workers were volunteers. The organization was dependent on donations from supporters who included small donors but primarily consisted of a number of wealthy and corporate contributors. Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 58–64, 132–133. Workers were expected to contribute financially according

- to their means. Everett Fleming, for example contributed his entire \$10,000 savings in the course of his fourteen years with MRA. By the time he joined in 1955 the organization was well established financially and led by very able and experienced administrators. In every country it entered it registered itself as a tax-exempt organization. Everett R. Fleming, interview by author, Toronto, ON, 15 November, 2013.
8. Boobbyer, *Spiritual Vision*, 2. Boobbyer acknowledges this to be on the high side, since exact numbers were difficult to ascertain. The statistic is taken from a special issue on MRA in *Time and Tide*, 2–8 September, 1965, 1, and includes both those who devoted their lives to full-time work and those who took time off their work to join various campaigns.
 9. For CUSO, see Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961–86* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).
 10. Ruth Compton Brouwer, “When Missions Became Development: Ironies of NGO’ization in Mainstream Canadian Churches in the 1960s,” *Canadian Historical Review* 91, no. 4 (2010): 661–693.
 11. Robert S. Ellwood, *The Fifties Spiritual Marketplace: American Religion in a Decade of Conflict* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997).
 12. For his early life and role as mayor, see Marguerite Van Die, “Protestants, the Liberal State and the Practice of Politics: Revisiting R.J. Fleming and the 1890s Toronto Streetcar Controversy,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 24 (2013): 89–129.
 13. For more detail on the Fleming family, see Marguerite Van Die, “Lived Religion and the Changing Spirituality and Discourse of Christian Globalization: a Canadian Family’s Odyssey,” *Historical Papers 2015, Canadian Society of Church History*: 113–140.
 14. Rebecca (Reba) Verner Fleming to Dr. Evelyn M. Fleming, 23 July 1937, Fonds 1105, Series 2372, File 9, City of Toronto Archives.
 15. Van Die, “Lived Religion,” 128–9.
 16. What follows is based on an autobiographical account, Robert J. Fleming, “Memories of Norman Keene,” 1–54, typescript, Robert

- J. Fleming Papers, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario, and Robert J. Fleming, interviews by author, Kingston, ON, 23 September 2013, and 13 December, 2013. For Bernard Hallward's role in MRA, see Laurent Gagnon ed., *Beyond Borders: Initiatives of Change in Quebec* (Caux, CH: Caux Books, 2006), 28–35.
17. "Programme: Pull Together Canada! Victory Bonds for Victory" and newspaper clippings, Robert J. Fleming Papers, Queen's University Archives, Kingston. For a brief account by other participants, see Gagnon, *Beyond Borders*, 37, 48, 162.
 18. "You Can Fight for Canada," *Pull Together Canada! Victory Bonds for Victory* [pamphlet], Robert J. Fleming Papers, Queen's University Archives, Kingston, ON.
 19. Lean, *Frank Buchman*, 311–320. By the late 1940s MRA was one of the Island's largest landowners, Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 131.
 20. Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 119. Sack notes that a major goal of the desired "constructive relationships" was the prevention of industrial strife, 118–128. Buchman ensured a prominent MRA presence at the 1945 San Francisco Conference establishing the United Nations, but his approach to post-war peace and security differed sharply from the diplomatic and economic efforts of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) described in Susan Armstrong-Reid and David Murray, *Armies of Peace: Canada and the UNRRA Years* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
 21. Boobbyer, *Spiritual Vision*, 119–122; Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 109–114.
 22. Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 131; Lean, *Frank Buchman*, 340–3.
 23. Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 148–9.
 24. Edward Luttwak, "Franco-German Reconciliation: The Overlooked Role of the Moral Re-Armament Movement," in *Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, eds. Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994), 37–57. For a list of all participants during the Caux conferences 1946–50, see pp. 49–51. See also Henderson, *The Forgiveness Factor*, 3–36.
 25. Robert J. Fleming, "The Story of Bob Fleming's Journalistic Life. Part

3. Road from Ruin,” typescript. Robert J. Fleming Papers, Queen’s University Archives, Kingston, Ontario. An analysis of how his photographs are an aid to encouraging engagement and visualizing forgiveness is given in *A Poetics of Forgiveness: Cultural Responses to Loss and Wrongdoing* by Jill Scott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 113–134. For the work in post-war Germany in the late 1940s, see also Lean, *Frank Buchman*, 357–373.
26. Boobyer, *The Spiritual Vision*, 132.
27. For more detail about Buchman’s strategy and organization, see Boobyer, *The Spiritual Vision*, 106–131.
28. Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 144–146; Boobyer, *The Spiritual Vision*, 79.
29. For a detailed description of the Asian tour, see Michael Henderson, *Ice in Every Carriage* (Caux, CH: Caux Books, 2010).
30. Evelyn M. Fleming to Agnes Katherine Fleming, 4 July 1955, Fonds 1105, Series 2372, File 51, City of Toronto Archives.
31. Boobyer, *The Spiritual Vision*, 145–146.
32. For the relationship between the Oxford Group, MRA and Alcoholics Anonymous, see Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 81–84 and 192–193. For Lloyd Fleming, see the clipping of a tribute by the Mayor and Permanent Committee of Malaga City Council, Robert J. Fleming Papers, Queen’s University Archives.
33. Everett R. Fleming, From *Meadowbrook Farm* (n.p: private publication, 2012), 13–16.
34. Fleming, From *Meadowbrook Farm*, 111. See 109–130 for an account of his years with MRA.
35. Henderson, *The Forgiveness Factor*, 44–57.
36. Fleming, From *Meadowbrook Farm*, 117.
37. Fleming, From *Meadowbrook Farm*, 121.
38. In 1934 during his stop in Banff, Alberta, Buchman was made a blood brother by Chief Walking Bull, as the two began a lengthy friendship. With the blessing of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and sponsored by MRA, in 1960 Chief Walking Bull and a contingent of First

