

“THAT’S THE WAY IT WAS”: ORAL HISTORIES OF FIVE WOMEN INVOLVED  
IN BRIERCREST COLLEGE AND SEMINARY PRIOR TO 1960

Colleen Taylor

Box 339 Spiritwood, SK S0J 2M0

Research in Religious Studies Conference  
University of Lethbridge  
May 2007

My story is important not because it is mine, God knows,  
but because if I tell it anything like right,  
the chances are you will recognize  
that in many ways it is also yours.  
Maybe nothing is more important than  
that we keep track,  
you and I, of these stories  
of who we are  
and where we have come from  
and the people we have met along the way  
because it is precisely through these stories  
in all their particularity,  
as I have long believed and often said,  
that God makes himself known to each of us  
most powerfully and personally.  
If this is true, it means  
that to lose track of our stories  
is to be profoundly impoverished  
not only humanly but also spiritually.

Frederick Buechner in *Telling Secrets*  
(Harper San Francisco, 1991), 30.  
*Poetic line breaks mine.*

In 1998, my final project for an MCS at Regent College was an arts thesis in which I wrote songs and poems, presenting them in a concert. The theme was “Finding a Voice,” and it explored three dimensions: finding one’s own voice, giving voice to the voiceless, and hearing God’s voice. One of the songs was called “Poetess.” I was aware that the term can be construed as derogatory; nevertheless, in the theological spirit of redemption, I claimed it. The chorus of “Poetess” expresses the core of what I now understand as my vocation:

I am a poetess  
And one day I will take my place  
Among the grandmothers and wise women.  
I am a poetess  
Between the silences  
I hear stories and find the words to speak.

Those words were like a prophecy for my future as a change agent and, through my most recently defended thesis, as a scholar. In this thesis I interviewed five women: four in their 80s and one in her 70s, effectively taking my place among grandmothers and wise women that preceded me at Briercreech College and Seminary. In doing oral history, I have heard stories for which I am finding the words to speak.

A second component in my arts thesis was 30-page academic paper on a related subject. I researched the poetry of three Mennonite women, spending significant time in the Columbia Bible College library, pouring over literature about Mennonite women and their history. Little did I know that this would lay a foundation for my future research. Interestingly, an article by Julia Kasdorf, published four years prior to my Regent thesis but

only discovered after, draws an essential connection between oral history and the poetry of Mennonite women.<sup>1</sup>

Briercrest Bible Institute (now Briercrest College and Seminary) was founded in 1935 in the town of Briercrest. In 1946 they moved to the abandoned British air base at Caron, west of Moose Jaw. Henry Hildebrand and Sinclair Whittaker are recognized as the official founders, but in truth, if it were not for the vision and tenacity of two women, Annie Hillson and Isabel Whittaker, the school would never have gotten off the ground.

I came into this project with a variety of questions about women's roles in education, but realized they were prematurely analytical and that the real need was for descriptive research about women at Briercrest.

### **Surveying the Literature about Briercrest**

While much has been written on the history of Briercrest Bible Institute and the men involved in its founding, the stories and voices of their female co-laborers and wives have more rarely been heard. Regarding primary written sources, a significant amount of material has been published focusing on the founding and growth of Briercrest Bible Institute: *Miracle on the Prairies* and *Beacon on the Prairies* by Bernard and Marjorie Palmer, *In His Loving Service* by Henry Hildebrand, and *Wind in the Wheatfields* by Henry Budd. The emphasis in most of these books is on the roles played by men, with comparatively little attention given to the women who were involved in establishing the school. In fact, *Beacon on the Prairies* is subtitled *The Men God Uses In Building The Briercrest Bible Institute*. Bernard and Marjorie Palmer do have a chapter in *Miracle on the Prairies* titled "The Dean of Women Speaks,"

---

<sup>1</sup> Julia Kasdorf, "'We Weren't Always Plain': Poetry by Women of Mennonite Backgrounds" in *Strangers at Home*, eds. Kimberly D. Schmidt, Diane Zimmerman Umble, and Steven D. Reschly (The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2002), 312-338.

