

“Know God, Serve Others”: Religion in the Canadian Girls in Training in the Interwar Years

MEGAN BAXTER
University of Western Ontario

“Every girl is in search of that fullness of life which may be found in Jesus.”¹ So wrote the unnamed author in the 1927 pamphlet “Introducing the Canadian Girls In Training Programme.” The Canadian Girls In Training (CGIT) was an ecumenical Christian girls group created near the end of World War I and which is still in existence today.² It was both a religious and a practical movement. While not all components of the program were concerned with religion, this was the medium through which the national leaders thought they could help participants bring a “fullness of life” to all aspects of their daily existence.

The national organization tried to help local leaders develop programs that would help girls become competent leaders as well as engaged mothers and wives. Throughout the interwar period, the national organization’s struggle to encourage CGIT participants to assume more public roles in the life of the nation was often at odds with an insistence on the primacy of the home and the vocation of motherhood. The national leaders of the CGIT believed that if teenage girls could be guided to a deeper religious belief, they would be more inclined to enter into the public sphere as effective, politically active leaders. At the same time, the connection between domestic and religious ideology was very strong. The role of the mother and the primacy of the domestic sphere continued to be central in mainstream Protestant churches.³ Both messages were present within the literature published by the CGIT, which included magazines, pamphlets and books. As a result, the CGIT was at times overtly feminist

in its call for egalitarian gender roles, while at other times the emphasis was on creating accomplished homemakers and mothers. The consistent element in both instances was the constant call to make Christianity relevant and integral to the lives of the girls who participated in the organization.

In the interwar period, historians have found that religious institutions believed that parents were not doing an adequate job of imparting religious belief to their children. Studies in the United States had found that family-based religious practices had declined since World War I.⁴ Churches were particularly worried about teenagers, whom they thought were not being made aware of the importance of religion to their lives, and who were becoming less and less likely to assume full membership in their churches. Religious groups for teenagers played a prominent role in denominational communities, intending to stem the “teen-age leakage” from the churches.⁵ These groups for both boys and girls were intended to supplement religious instruction from the family, which was considered the most important source of religious education. In order to reach teenage girls who might otherwise drift away from the churches, CGIT national leaders attempted to make Christianity relevant and attractive by structuring a program around a “four-fold” ideal of womanhood that would help prepare participants for future life both practically and religiously. The way they organized that program reflected both their religious concerns and the tensions they encountered between the ideal and reality. An analysis of literature published by the CGIT reveals how the leaders tried to make religion and religious service attractive to their participants, and some of the difficulties they found along the way.

The historiography of the impact of religion on women’s entry into the public sphere has undergone a significant evolution since the 1980s. In the 1980s, the majority of women’s historians omitted any significant discussion of religion from their works.⁶ The few who took it into account viewed religion negatively because they believed that Christianity was little more than a way for churches to control women. Religion was blamed for directing women’s political activism solely towards “maternal issues.” Religion continued to be ignored or criticized by historians until the late 1980s and through the 1990s, when some historians of gender and religion began to examine the ways in which religion was a powerful and positive motivating factor for women as they entered public life. Some historians started to examine the ways that religious belief “informed and enlivened” the feminism and public life of politically active women.⁷

Most of the historiography on the CGIT organization to date has fallen into that last category. Margaret Prang's article "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls In Training, 1915-1939" traces the institutional history of the CGIT and the main strands of contemporary thought that contributed a new vision of women's potential that its leaders disseminated. Likewise Lucille Marr contends that the CGIT offered "girls opportunities long held by women's groups to nurture relationships in the church, provid[ing] a starting point for a variety of other avenues of service."⁸ Elissa How argues that the CGIT organization affected the lives of girls who participated in it in a uniformly positive way. CGIT leaders tried to impart ideals that would "teach girls to pursue higher education, to develop strong leadership skills, and to choose vocations which could be as precious to God as motherhood."⁹ All three authors regarded the CGIT as a beneficial and motivating force in the lives of the girls who participated. They did not, however, complicate their pictures by examining the ways in which messages reinforcing domestic female roles coexisted with an expansion of the definition and possibilities of womanhood.