Nations representatives embarked on a world journey to meet the aboriginal people of Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and Uganda. Official photographer was Robert J. Fleming, Everett's cousin. Robert J. Fleming, *Just Picture It: Real Life...Real People...Real Stories* (Kingston, ON: Allan Graphics, 2016), 49–51.

39. MRA centres in India and Japan, for example, were run by non-Christians, though Europeans and Americans remained closely involved. Boobbyer, *The Spiritual Vision*, 90.
40. Fleming, From *Meadowbrook Farm*, 118–130, and Everett R. Fleming, interview by author, Toronto, ON, 15 November, 2013.
41. The account which follows is taken from Catharine Fleming McKenty, “The Grandmother Who Rode Elephants,” typescript, 28–42, Private Collection, Montreal; Catharine Fleming McKenty, interview by author, Kingston, ON, 6 March 2014.
42. McKenty, “The Grandmother Who Rode Elephants,” 31.
43. For more detail on the reconciliation and on Laure's impact on the German delegation, see Lean, *Frank Buchman*, 348–356. Von Cramon's relationship with Buchman and the Nazi leadership is discussed on 203–242 passim.
44. McKenty, “The Grandmother Who Rode Elephants,” 32–33.
45. Though acknowledging that there were many other contributing factors, Lean, *Frank Buchman*, 355–373, evaluates Buchman's efforts as a major factor in preventing Marxist takeover of the Ruhr region.
46. Buchman viewed strong women as “bossy and heady.” Boobbyer, *The Spiritual Vision*, 78.
47. McKenty, “The Grandmother Who Rode Elephants,” 37–42.
48. Betty Fleming Beeman, interview by the author, Whitby, ON, 19 December, 2013.
49. Ross Fleming, “Goldie: A Personal Memoir of my Father Goldwin Orford Fleming 1889 to 1960,” 24–26. Ross Fleming Papers, private collection, Toronto.
50. Margaret Fleming to Goldwin Fleming and Jean Ross Fleming, 17 August 1954, Ross Fleming Papers, private collection, Toronto.

51. Lean, *Frank Buchman*, 270.
52. Margaret Fleming to Ross Fleming, 17 August 1954, Ross Fleming Papers, private collection, Toronto.
53. Margaret Fleming to Ross Fleming.
54. See the letter to the family by Buchman's Canadian-born physician in Tokyo, Paul Campbell to Ross Fleming, 2 November 1964. Ross Fleming Papers, private collection, Toronto.
55. Ross Fleming, interviews by author, Toronto, ON, 21 October, 2013 and 15 November 2013; Barbara Fleming, interview by author, Toronto, ON, 2 February, 2014.
56. During his short-lived leadership Peter Howard had sought to break the movement out of this and provide "a positive alternative to the anti-war, anti-adult, anti-establishment mood." Fleming, From *Meadowbrook Farm*, 128. After his sudden death in Lima, Peru, in 1965, his efforts resulted in a new program, *Up With People*, directed at the young and their musical interests, and *Dare*, a new youth magazine. Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 169–170. Since 2002 MRA has been re-named *Initiatives of Change-International*. Gagnon, *Beyond Borders*, 7–10.
57. Fleming, From *Meadowbrook Farm*, pp 55, 127.
58. McKenty, "The Grandmother Who Rode Elephants," p.37; Catharine Fleming McKenty, telephone interview by author, Kingston, ON, 3 May, 2018.
59. Keith Fleming *The World is Our Parish: John King Gordon, 1900–1989* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2015); Eileen Janzen, *Growing to One World: the Life of J. King Gordon* (Montreal, PQ / Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), especially 342–346 for his mature view on moral action in the international sphere.
60. Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada 1900–1945* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 289–291, briefly examines the move towards a more radical peace movement with the founding of the Canadian Peace Congress in 1948. See also Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in*

An Age of Anxiety (Toronto, ON: Between the Lines, 2012), 106–137.

61. Boobbyer, *Spiritual Vision*, 127.
62. Brouwer, *Canada's Global Villagers*, 200.
63. Fleming, From *Meadowbrook Farm*, 133.
64. For Fleming's account of the Pace article see "Starvation and Death Haunted People of 'the Other Brazil,'" *Kingston Whig Standard*, 25 June, 2004, 56–57
65. Neil McKenty, *In the Stillness Dancing: the Journey of John Main* (London, UK: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986), especially "Visit of the Dalai Llama," 127–8. For the wider context, see Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), especially 168–198.
66. Catharine Fleming McKenty, *Polly of Bridgewater Farm: an Unknown Irish Story*, second ed. (Toronto, ON: Cabbagetown Press, 2009). Mary Anne Noble Verner (Polly) was the half-sister of Robert J. Fleming.
67. Scott, *A Poetics of Forgiveness*, 113–134.
68. Fleming, *Just Picture It*, book cover.