Henry Hildebrand writes clearly of Annie (Copeland) Hillson <sup>2</sup> and dedicates two further chapters of his memoirs to women (chapter 8, “The Founding of a Bible School” and chapter 10, “Enter the Heroine,” about his wife), and Henry Budd’s pictorial history gives very fair coverage to women along with the men, in text as well as pictures. However, all of these books are written by men (Bernard Palmer with his wife) and focus on the institution, which was male-led with support staff comprised of some men, married or single, and many single women. My interview participants noted that the school had an early policy of not employing married women, a significant factor in excluding women from institutional influence.<sup>3</sup> The primary sources lack narrative about the day-to-day lives of women behind the scenes, and what they do have is an idealized image of home life. According to Esther Edwards and Selma Penner, Henry Hildebrand’s wife Inger, “the Heroine,” was not necessarily typical and was so exemplary as to be intimidating for other women.<sup>4</sup> The ordinary experiences of married women have been largely overlooked.

One exception is *Treasures in Heaven* by Beatrice Sundbo. Here is the story of a wife (with her husband), who “saw four of her five children die.”<sup>5</sup> The Sundbo family began serving at BBI early after the school moved to Caronport<sup>6</sup> and this little book is full of names well known to those familiar with Briercrest history. Yet, Briercrest’s centrality is a

---

<sup>2</sup> Henry Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service* (Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible College, 1985), 47-48.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Esther Edwards and Selma Penner, Interview by author, cassette recording (Abbotsford, BC, 2 November 2004)

<sup>5</sup> Beatrice Sundbo, *Treasures in Heaven* (Beaverlodge, AB: Horizon House Publishers, 1977), back cover.

<sup>6</sup> BBI relocated to Caronport in 1946. Mrs. Sundbo supplies some dates, but no years, not even of her children’s births. At the time of writing this proposal, dates are estimated. Mrs. Sundbo writes, “Before Donald was three months old, we moved from our home in Weldon, a small town in northern Saskatchewan, to the Briercrest Bible Institute at Caronport Saskatchewan” (p. 21). Donnie, who died of leukemia at age 4, was second of the four children lost. Another clue to dates is in the acknowledgements: “The story of Donna, Donald, and Baby Garth was first published, privately, in 1955.” I will clarify dates for the thesis.

coincidence of geography; this book is the memoir of one family's grief, not a deliberately historical record about the Institute.

Another exception is *Joyful Servants*, a biography of David and Jeannie Hildebrand, written by David's father, Henry Hildebrand. The account of David's childhood documents mundane details such as colds, flues, earaches, and frequent visits to the hospital. There are also references to David's mother and to Hildebrand family life<sup>7</sup> in the towns of Briercrest and Caronport. In this book, Henry Hildebrand is compiler as much as author, and many of the voices within are women's. However, even though this book focuses on the people more than the institution, the writers recount memories of David and Jeannie, not their own narratives, and recollections prior to 1960 are few. These two elements place this book outside the parameters of this study.

Thus, a survey of primary sources available on the history of Briercrest reveals a significant and fairly obvious gap. It seems that it would be easy to fill this gap, but there is the problem of silence.

The Palmers write at the end of *Miracle on the Prairies*: "Who can say what has been done at Briercrest as a direct result of the silent, happy acceptance of the personal sacrifices made by the wives and families of staff members that serving at such an institution demands?"<sup>8</sup> If published literature were the only witness, there would be no argument. But, after interviews with only five women who lived and worked at Briercrest prior to 1960, it became apparent that the wives and families may have been silent, but not all were happy with or accepting of their situation. Jean Whittaker regrets the frequency of giving up her

---

<sup>7</sup> Henry Hildebrand, *Joyful Servants* (Caronport, SK: Briercrest Books, 2001), 5, 10-15

<sup>8</sup> Bernard Palmer and Marjorie Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies* (Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible Institute, n.d.), 190.

bed for visiting students and Bible teachers during her teens, and was shocked and frustrated to learn that the principal of the school was given a car when she could not get a desired bicycle when.<sup>9</sup> Esther Edwards tells of how her children wanted a pony. Not being able to work for pay at Caronport,<sup>10</sup> she took a clerical job in Moose Jaw and rented a school-owned car (for two dollars a day) to get there.<sup>11</sup>

### Silent and Hidden Women

When I contacted my first interviewees by phone—Esther Edwards, Selma Penner, Irene Fender, and Lillian Diggins—each one expressed doubt in her ability to contribute much to the project. Esther Edwards was the first secretary to Henry Hildebrand and later became the wife of Homer Edwards. When I told her that my research revealed a lack of information regarding women, she responded, “We were supposed to be seen and not heard, like children.”<sup>12</sup>

While this silence among women at Briercrest may be disquieting, it is not surprising. Silence among women, i.e. lack of voice and agency, is a common theme in psychological studies,<sup>13</sup> women's history, and even church history. Women's historian Gerda Lerner writes, “Selective memory on the part of the men who recorded and interpreted human history has had a devastating impact on women. ... In effect, this process ... has taught both men and women that women did not contribute to the making of civilization in their own right.”<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Jean (Whittaker) Mahn, Interview by author, cassette recording (Athens, OH, 4 June 2005).