The most recent generation of historians examining female religious experience have taken an approach that is more apt to examine the various possibilities, limitations, and complications that religion has created in women's lives. Historians such as Ann Braude, Margaret Bendroth, and Virginia Brereton argue that religion has not had a univocal effect on the lives of women. They maintain that Christian domestic ideology has been used both to bolster and to undermine issues of women's suffrage, ordination, and education, and that it has been utilized by both liberal and conservative Protestants to support their viewpoints. Religion emerges in many recent works as a more subtle and varied force in women's lives, the effects of which cannot be reduced to a dichotomy of achievement or oppression.¹⁰

This approach owes much to the emerging study of lived religion. Lived religion attempts to introduce into religious history the study of religion as it has been received, adapted and resisted by adherents. This approach tries to move past the dichotomy of the sacred and profane, arguing that "[r]eligion comes into being in an ongoing, dynamic relationship with the realities of everyday life."¹¹ By examining religious practice in history, the historian can examine how adherents interacted with official institutions and theology, and which doctrines were internalized, which rejected, and which adapted to the circumstances of daily life.

Lived religion can explore areas of tension, power, discipline, and resistance that are exposed when people perform, adapt, and struggle with ritual and practice. The approach used in lived religion avoids assuming that religious messages were blindly accepted and followed by adherents while still acknowledging that religious idioms could be articulations of “social and psychological discipline.”¹²

Using the methodology of lived religion, an exploration of the concept of womanhood which the national CGIT leaders attempted to impart to participants during its formative years from 1917 to 1939 will uncover the ways in which this ideology was a site of discipline, control, resistance and tension. The tensions that accompanied the evolving religious “range of idiomatic possibility” available to women in defining their roles were also reflected in the writings and meetings of the CGIT leaders on both the national and local levels.¹³ Although some of the aspects of the CGIT program may not appear to be specifically religious, they were part of the overall goal of helping teenage girls develop a fulfilling Christian life. The program was developed by and reflects the thought of the national leaders, who were mostly young, well-educated, deeply religious women who both shared much of the mainstream Protestant thought of the time, and who also worked to find new possibilities for women.

The organizational structure, format of meetings, and published literature of the CGIT all influenced the way that participants were encouraged to develop a fulfilling Christian life. In 1915, four women who were active in the YWCA formed the Canadian Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Girls Work. This board worked to develop a religious organization for teenage girls aged twelve to seventeen. The new CGIT was created as the female counterpart to two preexisting Canadian boys groups, the Tuxis Boys and Trail Rangers. In 1917, the first CGIT publication, a pamphlet describing how to form a CGIT group, was published. Public response was enthusiastic and, due to the rapid growth of the movement, the YWCA turned control of the CGIT organization over to denominational Girls Work Boards in 1920. These in turn joined to form the National Girls’ Work Board (NGWB), which oversaw the CGIT organization. The NGWB consisted of National and Provincial Executives, which were largely composed of well-educated single women. The National and Provincial Executives set policy for the CGIT movement.¹⁴

The National Executive encouraged Sunday school teachers to form their girls’ classes into CGIT groups. On occasions when Sunday school

teachers were unable or unwilling to form groups, other interested women were encouraged to do so. Groups were largely segregated along denominational lines. Sunday school curriculum continued to be set by the churches, but a weekday meeting was added. The weekday activities were ideally to be set by the teenage participants under the guidance of their leader. The National Executive published numerous works available to local CGIT leaders to purchase. The available literature included pamphlets on the creation of CGIT groups, suggestions for weekly activities, initiation and dedication ceremonies, as well as book-length works for leaders with advice on every aspect of the CGIT program. Also available for CGIT participants to purchase were books, most notably the *Treasure Book of Homecraft*, *The Girl's Own Book*, and *The Girl and Life's Adventure*. From 1922 to 1924, the CGIT organization contributed to *The Canadian Mentor*, a quarterly magazine published for leaders of the CGIT and the corresponding boys' groups, the Tuxis Boys and Trail Rangers. In 1924, the National Executive withdrew from *The Canadian Mentor* and started their own magazine for CGIT leaders, *The Torch*, which was published bi-monthly from September to June.