<sup>10</sup> It was standing practice not to employ married women, even those without children.

<sup>11</sup> Esther Edwards, interview.

<sup>12</sup> Esther Edwards, telephone conversation, 26 Oct 2004.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Field Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind* (Basic Books, 1996), 17-18.

<sup>14</sup> Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 205-206.

Some may feel that Lerner's language is too strong to be applied to Briercrest, yet these sorts of effects are evident.<sup>15</sup> Even so, I do not believe that the people of Briercrest ever actually believed that women's activities were less valuable—just differently valued.

Briercrest's founding principal, Dr. Henry Hildebrand, a 95-year old Russian Mennonite, told me that women and men "each have their place,"<sup>16</sup> an idea clearly borne out in his writings about his wife and in his sermons: a woman's place—her highest calling—is in the home, and this was her greatest contribution to the college. Unfortunately, not all women have been as exemplary nor resilient as his wife Inger Hildebrand.

Women's segregation to the home, where they may have subsumed their identities into their husbands and the wider institution, has even hidden women from each other, often leaving them with few resources and supports, effectively devaluing their activities and their very selves while their men have gone off to study and administrate. The isolation can be unsettling and unhealthy. Women like Isabel Whittaker bore the pain and suffered in silence.<sup>17</sup>

In the interests of time for this conference presentation, I have omitted detail about the historical setting for this research, though it has fascinating implications. For example, World War II began not long after the school's founding, and during the war years, entire classes were comprised of mostly female students. For now it is enough to say that my sample set of women comes out of the period from World War II up to the appearance of feminism around 1960. This thesis will be undertaken lest women from the early days of Briercrest disappear.

---

<sup>15</sup> I mean, specifically, the BBI of this thesis' time period. This also applies to the current situation.

<sup>16</sup> Henry Hildebrand, Interview by author (Abbotsford, BC, 2 November 2004).

<sup>17</sup> Jean (Whittaker) Mahn.

## Why Oral History?

Through this thesis I have generated “oral history memoirs,”<sup>18</sup> or narratives, from conversations with women who were involved in Briercrest College and Seminary in its early days, focusing as much as possible on the first two and a half decades (1935-1960).

Oral history asks and answers questions about long-term memory and lived experience, with the potential to uncover more than the basic facts of who, what, where, and when, making it an appropriate method for asking the question, *What were the experiences of women in the early days of Briercrest?* While artifacts such as letters, journals, photos, and even recipe books could be helpful in pursuing this question, how much better to talk to the women themselves? The oral history interview searches out nuances of lived experiences not necessarily found in historical documents.

Oral history is “not so much ... an exercise in fact finding but ... an interpretive event, as the narrator compresses years of living into a few hours of talk, selecting, consciously and unconsciously, what to say and how to say it.”<sup>19</sup> Often the narratives tell the same stories two or three times, but with discrepancies. This demonstrates the individual and perspectival nature of memory and, by extension, of all history. The aim of this thesis is not to harmonize accounts and resolve discrepancies (though I do give this some attention in chapter five), but to let these acts of memory be witnessed for the first time through cohesive personal narratives (chapter four). Harmonizing and resolving are later historiographical tasks and beyond the scope of this research.

---

<sup>18</sup> Baylor Institute for Oral History, “About Us,” Baylor Institute for Oral History, <http://www.baylor.edu/oral%5Fhistory/index.php?id=23343> (accessed 12 May 2005).

<sup>19</sup> Linda Shopes, “What is Oral History?” (<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/oral/what.html>, February 2002. accessed 3 Mar 2007), p. 7.

The editors of *Rethinking Canada*, Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason, and Adele Perry, make this bold claim are convinced that oral history enriches us by “bringing women into the historical narrative” and that “oral history gives women the opportunity to describe, and interpret in their own words, events in which they participated.”<sup>20</sup> They remark, “Historians are heirs to a scholarly tradition that venerates the written and either ignores the oral or denigrates it as ‘myth’ or, especially when spoken by women, ‘gossip’.”<sup>21</sup> Not that oral history is limited to women, but it is especially valuable to women. The concerns of women may be commonplace, but they are not insignificant. There can be a fine line between gossip and oral tradition, but oral history is far from merely “telling tales,” it is deep conversation.<sup>22</sup>

Tucker and Liefeld recommend studying women in church history to understand how they were prominent and influential in the church, “even though they were systematically denied positions of authority.”<sup>23</sup> That was 1987 and at that point in women’s history, prominence and influence were useful concepts in securing a woman’s place in history alongside men. While there is still much to study in the lives of powerful women, that point has been made many times over. The goal of this thesis is to raise interest in all areas of women's lives, thus gaining a fuller understanding of life in the early days of Briercrest from women who, though they may not have been leaders, certainly have been part of the fabric of living in the towns of Briercrest and Caronport. In fact, these women’s stories need to be told *because* they had limited influence. I believe that this look at behind-the-scenes life of early

---

<sup>20</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason, and Adele Perry, eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women’s History* (Oxford University Press: Don Mills, ON, 2002), 6.

<sup>21</sup> Strong-Boag, 220.

<sup>22</sup> David Goa, Conversation (Edmonton, AB, May 19, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> Tucker and Liefeld, *Daughters*, 14.

Briercrest will provide insights for understanding Caronport's current social fabric, data that has, until now, not received scholarly attention.

### The Participants

The women who participated in interviews are Jean Rhode Mahn (nee Whittaker), Esther Edwards, Selma Penner, Irene Fender, and Lillian Diggins. Jean is the daughter of founders Isabel and Sinclair Whittaker. Among the other four, Esther and Lillian had been students, all four were wives, and all were, at some time, paid staff. Though there are many other women whose stories could and probably should be gathered, limiting the sample set to five women is consistent with the nature of qualitative research. Qualitative research sometimes needs as few as one or two subjects, since the researcher spends so much time with the individual participants<sup>24</sup> through interviewing, transcribing, and corroborating (aka triangulating) to verify information.

Generating oral history memoirs is a collaborative process between the researcher who interviews and the participants who narrate their life stories. I was not just pursuing information, I was pursuing a relationship and, as an alumna and employee at Briercrest, I provided a tangible link to each narrator's past.

The oral historian is primarily a listener, taking an active, not passive, role in collecting "society's otherwise unorganized memories."<sup>25</sup> Thus, the first listening task in oral history is gathering data via in-depth interviewing, also known as deep conversations.

---

<sup>24</sup> Bev McIntyre, telephone conversation (Moose Jaw, SK, 13 June 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Donald A. Ritchie, "Foreword," *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience*, (Waco, TX: Baylor University Institute for Oral History, 1994, v, [http://www3.baylor.edu/Oral\\_History/ritchie%20foreword.pdf](http://www3.baylor.edu/Oral_History/ritchie%20foreword.pdf)).

Having done the initial interviews, the next step was to transcribe the tapes. I transcribed the interviews myself. Though time consuming, this was important for reliving the interview experience.

Then, writes Rebecca Jones, "between the oral interview and the written manuscript is a long, meandering journey in which a narrative is crafted."<sup>26</sup> This has been my journey: the genre is autobiography, the narrative voicing is first person, and the questions about how to organize and provide connective tissue have been rather mystifying.

I especially struggled with the question of authentic voice. Writing descriptively in third person is relatively easy and safe. Somehow trying to convey the stories in first person felt presumptuous, especially in the case of two participants in the same interview (Esther and Selma, Lillian and Gordon). In the end, I pursued the first-person voice, effectively making each narrative autobiographical, then to set the narratives in context, I included a short third-person preface for each.

Though my exact words have been removed or integrated into the narrative texts, and though I have worked to maintain fairly distinct voicing for each narrator, it would be naïve to think that I am completely absent from the text. I am not merely a bystander to these women and I am not merely a researcher; as a evangelical Christian woman, and as an employee and alumna of Briercrest, I am joined to these women on many levels and am emotionally involved. I realize that I bring my own biases and experiences.

After drafting the transcript's raw material into a reasonable personal narrative, I mailed the transcript and narrative, along with a letter explaining the project and consent form, to each participant, asking her to make corrections, additions, and deletions as desired

---

<sup>26</sup> Rebecca Jones, "Blended Voices: Crafting a Narrative from Oral History Interviews" in *The Oral History Review* (Vol 31, No. 1), 23-42.

and to return the documents to me with the self-addressed, stamped (or pre-paid “Express Post”) envelope provided. Each narrator signed a consent form,<sup>27</sup> verifying that she understood the purpose of the oral history and releasing her edited and revised documents.