The Trail Rangers, Tuxis Boys, and CGIT used a fourfold concept of personality development in their organizations. The program for the boys groups was divided into four parts: the Physical, the Intellectual, the Religious, and the Social. The CGIT renamed the fourth component "Service."¹⁵ For the girls, one meeting each month was to be devoted to each component. Each meeting would start with the recitation of the Canadian Girls In Training purpose, which included one pledge for each component of the fourfold life:

As a Canadian Girl In Training,
Under the leadership of Jesus,
It is My Purpose To
Cherish Health,
Seek Truth,
Know God,
Serve Others
And Thus, With His Help, Become
The Girl God Would Have Me Be.¹⁶

The national leaders of the CGIT altered the fourfold structure in 1927 because they found that the meetings devoted to the religious component were poorly attended. They did not completely dispose of the fourfold

structure of the program, but reframed it in terms of a girl's relationships to the significant social structures of the period. The Physical became the Home, the Intellectual was renamed the School, the Religious turned into the Church, and Service became the Community. The CGIT purpose and pledges remained the same.¹⁷

The CGIT membership soon eclipsed that of the Tuxis Boys or Trail Rangers, and peaked at 40,000 participants in 1933-4.¹⁸ Groups operated autonomously, but the National Girls Work Board (NGWB) published material with advice for leaders at a nominal cost. Groups were encouraged to apply to the National Executive for recognition as official CGIT groups, and could also attempt to achieve "Standard Group" status. Among other requirements for attaining Standard Group status, such as regular meetings, was that "one meeting in four [was to] be devoted to missionary education."¹⁹

Weekday meetings were to be composed of a five minute sing song, a three-minute opening ceremony, a fifteen-minute portion for group business (to be conducted according to parliamentary rules), a ten to fifteen-minute devotional service, forty minutes for group-selected activity, ten minutes for games or songs, and a two minute closing ceremony.²⁰ The group activity was often a project that was pursued over several weeks.²¹ The CGIT Executives organized summer camps for participants as well as for group, provincial, and national leaders.²² Meetings did not take place during the summer. When each CGIT group re-formed in the fall, they would perform a Dedication Ceremony to reaffirm their aims in belonging to the organization. New members were welcomed in initiation ceremonies.

The ambiguity in the CGIT definition of woman's proper role was a reflection of the struggle in Canadian society among liberal Protestant groups over how and when women should enter the public sphere. Supporters of women's involvement in politics and public life were generally divided into two groups, although there was overlap between the two: those who wanted women to enter public life as equals to men, and those who attributed to women special privileges because of their status as protectors of the home and family.²³ Religion entered this discourse as both a motivating and discouraging force for women. Religious faith encouraged some women to pursue public life, while others felt that Christian domestic ideology taught that women's proper sphere was in home and private life.²⁴ For the CGIT, religion was the foundation of active engagement with the public sphere, but the strength of the ideal of

the home as women's proper place continued to have an impact. As a result, the message of the CGIT movement was frequently ambiguous about women's proper roles.

The different needs and expectations of teenage girls caused the fourfold life to be developed along different lines in CGIT groups than they were in the Tuxis Boys or Trail Rangers. These differences increased when the CGIT organization decided in 1927 to rename and better integrate the four sections of the fourfold life. The emphasis was changed from development of the individual personality of teenagers to a focus on the relational life of women, finding meaningful life for the participants not solely within the self, but in relationships with institutions and other people. This changed emphasis reflected major theological strains in liberal Protestantism that developed in the interwar period. It was believed that human beings were "by nature religious," and therefore, if personalities were properly guided in their development, religious devotion would naturally follow.²⁵ The social gospel, which flourished from the 1880s to the end of the 1920s, well after the formation of the CGIT, was a theology that "encouraged a social concept of man and underlined the social dimensions of the Gospel, so that the solutions that appeared to be the most useful were those which had an essentially social character."²⁶ William McGuire King stated that within social gospel theology, it was believed that an emphasis on relationships would lead people towards "discover[ing] the personal fulfillment of authentic human relationships and to enable oneself to find a personal center of meaning."²⁷ Engaged interaction with the world would eventually be manifested by a "religious enthusiasm for humanity," an aspiration which was reflected in the idealism of the CGIT.²⁸

The CGIT leadership hoped to encourage this kind of religious participation in the wider society. They believed that religion should not be a burden to participants, and that the way to show girls how to integrate religion willingly and happily into their lives was by tying the separate components of the fourfold life more closely together.²⁹ The CGIT leadership thought that the religious component was the most important part of their program. The American psychologist G. Stanley Hall had developed the concept of adolescence at the start of the twentieth century. Hall taught that in adolescence, people were most likely to struggle with their faith and, with guidance, to make a commitment to their religious life.³⁰ Around the same time, American educator John Dewey had theorized that children began to learn at birth, and it was the job of adults

to develop the intrinsic religious facility of children. Religious belief would be developed by example, not coercion.³¹

The CGIT, Tuxis Boys, and Trail Ranger groups in Canada attempted to follow Hall and Dewey's theories to awaken the religious sentiments of boys and girls. An article in the *Canadian Mentor* argued that, "[t]he only kind of religion that a boy or girl can understand is one that calls for action."³² Religion was not to be imposed on teenagers. Instead, it was hoped that the religious devotion of the CGIT leaders would inspire similar dedication amongst participants. The CGIT organization thought that their leaders would help teenage girls through the difficulties of adolescence, and eventually encourage graduates to join the Young People's Societies of their respective churches, and ultimately make the decision to become full church members.³³ This part of the program reflected the beliefs of social reformers that a personal, ever-present faith was the way to connect with the divine, and that this would lead teenage girls effectively to interact with society, leading to social improvement.³⁴

Religious devotion was, therefore, of paramount importance, and was supposed to be integrated into every aspect of a Canadian Girl in Training's life. Each weekday session included a section for worship, and the CGIT wanted to communicate and make meaningful to teenage girls the importance of a deep connection with God in their everyday life. The religious aspects of the weekday meetings were not always successful, however, and the *Leader's Book* wrote at length about the challenges of making the worship portion meaningful and relevant to the girls. The difficulties faced by leaders can be summed up by a quote from a local leader about her CGIT group: "I find the devotional period the most difficult part in our whole programme. My seniors won't take any responsibility for worship and most of them are frankly bored by it."³⁵ This suggests that although the leaders may have been motivated by their personally meaningful religious beliefs, these were not always communicated to or accepted by the teenage participants.³⁶

In response to these difficulties, which seem to have been present from nearly the start of the organization, the national leaders of the CGIT attempted to assist local leaders by writing sample devotional services that they thought would be better received by the girls than the ones local leaders were expected to create themselves. In the initiation ceremony, the girls were asked to pledge that they would "study with a whole heart to know Christ more intimately every day and in this way come to know

God.”³⁷ However, leaders continued to find that they had difficulty persuading their girls that religion was important.

Ideally, religious life was to be intertwined with relationships in a girl’s life, as illustrated in the 1928-29 Dedication Ceremony when CGIT members were asked to promise to be “reverent toward God, eager to find Him in all that is beautiful and good in the world about me, in my friends, in my mother and father and sisters and brothers, and in Jesus Christ, his son.”³⁸ As well as through relationships, girls were meant to believe that God was made manifest in the workings of nature. Another vow from the same ceremony had girls promise that they “would worship Him when alone, at home, or out-of-doors, and especially amid the reverent beauty of the Church where I may worship with others, and enter into the spirit of His service.”³⁹