That is the process. What can we learn from the results?

The oral historian stands in the gap, maintaining a “collective memory” (i.e. continuous living contact with the past), and reviving from or preventing regression into “historical memory.” Historical memory is ““when social traditions are broken and living contact with the past has been lost.””<sup>28</sup> When a culture experiences historical memory, “all that remains are fragments as artifacts.” It is possible that these narratives one day, however soon or late, will be relegated to artifacts, but for now I am providing an outlet for these women’s voices, and thus maintaining “living contact” with history.

Though it may not be possible to generalize for all Briercrest women from the lives of these individuals, it is possible to extrapolate themes and patterns and to make recommendations for further research.<sup>29</sup> Analysis does not end once the narratives are crafted. In this thesis it continues with comparing and harmonizing the narratives, and it continues as each reader approaches the text, bringing his or her presuppositions, knowledge, experiences.

A comment on chapter five of my thesis, which discusses of the results of the study. Initially I had conceived this chapter as a preliminary comparison of themes from the women’s narratives with themes from Henry Hildebrand’s memoirs. In fact, I had written

---

<sup>27</sup> Discussion of ethics and examples of consent forms are found in Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1999), 89-101.

<sup>28</sup> Linda Sandino. “Oral Histories and Design: Objects and Subjects,” in *Journal of Design History* (2006 19(4):275-282; doi:10.1093/jdh/eplo22).

<sup>29</sup> Bev McIntyre.

the entire chapter, eighteen pages long, but it just did not fall together. But it felt like I was trying too hard to prove a point about women versus men. The male voice was dominating in the comparison.

So I went back to the narratives, listed twelve major themes and began to colour-code them. I began to see how the women's stories could speak independently and that they need to be understood on their own terms before setting them alongside accounts of "The Men God Use[d] In Building Briercrest Bible Institute."<sup>30</sup> This is not to exclude men; we have already established in the literature review in chapter two that men's voices have been prominent in telling the story of Briercrest and that women's voices need to be brought forward. Comparing and contrasting with men's writings must be saved for a later project.

With Bruce Hindmarsh and P.T. Forsyth's admonitions in mind that scholarship is a spiritual discipline, I then started over, visualizing each woman in prayer, seeing her come to me and tell me about herself. After "meditating" on each woman's story, I decided to arrange this chapter in the same order as chapter four—chronologically according to each woman's arrival in Caronport, and decided to explicate at least three out of five themes from each narrative: marriage, children, work, worldly goods, and/or voice. I discuss the significance of each theme in the woman's life and briefly touch on two or three examples from her narrative. Secondary sources and other primary sources are extremely tantalizing and even useful, but I decided to limit interaction with them, especially avoiding long quotations, in order to emphasize the women's voices. I also purposed to carefully avoid "preaching" about my pet themes in making recommendations and drawing conclusions. If an oral historian is first and foremost a listener, then I must withhold my biases and restrain my own voice; I

---

<sup>30</sup> Subtitle to Bernard and Marjorie Palmer's fictionalized book, *Beacon on the Prairies*.

must train the ears of my heart and mind to listen again and again to the women's voices in the autobiographical texts I have helped to create and help others to listen as well.

### **Personal Reflection**

Some people have wondered if I kept too much content from the interviews in the women's narratives, i.e., too much talk about the women's children or too much about Jean Mahn's life beyond Briercrest. If I had been writing for a popular audience, then yes, there would be too much content. However, since a thesis is an academic process, I intentionally kept most of the content from the interviews, rearranging for flow and cleaning up some repetition and style in the narratives. I wanted the narratives to show the range and frequency of the women's concerns. Dialogue about children demonstrates how all-consuming this was in the lives of women who were expected to stay home with their young. Jean Mahn's recollections about travel and other privileges with her husbands stand conspicuously against her parents' lives and her own early life at Briercrest. Never mind comparisons to previously written texts: the internal dialogue for each woman is complex enough.

While these narratives are not ready for popular publication, they do make early women of Briercrest accessible to a new audience. It is outside the scope of this study to produce a definitive account; rather, this project is a preliminary exploration into the lives of women in Briercrest's early days. While it introduces some analysis, thorough investigation with publications and artifacts must wait for another project.

The narratives include discussions of sewing, cleaning, home renovation, food preparation, weddings, child bearing and childcare. While previous accounts by men of

Briercrest may allude to such themes, they do not provide the same kind of behind-the-scenes insight.