Although the church was the designated spatial location of the religious component of the fourfold life, the role of nature was often extremely important. Love of beauty was thought to incline the mind of teenagers towards religion. Beauty was often found in nature, and “[o]ut-door life generally may be used by the teacher to give the physical a spiritual significance.”⁴⁰ The ten-day CGIT summer camps that were run across the country were an important part of the program. All the girls in the CGIT could not attend the camps, but the literature suggests that if one or two participants from each group were to go each summer, they would share the benefits of the experience with the rest of their group on their return.⁴¹ Leaders believed that observation and quiet experience of nature would lead to an appreciation of the power of God. This lesson seems to have been borne out in practice. Letters from former campers were included in a special issue of *The Torch* for the girls, and one former camper wrote that, “To go out into the woods in front of a lake, and pray alone is the one time when you feel God’s presence closest.”⁴² Nature was God’s love made manifest, and the stillness and appreciation it inspired was believed to encourage active and wholesome engagement with the world.⁴³

At camp, fifteen to twenty minutes of quiet reflection, called Morning Watch, were used to “give thanks to God for the rest of the night and for the gift of a new day.” It was also a time for girls to ask for guidance and to pray for those around them.⁴⁴ Evening Watch, the Morning Watch’s less-mentioned counterpart, was another time for quiet contemplation, asking for forgiveness for errors during the day, giving thanks for blessings, and again asking for assistance. Both emphasized a

deeply personal connection with the divine. Doris McCarthy, a Canadian artist, who in the 1920s had been a CGIT camper, leader, and occasional illustrator for their publications, recalled that the practice of Morning Watch gave girls “twenty minutes of solitude with a little book that was to help us find ways to think about God and give thanks for the love and beauty surrounding us.”⁴⁵ Morning Watch was emphasized in camp literature, and if the girls returned with nothing else from camp, leaders hoped that this practice of quiet contemplation and prayer at the beginning and end of the day would become a habit. The concept of stillness formed an important part of the emphasis on nature, which, when blended with “intense activity in the service of others” in daily life, would mean that “the world [would] be supplied with the workers it needs.”⁴⁶ The girls were encouraged to experience stillness to learn how to undertake the work for which they were being prepared, either as mothers or as women participating in the wider world.

The concept of service was heavily associated with religious duty. Again, taking the 1928-29 Dedication Ceremony as an illustration, the girls pledged to “grow in my thought of others, in my willingness to serve . . . and to be ready always to play my part in the Kingdom of God.”⁴⁷ The CGIT literature frequently advocated a life of service for their girls, whether in the home, the mission field, or through professional life. However, professional life was not generally encouraged for its own sake. Girls were urged to “subordinat[e] the idea of material gain for that of service in business and marriage.”⁴⁸ Working after marriage was still not common, even among the well-educated members of the provincial and national executives, and, frequently in the pages of *The Torch*, new provincial secretaries were welcomed concurrently with wedding congratulations for their predecessors.

Missionary work was heavily emphasized by the CGIT. Female missionaries in the interwar period tended to be well educated and religiously minded women – exactly the sort of womanhood the CGIT sought to instill in their participants. According to Ruth Compton Brouwer, missionaries: “did not normally refer to career ambitions or romantic dreams, or even to a desire to help shoulder the burdens of empire. They spoke, instead, of a longing to spread a knowledge of Christianity and to witness through Christian service.”⁴⁹

The women Brouwer examined embarked on medical training with the eventual goal of becoming missionaries. Although the mission fields did provide women doctors with professional possibilities unavailable in

Canada, Brouwer argued that they did not turn to missionary work in reaction to Canadian gender restrictions.⁵⁰ Given the CGIT emphasis on education and religious service for teenage girls, missionaries such as those that Brouwer wrote about were ideal role models for the CGIT participants.