This is only a beginning for a new appreciation of Briercrest's origins. The stories here bring a new perspective along with some new information. Even with further similar research, many stories will never be heard—from women or from men. Perhaps in these narratives, these stories, someone will recognize that in many ways it is also their story and be enriched. Certainly, in just these four narratives by five women, we can see the hand of God in their lives. To know these stories is to be enriched. To lose them would deprive us of heritage.

However, knowledge of our heritage is more than a sentimental or even enriching exercise: it can be “an act of survival” that “increases the possible strategies for living and interpreting experience.”<sup>31</sup> I have a hunch (call it woman's intuition or an educated guess), that the research begun in this thesis could be critical for the future of Briercrest College and Seminary.

Briercrest at Caronport is not what it used to be, yet it cannot go back and must examine “possible strategies for living and interpreting experience.” While I am sometimes mystified by the community practices of early Briercrest, I can also appreciate the value of having the women “at home,” i.e., occupying largely domestic realms such as caring for husbands and children, practicing hospitality, and attending to wider community life. Early Briercrest sought a particular balance between school and community, a balance which appears to have been crucial in the establishment not only of a school but of an entire town. Through these narratives we can see more clearly the symbiotic interrelationship of the

---

<sup>31</sup> Kasdorf, 317-318.

schools and the community. More voices have been added to the choir. Stories have been heard and passed forward. Whether or not more narratives are formally collected, and whatever instruction or inspiration can rise from these four narratives, it is enough that the stories have been told so that these voices can be heard.

I hope and pray that this research will challenge and inspire all who read it to become better listeners, to pay attention to the stories of their elders and the voices of women, so to maintain continuous living contact with the past<sup>32</sup> and be equipped with means for living in the present and moving into the future.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Sandino.

<sup>33</sup> Kasdorf, 317.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baylor Institute for Oral History. "About Us," Baylor Institute for Oral History. Available at <http://www.baylor.edu/oral%5Fhistory/index.php?id=23343> (accessed 12 May 2005).
- Belenky, Mary Field et al. *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind*. Basic Books, 1996.
- Edwards, Esther and Selma Penner. Interview by author, cassette recording. Abbotsford, BC, 2 November 2004.
- Edwards, Esther. Telephone conversation, notes. 26 Oct 2004
- Goa, David. Conversation. Edmonton, AB, 19 May 2007.
- Hildebrand, Henry. *In His Loving Service*. Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible College, 1985.
- Hildebrand, Henry. Interview by author. Abbotsford, BC, 2 November 2004.
- Hildebrand, Henry. *Joyful Servants*. Caronport, SK: Briercrest Books, 2001.
- Jones, Rebecca. "Blended Voices: Crafting a Narrative from Oral History Interviews" in *The Oral History Review*, Vol 31, No. 1, pages 23-42.
- Kasdorf, Julia. "'We Weren't Always Plain': Poetry by Women of Mennonite Backgrounds" in *Strangers at Home*, eds. Kimberly D. Schmidt, Diane Zimmerman Umble, and Steven D. Reschly. The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2002.
- Lerner, Gerda. *Why History Matters*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Mahn, Jean (Whittaker). Interview by author, cassette recording. Athens, Ohio, 4 June 2005.
- Marshall, Catherine and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1999.
- Palmer, Bernard and Marjorie Palmer. *Miracle on the Prairies*. Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible Institute, n.d..
- Ritchie, Donald A. "Foreword," *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience*, (Waco, TX: Baylor University Institute for Oral History, 1994), v. Available at [http://www3.baylor.edu/Oral\\_History/ritchie%20foreword.pdf](http://www3.baylor.edu/Oral_History/ritchie%20foreword.pdf), accessed 10 June 2005.
- Sandino, Linda. "Oral Histories and Design: Objects and Subjects," in *Journal of Design History* 2006 19(4):275-282; doi:10.1093/jdh/eplo22.

Shopes, Linda. "What is Oral History?" in *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/oral/what.html>, February 2002. accessed 3 Mar 2007.

Strong-Boag, Veronica, Mona Gleason, and Adele Perry, eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History* (Oxford University Press: Don Mills, ON, 2002), 6.

Sundbo, Beatrice. *Treasures in Heaven*. Beaverlodge, AB: Horizon House Publishers, 1977.

Tucker, Ruth A. and Walter Liefeld. *Daughters of the Church*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987.

McIntyre, Bev. Telephone conversation. Moose Jaw, SK, 13 June 2005.