During this formative time in the CGIT organization, women were taking on more public and less gendered roles within missionary organizations and in the field.⁵¹ The missionary experience was in a state of flux throughout the interwar period, and the outlook of the religious groups changed from a deep belief in the inferiority of other religions and cultures in the 1920s, to a gradual movement towards trying to understand other cultures. This led to missionary work undertaken in collaboration with local organizations in other countries and to teaching useful Western advancements while recognizing the worth of indigenous Christian organizations. This was reflected in the writings of the CGIT, which emphasized respectful learning about other cultures as part of the girls' missionary education.

Missionary education was to be undertaken with the help of denominational Women's Missionary Societies (WMS). The national organization hoped that by the end of the study, groups would want to affiliate with their local WMS, and help with and donate to its work.⁵² Missionary education was to have a "world friendship emphasis," and although there is no mention of actively recruiting girls to become missionaries, the emphasis indicates that the national leaders may have hoped that some of the participants would take that step.⁵³ It is possible that by avoiding overt missionary recruiting, the CGIT was attempting to avoid conflict with parents. However, the literature published by the national CGIT organization subtly tried to communicate to participants the value of missionary work. In the skit "The Gate Which Leads to Womanhood" from 1924, missionary women were given a prominent place only behind the role of the mother.

Christian service to others was highly valued, and much of the CGIT literature emphasized service as the most fulfilling path a girl could choose. Whether they pursued missionary work, vocations, or motherhood, CGIT participants were encouraged to live by the lines of the yearly opening ceremony:

O Master, let me walk with Thee
In lowly paths of service free

Teach me thy secret, help me bear
 The strain of toil, the fret of care.
 Help me the slow of heart of move
 With one clear winning word of love;
 Teach me the wayward feet to stay
 And guide them in the homeward way.⁵⁴

However, service and related topics, such as potential vocations for girls, were always a site of ambiguity. CGIT participants were sometimes encouraged to develop their aptitudes, wherever they might lie, but this was often accompanied by an emphasis on the worth of motherhood, Christian service and the caring professions. Girls were encouraged to look outside of the domestic realm to find areas that they enjoyed, in caring professions, missionary work, or non-traditional jobs. At the same time, the vocation of motherhood continued to be emphasized as the most valuable one to which participants could aspire.

Endnotes

1. "Introducing the Canadian Girls In Training Program" Pamphlet, 1927, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).
2. The official CGIT website can be found at www.cgit.ca
3. Sharon Anne Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).
4. Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant: Parents, Children, and Mainline Churches*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 84; and Patricia Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood: The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1900-1920," in *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2001), 310.
5. Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood," 290.
6. See, for example, Veronica Strong-Boag. *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988). Serious discussion of religious motivation was often omitted from works about overtly Christian organizations, such as in Diana Pederson's "'Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow': Business-

- men, Boosters and the YWCA, 1890-1930," *Urban History Review* 15, no. 3 (1987): 225-42.
7. Mary Kinnear examines the religious motivations of prominent Canadian women in politics in "Religion and the Shaping of 'Public Woman': A Post-Suffrage Case Study," in *Religion and Public Life*, ed. Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 206, 208. See also Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*; Randi Warne, "Nellie McClung's Social Gospel," in *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*, eds. Elizabeth Muir and Marilyn Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 338-54.
 8. Margaret Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls In Training, 1915-1939," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, no. 2 (1985): 154-84; and Lucille Marr, "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls In Training, 1919-1939," *Historical Studies in Education* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1991), 262.
 9. Elissa How, "To Build Our Lives on a Sure and Strong Foundation: Religion and Gender as Exemplified by the Executive Leadership of the Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939" (M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1994), 117.
 10. Ann Braude, "Women's History Is American Religious History," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, ed. Thomas Tweed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 87-107; Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*; and Margaret Bendroth and Virginia Brereton, eds., *Women and Twentieth-Century Protestantism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
 11. Robert Orsi, "Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7. David Hall's introduction and the other articles in this collection are an excellent introduction to the study of lived religion. For further reading on lived religion, see Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
 12. Orsi, "Everyday Miracles," 10, 13, 15.
 13. In "Everyday Miracles," Robert Orsi writes that to uncover the impact of lived religion, the historian must have a "sense of the range of idiomatic possibility and limitation in a culture – the limits of what can be desired, fantasized, imagined and felt" (7).

14. For further reading, see How, "To build our lives on a sure and strong foundation," 25-6, 35, 36; Prang, "The Girl God Would Have Me Be," 161.
15. "Suggestions for the Midweek Meetings of Sunday School Classes, Clubs, Etc., for Teenage Girls" Pamphlet, 1917, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 14, LAC.
16. "What Is CGIT?" Pamphlet, 1939, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 18, LAC.
17. "The Change of Emphasis from "Fourfold Life" to "Relationships," *The Torch* (September/October, 1927): 4.
18. Prang, "The Girl God Would Have Me Be," 161.
19. "Introducing the Canadian Girls In Training Program" Pamphlet, 1924-25, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.
20. *The Leader's Book* (NP: National Girls' Work Board, 1932), 31.
21. "What Is The Canadian Girls In Training: How to Start a CGIT Group" Pamphlet, 1916, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.
22. How, "To Build Our Lives," 40.
23. Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 11. See also Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*, 33; and Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 101.
24. Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 42-44.
25. Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 70.
26. Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," in *The Social Gospel in Canada*, ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 4.
27. William McGuire King, "An Enthusiasm for Humanity: The Social Emphasis in Religion and its Accommodation in Protestant Theology," in *Religion and Twentieth-Century American Intellectual Life*, ed. Michael Lacey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 58.
28. King, "An Enthusiasm for Humanity," 53.
29. "The Change of Emphasis from "Fourfold Life" to "Relationships," *The Torch* (September/October, 1927): 4.

30. Christopher Coble, "The Role of Young People's Societies in the Training of Christian Womanhood (and Manhood), 1880-1910," in *Women and Twentieth-Century Protestantism*, eds. Margaret Bendroth and Virginia Brereton (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 79.
31. Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 66, 70.
32. C.F. Plewman, "Work of the Fall and Winter," *Canadian Mentor* (September 1922).
33. Reverend George Dewey, "The Call of the Church," *The Torch* (January/March 1930).
34. King, "An Enthusiasm for Humanity," 66.
35. *The Leader's Book* (NP: National Girls' Work Board, 1932), 47.
36. "The Change of Emphasis from "Fourfold Life" to "Relationships," *The Torch* (September/October, 1927): 4.
37. "CGIT Initiation Ceremony," 1919, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.
38. "Dedication Ceremony" Pamphlet, 1928-9, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.
39. "Dedication Ceremony" Pamphlet, 1928-9, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.
40. "Suggestions for the Mid-week Meetings of Sunday School Classes, Clubs, Etc., for Teenage Girls," 1917, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 14, LAC.
41. "Getting Your Camp Delegation," *Canadian Mentor* (April 1923): 115.
42. *The Torch: The Girl's Own Number* (May/June 1927): 111. See also D.C. Gass. "How To Interest Teen Age Girls in Nature Study," *Canadian Mentor* (April 1923): 112.
43. "The Spirit of the Northland," *Canadian Mentor* (May 1923).
44. *Leader's Book*, 65.
45. Doris McCarthy, *A Fool in Paradise: An Artist's Early Life* (Toronto: MacFarlane Walter and Ross, 1990), 56.
46. *The Torch* (1931-32): 17.

47. "Dedication Ceremony" Pamphlet, 1928/29, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.
48. "Suggestions for the Midweek Meetings of Sunday School Classes, Clubs, Etc., for Teenage Girls" Pamphlet, 1917, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 14, LAC.
49. Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God; Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.) 68, 81. See also Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).
50. Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modern Women, Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902-1969* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 35, 67, 99.
51. Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) 155-67; and Brouwer, *Modern Women*, 5.
52. *Leader's Book*, 226.
53. "Organization, Registration, Recognition," Pamphlet, 1929-30, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 9, LAC.
54. "Canadian Girls In Training: How To Begin," Pamphlet, 1929-30, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC. The author of this verse is not credited in the pamphlet.